

**Yūsufzai Pakhtūn / Pushtūn of the Peshāwar Valley:
An Ethno – Archaeological Study**

Fazal Sher



DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR
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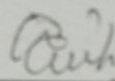
**Yūsufzai Pakhtūn / Pushtūn of the Peshāwar Valley:
An Ethno – Archaeological Study**

by
Fazal Sher

Dissertation submitted to the Department of Archaeology,
University of Peshawar, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

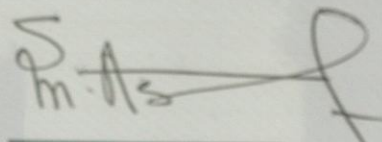
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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR

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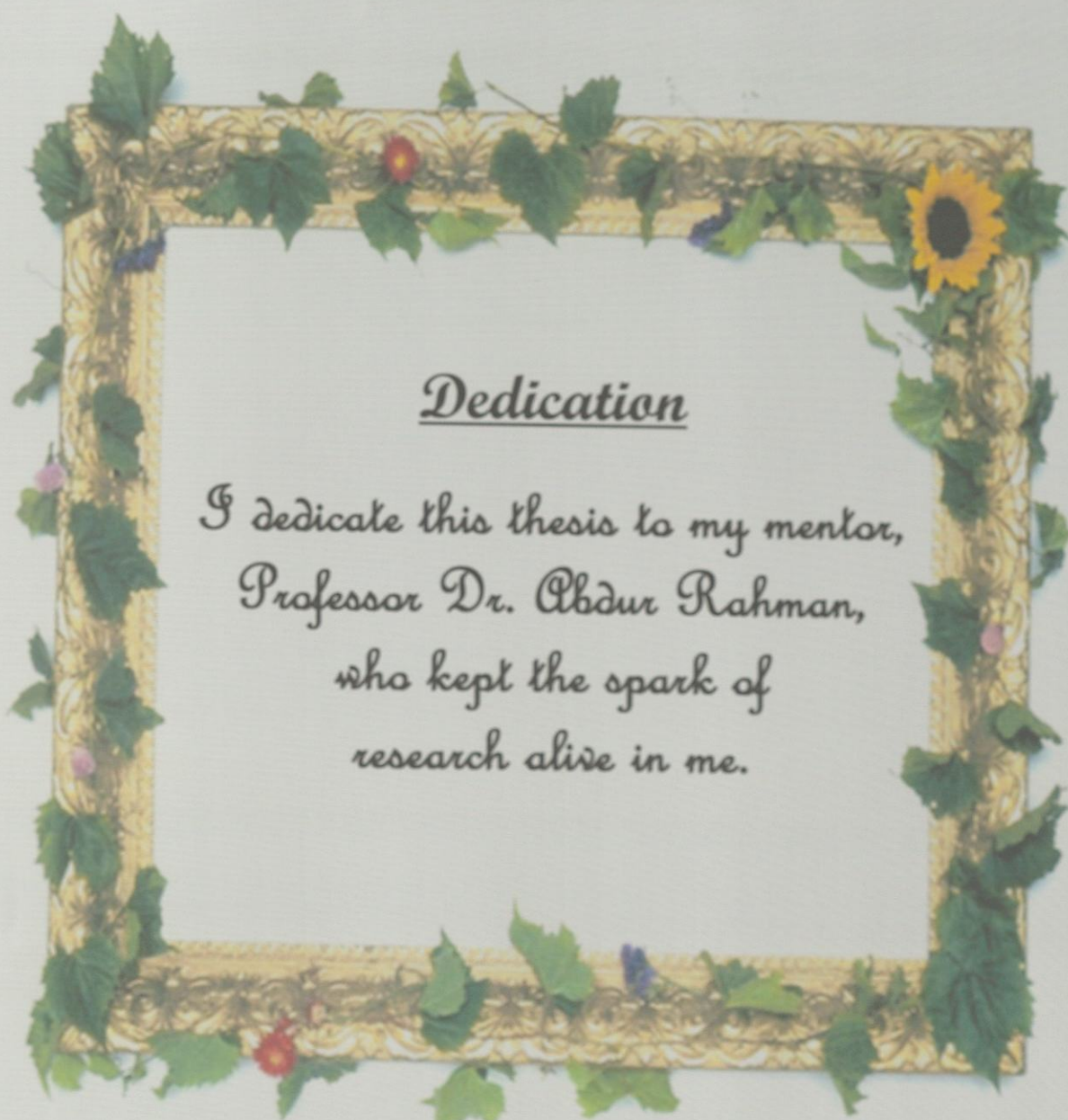
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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH
THE MOST BENEFICENT
THE MOST MERCIFUL



Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my mentor,
Professor Dr. Abdur Rahman,
who kept the spark of
research alive in me.

Abbreviations

JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
BEFEO	Bulletin d l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi
NC	Numismatic Chronicle

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INTRODUCTION

Ethno-archaeology as a subject is not very old. Ethnographers and archaeologists have themselves been producing schemes of human development and progress. Strongly influenced by Darwin's ideas about evolution, the British anthropologist Edward Tylor (1832 – 1917) and his American counterpart Lewis Henry Morgan (1818 – 1881), both published important works in the 1870's arguing that human societies had evolved from a primitive state of savagery (primitive hunting) through barbarism (simple farming) to civilization (the highest form of society). Morgan's book, *Ancient Society* (1877), was partly based on his great knowledge of living North American Indians. His ideas – particularly the notion that people had once lived in a primitive state of communism, sharing resources equally – strongly influenced Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who drew on them in their writings about pre-capitalist societies.

A study of the social organization and other features of the present day Pakhtūn society, with particular reference to the Yūsufzais in the valley of Peshāwar, on the basis of its material culture in order to draw conclusions about its past, is the main objective of this thesis. This line of research would be technically termed as ethno – archaeology. Ethnographers work backwards from known to unknown by living among contemporary societies with the specific purpose of understanding how such societies use their material culture. The present writer, being himself a Pakhtūn, lives in the Pakhtūn society and is fully acquainted with its material culture.

The basic problem with the Pakhtūn society for any researcher is that its origin is shrouded in mystery. This has given rise to several schools of thought. The Pakhtūn writers, with rare exceptions, are unanimous in the view that the Pakhtūns have descended from the lost ten tribes of the Bani Israel. The most recent champion of this view is Roshan Khān whose arguments were critically examined by Pareshān Khaṭak, another Pakhtūn writer, and found unsatisfactory. We have also discussed this issue in some detail. In our view the evidence presented by Roshan Khān cannot stand the test of scrutiny, whereas Pareshān's explanation that Ni'amat Ullah, a contemporary writer with the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr (1605 – 27), was the one who invented this theory to counter the propaganda at the Mughal court, which ridiculed the Pakhtūns by terming them "offspring of ghosts", is also untenable, for he has himself mentioned the names of certain other Pakhtūn writers whose dates fall earlier than that of Ni'amat Ullah, and

who have written in support of the Bani Israel theory. It seems this theory was already in the air but nobody presented it in a logical way before Ni'amat Ullah, who cleverly wove it into the fabric of the history of Bani Israel.

Whatever the case may be, the need of a noble descent must have been felt when ordinary Pakhtūn chiefs (Lodhīs and Sūris) emanating from the Afghān hills succeeded in establishing royal houses at Delhi. Ni'amat Ullah came to their rescue and invented the name Afghana (nowhere found in historical records) and gave out that he was the ancestor of the entire Pakhtūn race. The idea was apparently based upon the name Afghān which, he knew, was used for the Pushtūn s of Koh-i Sulīmān but of which he did not know the meaning.

Of all the modern writers relevant to us here only Morgenstierne takes an objective view of the subject and builds up his thesis upon an indepth analysis of the language (Pashto) spoken by the Pakhtūns. In origin, he says, Pakhtu or Pushto is a Saka dialect from the north, but it is not possible to define its relationship more closely. As such it is both in origin and structure an Iranian language, which however has borrowed freely from the Indo-Āryan group. The Saka or Scythian origin of the Pakhtūns is also supported by the fact that certain aspects of their societies show striking resemblances with each other, for instance, taking pride in meat eating, exaggerated pride in their prowess, preference for a nomadic way of life in order to ensure independence, looking down upon other races as inferior. The Yūsufzais in fact, having won the prize land in Hashtnagar with their own arms handed it over to another tribe and kept the hilly country for themselves so that in case of any foreign invasion they could climb up the mountain top and hurl stones upon the invaders.

The Pakhtūns consider Shuāl or Kasi Ghar as their ancestral home. This is the plateau marked by the meeting point of the most western point of the Spin Ghar and the eastern range of Mihtar Sulīmān. This plateau is known to the Afghāns as *pusht* (back). It is this *pusht* which has given the name Pushtūn, also pronounced as Pakhtūn, to the Afghāns inhabitants of this land. Thus, it is the land which has given its name to its occupants, not the vice versa; and it is from this land that the Pushtūn s or Pakhtūns spread in all directions. This story is related in the following six chapters.

Chapter – I takes account of the literary sources. The problems relating to each are brought under critical examination and solutions suggested.

In chapter – 2, the terms Afghān and Aoghān are discussed in detail and an effort is made to determine the meaning.

There are numerous theories regarding the ethnic block the Pakhtūns belong to. These are critically examined in chapter – 3. Chapter – 4 gives an outline of the rise and fall of nations affecting this borderland of India and Iran to find out where precisely the Pakhtūns fit in the story. In chapter – 5 is related the story how the Yūsufzai Pakhtūns reached the valley of Peshāwar and occupied it with the force of arms, and how the conquered land was distributed amongst the victors. The distribution of Shaikh Mali, widely accepted by the Pakhtūns, still had an element of nomadism which was stopped by the British in the nineteenth century. The salient features of all this discussion are summed up in chapter – 6.

A few words are necessary to explain the system of transliteration adopted in this work. In general we have followed the system adopted in the Encyclopaedia of Islām but with some modifications. The letter ث (pronounced by the Arabs with a lisp as in *thin*) to a non- Arab conveys a sound almost identical with *s* as in *sin*, and he accordingly pronounces it as such. Nor, unless an Arabic scholar, does he perceive any difference between ث or ص (*ṣād*). He pronounces them all alike. Similarly ذ (*zāl*), ز (*zay*), ض (*zād*) and ظ (*zoi*) convey to the non – Arab identical sounds; certainly he cannot help pronouncing them identically. He also perceives no difference between ت and ط (*toi*) or between the hard aspirate ح (as in *Aḥmad*) and the soft as in *Hārūn*. We have therefore not attempted to differentiate these letters by dots unless absolutely necessary for the sake of clarity for which precise transliteration cannot be avoided.

CHAPTER – 1

SOURCES

1.1. The *Tawārīkh Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khāni*

Literary sources regarding the history of the Yūsufzais are scarce. The most important of these, the *Tawārīkh Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khāni*, in its present form, is an abridged edition of an old work, the *Tārīkh-i Afghāna* (History of the Afghāns), also called the *Tārīkh-i Khān Kajū*¹ (History of Khān Kajū), composed in Pashto in about AD 1624 (Shāhjahanpuri 1977:3) by a certain Khwājū Matizai, Khalīl (Roshan Khān 1986: 5). Khwājū's work may still be lying in the dark corners of a private library but it has not been noticed since 1801-02 (see *infra*). Allāh Yār Khān, son of the Ḥāfiz, Raḥmat Khān is said to have made a vain attempt in 1229 H/1814 to trace out the original manuscript but without any success. Curiously Allāh Yār Khān assigns the authorship of this work to a certain Shaikh Mīrdād Motizai (Matizai), Khalīl (Kāmil n.d.: 11). Roshan Khān (*op.cit.*) says that Khwājū was a descendant of the Shaikh, Mīrdād.

The Shaikh is mentioned at three different places in the *Tawārīkh Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khāni*. At two places (pp.102 and 104) he is styled as Qutb al-Zamān Shaikh Mīrdād Afghān Matizai Khalīl Tarnaki; at one place (p.231) he is referred to merely as Qutb-i 'Ālam Shaikh Mīrdād Matizai. The titles Qutb al-Zamān (Pole of the Age) and Qutb al-'Ālam (Pole of the World) show that Mīrdād was a holy personage and was widely venerated among the Afghāns as a saint. His other titles make it clear that he belonged to the Matizai, a sub-section of the Khalīl tribe. A reference to his name in the context of the battle of Shaikh Tapūr indicates that he had died long before this battle and therefore was not the original author of the *Tārīkh-i Afghāna*. A summary of the relevant paragraph is given below:

As the Khalīl force (*lashkar*) alighted at Shaikh Tapūr with a thunderous noise, everyone in the Yūsufzai camp became alarmed in view of its strength. The *lashkar* mainly consisted of horse riders clad in armour and fully "sunk in iron". Their horses were of the Iraqi breed considered superior to the local breeds. This visible show of strength seemingly sent out chilling waves of terror to the Yūsufzai camp where, except for Khān Kajū and the Gagiānis who were inveterate enemies of the Khalīls, almost the whole *lashkar*, out of sheer alarm, got inclined towards finding a peaceful way out of

this dilemma. It was agreed among some important leaders that should the Khalīls send to Khān Kajū a delegation comprising:

1. One or two respectable elderly leaders
2. Two elderly ladies of the family of Malik Bāzīd, and
3. Grandsons of the Qutb-i 'Ālam Shaikh Mīrdād Matizai, it would be accepted as sufficient justification for reconsidering the matter. Although the proposal merely sensitized Khān Kajū who speedily snubbed his companions for showing this weakness, it is important for us for the present to know that a reference is here made to the grandsons of the Shaikh, Mīrdād, not to the Shaikh himself, nor his son or sons. Had he been alive, it is probable that the all important Shaikh would have personally been called upon, or at least his name included in the list to make the proposal all the more weighty and credible. If however the Shaikh was not alive at the time of this battle, there is reason to believe that he could not have written its history. Roshan Khān therefore correctly remarks that the earliest writer of the *Tārīkh-i Afāghana* was Khwājū, not Shaikh Mīrdād. *Pīr Mu'azzam Shāh* (Roshan Khān 1977: 162, 207, 245, 248) and Ḥabībī (1343: 368) as well consider Khwājū as the first writer.

We have not seen Khwājū's actual work and know it only from the *Pīr*, Mu'azzam Shāh's abridged edition. As the *Pīr* allegedly neither changed the order of chapters, nor introduced any new material, we can get a fairly good picture of Khwājū's work from this abridged edition. More important in this context is the *Pīr*'s own assessment of Khwājū's work, which is as under:

1. Khwājū's work, called *Tawārīkh-i Afāghana* narrated the history of the Khashi and Ghoriah Khel septs, particularly the Yūsufzais.
2. The language was Pashto loaded with Persian
3. Its comparison with Akhūnd Darweza's *Tazkira* showed that its narration of historical events was based on truth.
4. Because of its useless and repetitive discourses and disputations mixed with anecdotes and misplaced Persian couplets, it was considered drab and dull fit only for rewriting.

The historian Khwājū does not mention the date of the composition of his work, though a fairly accurate time period may be worked out from other dates given in the

text. Of these the earliest is the Hijri year 1031/1621-22. Last year, he says, in the Hijri year 1031, Malik Haibū's armour taken off his dead body by Mīr Jamāl Khān was put to the sale but the sum of money offered (Rs.300) was so meager that the owner refused to sell it (Roshan Khān 1977: 107-08). The words "last year" show that Khwājū was writing in the Hijri year 1032, the year following 1031 in which the event is said to have taken place. The year 1032 is also directly mentioned in connection with three other events. In the year 1033 H/1623-24, Khwājū further remarks, a certain Saudā – a respectable elderly person, son of the Malik Zewar – was still alive, while some persons from the house of Shāh Maṣṣūr, a cousin of the more famous Malik Aḥmad, were in the service of the emperor Nūr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr (1014 – 1037 H/1605-1627). The year 1033 which falls in the reign of Jahāngīr seemingly marks the end of the time bracket, for, the narration stops there at this point and no event of the successive periods is hereafter mentioned.

The *Tārīkh-i Afūghana* (or *Tawārīkh Hāfiz Raḥmat Khāni* in its new garb) traces the history of the Yūsufzais from their earliest appearance in Gārah and Neshki to their final occupation of the Peshāwar valley. This covers a period of more than a century between AD 1475 to 1586, though the earlier end of this bracket may be extended further, for, the exact date of their eviction from Gārah and Neshki is not recorded.

The book comprises seven chapters, each highlighting a particularly significant feature of the unfolding story. Chapter 1 throws light on the tense relation between the Yūsufzais and the Gagiānis in their original habitat; Mirzā Ulugh Beg's resolve to crush the Gagiānis and then patching up with them to crush the Yūsufzais; and murder of a number of Yūsufzai maliks by stratagem and their expulsion from Afghānistān.

In chapter 2 we are told how the Yūsufzais, particularly Malik Aḥmad, requested the Dilazāks of Peshāwar for lands and how, after their arrival in the Doāba which was allotted to them by the Dilazāks, the Yūsufzais tried to consolidate their position.

The Yūsufzais then turned their attention to the rich valley of the river Swāt with a view to capturing more lands. Meanwhile the emperor Zahīr ad-Dīn Bābur demanded of Malik Aḥmad to present himself in the court at Kābul. This is the main theme of chapter 3.

Just like the Yūsufzais the Gagiānis too found it difficult to live in the Kābul valley and requested Malik Aḥmad for the assignment of some territory where they

could graze their cattle and settle down in peace. Meanwhile the emperor Bābur let loose his forces on the Dilazāks of Kalpāni. Chapter 4 throws light on these developments.

In chapter 5 we are told how the Dilazāks suspecting the Gagiānis and blaming them for their sufferings at the hands of Bābur, clashed with them.

Having tightened their grip over the conquered territories Shaikh Mali and Malik Aḥmad sat down to distribute the whole land amongst the conquerors. After the death of the Shaikh, Mali and Malik Aḥmad, Kajū, son of Malik Qarā became the Khān of the Yūsufzai and Mandanr sept. This part of the story is narrated in chapter 6.

In chapter 7 are given details regarding the battle of Shaikh Tapūr and Khān Kajū's exploits in the neighbourhood.

The author of the abridged edition, the Pīr, Mu'azzam Shāh, son of the Pīr, Muḥammad Fāzil of the village Pīr Sabāk (Swābi), in his introductory note explains the circumstances which led him to take up the assignment of re-writing Khwājū's work. The Nawāb, Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khān, the ruler of Rohīlkhand, he records, was a very learned person and fond of reading books. It so happened that one day he received a manuscript from the library of the Nawāb Bahādur Khān, Dā'ūdzaī Khalīl, located at Shāhjāhānpur. Having gone through it the Nawāb found that the manuscript contained almost the same account regarding the movements and migrations of the Khashi and Ghoriah Khel septs as found in the much credited work of Akhūnd Darweza, namely the *Tazkirat al-Abrār wa'l-Ashrār*, but the narration was marred by misplaced Persian couplets, repetitive statements and unnecessary detail which needed to be weeded out to make the work readable.

The Nawāb therefore instructed this humble servant (i.e. Mu'azzam Shāh) to rephrase the entire work taking care not to lose the original sense. The result was the present abridged edition entitled the *Tawārīkh Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khāni*.

At the end of the work Mu'azzam Shāh, in a poem, mentions Muḥarrām 1181 H/May 1767 as the date of its completion. A copy of this work was prepared by Muḥammad Ismā'īl Qandhāri for Major H. G. Raverty. A note written in Arabic by the Qandhāri at the end of this copy records 26 July 1864 as the date of its completion. This manuscript is now there in the British Museum and is merely a copy, precise location of the original is not known.

The Pashto Academy (University of Peshāwar) in the later half of the last century managed to get a microfilm (Qadari 1977) or Photostat copy (Rasa 1977: 27) of this work which subsequently generated much discussion and received the utmost attention of the Academy's scholars. In 1971 it was published in its original Pashto form. Shortly afterwards it was realized that, for a wider circulation of the information it contained, it was better to render it into Urdu. This job was assigned to an experienced translator of the Academy, Maulvi Muḥammad Isrā'īl (Bokhari 1977: 18) whose translation was edited and, along with prodigious notes and lengthy comments, published by Roshan Khān in 1971 under the auspices of the Pashto Academy.

Dost Muḥammad Kāmil in his introduction to the *Tārīkh-i Murassa'* (n.d.: 11) informs us that an abridgement of Khwājū's *Tārīkh-i Afāghana* was prepared in Persian as well under the title the *Tawārīkh Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khāni* by the Ḥāfiz, Muḥammad Saddīq. A paragraph reproduced by Tā'ir (1977) says that this Ḥāfiz was a resident of the village Naltu in Attock and that the work was completed in 1184 H/1770-71, that is, hardly three years subsequent to the publication of Mu'azzam Shāh's work. It is interesting to note that both the works have the same title. Now, there was a good reason for Mu'azzam Shāh to adopt this title, for, he was in the service of the Ḥāfiz, Raḥmat Khān, the ruler of Rohilkhand, and ostensibly desired to please his boss, but, if the Ḥāfiz of Naltu was not in the service of Raḥmat Khān he was under no obligation to stick to the same old title and follow in the footsteps of Mu'azzam Shāh. It seems therefore that shortly after the completion of Mu'azzam Shāh's work, Raḥmat Khān felt the need of having a version in Persian – the *lingua franca* of those times – and consequently commissioned the Ḥāfiz of Naltu to do this job. In this case there was no need of changing the book title. If however this was not the case then the Ḥāfiz had to look for a wealthy sponsor who could defray the expenses involved in the production of a book the sale of which could hardly be expected to recover its cost. Given the veracity of Kāmil's statement, we may reasonably assume that two abridged editions – one in Pashto and the other in Persian existed side by side.

Sir Olaf Caroe's remarks in his *The Pathans* (p.169) similarly point to the existence of a Persian copy. "There are several compilations," he states, "purporting to be histories of the Yūsufzais and kindred tribes, the best known of which, cited by Mounstuart Elphinstone, and Bernard Dorn, the Russian professor who was Elphinstone's contemporary, is known as the *Tārīkh-i Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khāni*. It was

written in Persian in the Hijri year 1184/ 1770-71, and according to Raverty is based on much older non-extant prose writings in Pakhtu by Shaikh Mali and Khān Kajū, the Yūsufzai notables of the first half of the sixteenth century." We do not know wherefrom Raverty got his information, though a paragraph reproduced by Tā'ir (1977) from the work of an unnamed Orientalist has exactly the same information.

Prof. Dorn's research is inaccessible to us for the moment but Elphinstone's two volumes, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, are readily available for further guidance. This is what he records:

"the following account is abstracted from a history of the Eusofzyes, written in a mixture of Pashtoo and Persian, in the year 1184 of the Hejira (AD 1771). The original history is of considerable length, and mixed with such fables as the superstitious and romantic notions of the country suggest, it has a consistency and an appearance of truth and exactness". (Elphinstone 1815, Vol. 11: 8-9)

In spite of all this, Tā'ir insists that "the compiler of this work was not Hāfiz Saddīq of Naltu, but Pīr Mu 'zzam of Pīr Sabāk". In a footnote on the same page he further adds that Olaf Caroe has admitted in a letter written to him that he had not seen the actual book personally. Tā'ir seems to suggest that had Caroe seen the actual work, he would have come to know that it was not written in Persian. Further no, he puts the blame on Raverty for confusing the matter and for misguiding those who followed him.

But there is evidence to show that Tā'ir himself did not do enough homework and missed out important pieces of information which could have helped him in making a correct judgement. He should have seen Annette S. Beveridge's translation of the *Bābur Nama*, Appendix K – an Afghān Legend, for better guidance rather than indulging in blame game, "My husband's article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April 1901", she writes "begins with an account of the two MSS from which it is drawn, viz. 1.0.581 in Pushtū, 1.0.582 in Persian. Both are mainly occupied with an account of the Yūsufzai". Further details make it absolutely certain that here we have the Persian and Pashto copies of the *Tawārīkh Hāfiz Rahmat Khānī*. It is to this Persian text that we find references in Raverty, Caroe and Elphinstone. Nobody has confused the matter and nobody has told lies.

1.2. The *Tazkirat al-Abrār wa al-Ashrār*

The next important source is the *Tazkirat al-Abrār wa al-Ashrār* written in 1021 H/1612-13 by the most celebrated saint of the Afghāns and a learned Sūfi, the Akhūnd Darweza, who, after an eventful life, died in Peshāwar and was buried in the Hazār Khāni graveyard not very far from the ancient ruins of Shāhji ki Dheri – the famous Kanishka vihāra. He was born in 956 H/1549 (Dani 1969: 183).

The Akhūnd was not a professional historian, nor is his *Tazkira* a book on history. He was in fact a religious scholar who illustrated his teachings with examples from history. Thus he mentions some historical events related to the history of the Yūsufzais and of some other tribes in order to draw moral lessons. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, he is certainly the most reliable and trustworthy, for his source of information was not any previously written documents but his own parents who stood with the Yūsufzais through thick and thin and had first hand knowledge of their movements. His importance lies in the fact that he was certainly the first to write down this information.

The Akhūnd was himself a Turk (Akhūnd 1960: 105) and native of the territory called Nangrahār (ancient Nagarahāra). His great grandfather Darghan came from Mohmand and settled in the town of Pāpin (Akhūnd 1950: 106) which appears to have been situated in the darah of Ḥiṣārak-i-Shāhi (Raverty 1878) in eastern Afghānistān. This place the Sulṭān Bahrām, a descendant of the Sulṭāns of Pīch, who claimed descent from a son of Alexander (Ibid: 114) named Shamūs, brought under his control and extended his rule as far as the Safed Koh of Nangrahār, and drove out the Budni who comprised several tribes and in the past predominated over the country of Nangrahār.

The grandfather of the Akhūnd, Shaikh Sa'adi left his native country and accompanied the Yūsufzais in their migration eastward, as their Peshwā or spiritual guide, and received his share in the distribution made by Shaikh Mali. He was accounted among the Mandizai section of the Daulatzai division of the Malizais in the distribution of lands, and was assigned a share for 30 persons, the number of his family and dependents (Akhūnd 1960: 107). Subsequently the ruler of the country (probably Mirzā Kāmrān) had occasion to chastise the *ulūs*, and dispatched the Amīr Qodāni with a body of horse, to make a raid upon them. Some of these horsemen fell in with Shaikh Sa'adi and his family, and taking him for one of the Afghān *ulūs*, put him to death; and carried away his son Gadāe, captive. Soon after it was found out, through the Amīr

Qodāni's inquiries about the Shaikh, that he had been unjustly put to death; and the horsemen who had done the deed were severely punished for it, but there was no remedy for what was past. However the Amīr forthwith set Gadāe at liberty, and, for the late Shaikh's sake, liberated all the other captives in his hand. Subsequently for some cause or the other, Gadāe left the Mandizai Malizais, and joined the Ismā 'ilzai Khel of Chagharzai Malizai, and by them he was given a share of land for 10 persons. This Gadai was the Akhūnd's father and that share of land they still enjoyed at the time when the Akhūnd completed his *Tazkira* (op.cit). This shows how closely associated the Akhūnd was with the Yūsufzais.

1.3. General Works

The rest of the historical works may be described as merely marginally relevant. These include the *Tawārīkh Daulat-i-Sher Shāhi* (i.e. Histories of the Kingdom of Sher Shāh) written in 955 H/1548; The *Tawārīkh-i Dāūdī* (i.e. Histories of Dāud) which narrates events upto 983 H/1575; the *Tārīkh-i Shāhi* (i.e. Royal History) also called the *Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i Afghāna* (i.e. History of the Afghān kings) completed in 1054 H/1644 by Aḥmad Yār Khān, and the most famous of all, the *Tārīkh-i Khān Jahāni*, also called *Makhzan-i Afghāni*, written by Ni'amat Ullah Harwi in 1021 H/1613 during his stay at Malkapur near Burhānpur in the Deccan (South India). Subsequent additions to this work mention an event which occurred in 1067 H/1657.

The last mentioned work (i.e. the *Makhzan-i Afghāni*) contains a small but very interesting paragraph regarding the Yūsufzais not found anywhere else. It reads: "Bihzād b. Sado b. Utmān had two sons named 'Ali and Qarā. Khān Kajū, also called Nau Lakhi, to whom the whole Yūsufzai tribe stood in unquestioning obedience, was the only son of this Qarā. After Sulīmān Shāh's nephew, Malik Aḥmad, who was a very great king, it is related, that no other ruler of the calibre of Khān Kajū was born among the Yūsufzais. Khwāja Khizar is said to have met him. Equating himself with the ruler of Hindūstān, Sher Shāh Sūri, he clashed with him. That Khān Kajū met Khwāja Kizar is also related in the *Tawāīkh-i Hāfiz Raḥmat Khāni* (p.252) but the rest of the information is new.

There is some confusion regarding the authorship as well as the precise date of this work. Apparently several copies of it with divergent claims regarding its authorship had been in circulation in the past. This discrepancy may be due either to clerical errors or perhaps some late additions. According to Raverty (1878: 343) the *Tārīkh-i Khān*

Jahāni, also known as the *Makhzan-i Afghāni* was written by Haibat Khān Kākar. "This work was completed on the 10th of Zi-Hijjah – the last month – of 1021 H. (February, 1613 A.D.), at the command (as it is stated in some copies, but not in all) of the Nawwāb, Khāni Jahān, the Lodi, who, by a special ordinance of Nūraddīn, Muḥammad, Jahāngīr Bādshāh, was entitled by him *farzand* or son. The work appears to have been again edited and revised by the Khwājah, Ni'amat Ullah, for a copy which I have, previous to giving a short account of Haibat Khān's ancestry, says, that "the draft of this book, and the final transcript and correction of this *Khān Jahāniān Tārikh*, celebrated as the *Makhzan-i Afghāni*, was finished on the 25th of Jamādi-ul Awwal – the fifth month, 1090 H. (June, 1679 A.D. in the city of Burhānpūr".

The Urdu translation of the *Jārikh-i-Khān Jahāni wa Makhzan-i Aghāni* by Dr. Muḥammad Bashir Husain presently before us, explicitly mentions at several places in the text that the author was Ni'amat Ullah himself and none else. This is clear from the following extracts:

1. In 1018 H/1609, the author of this work, the Khwāja, Ni'amat Ullah, son of the Khwāja, Ḥabīb Ullah Harwi had the honour of joining the service of Khān-i Jahān Lodi when he was given the assignment of conquering the Deccan. It was during this journey that I (i.e. Ni'amat Ullah) got acquainted with an old servant of Khāni Jahān, namely Haibat Khān Kākar, son of Salīm Khān (p.35).
2. The author of this pleasant history is Ni 'amat Ullah, son of Ḥabīb Ullah Harwi (p.393).
3. May God bless the author of this work, Ni 'amat Ullah, son of Ḥabīb Ullah and Haibat Khān Kākar who was the *raison d'être*, that is the most important reason for writing this work (p.642).
4. Even the work of putting into writing and correction of this history was done by the author Ni'amat Ullah, son of the Khwaja, Ḥabīb Ullah Harwi (p.645).
5. All the events of this period, this sinful person (this is how Ni'amat Ullah styles himself) has seen with his own eyes. On this account I wished to write down the history of these events and of those I had heard from my father. This is why I have picked up my pen.

In view of the above there seems to be no room for casting aspersions on the authorship of this work. Similarly the period of time this work took in its composition has been explicitly stated by the author himself. He started writing during his stay at Malkāpur (Khāndesh district), in the Deccan, on Friday the 20th of Zi al-Hijjah, 1020 H/ 23rd February 1612 (p.36) and completed on the 10th Zi al-Hijjah, 1021 H/ 1st February 1613 (pp.643-44).

CHAPTER - 2

AFGHĀN AND PUSHTŪN

The importance of the above mentioned historical sources with regard to the peregrinations of the Yūsufzais, from their original home in the Koh-i Sulīmān to their present home in the Peshāwar valley, is certainly very great. But some of the terms such as Afghān, Pushtūn, Shuāl, Koh Pāyah etc., although frequently mentioned therein, have either not been interpreted at all, or, when an explanation is given, it does not satisfy the inquisitive mind of modern scholarship. Here we shall give only a few examples to illustrate this point. Giving an interpretation of the term *Afghān* (which he actually did not know) and taking it for the Persian word *afghān* (meaning sorrow), Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta, the famous Dakhani historian, (1974: 83) son of the Maulānā, Ghulām 'Alī Hindū Shāh, writes: "When the rainy season came on, the Indians (fighting against Muslims in the present Tribal Area), having seen the volume of water in the river Indus got seriously alarmed, and consequently without waiting for the outcome of the fight disengaged and went straight back home. Similarly the Muslims of Kābul and Khalaj returned to their own places. When the men of Kābul and Khalaj were questioned by their compatriots as to what happened to the Muslims of Kohistān, they replied "Don't call their country Kohistān (meaning the "Land of Mountains"), but Afghānistān (i.e. the "Land of Sorrow"), for there is nothing there but sorrow (*afghān*) and tumult (*ghoghā*), that is, noise (*shor*), shouts and cries". Having read this, no argument is needed to prove that Firishta was totally ignorant of the meaning of this word and found an equivalent in Persian to support his totally unwarranted hypothesis.

The term Afghān, comprising *Af + ghān*, is not the only one of its kind in the entire land stretching from Afghānistān to Iran and Central Asia. There are many other names similarly ending in the syllable *ghān*. The well known examples are:

Lamghān (Lam + ghān), Kāghān (Kā + ghān), Chaghān (Cha + ghān) Tāsh Qurghān (Qur + ghān), Dāmghān (Dām + ghān), Darghān (Dar + ghān), Farghān (Far + ghān), Iskīfghan (Iskīf + ghān) Khunaifghān (Khunaif + ghān), Jaghān (Ja + ghān), Rāghān (Rāghān), Righān (Ri + ghān), Sabūrghān (Sabūr + ghān) and many others. But the precise meaning of this syllable still remain evasive, for the simple reason that the territories where it occurs remained for

centuries under the influence of many different languages such as Sanskrit, archaic Persian, Turkish, Pashto, and many others including Lamghāni, Gibari, Kohistāni etc. Olaf Caroe has found out some Greck names as well.

The word *ghān* is not the only problematical affix, others are also there which appear to be equally intractable. These include (*lām*), *tan* (or *atan*), *gāl*, and *ūz*. These may be evidenced in place names such as Shād lām, Nanglām, Racch lām, Lāmghān. The affix *tan* may be seen in such names as Shūrtan, Chughlātan and Tāna. Similar is the case with *gāl* and *ūz*, Deyūz etc. To what language these affixes belong and what do they really signify still remains a big question mark. But the case is not absolutely hopeless, for, rays of light still exist which can penetrate this pitch darkness.

After this brief digression we take the name Afghān first all. Some scholars (Roshan Khān 1980: 65) believe that it is based upon the Persian "Aoghān" and that the first syllable *AO* is derived from the Hebrew *Ab* meaning "honourable, brave" etc. At the hands of the Iranians, we are further told, *Ab* in its plural form became *Abān* which in the course of time was changed to *Abākān*, and then to *Abgān* and *Abghān*, and finally *Aoghān*.

With due respect to Roshan Khān we would like to draw attention to the basic weakness of his argument. The syllable *Ab* – the hinge his argument revolves around – does not, as examples given by him show, mean "honourable or brave" by itself; it is in fact an honorific title denoting a form of address showing respect, just as "Sir" in English and "Janāb" in Urdu. Does the Urdu word "Janāb" in *Janāb Wazīr-i 'Azam* (Respected Prime Minister) have the potential of giving a particular name to a vast section of humanity or to a country? Would it be feasible to call a country "Janābistān" (Land of Janābs)? It seems Roshan Khān's preconceived Jewish origin of Pakhtūns has drawn him into a situation where sentiment rather than mind reigns supreme. Therefore this totally unconvincing and flimsy argument should be rejected forthwith. We have included it here not on its merit but because Roshan Khān happens to be a widely read author among the Pushtūns and some of his unrealistic positions may appear as facts of history to the credulous and unwary general reader.

The Persian word *Aoghān* allegedly believed to be the basis of the Arabic form *Afghān* comprises *Ao* + *ghān*. The first part (i.e. *Ao*) is absolutely clear and easily intelligible as it is known from many such place names as *Nijr-ao*, *Ao-sheri*, *Tag-ao*, *Trikh-ao* etc where it means nothing but "water", and appears to be a variant of the

Persian *Āb* (water) which also occurs in several place names such as Kol-i Āb, Iri – Āb, Aba kand etc.

The second part (i.e. *ghān*) is problematical, but in the various contexts in which this word is used it gives the meaning "land, territory, region" etc. It perfectly fits in the nomenclature pattern as seen above and follows the same structural formula in which the most significant geographical feature – be it water, river lake, hill, building etc – of the particular area, comes first and is followed by the termination *ghān*, such as Lam + *ghān*. As the tradition goes Lam/Lām or Lamak was the father of the Hazrat Nūh (Noah). The author of Raverty's surveys (1878: 100) records this tradition in detail: "The name Lamghān was originally Lamakān because (according to tradition) it is the place of sepulture of the Patriarch Lamak, the father of Nūh – on whom be peace! In the dialect of the Tājzik people there is no letter equivalent to the Arabic *qāf* (k), and they use *ghān* (gh) in lieu of it, and thus the word became Lamaghān. By degrees, through constant use, the word became shortened to Lamghān, and also to Laghmān". Pinpointing the dialect in which this word occurs, he remarks: "The language spoken by the people of Lamaghān is called Lamaghāni dialect, and is not quickly understood; but most of the people speak *Tājzik* (Persian) and they also profess some proficiency in Pashto and Turki". Telling us about the exact place of Lamak's grave he records. "Two kuroh distant from the town of Tighari, in the direction of south-west, on the top of hill, is the sepulcher, which, according to the tradition, is that of the Patriarch Lamak, they call him by the name of Mihtar Lām and No-Lakhi Bābā" (Ibid). If however this tradition is accepted as an historical fact, it will inevitably lead to the conclusion that there was only one Lam or Lamak, but the fact is that, besides Lamghān and Mihtar – lām, there are at least four more recorded names (Shad – lām, Nang – lām, Rachh – lām, Nūr-lām) terminating in Lām. The same tradition had earlier been recorded by Bābur with reference to Lamghān (Beveridge 1987: 210). But quoting Masson (iii: 197 and 289) Beveridge remarks that "both in Pashai and Lamghāni *lām* means fort. Thus Nūr-lām, in his view, gives the meaning 'Nūr-fort', i.e. the master fort in the mouth of Nūr valley (xxiii). If Masson's information is correct, and there is no reason why it should not be, we can say with confidence what the first half of the name Lamghān means, though the second half, i.e. *ghān*, also shared by the term Afghān still defies scholarly ingenuity.

The medieval name Lamghān appears to be a direct translation of the still older Sanskrit name Nagarahāra – both appertain to the same area, land or territory now known as Jalālābād. Such translations of proper names in obedience to their verbal meanings appear to have been frequent in Afghānistān. For instance, the ancient *Tajzik* name Bārīk-āb is now known as Narai-obaē. Some of these names have been vitiated (such as Laghmān) by the local concourse of tongues and varied utterance of unlettered tribes, but some others can still be recognized.

Nagarahāra first noticed by the famous Chinese pilgrim Xuan Zang (AD 650) is in fact still in use in its several vitiated forms such as Nangarhār, Nangnehār, Langarhār etc. and some scholars have been misled to give these disfigured forms some meanings, but the original form is very clear and means "Town (nagara) + land or territory (hāra)" signifying an unnamed town or city which stood as a land mark in the whole territory. This town must have carried some specific name, but the Chinese pilgrim had no time perhaps to make further enquiries and put it in his diary as he heard it from ordinary people. The practice of not naming the city in everyday talk is still prevalent. Anyone living in the vicinity of Peshāwar, for instance, if asked where he was going to, would immediately reply that he was going to the "city", meaning in fact that he was going to Peshāwar. Whether the town was fortified in the time of Xuan Zang, he does not tell us, though it must have been on account of its location on the main road followed both by armies and caravans on their way to Peshāwar. The term Nagar, in our view, was rendered as "Lam" (meaning fort or fortified town), and hāra as ghān (meaning land or territory) by the Lamghānis in their own dialect. If this interpretation is correct, the termination *ghān*, as found in the name Afghān, would imply land, territory, area etc. Thus Lamghān means "Land or territory of the (fortified) town". We have seen above that *AO* in Aoghān means water. Thus Aoghān would mean "Land of water". But in our view Aoghān was merely a variant of Afghān, not its basic form, as we shall see below. We have in fact pursued this line of inquiry in some detail just to show the imbecility of Roshan's Aoghān developing into Afghān. There is no doubt that Persian writers were the first to use the term Afghān and were responsible for its widespread use. Wherefrom did they borrow it, Sir Thomas Holdich remarks: "It is difficult to account for the name Afghān; it has been said that it is but the Armenian word Afghān "(mountaineer)" (cited in Dani 1969-61).

There is no doubt that this name was not invented by the natives but by outsiders, particularly the Iranians. This may be evidenced in the inability of the Pakhtūns who pronounce it as "Aphān" (Ap + ghān). If the meaning given to it by Sir Thomas Holdich is correct, it is understandable why the Persians used this term for the mountain dwellers of Koh-i Sulimān. In Sanskrit also we get the phrase *parvatasrayinah* (mountain dwellers) and Herodotus himself talks of the hill tribes from whom recruits were drawn by the Achaemenians.

CHAPTER - 3

THEORIES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE AFGHĀNS

Where was this "High - land", the original Pushtūn or Pakhtūn home land situated? Raverty's researches in this regard bore abundant fruit. Quoting from the report of the author of the surveys carried out for him, he (*Notes*: 329) remarks: "West of the town of Chaudh Wa'ān rises that lofty peak of the Koh-i Sulīmān or Koh-i Siyāh, called the Takht-i Sulīmān, or 'Soloman's Throne', giving name to the whole of the stupendous range. The Afghāns style it Kesah-Ghar, and Kasi-Ghar, and also Shū-āl. It is a very lofty mountain, and on the summit of it is the place of pilgrimage, known to the Afghān people as the Ziārat (or Shrine, or place of Pilgrimage) of the Patriarch Sulīmān ... it shows itself from an immense distance, and its summit is generally clothed with snow ... this great range of mountains intervenes between Qandahār and the Dera'h-jāt, extending lengthways from the Dara'h of Khyber and Jalālābād on the north, to Siwī and Dādar on the south, a distance of just three hundred kuroh, and in breadth, including its offshoots, one hundred kuroh. Within these limits, forming an extensive territory, there are numerous dara'hs and plateaus; and it was herein, but specially in the vicinity of, and around Kasi-Ghar, or Shū-āl, that the Afghān tribes, according to their traditions, first took up their abode, and subsequently spread out in all directions". Marking out the precise boundaries of this area, he (*Ibid*: 463) further remarks: "The different branch ranges of the Koh-i Sulīmān or Koh-i Siyāh ... may be termed the four walls of an irregular parallelogram rising up from the tracts around. Its eastern, and one of the longest sides, runs from north to south, with a slight inclination to the westward towards its lower end; while the opposite one, which is the longest of all, runs on the average, from its extreme northern point, in the direction of south west, or very nearly so. The upper or northern side, extending from the Mi-yandzey Lāri Ghāshaey towards Tal or Tala'h, on the Kurma'h, runs in a direction nearly south east, and is the narrowest of all; and the lower or southern one runs from west to east with a slight bend southwards, but is very much broader in proportion than the northern side ... the whole roughly speaking extending about seventy five miles in breadth on the north, one hundred and seventy five miles on the south, two hundred and fifty miles long on the east and three hundred miles long on the west (p.464).

Commenting on the plateau enclosed by the above mentioned ranges of the Koh-i Sulīmān, Raverty further expands on the subject: "The immense space enclosed between these four boundaries thus explained, though less in elevation than its boundary walls, is of much greater elevation than the tracts of country outside them; and this intermediate space is what is known as the *pusht* or back of the Koh-i Mihtar Sulīmān or Koh-i Siyāh, the general name applied to the whole by the Tājīk people, but is known as Kesah Ghar, or Kasī Ghar, Shū-āl, and Shū-āl Ghar, and by some other names such as Pushtūn Khwā to the Pushtūns, or Afghāns, and to the Balūchīs and Hindi speaking people, as Roh, Kālā Roh, and Kālā Pahār", Kālā is Hindi for Tājīk Siyāh; Roh is the vitiated form of Koh, used by the Balūches; and Pahār is the Hindi equivalent of Tājīk Koh. An analogy may be seen in the name Potho-hār signifying the entire plateau at the *Pusht* (back) of the Murree hills; *pīth* is Hindi form of *pusht* which appears to be a very ancient word dating back perhaps to the Indo-European times, for, *post* (as in posterior, post-mortem etc.) in English, *post* in Latin, *pusht* in Persian and *pīth* in Hindū/Urdu, all have the same meaning.

The elevated plateau comprised within the ranges of the Koh-i Sulīmān, as described above, is the tract of the country to which all historians from the time of the Baihaqi and the Gardīzi (who dwelt close to it), from the year of the Hijrah 390/ AD 1000 downwards, have correctly applied the name of the Afghān-istan, because it was, and still is, as the compound word signifies, the *jā-e ambohī*, or "place of concourse or assembly", or "place of crowds" or "place where multitudes congregate" and where *bisīyār chīzha*, or "great numbers (of persons, animals or things)" assembled or collected together in one locality or place of the Pushtānah, or Afghān race. In this, and in no other sense, is this compound Tājīk word applied, and the term is certainly just nine centuries old (Raverty 1878: 466). At page 329 he asserts: "The limits above mentioned constitute the true Afghānistān; and it is to this tract, and to no other, that the earlier Musalmān chroniclers refer under that name". In support of his argument he refers to the work entitled *Tazkirat al-Mulūk* and says that its author correctly remarks that "Afghānistān extends from Kasi Ghar to the boundary of the Qandahār province as constituted under the Šafawīyah dynasty". It is to this tract of land, the *Pusht*, that the Sunbal Nīāzis, hard pressed by the governors of Sher Shāh Sūri, wanted to retire for safety, but luck did not favour them and they were duped into believing that they were safe and then exterminated before they could pack up and give up their lands on the banks of the river Indus (Ibid: 356).

The Afghān people call themselves by the name of Push-tānah, the plural form of Pushtūn. Tūn, the plural form of which is *tānah*, in the Afghān language, means "abode", "resort", "nest" etc, also "a birth-place", "a native country", and the two words mean, literally, "dwellers on the back of or convexity of the Sulīmān mountains" (Ibid: 467). From the fact of their dwelling on the ridges and slopes and in the valleys of the Koh-i Sulīmān, the Afghāns are also, both in India and other countries, known as as Sulīmānis.

It is a curious fact that none but Pushtūns or Pakhtūns dwell in the whole of this *pusht* or back of the range of Mihtar Sulīmān, also styled Pushtūn – Khwā, and naught but the Pushto (Pashto) language is spoken therein (Raverty 1878: 468). Pushto (Pashto) may therefore be termed as the language of the people who lived on the *pusht* or back of the Mihtar Sulīmān. This name evidently was originally devised by the Tājzik people of the Kābul valley to whose language it clearly belonged. The Pushto equivalent of *pusht* is *psha* but in the language of the common people the initial *p* is dropped and what remains is merely *sha*.

In the light of the above it is obvious that Pushto and Pushtūns received this name when they reached the *pusht* of the Sulīmān range. Under what name they and their language was known previous to this and where did they come from? There are as many answers to these questions as there are writers whose suggestions, even when they are not acceptable to us, cannot be just brushed aside because they are repeatedly mentioned in our contemporary literature.

The most prominent amongst these, just a few decades ago, was the highly venerated Maulānā Abdul Qādir, former director of the Pashto Academy, University of Peshāwar, who set forth his views in 1967 in the preface to the Urdu translation of Sir Olaf Caroe's book, *The Pathans*. It is a lengthy preface spreading over 44 pages, in which the Maulānā, besides telling us how this world came into existence, throws ample light on what, in his view, was the origin of the Pushtūns or Pakhtūns and their language, Pashto. The oldest part of the world where human race and civilized life appeared first of all, the Maulānā informs us, was Central Asia. In the remotest past, he says, when much of the present world was still under water, Central Asia had all the elements – earth, water, sunshine – the combined effect of which created an environment congenial for the growth of human life. God therefore selected this tract of land for the birth of human beings (*Bani Ādam*). It was in this cradle, he further

remarks, that the earliest humans received their training in art and culture and then spread around in the world in search of livelihood which mainly comprised hunting. Some of the hunting groups, the Maulānā says, *wandered* too far away to return to the homeland and settled in distant lands losing all contacts with the original stock. There they developed their languages in obedience to the climatic conditions of those parts. Those who came back to Bākhtar (Bactria) and stayed on spoke Pashto which was the mother tongue and spoken all over Central Asia. The people who spoke this language were called Pushtūns whose pivotal role in determining and developing early stages of human life must be recognized. Pashto is the mother tongue, the Maulānā further remarks, and all other languages in the world are its grand daughters. This relationship is not confined merely to the languages of the Indo-European, Semitic or Avestan family, the Dravidian, Mongolian and Shina also stemmed from the same source. The Maulānā concludes: the most ancient tribe – the bedrock for the beginning of every day human life – is supposed to be *Bakhd*, *Pakht* or *Pushtūn* and the land where this tribe was born and dwelt was Balkh, Balhika or *Pushtūnkhwā* (*Pakhtūnkhwā*). Balkh (Bactria) is the mother land of all nations of the world and *Pakhtūns* are the progenitors of all mankind. Being themselves the primary source, they should not be tied to the tail of any other race.

The Maulānā was in fact responding to some Afghān writers who under the influence of Hitlerian propaganda had proposed an Āryan origin for the *Pakhtūns*. Apparently the Maulānā wished everything good for the *Pakhtūns* and in it we sympathize with him but cannot endorse his views regarding the origin of the universe, and *Pakhtūns* and Pashto. Wishful thinking cannot be considered serious history.

But this advice of the Maulānā was not heeded to by Roshan Khān (1980: 50) who ties the *Pakhtūns* to the tail of the Hebrews. The *Pashtūns* are descendants of those Bani Israel, says he, who were banished from their homeland in Syria and its neighbouring regions by the Assyrians and Babylonians one after the other and who settled not only in the territories touching on Babylon but also amongst the Āryans in the vast stretch of land comprising Iran, Khufāsān and (the valley) of the river Indus. There they first followed the Laws of Moses, and then turned over to Christianity, but when the invitation of Hazrat Muḥammad (Peace be Upon Him) reached them they at once accepted Islām.

Roshan Khān was not the first to suggest Hebraic origin for the Pakhtūns; he was in fact preceded by a whole series of Pakhtūn writers harping on the same tune. The most outstanding of these was Ni'amat Ullah Harwi, whose *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* became the main source for subsequent writers to draw upon. Ni 'amat Ullah's material with regard to genealogies was issued later in many and various forms, including a work of the later eighteenth century entitled *Khulāṣat al-Ansāb* (Genealogical Abstract) composed by the Nawāb Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khān Rohīla. The Akhūnd Darweza, Raḥmān Bābā and Khushhāl Khān Khaṭak also toe the same line.

Some European scholars, when European scholarship was still in its infancy regarding the Pakhtūns, put their weight in the same scale. The first amongst these was Sir William Jones, the pioneer of oriental studies, who suggested that the Afghāns were the descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel who escaped from captivity and took refuge in the country of Arsarath. This place in his view is Hazarājat, the Ghor of the Afghān historians. Elphinstone entertained the same view. 'As regards the Ghor immigrants it is known (says he) that ten of the twelve tribes remained in the east after their brethren's return to Judea; and the supposition that the Afghāns are their descendants explains easily and naturally both the disappearance of the one people, and the origin of the other'. Alexander Burnes argues the same case but from a different angle. The Afghāns, he says, entertain strange prejudices against the Jewish nation, a point which should at least show that they had no desire to claim, without a just cause, a descent from them. Since, he asks, some of the tribes of Israel came to the East, why should we not admit that the Afghāns are their descendants, converted to Islām. Even H. G. Raverty, who is considered by Sir Olaf Caroe as 'a master of Pathan lore' pleads in favour of the Bani Israel theory. 'Is it not possible', he asks, 'that those Jews who could make their escape might have fled eastward, preferring a wandering life in a mountainous country with independence to the grinding tyranny of Cyrus' successors and their satraps? In fact there was no other direction in which they could have fled, he remarks.

The Bani Israel theory has been repudiated by Sir Olaf Caroe and, more recently, by Pareshān Khaṭak in very strong terms. Disapproving of the Maulānā Abdul Qādir's views on the creation of human life on this earth, he nevertheless agrees with the Maulānā's thesis that the 'Pushtūns are just Pushtūns' – a separate race by themselves – and should not be labelled with the Āryans or any other race for this

purpose. Olaf Caroe's remarks (1958: 5) that Bani Israel theory is a curious accretion to Biblical history needs elaboration. An outline of the history of Bani Israel as known to European writers vis-à-vis Muslim writers preceding Ni'amat Ullah Harwi (who claims to have borrowed his information from the latter) is given below, to see how far the Bani Israel theory fits into it.

3.1. Bani Israel: European version (Appendix: B)

The scriptural tradition of the Hebrew people, or, as they call themselves, the Bani Israel (Children of Israel), begins with the patriarch Abraham. Around 1500 BC, he migrated into Palestine with his flocks from "Ur of the Chaldees" which appears to have been a northern colony of Ur and not the original Sumerian city, setting up altars to his God, Yehweh and digging wells. His son Isaac and his grandson Jacob, continued his work. In their new homeland they made alliances with the local Canaanites and grew prosperous and powerful. Joseph, one of the sons of Jacob, was "sold into Egypt" where he later became vizier of the Pharaoh from which office he was able to befriend his brothers and father when they migrated there to escape a famine in Canaan. But they were all enslaved by a subsequent Pharaoh. From this servitude they were rescued by Moses who led them back into Canaan after they had spent forty years in the wilderness of Sinai. Moses welded them into a powerful fighting force capable of conquering the country but he did not live long and was succeeded by Joshua (Easten 1970: 123).

The early Israelites were ruled by judges, who were also religious leaders. In the course of the wars with the Philistines, who for many years kept most of the Hebrews in subjection, it was realized that a king would best serve as a rallying point for the whole people. The prophet and judge Samuel therefore chose a certain Saul also called Tālūt of the tribe of Benjamin, as king and anointed him as the chosen of Yahweh. But Saul (Tālūt) failed in his religious duties and was abandoned by Samuel in favour of a youngman named David, of the tribe of Judah. When Saul was killed in battle against the Philistines, David was proclaimed king. David made Jerusalem his capital and founded a strong unified kingdom. This Israelite kingdom lasted through the reigns of David and his son Solomon. But when Solomon tried to live like an oriental despot and engaged in extensive building projects, the northern tribes of Israel, perhaps unable to bear the burden, revolted at the time of the accession of Solomon's son Rehoboam (*Ibid*).

Thereafter there were two kingdoms, the north, which took the name Ephraim or Israel, and the south, which was composed of only two tribes, Judah and Benjamin. The northern kingdom was more prosperous and the first king was Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. To the disadvantage of Israel it was closer to the conquering powers of the age as compared to Judah.

The Assyrian king Sennacherib, on mounting the throne, found the state of affairs in Babylon more critical, and more requiring his immediate presence, than those of any other portion of his dominions. Merodach – Baladan, who had been driven from Babylon by Sargon, had returned thither as soon as Sargon was dead, and had succeeded in establishing himself as king for a second time. Sennacherib was engaged for some years in recovering Babylonia to the Assyrian Empire.

Samaria, the capital of the northern (Ephraimite) monarchy, besieged by Shalmaneser, fell before Sargon in 721 BC. Twenty years later (701 BC) Sargon's son Sennacherib, overran Judah and threatened Egypt with invasion (de Burgh 1963: 27-28). Sennacherib carried off a large number of captives, old and young, male and female together with horses and mules, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude (Rawlinson 1889: 188-89). Hezekiah, the King of Judah, subsequently sent chiefs and elders of Jerusalem with tribute which was brought to Nineveh. Egypt was conquered in 670 BC by Sennacherib's successor Esarhaddon (Easton 1970: 72).

It was believed impossible to defeat the Assyrians. An exiled prince from Babylonia tried to raise a coalition against them but failed repeatedly. Nevertheless the people to the east of Mesopotamia were able to advance slowly and relentlessly, Medes and Chaldeans, and Scythians from the north. The Assyrians fought back until the coalition took Nineveh and razed it to the ground, thus destroying the base of the state. Still the Assyrian remnants fought on from the old capital of Assur until Nebuchadnezzar, son of the new Chaldean (Kāldi) king of Babylon defeated them in 606 BC in the battle of Carchemish.

The empire of the Chaldeans showed every sign of walking in the footsteps of Assyria. Nebuchadnezzar tried to take Tyre, an important city, but failed. He then turned to the Egyptian forces who were spreading their own influence in Palestine and defeated them in several battles, but he stopped short of conquering Egypt. With regard to Jerusalem he was at first content with installing a tributary king, but repeated rebellions of Bani Israel forced him to take a stronger action. In about 586 BC he

swooped down upon Jerusalem and smashed every obstacle in the way of his supremacy taking with him at first the leaders and then most of the Jewish population as captive to Babylon. Long after this tragedy the Persians led by Cyrus defeated the Babylonians in about 550 BC and allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem.

Palestine remained in Persian hands until its conquest by Alexander after whose death it fell to Seleucus, one of his generals. A descendant of Seleucus tried to impose Hellenization in the country but he faced stiff opposition from the more orthodox Jews who, under the family of the Maccabees, asserted their independence. Thereafter it was ruled by client kings of the Romans who converted it into an imperial province in AD 6. When it rebelled against the Roman rule, Jerusalem was captured by Titus in AD 70 and the inhabitants dispersed. There was no Jewish nation again until the middle of the 20th century. (For more details see Appendices A and B).

3.2. Bani Israel: Muslim version (Appendices C and D)

The history of the Bani Israel recorded by Muslim Chroniclers is full of complications, particularly in the field of proper names which have been greatly vitiated by generations of ignorant scribes, but, in general, it is in accord with that recorded by European writers. The salient features – the struggle launched by Israel for supremacy in Palestine, the sack of Sāmara and deportation of the Jewish population from Israel by Sennachrib in about 721 BC, Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Jerusalem and deportation of the population for the second time, their release by Cyrus, the Persian, Alexander's invasion, the destruction of Jerusalem and dispersal of population for the third time (in this case by the Romans) – are all mentioned but instead of high lighting the events, these are buried in fables, and narrated amidst confusion regarding the difference between the Assyrians and Chaldeans (Kāldi), as two separate but successive dynasties, for, the great conquerors belonging to these dynasties are mentioned under the blanket term "Bābel Shāh", the king of Babylon, which is not incorrect, but it does not tell the difference between the two dynasties.

The chroniclers referred to above include Mas'ūdi (346 H/AD 957), Ibn al-Athīr (d. AD 1233), Ibn al-Kaṭhīr (701-774H/AD 1301-1372-73), Qazwīnī (730 H/AD 1329-30) and Mīrkhwānd (d. AD 1498). The voluminous histories left behind by these writers provided the bedrock for Afghān historians to build upon. For information these writers depended primarily upon the *Qur'ān*, but knowing fully well that the *Qur'ān* was not a book of history, they also drew upon what they called *Israeliyāt* (i.e. Israeliology or

Israel Studies). Information of the *Qurān* was considered as the "word of God" and therefore superior to any other source (Ibn al-Kathīr 1987: 326: 369: 374).

The order of succession of the Hebrew Kings from Abraham to Solomon is precisely the same as found in the *Qurān* and in Hebrew sources. However, from Rehoboam (Arkhba'ām of Muslim sources), the successor of Solomon, downwards, the Muslim chroniclers had to depend merely upon Israel Studies, which they drew upon to their hearts content and yet considered it *laghwiyyāt* (i.e. absurdities). Mas'ūdi (1964, Vol 1: 58-61), and also Ibn al-Athīr, give a list of the names of the rulers of Israel and Jūdah who followed Rehoboam and also mention the number of years each of them enjoyed power, in addition to the main events connected with their reigns. It is unfortunate that the names of the individual rulers are much disfigured but they can still be recognized and compare well with the list of names given by G. Rawlinson (1889) in his work *The Lives and Times of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (see Appendix B). Mas'ūdi mentions a curious name, perhaps the outcome of scribal ignorance, of "one of the greatest kings of Babylon", Fil'Tfas or Fal'Tfas, who had fights with the Israelites and who ravaged their cities and countryside, and got hold of their king Ahaz. This name is not found in any other source. Rawlinson's account of Ahaz (pp.169-14) shows no threat from Assyria. On the contrary he invoked the aid of Assyria against his enemies, Pekah and Resin, and became an Assyrian feudatory. He is also said to have visited the court of the Assyrian emperor Tiglath – Pileser at Damascus. Ahaz seems to have died, at the age of thirty six, in the same year with his patron, Tiglath – Pileser, 727 BC. Ahaz was succeeded by Hoshea and Tiglath – Pileser by Shalmaneser.

The death of Tiglath – Pileser, the great conqueror who had resuscitated the Assyrian power so wonderfully in the space of seventeen years, shook the empire to its roots. Revolts broke out on all sides. Taking advantage of the uncertain situation, Hoshea, who was established upon the Samaritan throne by Tiglath – Pileser, in the hope of fishing in the troubled waters allied with Egypt and in the year 725 BC withheld the tribute, which he had hitherto paid to Shalmaneser as his suzerain. Shalmaneser was engaged in war with Phoenicia for a while. In 724 BC, he descended upon Israel in force and succeeded in seizing Hoshea's person and then poured his troops upon his Kingdom. Samaria withstood the whole might of Assyria for about three years. She was probably besieged in the early spring of 724 BC and fell near the end of 722 BC (Rawlinson 1889: 176-77). There was the usual massacre, in which neither age nor sex

were spared. Twenty seven thousand two hundred of the inhabitants were made prisoners and carried into captivity by the conqueror. Samaria was not destroyed. The kingdom founded by Jeroboam was brought to an end. The fate of Hoshea is unknown; Shalmaneser probably had him imprisoned at Nineveh. Was Tiglath – Pileser, the Fal'ifas of Mas'ūdi or Shalmaneser, or was he an altogether different person, we do not know.

The story picked up by Ni'amat Ullah Harwi and given a fine twist to build up his Bani Israel theory, is the one in which Tālūt, also known as Saul or Shaul, played the pivotal role. The story is also narrated in the *Qur'ān* in some detail. There was no way he could question the details given in the *Qur'ān*, even then there was some space for him to do the trick; he could give the drop scene of his own choice. And that is precisely what he did.

As the story goes the Bani Israel – the descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob (Ya'qūb) – got themselves involved in an endless war of attrition with the indigenous tribes such as the Philistines and Canaanites for the supremacy over Palestine. In the course of this struggle they felt the need of a king who could bring together all the scattered tribes and serve as a rallying point. For this purpose they turned to the prophet Samuel for help and requested him to do the needful. Samuel appointed Saul, also known as Tālūt (literally meaning a "tall man") – a *saqqah* (one who supplies water) or *dabbāz* (one colours hides after cleansing them) by profession. The Bani Israel at first hesitated to accept a person of such a low status as their king, but when Samuel told them that it was the will of God they all acquiesced in his decision. After some time Tālūt, the king of the Bani Israel found himself in an extremely embarrassing situation. A certain Jālūt, perhaps one of the powerful native rulers, rose against him and brought a huge force in the field which, on the face of it, looked more than a match for Tālūt's little army. He therefore made a public announcement that anybody who killed Jālūt would be given the hand of his daughter in marriage in addition to half a share in the government. Although, Tālūt was deserted by his army, except for 313 individuals including David (Dā'ūd) – the youngest of the thirteen sons of Esha – who succeeded in killing Jālūt, thus qualifying himself for winning the hand of Tālūt's daughter. Tālūt apparently fulfilled his promises, for, David's son Solomon was born of Tālūt's daughter. To cut the story short David took over the government when, after forty years

of reign, Tālūt, alongwith his thirteen sons, was killed fighting against the enemy. All our sources agree that he left behind no male offspring. So far so good.

From here onward begins the unfolding of that portion of the story which is purely the product of Ni'amat Ullah's imagination; no other source bears it out, and was concocted to provide a basis to the Bani Israel theory. Handing over the reins of the government and the country to David, Ni'amat Ullah informs us, Tālūt revealed to David that two of his wives of the line of Lāwi b. Ya'qūb (Jacob) were pregnant and that he was hoping that God would favour them with sons. If so the first born should be named Barkhiā and the second Irmīā. He also requested David to properly look after the kids and leave no stone unturned in their training, for, they were destined to become the progenitors of great tribes who, on account of their numerical strength, would overwhelm other nations.

Keeping his word given to Tālūt, David took great interest in the upbringing of the youngsters, and when they grew up in age, he gave them certain posts in the government. The boys showed great promise and were promoted to the highest posts (Harwi 1978: 86). Irmīā was made commander –in-chief of the army and Barkhiā was appointed vizier. For thirty nine years of Da'ūd's reign, we are further informed, the administration of the country remained in the hands of these two brothers. Consequently, the country grew rich and prosperous so that the population doubled.

The story does not end here. Ni'amat Ullah, moving ingeniously to the point he wanted to highlight for giving the story a new dimension, remarks that Barkhiā had a son named Āsif, while Irmia named his son Afghana. The boys received excellent training at the court of Dā'ūd. When Barkhiā and Irmīā died, Āsif and Afghana succeeded them in the same positions during the reign of Solomon, David's successor (Ibid: 87). The Most High God, Ni'amat Ullah exclaims, because of his special favours to these two brothers, granted Āsif eighteen and Afghana forty sons. Therefore they grew in numbers to such an extant that no other tribe could compete with them.

This willful distortion of the Jewish history, it may be remarked, is so cleverly woven into the fabric that a credulous reader cannot so easily detect it. But there is absolutely no evidence to support it. At this moment we can only say "Well done Ni'amat Ullah, the story you have masterfully concocted "shall like the day and night last for ever" in accordance with your wish (p.36). The impression created by your Bani

Israel theory upon the Pushtūns/Pakhtūn society has by now so deeply embedded that it is hard to dispel it in one stroke.

Another much trumpeted argument in favour of the Bani Israel theory is based upon the so-called mass exodus of the Jewish population at the command of Bakht Nasar, also written as Bakhtunnassar, as mentioned above, who has been identified with Nebuchadnezzar, the famous emperor of Babylon, who invaded Jerusalem twice and plundered the Temple. His Jewish opponent is named Sadaqqiyā (Zedekia) in Muslim sources. But we know from Hebrew sources that he was not the only one who became a victim of aggrandizement of Nechadnezzar. The details are as follows:

Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, in the first year of his father's reign, led the forces of the Babylonian empire to the far west, with the object of chastising the bold Pharaoh, who had laid his hand on provinces which Babylonia regarded as her own. Neco, the Egyptian, aware of his intentions, marched to meet him; and the two armies came into collision at Carchemish on the middle Euphrates. Awful was the shock of the battle and complete was the discomfiture of Egypt. The hasty flight of Neco and his army left the whole of Syria open to the invaders who poured like a torrent across Lebanon, Galilee, Samaria, Judah, Philistia, Edom and finally into Egypt. No one thought of resistance any more. Jehoiakim, the Hebrew king of Judah was only too glad to submit and pay his homage and his tribute to his new sovereign. Meanwhile Nebuchadnezzar's father died at Babylon toward the close of 605 BC. As a result Nebuchadnezzar broke up his camp and rushed back home.

The uncertainty created by the death of Nabopolassar encouraged the petty kings to declare themselves independent of Babylon. Jehoiakim was the first to take the plunge. At first, the Great king was content to punish him by sending a few "bands" of Chaldaeans, but about the year 598 BC, the king of Tyre having also rebelled, he became convinced that his personal presence was needed in the Palestinian region, and marched at the head of a large army into Syria. The sieges of Tyre and Jerusalem were formed simultaneously; but while Tyre resisted with great obstinacy, Jerusalem very soon succumbed. Jehoiakim fell into the hands of the invader and was executed. Nebuchadnezzar made no change in the natural order of succession and placed his son, Jehoiachin or Jeconiah upon the throne. But suspecting him of intending to revolt, the Great kings first sent an army against him and then, after a brief delay, came up in person against Jerusalem which was soon reduced to extremities and forced to

surrender. The Babylonian army entered the city, plundered the Temple and the royal palace of their treasures. A multitude of captives were seized and carried off, including the king and his wives and princes. The vacant throne of Judah was assigned to Mattaniah, the third son of Josiah. This Mattaniah took the new name Zedek-jah (= Righteousness of Jehovah") and is known in history as Zedekiah.

Zedekiah at first showed signs of his loyalty by sending a peaceable embassy to Babylon with advice to the Jewish exiles there to be quiet subjects of the Great King. He also went himself to Babylon in his fourth year, 594 BC, to disabuse the mind of his suzerain of any suspicions that he was entertaining regarding him, at the same time he sent ambassadors to Hophra, the new Pharaoh of Egypt, offering his alliance and asking for a large body of troops to be sent to his assistance. A secret treaty was probably made and about 589 BC, in the ninth year of his reign, the Jewish king took the last fatal step and openly revolted against his suzerain. Nebuchadnezzar immediately put his forces in motion and invested Jerusalem. After some time the Babylonian army entered the city and began an indiscriminate slaughter. Meanwhile the king with his bodyguard and wives escaped through a hidden gate. But some Jewish deserters, seeking to curry favour with the invaders, gave information of the flight and its direction. Immediate pursuit was made, and in the open Jordan plain the fugitives were overtaken and seized and carried to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah from where he was supervising the whole proceedings. There a Solemn trial was held and judgement pronounced. All the attendants and sons of Zedekiah were put to death and his own eyes were put out. He was then carried to Babylon and languished in a prison till the day of his death. We do not hear of any mass deportation of the Jewish tribes this time. The captives carried off in the previous reign were already there in Babylon. Ibn Kathīr's statement shows that the Babylonian monarch did not make a clean sweep and banish the whole Jewish tribes; he seized captives selectively from each tribe apparently without dislocating the tribes themselves. Ibn Kathīr (p.382) has the detail: 7000 from the David family; 11000 from the family of Joseph and his brother Binyāmīn, sons of Jacob; 8000 from 'Ishī b. Ya'qūb; 14000 from Zabalūn and Naftālī (sons of Yaq'ūb); 14000 from Wani; 8000 from Yastakher b. Ya'qūb; 2000 picked youth from Zabalūn b. Ya'qūb; 4000 from Robel and Lāwī families; 12000 from other families of Israel. This gives us an aggregate of 80,000 individuals of which 68,000 were taken from eight tribes and 12000 at random. In three cases two tribes are counted together; if separated, it will raise the number of tribes to eleven. These tribes were still there in Palestine in the time of

Jehoiachin when this multitude of captives comprising 80,000 souls were seized. Mas'ūdi (1964 vol.1: 61) also gives the same numbers. Thereafter the Jews returned to Palestine in the time of Cyrus, without getting lost anywhere. In view of this the perception with regard to the "Lost Ten Tribes" appear to be a sheer myth and should not be taken seriously.

3.3. Irmīā and Barkhiā

Equally baseless is Ni'amat Ullah's statement that Irmīā and Barkhiā, the alleged progenitors of the Afghān people, were posthumously born sons of Tālūt (or Saul) from two different wives. Ibn al-Aṭḥīr on whose works Ni'amat Ullah professedly based his account, mention different parents for Irmīā and Barkhiā – there is no mention of Tālūt at all. Thus Irmīā was the son of Khalqiā (Ibn al-Aṭḥīr 1979: 1, 269; Ibn al-Kaṭḥīr 1987: 2, 379), and Barkhiā, son of Haniā or Ahaniā (Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, op.cit: 271). Ibn al-Kaṭḥīr (op.cit: 400), on the authority of the Ḥāfiz, Abū al-Qāsim, also gives the name of Barkhiā's son, Zakariya, one of the prophets of the Bani Isra'el. At page 365, he mentions the name of another son of Barkhiā, Āsif, who was one of those ghosts (jinns) who believed in God, and who offered to Solomon to pick up Bilqīs, the Queen of Sheba, from her country and present her along with her throne in his honour, when Solomon, having heard about the great pomp and show and vanities she was living in, made up his mind to possess and fetch her by fair means or fowl. Qazwīni (1364: 49) says that Āsif bin Barkhiā, the vizier prayed and the Most High God presented the throne of Bilqīs in the court of Solomon. It is remarkable that Afghana bin Irmīā, the alleged ancestor of the Afghāns, is mentioned nowhere. Neither in the Hebrew literature the name Afghana occurs anywhere (Elphinstone 1815: Vol.1, 207).

We have referred above to some of the notable European supporters of the Bani Israel origin for the Pakhtūns or Afghāns and to the fact that the first among these worthy men was Willian Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta. We have also noted that European scholarship with regard to the Pakhtūns at the time was still in its infancy and depended for information upon such works as *Makhzan-i Afghāni* of Ni'amat Ullah and *Tārīkh-i Murassa* of Afzal Khān Khaṭak and other such works, which with a view to encountering the propaganda unleashed at the Mughal court at Delhi by certain people, who of course had their own axes to grind, at the expense of the Afghān people. They told amusing stories regarding the origin of the Pakhtūns, which may have caused momentary giggle among the nobility but had no

foundation in history. Ni'amat Ullah's reply was prompt. He thought of ennobling the Pakhtūns by linking their origin with the Bani Israel, allegedly the "Chosen People" of God, and quite surprisingly, instead of basing his thesis on historical records, he proceeded to amend them to achieve his objective, in such a clever way as nobody could detect it, as he assumed. The subsequent Pakhtūn writers, elated at the noble lineage, never questioned it. When European writers first came into contact with the Pakhtūns they found this piece of information in the Pakhtūn historical works and accepted it as a truthful account and strengthened it by adding more arguments in its favour.

William Jones who was inclined to believe this supposed descent came out with four reasons in support of it. These reasons were found unsatisfactory by Mountstuart Elphinstone (1992, Vol.1: 207, ft.) who rejected them thoroughly. These are as follows:

1. The first argument is drawn from the resemblance of the name of Hazārah to Arsareth, the country whither the Jews are said by Esdras, a Jewish Prophet, to have retired. But the Hazārahs who gave their name to the region they occupy in Afghānistān have recently reached there. Therefore if there is any resemblance between Hazārah and Arsereth, it is superficial.
2. The second argument is built on the traditions found in Afghān works and on the assertion of Persian historians, but traditions unsupported by circumstantial evidence, do not inspire confidence.
3. The third is founded on the Semitic names of the Afghāns, but such names are found everywhere in Muslim countries and are based upon Arabic nomenclature. In fact the most ancient Afghān names have absolutely no resemblance to those of the Jews or Arabs.
4. The last argument is based upon a supposed resemblance between Pashto and Chaldaic (Semitic) languages. Roshan Khān has recently attempted to demonstrate this with examples, but these are unsatisfactory and do no inspire faith.

Elphinstone (1992: 206) seems to have accepted the Bani Israel theory but half-heartedly. The theory is plausible, he remarks, and may be true; but when closely examined it will appear to rest on a vague tradition alone; and even that tradition is clouded with many inconsistencies and contradictions. Further on (p.207) he writes: "If we consider the easy faith with which all rude nations receive accounts favourable to their own antiquity, I fear we must class the descent of the Afghāns from the Jews with

that of the Romans and the British from the Trojans, and that of the Irish from the Mileneians or the Bramins".

Sir Olaf Caroe (1992: 5) draws attention to the inherent weakness of the argument advanced in favour of the Bani Israel theory: "The reference in the Afghān chroniclers to Nebuchadnezzar who invaded Jerusalem (586 BC) and not to Shalmanesser who invaded Sāmāria (721-22 BC) makes nonsense of any identification with the ten tribes. The truth is that Muslim commentators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not well up in the history of the Hebrews. They make no distinction between Israel and Judah, and do not seem even to be aware that there were two captivities". He then asks a very pertinent question: "When, for instance, let us ask, has a Jew, once a Jew, been known to forsake his Jewish faith? The theory (i.e. Bani Israel origin of the Afghāns) would have us believe that the sons of Afghana who went to Mecca remained true to their faith: not so those who went to Ghor. Nobody has ever suggested that the Afghāns of Ghor were practicing Jews up to the time of their conversion to Islām, or indeed at any time after their arrival in those parts".

Another opponent of the Bani Israel theory was the former Director of the Pashto Academy, University of Peshāwar, who in his work *Pushtūn Kaun (Pushtūn who?)*, took up each and every piece of evidence brought forward by Roshan Khān, the most recent advocate of this theory, and discussed it threadbare. We cannot reproduce even a summary of his arguments spread over mainly from 38 to 61 pages of his work for want of space. After giving full credit both to Ni'mat Ullah and Roshan Khān for their hard work (p.57), he concludes that Ni'mat Ullah's *Makhzan-i Afghāni*, designed as it was to counter the propaganda at the court of Jahāngīr (1605-1627), the Mughal emperor of India, it is more of the nature of a fable than a serious history book (p.54), and is full of contradictions. Roshan Khān, he says, has gone a step forward in collecting evidences from the Hebrew literature in support of this theory which also defend Ni'mat Ullah's thesis. But the evidences are not only vague and inconclusive but also self contradictory.

We have left out the Nordic, Georgian, Aramenian, Coptic, Turkish and Mongolian origin theories presented by certain writers for lack of serious and unbiased evidence. Prof. Dorn, of Kharkov, who has translated the *Makhzan-i Afghāni*, and has added many learned notes, discusses severally all the above mentioned theories cursorily; on considering all he concludes that the Pakhtūns cannot be traced to any

tribe or country beyond their presents seats, and the adjoining mountains (Elphinstone 1992, Vol.1; 209) This view comes closer to the Maulānā, Abdul Qādir's perception: Pushtūns are Pushtūns and nothing else (Khaṭak, 2005: 124) More will be said on this topic in the next chapter.

Pareshan Khaṭak's thesis (p.24) that the primary objective of the *Makhzan-i Afghāni* was to counter the anti-Afghān propaganda at the court of Jahāngīr (1605-1627) as evidenced in the curious story narrated by an Iranian ambassador (p.34), fails to address another important part of the question regarding the Bani Israel descent of the Afghān people. Roshan Khān has referred to certain writers whose works date from a time prior to the reign of Jahāngīr and were therefore not effected by this propaganda and yet, harping on the same tune, they mention the Bani Israel descent for the Pakhtūns. These writers include Abū Sulīmān Dāūd (717 H/AD 1317), Ibn-i Batūta (747 H/AD 1346), Ibrāhīm Betani, Shaikh Malli, Malik Aḥmad, Shaikh 'Abd al-Wāhid Bilgrāmi – all contemporary with the Mughal emperor Zahīr ad-Dīn Bābar (1526-1530), and Sa'adullah, Akhūnd Sālik, Akhūnd Sabāq and Akhūnd Darweza – all contemporary with the Mughal emperor Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar (1556 – 1605). All these writers considered the Afghāns Israeli by race and Muslim by faith (see Khaṭak 2005: 52). Pareshan Khaṭak's reply, formulated into a counter question: "Where are the earlier links of this story?" is just like beating about the bush and may not satisfy the advocates of this theory. It seems the tradition based on the Bani Israel descent of the Pakhtūns was already there, while Nī'mat Ullah merely tried to put it in a logical way.

CHAPTER - 4

PIECING TOGETHER THE PAST

4.1. The aboriginal population

Advancement in knowledge in the last century has enabled scholars to work out an outline not known previously of the history of ancient Afghānistān, Gandhāra and the Panjāb. The most outstanding features of this outline are foreign invasions, violent political upheavals, tribal conflicts, massive demographic changes and land grabbing. The information upon which this outline is based is no doubt scrappy, disjointed and sometimes elusive but scholarly ingenuity has succeeded in piecing it together at least on the macro level; on the micro level however there still remain riddles waiting for solution. One of these is related to the origin of the Pushtūn / Pakhtūn. Do they belong to the aboriginal inhabitants of these areas, or, did they enter the *pusht* of the Sulīmān range as colonists, and, if so, at what time still remains to be determined.

It is generally accepted that the most ancient, and still intact, human race in Afghānistān is represented by the so-called Kāfirs or Kailāsh now confined to the inaccessible mountain tops. H. H. Wilson's (1814: 178) observation in this regard is very interesting as it throws light on the ancient history of the Kailāsh people in general. From the country about Qandahār and Arkandāb (Arghandāb), he writes, Alexander came to the Indian races dwelling amongst the snows in a rugged country about Ghazni where the western heights of the Sulīmān Koh are blended with those of the Hazāras or Paropamisus. A little further on (p.187) he says "the identity of the Afghān clans with the mountain tribes of the days of Alexander is somewhat problematical". The Kāfirs, or people who dwell on the north of the Afghāns, he remarks (p.193), make wine; and old and young of both sexes amongst them drink it. They are very fond of drinking parties, and of music and dancing. They are not improbably the remains of tribes which in the time of Alexander inhabited the valleys now occupied by the Afghāns.

Elphinstone (ii, 1992: 377) has more details. The language of the "Kafirs", he says, does not support the view regarding their descent from the Greeks, neither do their traditions give us any distinct clue about their origin. The most general and the only credible story is, that they were expelled by the Muslims from the neighbourhood of and made several migrations from place to place, before they reached their present abode. They allege that originally they consisted of four tribes called Kamoze, Hilar,

Silar and Kamoje, of which the three former embraced Islām, but the fourth (Kamoje) retained its ancient faith and quitted its native country. They believe in one God, whom the Kāfirs of Kamdesh call *Imra*, and those of 'Tsokuee' *Dagun*; but they also worship numerous idols, which they say represent great men of former days, who intercede with God in favour of their worshippers.

There are several languages among the Kāfirs, but they all have many words in common, and all have a near connection with Sanskrit (Elphinstone, op.cit. : 376). This also applies, Elphinstone further remarks, to the Lamghāni and Degganee (Dehqāni) language which seems to be a Kāfir dialect and gives reason to suppose the Lamghānis and Dehqānis to be Kāfirs, converted to Islām. The inhabitants of the Kohistān of Kābul, he says, also had the same origin, as the name Kohistāni is applied to all the lately converted Kāfirs.

The Kamoje developed several branches over the centuries now found as separate tribes of which Elphinstone gives a long list. One of these, perhaps converted to Islām, is known as Pashā and is stated to live in the Kohistān of Kābul. Marching through this Kuhistān in winter Bābur found it difficult to trace the road to Kābul because of heavy snow and even his Pashāi guide, Pīr Sulṭān, could not help much (Beveridge 1987: 304). Burnes (1961: 304) gives a specimen of the "Pushye" (Pashāi) language. A certain degree of similarity between *pusht* and *Pashā* may be taken to suggest that the Koh-i Sulīmān was the native country of the Pashāias from which they were driven out perhaps by the ancestors of the modern Pushtūn / Pakhtūn tribes.

4.2. The Ād or Ādh

Another branch of the "Kāfir" tribes named Ād or Ādh, lived in the land presently marked by the Kohāt district. The name comes from the traditional history of Kohāt and also from the ruins of an ancient fort called Adh-i Samūt, situated north of the village Muḥammad zai to the west of Kohāt. The actual name was most probably Hād or Hod corrupted apparently by the Muslims into 'Ādh-i Samūt (correctly 'Ād-o Samūd) of the *Qurān* (chap.vii). The traditional account mentions two rulers – rāja Adh and rāja Kohāt – who belonged to the time of Budhism. The account is no doubt absolutely the vaguest but it has a grain of truth and, at least partly, it does echo the past. It blundered only in that it did not take into account the actual meaning of Kohāt. The modern name is certainly a corrupted form of the name Koh Ād or Ādh which in

every day speech, was changed into Kohād (Koh Ād) and Kohāt, meaning "the Ād or Ādh mountain". Thus there was no separate rāja of the name of Kohāt.

4.3. The Bhils

Another significant name is Bīgrām. Beveridge (1987: 230 and n.2) informs us that four ancient sites not far removed from one another, bear this name, viz., those near Hūpiān, Kābul, Jalālābād and Peshāwar. The name is differently interpreted by scholars. "Begrām itself I would identify with the Kiu-lu-sa-pang or Karsawana of the Chinese pilgrim (Xuan Zong), the Karsana of Ptolomy, and Cartana of Pliny" (Cunningham 1990: 17). According to Beal (1969: 95, n.48) both Bēgrām and Nagara appear to mean "the city". A. H. Dani (1969: 4) prefers the form Bagrām instead of Bīgrām and says "that the name consists of two original Sanskrit words Vara (best) and grama (village). In course of time varagrāma got corrupted into Bagrām". He also refers to Charles Masson who "derives the word from the Turki *bī* or *bē* and the Hindi grām". Gopāl Dās (1874: 141) gives an even more hypothetical interpretation. He records a tradition that a Hindū raja called Bigrām rebuilt the city (of Peshāwar) and named it after him.

In our view Bīgrām is an abbreviated form of the original Bhīlgrām, meaning "Bhīl village". There is a well known city in India known as Bilgrām, the present centre of the Bhīl tribe. Bhīls and Gonds are generally considered to be the most ancient races of South Asia. The former have, like many other races, left behind their traces in place names on the route they followed from Afghānistān to central India – their present abode. Another form of this name is Bhīlwāl (present Bhalwāl), a Tehsil headquarters of the district Sargodha (Panjāb) and well known for the production of great quantities of Kinno (orange).

The inaccessibility of their mountains and the recesses of the silent pine forests helped the Kailāsh in protecting their independence, but, on the adverse side, it denied them the benefits of cultural advancements made in the surrounding plains which their brethren on the outskirts found it convenient to pick up and learn the arts of building structures and writing. Such is the case of the mountain Bar Charhāi (literally upper ascent) marked on one side by the Tālāsh valley (lower Dīr) and on the others by the confluence of the rivers Swāt and Panjkora and the Adīnzai valley. The narrow glens of this mountain appear to have once been enlivened by a series of stupas and monasteries and two huge forts of which the defensive walls still stand to great height

at places and show diaper as well as ashlar masonry. Two inscriptions showing late Gupta and early Śāradā characters of about the seventh / eight century AD have been found there. One of these is now lying in the Peshāwar University Museum and the other (bearing number 94) in the Lahore Museum Reserve collection. It was found near "Ghagai" (perhaps Ghākhai meaning "spur") north-east of the village Bādwān on the Swāt river side of the mountain. It reads:

Sam vat 9 Jyestha māsa mahā Śri Hammīra rajye (year 9, month May – June, in the reign of Mahā Śri Hammīra).

4.4. The Awdāls

Major Raverty's account of Kāfiristān and its people contains some interesting details. He mentions the invasions of the Sulṭān, Maḥmūd of Ghazna and of the Amīr, Tīmūr who are said to have successfully penetrated into some of the darrahs but it was impossible for them to hold these places permanently. Neither could they conquer the whole of Kāfiristān. "The first time these identical Kāfiri tribes are distinctly mentioned by name in history as far as I can discover", Raverty (1976: 135-36) remarks "is in the time of the Amīr, Tīmūr-i- Gūrgān, who made a raid upon them when (800H/ AD 1398) on his way to Kābul to invade Hindūstān". Basing his information on the *Zafar Nāmah*, he further adds: "The Kāfirs of this region are like the tribe of 'Ad, and of robust and powerful frame ... The chief or greatest person among them – their god possibly – they style 'Udā – 'Udāo-Shū... The *Rauzat-us-Safā* (of Mīrkhwānd) has 'Adā-Shū only, and they have a separate and distinct language different from Pārsi (Persian), Turki and Hindi, and they understand no other language than their own". On the preceding page (134), he records a general but very interesting statement: "The Kāfiri tribes have no history of their own, as far as I have been able to discover. According to the traditions preserved among them, however, they affirm that coeval with the spread of Islāmism in this part of Asia, they occupied the countries to the south of their present territory and were subsequently compelled to seek for liberty and safety from the insupportable tyranny of their Muḥammadan neighbours, whom they designate Awdāl, among the mountains and valleys of Hindūkōh. They would appear, therefore, to be the remnant, or a portion, of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country south of the Kābul river – more likely to be the veritable Paktues."

A curious error seems to have been made in recording the name 'Ada-Shū or 'Udā-Shū (of which other variants are Ghadā-Shū and Gadah-Shū). The initial letter in these names is 'ain (ء) – a characteristic Arabic sound – foreign to the languages of these areas, and unlikely to be found in the distant Hindū Kush, unless, of course, we include the Kafirs as well in the much trumpeted Lost Ten Tribes. The actual form seems Hadā or Hudā which may be an archaic form of the Persian Khudā and the European God. Equally interesting is the designation Awdāl, recorded by Masson as Odal (see Raverty 1976: 134 n).

There is absolutely no doubt that Awdāl is basically the same as Ephthalite or Hephthalite of some Roman historians. It is based upon the same pattern as a Lāhori (resident of Lahore) is called a Lāhorite, or a Peshāwari (resident of Peshāwar) a Peshāwarite. Now, if the ending *ite* is removed from the name Hephthalite, what we shall be left with is merely Hephthal. Arab historians, owing to their own linguistic peculiarity, term it as Haitāl (of which the plural form is Hayātilah) and Persian writers as Haftāli. Theophylactus Simocatta (Biswas: 1973: 16) mentions this name as *Abdele* which is in total accord with the Pashto name Abdāli. Aḥmad Shāh Abdāli, the first ruler who laid the foundation of modern Afghānistān, as suggested by his designation Abdāli, was ethnically an Hephthalite / Ephthalite. The credit of changing this designation and adopting the title of Durrāni, on the recommendation of his *pīr* (spiritual guide) also goes to him.

The fact that Muslims are styled Awdāl by the Kailāsh (or Kāfirs) clearly suggests that Ephthalite tribes were the first to encroach upon their territories, and then whosoever came afterwards, including the Muslims, was given the same name. We shall give a brief sketch of the history of the Ephthalates in its proper place to find out how this encroachment might have started but it was certainly not coeval with the expansion of Islām. Certain tribes who professed Islām as their religion did encroach further but they were certainly not the first to do this.

4.5. The A'wāns

Another ethnic group which seems to have penetrated deep into the Koh-i Sulīmān in remote past and whose existence may still be evidenced in the Shalūzān (or Sankurān) and Zerān valleys of Tīrāh (see Raverty 1976: 81) is known by the general designation A'wān or Āwān, the majority of whom now dwell in the Sind-Sāgar Doābah of the Panjāb. Apparently the real home of these people was Elam presently

known as Khozistān, a south western province of Iran. Its proximity to Babylonia greatly affected the course of its history and was the major cause of semitic influence which seems to have dominated at Susa. It was Sargon the Elder (C. 2530 BC) who, after having obtained control of Chaldaea, conquered Elam for the dynasty of Agade (see Pope, Vol. 1, 1958: 143-45). Elam at that time was ruled by the eighth King of the A'wān dynasty, of which there were four subsequent kings who ruled under the house of Agade. The transcription of a tablet found in 1930-32 excavations gives the names of twelve kings of the A'wān dynasty and twelve kings of the Simāsh dynasty. The last king of A'wān was Puzur Shushinak, who was responsible for sculpture and for lapidary texts in two scripts – semitic and proto-Elamite (*Ibid*). Sārgon's third successor Nārām-sin (C. 2500 BC), pillaged Susa and carried off to Sippar the statue of the goddess Nanā. A vice-regent was appointed who governed Susa (*Ibid*).

This vice-regent, Puzur Inshushinak by name, slowly and gradually fostered a national movement and Elam soon took the offensive (Ghirshman 1961: 53-57). On the death of Nārām-sin, Puzur Inshushinak proclaimed his independence. Towards the middle of the second millennium Babylon was overwhelmed by the Gutī. It would seem that Elam also did not escape this calamity. For more than a century the Gutī remained as barbarous masters. Resistance slowly formed against them was led by the new dynasty of Ur. But this dynasty did not last for long; little more than a century after its rise, the last king was defeated and carried off to captivity in the mountains. This time the conqueror came from a different direction, the kingdom of Simāsh, probably situated in the mountains to the west of Isfahān (*Ibid*).

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century the Kassites arrived in force and seized Babylon. Their domination, the largest foreign occupation known in Mesopotamia, lasted 576 years, not ending until 1171 BC. The Kāssi tribe in Balūchistān (Pakistan) may be a portion of the same Kassites. The overthrow of the Kassites was the work of Babylonian forces. Elam was the first to revive while the Kassites were still firmly in occupation of Babylonia, and once again it delivered the final blow (Ghirshman, *Op.cit*: 66). At the beginning of the thirteenth century BC, a new dynasty established itself in Elam, which with the caliber of rulers like Shutruk Nahhunte, Kutir Nahhunte, and Shilhak-Inshushinak, marks the golden age of Elam.

At the end of the second millennium Elam disintegrated (*Ibid*). Meanwhile Babylon and Assyria got entangled in a long rivalry for domination in Western Asia.

Practically nothing is known about Elam during these centuries beyond the fact that the struggle with Assyria flared up sporadically. The rising power of a new dynasty at Babylon under their eminent ruler Nabo Chadnezzer not only finally put an end to the Assyrian domination but also smashed Elam and seized Susa. The lack of records coincides with the eclipse of the Elamite Kingdom; developments at home and abroad seem seriously to have disturbed the country. The establishment of new ethnic elements, Persian or Aramean tribes who had long been settled on the left bank of the Tigris, almost certainly contributed to the weakness and decline of Elam (op.cit: 118-19).

In the account given above there is no mention of the A'wān migration from Elam to the Sind Sāgar Doābah via the Tirāh hills – off – shoots of the Koh-i Sulīmān. But it is not unlikely, for, many of the Balūch tribes in Pakistan trace their origin from the same vicinity. In fact a number of the Balūch tribes such as Mari, Buledi, Mahīri, Jamāli, Azdi and Namari have their exact counterparts in Arab tribes such as al-Mari, al-Buledi, al-Jamāli, Azdi, Mahīri, al-Namari etc. (see Balūch, 1980 Vol.1: 46-47). But, while the Balūch migrations are said to have taken place in the fifteenth century AD we have no clue regarding the time of the A'wān migration. As an approximate guess one may say that it coincided with Nabo Chadnezzer's invasion of Elam in about the sixth century BC and his unjustified policy of deporting notable Elamite families to Palestine. The scare this policy might have created was a sufficient reason to convince the A'wān/A'wāns to look for a safer place. Mountains were the only place which could provide security. They could not take shelter in the Zagros for it was already under the influence of Chaldaea. They therefore moved straight to the Koh-i Sulīmān and then, perhaps after a short stay, shifted to the Sind-Sāgar Doābah, or were driven out from the Tirāh (literally a place of pilgrimage) by a more powerful tribe moving in the same direction in their rear.

4.6. The Indo – Āryans

Another demographic turmoil was created by the appearance or perhaps outburst in the second millennium BC by Indo-European bands from their original home lying somewhere in the vast stretch of land extending from Central Asia to Southern Russia. The new comers, according to Ghirshman (1961: 60-61), played a relatively small part on the scene. In the course of their migration they apparently split into two groups. One which Ghirshman calls the western branch, rounded the black sea,

and, after crossing the Balkans and the Bosphorus, penetrated into Asia Minor, settling among Asianic peoples who appear to have been the original inhabitants of the country. They rapidly became a dominant element in the population, and formed a Hittite confederation. The Hittites, having established themselves firmly, absorbed a number of neighbouring kingdoms, notably those of the Hurrians and the rulers of Mitanni; this brought them face to face with Egypt.

The eastern branch, known as the Indo-Iranians, moved eastwards round the Caspian sea. One group crossed the Caucasus and pushed as far as the great bend of the Euphrates. There they settled among the indigenous Hurrians, a people of Asianic origin, and after sometime formed the kingdom of Mitanni. The greatest period of this kingdom was 1450 BC. At the end of the fourteenth century the political dynasty disappeared. The Indo-European element had been absorbed by the Hurrians leaving behind its vestiges only of its religion and the names of gods of its pantheon. A treaty concluded between a king of the Hittites and a ruler of Mitanni mentions Mithra, Varuna, Indra and Nasaty – all divinities known among the Indo-Europeans, who, about the same time settled in India; certain of their gods are also known among the Hittites and Kassites. The Indo-Iranians also left treatises on the training of horses.

A branch of these warrior horsemen moved along the folds of the central Zagros. They settled there as an active minority and seem to have been quickly assimilated by the mass of the Kassite people of Asianic origin. The Indo-European element infused with a dynamic force greatly helped the Hittites and the rulers of Mitanni, and the same happened with the Kassites who established a kingdom, the longest known in Mesopotamia, extending over 576 years.

Finally the bulk of the tribes, forming the eastern branch of the Indo-European movement, slowly passed eastwards, crossed transoxiana and the Oxus, the modern Amū-Daryā, and settled in the Bactrian plain. Sometime in the second half of the second millennium BC, they scaled the passes of the Hindū Kush and, following the classic route of the invaders of India, descended along the Panjshīr and Kābul rivers. R. N. Fry (1976: 49) has aptly remarked: "The mountain folk of the Hindū Kush in this early period were probably undergoing Indianisation from the south and east and Iranisation roughly from the north and west".

Having penetrated into the Peshāwar valley (to which they gave the name Gandhāra) and the Panjāb (Land of Five Rivers), they settled down and composed

hymns in honour of their gods who had been so helpful in winning the land for them from the indigenous people whom they called *Dāsa* or *Dasyu*, meaning "slave". This obviously was not the real designation by which the natives were known but just an outburst of contempt on the part of the conquerors against the conquered. For themselves the Indo-Europeans, now designated by modern scholars as Indo-Āryans, used the term *Ārya* ("noble").

There is no definite information regarding the ethnic stock these *Dāsas* belonged to, though it is generally assumed that they were Dravidians also called *Tāmils*. S. K. Chatterji (1951: 158) remarks that the oldest form of the word *Tāmil* or *Drāvida* was probably "Dramila" or "Dramiza". Tracing the origin of the Dravidians, now mainly centered in South India and partly in Balūchistān, to the eastern Mediterranean region, he says, that the Lydians of Asia Minor, a pre-Indo-European people, called themselves in their inscriptions *Tṛmmili*. He also draws attention to Herodotus' statement that the Lysians originally came from the island of Crete, and that in Crete the pre-Hellenic Asianic peoples were known by a name which the Greeks wrote as *Termilai*. It would not perhaps be too much to assume, he further remarks, that some at least of the Dravidian speakers of India who came ultimately from the eastern Mediterranean tracts brought with them one of their national or tribal appellations *Termilai* – *Tṛmmili* – *Dramiza*, which became transformed into the modern name *Tāmil* by the middle of the first millennium AD. The culture world presented by Dravidian (*Tāmil*) linguistic paleontology, he goes on to say, gives a fairly high background of civilization, which can be compared with what has been unearthed at Mohenjodaro and Harappa.

These were the people the Āryans in the Panjāb were face to face with. Nevertheless they ultimately won and became masters of the vast fertile plains needed for grazing their cattle. It is in the Panjāb that they composed their Vedas – the earliest of which was the *Rigveda*. Its name suggests that the *mantras* (formulae) included in it were meant to be recited loudly (*Rik*). The *Rigveda* is neither an historical nor an heroic poem, but mainly a collection of hymns by a number of priestly families, recited or chanted by them with appropriate solemnity at sacrifices to the gods. Naturally it was poor in historical data. Most of the hymns included in it, B K. Ghosh (1951: 227) remarks, were not composed as such, but were mechanically manufactured out of fragments of a floating anonymous literature, and the process of manufacturing hymns in this manner must have continued for a long time. On linguistic grounds, he further

adds, the language of the Rigveda may be said to be of about 1000 BC, but its contents in the oldest parts are of a much more ancient date and its latest parts are surely of much later date. We conclude this brief introduction to the Rigveda, in which some tribal names of our interest have been found, with the remarks of R. N. Frye (1976: 26): "We must not forget that the hymns written down later by the Brahmans to glorify the Brahman caste or their warrior patrons, and an idealized picture may be what we have rather than a source for the actual situation in Rig Vedic times". And idealized is indeed every detail which we are going to give below regarding the "Battle of the Ten Kings" mentioned in the Rigveda.

The river Rāvi was the dividing line between the two opposing camps. On the right bank gathered the ten kings comprising the five well-known tribes, viz. Pūru, Yadu, Turvas, Anu, and Druhyu, along with five of little note, viz. Alina, Paktha, Bhalānas, Śiva and Vishānin, and, on the left bank Sudās, the Bharat king of the Tritsu family which was settled in the country later to be known as Brāhmavarta. After a great bloodshed Sudās emerged successful. The Anu and Druhyu kings were drowned, while Purukutsa of the Pūrus met his death. The cause why this battle took place was a flimsy affair. Viśvāmitra, the family priest of Sudās somehow fell out of favour so that the king replaced him with another priest, named Vasishtha. There upon a long and bitter rivalry ensued between the two priests, and, in order to avenge the disgrace Viśvāmitra organized a tribal confederacy to attack Sudās, resulting, as we have seen above, in a disastrous defeat for him.

Five of the ten tribes are pretty well known but who were the Alina, Paktha, Bhalānas, Śiva and Vishānin, nobody knows. It has been guessed that Pakthas lived in the hills from which the river Krumu (Kurru) originates. Another guess locates them in eastern Afghānistān, identifying them with the modern Pushtūns; south of the Pakthas stretched the Bhalānas. The Vishānins, we are told, were like their allies a tribe of the north west located further down between the Kurru and Gomafī (Gomal). The Alinas, it has been suggested, came from the north-eastern part of Kāfiristān and were close allies of the Pakthas and certainly the enemies of Sudās. The Śivas lived between the Sindhu (Indus) and Vitastā (Jhelam) in the Vedic period (Pusalker: 1951: 247).

Was it possible for the poor Viśvāmitra to travel all the way to eastern Afghānistān and then visit what we call the tribal areas, dangerous and difficult of access even today? Moreover the Pakhtūns were no where near eastern Afghānistān

(present Jalālābād) even in the tenth century AD what to speak of the second half of the second millennium BC. Similarly, what benefits could the people of Kāfiristān have expected to derive from participating in a distant clash of arms on the banks of the Rāvi? Did they think that their Hindū Kush was in danger and as a precautionary measure it was necessary to nip the evil in the bud? It is all funny: apparently a tribal clash has been blown up out of all proportions, and given the appearance of a world war. Let us not forget that early Indo-Āryan society was rampant with inter tribal clashes of the kind we find on the banks of the Ravi. The identification of Pakthas with Pakhtūns is therefore untenable.

Paktues (Pakthas) or Pactyans are also mentioned by Herodotus (1973: 467, 471). Giving some details regarding the Pactyan contingent in the army of the Achaemenian emperor Xerxes who invaded Greece in 480 BC, he remarks: "The Utians and Myci under the command of Arsamenes, son of Darius, and the Paricanians under Oeobazus' son Siromitres were equipped, like the Paktyans, with leather jackets, bows and daggers. The Pactyan commander was Artayntes, the son of Ithamitres" (p.467). At page 471 he adds: "A nomad tribe called Sagartians, a people who spoke Persian and dress in a manner half Persian, half Pactyan". Throwing light on the country of the Paktues, called Pactica, he informs us: "There is another (Indian) tribe which behaves very differently: they will not take life in any form; they sow no seed, and have no houses and live on a vegetable diet. There is a plant which grows wild in their country, and has seeds in a pod about the size of millet seeds; they gather this, and boil and eat it, pod and all. In this tribe, a sick man will leave his friends and go away to some deserted spot to die – and nobody gives a thought either to his illness or death.

"All the Indian tribes I have mentioned copulate in the open like cattle; their skins are all of the same colour, much like the Ethiopians. Their semen is not white like other peoples, but black like their own skins – the same peculiarity is to be found in the Ethiopians. Their country is a long way from Persia towards the south, and they were never subject to Darius.

"There are other Indians further north, round the city of Caspatyrus and in the country of Pactyica, who in their mode of life resemble the Backtrians. These are the most warlike of the Indian tribes and it is they who go out to fetch the gold – for in this region there is a sandy desert. There is found in this desert a kind of ant of great size – bigger than a fox, though not so big as a dog. Some specimens, which were caught

there, are kept at the palace of the Persian king ..." (p.246). He then goes on to describe how the ants burrow underground and throw up sand mixed with gold particles which is collected by the Indians when they make their expeditions into the desert. With regard to the precise location of this desert, he says: "Eastward of India lies a desert of sand; indeed of all the inhabitants of Asia of whom we have any reliable information, the Indians are the most easterly – beyond them the country is uninhabitable desert" (p.245).

At another place (pp.284-85) he says: "The greater part of Asia was discovered by Darius. He wanted to find out where the Indus joins the sea – the Indus is the only river other than the Nile where crocodiles are found – and for this purpose sent off on an expedition down the river a number of men whose word he could trust. Led by a Caryandian named Scylax, the expedition sailed from Caspatyrus in the district of Pactyica, following the course of the river eastward until it reached the sea..."

It can be judged from the above statements that Herodotus' knowledge about India was extremely defective. We have seen above that long before the time of Herodotus (fifth century BC) India, excepting the south, had been occupied by the fair – skinned Āryan tribes. The pockets of the earlier black skinned Dravidian or Tamil population may have remained intact here and there, but were obviously very few. And yet Herodotus compares them with the Ethiopians. We do not intend to malign the great man who is very often referred to as the "father of history", though some of his own people, hardly half a generation younger, did not subscribe to this perception and gave him a different name: the "father of lies" rather than of history (Burn 1973: 10), but the fact remains that anyone sitting in a distant land (Halicarnassus in Asia Minor) and writing in so remote an age (fifth century BC) when India was just opening up to the west through the Achaemenians, could not have done better. Be it as it may, our objective is merely to set the record straight. What follows is a short summary of the main points found in the above statements of Herodotus.

Of all the inhabitants of Asia, the Indians are the most easterly and culturally the most backward. Eastward of India lies a great desert of sand utterly uninhabitable by humans. Just like the Ethiopians, the Indians are black skinned. There are other Indians further north round the city of Caspatyrus and in the country of Packtyica, who in there mode of life resemble the Bactrians. These are the most warlike of the Indian tribes, and it is they who go to fetch the gold – for in this region there is a sandy desert

in which a kind of ant bigger than a fox is found. These ants while burrowing holes throw up sand having gold particles. This sand is collected by the Pactyans and quickly taken away. Noteworthy is the location of Caspatyrus in the desert and so also of the country of Pactyica. Quite in contradiction of this statement, at another place, he says, that the admiral Scylax (of Caryanda) in the service of the Achaemenian emperor Darius sailed down from Caspatyrus in the district of Pactyica, following the course of the river eastward until it reached the sea. Excepting perhaps the expedition of Scylax, corroborated by other sources, the rest appears to be all junk, creation of Herodotus' own imagination. Neither does the river Indus flow eastward, nor is there any desert in which the city of "Caspatyrus in the country of Pactyica" was situated.

The close resemblance between the names Pakhtha (Rigveda), Pactyan (or Paktuike) with Paktiā – the name of an Afghān province – may not be without any significance. We have noted above that the identification of Pakthas or Pactyan with Pushtūn is untenable for the simple reason that the latter had not yet appeared upon the scene. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that Paktha or Pactyan was the name of a pre-Āryan Kāfir tribe evicted from Paktiā – their homeland – possibly by the A'wāns about the sixth century BC, on their way to the Sind – Sāgar doāb. These pre-Āryan Pactyans may have extended their control to the Peshāwar valley, just like the Dilazāks and Yūsufzais did later.

4.7. The Scythians

Herodotus appears to be comparatively better informed regarding the history of the lands nearer his own home (i.e. Ionia), than the distant Indian frontier of the Achaemenian empire. In the vast stretch of land to the north and east of the Balck sea and the Caspian, it appears from his account, there lived three important nomadic tribes, viz., the Cimmerians, the Scythians and the Massagetae whose style of living was more or less the same. They were good fighters and moved around in their wagons which served as their homes. The Massagetae were like the Scythians and used both infantry and cavalry in their fights. They had archers and spearmen and were accustomed to carrying the "Sagari", or bill (p.127). The Scythians were the most uncivilized in the world. One thing particular about them was that if they wished to avoid engaging with an enemy, they just disappeared in the wilderness and the enemy could not by any possibility come to grips with them. The Cimmerians lived along with shores of the Balck Sea in the land known as Cimmeria (p.276).

The mutual hostility of these tribes – a war of attrition – continued all the time. The Massagetae pressed the Scythians and pushed them across the river Araxes (which debouches into the Caspian on the west) in the land once inhabited by the Cimmerians (p.274) who in turn moved into Media (central Iran). It is clear, Herodotus remarks, that the Cimmerians entered into Asia (Minor) to escape the Scythians (p.275). The reason why the Scythians in the course of their pursuit (of the Cimmerians) entered Median territory, he goes on to say, was that they took the wrong route by mistake; for whereas the Cimmerians kept along with coast, the Scythians took the inland route, keeping the Caucasus on their right, until they found themselves in Media (p.275). As a result a battle took place, in which the Medes were defeated and lost their power in Asia, which was taken over in its entirety by the Scythians who held the country in their grip for twenty eight years (p.84).

During the years of Scythian supremacy in Asia, violence and neglect of law led to absolute chaos. At last Cyaxares, the vanquished Media King and the Medes invited the greater number of the Scythians to a banquet, at which they made them drunk and murdered them, and in this way recovered their former power and dominion (p.85). A section of the Scythians called Sacae would seem to have moved to the land east of the Caspian. Sacae is the name, Herodotus (p.467) informs us, the Persians give to all Scythian tribes.

During Darius' invasion of Scythia, the tribes which decided to stand by the Scythians included Geloni and Budini, but Tauri and some other tribes excused themselves (p.309). The Geloni, Herodotus says (p.306) were originally Greeks, who, driven out of the seaports along with coast, settled among the Budini. Their language in his time was still half Scythian, half Greek. The language of the Budini was quite different, as, indeed, was their culture generally. The Budini were a pastoral people whereas the Giloni cultivated the soil, ate grain and kept gardens. The Gilonis (present Gilāni or Jilāni) settled in Iran, but the Budini and Tauri moved to Afghānistān as we shall see below.

4.8. Achaemenians

Once again we hear of the Massagetae in the reign of Cyrus, the famous Achaemenian emperor (530-559 BC). According to the story recorded by Herodotus (pp.125-27), having crossed the river Araxes, Cyrus engaged the Massagetae but

suffered defeat and was killed in the battle. The greater part of the Persian army was destroyed.

Cambyses (530-522 BC), the son and successor of Cyrus was throughout his reign too involved in the affairs of Egypt to avenge the death of his father. But Darius (522-486) did undertake a campaign against the Scythians. The Achaemenian army passed over the straits on a boat bridge, conquered eastern Thrace and the Getae, and in search of the Scythians crossed the Danube on a bridge built by the Ionians. But harassed by the elusive Scythians, who disappeared as swiftly as they came, Darius decided to turn back. By the time of Xerxes, who succeeded Darius, the relations with the Scythians had improved, for, we find a Sacae contingent in his army (see Herodotus: p.467). The Sacae (a Scythian people) wore trousers and tall pointed hats set upright on their heads, and were armed with the bows of their country, daggers, and the *sagaris*, or battle-axe.

4.9. Alexander

The last of the Achaemenian emperors, Darius III Codomannus was defeated in 331 BC by Alexander, the Great, at the battlefield of Gaugamela, "the pasturage of camels", near Arbela in the foothills of the Assyrian mountains. Darius fled to Ecbatana, though his destination was Bactria, but he was stabbed to death, some say, by Bessus, viceroy of Bactria. With the end of the Achaemenian empire, the Iranian world entered into a new phase of its history characterized by Hellenistic influences. The creation of new centres, under the general name Alexandria, at strategic and economic points attracted a large western *clientele* among the soldiers and officials, and also before long among the Iranians, who were won over by the way of life of the Hellenes and Macedonians (Ghirshman 1961: 219). But Alexander's early death in 323 BC plunged the newly won empire into murderous struggles between his former generals for forty years. Alexander's ideal of uniting the peoples into a single comity by the renunciation of their nationalism was forgotten. After the battle of Ispur (301 BC) the political organization of the world was stabilized with the formation of three kingdoms: a Macedonian monarchy in Europe; a Ptolemaic monarchy in Egypt; and a Seleucid monarchy in Asia headed by Seleucus.

4.10. The Seleucids

Seleucus tried to reorganize the political, administrative and economic foundations of his empire and founded two capital cities, Seleucia on the Tigris which took the place of Babylon, and Antioch, after the name of his son Antiochus, on the Orontes in Syria, linked by a "royal road". As long as his successors remained in possession of the eastern capital, the Kingdom could look forward with hope to the future.

The capture of Seleucia by the Parthians a century and a half later reduced the empire to a small Syrian state that was soon absorbed by Rome. Seleucus' attempt, early in his career, to recover Alexander's Indian possessions cost him dearly. He was defeated by Chandragupta of the newly rising Mauryan dynasty and had to cede territories including the Kābul valley and Qandahār (actually Arachosia) in addition to the hand of his daughter in return for some elephants. After his death the empire began to disintegrate. Under Antiochus I (280-261 BC) the first signs of weakness appeared, and it is generally considered that Persia became almost independent. The reign of his successor, Antiochus II (261-246), was marked by series of territorial losses, Bactria beginning to break away and Parthia with Hyrcania seceding about 249-248 BC. Later a certain Greek named Diodotus, who was satrap of Bactria during the reigns of Antiochus II (c. 250 BC) and Seleucus II (c. 239 BC) gradually made himself independent of his Seleucid overlords. On his death, his son (Diodotus II) openly assumed a royal title, allying himself with the enemies of the Seleucids in about 225 BC (Ghirshman 1961: 222).

4.11. The Greeks in Bactria and India

Diodotus II was overthrown by Euthydemus in whose reign Bactria was besieged by Antiochus III. Euthydemus' argument that he was himself not a rebel and that he had rather exterminated the "real rebels" (i.e. The Diodotids) appears to have made the desired impact on Antiochus who agreed to negotiate a peace compact. Antiochus received the young prince (Demetrius, son of Euthydemus), and judging from his appearance, conversation and dignity of his manners that he was worthy of royal power, he firstly promised to give him one of his own daughters, and secondly conceded the royal title to his father (Majumdar 1960: 449). Euthydemus was succeeded by his son Demetrius. Strabo (xi, xi, i) quoting from Apollodorus of Artemita, says that among the Greek kings who conquered India, Menander and Demetrius played

an important role. Furthermore (XLI, 6) he calls a certain Demetrius "King of the Indians". The decline of the Mauryan power in the Kābul valley and Gandhāra provided a good opportunity to Demetrius to conquer territories south of the Hindū Kush. According to Justin (XLI, 6) Demetrius was overthrown by Eucratides who conquered further territories in India. Justin (XLI, 6) also tells us that Eucratides started his reign simultaneously with Mithradates 1 of Parthia. He was assassinated by his own son around 145 B.C.

The excavation of Ai Khānum, a Greek city site in northern Afghānistān, (Bernard 1985: 97-105), shows that once the city was burnt down the Greek settlers never returned to it. The last ruler whose coins were found at this site is Eucratides. It is therefore surmised that the destruction of the city might have taken place immediately after the assassination of Eucratides (Bopearachhi and Rahman 1995: 30) around 145 BC.

Forty Greek rulers, some may have been contemporary with each other, are known to have issued coins. The most important among those who ruled to the South of the Hindū Kush was Menander. In classical sources his name occurs twice together with Apollodotus. Justin (*Prologue*, XLI) mentions Apollodotus and Menander as Kings of India, while the anonymous author of the *Periplus of Erythraean Sea* refers to coins of Apollodotus and Menander circulating in Barygaza (Broach). Another important source of information is the famous *Milindapañha* (The Questions of King Menander) originally written in Sanskrit, perhaps somewhere in Gandhāra. It relates a conversation alleged to have taken place between king Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nagasena on the nature of the soul, the Eightfold path and the liberation from the wheel of births. A Buddhist reliquary found in Bajaur, with an inscription in Kharoshti letters mentions a *maharaja minadra* (Menander). There is evidence to show that the Greeks, most probably under Menander, penetrated deeper into India as far as Pātliputra, but they could not keep this conquered territory under their control for long as they had to return home because of a civil war. Internal warfare weakened the Greeks and they finally fell a victim to the advancing Scythians in the Panjāb. The last Greek ruler Hermaeus held on in the Kābul valley for a while.

4.12. The Decline of the Seleucids

On the accession of Antiochus III (223 – 187), the satraps of Media and Persis revolted and the Parthians threatened Media. Antiochus crushed the satraps and set out

for the east on an "armed patrol" that was to last for about eight years. Having crossed the whole of Iran from north to south he defeated the Parthian rebel Arsaces III and then proceeded to Bactria where Euthydemus, who had founded a new dynasty replacing that of Diodotus, put up an energetic resistance which finally resulted in treaty of friendship and the marriage of his son Demetrius to the daughter of Antiochus. After crossing the Hindū Kush Antiochus met the Mauryan king Sobhāgsena and renewed friendship with him. He then returned to Persis through Arachosia, Drangiana (Zaranj) and Kirmān. Antiochus decided to attach Macedonia to his empire and crossed the Straits for this purpose, but Rome dealt with him a fatal blow. Shortly after the death of Antiochus IV (175-164 BC), the Seleucids lost Mesopotamia to the Parthians. The time had now come for Rome to intervene in the East and conquer the Greek world. The Hellenistic kingdoms lost their independence one by one and became vassals of Rome.

4.13. The Scythian Deluge

Meanwhile a storm had for some time been brewing on the Chinese western border where a nomadic tribe, the Hiungnu, twice defeated the Yue-chis (in 201 and again in 164 BC), another nomadic tribe, and pushed it to the west. The Yue-chis in turn pressed the Sakas or Scythians who likewise invaded Sogdiana and Bactria and put an end to the Greek rule in these territories. Meanwhile the Greeks extended their rule to the Peshāwar valley and the Panjāb and successfully defended their territory in the Kābul valley against the Saka inroads. Strabo and Justin mention the names of the Scythian tribes such as Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari, and Sakarauli who swept away the Greek rule (Whitehead 1914: 171) and spread in the vast stretch of land from the Oxus to Sīstān which is in fact a corrupted form of the original Sakastān (Sāka land). Ousted from the Oxus region and Bactria (present Afghān Turkistān), the Sakas penetrated into India. There is no doubt that the western part of Northern India was conquered by those Scythians who had their base in Sīstān. The *Periplus* (c. AD 70-80) mentions the district of Scythia, from which flows down the river Sindhus (Sindhu), and its capital Min-nagara. The same district is also known from the *Geography* of Ptolemy (c. AD 140) as Indo-Scythia which comprised Patalene (the Indus delta), Abiria (country between the Indus delta and the coast of Saurashtra). It was probably at this time when the Sakas were at the pinnacle of glory that they entered the *pusht* (back) of the Koh-i Sulīmān and subsequently came to be known as Pushtāna for the simple reason that they had

occupied the back of the great mountain range and were termed as such perhaps by the Tājzik people of the Kābul Valley.

Another group of the nomad Scythians, the Dahae horsemen and warriors, for whom, according to ancient writers, to die fighting was the supreme happiness and death from natural causes ignominious and shameful, occupied the district of upper Teijen. The tribe called Parni by different writers also belonged to this group. Diodotus, the new ruler of Bactria, attacked these nomads about 250 BC, but they fled from him and invaded the neighbouring province of Parthia under their leaders Arsaces and Tiridates. Two years later Arsaces fell in battle, but under Tiridates the Parthians occupied the districts that presently form the Trans-Caspian frontier between Russia and Iran (Ghirshman 1961: 243). With great difficulty they turned aside the tide unleashed by the eastern Scythian group that was unseated by the Yue-chis as mentioned above, but not before two of their kings – Phraates II (138-128 BC) and Artabanus (128-123 BC) lost their lives in the strife. It was Mithradates II (123-88) who finally subdued the Sakas. The tide of Scythian movement, thus checked by the Parthians, ultimately flowed towards the Indus valley through Balūchistān. Some of the Saka chiefs appear to have accepted the Parthian suzerainty and taken employment with them. They gradually merged into the local population losing their identity. In India they were accepted as clean Śūdras (Majumdar 1951: 122). But those in the Koh-i Sulīmān, protected as they were by their mountain resort, stuck to their country more firmly and thus kept their identity well preserved.

Of the Scythian kings Maues was the first to move upwards from Sindh and reach as far as Taxila, the centre of the Greek rule in India. Maues is mentioned in the copper Plate Inscription of Patika found at Taxila. It is dated in the fifth day of the month of Panemus of the year 78 of an unspecified era. The year 78 is generally considered to be the initial year of the old Saka era. The Greek kingdoms in India however lingered on and virtually came to an end with the reign of Strato II who survived with his son for a long time until the very first years of the Christian era in the east Panjāb. Under the leadership of Apollodotus the Greeks succeeded in regaining the territories in the Panjāb which they had lost to the Indo-Scythian Maues. However they were finally expelled from this region c. 55 BC by another Scythian prince, Azes I, who dethroned Hippostratus, the last Greek king to rule in west Panjāb including Taxila and Pushkalāvati (Osmund and Rahman 1995: 45). Thus the kingdom founded by Diodotus about 250 BC, after passing through various phases of its history over a period

of 195 years, finally succumbed to the Scythians. In east Panjāb however it held on till AD 10-20, when the Scythian satrap Rajuvula put an end to it. It has been suggested that the well known era of 57 BC, generally known as the Vikram era, owed its origin to the Scythian king, Azes I (Ibid: 45).

According to Cunningham, there were three distinct dynasties of the Sakas or Indo-Scythian rulers whose names have been preserved on their coins: one proceeding from Vonones and his lieutenants Spalahores and Spalagadames, holding to the west of the Indus; a second from Maues or Moa, and Azes, in the Panjāb; and a third in Sind and western Central India, to which the great satrap Nahapana belonged. The coins of the three prominent kings, Maues, Azes, and Azilises are found chiefly in the Panjāb, and rarely in Afghānistān (Whitehead, 1914: 91).

The name of Vonones (Persian Vanāna) is found in the Greek coin legends in the form Ononoy, and the corresponding Kharoshti legends contain the names of two of his relatives, Spalahora (meaning army of Ahuramazda), who is called brother of the king, and Spalagadama (army leader) son of Spalahora. Numismatic evidence also shows that another brother of Vonones was Spalirīša who survived both Vonones and Spalahora and succeeded the former on the throne. Spalirīša struck coins on his own account (Whitehead 1914: 92). Keeping the tradition set by his predecessors alive Spalirīša as well gives the name of a certain Aya on the less important Kharoshti side of one type of his coins. It is generally assumed that this Aya (Azes), the Arachosian viceroy of Spalirīses, is the same as Azes, the king of western Panjāb. But Azes is also known to have struck one or two coin types bearing his name in Greek letters on the obverse (comparatively more important side), and that of Azilises in Kharoshti on the reverse (less important side). Vincent Smith postulates that these two joint types, when considered together, prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power was the subordinate viceregal colleague of an Azes, and that an Azes, similarly, was subsequently the subordinate viceregal colleague of Azilises.

In one type of his coins the name of Azes is found on the Greek side, but is absent from the Kharoshti side. There is instead an inscription reading *Indravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa strategasa jayatasa* (Aspavarma, son of Indravarma, the victorious general). Aspavarma was apparently an Indian general and subordinate ruler of the suzerain monarch, Azes. We shall see below that the same name also occurs

on some of the coins of Gondophares, providing a link between the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian dynasties.

4.14. The Parthians

We have noted above that a group of Saka nomads, horsemen and warriors, called Dahae, occupied territories in about the middle of the third century BC under the leadership of two brothers – Arsaces and Tiridates. In the following century the expansion of the Roman empire to Western Asia seriously jeopardized the Seleucid cause and provided the much needed opportunities to the Parthians to consolidate their power. Every reverse suffered by the Seleucids spurred the Parthians on to fresh gains. There was an immense reservoir of manpower in the neighbouring steppe for the Parthians to rely upon and give a formal shape to their aggressive designs.

Tiridates was succeeded by Artabanus I but he was not strong enough for the occasion and suffered defeat at the hands of Antiochus III. His successor Phriapatius (195 BC) won back the lost territories when Antiochus himself was defeated by the Romans. With the accession of Mithradates to the throne of Parthia, the Parthian policy of expansion took a new turn. All the neighbouring kingdoms – Media Atropatene, Elymais, Persis etc. – fell an easy prey. Mithradates also annexed Characene, Babylonia, Assyria, Gedrosia and possibly Herāt and Sīstān between the years 160 and 140 BC. He did not take Seleucia on the Tigris but built another city on the opposite bank afresh. This city, called Ctesiphon, later on became the Parthian capital. The population of the conquered cities did not welcome the Parthian rule and when Demetrius III set out to recover the territories lost to the Seleucids, they all hastened to offer assistance. But the Seleucid prince not only lost the war, he fell into the enemy hands and was taken to Hyrcania.

At the death of Mithradates in 137 BC, his son Phraates II succeeded him. This time (129 BC) Antiochus VII brought out a huge army with a view to liberating his brother and also to recovering the lost territories. Phraates made a surprise attack and killed him while part of his army was taken prisoner and incorporated in the Parthian force. It was a fateful defeat for Hellenism which never again recovered. The success of Phraates opened up new avenues for Parthian expansion, but for a new challenge from the east. This new wave of nomadic migrations seems to have spread along two routes: one pushed straight to Merv, while the other went south, moving down from Merv to Herāt and Sīstān. Phraates proceeded to check the advance but, as noted above,

lost his life mainly because of the desertion of Greek troops who, on the very first onslaught, took to their heels and fled. His successor Artabanus II suffered the same fate shortly afterwards. While the eastern part of the Parthian kingdom was under attack by the Sakas, the governors left behind in the western part declared their independence. The Parthian kingdom was at the brink of extinction when Mithradates II ascended the throne (C. 123 BC). He was the ablest of all the Parthian rulers; having restored order in the west, he turned to the east, pushed back the frontiers to the Oxus, re-occupied Merv, and Herāt and made Sistān a vassal state. He proved himself to be a real successor of the Achaemenians and assumed the title "king of kings". About 115 BC he received an embassy from China and concluded a treaty to facilitate trade and commerce. Some twenty years later he intervened in the affairs of the neighbouring Armenia and placed Tigranes, a person of his own choice, on the throne. But shortly afterwards the same Tigranes allied himself with the ruler of Pontus who between 112 and 93 BC created a powerful state that included almost the whole of Asia Minor and put an effective barrier in the way of the advancing Roman armies. In 92 BC the Roman army under Sulla reached the Euphrates. Mithradates sent an embassy and suggested to form an alliance but the Romans under a misconceived perception of their own power did not consider the Parthian king their equal and therefore scoffed at the embassy driving him thereby to come to terms with the other oriental powers opposed to the Romans. In subsequent years Rome had to pay dearly for the contempt shown to the Parthian embassy.

Following the death of Mithradates II Parthia plunged into internecine wars for about thirty year and appeared to have almost disappeared from the map of western Asia. Tigranes who owed his crown to the Parthians seized several of their provinces and accepted the crown of the Seleucids offered to him by the Syrians, who, on their own account, were tired of the recurrent strife amongst their own princes.

Once again Rome was at the march. Lucullus wanted to shatter Pontus and Armenia for opposing Roman advance into Asia Minor and therefore entered into negotiations with Phraates, the Parthian king, to secure his neutrality. Even when the Romans were in difficulty, Phraates kept his word and did not invade Syria. But shortly afterwards the Romans, in violation of the treaty, seized the western provinces of Parthia and insulted Phraates, by showing readiness to accept a huge sum of money from Mithradates III in return for their help in removing Orodes II from the throne of Parthia, but the negotiation fell through because there was an even bigger offer from a discontented Egyptian prince. The Roman greed for money touched its zenith when

Crassus, the Proconsul of Syria, made up his mind to invade Parthia in the hope of securing immense booty. But fate did not smile on him. In the battlefield of Carrhae (53 BC) the light and heavy Parthian cavalry commanded by Surena (Suren), chief of a noble Iranian feudal family, ancestors probably of the present Suris, smashed the Roman army, killed or captured three quarters of the forces of Crassus who, along with his son, lost his life. Once again Iran had forcibly thrown back from its frontiers the Hellenism to which the Romans claimed to be heirs, and for over a century the Euphrates frontier remained inviolate. Rome realized its fallacy in underrating the true strength of Iran. The disaster that befell Crassus at Carrhae forced Rome to introduce cavalry into its army.

The Parthians of the Suren family, Olaf Caroe (1992: 72) remarks, were men of great splendour. If indeed, along with their Saka cousins, they contributed to the Pathan make-up, they bequeathed something magnificent. The feudal lords furnished the heavy cavalry with iron armour, known as cataphracti, and the lesser nobility the light cavalry, the sagitarii, for which the Parthian armies were famous. The skill of the horseman shooting over his shoulder as he retired became proverbial. Carrhae was one of the world's decisive battles, and it was won by men whose grandsons established themselves on the Frontier. The Suren family survived the fall of the Arsacid dynasty and the rise of the Sāsānians of Persia under Ardashīr about AD 225. Long after this, Sher Shāh Suri, a worthy descendant probably of this family showed similar chivalrous character at Bilgrām in 1540 when he ousted Humāyūn, the Mughal emperor, from India.

During the reign of Orodes, his son Pacorus and a former ambassador of the Roman emperor Brutus who had joined the Parthian service attempted to conquer Asia Minor on the one side and Syria and Palestine on the other. As a result almost the whole of Roman East was conquered. But after initial success both of them lost their lives facing fresh reinforcements of the Roman armies. Orodes was shortly afterwards (c. 37 BC), assassinated by his sons, one of whom, Phraates IV, succeeded to the throne of Parthia. Meanwhile the Roman emperor Antony brought out a powerful army against the Iranians and quickly subdued the Iberians, Albanians and Armenians and pressed forward to undertake operations against Media Atropatene leaving his heavy baggage train behind to follow on. Phraates IV attacked the baggage wagons, overcame the escort and plundered and burnt the siege engines. As the season was advancing and cold weather setting in Antony decided to retreat. Shortly afterwards he was defeated by

Octavian and fell from power. After this disastrous campaign Rome at last began to realize that a policy based on peaceful co-existence was the best option. Armenia, however, still remained a bone of contention, for, Rome was not prepared to compromise and surrender its own claim. A compromise was at last reached when Rome nominated a Hellenized vassal king and Phraates accepted this arrangement but Parthian public opinion did not forgive this concession. At this Rome resorted to intriguing and supported the accession to the Parthian throne of Phraates V, who poisoned his father, on condition that he renounced his claims to Armenia. But the young king was soon deposed by the nobility who requested Augustus, the Roman emperor, to send them one of the sons of Phraates IV who had been sent to Rome fearing the menace of assassination. Thus a young man Vonones I returned but could not keep the crown for long. He was deposed and shortly afterwards assassinated in Syria where he had sought refuge. He was replaced by Artabanus III, descendant by the female line of the Arsacids.

4.15. Indo – Parthians

It is certain that the Scythian kingdoms in Gedrosia, Sind and the Panjāb were independent of Parthia, though Sīstān and the neighbouring kingdom, Arachosia, seem to have acknowledged its over lordship until perhaps the end of the first century BC when these areas were brought under government control by Gondophares, who established an empire stretching from Sīstān to beyond the Indus. It was a new political entity and had nothing to do with the main Parthian empire. The term Indo-Parthian has therefore been coined to show that Gondophares, although Parthian in origin, was not a vassal of the Arsacids, and that the territories conquered by him bordering on the Parthian empire, belonged to India, not to Iran.

According to Cunningham Gondophares was the founder of a separate dynasty in succession to that of Maues, Azes and Azilises. Abdagases was his nephew, and other members of the line were Orthagnes, Pakores and Sanabares. The names of these kings are Parthian and the busts on their coins closely resemble those of their contemporary Parthian rulers. A particular symbol, ♀, found specially on the coins of Gondophares and Abdagases was termed by Cunningham the Gondopharian symbol.

Herzfeld's reconstruction of the history of the Parthian feudal house of Suren in Sīstān is based on the supposition that Gondophares, the founder of the Indo-Parthian dynasty, belonged to this family, and that he broke away from Parthia when Artabanus III succeeded Vonones I to the throne. According to Richard Frye (1976: 207), this reconstruction, although ingenious, cannot be proved, for, we know nothing about Parthian – Saka relations in the east. In spite of this criticism, it seems, Herzfeld's suggestion has some merit and is the most likely interpretation of the sudden rise of Gondophares and his stunning success in the campaign he launched against the Indo-Scythians which gave him enough celebrity and fame to be included in the Christian tradition. The following brief summary of this tradition is given by Whitehead (1914: 94).

The name of Gondophares occurs in the Christian tradition connected with the Apostle Thomas. *The Acts of Thomas* contain certain statements which discoveries made in recent years have enabled scholars to test in the light of actual history. The narrative tells us that the Apostle Thomas, much against his will and inclination, had to undertake the work of preaching the Gospel to the Indians; and that to induce him to obey the mandate he had received, Christ appeared to him in person, and sold him to

Habbān, a minister of king Gondophares of the Indians, who had been sent to Syria in search of a competent builder, able to undertake the construction of a palace for his sovereign. Thomas in his company left by sea for India, which was reached after a rapid passage. Both proceeded to the court, where Thomas was presented to the king, and undertook the erection of the building. It is stated that Thomas made many converts, including Gondophares himself and his brother Gad, and ultimately met a martyr's death. It is a remarkable fact that after the lapse of so many centuries, the actual existence of this king has been proved by the discovery of his coins in India. Their find spots show that he must have held Kābul, Qandahār, Sīstān and the west and south Panjāb. His reign probably lasted thirty or forty years. The name of Gondophares occurs in an inscription on the well known. Takht Bāhi stone. An interesting type of his coins has, on the reverse side, the name of his governor *Āspavarma* son of *Indravarma*. We have noted above that the same name occurs in one type of the coins of Azes (II), providing a link between Azes and Gondophares. *Āspavarma* originally employed by Azes was apparently allowed to continue as governor by Gondophares. We shall see below that *Āspavarma* belonged to a powerful family of Bajaur.

The distinctive sign of Gondophares found on his coins is sometimes found countermarked on the issues of the Parthian emperors Orodes I (57-38 BC) and Artabanus III (AD 10-40). This has been taken to indicate that he conquered certain districts of the Parthian empire (Majumdar 1980: 128). In the north, he seems to have ousted Hermacus, the last Greek king of the Kābul valley, in spite of the help the latter received from his Kushān ally, Kujula Kadphises (ibid). Other names of undoubted Parthian lineage, according to Whitehead (1914: 96), are *Abdagases*, *Orthagnes*, *Sanabares*, *Pakores* and *Asakes Theos*, while *Hyrkodes*, *Phseigacharis* and *Sapaleizes* are nondescript. *Zeionises* (or *Jihunia* son of *Manigula*) and *Kharahostes* may have been satraps of Taxila. An earlier satrap, associated with Taxila, was the *Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka*, who probably belonged to the *Kshāharāta* family and ruled over the district of Chukhsa (modern Chach, north west of Taxila) as a viceroy of Moga (*Maues*) in the year 78 (AD 12). His son was the *Mahā-dānapati Patika*.

4.16. The Kushāns

The period of the Kushān rule marks the golden age of the history of Gandhāra. For this period of the Kushān history we are entirely dependent on Chinese sources – particularly the annals of the Han dynasty (206 BC – AD 24). We have noted above

that the Yue-chis, having been twice defeated by the more powerful Hiung-nu (Huns), left their home and moved to the west. Originally, as the text goes, the Yue-chis lived a nomad life beyond the western frontiers of China and moved from place to place with their flocks over the vast tract of land. In 201 BC, and again in 165 BC, they were attacked by another nomadic tribe – the Hiung-nu – who killed their leader and made drinking vessel out of his skull. The widow of the slain leader now came to power and guided the tribe in the course of its westward migration.

While the Yue-chis were passing through the Taklamakan desert they came into conflict with another nomadic tribe called Wu-sun who suffered defeat and the Yue-chis continued their westward march in search of a suitable place. A small section of them separated from the main body and, moving southward, settled on the border of Tibet. This section came to be known as the Little Yue-chi. The major portion of the tribe known as Ta-Yue-Chi or the Great Yue-chi, in its westward march met the Sai or Sek (Saka) on the northern bank of the Jaxartes. The Sakas were defeated and pushed further west. The Yue-chi occupation of the Saka land did not last long. The son of the slain Wu-sun king who had now grown into manhood under the protection of the Hiung-nu, attacked the Yue-chis and drove them out of the land which they had wrested from Sakas. The Yue-chi, thus forced, moved further west and south to the valley of the Oxus, defeated the Sakas and settled in the country called Ta-hia, generally identified with Bactria and Sogdiana. They established their capital in the modern Bakhārā region. It was here that the Chinese ambassador Chang-Kien met them in 125 BC.

Now the Yue-chi were no longer nomads. They were divided into five principalities independent of each other. One of these was known as Kuei-shuang which in its brief form became famous as Kushān. The chief of the Kuei-shuang section named Kieu-tsieu-khio, according to the Chinese account, attacked and conquered the other four principalities and, uniting the whole people under his sway, founded the mighty Kushān empire. The Yue-chi then crossed the Hindū Kush mountain and occupied the Kābul valley and Ki-pin, the valley of the upper Kābul river. After these conquests Kieu-tsieu-Khio died in the eightieth year of his age. His son and successor Yen-kao-tsin-tai conquered India proper and established there generals who ruled in the name of the Yue-chi, who, from this time on, are said to have grown rich and powerful.

But the coins tell a different story. Neither the name Kieu-tsieu-Khio, nor Yen-Kao-tsin-tai appears on the coins. The earliest coins struck by any Kushān ruler are

those of Kujula Kasasa (Kadphises), the Kushān, whose name first appears on the reverse of the copper coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Hermaeus. Then, without further alteration of the type the name Hermaeus disappears altogether and its place is taken by Kujula Kadphises. This has been taken to suggest that this Kujula, leader of the Kushāns was the conqueror who finally subverted the Greek dominion which may have lingered on some where perhaps in the northern part of the Kābul valley. The Kābul valley itself, or at least the major part of it, had already been taken by the Parthian ruler Gondophares. Scholars therefore identify Kujūla with the Chinese Kieu-tsiu-khio. Kujula must have extended his rule to at least the Swāt valley, for, his name is found in an Odi inscription apparently found there. The next ruler Wema Kadphises is admitted to be the same as the Chinese Yen-kao-tsin-tai who overthrew both Greek and Sakas and was the real conqueror of Northern India. This fact is also borne out by the character of the coinage. Kujula struck coins merely in copper apparently because of lack of resources. On none of these appears the portrait of Kujula himself. One type shows the seated Buddha for the first time on any coinage.

In striking contrast with these are the coins of Wema Kadphises whose gold and copper bilingual coins exhibit good workmanship and quality of design. The obverse design gives us a life-like representation of the Central Asian invader. As a rule we see him standing, clothed with a long open coat reaching to the knees, very similar to the Turkish heavy overcoat. He also wears a tall cap and long boots. The reverse, without a single exception, is confined to the worship of the Indian deity Śiva.

The relationship between Wema and Kujula was not known previous to the discovery of the Rabatak inscription found from a Kushān site at Kafir Qal'a (Rabatak) about 40 km. east of Haibak on the road to Pul-i Khumri in northern Afghānistān. The inscription in Bactrian Greek letters belongs to the time of Kanishka, son of Wema. It records that the king Kanishka gave orders to Shafar, the Karalang, to make a sanctuary and images of a range of gods for King Kujula Kadphises his great grandfather (line 12), for king (Vima Taktu?) his grandfather (line 13), king Vima Kadphises his father, and himself King Kanishka. Unfortunately the first half of line 13 is almost illegible, and the reading of the new name is merely based on an imaginative restoration by Sims-Williams. Although there are substantial doubts, as pointed out by D.W. Mac Dowall (2002: 164) about the reading of the name of Kujula's son, the inscription does give us a firm genealogy of the family of the early Kushān kings, spanning four generations from Kujula to Kanishka. Joe Cribb believes that the Soter Megas series of coins of a

nameless king was actually issued by Vima Takto. D. W. Mac Dowall (op. cit.) has however serious reservation regarding this identification. Kujula's son Sadashkano is mentioned in the Kharoshti inscription of Senavarma, king of Odi (Baily 1980: 21-29).

Wema was succeeded by Kanishka, the greatest of the Kushān emperors. His empire seems have stretched from Bihār in the east to Khurāsān in the west, and from Khotān in the north to the Konkan in the south. The *Rājatarangīnī* and some Buddhist traditions refer to Kanishka's rule in Kashmīr. Xuan Zang speaks not only of this King's hold over Gandhāra with Purushpura (Peshāwar) as the capital but also of his control over the territory to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains. As the reign of Wema, who succeeded his father about the middle of the first century AD, may be roughly assigned to the period AD 65-75, Kanishka should probably be ascribed to a date not earlier than the last quarter of the first century AD (Majumdar 1980: 143). He was the founder of an era in the sense that his regnal reckoning was continued by his successors. As Kanishka's rule may be assigned to the close of the first century AD, it is highly probable that the Kanishka era is no other than the 'Saka-Kāla of AD 78 (Ibid). The initial year of this era is however much disputed.

After Aśoka, Kanishka was the greatest patron of Buddhism. Xuan Zang and Albīrūnī have recorded legends that refer to the grand monastery and stupa built by Kanishka at Peshāwar, which was famous not only throughout the Buddhist world, but is actually known to have been a centre of Buddhist culture from an epigraph of the ninth century AD. Kanishka is said to have convoked, on the advice of Pārśva, the great Buddhist council held in Kashmīr, according to some traditions, but in Gandhāra or Jālandhara according to others. The Buddhist theologians possibly met at a monastery called the Kundala – Vana – Vihār, chiefly for the purpose of collecting manuscripts and preparing commentaries on them. Vāsumitra acted as the President of the Council, while the famous author Aśvaghosha was appointed vice-president.

Kanishka was a great patron of learning. Not only the Buddhist philosophers Aśvaghosha, Pārśva and Vāsumitra enjoyed his favour but another learned person named Sangharaksha is known to have been his chaplain. Nagārjuna, the greatest exponent of the Mahayāna doctrine as well as the celebrated physician Charak probably flourished at Kanishka's court. Kanishka Vihār emerged as a great centre of philosophical thought and learning. Xuan Zang visited this place (AD 640), long after the end of the Kushān rule, and found this earliest University of Peshāwar, somewhat

decayed. To the west of the great stūpa," he records (beal 1969: 103-04) 'there is an old Sanghārāma (monastery) which was built by king Kanishka. Its double towers, connected terraces, storeyed piles, and deep chambers bear testimony to the eminence of the great priests who have here formed their illustrious religious characters (*gained distinction*). Although now somewhat decayed, it yet gives evidence of its wonderful construction ... From the time it was built many authors of *Sāstras* have lived herein ... In the third tower (*double-storeyed tower*) is the chamber of the honourable Pārsvika, but it has long been in ruins; but they have placed here a commemorative tablet (name plate) to him ... To the east of Pārsvika's chamber is an old building in which Vāsubandhu Bodhisattva, prepared the 'O-pi-ta-mo-ku-she-lun (*Abhidharmakosha Sāstra*) ... To the south of Vasubandhu's house ... is a second storeyed pavilion in which Manorhita ... composed the *Vibhāṣhā Sāstra*. From old times till now, he further remarks, this borderland of India has produced many authors of *Sāstras*; for example, Nārāyandeva, Āsanga Bodhisattva, Dharmatrāta, Manorhita, Pārśva the noble, and so on. It is a matter of great pride for Peshāwar that images of Āsanga and Vāsubandhu, the Peshāwari brothers, are still being worshipped in Japan. Xuan Zang also tells us about a ruined tower which formerly contained the pātra (begging bowl) of the Buddha. Outside the city, he says (p.99), about 8 or 9 li to the south east there is a pīpala tree about 100 feet or so in height. At the time of his visit there were four sitting figures of the Buddhas beneath this tree. A striking confirmation of the existence of this tree is provided by Zahīr ad-Dīn Bābur who visited this tree early in the sixteenth century AD. The site of the city which developed around the Kanishka Vihāra is now partly covered by the Hazār Khāni graveyard and partly by residential colonies. Before the expansion of the Peshāwar city in this direction the entire space was covered by numerous low lying earthen heaps along with two large mounds outside the Ganj Gate of the old city of Peshāwar. Excavations conducted in 1908-09 at the "Pagoda Mound" (stupa), called Shāh-ji-Dheri yielded not only the structural remains of the Main Stupa, along with those of some votive stupas, but also an inscribed bronze or copper relic casket bearing the name of Kanishka (D. B Spooner 1908-9: 38-59) – an indisputable piece of confirmatory evidence. Whether it represents Kanishka I or II, scholarly opinion differ. Although Kanishka is regarded as a Buddhist, the reverse of his coin types represents Greek, Sumerian, Elamite, Persian and Indian deities.

Of the successors of Kanishka only Huvishka and Vāsudeva issued coins. The rest whose names are found in inscriptions may have ruled as subordinate kings. In the

inscriptional records of the time of the Kushān Kings of Kanishka's house, the reign of Kanishka is associated with the years 2-23, of Vāsishka with 24-28, of Huvishka with 28-60, of Kanishka, son of Vajishka, with 41, and of Vāsudeva with 67-98, the conversion of these reign-lengths into the Christian Calendar depends upon fixing the year 1 of Kanishka. If, for instance, year 1 of Kanishka fell in AD 78, then Kanishka may have ruled till AD 101 (23+78), if however it fell in AD 120 or 144, as some scholars have suggested, then we have to add these figures accordingly.

The history of the later Kushāns who ruled in the last quarter of the second century and the first half of the third is obscure. There is no doubt that the Kushān power declined shortly after the reign of Vāsudeva (c. AD 145-176). The Saka satraps originally owing allegiance to Kanishka 1 began to rule large parts of Western and Central India practically like independent monarchs.

The Kushān period marks the golden age in the history of Gandhāra. The gold currency of Wema Kadphises was continued not only by the Kushān successors but also by the Guptas when the superemacy of northern India passed to them. During this period India, and particularly Gandhāra, was brought into contact with the outside world. It was during this period that important developments in religion, literature and sculpture such as Gandhāra art, the earliest appearance of the Buddha image, and the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism took place. The vast array of religious monuments – stupas and monasteries (now in ruins) – reflects prosperity in Gandhāra at all levels from the nobility to the common man. From Gandhāra Mahāyāna Buddhism overflowed into Afghānistān and Central Asia and finally spread to China and the Far East where it still exists, although in a modified form.

4.17. The Ephthalites

In the fifth century a new wave of invaders from Central Asia called the Ephthalites or Hephthalites appeared in the north-east as successor to the Kushāns. This Hunnic movement marks the rise of the Altaic-speaking people from the steppes of Central Asia. Just as the first millennium BC in Central Asia was considered by classical writers as the period of Scythian dominance in the steppes, so the first half of the first millennium AD is the time of the Huns, while the second half and later is the period of the Turks and the Mongols. Of course the term "Scythian" continued to be used for various steppe people by classical writers even when the actual Scythians had long disappeared, just as the Ottomans were called "Huns" by several Byzantine

writers. The terms Scythian, Hun and Turk were in reality general designations for various steppe people as known to the Western writers.

The first Western author to mention the name Hun was Eratosthenes (died c. 196 BC) who, as cited by Strabo, mentions four Central Asian tribes, namely, Scythians, Huns, Caspians and Albanians (Biswas 1973: 14). The next earliest reference is found in Ptolemy (2nd cent. AD) who mentions the Huns in South Russia, but according to Frye (1976: 256), there is no concrete evidence to prove their existence in the Near East or South Russia before the fourth century AD. The application of the word 'Huns' to the Kidarites by Priskos, he further remarks, is probably an example of the use of the general fifth-century term for an earlier history, for, no evidence exists to show that the Kidarites were Altai-speaking people. Presumably Kidar was the names of a ruler since the name appears on the coins, but there is no evidence that he led a new Central Asian horde to conquer the Kushān realm.

The Ephthalites have been known in history by different names. The Arab writers called them Haetal, Haetāl, Hayātilah (plural). The Haetal (or Haytal) in the fifth century AD had been the chief enemies of the Sāsānians and were identical with the Ephthalites of the Byzantine authors, commonly known as the white Huns. To the medieval Arabs however the name Haetal had come to be employed loosely to mean all the Tūrānian peoples and lands lying beyond the Oxus, and as such it is used by Muqaddasī (Le Strange 1977: 433). According to Balādhuri (1986: 580), who died in 892 AD, 'The Hayātilah are originally one of the Persian races. They were ousted from Herāt by Firūz (Sāsānian emperor), then they went to Qūhistān where they got mixed up with the Turks. Yāqūt (1866-73, vol.5: 422), who died in 1228 AD, gives a fantastic account: 'Hayātilah is the name of the territory on the other side of the Oxus (*Māwarā al-Nahar*) and it includes Bukhāra, Samarqand and Khojand, and the land in between. It is known after the name of Haytal b. 'Ālam b. Sām b. Nūh ... who was a brother of Khurāsān b. 'Ālam'.

The Arabs obviously took this name from Persian writers who record it as Haftāli, Haptāl, Yaftāl and Haftālyān (plural). There is no doubt that this form of the name is earlier than the one recorded by the Arab writers. Meanander Protector names the Haftali as Ephthalitae while Theophane gives the form Nephthalite. Theophylactus Simocatta records this name as Abdele which is identical to the present name Abdāli. The Abdālis have, as is well known, played a significant role in the affairs of

Afghānistān. Aḥmad Shāh Abdāli who laid the foundation of modern Afghānistān is a prominent figure in Afghān history for his successful battles in India. Without the timely intervention of Aḥmad Shāh indeed the history of India would have almost dramatically taken a new turn. The Mughal rulers had become mere pawns in the hands of the powerful governors and the Marhaṭṭas were on the surge. Had Aḥmad Shāh Abdāli not defeated them at Pānīpat (14 Jan. 1761) there was nothing to stop them from snatching sovereignty from the Mughal hands. It is also noteworthy that Aḥmad Shāh Abdāli was the one who, on the recommendation of his spiritual guide, the *pīr*, Sābir Shāh, took the title *Durr-i-Daurān* (Pearl of the Age) and proclaimed simultaneously not to use the word Abdāli for him or his tribe (Singh 1959: 27-28). The Abdālis, ancient Haftāli or Ephthalites all of a sudden, almost with a single stroke of the pen, became Durrānis (Of the Pearls). Writing in 1842 Charles Masson in his *Narrative of Various Journeys*, made similar observations with regard to the Abdālis: 'The Durrānis are known both in India and Persia as Abdālli or Avdālli, and when we find that the white Huns of ancient history, the Ephthalites of classical authors, we might infer that the Abdālli or modern Durrānis are no other than descendants of that powerful people. The Siaposh Kāfirs remember that their ancestors were driven into the hills from the plains by the Odāls – a term they still apply to the inhabitants of the low countries'. We have seen above that the Kāfirs (Kailāsh) were driven out of the Koh-i Sulīmān probably by the Scythians (Pakhtūns) centuries before the arrival of the Ephthalites on the scene, but it is quite possible that the latter might have accelerated the process and seized more Kāfir lands. This event seems have stuck in the Kāfir memory to survive till the present.

The origin of the Ephthalites is shrouded in mystery. The Chinese sources, although quite important in this context, give vague and sometimes conflicting information. The Liang-shu (BK. 54), for instance states that the Ephthalites had their origin in the Che-shih tribes and that they descended from Pa-hua, the son of Nung-ch'i. But Enoki ((1955: 231-37) has rightly pointed out that this statement is based upon an hypothetical identification of the name Hua, by which the Ephthalites were known under the Liang, with the P-hua. The Encyclopaedia of Ma-touan-lin connects the Ephthalites, who were known to the Chinese as Ye-tha with the Ta-Yue-chi tribe. The Chinese annalists also mention that the Ephthalites spoke a language different from that of Jouan-jouan and Gaogu who were Huns in descent and ancestors of the Turkish Uighurs. If the Ye-tha neither spoke Mongolian nor Turkish what language did they speak? According to Ghirshman this language belonged to the Iranian family. Referring

to polyandry in the Ye-tha, St. Martin argues that since polyandry is also prevalent in Tibet, the Ye-tha origin must be traced to the Yue-chi who lived in Tibet.

4.18. The Sāsānians and the Ephthalites

The ancestor of the Sāsānian dynasty of Iran was known to Muslim writers (Tabari: I, 476; Ibn al-Aṭṭir: I, 380; Mīrkhwānd: I, 733) as Sāsān who is alleged to have held a respectable position in the fire-temple Anāhid (Anāhita of modern historians). His wife, the mother of Pāpak (Tabari: I, 476) belonged to the Bāzranjīn – the ruling family of Istakhr – headed by Jūzhar whose representative at Dārābgerd, a provincial town in Fars, was a certain eunuch named Pīri. When Ardashīr, Pāpak's son, was still growing up as a promising young lad, he was taken to Jūzhar by his father with the request to employ him as a guard under Pīri. The request was granted and Ardāshir sent to Pīri to assist him in running the government of Dārābgerd. It so happened that shortly afterwards (Mīrkhwānd says within a few days) Pīri died and Ardashīr – his erstwhile assistant – took over the authority to run the day to day affairs of the government. Having strengthened his position at home, he initiated an offensive programme with regard to his neighbouring states and one by one reduced to submission all the small princes of Fars. Jūzhar in whose jurisdiction these developments were taking place, did not take any notice of them and may have looked upon Ardashīr as one of his own kith and kin who was not out to do any harm to him and therefore continued spending his time leisurely at Baiza – his headquarters. But Ardashīr had a different agenda in which usurpation of power was the topmost priority. He therefore wrote to his father, Pāpak, to somehow do away with Jūzhar. Consequently Jūzhar was killed and Pāpak immediately took his place.

Pāpak now felt comfortably secure and powerful, with his two sons – Shāpūr and Ardashīr to assist him. He sent a request to Ardawān al-Bahlwy (Artabanus V), his suzerain to appoint Shāpūr, his second son, as his successor. But, already alarmed at the direction of affairs in Fars, the Great king of kings not only turned down his request but also threatened him with dire consequences. Pāpak however ignored this threat and went ahead with declaring himself a king. He is considered by later tradition to be the real founder of the dynasty, and his accession, the starting point for a new era (AD 208) (Ghirshman 1961: 290). The refusal of the Great king caused a breach between the two. Soon after this (Ibn Aṭṭir says within three days) Pāpak died and Shāpūr succeeded him on the throne, and summoned his brother to the court, but the latter refused to comply

with his orders. This infuriated Shāpūr who collected a large army to deal with the situation. But it so happened that there were a number of Shāpūr's relations, friends and elders who, in recognition perhaps of the significant role Ardashīr had played in bringing the house of Pāpak to power, were not in favour of a clash of arms between the two brothers. They, therefore, somehow got hold of Shāpūr's person and his crown and handed them over to Ardashīr. This opened the way for the enthronement of Ardashīr as king of Fārs.

After a quick round of victories in the neighboring provinces, the account of which is too lengthy to be incorporated here, Ardashīr felt strong enough to challenge Artabanus and leaving Istakhr in the custody of his vizier Abarsām, set out to meet the Parthian king in the Hormozjān desert. Meanwhile Artabanus, not fully aware of the power of Ardashīr, instructed the king of al-Ahwāz to take action against Istakhr and nip the evil in the bud. But the king of al-Ahwāz was killed in the action and the force under his command suffered a disastrous defeat. Shortly afterwards the Parthian army was routed in three successive actions. In the final encounter in Susiana Artabanu was killed (AD 224) (Ghirshman 1961: 290) but the war did not end there, as Chosroes I, the king of Armenia, himself a descendant of the Arsacid family, formed an alliance in which the powerful king of the Kushāns, at whose court members of the family of Artabanus had sought refuge, also placed forces at the disposal of Chosroes who opened the gates (passes) of the Caucasus in order to bring in Scythian aid. He also received support from Rome (Ghirshman, *op.cit.*) but fate once again smiled on Ardashīr who smashed the alliance in a series of actions. The Romans and Scythians withdrew and the Kushān king retired after two years of hostilities. Finally Chosroes was left alone to continue the fight. He put up a stubborn resistance for ten years when he was finally defeated. Ardashīr was now master of an empire extending from the Euphrates to Merv, Herāt and Sīstān. On the west he recovered the territories lost to the Romans and on the east, as Muslim sources referred to above put it, he marched "from Sijistān to Jurjān, Nishāpūr, Merv, Balkh, Khwārizm and then returned to Fārs where envoys from the kings of Kushān, Tūrān and Makurān came to him (with the letters of) submission on the part of these kings". But R.N Fry, basing his argument on the fact that in inscriptions of the time of Shāpūr, Ardashīr is called the king of kings of Iran but not of non-Iran, suggests that he did not appreciably advance his boundaries outside of Eranshāhr which included Mesopotamia but not Armenia and that the kings mentioned above stood only in a vassal relationship with Ardashīr, while under Shāpūr the Kushān kingdom and

other areas were really included in the Sāsānian empire (Frye 1976: 241). The hegemony of Ardashīr, he further remarks, may have been light, based on a few victories over the allies of the Arsacids rather than actual conquest afterwards.

After a long reign of about fifty years Ardashīr was succeeded by his son Shāpūr. The precise date of Shāpūr's accession is controversial but, according to Frye (op.cit: 238) his first year must begin either at the end of 239 or 241. Muslim Chroniclers do not tell us much about his campaign on the eastern frontier except that he once went to Khurāsān, but his long inscription on the walls of the fire temple at Naqsh-i Rostam – the Ka'bah of Zoroaster – not only record his victorious campaigns against the Romans but also in the north in transcaucasia and presumably in the east. According to this inscription the Sāsānian empire included 'Turān, Makurān, Paradān, India and the Kushān shāhr right up to Pashkibur and up to Kash, Sogd and Shash'. This passage has been discussed by various scholars including Ghirshman (p.292) and Frye (p.243). The victorious army of Shāpūr, Ghirshman remarks, seized Peshāwar, the winter capital of the Kushān king, occupied the Indus valley, and pushing north, crossed the Hindū Kush, conquered Bactria, crossed over the Oxus and entered Samarkand and Tāshkand. The Kushān dynasty, founded by the great Kanishka, was deposed and replaced by another line of princes who recognized the suzerainty of the Persians and ruled over a state considerably reduced in area. Frye's interpretation is slightly different. Turān, he says, included most of the province of Qalāt in the present Pakistan. Next comes Makurān which is easily identified and then Paradān (Awarān) which presents a problem since we have no literary reference to it and cannot locate it precisely. India is generally recognized as the Indus valley.

The Kushān empire at this time, Frye further remarks, had already passed its prime and according to some numismatists may have split into two kingdoms, a Bactrian and an Indian kingdom, or even into more parts. It is tempting to think, he says, that the limits given in Shāpūr's above mentioned inscription refer only to the extent or boundaries of a northern Kushān kingdom, which submitted to Shāpūr after a defeat, since there is no evidence that the Sāsānian armies actually reached the confines of the Peshāwar region, or Kāshgar, Sogdiana, and Tāshkand. Kāshgar surely means the kingdom which may have extended into 'Russian Turkestan' north of the Oxus river, or we may have in the inscription the actual or the pretended extent of the Kushān empire up to the borders of the State of Kāshgar which was more or less restricted to eastern Turkistān. Sogdiana and Shāsh were probably states with their centres primarily

and respectively in the Zarafshān and Ferghāna valleys. In other words (Frye remarks) the boundaries of the Kushān shāhr in theory, if not in practice, included the mountainous area of part of the Pāmīrs and present day Tājikistan.

Nothing much is known about Hormizd I and Bahrām I, the sons of Shāpūr. During the reign of Bahrām II (AD 276-93), his brother, the governor of Sīstān, vainly attempted to sieze power with the help of the Kushān prince who himself wanted to gain his own independence. Bahrām III was perhaps the most unlucky of all, as his whole family fell into the enemy hands while fighting against the Romans, and had to cede a huge chunk of his territory to them to secure the release of his family. The weakness of Iran continued to persist for some time. The marriage of Hormizd II, son and successor of Narsah (AD 303-9) to a Kushān princess is considered by Ghirshman (1961: 296) as an attempt to contain the Kushān threat, for, the Perians were no longer strong enough to use force to meet this challenge. Mīrkhwānd (1339: 747) has a curious story in this context which sounds more like fiction, but it may have some traces of truth. The Kābul Shāh, he says, sent his daughter, fully accoutered in all respects, to Hormizd's capital where she was allotted a place in the King's palace. The king tried to approach her a number of times but she rejected him and was consequently put to death for showing disobedience.

Hormizd II was succeeded by Shāpūr II whose long reign (AD 309-79) changed the destiny of Persia which once again emerged as the dominant power in the region. The Kushāns had made certain territorial gains at the expense of Persia during the period of its weakness. Shāpūr II, walking in the footstep of Shāpūr I, first of all smashed the Kushān empire and annexed the conquered territories to Iran and appointed governors chosen from Sāsānian princes who resided at Balkh. Shāpūr then turned his attention to the west to recover the territories lost to the Romans by his predecessors. Meanwhile Chionites appeared in force and threatened the eastern border. Shāpūr seems to have found it difficult to open two fronts and therefore made some concessions to the nomads by allowing them to settle on the Kushān territory. The nomads won over in this way supported Shāpūr in his campaign against the Romans, particularly in the capture of Āmid, a very strong Roman fort in upper Mesopotamia. During this time the Chionite – Ephthalites successfully ousted the Kushāns and formed a powerful kingdom which in the succeeding decades became the hub for their expansion into Iran on one hand and India on the other.

The first clash between the newly established Ephthalite kingdom and Iran took place in the reign of Yazdgard I. Fighting again flared up in the time of Bahrām V (AD 421-38) who seems to have successfully stopped them from expanding into Iran. On the northern frontier in Armenia the nomadic Huns kept up their pressure wave after wave. It posed danger both to Rome and Iran who entered into a treaty to jointly meet this menace: the Persians built forts in the Armenian passes and manned them while Romans defrayed part of the cost of their maintenance. This arrangement worked well for both the countries. The Ephthalites, taking advantage of the involvement of Yazdgard II (AD 438-59) in combating a general religious rising in Armenia, defeated the Iranian forces stationed on the eastern marches. Yazdgard died in AD 457 and left behind two sons – Firūz (elder) and Hormazd (younger).

Taking advantage of the absence of his elder brother from the scene, Hormazd occupied the throne and threatened Firūz who took refuge with the Ephthalites and then, with their help succeeded in recovering the throne for himself, but in return for this help he had to cede Tūrān and its dependencies to the Ephthalite ruler Ikhshanwār styled Kushnevāz by Mīrkhwānd. The cost was high and Firūz did not like it at heart, but there was no other course he could adopt. Having consolidated his position at home he thought of recovering the lost territory and made two attempts. In the first attempt he lost the battle and fell into the enemy hands; in the second he put everything at stake and taking all his sons with him except Kubād, the youngest, in AD 484, perished in a fierce clash against the Ephthalites. Persia lost the provinces of Merv and Herāt and was forced to pay annual tribute. For about half a century after the death of Firūz, the Ephthalite ruler not only exacted a heavy annual tribute in cash but also intervened in the domestic affairs of Iran.

Kubād who succeeded Firūz was soon deposed by the nobility in favour of Balāsh and following the example set by his father fled to the Ephthalites in the hope of getting some help from them. But help was not immediately available. It took the Ephthalite ruler four years to bring back Kubād and install him on the Sāsānian throne. There was no let up in the annual tribute.

Kubād was face to face with a very difficult situation. Unsuccessful wars of Firūz, the devastating famine and annual payment of tribute needed great quantities of gold, but the treasury was empty. The refusal of Rome to pay its promised quota aggravated the situation so that Kubād decided to invade Mesopotamia and seized Āmid

where he found a rich booty. Now he was in a position to renew the war in the north against the Huns and pursued it intermittently until his death.

Under Khusro I (AD 531-79) the monarchy emerged successful from the long struggle between the aristocracy and people. All classes including the priests recognized the authority of this prince. In AD 540 he invaded Syria and captured Antioch. Shortly afterwards a peace was concluded which, in return for increased tribute, left the western frontier unchanged for a number of years. In the same year Khusro felt sufficiently strong to refuse paying tribute to the Ephthalites. Twenty years later (about AD 558) Khusro formed an alliance with the western Turks and finally smashed the Ephthalite power. Its possessions were partitioned between the allies, and the eastern frontier of Iran was fixed on the Oxus. Meanwhile the Ephthalites had crossed over the Hindū kush and established themselves in India.

4.19. Hūṇas in India

During the later part of Kubād's reign the Ephthalites, termed Hūnas in India, discovered a more promising field in India for their expansion and got disinterested in Persian affairs. They made Gandhāra (the valley of Peshāwar) their base for further conquests, and crossing the borders of Kashmīr, Sind and Panjāb, extended their sway to the interior parts of India.

Some time before the Ephthalite expansion into Gandhāra and the Kābul valley a powerful Kushān dynasty led by Kidāra had established its rule over the dominions formerly occupied by Kushāno-Sāsānian princes. This is how the Chinese text (*Wei-shu* (chap. C, 11, fol. 15) puts it: "Due to the frequent troubles from the Jouan-jouans, who were living to the north of Luchien-shih (located perhaps to the west of Bāmiān), the capital of the Yue-chis, the latter tribe migrated to the west and established themselves in Polo (generally identified with Balkh). Then their king Ki-to-lo (Kidāra), who was brave, raised an army and led it to the south of the Great Mountain and attacked the north of India. He occupied Kantolo (Gandhāra) and five other adjacent kingdoms. Later on this King Ki-to-lo was pursued by the Hiung-nus (White Huns). He then left his son in Fulousha (Peshāwar) and went to fight with the invading army. His son and successors were thus established in Peshāwar and were henceforth known as the Little Yue-chis". The *Wei-shu* text specifically styles Ki-to-lo as Ta-Yue-chi, though Prescus mentions the Kidarites as Huns. But, as we have seen above, the terms Ephthalites, Chionites, Huns, Scythians and Sakas were in the past sometimes loosely

used by different writers. Priscus is therefore no exception. That the Kidārites were Kushāns is proved by the title Kushān Shāh they used on their coinage. The confusion in our sources may reflect a real mixture of peoples and rulers.

The *Wei-Shu* does not tell us at what time Ki-to-lo conquered Gandhāra, though some help is available from numismatics in this regard. In the hoard of Tepe Marinjan one Scyphate of Bahrām I and eleven of Kidāra were found with a Sāsānian drachm of Shāpūr II (AD 309-79). As the hoard contains a coin of Shāpūr II, it could not have been buried earlier than AD 309. As Kidārite coins have legends written in Brāhmi characters, it may reasonably be assumed that their rule extended to the districts south of the Hindū Kush mountains. This division between lands north and south of the Hindū Kush is important, for, at least for a while it became an effective border between the Ephthalites and the Kidārites. The Ephthalites probably moved into the northern Kushān domains (north of the Oxus river) some years before Kidāra whose power seems to have been based mainly in lands south of the Hindū Kush.

According to Cunningham (1889: 280) the occupation of Gandhāra by Kidāra took place about AD 425 because, firstly, the Brāhmi inscriptions upon his coins do not appear to be earlier than the fifth century AD and, secondly, because his silver coins seem to be of the same age as Bahram V who reigned from AD 420 to 440. About this time or shortly after this Ki-to-lo established his son in Gandhāra and retired to his own country. The descendants of Kidāra continued to rule for a long time in the Panjāb, Gandhāra and Kashmīr as indicated by the places where their coins have been found. The name Kidāra is found upon a large number of coins in gold and copper found in the above mentioned provinces. Kidāra was apparently accepted as a family name. The rulers who struck coins with this family title, given perpendicularly under the king's arm, include Śrī Śīlāditya, Śrī Krtavīrya, Śrī Viśva, Śrī Kusala, Śrī Śīlāditya, Śrī Prakāsa, Salona etc. About the exact dates of these kings and their chronological succession nothing can be said with certainty.

Ki-to-lo's conquest of Gandhāra must have preceded the irruption of the White Huns who did not become powerful until the time of Solien Khān (AD 428-443). His son Chu Khān (AD 443-464) was certainly a strong ruler and is known to have assisted Firūz against Hormazd. It is to him that the Ephthalite invasion of Kidāra's dominions, forcing the latter to leave his son at Peshāwar and rush back to the Kābul valley to face it, may be ascribed.

The Ephthalites finally succeeded in forcing through the Hindū Kush barrier and reach Peshāwar where they established themselves two full generations before the visit of Sung-yun in AD 520, or say, about AD 470, if twenty-five years is good enough time for one generation. The Chinese pilgrim calls the reigning king a Ye-tha- that is, an Ephthalite or White Hun. The full Chinese name is Ye-tha-i-li-to, which was contracted to Ye-tha, just as Fo-tho, for Buddha, was shortened to Fo (Cunningham, *op.cit.*).

The name of the first Ye-tha king of Gandhāra, as reported by Sung-yun was read by Beal as Lae-lih and this reading was accepted by most subsequently writers. But Chavannes and Pelliot disagreed and read this word as "Tigīn" – a Turkish word meaning "governor". They also found some evidence in the Chinese history of Liang which says that Gandhāra was a subordinate province under the Ephthalites of the Oxus valley (see Pelliot 1904: 24-25). Taking clue from this reading Biswas (1974: 54-55) equates Tigīn with Tunjīna mentioned by Kalhaṇa (BK III, v.97) and presumes that Tunjīna was the grandfather of Mihirakula and father of Toramāṇa – the two famous Ephthalite rulers whose copper coins are found in large numbers in the Panjāb, Gandhāra and Kashmīr.

The actual position as given by Kalhaṇa is that Śreṣṭhasena, king of Kashmīr, popularly known as Pravarasena and also Tunjīna (II) had two sons named Hiranya and Toramāṇa (*Rajāt*, BK III, v.102). He was succeeded by Hiranya who, suspecting the intentions of his younger brother Toramāṇa imprisoned him. Toramāṇa died shortly after his release and most probably could not reach the throne. Here we come across a curious puzzle – indeed a discrepancy in Kalhaṇa's account. Coins are issued by sovereign rulers. How could Toramāṇa issue coins when his elder brother, the sovereign ruler, had put him behind the bars almost for his entire life? Apparently Kalhaṇa was misled by the coins of Toramāṇa, the Hun ruler of Gandhāra and because of the similarity of the names, ascribed them to Toramāṇa, the ill-fated younger brother of Hiranya, son of Tunjīna, who ruled centuries after the Hun empire had vanished. Therefore Biswas' thesis (p.59) that the Toramāṇas of the Erān inscription, the Kura inscription, the Gwalior inscription, the *Rājatarangīnī*, the Kuvalayamālā Carita, the Chach nāma, were all one and the same person, is clearly untenable. If this thesis is accepted we shall land in an insurmountable difficulty, for, Kalhaṇa's account shows that Mihirakula (son) ruled centuries before Toramāṇa (father). Thus Toramāṇa of

Kashmīr had nothing to do with Toramāṇa, the Hun ruler of Gandhāra; they were two separate individuals.

In book 1 (vv. 289-325) Kalhaṇa mentions Mihirakula, son of Vāsukula, as a king of violent disposition – a cruel persecutor of Buddhists and the father of the virtuous Baka who became known as a “reliever of humanity” (v.327). It is noteworthy that Kalhaṇa’s account shows Mihirakula as a predecessor of Toramāṇa. What evidence Kalhaṇa had to reach this conclusion, we do not know. Reconstructing the story in AD 1148-49, centuries after these events took place, he seems to have frequently blundered. In any case, modern scholarship, guided by the more credible information now available from inscriptional records and from the accounts left behind by some Chinese pilgrims, cannot accept this incorrect order of succession.

Kalhaṇa’s Mihirakula, Stein (1971: I, 78) remarks, is undoubtedly identical with the great ruler of the White Huns or Ephthalites, who calls himself Mihirakula or Mihiragula on his coins, and whom Kosmas Indikopleustes mentions under the name of Gollas. This Mihirakula was the son and successor of Toramāṇa as known from the Gwalior inscription (CII, III:162). Thus the parentage of Mihirakula is settled by a contemporary record. But we still don’t know for certain who was the father of Toramāṇa. Sung-yun does not clearly say that Lae-lih or Tigin was the father of Toramāṇa, though some scholars have assumed it to be the case.

Another piece of evidence which can help in resolving the issue of the parentage of Toramāṇa may be found in the Gupta Brāhmi legend of a coin read Thujana by Biswas (1973: 54 and Pl.II,no.14). Thujana was afterwards Sanskritized with an inserted nasal and retroflex *tha* softened into *ta*. This resulted in the form Tuṇjina mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the name of Toramāṇa’s father. Tigīn mentioned by Sung-yun and Tuṇjīna by Kalhaṇa are synonymous, Biswas further adds. If this is correct the problem relating to the parentage of Toramāṇa stands resolved.

Toramāṇa appears to be a non-Indian foreign name which, according to Karabacek (EI, I: 239), is derived from the Turkish original Tūramān or Toremān meaning ‘a rebel or an insurgent’. The word Jaula in the title Śāhi Jaula given to him in the Kura inscription is connected by Karabacek with the Turkish word *Juvl* meaning ‘falcon’. Besides the inscription just mentioned found at Kura in the Salt Range (Panjāb) the name Toramāṇa also occurs in an inscription found at Erān, in Sargar district, Madhya Pradesh (C II,II, no. 360) and at Gwalior (CII,III:162). These

inscriptions, together with coins, form a very important source of information for the history of the Huns in India. Kalhaṇa's account being garbled and distorted, the boundaries of the Hun empire in South Asia would have remained undefined without these epigraphic records, for, coins can tell us about the limits of their circulation but not the boundary of a kingdom.

Much has been made of the slight difference in the royal titles given to Toramāṇa in these inscriptions. In the Erān inscription he is called *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Toramāṇa*, the Kura inscription has *Mahārājājādhirāja Toramāṇa Sāha Jauvlah*. This difference has suggested to some writers that there were more than one Toramāṇas. But the fact is that these records were not commissioned by the ruling Hun monarchs, nor did they give the engravers a uniform formula to be followed, and that the local chiefs responsible for these records, followed the local pattern as best known to them, in the widely distant localities. There is no need to read too much in the slightly divergent patterns. The main points which may be accepted as certain are that Toramāṇa was succeeded by his son Mihirakula about AD 515 in the rule of the territories conquered by the Huns from Kābul to Central India (Mālwa) and that after extensive campaigns the latter was defeated by Bālāditya of Magadha and Yaśodharman, and forced to retire about AD 530 to Kashmīr and the adjoining regions. From here he appears to have endeavoured to recover his lost dominions in the direction of the lower Indus. What happened to him after this, we do not know; nor is the date of his death recorded anywhere in our source material. This much is however certain that the charisma these dashing horsemen from Central Asia had created under the chivalrous advance of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula into the central parts of India, was finally shattered by the humiliating defeat of Mihirakula. Nevertheless its impact remained alive in the minds of Indian chiefs who even long after this event, considered their success against a Hun feudal lords a matter of great pride. The Pāla king Devapāla, for instance, has been praised as the victor of the Hūṇas. Similarly in the Rāstrakūṭa records there are some references to the Hūṇas.

The Hun rule in Kashmīr, Gandhāra and the Panjāb did not end with the defeat of Mihirakula. Kalhaṇa has recorded the names of several rulers who succeeded Mihirakula and Toramāṇa but it is impossible to put them in a precise chronological order. Of these rulers only Narendrāditya who had the second name Khinkhila is known, in addition to the Rājatrangī (BK I, vv. 347-349), from two inscriptional

records of which one comes from Hund (ancient Udabhāṇḍapura) on the right bank of the Indus and the other from Gardez, some 70 miles to the south of Kābul (Afghānistān). Both show proto-Śāradā characters of about the seventh century AD. The Hund example is merely a fragment but the name Narendrāditya (line 3) is clearly legible (Nasim Khān 1998-99: 77-83). The one from Gardez is found upon the pedestal of an image of Vināyaka (Gaṇeś) and consists of two lines. It states that the image of Mahā Vināyaka was installed by the *Paramabattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śāhi Khingāla*. The reading of the last but one word of this legend has become controversial. G. Tucci (1958: 276) reads it as Otyāna and connects it with Odyāna or Udyāna (Swāt). If the reading is correct, Tucci remarks, then here we have the first mention of a king of Swāt. But others read this word differently (see Sircar, EI 1963: 44).

The Hund inscription as noted above records the name Narendrāditya, whereas the Vināyaka inscription has merely Khingāla. Kalhaṇa records Khinkhil, also called Narendrāditya, as the name of a king of the dynasty of Gonanda who ruled Kashmīr before the Kārkoṭas (*Rajāt*. 1: v.347). It was during the reign of the founder of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, Durlabhavardhana, that Xuan Zang visited Kashmīr in AD 631-33. Stein suggests that we must recognize in Khinkhila the Ephthalite ruler who calls himself on his coins "Deva Śāhi Khinjila". We do not know the exact date of this Khinkhil whose rule, according to Kalhaṇa, extended for thirty six years. Biswas (1973: 132) places him between AD 597-633.

The ruler of Kābul whom the Caliph al-Mahdi (AD 775-785) wrote a letter was, according to Ya'qūbi (1883: ii, 479) known as Khinkhil or Khinjil. Whether all these Khinkhils, Khinjils, Khinjilas or Khingāls refer to one and the same individual is difficult to say. If Kuvayama's suggestion (see Rahman 2002: 37-42) that Khinjil was the dynastic name of the rulers of Kāpisi is correct, then we may postulate the existence of more than one individual. The high sounding epithets given to Khingāl in the Gardez image inscription, suggest that he was a great emperor.

Right from the beginning, or at least from the time of Mihirakula, as his coins and also Kalhaṇa's account show, the Hūṇas accepted Hindūism as their religion thus taking the first step towards initiating the process of Indianization. Tod (1920: 1, 29) believed that certain Kshatriya groups later known as Rājputās were the descendants of foreign invaders who from time to time entered India and gradually became Hindūs. This idea was further elaborated by Smith (1958: 191). The upper ranks of the invading

hordes of Hūṇas, Gurjaras, Maitrakas, and the rest, he tells us, became Rājput clans, while the lower developed into Hindū castes of less honourable status, such as Gujars, Ahīrs, Jats and other. Such clan-castes of foreign descent are the proud and chivalrous Śīsodias or Guhilots of Mewar, the Pratihāras, the Chauhans, the Paramāras and the Chaulukyas. D.R. Bhandarkar (1903: 413) was another supporter of this view. The Rājput, amongst whom stood in the top most rank the Pratihāras, Paramāras, Chaulukyas and Cāhmānas, he remarks, were the descendants of the Gurjars who were originally called Khazars and came along with the Hūṇas in the beginning of the 6th century. Just as Smith and others find an ancestral stock for the Rājput in the foreign invaders, so does Sir Olaf Caroe (1958: 87) for the Paṭhāns: "the best linguists believe the ancestor of the *Pakhtu* language to have come in not later than the Sakas, four centuries before the Ephthalites arrived. But it seems to me certain that, whatever the underlying strata, the White Hun dominance must have contributed another layer to the composition of the people of these parts. Just as the Gurjaras, the helots of the White Huns, are still to be seen as Gujars in thousands in this very region, so their overlords, the Ephthalites, must be among the Khāns. My conviction is that many of the Khānkhel of tribes such as the Yūsufzais could claim Ephthalite forebears."

4.20. Turk Śāhis and Hindū (Odi) Śāhis

Afghānistān, Gandhāra and the Panjāb from about the middle of the seventh century AD to early eleventh century were ruled by two successive dynasties known to historians as Turk Śāhi and Hindū (Odi) Śāhis. Albīrūni has preserved some names of the individual rulers, and a few more are known from other sources but the relevant details which would have thrown light on the demographic profile of these areas are regrettably missing.

In the first quarter of the sixth century AD when the Juan-Juan were dominant in Mongolia, the Ephthalites then ruled a vast stretch of land extending from Russian Turkistan and eastern Irān to the heart of Afghānistān and the Panjāb. Both these powers were allies. About 520 the Ephthalite Khān married the aunts of A-na-Kuei (522-52), the Khāgān of the Juan-Juan.

Among the vassals of Juan-Juan, say the Chinese, were the T'u-chüeh, a Turkic tribe which has given its name to a whole group of nations sharing common language, and the Kao-kiu. The latter had suffered much at the hands of the Juan-Juan and shortly before 546 when they were conspiring to regain freedom, they were betrayed by Bumin

(in Turkic) or T'u-men (in Chinese), the T'u-chueh chief, who leaked this information to A-na-Kuei, and in reward asked for the hand of a royal princess. But the request was turned down. Bu-min then allied himself with Hsi-Wei dynasty of Toba stock, then reigning at Changan in northwest China, who in 551 bestowed upon Bumin the hand of one of their own princess. In the following year (552), the T'u-chueh chief defeated the Juan-Juan and pushed them to the Chinese border. A-na-Kue committed suicide. Thus the imperial territory of Mongolia passed from Juan-Juan to the T'u-chueh.

At the peak of his power Bumin died in 552 and was succeeded by his son Mukan (553-72) who got Mongolia and the imperial title Khāgān. Thus was founded the Khānate of the eastern T'u-chueh. Bumin's younger brother Istami (in Turkic) or Shih-tie-mi (in Chinese) inherited the princely title Yabghu and the country of the Black Irtysh and of Imil, and the basins of the Yulduz, Ili, Chu and Talas. This came to be known as Khānate of the Western Turks. Istami soon picked up quarrel with the Ephthalites and concluded a treaty with the Sāsānian emperor Khusro I Anūshīrvan against them. He also gave the hand of one of his daughters to Khusro in marriage to further seal the treaty. The Ephthalites were sandwiched and crushed c. 565, their King named "Wazar" (Tabari 1939: Vol. 1, 526) was killed. Perhaps a portion of them fled to Hungary and came to be known as Avars. The Ephthalite territories were divided between the western T'u-chueh and the Sāsānians. Bactria was thus restored to the Sāsānian empire though for a short while for the T'u-chueh were poised to take Balkh and Kunduz.

Istami, the Yabghu or Khān of the western Turks (552-575) is known to Tabari (1939: 1, 526) as Sinjbū or Sinjibū Khāqān, a very brave person who commanded a great army. Rene Grousset (1970: 83) writes this name as "Silzibil" and considers it a corrupted form of Yabghu. Having reached the Oxus, Istami became an immediate neighbour of Persia and therefore demanded a share of the silk route trade. To this end he sent a Sogdian named Maniakh to Khusro who rejected his overtures. He then resolved to establish contacts with the Byzantines and dispatched Maniakh as an envoy to Constantinople in 567. In the following year Maniakh returned accompanied by a Byzantine envoy, Zemarchos, to conclude an alliance. Having been informed about these developments the Persians also made a hurried attempt to enter into a similar alliance, but it was too late. The Turks declared war on Persia. In 572 the Byzantines too embarked on a war against Persia, which lasted for twenty years (572-591). Meanwhile close relations were maintained between the Turks and the Byzantines.

Istami dispatched a second envoy, named Anankast. The Byzantines responded by sending several envoys one after the other.

In 576 the Byzantine emperor Tiberius II once more sent Valentine to the Turks but by the time the envoy arrived on the upper Yuldus, the headquarters of the western Turks, Istāmi had died. His son and successor Tardu (575-603), the Ta-t'ou of the Chinese historians, was greatly displeased because Constantinople had concluded a treaty with the Avars considered to be remnants of the Juan-Juan or Ephthalites who had taken refuge in Russia. Valentine was therefore given a cold reception. Meanwhile Tardu sent a detachment of his cavalry under Bokhān against the Byzantine settlements in Crimea and captured some territory and held until 590 when it was evacuated by the T'u-chüeh troops.

In 588-89 the Turks invaded Bactria and advanced as far as Herāt, but they were repulsed by Bahrām Chobīn, one of the outstanding military figure of his day, who won a series of victories over the Huns of the north and the Turks in the east, but suffered reverses in his operations against the Byzantines. Bahrām's failure against the Byzantines annoyed the Sāsānian emperor Hormizd who tried to disgrace the general but, in retaliation, the general himself rebelled. This provided the Iranian nobility with an opportunity to rise against the emperor who was deposed and replaced on the throne by his son Khusro II (590-628). This however was not enough for Bahrām whose aspirations now rose high and wanted nothing less than the throne. Supported by his army he seized the capital and declared himself king. Khusro was powerless and did not have enough muscle and resources to hold his position. He therefore found it advisable to take refuge with the Byzantine emperor Maurice with whose help he was after some time able to defeat Bahrām and regain the throne. The assistance, although invaluable, had to be paid for: Persia lost Armenia and the Roman frontier was extended to Lake Van and Tiflis. The grip of the Sāsānian government on the distant frontiers must have weakened during this period of insurgency providing an opportunity for the Turks to tighten their grip on Turkhāristān.

Kuwayama (1999: 40) gives a slightly different account of Turkish occupation of Turkhāristān. The decline of the Ephthalites at their main headquarter in Turkhāristān, he remarks, had already begun when the Turkish chieftain Mugan Khāqān attacked them immediately after defeating the Ruiruis (or Juan-Juan) in between 552-555. An eye witness of this event is Jinagupta, a Buddhist monk of Gandhāra origin

who left there in 554 for Chinese Central Asia via Kāpīśi, Bāmiyān and Tukhāristān. Three years later, he goes on to say, Sinzhibu Khāqān, another Turkish chieftain, attacked the Ephthalites from the north in alliance with Khusro I who had replaced the pro-Ephthalite King Kubād I and had close ties with Sinzhibu as his son-in-law (Marquart 1901: 64; Altheim 1969: II, 260-261; Haussig 1956: 23). This attack resulted in the release of the Tāshkand, Ferghāna and Samarkand regions from the yoke of the Ephthalites. In between 562 and 568, he further informs us, Ton-shad Zijie eventually crossed the Amu Darya under the leadership of Sinzibu to forcibly occupy the most fertile pasture-lands (*Suishu*, Vol.6 1854).

Whatever the case may be, we know it from Xuan Zang (Beal 1969: 45) that at the time of his visit to Po-Ho (Balkh) in about 629, the ruler was a Turk named Ye-hu (or She-hu) Khān. As She-hu or Ye-hu stands for Yabghu, Xuan Zang seems to have mistaken the title for the actual name. But we know from other sources that the actual name was T'ung (Kuwayama 1999: 41). Kuwayama has also drawn attention to another piece of information regarding Xuan Zang's visit to Balkh. It is recorded, he says, in a biography of Xuanzang. (The Great Tang Biography of the Master of Tripiṭaka in the Great Cien Monsatery) – that the Turkish Chief Tardu-shad, in Tukhāristān offered to escort him to Kāpīsi. This Tardu-shad was the son of T'ung She-hu mentioned above (see Grousset 1970: 93).

Having scaled the Hindū Kush to the south by the Bāmiyān route Xuan Zang (op.cit: 54) reached Kia-pi-shi (Kapiśa), present Bigrām, of which the king was a Kshattriya by caste. He was a man of shrewd character, brave and determined and had brought into subjection the neighbouring countries, some ten of which he ruled. The people of Kāpīsi used gold and silver coins, and also little copper coins, which in appearance and stamp differed from those of other countries. Whether the coins were issued by the Kshattriya ruler or not is not clear but the fact that they looked different from those of other counties may suggest local production.

Was this Kshattriya ruler the same as the one mentioned in the Gardez inscription, namely, Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja Śāhi Khingāla, is not known for certain but it seems likely to be the case. The high-sounding and distinctive titles given to him in the inscription and Xuan Zang's description of the ruler of Kāpīśa as a great conqueror who had brought several countries in the neighbourhood under his control gives almost the same message. Some support for this view may be derived

from the Geography Section in the *Jiu Tangshu* and the *Tangshu* which say that the state of Jibin (i.e. Kāpiśa) politically consisted of eleven principalities. This number nearly matches with that given by Xuan Zang (see Kuwayama 1999: 42). The fact that such principalities covered a vast area with Kāpiśa as the summer and Udabhāṇḍapura (Hund) as the winter headquarters is also shown by Xuan Zang: on the way back from the doāb to China, he was warmly received by the Kāpiśa king at Hund (Ibid.).

4.20.1. *Origin of the Turk Śāhis*

The origin of the Turk Śāhis is shrouded in mystery. According to Albīrūni (1958: 348-49) the Turk Śāhi rule in Kābul began with the miraculous rise of Barhatigīn who first entered a cave and then came out of it fully attired in Turkish dress – a short tunic open in front, a high hat, boots and arms – presenting himself as a king. Wonderstruck by his miraculous rise the people accepted him as their king. Whatever the historical value of this tradition, and even if we accept it as historically true, Albīrūni has given no date for such an important event. Nor is this date recorded anywhere else in our sources. Even the question whether Barhatigīn belonged to the royal family of the Western Turks or happened to be merely an ethnically Turkish adventurer remains unanswered.

We have seen above that the chief of the eastern Turks, according to the terms of the agreement concluded at the time of the division of the empire, enjoyed a certain degree of superiority, and hence assumed the title Khāgān/Khāqān, over the chief of the Western Turks who was styled Yabghū or prince. But this superiority did not last long, for, T'o-po, the brother and successor to Mu-han (Mugan) was the last of his line to receive the homage of the west. Between 582 and 584, Tardu, the Yabghu of the west, broke with the ruler of the east and himself took the title of Khāgān. Thereafter the eastern and western Turks were never again to be reunited. This happened when China was reuniting under the Sui dynasty and was opening the door for the triumph of Chinese imperialism in Central Asia under the Sui and T'ang dynasties (seventh to ninth centuries). The Chinese took full advantage of this rivalry and supported their partisans with a view to fish in the troubled waters. The T'u-chüeh remained hopelessly divided.

The emperor T'ai-tsung (627-649) of the T'ang dynasty was the real founder of Chinese greatness in Central Asia. He destroyed the Khānate of the eastern Turks and contributed to the dismemberment of the western branch which was later subjugated by his son. Having reorganized Inner Mongolia as border marches in 630, Ta'i-tsung

turned his attention to the western Turks who had reunited under the Khān Shih-kuei who reigned between 611 and 618 from the Altai to the Caspian and the Hindū Kush. His brother and successor, T'ung, the Yabghu (between 618 and 630) – further extended his power and reaffirmed his rule over Turkhāristān and appointed his son Tardu-shāh as king over it. The *Tang-Shu* states that "he held hegemony over the western lands. Never had the barbarians of the west been so powerful".

Some months after Xuan Zang's visit, the mighty empire of the western Turks collapsed. The Qarluqs, a nomad tribe, rebelled against T'ung Shih-hu and put him to death (Chavannes 1900: 25-26, 53). The Khānate was split into two groups, of which the names are known only in Chinese transcription: the Nu-shih-pi tribes to the west and south west of the Issyk Kul, and the Tu-lu tribes northeast of that lake. Nu-shi-pi and Tu-lu wore themselves out in obscure battles. A Tu-lu Khān, himself named Tu-lu (638-651), attempted at one stage to reunite the two groups and attacked the Chinese military colonies in the Hami area. But the Chinese general Kuo Hiao-K'o defeated him about 642. Moreover, the emperor T'ai-tsung supported the Nu-shih-pi hordes against Tu-lu and the harassed Khān fled to Bactria where he disappeared (651) (Ibid; 27-32, 56-58).

What happened to Tu-lu after his disappearance is not known. But Albīrūnī's information regarding the sudden appearance of a Turk known as Barhatigīn in the vicinity of Kābul appears to be meaningful in this context. The presence of Turks or T'u-chūeh in the area stretching from Sīstān and Balūchistān to Gandhāra in the seventh century AD is well attested by the accounts of Arab chroniclers as well as by the itineraries of Chinese travellers. We shall give here only a few examples to uphold the truth of this statement. Thus, Ahnaf b. Qais, a commander of Ibn 'Āmar, the governor of Baṣrah in AD 649-659, was dispatched by the latter to fight the Hayātila (Turks) in Kohistān, near modern Herāt (Balādhuri 1986: 579-80). Another commander of Ibn 'Āmar, named 'Abd Allah b. Sawwār, fighting on the Hind frontier, was killed by the Turks in Qiqān (Ibid: 616) – the present Qallāt district. In Qiqān again Muhallab – the famous ancestor of the Muhallabi chiefs of Khurāsān – encountered eighteen Turkish horsemen in 44H/AD 664. During the parallel caliphate of Ibn Zubair (AD 682-692), 'Abd al-'Azīz, the governor of Sīstān, had to fight a difficult battle with the ruler of Zābulistān called Rutbīl whose armies consisted of Turks. The Rutbīl is said to have had bodyguards enlisted from the local Turks, at-Turk ad-Dāwari (Bosworth 1963: 36). The *Tang-shu* (Chavannes 1900: 160 f) records a mixed population of the T'u chūeh

and the people of Ki-pin (Kāpīsa) in Zābulistān. It seems the Tu-lu group of tribes, hard pressed by their rivals the Nu-shi-pi, abandoned Tukhāristān and found a safe haven in Zābulistān where they subsequently established themselves as rulers. Was this Tu-lu the same as Albīrūnī's Barhatigin? The concordance of dates, as well shall see below, makes the probability of their being one and the same person even greater.

In about AD 680, the Turkish ruler of Zābulistān, Rutbīl, was a brother of the Kābul Shāh whose actual name has gone unrecorded (see Tabari, 1964: 1, 2705-06). In AD 726, the ruler of Zābulistān (Rutbīl) was a nephew of the Kābul Shāh (Fuchs 1938: 448). Obviously the Kābul Shāh and Rutbīl belonged to the same T'u Chüeh family. Rutbīl was succeeded by his son, whose name is not known but who is designated by Balādhuri (p.399) as Rutbīl II. Evidently Rutbīl was not a personal name but a designation used by the rulers of Zābulistān. The last of the Rutbīls was over powered and taken prisoner by Ya'qub b. Laith during his invasion of Kābul and Zābulistān in AD 870 (Ibn al-Athīr: VII, 247). The first reference to a Rutbīl is datable to about AD 666, though Turkish presence in Afghānistān is noted by Arab chroniclers a decade or so earlier than this (see Rahman 1979: 46-47). Thus disappearance of Tu-lu in Tukhāristān to the north of the Hīndū Kush is co incident with the appearance of Barhatigin to the south. The obvious suggestion is that they represent one and the same person --- the founder of the Turkish rule in Zābulistān, Kābul and Gandhāra. The reference to Khinjil, the ruler of Kāpīsa (Bigrām) by Ya'qūbi (1969: 11, 479) suggests that he must have preserved his independence till the time of the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdī (AD 775). It is stated that Mahdī wrote letters to different kings inviting them to tender their submission to his authority. Among those who complied with his orders are mentioned Khinkhil, the Shāh of Kābul; Rutbīl; the malik of Sijistān, and the malik of Bāmian (see Rahman 1979: 83).

Ibn Khallikān mentions a Turkish tribe called Darāri, which lived on the frontier regions of Sistān (i.e. Rukhkhaj and Zamīn Dāwar) and was governed by a king named Rutbīl, who was eventually attacked and killed by Ya'qūb b. Laith (de slane 1961: v, 302). But no such tribe or clan bearing the name Darāri is reported by Muslim geographers among the Turkish tribes enumerated by them. The Turkish tribes mentioned by Ibn Khuradādhbih (1889:31) include: "The Toghuzghuz whose country is the most extensive among the Turks, and borders on China, Tibet, and the Kharlukh, the Kīmāk (or kaimāk), the Ghuzz, the Jafr, the Bajanāk, the Turkash (Targish), the Azkash, the khifshakh, the Khirkhīz, where musk is found, the Kharlakh and the Khalaj,

and these (latter) are on this side of the river (Oxus)". The absence of the name Darari from Arab Chroniclers other than Ibn Khallikan shows that it is a corrupted form of some other name, probably Dāwari. The actual wording, it seems, was at-Turk ad-Dāwari" which, because of scribal negligence became at-Turk ad-Darāri. An ancient tribe called Dāwar still exists in the tribal area of Pakistan. They were pushed out of their original home, in the course of time but their name Zamīn Dāwar, i. e. "The Dāwar Land" still continue to be used.

Frequently mentioned in this context are the Khalaj and Ghuzz Turks, who lived in Bust, Bishtam and Sīstān (Frye and Sayili 1943: 203). According to Istakhri (1927: 245) the Khalaj of Zamīn Dāwar had kept their customs, external appearance and language up to his own time. There were many languages and people in Zābulistān and one group might go back to the descendants of Jafeth b. Nūh, traditionally the ancestor of the Turks (Frye and Sayili 1943:203). Ya'qūb b. Laith, the Ṣaffārid king of Sīstān, is said to have killed many Khalaj and Turks (*Tārīkh-i Sīstān*: 215). The Khalaj were later subdued by Sabūktigīn, when he won a victory over Jayapāla (Ibn al-Athīr: viii, 687). Subsequently they formed an important element in the armies of the Ghaznavids, Ghorīs and Khwarazmshāhs (see Bosworth 1963: 36). The name Khalaj probably survives in the modern name Ghilzai (Caroe 1958: 131). The famous Khalji dynasty of the Delhi Sultāns had its ancestors from the Khalaj.

The early history of the Khalaj tribe is shrouded in mystery. Ibn Khurradādhbih (1889: 31) places them to the west of the Oxus, but he does not specify any particular place in that vast region. Istakhri (p.345) and Ibn Hauqal (p.302) who are more explicit on the subject, say: "The Khalaj are a class of Turks who in the days of old came to the country stretching between India and the districts of Sijistān, behind Ghor. They are cattle breeders of Turkish appearance, dress and language". Mas'ūdi (in Minorsky 1980: 430) speaks of the Turkish tribes Ghuzz and Kharlaj living towards Gharsh (Gharchistān) and Bust in (the region) adjoining Sijistān. If Istakhri and Mas'ūdi place the Khalaj on the middle course of the Helmand (i.e. Zamīn Dāwar), the author of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (AD 982) locates them in the region of Ghazna and the adjoining districts. According to Khwārazmi (1983: 114) the Hayātīla are a tribe of men who had enjoyed grandeur and possessed the country of Tukhāristān, the Turks called Khalaj and G.njīna are their remnants. These Turkish tribes made a significant addition to the population of Afghānistān.

Another important addition was the arrival of the Suren family, the powerful feudal lords of Sīstān, in Afghānistān. The outstanding role of this family or tribe during the Parthian rule in the battle of Carrhae has been mentioned above. Even under the Sāsānian who succeeded the Parthians in Iran, this family continued to exercise power and influence as shown by the mention of this name among the feudal lords listed in Shāpūr's great trilingual inscription (see Frye 1976: 239). We do not know for certain what happened to this family after the fall of the Sāsānian empire when the last Sāsānian emperor Yazdgard, having lost the battle at Nihāwand, fled with his court towards the east and was assassinated in the neighbourhood of Merv in AD 651. But the close resemblance between Suren and the Afghān name Sūri is highly suggestive. About 1592 years after the battle of Carrhae (53 BC), a highly talented scion presumably of the same family, Sher Shāh, repeated the same story of success at the battlefield of Chunar (AD 1539) when he inflicted a humiliating defeat upon Naṣr ad-Dīn Humāyūn, the Mughal Emperor of India. But this time he fought the battle for himself, not for anybody else as his predecessor did at Carrhae. In the following year Humāyūn fled for life and Sher Shāh became emperor of India. In the medieval period of Indian history the Sūris formed a subsection of the much larger Lodhi tribe. It seems probable therefore that the Lodhis might have drifted from their original home in Sīstān to the Afghān hills sometime after the fall of the Sāsānian empire.

4.21. Extension of Arab Rule into Sīstān and Kābul

Although Sīstān felt the first shocks of Arab expansion in the reign of the Caliph 'Umar (AD 634-44), they made no real progress till the arrival of Ibn 'Āmar as the governor of Baṣrah – the headquarters for military operations in eastern Irān. On his way to Khurāsān in the year 30/AD 650, the youthful governor detached a force to Sīstān under Rabī 'for the practical purpose of opening up the Qandahār – Kābul – Tukhāristān route of communication, considered to be vitally important for further inroads into Central Asia. After fighting several battles on the way Rabī finally reached Zaranj – the capital of Sīstān. On the outskirts of the city, he was opposed by the people, whom he soon forced to retreat to the safety of the city walls. As the Zaranjites retreated he promptly moved ahead and invested the city. Finding no other way the satrap of Zaranj sued for peace and capitulated on terms (Baladhuri: 394; *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*: 81-82). After two years Rabī was called back. The successor of Rabī proved an utter failure

and was thrown out of Zaranj by the people. Thus Sīstān was lost and had to be reconquered.

The next governor, Ibn Samurah, was a man of chivalrous character. He moved on to Zaranj with a lightning speed and forced the satrap to conclude a peace treaty on the payment of indemnity. He then brought under his control the entire country in the neighbourhood. On reaching Zamīn Dāwar, he surrounded the enemy in the mountain of Zūr, where there was a Hindū temple, and carried it. Zābul and Bust submitted by agreement (*Ibid.*) Ibn Samurah retired to Zaranj and stayed there until the downfall of the Caliph Uṭhmān.

In the period of five years following the tragic death of 'Uṭhmān (36/AD 656), the Arab world plunged into civil war and had no time and leisure to pay attention to the defence of outlying provinces such as Sīstān. As the Caliph Mu'āwīya consolidated his position at Damascus, Ibn Samurah was once again placed in charge of Sīstān. With his arrival in 43/AD 663-64 (Ibn al Athīr: iii, 436) began a series of fresh triumphs. In 44/AD 664-65, Ibn Samurah marched into Kābul. The Kābul Shāh put up a tough resistance but after some fighting submitted and concluded a treaty of which the terms are not known. Ibn Samurah then moved to Zābulistān whose people had violated the treaty. After a quick round of victories he returned to Kābul where he faced a fresh rebellion. But Kābul fell once again to the irresistible Ibn Samurah who carried the place by assault. The Kābul Shāh was taken captive and when he was ordered to be beheaded, he uttered the Muslim creed and was therefore treated with honour and released. The name of the vanquished Kābul Shāh is not known. It is probable that he was one of the Khinjils of Kapiśa.

During the siege of Kābul, Ibn Samurah dispatched one of his lieutenants, Muḥallab b. Abī Šufrah, most probably to ward off any danger of being attacked from the rear by the ruler of Zābulistān. Muḥallab went as far as "Banna" and "al-Ahwaz" – towns between Multān and Kābul – on the Indian frontier, and then proceeded to Qīqān (Qallāt) where he was attacked by eighteen Turkish horsemen.

4.22. Barhatigīn and Hyech'o

Barhatigīn's sudden and miraculous rise to power at Kābul as reported by Albīrūnī has been mentioned. We have also discussed the disappearance of Tu-lu (638-651), the Yabghū, in Tukhāristān and his possible reappearance in the Kābul

region under the name Barhatigīn in about AD 666. Hyech'o, a Korean monk who visited Gandhāra in AD 726, gives a slightly different account. This is what he says:

This country (Gandhāra) was formerly under the domination of the kings of Kapiśa. Therefore the father of the Turkish king submitted with the troops of his entire tribe to the king of Kapiśa. As later the war power of the T'u Chūeh increased, he then killed that king of Kapiśa and made himself the ruler of the country.

The following main points emerge from this statement:

1. The Turks were already there in Gandhāra before his visit in AD 726.
2. The father of the Turkish king of Gandhāra, in the past, was vassal of the king of Kapiśa (perhaps one of the kings of the Khinjil line).
3. Having gathered strength the Turkish king killed his erstwhile master and usurped the throne of Kābul / Kapiśa.

It is noteworthy that Hyech'o neither mentions the name of the usurper nor the date of his ascending the throne of Kapiśa. We have seen above that there is enough evidence in Arabic sources to show that the Turks had reached Zābulistān and Kābul and settled there probably with the permission of the Khinjil ruler. The Tu-lu, it seems, having been pressed hard by the Nu-shi-pi hordes and the Chinese forces sought asylum in the territories under the control of the Khinjil ruler, while the ruling family, to make sure that they were out of the reach of their enemies, headed for the distant Gandhāra where its leader, probably the father (aye) of the Turkish king as mentioned by Hye ch'o, established himself as a subordinate ruler.

If our reconstruction of the story is correct, this event might have taken place in about the middle of the seventh century AD. But Hyech'o noted it during his visit to Gandhāra in 726 – almost seventy years afterwards, when, presumably, the precise names of the aye (father) and his son had been forgotten. By this time Ibn Samurah's invasion of Kābul and Zābulistān had crushed the military potential of the Khinjil who shortly afterwards fell an easy prey to the Turkish king (Barhatigīn) of Gandhāra. The story regarding the rise of Barhatigīn at Kābul, as recorded by Albīrūni, shows that the overthrow and assassination of the Khinjil must have taken place at Kābul. Barhatigīn may have handed over Kapiśa to a scion of the Khinjil family to act as a vassal, for Ya'qūbi (ii: 479) mentions a 'Khinkhil', the Kābul Shāh, contemporary with the caliph

al-Mahdi (AD 775-85). The term 'Kābul Shāh' appears to have been confused here with Kapiśa Shāh.

Encouraged by his success against Khinjl, Barhatigīn, the new Kābul Shāh, launched an ambitious scheme of expansion. While he himself drove all the Muslims out of Kābul, the Rutbīl gained control of the areas as far as Rukh khaj (ancient Arachosia) and Bust. But the arrival of Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Hārathī, a veteran Arab general, as the next governor of Sīstān shattered his aspirations. Soon after his arrival in the year 47/667-68, Rabī' marched forth to meet the enemy at Bust. In the ensuing battle the Rutbīl suffered defeat and fled to Rukh khaj pursued hot on the heels by the troops of Rabī' (Ibid.). There again he was put to flight. The Rutbīl suffered defeats again and again at the hands of the successive Arab governors of Sīstān, but did not lose heart and whenever he found an opportunity he hit them hard. The details are too many to be accommodated here.

Some time between the years 680 and 683 (in the reign of the caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya) the two brothers – the Kābul Shāh and the Rutbīl – fell apart. The only source for this is a confused paragraph in Tabari (see Rahman 1979: 66) which gives us an insight into the internal affairs of Kābul and Zābulistān. Sometime in the reign of the caliph Mu'āwiya (661-680), we are told, the Rutbīl fled from Zābulistān fearing an attack by the Kābul Shāh, his brother, and approached Salm b. Ziyād, the governor of Khurāsān, at Amul with a request for help. Salm agreed to help him. Thus, the Rutbīl established himself as an independent ruler of Zābulistān.

There is some confusion regarding the caliph who appointed Salm in the government of Khurāsān. On page 361 (vol.4) Tabari records that Salm, son of Ziyād, went to the caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya in the year 61 seeking a job. Yazīd said: "I give you the post (formerly) given to both of your brothers – Abd al-Rahmān and 'Abbād". Salm replied "as it pleases the Amīr al-Mu'minīn". So Yazīd appointed him governor of Khurāsān and Sijistān. Salm was a young man of 24 years. Balādhuri (p.389) says "when Yazīd succeeded Mu'āwiya, he appointed Salm b. Ziyād as wālī (governor) of Khurāsān and Sijistān. Salm stayed in Khurāsān till the death of Yazīd. Ibn al-Athīr (1979: vi, 95, 96), Ibn al-Kaṭhīr (1989: vii-viii, 1125) have precisely the same information.

The predecessors of Salm in the government of Khurāsān during the reign of the caliph Mu'āwiya were: 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād (in the year 59/678, Sa'id b. Uṭh

mān (in the year 57/676, Aslam b. Zur'ah (in the year 56/675 'Ubaid Allah b. Ziyād (in the year 54/674-75. 'Abd al-Rahmān stayed in Khurāsān till the death of Mu'āwiya. It is noteworthy that Salm b. Ziyād is nowhere mentioned in our sources as a governor having been appointed by Mu'āwiya, except in the blundered paragraph referred to above, which appears to be a scribal error. This invalidates Kuwayama's (1999: 63) following statement:

It is very strange that Rehman (Rahman) takes only Mu'āwiyah as mistaken without examining if "Salm b. Ziyād" is also. In fact, Inaba does not accept Rehman's forced interpretation, pointing out that there is a possibility that even 'Salm b. Ziyād' might have been confused with others, since this name historically is popular among Muslim generals.

It is unfortunate that Kuwayama or Inaba has not specifically pointed out any other Muslim general bearing the name Salm, son of Ziyād. The fact is that such a fanciful name does not occur anywhere in Muslim chronicles. Moreover, if we suppose that Salm b. Ziyād has been confused with the name of some other governor of Mu'āwiya, we shall be negating the evidence of all Muslim chroniclers who, without any exception, are unanimous regarding this point. Thus Salm b. Ziyād was the governor in question and he was the one who was appointed by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, not by his father.

As to the religion of the Turks of Gandhāra Wu k'ong who passed through this area soon after the middle of the eighth century AD, mentions kings with Turkish names as having founded certain monasteries. The ruling, Jou-l'o-li, he says, was known to be a descendant of Kanishka. Wu k'ong seems to have erroneously confused the Turks with the Kushāns (see Le'vi and Chavannes 1895: 356 f). Another name of an Ispahbadh Kābul Shāh found in an uncertain form is recorded by Azraqī (1983: 227) as 'Maharab Pati Dūmi'.

Azraqī found this name written upon a board containing the caption of a throne and crown placed inside the Ka'ba. These objects were brought from Kābul as spoils and deposited in the treasury of Khurāsān by Māmūn's army during the time (AD 809-813) when he had set himself up at Merv as a rival caliph against his brother, Āmīn. By the year AD 813 Māmūn emerged victorious and occupied the throne of Baghdād. In the year 200/815-16 he ordered the transfer of the Khurāsān treasury to Baghdād with instructions to shift the throne and the crown of the Kābul Shāh to the Ka'ba. But the

actual name of the Kābul Shāh, having gone through the hands of ignorant copyists of Azraqī's work, has been disfigured beyond recognition. Kābul and Qandahār were linked with the imperial capital by post.

The last king of the Turkish dynasty of Kābul, according to Albīrūnī (1958: 350), was Lagatūrmān. This name is variously read as 'Katurmān' or 'Laktūzamān' by Elliot (1867, ii: 420) and 'Al-kitormān' by Cunningham (1894: 55). Whatever the case may be, it is obvious that when the prefix, *al*, the definite article used to indicate proper nouns, is removed, we are left with 'Katormān' which, although it sounds exactly the same as the Ephthalite name Tormān, also resembles the word Kator (i.e. Shāh Kator) used in the past by rulers of Chitrāl as a family name, but the real import of this name still remains illusive.

Lakatomān seems to have continued paying tribute to the governors of Khurāsān. According to Ibn Khuradādhbih (1889: 37) the Kābul Shāh, in the time of 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir's governorship of Khurāsān (AD 828-45), paid annual tribute amounting to 1,000,500 dirhams plus 1,000 slaves. He ascended the throne of Kābul at the most difficult time. The country was groaning under the economic burden caused by the payment of such a heavy tribute, which was presumably being regularly sent through the Caliph's own officers. Moreover, the doors of Zābulistān were now wide open for the Khārijite adventurers, who, apart from carrying on their usual depredation and looting, settled in the form of communities deep in the Rutbil's country (Rahman 1979: 10).

Of all the Turk Shāhi kings, Lakatomān no doubt wore the most insecure crown. Besides, as we are told by Albīrūnī, the Shāhi king had bad manners and worse behaviour, on account of which the people complained of him greatly to the Brāhman minister, Kallar, who having overthrown him put him behind the bars allegedly to correct his manners.

4.23. The Hindū Shāhis of Hund

Kallar's revolution at Kābul inaugurated a new dynasty of rulers termed by Albīrūnī *al-Shāhiyya al-Hindiyya* (p.357) which literally means 'Indian Shāhis' but Sachau's translation of it as 'Hindū Shāhis' has been adopted by all. The precise date of this revolution is not recorded, though the evidence of some inscriptions, as interpreted by Rahman (1993: 29-31) suggests AD 821. Rahman (2002: 37-42) has also suggested that the term Hindū Shāhi, which smacks of religious bias, be replaced by

the term Udi (Odi) Shāhi, for, ethnically the Hindū Shāhis were Udis (Odis) – a powerful tribe of the Peshāwar valley, whose inscriptions style them as rājās during the Kushān period and who have left behind their memory in the names of several villages called Udigrām (in Bajaur, Dir and Swāt), Odi Mahalla (Odi street) in *Pir Sabāk* and Odighar (Odi Mountain) opposite Attock, present Cherāt Hills.

Albīrūni gives a list of the names of Śāhi rulers. These are: Kallar, Samantadeva, Toramāṇa / Kamalū, Bhīmadeva, Jayapāla, Anandapāla, Trilocanapāla and Bhimapāla who died in AD 1026. The coins of this period have legends in Śāradā characters reading Śrī Śpalapatideva, Śrī Khudarayaka Śrī Śāmantadeva, Śrī Bhīma and Śrī Vakkadeva. This list does not correspond closely with that known from Albīrūni. The problem is too complicated to be discussed here. Kalhaṇa in his *Rāja tarangīnī* mentions Lalliya (p.198), Toramāṇa / Kamaluka (*Rajāt.*, v: 232-33) and Bhimadeva (*Rajāt.*, vii; 1081).

The Śāhis ruled from Hund (originally Udabhāṇḍapura) on the Indus, which had grown into a huge city. According to the *Hudūd al- 'Ālam* (p.7) Waihand (a corrupted form of Udabhāṇḍapura) was a large town and also had a small population of Muslims. It received Hindūstān merchandise such as musk and other precious stuffs. Maqdisi (pp.479-80) extols Waihand for its fine gardens, numerous streams, abundant rainfall, good fruits, tall trees, cheap prices, freedom from pests and general prosperity of its people. This was the winter capital of the Śāhis. In summer they moved to Kābul. The importance of Kābul for the Śāhis may be judged from the fact that sovereignty of the Śāhi rulers was considered incomplete unless they received investiture in that city (*Hudūd* 1962: 104).

The peculiar geographical location of the country of the Śāhis devolved special responsibilities on them as guardians of the north western passes often used by invaders from Central Asia. Their failure could open the floodgates for the invaders to pour into South Asia. This was an uphill task and required courage, imagination and vast resources. The establishment of the Arab empire, during the course of its expansion, swiftly swept across territories near Afghānistān and posed a constant threat to the Śāhis. But the Śāhis discharged their responsibilities with steadfastness, devotion and courage. They stood guard on the passes for about 360 years and successfully held in check foreign invaders. The archaeological remains of numerous forts and citadels of this period scattered all over their country still stand witness.

They appear to have been men of honour, noble sentiment and bearing and, even according to Albīrūnī, who is unlikely to have been biased in their favour, they never slackened in the ardent desire of promoting the right cause. The Śāhis were great patrons of scholars and religious foundations; Ānanda pāla is known to have paid a lavish sum of 200,000 dirhams, besides other presents of similar value, to publicise the work of his teacher Ugrabhūti. Bhīmadeva is said to have built a temple in Kashmīr as an act of charity. In spite of their keen interest in promoting Hindū sciences, they displayed tolerance towards other communities, the existence of Jews and Muslims at the capital cities of Kābul and Hund is clearly mentioned by our sources.

4.24. The Ghaznavids

Towards the ends of Bhīma's reign the security of Kābul and Ghazna was seriously threatened by the rise of Alaptigīn, a rebel Turkish chief, who proceeded to the Hind frontier with a view to establish himself somewhere beyond the reach of his offended suzerain, the Sāmānid Amīr Maṣṣūr, whose force he defeated at the Khulm pass in April 962, and moved his 10,000 volunteers with lightning speed toward Kābul so that the Kābul Shāh could not strengthen his position with the reinforcement from Ghazna. Alaptigīn then turned to Ghazna and overpowered its ruler called Lawīk who was made prisoner but he managed to escape to Hind along with his son, Alptigīn became the undisputed ruler of Ghazna. He then started raiding the Indian border and probably succeeded in capturing some places. This is how the mighty Ghaznavid empire was founded. Alaptigīn died in AD 963. His immediate successors Abū Ishāq, Bilkātigīn, and Pīritigīn were weak and could not add anything to the fledgeling Ghaznavid kingdom, but, with the enthronement of Sabuktigīn (977), father of the more famous Maḥmūd, the Ghaznavids were once again on war path and in a few years stripped the Śāhis of their dominions in the Kābul-Bigrām valley in a series of actions. Sabuktigīn died in August 997 and, after some domestic trouble, was succeeded by his son Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd who not only completely smashed the Hindū Śāhi kingdom but also annexed the Peshāwar valley including Swāt, and Punjāb to his own dominions.

CHAPTER – 5

FROM THE PUSHT TO PESHĀWAR: VARIOUS STAGES OF THE JOURNEY

The word Pushtūn/Pakhtūn, and its corrupted Indian form Paṭhān appears much later in literature but its equivalent, used perhaps in a much wider sense, Afghān, first appears in the *Hudūd al- 'Ālam* (372 AD 982) (see Minorsky 1980: 30, 91). The second earliest reference to this word is found in 'Utbi's *Tārīkh-i Yamīni* (1286: 21-26) written in the first quarter of the eleventh century AD during the reign of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd. With reference to a place name called Saul, the *Hudūd* records: "it is a pleasant village on the mountain. In it live Afghāns". In what particular district this village was situated, the *Hudūd* has nothing to say, though its mention just after the well-known Kharijite town Gardez and its pleasant climate may suggest a place in the Sulmān mountain. 'Utbi's reference is a little more focused: "Subuktigīn put him (Jayapāla) to the rout, annexed the districts between Lamaghān and Peshāwar, and introduced Islām among the people. The Khaljis and Afghāns who inhabited this region submitted to him and were recruited in the army". The districts between Lamaghān and Peshāwar are obviously the present Afrīdi hills.

We have seen above that some of the Scythian tribesmen, presumably Pushtūn, had, in about the first century BC, occupied the *pusht* of the Sulmān Range where, in the course of centuries, their population grew enormously, and by the time of the establishment of Alaptigīn's kingdom at Ghazna, began overflowing into the neighbouring regions. Mutual rivalries and infights added fuel to the fire. The first migrations seem to have taken place towards Bannu and Kohāt.

The mountains of Afghānistān had always been the destination of all in need of refuge. The A'wāns, Scythians, Parthians, Kushāns, Huns, Turks all found a niche in Afghānistān in the hour of need, and by adopting Pashto – the language of the majority – merged into the Pushtūn or Pakhtūn culture and lost their racial identity. The Khalaj (or later Khaljī), Khiljī and also Ghalzī, for instance, were ethnically Hayātīla (Huns) as all our sources agree. 'Utbi and Firishta (1974: 92) make a clear-cut distinction between the Afghāns and Khaljis. The Sūrīs, and by implication the Lodīs as well, stemmed, if our identification is correct, from the great Suren family, the lords of Sijistān. The A'wāns were ethnically Elamites. Only a few of them stayed behind in the

Tirāh valley while the majority moved on to the Salt Range with the lapse of time. The Dāwar, now in Pakistan, were an ancient race perhaps older than the Pūshṭūns in Afghānistān. Their home land is still known as Zamīn Dāwar, written by Arab historians and geographers as Zamīn Dāwar (the retroflex *r* is here changed into simple *r*).

All these tribes and also perhaps many others, except for the A'wāns who were looked upon as ethnically different, were lumped together into one great mass of which each component unit represented a tribe. This was done as late as the seventeenth AD at a time when a genealogical table showing one ancestor for all the tribes was considered to be most needed for creating an Afghān united front against the Mughals. An ancestor was invented and given the name Qais or "Qais 'Abd al-Rashīd" entitled Paṭhān. We are further informed that the title Paṭhān was conferred on him by the Prophet (PBUH) himself (Harwī 1978: 415). This is how Harwī describes this event (we quote from Garoe, p.8).

The Prophet lavished all sorts of blessings upon them (for Qais and his companions, having been invited by Khālīd b. Walīd and having accepted Islām zealously fought against the infidels under the banner of the Prophet); and, having ascertained the name of each individual, and remarked that Qais was a Hebrew name, whereas they themselves were Arabs, he gave Qais the name of 'Abd al-Rashīd and observed further to the rest that, they being the posterity of Malik Tālūd, it was quite proper and just that they should be called Malik likewise ... and the Prophet predicted that God would make the issue of Qais so numerous that they would outvie all other people, that their attachment to the faith would in strength be like the wood upon which they lay the keel when construting a ship, which seamen call Pahtan; on this account he conferred upon Abd al-Rashīd the title of Paṭhān also. Knowing well that the Paṭhāns love a humorous remark, even though it went against them, the Prophet further remarked that their language, Pashto, may be the language of hell, as Arabic is most certainly the language of heaven.

All this is amusing having no roots in history. We have detailed accounts, in Arabic histories, of the wars of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). But Qais is mentioned nowhere. To make this concocted story credible, at least to the credulous, Harwī connects Qais with other well known names such as Saul (Tālūt), Jacob (Ya'qūb), Abraham (Ibrāhīm) and Ādam (Adam) and measures time in terms of generations. Now

taking thirty years as the average time span of one generation, we can find the time length in each case. Qais is said to be descended from Saul in the thirty seventh generation ($37 \times 30 = 1110$), from Jacob in the forty second ($42 \times 30 = 1260$), from Abraham in the forty fifth ($45 \times 30 = 1350$), from Ādam – the progenitor of the human race – in the sixty third ($63 \times 30 = 1890$). Since Qais was a contemporary of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), as the story given by Harwī shows, he could have met him only after AD 622 when the Prophet had left Mecca for Madīna. This gives a fixed point to relate the number of years as given above to find out the exact period of time in terms of the Christian era. Thus Saul (Tālūt) lived at a time ($1110-622 = 488$ BC) when the Achaemenians were ruling in Iran; Jacob ($1260-622 = 638$ BC) and Abraham ($1350-622 = 728$ BC) when the Assyrian empire was at its height; and curiously Ādam ($1890 - 622 = 1168$ BC) was a contemporary of the Old Babylonians.

The genealogical table given by Harwī shows that Qais had four sons, namely: Sarbanr, Bitan, Ghurghusht and Karrān (or Karlāgr). With respect to the last, he remarks (p.416), that he was not the real son of Qais but was looked upon as such. Sarbanr, the eldest son, had two sons named Sharkhbūn (in some other records Sharkbūn, Shakarbūn or Sharjyūn) and Kharshbūn (or Krishyūn). The Western Afghāns are believed to have descended from Sharkhbūn, and the Eastern Afghāns from Kharshbūn. The un-Islamic form of these names is strikingly explicit, but, which particular language they have been derived is difficult to say. Bellow (1880: 23) suggested a Rājput origin for them.

As the pedigree goes, Kharshbūn had three sons: Kand, Zamand and Kāsi. Kand's sons, Ghoriah and Khakhay or Khashay became progenitors of two great tribes – the Ghoriah Khel and Kha khay Khel. They are first noticed in the tracts from the Koh-pāyah or hill-skirts, immediately east of Ghazni, to the eastern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulīmān or Koh-i Siyāh – Pusht or Pukht, also called Koh Shuāl – the original home of the Pushtūns or Pakhtūns. Their descendents can be traced in the living tribes. Ghoriah had four sons, namely, Khalīls, Dāūdzaīs, Mohmands and Chamkanīs, of which the last was an adopted son. The Khalīls, Daudzaīs and Mohmands presently live in Peshāwar and the adjacent territory whereas the Cham kanīs live in Kurram and on the right bank of the Barah river near Peshāwar.

Khakhay had three sons known as Mand, Muk and Tarklāgri. Of these the last are presently found in Bājaur. Muk's descendants, the Gagiānīs occupy the Doāba of which Shabqadar is the main town. Mand had two sons, namely Yūsuf and 'Umr.

'Umr's descendants are called Mandangs and presently occupy Mardān and Swābi, while Yūsuf's offspring known as Yūsufzais live mainly in Dīr, Swāt and Buner and partly in Mardān and Swābi. We are here concerned merely with the Yūsufzais.

With the growth of population the *pusht* of the Sulīmān Range became too narrow to accommodate all the sundry tribes, internecine fights were the upshot. From here on the *Tawārīkh Hāfiz Raḥmat Khānī* will be our main guide. The original writer of this work, Khwājū, tells us that the Yūsufzais had settled at Ghāra and Nūshki and the Ghoriah Khel, particularly the Khalīls, at Tarnak, Muqur and Qarah Bāgh. Then something went wrong and fighting flared up between the two great septs. The Ghoriah Khel defeated the Yūsufzais and forcibly seized their territory. Khwājū is on the whole borne out by the Akhūnd, Darwezah (1960: 89-90), who, however gives a more detailed but somewhat different account. The Akhūnd's account is as follows:

"When the Afghāns divided the country of Qandahār (apparently the entire tract of land extending from Qandahār to the *Pusht* of the mountain is meant) among themselves, the share of the Tarīn tribe fell in between those of Kand and Zamand, cutting the two brothers off to be able to share the grief and happiness of each other. Of the two sections of the Kand (viz. Ghoriah khel and Khakhay), the Khakhay, who lived on the banks of the river Arghastān, were the nearest to the boundaries of the Tarīns. It so happend that enmity sprang up between the Khakhay and the Tarīns. Daily skirmishes eventually developed into a well contested battle. The Tarīns however carried the day. A number of the Khakhays were slain while the rest were dispossessed of their lands, none of their cousins, the Ghoriah Khel and the Zamand came to their help. Having been thrown out of Arghastān, the Khakhays besought the Goriakhels for a piece of land. They were treated, as the rich treat the beggars, and given a barren tract of land. But later on when the Ghoriah khels were themselves hit by a severe drought, they took up arms and ousted the Khakhay from the lands allotted to them, having been evicted the Khakhay shifted to a place called "Karubantki" a corrupted form of Gāra and Neshkī. With the laps of time they had to abandon that place as well and slowly drifted to the environs of Kābul where they became allies of the Utmānkhels, and wandered with them to Tānk and Gomal.

In their new habitat they found fertile grazing grounds for their cattle and made rapid increase in their numbers. They grew rich and powerful and looked down upon other less powerful people. Of these Khakhays, the Yūsufzai and Mandagr branches were in the forefront in creating tumult and lawlessness in the city of Kābul and in misappropriating properties belonging to the citizens of Kābul.

The rest of the story is nicely summarized by Elphinstone (1992: ii, 8-11). This is what he writes. (The spellings of place names and personal names are changed by us to harmonize them with the modern practice):

"The original seats of the Yūsufzais were about Garra and Noshki, the last of which places at least is on the borders of the Dashti-i Lūt (or Great Salt Desert)... Their numbers at that time must have been very inferior to what they are now, as they only formed a branch of the tribe of Khakhay; the other branches of which were the Gagiānis, the Tarklanis, and the Muḥammad zais. They were expelled from Garra and Noshki, about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and soon after settled in the neighbourhood of Kābul. Before they had been long there, they afforded their protection to Mirzā Ulugh (or Aūlūgh) Beg, the son of Mirzā Abu Sa'id, of the house of Timūr, and were very instrumental in raising him to the throne of Kābul, which had before been held by his ancestors, but which probably was lost in consequence of the calamities which befell the house of Timūr, on the death of Mirzā Abū Sa'id. Ulugh Beg, on his first accession, treated the Yūsufzais with the greatest distinction; he was indeed dependent on their assistance for the support of his throne; but the turbulent independence of the Yūsufzais was not suited to an intimate connection with a sovereign, and their insolence increasing with their prosperity, they insulted Ulugh (Aūlūgh) Beg's authority, plundered his villages, and even filled his capital with tumult and confusion. Ulugh beg whose power was now strengthened by the accession of many Mughals, who flocked to his standard, resolved to rid himself of his troublesome allies; he began by fomenting dissensions between the Yūsufzais and Gagiānis and soon after attacked them at the head of that

tribe (Ganiānis) and his own army at Ghwara Marghah. He was defeated at first; but having cut off all the chiefs of the tribe at a banquet, during an insidious peace which he had the art to conclude with them, he plundered the Yūsufzais of all their possessions, and drove them out of Kābul.

Elphinstone follows the Yūsufzai movements as recorded by Khwājū. But the Akhūnd, Darwezah (1960: 91-95) has more details which are somewhat different from the above account. When the Yūsufzai and Mandagrs had crossed all limits of violence the prince, Mirzā Qulī Beg, (the same as Ulugh Beg of Khwājū) resolved to take up arms against them. Consequently, a few of them were killed and (the settlements of) some others were invaded and plundered. The Yūsufzais took flight and went to one of the valleys of Kābul. Whether the Akhūnd has toned down the battle of Ghwara Marghah or Khwājū has blown it up is difficult say. As an expedient way of tackling the situation, the Akhūnd tells us, the Mirzā thought of treating the Afghāns with kindness and compunction and distributed clothes and a variety of eatables among the Afghān Sardars (Chiefs) and told them to take food and drinks any time they were in need of and wanted to have them. The Afghāns, we are told, liked it very much and began visiting the Mirzā in increasing numbers. One day 900 of them came expecting rich presents. They were all without arms and weapons. One of them named Mahmūd b. Muḥammad Chagharzai succeeded in bringing a knife (*Kārd*) hidden in his shoe and told his companions that if they thought it was in their interest, he was in a position to kill the king. But nobody agreed with him thinking that it was against the laws of hospitality. Even the Mirzā, the Akhūnd says, did not intend to do them any harm. But Janki, a Gagiāni, who was not a well wisher of the Yūsufzais, prevailed upon the Mirzā not to let the opportunity slip from his hands for the Yūsufzais were not likely to assemble again in such large numbers and to kill the whole lot. The Mirzā agreed to avail himself of the opportunity and did as advised. One by one the Yūsufzais were blind – folded and murdered. (Khwājū says that the Yūsufzais were invited to partake of a banquet, then disarmed and blind-folded, and handed over to Gagiāni chiefs who were present at this occasion).

It so happened, Khwājū says, that during the time when preparations were being made for the enactment of this tragic scene, five individuals of the Rānizai section of the Yūsufzais including the Mullah Husain Utmānzai's son Kauthar, unknowing of

what was going to happen, entered the court of the Mirzā, and were put together with the condemned lot. The hands of all these individuals were tied at their back, except the Malik Sulīmān Shāh, son of the Malik Tāj ad-Dīn who had been playing the role of a guardian when the Mirzā was still a child.

At the last moment Sulīmān made three requests, (Khawājū) (the Akhūnd says two) and requested the Mirzā for their acceptance. These are:

1. I (Malik Sulīmān) should be killed first of all because I don't want to see the massacre of my people with my own eyes.
2. My nephew Malik Aḥmad, son of the Malik Sulṭān Shāh, son of the Malik Tāj ad-Dīn, be spared as I have offered my life in his stead. Aḥmad was a young lad of fifteen years.
3. After the murder of all the seven hundred of us present here, our families and the rest of the Yūsufzais be spared molestation and allowed to go anywhere they like.

The Mirzā accepted these requests and then ordered the killing. Hasan b. Changā and Shiblī b. Tūrī, the Gagiānis, cut off the head of the Malik Sulīmān Shāh. After this, all the seven hundred, less six (Kauḥar and his four Rānizai companions plus Aḥmad) were murdered. According to the Akhūnd (p.93) the above requests were made by the Malik Sulṭān Shāh who wanted to save the life of his newpew, Aḥmad, son of the Malik Sulīmān Shāh. Afzal Khān Khaṭak (n.d: 234) closely follows the Akhūnd and records the same information. But Harwī (1978: 427) and Roshan Khān (1986: 453) follow the *Tawārīkh Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khāni* (1977: 96) and consider Malik Aḥmad as a son of Sulṭān Shāh. Thus we have almost contemporary but divergent traditions regarding the parentage of the Malik, Aḥmad. The precise determination of the parentage of Aḥmad may be difficult but it is important to know from the *Tawārīkh* (p.94) that Aḥmad's grandfather, the Malik, Tāj ad-Dīn possessed great power and prestige at the time when all the Khakhays (viz., Yūsufzais, Gagiānis and Tarklānis) lived at Gārkay, Noshki, Dog and Dāg – all situated in a neighbouring valley of Qandahār.

After the Mirzā had massacred the Yūsufzai chiefs, he commanded that their bodies be taken outside the city of Kābul and buried. Agreeable to this command the corpses were interred at a place about two or three arrow – flights distant from the city, in the direction of north – east, and near the village of Siyāh Sang. That burying ground

is called the Khatīrāh (graveyard) of the Shah Idān, or Martyrs. There also may be seen the tomb of the Shaikh 'Uṭhmān, son of Mūti, the Malizi, Yūsufzai, one of their holy men, who was included in the number above mentioned, and to whose resting place pilgrimages are made. Masson says in one of his volumes respecting Kābul, that, leaving the Gate of Shāh-i-Shah Id, "we passed the eminence and Ziyārat of Siyāh sang on our left, overlooking the 'Idgā", etc.

5.1. Yūsufzais on Way to the Peshāwar Valley

After their expulsion from Kābul, previous to which a battle had been fought between the Gagiānis, who brought the Mongols along with them upon the Yūsufzais and Mandagr, and the Gagiānis and their allies had been defeated at the Ghwarah Marghah as mentioned above, the Yūsufzais and Mandagr moved towards Nangrahār (Nagarahāra). After a time a quarrel arose between the Mohmands who were located near, and those two tribes, and a great battle was fought at Hiṣārak in which the Khakhays were victorious, but they nevertheless, thought fit to leave that tract. They left their portion of Nangrahār, therefore, in the parts nearest the present Jalālābād to the Muḥammad zais, while the Gagiānis, with the exception of that portion of them which had caused all the mischief at Kābul and were afraid to come, took up their quarters about Bāsaul. The Tarkalānris had previously taken up their quarters in Lamghān (see Akhūnd: 93-94).

After their success at Hiṣārak (the Little Fort), the Yūsufzais and Mandagr moved to Bājaur and occupied a portion but they did not like it and therefore returned. Then they invited the *Dilazāk* chiefs to meet at Safed Sang (a place east of Tahtarah) and held a conference. When they came, the Yūsufzai and Mandagr chiefs solicited lands from the Dilazāks out of their territory, but, in the meantime, on very slight provocation, a fight ensued between them, and a number of Yūsufzai and Mandagr fell. On this, they returned again and took up their quarters in the hills about Tahtarah and Dhākah, but subsequently, they made up matters with the Dilazāks, and gained a footing within the Peshāwar boundary; and the Dilazāks treated them with great generosity and consideration. Some of the grey beards of the Yūsufzai, however, state that the fugitives came into the Peshāwar district by the Khyber route and were desirous of obtaining possession of the lands dependent on the "Bar-bar" or "Barfir" rivulet but this the Shalmānis refused (see Akhūnd: 93-94).

In order to clearly understand subsequent tribal movements, it is essential to know about the ethnicity of the tribes who were dispossessed of lands now occupied by the Yūsufzais and their allies, and the Ghoriah Khels. The earliest of the foreign tribes to enter the hills in western Afghānistān were the A'wāns as suggested above. Commenting on the location of the Kaṛmān Darah, Raverty (1976: 82) mentions its inhabitants. "The Kaṛmān Darah", he records, "is one of considerable size, lying north – east and south – west, and about nine kuroh in length. It adjoins Spin Ghar on the north, and out of it a river runs which unites with that issuing from the Zeṛān Darah, and the united streams, within three kurohs of the Udzi Khel villages, fall into the Kurmah river. Its inhabitants are "Awān-Kār." These 'A'wāns' in our view may have descended from the Awan dynasty of Elam and pushed further east by more powerful tribes.

These districts and darahs subsequently formed the appanage of Malik Tāj ad-Dīn Iyaldūz, the mamlūk, and mihtar or chief of the Turk Malik of Sulṭān Mu'iz ad-Dīn, Muḥammad Sām, the Tajzik Ghorī, Sulṭān of Ghaznīn and Hind, who established the Musalmān power and religion in Hindūstān. Tāj ad-Dīn, like his fellow mamlūk, Qutb ad-Dīn, Ibak, and several others was a Turk. During this period sections of the Khalj, Kankūli, Kārūgh, and other Turks and Ghuzz tribes were settled in these parts and had been there for some centuries previous, and long before the Pushtānah or Afghāns passed beyond their original home, that is to say, the tracts from the Koh Pāyah or hill skirts, immediately east of Ghazni (also written as Ghaznah and Ghaznīn) to the eastern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulīmān or Koh-i Siyāh (Black Mountain). It is not surprising therefore that so many places still retain there Turkish names and Tūris (synonymous with Turānis) and *džadzīs* are considered to be of Turkish descent.

To these darahs also belonged the Shalmānis who, at the time when the Yūsufzais and Mandṛs were expelled from the neighbourhood of Kābul by the Mughals, were in possession of Hashtnagar. They originally came from Shalmān, subsequently known as Shanūzān and Shalūzān, and Kaṛmān, which darahs appear to have been their ancient seats, and hence they are known as Shalmānis. They had been displaced by other tribes from the west such as Khalaj, Ghuzz, and other Turks in all probability (Raverty 1976: 82).

The Shalmānis of Hashtnagar, at this period, were subjects of Sulṭān Awais of Swāt, son of Sulṭān Pakhal, one of the Jahāngīrian Sulṭāns. The governor of Hashtnagar

dwelt in the Bālā Hisār (Lofty Fort) which can be distinguished from a distance on a clear day.

At the time the Yūsufzais and Mandan̄rs came into these parts, the governor of Hashtnagar was the Mīr Handā, son of Arzū, a Tājzik of the family of Dūdāl, and he was a sardār of renown, and one of the bravest men of his time (*Tawārīkh Ḥāfiz Rahmat Khāni*: 118-120). His authority extended over the whole tract of country south of the mountains bounding the darah of Swāt in that direction, which tract extended as far east as the river Kalpāni. He resided within the fort, which was stone built, and a place of great strength, situated on a mound of considerable height.

After the Yūsufzais made up their mind to seize the fort, they besieged it and cut off water supply from the Jinday river. After three or four days Handā sued for peace and agreed to evacuate Hashnagar in return for safe passage. It was granted and Handā took as much baggage as he could and left for Swāt. His family was already in Thāna and he also went there to join his family members. This is what Khwājū says. The Akhūnd (1960: 94) however puts it differently. After some time, the Akhūnd says, the Yūsufzais engaged the Shalmānis, who had settled in Hashtnagar, in battle and emerged victorious. Jallū, one of the Shalmāni chief, was killed and the masses driven to Swāt where the king gave them Ala Dand (area) in reward to settle down. If Jallū is the same as Khwājū's Mīr Handā, then the Akhūnd's information is absolutely incorrect for we subsequently find Mīr Handā taking active part in the defence of Swāt.

There are very few Shalmānis at present to be found in the Peshāwar district, but there are numbers, under the name of Dihgāns, dwelling in the neighbourhood of Jalālābād, in Bājaur, and in Lamghān; and there are two villages of Shalmānis, bearing the same name, in the Khyber mountains, between the Tahtarah mountain range and the river Kābul, and in Agror, east of the Indus (see Raverty 1976: 176).

5.2. The Dilazāks and the Yūsufzai - Mandan̄rs

When the Khakhays issued from the Khyber defile, the Dilazāks were a numerous, wealthy, powerful, warlike, and independent tribe of Afghāns, yet in a few years subsequent to the arrival of the Khakhays and soon after the advent in those parts of the Ghoriah khel, the rivals of the former, with whom they were at feud, and comprising five tribes – Khalīl, Mohmand, Daūdzai, Chamkani and Zerāni (but the last mentioned did not settle in the Peshāwar valley, after sustaining several defeats, found it necessary to retire to the east bank of the Indus and settle in Hazārah and the territories

north of Attock where numbers of them are still located). This event might have happened in the time of *Zahīr ad-Dīn Bābur*, who captured the throne of *Kābul* in 910 H/1504, although he does not mention it in his autobiography, when the *Khakhays* defeated the *Dilazāks* in the neighbourhood of *Kātlang*. Subsequently, in *Humāyūn's* reign, when his brother *Kāmrān* held the fief of the countries west of the *Indus*, the *Ghoriah Khel* overthrew them at *Sulṭān Purei*, and obtained possession of the whole country south of the river *Kābul*, from *Jamrūd* and *Peshāwar*, to the *Indus*. During the next two or three reigns of the *Mughal* emperors of *Delhi*, the *Dilazāks* were nearly compulsorily removed farther into *India*, on account of their raids on their enemies and their strength became completely broken and the tribe dispersed. Numbers of them, in small communities, are still to be found scattered over parts of the *Indian peninsula*. This in nutshell is the story of which details are given below.

The *Dilazāk Afghāns* were exceedingly numerous, and powerful. They were the first *Afghāns* to enter the *Peshāwar valley*. The *Akhūnd Darweza* (1960: 110) states distinctly that they first came into *Nangrahār* from the west or south west and subsequently passed on to the eastward. This was previous to the time of *Amīr Timūr* (800 H/ 1398). Having entered the *Peshāwar valley*, they entered into alliance with the *Shalmānis*, who had also been obliged to leave their former seats in *Karṃān* and *Shalūzān* at some previous time, after which they reduced some of the tribes inhabiting it under subjection, treated them well and made them their allies; others they reduced to vassalage; some they drove out; and some exterminated. Some of the tribes immediately east of the *Indus*, inhabiting the upper and mountainous parts of the *Sind – Sāgar Doābah*, are undoubtedly referred to here. When the *Yūsufzais* were driven out of *Afghānistān*, the *Dilazāks* were at the height of their power and, as *Khṛwājū* says (p.99) possessed *Peshāwar Doābah*, *Bājaur*, *Nangrahār*, *Kalpanī*, *Hazāra* and *Sunīd* (*Kohistān*).

It was at this time that the youthful and energetic *Aḥmad* was appointed *Malik* (chief) by a *Yūsufzai Jirgah* (i.e. Assembly of Elders), in which *Mullā Husain* played the decisive role when he got up and brought the branch of a tree, handed it over to *Aḥmad* saying: "I have hereby made you the *Malik* of this tribe; may your chieftainship be blessed and auspicious". On this, others in the *Jirgah* also congratulated *Aḥmad* upon being made the *Malik* and prayed for his well being.

After the massacre of their chiefs the Mughal army plundered the Yūsufzai camp, took away horses and cattle and other valuables but did not stop the survivors from moving in any direction they wanted to. Aḥmad and his advisers finally decided to request the Dilazāks of Peshāwar for a place to dwell. The Yūsufzais at this time were fatigued, exhausted, and had no provisions for the journey. But, fortunately, a wealthy Yūsufzai, Mūsa b. Abko was not present at the time when the Mughal army plundered the Yūsufzai camp and, therefore, escaped with his valuables intact. These he divided among the needy Yūsufzai and thereby lightened their burden (Khwājū 1977: 67).

Having listened to the Yūsufzai appeal, the Dilazāk *Jirgah* sympathetically decided to allocate the Doābah (in which the town of Shabqadar stands prominently at present) to the former. The Yūsufzai however wanted more territory on the plea that the resources of the Doābah were not enough to meet the needs of the entire Yūsufzai tribes for, those who were left behind in Afghānistān were bound to join them when they find that a safe haven had been found. Once again the Dilazāks exhibited magnanimity and handed over Danishkol, 'Anbār and the adjacent territory of Bājaur. Aḥmad happily accepted it. Aḥmad was further told that Hashtnagar of the Shalmānis was also adjacent to the Doābah and, if and when he had enough power and strength, he could dispossess the Shalmānis and seize their land.

Much pleased at their generosity and with a feeling of indebtedness to the Dilazāks, the Yūsufzais began drifting to their new home. Consequently, Mr Jamāl b. Bāzid Mandaṅr Amānzai went to Dānishkol and 'Anbār, while some of the great families of the Amānzai, the Kamālzai, Māmūzai, Khwājuzai, 'Alā ad-Dīn, Mubārīk b. Pāindah Malizai, Pāindah Khel, Ilyās b. Dilkhak Malizai, Abā Bakr Khel and Alki b. Aḥmad Shāmizai went towards Bājaur and settled at Lāshorah – the place now marked by the grave of the celebrated saint Mīrdād Afghān Khalīl Motizai Tarnaki.

It all went well but the chief of the 'Umr Khel section of the Dilazāks, Haibu b. Jatta by name, who lived in Jandūl and controlled a big chunk of Bājaur, and, who was not consulted by the Dilazāks of the Peshāwar valley at the time of assigning lands to the Yūsufzais in Bājaur (Khwājū: 977: 103-04). The 'Umr Khels were a brave tribe and Haibu himself was a man of powerful built and commanded one thousand families of the 'Umr Khels. The Dilazāks of the Peshāwar valley tried to convince him and invited

him to come over to Peshāwar, but he refused to accept this proposal. The upshot was a serious clash of arms.

When the Yūsufzais had been at Lāshorah for about one year, the Shaikh, Mīrdād, Afghān Khalīl Motizai, having quarrelled with his own tribe at Tarnak and Qallāt in the vicinity of Qandahār, also joined the Yūsufzais, with his followers, numbering about three thousand and fifty – mostly Khalīls. The Khalīls also joined in the struggle in support of the Yūsufzais. Similarly the Yūsufzais of the Doābah brought a *lashkar* (army) and joined their brethren in Bājaur. The Yūsufzais and Khalīls advanced to the plain of Lāshorah which at that time was occupied by an 'Arab tribe and was marked by a city called Khār. When Haibu came to know about it, he advanced from Lakah Tigah (standing stone) with his fully equipped army to face the enemy. When the Yūsufzais and Khalīls saw this force their courage gave way and they retreated towards their homes.

As the Yūsufzais retreated Haibū advanced further and crossed the stream of Lashorah. This was where the Yūsufzais had originally camped. The Tarklāgrīs, under their chief the Malik, Surkhābi b. Shamū, were at this period of time living in Lamghān, while the Mohmands, under their chief the Malik Ghagar were in the vicinity of Kābul. When they heard about the disturbance in Bājaur both brought out their armies and marched towards Bājaur perhaps to fish in the troubled waters but on the face of it to patch up differences between the opposing sides. Haibu, apparently misunderstood these overtures and thought that the maliks Surkhābi and Ghagar were there just to reconcile the parties and that they were not taking sides. He therefore marched further on to force the Yūsufzais out of Bājaur. On this, the maliks Surkhābi, Ghagar and Mīr Jamāl attacked the Dilazāks and everyone tried to reach the Malik, Haibu. Pāindah and Burhān both Tarklāgrī Kakāzai struck down the Dilazāk chief and his brother Jahān Shāh. Mīr Jamāl Amānzai removed the armour and also took Haibū's sword in his own custody. He kept these objects with him as souvenirs (Khwājū 1977: 107-108). With their power completely broken and leaders killed, the 'Umr Khel decided to abandon Jandūl and reached Dānishkol and 'Anbar with great difficulty. There they settled down in greatly diminished numbers. The Yūsufzais and the Khalīls divided Bājaur – from Lāshorah to Hindū Rāj on one side and from Charmang to Nāwagae the land fell in the share of the Khalīls, whereas Jandūl, Bābaqarah and the adjacent territories were taken over by the Yūsufzais. The army of the Doābah went back home.

5.3. Yūsufzais verses Khalīls

The ouster of their common enemy and the equitable distribution of land between the two great tribes – Yūsufzais and Khalīls – should have brought peace to Bājaur, but it worked the other way round. Khwājū puts the entire blame on the Khalīls whose mischievous character created another crisis. It so happened that a certain Pāi b. Sālār Khalīl, Bārozai, Mullazai, 'Umrzai, purchased some horses from Mīr Jamāl, Amānzai, referred to above. Pāi undertook to pay the price after one month but, for some time, he went on delaying and finally refused to make any payment. This and similar other causes alarmed the Yūsufzais who stood up to defend themselves and get rid of these mischievous dealings. The Yūsufzais and the Khalīls became enemies. They clashed at Warsak near the river of Bārikāb (p.110) but the Yūsufzais were defeated and pursued across the stream of Jandūl to Panjkhora.

After achieving their objective the Khalīls happily went home while Yūsufzais mourned their dead who included men of reputation. At last the Yūsufzais decided to collect armies from everywhere they could expect some help, sent a *jirgah* to the Doābah for the same purpose. Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs responded to the call favourably and immediately raised a force from his own tribe and from his neighbours such as Gadūns, Kakhārs and Utmānkhels and took the road to Bājaur, through the Karappa pass. They halted at Dānishkol for a stop over and dispatched Mīr Jamāl and his son Aḥmad in *nanawatai* to the widow of the late Malik Haibu to beg their forgiveness. Each had a sword and coffin cloth – symbols of complete submission and humility – suspended from his neck. They reached the house of Haibu's widow at night. When the news of their arrival reached the mosque (where people had gather for offering prayer), a message was conveyed to her (Haibū's wife) to properly look after the guests. When the day dawned Mīr Jamāl was asked the purpose of his arrival. To this Mīr Jamāl replied that he was guilty (of killing Malik Haibu). "Now I have presented myself with the sword and coffin. Do as you like". When he was pardoned off, he solicited their help in the struggle against the Khalīls. The Dilazāks promised to send a *lashkar* in support of the Yūsufzais.

Fully satisfied with the Dilazāk response Mīr Jamāl proceeded with the Dilazāk *lashkar* through Chārmang to Bājaur. The main Yūsufzai army under Malik Aḥmad took the route of Raḡht top. When Mīr Jamāl cast his eyes from the mountain top into the plain of Lāshorah, he saw a huge *lashkar* of the Khalīls, and got worried about the

security of Abū Bakr whom he had given the duty of keeping watch and ward in company with a batch of horsemen, for his own village. He therefore took his son with him and dashed ahead of the *lashkar*. When he reached the spot where the grave of the Shaikh, Ismā'il b. Maḥmūd, Moḥmand, is now located he found the dead body of Abū Bakr.

The entire *lashkar* under the command of the Malik, Aḥmad encamped at Lāshorāh. This place, Khwājū (p.116) says, is now occupied by the Mūsazais. The Khalīls fled to the Hindū Rāj mountain and assembled there in a gorge which they strengthened by raising a rough enclosure (*sangar*) for the security of the women folk and children. The two armies engaged in front of this gorge. Both sides fought bravely showing no signs of defeat. Meanwhile Mīr Jamāl, with the help of the Hindū Rājīs occupied the top of the mountain (Hindū Rāj) and proceeded to attack the *sangar* from the rear. Mīr Jamāl's dangerous move unnerved the Khalīls who were caught up between two enemy forces. They retreated to the *sangar* to save their women and children from falling into enemy hands. But a number of them were killed while retreating and many more defending their *sangar*. Some others fled to Nāwagai to save their own lives. The Khalīls were completely crushed. Those who survived were made prisoner but Malik Aḥmad in consultation with others ordered their release. The Yūsufzais and their allies happily went back home. Soon after this the Yūsufzais of the Doābah pushed the Shalmānis out of Hashtnagar and seized their possessions as mentioned above. Now the Yūsufzais were masters of a country spreading from Jandūl (Bājaur) to the Shabqadar Doābah and from Mālākand to the river Kābul. The rest of the Peshāwar valley was under the control of the Dilazāks. Frictions between these erstwhile friends now began to appear on petty matters. Consequently, the Dilazāks, the most powerful tribe of the Peshāwar valley, brought a huge army in the field to teach the Yūsufzais a lesson. In the calculation of Malik Aḥmad the Yūsufzais and their allies were not yet strong enough to face this *lashkar* and found it advisable to diffuse the crisis. He took the risk of going personally to meet the Dilazāk chief, the Malik, Muḥammad Khān, in the typical Pakhtūn style and succeeded in averting an almost imminent but undesirable occurrence.

5.4. The Yūsufzai Conquest of Swāt

The valley of Swāt and a big chunk of the valley of Peshāwar stretching from Mālākand to Hashtnagar had long been under the Jahāngīrian sultāns whose capital,

Manglawar in upper Swāt, was a flourishing city. The sultāns lived in a strongly built fort of which the extant remains show dressed heavy stone blocks in its masonry.

The Yūsufzais had originally settled along the banks of the Bagiāri stream but they gradually extended their settlements to the Morā (mount Morā) adjacent to Swāt. This alarmed the ruler of Swāt, Sultān Awais, the last Jahāngīrian Sultān, who had wedded a sister of Aḥmad, and had friendly relations with the Yūsufzais. But the Yūsufzai encroachment on his territory in the Hashtnagar and eviction of his governor Mīr Handā b. Arzū (or Azrū), and now the gradual movement of the Yūsufzai tribesmen to the Swāt border alerted the Sultān Awais to the impending danger. Suspecting that their movement was a preliminary step for the invasion of Swāt, he summoned his chief advisors to discuss the emerging crisis and to make preparations for its resolution. Khwājū (1977: 132-33) says that the Sultān was advised to first of all kill his wife – Malik Aḥmad's sister, in order to put a stop to further communications with the Yūsufzais and also to ensure that their plans were not leaked to the enemy. This was done but, curiously, when the Malik Aḥmad expressed his desire to come over to Swāt for condolence, he was permitted to do so. This throws some doubt upon this story.

On his return from Swāt Malik Aḥmad assembled his chiefs (*sardārs*) and advisers (*mashīrs*) for consultation and updated them on the internal security and the routes leading to swāt. He also instructed them to collect their *lashkars* and move towards Swāt. It seems that the invasion of swāt was a premeditated move and that Malik Aḥmad's visit was more of the nature of reconnaissance rather than condolence, as the remarks made by the most revered saint, the Shaikh, Zangi b. Mulla Khalīl Raḡrizai Khwāza Khel, at the time of their ouster from Afghānistān, clearly show: 'O Yūsufzais, Swāt is our contry. Go (and get it). God will grant us (this country)' (Khwājū: 95).

The Yūsufzai *lashkar* gathered at the foot of the Mora Ghar thinking that scaling the mountain at this point would be easier. For two months they tried to climb but all their efforts were foiled by Mīr Handā who was sitting on top of the mountain and could observe their movements. Malik Aḥmad and his associates – Shaikh Mali and Malik Qarah – then decided to change this strategy and try some other sector. Their spies meanwhile brought news that the Mālākand pass was not quite well guarded. It was therefore decided to move to the Mālākand at night, leaving some people behind to keep the watch fires burning in order to dupe the enemy into believing that the *lashkar* was

staying put in the camp. This tactical manoeuvre yielded wonderful results. When the Yūsufzai *lashkar* scaled the Mālākand in the morning it found that the men posted under the command of Shāh Awais and Farrukhzād to guard this passage were sleeping. They were all killed by the Yūsufzai troops, though Shāh Awais and Farrukhzād made good their escape and fled to Thānah. When this news reached Mīr Handā, he also abandoned his position and went to Thānah where he engaged himself in the defence of that city.

This highly disturbing news unnerved the sultān as shown by his spontaneous remark: "The ghost has entered Swāt and now it would be difficult to control it". Nevertheless he assembled all his nobles and put up quarters at Thānah to strengthen his defence line. The Yūsufzai camp at "Khār" (city) was three miles away from Thānah. Descending from the top of Mālākand into the lower Swāt valley, the Yūsufzai *lashkar* had already occupied the stone – built fort, called Malkūt where they found a huge store of provisions and foodstuffs. And now they extended their plundering activities to Ala Dand and Shinko villages. From here the Yūsufzai *lashkar* advanced to Thānah for the final contest in lower Swāt. The sultān and his army marched out of Thānah and at a distance of about one and a half mile clashed with the Yūsufzais but suffered defeat and fled to Tarhang village, opposite Landāki, hotly pursued by the Yūsufzais. From Tarhang the Yūsufzais returned to Thānah, while the Sultān, having lost the way back home, went across the river and found himself in a village belonging to Malik Ḥasan Matrāwi another of his enemies. Greatly worried about his safety he turned to Sue Gali and then passing through Damghār, finally managed to reach Manglawar, his capital. In the battle the Sultān lost many of his kith and kin and chiefs except Mīr Handā.

It is related, Khwājū (p.142) remarks, that the Sultāns of Swāt always wore gold earrings. This was a royal privilege. The nobility could wear earrings but only of silver. The Yūsufzais, when they occupied Swāt, continued this tradition, but the gold earrings they wore were always decorated like those of the people of Kashmīr. This tradition was popular with Bihzād Khel Sadozai among the Mandagrs and Asā Khel Akozais among the Yūsufzais. Khwājū's other remarks about the Yūsufzai are equally interesting: The Yūsufzais had recently arrived from Kābul, he says (p.143), and spoke Persian fluently. This shows that the Yūsufzai and their allies were bilingual and spoke Pashto as well as Persian. A concrete evidence for this is Khwājū's own *Tārīkh* which, although written in Pashto, is heavily laden with Persian vocabulary. Another point

which emerges from Khwājū's description of the Yūsufzai invasion of Swāt, is their remarkable propensity for plunder. It is this innate tendency that put them in trouble in Kābul and the Mirzā Ulugh Beg, the ruler of Kābul, had to take action against them.

The Yūsufzai success in the "battle of Thānah" made them virtual rulers of Swāt. Although the Sulṭān, Awais was still there in Manglawar, his rule was confined merely to the districts north of his capital. The villages to the south were subjected to incessant plundering raids of the Yūsufzais and their allies who, dispossessing the local farmers, seized the lands and treated them as serfs. Alki b. Bihzād Mandagr Sadozai wanted to attack Manglawar but others did not agree to this proposal because of the difficult nature of the terrain through which the route passed. This however did not stop the Mandagrs who by themselves reached Manglawar, plundered the city but found the citadel (fort) too strong and invincible. They also extended their raids to the Tālāsh valley and brought it under their control.

With his people getting increasingly enslaved, villages razed to the ground, properties plundered and cattle lifted, the Sulṭān, Awais, was so much harassed that he decided to abandon Manglawar and transfer his residence to *darah Niāg* – a place across the high mountain and difficult of access. There he built a strong fort and named it Lahore. The *darah* had plenty of water and green pasture lands for the cattle. It took him four days to climb up the mountain. There he brought all the villages under his control and ruled the land for several generations.

Awais had two sons: Firūz Shāh and Qazān Shāh and was succeeded by his elder son. Qazān Shāh one day climbed the mountain top for hunting but himself became the victim of a Yūsufzai raiding party which had also climbed the same mountain for reconnaissance. His head was cut off and brought to Khān Kajū while he was encamped at the bank of the river Landā (Kābul) during his expedition against the Ghoriah Khels. Firūz Shāh lived a long life and was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Māh who was in turn succeeded by Zain A'lā, and so on. After the departure of Sulṭān Awais from Manglawar all Swāt passed into the hands of the Yūsufzais, except the territory under the Matrāwi control. It took the Yūsufzais sixteen years to seize that part of Swāt which was formerly in the hands of the Sulṭān, Awais (Khwājū: 172).

5.5. Yūsufzais and the Matrāwīs

The Matrāwi country was situated to the south of the river Swāt. The Matrāwi chief, Malik Hasan, lived in a fort near the village called Bālgrām on the top of a

mountain. When the Matrāwis heard about the Yūsufzai invasion of their country, they gathered their strength in the fort and took measures for its defence. But the policy of pillage and plunder carried out by the Yūsufzais paid its dividends here as well. Completely demoralized and terror-struck, the Matrāwis fled at night leaving some people in the fort with instructions to keep on making noise during the night in order to give impression that everything was going as usual and to abandon the fort and flee early in the morning. When the Yūsufzais tightened the siege and entered the fort they found no human beings but a huge quantity of provisions. The occupation of this fort, Khwājū tells (p.172) us, occurred in the seventeenth year since the beginning of the Swāt operation. With this the Yūsufzais became masters of the whole of Swāt.

Neither Khwājū nor the Akhūnd mention any dates with regard to these events. But Khwājū's remark that the occupation of Swāt by the Yūsufzais took place in the seventeenth year since the beginning of the Swāt operation may help in working out approximate dates. We have noted above that Qazān Shāh's head was presented to Khān Kajū, the Yūsufzai malik at the time, when he was near the battle field of Shaikh Tapūr (or Patūr). Even the date of this event has gone unrecorded but Raverty (1976: 227-28, 354) assigns it to 956 or 957/1550. This may give us the date of the Yūsufzai occupation of the Sulṭān Awais' part of Swāt. The following year, i.e. 1551 they also occupied the Matrāwi part of Swāt. Deducting 16 from 1550, we get 1534. This, then, was the initial date of the Swāt operation. Akhūnd Darwezah (1960: 95), however, records that the Yūsufzais seized the whole of Swāt in twelve years. This (1550 minus 12) gives us 1538. This difference of four years is a minor one and may well be ignored. But it is important to find out whether 1550 or 1551, as worked out by Raverty, is correct or not.

We have mentioned above that the year in which this battle was fought is nowhere mentioned by Afghān chroniclers. Khwājū however gives two details which may help in fixing this year fairly accurately:

1. (pp.234, 240). The battle took place on 13 *Jamādī al-Awwal*
2. (p.229). Khān Kajū pitched his tent on an elevated spot on the bank of the river Landā (Kābul) opposite Shaikh Tapūr while others encamped along the river bank. It was summer and the wheat plants laden with ears made rippling waves in the wind. Obviously wheat was not yet ripe for harvesting. This no doubt is the month of May. Now *Jamādī al-Awwal* falls in May in the years 1517-19,

1549-51 and 1615-17, as the first option is too early and the last too late for obvious reasons we are left with 1549-51.

In the years 1549 and 1550 Jamādi al-Awwal 13, falls in June which is the harvesting season and do not suit Khwājū's above statement that the battle took place in the pre-harvesting season when the wheat crop was still standing intact. Thus 1551 is the year of the battle and Jamādi al-Awwal is in terms of the Christian Calendar, Wednesday May 20, 1551. It is on this time of the year that the Yūsufzais clashed with the Ghoriah Khel on the battlefield of Shaikh Patūr (Tapūr).

With the capture of Bālgrām the whole of Swāt passed into the Yūsufzai hands and was divided amongst themselves. During this time, Khwājū remarks, some of the veteran Yūsufzai chiefs who took part in the initial stages of the Swāt operation passed away. These included Malik Qarah (father of Khān Kajū), Mūsā Bāizai, Mūsā b. Abā Bakr Kannazai etc. Malik Qarah was buried at Thānah.

Meanwhile the Gagiānis who had been left behind in Kābul found it difficult to live there so that their leader, Malik Ḥamzah, approached Malik Aḥmad with the request for a piece of land. Malik Aḥmad warmly welcomed Ḥamzah and assigned the Doābah to him. Ḥamza happily accepted it and brought his fellow Gagiānis to settle there. As the story goes, the Yūsufzai chiefs, in good faith, went to welcome him. Now Ḥamza was a wealthy person and had good relations with the ruler of Kābul, Zahīr ad-Dīn Bābur. He made elaborate arrangements to welcome his one hundred guests and slaughtered one hundred sheep for their entertainment. But not keeping with the Pakhtūn tradition curiously, he took his seat in a tent (*Shāmiānah*) and did not stand up to receive the guests, so that every one had to go in and shake hands with him while he remained sitting like a king. Malik Aḥmad was the last to enter the tent and was thoroughly wonderstruck. Thinking that his companions were slighted and not given proper respect, he retracted his footsteps in a furious rage and remarked:

These wretched and instinctively disloyal Gagiānis cheated us in Kābul. But I thought they had perhaps repented of their action and therefore assigned the Doābah to them. Now I feel that their malice and enmity still exists in them. It is because of this that he (Malik Ḥamzah) has treated my kith and kin slightly, not rising from his seat to meet them. Now I shall get the pride out of their heads and avenge the evils done to us in Kābul.

The Gagiānis heard these words but kept quiet, while the Yūsufzai chiefs dispersed and went home. Suspecting that Malik Aḥmad might create a problem Ḥamzah went to Kābul thinking that he would bring the king (Bābur) to the Peshāwar valley on one pretext or the other and seeing the king with him, Aḥmad would be obliged to patch up differences with him. In this he succeeded and brought the king to the Doābah and made him his own guest. From this place Bābur issued a farmān to all the Yūsufzais of the Samah to present themselves to him with their *lashkars*.

At this period of the time Samah was occupied by the Akozais and Ilyāszais. Malik Sar Abdāl, chief of the Akozais and Mīr Fatch Khān of the Ilyāszais immediately collected their *lashkars* and presented themselves as required by the royal command. After consultation the two Yūsufzai chiefs and the Gagiāni, Malik Ḥamzah, advised the king to attack the 'Umr Khail Dilazāks in their town Kalpāni which comprised two large villages standing on the opposite sides of a stream. A wooden bridge thrown across the stream connected them with each other. Bābur attacked these villages one by one and destroyed them but not without meeting tough resistance. The 'Umr Khail Dilazāks had conveyed their women and children to the Karāmār hills, but the men bravely laid down their lives in the defence of their homeland.

The Dilazāks were a brave people and glowing tribute was paid to their courage by Bābur's own soldiers when he urged them to wade through the stream and take on the other village. They replied : The Dilazāks "are excellent marksmen, archers and brave and don't budge an inch from their positions; it is not possible to push them back" (Khwājū 1977: 181-82). The Dilazāk chivalry is typified in Shāh Boṛae's story which gives a lively touch to the otherwise tragic scene in which unprovoked killing of unweary people and spoliation of their property emerge as significant features. Shāh Boṛae, as the story goes, was a man-like woman. She shunned the company of women and was fond of horse riding and archery. One night she and Rustam, her cousin, were routinely scheduled for keeping watch and ward in the village. Between themselves they decided that she would perform the duty in the first half and Rustam in the second half of the night. While she was sleeping lust tempted Rustam to kiss her, but he kissed so hard that his teeth left her cheeking bleeding. She at once jumped out of her bed and tried to find her sword. But this and other weapons had been carefully hidden by Rustam before hand, for he knew the moment she got up she would kill him. While she was searching for her weapons Rustam found sufficient time to make good his escape. With

the marks of teeth upon her cheek, she thought, she would be put to shame by the village folk and therefore decided to marry the same person who had committed this outrage. During the fight Shāh Boṛae and Rustam were both killed. She wore male attire previous to her marriage, and was famed for her warlike prowess, and, subsequently, used to accompany her husband in military expeditions with her face veiled. Rustam was laid down with fever, and was unable to fly, and there were no means of removing him when the Mughals attacked the place. Rustam exhorted her to flee and save her life but she decided to defend her husband valiantly, and the enemy who took her for a man, had great difficulty in overpowering her. As the news regarding this brave woman reached Bābur, he issued warning not to kill her. But by this time she had already been killed. Bābur felt sorry for her and reproached his soldiers for this unbecoming action (Khwājū: 182-86).

After this affair the chief of the Akozai tribe, Malik Sar Abdāl, who was young and superior in wisdom to others, and was therefore looked upon by the king with favour, encamped along with the other Afghāns, at a distance from the royal camp for the night. In the morning the two sections of the Yūsufzais – the Akozai and Ilyaszai some how locked horns in a brawl and raised unprecedented hue and cry which alarmed the king who, suspecting that there was something fowl and that the whole affair was a drama staged to corner him, immediately got upon the back of his horse and was ready to flee when the Akozai chief explained to him what had happened and also convinced him that there was nothing to be worried about. Sar Abdāl then advanced to disengage the parties but was hit in the process by a stray arrow and died. The king retreated, Khwājū says, (p.189) without realizing his ambition, nevertheless the Gagiāni chief, Malik Ḥamzah, fulfilled all the formalities of a feast and entertained the king properly.

The above statement is based upon Maulvi Muḥammad Isrā'il's Urdu translation of the *Tawārīkh Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khāni*, but Maj.(r) H.G. Raverty (p.223) who does not show his source of information gives a somewhat different account: "The Gagiānis, finding they could not get on where they were, after an ineffectual attempt to gain a footing in Bājaur, and the Tarklāngis, who had their eyes upon it for themselves, having turned them back, besought Malik Aḥmad and other notables and chiefs of Yūsufzais and Mandanrs, as their Khakhay kinsmen, to help them in their own prosperity and that of their tribes, and assign them lands in which to dwell. Thinking to strengthen the other Khakhays thereby, Malik Aḥmad, with the consent of the tribes,

assigned the Doābah to the Gagiānis; and they very soon, family by family, came by the Karappah route and installed themselves in the Doābah district.

"The Ganiānis had not been long there before they began to act in accordance with their usual contumacious ways towards the Yūsufzais and Mandagrs, as well as towards the Dilazāks, with whom they soon picked up a quarrel.

"In the first month of 925H / January, AD 1519), when Bābur Bādshāh moved against Bājaur, and overthrew the Gibri Sultān, the Gagiānis were then settled in the Doābah, but the Tarklāgrs were still dwelling in Lamghān, the Afrīdis had only recently settled on the Bārah river, and the Muḥammadzai, and part of the Utmānkhel tribe, were still dwelling in Nangrahār. The Gagiānis, at this time, brought the Bādshāh into the Ashtnagar district, ostensibly to make a raid on the Dilazāks, but it was suspected against the Yūsufzais and Mandagrs. They had lately however agreed to give him the daughter of the Malik Shāh Maṣṣūr, the cousin of Malik Aḥmad, in marriage and had propitiated him.

"The raid on Dilazāks of the Samah was of little effect, and soon came to an abrupt end, for one of the greatest of the Gagiāni chiefs having been killed in a brawl between two divisions of the Gagiāni tribe, while encamped with them, Bābur, suspecting treachery, hastily broke up his camp, and left them to help themselves. The conduct of the Gagiānis was altogether so bad that the Khakhis were rather inclined to side with the Dilazāks against them, and Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs forbade their people to interfere between the Dilazāks and them. Some did interfere, however, and their excuse was, that they could not see their own kinsmen assailed without helping them. The upshot was that the Dilazāks gave the Gagiānis a complete overthrow."

5.6. Dilazāk versus Gagiānis

The unprovoked aggression against the Dilazāks of Kalpāni left them bleeding but they were still a powerful people and decided to avenge the wrong done to them. They were fully convinced that Gagiānis were responsible for their misfortune and that they (Gagiānis) had invited the Bādshāh from Kābul and set him against them without any fault whatsoever. The matter was discussed in a *jirgah* (council of elders) and it was decided to apprise Malik Aḥmad of the situation. Malik Aḥmad was in Swāt. The Dilazāk chiefs went there and told Malik Aḥmad how the Gagiānis had invited the Bādshāh and caused the destruction of Kalpāni and murder of their people. Malik Aḥmad's response was favourable and he told them that he was aware of what had

happened and added. "I was the real target, because Malik Ḥamzah, the Gagiāni, wanted to show me how powerful he was. Now, be composed, go home and get busy with your routine work, I am going to go to Buner in a few days; there we shall meet again and decide how to proceed" (Khwājū: 190-91).

Malik Aḥmad and the Shaikh Mali then went to the Akozi in the Samah and condoled the death of Malik Sar Abdāl with Malik Maḥmūd b. Yahyā 'Alāuddīnzai. They reprimanded the Akozi for taking part in the action against the Dilazāks of Kalpāni. Calling them "cow boys" and "dealers in salt" (p.191), Malik Aḥmad rebuked them. He then went to Buner and the 'Umr Khel Dilazāk also reached there for the *jirgah*. Malik Aḥmad's remarks: "Your enemy is our enemy. I renounce the 'Nang' (sense of honour demanding reprisal) of the Khakhay; go and take revenge on the Gagiānis". This encouraged the Dilazāks who immediately got busy with collecting a *lashkar*. Some Dilazāk chiefs went across the Indus for this. A huge *lashkar* came into existence. On the way to the Doābah, this *lashkar* crossed the river Landā (Kābul) at the ferry called Surgh Waṛae and reached Peshāwar, for Peshāwar as well had a big Dilazāk population. Thus all the Dilazāk *lashkars* got together.

Meanwhile Malik Ḥamza, the Gagiāni, dispatched letters to Mīr Fateh Khān b. Mūsā Bāizai Sulizai and Dādi (actually Allāh Dād) b. Popal b. Faḫr ad-Dīn Yūsafzai exhorting them for help. For the sake of the Khashi "Nang" (sense of honour) both agreed without seeking permission from Malik Aḥmad. When they were proceeding to the Doābah, a certain Sargīn (Khudu Khel) met them near the Hiṣār stream (apparently Jindī) and also gave them company. The Gagiānis had already removed their assets to the neighbouring mountains; their *lashkar* however encamped at Nīmah Warae – a well known place in the Doābah.

The Dilazāk advanced from Peshāwar to Gul Belah in the Doābah, crossed the Peshāwar river (sic) and moved to Nīmah Waṛae (p.194) where a battle took place and the Gagiānis were overthrown. The Makkah Khel who were on the forefront of the Gagiāni *lashkar* suffered the most, and diminished in number. When Malik Aḥmad came to know that Mīr Fateh Khān and Dādi had joined the Gagiānis, he dispatched a certain Mīr Aḥmad 'Umrkhel to bring them back. But seeing that the honour of the Khakhay was at stake, he himself joined the Gagiāni *lashkar* and laid down his life. Mīr Fateh Khān, Dādi, and Sargīn were also killed together with many Gagiāni chiefs. The Dilazāks did not molest the children and women thinking that such a step would not be

liked by Malik Ahmad and other Yūsufzai chiefs (p.195), and therefore desisted from committing any such outrage.

5.7. The Battle of Kātlang

The families of the slain Yūsufzai chiefs who had joined the Nima Waḡae battle without the permission of Malik Ahmad and also those of the Gagiānis, now flocked to him crying for revenge. Moved by their incessant pleas (Khawājū) or by the Dilazāk menace of lifting Yūsufzai cattles near Nagarkot, Malik Ahmad, in consultation with other chiefs, decided to take on the Dilazāks – his earstwhile benefactors. Khawājū's statement (p.199) that the immediate cause behind this clash was the lifting of a *chōdar* (used by Yūsufzai females as a veil) by a naughty Dilazāk youth from a bush where it had been spread for drying in the sun after washing, and that despite repeated pleas he refused to return it, appears to have been concocted merely to harp on the Pakhtūn predilection for *purdah* (veil).

Malik Ahmad knew the power of the Dilazāks and had therefore to make preparations on an unprecedented scale. The Mūsāzai Gagiānis to which the Maliks Hasan b. Changā and Shibli b. Tūri belonged were at feud with the Yūsufzais during the reign of the Mirzā, Ulugh Beg, and were still in Kābul. Some of the Utmān Khel had also stayed back with them, while the Tarklāgrīs were in Lamghān and Muḥammadzais in Nagrahār. In order to win over the Mūsāzais it was decided to forget about the past and overlook their past excesses. Shaikh Mali and some other were tasked first to convince the Mūsāzis of this and then to request them to send a *lashkar*. Shaikh Mali went to the Doābah first, took some Gagiāni notable chiefs with him and went to Lamghān, Nagrahar and Kābul. The Mūsāzais, Utman Khels and Muḥammadzais got ready to send their *lashkars* but the Tarklāgrīs refused (p.201) to join this confederacy.

While Shaikh Mali was in Kābul, Malik Ahmad himself visited Swāt, Bājaur, Samah and Hashtnagar and collected *lashkars* from local tribes such as the Utmān Khel, Mashwān, Gadūn, Kakhār, Rahwāgrī, Raḡrī, Kāsi, Swāti, Shalmāni and Baḡes and stationed them in different villages near Kātlang. The Dilazāks of Kalpāni also came to know that Shaikh Mali had proceeded to Kābul to bring more *lashkars* to be employed against them. Therefore they also sent messages to their people in Peshāwar, Hazārah, Mānakrao, Akori, Tarbela, Pehūr, Sher Darah, Panjtār and to the banks of the river Landā. The Dilazāks gathered at Shāhbāzgarh and then moved towards Kātlang. The two armies came face to face at the village called Gadar situated on the bank of a stream

of the same name. From the confederating tribes under Malik Aḥmad, first of all the Popalzai cavalry comprising two hundred horse led by Salm Khān, Said and Jokal, crossed the stream and fell upon the Dilazāk vanguard. Meanwhile the Gagiāni *lashkar* under Shaikh Mali also reached the battlefield and strengthened the position of Malik Aḥmad. The upshot was that the Dilazāk suffered defeat in AD 1525 (caroe 1958: 189) and fled to their homes across the Indus.

An incident regarding the marriage of Khān Kajū, which may be partly true, despite some incredible details, gives a lively colour to this otherwise sanguinary scene. Khān Kajū is said to have participated in this fight as a young man. He was leading the vanguard of the pursuit when he came across a Dilazāk chief named Bhāi Khān and his family. As the fleeing Dilazāks were being hard pressed, Bhāi Khān implored Khān Kajū to stop his men and let the females get across the Indus – failing which, he said, they would all throw themselves in the water and perish rather than be taken as captives. Bhāi Khān's earnest appeal touched the heart of the young commander who cried out to his clansmen: "Give over, comrades; let them alone. Do not harm them, for they are Afghāns like ourselves" (Khwājū: p.206) The ladies crossed, but the kindness shown by Khān Kajū seems to have left its impact upon the mind of Bhāi Khān who, in order to return the favour and also to establish some kind of a better understanding with his conqueror offered the hand of his daughter, which was accepted and Khān Kajū, in company with some other chiefs, subsequently went across the river to bring the bride after fulfilling due marriage ceremonies. This simple fact has been given different hues by Afghān writers, some saying that Kajū was sent by Malik Aḥmad to the Dilazāks before the fight began for negotiations to find a peaceful solution to their problems and there he saw the daughter of the Dilazāk chief and fell in love with her, and that his proposal was turned down, and so on. According to Khwājū most of the Dilazāks who were killed in this battle had come from the other side of the river Indus, and having been overthrown they fled to the same direction. It is surprising, though Khwājū mentions it so, that the vanguard of the "Great *Lashkar*" (*Lashkar-i Azīm*) of the Dilazāks was put to flight by a batch of two hundred horse of the Khashi force and that the rest of the "Great *Lashkar*" fled without fighting (see pp.204-05), only to be greatly slaughtered during their pursuit.

The victory on the part of the confederates placed the Khashis (with the exception of the Tarkalāngris) and their allies in possession of all the country extending

from Nāwagai on the west, to the Abae-sin on the east, and as far south as the left or northern bank of the river Kābul. To the north, their territory extended into Swāt.

After this success Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs took counsel together, for the purpose of making a redistribution of the territory then held by Khashis, and to include the Samah just acquired, and, at Kātlang, this was done according to Caroe (1958: 189) in AD 1530 by Saikh Mali. Hashtnagar was assigned to the Muḥammadzais, who returned to Nagrahār in order to bring back their families and belongings. The Gagiānis requested that more territory be allotted to them, since the Mūsāzai division of their tribe had been forgiven by the Yūsufzais and had now joined them; so, in addition to the Doābah, half of Bājaur, from Dānish-kol to Lāshorah, Anbār, Nāwagai, and Chār-mang, out of which the Khalīls had been previously driven, was added to their portion. The Utmān Khels, Jzadūns, and others, had also to be provided for, and so, they were. The Tarkalānris did not furnish any contingent on this occasion, and consequently, received no share in this distribution. They were still in Lamaghān; and a considerable time subsequent, when Khān Kajū overthrew the Ghoriah Khel in the famous battle at Shaikh Tapūr (see *infra*) in which a Tarkalānri contingent was present, they came and settled in Bājaur.

Unfortunately, Afghāns, like other oriental writers, often leave out dates altogether, but Caroe (1958: 179) suggests AD 1525. Neither are the dates of the death of Shaikh Mali and Malik Aḥmad recorded anywhere. Khwājū (p.212) merely says that Shaikh Mali died a few years after his famous *Wesh* (distribution of land), and that (p.214) Malik Aḥmad followed an year afterwards and was buried in an uneven ground between Alah Dand Dheri and Thānah. Shaikh Mali was buried in an even piece of land at Ghorbandae situated near the Swāt – Damghār highway.

Malik Aḥmad had several sons of whom only Allāh Dād and Ismā'īl became well-known. But they and their supporters pitted themselves against each other on the question of succession and quickly disappeared from the scene. After due deliberation the Khashi Elders nominated Kajū (b. Malik Qarā b. Bihzād) and gave him the title Khān (Khwājū: 215). Khāwar (2011: 11) says that he was born in Kābul in AD 1490, and his brother Malik Jallū was killed in the battle of Thānah in AD 1515 when the Khashis first occupied lower Swāt. He (p.22) further informs us that Malik Aḥmad died ten years after the battle of Kātlang in AD 1530, the year in which Kajū was nominated as Khān.

5.8. The Ghoriah Khel Reach Peshāwar

The Khalīls, Dāūdzaīs, Chamkāni and Mohmands were collectively known as Ghoriah Khel. It was during the chieftainship of Khān Kajū that the Dāūdzaīs having, from some cause or other, separated from the rest of the Ghoriah Khel, came into the territory of the Khashis, and solicited from them an assignment of lands for their support. The *Jirgah* or council of the tribes, listened to their request, and assigned them several villages about Kālā Pāgri and Bagīārī (Khwājū 1977: 217). There they continued to dwell till the Ghoriah Khel occupied Peshāwar.

When the Dāūdzaīs separated, the main body of the Ghoriah Khel was still in their original home at Tarnak, Qallāt, Muqur, Qarah Bāgh etc. Meanwhile the Muḥammadzaīs vacated Nagrahār and moved to Hashtnagar – their new home. The Ghoriah Khel, particularly the Khalīls, quickly stepped into the territory vacated by the Muḥammadzaīs and subsequently spread towards Bajaur. Peshāwar and the lands around it were then inhabited by the Dilazāks who were very loyal to Humāyūn, son and successor of the Emperor Zahīr ad-Dīn Bābur.

The Khalīls first applied to the Dilazāks of Peshāwar for lands, but they, having paid so dearly for providing the Yūsufzaīs with lands, refused to accede to their request. At this period Mirzā Kāmrān held the fief of Kābul and its dependencies. On the death of his father, Bābur Badshāh, in 937 H/AD 1531, Humāyūn confirmed his brother, Mirzā Kāmrān, in his fief as a feudatory. Kāmrān's ambition was boundless, and his unfaithfulness to his brother proverbial, and the object of his life was to work him ill, and supplant him.

The Dilazāks or Dilazāk Afghāns, as Bābur styles them in his *Tuzuk* (1987: 367) had always been good and faithful subjects of Bābur as shown by his own words: "a trusty man of the Dilazāk Afghān" was sent to the ruler of Bājaur, and they were also good subjects of his son Humāyūn. This fact was sufficient to awaken Mirzā Kāmrān's hostility to them. To him the Khalīls and Mohmands appealed, and he agreed to aid them with his forces. This event, it is evident, must have taken place soon after Humāyūn's succession, and at a time when he was much occupied in other far more momentous matters in Hindūstān to be able to help the Dilazāks by restraining Kāmrān. Had it not been for Kāmrān's support, it is very probable that the Dilazāks would have successfully resisted the encroachment of the Ghoriah Khel; as it was only after much severe fighting that the Dilazāks were finally overthrown at the village Sulṭānpurāe.

The precise date of this event is recorded nowhere, though an approximate date may be worked out when we put these details against a broader canvas covering the reign of Humāyūn (AD 1530 -1556). Within this time bracket also falls the rule of the Sūri Dynasty (1538 – 1554) of Delhi. Humāyūn was never convinced of the disloyalty of his brother Kāmran and added Panjāb to his fief, even though he proved himself by his actions to be the chief cause of all the troubles of that monarch. The time chosen seems to have been when Humāyūn had enough to do to hold his own, and when the whole empire, even including Kāmran's fief, was disordered and bounds of authority utterly relaxed.

It was at such a time that the Khalīls plotted with Kāmran to despoil the Dilazāks of their lands; and he naturally desired to have his own men in control of Peshāwar rather than the loyal subjects of Humāyūn. In 1542-43 Humāyūn lost his kingdom to the Sūris and fled to Irān seeking help from the Šafavids. In 1545 he recovered Kābul from the control of Kāmran who, hereafter, had enough to do to take care of himself. Consequently Kāmran took shelter with the Ghoriah Khels. In AD 1550 he suffered defeat near Shutar Grām. With the help of his friends, the Ghoriah Khels, he made a night attack upon Humāyūn's camp in 1551. In the following year he was blinded. As the Sūris, even at the height of their power, never crossed the Indus into the Peshāwar, the expulsion of the Dilazāks of Peshāwar could have taken place anytime between 1530 and 1545.

Humāyūn's troubles in fact started soon after his accession when he assigned appanages to his brothers. Kāmran was confirmed in Kābul and Qandahār, 'Askari got Sambhal (Rohilkhand) and Hindāl was given Mewāt. This might have secured him the active collaboration of his brothers and enabled him to offer a united front to his numerous enemies, but the senseless ambitions of some of them and lack of foresight in appreciating the situation in others made them more a liability than an asset. Among other difficulties which made his position shaky and precarious were the host of Timūrid princes which had to be provided for, the Afghān chiefs who were massing on the eastern frontiers and the scheming and ambitious young Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat. There was a host of problems, the young, cultured and refined Humāyūn was caught up early in his reign. AD 1534 or 35 was the right time for Kāmran to expel the Dilazāks because of their loyalty to Humāyūn and replace with his own men – the Ghoriah Khels.

5.9. The Battle of Shaikh Tapūr

After the expulsion of the Dilazāks who crossed the Indus and settled in Hazārah, the Khalīls, Dāūdzaīs, Chamkāni and Mohmands took up their quarters in the parts they now occupy. Among these the Khalīls were the most powerful and held all the lands from Dhāka to Attock, including the Khyber and Karappa passes. The Peshāwar district was very fertile and, moreover, all the caravans of traders between India and Kābul passed through it, which yielded a big amount on account of taxes levied on them. They also furnished the Caravans with escorts and made them pay for these services. This was another source of revenue. With all these advantages, the Ghoriah Khel became rich and arrogant. Their hostility towards the Yūsufzaīs and Mandanr became excessive and they plundered a Yūsufzaīs caravan on its way by Karappa route, and also murdered two youths, the sons of 'Umr b. Saīdu of the Abāzi clan and carried their raids, across the river of Kābul, into the Samah, as far as the skirts of the hills (Khwājū pp.218-20).

Having buried the dead bodies, the father of the murdered young men took their blood stained clothes and went to Lawarah Manārah where Khān Kajū was staying and told him about the Ghoriah Khel excesses. Khān Kajū used soft words to encourage 'Umr and dismissed him. But in his own heart he now understood why the Ghoriah Khel had been looking for fordable points in winter in the rivers of Peshāwar and Hashtnagar (p.221). One of the objectives of bringing Kāmran to Peshāwar by the Ghoriah Khel was plundering the Yūsufzaīs, he surmised.

Inspite of this provocation Khān Kajū at first hesitated from attacking the Ghoriah Khel, although he wished to do so, because he was not certain that the Gagiānis and Muḥammadzaīs would join him in this adventure. Therefore he decided to bide his time until the Ghoriah Khel should come into contact with these two tribes. He had not long to wait. Shortly afterwards Malik Muḥammad Khān b. Sulṭān, Gagiāni, who was looked upon as a saint within his tribe and greatly venerated by others, when on his way to Peshāwar from the Doābah, went to the mosque of Malik Bāzid b. Maḥmūd Khalīl by the way, was brutally murdered by Bārke and Wali, both Zakriyāzaīs, in the act of saying prayers. This was enough for Khān Kajū to give the call for a clash of arms.

Malik Muḥammad Khān's son took the blood stained clothes of his father and showed them to Malik Shaikhū b. Khwājū, the chief of the Gagiānis, who sent him to Khān Kajū, along with two Lālahzai Maliks – Khwājū and Ādam – to present his case

to him. These three first went to Hashtnagar where they put their case before the Muḥammadzai Maliks – Khizr Khān and Begi – and requested their help. The Muḥammadzais suggested to them to see Khān Kajū for he was the chief of the entire Khashi and Mandanr septs, and had the title of "Khān of Khāns".

After seeing off Khwājū and others, Khān Kajū summoned a *Jirga* of the Yūsufzais and Mandanrs for consultation. This *Jirga* was attended by such powerful chiefs as Malik Sar Abdāl (Yūsufzai), Malik Bārā Khān b. Mūsā Khān Akozi Bāizi, Khudā-e-Dād and many others. It was concluded that, in view of the great strength and power of the Ghoriah Khel, a great *lashkar* comprising Yūsufzais, Muḥammadzais, Tarklānris and Gagiānis should be collected to tackle the Ghoriah Khels. It was also decided to bring ample supplies (provisions) and families so that nobody could avoid taking part in the fight on the pretext of looking after the house hold (p.225).

The initial camp was fixed at Kālā Pāgri. In a short while a city of tents sprang up. The Ilyāszai chiefs – Malik Jukā and Karīm Dād – from Swāt had also joined in. but they appealed to Malik Sar Abdāl that, in the view of the danger posed by Qazān Shāh b. Sulṭān Awais, they should be exempted from this service. Their plea was accepted and they were sent back to Swāt but Karam 'Ali b. Fateh Khān with some of his men stayed back to symbolize the Ilyāszai presence in the camp. The *lashkar* gradually moved to the northern bank of the river Landā (p.228). Malik Jukā meanwhile raided the house of Qazān Shāh who had gone away from the capital to enjoy spring festivities, and succeeded in killing him. The head of Qazān Shāh was separated from the body and taken to Swāt. The next day the Ilyāszais took the head to Khān Kajū who was still on the northern bank of the Landā opposite Shaikh Tapūr. Khān Kajū was much delighted and considered it a good omen symbolizing success in the forthcoming battle.

Khān Kajū mustered a large army composed of the Khashis and their allies. Even the Tarklānris furnished a quota of two thousand cavalry, although they were still dwelling in Lamghān. The Ghoriah Khels were not sitting idle either. The Khalil chief Malik Bāzid b. Mahmūd was in Kābul to meet Humāyūn Bādshāh. In his absence, Malik Nabe b. Mīrdād and Malik Bahlol 'Isāzai Sadozai immediately got busy with collecting *lashkars* from the Ghoriah Khel tribes such as Mohmand, Khalil and Dā'ūdzi. A huge army of which the greater part consisted of fully equipped cavalry gathered near Shaikh Tapur (not far from the present Pīr Pīyāi) to the west of the Dab

or Marsh. The village called Khazam which belonged to a section of the Khalils and had already been vacated was almost in the middle the Ghoriah khel and the Khashi camps (p.230).

Having negotiated terms with the Ghoriah Khel, the Khashis crossed the river Landā to the south and encamped on their side of the Dab. A section of the Khashis got inclined, without the knowledge of Khān Kajū, to find a negotiated settlement of the problems, but Khān-i Khānān having been apprised of what was going on, snubbed the persons behind this proposal so that it was dropped at once. The Khashi had crossed the river on the 12th of *Jamādi al-Awwal* and the next day (13th of the same month) clashed with the enemy. The Ghoriah Khel were completely overthrown with great slaughter; the brunt of the battle having been borne by the Khalils, they were pursued, and their lands and villages were plundered, as far as Jamrūd and Shaikhān on the Bārah river. The power of the Ghoriah Khel was completely crushed and soon became insignificant. A tent was pitched for Khān Kajū on a mound in the Gorgathri, almost in the centre of the present Peshāwar city. The same night Khān Kajū returned to his camp at the edge of the Dab and subsequently crossed the Landā river and returned home. All the prisoners were released.

The year in which this important battle took place is not recorded by Khwājū who was living at the time and had his information from persons present in the fight. These include Hasan b. Ilyās Akozi, Shāhi b. Sa'īd and Malik Tāni b. 'Abd Al-Rahmān b. Shaikh Aḥmad Gagiāni (pp 245-49). All that is said is that it took place on the 13th of *Jamādi al-Awwal* (Raverty 1976: 227, has *Jamādi as-Sāni*)

5.10. Khān Kajū's Exploits in the Neighbourhood

With his astounding success at Shaikh Tapūr, Khān Kajū's fame rose so high that all Pakhtūn tribes submitted to him and nobody dared go against his will. After three years of this battle, Khān Kajū invested the fort of Bigrām (Peshāwar) when Sikandar Uzbek, on the part of Naṣīr ad-Dīn Humāyūn, was its Qala'dār (or governor). Khwājū does not mention the date of Humāyūn's visit to Peshāwar when the fort (present Bālā Hiṣār) was thoroughly repaired and Sikandar Uzbek appointed its governor. But Raverty (1976: 228) has collected information from other sources which shows that Humāyūn's visit took place in 959 AD 1552 and that Humāyūn reached Kābul in the 8th month (Aug. 1552) in the same year. On this basis Raverty suggests that the battle of Shaikh Tapūr took place in the sixth month (*Jamādi as-Sāni*) of 956

H or 957 /AD 1549 or 1550. However the Urdu translation of the *Tawārīkh-i Hāfiz Rahmat Khāni*, which is before us at present, mentions (pp. 234, 240) *Jamādi al-Awwal*, i.e. the fifth month of the same year. This accords well with another piece of information given by the same writer (p.229): "Khān Kajū hastily left Kalpāni (for the battlefield) and encamped on the (northern bank of Landā; opposite Shaikh Tapūr, fixing his tent on an elevated point ... It was (early) summer and wheat plants with ears made rippling waves (because of wind)" Evidently it was pre-harvesting season, that is the month of May. As 13 Jamādi II of the year 957 H falls on 30 June AD 1550, it would be post-harvesting season. Thirteenth of Jamādi I, 958 H (= 20 May 1551) or 13th Jamadi I, 957 (= 31 May 1550), would better suit the above evidence.

Being wholly unprovided with artillery, or other fire-arms Khān Kajū had to break up the investment and retire. The next time he crossed the siver Indus and plundered the territories of Sanjda and Ghep. Once again he crossed the Indus and conquered Chachh and Hazārah. He then proceeded to Pakhlī and Damtaur. When he reached the village Bārū koṭ, Sulṭān Ghiās al-Dīn Turk of Pakhlī brought valuable presents and submitted. Khān Kajū then took the road to the Gakhar country. Sulṭān Ādam, the Gakhar ruler, likewise brought costly presents and acknowledged him as his overlord (Khwājū 1977: 251).

Raverty's following comments (1976: 228) with regard to the elevated status Khān Kajū achieved in his life time are also based upon Khwājū. "If there was ever one, who from the extent of his territory, the number of his troops, and extent of his power, without taking his talents into account, was entitled to be styled a king up to this period, it was Khān Kajū 'of the hundred thousand spearmen'. On one occasion 150,000 men assembled under his banner, consisting of men of most of the Afghān tribes now inhabiting eastern Afghānistān, besides other tribes of the parts which owned his sway. It was recognized from Nanagrahār to the Mārgalah pass, and from the Lāhori Kotal and Upper Swāt to Gahep; and Ādam, the chief of the Gakhars, acknowledged his sway in one direction, while the Kāfirs, acknowledged it in the other, and from Pakhlai and Dharam-taur to Kālā-Bāgh". The times were favourable to him, he further remarks, for it was not until many years after his accession to the chieftainship that Akbar Bādshāh was able to pay attention to the state of affairs in this quarter, and by that time Khān Kajū had disappeared from the scene, and the confederated tribes and territories, which

his talent had welded into one, again fell under the independent rule of their respective chiefs, or under the sovereignty of Akbar Bādshāh.

In his old age Khān Kajū lived in the Swābi territory and there he died (Khwājū 1977: 253-54). He was buried at the foot of a hill which came to be known as the "hill of Khān Kajū". It is now called Gajwāno Dheri. Three or four years after his death, died Malik Bārā Khān and about the same time after Bārā Khān's death, died Malik Sar Abdāl – Kajū's close associates. Sar Abdāl's grave is in Sher Khānae.

5.11. The Mughal, Durrāni, Sikh and British Periods

Zahīr ad-Dīn Bābur, who laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India in AD 1526, was a man of great qualities of head and heart. His autobiography, the *Bāburnāma*, composed in the Chaghtai form of Turki, bears every mark of an intelligent and ingenious mind. Caroe (1992: 152) aptly remarks: it shows a "leader who had learned in the hard school of defeat and victory, he was pre-eminently a man dependent on the kindness and understanding of other men. He can laugh and he can weep, he can sin and repent, and good humour and charity well up in him. He notices everything, the bright skies, the flowers, the trees, the birds, the harsh hills and smiling valleys, the rain and snow and tempests, the names of men and tribes, his friends and enemies, what they did and how they behaved. Beneath the all powerful shadow of the one God in whom he trusted. Suddenly the curtain rises; the footlights go up on an Afghān scene that upto that moment has been shrouded in darkness".

Bābur's uncle Ulugh Beg Mirzā, accused by Yūsufzais of having murdered their maliks, died in AD 1501 and was succeeded by his son 'Abd ar-Razzāq Mirzā who was too young to control the situation, created by selfish Amīrs pulling in different directions. Taking advantage of his youth Sherīm Zikr, one of his begs, pushed 'Abd ar-Razzāq out of Kābul and usurped his authority. 'Abd ar-Razzāq fled to the Tarkalāgi Afghāns towards Lamghān, but Sherīm Zikr too could not rule for long and was put to death by other begs. During the subsequent confusion Muḥammad Muqīm Beg, son of Zun-nūn Arghūn, got possession of Kābul in AD 1502-03 and married a sister of Abd ar-Razzāq. Things were in this state when Bābur appeared on the scene. Bābur remarks: "It was in the last ten days of the second *Rabi* '(Oct. 1504) that without a fight, without an effort, by Almighty God's bounty and mercy, I obtained and made subject to me Kābul and Ghazni and their dependent districts (*Bāburnāma*, 1987: 199). Muqīm was allowed to depart with his bag and baggage.

It is in the *Bāburnāma* that such familiar tribal names as Afrīdis, Orakzais, Bangash, Turis, Dilazāks, Mohmands, Gagiānīs, Muḥammad zais, Lahnis, Niāzis, 'Isa Khel, Ghaljis and Wazīrs are mentioned for the first time. However the most prominent and the best known to Bābur were the Yūsufzais, partly because it was in their country that he spent more time and also married a Yūsufzai girl. Khwājū's account of this marriage is a fanciful rendering of the simple fact recorded by Bābur in these words: "In order to conciliate the Yūsufzai horde, I had asked for a daughter of one of my well-wishers, Malik Sulīmān Shāh's son Malik Shāh Maṣṣūr, at the time he came to me as envoy from the Yūsufzai Afghāns. While we were on this ground [Māndish country in Bājaur] news came that his daughter was on her way with the Yūsufzai tribute ... On Sunday the 28th we marched from that valley. Shāh Maṣṣūr's younger brother Tāus Khān brought the above mentioned daughter of his brother to our ground after we had dismounted" (*Bāburnāma* 1987: 375). Beveridge (App. K) has correctly remarked that [in the version given by Khwājū] there is a good deal which may be merely fear and supposition accepted as occurrence. It appears more like a marriage of convenience than of love. His mother's outburst of anger at his failure to visit the zanāna as often as men of his status were expected to do, does not reveal an overriding interest in having a big harem. All that his Memoirs reveal in this context is that Bābur did have certain amount of respect for women, but nowhere we find him indulging in the pleasures of the harem. It seems therefore that there is no truth in the story that he went to the house of Shāh Maṣṣūr in the guise of a *faqīr* (beggar) just to catch a glimpse of his daughter's face.

There is no doubt that with regard to the Yūsufzais Bābur achieved nothing except the hand of a girl. During the first incursion (AD 1505) he arrived at Bigrām (Peshāwar), where, after visiting the famous banyan tree, he proceeded to Kohāt, Hangu, Bannu; plundered these places and went back to Kābul. In his second incursion he defeated the non-Afghān Gībari Sulṭān of Bājaur, reached an accommodation with the Yūsufzais, and having crossed the river Indus, conquered the Salt Range with its chief city Bhera, returned to Kābul. In the autumn of AD 1519 Bābur once again burst into the Peshāwar valley through the Khyber Pass with avowed intention of suppressing the Yūsufzais of Swāt, inspite of Bibi Mubārikah. A raid on Hashtnagar proved disappointing. It was therefore resolved to plunder the Afrīdis. Meanwhile a bad news arrived from Badakhshān and Bābur had to return to Kābul. The fourth expedition took place in 1520. Bābur went as far as Sialkot but he had to return to Kābul on hearing a

bad news about Qandahār. The fifth expedition (AD 1524) took him to Lahore and did not effect the Yūsufzais in any way. In the following year, 1525, he clashed with Ibrāhīm Lodi at Pānipat and won the Empire of India.

On Bābur's death in 1530 his son Naṣr ad-Dīn Humāyūn ascended the throne of Delhi. In accordance with the wish of his father Humāyūn allotted territories to his brothers who eventually became a source of trouble for him. On 26 June Humāyūn suffered defeat at Chunar at the hands of Sher Khān, who later became known as Sher Shāh Sūrī when he out-manoeuvred Humāyūn in March 1540 at Bilgrām and pushed him out of Hindūstān. In 1554 Humāyūn made a bid to recover his lost possessions in the subcontinent and in November of the same year moved to Peshāwar. On 24 February 1555 he entered Lahore, Dipālpur fell next. The Sūris first suffered defeat at Māchiwāra and were finally crushed at Sarhind. "This victory," says Farishta, decided the fate of the Empire and the Sulṭānate of Delhi went for ever out of the hands of the Afghāns". Humāyūn entered Delhi in July 1555 and once again the *Khuṭba* was read in his name. He died on 24 January 1556. On 14 February 1556 Humāyūn's son, Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar was crowned at Kalānaur at the age of fourteen. Kābul was allotted to Mirzā Ḥakīm, his half brother who was hardly three years old. Thus the mistake made by Humāyūn in allotting territories to his brothers, who worked ceaselessly to his downfall, was repeated by Akbar. Mirzā Ḥakīm followed the example set by his predecessors such as Mirzā Kāmrān and made a vain attempt to capture Lahore. In fact Akbar did not succeed to, or rule over, any territories west of the Indus until 1581 when he pursued Ḥakīm to Kābul, and not absolutely until his (Ḥakīm's) death in 1585.

By the time of Akbar's accession the writ of the government had completely vanished from the valley of Peshāwar. Tribal anarchy prevailed everywhere. Kāmrān was dead and Humāyūn had no time to take any step for restoring order. As the Mirzā was a child of three, the real authority in Kābul was in the hands of Mun'im Khān, one of Humāyūn's most trusted nobles. In 1556 he was summoned to Delhi to replace Bairam Khān, the chief guardian of Akbar. With this, the maternal uncle of Ḥakīm named Faridūn became all powerful and in the beginning, exercised full authority on behalf of Mirzā Ḥakīm, but later on the Mirzā himself took the power in his own hands and became the real master of his fief. But even in these twenty five years (1556 to 1581) the Kābul government could not extend its authority to the lands north of Landā, the home of the Yūsufzais.

While the Mirzā was in control of Kābul, the hereditary enemies of the house of Bābur, the Uzbeks, were gaining power for some years past under the leadership of the ambitious and energetic 'Abdullah Khān. He had conquered Bukhāra, Balkh, Tashkand and practically the whole of Turkistan and had welded the Uzbek tribes into a united and powerful nation. In 1584 he conquered Badakhshān. Its ruler, Sulīmān, who was at feud with his grandson Shāhrukh could not take a firm stand and fled to Kābul followed by Shāhrukh. Mirzā Ḥakīm now felt that his own kingdom was exposed to the Uzbek aggression. He therefore requested Akbar for help. Akbar had not yet decided what to do when news arrived that Mirzā Ḥakīm had died on 30 July 1585 and that disturbances had broken out in Kābul. The Mirzā left behind two sons, Kaiqubād and Afrāsiyāb.

Akbar at once realized the impending danger, for the Uzbeks, once they had occupied Kābul, could pose a serious threat to Delhi. He therefore ordered Mān Singh to march to Kābul and restore law and order, while he himself left Fatehpur on 24 August and took the road to the north-west. He must have been much pleased when on 11 November the sons of Mirzā Ḥakīm, who had been sent by Mān Singh from Kābul arrived in the camp. Many Mughal officers now advised him not to go beyond Rohtās, partly due to excessive heat of August and partly to the disturbances in the eastern provinces which were on the rise and increasing in intensity every day. But the defence of Kābul weighed heavily upon his mind and he, first of all, wanted to plug every hole in its defence. He knew well that the first requisite to check the advance of the Uzbeks was firm control over Afghānistān and the tribes inhabiting the plains of Peshāwar and the hilly country of Swāt and Bājaur. The Yūsufzais were notoriously troublesome. They invested the roads and plundered caravans between India and Turān.

Akbar sent Zain Khān Koka, a competent general, against the Yūsufzais of Bājaur and Sa'īd Khān Gakhar against those of the Peshāwar plains. In the plains the operations were quite successful and Zain Khān also gained success in Bājaur. However he reported to the emperor, who was sitting in Attock, that the expedition would not succeed fully unless the Afghāns of Tīrāh and Swāt were subdued first, and asked for more troops, Akbar dispatched two forces, one under the Brahman favourite, Rājā Bīrbal and the other under another of his cronies Ḥakīm Abū al-Fateḥ. Bīrbal was poet laureate, a scholar and a wit; the Ḥakīm was an eloquent poet too. The only military qualification of the former was that he was put in charge of constructing a fort at Attock,

and of the latter that he had been governor of Bengal for some time. Akbar's choice of generals for a task which outweighed their calibre foreshadowed the result.

Zain Khān by this time reached Chakdara on the right bank of the river Swāt near the well-known Churchill point and encamped. From this point he sallied forth and occupied the Mālākand which enabled Bīrbal and Abū al-Fateḥ to pass over into Swāt. Bīrbal had earlier failed to enter the hills at any point and it was only after combining his force with that of Abū al-Fateḥ that he succeeded in crossing the Mālākand. At Chakdara Zain Khān suggested to hold a stormy war council in his tent but Bīrbal refused to attend if it was to be held in Zain Khān's tent. He demanded that the council be held under the royal standard. Zain Khān swallowed the bitter pill and went to the tent of Bīrbal where Abū al-Fateḥ also joined him. The meeting virtually failed for no common strategy could be worked out. Zain Khān, the most experienced commander among them, suggested that one army should stay in Chakdara while others operated in Buner. This was the best proposal under the circumstances and would have ensured success for the Mughal army which, in case of a reverse, would have found a secure place. But neither Bīrbal nor Abū al-Fateḥ would consent. Bīrbal who possessed little knowledge of the conditions there and had already tasted a little bit of the difficulties involved in climbing mountains at the time of negotiating the Mālākand and was scared to the core of his heart, insisted that the Emperor wanted them all to enter the hills and march rapidly through the country and not to occupy it permanently.

Zain Khān protested. He knew that it was dangerous to operate in the mountains held by warlike tribes without a secure base, and that the tribesmen would consider such a march as outright retreat on the part of the Mughal force and pounce upon it from every side. He was right. But he knew also that he was dealing with two of the Emperor's favourites. He must have reflected that arrogance of the angry Pandit and subtleness of the Persian poet could cost him his own job and honour for they could tell Akbar all sorts of fabricated stories against him when they go back. Consequently the war hardened and rough soldier submitted with ill grace and decided to act in accordance with their sweet will. Even then he showed manliness and insisted on remaining with the rearguard.

The next day the army crossed over to the left bank of the river Swāt and encamped at Barikot. On the second after leaving Chakdara, the army faced heavy tribal opposition so that a whole day was lost in clearing the passage to the Karamār. As soon

as the vanguard under Bīrbal ascended the top, the rearguard was attacked by the enemy who plundered the stores. It was with great difficulty that Zain Khān could extricate himself from the danger. A gallant Bhitanni, named Ḥasan Khān, led Zain Khān's bodyguard, and kept the Yūsufzais at bay. The whole of the next night and day was spent in beating off incessant attacks, but at last the army won through to flat land on the Buner side.

Zain Khān once again advised his colleagues, as he had done in Chakdara, to entrench in the plain ground they had just occupied and, turn it into a base for clearing the passage through the Karappa crest upto the Malandrai pass, sally forth in different directions to scare off the tribesmen. This was the only way out. But it was of no avail. The others would not listen. The frightened Pandit wanted to go home speedily come what may. Once again he put himself in the van and marched off thinking that he would get across the mountains in the day light and would be safe. What might happen to the rest, it was not his worry. Just when he reached the pass the sun set. The Afghāns who had mustered strong on the hills, found an excellent opportunity in the darkness and let loose volleys of arrows and rocks which created a total confusion in the army. Heavy animals, such as elephants and horses slipping down the hill sides also must have destabilized further rocks rolling them down, hitting whoever came in their way. Even if there were no Yūsufzais the falling rocks would have done the job. As the route was not known the army lost its way in the entangled maze of hills. In their anxiety to get out of this horrible situation, everybody tried to push ahead, some fell into pits and some others over precipices and many more hit by stones. In the confused mass of men and animals with the death staring into their eyes 8000 men including Bīrbal and the gallant Ḥasan Khān lost their lives (14 Feb. 1586). Zain Khān who was bringing up the rear as before found the poet Abū al-Fateḥ crouching under a bush for fear of life. Slowly moving ahead and after facing some heavy fighting he reached a point near the crest of the Malandrai where he, along with the poet, spent the night. Three days later, he reached Attock with the remnants of the shattered army to tell what had happened.

Akbar was sorely disappointed by this debacle and expressed his grief at the death of Rājā Bīrbal charging Zain Khān and Abū al-Fateḥ with failure to bring in the body of Bīrbal to be burnt, he did not admit them in his presence for two days, little realizing that the real cause behind the debacle was his own choice of commanders sent to re-inforce and enhance the fighting capability of Zain Khān, but quite on the contrary, they, by their lack of knowledge regarding the hills of Buner, obstinacy and

pusillanimity, became a liability and dragged him into difficulties. On the third day news arrived that the Yūsufzais and Mandagrs were getting ready to march on Attock itself. The emperor now received his generals to give them new assignments.

Akbar was not a man to be deterred by such misfortunes. He now dispatched the prince Murād along with Rāja Todar Mal to beat off the invaders. In the plains the tribes men were no match for the better equipped imperial army. The prince was recalled later on and Zain Khān and Abū al-Fateḥ and Qāzi 'Alī were also sent to help them. The Mughal commanders this time showed better judgement, great vigour and wise caution. The Rāja established military posts and properly garrisoned them. From these posts the Mughals sallied out and harassed the Afghāns and reduced them to great straits. Kunwar Mān Singh was recalled from Jamrūd to further reinforce the imperial army. Mān Singh established his camp on the right bank of the river Indus near Hund which, Abu al-Fadl says "was one of the great cities of old times, and concerning which a mound of earth now speaks eloquently" (Vol. III: 786). Another fort was built near the large village of Garhi Kapūra, east of Mardan, and a third at a place called Langarkot which has disappeared. It was sited probably close to the village Torū. Towards the end of March 1586 Todar Mal returned and made over the chastisement of the Afghāns to Mān Singh. In October 1588 Zain Khān surprised the Yūsufzais and gained a victory over them. Although the Afghāns continued to fight sporadic engagements, the Mughals considered their position so strong that both Āṣif Khān and Zain Khān returned to the court. In 1589, the Yūsufzai chief Kālū Khān was arrested. The emperor himself went to Kābul in 1589 to pacify the country. He gave presents to Afghān hermits and distributed money among the poor. Akbar might have stayed there longer, but his presence excited the apprehension of 'Abdullah Khān Uzbek. Hence he returned leaving Qāsim Khān as governor of Kābul and Shāhbāz Khān, the commander in Swāt.

But the Afghāns had not learnt to be peaceful. In 1590 they again created disturbance and Zain Khān was sent to fight them. In 1592 Zain Khān was sent once again to Swāt and Bājaur where rebellion had broken out in sympathy with that of the Roshaniās.

Two important personalities whose religious predilections greatly affected the lives of the tribesmen, including the Yūsufzais, in this period are: Bāyazīd Anṣārī and 'Alī Tirmizī.

5.12. Bāyazīd Anṣārī

Bāyazīd (often contracted into Bāzid) was born in 1525 at Jālandhar in east Panjāb. His father 'Abdullah belonged to Kānigrām, situated almost in the centre of Maḥsūd Wazīristān at an elevation of about 7,000 feet. After the birth of Bāzid the family returned to Kānigrām and it was in this town that he was brought up. It is the only place in the middle of the Pashto speaking Maḥsūds where there is a considerable Urmaṛ population who speak their own Urmaṛi language (Caroe 1992: 200).

There is some difference of opinion regarding the ethnic block Bāzid belonged to. According to Caroe (1992: 201) he was most certainly an Urmaṛ by background if not by descent. It is probable, he remarks, that he called himself Anṣārī merely to increase his own religious value and appeal. Raverty (1976: 46 n) writes this name as Bāyazīd or Bāzid Anṣārī but, at p.679 n., says that his father 'Abdullah Anṣārī was himself a Tājzik. Akhūnd Darweza (1960: 137) who was a contemporary of Bāzid, says: "within the territorial boundaries of Qandahār is a village called Kānigrām in which Afghān Urmaṛ and Anṣārī lived. The Anṣārīs are not actually Afghāns. Some of them claim descent from the Quraish and some from the prophet Yūnis (Jonah). It is also said that genealogies in the 'Ājam have got mixed up. Therefore in reality, it can be said that genealogy (with respect to Bāzid) is not known".

The Anṣārīs were originally the supporters of the Prophet Muḥammad in Madīna when the latter migrated to that city in AD 622 from Mecca, his home town, where he had to face stiff opposition particularly on the part of the Quraish. There are several families now living in Pakistan who claim their descent from those Anṣārīs and hence call themselves Anṣārī. Whether 'Abdullah, Bāyazīd's father also belonged to such an Arab family is not unlikely, but it is not known for certain. Nevertheless, 'Abdullah was a man of great knowledge and moral soundness (*'Ilm-o-Salāh*) and worked as a teacher in that region. Under his guidance one of his students Mullā Pāindah attained perfection in religious matters and was nominated by him Khalifah (successor). To his care 'Abdullah assigned his son Bāyazīd for education about 900/AD 1494-95.

Pāindah worked diligently and performed the task assigned to him with great interest. As a result Bāyazīd, in due course of time, acquired a moderate degree of accomplishment in religious sciences. Having reached adulthood Bāyazīd went to Samarqand with a party of traders and purchased as many horses as his pocket allowed him. After this he went to India. At Jālandhar he joined in marriage an Afghān lady

named Shamsi and met with a certain Mullah Sulīmān and a party of Jogis. After a few sittings with them the doctrines of transmigration of souls and Avatār firmly settled in his mind. Why did he go straight to Jālandhar and not to any other place in India is not known; some say that his father 'Abdullah was Qāzi of that place during the reign of Ibrahim Lodhi (517-26) and after the defeat of his patron at Pānipat (1526), when the Afghāns dispersed in all directions, 'Abdullah came back to Kānigrām.

After the birth of his first son, 'Umar, Bāyazīd returned to Kānigrām and, for some time, kept his newly acquired knowledge a guarded secret waiting perhaps for the right time to divulge it. At last he picked up courage and expounded his doctrine in the presence of his father, who, flabbergasted at what he said, flared up in anger and hit his son so hard that Bayazid got seriously wounded and expressed repentance and renewal of his earlier faith. However, having recovered from the injuries, he fled to Nagrahār and stayed in the house of Malik Sulṭān Aḥmad Mohmand for some time. Being quick-witted and sharp, as the Akhūnd styles him, he soon discovered that he could not sell his doctrine through clever discourses to the orthodox Sunni population around him and therefore removed to Peshāwar in the hope of finding a more sympathetic audience. The Khalils of Peshāwar did not disappoint him. A number of them, both men and women, became his disciples and accepted him as their *Pīr*. This encouraged him to settle down in the village Kalah-dher in Hashnagar and sent messages in every direction to spread his doctrine and win over new converts. Here he won the support of Mullah Daulat Khān and his followers. The Mulla exercised great influence among the Mohmands. His gospel was also accepted by large groups among the Yūsufzais. The message was so loud that *Pīr Bābā*, the most revered saint of the Pakhtūns also heard it and offered stiff opposition. One of the disciples of *Pīr Bābā*, the Akhūnd, Darwezah, championed the cause of orthodoxy and worked diligently to dispel the magic of Bāyazīd. His work *Tazkīrat al-Abrār wa al-Ashrār* was written in condemnation of Bāyazīd's *Khair al-Biyyān* nicknamed as *Shar al-Biyyan* by the Akhūnd.

By this time Bāyazīd had come to believe that he was inspired directly by God and therefore whatever he did or said was unquestionably the final authority and that the external laws and ordinances (*Sharia*) do not apply to him. His doctrines were strictly personal to himself, but are said to be largely based on a pantheistic Sufism, to which he added a belief in the transmigration of souls, engrafting thereon various eclectic and syncretic features of which the most notable, according to critics, was that

the complete manifestation of the Godhead was to be seen in the persons of holy men, more particularly in his own (Caroe 1992: 201). Accordingly, he assumed the title of *Pir Roshān* (Apostle of Light), from which his followers came to be known as Roshaniyya (or "Illuminati"). His critics, particularly the Akhūnd, Darweza, nicknamed him as *Pir-i Tārik* ("Apostle of Darkness") and his followers as *Tārikis*. The most important article of his faith was the divinity and the inviolability of the *Pirs*, who were to be recognized as the final authority in all matters. There was also a welcome licence to his partisans to extirpate those who did not offer submission and obedience to the *Pir* and to seize their property. This was a great encouragement to his potential supporters among the tribes (Caroe: op.cit).

In Raverty's view Bāyazīd's doctrines were founded on a version of the Ismā'ili heresy. But for the aggressive militarism they might have been regarded as one of the many sects which existed in those days and might have gone unheeded.

His activities at last drew the attention of Mirzā Hakīm, the ruler of Kābul (d. 1585), who instructed Muḥsin Khān, the governor of Jalālabād to summon Bāyazīd to the court comprising religious scholars. Several questions regarding his faith were put to him. But, by a clever exposition of his doctrine, he disarmed the suspicion of being an heretic and was therefore acquitted. He had no permanent source of income and therefore took to highway robbery.

The Afghāns of hills – Afrīdis, Orakzais, Khalīls, Mohmands, Bangash and also a number of the Tirāhis (people of the Tirāh valley) flocked under his standard. But this was not enough. He had grand designs in view and needed a secure base from which he could challenge the Mughal supremacy. For this purpose he selected Tirāh and shifted his residence there. Now he thought of exterminating the Tirāhis with the help of his Afghān disciples. When the Tirāhis came to know about it, they got ready to defend themselves. But they were no match for his cunningness.

Having been informed that the Tirāhis were ready to fight, he resorted to a clever stratagem and wrote to them that, by raising swords against a *Pir*, they have committed a sin of the worst kind and the only way to wash it off was that they should present themselves handcuffed to the *Pir* to kiss his feet. The Tirāhis, a simple folk, could not see through his cunning design and presented themselves as required. The *Pir* selected three hundred and twenty individuals from amongst them. The leaders perhaps, took them out of the fort where he was sitting and put them to death. The rest of the people

of Tirāh were then attacked by his Afghān collaborators and finished off. Their belongings and properties were taken over by the victors. Some of the Yūsufzais who had also supported Bāyazīd in this campaign returned laden with enormous booty and prisoners. Only a few of the Tirāhis could escape. They fled to Nagrahār and informed the government of what had happened to them.

This initial success boosted the courage of Bāyazīd and his Afghān allies who now considered them strong enough for winning further laurels. Bāyazīd's *lashkar* consequently marched to Nangrahār and ravaged a village called Baro. Having heard the news, Muḥsin Khān, the governor, with his six hundred horsemen, proceeded to face the enemy and crushed the *lashkar* with great slaughter. Bāyazīd himself fled to the mountains and finally reached Kalpānī (near Mardān). But fatigue, hunger and thirst, the Akhūnd says, damaged his liver resulting in his death. The date of his death is usually placed in 1585 but Caroe (op.cit), puts it a little earlier. The exact spot of his burial was apparently not known to the Akhūnd, for, he says, that Bāyazīd was buried within the boundaries of Hashtnagar (p.155).

Bāyazīd was altogether a remarkable man and was the main cause of some terrible misfortunes for the Afghāns. His doctrine may not have been fully comprehended by the common Afghāns but he himself knew what he was up to. He was himself a *Pīr* and wanted the *Pīr* to be the focal point from which all power emanated. He knew very well that a *Pīr* commanded immense respect in the Pakhtūn society – a soft point which could be exploited to his own advantage. The doctrine he devised gave the *Pīr* absolute powers in the religious as well as temporal matters. He was above the laws of the *Sharia* and his privileges not subject to any limitation. Had he succeeded in outsting the Mughals, India would have witnessed the novel combination of a pontiff and patriarch. Herin lay, one may say, the weakness of Bāyazīd's approach, for, such a combination was utterly incompatible with the Pakhtūn temperament. The tribesmen could be mobilized against the Mughals, but any effort to press them into compromising their independence, was bound to fail.

Bāyazīd had five sons – 'Umar, Nūr ad-Dīn, Khair ad-Dīn, Kamāl ad-Dīn and Jalāl ad-Dīn. The eldest of them, Shaikh 'Umar, succeeded his father and walking in his footsteps continued the campaign in Hashtnagar. He took out the box containing the dead body of his father and carried wherever he went. To some extent he succeeded in mobilizing the Yūsufzais against the government, who accepted his gospel on the

condition that they would not be required to pay any taxes such as 'ushr or Kharāj. Shaikh 'Umar now considered himself king of the Afghāns. But Hamza Khān, chief of the Akozai branch of the 'Isazais, would not bend his knees before him. This enraged Shaikh 'Umar who attacked Hamza Khān and seized his cattle as booty.

This was the turning point in the Yūsufzai – Tāriki relations. The practical demonstration of his father's doctrine which allowed the *Pīr*, as Shaikh 'Umar happened to be at that time, to plunder the property of those who refused to submit to his sweet will, turned the tide against the Roshanis or Tārikīs. Realizing that their honour was at stake the Yūsufzais under the command of Hamza Khān decided to measure swords with the Shaikh. The first two skirmishes took place near the villages Surkāwi and Maini respectively resulting in the success of the Shaikh. The Yūsufzais again reorganized themselves and clashed with the Shaikh near the village Bāra Tanol, two miles north of Swābi, where the Indus issues from the hills. Hamza Khān's men delivered a powerful attack and carried the day. Realizing that they were fighting a lost battle Shakh 'Umar and Khair ad-Dīn took to flight and crossed the Indus at Torbela but they fell into the hands of the Dilazāk (Akhūnd Darweza) or Utmānzais (Caroe) clan of Yūsufzais and were put to death. There they were buried. Nūr ad-Dīn fled to Hashtnagar and was similarly put to death by the Muḥammad zais and buried there. Jalāl ad-Dīn, still a boy of fourteen years received injuries during the fight and was tossed into the river. But his time was not yet come, so he survived and fell into the hands of the Amāzais, a branch of the Mandang tribe, who spared him on account of his beauty and tender age and brought him before Akbar. Out of clemency Akbar set him at liberty. But he ran away from the court and reached back home where he raised a huge storm. Akbar himself, his son Jahāngīr and his son Shāh Jahān had to pay heavily for this merciful act. The Yūsufzais however took stern measures. Bāyazīd's coffin was broken open and the bones burnt. His widow was given over to a minstrel and the women and children of the Anṣāris were captured. This event is said to have taken place in AD 1581 (Caroe, op.cit). This date incidentally corrects the date of Bāyazīd death which is usually believed to be 1585. As Bāyazīd died earlier than this event, the date of his death must be placed earlier than the date of this event. The Akhūnd does not mention this date explicitly but records a statement which corroborates it. An Anṣārī Khalifa, he writes, presented himself to Akbar and lodged a complaint against the Yūsufzais, saying that they had detained some of the Anṣāris without any *Shar'ī* (legal) reason. He hoped that the Emperor, on account of his overwhelming generosity would

take action and have them released. As Akbar had himself gone astray from the religion of the Prophet (PBUH), the Akhūnd further records, he did injustice to the Yūsufzais.

Reading between the lines, one may see, that the only Anṣārī Khalifa who had the chance of seeing Akbar was Jalāl ad-Dīn, known to the Afghān writers as Jalāla. The Anṣārī prisoners mentioned by Jalāla were obviously the women and children who were taken captive in the battle of Bāra Tanol as mentioned above. It is evident from this statement that it was sometime after this event that the Emperor took action against the Yūsufzais and despatched Zain Khān (in 1586). Nizām ad-Dīn Aḥmad (Elliot and Dowso 1976: v, 450) followed by Badāʿonī (1976: 11, 360) is more precise and accurate. When Bāyazīd was dead, he says, "his son Jalāla, a youth of about fourteen, came, in the year 989 H/1581, to wait upon the emperor, as he was returning from Kābul. He was kindly received". The death of Bāyazīd and the date of the battle of Bāra Tanol must therefore be placed prior to the year 1581.

Having escaped from the Mughals to Tīrāh, Jalāla soon gathered a following of the Afrīdīs and of some sections of the Khalīls and Mohmands and occupied the routes connecting India with Afghānistān. He assumed the title of the king of the Afghāns and his followers roamed up and down the country plundering and robbing. Meanwhile Mirzā Ḥakīm died (July 1585) and Akbar decided to send Mān Singh to Kābul as governor. On his way to Kābul Mān Singh found that the route was infested by the Tārikīs but he managed to reach his destination. As the fort of Bigrām (Peshāwar) was left in the charge of Syed Hāmid Bukhāri without a strong garrison, the Tārikīs and their collaborators invested it (1585) and killed the Bukhāri who had gallantly sallied out, with forty of his relations, to face them.

With depredations daily on the rise and road through the Khyber, only recently improved by Qāsim Khān, rendered unsafe, Akbar realized that time had come to take the Tārikīs (Roshanis) and their collaborators seriously. We have seen above that Zain Khān was ordered to move against the Yūsufzais of Bājaur and Swāt while Mān Singh was operating in Tīrāh. It was at about this time that Mīr Quraish, ambassador of 'Abdullah Khān Uzbek, king of Māwarā an-Nahr, on way to Attock where the emperor was sitting at that time, reached Dhākā (western end of the Khyber) and found that the road through the Khyber had been blocked by the Tārikīs who threatened to plunder the caravan carrying rich presents for the Emperor. The Emperor sent the Shaikh, Farid Bakhshi and Aḥmad Beg Kābuli with a party of Aḥdīs to meet the caravan and bring it

through the khyber. When this party came to Jamrūd, eastern end of the Khyber, Mādhu Singh and some others, who had been stationed at Hund, also joined it. These armed men entered the Khyber and joined the caravan of Mīr Quraish at Dhākā, while Mān Singh himself hastened to 'Alī Masjid. Considering the force a small one, the Tārikīs invested the fort at night and some of them even climbed up the ramparts but they were driven away. As the day dawned they occupied a lofty peak and collected stones but once again they were beaten back. Mīr Quraish and his caravan reached Attock unhurt.

Mān Singh adopted a policy of severe repression, which led to his recall by Akbar. Jalāla once more fell upon the Mughal army of 'Abd al-Mutallib Khān, but was defeated and obliged to fly into the mountains. The new commander Šādiq Khān reconciled, for the time being, the Afrīdī and Orakzai tribes who were the chief supporters of Jalāla. Finding no supporters Jalāla realized that his life was in danger. He therefore fled to Tūrān; but his family was delivered by the Afghāns to the Mughals (1588). Three or four years later Jalāla returned and once again motivated the tribes to take up arms against the Mughals. In 1592 Qāsim Khān and Āsif Khān were sent to attack them. Later on Zain Khān attacked their new headquarters in Kāfiristān where they had built a fort called Kanshāli to take shelter in case of retreat. After some hard fighting it fell to the Mughal forces and Mahadat 'Alī, the leader of the rebels was captured. Jalāla was however still at large. He fled to Tīrāh but the Afghāns there refused to give him shelter. Qāsim Khān was ordered to go back to Kābul. Shortly after this he was assassinated in his sleeping apartment. The death of Qāsim Khān was a signal for another rising of the Roshnāi, but the new governor Qulī Khān is said to have dispersed them.

In 1597 Zain Khān was again sent to Kābul to set the affair in order. Zain Khān ruled wisely and won the sympathy of the people by procuring a remission of 12.5 percent of the land rent for eight years. In August 1600 Jalāla was found at Ghazni in the guise of a merchant, where he was fatally wounded and fled to Rabāt hill, but he was pursued and murdered. 'For a long time', says Abū al-Fazl (1939: III, 1160) "numerous soldiers had been appointed to punish him, and some years before this, Zain Khān Koka and many brave men had made an expedition against him. By the strength of Fortune some unknown men did his business".

Aḥdād, son of Jalāla, with the help of the Afrīdīs, Panīs, Orakzais and Sūris, provoked trouble in Tīrāh in 1602, but it was a local affair of no great importance.

Takhta Beg easily brought them under his control. Aḥdād had to flee for his life and was not heard of during the rest of Akbar's reign. However the Roshnāi movement with its avowed hatred of the Mughals continued to give trouble. In 1611 he raided Kābul but was beaten back by Mu'iz al-Mulk with the timely help of the citizens. As the officials at Kābul were believed to have been lax in their duties Quli Khān was sent to Kābul with the object of driving back "Aḥdād and the upcountry robbers". But he could not get on well with Khān-i Daurān. He was therefore transferred to Peshāwar where he died shortly afterwards. Aḥdād resumed his raids but he was cornered by Khān-i Daurān and besieged at Charkh. He however managed to escape towards Qandahār. In 1617 Mahābat Khān was appointed as the governor of Kābul with Rājā Kalyān, son of Todar Mal, as his commander in Bangash. Mahābat Khān carried out a policy of rigorous persecutions but even this policy did not crush the rebellious spirit of the Bangash tribes, though it contained them within reasonable bounds. Mahābat Khān was recalled in 1622 by the emperor Jahāngīr owing to the rebellion of Shāh Jahān. However, Aḥdād was relentlessly pursued by Zafar Khān and with the help of Yalanktūsh Uzbek succeeded in besieging his haunt. After a long struggle Aḥdād was killed and his head was dispatched to the Emperor when he reached Kābul.

But this was not the end of the Roshnāi movement. At the beginning of the year 1040/1630 'Abd al-Qādir, the son of Aḥdād, joined hands with Kamāl ad-Dīn, the son of Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn Rohilla, who had raised the standard of revolt against the Mughal government and invested Peshāwar. They had the active support of several tribes and would have carried the day but for Sa'id Khān's timely arrival from Kohāt which saved the city from falling into enemy hands (see Begley and Desai 1990: 40-41). By 1635 'Abd al-Qādir realized that he was fighting a losing battle and that it was advisable to lay down arms with honour. Consequently, Sa'id Khān, the governor of Kābul took 'Abd al-Qādir to the presence of the emperor Shāh Jahān who treated him with kindness (Ibid: 219). Two years later (1637) arrived in the presence of the emperor two sons-in-law of the late Aḥdād, together with his daughter's son and also his widow 'Alāi, the sister of Rashīd Khān, son of Jalāla. They were also accompanied by some of the followers of Aḥdād's late son 'Abd al-Qādir. The Emperor treated the whole lot with utmost kindness and consideration and sent them off to Rashīd Khān who had been entrusted with the administration of Telingāna in the Deccan.

The reign of Shāh Jahān (1605-28) was a period of peace as compared to that of his grandfather, Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar. His eldest son, Dāra Shikoh, was

favourably disposed towards Bhāku Khān, the Yūsufzai chief, who, since the time of the Emperor Jahāngīr, had been gradually encroaching upon the hilly country of the Domas, ancient inhabitants of Ghorband, Bashām, Chakesar and Pūran. This, and the disturbance caused by Habib, Kāchu, Zarīf, Hamīd and Kachai – Yūsufzai maliks – were brought to the notice of Shāh Jahān by Khushhāl Khān Khaṭak who also besought the Emperor for military help in order to effectively deal with the situation. Shāh Jahān was inclined to provide some help but Dārā Shikoh, his eldest son, was not in favour of it. As a result Khushhāl received no help. This Khushhāl Khān was the great – grandson of the Malik Akoray, the founder of the small town of Akora, situated upon a bluff over the south bank of the Landā river, looking north at the low ranges of the Sar-i Maira which are the rampart of the Yūsufzai Samah towards the south.

In view of the continual forays of the powerful Yūsufzais who made a habit of raiding caravans passing from Attock to the west, Akbar wanted to appoint somebody to guard the Attock – Peshāwar section of the imperial highway. When, on his way to Kābul, he reached Attock in 1586 Mān Singh and others suggested the name of the Malik, Akor (commonly written as Akoray) for this purpose. Akoray was summoned and he agreed to take up the assignment in return for a *jāgīr* of the country from a point a few miles south of where Attock bridge now stands as far as the modern cantonment Nowshera. He received also the right to collect the tolls upon this road. Soon after, to signalize his position and his fame, Akoray founded the small town mentioned above.

The Yūsufzai tribesmen who were in the habit of robbing trade caravans naturally did not like it. For a while however time passed quietly and no major happening took place. Meanwhile, there arose enmity between the two major branches of the Khaṭaks – the Bolāq (comprising Sāghari, Nandrak and Marozai sub-branches) and the Terī to which the Khāns of Akora belonged. It was at the hands of Nāzu Khān, chief of the Sāghari Bolāqs that Malik Akor and his son Yūsuf Khān, along with some of their companions, lost their lives in an attack. The murderers fled to the Yūsufzai territory where they were well received and given lands to settle down. This resulted in a long drawn war of attrition between the Khaṭaks who wanted to avenge the murder of their Khān, and the Yūsufzais who had given refuge to the murderers.

Malik Akor was succeeded by his son Yaḥyā Khān who, on his way to Nowshera, was likewise attacked and killed, this time by the Seni Khaṭaks, near the village Watar. His son Shāhbāz Khān (father of the more famous Khushhāl) was elected

chief of the tribe and was duly confirmed by the Mughal government. Shāhbāz invaded the Senis to avenge the murder of his father and reduced them to due obedience. Shahbāz was well aware of the Khaṭak propensity for fighting and also knew that all of them would not submit to his authority. He thought of a novel plan and involved the Khaṭaks in foreign wars (i.e. wars with the neighbouring non-Khaṭak tribes) in which they could find opportunities to give full vent to their pent up energy and leave him alone. He used this strategy with success against the Yūsufzais and the Bangash, but at the cost of his own life.

Operations against the Yūsufzais, and the Afghāns in general, were always difficult; Aurangzeb's reign was no exception. Despite extensive annual subsidies to the tribal leaders, as Smith (1958: 408) puts it, coupled with such punitive raids as that of Shamsheer Khān up the Panjshīr river in 1667, first the Yūsufzais and then the Afrīdīs rose. The former overwhelmed Muḥammad Amīn Khān, governor of Kābul, at Alf Masjid in 1672, the latter destroyed Shujā'at Khān's force at the Karappa pass in 1674, whence for a year and a half the Emperor supervised successful military and diplomatic measures. His choice of Amīr Khān as governor of Kābul, 1677-98, ensured a long period of comparative calm.

The death of Aurangzeb (21 Feb. 1707) sounded the death-bell for the Mughal empire leaving the Afghān tribes in a comfortable position to revert to their in-built factious tendencies. In the space of seventeen years after the death of Aurangzeb, the empire was breaking up. In 1724 Āṣif Jāh (Chin Qilīch Khān) became independent in the Deccan and founded the dynasty of the Nizām. In the same year Sa'ādat Khān, the progenitor of the kings of Oudh, became ruler of that province, which he governed in practical independence. Similarly 'Alī Vardi Khān, the governor of Bengal (1740-56) ceased to recognize in practice the sovereignty of the emperor. The Rohīlas, an Afghān clan, made themselves masters of the rich tract to the north of the Ganges, which consequently became known as Rohīlkhand. The capital was the scene of incessant intrigues and treasons, unworthy of record or remembrance. The weak successors of Aurangzeb passed like phantoms on the stage of history.

Then came Nādir (or Tahmāsp) Qulī Khān who had overthrown the Ṣafavid dynasty of Irān and established himself on the throne (in 1736). Marching through Ghazni and Kābul, he arrived at Peshāwar in 1738. The Yūsufzai chief, Nāzu Khān was summoned there to tender the fealty of the tribe, but he proudly refused. Nādir

dispatched a detachment of his force under şūbahdār Jalair to coerce him. On the approach of this force, the Yūsufzais retreated to the recesses of their hills, only holding the Sher Darah village as an outpost at the foot of the hills.

The şūbahdār pursued the fugitives and, enroute, sought to establish a terror by the most cruel barbarities. The villages and crops were burnt. Arrived at the foot of the hills, Jalair tried to force the Ambela Pass but was driven back at the village Surkhāwai. He then attempted to take it by a flank attack up the Sher Dara glen, but the Yūsufzais rushed upon him with the impetuosity of desperate men. Jalair's force broke and took to flight pursued by the Yūsufzais as far as Kalpāni.

On learning of this disaster, Nādir at once set out in person to retrieve it. He passed by the scene of his şūbahdār's defeat; and by a forced march through the Chingalai glen, established his camp on the Shāh kot spur of the Mahāban mountain. From this point he commanded the country on both sides, and the tribes at once tendered their submission. Nādir levied a fine and then went on to Hindūstān. He met with no real obstruction until he had approached the Jumna, within 100 miles of Delhi, when he encountered the imperial army entrenched at Karnāl, not very far from the field of Pānipat. After a fight lasting two hours the imperialists were routed. Muḥammad Shāh, the feeble Mughal king, made no attempt at further resistance, but attended Nādir Shāh in his camp, where he was received courteously. Both kings entered Delhi together, and good order was preserved until a false report of Nādir Shāh's death gave occasion to a rising of the inhabitants, in the course of which several hundreds of the invaders were killed. Nādir Shāh took terrible vengeance. Seated in the Golden mosque of Roshan ad-Daula, situated in the main street of the city, he commanded and watched for nine hours the indiscriminate massacre of the people in uncounted thousands. At last he yielded to the prayers of Muḥammad Shāh and stayed the carnage, which ceased instantly. Nādir then proceeded systematically and remorselessly to collect from all classes of the population the wealth of Delhi. After a stay of fifty-eight days he departed for his own country laden with treasures including the world famous peacock throne of Shāh Jahān. All territory to the west of Indus was annexed to Iran. Afghānistān was thus severed from the Indian monarchy.

Nādir was murdered in 1747. Aḥmad Khān Abdālī, a commander of Nādir's army, seized the opportunity and succeeded the latter in the eastern portion of that monarch's dominions. In 1757 Aḥmad Khān (now Aḥmad Shāh) invaded India for the

third time, and captured Delhi, which again suffered from the horrors of massacre and pillage. Aḥmad Shāh took the title *Durr-i Daurān* (Pearl of the Age) and came to be known as *Durrāni*. The most daring act of Aḥmad Shāh *Durrāni* was the battle of *Pānipat* (13 January 1761) against the *Marāṭhas*, in which he emerged successful. The *Afghāns* of the *Peshāwar* valley are also said to have supported him in this campaign. The *Yūsufzai* contingent which joined Aḥmad's camp at *Attock*, rendered good service against the *Marāṭhas* and also in the capture of *Lahore*.

Aḥmad Shāh's son *Taimūr* had a rich crop of sons whose internecine wars ruined the empire. The rule of the *Sadozai* family to which Aḥmad belonged was replaced by that of the *Bārakzais*, a relic of whose founder, *Fateḥ Khān*, still exists in *Peshāwar* under the name *Wazīr Bāgh* (i.e. Minister's Garden).

The *Durrānis* were followed by the *Sikhs* who reached *Peshāwar* in 1818. Their success in what is known as the battle of *Nowshera* (1823) made them masters of *Peshāwar* and its surroundings. Neither the *Durrānis* nor the *Sikhs* brought out any change in the social or economic pattern of the *Peshāwar* valley. The short *Sikh* rule did more damage to the gardens of *Peshāwar* than other foreign forces. The *Sikhs* were succeeded by the *British* whose long rule brought about certain visible changes in the socio-economic sector. They stopped land swapping and gave proprietary rights to the land holders.

CHAPTER - 6

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

The history of the Yūsufzais, outlined in the previous chapter, shows that they passed through three distinct phases of cultural development in the past. In phase 1, from their earliest appearance (c. 1st cent BC) in the *pusht* of the Koh-i Sulīmān to their expulsion from the Kābul valley, a little before the end of the fifteenth century, they were nomads who moved from place to place with their herds of cattle and sheep. While they were in the Kābul valley, they are also said to have practiced highway robbery as a profession. The citizens of Kābul city are reported to have had been intensely annoyed with them because of their recurrent plundering raids. In phase 2, from their arrival in the Peshāwar valley (c. 1500 AD) to the establishment of the British rule (1850) in the Peshāwar valley, the Yūsufzais mainly practiced agriculture, but they were still not fixed to one place as they had to move from Swāt to the Samah and also in the reverse order, i.e. from the Samah to Swāt, after a certain period of time, as required by the *Wesh* or land distribution, of the famous Shaikh Mali. Highway robbery was still not given up as caravans moving between Attock and Peshāwar were often plundered so that the Mughal Emperor Akbar had to make special arrangements to protect this section of the Royal Road. In the third phase, from 1850 to the present, the Yūsufzais were forced to settle down and consequently they gave up nomadism altogether.

The benefits accruing from their permanent settlement have changed the life style of the Yūsufzais. More recently schools, colleges and universities have sprang up like mushrooms and are day and night busy in grooming the people for higher values of life. The Yūsufzais have also taken full benefit of the new opportunities. In general they are happy and prosperous.

Before drifting to the Peshāwar valley, where they finally settled down, the Yūsufzai nomads for centuries roamed about from country to country in search of new pasture lands thus coming into contact with hostile tribes who contested the country with them, whilst quarrels among themselves as to the extent of their respective grazing grounds, early inured them to their use of arms and produced an inherent taste for military life. It is epitomized in the popular maxim: "Arms are the ornaments of Pakhtūns".

With his success in the battle of Kātlang Malik Aḥmad became the master of a vast stretch of land which needed to be parcelled out amongst the Yūsufzai clans as well as others who had taken part in the battle on his side and had to be rewarded for their services. The land settlement is still associated with the venerated name of Shaikh Mali. The records show that this survey and settlement took full account of the occupation of Swāt, and indeed of Buner also, from which it is clear that the Yūsufzai aggression into the northern mountain areas from the Samah had preceded their victory over the Dilazāks in the plains. The survey covered the whole of the Doābah, Hashtnagar, the Samah proper from Hashtnagar to the Indus in the east and the Kābul river to the south, and such portions of Swāt, Buner and Bājaur as had been subdued by the Khakhay tribes and their confederates. Allotments were made not only to the Yūsufzais proper and their brothers the Mandagr Yūsufzais – Aḥmad himself was a Mandagr of the Razzar section – but to Muḥammad zais (not Khakhays but sons of Karshbūn), and also to the Utmān Khel and Gadūns, who were not Sarbagris at all. Finally certain lands were distributed to Sayyids and other holy men who had accompanied the tribes in their migrations and invoked the name of God upon their conquests. The land distributed to genuine Afghān tribesmen, sons of Sarbagr, was called *daftar* (or registered), that allotted to holy men *serai* (meaning divided or allotted). By a most able dispensation it was always arranged that the *serai* lands should intervene between the bulk allotment of *daftar* given to one tribal section and that given to another tribal section, so placing a pious arbitrator, permanently in position to defeat tendencies on the part of the aggressive to encroach. This arrangement, as indeed the body of Shaikh Mali's settlement, remains the basis of tribal land tenures all over the country north of the Kābul river up to the present day. Since this distribution some changes, as between the Yūsufzai proper and the Mandagr, have taken place.

The great stretch of territory, with all its complications of mountain and valley, and Shaikh Mali's close definition of inter-tribal and inter-sectional boundaries, which persists to day, suggest that the work must have occupied at least five to ten years. The whole of the Peshāwar and Mardān districts north of the Kābul river, part of Bājaur, Panjkora, Swāt, Buner, and the adjacent Indus valley, were surveyed – a circle of territory about a hundred miles in diameter, including a tangle of mountains and valleys at elevations between 1,000 and 10,000 feet. The survey and distribution was a remarkable achievement, and its decisions have on the whole stood the test of time. It bears all the marks of careful thought and organization.

The increase in population has necessitated the need of further division of land, which is performed in the following manner by the *jirgah* specially convened for this purpose. Under the direction of the Khān or, in his absence, the chief malik, the *jirgah* proceeds to the ground to be divided and measure it off by means of a rope, which varies in length from fifty to a hundred or more feet. This rope is termed *parai*, and the process of measuring, casting the *parai*, whilst the land measured off is termed *wand*. It is generally of a square or oblong shape. The land thus measured off is then divided into equal lots for distribution amongst the Khails to share in it. Each share is termed *brakhah*. The individual shares are specified by prefixing the extent of sub division as *dirshama brakhah* (thirtieth share), *atama brakhah* (eighth share) etc., as the case may be. It will also be observed that each individual's *daftar* is not in one unbroken plot, but scattered according to lot in the different *wands*. This is necessary, so that each shall share alike, as far as possible, in the good and bad land. Very often, in one tribe, where the several khails possess lands of varying quality, the lot of some having fallen on good and that of others on inferior land, it is customary to exchange places at fixed periods of five, ten or more years. The land always remains the *daftar* of the original owners, but is mapped out afresh for distribution amongst the new owners. In these exchanges between the tribes, only the houses are left standing, and often these are deprived of their timbers. The effects of this custom are ruinous to the land, for no man cares to spend his labour and money on improvements which for years will become the property of others. Besides, this division is a fruitful source of feuds and bloodshed.

6.1. Bānda, village, Kandi

When the majority of a village community have enough land for their support by cultivation, they do not take in portions of the pasture land, nor can individuals at their will cultivate on such tracts. Individuals who cannot support themselves on their lands because of its small extent, either lease it to others and seek a job somewhere else, or, in case several of them happen to be in the same predicament, they found small hamlets within the limits of their own tribal lands. Such hamlets are termed *bāndas*, and they often increase to size of important villages. They are not the property of the people founding and inhabiting them, but belong to the tribe in common.

The division and distribution of the lands forming the site of a village are made in the same manner as those for cultivation. A share in each forms a man's *daftar* or "register", and the owner is termed *daftari*. The division of a village corresponding with

the primary division of a *wand*, or the *brakhah* of a Khail in the fields, is termed *Kandi*, which may be divided into other *Kandis*, according to the divisions of the Khail. Each *kandi* is a collection of separate tenements of the individual families forming a Khail or clan section. Each tenement is termed *Kandar*, and consists of the house termed *kor*, and the courtyard termed *gholai*; these shelter the family as well as their dependents and cattle. Each *kandi* has its own malik or chief, whose authority is confined to it. He keeps law and order and settles disputes. Each malik is subordinate to the chief or Khān of the tribe. Each *kandi* has its own *jumā'at* (mosque), *hujrah* (assembly room) and its own *burj* or tower of defence. The *jumā'at* is under the care of an establishment of Mullah (priest), who are subordinate to a leader styled *Imām*. They are supported by rent-free lands attached to the mosque and also receive supplies of food from the residents of their *kandi*. They also receive presents at the occasion of a marriage.

6.2. Hujrah and Burj

The *hujrah* generally comprising a public hall, a courtyard and attached stables, is the property of the malik of a *kandi*. The malik provides food and shelter to all travellers and visitors, whereas beds, beddings and forage are arranged by the *faqīrs* and *hamsāyās* in rotation. The residents of the *Kandi* meet the malik in the *hujrah* and discuss their problems. The people fond of smoking *chilm* and gossip also resort to the *Hujrah* where news of the day and politics are brought under discussion. It is also the sleeping place of all the bachelors of the *Kandi*, for, travellers, guests, relatives, a bachelor at manhood, is not allowed to sleep inside the house.

The *burj* (or watch tower) is a place of refuge and observation in case of feuds between the different Khails as well as outside enemies and is always attached to the malik's house. In villages where a Khān resides, there is, besides the *burj* of each *Kandi*, a *Garhai* (or fort) which encloses the whole of the Khān's *Kandi*.

6.3. Jirgah and the Resolution of Disputes

Each clan is a separate democracy in which the malik holds an important position though he is not absolutely independent in making decisions on his own and is subject to the wishes of the people ascertained through a *jirgah*, or council of elders. The member of a *Jirgah* called *jirgati* is expected to be wise person having an intimate knowledge of Pashto lore and maxims which help in arguing a case. The *Jirgātis* sit in a circle and discuss the matter threadbare which comes before them. They are at liberty

to express their views but they cannot use foul language, and, if somebody does that, he is singled out for censure. The decision of the *jirgah* is binding on both the parties and has the support of the entire clan. Disputes between members of the same clan are sometimes settled by friends, the injured party receiving an equivalent for the injury suffered.

6.4. Pukhtūnwālī

It is an unwritten Pushtūn or Pakhtūn code of ancient usages based on the principles of equity and retaliation. In the settlement of disputes, which are of common occurrence, the *jirgah* members are guided by this code. It can be best illustrated by the following example:

Suppose A kills B's bull and the case is referred to the *jirgah*; the *jirgah* gives its verdict that B shall kill one of A's bulls; he does so, the matter ends there. But if A kills B, then B's relatives demand the life of A; and, if the *jirgah* succeed in handing him over to B's next of kin for revenge, the matter ends in A's death; otherwise, if A escapes, and one of his family is not sacrificed, a feud breaks out and lasts for generations till the injured party is revenged. Such feuds ultimately lead to a lasting estrangement between the tribes of A and B and are not uncommon. Consequently, the men wear arms regularly and seldom or never move beyond the limits of their own lands except disguised as beggars or priests. Everywhere family is arrayed against family, and tribe against tribe. In fact every man's hand is against his neighbour. Feuds are settled and truces patched up but they break out afresh on the smallest provocation. Such is the ordinary life of the Yūsufzais. If, however, an enemy appears from without, the feuds are at once put aside and the different tribes coalesce into one body to face the external threat.

6.5. Nang

It is a Persian word and literally means shame; in Pashto, however, it means exaggerated sense of honour. Any one who exhibits *Nang* in practice is called *Nangiālay*. There are several aspects of *Nang*; the most important of these are. *Nanawatai*, *Badal* and *Mailmastai*.

By *Nanawatai*, or 'the entering in', the Pakhtūn is expected, at the sacrifice of his own life and property, if necessary, to shelter and protect any one who in extremity may flee to his threshold and seek an asylum under his roof. This applies even to the

protector's own enemies, and by some tribes the asylum is extended to all living creatures, man or brute, or fowl; but the protection is only vouchsafed within the limits of the threshold or premises. Beyond these the host himself may be the first to injure the late protege.

In case a complex matter crops up between two persons and they come to blows, the weaker either moves away to some other locality or, if he so desires, solve the problem through *Nanawatai*. In the latter case, he personally goes to the opponent's house, admits his fault and expresses repentance. This can also be done by sending elderly ladies in company with a *pīr*, mulla or Sayyid of good reputation. In most cases the excuse is accepted. In the case of a murder, however, the murderer, holding straw in his teeth and a string round his neck, all of a sudden enters the house of his opponent and surrenders himself to the injured family saying: "I have committed a sin and I am ashamed of it; now that I have surrendered, do as you like".

In the Pakhtūn society it is a very effective method of resolving disputes. We have seen above how malik Aḥmad went to the house of his enemy Malik Muḥammad Khān, the Dilazāk, and diffused the explosive situation. Another recorded example, also mentioned above, is that of Mir Jamāl Amānzai who played an active role in the murder of Malik Haibu, the brave 'Umar Khel Dilazāk chief. When Mir Jamāl with a sheet of coffin and a sword entered the house of Haibu's widow, admitted his crime and gave her the choice of doing what she wanted to do to him, he was pardoned, and allowed to go back safe and sound.

Badal or retaliation must be exacted for every and the slightest personal injury or insult, or for damage to property. Where the avenger takes the life of his victim in retaliation for the murder of one of his relatives, it is termed *Qisās*.

The laws of *mailmastai* bind the Pakhtūn to feed and shelter any traveller arriving at his house and demanding them. To omit or disregard any of these observances exposes the Pakhtūn to the ridicule and scorn (*paighūr*) of his associates, and more especially as regards the *badal* and *Qisās*. A popular Pakhto saying is: there is a treatement for the cut of a sword, but a *paighūr* wound cannot be healed. These are never forgotten. It is a common thing for injuries received by one generation to be revenged by their representatives of the next, or even by those two or three generations further removed.

6.6. Tiga

In case two belligerent tribes or families, because of heavy losses on both sides, feel the need of negotiations, either they themselves or some impartial elderly individuals take steps to bring about a temporary truce or ceasefire. This process is called "placing the *Tiga*" or stone. When the *Tiga* is placed ceasefire immediately comes into effect and nobody is allowed to take any step towards its violation. If anyone does, he is fined. Then a *jirgah* is convened and, if possible, arrangements are made for a lasting truce. This appears to be a very ancient custom and depicts the Pakhtūn society at a primitive stage.

6.7. Superstition and Prayers

The Yūsufzais in general believe in miracles, charms and omens. The superstition and reverence for saints and the religious classes whose pronouncements regarding the future are readily accepted and acted upon accordingly, is incredible and has no limits. The *Ziārat* or 'sacred shrine' is habitually visited by all classes and both sexes. At these the devotees implore forgiveness and beseech favours, all in the full belief of a sure hearing and answer. The traveller never passes a grave without raising his hands in prayer. People boast of their love for the holy prophet (PBUH) and his teachings conveyed to them through their holy men and priests. In all this they act sincerely from the heart.

In their religious tenets they are *sunni* Muslims and, in common with other Muslim sects, hold the observance of prayer, alms, fasts and pilgrimage to be binding. The observance of prayer specially is deemed the most important duty, and is less neglected than any of the others. The prayers consist of three parts, termed *farz*, *sunnat* and *naḥal*. The *farz* must always be repeated, the others may be omitted in case of pressing hurry. Before the prayer the ablution by *aodas*, or in the case of absence of water the purification by *tayammam* must be performed. There are five fixed prayers, namely, Sahr (morning), Māspakhīn (noon), Māzigar (afternoon), Mākhām (sunset) and Māskhotan (evening).

Fasting takes place in the lunar month Ramazān. Only travellers and invalids are allowed to eat during the fast; children are classed with the latter. Keeping the fast is termed *rojah*, and not keeping it *khoja*. Those who cannot keep the fast, in whole or part, during the month of Ramazān, must make up the difference afterwards before the arrival of the next Ramazān or feed a number of individuals for a certain period of time.

Morning meal with which the fast starts is termed *Sahri*, and *Aftāri* is breaking the fast after sunset. The month of Ramzān ends in Eid which is celebrated with great happiness and joy.

6.8. Character

Pride is the national character of the Yūsufzais who share this feature with other Pakhtūn tribes. They always boast of their prowess in arms, their descent from a Pakhtūn ancestry, their independence. Being a Pakhtūn is a matter of pride for them; other races are to be despised. Amongst themselves, each individual considers himself equal if not superior to his neighbour. Hence most of the bickerings and jealousies, so rife in every family. In their bearing towards strangers of rank, they are manly and plain spoken, but towards the weak and low, they are abusive and tyrannical. They enjoy a character for lavish hospitality.

6.9. Badraga

An armed body of men who, for a consideration, agree to convoy travellers through their own limits, is called *badraga*. Any person can act as *badraga* but only the one supplied by the chief of the district is safe; others are liable to be attacked by rivals or enemies. The convoy can only defend within their own limits; beyond those men of the next tribe take their place.

6.10. Courtesies

The salutation as *as-salām 'alaikum* (peace be upon you), and the reply *'wa alaikum as-Salām* (upon you may also be peace) are always exchanged as a matter of habit. No return to the Salām is taken as a personal slight. Friends meeting after a long absence embrace, and in fervent phrases enquire of each others' welfare, never stopping to give a due reply in the midst of their counter gabbling of *jor yai, kha jor yai, khushhāl yai, takra, kha takra yai, rogh yai* etc Strangers passing each other on the high roads exchange courtesies as each plods on his way, and *starai ma sha*, (be not fatigued) is answered by *loai sha* (be great) or *na khwaraiga* (be not poor). The visitor entering a village or its *hujrah* is greeted with *har kala rasha* (always come), and replies, *naiki darsha* (good betide you), or *harkla osa* (may you always abide). There is no term exactly corresponding with the European "thank you", but under similar conditions the usual phrases are *khudāe di obakha* (God pardon you) or *khudāe di loe ka* (God prosper you) or *Khudāe di osāta* (God preserve you). Friends parting commit each other to the

care of God with the sentence *da Khudāe pa amān* (to the protection of God) and its reply *Khudāe dar sara naikioka* (God act well with you).

6.11. Syed, Pīr, Āstānahdār, Sāhibzādah

The Sayyids claim descent from Hazrat 'All, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) and, in the Pakhtūn society, are considered to be as uncommonly holy personages. Their bold, obtrusive, and continual publication of their sacred character and descent draws from the ignorant a reverential and awful respect, and at the same time gives them great influence over the masses of the population they dwell amongst. They use this to their own advantage and get from the Afghāns considerable tracts of land in gift as a perpetual and hereditary possession, besides the usual alms-offerings. The Sayyid is always addressed by the title "shāh".

The *pīrs* are a separate class by themselves and are by origin, Pakhtūns whose ancestors on account of their piety, came to be recognized as *zburg* ("seer") in ancient times. The memory of these *zburgs* is perpetuated by holy shrines that mark the supposed or real sites of some of their holy deeds or miracles, or the place of their death or burial. In some cases these spots are real, in others fictitious. Whatever their origin, they are all held sacred, and each possesses its own special virtues for the benefit of men and animals. For instance, some shrines cure fever; others ophthalmia, and so on. Some have the power of rendering women and cattle of the same gender prolific; others protect their devotees from evil eye; others ensure prosperity. Such shrines are known as *ziārats* and are named after the name of the saint they perpetuate. As descendants of holy Pakhtūns, the *pīrs* exact many exclusive and hereditary rights. They are exempt from labour and taxes of all kinds.

In the prayers the *pīr* takes the first rank and leads the congregation. He is addressed as Bādshāh whenever spoken to; and, on joining an assembly, is welcomed by the rising of the congregation, who remain standing till the *pīr* is seated. Besides these, the *pīr* is allowed to enter the womens apartments, a portion of the Afghān's house most jealously closed to all others of whatever creed or caste. Most *pīrs* are believed to possess some secret power or charm by virtue of which they can by a prayer, a glance, a touch, the application of spittle, a charm, or the repetition of some gibberish incantation, cure all sorts of diseases, grant wishes, avert evils etc. It is possible in a society in which superstition and ignorance is rampant. Not all the *pīrs* are good characters.

In descent, hereditary privileges, and qualities of sanctity, the *Miāns* much resemble the *pīrs*. Their ancestors however were not Afghāns but "Hamsāyas" (vassals) dwelling amongst them. They enjoy much the same privileges and powers as the *pīrs*, though in a less degree, but are not allowed to enter the women's apartments. They hold extensive tracts of land in perpetual gift. Such lands are termed *Serai*. In worldly wealth and comfort, they rival the *pīrs*, but are more numerous; and, in some localities, form entire village communities.

Resembling the *pīrs* and *Miāns* are *Šāhibzādāhs* but they rank a little below them. Neither are they so numerous as other classes, but are more wealthy. The *Astānahdār* are, as the name implies, "place possessors". They take the place of the *Zhurgs* (Saints) when the latter die and usually build shrines on their remains which attract visitors and become a lasting source of income for them.

6.12. Marriage, Betrothal, Janj, Nikāh

The marriages are arranged, with few exceptions, by parents. The rites and ties are for the most part binding according to the Muslim law. The majority are content with one wife at a time but the wealthy and the *maliks* sometimes take more than one wife. In order to maintain friendly relations children are betrothed by their parents at an early age. Generally speaking, early marriages are popular only among the poor classes. In out of the way places where there is no population pressure the marriage contract is sometimes made by mutual desire of parties well acquainted with each other. In general however the selection is made without previous acquaintance through the agency of *Dūms* (agents) who know the secrets of every family and play off the negotiating parties upon each other, according as they are paid. The members of this class, given a low status in the proud *Yūsufzai* society, are always very circumspect in this matter and keep the secrets to themselves.

As soon as the parents of a girl have accepted the proposals of a candidate for their daughter's person, he visits the father in company with the *Dūm* and takes with him presents for the girls parents. If approved, he is invited once again to fix the amount of dowry. In case the candidate has enough means, the marriage day is fixed, otherwise he is acknowledged as betrother and given time to collect the dowry. As soon as the terms are agreed to, the girl's father and the candidate drink out of the same vessel, as a token that the compact is binding, and as a proof of good faith. After this ceremony the engagement is published and friends on both sides congratulate each other. Then

the candidate makes a few more visits with presents, but he never sees the girl. The engagement is termed *Kuidan*, the dowry *mahr*, the youth *zalmai*, the maid *paighla*, the ceremony *nikāh*, the feast *wādah*, the procession *janj*, the bride *nāwai*, the bride-groom *sakhtan*, the mother *mairman*, the father *māirah*, the infant *māshūm*, the girl *jinai*, and the boy *halak*.

The marriage procession called *janj* sets out on the appointed day, males and females separate, to the house of the bride, with music, singing and firing guns, where they are welcomed by the parents of the bride and their friends. Formerly the *janj* passed the day and the following night at the bride's house, but now-a-days the *janj* returns the same day. Just after the arrival of the marriage procession, the bride and bridegroom are made man and wife by the priest, who, in the presence of witnesses ask each party if they accept each other on the conditions set forth. This repeated three time and affirmative replies being received from each, the priest naming both parties declares them man and wife. This is called *nikāh*. At present the parties have to sign a document to make the *nikāh* legal. Sweets are then distributed. At his own house the bridegroom, after dismissing the guests, unveils his bride and sees her for the first time. All expenses of the marriage are borne by the bridegroom. Both parties receive presents from each of their friends, but it is an understood agreement that they in turn will make presents of the same value to each of them when a similar occasion occurs in their respective families. Marriages are never performed during the Ramazān, or between it and the *loi Akhtar* or Eid al-Qurbān, because the first is a period of fasting, and the second the time for making pilgrimage, for which proper place is Mecca, but many people cannot afford to bear the expenses of a great journey to the far-off Arabian city and therefore go to the *ziārats*, such as *Pīr Bābā* and *Kākā Sāhib*, in their own vicinity.

The birth of a male child amongst the Yūsufzais is an occasion of great rejoicing and feasting. But the happy mother cannot partake in them till the forty days of her purification be accomplished when she is once more restored to society. During this period she is kept secluded. When the boy is about eight years old, circumcision takes place. The ceremony involves some days of music, feasting and rejoicing. After the final dinner, it is customary for the guests to contribute money for the expenses of the entertainment.

After this occasion, the young Yūsufzai is taught his creed and the ordinary forms of prayer, and is instructed in the principal tenents and observances of the Muslim

religion. At twelve or fourteen years of age, he joins his father in out-door-work, either tending the flock or working in the fields. From this time, also, he is obliged to sleep away from the rest of the family and either spends the night in the *hujrah* of the *kandi* with the rest of the bachelors, or, if the season allows of it, sleeps at his father's *Khirman* (threshing floor), or his *harat* (irrigation well). At about twenty or little after this, his parents arrange his marriage; he gets a portion of land as his share in the patrimony and settles at home. Otherwise he leaves his home and seeks employment somewhere else. In the decline of life he returns home and spends his time, if old, in idle ease under his own fig tree and seeks to make amends for the sins of his youth by a punctual performance of prayers and extra devotions at the mosque of his forefathers. His last wishes are to be buried in the family graveyard in his village. The Yūsufzais are very particular on this point, and it is considered a matter of honour to convey the bones or bodies of relatives dying in foreign lands, or distant places, to the family graveyard. If already buried in another place his body is exhumed and carried to the village cemetery of his own relatives.

6.13. Mourning and Burial

Mourning for the dead appears to be the special duty of the women. When a death occurs in a family, the women of the *kandi*, a quarter, and others in the neighbourhood gathered round the corpse, which is for the purpose laid out on a bed in the court, perform the *vir* or *wizar*, the lamentation. It is a very mournful and impressive sight. The women, some twenty or thirty, if the deceased were a man of position, stand round the corpse and weep in concert, and in an accustomed manner and tone. They are led by the senior matron, who, advancing a step or two in front of the rest, slaps her face with both hands, and amidst loud sobs, exclaims in sharp, shrill, and hurried breaths, *hai, hai, huai!* (alas! Alas! Woe, alas!) and at the last syllable stamps one foot on the ground. The rest repeat in chorus after the leader, and continue the same exclamations and gestures with increasing vehemence and gesticulations for half an hour or more, by which time their faces are swelled from repeated slapping; the eyes are bloodshot and sore from the unusual drain of tears, the hair hang in wild disheveled locks, and the actors are more or less exhausted. The sound of the *wizar* can be heard at a considerable distance.

The body is then washed in the prescribed manner by one of the *Shākhkhail* class, who for his labour gets his day's food and the clothes on the body. After this the body

is wrapped in burial clothes – a winding sheet in two pieces of coarse cotton. One piece is wrapped all round the body, and the other is spread over its back and front from head to foot. The two great toes are fastened together with a string. In this state, placed on a bed and covered with a sheet, the corpse is carried off to the burial ground, where round the grave are collected the priest of the quarter, his relatives, friends and a crowd of beggars and idlers. Women form no part of the assembly.

On depositing the corpse near the grave, the assembly rise and stand in rows facing the west. The priest then advances a few paces and performs the prayer prescribed for such an occasion. At the conclusion of the prayer, the body is lowered into the grave, which lies north and south, and is next laid in the *lahad* with the face inclined to the west. The *lahad* is a small chamber on the west side of the grave and a little below the level of its floor. It is roomy enough to allow the corpse to sit up when summoned by the angels Munkir and Nakir to render account of his life and deeds. After the body has been deposited in it, the *lahad* is shut off from the *qabar* by large flat bricks placed upright against its opening. The *qabar* is then filled up with earth. Before lowering the corpse into the grave, the deceased's relatives disburse money and sugar, to the priests and beggars around. The ceremony of burying the dead is termed *janāzah*. At its conclusion the assembly disperses; but deceased's friends repair to his late home, and for three successive days perform the required mourning or *wuzar*, friends drop in to repeat the *fātiha*, here called *lās niwal*, from the custom of holding the hands together in repeating the condolence for the dead. On the fourth day the women visit the grave in a body. This concludes the mourning ceremony, although friends of the family continue to visit till the fortieth day, on which they give a feast which concludes the ceremony for all.

CHAPTER – 7

CONCLUSIONS

The Yūsufzais are a branch of the great Afghān race whose brilliant exploits adorn the pages of the south Asian history, but whose origin is still shrouded in mystery. This lacuna in historical records has given rise to several schools of thought. The Pakhtūn writers, with rare exceptions, are in favour of a Hebrew origin for the Pakhtuns, and identify them with the "lost" ten tribes of the Hebrew race. This view was supported by some famous European writers such as William Jones, Elphinstone, Bellew and Raverty. But it must be mentioned that European scholarship, at the time these writers expressed their views regarding origin of the Afghān people, was still passing through its infancy and seems to have borrowed information from such earlier writers as Firishta, Ni'amatullah and Afzal Khān Khaṭak.

Among the Pakhtūn writers Ni'amatullah was the one who propounded this theory first. He was followed by a host of other writers who never bothered to look deeper into the subject and took Ni'matullah for granted. Ni'matullah knew he was distorting history but he had a special reason to do this. He was prompted by the anti-Pakhtūn propaganda carried out by some people at the court of Jahāngīr, the Mughal Emperor of Delhi. The curious stories told at the Mughal court, which depicted the Afghāns as devils, may have amused the audience but they had no foundation in history.

Ni'matullah stood up in support of the Afghāns but in the process of ennobling them he did something even worse than the slanderous stories – he disfigured history and linked the Afghāns with the Jews (the chosen people of God) just to show that the Afghāns had an ancestry nobler even than that of the Mughals.

According to Ni'amatullah, Irmīā and Barkhiā were the progenitors of the Afghān people and that they were posthumously born sons of Tālūt (or Saul) from two different wives. This however is not borne out by Ibn Athīr and Ibn Kathīr on whose works Ni'amatullah has based his account. According to Ibn Athīr, Irmia was the son of Khalqīā, and Barkhiā that of Hāmiā or Ahaniā. Ibn Kathir goes a step further and says that Barkhiā was the father of the famous Jewish prophet, Zakariyā. Another son of Barkhiā, according to the same source, was Āsif, the notorious *jinn* who offered to Solomon who wanted to possess Bilqīs, the queen of Sheba, to pick her up along with

her throne and present her to him. It is noteworthy that Afghana bin Irmia, referred to by Ni'amatullah as ancestor of the Afghāns, is nowhere mentioned in historical literature.

Among the European writers William Jones of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was the first to accept this supposed descent. He also added further arguments in its support. But Mounstuart Elphinstone, who accepted this concept half-heartedly, found these reasons unsatisfactory. Roshan Khān has recently come out in its support with equally flimsy and unconvincing arguments. The problem was taken up by Pareshān Khaṭak in his work *Pashtūn Kaun* (Who are Pashtūns?) in detail. He considers the Pushtūn an altogether separate entity as old as the Āryan and Semitic races, contemporary but not descended from anyone of them. Pareshān took this idea from the Maulānā 'Abd al-Qādir who, goes a step further and says that Pakhtūns are the earliest human race on earth. Neither Pareshān nor the Maulānā could adduce a concrete evidence in support of their thesis.

Mogenstierne appears to be much better informed in this field. In origin, he says, Pashto or Pakhto, is probably a Saka dialect from the north, but it is not possible to define its relationship more closely. As such, it is both in origin and structure an Iranian language, which however has borrowed freely from the Indo-Āryan group. Of these borrowings he gives examples which enable us to compare Pashto and Persian words. One of the most obvious and regular phonetic changes to be observed in relating cognates in the Persian and Pakhto is to be seen in the Persian *d* (*dāl*) which becomes the Pakhto *l* (*lām*). A few common words are given below to illustrate this point:

Persian	pidar (father)	Pakhto	piār
"	dīdan (to see)	Pakhto	lidal
"	dāram (I have)	Pakhto	laram
"	dāh (ten)	Pakhto	las
"	dukhtar (daughter)	Pakhto	lūr
"	dast (hand)	Pakhto	lās
"	diwāneh (mad)	Pakhto	liwānay

In addition to this, the names of Saka rulers of Gandhāra are clearly of the east Iranian group. Examples are: Spalagadama (*Spada* = army + *ga* diminutive, *dama* = leader, cf. Latin *dominus*); Spala hura (*spada* = army, *ahūra* = spirit, god, cf.

Ahūramazda); Chastana (cf Pashto *chashtan*, Pakhtu *tsakhtan* = master, husband). It may also be observed that these east Iranian names and titles are not limited to the Sakas, but continue into the later period of the Kushans. The existence of cerebral sounds such as ʈ (*tc*), ɖ (*dāl*), ʈ (*Are*), which are not known to Persian, may suggest Indian influence.

The real meaning of the word or name Afghān is nowhere recorded. The use of the letter *f* in it suggests that it is either Persian or Arabic in origin; in Pashto it is pronounced as Apaghān. It is clearly composed of two syllables – ap and ghān. The second syllable i.e. ghān occurs in many other place names such as Lamghān, Kāghān, Chaghān, Darghān, Farghān, Iskifghān, Raghān, Righān, Saburghān etc. in these names it appears to give the meaning “land or territory”. Thus Lamaghān would mean “The land or territory of Lam or lām”.

However the Emperor Bābur records an interesting tradition regarding Lamaghān. The name Lamaghān was originally Lamakān, he says, because it is the place of sepulcher of the Patriarch Lamak, the father of Nūh on whom be peace! This place is presently known as Mihtar – lām or No-Lakhi Bābā. But this tradition cannot be accepted, for, besides Mihtar – lām, there are at least four other recorded names – Shād-lām, Nang-lām, Rachh-lām, Nūr-lām – terminating in the syllable lām/lam. Beveridge, quoting Masson, remarks that “both in Pashia and Lamghāni dialects *lām* means fort”. Thus Nūr-lām, in his view, gives the meaning Nūr fort i.e. the master fort in the mouth of the Nūr valley. If this interpretation is acceptable, the word Lamghān would mean “piece of land or territory of which the most significant feature was a fort” or land marked by a fort or “Fort land”.

Sir Thomas Holdich's suggestion (cited in Dani 1969:) in this context is quite pertinent. It is difficult, he remarks, to account for the name Afghān: It has been said that it is but the Armenian word Afghān (mountaineer). If this meaning of the word is correct, it is understandable why the Persians chose this term and made it popular. In Sanskrit also, Dani says, we get the phrase *Parvatasrayinah* (mountain dwellers) and Herodotus himself talks of the hill tribes from whom recruits were drawn by the Achaemenians.

In the medieval age of South Asian history, the term Afghān was exclusively used for the high – landers of Koh-i Sulimān and the tract of the country where they lived, the Afghānistān (Land of Afghāns). All historians from the time of the Baihaqi

and Gardīzi, from the year AD 1000 downwards have applied the name *Afghānistān* to this land alone. The *Pakhtūns* style it *Kesah Ghar*, *Kāsi Ghar*, and also *Shuāl*. The present term *Afghānistān*, implying a state stretching from Qandahār to the Oxus is the creation of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī (later Durrāni), who, having assumed power in AD 1747 conquered these territories. The Kābul valley and territories to the north of the Hindu Kush were never part of the original *Afghānistān*.

To the west of the ruins of Chaudh wā'an (in the district of Dera Isma'il Khān) rises that lofty peak of the Koh-i Sulīmān or Koh Siyāh, called the Takht-i Sulīmān or Solomon's Throne, giving its name to the whole of the stupendous range. It is a very lofty mountain and, on the summit of it, is the place of pilgrimage, known to the Afghān people as the Ziārat (or Shrine, or place of pilgrimage) of the Patriarch Sulīmān; it shows itself from an immense distance, and its summit is generally clothed with snow. This great range of mountains intervenes between Qandahār and the Derajāt, extending lengthwise from the Darra of Khyber and Jalālabād on the north, to Siwi and Dādar on the south. Within these limits, forming an extensive territory, there are numerous *darras* and plateaus; and it was herein, but specially in the vicinity of, and around Kāsi Ghar or Shuāl, that the Afghān tribes, according to their own traditions first took up their abode, and subsequently spread out in all directions.

The immense space enclosed between the great ranges of Koh-i Sulīmān which stand like boundary walls, is of much greater elevation than the tracts of country outside them; and this intermediate space is what is known as the *Pusht* (or back) of the Koh-i Mihtar Sulīmān or Koh-i Siyāh, the general name applied to the whole by the Tājīk people, but is known as *Kesah Ghar*, or *Kāsi Ghar*, *Shuāl* or *Pakhtūn Khwā* to the *Pushtūn* or Afghāns. The language spoken on this plateau or *Pusht* came to be known as *Pushto*, variously spelt as *Pushto* or *Pushto*; and the people who spoke this language as *Pushtūn*, *Pukhtūn*, *Pashtūn* or *Pakhtūn*. It is obvious that the name of the language and that of the people who speak it, dates only from their earliest occupation of the *Pusht*. Under what name the *Pakhtūns* and their language went before is not known for certain. We have seen above that language considerations suggest east Iranian affinities and that eastern Irān in the centuries before the Christian Era was dominated by the Scythian invaders. It has therefore been suggested that the Scythian settlers at the *Pusht* came to be known as *Pushtūn*, *Pakhtūn* (pl. *Pushtāna* or *Pukhtāna*); the land gave its name to the people, not the vice versa.

The earliest population of Koh-i Sulīmān and the Kābul valley comprised different Kāfir or Kailāsh tribes. From the Kābul valley they were evicted by the Tājiks and from the territory of Koh-i Sulīmān by the Scythian invaders who made it their permanent home and settled their.

Sheltered behind the lofty walls of the Koh-i Sulīmān the Scythian nomads now Pashtūns or Pakhtūns continued to grow in numbers. They were not alone to enter the hill tracts of Afghānistān. Traces of other ethnic groups such as A'wāns, Bhīls, Dāwar, Turis and Budnīs are also found in the Kābul and Tīrāh valleys. The A'wāns, once mighty rulers of Khūzistān, have left behind two villages in the Tīrāh valley as memorials of their eastward march. They are now concentrated in the Salt Range (Panjāb). The Bhīls are now scattered in Pakistan and India. There are two places in the Kābul valley known as Bigrām. Similarly Peshāwar was also called Bigrām in the past. There is no doubt that Bigrām is a corrupted form of Bhīlgrām or "Bhīl village". The Bhīls and Gonds are looked upon as the most ancient peoples of South Asia. Dāwars, now in Pakistan, have left their trace in the name Zamīndāwar (Dāwar land) in Afghānistān. Budnī are first mentioned by Herodotus as a Scythian tribe near the Caspian, then by Akhūnd Darwezāh in Afghānistān from where they were driven to the east. The branch of the Kābul river nearest Peshāwar bears the name Budni and may have flowed through their territory. During Darius' invasion of Scythia Herodotus says, the tribes which decided to stand by the Scythians included Geloni (present Gīlāni or Jīlāni) and Budini (Budnī), but Tauris (Toris) and some other tribes excused themselves. The Gīlōni, Herodotus further remarks, were originally Greeks, who, driven out of the seaports along the coast, settled among the Budini. Another important tribe, the Khalaj (or Khalji) is also known to have descended from Scythian or Ephthalite ancestors. At what time these different tribes entered Afghānistān is not known for certain. About the Khārijites however we are sure that they pushed deeper into the Afghān hills and established themselves at Gardez – east of Ghazni – from where they extended their influence to the Kurram valley in the eighth century.

With the growth of population the highlanders split up into tribes. The Afghān writers claim descent from a certain Qais alias 'Abd al-Rashīd for the entire race. By tradition Qais had three sons – Sarbaṅr, Bitan and Ghurghust. Thus there should be three main lines of his descendants. But there are actually four, the ancestor of the fourth being of Karlaṅr or Karlaṅri. Sarbaṅr, the eldest, had two sons named Sharkhbūn (or Sharkbūn) and Kharshbūn. Modern writers divide the entire Afghān race into Western

and Eastern Afghāns. Sharkhbūn is the ancestor of the Western Afghāns (living in Qandahār and around it), and Kharshbūn of the Eastern tribes of the Peshāwar valley and the adjacent mountains to the north, namely the Yūsufzais (including the Mandagr branch), the Mohmands, the Khalil, the Daudzais and the Muḥammad zais. The Sherānis, Tarins and Urmars are said to have descended from Sharkhbūn. The other brother, Kharshbūn also had three sons – Kand, Zamand and Kāsi. From Kand descended the Ghoriah khel and Khashay (also written as Khaklay and shakhay). Khashay was the father of Mand, Muk and Tarklāgris. From Mand descended Yūsuf and 'Umar. Yūsuf was the ancestor of the Yūsufzais of Dīr, Swāt, Buner etc., while 'Umar's son Mandagr was the forefather of the Mandagr – Yūsufzais of Mardān and Swābi – the people of our concern.

When the Afghān tribes divided the territory of Qandahār amongst themselves, the lot of the Tarīns fell between those of Kand and Zamand, which became a source of trouble for them. Of the descendants of Kand, the Khakhay who lived on the river Arghastān were the nearest to the Tarīns. A feud broke out between the two regarding grazing grounds, resulting in the defeat of the Khakhay who were expelled from the territory they formerly occupied. The Khakhay then requested the Ghoriah Khel to give them a piece of land where they could settle down and earn their livelihood. The Ghoriah khel gave them some barren territory but, then, pushed them out of it after some time.

The Khakhay then drifted to the vicinity of Kābul where they found congenial environment for themselves and their cattle. Consequently their numbers increased rapidly. Mirzā Ulugh Beg, the ruler of Kābul, was favourably inclined to them and gave them territory in the vicinity of Kābul to settle down. The leadership of the Khakhay now passed into the hands of the Yūsufzais and Mandagrs. On account of their plundering raids in Kābul and their innate propensity for lawlessness, the Mirzā soon got disappointed and drove them to distant Jalālābād. The Yūsufzais even in their new home could not control their natural instincts and once again created turmoil in the whole land. The Mirzā now decided to deal with them with an iron hand. He killed a number of their maliks (chiefs) and expelled the rest from Jalālābād.

Malik Aḥmad one of the survivors, rushed to the Dilazāks of the Peshāwar valley with a request for shelter, for, the valley of Kābul was no longer a safe place for them to live. The Dilazāk *jirgah* graciously granted them asylum with a vast stretch of

land called the *Doābah* (land between two rivers) for their sustenance. In this land the Yūsufzais gathered in large numbers and after a while, when their numbers grew even larger, they thought of conquering the neighbouring lands. In due course they became masters of Bājaur, Swāt and Hashtnagar. In the battle of Kātlang, they overthrew their benefactors – the Dilazāks and brought the whole land from Bajaur to the Indus under their control.

Malik Aḥmad appointed the Shaikh, Mali to survey the entire conquered territory and distribute it amongst the Yūsufzais and Mandaggs and their allies. The Shaikh performed his duty diligently, to the satisfaction of all the parties. Keeping in view that all the land was not fertile and that there existed large tracts of infertile land as well, the Shaikh devised a method of mutual exchange of share after a fixed period of time. Thus the Yūsufzais of Swāt had to shift to the Samah (Mardan – Swābi area) and those of Samah to Swāt after a fixed period. In this way everyone equally shared the fruits of good and badlands, though the land itself suffered heavily in the process, for the system discouraged everyone to invest in the land for its improvement. This land swapping came to an end during the British period when individual owners got permanent property right.

Malik Aḥmad was succeeded by Khān Kajū, the most celebrated of all the chiefs. Meanwhile the Ghoriah Khel occupied the entire country to the south of the river Kābul (i.e. Peshāwar and Nowshera districts) and pushed the remnants of the Dilazāks across the Indus. This they achieved with the active help of Mirzā Kāmran, the ruler of Kābul. The Ghoriah Khel soon picked up a quarrel with the Yūsufzai, which resulted in the battle of Shaikh Tapūr near Pīr Piāi. The Ghoriah Khel suffered a crushing defeat and never dared again to challenge Khān Kajū who not only brought the entire Peshāwar valley under his control but also the neighbouring territories of northern Panjāb, besides Chach and Hazāra.

The Yusufzais, on the whole, are brave and adventurous. Upon the primitive culture they brought from the hills, they have built enormously and are now trying to excel in every walk of life. They have given up their predatory habits and have become law-abiding citizens of Pakistan. They are stout Muslims of the Sunni sect and observe the tenets of Islām sincerely. The laws of *mailmastai* bind them to feed and shelter any travellers arriving at their houses. By *nanawatai* (entering in), the Pakhtūn, including the Yūsufzais, is expected, at the sacrifice of his own life and property, if necessary, to

shelter and protect anyone who in extremity may flee to his threshold and seek an asylum. To omit or disregard any of these observances exposes the Pakhtūn to the ridicule and scorn of his associates, more especially as regards *badal* and *qisās* (retaliation). In common with other Pakhtūns, the Yūsufzais are extremely superstitious and hold the *pīrs*, *zburgs* and other holy personages in great esteem. The *ziārats* (burial places of saints) enjoy a notoriety for superior sanctity and attract large crowds of illiterate masses on certain days. Such shrines possess their own peculiar virtues and qualities for benefiting both men and brute. At present the Yūsufzais go to the courts for the resolution of their disputes, but *jirgahs* are also held for this purpose.

The Yūsufzais are a very proud people and eternally boast of their descent, their prowess in arms and their independence. They despise all other races; and, even amongst themselves, each man considers himself equal to, if not better than his neighbour. The most remarkable illustration of their pride is their exaggerated notion of their own honour, *Nang-i Pakhtūn*, any slight or insult to which is instantly resented. They also take pride in considering themselves meat-eaters and look down upon others who eat lentils. This appears to be an echo from the past, for presently the staple food of the Yūsufzais of Swāt is rice, and that of the Samah corn.

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APPENDIX: A

Western Asia and Hebrew Kingdoms

The monarch who inaugurated the most brilliant period of Assyrian history was Tiglath – pileser who ascended the throne about 745 BC. From this time onward to 645 BC Assyrian policy was directed by ambitious and warlike rulers who enlarged her dominions in every direction. The *acme* of Assyrian glory was reached during these hundred years. Towards the close of this period her influence extended from the highlands of Armenia to the furthest limits of Egypt, and from the Persian desert to the shores of the Aegean sea.

Menahem, the ruler of the northern Hebrew Kingdom called Israel, knowing well his own weak position sent an embassy to Tiglath – pileser, while he was engaged in seizing neighbouring regions, and accepted a feudatory status. This satisfied the Assyrian emperor who is said to have immediately withdrawn into his own country. Shortly afterwards Menahem died and was succeeded by Pekahiah whose rule lasted for about two years. He was murdered by one of his captains – Pekah, the son of Remliah. It was probably early in the reign of Pekah that Tiglath pileser took the field a second time and marched into Palestine. He conquered all the lands of Naphtali and carried the population captive to Assyria – thus commencing the “captivity” which had been so long and after threatened. A foreign population was probably settled in the tract conquered to take the place of the deported Israelites. It was then that Pekah took alarm and set himself to work to induce the principal Palestinian states to join hands and form a confederacy whereby the Assyrian arms might be resisted. He entered into close alliance with Rezin, king of Damascus for this purpose and both agreed to fall upon Judah conjointly either to force it to join the league, or, to dethrone Ahaz, the king of Judah and set up in his stead someone who would be ready to do their bidding. Hereupon, Ahaz, greatly alarmed and upset sent an embassy to Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, beseeching Tiglath-pileser to come to his aid. It suited the expansionist policy of the Assyrian monarch who at once took the field and engaged in a war with Rezin for some years. Having reduced Damascus, he proceeded against Samaria, capital of Israel, where Pekah offered but a feeble resistance and was, perhaps at the connivance of Assyria, murdered by Hoshea, the son of Elah, who was accepted by Tiglath – pileser as his feudatory. Tiglath – pileser died in 727 BC and was succeeded by Shalmaneser.

Egypt had by this time passed through the phase of disorganization and weakness and had once more united under a single head. With Egypt Hoshea entered into negotiations and was so encouraged about the year 725 BC as to withhold the tribute which he had hitherto paid to Shalmaneser as his suzerain. In 724 BC, having learnt about Hoshea's revolt, Shalmaneser descended in force and poured his troops in upon the unhappy kingdom. A bloody scene was enacted and although he succeeded in getting hold of Hoshea's person, the city of Samaria withstood the might of Assyria for about three years. She was besieged probably in the early spring of 724 BC; she was not taken until near the end of 722 BC. There was the usual massacre. Twenty seven thousand two hundred of the inhabitants were made prisoners and carried into captivity by the conqueror. This is called the "First Captivity". Samaria was not destroyed. The fate of Hoshea is not known. He may have languished in a prison at Nineveh. Thus the northern kingdom (i.e. Israel), founded by Jeroboam, was brought to an end.

Of all the monarchs who ruled over the southern kingdom (i.e. Judah) after its separation from Israel, Hezekiah's name is the most remarkable. His political status when he ascended the throne was that of a tributary to Assyria. His father's compact with Tiglath-pileser involved his own subjection; and nothing could set him free from this obligation but an open revolt. To this height of audacity he does not seem to have lifted himself at once. But the idea of finding a way out had settled in his mind. It appears that he continued to pay the tribute, as it became due, both to Shalmaneser and to Sargon, his successor, deferring his open rebellion, which he had probably contemplated right from the beginning of his reign, to the time of Sennachrib, Sargon's son and successor.

By the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's rule, the "house of his precious things" was so full of treasure in gold and silver, in spices, and in precious ointment, that he was tempted thereby into the great sin of his life – the ostentatious display of his vast riches to the ambassadors of a heathen king (of the rising Babylonia). Meanwhile he found an opportunity to smite the Philistines even unto Gaza and overrun their whole country.

The Assyrian monarchs had long been looking towards Philistia with a covetous eye; and now that Sargon was King of Assyria and at war with Egypt, he had a great desire to add Philistia to his empire. About the year 720 BC, he overthrew Hanun, king of Gaza, and it was probably before Philistia could recover herself, that Hezekiah made

his expedition referred to above. Emboldened by his success, he cast off the Assyrian yoke and declared himself independent about 711 BC. Other cities also took courage and rebelled. This time Ashdod was the city which took the lead in resisting Assyrian encroachment and bore the brunt of Sargon's attack.

Sargon was succeeded by his eldest son, Sennachrib, about 705 BC. Having realized that a conspiracy was at foot against him with Syria, Sidon, Philistia, Judah, Egypt etc. working as active agents, Sennachrib first of all marched his troops into Syria in the spring of 701 BC and, then, went on conquering city after city and also routed an army sent by Tihakah, the ruler of Egypt, to assist other partner of the conspiracy. Having thus carried all before him Sennachrib found Hezekiah without an ally and then proceeded against him. In no time he swept over the land, besieging and taking the fortified places and gathering spoils and captives at every step. He is said to have carried off 200,150 persons – perhaps an highly exaggerated figure. While Sennachrib himself moved to Lachish, another city, suspecting the arrival of another Egyptian army, the siege of Jerusalem was not lifted and Hezekiah was shut within the city walls.

At length a time came when it was impossible for the besieged to endure any longer. Hezekiah found himself compelled to ask for terms. He sent an embassy to the Assyrian king and happily received back a favourably reply. Sennachrib consented to spare the city on the payment of a sum of thirty talents of gold and three hundred talents of silver. The Assyrian army lifted the siege and returned to Nineveh, but was immediately called upon to come back.

As soon as the siege was lifted Hezekiah sent ambassadors to Egypt in all haste asking for help. When Sennachrib came to know that Hezekiah has revolted once again, he marched at the head of all his forces and took the coast route leaving Jerusalem on one side with a view to facing the Egyptian army. What happened to the huge number of captives taken earlier, we do not know. As the Assyrian army was itself overburdened with daily marches and there was nobody to keep a watch over them. They must have found an opportunity to slip away to safer places and evaporate.

Having reduced Lachish, he marched towards Libnah, a city situated at no great distance. Here he came across with some kind of a natural calamity that befell his army. Hezekiah had received Isaiah's message: "the angels of the Lord had gone forth, and smitten in the camp of the Assyrians ... and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses". The remnant fled with the king and hastened back

to Nineveh. Jerusalem was relieved. Hezekiah died at the age of fifty-four and was succeeded by his son Manasseh at the age of twelve. Sennachrib, from the date of the destruction of his host carefully avoided all contact with the Jews. Judah enjoyed an interval of peace.

Manasseh had reigned for nearly twenty two years before a necessity arose for him to consider whether he should follow the example of his father in his defiance of the Assyrian power, or, like his grandfather, should tamely submit to it. After much consideration he preferred the second choice.

When Esarhaddon, Sennachrib's son and successor, about the year 680 BC, made an expedition into Palestine with the object of re-establishing Assyrian influence in the south-west, Manasseh seems to have submitted without any murmur. Later on however he repented of his tame submission and taken steps which his Assyrian suzerain regarded as rebellious. Perhaps he entered into negotiations with Tirhakah, or Tehrak, king of Egypt and Ethopia, who was an active enemy of the Assyrians. Esarhaddon sent an army against him which seized him and brought him into the presence of the Assyrian monarch at Babylon. But Esarhaddon received him into favour and even sent him back to Jerusalem to rule again as tributary monarch. Manasseh died after a reign of fifty-five years at the age of sixty seven. He left the throne to his son Amon who died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by Josiah.

In 608 BC, in the thirty first year of Josiah's reign a real danger appeared from Egypt. The Assyrian empire had fallen about the year 615 BC and Neco, the Egyptian monarch, marched at the head of his army into Palestine with the design of measuring swords with the Chaldaeans who had established themselves at Babylon and were trying to walk in the footsteps of their predecessors, the Assyrians. Josiah tried to block Neco's path but suffered defeat and died shortly afterwards of a wound received in this battle. He was succeeded by his second son Jehoahaz of about twenty three years of age. Having cleared the obstacle, Neco pressed forward and overran various states and kingdoms. Having achieved his objectives Neco returned to Egypt but on the way back he got hold of Jehoahaz and carried him a prisoner to his own country. Before leaving he gave the crown of Judah to Eliakim, the eldest son of Josiah. Jehoahaz ruled for three months.

Eliakim or Jehoiakim reigned as an Egyptian vassal for three years in peace. In the fourth year Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, who had grown

extra-ordinary powerful by this time, led the forces of the Babylonian empire to chastise the Egyptian for his audacity. Neco, aware of the intentions of his adversary, marched to meet him. The two armies came into clash at Charchemish. Awful was the shock of the battle which ended in a complete discomfiture of Egypt. Jehoiakim having seen the result gladly submitted and became the servant of Nebuchadnezzar. Meanwhile Nabopolassar died towards the close of 605 BC, and Nebuchadnezzar had to return to Babylon. A hope arose in the vanquished cities for a better future.

In the fourth year after his subjugation, 602 BC, Jehoiakim revolted. The "Great King" once again brought a huge army. Jehoiakim was seized and executed and the throne was handed over to his son, Jehoiachin. After some time Nebuchadnezzar, suspecting him of an intention to revolt sent an army against him and himself as well followed in its footsteps. The Babylonian army entered the city, plundered the temple and the royal palace, seized captives and appointed Mattaniah, the third son of Josiah, to the throne. Mattaniah's name was changed to Zedek-jah. This event is known as the "Second Captivity" or the "Exile".

In the ninth year of his reign (about 589 BC), under the false impression that the Babylonian empire was about to fall, Zedek-jah took the terrible plunge and openly revolted. The forces of Nebuchadnezzar were immediately put in motion and Jerusalem was put under siege, but Zedek-jah or Zedekiah with his body guard and children managed to escape through a hidden postern, but the information regarding this flight soon reached the Babylonians who dispatched a detachment of the army in pursuit. The fugitives were overtaken and seized. Zedekiah's attendants and sons were put to death before his eyes and then his own eyes were put out. He was taken to Babylon and put into prison.

"Every worst woe befell the devoted city, which drank the cup of God's fury to the dregs". The other horrors usual at the sack of towns were not wanting, but we do not hear of any "captives" this time.

APPENDIX: B

**List of the post-Solomon rulers of Israel and Judah
(based on Rawlinson)**

S.No.	Name	Duration in years	Important events
1.	Rehoboam, son of Solomon	17	Israel and Judah separated
2.	Jeroboam	20	Fled to Egypt
3.	Abijah	3	Mother's name Maasha
4.	Asa	40	
5.	Nadab	1	
6.	Baasha		Kills Nadab. Alliance with Benhadad of Syria
7.	Elah	Few months	
8.	Zimri	Seven days	
9.	Omri	12	War with Syria
10.	Ahab	22	War with Benhadad
11.	Jehoshaphat		
12.	Ahazia of Israel	2	
13.	Jehoram of Israel	12	
14.	Jehoram of Judah		Philistines plunder Judah
15.	Ahazia of Judah		
16.	Jehu	28	Tribute paid to Shalmaneser
17.	Athaliah (woman)	6	Destroys the seed royal
18.	Joash of Judah		Murder of Zachariah
19.	Jehoahaz of Israel	17	
20.	Joash of Israel	16	
21.	Amaziah	29	His challenge to Joash
22.	Jeroboam II	52	Wars with Syria
23.	Uzziah or Azariah	52	His war with Philistines; his conquest of the Arabs.
24.	Zachariah, Shallum, and Menahem	-	Menahem submits to Tiglath-pileser of Assyria

25.	Pekahiah and Pekah	22	Tiglath-pileser brings the rule of Pekah to an end. Pekah murdered.
26.	Jotham	Short reign	-
27.	Ahaz	-	Invokes the aid of Assyria
28.	Hoshea	9	Tiglath-pileser succeeded by Shalmaneser; Hoshea allies with Egypt; Shalmaneser invades Israel (722 BC); siege of Samaria. Captives taken
29.	Hezekia	-	Subject position under Assyria; First invasion of Sennachrib; submission of Hezekia..
30.	Manasseh	55	Submission to Assyria (680 BC); Imprisonment at Babylon; then restoration.
31.	Amon	5	His idolatries and other evil practices.
32.	Jasiah	-	The great Scythic invasion; fall of Assyria. Neco invades Syria; Josiah resists; dies of wounds
33.	Jehoahaz of Judah and Jehoiakim	-	Nebuchadnezzar's first invasion; captives seized; revolt of Judah and Tyre; second expedition; Jehoiakim executed
34.	Jehoiachin and Zedekiah	-	Short reign of Jehoiachin, Zedekiah made king; Zedekiah rebels; final appearance of Nebuchadnezzar; Jerusalem besieged; Zedekiah punished.

APPENDIX: C

List of the post-Solomon rulers of Israel and Judah
(based on *al-Mas'ūdi*)

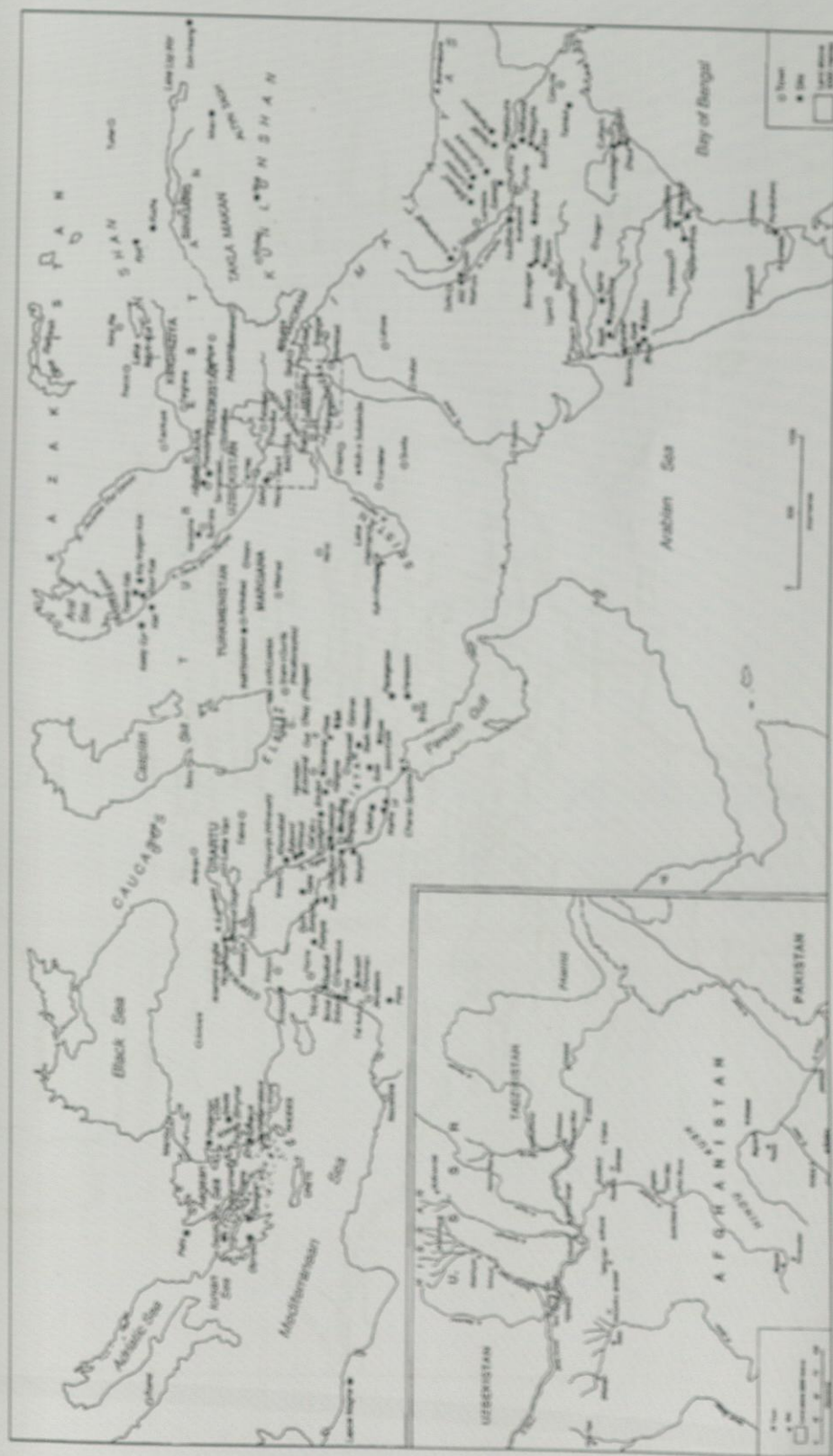
S.No.	Name	Duration in years	Important events
1.	 (Rehoboam) رخبم بن سليمان	17	-
2.	 (Jeroboam) يوربعم	20	-
3.	 (Abijah) ابيا بن رخبم	3	-
4.	 (Asa) اسا	40	
5.	 (Nadab) يوراب	1	
6.	 (Athaliah) عيلان (ناتون)	7	Family of Dā'ūd put to the sword
7.	داود کی اولاد سے کوئی شخص	7	
8.	 (Amaziah) امسيا	52	Prophet Shoaib
9.	یو قام بن عزيا	10 to 17	Invasion of Fil'iqas, king of Babylon
10.	 (Ahaz) الاز	17	
11.	 (Hezekiah) حزقیل بن الاز	17	Second invasion of Babylon Hizqīl (Hezekiah) murdered
12.	 (Manasseh) منسا بن حزقیل	25 to 30	Roman invasion
13.	 (Amon) امون بن منسا	5	Egyptian invasion
14.	نوفین	-	Invasion of Bakhtunnasar; Nofin taken captive. Pharaoh suffered defeat.
15.	زریابیل	46	-

APPENDIX: D

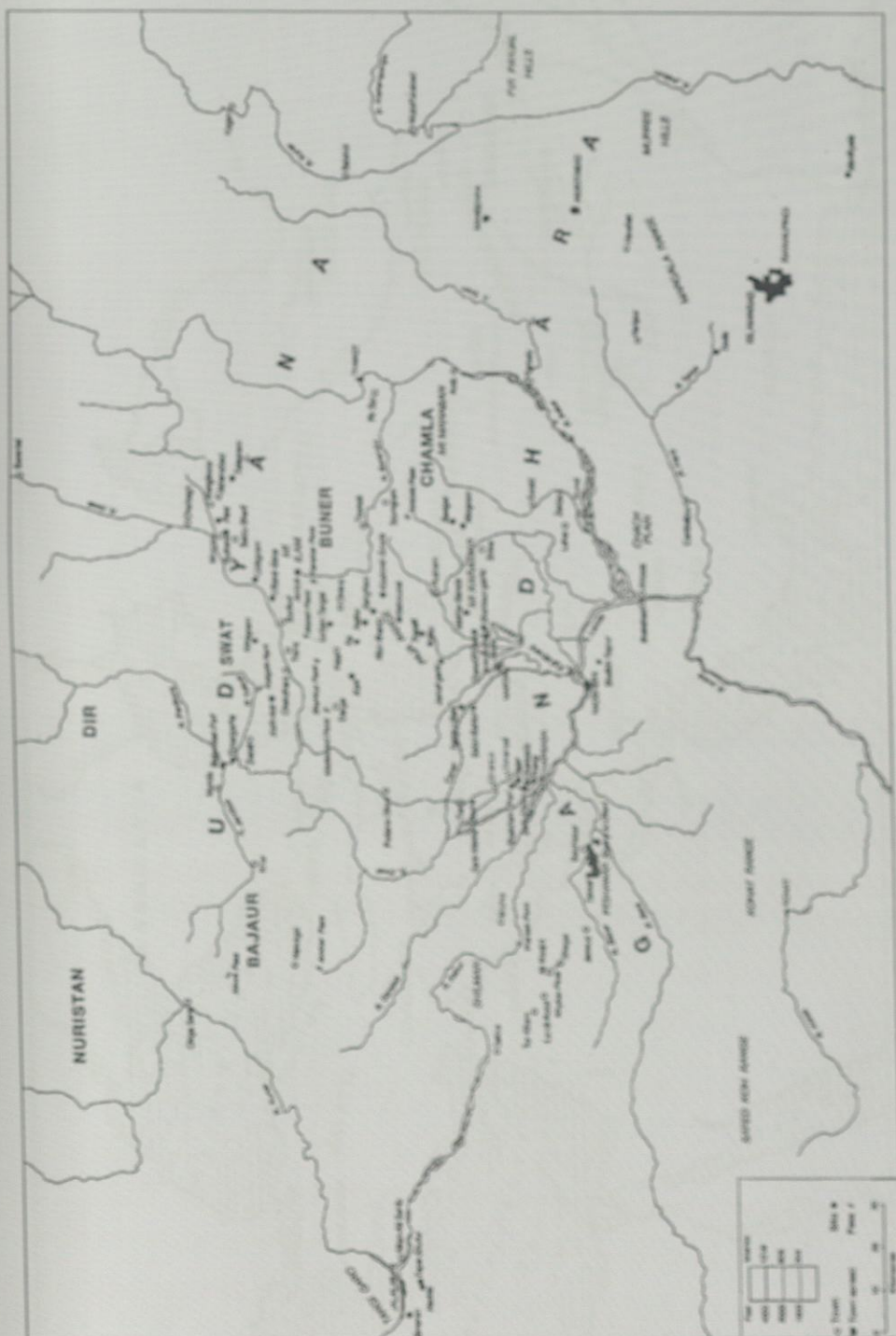
List of the post-Solomon rulers of Israel and Judah
(based on *Ibn al Athīr*)

S.No.	Name	Duration in years	Important events
1.	 رحوبام بن سليمان (Rehoboam)	17	Separation of Israel from Judah
2.	 ابيا (Abijah)	3	-
3.	 يروبوام (Jeroboam)	-	-
4.	 اسا (Asa)	41	Invasion of Zarah al-Hindi
5.	 ساحاب (Ahab)	25	-
6.	 عثليا بنت عمر (Athaliah)	7	-
7.	 يوشاف (Joash)	16 to 40	-
8.	 عززيا بن امعيا بن يوشاف (Uzziah)	52	-
9.	 حزقيا (Hezkiah)	-	Invasion of Senachrib (722 BC)
10.	 منشا (Manasseh)	55	-
11.	 امون (Amon)	-	-
12.	 يوشاف بن امون (Josiah)	31	Invasion of Egypt
13.	 يابوا مازين يوشاف (Jehoahaz)	-	Removed by Egyptians
14.	 يوشاف بن يابوا مازين (Jehoiakim)	12	-
15.	 يوشاف بن يوشاف (Jehoiachin)	3 months	Invasion of Bakhtunnasar; captives seized
16.	 زككيا (Zedekiah)	-	Bait-al-Maqdas plundered; Zedekiah taken to Babylon; his sons killed; his own eyes taken out.

(More names are known but I have omitted them as demanded by the brevity of this statement and also lack of their authenticity: writes Ibn al-Athīr.



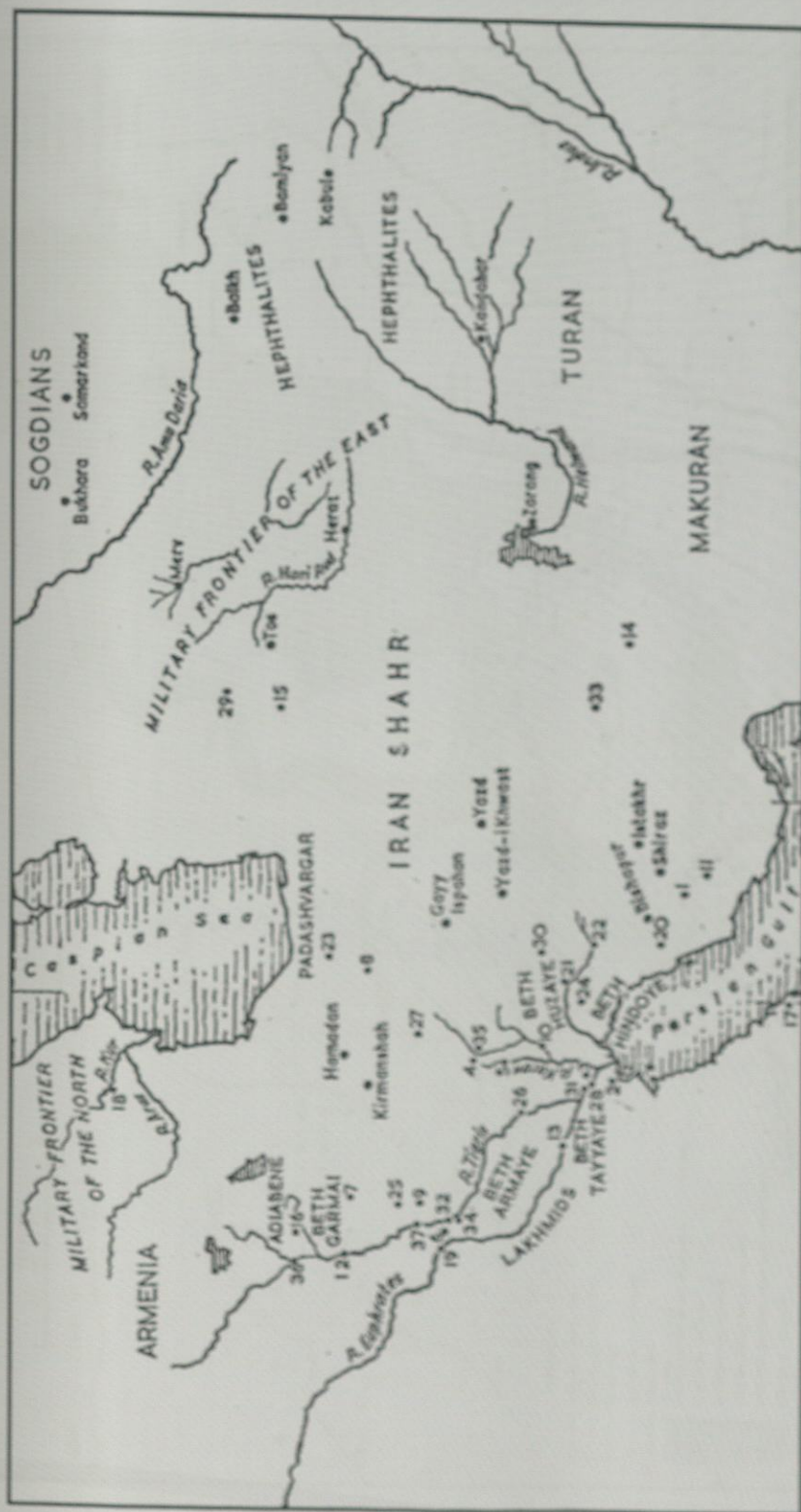
Map 1: Map of the Area between Rome and India



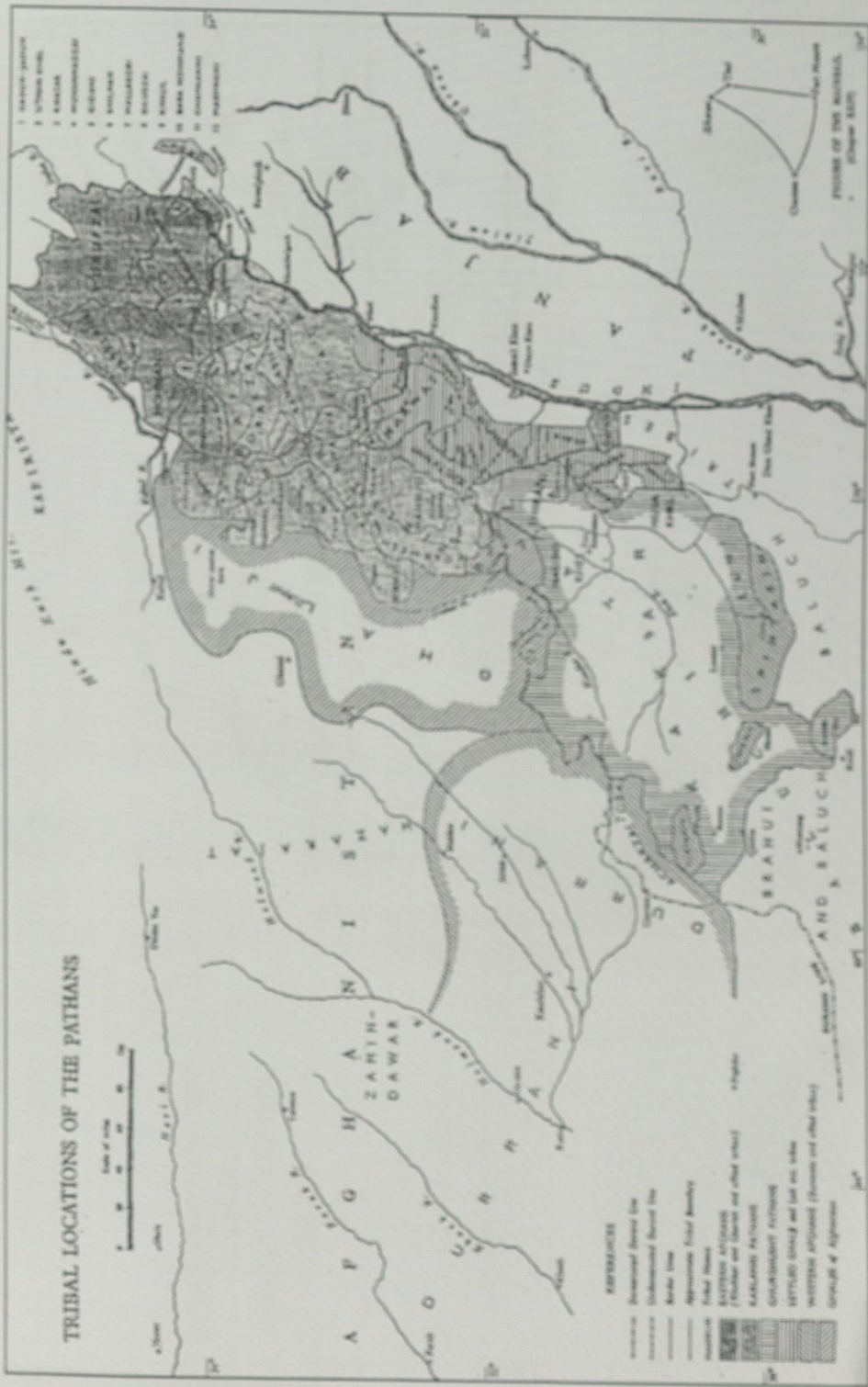
Map 2: Map of Gandhāra



Map 4: Iran under the early Sasanians



Map 5: Iran under the later Sasanians



Map 6: Tribal locations of the Pathans

