

**KABUL UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE
(1504-1738 AD)**

**BY
SUMAIRA**



*A dissertation submitted to the University of Peshawar, Pakistan in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy*

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February 2016

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the outcome of my individual research and that it has not been submitted to any other University for the grant of a degree.

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FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we have read the dissertation submitted by Ms. Sumaira and it is our judgment that this is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the University of Peshawar, Peshawar, for the award of the Degree of Philosophy.

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DEDICATION

*Dedicated to my parents who always prayed
for the successful
Completion of my Ph. D thesis*

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All praise to Allah, the almighty who gave me the courage, temerity, health and strength to complete this work.

The completion of the research work took many years. For the accomplishment of this task I am indebted to many individuals without whose help and guidance it would have been intricate to complete the thesis. I am particularly grateful to my supervisor Dr. Zahid Anwar, who was extremely helpful and supportive throughout the process of this thesis. It was his supervision, support and guidance that enabled me to complete this research project. My colleagues and especially my principle Shaheen Kausar of Govt, Girls degree collage Timargara were very supportive to me in completion of this work. I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to my former supervisor Dr. Muhammad Anwar Khan, he passed away during the initial stages of my thesis.

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ABSTRACT

KABUL UNDER THE MUGHAL RULE (1504-1738 AD)

Kabul was a bridge between Indian Mughal Empire and Central Asia, the ancestral homeland of the founders of the empire. Kabul, one of the most important areas of Afghanistan, carries about 3,500 years old historical records mentioning Kabul with different names like, Kubha, Gandahara, Kabura, Ortospana, Kapul, Zavul, and Zabul etc. all the great warriors and conquerors from Central Asia used Kabul as their route to India and used Kabul as a tool for invading India. It has also remained a trade route to India and was known as a gateway to India. This work intends to shed light on geostrategic significance of Kabul under Mughals and to explore geopolitics, history and etymology of Kabul. Attempts were also made to uncover the area, its inhabitants, their ethnicity, traditions and tribes etc.

Kabul flourished under Mughals greatly. Kabul became the foundation stone for the Mughal Empire at India. During the Mughal era Kabul entered into a new phase and with the invasion of Babur the area got the position of the capital of the Mughals. Babur loved the city and it was that love which convinced him to choose Kabul his burial place despite establishing vast Indian Empire. The early Mughal rulers paid much attention to the affairs of Kabul, because their existence at greater extent belongs to their strong hold over Kabul. It was under Mughals that a number of Afghan tribes came to prominence and got important positions, a huge number of them also migrated to India, particularly Bengal. It was not only from Kabul that the Mughals secured the Indian borders from the invaders but from there they could also fulfill their ambitions of conquering the ancestral homeland of Central Asia. Kabul became a gateway for the northern invaders of India, and also a gateway to Central Asia, the Mughal homeland. With the passage of time the Mughal priorities changed in India which also affected Mughal concerns at Kabul.

Besides introduction and conclusion there are six chapters in this dissertation. The work deals with the Geography, early History and culture of Kabul. The Babur's

advent at Kabul, his tribal settlement and his foundation of the Indian Mughal Empire affected his rule at Kabul. After the invasion of India Babur never came back to Kabul during his life time but buried there after his demise. His son Humayun after Babur's death found himself surrounded by difficulties not only in India but also in Kabul. Humayun also faced wars in India particularly threats from Suris. Humayun after getting defeat from the hands of Sher Shah Suri at India turned towards Kabul to seek the help of his brother Mirza Kamran, but failed. After the loss of India to Sher Shah Suri, the importance of Kabul increased for Humayun and became the centre of attention for both of the brothers, Humayun and Mirza Kamran. Both fought with one another several times for the supremacy of Kabul. At last Humayun got full control over Kabul and it was his control of Kabul that paved the way for him to recapture his lost Indian Empire.

Akbar realized that Kabul was the northern key of India and it was essential to keep the area under his control for the safety of his empire. Due to this realization his hold always remained strong on Kabul. It was during the reign of Akbar that Kabul received great importance and he after getting the possession of Kabul introduced a uniformed system of administration in the area. Akbar at start after his accession to the throne faced many problems in Kabul like his father Humayun. Akbar's brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim under the guidance of his mother Mah Chuchak or Juchak begum ruled Kabul independently from Akbar's Indian empire. That was the period in which Kabul became a place of disturbance and a home for the rebels of the neighboring areas including India affected also the lives of the general masses of Kabul. Akbar with his strong policy and diplomacy at last became able to grab the authority of Kabul in his own control and made proper extension of Indian administration to Kabul. Akbar's carrot and stick policy at last restored peace in Kabul. It was during his rule that the Roshniya movement strengthened itself against the Mughals.

The Roshniya threat increased during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan which caused disturbance in the Kabul valley as well as in other parts of India. To control the Roshnias a number of expeditions were launched against them and Jahangir paid a number of visits to bring peace in the Kabul valley but failed to fully tame the Roshnias. During Jahangir the Roshnias were become very strong

in the area. It was the reign of Shah Jahan that the movement lost its spirit to a greater extent. Uzbek attacks on Kabul diverted the attention of Shah Jahan to that city. It was Shah Jahan's Central Asian expeditions that brought a number of reforms in the valley of Kabul. For the passing of huge armies to Balkh and Badakhshan the roads were reconstructed. The expedition ensured the security of Kabul and with the appointment of a number of Afghans to high posts in the army improved their living. Aurangzeb was the last great and efficient ruler of the Mughal dynasty but it was during his rule that the Mughal authority at Kabul started decreasing because of his negligence of the area. Due to his Deccan policy he could not pay proper attention to Kabul which increased commission there. The history of the region highlights ups and downs in the relations between Mughals and Afghans, the guardians of the valley. Mughals sometimes fought with Yousefzais and sometime allied them. On the other hand Mughal soldiers sometime allied Khattak tribe and sometime fought with them as immortalized by Khushal Khan Khattak in his Pashto poetry. With the passage of time particularly after the death of Aurangzeb the Mughal rulers changed their priority from the security to entertainment and luxury the decline of the empire ushered. The condition of Kabul moved from bad to worst and in spite of changing several governors within a short period of time the situation remained the same. The weak Mughal rulers were not in a position to crush out those disturbances at Kabul which not only encouraged the displeasure of the people of Kabul but it also encouraged the outsiders particularly the Persians to invade the area. At last the Mughals lost the valley of Kabul for good after the invasion of Nadir Shah Afshar in 1738 AD. The march of Kabul in time under Mughals brings to limelight the geostrategic and politico-economic worth of the city.

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INTRODUCTION

Kabul a prominent city of Afghanistan carries about 3,500 years old historical records. It had been historically oscillating between Central Asia, India and Persia over the period. The area of Kabul was first part of the median empire (7th century BC), followed by successive ruling houses the Achaemanid (550-330 BC), Mauryas (321-185 BC), Seleucid (180-140 BC), Bactria (2nd century BC), Indo-Greeks (1st century BC), Kushans (45 AD-3rd century AD), Sassanids (230-420 AD), Kedarites (420-460 AD) and Hephthalites (460 AD) till the advent of Muslims or Arabs.¹

At the time of Arab invasion the Hindu Shahis (4th century to 870 AD) ruled over Kabul, who resisted the Arabs advance. The Saffarids (867-913 AD) of Sistan (Yakub bin Layth) defeated Kaller the ruler of Hindu Shahis, yet it was Amro ibn laith who finally broke the Hindu Shahis thus initiating Muslim conquest of Kabul.

Kabul remained changing its masters rapidly, the Ghaznavide (975-1187 AD), Ghurids (1173-1215 AD) and Khwarzim Shahis (1215 AD) till 1220 when the great Mongol leader Chengiz Khan captured Kabul: they ruled for about hundred years, ultimately losing it to the Turks in the 14th Century.²

Ulugh beg Mirza, Babur's uncle ruled over it till 1501. After his death confusion prevailed till Babur invaded it in 1504 and made it as his capital, which remained the capital of Mughals till their invasion of India in 1526. After the death of Babur Humayun give the charge of Kabul to his brother Kamran Mirza. With the rise of Sher Shah Suri in India and his victory over Humayun affects the affairs of Kabul, when Humayun took over the charge of Kabul from Karman Mirza. In 1555 AD, Humayun left Hakim Mirza at Kabul and went to Delhi, where he died in 1555

¹ Watson, John Forbes; Sir John William Kaye (2007). The people of India: a series of photographic illustrations, with descriptive letterpress, of the races and tribes of Hindustan. Pagoda Tree Press. p. 276. Retrieved 2010.

² Abdul Hayy Habibi, A Chronology of Afghanistan (Kabul: Bayahaqi publishers house, 1974), Pp. 69-113.

AD, and his son Akbar got the throne.³ In 1585 Kabul came under the direct control of Akbar and to keep watch over different tribes he built a number of forts and troops were stationed there. Despite Akbar efforts to control the tribes, different tribes in one way or the other made rebellions, which later on also faced by his successors.⁴

Shah Jahan visited Kabul and built a Shah Jahani mosque there, later on he gives the charge of Kabul to his son Dara Sheiko.⁵ After the war of succession on Mughal throne Aurangzeb got Kabul, he first followed an aggressive policy towards different tribes but later on used diplomacy. Kabul remained in possession of the Mughals till Nadir Shah Afshar invaded it in 1738.⁶

Kabul under the Mughal emerged as an economic, strategic and political centre linking India, Central Asia and Persia, serving a gateway to India from Central Asia, with regular caravan of traders and public moving carrying both culture and commodities from deep seas of India to high mountains of Central Asia to Persia, Iraq, China and even to the medieval Europe.⁷

Literature Review

1. *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* (1976)⁸ by Abu Umar Minhaju-din Usman ibn Sirajuddin al Jauzjani. This is a general history from the earliest time up to 1259. The author wrote the book in honor to sultan Nasiruddin of slave dynasty and named it *Tabakat-i- Nasiri*. This work is divided into twenty three books, cover the period from Christian era to the slave dynasty. Book vii and viii of this work gives details about the first Muslim conquest of Kabul. The Book gives detail history of Kabul as a part of Ghaznavide rule

³ Wolseley Haig, ed. Richard Burn, The Cambridge History of India. Vo.I iv(The Mughal Period), (New Delhi: S.Chand& Company ltd, 1987), 20-44.

⁴ Muhammad QasimFarishta, Tareikh-e-Farishta Vol. I(Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali publishers, nd), 706.

⁵ Francois Bernier, Travals in the Mughal Empire AD. 1656-1668(London: Archibald constable & co, 1891), 15.

⁶ S.R B akshi, S.K. Sharma, Shah Jahan the Great Mughal (New Delhi: Deep & Deep publications, 2000) 74-7.

⁷ Nancy Hatch Dupree, A Historical Guide to Kabul (Kabul: Education Press, Franklin book programs, 1972).9-18.

⁸ Umar Minhaju-din UsmanibnSirajud- din al Jauzjani, Tabakat-i-Nasiri (Lahore: Urdu Markazi board, 1976).

and wrote that the Ghaznavide did not give much attention to Kabul period because they were busy in the affairs of Ghazna and Ghur.

2. *Muntakhab-ul- Tawareikh* (1976)⁹ by Mullah Abdul QadirMuluk Shah of Badaun. This work is a general history of India from the Ghaznavide period to reign of Akbar. The Author was employed in Akbar court for the translation of Arabic and Sanskrit work to Persian. The work deals with Afghan policy of Akbar, the rebellions in Kabul and the Akbar policy towards the area.
3. *The Aini- Akbari* (1978)¹⁰ is a 16th century, detailed document recording the administration of Akbar's empire, written by his vizier, Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak. The book is in three volumes, the second volume of the book deals with the administration of Akbar in which the last chapter gives important information about the administration of Kabul Subah, the book also throw light over the Roshniya movement, started in Peshawar valley, part of subah Kabul.
4. *Tareikh-i- Mubarak Shahi* (1977)¹¹ by Yahya bin Ahmad. The book deals with the history of India from 1352 to 15th century. The book is an important work to know the history of Kabul particularly to know the weaknesses of that time Kabul which led to its invasion by Babur the founder of Mughal Empire.
5. *Tuzki Babri* (1969)¹² is the autobiography of Zahirruddin Muhammad Babur, originally written in Turki, translated into Persian in the middle of Akbar reign.

The book form one of the best auto biographies ever written by a ruler. It is written as a narrative. The book turn is an important source for knowing about Kabul of Babur time and before him. He gives full description of Kabul valley, his entrance to the valley, its geography, administration and his relation with different tribes of Kabul, particularly with Yusafzai, (as he married one of the Yusafzai women), thread to him from his cousin Shebani khan and his attempts for the invasion of India.

⁹ Mullah Abdul QadirMuluk Shah, *Muntakhab-ul- Tawareikh* (Karachi: Krimsons publishers, 1976).

¹⁰ Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak, *The Aini- Akbari*(Calcutta: Royal Asiatic society, 1978).

¹¹ Yahya bin Ahmad, *Tareikh-i- Mubarak Shahi*(Karachi: Krimsons publishers, 1977).

¹² Zahirruddin Muhammad Babur, *Tuzki Babri*(Lahore: Sange Meel publication, 1969).

6. *Tareikh-i- Farishta* (1933)¹³ by Muhammad Qasim Farishta the book is a comprehensive work for the history of India and Kabul, which also cover the era of Mughal Empire. The book give detail history of the events happened in India and Kabul during Mughal rule in chronological order from ancient time to the Mughal period and then from Mughal ruler Babur to the invasion of Kabul by Nadir shah Afshar, and the permanent lost of Kabul to the Mughals.
7. *Travels in the Mughal Empire A.D 1556 to 1668* (1891)¹⁴ by Francois Bernier. The author of the book Bernier visited India and spend many years in the Mughal court during the reign of Shah Jahan, and wrote down his practical experiences which he got from the Mughal court, and give the causes and events of the war of succession of Shah Jahan sons for the throne and the effects of these rebellion over the whole Mughal empire.
8. *Hudud-ul-Alam* (1930)¹⁵ by Muhammad bin Abd. Al Mahhab, The *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam* contains information about the known world. The anonymous author reports about different countries, people, languages, clothing, food, religion, local products, towns and cities, rivers, seas, lakes, islands, the steppe, deserts, topography, politics and dynasties, as well as trade. According to the book the inhabited world is divided in Asia, Europe and Africa. In this book the author wrote about the geography of Khurassan and showed Kabul as a part of Khurassan. The author never visited those countries personally, but was inspired and guided by earlier works.
9. *Humayun Nama* (1987)¹⁶ by Gul Badan begum the daughter of Babur and Humayun sister. She was born at Kabul in 1523 A.D and spend much time there, later on he wrote her book mainly about Humayun, his court, his harem, the rebellions and difficulties of his time, the uprising of Sher Shah Suri, Humayun flight to Kabul and his war with his brother Kamran Mirza (Subedar of Kabul) over Kabul, at last the defeat and imprisonment of Kamran Mirza the appointment of different *Subedars* in Kabul by Humayun and once again his regain of the Indian throne.

¹³ Muhammad Qasim Farishta, *Tareikh-i- Farishta*(Karachi: Sheikh Ghulam Ali & Sons publication, 1933).

¹⁴ Francois Bernier *Travels in the Mughal Empire A.D 1556 to 1668*(London: Archibald constable & co, 1891).

¹⁵ Muhammad bin Abd. Al Mahhab, *Hudud-ul-Alam* (London: W Barthold, 1930).

¹⁶ Gul badan begum, *Humayun Nama* (Lahore: Sange Meel publications, 1987).

10. *The Cambridge history of India* (1987)¹⁷ by Wolsely Haig consist of six volumes, the sixth volume of the book is about Mughal rule at India and Kabul (part of Mughal empire). The book though not a original source yet it got references from different original and some rare books. The book is an a comprehensive work covers Mughal rule at Kabul, their full control over the province, the visit of different rulers like Humayun, Akbar and Shah Jahan visits to the province, the Mughal construction of Kabul, role of different governors of Kabul, policies of different Mughal rulers towards the province etc.
11. *A History of Afghanistan* (1940)¹⁸ by Percy Sykes is about the history of Afghanistan, its land, its peoples, different dynasties rule and its impacts over Afghanistan. It is an important source for the earlier history of Kabul from Dauris time, when it was the part of Persia to the modern state of Afghanistan.
12. *Ibn Battuta travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354 AD*¹⁹ Translated by H. A. R. Gibb. Ibn Battuta was originally from Tangier, he was a famous traveler reached to Delhi in 14th century, where he was appointed as a judge and remained under sultan of Delhi for seven years. During his travelled passing through Kabul, he had commented that it is a small town inhabited by Afghans and its population is not as much mainly destroyed by Central Asian invaders.

Research Qusetions

- What was the importance of Kabul for the Mughals of India?
- Did Mughal interest diminish in Kabul?
- What were the impacts of Kabul on Mughal India?

¹⁷ Wolsely Haig, The Cambridge history of India (New Delhi: S. Chand & company (pvt) ltd, 1987).

¹⁸ Percy Sykes, A History of Afghanistan (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal publisher's pvt. Ltd., 1940).

¹⁹ Ibn Battuta, Translated by H. A. R. Gibb, Ibn Battuta Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354(New Delhi: Oreintal books corporation, 1986).

Hypotheses

- Kabul became a gateway for the northern invaders towards India, and also a gateway to Central Asia, The Mughal homeland.
- Changing Mughal concern in India.

Aims And Objectives

- To overview the status of the Mughal rulers at Kabul.
- Kabul emergence as an economic, strategic and political centre.
- Mughal contribution to Kabul.
- Multi- ethnic growth of Kabul.

Justification

There is no specific work, describing the role of Kabul as an important link between south, Central and West Asia.

Methodology

The method for achieving the objectives of this research work would be historical, descriptive and analytical, reviewing the materials available on Afghanistan, Kabul, Mughals, and Indian History etc. Research will be conducted on the basis of primary and secondary sources.

Provisional Scheme Of Study

Chapter 1: Introduction

Kabul, its geography, early history and culture.

Chapter2: Kabul under Babur and Humayun

The chapter will contain Babur's advent and his tribal settlement till arrival of Humayun.

Chapter 3: Unrest in Kabul till the advent of Akbar

Wars in India rise of Suris, Humayun's falls till the advent of Akbar.

Chapter 4: Kabul under Akbar and Jahangir

In Akbar reign proper extension of Indian administration to Kabul. Akbar policies towards different tribes of Kabul and Roshniya movement till the end of the reign of Jahangir.

Chapter 5: Kabul under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb

Shah Jhan war with Uzbeks, the war of succession in India, and Kabul under the reign of Aurangzeb.

Chapter 6: Kabul under the later Mughals

Weak rulers: the loss of Kabul to Mughals, Nadir Shah's invasion and permanent loss of Kabul to India.

Conclusion

Conclusion will consist of Research findings. It will assess Mughal Central Asian policy and the impact of political development inside India on Mughal policy towards Central Asian region.

Chapter- 1

KABUL GEOGRAPHY AND EARLY HISTORY

The chapter deals with the History, Geography, Culture and Politics of Kabul before the advent of Mughals. It also deals with the importance of the area and its strategic importance in the pre Mughal era. Kabul carried the history of more than 3500 years. The place first came into prominence and its name for the first time mentioned in historical records with the migration of Aryans who mentioned the area in their sacred book Rig-Veda with the name of Kubha. Some of the great conquerors of the world including Alexander the Great, Chengiz Khan and Taimur etc passed through the area. Many dynasties ruled over the area. Before the invasion of the Mongol the area remains under the control of the Hindu Shahi or Kabul Shahi kings and was capital of their empire. Later on the area came under the rule of Taimur and from them to Ulugh Beg Mirza one of the uncles of Babur. At the time of the invasion of Babur the area was ruled first by Ulugh Beg Mirza son and then after the attack of the son of the ruler of Kandahar, Muqim Arghun, Kabul came under their sway. The chapter also throws light over the strategic importance of the area and its importance for holding the control over India.

1.1 Etymology Of Word Kabul

Kabul is one of the most important places of Afghanistan carries about 3500 years old historical records. In various historical records different words used for Kabul, the first historical account about the area were found in the sacred book of Hindus Rig-Veda in 1500 BC which identify a place with the name Kubha referred to Kabul River.²⁰

During Alexander time it was called Gandara, a Greece geographer Ptolemy mentioned Khophen for Kabul valley and Kabura for Kabul. There are some other Greece historians like Strabo and Pliny who wrote the word Ortospana for Kabul. Chinese traveler Hsuan-Tsang's in 7th century identifies the place with the word

²⁰ Nancy Hatch Dupree, A Historical Guide to Kabul (Kabul: Franklin book Programs, 1972), 1-2. (hereafter N. H. Dupree)

Kao-Fu. In Persian text Kapul, Zavul and Zabul were used for Kabul²¹. A Guide to the ancient world includes Kabul area in Paropamisus.²²

1.2 Origin of Name Kabul

Several historians trace back the origin of word Kabul to Kanishka. There are also different stories about the origin of the name Kabul like according to Sir Alexander Burnes during his stay in Kabul it was popularly believed that the name Kabul originated from the syllable of name Cakool and Habool son of Noah, in Persian the son of Adam was with the name of Cabil from which the name Kabul originated.

Another story regarding the name Kabul is that Kabul valley was a large lake in the centre of which lay a beautiful island one of the great king came here and order the construction of a bridge (*Pul*) there, the bridge was made of Straw (*Kah*) and built a city there which give the name of that particular bridge Kapul.²³ The name of Kabul however does not occur in the accounts of any Greeks, not any mention of Greek period coins, unless Kabura refer for the area.²⁴

1.3 Geography of Kabul

Geography played important role in the development of an area. Kabul is located in the region which increases its importance, and makes it one of the most important areas of the region.

Kabul is the administrative capital of modern Afghanistan, which is located at the south of the Hindu Kush, which is at the crossroads of the trade routes between India and Central Asia and the Far East and Middle East. The city is built on both

²¹ Ibid.

²² Michael Grant, A Guide To The Ancient World (A Dictionary of classical place names) (USA: the H.W. Wilson Company, 1986), 475.

²³ N. H. Dupree, 2.

²⁴ Nilam sen Gupta, Culture History of Kapisa and Gandahara (Delhi: Sundeep prakashan, 1984), 12. (hereafter, Gupta, culture)

sides of the Kabul River, which is the main and one of the great centers of cultural and economic activities of Afghanistan.²⁵

Kabul is one of the world highest capitals located between Latitude 34-31' North and Longitude 69-12' East at an altitude of 1,791 meters (5,856 feet)²⁶ above sea level in a narrow valley, wedged between the Hindu Kush mountains along the Kabul River, with in area of about 275 km²⁷, lying at the foot of hills with the direction from north west to south east. The city is built directly under a rocky hill of gneiss that rises a thousand feet above it, and bends rounds it from the south east to the south west where with the dip of another hill opposite, formed the pass which leads into Chahar Deh, one hundred and fifty yards broad.²⁸

Hudud –ul- Alam describe Kabul one of the well known town famous for its strength, inhabited mostly by Muslims and Indians with a number of idol temples there. The author of Hudud-ul- Alam also mentioned that under the reign of Hindu or Kabul Shah, Kabul was the part of Bamiyan province and later on under the Ghaznavids it was the part of Ghazna.²⁹

It is surrounded by Koh-e Paghman Mountain from the east, Koh-e Qrough Mountain from the south-west and Koh-e Shirdarwaza Mountain from the north-east. Kabul has only one river called Kabul River, which is considered as the principal course of the Indus. Kabul River rises at the Paghman Mountain toward South Pass about 70 km west of Kabul. It flows in an easterly direction, past Kabul, and through Jalalabad city, and then on to Dakka where it enters Pakistani territory and finally runs into the Indus at Attock.³⁰ The Kabul River irrigated

²⁵ Settlement of ethnic groups in Kabul valley, <http://books.google.com.pk/books>, Access on . 12Dec, 2014.

²⁶ Sir Percy Sykes, A History of Afghanistan, Vol I (New Delhi: Oriental books reprint corporation, 1981), 8. (hereafter Sykes)

²⁷ Map and places of Kabul, [http://www. Google .com //maps/ places/ Kabul/](http://www.Google.com/maps/places/Kabul/). Access on. 15Dec 2014.

²⁸ G.T. Vigne, A Persnol Narrative of A Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul, And Afghanistan (Lahore: Sang-e-meel publications, 1999), 162. (hereafter, Vigne)

²⁹ Trans, V. Minorsky, Hudud Al- Alam 'The Region of The World' A Persian Geography (372 A. H. – 982 A. D.) (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1980), 111. (hereafter, Hudud Al Alam)

³⁰ U. C, Davis, Afghan Organization, [http://edu / country – info/ province- agriculture profiles/ unfr- reports/ all- Kabul](http://edu/country-info/province-agriculture/profiles/unfr-reports/all-Kabul).

whole of the northern part of the Kabul plain.³¹ Kunar River, Laghman or Ghorband River and Loghar are the small rivers pass through Kabul.³²

1.4 Human Geography

In many historical writings Dravidians are considered the aboriginal of Kabul, possessed large herds of cattles with agricultural life in the villages of Kabul³³, later on the Aryans migrated and settled here followed by Acheamanides, Greeks, Parthians, Scythians, Ephthalites, Huns, Arabs and Turks. The Geographical location of Kabul made it one of the meeting places for many people's like invaders, nomads, pilgrims, missionaries, scholars and countless trading caravans from different parts of the world who settled down in this area.³⁴

Herodotus mentioned four main tribes of the area which he identified as Gandari, The Aparytae, The Sattagyddae and Dadicae.³⁵ Another Greek writer Ptolemy mentioned Kabul as Kabura and its residence as Kabulitae.³⁶ He further mentioned five main tribes of the area with the names of Bolitae, Aristophyli, Ambastae, Paroetae and Parsii.³⁷

In modern period the population of Kabul consist approximately 3 to 4 million people. The inhabitants of Kabul city consist of about 45% Tajiks also called Farsiwan, located in the northern side of Kabul like Shahr-e Nau, Khair Khana and Kart-e Parwan, (descendent from Indo Iranians Bactrian, Scythians and Sogdians tribes), the 25% Hazaras (descendent from Chengiz khan and settled here after mongol invasion of the area), 25% Pashtuns (from Suleiman mountains)

³¹ Vigne, 163.

³² Rai Bahadar Munshi Gopal Das, Tareikh-i-Peshawar (Lahore: Globe publishers, nd), 67. (hereafter Gopal Das)

³³ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, The Evolution of North West Frontier Province (India: The London book co, 1938), 1. (hereafter Diwan Chand)

³⁴ Amin Wakman, Afghanistan at the Crossroads (New Delhi: ABC Publishers house, 1985), 1-3.

³⁵ Mohammad Ali, Afghanistan Land of Glorious Past and bright future (Kabul: Franklin book programs), 24. (hereafter Mohammad Ali)

³⁶ http://www.asienkunde.de/content/zeitschrift_asien/archiv/pdf/A104_051_064.pdf. Access on 15 Nov, 2013

³⁷ H. W. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua A Descriptive Account of The Antiquities And Coins of Afghanistan (London: W. Hug Hes, 1841), 160.

largely settle in the Southeastern part of Kabul, 1% Baloch (settled down in the area of about 1000 to 1300 BC).³⁸

Among the other tribes there are, 2% Uzbeks (settled here mostly in the 16th century with the Muhammad Shaibani conquest), 1% Turkmen (mostly nomadic people) and 1% others (Aimaq, Nuristani, Pashai and some other smaller groups). Almost 85% of the population of the city followed Sunni Islam, 14% Shias and one% from Sikh, Hindus and other religions.³⁹

1.5 Cultural Background of Kabul

All cultures are the product of centuries of development under special conditions and environments. Kabul is an old land and had glorious past with ancient traditions and wisdom. The geographical location which made Kabul as a crossroad and a meeting point for people of different regions through their migration, invasion, pilgrims and trade etc brought their culture and civilization with themselves, like the Aryans, Bactrian, Achaemenian, Hellenistic, Greco-Bactrian, Buddhist, Greco-Buddhist, Sassanians and Muslims. Thus Kabul became the mixture of different cultures in the period of history. It was a gateway to India and central Asia and hundreds of caravans pass through the city every day.⁴⁰

The century's old ties between India and Kabul also effect the civilization of both areas, and it was from Kabul that the Aryans first settled down here and spent a sedentary life, with the simple form of democratic government.⁴¹

Kabul has been described as a highway of conquest not only for invaders or expanding empires, but also for migratory peoples, a crossroad of civilizations and religions. Some of the invading empires of the pre-Islamic era of Kabul like, the Acheamanides, Graeco-Bactrians and Kushans.

³⁸ National Geographic, ngm.nationalgeographic.com/ngm/0311/feature/images/mps, Access on. 18th May 2014.

³⁹ Afghanistan, [www.nps.edu/programs/cs/doc/executive % 20 summaries/ Kabul-executive summary pdf](http://www.nps.edu/programs/cs/doc/executive%20summaries/Kabul-executive-summary.pdf), Access On. 14 Nov, 2013.

⁴⁰ Mohammad Ali, v-ix.

⁴¹ Prita K. Shalizi, [Here and There in Afghanistan](#) (Kabul: Franklin Book Programs, 1968), 10. (hereafter Shalizi)

It was during the rule of Kushans that the great Graeco-Bhuddist or Ghandaran civilization prevailed in the whole valley. With the invasion of Arabs and its aftermath the Islamic though impeded in some extent the other arts and civilizations of the valley but contributed to the Islamic culture with the new religion art and sciences.⁴²

The coins discovered from here are of various kinds like, Greek, Bactrian, Sassanians, Parthians, Kushans, Ancient Afghans and Mughals with Arabic, Persian, Greek, Sanskrit, Pali, Kharoshti and Aramic scripts, which shows that those languages had spoke in the ancient Kabul.⁴³

It is in Kabul that some of the world great religions like, Zoroastrian, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam flourished here. The Aryans first settled down here, having sedentary life with simple form of democratic government. One of the famous and sacred Hindu books “Vedas” still the basis of Hindu Theology was written in Kabul⁴⁴. The indo Aryan culture, known as Hinduism with identical code of sacred laws and the cast system was the basis of social life⁴⁵.

In ancient time the customs of the inhabitants of Kabul based on the division of their society into tribes, the tribes into clans which further divided into families. The customs prevalent at that time were the joint family system, Polygamy to some extent, early marriages of girls, Prejudice against widow marriage, no veil system for female, lived in the houses mostly made of wood and felt which could folded and transported from one place to another, the principle means of livelihood was cattle breeding and agriculture, worshiping sky, moon, sun, fire, water, and wind etc. with the invasion of Chengiz khan big changes occurred in the cultural life of Kabul due to the destruction occurred in the city by the Mongols.⁴⁶

⁴² Vartan Gregorian, The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan (California: Stanford University press, 1969), 10-13. (hereafter Gregorian)

⁴³ Mohammad Ali, vi-vii.

⁴⁴ Shalizi, 10.

⁴⁵ Diwan Chand, 2.

⁴⁶ Mohammad Ali, v-x.

As a mixing bowl for a number of Central Asians, Indians, Middle Eastern, South Asians and even European invaders and settlers with their culture and civilization, Kabul continue the same culture with Islamic modification.⁴⁷

At present Kabul have many historical monuments, including Bala hissar and the city walls, the tombs of some of its rulers, number of gardens and tomb of Babur, Chilsutoon Garden, Tapa-i- Taj indicate the rich culture of the city.⁴⁸

Babur had always inspired by the climate and beauty of Kabul and he was a great love for the city, and for more beautification of the valley he constructed seven big gardens there, with the name of Bagh-e- Shahr Ara, Bagh-e- Jelaw Khana, Bagh-e-Mahtab, Char Bagh, Bagh-e- Soorat Khana, Bagh-e- Ahoo and Orta Bagh. There are also three more small gardens around the city.⁴⁹

There are several different ethnicities living in Kabul city from all over the country such as Tajiks, Pashtuns, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Pashaye, and Noristanies. It is mostly dominated by Tajiks and the spoken language of the capital is predominantly Dari and Pashto with majority of Sunni Muslims, follow the code of Pakhtoonwali.⁵⁰ Since Kabul lies across the trade routes of India, Central Asia and Persia, further to China, most of the merchants who occupied trade in Kabul were Hindus, little part for other ethnicities. As still most of the textile trade of Kabul mostly remain in the hands of the Sikhs.⁵¹

According to Tareikh-i-Peshawar there are two famous bazaars in the area with the name of Shoor bazaar and Chahitta bazaar (with four chowks).⁵²

The ancient language of the area is still not known, yet under the Khushans the Saka language was spoken there, which was belong to Iranian branch of languages.⁵³

⁴⁷ Donald N. Wilber, Afghanistan Its People Its society it culture (New Haven: Hraf Press, 1962), 3.

⁴⁸ Encyclopedia Iranica, Monuments of Kabul city, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kabul-05-monuments-of-kabul-city>.

⁴⁹ http://www.asienkunde.de/content/zeitschrift_asien/archiv/pdf/A104_051_064.pdf.

⁵⁰ Kabul Afghanistan, <http://www.Afghanistan-culture.com/kabul-afghanistan.html>.

⁵¹ K. De B. Codrington, “A Geographical Introduction To The History Of Central Asia” *The Geographical Journal*”, Vol 104 (Great Britain: Royal Geographical Society, Sep- Oct. 1944), 78.

⁵² Gopal Das, 63.

1.6 History of Kabul before the Advent of Muslims

The founder of Kabul city in some writings is Darad Gotra, who was a Jat from Darad clan one of the ruling Jat clan in Central Asia lived north and north east to Kashmir valley⁵⁴. Later on with the migration of the Aryans about 3000 BC, who came to the area in family groups and sang about the impressive things in the area but not give these things and their experiences a written form until 1200 BC⁵⁵. When Rigveda was written and all those hymns were collected, which passed on by word of mouth for thousands of years.⁵⁶

In Rigveda we can find a word Kubha referred to Kabul River, which is the first ever written record though hazily with the identification of Kabul.⁵⁷ It was during the Persian Empire rule that the Greek writer Herodotus mentioned the invasions of Cyrus along Kabul valley, followed by one of the great ruler and successor of Cyrus the Acheamanides ruler Darius, who mentioned twenty nine countries which he ruled outside of Persia the one of which was Kabul.⁵⁸

There rule came into end in 330 BC with the death of DariusIII, followed by Alexander the great of Macedonia, by conquering Persia entered the Herat valley and from there to Kandahar, Ghazni and then to Kabul in 327 BC, started his planning from their for his invasion of India. He found a new city in the North of Kabul with the name of Alexandria⁵⁹, according to Thomas Holdich, Alexander went to Kabul, give sacrifice of goddess Athena and made his own settlement there.⁶⁰

From Kabul may Alexander marched on India by dividing his troops into two parts at Kabul, one part from Kabul via Khyber pass to Peshawar and Attock and

⁵³ Syed Bahadur Shah Zafar, Pookhtana Da Tareikh Pa Ranra Ki (Pashto)(Peshawar: University book Agency, nd), 260. (hereafter Zafar, Pukhtana)

⁵⁴ <http://www.jatland.com/home/Darad>.

⁵⁵ N. H Dupree, 5.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ W. K. Fraser Tytler, Afghanistan A Study of Political Developments In Central and South Asia (London: Oxford University press, 1967), 18. (hereafter Tytler)

⁵⁸ Bijan Omrani and Matthew Leeming, Afghanistan A Companion And Guide (USA: Odyssey books & Guides, 2005), 32. (hereafter Omrani)

⁵⁹ Tytler, 18.

⁶⁰ Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, The Gates Of India Being An Historical Narrative (London: Macmillan and co., ltd, 1910), 98.

the other part from Kabul to Kunar, Asmar and from Bajur to Swat and then Buner etc. Alexander himself was along with the second part of his army.⁶¹

The death of Alexander in 323 BC caused a rapid break up to his empire.⁶² Till 301 B. C., the Alexander Empire, which was one of the greatest and vast Empire of the time in the world, had been divide into five parts, of which all the eastern areas from that of Euphrates to the Oxus was ruled by Necotar Seleucus from Babylon, Macedonia and Greece was under Cassander, Egypt came under the suzerainty of Ptolemy, Lysimachus by Thrace and Antigonus got the control of Syria and Asia Minor.⁶³

Kabul became the part of Muryan dynasty (323-185 BC) (1st Indian dynasty that got control of Kabul).⁶⁴ The Muryans were from the Indian sub continent, and their army was led by Chandragupta against the Seleucus and his army (a general of Alexander) and crossed the Suleiman mountains to fought him, after coming face to face with each other strangely but at that time both of the sides came into an agreement in which the Muryans Empire of India got the control of Kabul.⁶⁵

Necotar Seleucus, who captured Kabul from the Muryans in 305 BC, but he did not realized the natural strength and importance of Kabul valley came into an adjustment with Sandracotters (Chandragupta) and left the charge of Kabul to him in terms of some 500 elephants and a marriage contract.⁶⁶

Chandragupta was the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He was succeeded by one of his capable son named Bindusara, when he became the ruler he was about 21 years of age and according to the traditions of the Maurya Empire the ruler must be not less than 25 years of age, as his father Chandragupta died when Bindusara was 21 years old, after four years he was formally enthroned, who extended his

⁶¹ Ustad Ahmad Ali Kohzad, Afghanistan: Da Tareikh Pa Ranra Ki (Pashto) (Peshawar: Danish Khparandoya Tolana, 2001), 75. (hereafter Kohzad, Afghanistan)

⁶² Tytler, 18.

⁶³ Stephen Tanner, Afghanistan A Military History From Alexander The Great To The Fall Of Taliban (New York: Da Capo Press, 2002), 56. (hereafter Tanner)

⁶⁴ Sir George Macmunn, Afghanistan From Dairus to Amanullah (Quetta: Nisa Traders, 1979), 11.

⁶⁵ Tanner, 56.

⁶⁶ Sidra Iqbal Ali shah, Afghanistan of the Afghans (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1978), 23-4. (hereafter Sidra Iqbal)

power across most of the areas outside the sub continent.⁶⁷ In 268 BC, one of his sons Asoka assumed the throne of his father and further extending and conquering new territories to his Empire. But one incident that changed his life was the siege of Kalinga, in which his army uprooted one hundred and fifty thousands of people and slaughtered hundred thousands more, these incidents deeply disturbed him, and he converted to Buddhism. After his death in 232 BC, the Mauryan Empire began to crumble.⁶⁸

According to the description given by the author of *Tareikh-e- Suba-e- Sarhad*, Shafi Sabir, that Kabul, Khyber Pass and its adjoining areas were the part of the Asoka Empire.⁶⁹

Kabul valley though remained an independent satrapy under his own chieftains. The Maurya period is considered one of the glorious periods in trade point of view for Kabul, specially the reign of Ashoka in the 3rd century BC, at that time Kabul became important trade route for the trade of Gold, Jewels, spices and cosmetics from India, furs from Central Asia and silk from China.⁷⁰

With the passage of time the centre of power changed from Muryans to Greco-Bactrian as one of the successors of Seleucus occupied Kabul and made it a part of Bactria province in 246 BC,⁷¹ Diodotus II who after got the control of Kabul in 200 BC set his fortune southward and extend his empire to Kandahar and then westward to Heart.⁷² The Parthians and Scythians got the control of the area from 97 BC to 75 AD.⁷³ Some other tribes of the Scythians also tried to followed their ancestor rule in the valley, but failed due to the Indian princess got the control of Kabul and reconquered it.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tareikh- e- Suba-e- Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University books Agency, 1986), 48-49. (hereafter Sabir, Tareikh)

⁶⁸ Tanner, 56-7.

⁶⁹ Sabir, *Tareikh*, 151.

⁷⁰ N. H Dupree, 13-4.

⁷¹ Sidra Iqbal, 23-4.

⁷² K. De B. Codrington, "A Geographical Introduction To The History Of Central Asia" *The Geographical Journal*", Vol 104, (Great Britain: Royal Geographical Society, 1944), 80.

⁷³ Javed Iqbal, *Khyber Pass* PhD thesis submitted to Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2005, 161. (hereafter Iqbal, Khyber)

⁷⁴ Sughra Bibi, *Peshawar Under The Afghans (1753- 1819)* PhD thesis submitted to Area Study Centre, university of Peshawar, 1994, 18. (hereafter Sughra, Peshawar)

Those dynasties that followed the Muryan rule, also named Greek Bactrian, known in Indian literature and inscription with the name of Yavana or Yonas. Their power expanded in all directions of Kabul through its ancient routes, which led on one hand on the western side to Ariana or Aria with modern name Herat, on the south west ancient Arachosia modern Kandahar and in the south east which link to India was that of Gandahara. All of these routes were occupied by the Yavana foreign dynasties and rulers. These Yavanas had come from Bactria, by crossing the Hindu Kush into upper Kabul valley and from there to the Indian Territory via Khyber Pass.⁷⁵

The Greeks introduced their Methodology, Art, Philosophy and their government to the people of the area, with the domination of Greek language and script. About 135 B. C., the Scythians also known with the names of Shakas or Sakas, appeared on the plains of Kabul and adjoining areas with the pressure from Chinese nomads, by expelling Greeks from the area, but that was not an easy task for them to get the position of the whole area, it was not until 25 B. C., that finally the Scythians withdrew the Greeks from the area of Kabul. With their migration towards Kabul the number of Parthians or Pahlavas from Sistan and Kandahar districts came along with them, who later on became the rulers of Kabul and its adjoining areas.⁷⁶

In the middle of the 1st century BC five nomadic Yuch-chi tribes from Central Asia named (Kushans, Humi, Sewangi, Hitum and Coruto invaded Kabul and Bactria and Indo-subcontinent (by using the North Route of River Kabul), of whom one of the tribe Kushans (60-225AD) gained supremacy and established their dynasty. Their summer capital was Bigram, later on under Kanishka rule changed to Peshawar. This dynasty raised its importance with the passage of time and became one of the great dynasties of the world with the spread of Buddhist religion and thoughts in Kabul.⁷⁷

The reason of the Yuch-chi tribes migration to the area may be several like the Huns could drive them from their country, the climatic hardship may compel

⁷⁵ Ed, E. J. Rapson, The Cambridge History Of India (Ancient India), Vol. 1 (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1987), 487-88. (hereafter Rapson, History of India)

⁷⁶ Diwan Chand, 7-8.

⁷⁷ Louis Dupree, Afghanistan (New Jersey: Princeton university press, 1980), 299.

them to migrate towards the North, or the Chinese erecting their great wall begun in 214 B. C.⁷⁸, which at the time of erection would create problems for those nomads, after which they started seeking shelter somewhere else and via passing through different areas they finally reached to Kabul.⁷⁹

As early in the 30 B. C., the Kushan started migration towards the Oxus, and with the passage of time when their number increased they surged through the Hindu Kush Passes and by 60 A. D., finally captured the valley of Kabul. When these tribes arrived in their full force the Scythians and Parthians who made a military partnership came to an end. The Kushan attacked on Taxila in 75 A. D., and destroyed the city.⁸⁰

Under their rule Kabul became one of the great trade centers of the time. That was the Kushan rules that the Silk Road from China began to shape, passing through the area under Kushan rule in the north of Hindu Kush. But the Kushan did not have a written language of their own not rigid cultural ideas to impose on the area rather they were like their predecessors who were tolerant to the local culture and custom and towards the local religion of the people. The Kushans opened the door from Kabul, from a central geographic position of Kabul to the wider world. At the height of the Kushan dynasty, Afghanistan along with Kabul stood at the hub of great civilizations of the old world including China, Greek- Bactrian, Roman and Indians.⁸¹

About 125 A. D., Kanishka one of the Kushan king assumed the throne of Kushan Empire, and proceeded to brought changes in much of the world. As a fine soldier he expands his empire from the Ganges river valley and Parthian territory to the west. He like Kanishka followed Buddhism, but he did not restricted the artistry to that of Buddha, the artist had also the option to draw other things of their interest. After the death of Kanishka in 150 A. D., three of his successor kings of whom the third named Vasudeva (Hindu name), under which Hinduism flourished in the empire and who consider Buddhism as a more practical Philosophical pillar for the empire.

⁷⁸ Tanner, 61.

⁷⁹ Ripson, History of India, 510.

⁸⁰ Tanner, 65.

⁸¹ Ibid, 65.

The declines of the power of the Khushans created in opportunity for Sassanid's in the 3rd century AD⁸², then from 365 A. D., to 455 A. D., the Kabul valley and surroundings remained the part of the Kedara Dynasty. They were those Khushans of Bakhtar who were displaced by the White Huns during their invasion of Bakhtar, and after the Huns attacked they migrated to Gandahara, and established their rule in the area, by changing the name of their dynasty to Kedara,⁸³ followed by Ephthalites or white Huns in the 5th century AD (455-550 AD)⁸⁴ mixture of Iranian and Turks of Central Asia, thus after 150 years of peaceful Sassanians rule once again their power in Kabul was overthrown by the white Huns, and within hundred years they displaced all of the Kushan vassals. The Chinese were the first to observe these people and mentioned them with the name of Ye-ti-i-li-do, later on translated with the name of Ephthalites or Hepetalites, to whom the Persian called Haytals or Aytas, but they were most commonly known with the name of White Huns, came from Central Asia.⁸⁵

During their rule there was no central government or authority and there was instability and Anarchy in Kabul, due to those circumstances many of the tribal chiefs revolted against Huns and made their independent rule.⁸⁶

The Kushan government from the area of Kabul and Northern portion of Afghanistan over threw by the Ephthalites or white Huns till 565 A. D., and those White Huns further extended their territory from Kabul up to the Soghdiana in the North to Kashghar in the North East, and to Punjab, Sind and Kashmir in the east of Kabul. With the Persian invasion of the Ephthalites territory caused great damage to the Ephthalites rule in Kabul, who did not controlled further the territory of Kabul and surroundings and thus the area of Kabul became converted to petty tribal chiefdoms. Later on the independent local chiefs of Kabul became the notable rulers of the area and they were known in the history with the name of

⁸² Hamidullah Amir, A Geography of Afghanistan (Kabul: center for Afghanistan studies, 1976), 6-7.

⁸³ Grousset Rene, Tran, Catherine Allison Phillip, The Civilizations Of The East : Indian Sub-Continent And Malay Archipelago, Vol ii (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 1995), 83-84.

⁸⁴ Denziz Ibbetson, E. D. Maclagan, H. A. Rose, Glossary of the tribes and casts of the Punjab and NWF Province, Vol. I (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1978), 31. (hereafter Ibbetson)

⁸⁵ Tanner, 70.

⁸⁶ Omrani, 49-50.

Ratbils or Ranbils, which ruled the Kabul valley and surrounding areas till the advent of Muslims.⁸⁷

In the 7th AD Kabul came under the Suzerainty of the Kabul or Turk Shahi of Indian dynasty. At the beginning of the 7th century the Persians and Turkish tribes of Central Asia made an alliance against the Hepetalites and because of this alliance the Ephthalites or White Huns lose their authority over Kabul and thus the local chiefs with the name of the Turkish Shahis emerged the ruling party of Kabul.⁸⁸ A Chinese traveler named Sung Yun who visited area of Kabul in 520 AD write down in his diary the word Kphene for Kabul which comprised the area of Kabul, Ghazni and surrounding districts, he further wrote that the king of Gandahara was at that time at war with the king of Kpin/ Kphene.⁸⁹

Almost a century later in 644 AD, another Chinese pilgrimage named Hsuen-tsang visited Kabul, whome he personally met and to whome he described as the king of Kabul a Buddhist follower belong to the Kashtrya tribe. But according to the accounts of Alberuni a Muslim historian described the rulers of Kabul as Turks with the Tibetan origin. He further wrote about the Kabul kings that the first ruler and founder of this Turkic dynasty was Barhatakin, who from Tibet to Kabul, entered a cave and after passing some days there when he came out form the cave via creeping, the people considered him as a new born baby who dressed in Turkish dress. The people believed that Barhatakin was not an ordinary human being, and that he was a extraordinary person, being of miraculous birth and made him as their ruler, who brought Kabul and all its surrounding areas under his control and ruled under the title of Shahiya of Kabul.⁹⁰

The title Shah was in ancient time used for the king that rules the areas of Indo-Subcontinent and that in the areas of Afghanistan. The title was used by the dynasties like the Sakas, Acheamanides, Bactrian, Kushans, and Huns for the rulers of Kapisa or Kabul, with different titles, like Sakas used titles such as Sahi and Sahanusah, Acheamanides used the title of Kshathiya, Shao, Shah –in- Shahi

⁸⁷ Abdul Ghani Khan, Ed, Abdul Jaleel Najfi, A Breif Political History Of Afghanistan (Lahore: Najaf Publishers, 1989), 80-4. (hereafter Ghani Khan)

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ N. H Dupree, 25.

⁹⁰ Abu Rihan Albiruni, Tran, Edward. C. Sachau, Tarikh-Al-Hind , Vol ii (Lahore: Feroz Sons Ltd, 1962), 10-14. (hereafter Albiruni)

or Shaanonano Shao used by the Kushans, Huns used the title of Shahi and on the Indo Bactrian coins the title Shahi appears.⁹¹

1.7 Advent of Arab Muslims

During the reign of second caliph Hazrat Umar bin Al- Khttab the period of conquest and expedition started, particularly with the battle of Qadsiya and Nahawand the Muslims invaded the Persian area up to Khurasan, from there the Arabs started attempt to invade Kabul. They made several attempt but the ruler of Kabul depended their country with bravery for almost two centuries.⁹² At that time Kabul was ruled by Turkish or Kabul shahs who were subordinate to the ruler of Indian dynasty (Pala dynasty, a Buddhist dynasty of India), the title for those rulers was Shah, with their family name or dynasty written by different historians are Ratabil, Ratbal, Rasal, Ratsal, Ratpil, Zambil and Ranbil etc.⁹³

The first attempt was made in 652 AD during the reign of third caliph Usman bin Affan, but failed⁹⁴. Hazrat Uthman bin Affan send Abdullah ibn Amir to invade Khurasan, and he after invading Khurasan further expand Arab invasion to Badghes, Merv, Balkh and Heart and Baluchistan etc.⁹⁵ Although a Muslim delegation of religious people and in the time of need some Arab mujahidin were send to Kabul valley⁹⁶, but no direct invasion of Kabul took place during the Khilafat of Uthman bin Affan. It was for the first time during the Umayyad ruler Muawiyah bin Abu Safyan, that Ab-dar Rahman Ibn Samurah (in some accounts Abdu Rahman bin Rabih) on the advice of Ziyad bin Abi the governor of Khurasan invade Kabul and after capturing it a number of people were converted to Islam.⁹⁷

⁹¹ D. B. Pandey, Royal Asiatic Society, 1954.: The Shahis of Afghanistan and Punjab, 1973 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabul_Shahi#cite_note-64. Access on 26th May, 2014.

⁹² Omrani, 50.

⁹³ Minhaj –ul- Siraj, Tran, Ghulam Raool meher, Tabakat-i-Nasiri volii (Lahore: Markazi Urdu board, 1975), 421. (hereafter Minhaj ul Siraj)

⁹⁴ Omrani, 50.

⁹⁵ Muhammad Qasim Farishta, Tran, Abdul Hayy Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, Voli (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons publishers, nd), 16-17. (hereafter Khwaja, Tareikh-i- Farishta),

⁹⁶ Syed Jamal ud Din Afghani, Tareikh ul Afghan place at Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar with Accession No. 1523, pg, 176.

⁹⁷ Khwaja, Tareikh-e-Farishta, 16.17.

He compel its ruler to pay tribute mainly in the form of slaves, the political effect of these raids were invariably transitory at that time Kabul was not means as the present day Kabul, but it was a place about six to eight kilometer away from there.⁹⁸

Another historian Biladhuri in Futuh-ul- Buldan also mentioned the capture of Kabul and Zabul by Abdur Rahman Bin Samra or Samurah, that during the reign of Muawiyah bin Abu Safyan Abdur Rahman bin Samra invaded Kabul, he further mentioned the name of Al -Mahlab bin Abi Safrah, who were according to most traditions responsible for the spread of Islam in the tribal belt of Kabul and surrounding areas.⁹⁹

In those earlier incursions over the area of Kabul the Lieutenant of Ibn Samurah named Al- Muhallab ibn Abi Safrah in 664 AD ¹⁰⁰via Merv, passing through Kabul and Zabul, raided over Bannah and Al-ahwar, the towns between Kabul and Multan, there he captured about ten to twelve thousand of slave¹⁰¹, later on he was attacked by about eighteen Turkish knights and compelled the Muslims to return. After few years of the event in 672 AD another attempt was made over Kabul and surrounding areas by Abbas ibn Ziyad Arab governor of Sijistan, who raided to the frontier of Al-Hind to Kandahar, but incurred with great casualties back to his own area.¹⁰²

Form the accounts of Farishta and Al- Biladhuri we draw the conclusion that these earlier Muslim military raids over the area of Kabul was not just the fruitless attempts but it was a part to carry out action against Kabul Shah.

One of the basic functions of the governor of Sijistan was, to look after the region of Kabul and surrounding areas and kept his vigilant eye on the affairs and

⁹⁸ Gupta, culture, 39-42.

⁹⁹ Abi Al- Abbas Ahmad bin Yahya bin Jabir al Shaheer bil- Biladhuri, Futuh-ul-Buldan place at Islamia collage University, Accession No. pg, 394.

¹⁰⁰ Ahmad Hassan Dani, Peshawar Historic City Of The Frontier (Lahore: Sang-i-meel Publications, 2002), 83. (hereafter Dani, Peshawar)

¹⁰¹ Khwaja, Tareikh-e-Farishta, 16.17.

¹⁰² Dani, Peshawar, 83.

activities of Kabul Shah. At that time the governor of Sijistan was separated from that of Khurasan.¹⁰³

In 63 A.H., Yazid bin Muawiyah appointed Muslim bin Ziyad as the governor of Khurasan. At same time the Kabul Shah not only refused to pay annual tribute to the Muslims but also imprisoned Abu Abdullah bin Ziyad, the governor of Khurasan send Yazid bin Ziyad to defeat the Kabul Shah but he failed, and a large number of his troops were killed by the rebels in the battle. The governor of Khurasan Muslim bin Ziyad after hearing that first sent Talha bin Abdullah bin Hanif for the assistance of Yazid bin Ziyad, but later on he appointed Talha bin Abdullah on his place the governor of Khurasan and himself made his journey towards Kabul and captured it, after capturing Kabul he return back to Khurasan by nominating Khalid bin Abdullah as governor of Kabul.¹⁰⁴

According to Hennery George Raverty the title of the ruler of Kabul was 'Arij' at the time when Abdur Rahman ibn Samurah invaded Kabul.¹⁰⁵

In 697-8 AD during Abdul Malik bin Marwan khilafat the Muslim army under Abdullah bin Abi Bakr suffered a grievous defeat in Kabul, because of the war tactics used by the Kabul Shah against the Muslims by occupying all the passes of Muslim and cut off their retreat, by blocking their way they were reduced to the state of starvation. Abdullah was compelled to make a treaty with the Kabul Shah to allow them to retire from Kabul territory by giving the sum of 700,000 dinars to the victorious.¹⁰⁶

To avenge this disaster Hajjaj bin Yusuf sent Abdur Rahman Bin Muhammad to the invasion of Kabul in 699-700 AD, with 40,000 of men, who after invasion of Sistan invaded and defeated the king of Kabul but did not occupy which made Hajjaj annoyed who wanted the invasion of whole Kabul and the enmity between the two started, at the same time Hajjaj appointed Yazid bin Muhallab to encounter Abdur Rahman. After some time Yazid not only defeated Abdur

¹⁰³ Ibid, 83.

¹⁰⁴ Khwaja, Tareikh-e-Farishta,17

¹⁰⁵ Henry George Raverty, Notes On Afghanistan And Baluchistan (Lahore: sang-e-meel publications, 2001), 62.(hereafter Raverty, Notes)

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 63.

Rahman but also convinced the Kabul shah to pay tribute to the Arabs. In the khilafat of Walid bin Abdul Malik an attempt was made on Kabul but failed.

Though during the Umayyad period number of attacks were made on Kabul but no permanent occupation of the area except Nishapur and Merv, till the reign of Abbasside. In the time of second Abbasside khalifah Al-Mansur in 769 AD, Hamid was gives the task to subdue the Kabul shah but could not make much progress. In 786-7 AD, at the time of Harun Ur Rashid a Lieutenant name Abbas was dispatched for the task, which seized the ancient and famous “Idol temple of Shah Bihar” also called Shah Kabul near Kabul. After this invasion Harun ur Rashid made Abbas the governor of Khurasan.¹⁰⁷

Later on in the reign of Caliph Al-Mamun, in 815-16 that the Muslims invaded Kabul valley and defeated Pathi Dharmi Deva the king of Kabul at that time, suffered a severe defeat from the hands of the Muslims, later on paid homage to the Amir and accepted Islam. Kabul shah paid double tribute to Al-Mamun when he visited Khurasan. Several inscriptions stated that Kabul, Sindh and Gandahara came under the direct rule of Abbasside from that time.¹⁰⁸

At that time the house of power in Kabul changed from Turkish Shahi to Hindu shahi. As Al-Beruni mentioned that Lagaturman was the last ruler of the Turkish shahi, who was very cruel to the masses because of which the people revolt and joined hands with Brahmana minister Kaller, who captured the throne from Lagaturman, and the authority of Kabul throne shifted from Turkish to Hindu or Kabul shah.¹⁰⁹

It was only under the Saffarid of Sistan local dynasty of Sistan made a real headway to the conquest of Kabul. Yaqub ibn Laith the ruler of Sistan in his first expedition captured Zabulistan at that time probably subordinate to the Kabul shah. It was during his second expedition in which he was accompanied by his brother Amr ibn Laith captured Kabul in 870-4 AD, by defeating Kaller founder of Hindu Shahi dynasty of Kabul, after the defeat Kaller fled to Gardez and made it his capital, it was after few years of struggle that Amro ibn Laith finally

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 62-65.

¹⁰⁸ Gupta, culture, 39-42.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

defeated Kaller and the Kabul lost to the Hindu Shahis forever, and Kabul became part of Saffarid dynasty.

It was the final blow to the Kabul Shahi who from that invasion onward change their capital from Kabul to Waihind.¹¹⁰ Kabul Shahi was the last Hindu dynasty of Kabul. (The Saffarides forwarded the presents of elephants and pagan idols from the Kabul valley) later on the Saffarid involvement in other areas of Balkh and Bamian and their neglect to Kabul it became independent under local chieftain.¹¹¹

In 900 AD the Samanids ruler of Bokhara extended their rule to Kabul, but due to long distance from Bokhara reverted to the rule of local chiefs in terms of paying annually tribute to the Amir of Bokhara.¹¹²

1.8 Ghaznavids and Ghurides Rule

As it was very difficult for Samanids to rule Kabul and its adjoining areas from Bokhara, thus they probably reverted Kabul to its local rulers and chiefs.¹¹³

The kingdom of Ghazni was founded by Alaptigin after defeating its ruler Abu Bakr Lawik. In the region of Ghazna and Kabul the early ruler of Ghaznavids adopted the local system of government, mainly prevailed in Kabul valley. It was under the Ghaznavids that Kabul became famous for his iron mines.¹¹⁴

From 8th to 10th century a number of Kabul inhabitant embraced Islam as their religion, particularly under the Ghaznavids, Sabuktigin a Turk by origin, as in the reign of Mansur ibn Nuh Samani joined the service as a slave of Alaptigin, commander of the troops of Khurasan who later declare his independence at Ghazni, quickly raised to the position of a commander in chief of the army with his skills and capability.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Zafar, Pukhthana, 326-7.

¹¹¹ Gupta, culture, 39-42.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ed, Muhammad Shamsuddin Siddiqi, The Ruling Dynasties Of Central Asia (Peshawar: Area Study Centre, 1988), 51. (hereafter Siddiqi)

¹¹⁴ Clifford Edmund Bosworth, The Ghaznavids Their Empire In Afghanistan And Eastern Iran 944-1040 AD (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1992), 43.

¹¹⁵ Al –Utbi, Trans, Rev. James Reynolds, Kitab I Yamini (Lahore: Qausain Publishers, 1975), 22-3.

As with the passage of time his influence increased over the nobles and chiefs and with the death of Alaptagin, in 963 A. D., he was succeeded by his son Ishaq bin Alaptagin, but during his short reign the Ghaznavids Empire weakling and taking the advantage of these state of affairs, Abu Bakr Lawik once again invaded Ghazni, and the son of Alaptagin fled to the court of Samanids king. Later on Ghazni was reconquered by Ishaq bin Alptagin.¹¹⁶

After the death of Ishaq his son Piritigin ascended the throne of Ghazni and Kabul, he was a cruel king and the people of Kabul turned against him. The people of Kabul or Zabul were against the Ghaznavids rule and they wanted back the rule of the Lawik family. For this purpose they invited the son of their former ruler of Kabul named Abu Ali Lawik, who was the son of Abu Bakr Lawik to recover his territories. Abu Ali Lawik made an attempt over Kabul and surrounding areas with the help of Kabul Shah (Jaypala), who sent his son to help Abu Ali Lawik against Sabuktigin army. But they failed to recapture Kabul and defeated by the Ghaznavids army, who not only defeated them but also captured and put them to death. He defeated the forces of Lawik and that of the son of Jaypala with the name of Islam, which at last became the faith of the valley and thus Kabul passed to the hands of the Turks.¹¹⁷

Sabuktigin a very wise person after getting the control of Ghazna faced two major problem of Pashtun resistance and that of Kabul shah ruler Jaipal. So Sabuktigin entered in friendly relations with the Pashtuns and turn all his power against Raja Jaipal and recruited in his army many Pashtuns.¹¹⁸

Sabuktigin a Ghaznavids ruler made Ghazna as the centre of power and the centre of the Empire, which remained a dominant place, carried the position of ruling seat of Ghaznavids instead Kabul which was more important in economic point of view from that of Ghazni.¹¹⁹

Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi a son of Sabuktigin was a very brave and skillful ruler, who expands his authority over neighboring areas up to Amu Darya (Oxus River),

¹¹⁶ Gupta, culture, 46.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 46.

¹¹⁸ Zafar, Pukhthana, 355.

¹¹⁹ Siddiqi, 51.

Indian Ocean and Iran, he also made almost eighteen attempts on India and consolidates his authority over the areas by strengthening his rule over Ghazni and Kabul. During Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi rule the art and literature developed as he was a great patron of art and Poetry. His love and affection for literature showed from the fact, that when he raided over Rayy and Isfahan the two cities of Iran, he brought whole libraries from there to Ghazni, and always demanded from the ruler of Khawarzim Shah to send his men of learning to his court. Al Beruni accepts Mahmud Ghaznavi invitation and joined his court and accompanied to him in his journey towards India and also visited Kabul, at India Al-Beruni learned Sanskrit and did valuable research work on subjects such as History, Astronomy, Anthropology and Geology.¹²⁰

Under the Ghaznavids rule Kabul remained a dependency of Ghazni to whom they used as a depot for the army force of elephants, as Sultan Mahmud after a victorious campaign from India stopped at Kabul to review his forces and elephants etc. As under the Ghaznavids and later on Ghurides the capital was Ghazna and Ghur respectively effect the prominence of Kabul and contemporary sources do not have a great deal to say about that time Kabul. It is said that during the Ghurides rule Shabudin Ghuri recruited many people from Kabul in his army against the Rajputs of India. After Shabudin death the power of Ghurides weakened and the provincial governor declare his independence. When the grip of Ghurides became loose the sultan of Ghazni Jalal-ud-din Khawarzim shah claimed on the sovereignty of Kabul by defeating its local chief.¹²¹

Qutb ad- din Muhammad was the first ruler of Khawarzim shah dynasty, the dynasty ruled from 1077 to 1231 AD, founded by Anus Tigin Gharchai a Turkish slave of the Seljuk Sultan, later became the governor of Khawarzim.¹²²

¹²⁰ I. K. Howard, Imam Reza, <http://www.imamreza.net/eng/imamreza.php?id=10501>.

¹²¹ Rafiqullah Khan, Peshawar Under the Mughals PhD Thesis: unpublished Dissertation submitted to Area Study Centre University of Peshawar, 1993, pg 5. (hereafter Rafiqullah Khan)

¹²² Biran, Michel, The Empire Of The Qara Khitai in Eurasian History (London: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 44.

1.9 Mongol Rule in Kabul

In the 12th century Kabul remained under the Ghurides, swept away to the Khawarzim in the 13th century AD. The city of Kabul included in the kingdom of Bamiyan during much of the time, as rule by Khawarzim Shah the city paid obedience first to its local chieftain. The pages of fortune once again turn in Kabul, which end the peaceful rule in the valley with the invasion of Mongols. Kabul became under the control of Mongol through one of its great chief Chengiz Khan.¹²³ Abdul Ghani described the Mongols in his book *A Brief Political History Of Afghanistan*, that they were Tartar tribes, unknown to the world at that time, mostly Barbarous, fought against each other, plunderer, they had thirst for human blood, and were under the suzerainty of the Chinese Empire. In the start of the 12th Century AD, they under the leadership of one of their ambitious chief named Isughai, asserted independence against China. After his death one of his son named Timochin, most commonly known with the name of Chengiz Khan occupied the throne of his father, he first attempt to unite all of these tribes under his own banner, and after that he turned his attention to conquered foreign lands and to extend his Empire.¹²⁴

He first turned his attention towards China and after conquering a great part of China he turned towards the Khawarzim Empire¹²⁵, the area of Kabul at that time was under their rule and thus Chengiz Khan invaded Kabul via passing through it in 1221-2 AD against Jalal-ad-Din Khawarzim Shah who and his father Sultan Muhammad was not in good terms with Mongols and insulted the envoys of Chengiz Khan, which was sent to Sultan Muhammad court for the appeal to handed over the border governor of Khawarzim Shah to the Mongols for punishment.¹²⁶

Chengiz khan invasion of Kabul mentioned by Alla ud Din Atta Malik in his work *Tareikh-e- Jahan Gushayi* that Chengiz Khan accompanied by powerful nobles and thirty thousand army personnel crossed Ghazni, Gharzistan, Zabul and Kabul,

¹²³ N. H Dupree, 26-38.

¹²⁴ Ghani Khan, 128-130.

¹²⁵ Khawand Shah Irani, *Roozat-ul-Safa Kamil Vol.vii*, (nd, np), 16-17.

¹²⁶ N. H Dupree, 26-38.

by invading the areas. The author further mentioned that before crossing and invading those areas Chengiz Khan send his secret reporters to report about the conditions of the areas that either they would be able to conquer it¹²⁷. At Kabul Chengiz Khan stopped for a brief time in the battle field at that time his age was 59 years.¹²⁸

There are differences of opinion about the return route of Chengiz Khan to his country. Raverty suggest Tibet for his way back, but Abdul Hay point out the passes of Kabul and Ghazna for the return march of Chengiz Khan.¹²⁹

Thus whole area including Kabul became under Mongol rule for coming 100 years followed by local Turkish chieftain of Kabul on behalf of Mongols. The condition of that time Kabul can be clear from the writing of Ibn Battuta visiting Kabul in 1333AD he writes: “We travelled on to Kabul, formerly a vast town, the site of which is now occupied by a village inhabited by a tribe of Persians called Afghans. They hold mountains and defiles and possess considerable strength, and are mostly highwayman.”¹³⁰

1.10 Taimurid Rulers of Kabul

After the death of Chengiz Khan his great empire crumbled to pieces, divided by his successors among themselves. After the division of the Chengiz Khan Empire the Tolotis gained the control of Mongolia, Halaku Khan and his successors got the position of Persia and Trans- Oxiana and Afghanistan including Kabul, Balkh, Badakhshan and Ghazni came under the suzerainty of Chagatais. It was the reign of the Chagatais in Kabul that one of the governor of Punjab from the Indian Empire or from the government of Delhi named Naseer-ud-Din Mahmood annexed Kabul and Ghazni to the Indian Empire, later on once again fall into the hands of local chiefs.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Alla ud Din Atta Malik bin Bahawuddin Muhammad bin Muhammad Al Juni, Tareikh-e- Jahan Gushaye (Iran: Intesharani Bamdad, Khyaban,), 130.

¹²⁸ N. H Dupree, 33.

¹²⁹ Minhaj-ul-Siraj, 187.

¹³⁰ N. H Dupree, 35.

¹³¹ Ghani Khan, 131.

In mid 14th century the Mongol lord of the Chagatais once again started threatening the power of local lords of Kabul to reclaim his heritage and Taimur the son of a Turkish chieftain, with Mongol blood from his mother side granddaughter of Chengiz Khan born near Samarkand emerged as a regent for the Mongol as he enter in a marriage contract with the sister of the prince Husain of Kabul, later deposed from his post, Taimur who came from Transoxiana to Kabul and from here his ambitions grew until the capture of the area from Kabul to Aral sea to 1369 AD.

Though for next few years his attention diverted from Kabul, but his strength and ability brought stability in the region. Taimur appointed his own grandson named Pir Muhammad the governor of Kabul, who made Kabul one of the prosperous city and capital of a province included areas from Badakhshan to Kandahar. Taimur after appointment of his grandson at Kabul paid several visits to Kabul and during these visits the presentation ceremonies were the most important event which they held, showing the glory of the Taimurides throne.¹³²

Taimur passed Kabul and Peshawar to end the Afghan rebellions and then he after looting and plundering the areas came on his way reached to Delhi in 1398 AD, where the King Sultan Mahmud left his court and abscond from Delhi. After which Taimur made his own appointment in the city.¹³³

With the death of Taimur in February 1405 AD the unity and glory of his empire collapsed, because of his sons fighting for the throne¹³⁴, the empire which Taimur divided among his son and by nominating them the governors of different provinces. Because of the civil war among his sons most of the areas became independent under their governors. But their rule at Kabul continued.¹³⁵

Later on Shah Rukh Mirza got the control of the areas of his father and after him pass to his son Ulugh Beg. He tried to unite once again the separate areas of his grandfather (Tamerlane) empire. The forty years reign of Ulugh Beg contributed

¹³² Ibid, 26-38.

¹³³ Gopal Das, 102.

¹³⁴ The Columbia encyclopedia (sixth edition), Taimurides, (http://Timurid_dynasty#cite_note-Columbia-9). Access on. 8th Nov, 2013.

¹³⁵ Ibn-e-Arab Shah, Tareikh-i-Taimoor (Arabic), (Place at Islamia Collage University, Peshawar, Accession No. 1225), 143.

much to the stability and economic development of the area, particularly the development and increased of trade relations with China and India through Kabul region. During the reign of his successors the struggle of gaining control of the area started, in which Abu Saeed Mirza son of Miranshah and grandfather of Babur became victorious, who later on divided Taimurid Empire among his sons, in which the charge of Kabul came into the hands of Ulugh beg Mirza one of the uncle of Babur.¹³⁶

In Baburnama Babur mentioned that his father Umar Sheikh Mirza was first received the charge of Kabul from Abu Saeed Mirza, but recalled him and gave him the area of Farghana and Andijan valley.¹³⁷

The Yausafzai one of the Pashtun tribes, who according to Dr. Bellew first lived in Gandahara, but in the fifth Century AD because of the Hun insurrection they migrated to Kandahar, Bellew further stated that because of the result of that migration the city of Kandahar got its name as from the well known name Gandahara.¹³⁸

But Ahmad Hassan Dani and Sir Olaf Caroe refused this theory of migration given by Bellew by saying that it is a historical phenomenon that all great migration took place from the Afghan country towards the Indian region and there were hardly any migration from Indian region to that of Afghanistan. Another example which they give as that the new archeological material shows that although the Huns caused some damage to the Buddhist monasteries and constructions, yet they had never effect their religion, which flourished in different parts of the region for a long time. There is therefore little probability of a tribe migration towards Kandahar and then to Kabul.¹³⁹

The author of Peshawar Historic city of the frontier named Ahmad Hassan Dani agree with the traditional history of Yausafzai recorded by Elphinstone that the

¹³⁶ R. G. Mukminova, *The Timurid States in The Fifteen And Sixteen, Centuries*, <http://en.unesco.org/silkroad/sites>. Access On. 4th August, 2013.

¹³⁷ Zahirud-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi, Tran, Annette s. Beveridge, *Babur Nama (Memoires of Babur) Vol I* (Lahore: Sang-e-meel publications, 1975), 14. (hereafter Babur Nama)

¹³⁸ Dani, Peshawar, 92-3.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 92-3.

original seat of Yausafzai was Garra and Noshky, border land of Dasht-i-Lut or Dushtee Dush also known with the name of great salt desert of Iran, with some of their other tribes like, Guggeaunees, the Turcolaunees and the Mohammadzai though at that time not in great numbers. At the end of the thirteen and beginning of fourteen century they were expelled from their areas of Garra and Noshky after which they migrated and settled in the neighborhood of Kabul.¹⁴⁰

After remained safe in the area of Kabul the actual threat come to the Yausafzai during the reign of Ulugh beg Mirza one of the Uncle of Babur and successor of a Taimurid house that he killed about seven hundred Yausafzai Pashtun Chiefs. According to the historical source Tawareikh-i-Hafiz Rahmat Khani, Yausafzai during their period of prominence when they were strong particularly under Ulugh Beg Mirza, earlier rule they control the affairs of the city and were cruel to the general people, there main profession in the valley was that of wine and alcohol. The author of the book further stated that one of their Chief named Ismail even sold the people for one cup of wine. When this state of affair continue for a time while at last another tribe with the name Gigyani turned against the Yausafzai, this opposition and enmity of the two tribes greatly helped Ulugh Beg Mirza to fulfill his wishes to control the Yausafzai.¹⁴¹

First Ulugh Beg decided to took help from the Yausafzai to suppress Gigyani but Yausafzai chief Malik Suleiman Shah was against that and thus the attempt of Ulugh Beg Mirza failed. Later on Ulugh Beg Mirza decided to turn against the Yausafzai and with the help of Gigyani chiefs named Hassan ibn Changa and Shibli ibn Turi Gigyani who give Ulugh Beg Mirza the advice of the plan against the killing of Yausafzai chiefs. The plane was that he first invited the chiefs of Yausafzai clan to his court and treated them with utmost hospitality, they were unarmed and unprepared. After some time Ulugh Beg Mirza seized and bound the chiefs and only the exception of one person with the name of Malik Ahmad bin Sultan Shah, who was left alive, put all the seven hundred Yausafzai chiefs to

¹⁴⁰ Mountstaurt Elphinstone, An Account Of The Kingdom Of Caubul and Its Dependencies in Persia, Tartar And India (London: Paternoster row publishers, 1815), 330-1. (hereafter Elphinstone)

¹⁴¹ Pir Muazzam Shah, Tareikh-i-Hafiz Rahmat Khani, Peshawar: Pashto Academy, university of Peshawar, Accession No. 551, pg, 12-13.

death and compel the Yausafzai tribe to leave Kabul and migrated to other places.¹⁴²

The living chief was Malik Ahmad, a man of great force, who was the last request of the murderer Maliks to be free and left alive. After that event the remaining Yausafzai along with Malik Ahmad was ordered to leave Kabul, and the imperial army plundered their villages and belongings, thus Yausafzai were compelled to migrate who after their migration settled in Peshawar, Dalazak and surrounding areas.¹⁴³

The Yausafzai were one of the strongest and influential tribes of Kabul at that time, when Ulugh beg Mirza struggle for the peaceful rule in Kabul the Yausafzai helped him in his struggle against his ancestors, .¹⁴⁴

The Yausafzai were the people who were very instrumental to raised Ulugh Beg Mirza in his struggle for the throne. After accession to the throne of Kabul Ulugh Beg Mirza first treated the Yausafzai with great distinction, as Ulugh Beg Mirza depended over the Yausafzai support for the consolidation of his throne. Later on because of the violent and independence nature of the Yausafzai Ulugh Beg Mirza at last expelled them from Kabul.¹⁴⁵

After the death of Ulugh Beg Mirza his son Abdur Razzak succeed on the throne of Kabul, but did not face the rebellion in his country and lost temporarily it to the Mukim Beg Arghun, who had also married the daughter of Ulegh beg Mirza and from him finally to Zahirud din Muhammad Babur in 1504 AD.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Ibid, 14-31.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 42.

¹⁴⁴ Elphinstone, 331.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 331.

¹⁴⁶ Ed, E. van Donzel, B. Lewis And Ch. Pellat, The Encyclopedia Of Islam, Vol iv, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 357.

1.11 Geo Strategic Importance of Kabul

The geo strategic importance of Kabul can be clear and supported from the popular historical saying that those who hold Kabul also hold in their hands the key to India.¹⁴⁷

This valley is the witness to the rise and fall of many civilizations and dynasties, with great invaders passed through the area, some of which settled and rule here for centuries. Its strategic importance can be clear from the fact that this area lies in the middle of central Asia and India, and the invaders used Kabul as a gateway to India and also to Central Asia. It is also known as a Highway of conquest. A number of rulers and invaders show their interest in Kabul valley from the Aryans to the invasion of Russia. Kabul, since time immemorial has been the link of trade, culture, civilization and human intercourse between central Asia and the subcontinent.¹⁴⁸

The effect of geography and physical feature of Kabul exercised a great influence in its history, which served as a gateway and resting place for the invaders, adventurers and conquerors. It was a passing place for millions of traders, travelers, adventurers, scholars, poets and writers etc. Babur a great general knew the strategic importance of the valley of Kabul, he consolidated his authority and rule there, befriended with the local chiefs of the area and after getting their support he further moved towards Delhi, where he established a huge empire.¹⁴⁹

The Geo Strategic importance of Kabul increased with the writing of Mr. William Edward (Foreign Assistant to the Secretary of British Government to India) in his book named "Remissioner of a Bengal Civilian" in which he mentioned the visit of Afghanistan king Amir Dost Mohammad Khan to India. In that visit king Amir Dost Mohammad Khan comments over the Geo Strategic importance of Kabul by saying that:

In India I visit your areas and castles, gardens, buildings etc, all the things is of great importance and appreciable. The wealth, industry, buildings and textile of

¹⁴⁷ Babur Nama, 202.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 202.

¹⁴⁹ Rafiqullah Khan, pg, 9-10.

India which I visited till Calcutta makes me surprised, but the most surprise thing from all these are that the intelligent and wise English people want the control of Kabul, which is nothing except mountains. William Edward answered and addressed Amir Dost Mohammad Khan in his book that most of the wise people believe that if the Britishers got the control of the area of Kabul, then they will secure their rule in India. Thus he linked the control of Kabul as the key to rule over India.¹⁵⁰

Though the most important city and area has changed over the centuries and with the passage of time in Afghanistan, but the area of Kabul always remained a key to Afghanistan. Kabul sits at the center of strategic quadrangle of its own, with the low distance of the important areas of the time like, Bigram lies forty five miles away from it in the north, in the west a road lead to Bamian, from which further a pass lead to Heart in the north. In the south of Kabul some eighty miles away on the route to Kandahar lay Ghazni, one of the important cities and was a capital to Ghaznavids Empire. About some eighty miles away in the East lies Jalalabad at the head of the Khyber Pass one of the famous route of the region for all time.¹⁵¹

As the holding and getting possession of Kabul does not mean the control of entire Afghanistan, but no one can deny the fact and cannot hope to rule Afghanistan without taking Kabul.¹⁵²

The effects of physical features have exercised a great influence on the history of a region or of the area. The strategic importance of Kabul increased from its approximaty to Khyber Pass, no other pass or highway in the world has left such a deep impact on the history of nations as Khyber Pass, because of which Kabul became one of the birth place for many civilizations. All the Aryans, Greeks, Turanis, Mongols, Iranians and western people passed through this area.¹⁵³

Kabul was the place for exchange of commodities and taking rest for trading caravans.

¹⁵⁰ Munshi Ahmad Jan, Tareikh-i-Afghanistan (Peshawar: Behari Lall, 1930), 1-2.

¹⁵¹ Tanner, 4.

¹⁵² Ibid, 4.

¹⁵³ A. Z. Hillali, “Geo Political Importance Of Afghanistan, in Central Asia”, Journal of Area Study Centre for Russia, China, and Central Asia, universality Of Peshawar, No. 33, winter 1993, 82.

In the 12th century at the reign of Ghurides the people of Kandahar and Kabul were at war with each other. Kabul at that time was an Indian city large and well built with great trade development of the time main products of cocoa nuts and myrobolans also called Kabuli for the reason that grows in the hills of Kabul. Saffron, cotton cloths and indigo was also the main export of Kabul to the neighboring areas and countries including Khurasan, China and Sind. There are also some well known iron mines in the mountains of Kabul.¹⁵⁴

As mentioned in Hudud-ul- Alam that the royal power of the raja or Kabul Shah was not legally entitled to be considered a sovereign until he has made a pilgrimage to the idol temples of Kabul, and entitled as a sovereign.¹⁵⁵

At Mongol era the importance of Kabul increased, especially Kabul became important for its trade with India, Central Asia and China. The Mughals rulers aware with the importance of Kabul and established their authority in the valley. Babur used Kabul as a base for attacking and invading India.

This is naturally one of the strengthened places of Afghanistan, which remain the historical capital of many dynasties and rulers, another famous saying that the ruler of Kabul is the ruler of Afghanistan.

1.12 Conclusion

The area of Kabul is about 3500 years old history and came into written records in 1500 BC, with the arrival of Aryans to the area mentioned the area in Rig Veda. In old records Kabul known with different names like Kabhura, Kophen, Kapul etc. A number of great conquerors like Alexander, Chengiz Khan and Taimur passed through the area. It also remained under the Ghaznavi empire but their rule in the area was over shadowed by their rule in Ghazni. With the invasion of Arabs under Yaqub bin Laith a number of the inhabitants of the area conversion to Islam. Later on during the reign of Ulugh Beg the tribe of Yusazai was compelled to leave the area of Kabul and the tribe after the loss of three hundred of their chiefs migrated

¹⁵⁴ Elliot & Dowson, The History of India As Told By Its Own Historians Vol I (Lahore: Islamic book service, 1976), 92-3. (hereafter Dowson, History)

¹⁵⁵ Hudul Al Alam, 111.

¹⁵⁵ Babur Nama, 202.

from Kabul to Peshawar. The chapter deals with the settlement and migration of different tribes in the area. It also made clear that how different invaders invade Kabul and that how much Kabul was important for their further conquest to India or in Persia. The geography of the area increased the importance of Kabul and made it one of the most important pieces of land in the world till this day. Kabul saw the rise and fall of many dynasty and keep the foot step of a number of great conquerors of the world in its soil.

Chapter -2

KABUL UNDER BABUR TILL THE ACCESSION OF HUMAYUN

The chapter deals with the Mughals, their origin and their invasion of Kabul. It also discussed and details the causes behind the invasion of Babur. As he lost his throne of Farghana after which Babur when failed to recapture first look towards Hirat but later on the disturbed condition of Kabul helped him to capture it. The invasion of Kabul and the poverty and lack of revenue of the area provide an opportunity to Babur to look over the other areas and to made raid over those areas for economic purposes which at last clear his way for the conquest of Hindustan. Though in 1526 AD after the battle of Panipat, Babur gets his foot hold in a new land of India and started living and ruling from there but it did not reduce his love for Kabul. It was Babur who after the invasion of Kabul in 1504 AD made it his capital and his love for the capital and its beauty shows from his writing in his Memoires, *Babur Nama*. Before the invasion of India, Babur because of economic needs made several raids over the neighboring territories and captured a number of those areas including Ghazni, Hirat, Bajur and Swat etc. He fought a number of wars with different Afghan tribes including Yusafzai. Those raids encouraged him for further expansion and at last clear his way for the conquest of India. Though at start after the invasion of Kabul Babur was in mind the reoccupation of his lost territories of Farghana and Samarkand, the homeland of his father and forefathers, but later on his attention diverted to the conquest of India. In the chapter we will discussed in details the causes and events that help him in diverting his mind from Farghana and Samarkand towards India. The chapter also deals with Babur policy towards Kabul and its people as well as the changes that occurred in his policy with the passage of time. Babur loved Kabul as much that he was buried there after his death. It will also became clear from the chapter that how the rule of Babur the founder of Mughal empire impact the affairs of Kabul.

2.1 Background

Abu Saeed Mirza, grandfather of Babur and one of the successors of Taimur divided his empire (Transoxiana, Khurasan and southern Caspian region) among four of his sons named Sultan Ahmad Mirza (became ruler of Samarkand), Sultan Mahmud Mirza (Kunduz and Badakhshan), Sultan Umar Sheikh Mirza (Andijan and Farghana) and Sultan Umar Mirza (Kabul). The father of Babur and the elder son of Abu Saeed Mirza, Umar Sheikh Mirza were first succeeded to the throne of Kabul by his father but later on he changed his mind by giving the charge of Andijan and Farghana to him.¹⁵⁶

Babur was born on 14th February, 1483 AD in Farghana to his parents Umar Sheikh Mirza and Qutlugh Nigar Khanum (daughter of Yunas Khan). He in his blood combined the mixture of two great warrior clans, as from his mother side to Chengiz Khan in the 14th generation and from father side to Taimur or Tamerlane on 5th generation.¹⁵⁷

2.2 Introduction of Mughals

The word Mughal according to some historians is the mispronunciation of the word Mongol, (a tribe from Mongolia) given to them by Indians. The word was originally Mongkur, which means brave and strong, these people were originated from the mixture of old tribe of Siberia called “Tanksui” and an old Turkish tribe. The Mongols were one of the Barbarous and uncivilized tribe mostly nomads by nature wandering from one place to another. Their original living place was the Gobi Desert and the territory of Tandra, later on with bad weather condition and search for their needs and economic opportunity they migrated and wander from one place to another.¹⁵⁸ Another historian Annemarie Schimmel describes the word Mongol as a Persian word which according to him after Arabization becomes Mughal.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, Voli, 562.

¹⁵⁷ Tanner, 105.

¹⁵⁸ Zafar, Pookhtana, 400.

¹⁵⁹ Annemarie Schimmel, Trans, Corinne Attwood, The Empire Of The Great Mughals “History, Art And Culture” (Lahore: Sang-e-meel publications, 2005), 15.

According to Muntakhab ul Lubab of Hashim Ali Khan also known with the name of Khafi Khan Nizam ul Mulk, the Mughals were Turks, belong from the blood of Turk bin Yafis bin Hazrat Noah (A.S) of whom fifth generation a person with the name of Mughol born, who was a great ruler and the area which he ruled known with the name of Mugholistan. His successor after him became known with the name of Mongols or Mughols. Among these successors of Mughol Khan there were some of the world great conqueror and warriors like Chengiz Khan, Halaku Khan, Chagatai Khan and Timor etc.¹⁶⁰

There were some other historians that defined the Mughal word and their tribe. Among those historians the Greek historian Herodotus identified the Mongols with the name of *Subhtheen* while Chinese mentioned them with the name of *Hong tu Hanu*¹⁶¹ the word used for nomad people and tribes. All these nomad Mongol tribes became together under the banner of one of their great leader Chengiz Khan, who after the battle at Karayat in 1206 A. D., emerged as a great leader of his tribe. At the same year in 1206 AD, he received the title of Chengiz Khan, which means “emperor”. He made Karakorm the centre of his Mongol empire of Muoghlistan and made all of his tribes united.¹⁶² Because of that unity and leadership of Chengiz Khan the Mongols became one of the great tribe that occupies a great area from China and Central Asia to India and to where they ruled for centuries with some ups and downs. According to Tareikh-i-Rashdi the Mongol empire consist over the areas of eastern and western Turkistan, Badakhshan, Gilgit, Baltistan, Kashmir, Tibet, Ladakh, Wakhan, Northern India, Chinsese province of Ili (Zungaria), Farghana, Kabul, Russian province of Semirechensk (seven rivers), (a Turkish word yet sui also use for it) and Bokhara.¹⁶³

Chengiz Khan divided his huge empire among four of his sons on the method of old Mongol custom by that method his successors received not only the dominion

¹⁶⁰ Hashim Ali Khan, (Khafi Khan), Tran, Mehmud Ahmad Farooqi, (Urdu) Muntakhab ul Lubab (Mughal Dur e Hukoomat Babur se Jahangir Tak), (Karachi: Nafees Academy Masaood Publishing House, 1963), 40-1.(hereafter Muntkhab-ul-lubab)

¹⁶¹ Ed. N. Elias, Tran, E. Dension Ross, The Tareikh-i-Rashidi Of Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat (Lahore: book traders, 1895), 28-9. (hereafter Tarekh-i-Rashidi)

¹⁶² Toor Gul Chamkani, Qabayal Tareikh kay Aine Main (Urdu) (Peshawar: Golden printing press, 2005), 37.(hereafter Chamkani)

¹⁶³ Tarekh-i-Rashidi, 51.

but also the population or clans of the area under their authority. Through this method of distribution of the area among his sons by Changiz Khan, his second son Chaghtai Khan receive the area of Transoxiana (Mavar-ul Nahr), the areas of eastern Turkistan also known Chinsese Turkistan, Badakhshan and Farghana (Kokand). In the north east he received the areas of Balkh, Kunduz, Ghazni, Herat and Khorasan at the south up to Makran. As like diversity and differences in the area there were greatest variety in the clans and tribes of the people with the diversity in their nature and professions from richest agricultural villages and districts flourishing in Asia to the rudest hilly tribes like Hazaras. The third son of Chengiz Khan named Oktai Khan received the area of original Mongol called Moghlistan with the capital of his father which was Karakoram. Later on in the half of the thirteen century the area of Zungaria remained the bone of contention between the successors of Chagatai Khan and his brother Oktai Khan after their death in 1241 AD. That area slowly merged into the dominions of the successors of Chagatai Khan.¹⁶⁴

Babur belongs to the branch of the Chughtai Mongol, through the second son of Changiz Khan named Chughtai Khan. They separated from the other branch of the Mongol or Khans of Mughlistan and made their distinct clan.¹⁶⁵ The rise of Taimur was the turning point from decay to power in the area of Mongols particularly at Transoxiana. It was during that period that the Chughtai tribe finally further divided into two separate lines that took place in 1321 AD, which never united afterward. The division took place among western and eastern branches and Babur belonged to the western branch of the Chaghtai clan. (The eastern branch was the Central Asian mughal). In the 15th century the members of the Chaghtai and Mughal ruling families had become much scattered and mixed through their marriages with each other.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 30-1.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 28-9.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 37. (3).

These people became Mughal from Mongol with the occupation of India by one of the Mongol descendent, Babur, who set the foundation stone of Mughal Empire in India by capturing Kabul.¹⁶⁷

From this the Mongol started merging with Turkish people by intermarrying, living in their area and by join forces with them. Thus the Mongol started following the Turkish culture, particularly in Central Asia followed the Turks in accepting Islam.¹⁶⁸

These Mughal rulers of India and Kabul according to some historians were ethnically more Turkic then Mongolians as they were ethnically of Turko Mongol origin. The editors N. Elias and Dension Ross of Tareikh-i-Rashidi, disagreed with the using of word Turk for Mongols.¹⁶⁹

As Babur in his Memoire Babur Nama trace his blood relations and blood line back to Chengiz Khan one of a great Mongol leader, from his mother side and Turk from his father side and he made it clear that the Mughals are one of the Mongol tribes.¹⁷⁰ Babur was in the fourteen generation from Chengiz Khan while in fifth from Taimur. As all those areas including Kabul was at once under the rule of Taimur and he during his expedition to India left his grandson in charge of Kabul. In 1404 A. D, after the death of Taimur all of his principalities distributed among his successors. It was through that distribution that Babur grandfather and then his father and uncles received those areas of Taimur in legacy.¹⁷¹

The Chughtai branch of which Babur belongs further subdivided and he was from the Barlas clan of the Chughtai branch, the tribe later on accepted Islam and followed Turkic and Persian culture which mainly resided in Turkistan and Khorasan. Though Babur was a Mongol descent but he got support from local Turk and Iranian population of Central Asia, for his struggle to the throne. J. P.

¹⁶⁷ Muntakhab ul Lubab, 400-1.

¹⁶⁸ Howard spodek and Michele Langford louro, *Asia in world history 1450-1770 A. D.* <http://www.asian-studies.org/EAA/spodek-louropdf>. Access on. 6th July 2014.

¹⁶⁹ Tareikh-i-Rashidi, 83.

¹⁷⁰ Nicholas f. Gier, *Mongol to Mughals*, <http://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/ngier/mm.htm>. Access on 16th july 2014.

¹⁷¹ Arnold Fletcher, *Afghanistan highway to conquest* (New York: cornell uni press, 1965), 37.(hereafter Fletcher)

Ferrier an English historian disagrees with the historians about the clan of Babur and believed that Babur belongs to the tribe of Gurkani of Chagtai clan.¹⁷²

2.3 Babur Early life and Difficulties

According to Tareikh-i-Rashidi Umar Sheikh Mirza gave Babur the name of Zahirud-din Muhammad but because of difficulties for Chughtais in pronouncing the name they started calling him Babur (tiger).¹⁷³ With the death of Umar Sheikh Mirza and accession of Babur in 1494-5 AD, his own maternal and paternal Uncles Sultan Ahmad Mirza and Sultan Mahmud attacked Farghana, as Babur was only 12 years old and it was a great opportunity for them to capture Farghana and Andijan but failed.¹⁷⁴ Babur for about ten to 11 years struggled to save his small domain from his kinsmen and relatives and in those years his struggle and war against the Taimurides, Uzbek princess and against the Chaghtais continued.¹⁷⁵

As most of the areas in the neighborhood of Babur kingdom was rule by his relatives either descendent from Taimur or Chengiz Khan and were busy in fighting with each other. Babur had ambition to capture Samarkand and for this he made several attempts over the area but failed and in fact lost some of his own dominions including Andijan from where he went to Khujand. From Khujand he moved out twice with the intention of first to capture Andijan and for second time to capture Samarkand. But both of the time he returned back, without success.¹⁷⁶

At that period of troubles though he took Samarkand for three times, first when he was 12 years old and second when he was 19 and on the third time he was nearly 22 years of age. But failed to carried his conquest and consolidate his position there. It was in the third and last time after his conquest of Samarkand that the Uzbek threat under Shaibani Khan arrived and made an attack over Samarkand.

¹⁷² J. P. Ferrier, History of the Afghans (Lahore: sang-i-meel publication, 2002), 18. (hereafter Ferrier)

¹⁷³ Tareikh-i-Rashidi, 173.

¹⁷⁴ Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, 569.

¹⁷⁵ Gul Badan Begum, tran, Annette S. Beveridge, Humayun Nama (The History Of Humayun) (Lahore: Sange meel Publications, 1987), 1. (hereafter Humayun Nama)

¹⁷⁶ Zahirud-d-in Muhammad Babur, tran, Wheeler M Thackston, The Babur Nama (Memoires of Babur, prince and emperor) (New York: Oxford University press, 1996), 7. (hereafter Thackston, Babur)

Since Babur was besieged in Samarkand for about six months. In that difficult time neither his paternal uncle Sultan Husain Baiqra, (ruler of Khurasan) nor his maternal uncle Sultan Mahmud Khan (ruler of Kashgar) nor any other influential relative came to his help.¹⁷⁷

During his struggles for Samarkand and enmity of some relatives he became homeless by losing his own throne of Farghana to Shaibani Khan, after which Babur for three years from 1501 AD to 1504 AD remained without throne. His failures in the home compel him to seek his fortune somewhere else and with the advice of Ameer Muhammad Baqir, Babur made an attempt over Kabul to seek his fortune there and it was at Kabul that he not only established his rule there but he also found a base for his further conquest to India and founding the great Mughal Empire of India.¹⁷⁸

2.4 Causes of his Invasion of Kabul

When Babur became hopeless to regain his ancestral territory he tried, and sought his fortune somewhere else which took him to Kabul. The reason for the turning of his attention towards Kabul instead of any other place was the disturbed situation of Kabul at that time. The area of Kabul was ruled by one of the uncle of Babur named Ulugh Beg Mirza, but after his death in 1502 AD the condition of his dominion went to its worst because of the inability of the infant son of Ulugh Beg Mirza and the conspiracies of the nobles at Kabul. Thus the political unstable situation of Kabul attracted Muhammad Mukim Beg bin Dhul Nun Beg (brother of Shah Beg Arghun) of Kandahar who took Kabul from the infant son of Ulugh Beg Mirza named Mirza Abdur Razzak. Being of infancy the real authority of the state was vested in the hands of one of his minister Zaki Beg also known with the name of Shiram Ziker, who was a very arrogant and ambitious person mostly work for his personal gain, objectives and position. After passing some time with his inequality as a minister finally created jealousies and distrust for Zaki Beg among the other nobles of Kabul who started a conspiracy against him and during

¹⁷⁷ Humayun Nama, 84-5.

¹⁷⁸ Khwaja Muhammad Sayel, History of the Bara Momand volii (Peshawar: master printers, 1998), 12. (hereafter Sayel)

the conspiracy on Eid ul Azha day he was killed. The killing of Arghun increased the state of anarchy and disturbance in Kabul¹⁷⁹.

As the infant Amir of Kabul Abdur Razzak was not able to control the situation in Kabul and thus an opportunity came for Muhammad Mukim Arghun the son of Zul-nun Beg Arghun of Kandahar, held the area of Gernsir (Province in Helmand) with the help and support of the Hazaras of the hills near Kabul to invade Kabul. Mukim Arghun With the help of these Hazaras passed through the mountainous tract and made a rapid march on Kabul by defeating its nominal ruler Abdur Razzak mirza. The ruler of Kabul was not able to resist the invaders so he fled to Lamghan and found refuge there among the Turkolani Afghans.¹⁸⁰

The conqueror Mukim Arghun with a little opposition captured the valley of Kabul and Ghazni. After conquering the valley and strengthening his position there he tried to consolidate his position there and for that purpose married to the daughter of Ulugh Beg Mirza, BiBi Zarifa.¹⁸¹

Zul-nun Beg Arghun the father of the conqueror of Kabul was not happy with his son advance on Kabul, yet he advised him that for a long hold of the area it would be necessary for him to not retain the old nobles of Kabul. In compliance with this advice Mukim Arghun dismissed most of the old nobles and officers and in their places appointed his own officers. The former ruler of Kabul made several attempt to recover his ancestral territory but failed. At the time of Babur invasion of Kabul Mukim Arghun was the ruler of Kabul.¹⁸² These condition and state of anarchy in Kabul attracted the attention of Babur and he made an attempt over his uncle territory of Kabul in 1504 A.D.

Secondly a strong party of the noble at Kabul mostly did not opposed Babur invasion and instead they support him because they were themselves willing to restore the throne to a prince of royal blood of Kabul, and as Babur was the

¹⁷⁹ Rai Bahadar Munshi Gopal Das, Tareikh-i-Peshawar (Lahore: Globe publishers, nd), 103-4.

¹⁸⁰ William Erskine, History Of India Under Babur (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1989), 215-6. (hereafter Erskine, History)

¹⁸¹ Mohibbul Hasan, Babur Founder Of The Mughal Empire In India (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1985), 31. (hereafter Mohibbul Hasan)

¹⁸² Erskine, History, 216.

relative and in blood relation with Ulugh Beg Mirza they started supporting him.¹⁸³

On the other hand Babur who became homeless and because of the threat and attacks of Shaibani Khan he needs a place for shelter and fled to the area near Balkh and Badakhshan, of which *Subehdar* (Governor) at that time was Khusru Shah with the purpose to get support from him for the reconquest of his lost throne of Farghana. It was here that Babur established himself with a large army and made an attacked over Kabul.¹⁸⁴

2.5 His Invasion of Kabul

After ousting Babur by the superior Uzbek forces from Samarkand and Andijan, when he became hopeless from there he finally at the age of twenty three, left for Khurasan with the intension to join his relative the ruler of Herat Sultan Husain Baiqara and to seek his help against the powerful Uzbek forces for his lost throne and to get his assistance for recovering the territory of Farghana. At that time Herat was one of the great city and great centre of art and literature. Babur in the month of June 1504 AD, with a number of about 300 followers, who were mostly on foot and walked to cross the Oxus with huge stuffs and commodities of daily use in their hands a number of them with their families. Babur with his supporters first moved to the northern slope of the Hindu Kush to Kahmerd Valley. It was here that a number of the followers of the ruler of Hisar join Babur forces after which Babur revised his plan by crossing the Qipchak or Kipchak pass.¹⁸⁵ As Babur stated that we came out from Farghana with the intention of going towards Khurasan, but because of learning about the helping nature of the ruler of Hisar, Khusru Shah, they started marching towards his dominion and to get his support against their enemy. By reaching a place Khwaja Muhibb Ali near the territory of Hisar, Babur came to know that they could not be able to get the support of the

¹⁸³ S. M. Jaffar, *The Mughal Empire From Babur To Aurangzeb* (New Delhi: Ess Ess publications, 1974), 11-13. (hereafter, Jaffar)

¹⁸⁴ C. A. Boyle, tran, Ahmad Jan, *Tareikh-i-Afghanistan* (Peshawar: Behari Lall, 1930), 98-9. (hereafter Boyle)

¹⁸⁵ Tytler, 34.

ruler of Hisar. This change in mind of Babur came after his meeting with one of the kinsmen of Khusru Shah, who refused to help them.¹⁸⁶

Babur though continued his march and reached to Qabadian one of the brothers of Khusru Shah for his support. Another person with the name of Baqi Chaghaniani of Chaghanian sent his *katib* (one of his officer) to Babur to seek an alliance with him. Later on after few days he himself met with Babur and after making alliance with him they crossed Amu at the Aubaj-ferry along with Babur and set out for Kahmerd valley. They left their families and goods behind there in the fort of Ajir, belong to one of the nephew of Khusru Shah named Ahmad-i-Qasim. Slowly and gradually after some time because of the internal disturbance in the areas of Hisar a large number of Khusru Shah men also joined Babur. That joining of Khusru Shah men at last also compelled him to submitted to Babur and leave the area of Kahmerd for Khurasan.¹⁸⁷

Though on the way Babur changed his mind and now he with the increased number of men to about 20,000 marched towards Kabul.¹⁸⁸ They stop in the grassland of Aq-Serai, of Qara-bagh. Babur came into consultation with his officers to seek their advice either to go to Khurasan or to Kabul. Among his officers some of his plead including Sayyid Yusuf advised him and was in favor of their marched towards Lamghan before the beginning of winter. Some were of the opinion to made a raid over Kabul because of its disturb situation it would be easy for them to invade it. At last Babur accepted the suggestion of Baqi Beg and in the month of October, 1504 A.D, advanced towards Kabul. It was in Aba-quruq that their families reached to them because of the danger in Kahmerd for them due to the rebellions there. After leaving that place Babur reached towards Chalak meadow, by taking a council there a decision was held for the siege of Kabul.¹⁸⁹

The strategy of Babur after consultation with his officers was that he besieged Kabul from the three sides, as the area between Haider Taqis garden and that of the tomb of Quli Bayazaid was under Babur which was the centre, Jahangir Mirza was on the right dismounted in Chahar Bagh, while Nasir Mirza in the left on the

¹⁸⁶ Babur Nama, 161.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 161-2.

¹⁸⁸ Tareikh-i-Rashidi, 201.

¹⁸⁹ Mohibbul Hasan, 31.

meadow of Qutluq-Qadams Tomb. After taking their positions and preparing his army they sent messages to Sultan Mukim Arghun for surrender. The things which helped Babur for the conquest of Kabul was firstly before the arrival of any response from Mukim in respect of Babur messages, Babur did not wait and ordered his troops to perform military exercise and to block the castle and fort of Kabul with the aim to terrify the Mukim soldiers.¹⁹⁰ Some of Babur and his brother men put on the mail and horses mail of Kabul, and on that way became close to the town, as Jahangir Mirza on the right went straight and reached to Kucha bagh, Babur marched towards Nasir Mirza in the Qutluq Qadam Tomb, after which they with their arms, war tactics and strong attack struck terror and fear over the opposite army.¹⁹¹

This idea of sudden attack over Kabul worked and the attack and blockade of the castle was so unexpected for Mukim and his army that he could not make any provision and surrendered to Babur. As first in resistance to the advance of Babur army to the fort of Kabul, though there was a little bit of resistance in the form of putting stones on the way of bridge and gates of the fort of Kabul but the army of Babur crossed it. With a resistance of few men, came out of the town which was the supporters of Mukim, mostly the citizen of Kabul was in favor of Babur and was against Mukim Arghun, because they considered him cruel that forcefully compelled their ruler over retreat. The support of those Kabulis helped the cause of Babur invasion and later on in his settlement in the area.¹⁹²

Kabul with a tiny resistance came under the suzerainty of Babur and his forces, after the submission of Mukim Arghun, when the settlement reached between the mediators of Mukim and Babur (Baqi Beg). After taking the position of Kabul Babur according to the settlement received Mukim with kindness and allowed him to leave Kabul with his family, wealth and all other belongings. Babur appointed his brother Jahangir Mirza and Nasir Mirza to accompany and guide Mukim and his family for their safely withdrawal from Kabul. But on the next morning when Mukim reached near the gate of the fort, some of the common people of Kabul gathered there to plunder Mukim. At that moment of trouble Babur came to the

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 31.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Babur Nama, 167-8.

rescue of Mukim and orders his archers for the shot down of few persons among these rebels, after which at last the mob dispersed and Mukim and his family safely leave Kabul.¹⁹³

It was in the last days of October, 1504 AD, that Babur overthrew the Arghuns and occupied Kabul, without fight and effort, that conquest of Kabul enabled him to conquer and further expanded his area to Herat, Badakhshan and Kandahar till 1513 AD, and finally the conquest of India in 1526 AD.¹⁹⁴ Babur ruled in Kabul for 22 years, and he was special feelings and love for Kabul, show from his memoires. He chooses Kabul on the advice of one of his companion name, Amir Muhammad Baqir.¹⁹⁵

Kabul which fell to the hands of Babur became his favorite residence for the greater part of his life before his conquest of India and which for almost two centuries remained the part of the Mughal Empire of India, until 1738 A.D. when it was finally lost to the Mughals with its occupation by a Persian Nadir Shah Afshar.¹⁹⁶

2.6 Babur Description of Kabul and its Inhabitants

Babur after the invasion described Kabul in his autobiography Tuzk-i-Baburi, a place with a pleasant climate and beautiful nature. He describes in his Memoires the minute details about the area. He mentioned the geography and strategic location of the area of Kabul and Ghazni (kingdom of Kabul) that it consisted of a very exalted table land, rising at an average of about six thousands about sea level. In the North it was bounded by the Hindu Kush mountains, in the east by mountains from Safid-e-koh to Gurdiz east, in the south bounded to the hills that surrounded by the basin of the Ab-istadeh lake. On the western side were the Hindu Kush and Hazara mountains the later further extended to Khurasan near

¹⁹³ Ibid, 31.

¹⁹⁴ Jaffar, 11-13.

¹⁹⁵ Muhammad Hayat Khan, Hayat-i-Afghani (Peshawar: Danish publishers, 2007), 78. (hereafter Hayat-i-Afghani)

¹⁹⁶ Erskine, History, 217.

Herat.¹⁹⁷ Because of its geo-strategic importance the conqueror of Kabul made successful raids and attacks over India.¹⁹⁸

According to Babur, Kabul lies between the 32 and 35 degree of latitude, with a moderate climate, which was among one of the most delightful areas in the world. On its eastern side was Lamghan, on the west was the mountainous region of Karnud and Ghur (home to Hazaras and Nikudari people). On the North is Hindu Kush ranges and on the south are Farmul. The winters are more severe because of the snow lies there, but because of the high mountains it can bring at all seasons to command a change of climate, as for instance in the course of a few hours it could pass from summer heat to winter snow. Babur described a number of delicious fruits and flowers that grown in Kabul.¹⁹⁹ In winters there was a great quantity of fruits growing at Kabul like, Grapes, apricot, Quince, Pomegranate, apple, almond, plum, pear, peach and walnut. Fruits of the hot season were brought from the neighboring areas of Lamghan etc, with a little quantity of melon and grains. The tree of *alu-balu* brought and planted in Kabul by Babur. There was a lot of wood and tress, faunas (sheep, kiyik and ahu) and birds etc.²⁰⁰ He described the safe position of Kabul in the words that it is situated in the midst of the inhabiting part of the world and because of its hilly and difficult passes it became difficult for foreigners to access this country.²⁰¹

He further mentioned that there are excellent grass lands on four sides of Kabul, like Sung Qurghan, Chalak and Durrin etc. The mountains of Hindu Kush separate Kabul from the areas of Balkh, Badakhshan and Kunduz. Birds catching, Fishing and sheep grazing were some of the hobbies of the inhabitants of Kabul.²⁰²

The high plateau, on which Kabul stands was on a special position that not only command the main approaches towards Central and Northern India, but also no conqueror could aspired a permanent domination of the vast areas of India until he secured this very important area of Kabul. In the earlier Empires strategically the

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 217-8.

¹⁹⁸ John C. Griffiths, Afghanistan key to a continent (America: west view press, inc, 1981), 22.

¹⁹⁹ Erskine, History, 220.

²⁰⁰ Babur Nama, 170-73.

²⁰¹ Sir Percy Sykes, A History of Afghanistan, Vol I (New Delhi: Oriental books reprint corporation, 1981), 280-1.

²⁰² Babur Nama, 170-73.

most important place was Kapisa, but later on it disappeared and Kabul which was some forty miles south of the area taken its place as a great centre of trade and commerce. It was from Kabul that the main trade routes ran across the passes from Central Asia to the high roads into India.²⁰³

To Kabul caravans came from Samarkand, Farghana, Kashgar, Bokhara, Turkistan, Hisar, Balkh and Badakhshan. At Kabul every year eight to ten thousand horses came from India with 15 to 20 thousand of commodities, including sugar candy, slaves (barda), refined sugar, which clothes and aromatic roots, passed through the area of Kabul, with great profit made by the traders.²⁰⁴

Most of the districts of Kabul lies surrounded by mountains, with a number of level plains and valleys expanding between them, found with greater number of villages and population. Babur mentioned different tribes that inhabited in Kabul after his invasion. Among whom were the Turks, resided in the valleys and plains, with the Arabs in its towns and several villages, including some other tribes like Sarts (Uzbeks), Tajik, Afghan and Birki tribes etc.²⁰⁵

While the inhabitants of the mountainous areas of Kabul was mostly independent tribes, as on the southern and south eastern side of the Hindu Kush and Hazara mountains were mainly the brave and numerous tribes of Hazaras, and Nikdiri tribes, some of whom speak the Mughal language, on its north and north western side were mainly occupied by the Aimak race, who were also Shepherds and wanderers like Hazaras. The Hazaras occupied and held the tract from Zemin-dawer (up the Helmand) to the high mountains of Koh-Baba in the west of Kabul, while the Aimaks held the area from near Bamian towards Herat. On the north eastern mountains were the Kafir clans as Kitur and Gibrik. In the southern mountains were the Afghan tribes.²⁰⁶

The richer plains and towns of Kabul were dominated by the Tajiks, who spoke Persian language and were influenced by Persian, as they remained in ancient times for centuries under the control of Persian monarchy.

²⁰³ Tytler, 35.

²⁰⁴ Tanner, 105-6.

²⁰⁵ Erskine, History, 220-4.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, 220-40.

The hills were occupied mainly by the Afghans, Hazaras and other unsettled tribes, who always overrun the high roads and plains of Kabul. These tribes consider the difficult passes between Kabul and India as the means of their livelihood and a source of revenue as either plundering the people, caravans and travelers that passed through the particular passes or levied taxes over them.²⁰⁷

Babur described the diversity of the tribes of Kabul and their languages in the manner that he says there are many and various tribes. Its valleys and plains are inhabited by Turks, Aimaks and Arabs. According to Babur, Kabul consist of fourteen Parganas or Tumans. In the city and greater part of the villages, the population consists of Tajiks. Many others of the villages and districts are occupied by Pashais, Perachis, Tajiks, Berekis, and Afghans. In the hill country to the west, reside the Hazaras and Nukderis. Among the Hazara and Nukderi tribes are some who speak the Mughal language. There are eleven or twelve different languages spoken in Kabul; Arabic, Persian, Turki, Moghuli, Hindi, Afghani, Pashai, Parachi, Geberi, Bereki, and Lamghani.²⁰⁸ Another tribe that Babur mentioned in his memoires was the Lohani in some numbers at Kabul to whom Babur treated as native of India that came with trade point of view to Kabul.²⁰⁹

About the inhabitants of the hilly areas of Kabul, Babur stated that though the former rulers of Kabul claimed the subjugation of these tribes by rendered them tributary, yet, beyond that compulsory payment of tribute these tribes mostly remained independent, free in their acts and did not accept the authority of these rulers.²¹⁰

Babur was surprised with that many distinct races and different languages by showing his doubt in Tuzki Baburi that it is difficult to found this type of diversity and differences in any other country. About the revenue of Kabul, which came from different sources, like from tolls (tamgha) and cultivated land tax and from the inhabitants of Kabul after which the whole revenue were about the amount of eight laks shahrukhis.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 220.

²⁰⁸ Tran, Rasheed Akhtar Nadvi, Tuzki Baburi (Urdu) (Lahore: Sang-i-meel publications, 1969), 88. (hereafter Tuzki Baburi)

²⁰⁹ Vigne, 69.

²¹⁰ Tytler, 35.

Babur not only recognized the geo strategic importance of Kabul but he also appreciated its beauty and climate. His devotion to Kabul was not for a short period of time, but he loved Kabul throughout his life and the conquest of India did not reduce his love for Kabul. Though after the occupation of India he was never able to return or visit Kabul, after his death according to his wishes he was finally buried in Kabul at Bagh-i-Babur under a great *Chenar* tree.²¹¹ Babur found the tribes of Kabul particularly the neighboring tribes more predatory and independent than any other country at that time.²¹² About the importance of Kabul for its economic or trade point of view Babur point out Kabul the main trade land route between India and Bokhara, Farghana, Turkistan, Smarkand, Balkh, Badakhshan and Hisar. Every year about seven to ten thousands horses and the caravans of ten to twenty thousand houses bringing slaves, sugar candy, white cloths and aromatic roots etc passed through the area of Kabul.²¹³

Babur earned most of his revenue from the system of taxation mostly over traders that passed through the area of Kabul. There were about 2.5% of tax over silver, 5% on gold while. The total tariff he received from the foreign trade was about 5% to ten percent.²¹⁴

2.7 His Activities in Kabul

After the occupation of Kabul, Babur rewarded all his companions and followers, who accompanied him in his exile and who helped him in the conquest of Kabul according to their rank and status. To his brother Jahangir Mirza he gave Ghazni while his second brother Nasir Mirza received Lamghan, Nangarhar, Nur valley and Nijrau. His chief officers received from him different districts and villages, while to his ordinary officers he gave both money and land.²¹⁵

In a short time after the conquest of Kabul, and the overthrow of the Mukim Arghun rule, the former ruler of Kabul Abdur Razzak submitted to Babur and

²¹¹ Ibid, 35.

²¹² G. B. Malleon, History of Afghanistan from the earliest period to the outbreak of the war of 1878, (Peshawar: saeed book bank, 1983), 118. (hereafter Malleon)

²¹³ Tanner, 105-6.

²¹⁴ Zahid Anwar, Babur's contributions to understanding and development of linkage between central Asia and South Asia, June 2014. http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/history/PDF-FILES/8v51_No1_14.pdf. Access on. 9th June, 2015.

²¹⁵ Mohibbul Hasan, 33.

accepts his authority over the area.²¹⁶ Though Babur give rewards to many of his men at Kabul, but still there were many men from Kunduz, Transoxiana and Hisar who had come with him and had to be looking for his reward. But there were not enough resources at Kabul to satisfy everyone among his followers.

Babur made Kabul as his capital and it was here that he started using the title of *Padshah* for himself.²¹⁷ For Babur, Kabul was the most beautiful place on earth and difficult for him to compare any other place with it. Many of the tribal chief of Kabul supported Babur because of his descendance of the Timuride lineage against the Lodi dynasty. Babur gives tributes to many of the tribes particularly the inhabitants of Khyber Pass with the purpose of making peace and to safely passing through the area.²¹⁸

As a huge number of tribes migrated from Hirat, Qunduz and Samarkand to the kingdom of Kabul, but it was not possible for Babur to take taxes or tribute from all of them in the form of money, so he levied taxes over them in the form of grain. Thus a contribution of about 30,000 Kharwars of grain were decided to levy on the areas of Kabul, Ghazni and their dependencies. The imposition of those taxes over the families and followers of different tribes caused the distrust among those people in the valley. Because the people of the area was very poor and due to the owing poverty of the country this taxes and levied was considered heavy. A number of tribes including Masudi Hazaras refused to pay these taxes. Thus Babur took his first and strong action against those Hazaras and punished them.²¹⁹

Babur made Baqi Chaghaniani in charge of Kabul and Panjsher, and gave him the charge of the commander of the guards, with the office of minister. Babur also bestowed on him the transit duty with the property tax levied from the Hazaras, which were the principal revenue sources of Kabul at that time.²²⁰

Babur worked for the beautification of his capital Kabul with the building of numerous gardens for which he brought tress and seeds from different areas of the

²¹⁶ Erskine, History, 223.

²¹⁷ Ibid, 223-4.

²¹⁸ Mary Bradley Watkins, *Afghanistan land in transaction* (New York: D. Van Nostrand company, inc, 1963), 41.

²¹⁹ Erskine, History, 223.

²²⁰ Ibid, 230.

north, and which were laid out under his personal supervision. Those gardens consist of the gardens like, *Bagh-i-Babur*. It was in the midst of those gardens that beautiful buildings were erected. He later on recount his early days of Kabul that those were the best days of his life when he spent hours a cup of wine with his friend at Kabul in one or the other of his new gardens that he erected in the area.²²¹ Babur after capturing Kabul made an alliance with the Safavide rulers of Persia.²²²

As the revenue of Kabul was not enough for the requirements of Babur army and government he decided to made raids over other areas and at that time an opportunity came from the side of Indus²²³ when Yar Husein of Bhira a district on the south of Jehlam invited him for the attack. During this expedition to the Indus Babur for almost four months remained out of Kabul by leaving the charge of Kabul to his brother Jahangir Mirza.

After his return from the expedition, as he reached Kabul in May, 1505 AD he decided to occupy Kandahar for its strategic and commercial importance, as its position was necessary for the security of Kabul and had a great centre of trade between Kabul, India, Iran and Transoxiana.²²⁴

Meanwhile, in June 1505 AD, his mother Qutlug Nigar Khanam died at Kabul, and after few days of her death Babur grandmother Aisan Daulat Begum also passed away. Thus he became busy with the mourning ceremonies for a time being. After few days Babur became ill and when recovered Kabul faced a violent earthquake at the same year in 1505 AD²²⁵ which damaged all over Kabul including Kabul fort, many houses and castles were throwing down and those who stand safe making a lot of breaches in its walls. In many places deep cavities took place on the earth²²⁶. After the disastrous earthquake it took more than a month to repair the fort and fortification of the towns that had been damage in the

²²¹ N. H. Dupree, 40.

²²² Raverty, Notes, 581.

²²³ Abdul Halim, *History of the Lodhis Sultans of Delhi and Agra* (Dacca: Dacca university press, 1961), 168.

²²⁴ Mohibbul Hasan, 34.

²²⁵ Erskine, History, 229.

²²⁶ Afzal Khan Khattak, *Tareikh-i-Murassa* place at Pashto Acedemy, University of Peshawar with accession no. 1476, pg. 669. (hereafter Tareikh-i-Murassa)

earthquake and to relieve the suffering and miseries of the common people of Kabul affected by the earthquake. Because of Babur activities and kindness for the people of Kabul during that time of suffer, he gained their support and affection.²²⁷

It was after the first expedition of Babur that the ambitious intentions of Baqi Chaghaniani, Babur chief minister and commander of the guards began to appear. As Baqi Chaghaniani accompany Babur in this first expedition to India and tried to learn him from near. Before the expedition to the Indus Baqi Chaghaniani, at Kabul reputed to finding Babur a careless and traceable in dealings and work and thus started hoping to influence him and his rule. But during this first expedition to India he found Babur totally opposite to his thoughts and wishes, who was a brave and active person and king, brilliant talents and with great intelligence in business, listened to everyone advice, but decided and acted according to his own wishes. Baqi Chaghaniani after coming to Kabul finding it difficult to influence Babur, turned his eyes towards Jahangir Mirza, brother of Babur, whom he considered best for fulfillment of his purpose, and tried his best to win his support on his own side.²²⁸

He proposed to Jahangir Mirza a plot against his brother that to stand against Babur for the throne of Kabul, and assured that he would help him in that plot and would seized Babur and sent him across the Indus. Jahangir Mirza refused that and revealed that plot to his brother. Baqi Chaghaniani, who was a strong influence among the army and was a number of followers who could turn against Babur, because of which Babur did not take any action against him, but from that time afterward he watched his activities with keen eyes.²²⁹

Later on Babur compelled him to resign by blaming upon him some offences, after which Baqi lost his influence over his followers and army and after resignation he retired and left Kabul for India with his family and a number of followers. On their way to India they fell into the hands of Yar Husein of Bhira, who accompanied Babur during his first expedition to India in the Indus as far as

²²⁷ Erskine, History, 229.

²²⁸ Babur Nama, 204.

²²⁹ Erskine, History, 230.

Kohat. He after seizing and plundering Baqi and his men put them in to death at the end of 1505 AD.²³⁰

After the removal and withdrawal of Baqi from Kabul, the brother of Babur, Jahangir Mirza also fled from Kabul to Ghazni without any notice to Babur. The exclusion of those two persons from Kabul gave Babur a degree of security and peace but the satisfaction come to end shortly with the news of the arrival and subdued of Babur mortal enemy Shaibani Khan to the areas of Hisar, Kunduz and the neighboring provinces. After attacking over those areas though Shaibani Khan returned but started preparation for another series of raids and conquest particularly of Kabul. Fortunately for Babur two events divert the attention of Shaibani Khan from the conquest of Kabul for a time being. Firstly the conquest of Khwarizm, which he was resolved to attempt and the breaking down of the unity among his army, particularly among the Mughals in his army as they were accustomed to submit only to their chiefs. The Second reason that kept him away from the invasion over the area of Babur was the death of his brother Mahmud Sultan. His brother was in good terms with the Mughals of his army and to whom the Mughal followed with pleasure. After the death of Mahmud Sultan those Mughal of the army of Shaibani Khan started searching for their chief among themselves, as many of their noted men among whom one was Muhammad Husein Korkan, son of Muhammad Haider, who had remain for many years the ruler of Kashgar was in Samarkand. As Muhammad Husein Korkan, was a friend and in relation with Shaibani khan through the marriage of his sister to him. (He was in relation with Babur also as Babur's mother, Shaibani Khan wife and Muhammad Husein Korkan wife were three sisters, daughters of Yunis Khan).²³¹

His reputation among the Mughals was very high. Other noted Mughals included Sultan Said and in female Shah Begum, wife of Yunas Khan and daughter of the ruler of Badakhshan (step grandmother of Babur) who was a woman of great ability. Before Shaibani Khan attacked and besieged of Khwarizm, these noted Mughals were taken out from Samarkand. Muhammad Husein Korkan and Shah Begum along with Mehr Nigar Khanam ex- wife of Shaibani Khan (Babur aunt)

²³⁰ Ibid, 225.

²³¹ Ibid, 225-6.

made their way to Khurasan and after some time Muhammad Husein accompanied them to Kabul as all were the relatives of Babur mother, Babur received all of them with great respect and honor. It was there in Kabul that they spent some time with great ease and joy. Sultan Said escaped towards Betikend in Mugholistan. The rest of the Mirzas either sent to their eternal homes or they were imprisoned by Shaibani Khan.²³²

After the flight, death and imprisonment of the Mughal chiefs, Shaibani Khan with the help of his army composed of Uzbeks and some of the Mughals besieged Khwarizm, that time Khwarzim belonged to Khurasan. The governor of Khwarizm, Husein Sufi provides a tough resistance and defended it for ten to eleven months with bravery, but unfortunately no one could reach to his help. Some of the inhabitants who after a long Uzbek siege lost heart and were surrender to the Uzbek by allowing them into the fort. During the struggle for defense of the fort Husein Sufi died after shot down by an Uzbek arrow.²³³ After that victory at Khawarzim, Shaibani Khan returned to Samarkand and started preparation for the invasion of the other areas of Khurasan.²³⁴

At Kabul once again during the absence of Babur the news of the revolt in reached to him at the time when he was busy in plundering the Hazaras in Lenger. At that time of struggle Babur dispatched one of his trustworthy messengers Taimur Khan, with the instruction that informed secretly to his officers in Kabul about his arrival. At the same time Babur himself without losing any time started his return march to Kabul. Babur was with a plan that after reaching the Minar hill he would blaze fire and his supporters and men at Kabul they answer it with another fire on the top of the old Kiosk within the citadel, after that signal the rebels were attacked by both sides and would be defeated easily.²³⁵

Having sent forward to Kabul his messenger Taimur Khan, Babur advanced towards Ushter-Shehr, then to Ghurbend pass, Sir-e-Pul, reached to Tutkawel, and further to Noh, Minar and then enter in the night to Kabul. The rebels were surprised by this sudden arrival of Babur and without opposing and fighting fled

²³² Erskine, History, 230-4

²³³ Ibid, 232-3.

²³⁴ Babur Nama, 368.

²³⁵ Erskine, History, 233-5.

and hide themselves in different places. Babur made an attempt to capture the two persons, Muhammad Husein Dughlat and Khan Mirza but both of them successfully fled from Kabul. Though he received resistance at Kabul from some of the supporters of the rebels and the fighting started between the rebels and Babur forces. At was at that time of confusion that the common people of the towns of Kabul turn that an opportunity for themselves by started plundering in the city whatever came in to their way. Later on after Babur victory he dispatched a number of his men to drive away those plunderers and thieves and took control over them in a short time.²³⁶

After getting victory and securing his position at Kabul Babur treated with those rebels with utmost generosity, for instance when Sultan Senjer Birlas a principal leader of the rebels was after some time arrested by Babur army, he not only received pardon from Babur but also received the *Tuman* of Nangenhār from him. He show great respect for Shah Begum after visiting her residence, also give her one of the district of Kabul, Pemghan, after that Babur went to Chehar Bagh, which was occupied by Khan Mirza as his palace from here he wrote letters to every part of the kingdom including Aimaks and other wandering tribes about his victory and then entered into the citadel as victorious. Muhammad Husein Mirza and Khan Mirza was also arrested and brought to Babur who also forgive them and give them great respect in his court. Muhammad Husein Mirza was allowed to go to Khurasan while his son Mirza Haider Dughlat the author of *Tareikh-i-Rashidi* still remains at Kabul as occupying a high position there. Khan Mirza was sent to the palace of his sisters in Kabul, who later on left for Khurasan.²³⁷

During the return march of Babur towards Kabul from that particular expedition of Khurasan the news of the death of his brother Jahangir Mirza to whom Babur bestowed Ghazni, reached to him as he was died because of excessive drinking. After his death Babur gives the government of Ghazni to his only surviving brother Nasir Mirza, who returns to Kabul after an unsuccessful expedition against Badakhshan.²³⁸

²³⁶ Ibid, 235-40.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Khwaja, *Tareikh-i-Farishta*, 579.

Meanwhile when the entire kingdom of Kabul was in rebellions and anarchy Babur signs the bond of loyalty from his leading men and nobles by confirming his power in the area. Beside from the uprising of Kabul, on the other side the Uzbek army under Shabiani Khan once again invaded different areas of Khurasan and with the help of his Uzbek army captured the whole of Khurasan by defeating all of the sons of Sultan Muhammad Mirza.²³⁹

During the siege of Kandahar by the Uzbek and the threat of their attack over Kabul compelled Babur to leave Kabul in September 1507 AD, with the purpose of strengthening his position against the Uzbeks. Before leaving Kabul, Babur assigned the charge of Kabul to his cousin Abdur Razzak, former ruler of Kabul and himself left for India. It was during the absence of Babur from Kabul that about some 3,000 of Mughals who were in the service of Abdur Razzak made a conspiracy to install their former ruler once again over the throne of Kabul.

Fortunately Babur did not face the Uzbek and they returned to their area, after the removal of Uzbek threat when Babur returned to Kabul, he discovered the plot. Though at that time Babur was not more than 500 men while on the other hand the number of Abdur Razzak supporter were very large, Babur did not lose heart and through his tactic and presence of mind defeated the large forces of Abdur Razzak. As first Babur challenged Abdur Razzak for a single fight, but when he refused five leading champions took the challenge after which all fell one by one to the men of Babur. Thus he won the battle against Abdur Razzak and seized him, but because of his generous heart forgave him, later on executed him with discovering of his evil intentions.²⁴⁰

In 1511 AD, after the death of Shaibani Khan, Babur found an alliance with the Persian ruler for attacking Samarkand. With that alliance Babur at a greater extent started following the Shia faith, which annoyed his Sunni subject of Samarkand. In 1514 the Shah of Persia received defeat from the hands of the Ottoman Empire with the advance Turkish artillery. When the news of the battle and use of new artillery reached to Babur, he decided to equip his Kabuli army with the same new

²³⁹ Erskine, History, 260.

²⁴⁰ Babur Nama, 249-50.

weapons. He for that purpose appointed Ustad Ali, a gunner from the Ottoman Empire to teach his soldiers the use of matchlock musket and cannons.²⁴¹

It was in Kabul that all of his 16 children except two daughters who born in Khost were born to Babur. From Maham Begum, Humayun mother and wife of Babur had five children, including two daughters and three sons, Humayun Mirza, Barbul Mirza, Faruq Mirza, Ishan Daulat begum and Mihr Jan begum. Gul Rukh Begum with four son and one daughter, Kamran Mirza, Askari Mirza, Sultan Ahmad, Shahrukh Mirza and Gul- izar begum. To Dildar begum were born five children two sons and three daughters, Hindal Mirza, Alwar Mirza (died in infantry), Gul Rang Begum, Gul Chihra Begum and Gul Badab Begum. Humayun Mirza was the first boy son to Babur, who born at Kabul on 6th March, 1508 AD, it was after that event that Babur style himself *Padshah* instead of Mirza, mostly used for king's sons.²⁴²

2.8 Babur Policy Towards Different Tribes of Kabul

During the reign of Babur the plains of Swat, Bajour, Peshawar, Laghman and Kunar were inhabited by the new Afghan tribes, although some of the aboriginals of the north remained there under their hereditary chiefs and to whom the former sultans of Kabul claimed their subject, but except the compulsory tribute which they give the ruler these tribes and the tribes of the mountains had mostly remain independent. The clans and tribes occupying hills and high roads especially the difficult passes and ways that leads to India. Those tribes looked upon those areas as a part of their income and revenue, by plundering or impose a tax from caravans and travelers that pass through those areas.²⁴³

²⁴¹ Balaji Sadasivan, The Dancing Girl: A History of early India (Singapur: ISEAS publishers, 2011), 213.

²⁴² Humayun Nama, 89-90.

²⁴³ Gazzeteer of The Peshawar District 1897-98 , compiled by Punjab Government, (Lahore: sang-e-meel publications, 1989), 55.

It was not only during Babur reign but also from the time of Ghaznavides that the main routes from where most of the rulers passed between Kabul, Ghazni and India were mostly occupied by the Hazaras and Bangash tribe.²⁴⁴

2.9 Babur and the Hazara Tribe

The first tribe to whom Babur came into contact after his conquest of Kabul was the Hazaras, because of their refusal of the tribute in the form of sheep and horses laid upon them and because of their highway robberies particularly to the visitors and traders passed through their area. Babur after marching against them by crossing the Nirkh pass to Jaltu, where after defeating the Hazaras return back to Kabul on the way through Sangi Surakh (Tunnel rock).

The Hazara were the clan who created many problems for Babur by their ill conducts and treacherous nature, because of which Babur took several times strong action against them. In February 1506, Babur set out for the execution of the Turkman Hazaras for their highway robberies. Despite of the winter season and the snow lay deep attacked them and killed many of them. From these Hazaras Babur obtained several thousands of horses and sheep as tribute.²⁴⁵

2.10 Babur and Some Other Tribes of Kabul

Babur next moved down towards the river Baran, with the purpose to punish the chief of Nijrau, with the same problem of their refusal to pay the tribute to the Mughals. This expedition remained successful, but because of extreme cold Babur suffered from the pain in the lower back for several months.²⁴⁶

On the beginning of May, 1507 AD, another expedition was taken by Babur against the tribe of Ghilzais of Khwaja Ismail Siriti, and after reaching a place name Sar-i-dih, Babur came to know about the Mohmand Afghans, laying about three fursangs (12 miles) away from there. It was from here that a number of the men of Babur army insisted Babur for taking raid against them with the intention

²⁴⁴ M. Sarfraz Khan Khattak, Tareikh-i-Khattak (Peshawar: hameediya press 1965), 138. (hereafter Tareikh-i-Khattak)

²⁴⁵ Mohibbul Hasan, 35.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, 35.

to plunder them because for their economic needs but Babur refused because they were their subjects, and was their responsibility that no harm should come to them. Babur then continued his marched towards the Ghilzai and by reaching their made an attacked over them by killing a number of them. He erected there a minaret of the heads of killed Ghilzais, as an imitation of most of the Mughals including Taimur. After a successful expedition towards Ghilzai, Babur came with huge booty and spoils that never came from any other expedition.²⁴⁷

Babur tries his level best to keep the tribes of Kabul under his subject. The common people of Kabul and the tribes of plain areas of Kabul remained his subject and were in good terms with him. Babur also followed a conciliating policy towards them. Among those warring tribes were the Turkman Hazara, tribes of Kafirs resides in Kohistan and Niraju, Afghan warring tribes and the Yausafzai of the Indian frontiers. Babur always took strong measures against these tribes by taking expedition against them or whenever he went on expedition near to the areas of those tribes, and return with a huge booty from them.²⁴⁸

On the Indian frontiers Babur also made several attacks on Yausafzai tribe, with the aim of plundering, for economic reasons as collecting grain and seizing cattle from them. There was also another reason for attacking them and that was when Shah Mansur one of Yausafzai chief (cousin of Malik Ahmad) was invited by Babur to attend his court he refused, that annoyed Babur and he made several attacks over them, but because of their warring character he did not made great impression over them as because with the attack of Babur they always retreat to the hills where they remain secure from Babur attacks.²⁴⁹ At last Babur changed his policy towards the Yausafzai tribe and follows a friendly policy towards them by marrying a daughter of one of the Yausafzai Khan or chief named Shah

²⁴⁷ Olaf Caroe, An Account Of The Kingdom Of Caubul (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 11. (hereafter Olaf Caroe)

²⁴⁸ Allah Bakhsh Yusafai, Yusafzai Pathan (Karachi: Muhammad ali educational society, 1973), 151. (hereafter Yusafai)

²⁴⁹ Haroon Rashid, History of the Pathans, volii (Islamabad: Printo graphic, 2005), 41-3.

Mansoor.²⁵⁰ After this marriage the Yausafzai remained peaceful and entered in friendly relations with Babur. They also started giving tributes to the Mughals.²⁵¹

The Amir of Bajour Amir Hyder Gabari also refused to pay tribute to Babur, thus he attacked on Bajour²⁵² on 8th of January, 1519 AD, and defeated them by appointing his own man Khwaja Kalan there. Babur himself returns back to Kabul in the month of March of the same year. Later on six chiefs of the Yusafzai clan came to Babur and agreed of giving tribute of their areas to him.²⁵³

The main reasons of Babur expedition against those tribes included, firstly on the rival nature of the Afghan tribes, who did not accept the suzerainty of any outsider. Secondly those tribes blocked the passes and roads to Kabul and created difficulties for the traders and visitors and also for Babur by robbing them. Thirdly it was the economic needs of the Mughals, which compelled Babur to take raids against different tribes. Some of the tribes refused to pay the taxes imposed upon them. On the other hand as the revenue of Kabul was not enough for the fulfillment of the needs of the inhabitants and that of the Mughal army of Kabul. According to S. R. Bakshi, that Babur levied about 3000 of the ass-loads of grain from the tribes of Kabul and Ghazni.²⁵⁴ From 1504 to 1524 A. D. Babur took about three raids over the area of the Pakhtoons and plundered also the area of Ghilzai.²⁵⁵

2.11 Attacks Over Neighboring Areas of Kabul

There were two main reasons for Babur expeditions towards its neighboring areas. First were the less revenue resources of Kabul which could not meet the requirement of expenditure of Kabul, secondly the thread of the Uzbeks of Central Asia under Shaibani Khan of which Babur was not able to face those strong and

²⁵⁰ Dani, Peshawar, 96.

²⁵¹ Pir Muazzam Shah, Tran, Muhammad Anwar Tahir, Tawareikh-i-Hafiz Rehmat Khani (Pashto) (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, 1971), 96. (hereafter Tahir, Tawareikh)

²⁵² Munawwar Khan, Swat In History, Journal. 60 (Peshawar: area Study centre university of Peshawar),

²⁵³ Abdul Hayy Habibi, Da Afghanistan Paikh Lekh Vol.i (Pashto) (Kabul: Da Behaqi Kitab publishers, 1353 A. H), 119-20.

²⁵⁴ Ed, S. R. Bakshi, and S. K. Sharma, Babur the great Mughal (New Delhi: deep & deep publication, 2006), 57-8. (hereafter Bakshi, Babur)

²⁵⁵ Tareikh-i-Khattak, 138.

powerful Uzbek forces.²⁵⁶ Babur also felt the necessity to engage his freelance army in the expedition towards other areas for the purpose to rule at Kabul safely.²⁵⁷

2.12 His First Expedition Towards Indian Frontiers

With the return of Babur from the successful raid taken against the Hazaras, he found Yar Husain son of Darya Khan of Bhira (Punjab territory), awaited him and invite him to take expedition towards his country. Thus after the encouragement of Yar Husain from Behira, from one of a district on the South of Jhelum, (Punjab), Babur after consultation with his officers decided to undertake a raid on their territory to India.²⁵⁸

It became an opportunity for Babur by invading that territory to increase the revenue of Kabul, which was not sufficient to support his troops. In January 1505 A. D. (Shaban 910 A. H), Babur after assembling his forces and making necessary arrangements and inquiry set out for India by marching on the way of Jadalik, he followed the road to Attock and Peshawar. He reached Jalalabad (Adinapur) after six days marched, and from there proceeded to Bigram (Peshawar) through the Khyber Pass, where the Shinwaris and Afridis give some resistance after which Babur realized that it was difficult to cross the pass without the help of a local guide, thus acquiring a Gigyani man for the purpose to Peshawar.²⁵⁹

He was yet not enter the Indian territory that he felt a direct and total change of the country climate and appearance when enter Jalalabad. As Babur never saw as much hot country and he for the first time saw a new world, with differences in every field of life from Kabul, from climate to customs and inhabitant's, trees and birds which really and truly made Babur amazed.²⁶⁰

As Babur stated in his autobiography that he all at once saw a new world, the plants and vegetables, trees and wild livings all things are different from that of Kabul. Babur held a consultation with his officers in one of the area of Peshawar,

²⁵⁶ Tuzki Baburi, 86-7.

²⁵⁷ Malleon, 118.

²⁵⁸ Babur Nama, 274-5.

²⁵⁹ Mohibbul Hasan, 33.

²⁶⁰ Ibid,33.

Daraban a town in D.I. Khan and encamped there. It was there that Babur decided to either cross the Indus²⁶¹, which was the original plan before starting expedition or to explore the areas in the southward. It was here that Babur changed his mind and with the advice of Baqi Chaghaniani they started expedition to the south, towards Kohat, Banu, Bangash and Desht Daman, instead of going towards India, while exploring and plundering all the areas in their way.²⁶²

After that they reached a small dependency of Multan on the bank of Indus, but after a few days marched on that bank, Babur leaved for the North and westward. Babur along with his army, marching on the borders of Duki and Siwistan reached to the lake of Ab-istadeh, from where he went to Ghazni and then from Ghazni to Kabul. The first expedition of Babur to those areas of Kohat, Bannu, and Bangash etc, taking about four months by reaching Kabul in the month of May, 1505 A.D.²⁶³

The booty received from the first part of this expedition towards south and from that of the areas lying on the bank of Indus had a clear difference. In the south from Kohat to Dasht Daman till reaching the Indus bank the army of Babur faced with bravery the barbarous Afghans, inhabitant of the hills. The booty obtained from this expedition was very little. But from the rich country lying upon the Indus they received a large booty of including a huge number of cattle that it became difficult for the Babur army to carry all the cattle, which numbers four to five hundred for each of the soldier, and thus they were forced to leave behind.²⁶⁴

During the last part of their expedition when Babur and his army left the bank of the Indus and marched towards Ab-istadeh, as cultivation was nearly stop there and the country was so barren and waste that Babur forces with their horses faced great difficulties there. It was become impossible for them to even find corn there, these difficulties were much increased by climate changes and heavy rains that increased the watercourses and filled the narrow valleys.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ Waheed Momand, *Kingdom of Babur Shah*, <http://www.afghanland.com/history/babur.html>, Access on. 2nd August, 2014.

²⁶² Babur Nama, 276.

²⁶³ Erskine, History, 224.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, 224.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 224.

After that first attempt in 1505 A.D. Babur did not made second attempt on India for almost 14 years.²⁶⁶

Babur could also used Bajour route to invade India as a second alternate route if the Yausafzai were in good terms with him or made them his subordinate. For that purpose Babur first followed the policy of suppressing them through wars but failed to win war against them, thus Babur changed his policy and followed the policy of conciliation towards them and entered with them in matrimonial alliance. Though Babur remained successful to enter in relations with the Yusafzai, but failed to use their territory for his invasion of India. Babur gave his full attention towards the opening of new route to India through Khyber Pass. But In order to cross through the Khyber route Babur believed it necessary to seek the corporation and guidance of the local tribes inhabited there necessary for his invasion. The last experience of Babur was also not very good in term of booty due to the infertile areas so this time he adopted the Khyber route because it led to the fertile land of Doaba (in Hashtnagar) which could helped to provide food and fodder to the Mughal army and animals. It was in this way that Babur advance to India for the formation of Mughal dynasty there. The disunity and mutual jealousies among the Afghan rulers of India was the major cause of Babur occupation of India.²⁶⁷

2.13 Capturing of Qilat Fort

Some of the influential people at Babur court of Kabul including his minister Baqi Chaghaniani and his brother Jahangir Mirza advised him to attack on Kilat (Qilat), a strong fort from the road of Ghazni to Kandahar and were under the possession of the Arghuns. Babur made an attempt for the conquest of the fort of Kilat and captured it without much loss. But it was difficult for him to retain it, because it was insulated from the rest of his dominion. Babur offered the charge of Kilat in

²⁶⁶ Tytler, 35.

²⁶⁷ Shujaul Mulk, Relations Between Akbar And The North West Frontier Tribes Research Journal no. 9, (Peshawar University: Area Study Centre, 1981), 46.(hereafter Shujaul Mulk)

front of both Jahangir Mirza and Baqi Chaghaniani, but both refused to take the charge of it.²⁶⁸

2.14 His Expedition towards Kandahar

After the return of Babur from the Indus and the areas of, Bannu, Kohat and Bangash, he next planned to make an attack over Kandahar. But this plan was delayed because of two reasons, first he was attacked by favor and secondly the earthquake in Kabul, from favor though he recover quickly, but the earthquake took more than a month. So after a month and a half of delay Babur made an attempt in the south of Kabul at Kandahar, by attacking and plundering the hill tribes of that area.²⁶⁹

The ruler, who held Kandahar were the two sons of Zul-nun Arghun, Shuja Beg and Muqim Beg and were alarmed by the Uzbek invasion under Shaibani khan. Thus both of the brothers sought Babur help against the Uzbek, and Babur became ready for their help. Babur started his march towards Kandahar through the way of Qalat, which he seized, after which Babur informed both of the brothers of Kandahar about his approach. At the meantime these two change their mind and give very rude reply to the letters of Babur for his approach, after which Babur decided to attack Kandahar. With five to six thousands less army, (as Babur army consists of one thousand while the Arghuns have six to seven thousands army) from the Arghuns brothers Babur defeated them and occupied Kandahar. He then gives the charge of Kandahar to his own brother Nasir Mirza, who lost Badakhshan and himself left Kandahar with the daughter of Mukim Arghun as a hostage of war. In that expedition of Kandahar Babur brought a lot of booty to Kabul consisting of a huge quantity of gold and silver, packages of silk and linen and with a large number of arms, velvet, tents, camels, sheep and horses etc.²⁷⁰

On the other hand in Kandahar the Uzbek once again appeared and Nasir Mirza who was not able to fight with the powerful Uzbek, fled from there and return

²⁶⁸ Erskine, History, 229-30.

²⁶⁹ Sir Wolseley Haig, ed, Sir Richard Burn, The Cambridge history of India, (The Mughal Period)vol.iv (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1987), 5. (hereafter Wolseley Haig, History)

²⁷⁰ Ibid, 5-6.

back to Kabul. The Uzbek after looting and plundering Kandahar surrender it and given it back to the Arghun brothers.

In September 1507, Babur led another expedition, but at this time because of the Uzbek fears. As when Babur learned about the Uzbek attack and siege of Kandahar, he thought that after occupying Kandahar the next marched of Shaibani khan army would be on Kabul, and they would not be able to resist him. Babur held a consultation with his nobles about the raising threat of Uzbek after which two suggestions came to him. According to the first suggestion his minister Qasim Beg and Shirim Taghai advised him to go to Badakhshan while there were some other nobles who were in favor of Babur march towards India.²⁷¹

Babur chooses the second option and marched from Kabul by way of Lamghan in September, 1507 A. D., towards India. Babur left the charge of Kabul to his cousin Abdur Razzak, son of Ulugh Beg Mirza.

On the way to Jadalik Babur received the information that some Afghan tribes tried to prevent their route through the passage of Jadalik. To punish those tribes Babur thus with his army went up to the hill made an attack over them and put them to flight. A number of them were executed. Babur then marched towards Jalalabad (Adinapur) and from there to the valley of Pur-aman, where they met the Kafirs of the area and by defeating and obtained a huge quantity of corn from them.

Babur was in Nurgal of the Chaghan-sarai River when the news of the Uzbek withdrawal from Kandahar reached to him, after which Babur end the expedition and had taken the return route to Kabul. As this expedition was undertaken by Babur to distance himself from the Uzbek threat and when the threat removed he came back to Kabul.²⁷² Though in 1520 A. D, Babur made an attempt over Kandahar but return back unsuccessfully after feeling the disunity among his

²⁷¹ Erskine, History, 493.

²⁷² Ibid, 493-4.

soldiers. It was at last in 1522 A. D that Babur captured Kandahar and appointed his own son Mirza Kamran there.²⁷³

2.15 Khurasan Expedition

In 1506 A. D. during Shaibani khan siege of Balkh the capital of Khurasan, when its ruler Sultan Husein Mirza (Baiqara) saw it difficult to defend his country against the Uzbeks, he invited the princes of neighboring dominions to join him against the Uzbeks, and sent Sayyid Afzal, son of Sultan Ali Khwab to Babur by inviting the Persians against the coming Uzbek thread.²⁷⁴ Babur before it sought the help of Sultan Husein Mirza for several time but all in vain, he twice turned down Babur request for assistance. Now when those Uzbeks siege Balkh, its ruler seek over the help of Babur and he was ready to lend his aid to the Sultan of Balkh. There were two reasons for which Babur was ready to give his help to the Sultan. Firstly to check and reduce the power of Shaibani khan who was the utmost enemy of Babur and secondly without defeating Uzbeks they may not be able to defeat his brother Jahangir Mirza at Bamian.²⁷⁵

Babur before leaving for Khurasan proposed to his uncle Muhammad Husein Mirza Doghlat to take the charge and management of Kabul and other areas of his kingdom during his absence for the expedition to Khurasan. But the Mirza respectfully declined the offer of Babur for the pilgrimage of Makkah, but on the other hand he accepted the responsibility to advise and assist Babur nobles as much as according to his ability. After securing the confidence of the Mirza Dughlat, Babur appointed Nizam ed Din Khalifa, Mir Ahmad Kasim Kohbur, Mullah Baba Bishagheri and some of his other trusted officers into different posts and entrusted them different departments and responsibilities, introducing these officers to Mirza Dughlat under his general directions.²⁷⁶

To fulfill this aim and to help Sultan Husein Mirza by defeating the Uzbeks, Babur set out from Kabul in the month of June 1506 A. D. (month of Moharram),

²⁷³ Abdul Hayy Habibi, A Chronology of Afghanistan "Political, Social and Cultural events from pre historic ages up to 1962 A. D", Vol I (Kabul: Bay Haqi publisher house, 1974), 119-120. (hereafter Habibi, Afghanistan)

²⁷⁴ Bakhshi, Babur, 47.

²⁷⁵ Erskine, History, 493-4.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

For Khurasan passing through the route of Ghurbend and Shibertu. Reaching Ushter Shehr next proceeded towards Zohak and Gumbezek and from there crossing the passes of Saighan and Dendan-Shiken to Kahmerd. It was here that the news of his brother Jahangir disagreement to him and his escaped from Bamian to the mountains reached to him. Himself remained in Kahmerd overawed the Aimaks and prevented them to from joining his brother Jahangir mirza, sent his troops in different directions to collect booty in form of grain and cattle. Babur was still at Kahmerd that he received the news through his envoy about the death of Sultan Husein Mirza of Balkh on 25th April 1506²⁷⁷. But this news did not stop Babur from his march and he proceeded to the passes of Balkh-ab to Saf, a hilly country. From here Babur sent out a detachment against the Uzbek, cut a body of them to pieces, who were plundering the areas of Charek and San.²⁷⁸

The Aimaks of the neighborhood hills came to Babur at Saf and acknowledged him about the envoy of his brother Jahangir Mirza, who had sent to turn them on his side, and after their refusal he was compelled to leave the mountains to which he had fled now he was in Pai, to once again make his subjugation to Babur.

Babur though displeased with that did not pay attention to it and proceeded towards Khurasan, and at last after a long journey of about three months, about the march of eight Hundred miles on 26th October he reached Murghab, where the sons of Sultan Husein Mirza Badiuz-Zaman and Muzaffar Husain camped with their forces. Who received Babur with great pomp and respect.²⁷⁹

Here Babur found the sons of Mirza Arghun, totally opposite to their father. To Babur they were men of winning address, and very much civilized and of elegant and graceful manners, with the men of great intelligence, but devoted to ease and pleasure and had ignorant with the affairs of war. At that hour of difficulty when the forces of Shaibani khan threatened them and were ready to attack them, they were busy in a civil war among themselves for the throne of his father at Khurasan. As they were ignorant to the war tactics and spent three to four months merely reaching from Herat to Murghab without making any attempt to operate in

²⁷⁷ Mohibbul Hasan, 36.

²⁷⁸ J. L. Lee, 'The Ancient supremacy', Bokhara, Afghanistan and the battle for Balkh, 1731-1901 (New York: E. J. Brill, 1999), 28.

²⁷⁹ Mohibbul Hasan, 36

the fortress of Balkh, which was a very important city and was besieged by the Uzbeks under Shaibani khan. Even they were not able to cut up the Uzbek plunderers, four to five hundred men under Hak Nazer, advanced to the territory of Chichektu, forty miles away from Murghab.²⁸⁰

With the coming of winter all the Mirza sons choose a suitable place of ease for themselves, and also argued Babur to spent winter in Khurasan. Babur after visiting Herat soon felt the responsibility of his own kingdom of Kabul, from where he remained out for about five to six months. He started his return journey from Herat and on 24th December, 1506 A. D. he set out for Kabul, through the mountainous route of Lenger-Mir-Ghias, the borders of Gharjistan, Anjukan, Chekhcheran, Yeke-Auleng Khaisal Koti, Chiraghdan, Zirin pass, and Bamian, which was the Southern side of the route of his marching towards Khurasan, recommended by his prime minister Kasim Beg.²⁸¹ The route was very difficult and because of winter a deep snow laid there which made the march more difficult for Babur and with great difficulties after few days when reached to a village of Yeke-Auleng the inhabitant of which helped Babur and his troops, and for some time give them and their horses shelter and food.²⁸²

By passing through Bamian and Shibartan, Babur army were attacked by the Turkman Hazaras, but was repulsed and dozens of Hazara chiefs, their women and children were made prisoner by the mughal army but later on over the request of one of the minister of Babur named Qasim Beg they were released. On the other hand in Kabul for several months after Babur expedition to Khurasan all was going well, but when winter started and the communication with the area of Khurasan interrupted a rumor spread especially by the Hazaras, encouraged by a strong and powerful party of nobles at Kabul according to some historian particularly according to Muhammad Husein Dughlat, Sultan Sanjar Barlas were responsible for the spread of this rumor in Kabul, that Babur was imprisoned by the sons of Sultan Muhammad Mirza.²⁸³

²⁸⁰ Erskine, History, 242-59.

²⁸¹ Ibid,243.

²⁸² Ibid,242-52.

²⁸³ Ibid, 251.

When the news reached to Kabul as stated by Haider Mirza son of Sultan Muhammad Husein, when the report of Babur imprisonment reached to Kabul, Shah Begum proposed to my father the acknowledgment of her grandson Khan Mirza to the throne in his place, after the refusal of my father Muhammad Husein they started a conspiracy against him, thus Sultan Husein went to *Ab-baran* a town of a day journey from Kabul and withdrew from all of the administrative affairs. After which Shah Begum with some of the other nobles mostly Mughals made the *khutba* to be read of Mirza Khan name and tried her level best to take the fort of Kabul.²⁸⁴

The Begum sent a person to call Muhammad Husein, and after compulsion he came back to Kabul. The fort of Kabul was besieged for twenty four days by the rebels but was bravely defended by the officers of Babur like Mohib Ali Korchi, Mullah Baba Beshageri, and Ahmad Qasim etc to whom Babur entrusted the charge of Kabul, on the twenty fifth day the Emperor Babur suddenly arrived to his Kabul and crushed the rebellion. With great difficulties and hardship of the roads which Babur and his army faced because of deep snow and storm, the expedition came to an end and he reached Kabul in the start of 1507 A. D.²⁸⁵

2.16 Samarkand Expedition

With the defeat of the Uzbek by the Persian Shah, Shah Ismail at Merv on 2nd December 1510 A. D. created an opportunity for Babur to recover his ancestral kingdom. With the news of Uzbek defeat that received by Babur from Kunduz through his cousin Khan Mirza, Babur without delay entrusted Kabul to Nasir Mirza (Babur half brother) and despite of cold weather and snow crossed Suleiman mountains passes and reached to Kunduz in January 1511 AD, where he was received by his cousin Khan Mirza. Babur then sent Khan Mirza towards Shah Ismail for his support and assistance against the Uzbek and with their

²⁸⁴ Tarikh-i-Rashidi, 198.

²⁸⁵ Erskine, History, 356-7.

support and help Babur defeated and killed the Uzbek chiefs Mehdi Sultan and Hamza Sultan of Hisar and occupied the territory.²⁸⁶

Babur requested the Shah for more assistance on the condition to strike the name of the Persian Shahs on the coins at Kabul not only that but also became agree to recite in *khutba* the names of the Shia twelve Imams. After which Shah Ismail dispatched the army under two of his commander Shahrukh Beg Afshar and Ahmad Beg Sufi Evoghlu for the help of Babur, and thus Babur with the army of about 60,000 men, also taken his children and wives advanced towards Samarkand. On his way to Samarkand Babur captured the areas of Khuzar, Khultan, Qarsi and Bokhara. The governors of Bokhara and Samarkand named Utaidullah and Timur Sultan respectively, retreated from their areas to Turkistan with learning of about the approach of Babur with a huge army towards them.²⁸⁷ Thus Babur in the month of October of the year of 1511 AD entered into Samarkand without any resistance. After the occupation of Samarkand his rule extended to Farghana, Tashkent, Bokhara and Kabul.²⁸⁸

After capturing Samarkand Babur dismissed the Persian forces with presents and gifts, only an envoy of Shah Ismail named Muhammad Jan remained with him for the fulfillment of the promise and of the terms of the agreement which he made to the Persian Shah. According to the agreement Babur tried to implement the terms of the treaty in Samarkand and also himself wears the garments of the Qizilbash. But that acts of Babur made him unpopular in Samarkand and Transoxiana, who were in majority Sunnis.

The situation became difficult for Babur, on one hand if he followed the agreement with the Shah then his own people of Transoxiana and Samarkand turned against him and on the other hand if he went back on his words to the Shah then he earned the displeasure of the Shah which caused his depriving from the Persian support. So Babur did all that which could keep the Shah on his side. But his relation with the Shah became estranged after the report of Muhammad Jan a

²⁸⁶ Mohammad Qasim Farishta, Tran, John Briggs, History of the rise of Mohammadan power in India till the year A. D. 1612, vol.ii. (London: longmen, rees, 1829), 31-33. (hereafter briggs, India)

²⁸⁷ Bakshi, Babur, 50.

²⁸⁸ James. W. Spain, The Pathan Border land (Karachi: Indus publications, 1985), 30. (hereafter W. Spain)

Persian envoy at Babur court of Samarkand by taking responsible to Babur for breaking the terms of the treaty with Persia by not implementing the terms of the agreement. Though this was not true and the main reason of Muhammad Jan annoying from Babur was that he felt that he was ignored in his court.²⁸⁹ After receiving that news from Muhammad Jan, Shah of Persia dispatched an army under the command of Najmi-Sani against Babur, to bring him to his obedience.

2.17 Causes of Babur Invasion of India

It was only after Babur lost of Samarkand for second time, that he learnt from a 111 years old woman to whom he met at Dehkat, who related to him the stories about India, which she heard from his relatives who accompanied Taimur in 1398 AD, during his marched towards India.

After the invasion of Kabul for twenty years the invasion of India had Babur most cherished dream. As he in his autobiography gave full detail of his plan and struggle for the conquest of India. Babur at first had been only thinking of those areas and districts of the Indian province particularly of western Punjab which was once formed part of the kingdom of Kabul. Babur made five attempts for the occupation of India.²⁹⁰

According to Babur which he recalled on 15th of February, 1519 AD, that ever since we came into India, it had been in my mind to move on Hindustan, but because of the number of reasons this has not been done.

Some of the causes because of which Babur did not take the invasion of India earlier were his engagement in consolidating his position at Kabul, where he faced both internal and external threats. Another important reason of not invading earlier India was Babur love for his ancestral territory of Samarkand and his desire to recover it which did not allowed him to think about other areas for conquest. Thus after consolidating his position in the kingdom of Kabul and after the subjugation of the different tribes there Babur turned his attention towards India. But the most important cause of his invasion of India was the lost of Samarkand to Babur for

²⁸⁹ Tuzk-i-Baburi, 444-5.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 445.

third and last time when he realized that it was not possible to capture Samarkand in the near future, after which Babur because of his adventurous nature look upon India. Another thing which turned to an important cause for Babur invasion of India was the less resources and poor economic situation of Kabul, which could not satisfy Babur needs and ambitions and nor support his army and court, which caused his invasion of India. The weak position of India, because of the presence of a number of princely states and their civil wars was one of the most important reasons for Babur invasion of India. As he could not extend his dominions towards either Iran or China, because both were very powerful kingdoms, thus Babur look upon India, which was rich and weak.²⁹¹

After the occupation of Kabul, Babur truly consider himself as the rightful heir to all of those dominions which was once occurred by Taimur or his successors and which was either Babur occupies or still at that time was un granted and unredeemed particularly on Indian frontier. Secondly, Babur policy of the conquest of India was more in line with the attacks and invasion of other Central Asian people.²⁹² There were also a number of good officers that accompanied Babur from Central Asia also helped Babur on his invasion of neighboring areas of Kabul.²⁹³

2.18 Attempts for the Conquest of India

When Babur ascended the throne of Kabul and firmly established himself there he directed his attention towards the invasion of India, which was one of the most important regions, occupied a strategic position during Mughal and even after their rule. For strategic reasons Babur need to keep the North West Frontier region under his own influence either by relations or by force.²⁹⁴

There were mountains in all four sides of Kabul, because of which it secured from the enemies. There were three main routes from Kabul towards the Indian territory of Peshawar, the first one was from Bangash area (Bangashat), second route was from Khddarpa, which meet to the highway of Jalalabad and the last was that of

²⁹¹ Shujaul Mulk, 45-7.

²⁹² Ibid, 45.

²⁹³ Babur Nama, 409.

²⁹⁴ Shujaul Mulk, 45.

Khyber Pass and Ali Masjid. Most of the people traders and invaders used the third route.²⁹⁵ It is clear from the account of Babur that he led five expeditions towards India. About these five invasions towards India there was a difference of opinion among several historians about the first three expeditions.²⁹⁶

According to Abul Fazl, Babur took his first invasion in January 1505 A. D, second in September 1507 AD, third in January 1519 AD. But according to Muhammad Qasim Farishta, Babur took his first and second expedition towards India during the year of 1519 AD (2nd at the end of the year 1519), the third in 1520 AD.²⁹⁷

The confusion is because of that some historians consider the Babur two expeditions of January, 1505 AD (in which Babur later change his plane and moved towards Kohat and Bannu etc) and September, 1507 AD as invasion to India. But Babur in 1505 A. D, when set out from Kabul was not to invade India but to secure supplies for his troops. Babur himself confessed that on reaching Jamrud he gave up the plan of the invasion of India. As his second expedition of September 1507 A. D, he set out from Kabul to invade India, because of the threat of the attack of Kabul by the Uzbek after which Babur left Kabul, but he give up the attempt, when he saw the Uzbek threat was removed. It was from the year 1519 AD that he begins his Indian invasion.²⁹⁸

2.19 First Attempt for the Invasion of India

At the end of the month of December, 1518 AD, Babur marched from Kabul towards Chaghan-Sarai and from there to Chandawal. The reason of this attempt was to make an attack over the fort of Bajur, whose Sultan refused to submit to Babur and also refused to pay tribute to them. Thus Babur from Chandawal on 4th of January 1519 AD, attacks on the fort of Bajur. The heavy artillery was used against them of which the people of Bajur made fun of the firearms, because they never saw it before, which killed about eleven of their men, with the killings of

²⁹⁵ Subhan Rai Batalwi, tran, Nazir Hasan Zaidi, Khulasat-ul- Tawareikh (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, nd), 135.

²⁹⁶ Bakshi, Babur, 7.

²⁹⁷ Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, 586-6.

²⁹⁸ Abraham Eraly, Emperors of the peacock throne: the saga of the great Mughals (India: penguin books, 2000), 9.

their men they became panicked. With the help of the firing from Ustad Ali Quli, who hit a tower of the fort, enabled Babur troops to enter the fort. Thus till 7th of January the fort was occupied by Babur army and after a tuff resistance Bajuri were defeated by the Mughals.²⁹⁹

The result of this battle carried about the killing of about 300 men with the number of imprisonments which were later on released with the request of Khwaja Kalan, who was placed in the charge of Bajur, which he administered successfully for a year after which he was recalled, to accompany Babur as he was a good friend to him and on his place on 1520 A. D. appointed Shah Mir Husain Qarluq as in charge of the area of Bajur.

In 19th January of the year of 1519 A. D, Babur army marched towards Swat against the Yausafzai, which were submitted to him without fighting. Babur then marched towards the valley of Kahraj, situated to the east of Chandawal. Here he on the advice of Mir Wais of Swat demanded from its inhabitants to a contribution of about 4,000 Kharwars for his army. This demand of Babur created a great difficulty for the people who could not afford that much heavy amount.

Babur next dispatched his troops under his commander Hindu Beg, to plunder the area of Panjkora, near the Kahraj valley. Hearing the arrival of Babur army the inhabitants of Panjkora fled from their houses, after which the army secured from their houses a great quantity of grain, sheep, mares and horses etc. On 28th of January 1919 AD the chief of Yausafzai, Shah Mansur came to Babur and by after submission to him, Babur married his daughter in order to win the support of Yausafzai.³⁰⁰

From there Babur set out with fifteen hundred to two thousand men towards Bhira, which formed the boundary between the areas of Punjab governed by Daulat Khan Lodi, a governor of the Punjab province of India and that of the areas of the country of Babur, kingdom of Kabul.³⁰¹ Reaching to a place with the name of Maqam, Babur made a consultation with his officers among them some had

²⁹⁹ Syyed Jaffar Husain, Teerahs Afridi tribe place at Pashto Academy, 1960, pg, 263-4.

³⁰⁰ Briggs, India, 35-7

³⁰¹ Khwaja Neematullah Harvi, tran, Muhammad Bashir Hussain, Tarekh-i-Khan Jahani Va Makhzan-Afghani (Lahore:Markazi urdu board, nd), 206-7. (hereafter Neematullah Harvi)

with the suggestion to Babur that as the army was not strong enough, so he should postponed the invasion of India. But Babur after ignoring their advice crossed the Sind above Attock on 17th of February, after which he started regarding and declaring the areas of Bhira, Chiniot, Khushab, and Chenab under his suzerainty, and its people to his own subject. As on the same time Babur announced to the inhabitants of Bhira for his submission, and for the refusal threatened them. On his way to India Babur was joined by a number of governors and princes of those areas including the in charge of Bhira, held by one of the sons of Daulat Khan Lodi, Ali Khan, who offered his submission to Babur by sending his officer Deva and some other notable men.³⁰²

These officers bring with themselves a tribute of horses and camels as well as with the amount of about 40,000 *Shahrukhis* contributed from the side of *Chudries* and headmen for Babur. As he was still in the east of Bhira, that he got the news of the looting and plundering of his army to the people of the area. Babur became annoyed with this act of his army and took a strong action against those persons in his troops who found guilty. The main reason was that Babur did not want and did not afford the turning of the support of those people against him. After which Babur conferred the government of Bhira to Hindu Beg and of Khushab to Shah Hasan, son of Shah Shuja Arghun as its governor and that of Chenab was given to Husain Ikzak.³⁰³

Babur then turned his attention towards the old territories of his predecessor, particularly Taimur and demanded from Ibrahim Lodi to give and surrender the areas which belongs in old times to Taimur for that purpose sent one of his envoy names Mullah Murshid to the court of Ibrahim Lodi. But he remained unsuccessful because by giving a letter to Daulat Khan Lodi, who neither met the envoy of Babur nor allowed him to proceed Agra to met with Ibrahim Lodi (because of the fear that his brother Ibrahim Lodi might grant the areas in his

³⁰² Satish Chandra, *Medieval India from Sultanate to Mughal empire 1526-1748 A. D* (New Delhi: Har anand publication, 2006),26. (hereafter Satish Chandra)

³⁰³ Briggs, India, 35-6.

possession to Babur) and thus the envoy returned to Kabul after five months without any success.³⁰⁴

During his return march to Kabul from Bhira on 13th March, 1519 AD, when he reached a place Kalda Kahar, twenty miles distance from Bhira, where he faced a new danger of the Ghakkars, of whom chief Hati, harassing the inhabitation of the neighboring areas and were always busy in highway robbery. Babur thus marched against him towards his capital, Parhala (12 miles east of Rawalpindi) where Babur with the help of Dost Beg confronted a crushing defeat over them. Hati fled from his capital, leaving behind all his property and treasure, received by the troops of Babur. Dost Beg who contributed very much in that victory as well as in the victory of Bajur, was given in reward the charge of the Parhala government, which was received by his brother Miram Nasir after his death. The government of the areas between Bhira and Sind was bestowed to Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang. After the victory over the Ghakkars, Babur advanced further as Ali Masjid, and on 20th March but because of his army who became tired and himself could not afford that much long absence from his capital Kabul and thirdly his army during this invasion of India was not as much strong to face the strong forces of Ibrahim Lodi, thus returned back by reaching Kabul on 30th March, 1519 AD and with that the three months long first expedition to India came to an end. This first invasion towards the territories of India brought to Babur the areas of Bhira, Chiniot, Khushab and Bajur with the submission of Ghakkars.³⁰⁵

2.20 His Second Invasion of India

After five months of wait Babur once again on 8th of September, 1519 started his second expedition towards India, which was led against the Yausafzai clans of Hashtnagar, though during his first expedition some of the Yausafzai clans came under Babur submission, but there was still some who were hostile to him. But this time Babur followed the Khyber Pass and Jalalabad route to attack them. After crossing Sultanpur, Babur learnt from the Dilazak chief about the large quantity of corn which was in the position of the nomad tribes. Thus Babur

³⁰⁴ Stephen Meredytc Edwards & herbert leonardOffely Garret, Mughal Rule in India (New Delhi: Atlantic publisher, 1995), 3-4.

³⁰⁵ Briggs, India, 35-7.

decided to seize it. He also decided to make Hashtnagar and Peshawar (Bigram) a base for his operations against the Yusafzai of Hashtnagar.

After reaching on the bottom of Khyber Pass one of his companion Sultan Bayazid suggest to plunder the Afridis of Bara who kept a considerable quantity of rice but Babur refused and marched against the Yausafzais of Hashtnagar. Babur after crossing Khyber Pass stop at Ali Masjid, after which crossing the Swat and Kabul river reached to the corn fields of Yusafzai, but after not finding sufficient grain there he give up the idea of garrison Hashnagar as a depot.³⁰⁶

He left behind that area and went to Jamrud, on 1st October 1519 AD, he was yet further proceeded that a news of the designs of the ruler of Kashghar, Sultan Said for the invasion of Badakhshan reached to him, thus Babur gave up his plan of the Yausafzai suppression and on 2nd October took his way back towards Kabul. But shortly after receiving the information of the returned of Sultan Said to Kashgar, Babur once again crossed the Khyber Pass and made an attack over the Khizr Khail tribe who created problems for the Babur troops, and carrying away their horses. The people of the tribes fled from their residence by leaving their property which fell to Babur hands. Babur sent Mirza Muhammad Sultan with the army of about 4000 towards Lahore and himself took the way of his return back to Kabul. During his return journey to Kabul he came to know that Sultan Mirza also end his expedition to Lahore and was on his way to Kabul.

The effect of the raid over the tribe of Khizr Khail was so great that the other tribes, like Khirilchi, Waziris, Shami Khail and Afghan chiefs submitted to Babur, with a large number of sheep brought as a tribute. At last by the way of Baghi Wafa and Jagdalik, Babur returned to Kabul and reached on 20th October, 1519 AD to his capital.³⁰⁷

2.21 Third Invasion to India

The third invasions to India of Babur started in 1520 AD, through the same route of Khyber Pass, on the way punish the rebellious Afghans, and those rebelled in

³⁰⁶ Ibid, 35-8.

³⁰⁷ Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, 587.

Bhira. Babur then passing through different Indian territories reached Sialkot, and surrenders it without resistance. At the same time a place near Sialkot with the name of Sayyidpur refused to accept Babur suzerainty. Thus the whole town was sacked by Babur, with three thousands men and women were made imprisoned and were carried to slavery and killed a number of the supporters of Lodis.³⁰⁸

Some scholars give details of the story of Guru Nanak presence in Sayyidpur that later on with the intervention of Guru Nanak (founder of Sikh religion), who was present at Sayyidpur with his disciple Mardana at the time of Babur invasion and with his request Babur released all of the prisoners and their property was restored. But there are some other scholars who did not support the presence of Guru Nanak at Sayyidpur and his meeting with Babur and they doubted that event and the story. Babur was not beyond Sayyidpur that the news of the raid over his territory from the ruler of Kandahar, Shah Beg reached to him. Babur left the Indian invasion incomplete and returned from Sayyidpur for setting out over an expedition towards Kandahar.³⁰⁹

After punishing the tribes of Tagudari and Hazara occupied Garmsir, after which he besieged Kandahar. At the same time a strong famine took place in Kandahar and surrounding areas, which also affected Babur and his army supplies, at last in the month of June Babur returned towards Kabul.

2.22 Fourth Invasion towards India

After the invitations of the brother of Ibrahim Lodi, Daulat Khan Lodi, who was also the governor of Punjab, was not in good terms with his brother, and with their invitation of the Afghan chief who seeks Babur help against the Rajputs caused the fourth invasion of Babur to India. As Ibrahim Lodi was a brave and courageous ruler, but at the same time arrogant, tactless with a suspicious nature, because of which many of his friends became his enemy.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ Ed. Edward James Rapson, The Cambridge history of India. Vol. vii (London: Cambridge university press, 1955), 10-12.

³⁰⁹ The Sikh archives, The emperor Babur meets to Guru Nanak, 2011.<http://www.sikharchives.com>. Access on. 4th August, 2014.

³¹⁰ Wolseley Haig, History, 10-11.

For instance he imprisoned and then murder Mian Bhua, his father prime minister. Another powerful noble Azam Humayun Sarwani was also murdered by him, which led Islam Khan, son of Azam Humayun to raise a revolt against Ibrahim Lodi. Though Ismail Khan was also killed, a series of revolts by the powerful nobles started with his murder which weakened his rule in India. But the most serious threat to the rule of Ibrahim Lodi was his own brother Daulat Khan Lodi. Daulat Khan annoyed Ibrahim Lodi by not giving sufficient resistance to Babur. On the invitation of Ibrahim Lodi his brother Daulat Khan Lodi instead of going himself sent his son Dilawar Khan to his court, who received him rudely. After Dilawar Khan returned to his father he regard his experience after which his father Daulat Khan Lodi made his mind for the overthrow of Ibrahim Lodi and got the support of a number of nobles for that purpose. Daulat Khan sent his son Dilawar Khan to Kabul, inviting Babur with his assistance to India against Ibrahim Lodi. On the other hand at the same time the Afghan nobles dispatched Alam Khan to the court of Babur, and inviting him for the invasion to India. Thus Babur encouraged by these invitation and disunity among the Indian subjects set out for Kabul.³¹¹

Babur led his fourth expedition to India in January, 1524 AD, on the same route of Khyber Pass, with the suppression of the Gakars, a warlike tribe on his way to crossing the Indus. Babur than advanced in the Indian Territory towards Lahore by passing the areas of Jehlum and Chenab. At the same time Ibrahim Lodi sent the imperial army to Lahore under the command of Bahadur Khan to defeat Daulat Khan there. Daulat Khan was not able to fight the imperial army, fled to the area of Multan, where he took refuge with the Balouch chief. When the imperial army entered Lahore as victorious, Babur at the same time by reaching there attacked and defeated them, after which he remained in Lahore for four days with plundering and destroying Lahore. As Farishta described the event of Babur plundering as that he plunders and destroyed some of the bazaars of Lahore in Chengiz Khan style and fashion. By hearing about the defeat of the imperial army Daulat Khan and his son Dilawar Khan, returned from Multan to Dipalpur.³¹²

³¹¹ Dillip Hiro, Babur Nama: Journal of emperor Babur (New Delhi: penguin group publisher, 2006), 237-9.

³¹² Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, 588-90.

After plundering Lahore for about four days, Babur then marched towards Dipalpur to meet Daulat Khan there. From Dipalpur Babur took the way towards Sirhind, but before reaching there, Babur changed his mind and took the return route towards Kabul. The main reason of his return was the Uzbek threat in Balkh as well as the turning of Daulat Khan against him. The reason was that Babur gave the areas of Sultanpur and Jalanadrha to him instead of Lahore. During the expedition the problems started between Babur and Daulat Khan as when Babur seek their help and which was promised by him before the invasion of India, but when they saw Babur army strong he started different tactics to use for the weakening of his army, and on one place advised Babur to detached separate army against Firuzpur and Ludhiana, which could weakened Babur army and became the cause of his defeat, though Babur accepted his advice it was later on his son Dilawar Khan who revealed his father treachery. After that Daulat Khan fled to the near hills for seeking opportunity of attack over the Punjab.³¹³

Before leaving Indian dominions Babur rewarded Dilawar Khan with the area of Sultanpur and gives him the title of Khan-i-Khanan. Babur gave the area of Dipalpur to Alam Khan and appointed Baba Qashqa Mughol, his trusted man as his representative to watch over the movements of Alam Khan. His arrangement for his other conquered areas of India was that, Sialkot was conferred on Kukuldash, Lahore to Abdul Aziz, Kalanaur to Muhammad Ali Tajik. But after the return of Babur to Kabul, Daulat Khan who fled to the mountains came down from there, taking back the areas one after another, started from his son Dilawar Khan by occupying the area of Sultanpur, then after defeating Alam Khan took his area of Dipalpur, but his attack on Sialkot was repulsed and his 5,000 men were defeated by Khusru with the help of Abdul Aziz by helping him from Lahore.³¹⁴

Taking advantage of these conditions and of the conflict between Daulat Khan and the men of Babur, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi sent his imperial army to recover the areas of Punjab. But Daulat Khan won the imperial army towards his own side, and foiled Ibrahim Lodi plan. On the other hand Babur marched towards Balkh against

³¹³ Ibid, 588-90.

³¹⁴ Ibid, 588-90.

the Uzbek, but the Uzbek withdrew from there before Babur arrival, thus Babur returned to Kabul by making preparation for his fifth invasion of India.

2.23 His Fifth and Last Invasion to India

On the other hand Alam Khan after receiving defeat from Daulat Khan hands, fled to Kabul for Babur help. After meeting with Babur they reached over an agreement, according to the terms of which Babur men in Punjab would provide him support on the condition that if Alam Khan became successful in gaining Agra throne, the western areas would be under the control of Babur. After which Alam Khan received some troops and a letter to his *Begs* or nobles in Lahore to help him on his reach for help. Babur also promised for his assistance and marched towards India. But on reaching to Lahore when Alam Khan showed the letter of Babur to his *Begs*, for their help in his march against Delhi, they refused to help him by interpreting the letter conditional.³¹⁵

After disappointment from *Begs* of Babur, Alam Khan sought Daulat Khan help by sending his son Sher Khan to him. Daulat Khan agreed and came into an alliance to him with the plan that Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan would take the areas of Punjab and neighboring areas from *Begs* and Alam Khan with the help of Haji Khan (son of Daulat Khan) marched towards Delhi and Agra for its occupation. Dilawar Khan also reconciles with his father and became their ally.³¹⁶

At the meantime encouraged by Daulat Khan and Alam Khan alliance, some other Amirs like Mahmud Khan Nuhani, Ismail Jilwani, Shaikhzada, Babban and son of Khani-Jahan also seek for alliance with them. Some of the secret letters were sent to the Afghans to made alliance with them against Ibrahim Lodi. Thus Alam Khan with about thirty to forty thousand army, including persons like Haji Khan, Dilawar Khan and several Afghan chief, marched and besieged Delhi, but failed and defeated by the 80,000 army of Ibrahim Lodi.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Babur Nama, 317-20.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

2.24 Babur Fifth Expedition

On 17th of November, 1525 AD (1st day of the month of Safar, 932 A.H, in Islamic calendar) Babur marched from Kabul towards India through the Khyber Pass³¹⁸. Babur left a small number of his army with the nominal command and charge of Kamran, who at that time was a child³¹⁹. Babur crossed the pass of Yak-langa to Jalalabad, then to Deh Yaqub, a tributary of Kabul river and stop in the west of the valley there for two days, for waiting prince Humayun, who was coming from Badakhshan to join them, then they waited for him in Gandamak, and after that in Bagh-i-wafa, but Humayun delayed because of the preparation for the expedition and to spending some time with her mother at Kabul.³²⁰

It was on third of December that at last Humayun reached to Bagh-i-wafa, at that day Khwaja Kalan also arrived from Ghazni to join the troops. Babur became angry with that delay and irresponsible behavior of his son Humayun. On 6th of December, Babur left Bagh-i-wafa for further progress towards Peshawar, by crossing the areas of Qiriq-ariq, Garam Chashma, Yadabir and Ali Masjid reached to Peshawar on the 9th of December, 1525 AD. After spending two days in Kabul the news of Ghazi Khan and his father Daulat Khan with the army of about 30,000 men, that seized Kalanaur reached to Babur, and the news of their further planning to make further progress towards Lahore. On reaching of Ghazi Khan marched towards Sialkot, Babur commander of Sialkot run away from there, another commander near Sialkot also from fear did not move there on Babur advise to protect Sialkot. Babur by receiving the news of these panics immediately from Kabul dispatched Mumin Ali Tawachi to inform his officers of Sialkot and Lahore to avoid any kind of action till their arrival.³²¹

Babur left Peshawar and cross Indus on 16th of December towards Sialkot. His army bypasses the hills for gaining grains from there, on 24th of December 1525

³¹⁸ Mohibbul Hasan, 37.

³¹⁹ Humayun Nama, 4.

³²⁰ Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, 591.

³²¹ Alexander Dow, ed. B. S. Dahiya, *The History of Hindustan*, volii (India: motilal Banarasidass, 2003), 61-2. (hereafter Dow)

AD, Babur crossed Jehlum,³²² after which he once again dispatched two of his men, Sayyid Lachin and Sayyid Tufan towards his *Begs* in Sialkot with the same instruction of not engaging in war with Daulat Khan and his son Ghazi Khan until their arrival. Babur then next marched towards the banks of Chenab by entering Bahlulpur, from its construction, towns and forts on the banks of Chenab Babur became very impressed, and had with the idea in mind by making it the capital instead of Sialkot, with the transfer of population to it. Babur declared it *Khalisa*, but he after Indian invasion never able to implement the scheme.

In the 29th day of the month of December, Babur enters to Sialkot by taking action against the tribes of Gujars and Jats for their act of oppressing the common people of Sialkot. It was there in Sialkot that Babur learnt about the failure of Alam Khan expedition against Ibrahim Lodi. Babur on the next day on 30th December continued his march towards Pasrur, where the officers of Lahore, Shah Mir Husain Qarluq, Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang, and several others joined him. They informed Babur about the developments in the part of Ghazi Khan and his father Daulat Khan, who withdraw from Lahore on approach of Babur army. They also worried about their escape towards Milawat.³²³

Babur though made a rapid marched against them, by leaving all of their baggages in charge of Shah Mir Husain, but in vain the Lodis and their troops reached to Milawat. Babur then detached some of his troops towards Milawat, by issuing orders to them that reached the Milawat fort and without delay and to guard the fort carefully that no one enter or leave the fort, particularly Ghazi Khan. Babur later on himself crossed Bias for Milawat and reached there on 3rd of January, 1526 AD. one of the grandson of Daulat Khan after Babur seize of Milawat surrendered to him. Later on Daulat Khan also submitted to Babur on the condition that he has forgiven him. Babur immediately sent one of his men Khwaja Mir Miran, to remove his fear of punishment, after which Daulat Khan

³²² Ahmad Yadgar, tran, Sayyed Nazir Niazi, Tarekh-i-Shahi (Lahore: Urdu Science board, 1985), 116-7.

³²³ Dow, 62-4.

came out of the fort with his son Ali Khan, and seek Babur pardon which they received from Babur.³²⁴

The reason of turning of Daulat kha against the army of Kabul and Babur was that he came to know about the intentions of Babur that he tried to capture Lahore for himself not for helping Daulat Khan.³²⁵

After the surrender of Daulat Khan and his son Babur took all of their property and treasure except their private property, which was retain with him and his family and sent to Balkh with the purpose to improve the security measure of Balkh and strengthen it against the Uzbek. The treasure was sent through the hands of his trusted man and governor of Dipalpur, Baqi Shaghawal. That property of Milawat mainly consist of gold and other valuable articles also including the library of Ghazi Khan by sending some of its valuable books to Kamran in Kandahar, and some were sent to his other son Humayun. Some of the valuable articles were sent to Kabul for his family, friends and children.³²⁶

The surrender ruler Daulat Khan with his two sons Ismail khan and Ali Khan were sent towards Malot in Salt Range, under the charge of Kitta Beg, but before reaching there, Daulat Khan Lodi fell ill in the way and died at Sultanpur. On the other hand after the conquest of Milawat, Babur in search of Ghazi Khan another son of Daulat Khan who escaped from there left the charge of the area in the hands of Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang. Later on Muhammad Ali Jang left the area under the charge of his own brother with some of his troops and himself joins Babur on his march against Ghazi Khan.³²⁷

Babur on his way was joined by another son of Dawlat Khan named Dilawar Khan after his dispute with his brother Haji Khan. Babur reaching the Jaswan valley dispatched some of his troops under two of his commanders Biram Deo Milhas and Tardika towards the hills of the valley for search of Ghazi Khan. They found him at the fort of Kutila, north east of the valley, a garrisoned of Ghazi

³²⁴ Zafar, Pukhtana, 500-1

³²⁵ Salma Ahmad Farooqi, A comprehensive history of medieval India: twelfth to the mid eighteenth century (India: person education, 2011), 223.

³²⁶ Ibid, 501.

³²⁷ Satish Chandra, 28.

Khan troops, after which Babur with his troops attacked him. The troops of Babur made the attack at night, the darkness helped Ghazi Khan to escape from there. Babur then sent another detachment against him. It was during that march that Babur received some positive news about a number of the nobles and relatives of the emperor of India that wished to join him. Among those people he received letters from two of the nobles of Ibrahim Lodi named, Araish Khan and Muhammad Mazhab, seek Babur alliance against their ruler and the same letters for alliance also came from the side of Malik Babban Khan Lodi, Shahu Khail and Ismail Jilwani. Babur replied them positively and invites them to join him.³²⁸

At meanwhile Alam Khan also came in to Babur camp. Babur besieged the forts of Bilaspur and Harur for searching Ghazi Khan, because he was the only remaining danger in his way for the conquest of Delhi, but failed to capture him. Babur after failing to capture Ghazi Khan came out from the Jaswan valley, by staying in the way first at Rugar and then at Karil. It was during Babur stay at Karil that he received a message from the ruler of India, Ibrahim Lodi about sending an envoy to him. When Babur sent two of his night guards as envoy to him, he imprisoned both of them and started his preparation for attack over Babur.³²⁹

From Karil, Babur made his progressed towards the areas of Banur and Sanur, where the news of Ibrahim Lodi marched and the movement of one of his commander Hamid Khan Khasa Khail, who advanced thirty to forty miles towards Mughal army reached to him. Babur immediately left Ambala and sent his son Humayun along with some of his officers like, Hindu Beg, Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang, Khwaja Kalan and Abdul Aziz etc against the Indian commander, Hamid Khan. The imperial commander retreated from there after knowing about the approach of Humayun. At the time of their retreat the troops under Humayun killed about 100 men of the imperial army with about the imprisonment of about in same numbers, including seven or eight of their elephants. The Kabul army also occupied the territory of Hisar Firuza. It was Humayun first victory after which his father conferred that territory and its dependencies to him. Another

³²⁸ Zafar Pukhtana, 500-1.

³²⁹ Babaur nama, 254-6.

commander of the Indian army, Babban Khan near Ambala prepared himself for war against Babur but later on found it difficult and might learn about the victory of Humayun against Hamid Khan fled from there before the reaching of Babur.³³⁰

Daud Khan and his elder brother Hatim Khan Lodi with an army of about six to seven thousands men once again prepared themselves for war against Babur with the distance of about seven mile from his camp. Babur sent an army under three of his good commanders, Chin Taimur Sultan, Sultan Junaid Barlas and Mahdi Khwaja against them. On 2nd April they made a surprise attack over both of the brothers and compelled them to flee from the battle field, leaving Hatim Khan who was seized with 70 of his men most of whom some were imprisoned but most of them were killed.³³¹

After these battles Babur decided to take his marched towards Delhi to meet for a final battle with Ibrahim Lodi. He arranged his army with discipline and for warlike tactics against the huge Indian army of Ibrahim Lodi.

Babur for the necessary arrangements of his troops ordered Ustad Ali Quli, a Turkish gunner to fix between every two carts, which were about seven hundred of carts with mantels and were secured with the ropes as like an Ottoman style join it, with a man beyond to stand and fire. After five to six days arrangement of the army for a final battle against the imperial forces of Ibrahim Lodi, Babur called a General council of all his nobles comprising, Mughals, Indians and Turks for the place of battle against the Lodis. It was in that General council that they were decided and choose the town of Panipat, which according to them with its crowded houses and residential areas provide a strong position for Babur army.³³²

2.25 Battle of Panipat

On 12th April, Babur reached Panipat, as Ibrahim Lodi arrived before him there. Babur was with a very strong position held by him as according to his arrangements on his front were the mantelets and carts of his army, behind of

³³⁰ Rickard, J, *Babur 14th February 1483-26, December 1530*,
http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/people_babur.html. Access on. 13th august 2014.

³³¹ Babur nama, 258-9.

³³² Baz Gul, *History of Pashtuns, battle of Panipat Afghans vs Mughals*, June 2014.
<http://historyofpashtuns.blogspot.com>. Access on. 27th August 2014.

which the foot men stand, the right side was protected by the town, and the left were protected by the tress and ditches. A little space at a distance was left for 100 to 200 men, with the purpose to attempt forward. About the size and numbers of both of the armies Babur, Badauni, Abul Fazl, Muhammad Qasim Farishta and Nizam ud Din, numbered the army of Ibrahim lodi about 100,000 men, with 1,000 elephants ³³³ while Naimatullah Harvi give the number of Ibrahim Lodi forces about 100,000, with 5,00 elephants and with a large number of foot with considerable number of firework. Mirza Haider Dughlat estimated the army of Babur to about 10,000 men, while Babur himself stated that his army consist of about 12, 000 men. ³³⁴

Ibrahim Lodi army would be about 100, 000 men, while that of Babur could be about 10, 000 men. Some of the persons in Babur army were afraid having in their minds, the huge army of the enemy, themselves less in numbers, among the strange people, away from their homes. But Babur gave them the confidence for success and inspired them with courage, and arguing them that destiny cannot be changed. That time Babur quoted some of the Quranic verses according to the situation that, “sometimes a small army comes out victorious over a large one, when God will so.” With those things he became able to get the confidence of his army who later on during the battle fought and sacrifice bravely their lives against Ibrahim Lodi. ³³⁵

After a stay of about one week at the field of Panipat, Babur with the purpose to moved out the enemy from their camps shoot arrows towards their camp. But all in vain, because Ibrahim Lodi and his army did not move. At last, on the advice of some of the Indian chiefs, Babur sent a detachment of about 4,000 to 5,000 men, under the command of Sultan Junaid Barlas, Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang and Abdul Aziz, to make a night attack over the camps of the enemy, but failed because of the lack of coordination among the commanders about their movements. At the day light the army of Ibrahim Lodi attacked them after which they retreated but on their way of retreat joined by Humayun, who had been sent for their help. Although they were attacked by the Indian army but fortunately no

³³³ Babur nama, 258-260.

³³⁴ Tareikh-i-Farishta, 594-5.

³³⁵ Jaffar, 13-4.

loss of life took place, except the injury of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, who received a wound in his leg, because of which he did not play an impressive role after the start of the battle of Panipat.³³⁶

The failure of Babur army and commanders night attack encouraged Ibrahim Lodi and his army to start their march against Babur. Hearing about their advance, Babur prepared his troops for action. Babur made the arrangement of his troops in the way that he placed on his right side some army under the command of Humayun, Sultan Muhammad Duldai, Hindu Beg, Pir Quli Sistani, Khwaja Kalan, a Barlas Turk and Wali Khazin. His left side was commanded by Mahdi Khwaja, Shah Mir Husain, Qutluq Qadam, Muhammad Bakhshi, Sultan Mirza, Jan Beg, Shah Husain, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Adil Sultan. In the centre its right side was commanded by Sulaiman Mirza, Shah Mansur Barlas, Muhammadi Kukuldash, Yunas Ali, Abdullah Kitabdar, Chin Taimur Sultan, Darwesh Muhammad Sarban and Yunas Ali. The left side of the centre of Babur army was commanded by Khwaja Mir Miran, Tardi Beg, Mirza Beg Tarkhan, Quch Beg, Ahmad Parwanchi, Khalifah Nizam ud Din and Muhibbi Ali Khalifa. The van of cart was led by Muhammad Ali Jang Jang and Khusru Kukuldash, while on the other hand Abdul Aziz commanded all of the reserve. The command of the heavy pieces were given to Ustad Ali Quli, and placed at the right of the centre, while the lighter pieces were given under the command of Mustafa, who stationed on its left side.³³⁷

Babur was in the centre of his army at such a place from where he would easily watch the progress in the battle and could give orders to his officers. The Indian imperial army reached and attacked on the right side of Babur army, after which Babur ordered Abdul Aziz, who was in his command the reserve to stay for their relief. Ibrahim Lodi army found the army of Babur well disciplined and well established so they held their way back, without knowing that what to do. But Babur army because of his excellent arrangement without staying made a quick

³³⁶ Tareikh-i-Murassa, 81-4.

³³⁷ Baz Gul, Battle of Panipat. Access on. 12th October, 2014.

response and progressed because the ranks behind them compel and press them forward.³³⁸

Taking opportunity from the retreat of the imperial army, Babur ordered the extreme right and left to make an attack with arrows on them. The rank of right and left of the centre were also ordered to attack while Babur himself with Mahdi Khwaja and his rank attacked and faced enemies with elephants. It was with that sudden and well organized attack that compelled the Indian army to retire. They were surrounded and attacked from all sides by the army of Babur after which they failed to find the way of their and crowded together at the centre, disorganized and helpless and with great loss from Kabul army.³³⁹

Babur with his great and brilliant war tactics and good cavalry, who moved forward to the lines of the enemy, won the war despite of the large number of the Indian army. The battle fought from morning to noon.³⁴⁰

In the battle of Panipat about 16,000 persons from Ibrahim Lodi army fell dead and 35,000 more became injured in the battle field.³⁴¹ After that victory Babur also sent a detachment to Agra for search of Ibrahim Lodi but in afternoon his body was found by Tahir Tibri, lying with more 5,000 to 6,000 men around him in the battle field. His head was brought to Babur.³⁴²

The main reason that helped Babur during the battle was the using of his artillery, with the sound of canons the elephants of the enemies frightened and run from the battle field. He also used clever war tactics that help him in the battle field. It was through his new war strategy that called *Araba* and *Tulughma* that help him a lot. It was basically the division and preparation of his army. *Tulughma* was the strategy through which they divide the whole army into different units while the

³³⁸ Muhammad Shafir Sabir, Dastan-i-Khyber, (Peshawar: university book agency, nd), 95-6. (hereafter Sabir, Dastan)

³³⁹ Sher Muhammad Gandapora, Tawareikh-Khursheed Jahan 1311 A. H., 94-5.

³⁴⁰ Manimughda s Sharma, At Panipat Babur won, Akbar got lucky Bhau got it wrong, 15th January 2015. (<http://blogs.timesofindia.indiatimes.com>. Access on. 3rd September 2014.

³⁴¹ KallieSzczepanski, The first battle of Panipatt, (<http://asianhistory.about.com/od/warsinasia/a/FirstbattleofPanipat.htm>.). Access on. 14th September 2014.

³⁴² Muhammad Ibrahim Zia, Maazi kay Dareechon Say (Urdu) (Lahore: Makthaba Moenuladab publishers, 2002), 99.

Araba or carts were placed in the centre of those division that facing the enemies that tied each other with ropes. The canons were behind them.³⁴³

Babur thus defeated Ibrahim Lodi on the historic field of Panipat on 21st and to some historians 26th April 1526 AD, and with that battle Babur found his foot step in India by founding the great Mughal dynasty that ruled India for more than 200 years.³⁴⁴

2.26 Kabul After Babur Invasion of India

After the battle Babur sent Humayun with a number of other officers like Khwaja Kalan, Wali Khazin, Sultan Mansur Barlas and some others to seize Agra and its wealth. Another detachment was send under Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Qutlaq Qadam, Junaid Barlas and Muhammad Sultan Mirza for the occupation of Delhi and its treasuries. On 27th April, Babur himself marched towards Delhi and entered it without resistance. At Delhi Babur visited different places of importance, like mausoleums of Qutbud Din Bakhtiyar Kaki and Nizam ud Din Auliya and a number of tombs of the Sultans of Delhi. *khutba* read with the name of Babur by Maulana Mahmud Farabi and Shaikh Zain at the chief mosque of the city, with distribution of money among the poor and needy. According to Gul Badan Begum, that Kabul was specially remembered by Babur and a small coin or one Sharukhi were sent for almost every person of it.³⁴⁵

On 28th April Babur left Delhi for Agra, after the appointment of Wali Qazi (as *Shiqdar*) and Baba Qashqa (as Diwan)with a number of troops on the way he learned that Humayun still not captured the fort of Agra. He reached Agra on 4th of May, with the approach of Babur the fort surrender by him.

As Babur was busy with his Indian invasion, leaving Kabul behind, some of his army men and noble from Kabul did not want more stay at India and they see Babur approval for their departure towards Kabul. Those nobles included, Mulla

³⁴³ Blog maps, The first battle of Panipatt: the beginning of the Mughal empire in India.
19http://blog.mapsofindia.com. Access on. 20th September, 2014.

³⁴⁴ Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, The Evolution Of North West Frontier Province (India: The London Book Company, 1938), 16.

³⁴⁵ Humayun Nama, 7.

Hassan, Khwaja Kalan Beg and Mir Miran Shah. Babur insisted to them, about the difficulties and sacrifices which they made for the occupation of India.

Babur because of economic reasons preferred India over Kabul. There are some of his sayings that shows his preference of India over Kabul shows from his sentences to his nobles and *Begs*, who did not want to stay more in India that, what remain for us in Kabul, the sport of harsh poverty. After that he permitted those nobles who desired for their home country, and left India for Kabul. Babur give him a number of valuable things from gold to diamond and a dancing girls of Ibrahim Lodi, also give *Shahrukhis* for his children wives and other ladies of the harem at Kabul.³⁴⁶

On the other hand as all of India was not in Babur possession and he faced external threats from the rulers of those princely states like, Mewar, Gwalior, Kalpi, Dolpur, Biana, Kandar, Mewat, Qanauj, Awadh, Bihar and several other areas. Babur sent his envoy to Kabul for help against these external enemies.

Babur sent a letter to Humayun in 1528-9 A. D, in which he expressed his joy for the defeat of Uzbek from the hands of Persian Shah, Shah Tahmasph, and instructed Humayun by taking help from his brother Kamran at Kabul and other *Begs* of there and made a march against Hisar, Hirat, and Samarkand etc.³⁴⁷

2.27 Babur Death and the Accession of Humayun

Babur died on 26th of December, 1530 AD there are different opinions about the causes of his death. Some historians and scholars connected it with the illness of his son Humayun, that when Humayun was very ill and any remedy made no effect over him, at that time one day Babur walked round Humayun and prayed, by saying the words that, O God; if a life may be exchange for a life, I gave my life and my being for Humayun, at that day he fell ill and Humayun recover from his illness. Some of the scholars have with the opinion that the reason of the death of Babur was through poisoning that was given to him by one of his cook in his bread. It was the effect of that poison that Babur day by day loss strength and the

³⁴⁶ Ibid, 95.

³⁴⁷ Mansura Haider, Indo-Central Asian Relations From Early Time To Medieval Period (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2004), 84.

doctors had no remedy for that. They believed that Babur was given the same poison that was given to him by the mother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, after the final invasion of India, through one of Babur taster Ahmad. From the effect of poison Babur remained ill and on bed for two to three months, and three days. He called his chiefs and nobles before his death and showed his willingness for Humayun to be his successor on the throne of India. After three days of that event on Monday, Babur died. His death kept hidden for a time on the advice of Araish Khan with the purpose to secure the capital from rebellions and looting of the common people of Agra. Because he knew that the people of Agra had with the custom that when they heard about the death of their king they started plundering, looting and stealing. They told the people that Babur became Dervish and in his place he gives the throne to Humayun.³⁴⁸

Some of his nobles were not happy with the will of Babur including the chief administrator Nizam ud Din Ali Khalifa, as he was not in good terms with Humayun and did not want his accession to the throne. In fact he was not in favor of the accession of any of Babur son to the throne, as he was a good friend of Mahdi Khwaja, son-in-law of Babur, and promised him for his support and to raise him to the throne of India. Some other nobles also join them for fulfilling the particular task. Later on Humayun ended his differences with Ali Khalifa and he started supporting him and with his support Humayun after arrival from Sambal ascended the throne of Agra on 29th December, 1530 AD (9th *Jumad-al Awwal*, 937 AH),³⁴⁹ mostly famous for his misfortune and unwearied patience of nature.³⁵⁰

Babur during his life time gives the charge of Kabul to one of his son Kamran Mirza, which remains in his position also after his death. Babur died in the age of 50 years at India.³⁵¹ He was first buried at *Chehar Bagh*³⁵². According to the will of Babur his body was later on brought to Kabul and buried there.³⁵³

³⁴⁸ Humayun nama, 105-9.

³⁴⁹ Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad Bakhshi, tran, H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, *Tabakat-i-Akbari* (Lahore: Sangee meel publications, 2006), 15-6. (hereafter Dowson, Tabakat)

³⁵⁰ Hennery George Keene, *The Mughal Empire* (Lahore: sang-i-meel publications, 1982), 22.

³⁵¹ Hayat-i-Afghani, 79.

³⁵² Habibi, Afghanistan, 121.

³⁵³ Habibullah Rafi, tran, Nusrat Afghani, *Short history of Afghanistan* (Quetta: Roze-ud-din Ghanavi, 2002), 42.

2.28 Impacts of Babur invasion and Reign on Kabul

Kabul faced with a number of disturbance and rebellions before the invasion of Babur particularly after the death of its ruler, Ulugh Beg Mirza. As his infant son Abdur Razzak was not able to control the situation of Kabul and thus an opportunity came for Muhammad Mukim Arghun the son of Zul-nun Beg Arghun of Kandahar to attack the territory. The new sovereign was not able to get the support of all of the people in Kabul. That condition provides an opportunity for a shelter seeker Babur and he invaded Kabul without much resistance. When Babur became in charge of Kabul he felt the need to improve the resources of Kabul to fulfill the needs of the area and his army. For that purpose he made a number of raids over neighboring territories and brings money to Kabul. Babur loved Kabul and its beauty and to increase its beauty Babur constructed a number of beautiful gardens there. He also brings a number of plants from neighboring territories particularly from Central Asia and planted it into those gardens. It was Babur who bring not only the administrative system of Kabul but the disturb condition of the area in to order. Though after the invasion of India he became busy there but did not ignore Kabul and appoint his own son in charge of the area. He sent from India not only wealth but also a number of valuable books to Kabul to his son Mirza Kamran. Babur introduced a number of the Afghan tribes to India by recruiting them in the Mughal army a number of whom settled there in India. For the safety and opening of the road to Kabul, Babur made several attacks over those warring tribes and robbers to ensure the security of the traders and caravans passing through the area. After the invasion of Kabul in 1504 AD by Babur it remains in Mughal possession till 1738 AD for about two hundred and forty two years.³⁵⁴

Further impacts of the Mughal rule in Kabul will be discussed in the next chapter. The chapter made it clear that Babur after becoming homeless look shelter for himself which he found in the form of Kabul. For a permanent hold at Kabul he needs to increase the revenue of the area for which he fought several time with different Afghan tribes. He struggle and fought battles against those tribes for keeping the roads open to Kabul. Babur also described the safe position of Kabul

³⁵⁴ Sykes, 280-1.

in the words that it is situated in the midst of the inhabiting part of the world and because of its hilly and difficult passes it became difficult for foreigners to access this country.

2.29 Conclusion

As Babur rose to prominence from this area as he was not accepted by his own people and driven out him from his own area of Farghana. Kabul not only gave shelter to him but it was the soil of Kabul from where Babur put the foundation stone of the great Mughal Empire of India. Though after the foundation of the Mughal empire at India, Babur shifted his court and capital there but still he did not neglect the importance of the area and appoint and leave his son there to look after the affairs of the area. Babur love and affiliation with Kabul showed from his memoires in which he again and again mentioned not only the importance but also of the beauty of the area. It was his love and respect for Kabul that Babur chooses the area for his burial and was buries there. After the death of Babur his successor also know the importance of Kabul as many of them were with the opinion that until Kabul was not under their control and authority they could not reign peacefully in India. Kabul was a key not only for the Mughal rule and their success in India but also for the prosperity and peace of India.

Chapter 3

KABUL UNDER HUMAYUN

The Chapter three deals with the affairs of Kabul during the reign of the second ruler of the Mughal dynasty. Humayun ascended to the Mughal throne after the death of his father in India where he faced a lot of difficulties including the rebellions in different parts of the country as well as the independence of Kabul and surrounding areas from his empire under his brother Mirza Kamran. He dealt with those problems in the form of civil war with his brothers particularly with Mirza Kamran the then ruler of Kabul. The chapter also deals with the rising of the Sur family under Sher Shah Suri and the exclusion of Humayun from India because of disunity among the brothers of Humayun. Humayun after becoming homeless tried to get the help from Mirza Kamran of Kabul but he refused to give him shelter. Most of the life and reign of Humayun passed in wars and expeditions particularly for getting the position of Kabul against his brother Mirza Kamran which remained the bone of contention between them for several years. At Kabul some of the Kabulis who were not happy with the rule of Mirza Kamran played an important role in the success of Humayun at Kabul. It was after the death of Mirza Kamran that Humayun got full control of the area of Kabul and once again look forward towards India. Later on Humayun made the same mistake done by his father as giving the charge of Kabul to one of his sons Mirza Muhammad Hakim by appointing him the ruler there. The chapter also deals with the activities of Humayun at Kabul and his policies towards different tribes of Kabul.

3.1 Early life of Humayun

Humayun was born at Kabul on 6th of March, 1508 A. D. His name was Nasir-uddin Muhammad, but better known with his surname Humayun (first saw light of the day) as given by his father Babur. He was the second child to Babur as the first was a girl who died after a month of her birth.³⁵⁵

His mother Maham Begum was the chief lady and received the title of Hazrat

³⁵⁵ Muni Lal, Humayun (New Delhi: Vikas publishing house, 1978), 2. (hereafter Muni Lal)

Walida (respected mother)³⁵⁶. As the first male child of Babur special attention were given to Humayun. When he was an about the age of ten his father, Babur made him in charge of Kabul, as he himself was an expedition to Kandahar. When Humayun reached to the age of thirteen he was appointed by his father as the governor of Badakhshan. Humayun also took part and played important role during his father expedition towards India.³⁵⁷

3.2 His Accession to the Throne

With the death of Babur his elder son Humayun, the son of Maham Begum, ascended on the throne of Agra, at place of his father, with the support of some influential nobles like, Nizam ud Din Ali Khalifa, who first opposed his accession, but later on became one of his strong supporter. Humayun also received great support from his mother Maham Begum³⁵⁸. It was with the support and influence of those influential people that at last on, 30th of December, 1530 AD, on Friday, three days after the death of his father ascended over the throne of India. At the time of his accession to the throne he was twenty three years of age. Khutba was publically read at Jamai- mosque, with the name of the new Emperor Humayun at the city of Agra. With his accession the nobles and officers showed their devotion to him. Humayun did not make many changes in the Mansabs and designations of the officers and mostly carried with the same nobles and Mansabs as by of his father. At the day of Humayun accession another son of Babur and a step brother of Humayun named Hindal Mirza reached Agra, who was received with great kindness and was granted with two treasuries of his father.³⁵⁹

3.3 Division of Territories among His Brothers

With the purpose to reduce the threads of opposition from his brothers and relatives, Humayun divided the territories of his father empire among his brother in the way that, Mirza Hindal received the district of Mewat and Alwar in Jagir, his second brother Mirza Askari was granted with the area of Sambal, later on

³⁵⁶ Ibid, 3.

³⁵⁷ Ishwari Prasad, The Life and Times of Humayun (London: Orient & Longman publishers, 1950), 5.

³⁵⁸ Dowson, Tabakat 16.

³⁵⁹ Khwandamir, tran, Bainsi, Prashad, Qanun-i-Humayuni (Calcutta: Royan Asiatic Society, 1940), 17.

Ahmadabad and its dependencies were bestowed on him. Kamran Mirza Humayun third brother remained on the position of the areas which he received from his father Babur and continue to kept him under his rule during Humayun period. Kamran remained undisturbed in those areas of Kabul and Kandahar with the addition of Lahore. Humayun also increased the Jagirs of his Amirs.³⁶⁰

He confirmed the government of Badakhshan to his cousin, Suleiman Mirza.³⁶¹ That distribution of the territories among his brothers and relatives did not work for long and in fact became one of the causes of the weaknesses and failure of Humayun and the Rohtas, Afghans, his brothers and relatives raised the standard of revolt against him. His brothers became the independent heads of their countries and states and instead of helping Humayun they created problems for him.³⁶²

3.4 His Early Difficulties

The throne left by Babur in India was not the bed of roses for Humayun he faced a number of controversies and revolts from different parts of his Empire, as well as from his brothers and relatives. His accession to the throne was not free from difficulties as belong to army or to his court. The Rohatas, Afghans through their revolts give Humayun tough time. First of all the empire founded by his father was a new born empire only five years old and the Mughal crown at India was a little unsettled. The army was also not a nation army at that time and without any common language and ethnicity. Though there were a number of experienced and influential people in the army as well as in the court, but mostly followed by their adherents and could create problems for the new emperor Humayun, including Syyeid Mehdi Khwaja, a son in law of Babur and Muhammad Zaman Mirza another relative of Babur.³⁶³

Those influential people could create a number of problems and difficulties for Humayun. Secondly, Babur did not have much time to consolidate his position in

³⁶⁰ Dowson, Tabakat, 17.

³⁶¹ William Erskine, *History Of India Under Babur* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1989), 6.

³⁶² Raverty, Notes, 38.

³⁶³ Susan Paul, *Humayun 1530-56*, <http://india712-1707.blogspot.com>. Access on. 21st December 2014.

the newly conquered areas of India. As Babur died a short time after the conquest of India. On the other hand the Mughals were the outsiders for the Hindus and other Indians and it was difficult for them to accept the foreigner rules. Before the Mughal invasion the last dynasty that ruled the Indian territories were the Afghan dynasty though they were overthrown and defeated by Babur, but still not yet crushed their powers. During their rule at India those Afghans occupied high *Jagirs* and position and considered their birth right to rule India. The sons and other relatives of the late Sultan Ibrahim Lodi were still supported by the Afghan nobles particularly in Behar and Bengal.³⁶⁴ On the other hand though, Humayun was a brave, capable and an accomplished person with great energy, but lacked diplomatic skills and political awareness and wisdom.³⁶⁵

Some of the rebellions that Humayun faced at early years of his reign were the revolt from Raja of Kalinjar, who wants for himself to be on the throne of India. Another revolt was raised by a son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Sultan Mahmud, with the help and assistance of Baban Bayazid and some other Afghan nobles, with taking the areas of Jaunpur and its dependencies. Another revolt against Humayun was held by Muhammad Zaman Mirza, son of Badi uz Zaman Mirza and grandson of Sultan Hussain Mirza came from Balkh and take refuge under Babur in India. Humayun imprisoned him, but later on he escaped and fled to Gujrat, where he with the help of the ruler of Gujrat named Sultan Bahadur raised a revolt against Humayun.³⁶⁶

It was during that revolt that one of a vizier to Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat, with the name of Khrasan Khan made an attacked over Biana. Muhammad Mirza with the help of his two sons, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza also made a revolt against Humayun. They went off to Kanauj by raising the rebellion against the Emperor. Thus it was an almost in every quarter of India there were revolts and rebellions in whole of the Empire and Humayun was busy in its suppression. On that hour of trouble when Humayun was busy in the suppression of rebellion his own family members including his brothers and relatives raised revolt against him. Humayun

³⁶⁴ Erskine, *History*, 2-5.

³⁶⁵ Raverty, Notes, 38.

³⁶⁶ Munis. D. Farouqi, *The Princess Of The Mughal Empire, 1504-1719* (New York: Cambridge university press, 2012), 28. (hereafter Farouqi)

learned from one of his men Tardi Beg that his brother Mirza Askari raised revolt against him at Ahmadabad and wanted to assume the throne for himself. After hearing that Humayun quickly set out an expedition against his brother Mirza Askari for Agra, but on his way near Chitor met him, who cleared himself from the charges made against him. At last Humayun got control over all of the revolts and rebellions by defeating them, and spent the first three to four years of his reign in peace, but all things not remain good for Humayun and till 1543-4, the danger which faced by him made him homeless and became without any dominion, like his father.³⁶⁷

3.5 Kamran Occupied Lahore

As Humayun was busy in quelling the rebellion in other parts of India, particularly against Sher Shah Suri, Mirza Kamran made an attack over Lahore by leaving the charge of Kabul and other areas of Afghanistan under the charge of his brother Mirza Askari. Though after reaching Lahore Mirza Kamran came to know that it was not easy for him to take control of the area easily by force, as the governor of Lahore Yunis Ali provide him with tough resistance. So Mirza Kamran through diplomacy tried to achieve his goals and for that purpose he made a plan with one of his trustworthy friend and noble, Karacha Khan. According to the strategy of the plan Karacha Khan fled to Lahore with some of his followers to seek the support of Yunis Ali against Mirza Kamran. The plan worked and Karacha Khan with his companions received cordially by the governor of Lahore Yunis Ali after knowing his differences with Kamran. As Karacha Khan waited for some days to took the control of the fort from the hands of the governor of Lahore and at last the opportunity came to him when one night Karacha Khan with his men made an attack over the governor of Lahore and made the governor Yunis Ali captive there by occupying the fort of Lahore.³⁶⁸

Mirza Kamran after receiving the news marched towards Lahore from his camp and thus captured it without much resistance. Mirza Kamran offered the governorship of Lahore to Yunis Ali, but he refused. Some other districts of

³⁶⁷ Erskine, *History*, 17-9.

³⁶⁸ Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Punjab Under The great Mughals 1526-1707 A. D.* (Lahore: Book traders, 1979), 20. (hereafter Nijjar)

Punjab were also taken by Mirza Kamran. After the occupation of Lahore by Kamran his brother and the ruler of India, Humayun according to his wishes, confirmed the position of Mirza Kamran not only to the areas of Lahore but showing his generosity also given him the province of Multan and the area of Hissar-i-Feroza. The main reason of his generosity showing to his brother was the threads from the Afghans and his weak position against Sher Shah Suri. Humayun was not in the position and could not afford to turn his brother against himself at that crucial time.³⁶⁹

3.6 Appearance of Sher Khan

In 1535 A. D, an Afghan person with the name of Sher Khan (Farid Khan), who was the son of Hasan Sur, and whom grandfather, Ibrahim came to India from Ghur, was born to an Afghan lady.³⁷⁰ His grandfather occupied the profession of horse's trade between Ghazni and India, while his father Hasan joined the services under second Lodi ruler Sikandar Lodi, who give him a Jagir of Sehseram near Behar. Farid Khan spent his childhood there. After the occupation of India by Babur that Afghan chief Sher Khan on several occasions came to his court for showing his respect to the Emperor. It was during those visits and meetings that he noted many weak points in the Mughal rule which later on helped him for the overthrow of the Mughal dynasty at India and particularly helped him in the overthrow of Humayun rule. Sher Shah strengthened himself against the Mughals with the help of Afghan tribes by building a strong army. For other resources of war, with his abilities and tactics he used the province of Behar by taking the fort of Rohtas at Behar from its Hindu governor.³⁷¹

As Humayun was busy in suppression of rebellions at Malwa and Gujrat, Sher Khan took advantage of the opportunity and the possession of the provinces of Jaunpur and Bihar, with fort of Chunar, Humayun at that time was busy at Gujrat and Malwa with rebels. Later on Humayun turned his attention towards the Afghans under Sher Shah Suri and after defeating the rebels of Gujrat and Malwa

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ G. P. Tate, The Kingdom Of Afghanistan A Historical sketch (Karachi: Indus publication, 1973), 21. (hereafter Tate, kingdom)

³⁷¹ Sir Olaf Caroe, tran, Syeed Mehboob Ali, The Pathan (Urdu) (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, university of Peshawar, 1988), 199-200.

he marched against the Afghan chief Sher Shah Suri on 12th August 1535 AD. Receiving the news of Humayun marched against him, Sher Shah fled from his possession towards Bengal.³⁷²

Sher Khan after some time once again raised revolt, but this time at Bengal by waging a war against its ruler and defeating him. After the defeat from the hands of Sher Khan the ruler of Bengal fled towards Humayun and sought his help as refugee with him against Sher Khan. Humayun after that started his march towards Bengal. On the other hand Sher Khan tried to expand his territories by sending his sons, Khwas Khan (according to some resources Khwas Khan was his servant) and Jalal Khan for the occupation of Garhi, situated on the road of Bengal, where his sons defeated the commander of Humayun Jahangir Beg Mughal and wounded him. Hearing about the defeat of his men Humayun himself led an expedition against them to the gates of Garhi. When the sons of Sher Khan found it impossible to defeat the forces of Humayun both of the brothers fled away. Humayun then marched against Bengal where Sher Shah after receiving the news of his arrival fled to Rohtas. For three months Humayun remained in Bengal.³⁷³

3.7 Revolts of Humayun Brothers against him

As Humayun was busy for a long time in bringing peace at Bengal, his long absence from the capital Agra provide an opportunity for his brother Mirza Hindal at Agra to set himself on the throne there. Mirza Hindal, who was in Agra, with the support of some of his advisors, find an opportunity to set himself on the throne of Agra, to fulfill his aim his advisors killed one of the great Sheikh of the time, Shaikh Bahlol, to whom Humayun was very much attached. The main aim behind that killing was to widen the problems between Mirza Hindal and Humayun. Though the reason for his death was given that, he provides to Sher Khan and other rebels with arms and weapons. After the killing of Sheikh Bahlol and increasing his influence there, Mirza Hindal went to Delhi. The *khutba* was started to read with the name of Hindal. After hearing that state of affairs Humayun left for Agra by leaving Jahangir Beg with the charge of Bengal with

³⁷² Ibid, 199-200.

³⁷³ Dow, 28-9.

about 5,000 men. Humayun after reaching Agra tried to stop his brother from revolt and for that purpose he met to his step mother, Dil-Dar Begum, real mother of Mirza Hindal, after convincing her she went towards her son Mirza Hindal, who was at that time in Alwar and met him there. At last she became successful by preparing her son to give up the revolt against his brother, and come with her from Alwar to Agra. Though at that time Humayun was absent from Agra, for suppressing a rebellion.³⁷⁴

On the other hand Kamran who was busy at Kandahar against the Persians after his returned to Lahore learned about the weak position of Humayun against the revolt of Mirza Hindal and that of the growing strength of Sher Khan. After which he design the plan for securing Agra for himself. Thus Kamran Mirza with the help of about 12,000 horsemen which were fully equipped marched towards Delhi. At Delhi two men, Mir Faqr Ali and Mirza Yadgar Nasir occupied the fort of Delhi, when heard about the approach of Kamran Mirza, they first shut off the gates of Delhi fort against him, but later on reached on an agreement with him, and advised Mirza Kamran that instead of taking Delhi, go to Agra and take that first and if you became successful we give you Delhi without resistance, after hearing that Mirza Kamran marched towards Agra. After learning about the arrival of Kamran his brother Mirza Hindal fled to his province of Mewat.³⁷⁵

3.8 Humayun Defeat through the Hands of Sher Khan

When Humayun came to know about the intentions of Mirza Hindal and his ambitions for the throne, he left one of his general named Jehangir Beg at Bengal with some of his men and himself returned to Agra. Sher Khan, who fled from Bengal because of the fear of Humayun once again came and occupied the area of Bengal by defeating Jehangir beg and the imperial army after the return of Humayun to Agra.³⁷⁶

When Sher Shah further informed about the difficulties of Humayun, because of the revolts started in the country and that of his brothers creating difficulties for

³⁷⁴ Boyle.

³⁷⁵ Dowson, Tabakat, 15-31.

³⁷⁶ Ibid, 32.

him. Sher Shah comes up with the plan to conquer the other areas of Indian empire. To fulfill his plan he came out from Bengal and started capturing one place after another. Though in their struggles some time the imperial army defeated Sher Khan and also killed one of his sons, yet Sher Khan continued his struggle against Humayun.³⁷⁷

3.9 Battle of Chuasa

When Humayun came to know about the advance of Sher Shah, he prepared his troops against him. It was in the place of Chuasa that both of the opponent army came face to face. Kamran at first learning about the victories of Sher Shah started march against him when Sher Shah encircled Humayun and his troops near Chusa. But on the way he once again changed his mind, with the thinking that if he defeats Sher Shah his brother Humayun once again will become powerful and would be the ruler of India.³⁷⁸ It was because of that jealousy that he returned to Agra and did not help Humayun at that time of need against Sher Shah. At was that battle of Chuasa that the army of Sher Shah defeated Humayun near Chusa on 27th of June, 1539 AD.³⁷⁹

During the battle Humayun received a wound over his arm through an arrow after which some of his men rescue him and they returned back to Agra. There at Agra, Humayun other brothers, Mirza Hindal and Muhammad Sultan Mirza also joined him and they set for consultation for making arrangements against Sher Shah.³⁸⁰

3.10 Battle of Qunuj

The final blow to the rule of Humayun came with the battle of Qanug, to revenge the defeat in the battle of Chausa. Humayun with the number of about 100,000 army marched against Sher Khan at the banks of Ganges and met his army there.

³⁷⁷ Khwaja Neematullah Harvi, tran, Muhammad Bashir Hussain, Tarekh-i-khan jahani va Makhzan-Afghani (Lahore:Markazi urdu board, nd), 232.

³⁷⁸ Khwaja Neematullah Harvi, Tarekh-i-khan jahani va Makhzan-Afghani, place at Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar with accession no. 682, pg. 109.

³⁷⁹ Hussain Khan, Sher Shah Suri 1504-1545 (Lahore: Ferozsons ltd, 1994), 192.

³⁸⁰ S. R. Sharma, Mughal Empire in India, vol.i (New Delhi: Atlantic publishers and distributors, 1999), 82-3. (hereafter Sharma,Mughal)

The army of Sher Shah was not more than 50,000³⁸¹. A battle was fought on 17th of May, 1540 AD, many of Humayun soldiers fled from the battle field without fighting, at last finding it difficult to win against Sher Khan, Humayun also escaped towards Agra.³⁸²

3.11 Refusal of Kamran to help Humayun

Kamran remained for about seven months in Agra, at that period his relations with Humayun became to its lowest stage. The reason of which was given by different historians are that Kamran during his stay at the court of Agra became severely ill, after recovering he suspected to his brother Humayun, that he may have given him poison. After that event he left for Lahore, and when Sher Shah found Humayun alone attacked and defeated him, after which Humayun also fled towards Lahore. After some time Sher Shah followed them to Lahore, at that time Kamran Mirza was also present there when Sher Shah besieged it. Kamran Mirza came to an agreement with Sher Shah through which by saving his own life and to allowing safely returning back his capital Kabul, he agreed to surrender Lahore to Sher Shah. After that Humayun also fled from Lahore towards Sind on the way of Multan in 1540 A. D, and thus Lahore came under the control of Sher Shah.³⁸³ Sher Shah, even before the battle of Chusa and Qanuj, defeated the Mughals. These defeats of the Mughals by Sher Shah struck a terror on Humayun and his army.³⁸⁴

3.12 Humayun withdrawal from India

With the occupation of Lahore by Sher Shah Humayun fled from there towards Sind on the way of Multan in 1540 A. D. and remained for about fifteen years in exile. He was received with great honor by the Rana of Amarkot (in Sind). It was here in exile that the great Mughal ruler of future, Akbar born to his wife Hamida Banu begum on 23rd of November, 1542 A. D.³⁸⁵ His brother Mirza Hindal

³⁸¹ Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, 620-27.

³⁸² Sayil, 61.

³⁸³ William Erskine, The history of India under the first two sovereigns of the house of Taimur, Babur and Humayun volij (London: Cambridge university press, 2012), 181

³⁸⁴ Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, History of Sher Shah Sur (Aligarh: P.C. Dwadash Shreni & co ltd, 1997), 53.

³⁸⁵ P. N. Chopra, B. N. Puri and M. N. Das, A Comprehensive History Of India (Medieval India) (New Delhi: Sterling publishers, 2003), 114.

accompanies Humayun on his way to Sind, but returned from there after having some problems with him. Later on October, 1541 A. D., Mirza Hindal made an attack and invades his brother Kamran territory of Kandahar, with the help of its governor Karacha Khan. When Kamran was informed about the loss of Kandahar he marched against his brother and after a long siege of six months surrendered it.³⁸⁶ According to S. R Sharma, Mirza Askari was also along with Humayun during his flight but parted from him after a short time and went to Kabul along with Khwaja Kalan Beg at the end of the month of October. On the other side after the attacked of Hindal, Mirza Kamran marched against his brother and defeated him there.³⁸⁷ After recovering the lost area of Kandahar from Mirza Hindal, Kamran give it to under the charge of his brother Mirza Askari and himself returned to Kabul by making Mirza Hindal prisoner at Kabul, but later on forgive him and rewarded him with the district of Jalalabad as Jagir.³⁸⁸

When Humayun was defeated and withdraw from India by Sher Shah, the new emepror of India, Sher Shah visited Khushab and it was there in Khushab that a number of people from Kabul visit and congrates him there for his victory against Humayun. Sher Shah bestowed them with gifts and Jagirs.³⁸⁹

3.13 Causes of Humayun Defeat

The main cause of Humayun failure against Sher Shah Suri was the disloyalty and selfishness of his brothers and some of his nobles at the Mughal court. When his brothers saw him around in the middle of troubles, they started desiring for themselves to be an opportunity of placing themselves on the throne of India. They did not agree at any common agreement, and did not meet the common danger of Sher Shah. If they helped each other at that time of need the Mughal history would be changed. When Humayun was surrounded by difficulties he seek the help from his brother and requested Kamran Mirza to give him assistance against Sher Shah Suri, and Kamran was able and was the position to give assistance to his brother in the struggle against Sher Shah because he was the ruler

³⁸⁶ R. S. Chaurasia, History of Medieval India from 1000 A. D. to 1707 A. D. (New Delhi: Atlantic publishers and distributors, 2002), 174.

³⁸⁷ Sharma, Mughal, 88.

³⁸⁸ Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, 625.

³⁸⁹ Sher Muhammad Ghandapur, tran, Siraj Ahmad Alvi, Tareikh-i-Pukhtun (Karachi: Sheikh Shukat ali and sons publishers, 1986), 283.

of the areas from Kabul to Kandahar. If he provide assistance to Humayun they easily would come over the threat of Sher Shah by defeating him, but because of his jealousy and ambitions he did not agree to help him, and returned back with his forces towards Kandahar from Agra. Thus Humayun was driven out from India and Farid Khan Suri, earned the title of Sher Shah after seizing the throne of Delhi.³⁹⁰

3.14 Kamran Mirza as a Ruler of Kabul

Kamran for about 23 years from 1530 to 1553 A. D., remained the ruler of Kabul and surrounding areas bestowed by his father to him with some ups and downs. He enjoyed the same position as a king or semi independent king of Kabul during the rule of his brother with a nominal authority of Humayun. His power as a king of Kabul and Kandahar was firmly established. In general terms the territories under his rule formed all the areas in the present day Afghanistan except the areas of Herat and Sistan. Though Balkh was at that time in the hands of Uzbegs, Badakhshan was under the rule of Kamran and was part of the kingdom of Kabul. Though Humayun lost his empire, Kamran was still the ruler of Kabul.³⁹¹

As a king of Kabul, Kamran gain the sympathies of different Afghan tribes including Mohmand, Khalil and Guria Khail etc by helping them against the Dalazak with the purpose to strengthen their border against his brother Humayun. Kamran felt the danger from his brother and never helped him even tried to increase his difficulties.³⁹²

When Humayun became the Emperor of India, and there was unrest in his country, Kamran Mirza take it as an opportunity for increasing his dominions and thus within the two years of Humayun accession he took Punjab and Lahore, by including it in his kingdom of Kabul. There was also less threat to his power from his brother, though Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah and were compelled to leave his Empire, Kamran did not allowed him to enter Kabul or any other part of his territory. His other two brothers Askari Mirza and Hindal Mirza were under his orders. Thus he took a strong position at Kabul. Kamran Mirza was a good

³⁹⁰ Tareikh-i-Rashidi, 16-17.

³⁹¹ Mallson, 129.

³⁹² Olaf Caroe, 220.

soldier, and keeps his dominion well managed under his orders. But for a king it is necessary that he bore the qualities of good nature with strong will and the power to impress others. The lack of these qualities later on became one of the causes of the failure of Mirza Kamran.³⁹³

Kamran was satisfied with his position and control over the inhabitants of Kabul, which increased after his return from the second expedition of Badakhshan, after which he fully gave himself into pleasure, and started ignoring the affairs of his state and government and that of with little concern over the complaints of the common people of Kabul. He paid little attention to the general masses and their problems, because of which with the passage of time the masses started opposing and disliking him.³⁹⁴

According to some historians Kamran Mirza was with a curious and contradictory character, with suspicion, jealousies and unsocial nature. They blamed him that he did not possess more than a single friend at a time. His courtier did not like him and feel no such pride on him to be as their king, they only followed him and were subjected to him for their interest and from his fear. With the expulsion of Humayun by Sher Shah from India, Kamran not only refused to welcome and support him at Kabul but he also renounced his nominal overlordship. Humayun during his meeting with the Portuguese delegates told them about the treacherous nature of his brothers particularly Kamran, who vested the areas of Kabul to Lahore in his hands. He wished that his brother rule at Kabul as a viceroy of Kabul with peace and leave him undisturbed in his own domain.³⁹⁵

As far as the rule of Kamran at Kabul was concerned he for almost twenty three years though with some breaks remained in charge of Kabul, as from 1530 to 1553 A. D. Later on after receiving defeat from the hands of his brother Humayun at Kabul, he looked for plundering and looting different Afghan tribes, whenever an opportunity came to him. As Mirza Kamran was in friendly relations with the Momand and Khalil tribes thus seek their help and shelter there against his brother Humayun. Some time he wandered from one place to another in search of his

³⁹³ Mallson, 129-30.

³⁹⁴ William of Widford, translated & edited by Robert H. G. Charles, *Mission to a distant land* (London: Authorhouse publishers, 2013), 127.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 121.

Afghan friends and it was his friendly relations with some of the tribes that on one occasion he became able to gather an army of about twelve thousands Afghan troops against his brother Humayun.³⁹⁶

3.15 Disturbance in Kandahar

Kandahar was under the possessions of Mirza Kamran, who was a semi-independent ruler of Kabul and Kandahar. For a long time the area of Kandahar was a bone of contention between Persian and Mughals. For some time it remains at the position of Mughals, and for other with the Persians. Kandahar was occupied by the Persians after which Kamran marched against then and retaken it from the rule of the Persians. Kamran appointed Kalan Beg as governor and in charge of Kandahar with a number of troops and he himself returned to Kabul. Later on after his return from Kandahar the Persian army once again made an attack over Kandahar and compels its governor to flee from there by once again leaving the area to the Persians. Shah Thamsph of Persia made an attack over Kandahar. The Persian army provides tough resistance to the governor of Kandahar. They besiege Kandahar, after which Kalan Beg, *Subehdar* or governor of Kandahar did not afford a war with the huge and powerful Persian army evacuate and leave Kandahar to them with a great palace built for himself in Chinese fashion, decorated with carpets and vases. Shah Thamsph became very happy with the capture of Kandahar without resistance. He after some time left the charge of Kandahar to his nobles and himself leaves for Iraq.³⁹⁷

Kamran Mirza after learning about the successful attack of Persian over Kandahar became annoyed over the governor of Kandahar, Khwaja Kalan Khan, who left the city to Persian without fighting and fled to Lahore. He from Lahore marched towards Kandahar and besieged the fort of the city. As a huge number of the Persian army already left for Iraq and Persia, and the remaining forces and nobles were not able to face the huge army of Kamran. After a short siege of Kandahar Kamran defeated the Persians and once again Kandahar came under the suzerainty of the Mughals. The Persian after their defeat fled from the city. When Kamran Mirza was busy at Kandahar against the Persian, the rebel, Zaman Mirza, came

³⁹⁶ Muni Lal, 180.

³⁹⁷ Dowson, Tabakat, 27.

towards Lahore and besieged it, but after receiving the news of the return of Kamran Mirza fled towards Gujarat.³⁹⁸

3.16 Humayun Seeks the Persian Assistance

Humayun on the other hand passing through the most difficult time of his life when he became hopeless from Sind where he stayed for some time and moved towards Kandahar to try his fortune there. On the way he was informed by some people about the danger that waiting for him in Kandahar, as his brother Mirza Askari fully prepared himself and his troops against in attack over him. He also came to know about the conspiracy of his brother in the form of a letter, which Mirza Askari wrote to different Indian chiefs for his murder. When Humayun became hopeless from there he turned towards Herat on the advice of Bairam Beg.³⁹⁹

Humayun before starting his journey towards Herat after knowing the intentions of his brothers left his infant son Akbar (born in October, 1542 A.D at Amarkot during that journey) to the custody of his brother Askari. Though he was not in good terms with Humayun, but he looks after his son Akbar very well. Humayun marched towards Herat with about 22 men accompanied him during his journey. Humayun was in two minds that either to go to Iraq or to Herat but later on chooses Herat. On his way to Herat in Sistan he was received with great respect by its Persian governor of the area Ahmad Sultan. Humayun from there went to Herat where they were received with great respect and it was from Herat that Humayun later on further moved towards the Persian capital Quzvain.⁴⁰⁰

At Persia the Shah of Persia Shah Thamsph received him with great honor. After spending some days there in the hospitality of Shah Tamsph, and requesting for his help against Kamran and Sher Shah. The Shah accepted his request and he moved from Persia towards Kandahar. They agreed to help Humayun on the

³⁹⁸ Ibid, 27.

³⁹⁹ Motamedi Mohsen, The Role Of Humayun On Transferring Of Iranian's Culture to India, journal of current research in Science, Vol.ii, No. I, (Iran: Islamic Azad university, Shirvan, 2014), 154.

⁴⁰⁰ Sayil, 59.

condition that he after the conquest of Kandahar gives it to the Persians. .⁴⁰¹

3.17 Humayun besieged Kandahar

Humayun started his return journey from Persia towards Kandahar and was accompanied by 10,000 Persian forces under the command of Shah Murad, one of the sons of Shah Tamsph. The news of Humayun advance to Kandahar when reached to Mirza Askari the governor of Kandahar, he sent Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, the son of Humayun to Mirza Kamran in Kabul, where Khazada Begum, Humayun paternal aunt received him into her charge.⁴⁰² Mirza Askari himself started preparation against the march of Humayun and Persian army. After reaching Kandahar the joint army of Humayun and Persian besieged it on 21st March, 1543 AD, where Mirza Askari, brother of Humayun was the governor of the province. He defended the city with bravery against his brother and the Persian forces but failed to protect the city from the strong invaders. At that time of trouble when the news of the siege of Kandahar reached to Kamran at Kabul it was necessary for him to immediately provide assistance to Askari at Kandahar. But he waste a lot of time there and wait there for the victory of Askari, if it that time he would have quickly provided assistance to his brother Askari it would become difficult for Humayun and Persian forces to capture the city.⁴⁰³

But in Humayun Nama according to Gul Badan Begum, when Kamran came to know about the progress of Humayun to Kandahar he requested Khazada Begum her paternal aunt to set out for Kandahar to meet Humayun with the purpose to made peace between them. Before leaving for Kandahar she made over Akbar to Mirza Kamran, who gives him into the care of Khanum. At one side Khazada begum reached to Kandahar and the other side Humayun sent Bairam khan one of his friends and supporter towards Kabul to meet Kamran there. Humayun received Khazada begum with great respect and she remained with Humayun and later on accompanied him during his march to Kabul. She became ill in the way and after three days of fever she died and buried at Qabal-Chak, after three months her

⁴⁰¹ Boyle, 110.

⁴⁰² Humayun Nama, 174.

⁴⁰³ Mallson, 131.

body was brought to Kabul and buried near Baburs tomb.⁴⁰⁴

3.18 Bairam Khan in Kabul

During Humayun siege of Kandahar on the advice of Bairam Khan (from Badakhshan) who was Humayun friend sent a delegation to his brother Kamran at Kabul for setting all his problems with him. As Bairam Khan was very wise and was the capacity to change the loyalties of many nobles of Kabul to the side of Humayun. Their main aim was to seek the support and help of the nobles, chiefs and officers at Kabul, by turning them on his own side. For that purpose Humayun appointed Bairam Khan and sent him to Kabul with the task to turn the loyalties of the nobles on his side. It was a very wise full decision of Humayun and Bairam Khan. When he entered Kabul, Kamran look over him with suspicion and selected some of his officers by advising them to watch the activities of Bairam Khan by remained with him all of the time. Making himself satisfied from there Kamran did not give much attention to the activities of Bairam Khan and mostly remained unaware of his activities by giving no concerned that to whom Bairam Khan meet and what he was doing at Kabul.⁴⁰⁵

Bairam Khan spent about six weeks at Kabul in the area which through his diplomatic skills and tactics wins the support of some of the nobles and influential people on his side. During his stay he met with the son of Humayun, Akbar and his brother Mirza Hindal, apart from that he met with Yadgar, Nasir, Ulugh Beg, Sulaiman former ruler of Badakhshan and his sons and a number of other nobles, chiefs and some other influential officers by wining them on the side of Humayun. Thus Bairam Khan with the victory of turning a number of officers on his side went to Humayun, along with Ali Khan-Zada Begum one of the harem lady from Kamran side to Kandahar to settle term of peace if possible between the two brothers. Bairam Khan was with the confident that if Humayun won the battle against Askari at Kandahar and surrendered him he would join the camp of Humayun. Till that time Askari was stand against Humayun for the defense of

⁴⁰⁴ Humayun Nama, 175.

⁴⁰⁵ Bakshi, Babur, 303-4.

Kandahar.⁴⁰⁶

3.19 Humayun Victory at Kandahar

After that long siege of Kandahar and after the return of Bairam Khan to Humayun, Kamran set out from Kabul for the assistance and help of Askari against his brother Humayun and that of Persian army. When Kamran came out of Kabul, those officers who turned their loyalties on the side of Humayun, including Mirza Husain Beg, Fazail Beg, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Ulugh Beg Mirza, Muaid Beg, Qasim Husain Sultan and Sher Afgan Beg etc, they started revolt against Kamran and objected his march against Humayun. Those officers and nobles later on came to Kandahar and joined Humayun. After learning about the rebellion in Kabul, Kamran returned to Kabul. Ulugh Beg was one among those persons, who turned to the camp of Humayun he went to Kandahar and give him the assurance of their support. He showed him several letters of officers in Kabul, who assured their support to Humayun. During the march of Humayun about 1,000 of men of Kamran army left him and recognized Humayun as their king.⁴⁰⁷

The Persian troops that accompany Humayun at the siege of Kandahar became tired and thinking of about their return when the siege prolonged for about five months. At that crucial time the coming of Ulugh Beg and some other officers to the camp of Humayun and their support give new hope to the troops and fought with new zeal and at last after a siege of about five months Askari surrender to Humayun on 3rd of September, 1543 A. D.. The main reason of their submission was the lack of food for their troops and people because of after a long siege the food shortage occurred there.⁴⁰⁸

Mirza Askari tried his level best for defending the city against Humayun, and remained faithful to Kamran, but Kamran did not proved himself worthy on the task, as he remained at Kabul and at the time of need did not provide help to him and waited at Kabul. If he came out first before the arrival of Bairam Khan to Kabul for the help of Mirza Askari they would easily repulse and defeat Humayun

⁴⁰⁶ Mallson, 133.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, 133-6.

⁴⁰⁸ Humayun Nama, 175.

and his Persian army. He came out of the capital when Bairam Khan did his work there and thus Mirza Kamran lost one of the most important areas of Kandahar.⁴⁰⁹

3.20 Effects of the Loss of Kandahar on Kamran

The loss of Kandahar by Kamran to Humayun on one side help Humayun to strong his position but on the other side that defeat imbalance the position of Kamran and his hold at Kabul became very weak. One after another his officers and nobles started leaving him for Humayun. They demanded from Kamran to leave the governor of Badakhshan, whom Kamran imprisoned during one of his expedition and after occupation of Badakhshan. Yadgar-Nasir left Kabul for Humayun, Kamran brother Mirza Hindal when saw that all of Kamran friends and officers leaving him, he also left Kamran and surrendered to Humayun. The plan of Bairam Khan worked successfully and a number of officers joined their camp. Though the victory at Kandahar to some extent increased the power of the ex emperor of India, Humayun and decreased the popularity and hold of Kamran. Despite that development overall in comparison among both of the brothers Kamran was still enough power and authority then from his brother Humayun. The reason behind was that Kamran was still the king of Kabul and Ghazni was also under his rule.⁴¹⁰

As Humayun won the territory of Kandahar with the help of Persian and according to the agreement he had to leave the country to the Persian under the charge of Buda khan, a teacher of Shah Murad and after leaving Kandahar Humayun was nothing on his account.⁴¹¹ Once again he was even without shelter, except some 5,000 of men who were without horses. Thus many of the men after looking over to the conditions of Humayun once again started transferring their sympathies towards Kamran, among them were Abdullah khan and Junaid Beg, who fled to Kabul, and those who remained with him were hopeless. The condition of Humayun was that he did not either stay at Kandahar and nor he forwarded to other areas, because of no means of transport (horses) with them. Mirza Askari also having found an opportunity fled from them, but

⁴⁰⁹ Boyle, 115.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid, 116.

⁴¹¹ Sayil, 60.

was caught and brought back.⁴¹²

At that time of trouble fortune helped Humayun on the way that in Herat where the Persian army took the possession of the area, some of the army officers sold their horses on the hands of some Indian traders, those Indian traders with their horses passed on from the way where Humayun and his army encamped. Humayun and his army took the horses from those traders, though at that time they had no money to pay. Humayun promised them that he would give them the price after regaining the control of the area. Later on when peace was restored he fulfilled his promise by giving them the worth of their horses. After the coming of the horses Humayun took a fresh breath but at the same time a new problem of the fodder for the horses arose. At that time once again fortune struck the way of Humayun with the sudden death of the ruler of Kandahar Shah Murad, son of Persian Shah Thamsph. When he was lived, Humayun did not made an attack over Kandahar, because of the agreement and promised made to his father. It was after his son death at the right time for Humayun which provide an opportunity for him to avail that opportunity he made an attack over Kandahar and after a tuff battle Humayun got the control of Kandahar from Persian. With that victory over the Persians at Kandahar Humayun after a long time found a place of shelter for himself.⁴¹³

3.21 Humayun Invasion of Kabul

After the lost of India by Humayun to Sher Shah Suri, at Kabul his brother Mirza Kamran strengthened his position and assumed the royal title and struck the coins at Kabul and Kandahar with his own name and also invaded Badakhshan, which till that time recognized the suzerainty of Humayun. After securing his position at Kandahar, Humayun started looking forward to Kabul. He began his march against Kabul through the banks of Helmand to Koh-i-Baba and then forward, through passing different areas at last reached to Kabul. He used that route because the routes of Qilat, Ghilzai and Ghazni were blocked by the forces of Kamran thus Humayun used the alternate route for coming to Kabul. Mirza Yadgar Nasir and Mirza Hindal was also deserter from Kamran. In the march of

⁴¹² Boyle, 117.

⁴¹³ Ibid, 117-8.

Humayun towards Kabul a number of Hazara people who were harassed by Kamran and were fed up from his rule joined Humayun in his journey against Kabul.⁴¹⁴ Jamil Beg who was the chief of those areas from where Humayun passed also came to him and provide his services.⁴¹⁵

Kamran had about 15,000 to 20,000 army and could easily defeat the, 5000 forces of Humayun. Kamran used different tactics to stop and block the way of Humayun for the invasion of Kabul. He sent a detachment towards Khaimer valley to block the way of Humayun, but received a defeat from his hands. This defeat of the army of Kamran at the valley of Khaimer by Humayun leaved profound effects on the overall defeat of Kamran. As on one hand he cleared the valley from the supporter of Kamran on the other hand after that victory a number of influential people, nobles and chiefs that first supported Kamran included chiefs and officers leaved the camp of Kamran and turned towards Humayun. Till that time Kamran waited for his arrival and did not took strong action against him. Though he made an attempt to stop Humayun, but failed. He then instead of making more attempts for the blocking of the way of Humayun by attacking him he used the second option and sent some of his men towards him for consultation. Humayun refused because he knew that Kamran doing all this for taking some time to prepared himself against the invasion of Humayun. At last Humayun reached Kabul and besieged the city.⁴¹⁶

According to *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, for several nights Mirza Kamran with his well equipped army came out from the fort with the intention of fighting against his elder brother Humayun, but every night parties of men left him for joining Humayun. The main reason behind the changing loyalties of the nobles and army men were their lack of confidence on their leader Kamran.⁴¹⁷

This shift of loyalties cost Kamran very much and because of that turn of loyalties on the side of Humayun helped him and by reaching near Kabul the army of Humayun increased because with the influx of a large number of Kamran men to his side. Humayun orders about 700 of his archer to make an attack over the

⁴¹⁴ Wolseley Haig, *History*, 40.

⁴¹⁵ Dowson, *Tabakat*, 51.

⁴¹⁶ Boyle, 119.

⁴¹⁷ Dowson, *Tabakat*, 51.

camps of Kamran and his army, with that sudden attack caused the retreat of Kamran's army and he himself fled to the fort of Kabul. Humayun then besieged the fort of Kabul and finding it difficult to defeat his brother, Kamran along with his sons and wife fled from there at the dark of night and reached on the way of Hazara to Bakhar. With his retreat the rule of Kamran came to an end at Kabul for some time. He took refuge with Shah Husain Arghun of Bakhar, who treated him well and married her own daughter Chuchak Begum to Kamran.⁴¹⁸

3.22 Humayun at Kabul

According to Gul Badam Begum the date of the entry of Humayun to Kabul was 10th Ramazan, 953 A. H., (1546 A.D), on the fourth year, two months and fifth day of the birth of Jalal ud din Muhammad Akbar. While another prominent historian of the Mughal court, Abul Fazal gives 12th of Ramzan, 952 A. H., (17th November, 1545 A. D), as the date of Humayun's entry into Kabul⁴¹⁹. Humayun brought a number of artists and scientists along with himself from Persia, who stayed at Kabul with him till his reconquest of India⁴²⁰. They played a very important role in the reconstruction and development of Kabul and transferring Persian culture to Kabul.

After the conquest of Kabul, Humayun tried to consolidate the area and to make his position strong not only at Kabul but also in the surrounding areas. For that purpose he left Kabul in charge of Muhammad Ali Taghai and himself marched towards Badakhshan, and besieged it after which its ruler who took the position of Badakhshan.⁴²¹ The ruler of Badakhshan Mirza Suleiman as posted by Kamran as governor of Badakhshan fled from Kabul and declared himself the ruler of Badakhshan after looking to the disturbed situation of Kabul due to the war between the two brothers Humayun and Kamran for the throne of Kabul. After the consolidation of his position Humayun took an expedition towards Badakhshan and compelled Mirza Suleiman to accept his authority. After the occupation of

⁴¹⁸ Mallson, 137-8.

⁴¹⁹ Humayun Nama, 179.

⁴²⁰ Motamedi, Mohsen, "The Role Of Humayun On Transferring Of Iranian's Culture to India". Journal of Current Research in Science, Vol.ii, No. I. (Iran: Islamic Azad University, Shirvan, 2014), 157.

⁴²¹ Habibi, Afghanistan, 124.

Badakhshan, Humayun spent three to four months there to consolidate his position. It was during that expedition to Badakhshan that at fort Zafar, Humayun became severely ill for few days. Kamran received the news of the illness of Humayun with great pleasure, who came out from Bakhar with the help of his father-in-law, (father of Chuchak) with about 1,000 horsemen for his attack on Humayun and to recover Kabul. With the help of that force Kamran started his march towards Ghazni and on his way he took some horses from the Pashtun traders. After reaching Ghazni he defeated and killed its governor Zahid Beg by occupying Ghazni. At Ghazni Kamran appointed his own governor there and himself marched towards Kabul.⁴²²

3.23 Kamran Regain Kabul

It was an opportunity for Kamran, because Humayun with his army was away from Kabul at Badakhshan by leaving one of his men Muhammad Ali Khan (maternal uncle of Humayun), as governor of Kabul. The army of Kabul was put under the charge of Fazail Khan and Muhammad Kuli Tughai. Mirza Kamran made a sudden attack on Kabul at the dark of night and killed its governor Muhammad Ali Khan. With the death of the governor of Kabul, Muhammad Ali Khan the gates of Kabul fort open for Kamran and he entered as a victor to the city of Kabul. Thus with the occupation and recapture of Kabul, Kamran once again became its ruler. At the time of Kamran's attack on Kabul, Humayun's son Akbar was in the fort. At Kabul Humayun before leaving for Badakhshan placed a number of Naukars (servants Babur sent them from Agra to Kabul) at the doors of harem. Mirza Kamran's men plundered and destroyed many valuable things there, and put great Begums into the house of Mirza Askari. Despite that he behaved very ill to the families of those officers, who accompanied Humayun, by plundering their houses and putting each of the family under some one among his supporters' custody.⁴²³ Mirza Kamran practised a number of cruel acts to the people of Kabul by shedding the blood of a number among them and to seizing their properties. Two special royal slaves of Humayun, Mihtar Wakil and Mihtar Wasil were blinded and some of his servants including Culi Bahadur was killed

⁴²² Boyle, 120-21.

⁴²³ Humayun Nama, 180-1.

while some others including Atka Khan and Khwaja Muazzam etc were imprisoned.⁴²⁴

The news of the lost of Kabul and Ghazni reached to Humayun at the time when he fully recovered from his illness but was still at Badakhshan. Humayun and his officers, who leaved Kamran for Humayun, started bothering about their children whose they leaved at Kabul during their march against Badakhshan. After that they once again started plan for the invasion of Kabul.⁴²⁵

One thing positive in the side of Humayun which helped him was that he was accompanied by a number of truthful, faithful and wise people on his side and to whom Humayun always listened and act according to their advice.⁴²⁶

Humayun after receiving the news of Kamran occupation of Kabul did not wait even for summer, and started his marched towards Kabul in the season of winter. As during the winter season most of the passes and ways were blocked at Afghanistan by deep snow. The difficulties that Humayun faced during that expedition was not only of harsh climate and snow but there were also disagreement between Humayun and some of his officers about the expedition because of which different groups emerged in Humayun camp, ended with the fled of some of the officers by turning their loyalties to the camp of Mirza Kamran. He leaved Badakhshan in the charge of Mirza Suleiman on the condition that he recognized Humayun as his king, after which they set out for Kabul. Kamran send Sher Afgan and Sher Ali towards Gorbant and Zuhak to take the positions of the roads there.⁴²⁷

They faced a lot of difficulties in their way, those difficulties were not only of serious climate and bad weather but because of the disunity and disagreement between Humayun and some of his officers created grouping in his camp. The effect of the grouping and disagreements felt by Humayun on the way that some of his officers fled to the camp of Kamran. Particularly those officers whose

⁴²⁴ Abul-I- Fazal, tran, H. Beveridge, The Akbar Nama, volii (Lahore: book traders, nd), 410-11. (hereafter Beveridge, Akbar Nama)

⁴²⁵ Khwaja, Tariekh-i-Farishta, 671.

⁴²⁶ Mallson, 141.

⁴²⁷ Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, 669.

families were in Kabul, leaved Humayun and fled towards Kabul, where they recognized Kamran as their king. Humayun with his remaining army confronted with great difficulties, because of snow which they never seen in their lives, and with those difficulties and obstacles of ways passes they slowly made their ways and at last came out of those difficulties and reached Sherghan, a place from where they could easily attacked Kabul.⁴²⁸

3.24 Mirza Kamran activities at Kabul

At Kabul Kamran followed the policy of consultation and did all those reforms, which he could do for the security of Kabul, as he gathered and united all of his army, made all the important passes secured with the installment of forces there, and tried to win the support of most of the influential people of Kabul including Sher Ali by turning them on his side. Mirza Kamran not only followed the policy of consultation but also remained very strict to those who disobey him and to his opponents. He made some execution to those people, who revolted against him and joined the camp of his brother Humayun. Mirza Kamran shifted the harem ladies including his mother (Dildar Begum), sisters and wives of Humayun to the mud house. Mirza Kamran sent Sher Ali and Mahdi Sultan to fetch with Khizr Khwaja Khan (husband of Gul Badan Begum) against Humayun. When Humayun learned about these developments from Mirza Kamran through his spies he also dispatched Qambar Beg towards Khiza Khwaja Khan and forbided him from joining Mirza Kamran.⁴²⁹

Humayun reached near Kabul, and there were now little distance between him and the area, Abdar Zuhak, Chardah, Ghurband, Charikar and Istilaf. Kamran sent Sher Ali to block the way of Humayun and when he advanced on his way, Sher Ali with a small force was there to block his way there. Though he attacked on different sides from Humayun, but failed to compel Humayun for retreat or to block his way from further progress, and reached with great difficulties to Chrikar. After reaching there some of Humayun officers leaved him due to the disagreement for the attack on Kabul. As some of his army was not in favor of attack on Kabul and wanted to delay the attack for some time. Those officers

⁴²⁸ Boyle, 123-124.

⁴²⁹ Humayun Nama, 182.

leaved him in the way and fled to Kabul.⁴³⁰ On the other hand some of Kamran men joined Humayun including Karacha Khan and Manous Beg.⁴³¹

After looking to the situation Humayun set for consultation with his officers, most of whom were agreed to stay and encamped for some time at the near hill, and to postponed the attack over Kabul. It was at last one of Humayun officer and friend advised him to make an attack over Kabul, because encamping at a near distance would create more problems for them. Thus Humayun on the advice of his officer prepared his army for the attack on Kabul.⁴³²

At Kabul Kamran was ready and was waiting for the attack of Humayun and when Humayun came down from Istalif and reached near Kabul, he faced Sher Afghan with a number of Kabuli forces sent by Kamran. A small battle took place between the two armies in which Humayun with the help of Mirza Hindal, Karacha Khan and Haji Muhammad Khan defeated the Kabul arm and its commander Sher Afghan was killed. After that intelligence arrived to Humayun that a caravan with a large number of horses reached to Charigaran and Kamran sent Sher Ali with a large force to bring that caravan to Kabul. After getting that information Humayun order for the close of all of the roads to the city with the purpose to block the way of caravan to Kabul. Thus Sher Ali was unable to enter the city and the caravan fell in to the hands of Humayun. At that time two of Kamran most trusted men, Baki Salih and Jalal –ud-din also joined the camp of Humayun.⁴³³

3.25 Humayun siege of Kabul

After that incident Humayun besieged Kabul and set his machinegun on the top of a hill near Kabul fort. Humayun killed a number of war prisoner during the siege, is response to which Kamran also killed a number of Humayun supporters. According to some Historians the infant son of Humayun, Akbar was placed on that side of the fort where the machinegun fired bullet and balls. But Maham Anka put Akbar in her bosom and put herself forward. Many people killed from both

⁴³⁰ Boyle, 124.

⁴³¹ Khwaja, Tareikh-i-Farishta, 669.

⁴³² Boyle, 124-5.

⁴³³ Dowson, Tabakat, 54.

sides, Mirza Kamran men used to fire on Humayun forces from the near places. For the sake of his household, children and wives, Humayun did not have the cannon fired and nor attacked the large houses.⁴³⁴

When the siege prolonged the difficulties of the people of Kabul increased with the shortage of food and other necessary of life, as for the harem Humayun sent about nine sheep and seven flasks of water during the siege.⁴³⁵

3.26 Reoccupation of Kabul by Humayun

When Kamran felt that the victory has impossible, he surrendered to Humayun and appealed for the safety of his life pardoned. Though Humayun was ready to forgive him, yet some of his officers, who were not in favor of his forgiveness, secretly meet Humayun and alarmed him about the danger to his life that his brother would kill him after his submission to him. After feeling the threat, he fled from Kabul at the dark of the night of 27th April, 1547 A. D.⁴³⁶

One of the Mughal *Sardar* and friend of Humayun, Haji Mahmud followed him and caught him, but later on leaved and returned back to Kabul. The reason of his leaving by Haji Mahmud described by several Historians in the way that, when Kamran fled but was seen and caught by Haji Mahmud who followed and captured him. When Haji Mahmud tried to return him back, Kamran turned to him and said that told your father about your bravery by killing me, after hearing these words, Haji Mahmud left him and returned to Kabul.⁴³⁷

3.27 Humayun activities at Kabul

Fortune changed the life of the two brothers, on one side Humayun once again got the position and throne of Kabul while Kamran on the other hand became homeless. After receiving the throne of Kabul, Humayun turned himself to its affairs. He gives punishment to those officers whom he made prisoners during the

⁴³⁴ Boyle, 125-6.

⁴³⁵ Humayun Nama, 184.

⁴³⁶ Mallson, 144.

⁴³⁷ Boyle, 127-8.

war against his brother Kamran, and those who give their support to Kamran.⁴³⁸

Humayun after the conquest of Kabul met his son Akbar and the ladies of the harem, who were shifted from the harem by Mirza Kamran. It was Humayun who himself after the occupation of Kabul went there and brought back the ladies to the harem. After few days sent persons to bring Hamida Banu Begum his wife and mother of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, whom he left at Kandahar during his expedition to Kabul. After her arrival to Kabul they celebrated the feast of the circumcision of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar at large audience Hall Garden and all of the bazaars of Kabul were decorated, Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir and the *Amirs* and nobles decorated their quarters, and all the nobles and *Amirs* brought gifts to the audience Hall Garden. At Kabul, Humayun give rewards and position and helped those people of Kabul in the form of pension, land, water, servants and rations etc, who fought on his side during the war and also to those widows, Orphans and relatives of whose men had been killed or wounded at the battle of Chausa, Kanauj and Bakkhar etc, or they were in the royal services at the time. Humayun spent almost a year at peace and prosperity at Kabul but after that Kamran once again fasten his activities against his brother.⁴³⁹

3.28 Activities of Kamran against Humayun

After the occupation of Kabul by Humayun his brother Kamran fled from there with only one friend continued his journey forward. But during his journey he was joined in the way by a number of people as after reaching a place near Sanjad he meet with some of the Hazaras, with the help of whom he led towards Bamian, where they spent about a week. After reaching Bamian some 150 horsemen, his supporters joined him, including Sher Ali Khan and Mirza Beg, with these forces Kamran made an attack over Ghuri, a city laid on the road to Badakhshan. The governor of that particular city fought against Kamran, with an army of about 1,000 men and 150 horses, but Kamran defeated him and occupied the city. With the occupation of the city of Guri, Kamran got some forces and a number of other stuff from there and left the city in charge of Sher Ali and himself moved towards Badakhshan with the purpose to turn its governor Mirza Suleiman and his son

⁴³⁸ Ibid, 128.

⁴³⁹ Humayun Nama, 178-9.

Mirza Ibrahim on his own side, but failed. When Kamran became hopeless from there he then moved towards Balkh, to seek the support of their old enemies Uzbegs, against his brother.⁴⁴⁰

3.29 Struggles for the Throne of Kabul Between Two Brothers

The news of these developments on the part of Kamran when reached to Humayun, he dispatched his army under one of his commander Karacha Khan towards Ghuri, who besieged and then captured the city easily from its governor Sher Khan, appointed by Kamran, who fled towards Balkh. When Karacha Khan was busy in the siege of Guri, which provided time to Kamran, who got the help of the Uzbegs governor Pir Muhammad and with his help, combined a huge force against Humayun mostly consisted of Uzbegs army.⁴⁴¹

With the help of these forces he first recovered the city of Guri and then marched towards Kunduz, which was at that time under his brother Mirza Hindal supporter of Humayun. Hearing about the march of Kamran with the Uzbeg forces, Mirza Hindal with the help of Karacha Khan with his army and Suleiman with some of Badakhshani army (governor of Badakhshan) set out against the Uzbeg forces and Kamran for their defeat. But those combine forces of Mirza Hindal, Karacha Khan and Suleiman did not compete the Uzbeg forces and that of Kamran and at last they retreated from the battle field. After the battle, the Uzbeg army returns to Balkh.

During the battle when Karacha Khan returned to Kabul for more assistance, Suleiman moved towards his area of Badakhshan to secure it against the enemy, while Mirza Hindal fled from the battle field. Thus Kamran with the help of the Uzbek army conquered the area.⁴⁴²

When the news of that defeat reached to Humayun, he with the collection of huge army and necessary arrangements and preparation marched out from Kabul against his brother Kamran. During his march he met with Karacha Khan near Gorbant, after which Karacha Khan returned to Kabul and Humayun marched

⁴⁴⁰ Dowson, Tabakat, 56.

⁴⁴¹ Mallson, 146-7.

⁴⁴² Boyle, 128-29.

forward towards Kulbahar, a district of Kohistan. It that place he waited for Karacha Khan who went to Kabul for more assistance and had with the plan to meet Humayun near Kohistan with fresh forces. Humayun kept busy himself there in hunting. Later on when Karacha Khan reached there and joined him, all the ways and passes were full with snow, because of the winter season, they tried to cross these passes but in vain, it last they returned back to Kabul and the expedition remained unsuccessful.⁴⁴³

The returned march of Humayun to Kabul provides an opportunity for Kamran to make an attack over Badakhshan and to defeat its governor. As its governor Suleiman Mirza and his son Ibrahim Mirza could not resist him and fled towards Kolab. Kamran after attacking and seizing Badakhshan captured it. After the capture of Badakhshan another important incident happened, which was in favor of Kamran. That event was the turning of Karacha Khan one of great and intelligent commander of Humayun against him. The reason of that turn was when one of the Vizier of Humayun named, Khwaja Ghazi insulted and blamed Karacha Khan for their returned to Kabul without success, because of the late reaching of Karacha Khan for the help of Hindal Mirza, as the snow blocked all the passes and they returned back to Kabul without any progress. Karacha Khan made a request to Humayun for the removal of that Vizier, and the appointment of Khwaja Qasim on his place, but Humayun refused and denied it. That refusal of Humayun annoyed Karacha Khan and he with some other influential persons and friends with about 3,000 supporters leaved the camp of Humayun and also left Kabul. Some of other officers also leaved Kabul, when they learned about the success of Kamran at Badakhshan and joined Kamran there.⁴⁴⁴

After leaving Kabul and the camp of Humayun, Karacha Khan with his friends and supporters marched towards the passes of Hindu Kush, though Humayun with some of his army followed him but he after crossing the bridge of Ghurbend cut out its ropes and fled towards Badakhshan. After cutting the ropes of the bridge it was not possible for Humayun or his army to cross the bridge and Karacha Khan easily escaped from there to Badakhshan. It Badakhshan he joined Kamran and

⁴⁴³ Ibid, 130-2.

⁴⁴⁴ Henry Miers Elliot, John Dowson, The History of India, as Told by its own Historians (London: Cambridge university press, 2013), 227-8. 9 (hereafter Elliot,History)

left one of his men, Tamar Ali Khan in Panjsher to work as a spy and to inform them about the movements of Humayun. After the joining of Karacha Khan to Mirza Kamran the combine army of both made an attack over the area of Talikan and captured it. Mirza Kamran sent a detachment under Sher Ali towards the area of Kunduz, with the purpose to capture it and send another detachment for the capture of Andrab. Unfortunately for Kamran the army of Humayun defeated and captured Sher Ali at Kunduz, later on Humayun freed out Sher Ali because he became his supporter and made him one of the commanders of his army. It was a big loss for Kamran because Sher Ali was one of the great commanders of the army with great war tactics.⁴⁴⁵

Humayun then once again marched against Kamran, towards his conquered area of Talikan, but first he conquered the area of Andrab, and then moved towards Talikan. Kamran left the place under Karacha Khan and he retired and encamped fifty miles away from there with the purpose to look over on the advance of Humayun and his army. Humayun first sent a detachment under Mirza Hindal and Haji Muhammad Koki made their advance to Kisham, on the opposite side of the river Baki, with the purpose to cut off the communication between Kamran and Karacha Khan, but at the main time Kamran came to know about that and after which he from the back side attacked over Mirza Hindal. That sudden attack confronted Mirza Hindal with great difficulties and retreat from there with great loss. The mistake that done by Kamran after defeating Mirza Hindal was that he did not secured that place, but encamped at a distance from there, which provide opportunity to Humayun and he easily took the place from them and then marched towards Talikan and besieged it, Mirza Suleiman also joined him. After some days of the siege of Talikan, Humayun sent some of his men to his brother Kamran for consultation, but he refused. When the siege prolonged Kamran sought towards the Uzbegs for their help, but Pir Muhammad refused to provide him help and assistance.⁴⁴⁶

3.30 Kamran Surrender to Humayun

After the refusal of the Uzbegs, Kamran realized that it was difficult for him to

⁴⁴⁵ Boyle, 132.

⁴⁴⁶ Dowson, Tabakat, 57-8.

defeat Humayun without the assistance of the Uzbek. So he then came ready for consultation, and surrendered to Humayun by sending his men to him with the condition that if Humayun agreed to forgive Kamran, he would recognized him the king, and would leave for Mecca. Humayun approved his condition and pardoned him and after reaching an agreement with his brother Kamran handed over some of the rebellious nobles to Humayun except Manus Beg, for whom Kamran made special request from Humayun to forgive him. After that Kamran taking approval from Humayun for his journey with some of his companions, including Panos Beg, at the month of August, 1548 A. D. leaved for Mecca. Haji Mahmud accompanied them on their way to the border of Turkistan. After those developments Humayun once again became the undisputed ruler of Kabul and surrounding areas. Kamran though started his journey for Mecca but was not yet reach far from more than forty miles from the border that he returned back with the news that Humayun forgive most of the rebels, who fought against him on the side of Kamran. Humayun not only forgive them but also give them their former posts and ranks. Kamran also returned back to Kabul after consultation with his companions with the aim that his brother would forgive him too.⁴⁴⁷

3.31 The Pardon of Kamran and his Appointment at Kolab

Kamran before returning to Kabul made an attempt and sent one of his companions, Panos Beg to the court of Humayun at Kabul, with the request from Kamran for seeking pardoned. As soon when Humayun informed about the request of Kamran he not only forgive him but also sent two of his brothers Mirza Hindal and Mirza Askari, who received him with a ceremonial reception.⁴⁴⁸ At Kabul Humayun displayed great kindness to him Kamran after his return stay with Humayun for some days at Kabul. In those days the four brothers assembled together at Kishm (according to Kafi Khan at Ishkamish), and ate on one tablecloth.⁴⁴⁹

Later on Kamran was appointed with the charge of the province of Kolab as *Ikta*,

⁴⁴⁷ Boyle, 134-5.

⁴⁴⁸ S. R. Sharma, Mughal Empire In India: A Systematic Study including source material, Vol.i (New Delhi: Atlantic publishers, 1999), 94.

⁴⁴⁹ Humayun Nama, 187.

while Askari was allowed to go with him by confronting over him the district of Kolab, named Karatigin as his Jagir. He gives the charge of Kunduz to Mirza Hindal. To make a check over the activities of his brothers, Humayun appointed Ali Beg as the Vizier of Kolab.⁴⁵⁰

3.32 Humayun Expedition to Balkh against the Uzbegs

When Humayun was on the way of his returned from an expedition towards Kabul he started thinking about Balkh and the withdrawal of Uzbegs from there, because he considered them one of the biggest threats for his rule. Before taking any strong action against the Uzbegs of Balkh Humayun need to take Kamran in confidence with making him the promise that if he captured Balkh and became successful by withdrawing Uzbegs from there, he would give it to Kamran. Now Humayun started his preparation for a war with the Uzbegs, before reaching of the winter season. But at the same time the governor of Kashmir Mirza Haider, who considered Humayun as his king, invite him for the invasion of India, with all his assistance to him for the invasion.⁴⁵¹

But because of two reasons Humayun did not ready at that time for the attack over India. The first reason was that he was in the preparation for an attack over Balkh and secondly because of his brothers hostilities and their conspiracies against him, which he knew that they would creates problems for him during his expedition to India. The two brothers Askari and Kamran were not in good terms with their Vizier at Kolab Ali Beg. Thus after keeping Mirza Haider invitation on side Humayun started his march against the Uzbegs of Balkh. He send messages for the summoned of all of the governors by sending men to each of the governors as to Haji Muhammad the governor of Ghazni, governor of Badakhshan Mirza Suleiman, Mirza Kamran governor of Kolab, Askari of Karatigin and Hindal governor of Kunduz.⁴⁵²

When they started their march towards Balkh in 1549 A.D, the son of the governor of Badakhshan Mirza Ibrahim reached and joined the army of Humayun

⁴⁵⁰ Boyle, 137-8.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid, 140.

⁴⁵² Ibid, 140.

at a village (Yurat Chalak) near Kabul. When they reached towards Panjsher through Istlaf, the news of the preparation of the Uzbek and their taking of field reached to them. After that Humayun with his army through the areas of Andrab, Narin and Nelbar, from there reached to Baghlan, where Mirza Hindal and Mirza Suleiman also joined Humayun army. It was in Baghlan that Humayun waited for Mirza Kamran and Mirza Askari, but they did not come to his help. As they by not coming showed their hostile nature against Humayun, who became alarmed with that incident but started his journey forward to Aibak , a small fort on the border of Badakhshan, by leaving a small force for the security of the fort of Badakhshan and captured the fort of Aibak easily.⁴⁵³

After the occupation of Aibak fort, it was necessary for Humayun to quickly made an attack over Balkh, because after the occupation of the fort so quickly the Uzbeks lost their hearts, which provided an opportunity for Humayun to capture Balkh. But he did not made an attack over Balkh because he still waited for Kamran as well as Humayun also scared from the nature of Kamran, because he knew that if he attacked over the Uzbeks and kept busy himself there in Balkh it provide an opportunity for Kamran, who might be ready for the revolt against him and for the conquest of Kabul. He was also anxious from any action and march against Kamran because the fear that it should force him for revolt.⁴⁵⁴

In those conditions after the disloyalty of Kamran, as he did not come for the assistance of Humayun against the Uzbeks, a council of war for the consultation of further progress was held by Humayun with his officers and nobles to consider that to either return to Kabul or make an attack over Balkh. During the meeting Humayun instead of those worries and consideration from the side of Kamran, declared his opinion in favor of war against the Uzbeks at Balkh, and marched towards Balkh. When they entered the area of Astaneh the Uzegs came down attacked and plundered his army. Many in the Humayun men in army were discouraged by the absence of Kamran and his assistance.⁴⁵⁵

When the army slowly reached near Balkh with the hope of the arrival of Kamran

⁴⁵³ Mallson, 158-9.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid, 160-1.

⁴⁵⁵ Boyle, 122-3.

for assistance, started taking their position there. But it was delayed so long because of waiting for Kamran that the Uzbek reinforcement and assistance from beyond the Oxus reached to them as Shah Muhammad Sultan Uzbek with an army of about 300 horsemen reached there against Humayun army. When the battle started between the two rival groups there were casualties and deaths from both sides. One of Humayun man, Kabuli brother of Muhammad Qasim khan killed, while some of the Uzbek chiefs were taken in to prisoner by Humayun. Pir Muhammad Khan on the next day with the assistance of some of his supporters, Abdul Aziz Khan and Sultan of Hissar came out of the city and the two armies came in contact and thus the battle began. At last Humayun with the help of his army compelled the Uzbek governor Pir Muhammad on retreat, who fled to the city of Balkh.⁴⁵⁶

When Humayun became near the city of Balkh and were in the position to get the city easily, they returned back from there towards Kabul. The reason of their return was described by G. B. Malleson that a council of war was set for the consultation by Humayun to decide that whether captured the city of Balkh or waited for Kamran. Most of the officers were neither in favor of the middle course nor in favor of war with the Uzbeks and nor wanted to wait for Kamran. As they were a strong party in Humayun camp who leaved their families in Kabul was alarmed about the revolt of Kamran, because of which they were strongly recommended to take up the position at Dera Gez, about 12mile distance from the leading passes towards Kabul if Kamran arrived there for their help they could easily return to Balkh. Thus Humayun had no other choice except to follow their advice, and started their returned march towards Dera Gez, on the same time a rumor spread in the army camps of Humayun that Kamran had started for a raid over Kabul. After hearing the rumors most of the army retiring to Kabul, after that a panic started and every one were in hurry to return to Kabul. At the meanwhile when the Uzbek saw the panic returned and retreat of the enemy, they made an attack over them during which Humayun horse was shot under him, but a covering party from Humayun side repulsed the Uzbeks. The flight of Humayun army continued, their discipline disappeared and every man was in hurry to return Kabul. All of the cohesion was lost. Humayun without a horse and with small

⁴⁵⁶ Mallson, 159.

number of followers at last with great difficulties reached Kabul. When he reached Kabul, he was not more looking like a king but a fugitive.⁴⁵⁷

3.33 Kamran Once Again Started his Hostile Activities

At Kabul he came to know that it was only a rumor and Kamran had not made any attempt over Kabul and was still at Kolab, and it would be better for Humayun if he had made an attack over Balkh. But the retreat of Humayun and his army from Balkh, scattering of his chiefs and army provide an opportunity for Kamran who had been watching and noticing all those developments. After which he summoned with his brother Mirza Askari and left the charge of Kolab to him, himself marched towards Badakhshan with a huge army. Mirza Suleiman after the retreat of Humayun and his soldiers from Balkh started his preparation for a march to Kolab against Kamran. But in comparison of his army to that of Kamran his army was not capable to fight that of Kamran army, and when Kamran reached to the city of Talikan he was not able to defend it against Kamran and thus the city fell into Kamran hands. Later on Mirza Suleiman with his small forces occupied a strong position at Kila Zafar by guarding the passes, close to the town of Jerm. But Kamran, who did not want to waste his time in the war against Mirza Suleiman, leaved some of his soldier under Bapus Beg at Talikan and himself marched towards Kunduz, held by his brother Mirza Hindal. After reaching there he tried his best to win the loyalty of his brother on his own side, but failed after which he besieged Kunduz. At the same time after learning about the defeat of his brother Askari at Kolab from the hands of its minister Chakar Ali Beg and the march of Mirza Suleiman from the hills compelled him to raised the siege of Kunduz by sending a detachment against Mirza Suleiman and himself returned to Kolab.⁴⁵⁸

At Kolab, Kamran along with Mirza Askari defeated Chakar Ali Beg and then marched once again towards Mirza Suleiman and encamped near Rostak. It was in Rostak that his camps were suddenly plundered by a number of Uzbegs who happened to be passing that way, without knowing that the camps belonged to whom, because the Uzbeg leader Syed Uzbeg was an alliance with Kamran, but

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid, 161.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid, 162-3.

without knowing that plundered it. However when the mischief was done, it was made by so sudden that Kamran his brother Mirza Askari and some of his nobles escaped. The army totally disappeared from the place and was no hope for both Kamran and Askari to unite their soldiers against Mirza Suleiman joined by Mirza Hindal and were in their way to march against Kamran and Mirza Askari. This disaster was very great for Kamran after which he fled to Khost then proceeded towards Zuhak and Bamian and from there fled towards the Hazara country. It was there in the Hazara that he worked and act about the information reached to him from Kabul through his friends and were busy in collecting his supporters and soldiers and preparing himself for a war against Humayun for the throne of Kabul. On the other hand at Kabul after the unsuccessful attack and retreat of Humayun from Balkh, some of the nobles and chiefs who were his great supporters turned against him prominent among them were Karacha khan, with a large number of his friends and supporters. They started supporting Kamran, who according to them was more cold and stern then Humayun.⁴⁵⁹

3.34 Conspiracy of the Chiefs and Nobles of Kabul against Humayun

Kamran after the collection of a number of soldiers and followers once again made his appearance on the mountains towards Bamian. When the supporters and nobles of Kamran at Kabul were dissatisfied with Humayun learned about the march of Kamran towards Bamian, they sent him their most solemn professions of devotion to him and recommended him with the line of conduct to pursue. They advised him to send his brother Humayun a request for pardon by promising him for good conduct in future. On the other hand they promised him that they would incense Humayun against him and would induce him to send the army against you, after which he remains at Kabul on their mercy. Kamran followed these directions and the conspirator of Kabul also worked as they promised. Humayun rejected Kamran appeal for help and sent two detachments of soldiers against Kamran one towards Zuhak and Bamian and second towards Sal-A lang while

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid, 163-4.

himself with a small detachment retained near Dera Kipchak.⁴⁶⁰

Kamran passed through the areas before the reaching of his brother detachments, and thus with increasing number of followers reached to Dera Kipchak, surprised by the arrival of Kamran, Humayun tried for his repulse, but the treacherous men in his camp did not followed his orders and signaled him through fire to come on. Most of them went and joined Kamran camp, and thus Kamran arrived, after which Humayun men disperse and fled from there.

3.35 Humayun Defeat and Withdrawal from Kabul by Mirza Kamran

Humayun during his battle against Kamran received a sever wound from the hands of a Kolabi man Babai. When he became wounded some of his supporters carried him in safety to the Sistan pass, where he was at the next day joined by Haji Muhammad one of his noble after which they set out with great difficulties in the way to Andrab. Mirza Kamran dispatched armies against Humayun and found the evidence of his wound at Charikar by founding his bloody cuirass (a piece of metal), and believed most of the men that he was killed. The cuirass was send to Kabul to show it to the governor who refused to surrender. When the governor looks upon the bloody cuirass of Humayun he became disheartened after which he submitted to Kamran. After the submission of the governor, Kamran for the third time became the master of Kabul, with all of the treasures of his brother. Now he was satisfied that his brother was dead and he could rule Kabul without fear. After claiming his sovereignty and independent by establishing himself there he allotted and distributed different provinces and districts among his adherents. As for instance his brother Mirza Askari received Jalalabad, Yaseen Daolat was bestowed with the district of Ghurband, Karacha Khan was allotted Ghazni etc.

Kamran recruited many of the Afghans and Hazaras at his army. There was not more than three months passed for Kamran reoccupation of Kabul that the news of the recovering of Humayun from his wounds and that of his march from Andrab towards Hindu Kush by leading towards Panjsher valley reached to him. After

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, 164.

receiving the news Kamran collected his army including Afghans and Hazaras under his own leadership and with his supporters Karacha Khan and Yasan Daolat and his brother Mirza Askari marched towards the Panjsher Valley, where they took up a strong position against his brother.⁴⁶¹

3.36 Humayun Marched against Kamran

When Humayun recovered from illness he decided to march against his brother. Meanwhile before marching from Andrab, Humayun collected all the chiefs, who remained faithful to him and proposed them to take the oath of fidelity to him in all circumstances. The nobles and officers became ready to it with the suggestion of Haji Muhammad that given to Humayun for taking the oath to act and following the recommendation of the advisers. After which Humayun though Mirza Hindal became angry upon them agreed upon the required suggestions. Because, that time, Humayun totally depended on those chiefs. Humayun reached near the Panjsher valley where he found himself in the presence of his brother Mirza Kamran army. He halted his army at a distance and in completion to his predetermined plan sent a messenger to his brother Kamran proposing the terms of the adjustment. The terms were that Kamran should recognize the over lordship of Humayun and should join and help him for his reconquest of India. His brother Kamran after receiving the messenger and terms of Humayun, though not fully rejected the proposal, sent his messenger back with informing for his acceptance on the condition provided, that he were allowed to keep Kabul. Humayun replied with his acceptance that he was like to make him his partner at India and the kingdom of Kabul, but with the condition that in Kabul Akbar should be his viceroy.⁴⁶²

Though Kamran was with the tendency to accept the term, but Karacha Khan who had great influence over Kamran was not in its favor and rejects the proposals, and said at any cost Kabul must be kept. With the disapproval and rejection of Karacha Khan over the proposal, Kamran also rejected it and started preparation for war against his brother. But it that movement with they were ready for attack the astrologers predicted, that the time and the day was not favorable for him to

⁴⁶¹ Ibid, 165-6.

⁴⁶² Ibid, 168.

attack. As Kamran was superstitious and blindly believed over astrologer, resolved to not attack and if possible avoid any action against his brother army at that day. This attitude and believe of Kamran annoyed and dishearten some of his chiefs and nobles deserted to Humayun and he determined that the prediction of astrologers should be true. For this he advanced quickly towards the enemy camps, but one of his general suggested him to leave the battle for next day. Humayun who was inconsistence in his thoughts and acts agreed, but with the objection of other chiefs he once again advanced against Kamran. When the distance remains little he ordered the leading division under Mirza Ibrahim to make an attack over the height of the area where Kamran was posted, Humayun himself was behind him with a number of the army of the reserves to support him.⁴⁶³

The attack of Mirza Ibrahim was will led and will directed that with all of Kamran and his army efforts the attacker were able to get ground there. At that time of crisis Karacha Khan, commanded cavalry under Kamran, made a sudden attack over the left wing of Humayun army. That left wing commanded by Mirza Hindal was totally defeated and crushed by the attackers from the side of Kamran. After that Karacha Khan turned towards the right wing of Humayun army, commanded by Mirza Suleiman, and a hot battle was contested with them, at last Karacha Khan became able to get victory over Mirza Suleiman. But suddenly at the meantime he Karacha Khan was shot down and taken prisoner after which he was killed. With the death of Karacha Khan his soldiers of the cavalry became disheartened and left the field, while Kamran still unequally struggling, till the imprisonment of his brother Mirza Askari and fallen of many of his foremost chiefs. After which Kamran with about eight of his adherent fled from the field. Thus Humayun victory was completed.⁴⁶⁴

It was that defeat from which Kamran never became able to recover and to take the possession of Kabul. For Humayun after that battle his supremacy at Kabul and subordinate areas and provinces were never seriously endangered. But

⁴⁶³ Ibid, 168-9.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid, 169-70.

Humayun could not feel perfectly safe till the imprisonment of Kamran.⁴⁶⁵

3.37 Imprisonment and Punishment of Mirza Kamran

Kamran fled from the field with the loss of everything in the battle except hope. He fled day and night with his eight adherents till he reached a place inhabited by the wild and warlike tribes mostly Afghans. They had found nothing and were robbed by the wild tribes, all that they possessed. After that he forwarded his journey towards Mandraor as a mendicant (beggar). After reaching there he discovered himself to the chief of the place, who treated and entertained him well. That gave a little hope to him and there once again he became busy in collecting forces against his brother. Humayun after knowing the activities of Kamran sent a force against him after which Kamran fled towards the hill tribes of Daudzai and Mohmand after receiving the news of the march of his brother against him. In those areas he once again struggled for collecting his supporters. Kamran remained successful in his struggles and those tribes became ready for his help and support him against his brother Humayun and marched with Kamran towards the mountains near Kabul. These tribes of Momand, Khalil and Daudzai were mostly remained loyal to Kamran and supported him in his difficulties.⁴⁶⁶

Humayun for the third time sent forces against him but he with his supporters disappeared and fled to other places and then reappears there. Sometimes when Humayun himself marched against him, he retaliated by attacking his camp. It was during one of these night attacks that Mirza Hindal on 20th November, 1551, fighting for his brother Humayun was killed near Khizr Khwaja a fief of Jui Shahi, by one of the soldiers of Kamran's army.⁴⁶⁷ The murderer belongs to the tribes of Momand and his name was Farid, whose brother was killed with the sword of Mirza Hindal and in revenge he killed Mirza Hindal. Later on his body was removed to Kabul and laid in Babur's garden near his feet. He was 32 years of age at the time of his death and left one daughter Ruqayya, later on married to Akbar.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁵ Jaffar, 40.

⁴⁶⁶ Mallson, 170-1.

⁴⁶⁷ Humayun Nama, 198-9.

⁴⁶⁸ Sayil, 65.

After the death of Mirza Hindal at last Humayun with his army at the darkness of the night made an attack over the fourteen thousand army of Kamran and defeated them. With this defeat Kamran became hopeless and from there on the way of Indus towards India and take refuge with the Pathan king of Delhi, Salim Shah. In India Salim Shah treated him with indignity feeling that humiliating Kamran escaped from there in the disguise of a woman. He then taken shelter with two Hindu princesses, but also driven out from there with the entreating of Salim Shah. Became disappointing from there he then fled to Rawalpindi districts for his protection among the Ghakkars, where he was caught out by the Ghakkar chief, Sultan Adam Ghakkar, who wanted the good will of Humayun and wished to be in good terms with him, thus he sent an embassy to Humayun, with the offer to deliver up his brother Kamran. When Kamran came to know about the mission of the ambassador give one of messenger a renewed letter for his brother Humayun, from which he made a request for his pardon, and with the promises for his change and correction. After receiving the embassy and the message, Humayun with the satisfaction, as feeling safe himself from the threat of Kamran, marched with his army across the Indus to receive his prisoner brother Mirza Kamran on 29th December, 1554 A. D. ⁴⁶⁹

After getting his brother Kamran from the Ghakkars at Parhala, he along with Kamran returned towards Kabul. After reaching Kabul the main problem faced by Humayun was that to what treatment he had to do with his rival brother Kamran. Once again Humayun, because of his soft heart and merciful nature, appeared inclining towards mercy for Kamran. But the chiefs and nobles who knew the unforgiving nature of Kamran were not in favor of his pardon and they presented to Humayun a petition, in which what Mirza Kamran had done and demanded from him for the capital punishment for Kamran, which was necessary for public and country peace. ⁴⁷⁰

Humayun was not in favor of the death of his brother, yet for the sake of his authority and sovereignty he feels the need to deprive him from action. after

⁴⁶⁹ Dowson, Tabakat, 63-4.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid, 64.

consultation with his nobles Humayun ordered for the blindness of Kamran.⁴⁷¹ This duty of Kamran blindness was performed by three persons named, Ghulam Ali Shash-Angusht (six fingered), Ali Dost Barbegi and Sayid Muhammad Bikna with lancet deprived Kamran of his sight on 17th August, 1553 A. D. Kamran after losing his sight and received that fate from his brother hands leaved for Mecca, where he performed Hajj for four times and at last died there after four years on 6th October 1557 A. D., and Kabul forever became safe from his threat.⁴⁷²

Mirza Askari also went to Mecca from Badakhshan in 1551 A. D., where he died at the city of Damascus in the same year. He was till his last faithful to his real brother Mirza Kamran. It is difficult to say that how Humayun should have dealt his brother and his threat. There are different view including about his imprisonment, pardon to him etc, but there was danger in both of the acts, the imprisonment was useless because at that period escaped from the prison was not a big deal, there was not like modern jails, the pardon to him means once again to ensure further sacrifice of life and once again turned to the insecurity of Kabul and surrounding areas.⁴⁷³

3.38 Humayun at Kabul After the Removal of the Threat of Mirza Kamran

The removal of Kamran gives Humayun an opportunity to fulfill his ambition for carrying out expedition towards India. As for long time he was busy in the civil war with his brother Kamran because of which he had not given his attention towards the invasion of India. In 1553 AD Humayun after taking the position of Kabul and his residence there started looking towards different areas particularly for the reconquest of India from the Sur dynasty. The opportunity came to him for the invasion of India. As he earlier received invitation from Mirza Haider, the governor of Kashmir, for the invasion of India but that time he was on his march to Balkh against the Uzbegs. But now he was free from internal threat ready for the invasion of India and was near its borders. He also sent his twelve years old

⁴⁷¹ Es, Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Themes In Indian History the mughal state 1526-1750 (New Delhi: Oxford university press, 1998), 124.

⁴⁷² Dowson, Tabakat, 64.

⁴⁷³ Mallson, 172.

son Akbar towards Ghazni under the charge of one of his Wazirs, Jalaluddin Muhammad.⁴⁷⁴

The disturbed condition of India under the weak successors of Sher Shah Suri and a civil war among them brought the opportunity back to Humayun and he started his march and reached to the fort of Rohtas (A fort constructed by Sher Shah Suri), resolved upon the conquest of Kashmir and once again the Sultan of Kashmir Mirza Haider invited him to receive his formal over lordship and to invade India for taking his former position from the Afghan kings. According to Tabakat-i-Akbari when Humayun prepared himself for the invasion of Kashmir he was informed that a Zamindar named Birana occupied a place in the hills with much strength that none of the ruler had been able to subdue him. He protects the road and passage to Kashmir, and it was difficult to reach and conquered the territory, but Humayun had no worries for that and marched towards Kashmir⁴⁷⁵.

Though Humayun was ready, but his army and officers opposed that expedition because of two reasons, firstly they had left their families far in Kabul and secondly they opposed the expedition and entrance to Kashmir because they believed that if they enter the area would be in the control and power of the Sultan of Delhi. The Sultan of Delhi Salim Shah to cut off their way of return back and retreat. At the same time the news of the march of the Sultan to Punjab reached.

Beside the disapproval and opposition of Humayun officers, he ordered for the march towards Kashmir through the Bimbar Pass, but most of his troops on the next morning had taken the road back to Kabul. Thus Humayun despite of his intentions of marching towards Kashmir according to the general wish return back and reached to Peshawar. Here they halted for some time and superintendent the erection of a new fort designed to secure the area from the plundering of the hill tribes, and also to serve for the purpose of his Indian invasion. After the completion of the fort he appointed Sikandar khan Uzbek as governor of the fort. In December, 1554 A. D. Humayun returned back to Kabul.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁴ Syed Muhammad Latif, History of The Punjab from the remotest antiquity to the present time (Karachi: Indus publication, 1984), 132. (hereafter Syed Muhammad Latif)

⁴⁷⁵ Dowson, Tabakat, 64.

⁴⁷⁶ Mallson, 174-5.

At Kabul Humayun appointed Bairam Khan as his Prime Minister, who according to some historians was a very talented person, in fact he was a king man and Humayun according to some Historians depended solely over him. He joined Humayun during his Indian expedition after nine days of Humayun march. At the time of Indian invasion as Bairam Khan accompanied Humayun during the expedition his son Munim Khan was appointed as governor of Kabul.⁴⁷⁷

According to *Tabakat-i- Akbari*, at Kabul Humayun was informed about the hostile intentions of Bairam Khan, at that time governor of Kandahar, Humayun proceeded towards Kandahar, but when he reached there, the rumor against Bairam Khan that he rebelled became false as he met with respect and obedience to Humayun. After making himself satisfied from there Humayun went back to Kabul by appointing Munim Khan (Bairam Khan son) as governor of Kandahar, but later on reappointed Bairam Khan as governor of Kandahar. It was from here that Bairam Khan reached Peshawar to join Humayun army during the invasion of India.⁴⁷⁸

Humayun when became free from all worries regarding attempts on Kabul, determine to invade India.

3.39 Expedition and Reconquest of India

After the imprisonment and blindness of Kamran at Kabul, the death of Mirza Hindal and as Mirza Askari was far away from Kabul and the recognition of the nobles like Karacha Khan and Haji Muhammad Khan to the authority of the emperor. At Kabul Humayun now found himself in peace at Kabul and without rival to challenge his rule and thus he turned once again his eyes towards India. With the encouragement of peace in order at Kabul, Humayun at last determined an expedition towards India.⁴⁷⁹

In 1553 A. D., the news of the death of Salim Shah, son of Sher Shah and the Emperor of India reached to Humayun at Kabul. His death caused disorder in India, as with his death his son Firoz Khan set on the throne of his father, but after

⁴⁷⁷ Syed Muhammad Latif, 132.

⁴⁷⁸ Dowson, *Tabakat*, 66.

⁴⁷⁹ Erskine, *History*, 421.

three days he was murdered by his maternal uncle, Muhammad Shah. With his death a number of revolts started at many parts of India.⁴⁸⁰

As for as the Sur or Afghan family concern there were five rival claimants for the throne within the family, included, Muhammad Shah (murderer of Firoz Khan), occupied the areas of Janpur, Bihar and some areas at the east of the Ganges, second was Ibrahim Sur, brother-in-law of late Sultan, who held the areas of Delhi and Agra, third was Sikandar Shah who after defeating Ibrahim Sur occupied his areas of Agra and Delhi, fourth was Ahmad Khan Sur, with the charge of Punjab and the fifth and last one was Shujah, held Malwa. All of these persons were busy in a civil war against each other for the throne of India, as different areas belonged to them there were rebellion in those areas. Another revolt was made by Taj Khan Kerani, though not related to the other five, threatened Bengal.⁴⁸¹

Humayun after hearing about the disturbed situation at India after the death of Salim Shah, resolved for the purpose of invading India, to gain his lost throne from the successor and descendents of Sher Shah.⁴⁸²

Though at Kabul, Humayun with his utmost efforts raised an army of fifteen thousand men. At the head of this force he set out from Kabul in December, 1554 A. D., leaving Kabul in charge of Munim Khan son of Bairam Khan, as governor of Kabul to his second son Mirza Hakim, who at that time was one year old, and marched on the way of Jalalabad and Khyber Pass towards Peshawar. During that expedition his 12 years old son Akbar (born on 15th October, 1542) also accompanied him. At reaching Peshawar, Humayun was joined by Bairam Khan with a number of soldiers from Kandahar. They halted for a day at Peshawar after which at the next day starts their march towards the Indus and after crossing the river Indus, Humayun nominated Bairam Khan as the chief commander of his army. From the Indus they advanced towards Rohtas the governor of the area Tatar Khan Kasi, made no resistance and fled from the fort. When Humayun reached the Ghakkars area, though Adam Ghakkar owed service to him, did not join the Mughal army. After that Humayun marched towards Lahore, receiving

⁴⁸⁰ Boyle, 161.

⁴⁸¹ Erskine, History, 495.

⁴⁸² Mallson, 176.

the news of the coming of Humayun with his army the governor and officers of Lahore fled from there and thus Lahore came to the position of Humayun without any trouble and without any resistance. At Lahore he organized his forces and dispatched army under Bairam Khan, accompanied by some other nobles including Iskandar Sultan, Khizar Khwaja Khan and Tardi Beg Khan, towards Satlaj.⁴⁸³

A number of Afghans under the leadership of Shabaz Khan and Nasir Khan assembled at Dipalpur against the invading army of Humayun. The Emperor sent Mir Abul Maali and Ali Kuli Sistani to disperse them and after defeating them captured their baggages and horses etc. At the same time, Sikandar Shah a member of the house of Sur, of whom under was Delhi and Agra hearing about the approach of Humayun started for collecting a huge army against him. To check the advance of Humayun and to compel him for retreat, Sikandar Shah dispatched an army of about thirty to forty thousand men against him under two of his most trust worthy generals, Tatar Khan and Haibat Khan towards the Satlaj. The forces of Sikandar Shah met to that of Bairam Khan army at Machhiwarah near the left Bank of the river Satlaj, after which a tuff battle fought between the two forces, that battle was very important and decisive and to some extent it was depended over that battle that in future what should be the fortune of both of the opposing parties in India.⁴⁸⁴

At first the Indian army that were far greater in numbers from the forces of Bairam Khan the commander of Humayun were seemed near to success. As in the day they mostly strike with their archers but at night when the arrows took little effect on the Bairam Khan army. At last Bairam Khan with his utmost talent and war tactics to compelled the Indian Afghan army on retreat. He later on burns through fire that particular village where the Afghan army took shelter after their retreat. It was in the light of the burning village that Bairam Khan archers came out and shoot down a large number of enemy army and thus after and confronted a defeat over the huge force of Sikandar Shah and conquered a large area from them. The battle was so hardly fought after which a huge amount of booty fell into the hands of Bairam Khan including, Elephants, baggage and horses etc, with a

⁴⁸³ Sayil, 61.

⁴⁸⁴ Dowson, Tabakat, 66.

huge number of imprisonments. After defeating the large number of enemy and their retreat from the battle field, Bairam Khan sent detachments to follow the fugitives as far as Delhi, and himself wait for Humayun arrival to Machhiwarah.⁴⁸⁵

After hearing about the defeat of his army, Sikandar Shah with an army of about seventy thousand advanced against Bairam Khan, to avenge the defeat of his commanders and army. Bairam Khan sent messages and messenger after messenger to press his advance, after which Humayun sent his son Akbar with a detachment there quickly. Bairam Khan at meanwhile himself moved towards Sirhind to delay as much as possible the approach of the army of Sikandar Shah. They using war tactics divided their army into three divisions, one was under Akbar, second with Bairam Khan and the third division was under Iskandar Khan with some other nobles like, Bahadur Khan, Abdulla Khan Uzbek, Shah Abdul Maali and Ali Kuli Khan etc.⁴⁸⁶

At last Humayun reached and took the command of his army and after two days of his arrival Sikandar Shah offered him battle and the challenge was accepted by Humayun.

3.40 Humayun Recovery of the Lost Throne of India

On 18th of June, 1555 A. D., the battle was fought between the two opposites sides and at last after a violent battle Humayun with his army became victorious in that battle. The victory against Sikandar Shah gives Humayun the throne of Delhi and India, as all of the Punjab, Hissar Fierozah, Sirhind and some of the dependencies of Delhi were now in the position of the Mughals under Humayun. Though most of the provinces was later on conquered and pacified in detail, but the supreme domination of India settled down by that battle. The victory was attributed to Prince Akbar by Humayun. That battle, which fought near Sirhind, restored the position of Kabul and its dependencies as of a subordinate province, subjected to the Mughals, ruled from Delhi. Humayun sent Sikandar Khan Uzbek with a

⁴⁸⁵ Wolesely Haig, History, 69.

⁴⁸⁶ William Erskine, The history of India under the first two sovereigns of the house of Taimur, Babur and Humayun volii (London: Cambridge university press, 2012), 516. (Erskine, Babur and Humayun)

detachment towards Delhi, a number of Afghans supporters of Sikandar Shah fled from the city and Sikandar Khan Uzbek occupied the city of Delhi. After the battle royal camp was moved to Samana. Mir Abdul Maali was sent to Lahore to keep a check on Sikandar Shah Sur. later on Humayun entered Delhi and once again khutba and the coins were stamped with his name in India. He rewarded the chiefs, who had taken part in the campaign with the governorship of different provinces. At Lahore Sikandar Shah once again struggle for gaining power and strength, after which Humayun sent Bairam Khan there to put an end to his operations and by making Akbar the governor of Lahore. A type of revolt also took place at Biana under Kambar Diwana, but was suppressed by Ali Kuli Khan.⁴⁸⁷

3.41 Affairs of Kabul after Humayun Invasion of India

Before Humayun marched for the invasion of India, he consigned the government of Kabul and Ghazni to Munim Khan, a chief noble and son of Bairam Khan. After the invasion of India, Humayun once again started ruled from there and Kabul was left under his infant son Mirza Hakim, under the guardianship of the governor of Kabul, Munim Khan, he governed Kabul ably and was known for his justice and equality in all over Kabul. All of the ladies also remained at Kabul.⁴⁸⁸

But in Badakhshan, Mirza Suleiman after receiving the news of Humayun occupation of India, revolted against him and declared his independent. One of the causes of his revolt against Humayun was that his wife Harem Begum, the daughter of Mir Wais Beg and the mother of Mirza Ibrahim came into a visit to Kabul, at the time when Humayun was on his expedition towards India. She visited for condolence to the death of Mirza Hindal with his sisters Gulbadan Begum and Gul Chehra Begum. But the real motive of her visit was the quarrel and disturbs relation of her with her son and husband, the active role of Haram Begum in the political affairs of Badakhshan was the main cause of their disagreement. With displeasure she came to Kabul but later on after the regret of her son and husband she returned to Badakhshan. After her returned to Badakhshan, she represented to her husband the condition of Kabul as an easy

⁴⁸⁷ Dowson, *Tabakat*, 68-9.

⁴⁸⁸ Beveridge, *Akbar Nama*, voliii, 25.

undertaking and compelled him to take position of it. That was the cause of Mirza Suleiman revolt against Humayun.⁴⁸⁹

Humayun at that time could not leave his throne of India to meet out with the danger and set a plan for the better government and division of his Empire into provinces for administrative purposes. He divided his Empire into six provinces, with local capitals, which were Delhi, Agra, Janpur, Lahore, Mandu and Kanoj with board of administration. Though he made the plan, but before implementing it he died.⁴⁹⁰

3.42 Death of Humayun and Accession of Jalal ud din Muhammad Akbar

It the time of sunset on 8th Rabiul Awwal (17th January, 1556 A. D), Humayun, who ascended to the roof of his library, stood there for some time, after which he started for going down, at the same time the *Muzzan* gave *Azan* and he with respect set down over the second step but when he was getting up, his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. He became senseless and the courtier took him to the palace, after short time he spoke. The court physician tried their level best to save him but all in vain and after seven days of illness, Humayun died on 24th of January, 1556 A. D., (15th Rabi ul Awwal, 963 A. H), at the age of fifty one, with the reign of more than twenty five years.⁴⁹¹ In Humayun Nama, Gul Badan mentioned the death of Humayun, after three days of his injury by giving the date 27th January, 1556 A. D., further mentioned that he died on the 48 year of his age.⁴⁹² He died after six months of his reconquest of India.⁴⁹³

According to the will of Humayun, as he counseled that his death should be concealed until the arrival of Akbar to Delhi from public, as Sidi Ali conveyed the false news of Humayun recovery from injury to the public and on the other hand Sheikh Juli was sent to Punjab to summon Prince Akbar during the illness of Humayun, he met Akbar at Kalanor and communicate him the fact of the illness

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid, 40-1.

⁴⁹⁰ Boyle, 164.

⁴⁹¹ Dowson, Tabakat, 69.

⁴⁹² Humayun Nama.

⁴⁹³ Ashvini Agarwal, Studies in Mughal History (India: Motilal Banarasidass publishers, 1983), 6.

of his father. After some time the news of Humayun death arrived to him and when Akbar became free from the rites of the mourning of Humayun, the nobles with him leading by Bairam Khan ascended Akbar over the throne of India at Kalanor.⁴⁹⁴

3.43 Major Impacts of Humayun Reign on Kabul

Babur and Humayun spent most of their life at Kabul. Their time at Kabul consist of almost more than fifty years, but mostly spent in wars and conflicts either with different tribes of Kabul for the sovereignty and authority in the area or using it for the invasion of other areas. They give very little attention to the legislative, cultivation and other peace reforms at Kabul. They were as foreigners settled themselves in the area with force and with little sympathies for the people, which were especially for collecting army from them. All of the authority was vested by the king, surrounded by his favorite nobles, get their posts and increased in their ranks on the likes of the emperor. The Mughals brought with themselves the pomp and glory, establishment and institution of the courts of Samarkand and Khurasan to Kabul, included in the masters of household, horses, guards etc with the officers of the female apartments and harems etc. the emperor also headed two meetings either at the capital Kabul or in the camp at the style of Samarkand and Khurasan etc attended by the nobles and officers. Some of the army men of the Mughal at Kabul dressed with national uniform and was paid by the state. They were under the command of the nearest and high ranks officers of the emperor and were composed mainly of the immediate followers of the emperor, some of the tribal chiefs and the tribes like, Aimaks, Mughals and Hazaras under their tribal chief. Though overall the army lacked the uniformity in their language and uniform etc. despite those army officers there was independent warriors also called *Ekkeha*, who joined the emperor as volunteer either alone or with some of their followers. The old inhabitants of Kabul either of the cities or of the plains seldom adopted the trade of arms, but remained shopkeepers or peasants. There was no collage or institution constructed for the people of Kabul. Though there were a number of learned men who taught and teach the common people.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁴ Bevrige, Akbar Nama.

⁴⁹⁵ Erskine, Babur and Humayun, 536-546.

Most of the Kabulis were with Sunni faith but there was a little minority of the Kizalbash or Persian Shia with Shia faith. Kabul was without native literature and science by borrowing from the Persians and that of Central Asia, particularly brought by the Mughals, either from Persia to Kabul some learned men, later on went to India with Humayun or they came from Central Asia. Babur also after his invasion of India sent some of the manuscript from the Indian libraries to Kabul. The science of Kabul like their literature was borrowed either from Arabs or Persians. They because of the Mughals strongly believed over astrology and never took a march and movement of the king without the direction fixed by the astrologer. The medicine borrowed from the Arabs while the architecture brought by the Mughals from Samarkand and Herat.⁴⁹⁶

The main sources of revenue was the land tax which taken from the mountainous as in the form of tribute along with some custom duties also called *Tumgha* and giving presents to the king at the time of festivals etc and tax over the trade. At the time of Babur the revenue collect from both of these sources was around eight lacs *Sharukhis*. Babur after the conquest of Kabul levied the contribution of 30,000 loads of grains (*kharwar*). The regular attack of the Mughals increased the unity among the members of tribes with each other, who after the suffering of those foreign raids became closer to each other. The suffering brought them closer to each other and they started united efforts to defeat their common enemy. They made great sacrifices for the safety of each other which made the general people of Kabul more effective not only to their children but also effective to the society. The people of the plain areas, particularly the agriculturalist and pastoral were surrendered to the Mughals and they mostly remained peaceful. But because of the regular Mughal raids and the plundering of the hill tribes they suffered a lot. Those hilly tribes of Kabul also created problems for the Mughal authority almost for all of the Mughal rulers.⁴⁹⁷

Further developments in Kabul under Akbar will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid, 548-9.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid, 551-2.

3.44 Conclusion

Humayun from his start faced with a number of difficulties in the form of rebellions as well as in heritage unconsolidated empire from his father. As Babur distributed his empire among his sons and with that distribution Kabul came under the charge of Mirza Kamran, acted as independent ruler there. Those disturbance and difficulties of Humayun despite of decreasing increased with the passage of time and a time came when Humayun was withdraw from India by an Afghan man, Sher Shah Suri and he became without throne and home for some years. His brothers not only failed to help him against that dangour but they did not allowed him to enter their territories particularly Mirza Kamran opposed him and blocked the ways for his coming to Kabul. Humayun then seeking the Persian help and with their help first invade Kandahar and then Kabul. Both of the brothers fought many wars for the suzerainty of Kabul and at last Humayun managed and blind Mirza Kamran. It is clear from the fact that Kabul was very important for the Mughals that when Humayun got full control over Kabul he also got back his lost throne of India.

Chapter -4

KABUL UNDER AKBAR

This chapter analyzes the condition of Kabul at the time of Akbar accession to the throne in India and his struggle for controlling Kabul against his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Akbar at last with continues struggle became able to get the direct control of Kabul which was previously till 1585 AD ruled independently by his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim. After getting the position of Kabul, Akbar fought several wars with different tribes of the area. For the peace and consolidation of the area Akbar followed carrot and stick policy towards different Afghan groups and tribes. It was during the reign of Akbar that some of the tribes rose to rebellions and the movement like Roshniya took its foot step in the areas of Waziristan which spread to other parts of India. Akbar was the first Mughal emperor that built a great administrative setup not only in India but also in Kabul and brings a number of administrative reforms there.

4.1 Accession of Jalal ud Din Muhammad Akbar to the Throne of India

Jalal ud din Muhammad Akbar was born an Amarkot near Thatta in the month of October, 1542 A. D, to Maryam Makkani Hamida Banu Begum and Humayun.⁴⁹⁸ At the time of the death of his father Humayun, Akbar was in Punjab by performing the duties as governor of the province. When the news of the death of Humayun reached to him he was in the town of Kalanur, near Lahore, where his nobles particularly Bairam Khan ascended him over the throne there on 14th February 1556 A. D. Because of the young age and little experience of Akbar his commander and one of the great and influential noble in the Mughal court Bairam Khan for many years managed the affairs of the government of India on his behalf.⁴⁹⁹

Akbar was about 14 years of age on the time of his accession to the throne. He

⁴⁹⁸ Abdul Qadir Bin Muluk Shah Al- Badaoni, tran, George S. A. Ranking, Munatkhab-ul-Tawareikh Vol. i(Karachi: crimsons publishers, 1976), 161. (hereafter tawareikh)

⁴⁹⁹ Sabir, Tareikh 293.

became the ruler of India and ascended over to the throne on 10th March, 1556 A. D., after reaching Agra. Kabul occupied a strategic location as well as an important economic position. Thus almost every ruler of India wanted to maintain an effective control over the area.⁵⁰⁰

4.2 Early Difficulties of Akbar

Humayun left for his son, Akbar the legacy of a contested succession in a nascent state and when Akbar became the Emperor he confronted with a number of difficulties and rebellions in the empire. Among those rebellions was the struggle of Adil Shah Suri, who sent one of his Hindu minister and general, named Hemu against the Mughal emperor to defeat them and to resume the old post of the king of India for Adil Shah Suri like his predecessors. After the death of Humayun the activities of Hemu increased and he invaded Delhi and Agra. At the time of the invasion of Delhi Tardi Beg was the governor there who after the attack fled from there. Hemu easily captured those areas and instead of Adil Shah he announced himself as the ruler of Delhi. There were a number of reasons behind the weak position of the Mughals at India one among these problems was that most of the Mughal nobles wanted to return back their original home town in Central Asia. As they became tired off in the foreign land. But with the courage and intelligence of Bairam Khan they gathered the Mughal army and marched against the rebel Hemu and at last at the battle of Panipat defeated the forces of Hemu and once again Delhi came under the position of the Mughals. In 1559 A. D, Akbar on behalf of some misunderstanding and differences with Bairam khan removed him from his post. Akbar spent most of the time in securing the frontiers and to prepare a policy for the peace in the frontier areas or borders extended to the territory of Kabul and Kandahar. As Akbar knew that without defending those frontiers he could not secure Mughal position and authority in India. Another reason was that most of the people in the Mughal army was from those areas of the frontiers and if he failed to secure the frontier that would weak the Mughal army.⁵⁰¹

Akbar had five sons Sultan Salim, (Akbar made him commander of ten thousand), Sultan Murad (commander of eight thousand), Sultan Danyal (commander of

⁵⁰⁰ Tawareikh, 161.

⁵⁰¹ Sabir, Tareikh, 293-4.

seven thousand), Hasan and Husain two twins who died after a month of their birth. He had three daughters including Shukru-n- Nisa begum, Aram Banu Begum and Shazada Khanum. The wives of Akbar included Sultan Ruqayya, Sultan Salima and Bibi Daulat Shad etc.⁵⁰²

4.3 Affairs of Kabul at the Time of Akbar Accession to the Throne

When Jalalud Din Muhammad Akbar ascended to the throne of India, Munim Khan the son of Bairam khan was the governor of Kabul. Akbar after the accession confronted with the same problem and difficulties faced by his father, Humayun after becoming the ruler of India. His grandfather Babur distributed the Indian empire among his sons by giving the charge of Kabul to Mirza Kamran before his death. That distribution later on created many problems for Humayun and most of the time of his reign he fought with his brothers particularly with Mirza Kamran for the throne of Kabul. Humayun did the same mistake by dividing the empire among his sons after which one of his sons Mirza Muhammad Hakim became a semi independent ruler of Kabul. Though at the time of his appointment he was an infant child and his power was used by Munim Khan who was Mirza Muhammad Hakim *Ataliq* as well as the governor of Kabul. Akbar did not rule Kabul directly till the death of his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim. At the time of Akbar accession to the throne as he himself was a child of fourteen years and confronted with several revolts and troubles inside India, including Hemu and Sikandar Mirza revolts and threats. With that reason he did not give much attention to the affairs of Kabul and the province remained for several years under the governorship of Munim Khan.⁵⁰³

4.4 Mirza Muhammad Hakim at Kabul

Mirza Muhammad Hakim born on 19th of April, 1554 A. D, at Kabul and was one of the youngest sons of Humayun. As Humayun on his expedition to India left his infant son in charge of Kabul, who at that time was six months old and was under the supervision of Munim khan, appointed as his *Ataliq* and governor of Kabul.

⁵⁰² Abul Fazal Allami Tran, H. S. Jarrett, The Ain-i-Akbari, volii (New Delhi: Oreintal book reprint corporation, nd), 321-22. (hereafter Jarrett, Aini Akbari)

⁵⁰³ Bevridge, Akbar Nama volii, 41.

Munim khan managed the situation well but after the death of Humayun his son and the new emperor of India, Akbar call back Munim khan to India. Munim khan before leaving for India appointed his own son Ghani khan as *Ataliq* of Mirza Muhammad Hakim as well as governor of Kabul. Later on replaced by Abu Fath and Fazl Beg, but both of them also failed to bring the situation in order and the government was taken by Shah Wali Atqa as governor of Kabul. He also failed in administering the province and Mah Chuchak begum, the mother of the young prince took the affairs of Kabul in his own hands. Later on she was killed by Abul Maali, who became in charge of Kabul and rule Kabul as the governor of the province. Those states of affairs at Kabul effect the overall situation of the province and created unrest in the province as well as in the surrounding areas.⁵⁰⁴

The weak position of the Mughals at Kabul and the ambitions of the nobles and influential people of the province caused the lost of Kandahar to the Persians in 1558A. D. The Badakhshani also took the advantage of the internal problems and weaknesses of Kabul and started revolt against them. It was those unsettled conditions of Badakhshan and Kandahar that the Mughal and specially Akbar came into more concerned about the defense of the frontiers of Kabul. On the other hand the love of the motherland, the military needs of the Mughals and the pride of possessing the ancestral land and dominions increased the importance of Kabul. As Kabul was under the charge of the half brother of Akbar, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, but because of his young age he could not administered the province and the real power enjoyed by different nobles and officers came to power in different periods at Kabul. The authority at Kabul on behalf of the prince was performed either by the governors including Munim khan and Maali khan or for some time by the mother of Mirza Muhammad Hakim or then his maternal uncle, Faridun. Kabul under Faridun was almost independent from the direct rule of the Mughals at Delhi court.⁵⁰⁵

Though Kabul was independent from the Mughal central authority, yet Akbar did not ignore the geo strategic importance of the areas of Kabul and the tribes living there. The opportunity of direct involvement in the affairs of Kabul came to Akbar

⁵⁰⁴ Sayel, 88-9.

⁵⁰⁵ Sabir, Tareikh, 294.

for the first time in 1567 A. D, when Mirza Muhammad Hakim on the advice of his uncle attacks some of the Akbar dominions at Punjab. At that time of attack Akbar was busy in suppressing the Uzbek rebellions despite that he remained successful in repulsing the attack of Mirza Muhammad Hakim but did not marched to Kabul. Akbar got the second opportunity to interfere in the affairs at Kabul in 1581 A. D, when some of the Muslim courtiers turned against Akbar *Din-i- ellahi* or his religious reforms and started supporting the cause of Mirza Muhammad Hakim.⁵⁰⁶ Both of the time Akbar remained successful in repulsing his brother and in 1581 A. D. It was during the second time that Akbar marched towards Kabul against the activities of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. It the second attempt at last Akbar after four years of the event remained successful in getting the control of Kabul. Another important event that took place was the origin of a religious cum-political sect or the Roshniya movement. As the Mughals could not ignore the safety of Kabul, thus Akbar decided to take it from his brother and brought the province under his direct control.⁵⁰⁷

4.5 Kabul Before the Direct Rule of Akbar

The condition of Kabul before the coming of the province under the direct rule of Akbar in 1585 A. D was not very satisfactory. The main reason of the disturbed situation was the internal weaknesses of the chiefs and administrator of the province and their ambitions and struggle for power. All the things occurred due to the little age of the in charge and ruler of Kabul Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who was three years old at the time of the death of his father by becoming in charge of Kabul at the age of six months. That encouraged disturbance in the province and those disturbed situation provide opportunity for rebels to make a revolt against the Kabul government which further weakened the government of Kabul. Among those rebellions the revolt in Badakhshan and that of some of the Afghan tribes were important. Most of the times of the administrator of Kabul were spend in ending the rebellions and revolts because of which they ignored the development of the people at Kabul who were not happy with their rule, further weakened their position. Until Munim Khan was the governor of Kabul he controlled the situation

⁵⁰⁶ Raverty, Notes, 257.

⁵⁰⁷ Bevrige, Akbar Nama volii, 410-1.

and managed the administration, but when Akbar call back him to India and give responsibilities there as of *Khan-i-khana* after dismissing Bairam Khan from that post, the disturbance started in Kabul.⁵⁰⁸ Though Mirza Muhammad Hakim was the nominal ruler of Kabul the tribes of the area mostly remained independent from his rule.⁵⁰⁹

4.6 Revolt of Mirza Suleiman of Badakhshan

When the news of the death of Humayun reached to Mirza Suleiman the governor of Badakhshan he declared himself the ruler of Badakhshan and revolted against Mirza Muhammad Hakim. The governor of Badakhshan, Mirza Suleiman was the grandson of Abu Saeed mirza as his father Khan Mirza was the son of Sultan Mahmud who was son of Abu Saeed Mirza. He was born in 920 A.H. They ruled over Badakhshan as his great grandfather Abu Saeed Mirza killed the last ruler of the series that considered themselves descendent of Alexander the great and ruled over Badakhshan. With the death of Abu Saeed Mirza his son Sultan Mahmud took the possession of the area but after his death the area transferred to Amir Khusru one of the noble of Sultan Mahmud and at last submitted to Babur. After the occupation of Badakhshan by Babur, he made Khan Mirza its governor and after his death the area was governed by Humayun, Sultan Uways, Hindal and at last by Mirza Suleiman. In 948 A. H. the area of Badakhshan was surrendered to Mirza Kamran, but Humayun later on in 952 A. H. once again gives the possession of Badakhshan to Mirza Suleiman as appointing him the governor there. During his rule at Badakhshan whenever Mirza Suleiman got the opportunity he rebelled and created disturbance for the Mughal rule but was suppressed.⁵¹⁰

After receiving the news of the death of Humayun and accession of a young prince Akbar, Mirza Suleiman declared his independence and prepared himself for the invasion of Kabul. He saw Akbar a child and busy in the suppression of revolts in India and at Kabul the young Mirza Muhammad Hakim was not able to fulfill his job and his authority was used by governor and nobles finding it an

⁵⁰⁸ Sayel, 88-9.

⁵⁰⁹ Chamakani, 43.

⁵¹⁰ Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, voliii, 324-5.

opportunity Mirza Suleiman after the collection of army marched towards Kabul with the aim of its conquest. When they reached Kabul the governor of Kabul Munim Khan provided a tuff resistance to them. Mirza Suleiman with his army of about 10,000 men besieged Kabul. The event took place in the first year of the reign of Akbar. Though Munim Khan wisely did not engage himself in the war with Mirza Suleiman, he did his best for the protection of the fort of Kabul and wait for the arrival of help from Akbar or Indian army. During the siege of Kabul several small skirmishes took place between the army of Suleiman and that of Munim Khan, whenever attacked from the side of Mirza Suleiman army towards the gates of Kabul occurred, the Kabulis with great courage repulsed it. The Kabulis made every effort to defend the fort and the city they made fire over the enemies from the walls with muskets and cannons.⁵¹¹

4.7 Akbar Sent His Army against Mirza Suleiman

When the news of the siege of Kabul by Mirza Suleiman reached to India and as the mother of Akbar Hamida Banu Begum, his aunt Gulbadan Begum and some other ladies of the harem were still at Kabul. Because before the defeat of Hemu the journey of the ladies through those regions were not safe but when his head was brought and hung upon the gate of Kabul, the first priority of Akbar and his nobles and that of Munim Khan after the Badakhshani siege of Kabul was the safe withdrawal of the ladies from Kabul towards India. Akbar sent troops towards Kabul bring the ladies into India, and to assist Munim Khan small force there. That distinguished force of the Indian composed of persons under the command of Ali Quli Khan were, Khwaja Amber Nazir, Shamsud-din-Muhammad Atka, Sikandar Khan Uzbek, Abdullah khan Uzbek, Majnun Khan, Muhammad Khan Jalair, Lal Khan, Mulla Maqsood Bengali, Haider Muhammad Akhta Begi, Hussain Quli Beg, Mir Muhammad Qasim, Auzan Bahadur, Shah Quli, Muhammad Kuli Birlas and Mahmud Barha etc. Those zealous and experienced soldiers advanced towards Kabul. Akbar ordered a *farman* directing them to make all haste to Kabul against the Mirza Suleiman and his army but before their reaching to Kabul as they just crossed the Indus that they received the news that

⁵¹¹ Bevridge, Akbar Nama volii, 41.

Mirza Suleiman after an agreement with Munim Khan returned to Badakhshan.⁵¹²

That step was taken by Mirza Suleiman after receiving the news of the arrival of army from India though they yet not reached to Kabul he after realizing the threat and terror of Indian army send one of his ambassador Qazi Khan towards Munim Khan at Kabul with the purpose to know the actual position of Kabul and to deceive with that strategy the government of Kabul. When the ambassador enter the fort and met with Munim Khan who also made the arrangement in the way that the ambassador of Mirza Suleiman get the impression that there was plenty of storage of food and other necessity in the garrison, and also showed him great kindness. Later on after some time when the ambassador convinced with the preparation of Munim Khan and his army, he returned back to Mirza Suleiman with the message from Munim Khan, who warned him by clearing his strong position stated that though there are a lot of brave men and soldiers in Kabul, with huge reserves for more than year and beside all these a numerous Indian army on the way to Kabul and that they could fought the Mirza army and easily defeated them. He also pointed out the sincerity and faithfulness of his soldiers. Mirza Suleiman after hearing the coming difficulties and the arrival of Indian army once again sent Quli Khan to Munim Khan with a latter which mentioned the condition for peace. In the latter Mirza Suleiman put forward stated about two conditions that the *khutba* in Kabul should be recited on his name and the second condition was that the other side of the area of Baran should belong to Badakhshan and would be the property of Mirza Suleiman. Munim Khan agreed to those condition though not internally but for some time and gives permission to read the *khutba* with the name of Mirza Suleiman at one of the mosques in the presence of some persons. Then Mirza Suleiman left one of his nobles Muqim Beg at Baran to protect the territory according to the term as of the second condition and himself end the siege of Kabul and returned to Badakhshan.⁵¹³

The governor of Kabul Munim Khan made over Kabul to Muhammad Quli Birlas, who was the commander of the troops that came from India to accompany the harem ladies towards India and himself accompanied the harem ladies towards

⁵¹² Ibid, 41-5.

⁵¹³ Iqtidar Alam Khan, The Political biography of the Mughal noble Munim Khan-i-Khanan, 1497-1575 (Aligarh: Orient Longman, 1973), 39-40.

India with the remaining troops of India. According to the orders of Akbar, Mirza Muhammad Hakim his mother Mah Chuchak and his sisters were remained at Kabul. At Jalalabad the caravan stopped for some days there an account of supplies etc, it was there that the news of the death of Tardi Beg Khan from the hands of Bairam Khan father of Munim Khan reached to them.⁵¹⁴

After hearing the news Munim Khan accompanied the ladies as far as Kotal Sitara and then returned back to Kabul by leaving the ladies in charge of the nobles like, Mulla Maqsud Bengali, Shamsud din Muhammad Khan Atka and Khawaja Amber Nazir etc. At Kabul Munim Khan sent Muhammad Ali Quli Khan towards India and to join the journey of harem ladies towards India. During the journey two of the Akbar full sisters died one at Jalalabad and the other near the Indus at Kotal Sitara, and after some days of grief and mourning they preceded their journey towards India. On the other side Munim Khan at Kabul expelled Muqim Beg from the area of Baran who was appointed by Mirza Suleiman and Kabul was freed from them thus once again Munim Khan started governing the area.⁵¹⁵

4.8 Munim Khan as Governor of Kabul

Munim Khan was the son of Bairam Beg Khan, and was like his brother Fazil Beg, a grandee to Humayun court. During the difficult period of Humayun reign when he was without throne and was expelled from India by Sher Shah Suri, Munim Khan though did not support and accompany him during his journey to Persia, but on his returned joined and accompanied him on his march against Kamran. He refused the governorship of Qandahar which was then given to Bairam Khan. In 961 A. H., Munim Khan became the *Ataliq* of Prince Akbar and after the reconquest of India Humayun appointed Munim Khan as governor of Kabul.⁵¹⁶

He continued with that post as governor of Kabul for several years also after the accession of Akbar to the Mughal throne of India. Later on Akbar recalled Munim Khan from Kabul after which Mirza Muhammad Hakim maternal uncle Faridun

⁵¹⁴ Muhammad Akbar, The Punjab Under The Mughals (Lahore: Ripon printing press, 1948), 73-4. (hereafter Muhammad Akbar)

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, voliii, 333.

started not only influencing the affairs of Kabul but also to turned his nephew against Akbar. He gives the impression to Mirza Muhammad Hakim that because of *Din-i-illahi* most of the Indian people and nobles were against Akbar and they would support him against his brother as a ruler of Mughal Empire. Though after few years when Akbar realized that Munim Khan could control and managed the affairs of Kabul, he once again sent him towards Kabul, but that time Mah Chuchak Begum and some other nobles who increased their influence at Kabul oppose his return and started march against him.⁵¹⁷

4.9 Mah Chuchak Begum at Kabul

Mah Chuchak Begum the mother of Mirza Muhammad Hakim was a great influence over her son and she also took active part in the affairs of Kabul. She provide a safe heaven in Kabul for the opponenets of Akbar in India. With the accession of Akbar, Munim Khan the governor of Kabul on the invitation of Akbar went to India, where he was appointed as *Khan-i- Khanan* and *Vakil*. Munim Khan appointed Muhammad Khan Akhta Begi as governor of Kabul, but later on he was informed that the new governor of Kabul was unjust and ill-treated the people after which he removed him from the office and appointed his own son Ghani Khan as governor of Kabul. He also sent his nephew Abul Fath Beg, son of Fazail Beg to help his son Ghani Khan in the affairs of government. He was assisted on the recommendation of Munim Khan by Shagun (son of Karacha Khan), Khwaja Dost, Darvish Muhammad and Muhammad Husain with a large number of troops under the command of Abul Fath.⁵¹⁸

The people of Kabul were greatly in trouble by the proceeding and acts of Munim Khan Son and the new governor of Kabul, Ghani Khan. One among those acts which annoyed the people of Kabul was the imprisonment of the old servant to the Mughals Tolak Khan Kulchin (serve Babur, joined Humayun on his returned from Persia and also in the service of Akbar). He after the interpretation of the people of the area became free and went to his *Jagir* at Mamakhatun and waited for his opportunity to revenge against the governor. After a short time the opportunity came to him when Ghani Khan went out from Kabul towards a village Charikaran,

⁵¹⁷ Sabir, Tareikh, 294.

⁵¹⁸ Bevridge, Akbar Nama volii , 187.

to meet a caravan came from Balkh. It was an opportunity for Tolak Khan who assembled a body of his supporters and friends made a march against Ghani Khan at the night and when he was asleep, caught and imprisoned him. Later on with the intervention of some of the persons including Fazail Beg he was freed, but on the condition that he would never molest Tolak Khan. He also demanded a territory for himself after which the territory from Mamura-i-pai-Minar to the limits of Bamian and Zuhak were given to him. That area was about a fifth of Kabul. But after reaching Kabul Ghani Khan broke his pact with Tolak Khan and marched against him with a strong army.⁵¹⁹

When Tolak Khan received the news of Ghani Khan marched he with his son Isfandiyar and some other relatives fled towards the Emperor court in India and took shelter there. Ghani Khan though pursued them to some distance but in vain and returned to Kabul without success. At Kabul, Ghani Khan lengthened the arm of oppression over the citizens which turn the Kabulis against him. Ghani Khan did not paid any attention to the disorganized state of affairs at Kabul. Later on the mother of Muhammad Hakim Mirza, Mah Chuchak Begum with the help of some other officers including, Shah Wali Atka, Abul Fateh Beg and his father Mirza Faizail Beg made a conspiracy against the governor of Kabul, Ghani Khan and revolted against him. They brought Mirza Muhammad Hakim at the gate of the fort of Kabul and beat drums and then they closed the gates of the fort. All those things happened after the visit of Ghani Khan to the village Mamura lay on some distance from Kabul to see the melon garden there. He stayed for a night there and thus when he returned back he found the gates of Kabul fort closed. He understood that the people of Kabul revolted against him, though he halted and besieged the fort for some days with equipped force but unable to do anything. The reason of his failure was that he was with a confused state of mind that either he went forward to Kabul or fled to India. In his advanced towards Kabul there was a risk from his companion's side that leaved their families at Kabul and could leave Ghani Khan alone. With that fear he thus pitched his camp on the side of Siah Sang, halted there and waited for some time. At the meantime a person Kahaldi Kotwal came to him and assured him that as he had not appointed by the emperor Akbar because of which the people of Kabul was not tolerated to his

⁵¹⁹ Elliot, History, 280-2.

tyranny and immoderation. He further stated that for taking the administration of Kabul it would be necessary for him to bring the order of his appointment from the emperor. Later on from the fort of Kabul fired guns over him and at last he left Kabul and went to the imperial court in India.⁵²⁰

The overthrow of Ghani Khan and after his retreat to India, Mah Chuchak Begum the mother of Mirza Muhammad Hakim took all of the affairs of Kabul in his own hands because his son was still a child. She appointed Mirza Fazail Beg as the minister (*wakalat*) of Kabul, a blinded person whom Mirza Kamran blinded and his son Abul Fath Beg became his deputy (*Naib*). But these arrangements of government did not work for long and when Abul Fateh received the post of deputy, he took some measure which was not like by Mah Chuchak begum and made charges against him including the making of his own arrangement for the distribution of villages as *Jagirs*. During the allotment of *Jagirs* he showed his ambitions and reserved best for himself and for his friends and allots worst to the prince and his attendants and practiced extra-ordinary exploitation on his account.⁵²¹

Among these measures and allotments he gives the territory of Ghaznin to Muhammad Khizar Khan, the chief of the Hazaras and imprisoned Babus Beg by giving him in the charge of Muhammad Khizr Khan and took all of his property. Mah Chuchak Begum made suspicious that he did not made responsible himself to anyone about his acts and conduct and did not provide any proof for the punishment of different persons and work like a tyrant. These state of affairs continued for two months at last the persons and nobles of Kabul including like Ali Muhammad, Miram Bahadur, Masum Kabuli, Idi Sarmast, Siyunduk and Shah Wali Atka with the help of Mah Chuchak they determined to remove him from his post. They made a plan for his killing and according to the plan when one night the deputy of Kabul Abul Fath, came out from his house and was drunk, Miram Bahadur attacked him with his sword and killed him and his body was flung down from the citadel. The death of Abul Fath once again created great disorder in the city of Kabul. When the news reached to his father and minister of Kabul he also

⁵²⁰ Ibid, 81-2.

⁵²¹ Bevrige, Akbar Nama volii , 284-5.

made an attempt to escape into the Hazaras with the help of Muhammad Sanjar (brother of Sikandar Fazail Beg son-in-law), and collected his goods, but some of the servants and supporters of prince Mirza Muhammad Hakim caught. He was also received the same fate as his son.⁵²²

After the killing of the father and son, Shah Wali Atka Beg one of the noble of Mah Chuchack Begum of whom advise she made the plane of killing both the father and son, with her approval assumed the post of general manager of the administration of Kabul and gives himself the title of Adil Shah. He gave the post of *Khan-i-Khanan* to Haider Qasim Kohbar and his friend Khwaja Khas Malik received the title of Akhlas Khan from him. After a short time he also received the displeasure of the Begum Mah Chuchak, who suspected him for aiming a rebellion against her and punished him. She assumed the management of Kabul and after consideration with some of the nobles appointed Haider Qasim Kohbar as *wakil* to the young prince Mirza Muhammad Hakim.⁵²³

4.10 March of Kabul Army under Mah Chuchak Begum against Akbar

When the report of these state of affairs reached to Akbar in India, after a lot of consideration and consultation they reached to the point to once again appointed Munim Khan as governor of Kabul as well as the guardian (*Ataliq*) of Mirza Muhammad Hakim with the purpose to brought peace in Kabul as well as to take an avenge of his son Ghani Khan. Akbar appointed the nobles like Taimur Beg Uzbek, Muhammad Kuli Birlas and Husain Khan etc to support him. Munim Khan, who was sent against the Raja of Meos, was recalled from the place Etawah and dispatched towards Kabul for the assistance of Muhammad Hakim.⁵²⁴

Hearing about the coming of Munim Khan with other officers towards Kabul the governor of Kabul give the task of the protection of Kabul from the army of Akbar to Hasan Khan, Haider Muhammad Khan Atka Beg, Taimur Khan Ikka, Shah Husain Khan Nikadari and a number of other brave men. Mah Chuchak with

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Munis. D. Farouqi, Forgotten prince: Mirza Hakim and the formation of the Mughal Empire in India Journal of economic and social history of the Orient, Vol 48,. No. 4 (2005). 93-6.

⁵²⁴ Beveridge, Akbar Nama vol.ii, 284.

her ten years old son Mirza Muhammad Hakim and with the support of some of the nobles assembled a force and marched towards Jalalabad (Jusai) to resist the coming of Munim Khan towards Kabul. After reaching Jalalabad, Mah Chuchak Begum with her forces waited for the arrival of them and with his arrival she took counsel with her officers and decided for the collection of soldiers and Aimaqs. She took her son Mirza Muhammad Hakim and marched against Munim Khan.⁵²⁵

The forces of Kabul and Begum prefer to meet and make a war with Munim Khan at Lamghan, because they knew that in case of their defeat the inhabitants and tribes of those areas including Khalil and Momand would provide them help against the Indian army. When Munim Khan reached to Deh Ghulaman, the news came to him that Idi Sarmast, one of the Begum general had come to Jalalabad and defend it. Munim Khan sent Khwaja Kilan and Taimur Ikka against Idi Sarmast, as he made the fort of Jalalabad strong and came out to fight. The next day Munim Khan marched towards Jalalabad where at the meanwhile the news of the arrival of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and his army reached. Munim Khan sent an ambassador Jabar Bardi Beg from his side towards Mirza Muhammad Hakim to reach in agreement with him and settle down the things without battle but in vain. Later on Taimur Khan of the Akbar army reported about the numbers of the Kabuli army that they were few in number and could be defeated easily. With the approval of Munim Khan and Haider Muhammad Khan the battle started near Carabagh, but at a short time after the start of the battle Khwaja Kalan and Calma Hisari were killed by the Kabuli forces after which Muhammad Hasan at the left wing and Qaqshals of the right wing did not move from the place to perform their duties. A number of the army joined the Kabuli forces while their remaining baggage of the army under Munim Khan was plundered. Thus the Mughal army received the defeat from the hands of the army of Kabul. After the defeat in the battle Munim Khan came to Peshawar and stayed there for some days, seeking what he should do. At last he sent one of his companions Yari Tawaci towards the court of Akbar, with the purpose to get permission from him for his journey to Mecca, because he could not face the emperor. But Akbar refused that and called

⁵²⁵ Ibid, 289-90.

him to the court at Agra where he received him with great honor and respect.⁵²⁶

4.11 Mir Abul Maali at Kabul

On 13th of March, 1564 A. D., Abul Maali, a noble to Akbar killed another noble Ahmad Beg and after learning about the marched of royal army against him fled towards Kabul. After reaching near Kabul he wrote a letter full of expression and affection for Humayun and sent it to her widow Mah Chuchak Begum, she took a counsel with her confidential advisers and they represented the Begum to treat him with kindness, because he has from the family of the Sayyid of Termez. After that she invites and received him with honor. Another reason for which the begum helps him was that she found an opportunity in the form of Abul Maali with the help of which she could work against those nobles who were not in good terms with her. She gives her daughter Fakhrun-n-Nisa Begum in marriage to him. Later on Abdul Maali increased his influence and tried for the establishments of Mirza Muhammad Hakim while his relations with the Begum decreased day by day and he started ignoring the advice of Begum and her officers.⁵²⁷

After making his position strong he with the help of some other nobles, who were displeased from the treatment of the Begum and conspire against her, including the persons like, Shugun, son of Karacha Khan, Shadman and some other. They represented to Abul Maali that so long as the Begum was alive he would not be able to secure the office and warned him that she also put him to death like the other administrators of Kabul.⁵²⁸ Hearing about that Abul Maali decided to kill the begum and went to the house of the ladies. In the house by mistake he killed another woman, but after learning that went for looking her and after founding the Begum in her room killed her. That event of the killing of Begum happened in the month of April, 1564 A. D. After her death Abul Maali got the young prince on his hand and from his side took in his hand the government of Kabul. After securing his position Abul Maali turned his attention towards the minister (*wakil*) of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Haider Kasim Kohbar and put him to death and

⁵²⁶ Woleseley Haig, History, 92-4.

⁵²⁷ Ahmad Ali Kohzad, Balahissar Kabul v apish amad I Tareikh (Persian) (Kabul: Anjuman-i-Tareikh, 1336 A. H), 123.

⁵²⁸ Sir Henry miers Elliot, The History Of India (India: Susil Gupta, 1952), 126.

imprisoned his brother Muhammad Qasim.⁵²⁹

On the other hand some of the nobles who were the supporters and adherents of late Begum, Mah Chuchak Begum, conspired against Abdul Maali to avenge her death. Those adherents of the late Begum included Husain Khan, Tardi Muhammad Khan and Baki Muhammad Khan Kakshal. But the plot was revealed to Abul Maali through Abdi Sarmast, who instantly armed a party of his supporters against the conspirators, who were in the fort of Kabul and attacked them. Many of the persons killed from both sides but at last Abu Maali became victorious in driving them out from the fort and the supporter of the Begum fled to all directions after their defeat. As the Maidanis went to Maidan, Qaqshal went to Ghur, and Hasan khan and Mahsaran Khan went towards Jalalabad.⁵³⁰

4.12 Second Expedition of Mirza Suleiman towards Kabul

Muhammad Qasim the brother of the former *wakil* or minister of Mirza Muhammad Hakim at Kabul, Haider Kasim Kohbar gets his release from the imprisonment of Abul Maali and went to Badakhshan. There at Badakhshan he informed the ruler of Badakhshan Mirza Suleiman about the disturbed situation of Kabul and urged him for the attack over Kabul. On the other hand Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who had horrified with the death of his mother and by the advice of some of his supporters, sent one of his secret messengers to Badakhshan for the assistance of Mirza Suleiman. Hearing about the situation of Kabul Mirza Suleiman assembled a force and with the approval of his wife Haram Begum (Khurram Begum), marched against Abul Maali to Kabul. At Kabul when Abul Maali received the news of Mirza Suleiman marched, prepared his forces and took Mirza Muhammad Hakim with himself advanced towards the river Ghorband, where both of the forces met and battle took place between them.⁵³¹

The forces under Abul Maali were defeated by the Badakhshani forces and they began to retreat. When Abul Maali felt the need for reinforcement to support them, he hastened to Kabul and leaved the young prince Mirza Muhammad

⁵²⁹ Bevrige, *Akbar Nama volii*, 39-45.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid*, 318-20.

⁵³¹ Mir Ghulam Muhammad Gubar, *Afghanistan Dr Maseer Tareikh vol. I,ii* (Peshawar: Intisharat-i-mewand, 2003), 298-9.

Hakim in the charge of some of his servants. In the absence of Abul Maali those servants took Mirza Muhammad Hakim and joined Mirza Suleiman. When the news reached to the camps of Kabul forces, they seized with panic and returned towards Kabul. When Abdul Maali returned he found no trace either of Mirza Muhammad Hakim or of his army thus he also fled. He was caught out by the army of Mirza Suleiman near the village of Charikaran and was brought to the presence of Mirza Suleiman. The Badakhshani ruler after his victory marched towards Kabul taking Mirza Muhammad Hakim with him.⁵³²

After three days at Kabul Mirza Muhammad Hakim received Abul Maali from the Badakhshani forces and ordered of his death as punishment of his crimes. After the execution of Abul Maali, Mirza Suleiman married her daughter to Mirza Muhammad Hakim and engaged himself in arranging the affairs of Kabul by distributing the territories of Kabul among his followers as *Jagirs*. He appointed one of his confidence men Ummaid Ali from Badakhshan to the post of minister as *wakil* to Mirza Muhammad Hakim and himself returned to Badakhshan. Though Haram Begum urged her husband for taking Mirza Muhammad Hakim with him and the making of Kabul as a Badakhshani province, but he refused. According to some historians Mirza Suleiman gave three fourth of Kabul territory to his own men as fiefs and picked out the best land for them and with the purpose to keep Kabul as his subject he allotted Mirza Muhammad Hakim and the Kabulis with inferior land.⁵³³

4.13 Mirza Suleiman Third Expedition to Kabul

After the death of Abul Maali and the victory of Mirza Suleiman at Kabul, he continually tries to get possession of Kabul by keeping Mirza Muhammad Hakim in one of the district of Badakhshan. For fulfilling his design, he sent a number of men such as Abdur Rehman Beg and Tangri Bardi Qushbegi with troops on several occasions towards Kabul, with the purpose to keep it under his subjugation. The Kabulis became suspicious about these states of affairs and took measures to remedy the whole affairs. Those persons consist of Yar Muhammad Akhund, Siyundak, Khwaja Hasan Naqshabandi, Ali Muhammad Asp, Khawaja

⁵³² Elliot, History, 287.

⁵³³ Bevrige, Akbar Nama volii, 321-22

Khizayans, Ali Maidani Baqi Qadshal and Khalifa Abdullah etc, who were the chief participants for taking measures against Mirza Suleiman. They advise Mirza Muhammad Hakim to expel the Badakhshanis from his territory. It was after those advises of his nobles that at last Mirza Muhammad Hakim the ruler of Kabul made some arrangement against the authority of Mirza Suleiman and took the area of Ghaznin from Qara Yatim, granted to him by Mirza Suleiman and allotted it to Qasim Beg Parwani. The area of Bangash took from another person of Mirza Suleiman by giving it to his own men. He made the area of Jalalabad up to the territory of Indus as his own exchequer land by taking it from the Mirza persons such as Qazi Khan, Bahawud din Khan and Saiad Khan Mubariz.⁵³⁴

Thus one after another Mirza Muhammad Hakim expelled all those men from his territories that were appointed by Mirza Suleiman and took the position of Kabul by himself. Those men after their expulsion went towards Mirza Suleiman and told him about the entire occurrence to them. Mirza Suleiman after hearing that started his march against Kabul, when the news of his approach reached to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, he left Kabul in the charge of some of his trustworthy men including Baqi Qaqshal and himself with some of his followers went towards Jalalabad and Peshawar to seek the help of his brother Emperor Akbar. When Mirza Suleiman near Baran came to know about his march towards Jalalabad he put off the plan of the capture of Kabul and moved towards Jalalabad from Deh Minar, with the intention to imprisoned Mirza Muhammad Hakim there. On the other hand Mirza Muhammad Hakim after reaching to a place called Daka received the false reports that Mirza Suleiman did not follow them after which Mirza Muhammad Hakim turned round to Kohi Baran. But there they learned that the news was false and Mirza Suleiman continued his march towards their direction. After that Mirza Muhammad Hakim hastily marched towards Gharib Khana and from there to Ali Masjid and then to Peshawar.⁵³⁵

At Peshawar he halted near Qabila-i- Habib, where the envoy from Mirza Suleiman side reached to him. Mirza Muhammad Hakim dismissed him after a short interview and sent his own man Khwaja Hasan to Mirza Suleiman and

⁵³⁴ Khair-ul-Bashar, Tareikh-i-Hindustan (Lahore: M.M.Sharif publishers, nd), 559-60.

⁵³⁵ Elliot, History, 293-4.

himself proceeded towards the Indus. Khaki Gallaban a shepherd to whom Mirza Muhammad Hakim left for bringing the news of the advance of Mirza Suleiman reached to him and reported about the arrival of Mirza Suleiman to Jalalabad, where he left Haram Begum with some troops and further proceeding against the Kabul army. Getting the news about the march of Mirza Suleiman, Mirza Muhammad Hakim quickly crossed the Indus and from there he sent two of his men, Tufan Auji and Ghalib Beg towards the emperor Akbar for his help and assistance against the ruler of Badakhshan.⁵³⁶

He after reaching on the bank of Sind Sagar at the province of Punjab sent his Dewan Khwaja Beg Mahmud and Maqsd Jauhari to the governor of Punjab Mir Muhammad Khan for getting his help. After the exchange of presents they assured Mirza Muhammad Hakim for his assistance against the Badakhshani threat. When Mirza Suleiman heard about the entry of Mirza Muhammad Hakim to the area of Punjab, he became hopeless and returned towards Jalalabad. On his way he plundered the Shinwari tribe and a number of them were killed along their chief Harun Shinwari, he then proceeded towards Kabul by leaving some troops at Jalalabad and besieged the fort of Kabul.⁵³⁷

On the other side at India, after hearing the state of affairs in Kabul and that of the reaching of the request and petition of Mirza Muhammad Hakim to the emperor Akbar, he ordered the cream troops of the Punjab under the generalship of Mir Muhammad Khan to help his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim and seated him on the seat of Kabul firmly. Akbar also sent one of his trustworthy men Qutbud Din Khan to Kabul with the purpose to remain at Kabul after the withdrawal of the threat of Mirza Suleiman. Thus the order was issued to the governor of Punjab Mir Muhammad Khan and some other great officers such as, Mahdi Qasim Khan, Fazil Muhammad, Kamal Khan, Quli Khan, Muhammad Khan, Hasan Sufi Sultan, Quli Khan Birlas, Jan Muhammad Bahsudi and Qutbud din Khan to march quickly for the help of Mirza Muhammad Hakim.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, Tran. Muhammad Ayub Qadri, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, (Urdu) (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1990), 420-30. (hereafter Qadri, Tabaqat)

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Hashim Ali Khan or Kafi Khan, tran, Mahmood Ahmad Farooqi, Muntakhabul-lubab Babur se Jahangir tak, (Urdu) (Karachi: nafees academy, 1963), 196-7.

These forces joined Mirza Muhammad Hakim at the bank of Indus, while the other with equipments including Mir Muhammad Khan and some other officers joined him near Peshawar and then they proceeded with him towards Kabul against Mirza Suleiman. Emperor Akbar also sent a large amount of money for the purpose with his ambassadors. They on their way crossed Alak Benaras towards Kabul and with high hopes and intentions they continued their journey towards Kabul. After reaching Jalalabad where Mirza Suleiman placed his man Qambar Ali with some troops over the charge of Jalalabad, Mir Muhammad Khan sent some of his men towards him for his subjugation but he refused after which a battle was fought which resulted with the death of Qambar Ali and his three hundred comrades.⁵³⁹

The head of Qambar Ali was sent to Kabul with a letter insuring Baqi Qaqshal with the arrival of a huge army for their help against the Badakhshanis. When the news of the arrival of the army from India for the help of Kabul and the captured of Jalalabad reached to the Kabulis they became very happy and satisfied. Though the news also reached to Mirza Suleiman but he declared it false as first happened to him that during his first siege of Kabul when the news of the arrival of Indian army spread in his camp after which they departed and the news was false. He continued with the siege of Kabul when two of his men came to him and confirmed the loose of Jalalabad to the Mughal army. It was after that confirmation that Mirza Suleiman called a council of his men to take the decision whether besieged Kabul or left for Badakhshan and after much consultation at last they leaved for Badakhshan. Though in the way he had gave the impression that he has going to fight against Mirza Muhammad Hakim but at last he retired to Badakhshan. When the Indian army and that of Mirza Muhammad Hakim reached near Jagdalak the news of the retreat of Mirza Suleiman reached to them after which they quickly reached Kabul and the inhabitants of Kabul at last were released from the troubles of the siege.⁵⁴⁰

4.14 Mirza Muhammad Hakim took Position of Kabul

Mirza Muhammad Hakim with the help of the imperial army took the control of

⁵³⁹ Qadri, *Tabaqat*, 422-41.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Kabul. The citizens of Kabul rejoiced and offered prayers for the establishment of peace and prosperity in their city. After spending some days at Kabul in peace Qutbud din Khan, accompanied by Kamal Khan went for a visit to his hometown Ghaznin, where he spent several days with joy and pleasure and showed great kindness to his clan and people. He erected a number of buildings and a garrison there and after having the foundation of stations there returned to Kabul. A man with the name of Mir Muhammad Khan after arranging the affairs of Kabul take himself to the office of *wakil* to Mirza Muhammad Hakim and stayed there at Kabul with the name of *Khan Kalan*. The other officers returned to India also accompanied by the younger sister of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Sakina Banu Begum, who in order to thank Akbar for his help and kindness, she proceeded under the guidance of Muhammad Khan and Qutbud din to India. At the meanwhile once again the disturbance arose in Kabul with the increasing influence of the emperor Akbar and with the appointment of *Khan Kalan* as administrator. A number of nobles at Kabul started conspiracies against the increasing influence of the royal army. Mirza Muhammad Hakim because of his youth gives attentions to those conspiracies and falsehood.⁵⁴¹

Mir Muhammad Khan the *Khan Kalan* also did not followed the conciliatory policy and ways towards his other officers and even to Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Though Mirza Muhammad Hakim showed his obedience to *Khan Kalan*, yet he performed many important matters without his consultation. Mirza Muhammad Hakim married her sister Fakhrun Nisa to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi, who at that time was at Kabul. When Khwaja Hasan bound in relation with Mirza Muhammad Hakim, he started managing the affairs of his household, from where he started influencing the affairs of the administration of Kabul. Mir Muhammad Khan at that time the *Ataliq* and *Khan Kalan* of Mirza Muhammad Hakim noticed the increasing influence of Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi in the affairs of Kabul. He did not like him and far-seeing that the result of that increasing influence would not be good and one of the nights without the knowledge of anybody left Kabul and fled to India. The main aim of his returned to Lahore from Kabul was to avoid quarrel with Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi. He reported the full details of the situation and occurrence in the court of Kabul to the emperor Akbar by sending some of the

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

officers including, Yar Muhammad Akhund, Firuz and Khwaja Hasan to his court. At Kabul Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi took the office of Prime Minister (*wakil*) after the retreat of Mir Muhammad Khan to India.⁵⁴²

4.15 Mirza Suleiman Fourth Expedition to Kabul

When Mirza Suleiman heard about the returned of Mir Muhammad Khan and the Indian army to India, he for the fourth time collected the Badakhshani army for the conquest of Kabul and with his wife Haram Begum (Khurram Begum) marched toward Kabul. After receiving the news of the march of Mirza Suleiman, Muhammad Hakim Mirza after consultation with his officers left Kabul under the charge of his trustworthy man Masum Koka and himself with his brother-in-law Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi, who was also his *wakil*, led his army towards the valley of Gorband and encamped at Shakardara.⁵⁴³

On the other side Mirza Suleiman with his army reached to Kabul and besieged the fort of the city. The Kabulis under Masum khan defended the fort with courage and when it became difficult for the Mirza Suleiman army to occupied the fort he with the advise and consultation of his officers sent his wife Haram Begum, who was Mirza Muhammad Hakim mother-in-law towards the valley of Gorband to met and convince the prince for his meeting with Mirza Suleiman. After reaching to Gorband, Haram Begum sent some of her men towards Mirza Muhammad Hakim for assuring him her affection and to bring about concord and unity. After receiving the envoys from Haram Begum, Mirza Muhammad Hakim determined to hold a meeting with Mirza Suleiman at Karabagh (about ten kos distance) from Kabul. He sent messengers to her for informing her intentions and his willingness for meeting with Mirza Suleiman. She affirmed her designs of honesty and unanimity of the meeting. Though in real, she made a plan with her husband Mirza Suleiman, against Mirza Muhammad Hakim for his imprisonment and informed secretly to Mirza Suleiman about the meeting in Karabagh. They had the plan that when the prince reached for the meeting to Karabagh they would captured him. As Mirza Suleiman according to the plan left about one thousand

⁵⁴² S. R. Sharma, The Crescent In India A Study In Medieval History (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd, 1954), 378-9. (hereafter Sharma, India)

⁵⁴³ Kohzad, Afghanistan, 200.

Badakhshani army under Muhammad Kuli at Kabul for the security of his daughter and himself with the remaining army marched towards Karabagh.⁵⁴⁴

Some of Mirza Muhammad Hakim officers such as Baki Kashkal were opposing his meeting with Mirza Suleiman. Despite that opposition, Mirza Muhammad Hakim proceeded towards Karabagh with some of his men, after reaching near Karabagh one of the man among the army of Mirza Suleiman, who was a Kabuli and had come with Badakhshahi on Mirza Suleiman rapid march and then separated from his army at the night, met Mirza Muhammad Hakim and disclosed their intention against him and that of the march of Mirza Suleiman against him. After hearing that Mirza Muhammad Hakim returned towards Gorband, though Mirza Suleiman with his army persuade him and near the pass of Sangad-darra he captured and imprisoned some of his men and their baggages were plundered. Mirza Muhammad Hakim from Gorband marched to Mazar-i-sharif which was at that time under the position of the Uzbegs. Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi and his party men wished to take Mirza Muhammad Hakim to the Uzbek ruler of Balkh, Pir Muhammad for his assistance against the Badakhshanis. But the persons such as Baqi Qaqshal did not agree to them and took Mirza Muhammad Hakim towards the Indian Territory for the assistance of Muhammad Akbar. Khwaja Hasan with his followers separated from the Kabul army and went towards Balkh while Baqi Qaqshal with his supporters and Mirza Muhammad Hakim returned towards Gorband and from there they marched towards Jalalabad by the way of Isa and Bahra, from there reached to Peshawar and from reaching there they further crossed the Indus to seek the help of the emperor Akbar in India against Mirza Suleiman. The envoys of Mirza Muhammad Hakim reached to Agra at the court of Emperor Akbar with the request for help against the Badakhshanis. Emperor Akbar sent an army under the command of Mirza Muhammad Hakim maternal uncle Faridun Khan, who was a noble at the court of Muhammad Akbar for the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim.⁵⁴⁵

Muhammad Akbar also sent Kush Khabr Khan, his official announcer with money, goods and horses to assist Mirza Muhammad Hakim and also with a

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid, 201.

⁵⁴⁵ Beveridge, Ain-i-Akbari, volii,

farman to Mirza Muhammad Hakim that if he need more assistance he would send the *Amirs* of the Punjab for his assistance. Kush Khabar Khan and the *farman* of Akbar was received by Mirza Muhammad Hakim with great honor. Later on after the arrival of Kush Khabar Khan, Faridun Khan with the support and help of Sultan Ali, a clerk (given to him the title of Lashkar Khan, fled from the royal court) and Hasan Khan of Kabul instigate Mirza Muhammad Hakim for the hostile attempts by representing him that it would be easy for him to take an expedition for the invasion of Lahore because at that time Akbar was busy in the war at Bihar. As he know that it was difficult for the small Kabuli army of his nephew, Mirza Muhammad Hakim to reconquerd the lost areas of Kabul and Jalalabad etc. So they made plan first to capture Lahore and then marched against Mirza Suleiman at Kabul.⁵⁴⁶

4.16 Mirza Muhammad Hakim activities against the Emperor Akbar

The prince Mirza Muhammad Hakim with the support of Faridun Khan broke into open revolt against the imperial authority and marched towards Lahore and plundered the areas near it. They encamped in the garden of Mahdi Qasim Khan. Hearing about the march of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and his army towards Lahore, some of the nobles of Punjab such as, Mir Muhammad Khan-i-Kalan, Sharif Muhammad and Kutbud din Muhammad Khan assembled at Lahore for the safety of the fort. They informed the emperor Akbar about the revolt and march of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Akbar after learning about the revolt appointed Munim Khan in charge of Agra and himself with a huge army began his march towards Lahore against his brother.⁵⁴⁷ Mirza Muhammad Hakim made several attempts for the occupation of Lahore but failed because of the counter attack of the Punjab army with the fire of guns and muskets. At last when the information of the march of the imperial army towards Lahore reached to camps of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, they found themselves unable to resist the imperial army and fled from there.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁶ Kahir ul Bashir, Tareikh-i-Hindustan, Vol I, (Peshawar: MM, Shareef publishers, nd), 657. (hereafter tarikh-i-Hindustan)

⁵⁴⁷ S. R. Sharma, Mughal Empire In India: A systematic study including source material, vol. I (India: atlantic publishers, 1999), 229.

⁵⁴⁸ Ihsan H. Nadiem, Punjab: land, History, People (Punjab: al-faisal Nashran, 2005), 173.

Though Akbar learned about the flight of Mirza Muhammad Hakim from Lahore yet he continued his march and reached there at the end of February, 1567 A. D. After which he meet with the devoted and loyal *Amirs* and granted them with high ranks and positions. On the order of Muhammad Akbar, the imperial army under the command of Kamal Khan Gakkar and Qutbud din Muhammad Khan pursued Mirza Muhammad Hakim till the Pargana of Bahra, where they learned that he with his army crossed the Indus and thus they returned back from there.⁵⁴⁹

On the other side at Kabul Mirza Suleiman, who pursued Mirza Muhammad Hakim to Karabagh, Masum Koka sent out a force against the remaining army of Mirza Suleiman, which he left under one of his officer Muhammad Quli that besieged Kabul and after a battle with them he defeated the Badakhshani besieger. Muhammad Quli conveyed Mirza Suleiman daughter, who were with the expedition to the Char Diwar garden at the neighborhood of Kabul. The people of Kabul surrounded him at the area and sent a message to Masum Khan for his quick coming to captured him easily but Masum Koka refused it because the daughter of Mirza Suleiman, who was the wife of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, was with him thus he called his men back. Though Mirza Suleiman returned to Kabul and besieged it again, but at last because of the tuff resistance of Masum Koka and with the difficult climate as growing cold the weather day by day Mirza Suleiman became disappointed with that sent one of his men, Kazi Khan Badakhshai, who was the tutor of Masum Koka for peace. After a short time peace was made and Mirza Suleiman with his wife Haram Begum left Kabul and departed for Badakhshan. After hearing about this departure Mirza Muhammad Hakim made haste to Kabul and once again took the position of the area.⁵⁵⁰

Later on Mirza Suleiman who made several attempts over Kabul was himself busy in civil war with his grandson Shah Rukh, son of Mirza Ibrahim, and at last he compelled to flee from Badakhshan towards Kabul to seek the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim against his grandson Shahrukh. Mirza Suleiman failed to get any support in Kabul because Mirza Muhammad Hakim was not willing to help him. After becoming hopeless from Kabul, Mirza Suleiman then turned towards

⁵⁴⁹ Bevrige, *Akbar Nama volii*, 411.

⁵⁵⁰ Beveridge, *Akbar Nama vol.ii*, 361-2.

India and reached to the court of Akbar for his assistance. Akbar was ready for help but because of the internal disturbance in the empire, he did not provide assistance to Mirza Suleiman for his occupation of Badakhshan. When Mirza Suleiman became hopeless he leaved for Mecca and thus his threat for Kabul came to an end. Later on he went to the court of Akbar like his grandson Sharukh (given a *mansab* of seven thousand by Akbar), where he received the post of a commander of six thousand. His grandson Shahrukh married one of the daughters of Akbar, named Shukru Nisa Begum in 1001 A. H, and made him governor of Malwa. He was also the son in law of Mirza Muhammad Hakim who gave him his daughter Kabuli Begum, who later on after her husband death became the wife of Mirza Sultan Ali, uncle of the Persian ruler Shah Abbas.⁵⁵¹

In the year 1579 A. D., one of a trustworthy man of Mirza Muhammad Hakim named Masum Koka a great man of courage done a great job by protecting Kabul from Badakhshani army during their fourth expedition towards Kabul. After the withdrawal of the Badakhshani threat he left Kabul, being offended with Mirza Muhammad Hakim and went to the court of Akbar at India, who received him with kindness and gave him a *mansab* of 500 and also a *Jagir* in Bihar.⁵⁵²

In 1577 A. D. Mirza Muhammad Hakim declare himself the ruler of Kabul and the *Khutba* started with his name. He for the next ten years ruled Kabul with peace and prosperity for some time without any disturbance and threat. But once again his ambition caused difficulties for him at Kabul and once again the peace of the city ended. With the treacherous designs and invitation of Mirza Muhammad Hakim maternal uncle Faridun Khan and the persons such as Masum Farankhudi and Asi Masum Kabuli, they through letters invited Mirza Muhammad Hakim for the invasion of Punjab. All that happened when Akbar was busy in his wars against Bengal and Bihar, Mirza Muhammad Hakim took it an opportunity as Akbar left a small army under the command of the son of Raja Bahgwan Das, Raja Man Singh at Punjab, and thus he assembled a large army and advance towards Lahore. On December, 1579-80 AD, Mirza Muhammad Hakim sent some of the army under the command of Nuruddin with the purpose to attack Lahore

⁵⁵¹ Bevrige, *Ain-i-Akbari*, volii, 326.

⁵⁵² Jarrett, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, 240-1.

but defeated by the imperial army under Hasan Beg. Mirza Muhammad Hakim then sent another expedition under the command of one of his other officer Shadman an advance beyond Indus but Raja Kunwar Man Singh attacked and killed him and defeated his army. Kunwar Man Singh after killing of Shadman obtained three letters from him, which was from the side of Mirza Muhammad Hakim written to three of the nobles of Akbar court, one was written to Muhammad Qasim Khan Mir-bahr, one to Hakim-ul-Mulk and the other one to Khwaja Shah Mansur all of the letters were the replies for their invitation and encouragement to Mirza Muhammad Hakim for the invasion of India. Kunwar Man Singh sent those letters to the emperor Muhammad Akbar.⁵⁵³

Hearing about the lost of his army against Kunwar Man Singh, Mirza Muhammad Hakim himself on 15 February, 1581 with the command of an army marched towards Lahore and encamped at the Pargana of Saiyidpur. As Kunwar Man Singh was not able to resist the Kabuli forces with his small force, thus he retreated to the fort of Rohtas. Here Kunwar Man Singh strengthened the defense of the fort and then went to Lahore with the purpose to protect the city from the Kabulis till the arrival of assistance from the emperor Akbar. The emperor Muhammad Akbar assembled all his forces and given them the advance salaries of eight months from the treasury and marched towards Punjab, but they were still in their way that the news of the victory of Shahbaz Khan commander of the imperial army over Masum Farankhudi at Fathpur reached to them. After receiving the news of the victory Muhammad Akbar with a huge army continued his marched against his brother and reached to Attock in the month of June, 1581 A. D, where he ordered Raja Birbal to built a fort.⁵⁵⁴

Mirza Muhammad Hakim also leaved the siege of the fort of Rohtas and marched towards Lahore, where they encamped in the garden of Mahdi Qasim Khan. Kunwar Man Singh with his father Raja Baghwan Das and Said khan gone into the fortress of Lahore. When Muhammad Akbar reached to Panipat, the Diwan of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Malik Sani Kabuli left him and went to the camp of Akbar. As he went into the tent of Khwaja Shah Mansur (a person of who name

⁵⁵³ Muhammad Akbar, 62-4.

⁵⁵⁴ Sayel, 91-3.

letter caught by Raja Man Singh from Shadman written from the side of Mirza Muhammad Hakim). The arrivals of Malik Sani Kabuli to the tent of Khwaja Shah Mansur arouse the suspicions of Akbar and he thought that the coming of the *Diwan* of Mirza Muhammad Hakim to them was not free from a conspiracy. His doubt was confirmed with his arrival to the tent of Khwaja Shah Mansur and thus Akbar dismissed him from his post.⁵⁵⁵

When Akbar reached to Shahabad a man brought him a letter from Malik Ali with the effect that, a person with the name of Sharaf Beg, who was a servant of Khwaja Shah Mansur and wanted to convey the letter to him, the letter stated about the plan of Faridun Khan and that of Mirza Muhammad Khan for the occupation of India. After receiving and seeing that letters Muhammad Akbar executed Khwaja Shah Mansur. On the other hand when Mirza Muhammad Hakim learned about the approach of Muhammad Akbar towards Lahore, he left the siege and returned to Kabul. On his way to Kabul he left some of his forces at the fort of Peshawar and then returned to Kabul and took the administration of the country. At Kabul he dispatched Faridun Khan against the imperial army while he became busy in collecting more troops.⁵⁵⁶

4.17 Kabul Became Province of India

The expedition and conquest of Kabul was brought by Jalal ud din Muhammad Akbar after the advance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim towards Punjab and his struggle for the conquest of Lahore and then of his retreat to Kabul. But there were some other reasons for that expedition included the conspiracies of some of the nobles of Akbar courts against him, in response to opposing his religious policy or disagreement with Akbar over some of his regulative measures. Those nobles included people like Masum Khan and Shah Mansur (revenue minister) etc. They started supporting Mirza Muhammad Hakim to be the legal sovereign of India in place of Akbar. The rebellions were mainly occurred in Bihar. On the other hand at Kabul some of the nobles of Mirza Muhammad Hakim persuaded him that the people of India particularly the Muslims and some of the nobles of

⁵⁵⁵ V. A Smith, Akbar The Great Mughal 1542- 1605 AD (New Delhi: S. Chand company ltd, nd), 139-40.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid, 139-40.

Akbar court, who became disappointed of his *Din-i-elahi*, were ready to welcome him there. Thus Mirza Muhammad Hakim started his march towards Lahore, but when he reached there he came to know that not only the nobles but also the Mullahs were not ready to help him and defend the city against him. Mirza Muhammad Hakim after receiving the news of the coming of Akbar with a huge Indian army hurriedly returned back to Kabul.⁵⁵⁷

At that time Akbar was at Fatehpur Sikri, but in February 1581 A. D, he left for Kabul against his brother. After reaching Sir Hind Shareef Akbar came to know that Muhammad Hakim fled to Kabul but he continued his march against him and after few days stay in Lahore in June 1581A. D, reached Attock. At Attock it was difficult for the Mughal army to cross the river because of its huge water due to the summer season. Thus Akbar with his army wait for fifty days to crossed the river on his march towards Kabul. In those fifty days of his stay in Attock, Akbar ordered the construction of a fort there under the charge of Raja Birbal, later on given the charge of the construction of the fort to Khwaja Shamsud din Khwani. After passing fifty days in Attock when the water of the river reduced to some extent, Qasim Khan a chief engineer of the Mughals army build a bridge of boats over the river and Akbar with his army crossed the river through that bridge. Later on Qasim Khan constructed a road on the pass of Khyber, which pleased Akbar so much that he made him the governor of Kabul. Akbar when was near the Indus he gives some special favors not only to his own men but also to some of the Afghan tribes.⁵⁵⁸

After the retreat of Mirza Muhammad Hakim to Kabul, Muhammad Akbar wrote him ad by commanding him to receive him at Kabul as his sovereign but his brother did not respond to his letters. When Mirza Muhammad Hakim did not give any response to the letters of his brother, Akbar then assigned duties to his different *Amirs* to persuade Mirza Muhammad Hakim. As Kunwar Man Singh with his brother Madhu Singh and Sheikh Jamal Bakhtiyar were sent against the settlement of Mirza Muhammad Hakim at Peshawar. They after reaching Peshawar captured it without any resistance and some to an agreement with

⁵⁵⁷ Wolseley Haig, History, 127-8.

⁵⁵⁸ Muhammad Ibrahim Zia, Mazi Kay Darechoo sai (Urdu) (Peshawar: Taj deen publishers, 2002), 113.

Ghoria Khel and some other tribes of the Khyber for their safe journey to Kabul. The task of the improvement of the road of Khyber was given to Qasim Khan the Mughal chief engineer. Akbar on 27th June 1581 A. D., sent his son Mirza Murad with Mirza Yusaf, Kalij Khan and Rai Man Singh etc against Mirza Muhammad Hakim towards Kabul with the orders to march slowly against the ruler of Kabul, the purpose of which was to give an opportunity to Mirza Muhammad Hakim for his submission to the imperial court.⁵⁵⁹

The imperial army under prince Murad was divided into three parts, the centre was led by prince Murad, Muhammad Yusaf Khan, Rai Rai Singh, Suraj Singh and Hazara Beg etc, the left wing was commanded by Mahdi Qasim, Sayid Hamid Bokhari and Ali Beg etc. The right wing was commanded by Alam Nauhani, Shahbaz Khan and Nur Qulij etc. The officers like Ram Chand, Naqib Diwana and Raja Man Singh etc were in van.⁵⁶⁰

After receiving the information of the march of the imperial army towards Kabul, Mirza Muhammad Hakim sent one of his messengers Khwaja Abul Fazal towards the emperor Akbar to seek his pardon. On reply to his appeal for forgiveness Akbar sent one of his own men Haji Habibullah with the envoy of Mirza Muhammad Hakim towards Kabul promising him forgiveness with the condition that he regretted of the past conduct and bind himself an oath for the faithfulness in future and would send his sister to India in the court of Akbar.⁵⁶¹

The imperial army continued their march towards Kabul despite of the fact that some of the nobles and men in the army of Akbar wanted that Akbar should forgive his brother. Mirza Muhammad Hakim still encouraged by some of his nobles that many of Akbar men would turn against him during the battle. Though some of the men and officers of Akbar army included Arab Bahadur, Niyabat Khan, and Shah Dana etc made a conspiracy to join Mirza Muhammad Hakim but failed.⁵⁶²

⁵⁵⁹ Wolseley Haig, History, 127-8.

⁵⁶⁰ Tr. H. Beveridge, The Akbar Nama Of Abul Fazl vol.iii. (Lahore: book traders, 1921), 412. (hereafter beveridge Abul Fazal)

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Ibid, 407.

At the same time prince Murad passed through the Khyber Pass while Muhammad Akbar crossed the river Indus and encamped there. From there he sent Nizam ud Din Ahmad Bakhshai towards his son Mirza Murad and the other *Amirs* accompanied him with the message that whether they need the presence of the emperor Akbar with his army for the invasion of Kabul or they would by themselves made the conquest. The messenger of Akbar followed prince Murad and other *Amirs* near Jalalabad and delivered them the message of Muhammad Akbar. Prince Murad sent back Nizam ud Din towards Muhammad Akbar with determined upon proceeding towards Kabul. He was also accompanied by Haji Habibullah who was sent towards Kabul to meet Mirza Muhammad Hakim and to acknowledge him about the conditions for his forgiveness. He came from Kabul with the report that Mirza Muhammad Hakim was accepted those conditions and that his sister was carried off by her husband Khwaja Husain Naqshbandi to Badakhshan. At the same day after receiving his messengers, Muhammad Akbar marched towards Peshawar, where he left prince Salim with Said Khan and Raja Bahgwan Das and himself proceeded further towards Jalalabad.⁵⁶³

Prince Murad with his army when reached about seven *kos* away from Kabul, Mirza Muhammad Hakim sent his family to strong places and came out to the village Khurd-Kabul and made an attack over the imperial army under prince Murad. Some troops were sent to Kabul under Haider Ali for the security of the area. When the fighting started between the two armies, at that time an imperial army under Raja Man Singh and Tuzak Khan Angha reached for the help of prince Murad, who with their gun machines fired over some of the men of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and killed about three of his men. Raja Man Singh was the son of Raja Baghwan Das, according to the western historians he was Raja Baghwan Das adopted son, but the Muslim historians did not given any account of that. Akbar bestowed upon him the title of *Farzand* (son).⁵⁶⁴

At last Mirza Muhammad Hakim was defeated by the imperial army and was compelled to put to flight towards Gorband, then prince Murad entered as victorious to Kabul. Though he one night before that was attacked by Mirza

⁵⁶³ Kohzad, Afghanistan, 210-11.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid, 212-15.

Muhammad Hakim uncle Faridun Khan about 30 *kos* away from Kabul at a place named Shatar Bagh and killed a number of his men with gaining off considerable spoil. Mirza Muhammad Hakim dispatched a number of his army under the command of Ali Muhammad Asp and Sheikh Jamal and was joined from behind by Faridun Khan after which a battle started between the two forces, from the imperial side the officers like Mathra Das and Syyid Daulat etc fought bravely while from Mirza Muhammad Hakim side the officers including Ghaiur Beg, Shadman and Bakht Beg etc fought gallantly, but at last with the assistance of the additional army on the side of imperial army reached to help they became victorious. Prince Murad was encamped at Khurd, Kabul.⁵⁶⁵

Though the Kabuli army under Faridun Khan later on joined by Mirza Muhammad Hakim attacked the imperial army and defeated some of its officers including Naurang Khan, but the officers of imperial army like Rafi Rustaqi, Shah Beg Kulabi and Fath Mubarik fought with them bravely later on joined by Raja Man Singh and Madhu Singh and some others with special Filkhana (elephant stables) with special elephants, as Husain khan Jagat Rai and Mohammad khan and a number of other officers were on special elephants with the guns. The Kabuli army after the approach of additional army for the help of the imperial army lost the courage and Ali Muhammad Asp with Mirza Muhammad Hakim retreated. Many of the soldiers from the Kabuli army were killed while some of their forces among the Turanis, Persians and Afghans joined the imperial army. Mirza Muhammad Hakim once again tried his luck and collected a number of his forces marched towards Kotal Minar he faced some of the imperial forces and with great difficulties reached to Karabagh and from there to Istarghach (North of Kabul), where he was joined by many of his relatives including his son Kaiqobad from there they to Ghorband. When Muhammad Akbar received the news of the defeat of prince Murad from the hands of Faridun Khan, he hastily with his army marched via Khyber Pass and Jalalabad towards Kabul. Akbar led the centre of his army, the right wing was commanded by Zain Khan Kokaltash and the left wing was lead by Mattalib Khan, but later on he was informed by an Afghan reporter name Karmullah Kambu of about the overcome

⁵⁶⁵ Muhammad Hussain Azad, tran, Mumtaz Ali, Darbar-i-Akbari (Urdu) (Lahore: Darul ishaat, Punjab, 1898), 549-553. (hereafter, Darbar-i-Akbari)

of prince Murad over Faridun Khan and the victory against him.⁵⁶⁶

On Friday 9th August 1581 A. D⁵⁶⁷, Muhammad Akbar entered Kabul and spent there about one week or seven days⁵⁶⁸ and visited the gardens and tomb of Babur. Akbar was informed about Mirza Muhammad Hakim that he took refuge with the Uzbeks. The emperor Akbar sent one of his men Latif Khwaja to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who was at that time at Gorbant, to inform him about the forgiveness of his offences from the side of Akbar. He was received with warm and respect by Mirza Muhammad Hakim and made a vow of fidelity at the presence of Latif Khwaja and sent his own men Ali Muhammad Asp along with Latif Khwaja to the emperor Akbar. After receiving the envoy from his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim and the promises made by him, the emperor Akbar once again forgive him and Zabulistan was conferred upon him, but appointing his sister Bakht un Nisa Begum in charge of the affairs of the government of Kabul with the condition that Kabul would be the province of Hindustan from that onward. (from March 1579). Muhammad Hakim Mirza after the departure of Akbar once again resumed his former position and functions at Kabul but at that time all of the official orders were issued with the name of his sister.⁵⁶⁹

Akbar after looking the affairs of Kabul leaved for India and marched towards Jalalabad, where a large encampment of army under his son prince Salim and other nobles waited for him and from there they further marched towards India, with a detachment sent towards the hills of the Kator infidels. The expedition towards Kabul was extended for a month after which Akbar returned via Jalalabad and after reaching Peshawar he stayed there for some time and ordered for the rebuilding of the damaged to the Qilla Bala Hissar, after that he reached to India.⁵⁷⁰ From Kabul one of the nobles of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and brother of Qasim Khan mirbahar, Khwajagai Muhammad Husain joined the services of Akbar and accompanied him to India and became one among the number of his friends. In Badakhshan after the five years civil war between Mirza Suleiman and Shah Rukh weakened their rule in Badakhshan that Abdullah Khan Uzbek

⁵⁶⁶ Beveridge, Abul Fazl, 425-8.

⁵⁶⁷ Sabir, Tareikh, 296.

⁵⁶⁸ Tareikh-i-Murassa, place at Pashto Academy university of Peshawar, with accession no. 210.

⁵⁶⁹ Boyle, 174.

⁵⁷⁰ Beveridge, Akbar Nama volii, 670.

attacked them and expelled both of them from Badakhshan by making it the part under their rule. The fled of these two was informed to Akbar by Mirza Muhammad Hakim in a letter written to Emperor Akbar.⁵⁷¹

After that Shah Rukh fled to India and took refuge with Akbar court while Mirza Suleiman went to Kabul and seek refuge with his son-in-law Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Later on with the support and assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Mirza Suleiman defeated the Uzbek army and obtained his lost position at Badakhshan. Though after some time the Uzbeks with a strong force once again made an attack over Badakhshan and Mirza Suleiman was unable to resist it retreat to Kabul and remained there till the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Akbar celebrated his victory over his brother in the way to summoned all of the governors of different provinces of India to the court for Nauruz feast. On the other hand about the progress of the maternal uncle of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Faridun Khan started his march from Peshawar towards Kabul, but was defeated by the Afghans in the Khyber Pass and compelled him to retreat to Peshawar. At the fort of Peshawar a fire broke out and a thousand camel loads of merchants had been consumed, after which Faridun Khan gone on another road to Kabul.⁵⁷²

4.18 Death of Muhammad Hakim Mirza and its Aftermath

Kunwar Man Singh and Khwaja Shamsudin Muhammad who were at Kabul through a letter give the information of the illness of Mirza Muhammad Hakim to the emperor Akbar at India. With the illness of Mirza Muhammad Hakim once again the destructive tendencies raised their heads in Kabul. Those disturbances at Kabul could encourage the aggression of the Uzbeks, who after capturing Badakhshan have their eyes over Kabul. On the other hand the illness of Mirza Muhammad Hakim increased and became more severe after which he died on 30th July, 1585 A. D. at the age of thirty one. The cause of his death was wine because he was a wine addicted and the excessive drinking cause first of his illness and then death. He was buried near his father Babur.⁵⁷³ His death increased the thread

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Khan Roshan Khan, Pathano ki Asleyyat or un ki Tareikh (Urdu) (Karachi: Roshan Khan educational trust, 1992), 301-5.

⁵⁷³ Habibi, Afghanistan, 131.

of Uzbek invasion as a number of nobles including Faridun Khan looking towards them for securing his possession at Kabul against Akbar, who wanted to nominate his son there. According to the Mughal custom of inheritance, Akbar wanted to appoint his son as his successor at Kabul. But the nobility of Kabul opposed that appointment after which Akbar gave up his plan. At that time the Uzbek ruler took Badakhshan and had their eyes over Kabul.⁵⁷⁴

After the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, there was disturbance among the Kabulis and they turned towards the imperial court. Faridun tried to take the sons of Mirza Muhammad Hakim with himself to Transoxiana. At last orders were issued by the emperor Akbar to Kunwar Man Singh and Bahgwan Das to take the possession of Kabul.⁵⁷⁵ Both of them proceeded towards Kabul by subduing the Afridis and other rebel tribes in their way. At Jalalabad they were accompanied by the sister of Mirza Muhammad Hakim named Bakht-u-Nisa Begum to Kabul by bringing order to the nobles of Kabul.⁵⁷⁶ Mir Sharif Amuli was appointed *Sadr* and *Amin* of the province of Kabul and served the same position under Kunwar Man Singh. The sons of Mirza Muhammad Hakim were so young and incapable that the affairs of Kabul were administered by the nobles of Kabul, who were favorable to the claim of the emperor. After reaching there they brought all the things in order including the unrest of the peasantry. The Khyber route was reopened which had been closed by the Roshnias or Tarikis. Man Singh administered all the things with justice which caused the submission of Ali Muhammad Asp and some other nobles to the court of Akbar.⁵⁷⁷

4.19 Raja Kaur Man Singh as Governor of Kabul

After securing peace in Kabul, Raja Kunwar Man Singh from Kabul visited the emperor Akbar at Chenab and reported that the people of Kabul were willing to submit to the imperial rule. Akbar hastily appointed Kunwar Raja Man Singh as governor of Kabul. He on his march to Kabul faced the earthquake. He after becoming governor left some of the nobles of Kabul there but sent a number of

⁵⁷⁴ Tareikh-i-Murassa, place at Pashto Academy, university of Peshawar with accession 1476, pf, 682.

⁵⁷⁵ H. Beveridge, *Akbar Nama volii*, 670.

⁵⁷⁶ Hayat-i-Afghani, 73.

⁵⁷⁷ Beveridge, *Ain-i-Akbari, volii*, 502.

them to other areas as Kumak.⁵⁷⁸ Raja Man Singh made his first expedition against the Roshnias that started rebellion under their leader Jalala and occupied the fort of Peshawar. At Kabul he appointed Raja Baghwant the in charge of Kabul.⁵⁷⁹

Raja Man Singh and the Mughal army was with the plane that both of the Mughal army from Kabul under him and that of the Mughal army from Attock met near Khyber and then collectively made an attack over the Roshnias. He appointed his own son Jaghat Singh as acting governor of Kabul during his absence from the province. At the meanwhile to coming from Kabul Raja Man Singh became ill at a place Bolaq near Ningarhar and caused delayed the expedition against the rebels. That delayed of action from the Mughal army give time to the rebels, who advanced to Khyber and built ditches by closing the way for the Mughal army. The Mughal army under Man Singh then chose another way for their march against the rebels, which was a valley of Bazar an Afridis territory and made an attack over Tirah a strong centre of the Roshnias. The followers of Jalala spread almost all over the parts of Tirah and started attacking over the Mughal army after which a lot of difficulties at last Raja Man Singh became successful in reaching Khyber Pass.⁵⁸⁰ According to Cambridge History of India, Akbar made a mistake by appointing Man Singh as governor of Kabul. He may appoint him to punish the Afghans and supporters of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. The presence of Raja Man Singh with huge Rajput troops was mostly oppressive to the Muslims.⁵⁸¹

But he after a short time at Kabul left the administration of Kabul once again and this time in the hands of his son Saikath or Jaghat Singh in charge of Shams-uddin Khafi and himself along with two of the sons of Mirza Muhammad Hakim Qaikubad aged 15years and Afsaryab aged 14 years, his sister Bakht Nisa Begum and some of the nobles from Kabul went to India and reached the court of Akbar in December, 1585 A. D. He brought the two little princes and those Kabuli nobles into the presence of the emperor Muhammad Akbar a town of Rawalpindi, situated between Attock and Rohtas. They were received there with princely

⁵⁷⁸ Tareikh-i-murassa, 212.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid, 249.

⁵⁸⁰ Sabir, Tareikh, 29-8.

⁵⁸¹ Woleseley Haig, History, 137.

generosity and honor while the Kabuli nobles received allowances and Jagirs from the emperor Akbar. Faridun Khan was also among those nobles and after getting rewards from the emperor he was made over to Zain Khan Koka.⁵⁸²

Akbar in the month of August 1589 A.D. made his second march towards Kabul and on 31st of August crossed the bridge constructed below Attock. He continued his journey and on 11th September crossed the Khyber, the road was improved by Qasim and the horses and camels crossed it easily. The main aim of his journey to Kabul was to visit the tomb of his father and to see his ancestral home. On his way to Kabul he met with Hakim Hamam of Turan who presented him with many gifts. The Turks and Tajiks on the whole way of his journey came to Akbar and presented their presents and offering to him. Akbar reached Kabul in almost 21 days where he was joined by prince Murad and his family and household. In Kabul Akbar visited Babur tomb, Shahr ara garden, the tomb of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and Mirza Hindal also ordered Qasim khan to built a beautiful garden there, visited also Jahan Ara garden.⁵⁸³

4.20 Akbar Policy towards the Tribes of Kabul

In December, 1585 A. D, Kabul became under the direct control and administration of the Akbar and the tribes became the direct concern of his empire. According to Masirul Umara Humayun once advice his son Akbar and told him the story that during the visit of Humayun to Persia the Persian ruler Shah Tamsph informed him about the strength of two nations at India, Pakhtuns and Rajputs and advised him to be in good terms with one among them for ruling peacefully at India. As most of the Pakhtun tribes from the reign of Humayun supported Mirza Kamran instead of Humayun. Akbar taking that in consideration turned to get the support of Rajputs by appointing them on high posts.⁵⁸⁴

Akbar was not happy and not satisfied with the plundering and rebellious behavior of the tribes. He almost followed the same policy as followed by his grandfather Babur, but with one difference that he never tried to exacted tributes from them,

⁵⁸² Jarrett, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*,

⁵⁸³ Bevrige, *Akbar Nama volii* , 670.

⁵⁸⁴ Sayel, 108-9.

with the aim that they remained peaceful and faithful to the Mughal Empire. He also built a number of forts with the stationed of troops there to check and keep a watch over the tribes. Among the tribes of Kabul Akbar raised a local militia. The policy of not levying taxes from the tribes helped Akbar, because one of the causes of the tribal rebellion was their poverty.⁵⁸⁵ Akbar for administrative purposes and for security reasons give the charge of Grand Trunk Road or G.T Road from Attock to Peshawar to one of a *Sardar* of the Hassan Khel Khattak, named Malik Akor Khan a son of Malik Darvish also known with the name of Malik Chengo. In the treaty with the Mughals, Malik Akor agreed to secure the road and made it necessary that the road remained open for the Mughal army and passengers. On return and reward of that Akbar give him the territory from Kher Abad to Noushehra as his *jagir*. The village Akora Khattak called after his name.⁵⁸⁶

Akbar at start tried to make a soft policy towards the Yusufzai tribe to make him his ally by extending his support to the chiefs of the tribe and carried one of the Yusufzai chief Kalu Khan along with himself to Agra and treated him well there but later on he fled from the Mughal court. He was captured near Attock by Shamsud din Khawani a Mughal person and brought him back to the court of Akbar, where once again he was genteelly treated. Kalu Khan was not happy in the Mughal court and once again he fled from there that time went to his own people and started preparing his tribe against the Mughal for battle. It is also said that some of the followers of Bayazid Ansari went to the Yusufzai for their support which annoyed the Mughal emperor Akbar and made a comprehensive plane for the punishment of Yusufzai tribe.⁵⁸⁷ In 1585-6 A. D the Mandar and Yusufzai tribe was attacked by the army of Akbar under the command of Raja Man Singh. Jalala the leader of the Roshniya not only defeated them but killed or wounded about eight thousand me of the army of Mughals.⁵⁸⁸

Akbar then sent in 1586 A. D, Zain Khan Kokaltash or Koka a commander of two

⁵⁸⁵ Ed. S. R. Bakshi, S. K. Sharma, Shah Jahan the great Mughal, (New Delhi: Deep & deep publication, 2000), 240-3. (hereafter, Bakhshi, Shah Jahan)

⁵⁸⁶ Sabir, Tarikh, 298.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid, 298-9.

⁵⁸⁸ Muhammad Asif Khan, tran, Ashraf Altaf Hussain, The Story of Swat "As told by the founder Miangul Abdul Wadud Badshah Sahib to Muhammad Asif Khan"(Peshawar: Ferozsons ltd, 1962), xxxi-xxxii.

thousand and five hundred to subdue them near Bajaur, Swat and Buner. Zain Khan Koka was considered a second great Mughal commander after Raja Man Singh. The Mughal army was divided into three parts the first part march against Yusufzai through Chakdara, the second through Saddum and the third through Swabi. Though Zain Khan Koka fought bravely but had to face the warring Yusufzai tribe Zain Khan requested from Emperor Akbar for placement of more Mughal army for his march towards Swat and Buner. He also suggested to the Mughal court that the helping Mughal army should come through the area of Sammh (District Mardan), to destroy the camps and villages of the Mandar tribe, that they could help their brothers Yusufzai. Akbar agreed with his suggestion and sent two different armies under two generals Raja Birbal and Hakim Abul Fateh for the help of Zain Khan Koka.⁵⁸⁹

At Bajaur Zain Khan defeated the Yusufzai, they were about three hundred families living there. By subduing them Zain Khan marched towards Swat through Talash, where about 40,000 Yusufzai families lived. At Chakdara the two armies met with Zain Khan Koka.⁵⁹⁰ It was in Chakdara that the Mughal laid the foundation of the Chakdara fort. In Swat the victory for the Mughals and Zain Khan was not easy, although at some places the Yusufzai received defeat from the hands of the Mughals but did not completely suppressed them. The main cause of their failure was the disunity among those Mughal generals, every one among them consider themselves superior over the other and did not listen each other. Secondly the area they chose for battle against the Yusufzai was a mountainous area and the Mughal army and generals had no experience of that type battle.⁵⁹¹

As with the reinforcement of some troops under Raja Birbal and Hakim Abul Fateh for the assistance of Zain Khan when he suggested that some of the troops would attack over the Yusufzai and some would to occupy the other districts, but his suggestion was refused by both of the commanders Abul Fateh and Raja Bir Bar. They were of the opinion that all of the Mughal army should make an attack over the Yusufzai through Karakar Pass to Buner and then returned back. After

⁵⁸⁹ Tareikh-i-Murassa, 240-1.

⁵⁹⁰ Bakshi, Shah Jahan, 240-3.

⁵⁹¹ Gazzatter of the Peshawar District 1897-98, compiled by Punjab government, (Lahore: sang-e-meel publication, 1989), 58. (hereafter Gazzatter of Peshawar)

their disagreement with one another the Mughal army under their own leader marched towards Buner and after two days from Chakdara reached to Barikot and from there to the north of the pass of Karakar. There they faced resistance from Yusufzai. Zain Khan Koka fought bravely and remained successful by crossing the Karakar Pass to Buner. But onward from Buner the difficult Passes and ways plus the attack from Yusufzai compelled the Mughal army to return back. When the Yusufzai saw the Mughal army returning, they made an attack from a narrow valley and fired them with stones which caused a huge number of death and injuries to the Mughal forces and their animals and thus Yusufzai inflicted a crushing defeat over them. According to an estimate about eight thousand of the Mughal forces killed in the event and a large number became injured.⁵⁹²

One of the Mughal general Birbal, a close friend of Akbar lost his life in that expedition, while the other two Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abul Fateh saved their lives with great difficulties.⁵⁹³ They after three days reached to Attock at that time Akbar was there but he was so unhappy with the incident that did not meet the two generals for two days.⁵⁹⁴

After the failure of that expedition Akbar sent another expedition under Toder Mall and his son prince Murad, and was assisted by Zain Khan and Hakim Abul Fateh. Later on prince Murad was replaced by Raja Baghwan Das and Man Singh. The battle took place in plain areas and Mughal army remained successful and a large number of Yusufzai were killed and many of them were imprisoned. After that expedition the tribe of Yusufzai accepts the suzerainty of the Mughals.⁵⁹⁵ From 1587 to 1592 A. D., the Mughal army made several attacks over the area of Swat, Buner, Bajure and some other areas of Yusufzai but did not get much success in those areas. The tribes and people of those areas never came in direct obedience to the Mughal emperor. They nominally accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals but had never paid any type of taxes to the Mughal treasury.⁵⁹⁶

In the 35th year of Akbar reign, Zain Khan Koka was sent against the rebellious

⁵⁹² Muhammad Hussain, Darbar-i-Akbari (Lahore: mushtaq book corner, nd), 373-4.

⁵⁹³ Beveridge, Ain-i-Akbari, volii, 368.

⁵⁹⁴ Sabir, Tareikh, 301.

⁵⁹⁵ Bakshi, Shah Jahan, 240-3.

⁵⁹⁶ Sabir, Tareikh, 302.

Zamindars of the Himalayas. Zain Khan bring most of the rebellious to submission including, Raja Budi, Raja Parisram and Raja Basu etc. In the 36th year of his reign Zain Khan became the commander of four thousand. Later on in the 41th year of Akbar reign Zain Khan was appointed the governor of Kabul with the command of five thousand. He died in 1010 A. H., due to excessive drinking.
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Another tribe that created problems for the Mughals were the Ghoria Khel comprised of the tribes of Momand and Khalil etc, about ten thousand families located near Peshawar. They were later on called Tarikis because of their support for Jalala. The main reason of joining Jalal for the tribe was that the fief holder of the area Sayyid Hamid Bokhari neglect their rights and properties after which they rebelled and invade the fort of Peshawar. They also blocked the Khyber route. According to Makhzan-i-Afghani the fief holder Sayyid Hamid Bokhari wanted to marry a girl in the Ghoria khel tribe with the purpose to bind his relations close with the tribe. This decision was opposed by the chief of the Ghria Khel and at last one of the supporters of Jalala named Paya Khan killed him.⁵⁹⁸

Zain Khan Koka to whom Akbar appointed as governor of Kabul was sent against them assisted later on by Madhu Singh and Man Singh. The leader of Roshniya movement Jalala with the support of Ghoria Khel and Bangash tribe wanted to defeat Zain khan but failed, due to the treachery of the Bangash tribe, who during the battle turned to the side of the mughals. The reason of this turn of the Bangash tribe was given by Khwaja Muhammad Sayel in his book History of Bara Momand that after the killing of Syyied Hamid Bokhari the tribe of Ghoria Khel left their areas and fled to the mountains. It was there that they joined the Roshniya movement while the leader of the movement Jalala promised them to settled the tribe in the areas of Bangash after their victory against the Mughals. The Bangash tribe when came to know about these development turned to the side of the Mughals. The Ghoria Khel unable to fight with the Mughal forces became surrendered ⁵⁹⁹and was given the land near Jalalabad and Peshawar to settle there. They like the Yusafzai tribe never suppressed fully and their obedience depended

⁵⁹⁷ Beveridge, *Ain-i-Akbari*, volii, 369.

⁵⁹⁸ Sayel, 114.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid, 119-20.

mostly over the presence of the imperial army.⁶⁰⁰

During the war with Yusufzai Raja Bir Bar, a commander of the army of Kabul was died after which Raja Man Singh received the command of the Kabuli army. He was recalled from Kabul on the 32nd year of the reign of Akbar after the complaints made by the people of Kabul against him and against the other Rajputs. Akbar then appointed him to the governorship of the province of Bihar.⁶⁰¹ After the death of Raja Birbal, Akbar replaced Raja Baghwan Das on place of Raja Kaur Man Singh as governor of Kabul but because of his illness reappointed Raja Man Singh but after a short time once again replaced him with Zain Khan Koka. In 1587 A. D. Akbar sent a huge amount to Zain Khan on the hands of Hilal Aftab for constructing Sarais in different areas of the province to protect the areas and passes from the warring tribes. On 8th of September, 1589 A. D, Akbar during his stay at Peshawar appointed Qasim khan as governor of Kabul.⁶⁰²

The tribes of Afridis, Tirah, Kakar, Lohani, Suri, Pani and Orakzais were submitted to the royal authority after the march of Man Singh and Muttalib Khan against them. But whenever an opportunity came to them they started rebellions against Akbar reign. As they rebelled in the years 1588, 1590, 1593 and 1599 AD. The Hazaras mostly remained peaceful during the reign of Akbar.⁶⁰³

Despite of the consolatory and friendly efforts and policy of Akbar towards the tribes at start, they never became peaceful during the last twenty years of his reign and one after another army was sent against them. There were several reasons for the disturbance among those tribes including the rise of Roshniya sect, which give the tribesmen a determination of a fanatic because of its religious color. Another reason was the influence and interference of the Uzbek rulers in the conflicts of the tribes, who used them for their own benefit. At last it was very unfortunate for Akbar that his tribal policy and the ideas of his nobles failed to achieve its goals in

⁶⁰⁰ Bakshi, *Shah Jahan*, 240-3.

⁶⁰¹ Beveridge, *Ain-i-Akbari*, volii, 361-2.

⁶⁰² Sayel, 125-9.

⁶⁰³ Ibid, 128-9.

longer terms.⁶⁰⁴

It was mostly during the reign of Akbar that most of the tribes had settled down in their new homes. As the Yusufzai in Bajaur, Swat, Buner and Peshawar etc, while the Khattaks moved as far as Sakesar, Khushab, Bhira and occupied the areas up to Makhad. In Akbar reign the Khattack chief Malik Akore became the vassal of the Mughal emperor, he found Akora in 1587 A. D, at the south bank of Kabul. While his son Yehya seized the area of the Mandar Pathan laid near the river which also known with the name of Tari Bulaq. Yehya failed to expel the whole Mandar tribe from the area and established his tribe on the northern bank of the river and opposite of the Akora. The Turis tribe mostly settled at the neighbor of the Bangash tribe and supplanting them. As the Bangash were because of their internal warfare with each other became weak provide an opportunity for the Turis, who with their fresh arrival to the new place took most of the areas from Bangash. After which the Bangash remained only in the two villages of Zeran and Shaloza in their hands.⁶⁰⁵

4.21 Roshniya Movement

During the reign of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan the Pakhtuns living around the Khyber Pass including the areas between the Indus and Kabul showed a great Religio-Socio and political activities later on came to know in history the Roshniyas (called by its supporters) or Tarikis (name used by his opponents) and created difficulties for the Mughal government.⁶⁰⁶

The movement was started from Kanigaram (South Waziristan) by Bayazid Ansari, born in 1525 A. D., at Jullundhar India. The movement in the beginning was a pure religious and reformative one but later on the situation turned the movement to a political struggle. The father and grandfather of Bayazid Ansari migrated from Kanigram and settled there at Jallunder India. There are differences of opinion about the origin of Bayazid Ansari. Some historians were of the view that Bayazid Ansari belongs to the tribe of Urmur, a tribe settled down in the area

⁶⁰⁴ Bakshi, Shah Jahan, 240-3.

⁶⁰⁵ Omar Khan Afridi, Pukhtana A Concise Account (Karachi: zamzam press, 2014), 52-3.

⁶⁰⁶ Ed. S. R. Bakshi, S. K. Sharma, Jahangir the great Mughal, (New Delhi: Deep & deep publication, 2000), 206. (hereafter Bakhshi, Jahangir)

by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi and that his father was a religious person and chief of Urmar tribe.⁶⁰⁷

There were other historians including one of his students, Ali Muhammad Mukhlis mentioned that Bayazid belong to the Ansari tribe of Arab. They described the migration of the forefathers of Bayazid Ansari in the words that one of the scholar Sheikh Ibrahim, who was among the children of Ayub Ansari, migrated from Iraq to India and stayed for some days with one of the peer Sheikh Bahwud din Zakariya Multani. The peer then sent them to Kanigram in South Waziristan to educate the people of the area. A number of other Ansari tribes also migrated to the area and some of them later on settled at Jallhandar India.⁶⁰⁸

His father was Qazi Abdullah Urmar and his mother was Amina. According to the work of Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar Bayazid Ansari was the first man of his tribe to use the word Ansari for himself. The main reason of this change of the name was with the aim to win the sympathies of the people on his side.⁶⁰⁹

His childhood was not free from pains and his family life was full of difficulties. In his early age his mother left him and went back to Jallundher, while his father because of his second wife and children neglected him. Abdullah was a religious scholar and assigned the duty of educating his son to one of his pupil Pinda. Later on Bayazid sought the permission of his father for performing Hajj and attaining proper education but was refused by his father. That increased the split between father and son. From childhood the intelligence and thinking of Bayazid shows that he was not an ordinary child. He learned from some of his teacher that perceiving the truth is possible only through the guidance of a Pir-i-Kamil (perfect spiritual guide). He therefore started searching for a Pir-i-Kamil and during that search visits to Kandahar and Samarkand. It was during one of those visits that some of the Mughal forces plundered their caravans on the way⁶¹⁰. The plunderer

⁶⁰⁷ Akhun Derveza, Makhzan, place at Pashto academy, university of Peshawar with accession no, 1177, 1179, 1467, 224. (hereafter Makhzan)

⁶⁰⁸ Sher Afzal Khan Barikoti, Bayazid Ansari (Pir Rokhan) (Lahore: Multan educational printers, nd), 78-9. (hereafter Barikoti)

⁶⁰⁹ Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, Rokhanyan Da Mughlo Tareikyan (Peshawar: Ishaat-e-Sarhad, nd), 17-18. (hereafter Akbar, Tareikyan)

⁶¹⁰ Yar Mohammad Maghmoom Khattak, The Rowshnites and Pashto Literature, (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, 2005), 87.

distributed the wealth into two parts and the half of which given to the chief of the caravan and took the other half for themselves. Bayazid along with other members of caravan made a protest to Bihram Khan, in charge of those areas at that time but failed to get his support and attention. Bayazid became very dishearten and it was one of the causes that Bayazid became anti Mughals.⁶¹¹ After that incident Bayazid claimed that he got the divine inspiration suggesting him to seclude himself at home for five years to remember and creat nearness to Allah.⁶¹²

Later on he stayed for some time with the Ghoria Khel tribe in Peshawar.⁶¹³ He spent almost five years alone and wrote about three books, Maqsud-ul-Muminin, Khairul Bayan and Hal Namah⁶¹⁴. He started the propagation of his ideas from Kanigram (South Waziristan) and made many of the people among the Afghans as his disciples by giving himself the title of Pir Rosha-nai. Later on he extended his ideas and visits Nangarhar and Mohmand areas. He also stayed for some time at Hashtanagar and Mardan, where mullah Daulat joined him and give strength to his movement.⁶¹⁵

From the teachings of Bayazid he prescribed eight stages for attaining salvation, that were Shariat (following the law), Tariqat (to follow mystic path), Haqiqat (to remember God), Marifat (perceiving God every in everything and everywhere), Qurbat (to know and understand God), Waslat (renunciation of worldly things), Tawhid (uniting oneself with God) and Sakunat (to acquire the power of radiating the virtues of God) thus at last one after another his followers according to his teaching reached to the highest stage of perfection.⁶¹⁶

His doctrine was to mediate constantly on God, to view the nature of God with the eyes of the hearts, he preach the philosophy of peace and justice towards the creatures of God, and to believe over the instruction of God.⁶¹⁷

He believed over Wahdat Ul Wajood and also with the idea that there are no

⁶¹¹ Barikoti, 90-1.

⁶¹² Mir Wali Khan Mahsud, Introduction, Bayazid Ansari, Maqsud-al-Muminin (Peshawar: Khyber printers, 1980), 14.

⁶¹³ Makhzan, 225.

⁶¹⁴ Bakhshi, Jahangir, 207.

⁶¹⁵ Sabir, Tareikh, 307-8.

⁶¹⁶ Bakhshi, Jahangir, 209.

⁶¹⁷ Bakshi, Shah Jahan, 240-3.

distribution of Zar, Zameen and Zann. He called himself Pir Kamil and stressed upon Zikr-i-Khafi (secret remembrance of God). Some of the Pir support him but there were many who opposed him including Syyed Ali Tarmazai (*Pir Baba*) and Akhund Derveza called him Pir-i- Tareek, but there were some Pir and people that support him and considered him Pir-i- Roshan including Mulla Daulat.⁶¹⁸

The Roshniya movement was with two clear objectives, firstly it was a religious movement initiated for the reformation of Pakhtuns and secondly they wanted to oust Mughals from the Pakhtuns majority areas.⁶¹⁹ Due to Bayazid differences with his father he moved to Dawar (North Waziristan), where his followers increased day by day. He then moved to Tirah (Khyber Agency). The people of Tirah were not in good relations with the Mughals because of the incident in which the Kabul government put to death some of the Orakzai tribesmen. Later on Bayazid moved to Peshawar and it was Peshawar from where the popularity of Bayazid spread to the far areas of the Kabul province. Some of the Khans of Peshawar became jealous of his popularity and started making plan for his defeat. One of the Khans of the Khalil tribe Habibullah Khan came to the Naib of Peshawar and offered a sum of 12,000 rupees for Bayazid elimination but his offer was turned down. Habib then went to the court of Mirza Hakim who called Bayazid to Kabul. At Kabul Bayazid was received with great respect and after some days at Kabul Bayazid went back to Peshawar.

The relations between Bayazid and the Mughals remained cordial as far as his religious thoughts were concerned. But when Bayazid started turning his movement to political one the problem started between the two. The first opposition came to them when some of the Bayazid followers met with traders moved from India to Kabul and plundered them. The traders particularly Malik Hafeez requested Mirza Muhammad Hakim for their punishment. Their request was refused by Mirza Muhammad Hakim because of the fear of the turning of the people of Kabul and its surrounding areas against him in the support of Bayazid. But later on Mirza Muhammad Hakim sent a message to Masum Khan in charge

⁶¹⁸ Shafi Sabir, *Shakhsiyat-i-Sarhad* (Peshawar: university book agency, nd), 23.

⁶¹⁹ Syed Bahadur Shah Zafar Kakakhail, urdu trn, Syed Anwar ul Haq, *Pashtun Tareikh kay Ayeny mei*, (Peshawar: University book Agency, 2007), 349.

of the fort of Peshawar to imprisoned Bayazid and sent him to Kabul.⁶²⁰

After knowing about that development from the side of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Bayazid leaved the area of Hashtnagar and fled towards Momand. Later on from Momand he visited Khyber, Tirah and Bangash to get the support of those tribes. Those tribes particularly Afridis, Tirahis and Orakzai supported him and made several attacks over the Mughal army whenever they crossed their areas. Muhsin Khan a *Subahdar* of Kabul with the help of Syed Ali Tarmazi (*Pir Baba*) and Akhund Derveza made an attack over Bayazid Ansari the battles continued for a long time after which Bayazid was arrested and brought him to the court of *Ulemas* at Kabul. Bayazid saved his life by the interruption of some of the influential nobles and fled from the prison and went back to Tirah. He made Tirah the centre for his activities and controls the whole area.⁶²¹ It was because of the weak hold over Kabul that Akhun Derveza and Bayazid Ansari came face to face against each other. According to Tareikh-i-Murassa at Tirah, Bayazid killed about three hundred of its inhabitants who refused to join the Roshniya movement,⁶²² with the suspicion that they would oppose his doctrine and also expelled a large number of the Tirahis from there. Akbar sends Sadiq Khan against the Roshnias to suppress them. Some of the Roshnias fled to Nanagrhar where they attacked the Mughals but were defeated by Muhsin Khan. Though on first attempt Muhsin Khan failed to suppress the followers of Bayazid which increased their confidence and they tried to make an attack over Kabul. Muhsin Khan once again marched against them and that time the battle took place between them in Turagha. It was a decisive battle in which Muhsin Khan and the Mughal army remained successful and Bayazid Ansari with great difficulties escaped to Kalpani, about 320 of his followers killed in the battle while he himself died after some time from the battle.⁶²³

There are two opinions about his death the first is that he was killed by Muhsin Khan and buried at Hashtnagar and the second is that when he fled from the battle field he died after some time from thirst and was buried at Kalpani. Bayazid

⁶²⁰ Barikoti, 110.

⁶²¹ Sabir, Traeikh, 310-11.

⁶²² Tareikh-I-Murassa, 239.

⁶²³ Bakshi, Shah Jahan, 240-3.

Ansari had five sons named Sheikh Umar, Kamal ud din, Sheikh Norud din, Sheikh Khairud din and Sheikh Jalal ud din. After the death of their father his elder son Sheikh Umar became his successor but after some time his four sons except Sheikh Jalal ud din died in the battles against the Yusufzai. It was Jalal ud din that played important role during the reign of Akbar. As Jalala also injured in the battle but remained successful to save his life by taking shelter with the tribe of Amanzai. The chiefs of the tribe brought him to Attock in front of Akbar.⁶²⁴

Jalal ud din came in to prominence after Akbar invasion of Kabul. Akbar received him kindly yet after few days he took a flight from the prison to Tirah. There he rose and gathered a number of people as his supporters and created disturbance by blocking the roads between India and Kabul and also made an attack over Ghazni. In the month of November Akbar returned to India by appointing Qasim Khan as governor of Kabul. After some time Zain Khan Koka was appointed as governor of Kabul and sent against them later on joined by Raja Birbal ad Saiyid Khan Gakhar. With the reinforcement of these two commanders with a number of army they plundered the Afghans and great spoil fell into their hands. But later on with the help of Momand and Khalil tribes the Roshiyas became successful.⁶²⁵ The remaining forces under Hakim Abul Fath and Zain Khan Koka retreated to Attock with great difficulties and were dismissed by Akbar. Raja Todar Mal was sent with a large army to repair the disaster. He with good war tactics made a victory against the Roshniyas on the other hand Raja Kunwar Man Singh defeated the Afghans at Khyber Pass.⁶²⁶

At the meanwhile a delegation from the ruler of Mawara-un Nahr or Turan Abdullah Khan Uzbek with presents were on the way of Khyber towards India. Akbar sent some of his forces to bring the caravan safely through Khyber Pass, though attacked were made over the caravan but with the help of Raja Kunwar Man Singh it was repulsed. Later on Raja Kunwar Man Singh was sent for the help of Raja Todar Mall towards the Yusufzai Afghans. After resolving the affairs of those areas emperor Akbar return to Lahore with the appointment of Raja Kunwar Man Singh as the governor of Kabul and sent Ismail Kuli Khan with a

⁶²⁴ Sabir, Tareikh, 311-13.

⁶²⁵ Sabir, Dastan, 98-9.

⁶²⁶ Tareikh-i- Murassa, 250.

strong army for the help of Raja Todar Mall and Asaf Khan iii (a son of Badi u-Zaman of Qazwin). The last commander was also a Thanadar in Swat, against the Yusufzai and other Afghans. Another commander Saiyid Bukhari was also appointed for the help of Raja Todar Mal and Ismail Kuli to occupied Peshawar. Emperor Akbar dispatched another expedition under Muhammad Qasim Khan *Mir-bahr* towards Kashmir. On the other hand the Roshniya followers once again occupied the Khyber Pass and blocked the way between India and Kabul. They were about twenty to twenty five thousands men in number. The emperor Akbar sent Zain Khan Koka and Saiyid Hamid Bukhari against them. Raja Kunwar Man Singh governor of Kabul also with a number of army sent out against that menace and at last defeated them and occupied the areas of Khyber and Jamrud.⁶²⁷

Mirza Suleiman of Badakhshan at that time returned from the pilgrimage of Mecca and once again tried his fortune for the conquest of Badakhshan, but failed to capture it from Abdullah Khan Uzbek and fled to Kabul. From there he went to India. In Kunwar Man Singh completely subdued the leader of Roshniya sect and son of Bayazid, Jalala as he was not able to resist the Mughals there after which he fled towards the area of Bangash. Emperor Akbar sent Abdul Matlab Khan with a detachment against Jalala towards Bangash. It was in 1592 A. D, in the governorship of Qasim Khan at Kabul that Akbar sent Asaf Khan for his help and in Tirah at last they met Jalala and his companions. A furious battle was fought between them in which about fourteen thousand of Roshiyas were killed and at last the Mughal army succeeded to defeat the Roshniya and put them to flight. The family of Jalala fell into the hands of the imperial forces after which the women of his family was given to one of relative of Jalala named Wahadat Ali, while all the other members were sent to the court of Akbar. The leader of the Roshniya sect Jalala, who fled from the battle was on his returned from Ghazni was killed by the Hazaras tribe. His head was sent to the governor of Kabul. But some historians were the opinion that he after getting defeat from the hands of the Mughal army fled to Kafiristan and died there after some time.⁶²⁸

Later on emperor Akbar recalled Raja Kunwar Man Singh to the imperial court at

⁶²⁷ Ibid, 251.

⁶²⁸ Akbar, Tarekyan, 46.

India and his place appointed Zain Khan Koka as governor of Kabul. After the execution of the Roshnias threat emperor Akbar started his journey to pay visit to Kabul and Kashmir. He first visited Kashmir and then later on in the month of Ramzan set out for Kabul. At Kabul he spent about two months and visited its important places and gardens. All the people of Kabul and its nobles were profited with the presence of Akbar.⁶²⁹

4.22 Administration of Kabul during the Reign of Akbar

Jalal ud din Muhammad Akbar divided his empire into a number of provinces and were known as *Subhas* (provinces). In 1602 A.D his empire was consisted of fifteen provinces or *Subhas*. Those were Kabul, Ajmer, Bihar, Allahabad, Delhi, Agra, Ahmadnagar, Multan, Lahore, Khandesh, Malwa, Awadh, Berar, Bengal and Ahmadabad. There were also a number of subordinate states under the chiefs accepted Akbar suzerainty within the empire. Those kinds of states were attached as a district to different *Subhas*. The area of Kandahar and Kashmir were districts also called Sarkars and were attached to the province of Kabul.⁶³⁰ It was under the rule of Akbar that the Mughal empire extended from Afghanistan, across India the north of the hills of Vindhya, southwards to Sindh and eastwards to Orissa.⁶³¹

The administration of the province of Kabul under Akbar was administered by officers like, a governor also called a *Sipah Salar* or *Subadar* followed and assisted by a *Diwan*, *Bakhshi*, *Sadr*, *Qazi*, *Kotwal*, *Mirbahr* and a *Waqiya navis*. Governor or *Subahdar* was the head of the province appointed by the emperor. The provincial forces were under his command and were responsible to the emperor for the welfare of the people of his province. The *Subahdar* maintained peace and order in the province. It was the governor authority to appoint different provincial officers in the province for administrative purposes. He was responsible for the religious liberty of his people and as military officer he had to maintain his troops in discipline. He was the head of military, executive and police department etc.⁶³² The second most important person or officer in the administration of the

⁶²⁹ Muhamad Akbar, 72-3.

⁶³⁰ Ed. S. R. Bakshi, S. K Sharma, *Akbar the great Mughal*, (New Delhi: Deep & deep publication, 2000), 66-9. (hereafter Bakshi, Akbar)

⁶³¹ Diwan Chand, 19.

⁶³² Sharma, India, 444-46.

province was *Diwan* (finance officer) and was appointed by the imperial *Diwan* and were responsible to them. He was controlled by the imperial *Diwan* and was thus not subordinate to the *Subahdar*. He was in charge of finance in the province and had to collect the provincial revenue. Among his duties were to keep account of financial matters, to work and made reforms for the development of agriculture, to manage the salaries of the provincial officers, to keep a strict watch over the treasury and to keep a watch and scrutinize the accounts of the *Amils* or revenue collectors. He was required to send regularly financial report of the province to the imperial finance department or imperial *Diwan*. Thus the officer *Diwan* was the head of the civil and revenue department of the province. Though the finance officer (*Diwan*) or the *Subahdar* was not responsible for their acts to each other each was required to keep a check over the other. They also cooperate with one another. Another important provincial administrative department was that of *Sadr* and *Qazi*, though two department but mostly functioned under one officer. On the recommendation of provincial *Sadr* the imperial *Sadr* granted land and cash to the deserving persons of the province. The *Qazi* was the head of the department of justice not only in the province but also in the towns and districts of the province. Another officer was the *Bakhshi*, he was appointed by the recommendation of imperial *Mir Bakhshi*. Afzal Khan was *Mir Bakhshi* at Kabul during the reign of Humayun. *Mir Bakhshi* fulfilled the duties to manage the recruitment, discipline and organization of the provincial army. Some time his duties extend to act as *Waqya navis* of the *Suba*. The main function of the department of *Waqya navis* was to post spies and news writers to the important places of the *Subas* including the office of *Subahdar*, police office, *Diwan*, *Faujdar* and *Qazi* etc.⁶³³ The *Waqya navis* received daily reports from those offices and after made an abstracts of those reports forward to the imperial court. Great attention was paid to that department, because it was that department of *Waqya navis* that informed the emperor about the condition of the province.⁶³⁴

Kotwal was another important officer in charge of health, provincial peace and order and internal defense of the *Suba*. *Kotwal* was the supreme administrator of all of the *thanas* of the *Subas* and was with wide powers in the province. The

⁶³³ Ibid, 444-46.

⁶³⁴ Beveridge, *Ain-i-Akbari*, volii, 414-15.

institution of customs and, port duties, boat and ferry taxes etc were under the charge of *Mir Bahr*.⁶³⁵

Akbar was the person who introduced a uniformed administrative system at Kabul. There were about twenty *Tumans* or *Parganas* (comprised of towns and villages) in the territory of Kabul, included the *Tumans* in the east consist of the *Tuman* of Bigram or Peshawar (Parashawar) and the *Tuman* of Neknihal (Nangenhār). In the North of Kabul was the *Tuman* of Mandraur, Alishang, Najrao, Alingar, Loghar, Badrao, Alsai and *Tuman* of Panjhir or Panjshir. In the south of Kabul lie the *Tuman* of Banagsh, Gardez, Kohat, Maidan, Ghaznain and Naghr. The western side included on the *Tuman* of Farmul, Daman-i-koh, Ghorband and Zohak Bamian.⁶³⁶

The southern *Tumans* of the valley of Kabul inhabited by mostly Peshawari and Dalazaki tribes. In the northern *Tumans* the tribes like Alishang, Kafir Lamghai, Logar, Badrao, Dalazak and Pani lived. In the South the tribes of Afghans, Orakzai, Banukhail or Shahu khail Afghan, Hazara and Maidani etc resided. On the western *Tumans* of Kabul people like Hazara and Turkmen lived. The total revenue of the *Sarkar* of Kabul was about 80,507,465 Dams, while the total revenue of the city of Kabul was about 1,275,841 Dams. Revenue received from different *Tumans* of Kabul were like as from the *Tuman* of Bigram collect a revenue of about 9,692,410 Dams, the *Tuman* of Neknihal was with the revenue of about 11,894,003 Dams, the *Tuman* of Mandruar collect the revenue of 2,684,880 Dams, Alishang *Tuman* gathered the revenue of 3,701,150 Dams, the *Tuman* of Alinghar collect the revenue of 1,544,670 Dams, the *Tuman* of Najrao was with the revenue of about 2,045,451 Dams, Loghar *Tuman* was with the revenue of about 3,193,214 Dams, the *Tuman* of Badrao was collected about 413,885 Dams of the revenue. The northern *Tuman* of Alsai collected revenue of about 600,000, while the *Tuman* of Panjhir or Panjshir gathered the revenue of 461,940 Dams.

The *Tumans* of the south as from the *Tuman* of Bangash received a revenue of about 3,332,347 Dams, the *Tuman* of Kohat collected about 701,620 Dams of the

⁶³⁵ Bakhshi, Akbar, 66-9.

⁶³⁶ Beveridge, *Ain-i-Akbari*, volii, 414-15.

revenue, another Tuman of the north named Naghr collect the revenue of 854,000 Dams, from the Tuman of Gardez collect about 2,030,002 Dams of revenue, the Tuman of Maidan collected about 1,606,799 Dams and from the Tuman of Ghaznin about 3,768,642 Dams of revenue collect. The western Tumans of Kabul included the Tuman of Farmul collected a revenue of about 325,712 Dams, from the Tuman of Daman-i-koh received a revenue of about 16,461,785 Dams, while from the Tuman of Ghorband collect a revenue of about 1,574,760 Dams and from the Tuman of Zohak Bamian a revenue of about 861,750 Dams collected.⁶³⁷

At district level there were officers like *Faujdar* and *Amilguzar*, *Kotwal*, *Khazandar*, *Qazi* and *Bitikchi*. The head of the district was a *Faujdar*, who was a military officer. He maintained peace and order in the district enforce imperial orders and regulations, made reforms to keep the roads safe from the robbers, to keep the local militia or army well equipped and also assists the *Amilguzar* (collector) in revenue collection. The *Sarkars* or districts were further divided into a number of *Mahals* or *Parganas*. It was a lowest administrative unit in Akbar administration. The administration of a *Pargana* or a *Mahal* was carried by four types of officers, known as *Shiqdar*, *Amil*, *Fotadar* and *Karkun*. The duties of a *Shiqdar* were of general administration and like a *Sipa Salar* in a province he performed at a *Pargana* as an executive officer. He had to manage the finance matter and to supervise and control the treasury as well as the peace and order of the *Pargana*. Though a *Shiqdar* could administer the criminal cases of a *Pargana* but mostly he referred those types of cases to the *Kotwal* of a *Sarkar* or a district.⁶³⁸

The second most important officer in a *Pargana* or a *Mahal* was called *Amil* or *Munsif*. He function the same duties in a *Mahal* as the *Amilguzar* in a *Sarkar*. He assisted the *Shiqdar* for the maintenance of law and order and *Shiqdar* assist him in the collection of revenue. He directly deals with the peasantry for collection of land revenue. Another important officer in a *Pargana* was a *Fotadar* performing the same duties in a *Pargana* as a *Khazandar* in a district. The fourth officer was *Karkun*, a writer or a *Munshree* and keeps the records of arable land, crops and

⁶³⁷ Ibid, 414-15.

⁶³⁸ Bakshi, Akbar, 71-3.

revenue. The records particularly during Akbar reign were written in Persian.⁶³⁹

The Mughal army was mostly consisted of Afghans, Uzbeks, Mongols, Persians and Turks, who were mostly the camp followers or regular troops of Babur and Humayun army. Akbar formed a centralized and unitary organization.⁶⁴⁰

In Akbar reign there were four main places where gold was coined, one among which was Kabul. Carpet and Kamkhab was also an important commodity export to India from Persia and Kabul. Akbar enforces a tax of three rupees over every Arab and Iraqi horses imported from Persia and Kabul. While on Kabuli horses he imposes a tax of two rupees. The excellent quality dogs were found in Kabul and imported to India from there.⁶⁴¹

4.23 Governors of Kabul

At first after the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar appointed Raja Man Singh as governor of Kabul because with the death Mirza the disruptive tendencies once again raised their heads in Kabul. There was also the threat of the raising of the nobles of Kabul including Faridun against the Mughal sovereign that could encourage the intentions and aggression of the Uzbeks already captured Badakhshan.⁶⁴² Akbar but Raja Man Singh controls the situation. Some historians opposed Akbar decision of appointing Man Singh as the governor of Kabul, who presence in Kabul according to those historians with a large Rajput forces remained offensive to the masses of Kabul.⁶⁴³ Then Qasim Khan was appointed governor of the area who at the time of the accession of Akbar became the commander of three thousands. He superintendent the building of the fort of Agra, which was completed in seven years and cost about seven crores of *tankas* or thirty five lac rupees. Later on he was sent for the conquest of Kashmir. In the 34th year of Akbar reign Qasim Khan was appointed as governor of Kabul. Whenever he visited the Akbar court, he on his place appointed his son Hashim Beg as acting

⁶³⁹ Ibid, 71-4.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid, 77.

⁶⁴¹ Abu-l-Fazl Allami, The Aini Akbari vol1, tr, H. Blochmann, (New Delhi: Oreintal Books Corporation, 1977),

32,57,99,225,301, (hereafter Blochmann, Akbari)

⁶⁴² Hayat-i-Afghani, 81.

⁶⁴³ Woleseley Haig, History, 137.

governor of Kabul. Hashim Beg on one occasion when his father was out of Kabul he imprisoned one of a rebel from the Hazaras, he was from Andijan (Farghana) and pretended himself descendent of Shahrukh. Later on he was freed by Qasim Khan on his returned from India. Those rebels waited for some time and at last find opportunity and killed Qasim Khan.⁶⁴⁴ In the 39th year Qulij Khan was appointed as governor of Kabul.⁶⁴⁵ In the 46th years of Akbar reign Hasan Beg a good soldier became the governor of Kabul province.⁶⁴⁶

4.24 The Impacts of Akbar Rule in Kabul

Prior to 1585 AD, Akbar could not make strong measures in Kabul and its frontiers because of none existence of any permanent frontier and the authority of his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim and his changing loyalties there. It was after the annexation of the province of Kabul that stretched the boundaries of the area to Badakhshan and Persian frontiers. For the consolidation of his position there at Kabul, he took strong action against the unruly tribes of the area including Yusafzai and the Roshniya threat who occupied the route between Kabul and Punjab. For dealing with the rebels in Kabul he sent people like Raja Man Singh, Baghwan Das, Zain Koka, Birbal, Ismail Quli Khan and Syed Bokhari in different period of time towards Kabul. The people of Kabul submitted to his rule because of which no strong action took against them.⁶⁴⁷ Akbar also took another important measure by giving allowances to different tribes for keeping the Khyber Pass open, particularly to the Afridis. He wanted to control the tribes of Kabul nominally and never attempted and wished their complete subjugation because that he experienced several costly expedition towards them but without much success and failed to leaved complete impression on those tribes. He confined himself to the task to keep open the roads to Kabul and to maintain a partial control over the hilly tribes with a fully and firm control over the plain areas of Kabul for cultivation purposes. The Afridis collected about one lac twenty five thousand rupees annulay from the Mughal Empire for keeping the raods open to Kabul. For the safe travels in the area by the caravans and Mughal army Akbar constuctd the

⁶⁴⁴ Blochmann, Akbari, 412-13.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid, 528.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid, 504.

⁶⁴⁷ Hayat-i-Afghani, 76-7.

fort of Attock by giving the responsibility of its protection to the tribal chiefs. His governors at Kabul failed to follow and implement that policy in the area.⁶⁴⁸ Akbar also introduced great administrative reforms in the area. For economic reason he imposed tax of three rupees on Iraqi and Arab traders who imported horses from Kabul and Persia because of their larger profit.⁶⁴⁹

During the reign of Akbar brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim one of the Islamic sects Naqshbandiya achieved great importance and reached to the pinnacle of its power during his reign at Kabul. The appointment of Khwaja Hassan Naqshbandi as his Prime Minister in 1565 AD and the marriage of Mirza Muhammad Hakim sister Fakhrunnisa to him further strengthened the Naqshbandiya Tariqa at Kabul. Because of controlling some best Orchards, Vinyards and agricultural lands in Kabul the Naqshbandiya Tariqa exercised strong influence over the commercial life of Kabulis through its control of welfare works such as water mills, shops and public baths etc. it was during Mirza Muhammad Hakim reign that in 1570s Kabul emerged as a centre of Naqshbandiya and the Alims like Maulana Sadiq and Khaja Ubaidullah Kabuli etc strengthened that sect there. After his death though the sect reduced in its popularity yet the new religion of Akbar or his *Din-i-Elahi* failed to influence the lives and thoughts of the people of Kabul.⁶⁵⁰

More developments and measures during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan at Kabul will be given in the next chapter.

4.25 Death of Akbar

Akbar died after some days of illness on 25th of October, 1605 A. D. His death followed the accession of his son Jahangir who ascended to the throne of Mughal India on 26th or 27th of October, 1605 A. D. at Agra in the age of 38 years.

4.26 Conclusion

Akbar one of the great ruler of the Mughal dynasty at India as well as at Kabul that control the affairs of Kabul with iron hand. It was an unfortunate for him that

⁶⁴⁸ Gazzatter of Peshawar, 58.

⁶⁴⁹ Blochmann, *Akbari*, 225.

⁶⁵⁰ Farouqi, 506.

his father Humayun divided his empire among his sons and gave the charge of Kabul to one of his sons Mirza Muhammad Hakim. It was Mirza Muhammad Hakim that ruled Kabul as an independent ruler though his age at that time was very low and the affairs of Kabul were look after by Mirza Muhammad Hakim mother, Mah Chuchak Begum. It was during that period that there was a lot of disturbance and Kabul and with the passage of time increased and reached to the areas of Punjab with the expedition of the forces of Kabul under Mirza Muhammad Hakim his uncle and mother etc. till 1585 AD Kabul was a place where Akbar was no control and provide shelter to the people who were not in good terms with Akbar and used Kabul against the Mughal authority. In fact because of Akbar Din-i-Elahi a number of nobles and officers in his own court became his opponent and have soft corner for Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Akbar feel the dangour and tried to take action against them that time the fortune also turn to his favour and Kabul was attacked by Mirza Suleiman. As Mirza Muhammad Hakim was not able to face the thread he asked for Akbar help. Mirza Suleiman sent about four expeditions for the conquest of Kabul but failed. At the same time when Akbar came to know about the intentions of Mirza Muhammad Hakim for invading Lahore, he sent expedition against him and himself march upto Attock. Though Akbar remained successful during expedition against his brother but did not persecute him. It was after the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim that Kabul came under the direct control of the Mughals. Akbar on the whole brings a number of reforms in the area and brought a fine administrative system there. Akbar with his carrot and stick policy brought peace at Kabul.

Chapter 5

KABUL UNDER JAHANGIR AND SHAH JAHAN

This chapter deals with the impacts of the rule of the two Mughal rulers Jahangir and Shah Jahan on the area and people and their policy of Jahangir and frequent visits towards Kabul. Jahangir after becoming the ruler of Mughal India focused on Kabul because of its strategic importance and paid several visits to the area. Some of the sections of this chapter will deal with Jahangir policy towards different tribes and that the importance of the area compels him to made friendly policy towards different Afghan tribes with the purpose to bring peace and order in the area.

Jahangir brought to prominence number of Pakhtuns by giving them high posts. During the reign of Akbar the Yusufzai tribe that created problem for Mughals and Akbar send several expeditions against them but during his son Jahangir rule the Bangash tribe with the support of the leader of Roshniya movement created problems for Mughals and Jahangir dealt the rebels with iron hand. Jahangir remained successful in bringing peace in Kabul to some extent but during the reign of Shah Jahan the tribes of Kabul once again raised to revolt. Shah Jahan with iron hand tried to subdue the tribes but failed, the failure compelled him to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the tribes after which he developed friendly relations particularly with the Khattak tribe. Shah Jahan for a long period of his reign was busy in expeditions against Balkh, Badakhshan and Kandahar which affected his rule not only in India but also in Kabul.

A huge number of Mughal army during the Central Asian expeditions used Kabul as their route to Balkh and Badakhshan, which created fear in the hearts of the people of Kabul and they started living peacefully. Some of those army men after those expeditions started settling in Kabul which affects the cultural and economic life of Kabul.

5.1 Accession of Jahangir

There were different opinions of Historians about the accession of Prince Salim or Jahangir to the Mughal throne of India. According to some historians his date of accession was 26th October and to some records on 27th October on Thursday, 1605 AD, at the age of thirty eight⁶⁵¹. While there were some other historians who noted Thursday, 3rd November 1605 AD as the date of his accession to the throne, about eight days after the death of his father Akbar at Agra. He ruled till 28th October 1627 AD⁶⁵².

He was born at Fatehpur Sikri on Wednesday, 17 Rabiul Awwal, 997 AH, and was given the name of Salim because he born in the house of Shaikh Salim-i-Chishti and Akbar used to call him the name Shaikho Baba. Jahangir had five sons and two daughters. His sons were Sultan Khusru, Sultan Parwiz, Sultan Khurram (Shahjahan), Sultan Jahandar and Sultan Shahrayar. The two daughters were Sultana Bahar Banu Begum and Sultana-un-Nisa Begum.⁶⁵³

5.2 Jahangir Earlier Difficulties and Relation with his Son Prince Khusru

Jahangir like his predecessors confronted with his accession to a number of difficulties and rebellions. The most important among those which greatly effect his rule was the rebellions of his elder son Sultan Khusru. It was even during the illness of Akbar that some of the nobles included Raja Man Singh, maternal uncle of Khusru and Khan-i-Azam, the father-in-law of Khusru tried and struggle for his accession over the throne in place of Jahangir (Salim), but failed. After the accession of Jahangir the coins started to be struck with his name and he started influencing the affairs of the empire.

5.3 Former Governor of Kabul Joined Revolt of Prince Khusru

After feeling the increasing influence and authority of his father after his accession to the throne Prince Khusru with some of his supporters fled from the

⁶⁵¹ Sabir, Tareikh, 317.

⁶⁵² Wolseley Haig, History, 157.

⁶⁵³ Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, voliii, 322-3.

fort of Agra with the intentions to revolt against his father and started creating problems for him. When Jahangir came to know about the revolt of his son prince Khusru, he sent Murtaza Khan Mir Bakshi with a number of about four thousand troops to control them. On the other hand prince Khusru was joined by Hasan Beg Shaikh Umri, a former governor of Kabul, who was not happy about Jahangir decision of his removal from the governorship of Kabul and after his removal he coming back to Agra. He met prince Khusru near Mathra and joined him. They marched towards Lahore and besieged the fort of Lahore. Though with the passage of time the number of the supporters of prince Khusru increased and reached to ten thousand but failed to face the imperial army under Murtaza Khan and fled from the field. Prince Khusru was captured by the imperial army when he struggles to cross the river Indus. Jahangir after that successful expedition fulfill his wish of visiting Kabul. He pardoned his son prince Khusru and ordered to joined him on his march towards Kabul with the women of harem, the treasury and other accessories on 17th of August, 1606 A. D.⁶⁵⁴

5.4 Jahangir Frontier Policy

The Empire of Jahangir was extended to Kandahar, Kabul and Bengal. He was more like his grandfather Humayun rather than his father Akbar in most of his habits and policies. He was a just ruler. In his Memoires Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri he explained that how he assumed the name Jahangir (Holder of the world), that the work of a king is to control the world. He also assumed the title of Nur ud Din (light of the faith) because he took the seat of the throne after a very short time of sunrise. His frontier policy according to the condition and changes in the affairs of the area was changed to some extent from his father by improving his relations with different Afghan tribes. The Roshnias thread also continued during the reign of Jahangir which had a great effect over the area. Kandahar remained a bone of contention between Persian and Mughals.

With the death of Akbar a new phase of Mughal Afghan relations started and Kabul become the focus of attention for Jahangir because of its strategic location and a resting point for either the visitors visit to Central Asia or to Kandahar.

⁶⁵⁴ Muhammad Salih Kamboha, tran, Nazir Hussain Zaidi, Amal Saleh (Shah Jahan Nama voli) (Lahore: Markazi Urdu board, 1971), 49-56. (hereafter Shah Jahan Nama)

Jahangir for the first time visited Kabul and Peshawar when he was a prince and a war continue between his uncle Mirza Muhammad Hakim and his father Akbar and later on with Yusafzai tribe. When Jahangir ascended to the throne of the Mughal Empire of India, he followed totally changed policy from his father Akbar. As because of Akbar religious policy and *Din-i-Illahi* most of the Pakhtuns were turned against him and started rebellion against his rule on returned Akbar also did not liked them and did not trust over their chiefs. Akbar gives most of the high posts in his court to Hindus and Rajputs. During Jahangir reign he gives a number of high posts to many of the Pakhtuns not only of diplomatic reasons but because he was also admire of their bravery.⁶⁵⁵

5.5 Jahangir Relation with Different Tribes of Kabul and Given High Posts to Them

Jahangir liberal education his strong common sense and shrewdness qualified him to carry a strong policy towards different tribes. He wanted to create a group of the people whom he could confidently depend at all times. So he diverted his attention towards the Afghans or Pakhtuns. He worked more for bringing peace in the province of Kabul and to making his relation better with different tribes of the area.⁶⁵⁶ His insecurity in home and the uprising of different rebel groups at India compelled Jahangir to follow a flexible and friendly policy towards different Afghan groups because he found himself insecure as far as his throne was concerned as some of the Rajputs included Raja Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka supported the cause of the son of Jahangir and installed Khurram on the throne of India during the absence of Jahangir. So he felt himself insecure and seek for the support of different Afghan tribes. Secondly most of the Afghans also supported Jahangir accession and was in good terms with him. So Jahangir also followed a friendly policy towards those Afghan tribes. According to this policy in 1607 AD, Jahangir appointed Sher Khan Afghan as *Jagirdar* of Peshawar in place of Ahmed Beg Kabuli with the *mansab* of three thousand and five hundred.⁶⁵⁷ Jahangir appointed Shah Beg (conqueror of Kandahar) as governor of Kabul and also gives

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid, 397.

⁶⁵⁶ Denzil Ibbetson, *Punjab Casts* (Lahore: Mubarak ali publishers, 1974), 69.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid. 69.

him the surrounding frontier areas. Shah Beg received from the emperor the title of Khan-i-Dauran.⁶⁵⁸

As Jahangir did not initiate a new policy for dealing the situation created by the tribes and mostly followed the policy of fire and sword towards them. Despite of that policy most of the tribes remained peaceful under Jahangir reign the main reason of which was that they were exhausted and secondly they possessed a lesser religious fervor and excitement.⁶⁵⁹ During the reign of Jahangir except Roshniya commotion the Afghan tribes mostly remained peaceful. Jahangir also enrolled a large number of Pathans in Mughal army. That enrollment and appointment of the Afghan tribes to different posts in India also caused a huge migration from the Kabul province, particularly of Dalazak from Peshawar to other parts of India. Despite of his policy the Afghan tribes did not remained peaceful completely towards the Mughal rule.⁶⁶⁰

During Jahangir reign about 26 high and important posts were given to the Pakhtun chiefs with the command and *mansabs* of four thousand and five thousand, while Khan Jahan Lodi was commander of seven thousand⁶⁶¹. In those Pakhtuns Dilawar Khan (real name was Ibrahim Khan, the title was given to him for his bravery) was the governor of Punjab, later on he was appointed as governor of Kashmir. In Peshawar Sher Khan Rohilla was the Hakim and the governor of Sindh was also a Pakhtun named Taj Khan. Another Pakhtun named Khan Jahan Lodi was not only the governor of Deccan and then of Multan but also one of a near companion and noble of Jahangir.⁶⁶²

Though Jahangir tried to bring some reforms in his father policy towards different tribes of the frontiers but his policy of conciliation was not practiced as much as the policy of repression had practiced. Along with that policy of consultation he imposed and revived some taxes over those Afghan tribes at Kabul which were on one time abolished by his father Akbar.

⁶⁵⁸Sabir, Dastan, 100.

⁶⁵⁹ Bakhshi, Shahjahan, 252-4.

⁶⁶⁰ Sayel, 144-5.

⁶⁶¹ Zafar, Pukhtana, 709.

⁶⁶² Nurruddin Jahangir, tran,Alexeneder Rogers, Tuzk-i-Jahangiri, voll (Lahore:sang-i-meel publications, 1974), 372. (hereafter Jahangir, Tuzuk)

5.6 Kabul under Jahangir

The province of Kabul was not a bed of roses for Jahangir and despite of some reforms and improvement in the relations with the Afghans there were rebellions in the province. A change only occurred in the attitude of different tribes. At Akbar period the tribes of Yusafzai and Ghoria Khel created disturbance while during the reign of his son Jahangir the tribe of Bangash raised to revolt against the Mughals. The reason of that changed was because of the continuous wars with the Mughals the tribes of Yusafzai and that of Ghoria Khel tired and weakened thus wanted some time to recover while the tribe of Bangash on the other hand had not played a conspicuous role in the rebellions during the reign of Akbar. Thus they had with enough strength to challenged and defy the imperial authority.

He gave the responsibility of the peace and order of Kabul province to its governor and at the meanwhile troops were sent to the area of Bangash from time to time to check their uprising and to meet every kind of emergency. But there was lack of communication and relations were not defined between the officers or commanders of the Mughal commanding troops or and that of the governor of Kabul.⁶⁶³

He appointed Shah Beg Arghun son of Ibrahim Beg Harik (he remained in the service of Mirza Muhammad Hakim at Kabul and later on became one of a famous noble under Akbar) as governor of the province of Kabul included the areas of Tirah, Bangash, Swat, Peshawar and Bajaur etc (also an addition of the governorship of Kandahar) and made him the commander of five thousand. Jahangir also gives him the title of Khan-i-Dawran and also gives him the responsibility of preparing financial settlement not only for Kabul but for all Afghanistan. Jahangir also tried to control the rebellion in the area and sent Ahmad Beg, Qazi Izzatullah and Taus Khan one after another against the rebel tribe Bangash for their submission.⁶⁶⁴

The purpose of Jahangir by appointing Shah Beg as governor of Kabul was that he could be able to suppress the Roshnias thread. Shah Beg was a person with cold

⁶⁶³ Jahangir, Tuzuk, 126.

⁶⁶⁴ Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, 408-9.

mind and tried at first his level best to submit the Roshniya rebels to the Mughal suzerainty with talk's and without fighting but failed. After the failure of the plane of submitting them without fighting Shah Beg, governor of Kabul then decided to punish those Roshniya and for that purpose he made a plane and according to the plane invited a number of the leaders of one of the branch of Orakzai tribe, who were great followers and supporters of Roshnias or Tarikis known as Daulatzai for a lunch at Kohat. That lunch was attended by three hundred Orakzai members at Kohat. Shah Beg according to the plane killed all of the three hundred members of the tribe and supporters of Roshnias. Some of the historians like Muhammad Shafi Sabir and Toor Gul Chamaknai were with the view that Mahabat Khan killed three hundred chiefs of the Orakzai and Afridis tribe. That act of governor of Kabul of killing the tribal chiefs refreshed in mind the brutally of Ulugh Beg Mirza that killed a huge number of yusafzai chiefs at Kabul.⁶⁶⁵

5.7 Jahangir Visit to Kabul

Jahangir reached to Kabul on the month of June, 1607 AD by giving in his diary or memoires Wakiat-i-Jahangiri the details of his journey to Kabul and the areas which he passed during this journey. He mentioned the tribes of Dilazak and Khaturs who made robberies and almost every kind of turbulence over the highway near Attock. Jahangir after reaching Attock changed the administrator of that Sarkar and appointed Zafar Khan the son of Zain Khan Koka the new administrator of the Sarkar of Attock. He also received orders from Jahangir to march off all of the Dalzaks towards Lahore before the return of the imperial camp from Kabul and also the imprisonment of all the chiefs of the tribe of Khaturs. Jahangir during his stay at Attock raised the rank of Mahabat Khan to 2500 *mansab*. After spending some time at Attock, Jahangir left for Kabul by leaving most of the Mughal camp members there with the order that they wait at Attock till his returned. On his visit to Kabul only his family members and close friends of him accompanied him to the city of Kabul. For the poor people of Attock and Lahore, Jahangir gave about 12,000 rupees to Mir Sharif Amali and the other officers for their distribution. Jahangir continued his march and moved

⁶⁶⁵ Chamkani, 49.

towards Sarai Bara and encamped there, near Nowshera.⁶⁶⁶ Tareikh-i-Hind mentioned the generosity of Jahangir in the words that he distributed a lot of money and presents among the people of Kabul and for the distribution of money among the poor of Kabul, Jahangir appointed twelve men for that purpose who on every Friday gave one thousand rupees to every needy person at Kabul. That practice continued till the return of Jahangir to India.⁶⁶⁷

After the journey of few days Jahangir reached to Kabul where he visited the grave of his grandfather Babur and ordered the construction of a tomb there. It was at Kabul that Jahangir celebrated the 16th birthday of his son (Khurram) Shah Jahan. Jahangir mentioned in his tuzuk about the construction of a fort in Nowshera near river Landha (Kabul) situated at Sarai Bara. The fort was built during the governorship of Zain Khan at Kabul over the amount of fifty thousand rupees. It was the time when he was busy in a war with Yusafzais. That time the *faujdar* of the area of Yusafzai lived there in the fort after which the place known with the name of Nowshera. It was in the fort of Nowshera that Ahmad Beg Kabuli brought the Maliks of Yusafzai and Ghoria Khel to Jahangir. Later on Jahangir changed Ahmad Beg Kabuli as *Naib* or administrator of Peshawar and appointed Sher Khan Afghan on his place. On 29th September, 1607 A. D.⁶⁶⁸ Jahangir made his returned march towards India after a stay of more than two months at Kabul. Jahangir also mentioned in his diary about the savior disease (*Tauon*) in 1616 AD that effect a huge population of the area and many of the people leaved the place and fled to mountains.⁶⁶⁹

5.8 Jahangir against Roshniya Leader Ahdad

Jahangir then turned his attention towards the Roshnias and the suppression of Ahdad a leader of the Roshnias. For that purpose the governor of Kabul, Shah Begs give a huge army to Ghairat Khan one of the commanders of Mughal army stationed at Kabul to suppress the rebellions. The rebel chief Ahdad was at that time stayed at the valley of Mastura and the Mughal army under Ghairat Khan

⁶⁶⁶ Nasir-u-din Muhammad Jahangir, *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri*, (reprint in Lahore: Hafaiz press, 36-8.

⁶⁶⁷ Tareikh-i-Hindustan, 617.

⁶⁶⁸ Shah Jahan Nama, 57.

⁶⁶⁹ Jahangir, Tuzuk, 132.

marched through the valley of Khankai and Sampga reached to Tirah. They reached to a peak of a mountain in the valley, with the height of about six thousand feet. Jahangir in his *Tuzuk* also mentioned that peak. The Afridis and Orakzai made places for themselves over the peak and were ready for war against the Mughal army. Afridis were headed by Ahdad while the Orakzai were headed by one of their commander named Malik Thoria Thori. The Mughal army of Kabul under Ghairat Khan reached to the peak of the mountain near Sammana, where the Orakzais and Afridis wait for them and made a sudden attack over them. The Mughal army which was already tired because of their journey and reaching to the peak of the mountain was suddenly attacked by the fresh Afridis and Orakzais army awaited for them. The imperial army though fought bravely but was not able to defeat the combined army of Afridis and Orakzais. Both of the tribes of Orakzai and Afridi were composed of brave people like Malik Panju who fought bravely. Despite of the Afghans bravery and their strong position that occupied at the peak of mountains another cause of their success against the Mughal was the internal disturbance of the Mughal camp. When Ghairat Khan ordered his army to attack over the rebels this decision was opposed by some of the officers in the Mughal army including Jalal Khan a chief of the Ghakkar who was also with the Mughal army. Though Ghairat Khan did not listen them and made an attack over the rebels in whom the Mughals defeated and Ghairat Khan was killed in the battle.⁶⁷⁰ Jalal Khan with the remaining army tried to retreat through the way of Kotal but were attacked and stoned by the Roshnias army in the result of which Jalal Khan also with many of his army members died.⁶⁷¹

The remaining Mughal army with great difficulties reached to Kohat and requested from the Mughal court for the reinforcement of more army. The Roshnias with that victory took the revenge of their men killed by the Mughals through their governor of Kabul and they got more confidence. Jahangir when came to know about the defeat, he call back the brother of Jalal Khan named Akbar Quli from the expedition of Kangra and made him the commander of five thousand and the property of his brother Jalal Khan was also give to him. The

⁶⁷⁰ Olaf Caroe, 226-8.

⁶⁷¹ Sabir, Tareikh, 319.

Jahangir sent him against the Roshniya rebels. Akbar Quli like his brother was a brave and experienced commander.⁶⁷²

In 1611 AD the Bangash under Ahdad increased their activities against the Mughals by making attack over the city of Kabul. The governor of Kabul, Shah Beg was absent from Kabul and Muizz ul Mulk was alone in the city. The city was besieged by the rebels for a time but Nad Ali and Muizz ul Mulk with the inhabitants of Kabul gave a tough resistance to the invaders. The neighboring population of Kabul came for the rescue of the people of the city which compelled Ahdad and his followers to retreat. Nad Ali pursued him for some distance but failed to catch him and returned to Kabul. When the news of the attack of the Roshnias and the irresponsible attitude of the governor of Kabul Shah Beg reached to Jahangir he degraded Shah Beg Khan Arghun from his post and sent Qulich Khan against the rebels by appointing him the new governor of the area.⁶⁷³ The disagreement and disunity among the Mughal army and commanders caused the death of the new governor during the struggle. The death of Qulich Khan provides an opportunity to Ahdad who once again in 1614 AD marched against the Mughal imperial army at Tirah. At that time Khan Durran was in Kabul while Motaqid Khan was at Peshawar fort. They tried to block Ahdad way but failed and he attacked over the Mughal army and killed 100 of them and a number of them became injured and captured. Ahdad then turned his attention towards Jalalabad and Pish Bulaq. Fortunately for the Mughals one of their commanders Mutaqid Khan attacked the Roshnias and killed many of their followers. Ahdad fled towards Gharkh but was besieged by Khan Durran. In that struggle about three hundred of Ahdad followers were killed and imprisoned about one hundred of them. The area of Gharkh was burnt and Ahdad fled to Kandahar.⁶⁷⁴ As it was after the attack of Ahdad over Kabul that later on its governor Shah Beg resigned in to some sources dismiss from his post. According to some other historians he

⁶⁷² Jahangir, Tuzuk, 343.

⁶⁷³ Abdul Akbar Khan Akbar, Rokhanyan Da Mughlo Tarekyan, place at Pashto Academy University of Peshawar, 49. (hereafter Akbar, Tarikyan)

⁶⁷⁴ Tareikh-i-Murassa, 256.

died and in 1617 AD first Qulich Khan and then Mahabat Khan became the governor of Kabul.⁶⁷⁵

5.9 Mahabat Khan as Governor of Kabul Suppressed the Roshnias and Brought Peace to Kabul

After the death of Qulich Khan when Mahabat Khan became the governor Kabul He with his wisdom and tactics it was for the first time that the governor of Kabul directing power and army against the Bangash army and send army under the command of Aqil Khan against the Roshnias. This disappear the chance of disagreement between the commanders of the army and that of the governor of Kabul. During that expedition one of the sons of Ahdad named Allahdad joined the Mughals camp and came to the Mughal court where he received the title of Rashid Khan and were sent towards Kabul. His son and brother were hostages at the Mughal court. Mahabat Khan was instructed by the emperor to help and support him against Ahdad. With the arrival of Allahdad, Mahabat Khan with the Mughal army sends an expedition from Kabul to Bangash against Ahdad. After reaching to Bangash, Allahdad turned against the Mughal by joining the camp of his father. On response to that treachery of Allahdad his son and brother were imprisoned at Gwalior by Jahangir after which Allahdad once again submitted and were sent back to the Mughal court where he was given pardoned. His brother was also released from the prison.⁶⁷⁶

In 1619 AD when the hilly tribes of Kabul refused to pay tribute to the government of Kabul its governor Mahabat Khan sent troops under Izzat Khan to plunder the tribes of the area. In that expedition Izzat Khan lost his life after which Mahabat Khan sent another force, who severely attack and plundered the tribes. This harsh policy of Mahbat Khan brought the tribes into submission but defame him and he after three years of that incident was recalled from Kabul after which once again those Afghan tribes relapsed to their former unsettled position.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁵ Chamkani, 48.

⁶⁷⁶ Jahangir, Tuzuk, 315-6.

⁶⁷⁷ Zafar, Pokhtana.

5.10 Rebellion Spread at Kabul after the Removal of Mahabat Khan

After recalling Mahabat Khan from Kabul, Zafar Khan was appointed as the new governor of Kabul who replaced Mahabat Khan. At that time with his appointment as governor of Kabul the Uzbek thread increased and one of the officers of Nazr Muhammad Khan the ruler of Balkh, named Yalangtosh made an attack over Ghazni which was under the Mughal suzerainty. On the other hand Ahdad came to Tirah and started creating troubles for the Mughals. But later on Zafar Khan came into peace with the Uzbek officer Yalangtosh after which he returned to his country.

The leader of the Roshnias Ahdad continued his activities and the number of his followers increased day by day after which they started attacking regularly over the Mughal army and areas. Ahdad during one of his attacks over the Thana of Chahar Bagh the police officer of where was from Kabul and retreated to Kabul after the attack and thus Chahar Bagh came in to Ahdad control. The Roshnias then took step forward and attack Jalalabad after plundering the area and killing Qasim Koka they turn once again to Kabul. They after reaching Kabul break the door of the fort of Kabul but before entering the fort they return back to their own area after receiving the news of the coming of huge Mughal army.⁶⁷⁸

In 1626 AD, when Jahangir was at Kabul, a battle of Gumsan was fought between the Mughals and Roshnias near Kohat at a place called Lovaghar. At first the Roshnias remained successful and were powerful over the Mughals, but on one occasion when Ahdad the leader of the Roshniya movement when tried to change his place and went from one place to another was caught and killed by Zafar Khan a Mughal commander as well as governor of Kabul.⁶⁷⁹

5.11 Roshnias After the Death of Ahdad

With the death of their leader the Roshnias retreated and thus the battle was won by the Mughals. The head of Ahdad was brought to Kabul by one of the Mughal

⁶⁷⁸ Akbar, Tareikyan, 51.

⁶⁷⁹ Sabir, Tareikh, 321.

nobles Iftikhar Khan a son of Ahmad beg Khan Kabuli to Jahangir as he stayed at that time in Kabul. The stamp, *assa* and some other accessories of Ahdad were brought along with his head to Kabul. The Mughals celebrated their victory over the Roshnias and the commanders and the army persons who fought bravely against the Roshnias were rewarded.

The Roshniya movement though become weak after the death of Ahdad but not ended and was headed by the widow of Ahdad named Bibi Alaye. She was a very brave and intelligent woman and continued his struggle against the Mughals. She made her son Abdul Qadir the leader of the movement and confirmed his leadership from all of the supporters and followers of the Roshniya movement. They continued their struggle against the Mughals.⁶⁸⁰

The other tribes of the province of Kabul on the whole did not given much trouble to the imperial government as given by the supporters of Roshniya movement particularly the Bangash. Though there were tribes like Khaturs and Dilazaks lived near Amrohi, were busy in committing robbery. In 1607 AD the son of Zain Khan Koka named Zafar Khan were sent against the headmen of those tribes to capture them. Zafar Khan successfully followed the instruction and captured them.

In the same year a *Jagirdar* of Peshawar with the Maliks of Yusafzai and Ghoria Khel tribes (the two tribes that created a lot of troubles for Akbar) came to Kabul and waited for the emperor Jahangir there to meet him. The chiefs of the Hazaras tribe including Mirza Sanjar, Shadman and Mashi visited the Mughal court, where they were rewarded by the emperor Jahangir and sent them back to their area. Jahangir too died after one year of the death of Ahdad.⁶⁸¹

5.12 Jahangir Policy Towards Kandahar

Like Kabul, Kandahar was also strategically and economically an important place for the Mughals. Every year about fourteen thousand of camel loaded with a number of articles traded from India to Kandahar. All of the trade between India and Persia took place through Kandahar. The area remained a bone of contention

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid, 320-1.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid, 313.

between Persian and the Mughals for most of the time of their rule. It was in 1522 AD, that Babur after the death of his relative and ruler of Kandahar, Mirza Hussain Baqira captured the area. Kandahar during almost every Mughal ruler was attacked by the Persian. In 1545 AD, Humayun after getting the support of the Persian agreed to give Kandahar to them. In 1595 AD under Akbar the Persians occupied Kandahar. Then during the reign of Jahangir in 1622 AD, Kandahar became the part of Persian empire. During the reign of Shah Jahan in 1649 A. D it was once again became part of the Persian empire.⁶⁸²In 1622 AD when Shah Abbas the ruler of Persia carried an expedition towards Kandahar, Ashraf Khan the governor of Kandahar demanded help from the governor of Multan named Khan Jahan. Though he was ready for his help but Jahangir did not allow him, as he wanted to face Shah Abbas himself and started his preparation against him by saying that king should be faced by a king. Later on Jahangir became busy in suppressing the rebellions in India thus Shah Abbas got the opportunity and attacked and conquered Kandahar within forty days. Kandahar remained in the position of the Persians till 1637 AD. Jahangir sent some expedition but failed because the people of the area also supported the Persians.⁶⁸³

5.13 Death of Jahangir and Siege of Kabul by the Uzbegs

Jahangir wanted his elder son prince Khusru to be his successor to the throne but Shah Jahan opposed it and marched against his father but was defeated by the imperial army. Jahangir pardoned him after some time and himself later on after the few months of 1626 AD visited Kabul and then Kashmir to improve his health condition. After a stay of few months when he returned from Kabul and reached to Kashmir, Jahangir became ill and died in the month of October, 1627 AD⁶⁸⁴. His age at the time of his death was 58 years one month and 27 days. The title after Jahangir death was Jannat Makkani. With the death of Jahangir the governor of Kabul and son of Khwaja Abul Hasan was Zain Khan. He after receiving the news of the death of the emperor marched to Peshawar but after reaching there he came to know that the ruler of Balkh, Nazr Muhammad Khan besieged Kabul. He

⁶⁸² Ibid, 317-22.

⁶⁸³ Qazi Attaullah Khan, Da Pukhtanu Tareikh (Pashto) (Peshawar: University book agency, nd), 40-3.

⁶⁸⁴ Arnulf Camps, Studies an Asian mission History: 1956-1998 (Boston: Brill publishers, 2000),71.

hastily returned to Kabul but in the way of his returned he was attacked by different Afghan tribes and received heavy lost of both men and money. When the news of the defeat of Zain Khan reached to Shah Jahan, he appointed Mutaaid Khan also known with the name of Lashkar Khan as governor of Kabul. The new governor after reaching Kabul informed Shah Jahan about the sympathies of some of the Kabulis with the Roshnias. After which Shah Jahan ordered Lashkar Khan and other officers of Kabul to give punishment to these rebels.⁶⁸⁵

5.14 Accession of Shah Jahan

At the time of the death of his father Shah Jahan was at Deccan and was busy in the war of succession with his brothers. That war of succession took more than a year, after which Shah Jahan at last became able to ascend over the throne of India at Agra on 6th February, 1628 A. D. The border of the empire extended during his rule. The revenue and treasury of the Mughal empire also doubled of that of the Akbar reign. The reign of Shah Jahan was the period of construction and development and the buildings like Taj Mahal, Jama-i-Masjid Delhi, Laal Qilla, Shah Jahan mosque at Kabul and some other buildings were constructed.⁶⁸⁶

It was during the last years of the reign of Jahangir that the struggle of succession for the throne started among his sons. Nur Jahan who was a lot of influence over Jahangir and took most of the affairs of the empire in his own hands during his reign, tried her level best to succeeded the younger son of Jahangir named Sheryar who was also Nur Jahan son-in-law to the throne of India. For that purpose she wanted to win the support of the influential nobles of the empire on her own side. Nur Jahan struggle for winning the throne of India for his son in law started from the time when Mahabat Khan was the governor of Kabul. As he was one of the great Sardar and influential noble of the empire and she wanted to turn him on her side. She invited him to India for strengthening her cause against the other sons of Jahangir. Though for a time being Mahabat Khan showed his sympathies to her cause but later on turn into the side of Shah Jahan. During Jahangir last visit to

⁶⁸⁵ Sayel, 201-2.

⁶⁸⁶ Farigh Bokhari, and Hamdani Raza, *Attock kay Uspaar* (Urdu) (Lahore: Gosha-i-Adab, nd), 48. (hereafter Farigh Bokhari)

Kabul when he asked Mahabat Khan for his meeting. He met the emperor with about five thousand Rajputs with the plane to imprison the emperor but failed.⁶⁸⁷

5.15 Kabul under Shah Jahan and his Frontier Policy

Most of the tribes of Kabul including Yusafzai and Khattaks did not acknowledge the rule of Shah Jahan and constantly created trouble for his rule. The unruly Afghan tribes once again raised the standard of revolt but the emperor with his strong actions, tactics and strong imperial army became able to repress those tribes in to order.⁶⁸⁸ during the reign of Shah Jahan the annual revenue collected from Kabul was forty lakhs which was not enough to come across the expanses.⁶⁸⁹

Some historians remarks about the policy of Jahangir and Shah Jahan towards the tribes of Kabul in those words that “under both of the Mughal rulers the state of things continued, varied by occasional rising of the clans, which cost the Mughal dear.” It is mostly believed that during the early years of the reign of Shah Jahan there were disturbance in different parts of Kabul particularly the tribes of Bangash, Momand and Afridis created troubles for him and the Mughal authority was limited to the four walls of the city of Kabul.⁶⁹⁰

Shah Jahan at the start ignores Kabul and its tribes and did not give much attention to their activities in the area. According to Shah Jahan those Afghan uprising was not so serious and nor so frequent demanding not full attention by giving his attention towards other important affairs particularly in India. But with the passage of time he recognized the importance of the area and its affairs and people and thus he started and followed the policy of reconciliation towards them by recruiting great number of Paktoons in the Mughal army. As previously Shah Jahan took back from the Afghan all of their titles given to them by his father Jahangir. On return of receiving that type of treatment from the new emperor different Pakhtun tribes started struggle for controlling and taking the area of

⁶⁸⁷ Tran, Muhammad Shabud din Khan, Tareikh-i-Afaghana (part 1) (Lahore: Hameed Press, 1911), 73-4.

⁶⁸⁸ Farigh Bokhari, 48.

⁶⁸⁹ G. P. Tate, Tran, Arshad Aziz Khan, Salthanth Afghanistan (Urdu) (India: Royal Asiatic society, 72).

⁶⁹⁰ J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb vol. III (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkars and sons, 1928), 222. Shah Nawaz Khan, tran, Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Maasir-ul-Umra voll (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic society, 1828), 25. (hereafter Maasir-ul Umra)

Kabul from the Mughal rule but failed. Shah Jahan after realizing his mistake reshaped his policy by following a friendly policy towards those tribes. After that shift in the policy peace came into the area of Kabul and surrounding areas.⁶⁹¹ After peace in Kabul Shah Jahan then faced rebellions in Kandahar, Balkh and Badakhshan for the suppression of which Shah Jahan sent frequently troops and expeditions to those areas. The huge Mughal army passed through different areas of the Kabul province during those expeditions which resulted peace in the city of Kabul because of the fear of those troops and that of the power of the Mughal army and emperor for a short time. It was during the last years of Shah Jahan reign that once again the troubles revived at Kabul and with the accession of Aurangzeb those troubles increased. Though the Mughal remained successful in bringing peace at Kabul but failed almost all of the Mughal emperors to subdue the mountainous tribes of the area.⁶⁹²

A change that occurred in the policy of Shah Jahan towards different tribes was that the Mughal started looking forward towards Yusufzai and their relation improved to some extent. As far as his early years and that of his father Jahangir reign were concerned they were more close and friendly towards the Khattaks rather than Yusufzai. Shah Jahan persuaded his father policy towards different Afghan tribes by giving them high posts and entrusted them with important responsibilities. He desired to have cordial relations with those tribes and to find a solution for ending the age old conflict among the two. It was Malik Akor of the Khattak tribe who for forty one year's guarded the emperor highways and after his death through the hands of one of his own person from the same tribe a place between Nowshera and Attock called Pir Sabak. He was succeeded by his son Yahya Khan and it was during his headship that the enmity aroused between the two tribes of Yusufzai and Khattaks. The main reason of their enmity was the village of Misri Kot, opposite Akora Sarai, from where the Khattaks uprooted the Yusufzai. Secondly the son of Yahya Khan, named Shah Baz Khan killed a number of Yusufzai to suppress their activities against the Mughals. As at that time the Khattaks were in good relations with the Mughals. In 1640 A. D in revenge the Yusufzai killed Shah Baz Khan as he was also the father of Khushal

⁶⁹¹ Chamkani, 50.

⁶⁹² Zafar, Pokhtana, 747-8.

Khan Khattak and that act of Yausafzai increased the height of their enmity. After the death of Shah Baz Khan his son Khushal Khan Khattak became the new head of his tribe.⁶⁹³

In 1639 AD Shah Jahan visited Kabul with the purpose to examine and prepare the Mughal army at Kabul for the expedition towards Balkh, but let the idea because of the strong and powerful Uzbek army under Imam Quli and the famine condition that prevailed in Kabul.⁶⁹⁴

5.16 Revolt of Khan Jahan Lodi or Pir Khan Lodi and Kamaluddin and their Effects on Kabul

During the reign of Shah Jahan the most serious rebellions of the Afghans against the supremacy of Shah Jahan took place not in Kabul but in India. Pir Khan Lodi was a descendent of Daulat Khan Lodi (who invited and helped Babur for the conquest of India). During the reign of Jahangir Pir Khan Lodi was the governor of Multan and Malwa and was promoted to the rank of 7,000 horses and were given the title of Khan Jahan Khan Lodi. His influence among the Afghan tribes was so great that even he was the governor of Malwa most of the tribes offered him for their help by conquering and giving him the possession of the country up to Isfahan.

He refused the offer and later on as governor of Malwa he sold some of the district of his province to Murtaza Nizam Shah an independent ruler in southern India. At the last year of the reign of Jahangir the Mughal emperor confronted with the rebellions of Pir Khan Lodi son.⁶⁹⁵

With the accession of Shah Jahan he summoned Pir Khan Lodi to the imperial court at Agra from where the Lodi chief on 14th October, 1629 A. D, fled to the district of Baghlana, an independent area under Murtaza Nizam Shah with about two to three thousand Afghan retainers as he was not happy with the attitude of Shah Jahan. From there he dispatched letters to the tribes of Peshawar, Jalalabad and Kabul to rise against the Mughal rule and joined his cause. He started

⁶⁹³ Sabir, Tareikh, 324-6.

⁶⁹⁴ Sykes, 314.

⁶⁹⁵ Tate, kingdom, 24-5.

rebellion against the Mughal government and fled from one place to another after the march of Mughal army.

The revolt of Khan Jahan Lodi provides an opportunity for different tribes of Kabul to raised revolt against the Mughal government. Khan Jahan although was defeated in Deccan, he intended towards the Kabul province with the purpose that those tribes would provide him protection and help him against the Mughal government. He remained successful in turning the loyalties of Kamaluddin on his side and against the Mughal authority. Kamaluddin was a Mughal royal officer in the Kabul province. Kamaluddin became successful in getting the support of the tribes like Kahalil, Yusafzai, Momand, Muhammadzai, Daudzai, Khattak, Turi, Haji, Barklani, Dawar, Natu, Naghar and Imaq etc against the Mughal government. He enlisted his support for the cause of Khan Jahan Lodi.⁶⁹⁶

Shah Jahan sent another Mughal army under the command of Sayyid Muzaffar Khan and Abdullah Khan to blocked Khan Jahan Lodi and remained successful. Muzaffar Khan on his way to Kabul was attacked by the Orakzai and Afridis on 12th June 1630 AD, but he remained successful in defeating the tribes.⁶⁹⁷ On the other hand Khan Jahan Lodi gave up the idea of going to Kabul and went to Bundelkhand. Later on a battle took place between the Mughal army and that of the supporters of Khan Jahan Lodi on 17th February, 1631A. D, in the battle the Mughal became successful and Khan Jahan Lodi, his son Aziz Khan and friend Draya Khan were killed in the battle on 24th January, 1631 A. D.⁶⁹⁸

5.17 End of Roshniya Movement

At the last years of Shah Jahan reign the Roshnias became very weak. Though the struggle continued for some time and the movement was joined by people like Kamaluddin, who joined hands with the leader of the Roshniya movement Abdul Qadir, son of Ahdad by giving his daughter to him. He also got the support of the other relatives of Ahdad, named Muhammad Zaman and Jalal. In the year 1630 A. D, Kamaluddin with the support of different tribes collected under his banner the

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid, 26-7.

⁶⁹⁷ Sabir, Dastan, 101.

⁶⁹⁸ Tate, kingdom, 27.

Afghan tribesmen of the tribes like Orakzai, Afridis, Toori, Momand and Bangash etc and prepared himself for the attack over Peshawar. Shah Jahan has given the task of their submission to Said Khan who was posted at Kohat. Said Khan went to Peshawar to secure the city against the Afghan attack. Though he first tried to peacefully come in terms with Kamaluddin and made him agree that he gives up his rebellious activities against the Mughal government. For the fulfillment of that purpose Said Khan sent one of his messengers towards Kamaluddin, where he was received with honor by Kamaluddin and shows his loyalty towards Said Khan. But in reality he wanted some time for the preparation to make an attack on Peshawar and remained busy in making preparation for the attack over Peshawar. When prepared his forces he invaded Peshawar on 12th July, 1630 A. D.⁶⁹⁹.

The luck did not favor the rebels and disruption and disagreements aroused among those Afghan groups. While Said Khan on the other hand decided to stand the siege thus the troops of Kamaluddin were unable to take the fort of Peshawar and retreated. Said Khan with his army persuaded, captured and killed many of them. Said Khan by the use of carrot and stick policy compelled Bibi Alai and her son Abdul Qadir surrendered to the Mughals. After their surrender both the mother and son received a *mansab* of 1000/6000 from Shah Jahan as reward of their submission to the Mughals in 1633 A. D. Abdul Qadir died soon after while his mother and other relatives were treated well and they remained with peace from thereafter and thus a great danger to the Mughal authority and power at last came to an end.⁷⁰⁰

5.18 Nazr Muhammad (the Wali of Balkh) Invasion of Kabul and his Defeat there

With the death of Jahangir, the struggle for throne among his sons started, which caused disturbance in the empire and invite the rebels to take it as an opportunity for themselves. Thus the ruler of Balkh Nazr Muhammad despite of the opposition of his brother Imam Quli Khan, the ruler of Turan with the army of about fifteen thousand made an attack over Kabul and for three months besieged the area. At

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid, 27.

⁷⁰⁰ Sabir, Tareikh, 327.

that time Khwaja Abul Hasan or known with his title Lashkar Khan was the governor of Kabul, who carried the post from the last days of Jahangir. Though most of his responsibilities of Khwaja Abul Hasan, as governor of Kabul were fulfilled by his son Zafar Khan, who was also an administrator of the province and at the time of the death of Jahangir were busy in Tirah in wars against the Roshnias under their leader Ahdad. Lashkar Khan was at the emperor court. After receiving the news of the death of Jahangir, Zafar Khan returned to Peshawar. He sent a number of chiefs including Saadat Khan, Yaqub Khan, Shamsher Khan, Moeen Khan and Abdur Rahman Turnabi, the experienced chiefs with an army of about 35000 towards Kabul for the protection of the fort of Kabul and himself stayed for some time at Peshawar. As according to the Mughal tradition that the governor of Kabul spent the winter season at Peshawar and the summer at Kabul, Zafar Khan started his journey towards Kabul with some of the forces. When he reached to the Khyber Pass and passed the way of Kotal with his army the Afridis with some other Afghan tribes made an attack over them from behind. Those tribes plundered the Mughal army and Zafar Khan with great difficulties retreated to Peshawar.⁷⁰¹

Shah Jahan sent Lashkar Khan towards Kabul after knowing about the difficulties and the attack of the tribes on Zafar Khan at Khyber Pass he sent Lashkar Khan as governor of Kabul to settle down the unrest tribes there.

During the expedition to Kabul the ruler of Balkh, Nazr Muhammad sent two different well equipped armies with the instruction to found an advantageous position there from where they could make attack over Kabul. The reason was that Nazr Muhammad received the news of the security and placement of the Mughal army over the strategic areas of Kabul against them. It was during that expedition of the Uzbeks to Kabul that his army came into a head in a clash with the Mughal army. After that clash the Uzbek army retreated after getting defeat from the hands of the Mughal army of Kabul.⁷⁰²

After the defeat Nazr Muhammad once again reorganized his troops but this time instead of Kabul prepared themselves for attack over Zuhak. He first ordered and

⁷⁰¹ Habibi, Afghanistan, 138-9.

⁷⁰² Tareikh-i-Hindustan, 660- 75.

sent his son Abdul Aziz Khan and some of his experienced commanders including Abdur Rahman Bay, Hajim Toqyayi and some others for the occupation of the fort of Zuhak located between the area of Zuhak and Bamian. Nazr Muhammad himself followed them and besieged the fort but failed to capture it. A number of his chiefs including Nazr Muhammad son in law Tankar Quli and Abdur Rahman were killed during that expedition.

At last Nazr Muhammad when realized that it is not easy to capture the fort of Zuhak, he changed his mind and once again turn their attention towards Kabul with the intentions to capture the fort of Kabul. Nazr Muhammad with his forces from the way of Siah Sang marched towards Kabul, because the other way of Kabul via Ghorband and Chakarikara were blocked by the Mughal supported tribes of those areas. Some of the Mughal or Afghan troops were deployed over the borders and other strategic points. Nazr Muhammad after passing the narrow valleys of Pamghan and Lalindar reached to the territory of Kabul. At Kabul he started plundering and killing of the local people of Kabul. He also imprisoned a number of the local Kabulis near Kabul. After plundering different tribes they encamped about five *kos* from Kabul.⁷⁰³

As the imperial army was in their way to Kabul under the governor of Kabul Lashkar Khan but was not yet reached to Kabul so it was consider an opportunity by Nazr Muhammad and tried to win the support of the inhabitants and the nobles stayed at the fort of Kabul. He sent letters to those Mughals over the hands of some of his trustworthy men including Nazr Khwaja and Gul Baba etc to get their support and turn them against the Mughals. But their plan was demolished by the nobles of Kabul like Shamsher Khan, Moeen Khan, and Yaqub Khan etc, who strengthens the security of the fort of Kabul. When Nazr Muhammad failed to accomplish his plane and diplomacy by winning the support of the Kabul nobility on his side, he then on Thursday 8th of June, 1628 A. D they besieged the fort of Kabul. Before the siege they stay at the near houses as Nazr Muhammad stayed at the house of Abdur Rahman Tarnabi his don Abdu Aziyaz stay at the house of Moeen Khan while Yalangtosh stayed at the tomb of Khan-i-Dawran and spending some days in the preparation for the siege of Kabul. That time some of

⁷⁰³ Ibid.

the skirmishes took place between the two sides. After much of preparation they besieged the fort of Kabul. When the siege prolonged a Mughal officer from Kabul named Mir Musa Qorchi also known with the name of Mir Gul, former *faujdar* of Peshawar and former servant of Lashkar Khan with some of the army came out from the fort and attacked the enemies by killing about fifty of their men. Though there was no death from the Mughal side but Mir Gul and twelve of his army members wounded.⁷⁰⁴

On the other hand Shah Jahan learning about the Uzbek attack over Kabul sends additional forces under Mahabat Khan and sent them towards Kabul to defend the city against the invaders. Shah Jahan also sent a *farman* to the governor of Kabul Lashkar Khan to take necessary actions against the Uzbeks through his commanders. As Lashkar Khan was on his way and yet not reached to Kabul he after knowing about the Mughal attack hastily reached Peshawar. He sent his son Sazawar Khan with the command of a number of troops towards Kabul and himself became busy in collecting more army and for winning the support of the local people and their chiefs on his own side. Zafar Khan also joined the Mughal army and Lashkar Khan on the other hand remained successful for winning the support of different Afghan chiefs against the Uzbek invasion.⁷⁰⁵

The governor of Kabul followed the Mughal forces behind and when the forces reached near Jalalabad some of the chiefs were with the opinion that they should wait for Mahabat Khan, who also with the huge army dispatched towards Kabul by Shah Jahan. Most of the Kabuli and Mughal troops wait for the arrival of Mahabat Khan at Charbagh. Thus Khanjar Khan with a small army marched towards Kabul. He stayed for two days at Gandamak, where once again some of the chiefs advise him to wait for Mahabat Khan but he refused and continued his march towards Kabul and reached about 12 *kos* distance from Kabul. When Nazr Muhammad came to know about the arrival of Lashkar Khan and the march of Mahabat Khan with a huge army towards Kabul, he gathered all his chiefs and a discussion took place after which it was decided to face and fought the Mughal army. Lashkar Khan after hearing that quickly march towards Kabul and made an

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid, 679-80.

attack over the Uzbek forces on 28th of August, 1628 AD. Every soldier of *Suba* Kabul was mobilized for active service and against the Uzbeks so they fought with bravery. While on the other side as most of Nazr Muhammad army had already fled from Kabul during the siege and he remained with the army of about seven to eight thousand. The Uzbeks after founding themselves unable to the task Nazr Muhammad at last left the siege and retreated towards Balkh. With this defeat the power of the Uzbeks reduced to greater extent.⁷⁰⁶

Mahabat Khan entered Kabul before Khanjar Khan as Mahabat Khan entered Kabul as a victorious on 7th September, 1628 AD while Khanjar Khan with his army entered to Kabul on Friday, 15th of September, 1628 AD. After repulsing the Uzbek thread the governor of Kabul he sent a request to the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan for the support of the province of Kabul and its people as affected from the siege of Nazr Muhammad. Shah Jahan ordered him to distribute one lac of rupees from the treasury of Kabul among the victims and those who lost their properties during the siege.⁷⁰⁷ The ranks of Lashkar Khan and Khanjar Khan (according to some historians Shah Jahan appointed him the governor of Kabul at the time of the attack of the Uzbek leader Nazr Muhammad) were promoted. The booty was distributed between the Mughal soldiers at Kabul. It was the first military success in the reign of Shah Jahan.⁷⁰⁸

5.19 The Policy of Shah Jahan against the Roshniya Thread

Though for some time Lashkar Khan remained the governor of Kabul, but because of the resented of the people of Kabul who were mostly Sunni, while Lashkar Khan as a Shia caused the turning of most of the Kabulis against him and Shah Jahan replaced him with the appointment of Said Khan as the new governor of Kabul. Said Khan appointment as governor of Kabul was also made for the purpose to root out the unrest in the province of Kabul. Shah Jahan sent Raja Jagat

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid, 680-83.

⁷⁰⁷ Shah Jahan Nama, 270-9.

⁷⁰⁸ Bakhshi, Shah Jahan, 91.

Singh for the assistance of Said Khan against the Roshnias and Bangash rebels.⁷⁰⁹

Said Khan at first followed the policy of conciliation towards the rebels, but in 1633 AD a rebellion broke out in Naghz by the Afghan tribes, they invited Karim Dad the uncle of Ahdad to lead them in their struggle against the Mughal government. They also received support from the Afridis, Tirah and Orakzai and threatened to capture the area of Tur. Said Khan after knowing that conspiracy of the tribes and the Roshnias and their confederacy against the Mughals, he dispatched a huge Mughal army under Raja Jagat Singh and Yaqub to suppress the rebellion. When the Mughal army reached near Naghz the rebels retreated from there. As the Mughal army was supported by the people of Naghz, Karim Dad with some of his supporters and followers fled to the mountains. The Mughal army plundered their houses and followed them to the mountains, where because of rain and storm the Roshnias faced with great difficulties and at last Karim Dad with his entire family surrendered to the Mughals. After their surrender the army then returned to Peshawar and informed the emperor about their success. Karim Dad was executed on the order of Shah Jahan. In 1637 AD, Said Khan sent two of the son in laws Sahib Dad and Muhammad Zaman and the grandson of Ahdad, Qadir Dad and his cousin Rashid Khan to the court of Shah Jahan where they were received with honor and respect. Shah Jahan appointed Rashid Khan as governor of Tilangana. It was till 1639 AD that Said Khan established peace and order in the province of Kabul. After the restoration of peace in Kabul, Shah Jhan in 1639 AD visited Kabul and brought the chief of the Hazara, Mir Ismail to Kabul and sent forces against Hazarajat.⁷¹⁰

At the same year Shah Jahan visited Kabul, but unfortunately once again Kabul was attacked by the Uzbegs as one of the officer of Nazr Muhammad named, Yalangtosh with the support of the Hazara tribes, who were previously under the government of Kabul but later on turned against the Mughals and joined hands with Yalangtosh.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁷¹⁰ Habibi, Afghanistan, 141.

Said Khan assisted by Khan Durran Nusrat Jhang marched against those rebels of the Hazaras. They made an attack over the rebels from two sides to bring them back into their former obedience and Mughal authority. Among those Hazaras who accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal government were protected but all the others were attacked, plundered and killed. With the success in that expedition against Hazaras, Said Khan brought about twenty seven of the Hazara chiefs to the court of Shah Jahan. After reaching to the imperial court Shah Jahan pardoned all of them and rewarded them with presents and gifts. After suppressing the Hazaras and defeating the Uzbek army under Yalangtosh peace once again restored in the province of Kabul by its governor Said Khan.⁷¹¹

5.20 His Relations with Khattaks and Yausafzai

Shah Jahan at the start of his reign was more inclined towards the Khattak tribe in comparison to Yusafzai. As he like his father Jahangir treated the Khattak with high ranks and honor and they supported each other. Shah Jahan also supports them in their tribal wars particularly against the Yusafzai, who became their worst enemy in couple of decades. On the other hand the Khattak tribe after receiving that favour from the Mughals in return played important role in executing the Mughal plans in the other parts of India. Khushal Khan Khattak, who enjoyed a dignified post of fireman and with the *mansab* of 500 hundred cavalry and 1000 infantry under Shah Jahan, helped him and joined the Mughal expedition towards Ajmer with a large Khattak contingent. The Khattak also played their role in taking part in the Mughal expedition towards Balkh and Badakhshan. In 1649 AD during Shah Jahan visit to Kabul, Khushal Khan Khattak the chief or headmen of the Khattak tribe received a number of Yausafzai villages from him.⁷¹²

Though during the early years of Shah Jahan reign, he was not in good relations with the Yusafzai tribe and thus supported the arch enemy of the Yausafzai at that time, the Khattak tribe. It was during his early period that he took some of their villages and gave them to the Khattaks. But later on Shah Jahan relations with the Yusafzai became normal particularly because of their chief, Bakhu Khan. As when the Yusafzai chief saw the increasing improved relation of the Khattak tribe

⁷¹¹ Bakhshi, Shah Jahan, 255-7.

⁷¹² Sabir, Tareikh,

with the Mughals and the benefits that the tribe received in return from the Mughals, he also started struggle for improving their relations and winning the support of the Mughals on their side. For that purpose he visited the Mughal court at Delhi for their nominal submission to the Mughals. At that time he not only received the support of Shah Jahan but in longer terms he remained successful in gaining the support of one of the sons of Shah Jahan, Prince Dara Shiko. It was with the interference of Dara Shiko that Bakhu Khan received pardoned from the Mughal court and their lost territories which were first given to the Khattaks were restored to him.

When Khushal Khan came to know about those developments and improved relations on the part of Mughal and Yausafzai, he tried his level best to create misunderstanding between the two but Dara Shiko supported Bakhu Khan and stood firm in his favor.⁷¹³

5.21 The Policy of Shah Jahan towards Kabul

Nazr Muhammad made three attacks for the conquest of Kabul but failed the first was made under Jahangir but the other two during the reign of Shah Jahan.⁷¹⁴ For Shah Jahan the consolidation of the province of Kabul was the first essential step and for that purpose Shah Jahan sent a large sum of money to Lashkar Khan and Mahabat Khan for distribution among the inhabitants of Kabul and also to introduce reforms in the administrative system of the province. According to Shah Jahan and governor of Kabul Lashkar Khan through the power of money they could buy the loyalties of different people and tribes there. That policy was first Shah Jahan used in Deccan during the reign of his father Jahangir. For the persecution of that policy Shah Jahan sent prince Shuja and Khan-i-Durran to help Mahabat Khan (replaced Lashkar Khan as new governor of Kabul) in the administration of Kabul and to supervise the disbursement there.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹³ Ibid,

⁷¹⁴ Satish Chandra, Medieval India from Sultanat to the Mughals 1526-1748 AD part ii (New Delhi: Har Anand publications, 2006), 224. (hereafter Chandra)

⁷¹⁵ Tran, Alexander Dow, Ed. B. S. Dahiya, The History Of Hindustan, vol.iii (India: Dahinam publishers, 1994), 91.

Prince Shuja was sent to Kabul by Shah Jahan with the task that at Kabul he raised the army of about fifty thousand Afghan mercenaries for the defense of Kabul. Shah Jahan for administrative purposes sent a number of experienced administrators to implement the laws particularly the Shariah laws to bring happiness in the lives of the inhabitants of Kabul. He also selects and sent a number of broad minded Ulemas to Kabul. Those reforms of Shah Jahan were proved well for the administration of Kabul and within a year peace and tranquility returned to Kabul. Prince Shah Shuja sent a report about the improved condition of Kabul to Shah Jahan, who became happy after hearing that and called it “The triumph of order over disorder.”

After the return of peace and order in Kabul the next step of Shah Jahan policy was the expansion of his borders, particularly towards the territory of Uzbegs and Turkmen and the other traditional enemies of the Mughals of Central Asia. He warned prince Shuja with the words that touch not an Uzbeg but with a sword.

5.22 His Relations with the Ruler of Bokhara Imran Quli

Shah Jahan sent one of his envoys Hakim Hamza (a scholar of classical languages) to the Uzbeg court of Imran Quli at Bokhara. His main aim was to impress Imran Quli with the knowledge of Hakim Hamza. On response to the Mughal ambassador, Imran Quli also sent an ambassador to Agra. The real aim of Shah Jahan was the conquest of Bokhara.

In 1639 AD Shah Jahan visited Kabul to see the progress made in the ground for the conquest and expansion of his empire. On this march to Kabul he was joined by his son Dara Shiko, who was in charge of the administrative part of that campaign. Dara Shiko was a prince with liberal ideas and were enjoyed the trust of both Muslims and Hindus. That attitude of Dara Shiko could create problems for him at Kabul because of the conservative nature of the people of Kabul but Shah Jahan as he know that they were not going to Kabul for discussing Sharia but to restore peace and to assure himself that the ground was prepared for the

next task of expansion. Shah Jahan marched with the army of about sixty thousand men and in about twelve weeks reached Kabul.⁷¹⁶

Shah Jahan stayed for nine weeks in Kabul during that period he attend three *Darbars* with the tribal chiefs and the nobility of Kabul. The ambassador of the court of Imran Quli and Nazr Muhammad attend the last meeting or *Darbar* held on 24th of July, 1639 AD at Kabul. The reason behind sending his ambassador or envoy to the *Darbar* of Kabul towards Shah Jahan was to show the Mughal willingness and support on behalf of Uzbek ruler Imam Quli for the conquest of Samarkand and other territories of Central Asia that captured by the Persian emperor Shah Abbas ii with force. Though Shah Jahan became happy with the coming of the Uzbek envoy in his *Darbar* but ended after knowing that the ruler of Balkh and Bokhara sent nothing as presents to him in the form of “*Nazrana*” as they were reluctant to recognize Shah Jahan as their suzerain. That was the reason after which Shah Jahan determined to first conquer Balkh and Bokhara and then his campaign towards Samarkand. On 18th of August, 1639 AD, Shah Jahan returned from Kabul towards Lahore by strictly ordered Mahabat Khan to maintain a close watch over the western borders of Kabul. That visit of Shah Jahan to Kabul remained successful as he played his role for consolidating the province of Kabul and securing its borders.⁷¹⁷

On the other hand some development took place in Bokhara as the ruler of where Imran Quli fell seriously ill and lost his eyesight after which he went to Mecca. As his brother Nazr Muhammad who waiting for that opportunity made an attack over Bokhara and captured it started *Khutba* with his own name on 30th October, 1641 AD. That attack and invasion of Bokhara caused and raised a number of rebellions included the rebellion of Baqayu Khan the guardian of his son Bahram Sultan. The rebels proclaimed Sanjar, the grandson of Imran Quli as their ruler and *Khan* of Bokhara. Nazr Muhammad sent his elder son Abdul Aziz Khan to end the rebellions. But unfortunately for Nazr Muhammad his son instead of taking action against the rebels proclaimed himself the king of Balkh and Bokhara. Nazr Muhammad was not in the position to take action against his son,

⁷¹⁶ Bakhshi, Shah Jahan, 97-8.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid.

because he lost most of his popularity among his nobles and people. There were two options for Nazr Muhammad, either asked for help from the Shah Abbas ii of Persia or the second option was to take assistance from Shah Jahan of the Mughal emperor of India. After consultation he choose the second option and seeks the help from Shah Jahan.⁷¹⁸

Nazr Muhammad son captured some of the important principalities in Badakhshan and advanced forward against his father. But Nazr Muhammad did not lose heart and remained confidant with the thinking that the Mughal army from Kabul would come for his rescue.

5.23 Mughal Expedition towards Balkh and Badakhshan

Shah Jahan was from the start had the ambition to invade Balkh and Badakhshan and the opportunity came to him in the form of inviting by Nazr Muhammad for his help. Kabul and many of its tribes played an important role in executing the Mughal plans for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan. Many of the Pathan chiefs and nobles associated the Mughals in those expeditions.

After the disturbed state of affairs in Badakhshan its ruler Nazr Muhammad invited Shah Jahan for his help against his son. Shah Jahan became very happy with the invitation of Nazr Muhammad as it was his dream to expand the Mughal empire to Bokhara and Samarkand the home of his ancestors and Nazr Muhammad invitation provide him the opportunity to fulfill his dream.

Shah Jahan sent an army of about one lac men included top ranking Muslims and Hindus generals under the command of Amir-ul-Umra Ali Mardan Khan. He was a Persian and with some dispute with the Shah of Persia as governor of Kandahar and seek help from the governor of Kabul and Ghazni after which surrendered Kandahar to the Mughals. With that act he impressed Shah Jahan who rewarded him with the governorship of Kashmir and later on sent him for the expedition towards Balkh.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁸ Chandra, 224-5.

⁷¹⁹ Woleseley Haig, History, 199.

The Mughal army on 3rd October, 1644 AD, marched from Kabul towards Badakhshan. The army was divided into many parts, the trained miners, bridge builders, sappers, road cutters and other service men needed in expedition were headed by Aslat Khan. For the checking of communication line among the forces, the equipment of the best army men and the checking of weather condition were the responsibility of Ali Mardan Khan. Thus every aspect of that campaign was look after and approved by Shah Jahan himself and his main concern were the invasion and capture of Central Asia at any cost.⁷²⁰

Aslat Khan with Prince Murad and his service men and army moved out from Kabul on 21st of May, 1645 AD for his campaign towards Badakhshan for its invasion. At Kabul they took men from the Afridis, Orakzai, Gigyani and Ghoria Khel tribes in the Mughal army. The tribe of Khattak provide with about one thousand men and nine thousand rupees for their food etc. Khushal Khan Khattak was also the part of that expedition to Balkh. After reaching of the Mughal forces, Nazr Muhammad and the Mughal ally they sallied out of capital. Abdul Aziz Khan and his supporters remained firm of their position and were supported by the inhabitants of the area as they remained loyal to him. The supporters and army of Abdul Aziz Khan used different tactics of war as they blocked the roads from eastern and western side, destroy the bridges and fired the stock of food lest they fell in the hands of the invaders with the purposes to harass the combined forces of Mughal and that of Nazr Muhammad. The Mughal army faced great difficulties not only with those men made hurdles but also as the nature faced difficulties of heavy snow fall that effect greatly the invading army. The shortage of food created dissatisfaction among the army and they started attacking the villages after which the people of the peaceful villages also turned against the invaders.⁷²¹

When it became difficult for the Mughal army to continue their march and after facing with those difficulties Ali Mardan Khan ordered his troops to retreat to Kabul. The result of that expedition was a total disaster for the Mughal army and they loss heavily both with the men as well as the equipment and money. With that defeat in Badakhshan decreased the moral of the Mughal army. Although

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

⁷²¹ Tareikh-i-Murassa, place at Pashto Acedmy, university of peshawar with accession No. 1476, pg,177-8.

Raja Jagat Singh with his army made an attack over the Turkmen or the army of Abdul Aziz Khan, who persuaded the Mughal army under Jagat Singh on their retreat. Raja Jagat Singh with his army made an attack over the enemy and with bravery reengaged the forces of Abdul Aziz Khan on a war for a time being and blocked the advance of the enemy. But in reality the Mughal failed to face the strong Uzbek army of Abdul Aziz Khan and received a great defeat from their hands and failed to gain the position of Badakhshan, Bokhara and Samarkand.

Later on Abdul Aziz Khan on the advice of some of his advisers came into agreement with his father Nazr Muhammad (he at that time was busy in capturing Hisar), by allowing his father to retain Bokhara, while he would relinquish his claim over all of his other territories. Though Nazr Muhammad was not happy with that settlement of his son but after a lot of consideration he agreed to that because he needs some time and a place from where he could launch offensive against his son and he thought that Bokhara was fitted for the execution of his plan.⁷²²

5.24 Second Expedition towards Badakhshan, Bokhara and Samarkand

After securing his position at Bokhara by making a treaty with his son Nazr Muhammad once again seek for the help of the Mughals against his rebellious son Abdul Aziz Khan. The failure of the Mughal forces in their expedition towards Badakhshan though upset Shah Jahan but he did not let his dream of expanding his empire to Central Asia. He always ignored the harsh realities of the impossibility of overcoming the racial and geographical barriers between India and Central Asia. Once again when the envoy from Bokhara reached to Lahore with the invitation from Nazr Muhammad for Mughal assistance Shah Jahan welcomed him and rapidly accepts his request for further assistance. At that time Shah Jahan decided to personally supervise the expedition and for that purpose he moved his headquarter to Kabul with the intentions to direct his commanders from

⁷²² S. R. Bakhshi, Shah Jahan, 100-101.

time to time that how to defeat both Nazr Muhammad and his son Abdul Aziz Khan.⁷²³

Shah Jahan sent an army of about seventy five thousand men under the command of his son prince Murad towards Badakhshan with the instructions to capture it before the change of weather/season as soon as possible. The Mughal army for that expedition was included a huge number of horses, elephants and gun-power etc. The imperial army was divided into seven sections which was commanded by different commanders or Umra conferred by Shah Jahan. According to that traditional division of the Mughal army the centre of the army was headed by prince Murad with the assistance of Ali Mardan Khan, the right section of the army was commanded by Qulij or Qulji Khan and was assisted by Devi Singh Bundela, the left part was under the command of Rustam Khan while right flank was under Aslat Khan (son of a Lodi chief, Pir Khan Lodi) assisted by Raja Jai Singh. The left flank was headed by Khalilullah Khan with the assistance of Raja Rup Singh and Raja Prahlad Singh. The centre forward was under Mirza Nauroz while the vanguard was under Bahadur Khan and was assisted by Raja Vithal Dass.⁷²⁴

For the expedition about two hundred and twenty experienced officers and commanders of different *mansabs* were chosen and among one third of them were non Muslims. The Mughal army was divided in the manners that mixed command was preferred for entrusting a division either to a Hindu or a Muslim general alone. This method was first used by his grandfather Akbar.

On 6th of February, 1646 AD, Shah Jahan marched from Lahore towards Kabul on the way of Attock, Hassanabdal and Peshawar. The march started with delay which was the part of Shah Jahan diplomacy as he fought not only with sword but with diplomacy. As Shah Jahan had the plan that by delaying his march he would give time to Abdul Aziz Khan and Nazr Muhammad to weak each other through fighting.⁷²⁵

⁷²³ Ibid, 102.

⁷²⁴ Ibid, 102-3.

⁷²⁵ J. L. Mehta, Advanced Study In The History of Medieval India (New Delhi: Sterling publishers, 2009), 439-40. (hereafter Mehta)

Shah Jahan reached to Kabul with spirit of success on 15th of May, 1446 AD. After nine days of rest prince Murad with the assistance of Qulji Khan marched towards Badakhshan and crossed the border of Kabul. Because of the difficulties of road and narrow valleys prince Murad divided his army into nine parts. Qulji Khan an aged man was sent forward with two division of the army of cavalry and elephant corps an advance. Two of the important forts of Badakhshan fell into the Mughal army under Qulji Khan without fighting with the help of information given to him by one of the caravan from Persia. The two forts were first besieged by the Mughal forces of ten to fifteen thousand each in number after which the Uzbegs opened the gates of the forts and the Mughal army under Qulji Khan captured the forts without resistance. After hearing about that success Shah Jahan sent a good amount of money for the distribution among the victorious army and among the inhabitants of the area. For prince Murad Shah Jahan sent a robe of honor with highest category and with the instruction to use the invaded forts as a base against Badakhshan. Prince Murad with great enthusiasm campaigned against the enemy but was not able to sustain that enthusiasm among his army for long in the campaign which lacked both justification and purpose. On the other hand the weather and the snow covered mountains and passes reduced the spirit of prince Murad and his soldiers.⁷²⁶

At the meantime Shah Muhammad Murghan one of the supporters of Abdul Aziz Khan turned against him and attacked one of his strong hold and after plundering it fled from there. That incident provides an opportunity for the Mughals and they attacked and captured Qunduz and Badakhshan. Shah Jahan after receiving the news of the Mughal victory at Balkh and Badakhshan orders the march against Bokhara without delay. He also sent Ishaq Beg one of Shah Jahan Afghan noble towards Nazr Muhammad to accept the Mughal suzerainty. Nazr Muhammad requested some time for his withdrawal towards Mecca.⁷²⁷ But Ali Mardan Khan and some of the other commanders refused any delay in the campaign and on 25th June, 1646 A. D, began their march towards Balkh. On 25th July, 1646 AD, the Mughal army entered Balkh and within twenty four hours captured the city and the fort. Nazr Muhammad fled from Balkh and the Mughal army entered as

⁷²⁶ Bakhshi, Shah Jahan, 104.

⁷²⁷ Salma Ahmad Faoouqi, A Comprehensive History Of Medieval India: from the twelfth to the mid-eighteen Century (New Delhi: longman publishers, 2011), 255-6.

victorious. The Mughal army under Ali Mardan Khan entered the secret chamber of the fort where lay the wealth of Balkh included twelve to fifteen million rupees in cash and gold and Jewellery valued about two hundred million rupees and were transferred to Kabul under the care of one hundred *Ahadis* (Special Forces). Twenty five thousand horses and about five thousands of camels were also seized and sent to Kabul.⁷²⁸

After capturing Balkh and spending some time there the Mughal army and its commanders including Ali Mardan Khan and prince Murad wanted to return their homes into India. Prince Murad sent a letter to his father for seeking his permission of his return to India. Shah Jahan was not happy with his decision and sent Prime Minister Sadullah Khan towards Balkh with the instruction to convince the Mughal army to stay there and to arrange proper alternative for the consolidation of Balkh and for the campaign for the expansion towards new areas. Sadullah Khan for seven days tried his best to convince prince Murad to stay in Balkh but failed. Sadullah Khan then placed the administration of Badakhshan under Aslat Khan and Bahadur Khan and Balkh left under the charge of Qulji Khan and Rustam Khan. That time a disagreement arose among different Mughal nobles about the centralization of the power of the conquered areas under one man. The task was then taken by Aurangzeb, son of Shah Jahan as he selected himself for the task. He reached to Balkh on 11th of June, 1647AD. On the way to Balkh Aurangzeb was attacked by the Uzbeks but remained successful against them. After reaching there he became the viceroy of Balkh and Badakhshan.⁷²⁹

Nazr Muhammad with the help of the Persian (also took shelter in Persia), attempt to recover the area of Bokhara from the Mughals but failed. Later on he apologized for his act which was accepted by Aurangzeb on the advice of Shah Jahan.⁷³⁰ After the apology of Nazr Muhammad a rumour spread in the Mughal army particularly among the officers in outlying garrisons that Nazr Muhammad was to be restored and Aurangzeb returned to Kabul. Thus most of those officers abandoning their posts in the belief, they were harassed throughout the way by bands of Uzbeks. After that event Aurangzeb was recalled and thus the Mughal

⁷²⁸ John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (Britain: Cambridge University press, 1995), 132.

⁷²⁹ Bakhshi, Shah Jahan, 108-9.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid*, 110-2.

lost their control over those areas as they did not sustain the conquest for long. The Mughal never pushed their conquest beyond river Oxus. The Mughal took the area of Balkh for about two years, but at last returned to India.⁷³¹

5.25 Effects of the Central Asian Expeditions

The Mughal expedition to Balkh and Badakhshan brought to them nothing and they lost a huge number of their army as well as about thirty million of rupees in the expedition.⁷³² It also caused the disturbance in Kandahar because of the Mughal negligence of the area, as they divert their attention on the Central Asian expedition. Kandahar always remained a bone of contention between the Mughals and the Persians and was for some time ruled by the Persians and for other by the Mughals. Might is right was the case for Kandahar among for both of the great empires. Whenever the Persian got opportunity they attacked and took the control of Kandahar and same was the case with the Mughals.

In the reign of Shah Jahan when the Mughal emperor was busy in his expedition towards Balkh and Badakhshan the Persian once again started struggle for getting the control of Kandahar. As in 1648 AD Shah Abbas ii assumed full authority at Persia he started his march for the recovering of Kandahar and reached to Khurasan. When the Mughals got the news it was too late to reinforce forces from Kabul and Multan. Shah Jahan sent an expedition under Aurangzeb, who after his returned from Balkh became the governor of Multan. For the encouragement of the army huge allowances were given to the army. Shah Jahan also ordered the conversion of Kabul to a permanent military camp for the purpose to take action against Kandahar as well as against the frontier tribes of the area. The expedition to Kandahar consists of 50,000 horse and 20,000 foot soldiers. Aurangzeb during the first expedition towards Kandahar passed through the pass of Kotal and Ali Masjid accompanied by Sadullah Khan. Aurangzeb in a letter written to Jahan Ara mentioned the passes and beautiful places of Kabul, as she along with Shah Jahan

⁷³¹ Ibid, 115-6.

⁷³² Wolseley Haig, History, 204.

was on her way to Kabul. In the first expedition the Mughal failed in taking Kandahar from the Persian occupation which was lost to them in 1649 AD.⁷³³

Aurangzeb after three months of the failure of first expedition to Kandahar returned towards Kabul to deal with the rising Uzbek thread who wants to attack Ghazni a city laid on the route of Kandahar and Kabul. After the failure of expedition to Kandahar Aurangzeb was recalled and Shah Jahan appointed Dara Shiko the new governor of Kabul, Lahore and Multan. Dara Shiko also tried to recapture the area of Kandahar and besieged it but failed and retreated to India.⁷³⁴

Shah Jahan after receiving the news of the lost of Kandahar marched himself up to Kabul to supervise the expedition for the recovery of Kandahar and once again appointed Aurangzeb the head of the expedition and throughout the summer season the fighting continued with the Persian but not succeeded. Shah Jahan returned to Delhi as he found his new capital of Delhi.⁷³⁵

In those expeditions towards Kandahar the Afghan tribes also played important role and fought side by side with the Mughals. The fall of Kandahar was a great event and a challenging task for Shah Jahan reign to reconquerd the lost territory. Three time expedition were sent for the conquest of Kandahar, two under Aurangzeb and one under Dara Shiko, but all failed and thus Kandahar became the part of Persia forever. At the march of Aurangzeb during his first expedition to Kandahar along with Saadullah Khan, he mentioned in a letter to Jahan Ara about the beauty and green mountains of the areas of the province of Kabul, as she also was in the way to Kabul with emperor Shah Jahan. As after the failure of Aurangzeb in his first expedition was concerned emperor Shah Jahan himself came to Kabul and encamped there to get first hand information about the expedition and it was after the failure of the second expedition that Aurangzeb met the emperor on 12th of Ramzan 1062 AH, at Kabul and from there went to Delhi by spending *eid-ul-fitr* at Nowshera. After the failure of the second

⁷³³ Mehta, 442.

⁷³⁴ Wolseley Haig, 206.

⁷³⁵ Ibid, 204-5.

expedition to Kandahar Aurangzeb was replaced from the governorship of Multan and Lahore to Deccan and those areas were interested to Dara Shiko.⁷³⁶

5.26 Revenue of Kabul during Shah Jahan Reign

During the reign of Shah Jahan the Kabul the revenue of Kabul was about 40 lacs but was insufficient for all the needs and administration of the province as the revenue of the four district of the Punjab was bespoken for the expanses of the Kabul province.⁷³⁷

5.28 Last years of Shah Jahan Reign

It was during the last years of the reign of Shah Jahan that his sons started the competition for the throne of India particularly in 1658 AD when Shah Jahan became ill and most of his responsibility was practiced by his elder son Dara Shiko. Those activities in the court encouraged the displeasure of the other sons of Shah Jahan thus prince Shuja and Prince Murad Baksh declared their independence in Gujrat and Bengal. Shah Jahan third son Aurangzeb made an attack over Agra with a huge number of army against his brother Dara Shiko. Though that time Shah Jahan fully recovered from his illness but Aurangzeb imprisoned him at the fort of Agra and declared himself the emperor of India.⁷³⁸

5.27 Impacts of their Rule in Kabul

During the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan the affairs of Kabul were managed by the governor of the province and the peace and development of the province of Kabul greatly depend upon the abilities and character of the governor. He exercised almost all of the important powers and the emperor supervised his affairs at the province. The domestic affairs of the different people of the Kabul province were managed mostly through the *Jirgha* system. The services under the royal authority and flag in India or under the tribal chiefs were settled in valuable

⁷³⁶ Munshi Al Malik Abul Fateh Qabil Khan, tran, Sadiq Matlabi Aniyalvi, Adab-i-Alamgiri volii (Lahore: Idara Tehqeeqat Pakistan, 1971), 800-13.

⁷³⁷ W. W. Hunter, The Indian Empire: Its People, History and Products (Britian: Routledge publishers, 2000), 305.

⁷³⁸ Early Abraham, Emperor of The Peacock Throne: The Saga of The Great Mughals (India: Penguin Books, 2000), 379.

estate in India as the noble of the court of the emperor provided employment for the spirit of the tribes. Among those who exchanged their mountainous and unproductive patrimony for estate in India, the most distinguished were the chiefs of the Lodis, the Parni and the Bangash chiefs but prominent among them was the chief of the Lodis.⁷³⁹ Shah Jahan was more inclined towards the Khattak tribe which he used against the Yusufzai thread. It was during the reign of Shah Jahan that Kandahar lost to the Mughals. Ali Mardan Khan the Persian governor of Kandahar was given one lakh rupees by the governor of Kabul on advice of Shah Jahan, who after receiving the money turned on the side of Mughals and thus Kandahar came to the Mughal control.⁷⁴⁰ The Central Asian expedition of Shah Jahan further enhanced the importance and security of Kabul. Shah Jahan paid a number of visits to Kabul and it was during one of his visits that he ordered the construction of Shah Jahan mosque at Baghi Babur below the tomb of Babur at Kabul. The mosque was constructed in 1638 AD, at the same time when the work was started for the construction of Taj Mahal at Agra.⁷⁴¹

5.28 Conclusion

Because of the strategic importance of Kabul it was necessary for the Mughal rulers to keep a vigilant eye over the affairs of Kabul. The chapter proves that both of the rulers Jahangir and Shah Jahan pay great importance to the affairs and administration of Kabul and deal its problem with iron hands. Particularly with the Roshniya thread which spread and increased in its strength during the rule of both of the rulers. Whenever the rulers divert their attention from the affairs of Kabul they faced great rebellions not only in Kabul but also in India. They fully understand the importance of Kabul that its peace not only necessary for the Mughal rules at Kabul but also for the strong hold of Mughals at India. It was during the reign of Shah Jahan that he pays extra attention to the affairs of Kabul and at last end the Roshniya movement. He paid that much importance to Kabul because almost of the Mughal rulers were with the ambition to invade their homeland of Central Asia which was not possible without the proper control over

⁷³⁹ Tate, kingdom, 24-5.

⁷⁴⁰ Stephen Meredyth Edwardes, Herbert Leonard Offley Garrett, Mughal Rule In India (New Delhi: Atlantic publishers, 1995), 77.

⁷⁴¹ Fergus Nicoll, Shah Jahan (India: Penguin publishers, 2009), 323.

Kabul. Though he failed to keep the area under Mughal control but it increased the importance of Kabul and the people of the area fought along with the Mughals against the Uzbeks in those expeditions. The inhabitants of Kabul also became peaceful after seeing large Mughal army during those expeditions to Balkh and Bokhara. A number of Afghans received honorable posts and *Mansabs* in the Mughal court during their reign. One reason for Shah Jahan extra care and look after of the affairs of Kabul was the Uzbek thread who attack Kabul and tried to captured it but was repulsed by the army of Kabul with the help of the people of the area. Some of the great men like Lashkar Khan and Mahabat Khan administered Kabul and was appointed as governor of Kabul to end the uprising there. The importance of Kabul for both of the emperors also shows from their frequent visits to Kabul.

Chapter 6

KABUL UNDER THE REIGN OF AURANZEB TILL THE INVASION OF NADIR SHAH IN 1738 AD

The chapter deals with civil wars among the sons of Shah Jahan and its impact over the Mughal rule in different parts of India including Kabul. It was the reign of Aurangzeb that the Mughal authority and hold over Kabul decreased with every fallen day and at last resulted the lost of Kabul permanently to the Mughals in 1738 AD with the invasion of Nadir Shah Afshar. The negligence of the affairs of Kabul by Aurangzeb and his diversion of attention and concentration on Deccan caused the uprising of rebellions at Kabul by different tribes of the area particularly the Yusafzai and Khattaks. Those uprising and rebellions on one side weakened the Mughal authority at Kabul and on the other hand it encouraged the foreigners particularly the Persians under Nadir Shah Afshar to invade the area. Some of the sections of the chapter pointed out the causes and effects of the Persian invasion of Kabul and its long lasting effects on the Mughal rule in India.

6.1 Aurangzeb from Birth to Accession

Aurangzeb was born on 3rd of November, 1618 AD.⁷⁴² He was the third son of Shah Jahan by Ardjaman (Arjuman) Banu Begum, Mumtaz Mahal, daughter of Asaf Khan Yamin ud dula, immigrant from Persia. Aurangzeb was born in Dhod (Duhad), at the camp of his grandfather Jahangir, who was on his way to Malwa. Aurangzeb was nine years old at the time of the accession of his father Shah Jahan to the throne. His first public appointment was took place on 28th of September, 1635 AD, at the age of seventeen, when he was made the supreme commander over three armies against Bundelha Raja and Jujhar Singh of the territory of Orchhcha. Later on he took part in the Deccan expedition during which he compelled the rulers of Gulkandh and Bijapur to pay annual tribute to the

⁷⁴² Shah Jahan Nama, 119.

Mughals. In 10th of March 1636 AD, Aurangzeb received the charge of Deccan and its four provinces from his father Shah Jahan.⁷⁴³

In February, 1645 AD, Aurangzeb announced his intentions of leaving the public life for leading a religious life. With these announcements his father Shah Jahan became angry to him and took all his honours and rewards back from him. Later on with the intercession of Aurangzeb sister, Begum Sahib a year later he readmitted and restored his rank and was appointed to the government of Ahmadabad, Gujarat. After the expedition and conquest of Balkh emperor Shah Jahan selected Aurangzeb for the command of the army at Badakhshan and Balkh and was granted both of the areas in fief to him. During his march to Balkh at first Aurangzeb for three months stayed at Peshawar and from there went to Kabul at the end of April, 1647 AD, and then to Balkh.⁷⁴⁴

Aurangzeb left Balkh after transferring the territory to Nazr Muhammad Khan on 14th of September, 1647 AD and himself with great difficulties reached to Kabul on 10th of November, 1647 AD, after that he was made the governor of Multan on 27th of March, 1648 AD. Later on Aurangzeb was for the second time appointed to the government of Deccan.⁷⁴⁵ After the war of succession with his brother Aurangzeb ascended over the throne in the year 1658 AD⁷⁴⁶. His reign consist of about fifty years, from 1658 AD to 1707 AD, which is divided into two phases, the first phase of twenty three years from 1658 to 1681 AD, which he spent mostly in Northern India and the remaining twenty seven years from 1681 to 1707 AD, he spent mostly in Deccan. During the war of succession he came in to agreement with one of the noble Mir Jumla on the condition that he remained neutral in the war of succession in return he had to keep firm hold on Deccan. After that he turns towards his brothers and at last succeeded himself to the throne of India.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴³ Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, Punjab Under The Great Mughals 1526- 1707 AD, (Lahore: book taredrs, 1979), 71.

⁷⁴⁴ Ed. S. R. Bakshi, S. K. Sharma, Aurangzeb the great Mughal, (New Delhi: Deep & deep publication, 2000), 48-54. (hereafter Bakshi, Aurangzeb)

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid, 48-54.

⁷⁴⁶ Olaf Caroe, 416.

⁷⁴⁷ Bakshi, Aurangzeb, 57.

He became one of the most powerful rulers of the area and one of the ablest administrators of the dynasty. It was during his reign that the Mughal empire reach to its zenith. It was his wise policy that he temporarily tamed the Afghans of Kabul and Kandahar and brings peace into the area for a time being.⁷⁴⁸

6.2 His Early Difficulties

Aurangzeb faced a number of difficulties with his accession to the throne. Despite of the war of succession with his brothers he faced the warring Afghan tribes of Kabul with frequent raids of the Yusufzai tribe which increased the difficulties of not only the officers of Kabul but also of Aurangzeb. Because of the disturbed situation of Kabul, Aurangzeb made the replacement of the governors of Kabul on regular basis which increased the problems of the province. Despite of administrative problems when one governor replaced by the other the first one feel insulted and after going to other areas they started propaganda against the new governor. One such incident took place when a unknown person went into the Yusufzai and declared himself Shah Shuja. The Yusufzai instead of investigating him collected a huge force and attack the fort of Peshawar. But the faujdar o Peshawar, Kamil Beg with the help of Murad Quli Ghakkar defeated the invaders and compelled them to retreat. Later on Aurangzeb sent his son Bahadur Shah to look after the affairs of Kabul. He with his peaceful and good policy turned the inhabitants of Kabul on the side of the Mughals and most of the people of the area surrendered to him. He also visited the areas of Khost, Bannu and Shaluzan the people of where nominally came under his authority.⁷⁴⁹

6.3 Kabul under Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb considered Kabul the chief headquarter of his empire and know the importance of the area as he stated that when there were peace and stability at Kabul he could persuade expeditions to other areas.⁷⁵⁰ During the reign of Shah Jahan some of the expeditions like the expedition towards Kandahar and Badakhshan remained unsuccessful which caused not only the expenses of

⁷⁴⁸ Henry George Keene, The Mughal Empire From The Death of Aurangzeb to the Overthrow of The Marhatas Power (Lahore: Sang-e-meel publications, 2012), 25.

⁷⁴⁹ Hayat-i-Afghani, 84-5.

⁷⁵⁰ S. H. Askari, 154.

millions of rupees but also lost some of the best Mughal generals and soldiers. With that loss of men and army the Mughal army became weak and lost their moral. Aurangzeb with the accession to the throne made the wise decision of ending the expedition of Kandahar and gives his intention to other areas including Deccan and Kabul. Though Aurangzeb was a champion of Muslim orthodoxy, he for the peace of Kabul wages wars with the Muslim tribes of the area. As most of the areas of the Afghan tribes were unproductive so they find it profitable to made robbery over the roads and plundered the people and traders who moved through those roads either to India or Kabul which compelled Aurangzeb to take action against them. It was very difficult for Aurangzeb to conquer the tribes only by force, so he bribed them in order to maintained peace and order in the area and to keep the roads open for traders. Aurangzeb paid an amount of six lakhs of rupees to the chiefs of different tribes annually. Though that policy of bribing the chiefs did not support Aurangzeb for long and at last the tribes started rebellion against him.⁷⁵¹ Despite of a number of problems and difficulties at Kabul, Ashraf Khan Hijri mentioned and praise Kabul as a city that always remain happy, because the people forget their miseries and problems quickly.⁷⁵²

6.4 Aurangzeb Tribal Policy

Aurangzeb generally followed the policy of divide and rule towards different tribes of Kabul. As it was difficult for the invaders to control the warring Afghan tribes so Aurangzeb very systematically and diplomatically applied that policy over them. Though that policy of divide and rule produced anarchy in the frontiers of the province of Kabul but it also increased the security of the empire and the tribes after that never became able to threaten the Mughal rule with unity. It did much to destroy whatever chance there might have been of national spirit among those tribes. By perpetuating the isolation of frontiers from relatively advance areas around it, Aurangzeb ensured the existence of a kind of no-man land, which was persisted until this day.⁷⁵³ Later on Aurangzeb appointed Mir Khan as

⁷⁵¹ Bakshsi, Aurangzeb, 6.

⁷⁵² Ashraf Khan Hijri, ed. Hameesh Khalil, Diwan-i-Ashraf Khan Hijri (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, university of Peshwar, 2001), 109.

⁷⁵³ W. Spain, 34-5.

governor of Kabul.⁷⁵⁴ Kabul has thirty five Parganas yielded a retail of 32, 72,500.⁷⁵⁵

During the war of succession between the sons of Shah Jahan the Yusafzai supported the cause of Dara Shiko, brother of emperor Aurangzeb but he remained unsuccessful in his struggle for succession. On the other hand the Khattak tribe supported the cause of Aurangzeb for the Mughal throne of India. The Yusafzai under their leader Baku or Baghu Khan for supporting of Dara Shiko captured the Attock fort and the bridge of boats there to made and open the way for Prince Dara Shiko. A battle took place between the Khattaks and Yusafzai in which Baku Khan injured and his brother Said Khan was killed by the Khattaks.⁷⁵⁶

6.5 Mughal Support for Yusafzai

Thus when Aurangzeb succeeded in getting the throne of India, his policy was mostly in the support of the Khattak tribe. On the meanwhile the Khattaks with the accession of Aurangzeb got the courage and opportunity to attack over the Yusafzai. In 1661 AD Aurangzeb changed Mahabat Khan the governor of Kabul and his Naib Mir Yaqub and appointed Syed Ameer Khan as the new governor of Kabul and Abdur Rahim as his *Naib*. During the Mughal rule the governor of Kabul spent some of his time in Kabul and some at Peshawar while his *Naib* permanently lived at Peshawar. The former governor of Kabul Mahabat Khan was in good relations with the Khattaks and especially with one of their chief Khushal Khan Khattak. But the new governor Ameer Khan and especially his Naib Abdur Rahim was more sympathetic and in good relation with Yusafzai. Some historians mentioned that on one occasion Khushal Khan Khattak complained to Aurangzeb about the disabilities of the new governor of Kabul who according to him created distance between the Mughal authorities and the Khattaks.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁴ Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire A. D. 1656-1668 (Lahore: Alberuni publishers, 1891), 186.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid, 457.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁷ Zafar, Pukhtana, 761-2.

On the other hand the rivalry between the Khattak and Yusafzai increased and from 27th August, 1661 AD to 15th August 1662 AD both of the tribes fought some bloody battles. In those battles one of the Yusafzai chief Malik Janam Amanzai killed while another chief Pir Kamal was imprisoned while the Khattaks invaded and captured several areas of Yusafzai on the left side of river Kabul. Later on they extended their control towards the area of Kohat and Kalabagh. Abdur Rahim improved and developed his relations with the Yusafzai chief Baku Khan and abolished their taxes of passing through the Attock to the Indus.⁷⁵⁸ Although when Aurangzeb became the emperor he almost abolished those types of taxes all over other parts of India but not in the Kabul province. Those taxes received from Attock were given to the Khattaks. So when the tax was pardoned for the Yusafzai it directly affect the Khattak tribe. Khushal Khan Khattak was annoyed with that act and their relation becoming cold with the Mughal government.⁷⁵⁹

In 1664 AD the governor of Kabul, Syyed Ameer Khan in some sources named, Syyed Mir Khan imprisoned Khushal Khan Khattak at Qilla Bala Hisar. At the time his imprisonment he was about 51 years of age. Khushal Khan Khattak later on mentions in his book that he fought for the Mughals against the Afghan tribes and those Mughal imprisoned him without any valid proof. He spent about seven months in Swat and wrote down his book Swat Nama. It was in his book Swat Nama that he mentioned the Yusafzai unlawful and less civilized.⁷⁶⁰

Khushal Khan was sent to Delhi from where he was sent and imprisoned at Gwalior. With the accession of Aurangzeb, the Afghan tribes from Kabul and Kandahar to Peshawar turned against his rule and started rebellion against him. Those rebellions continued for almost four years which included the revolt of Afghan chief Imal Khan, who declared his independence in the hills of Peshawar and coined the money with his own name. In 1666 AD Mir Khan was replaced by Muhammad Amin Bakhshi as governor of Kabul while in 1699 AD Fidai Khan

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid, 760-1.

⁷⁵⁹ Allah Baksh Yusfi, Yusafzai Pathan (Karachi: Mohammad Ali educational society, 1960), 361.

⁷⁶⁰ Khushal Khan Khattak, ed Hameesh Khalil, Swat Nama (Lahore: Shirkat printing press, 1986), 82-9.

became the governor of Kabul.⁷⁶¹ In 1667 AD Baghu or Baku Khan the leader of the Yusafzai tribe of Swat and Bajur entitled Muhammad Shah as the king of the Yusafzai clan and invaded the district of Hazaras.⁷⁶²

6.6 Wars with Yusafzai

When the Mughals were busy against the Khattak tribe, the Yusafzai under Baku Khan once again started uprising and made an attack over Chuch and tried to capture the area from Chuch to Hazara. The area was the property of Shadman Khan according to some sources Kamil Khan a Mughal *Faujdar* of Attock and some other Mughal officers. They made a complaint against the Yusafzai tribe at the court of Aurangzeb after which the emperor ordered him to make an attack over the tribe with a huge army. The Mughal emperor advised the *faujdar* of Attock, Kamil Khan and the other *faujders* of the area to make a united attack over the rebels by making themselves united.⁷⁶³

Shadman Khan in some sources Kamil Khan with a large number of army marched towards Hund but did not wait for the reinforcement of the army from the side of Mir Khan, *Subehdar* of Kabul. Shamil Khan with the support of the *faujders* of his neighboring areas and with his guidance makes an attack over the rebels caused huge losses from both sides. The deaths and casualties were in thousands from both sides. The Yusafzai collected forty to fifty thousands of horsemen and foot forces against the Mughals and continuous fighting took place between the two. The Mughals faced great difficulties there but fortunately for Shadman Khan the army was joined by additional troops of about 10,000 men under Man Singh from Peshawar on 1st of April 1667 AD and 13,000 army from Kabul.⁷⁶⁴

Some other historians figure out four to five thousand armies under Shamsher Khan which were sent on 2nd of May, 1667 AD by the governor of Kabul for the help of Shadman Khan. All the three Mughal forces met and collectively fought

⁷⁶¹ Habibi, Afghanistan, 147-8.

⁷⁶² Wolesely Haig, History, 224.

⁷⁶³ Bakhshi, Aurangzeb, 224-6.

⁷⁶⁴ S. Moinul Haq, *Kafi Khan History Of Alamgir* (Karachi: Pakistan historical society, 1975), 210-11. (hereafter Moinul Haq)

against the Yusufzai for several days. Shamsheer Khan with the purpose to divert the attention of the Yusufzai made an attack over some of their areas including, Panjsher, Shah Mansur and Marghuz by destroying their crops and properties. At the meanwhile the Yusufzai demanded help and support from their tribe of Swat and Tirah etc.⁷⁶⁵

At the start the Mughal did not get much success it was on 28th of June, 1667 AD that for the first time the Mughal became successful in that war against the Yusufzai and occupied a number of their areas. The war though not yet ended and was joined by another detachment from the Kabul province that time under the command of the governor of Kabul Muhammad Amin Khan. It was Muhammad Amin Khan and his war tactics and diplomacy because of which he won the support of the tribe like Uthmanzai on his own side and weakened the Yusufzai and at last on 25th of August 1667 AD, became able to defeat the Yusufzai tribe and his supporters. After that victory the Mughal army under Muhammad Amin Khan persuades the Yusufzai up to Bajure, but then returned to Hund and met the remaining Mughal army from where under the command of Shamsheer Khan they returned back to their positions. In the battle with the Yusufzai the Mughal at last severely defeated them and about two thousand and four hundred Afghans who were killed in the battle were sent to the Mughal court of Aurangzeb at Delhi, where orders were issued for the erection of a *minar* as a mark of victory from the heads and skulls of those dead Afghans persons.⁷⁶⁶ After that victory Aurangzeb raised the rank or mansabs of the faujdar of Attock, Kamil Beg Khan and the other officers of the expedition.⁷⁶⁷

Once again at Kabul was robbery and disturbance during the governorship of Syyyid Mir Khan. The news of disturbance at Kabul continuously reached to the court of Aurangzeb after which he sent Aghur Khan as *Naib* for reinforcing the forces in Kabul. He after reaching Peshawar with his carrot and stick policy skillfully controls for a time being the revolts at Kabul and Peshawar.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁷ Muhammad Kazim, tran, Khadim, Alamgir Nama, Vol ii (Calcutta: Bibliotheca Indica, 1966), 104.

6.7 Change of Governors of Kabul and its Impacts over the Area

In 1668 AD, Aurangzeb appointed Mahabat Khan as the new governor of Kabul and Syyid Amir Khan his vice because according to him the former governor had not remained successful in suppressing the rebellious tribes of the province.⁷⁶⁸ Aghur Khan remained at Kabul also remained to his post during the governorship of Mahabat Khan. The new governor Mahabat Khan was in good relations with the Khattaks and it was his struggle that at last Khushal Khan Khattak was released from the Mughal prison. Khushal Khan Khattak after releasing spent some time in the imperial court of Delhi and then returned to Akora Khattak. When Khushal Khan was imprisoned his son Ashraf Khan became the new leader of the Khattak tribe and when his father released he allowed him to continue the headship of the tribe as Khushal Khan himself started and taking part in politics.⁷⁶⁹ Later on there was a civil war between Khushal Khan and his sons particularly with Bairam Khan, supported by the Mughal governor Mahabat Khan.⁷⁷⁰ Bairam Khan revolt against his father because Mahabat Khan promised him that if he remains successful in withdrawing his father and brothers from Akora, the area will be entrusted to him. According to Afzal Khan Khattak the main reason of that policy of Mahabat Khan was to fight the Khattak among themselves. The Mughal army provides assistance to Bairam Khan and reached for his help.⁷⁷¹

In 1670 AD once again the governor of Kabul was changed and Mahabat Khan was replaced by Muhammad Amin Khan, who spent some time as governor of Lahore. Mahabat Khan and Aghur Khan were recalled to Delhi and then sent to Deccan against the rebellion at Deccan. Amin Khan was the son of one of the great noble of the Mughal court, Mir Jumla. In his governorship his relation at first remained normal with the Khattaks as Amin Khan was also responsible for the releasing of Khushal Khan Khattak from the prison but later on with some of the Muhammad Amin Khan policies and because of the weakness of him and his officers including his *Faujdar* at Peshawar Hussain Beg Khan increased the gap

⁷⁶⁸ Maasir-i-Alamgiri, 45.

⁷⁶⁹ Zafar, Pukhtana, 765.

⁷⁷⁰ Habibi, Afghanistan, 148.

⁷⁷¹ Tareikh-i-Murassa, 301-2.

between the Khattaks and the Mughals.⁷⁷² In the account of some of the historians the people of Kabul did not like both Amin Khan and the *faujdar* of Jamrud. The reason they given for that disliking of the people was that one day Amin Khan was at Jamrud with Hussain Beg the *faujdar* of Jamrud, that time some of the *Sardars* of Kabul went to meet him, but their they felt their insult and became annoyed when they were introduced with the name of dogs by Hussain Beg to the governor, at that time both were drunk.⁷⁷³

6.8 Amin Khan was Attacked by Afghan Tribes

On 6th of May, 1672 AD, when the Mughal governor of Kabul, Muhammad Amin Khan returned to Kabul from Peshawar, he was attacked by the rebels near Gharib Khana and plundered the Mughal baggage, treasury and artillery. His family and women fell into the hands of the Afghan rebels. About six and to some other sources ten thousand of the Mughal soldiers were killed and a huge number were wounded. The Afghan also captured about 20,000 of the Mughal troops, including governor wife, mother and daughter and looted about 20,000,000 of Rupees from the governor of Kabul treasury. The chief of the Pathans, Aimal Khan declared himself the king of the area and declared Jihad against the Mughals. Khushal Khan Khattak also joins them and tried to unify the Afghan tribes against the Mughals. They also defeated the Mughal army in 1673 and 1674 AD at Gorbant and Karrapa Pass. After hearing that humiliating defeat from the hands of the Afghan tribes, emperor Aurangzeb himself march against the rebels by placing his headquarter to Hasan Abdal.⁷⁷⁴

6.9 Aurangzeb at Hasan Abdal

The emperor Aurangzeb remained absent from the capital Delhi for the period of about two years from 6th April, 1674 to 5th April, 1676 AD, and stayed at Hasan Abdal to give crushing defeat to the rebel tribes of Kabul.⁷⁷⁵ Tareikh-i-Pukhtoon

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Syed Jaffar Hussain Shah Rekhtuny, Teerahs Afridi tribe, (Peshawar: Pashto Acedemy), 1960, 56-9.

⁷⁷⁴ W. Spain, 33.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid.

gave 6th July, 1674 AD, as the date of Aurangzeb expedition to Hasan Abdal.⁷⁷⁶ There he became successful to a little extent in the restoration of peace in different parts of Kabul after which he focused on the rising of the Marhatas and returned to Delhi. At the time of the return of Aurangzeb the Khattaks and Afridids were the only two clans that remain in alliance. The perpetual jealousies and distrust of one tribe against the other develop because of the encouragement of the rival climates to the headship of the tribe as a policy of Aurangzeb and then followed by the Mughal governor of Kabul Amin Khan (1677 to 1698 AD). Until the tribes of Kabul remained silent and in peace they were allowed to do whatever made them pleased. With the appointment of able governor Amin Khan to Kabul he kept the tribes quiet and rewarded subsidies to them for their good behavior. He also remains successful for opening the roads between Kabul and Attock which were used by the caravans and merchants from both Central Asia and India for trade purposes. He broke up Aimal Khan last attempt to organize a confederacy by instigating the chiefs of different tribes against the Mughal rule.⁷⁷⁷

6.10 Amin Khan Policy towards Different Tribes of Kabul

The Mughal governor Amin Khan made an agreement with different tribes of Kabul and heavily bribed them for the safety of the roads and bribed to allow the princes and the royal member to enter the city of Kabul without plundering or any other accident on their way to Kabul. After the accession of Aurangzeb and after his diversion of all the resources and his policy towards Deccan the visits of the royal princess and family towards Kabul became less frequent. In 1701-2 AD the last visit was paid to Kabul by the eldest son of Aurangzeb named Shah Alam. During that visit prince Shah Alam dispatch an expedition towards the valley of Khost through a different route, this was not usually adopted. The tribesmen along the route resented the intrusion, the imperial commander was slain and the Mughal army received a crushing defeated. Prince Shah Alam saved his life after heavily bribing the Afghan tribes and for leaving Kabul for Peshawar.⁷⁷⁸ During

⁷⁷⁶ Tarikh-i-pakhtun, 243.

⁷⁷⁷ W. Spain, 34.

⁷⁷⁸ Tate, 28-9.

the reign of Aurangzeb Kabul was with the revenue of about 4 million of rupees.⁷⁷⁹

During the governorship of Muhammad Amin Khan some incident took place that created mistrust between the Mughals and different Afghan tribes. One of the incidents was the misbehavior of a Mughal soldier with a woman of a Safi tribe. The event took place when a tribe was for trade purpose encamped near the camps of the Mughal armies under the command of *faujdar* Hussain Beg Khan. The Safi took the revenge and killed that Mughal soldier.⁷⁸⁰ When the news of the murder of a Mughal soldier from the hands of the Safi (Momand) tribe reached to the Mughal *faujdar* Hussain Beg Khan, he called the Maliks of the Safi tribe and demanded for the bringing up of those murderers. The Maliks refused his demand after which Hussain Beg with the support of some of the tribes made an attack over the Safi, who received great harm from the attack.⁷⁸¹

6.11 The Incident of Khyber Pass

After that defeat the Safi started preparation for their revenge and tried to get the sympathies and support of different Afghan tribes against the Mughals. They wait for opportunity to take revenge from the Mughals and the opportunity came to them when according to the Mughal tradition the governor of Kabul Amin Khan at 1672 AD after spending the winter season at Peshawar. On his way back to Kabul at summer he was informed about the thread of collective attack from the Safi and some other tribes but he continued his march because the Mughal army was along with the governor for security and he was also accompanied by some of the chiefs of the Afghan tribes including Mustajab Khan, Arbab of Momand tribe and Khushal Khan Khattak. They after reaching Jamrud came into face with the threat of the tribal attack and the blockade of the Khyber Pass. Muhammad Amin Khan sent a *Jirgah* under Mustajab Khan towards the Afridis, but failed to achieve its objectives. After the failure of the *Jirgah* the Mughal was with no other option but to continue their journey towards Kabul. Amin Khan was with the army of

⁷⁷⁹ Wolseley Haig, History, 316.

⁷⁸⁰ Dost Muhammad Kamil, Kushal Khan Khattak (Peshawar: Idara-e-Ishaat-i-Sarhad, 1952), 135-6. (hereafter Kamil, Khushal Khan)

⁷⁸¹ Tareikh-i-Murassa, 297.

about forty thousand and a number of elephants. As a rich man Muhammad Amin Khan was also along with some of his wealth and family marched towards his summer capital Kabul. He and his army and companions remained successful in passing through the areas of Jamrud, Ali Masjid and Landi Kotal. But from there onward as from Landi Kotal to Landi Khana the area and the route was blocked by the warriors of different tribes like Safi, Momand, Afridi, Shinwari, Mullahgori and the members of some other tribes, reaching their number in to thousands.⁷⁸²

The Mughal tried to make their way through the war elephants and they shoots on the way with their artillery. On the other side the Afghan tribes headed by Aimal Khan and Darya Khan started attacking them with the stones. The tribal forces attack was so serious and heavy that killed a number of the Mughal elephants and soldiers. The Mughal army totally came under the tribal force and totally became helpless in front of them. In that attack of the tribal force only four soldiers of the Mughal among the forty thousand remained successful in saving their lives while the remaining thirty nine thousand nine hundred and ninety six were either killed or imprisoned by the tribal forces. Amin Khan the governor of Kabul saved his life by retreating through the way of Ali Masjid towards Peshawar. Even the wives and family of Amin Khan was taken by the tribal forces. His son and son-in-law were killed at the battle. Only one of Amin Khan wives were later on released by the Hakim of Kohat as giving Fidyah or ransom for her release. All the treasury, wealth and artillery fell into the hands of the tribal forces and were distributed among themselves. That incident took place on 2nd of May, 1672 AD in which only four men along with Amin Khan became able to save their lives.⁷⁸³ According to Cambridge History of India about ten thousand of Mughal forces were killed and more than twenty thousand were sent to the neighboring countries particularly Central Asia for sale.⁷⁸⁴

When the news of that humiliating defeat reached to Aurangzeb, he sent a huge army under the command of Fidai Khan, a Mughal governor of the province of Lahore for the help of Amin Khan to Peshawar. Fidai Khan after reaching Peshawar came into the conclusion that the incident took place on behalf of Arbab

⁷⁸² Sabir, Dastan, 102-3.

⁷⁸³ Ibid, 202-3.

⁷⁸⁴ Woleseley Haig, History, 238.

Mustajab Khan, so he imprisoned and then killed him. Khushal Khan Khattak was also alarmed with the fate of Mustajab Khan so he shifts his family from Akora Khattak to Nizam Pur with the idea to save them from the Mughal attack. The policy of Khushal Khan Khattak worked and Fidai Khan after doing some management there returned back to Lahore. Aurangzeb then removed Muhammad Amin Khan from the governorship of Kabul and once again appointed Mahabat Khan in the province.⁷⁸⁵

6.12 Khattak Tribe and their War against Mughals

Mahabat Khan was in good relations with Khushal Khan Khattak and after getting his position of Kabul back he once again tried to get his support. But Khushal Khan Khattak was not ready for the support of the Mughals as he knows what the Mughal done to Mustajab Khan. When Mahabat Khan came assured that Khushal Khan Khattak will not supporting him, he started using tactics and diplomacy by following divine and rule policy against them. When Khushal Khan Khattak was in prison his son Ashraf Khan became the head of Khattak tribe in place of his father which he continued even after the returned of Khushalm Khan. Another son of Khushal Khan named Bihram Khan was not happy with that decision of his father as appointment of his brother Ashraf Khan as the head of his tribe. So Mahabat Khan imprisoned Ashraf Khan and made Bihram Khan the new head of the Khattak tribe. Bihram Khan was not even in good terms with his father Khushal Khan Khattak and thus a civil war started between them.⁷⁸⁶

Khushal Khan after that started his activities against the Mughals and with the help of Darya Khan made an attack over Kohat. The Mughals received great harm from the hands of Khushal Khan and Darya Khan. Aurangzeb gave a huge army to Shujaat Khan and Jaswant Singh and sent them against the rebels. Both of the commanders after reaching Peshawar choose the way of Momand instead of Khyber Pass for reaching Kabul. When the Mughal army passed Shabiqadar and Gandhab and reached to Karrpa they met with some of the tribal forces and a battle took place between them in which the tribal forces remained successful and the Mughal army got a humiliated defeat from their hands. One of the Mughal

⁷⁸⁵ Zafar, Pukhthana, 775-6.

⁷⁸⁶ Tareikh-i-Murrassa, 301-3.

commanders Shujaat Khan killed in the battle while Jaswant Singh with great difficulties saved his life and with some of his army men retreated towards Peshawar. When the news of that defeat reached to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, he became very sad and decided to march himself against the rebels. On 2nd April, 1674 AD he marched from Delhi and reached to Hasan Abdal on 26th of June, 1674 AD. Aurangzeb himself stayed at Hasan Abdal sent his army into different parts of Kabul province. Aurangzeb also had to recourse diplomacy for that purpose bribed the tribal chiefs and offered them the government posts. But there was some tribes including Yusafzai, Ghilzai, Ghoria khel and Shairani who did not accept the offer and continued their rebellion against the Mughals.⁷⁸⁷

The result of that policy was that some of the tribes joined the Mughal by accepting his offer while the other continued their activities against them. He also invited some of the tribal chiefs on behalf of Jaswant Singh for meeting but Khushal Khan was not ready for the meeting and tried to collect a tribal force of almost all the tribes against the Mughals but he failed to achieve his goal. One of the brave and experienced Mughal commander Aghir Khan, who spent some time at Kabul under the governorship of Syiid Mir Khan and also under the governorship of Mahabat Khan and then went to Deccan along with Mahabat Khan to help the Mughal army in suppressing the rebellions there. He was recalled from Deccan and sent against the Afghan tribes with four to five thousands horsemen and were also given the amount of two lakhs of rupees to punish the Afghans. Aghir Khan after reaching Peshawar met with some other Afghans made an at a night attack over the chiefs of Momand. At that attack about three hundred of the Afghan horsemen were killed and about two thousand men and women were captured. Aghir Khan then returned to Peshawar successfully where after Aurangzeb giving him promotion sent him against the Afridis of Khyber and for the help of the governor of Kabul, Fidai Khan. As the governor of Kabul Fidai Khan was unable to cross the Khyber Pass and return to his capital Kabul because of the blockade of the road by the Afghan tribes.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁷ Muntakhab-ul-lubab, 143.

⁷⁸⁸ Kamil, Khushal Khan, 167-8.

Aghir Khan under the order of Aurangzeb acts as a vanguard of the governor of Kabul, Fidai Khan and by fighting with the Afghan tribes he became successful in escorting Fidai Khan from Peshawar to Jalalabad through the way of Bazarak and Sih Chobah and from there Fidai Khan left for Kabul and leave Aghir Khan with Sultan Lashkari, Sultan Quli of Ghakkar and about five thousand of Afghans and Rajputs for his help against the rebelled Afghan tribes. They after fighting some battles once again defeated the Afghan tribes. The problems once again upraised with the tribes when Fidai Khan wanted to return to Peshawar from Kabul but once again the road was blocked by the tribes and assembled in great numbers there. Fidai Khan on the advices of some of his men who were jealous of Aghir Khan replaced him and appointed one of a leading Arab commander as his vanguard. After that appointment the new Mughal commander and vanguard of Fidai Khan made great efforts to brought the rebel tribes in to order, but failed and in those struggles he was killed and such a defeat inflicted upon him and his army by the Afghan rebels that all of the Mughal treasury, elephants, artillery and women etc were seized by those tribes. After that defeat Fidai Khan sent one of his messengers towards Aghir Khan demanded for his assistance and help against the rebel tribes. Aghir Khan with his forces of some thousand reached for the help of the governor of Kabul, where fierce battle was fought between the Mughals and the rebel tribes and both of the sides confronted with huge losses of men and wealth. At last Aghir Khan defeat the rebels after which Fidai Khan reached to Jalalabad and then to Peshawar.⁷⁸⁹

Aurangzeb dispatched another army under the command of Mukarram Khan and his brother Shamsheer Khan against the chiefs of Momand tribe. Though Mukarram Khan at start successfully continued his march and captured Karrpa. But when he crossed Karrpa in the north and reached in the Khapish Pass, he found the tribal forces under Aimal Khan and Darya Khan waited for him there. Once again a battle started between them and the tribal forces due to their war tactics willingly started leaving the field. The Mughal army followed them and reached to a place where once again they were attacked by the tribal forces with stones. It was not possible for the Mughal army to fight and a number of the Mughal were killed in the battle. Mukarram Khan became wounded in the battle

⁷⁸⁹ Moinul Haq, 238-42.

and with great difficulties saved his life by retreating towards Bajur while his brother Shamsheer Khan and some other Mughal commanders were killed by the tribal forces. In that battle the Tarklani tribe of Bajur also helped and cooperate with the Afridis and Momand tribes.⁷⁹⁰

The Mughals were confronted with a shameful defeat in Khapish that they forget the defeat of Karrpa. Later on Aghir Khan were sent by Aurangzeb against the rebels of Khyber additional assistance provided by Fidai Khan and some other Mughal officers of the area. The rebels numbered forty to fifty thousand made a night attack over the Mughal forces near Ali Masjid in which the Mughal commander Aghir Khan became severely wounded but he remained successful in defeating the Afghan rebels with great difficulties. In spite of those victories and struggles the Mughals never became able to subdue the tribes on permanent basis who continued their struggle by assembling themselves against the Mughal authority.⁷⁹¹

6.13 Prince Muazzam Shah sent to Kabul

The Yusafzai tribe mostly remained peaceful and did not rebelled against Aurangzeb openly. In 1675 AD with the rising of the Marhatas and other rebellions the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb returned to Delhi. In 1676 AD Aurangzeb gives the command of the Mughal army against different tribes of Kabul province to his son Prince Muazzam with the title of Shah Alam.⁷⁹² On the request of Shah Alam, Aurangzeb appointed the son of Khalilullah, Mir Khan also known with the name of Mir Miran and was the title of Amir Khan, as the governor of Kabul in 1677 AD. Prince Muazzam Khan or Shah Alam was ordered by the emperor Aurangzeb to stay at Kabul till the establishment of the administration under the new governor of Kabul Amir Khan. Shah Alam was also directed to help him in the administration of the province. Aghir Khan, Raja

⁷⁹⁰ Saqi Mustad Khan, Trsn, Jadu-Nath Sarkar, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* "A History of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir (reign 1658-1707 A. D.)" (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1947), 151-2. (hereafter *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*)

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid*, 289.

⁷⁹² Bakhshi, *Aurangzeb*, 242.

Jaswant Singh and some other officers were appointed to serve under the Subehdar Amir Khan with Aghir Khan as a vanguard to Amir Khan.⁷⁹³

6.14 Amir Khan activities in Kabul as Governor of the Area

Amir Khan remained governor of Kabul for about 21 years from 1677 to 1698 AD, till his death. He was an able administrator and one of the most successful governors of Kabul and with the support and advice of his wife Sahibji, he bring back the peace of the province of Kabul. It was his wise policy that the rebels and troublesome chiefs look for his advice in their affairs and finally enrolled themselves in the Mughal army and raised a tribal militia. Amir Khan mostly followed threefold policy of diplomacy, consultation and fighting one tribe against the other to weak the tribes. It was his good policy towards the tribes that the sons of the two rebel chiefs Khushal Khan and Bakhu Khan joined the Mughal services. Amir Khan through his wise policy improves his relations with almost all the tribes and tribal chiefs except Khushal Khan Khattak. Amin Khan remain successful in creating disunity among different Afghan tribes. It was the result of his policy that Darya Khan and Bakhu Khan two of the rival chiefs of Yusafzai and Khattak tribe no more challenging the Mughal authority, while Khushal Khan died in 1689 AD.⁷⁹⁴ It was the successful policy of Amir Khan that the unwilling and stubborn people of the area became obedient, they started supporting and followed his advice in their affairs and with the passage of time started enrolling themselves in the Mughal army by raising a tribal militia.⁷⁹⁵

When at first Aurangzeb sent Amir Khan and Prince Shah Alam to Kabu,l they after reaching Attock invited Khushal Khan Khattak, as Prince Shah Alam was in good relation with him but because of a civil war among his sons and the disunity among different tribes of the area made him hopeless and he did not accept the invitation of Shah Alam. Amir Khan and Prince Shah Alam then continued their march towards Peshawar. In Peshawar they once again invited Khushal Khan Khattak but failed.⁷⁹⁶ It was during the return march of Prince Shah Alam that at

⁷⁹³ Kamil, Khushal Khan, 187-8.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid, 194.

⁷⁹⁵ Maisir-ul-Umara, 280-7.

⁷⁹⁶ Tareikh-i-Murassa, 309.

Landi Kotal he was met by Khushal Khan Khattak come with Amir Khan. Prince Shah Alam became very happy and wanted to give him a *Mansabs* but Khushal Khan refused that. Though Amir Khan was in good relation with Khushal Khan Khattak but he also failed to win his support for Mughals. Amir Khan followed a consultative policy towards different tribes and tried his level best to get their support. As far as the Khattak tribe was concerned, Amir Khan supported Bihram Khan instead of Ashraf Khan and later on imprisoned Ashraf Khan and sent him to Gwalior where he died after fourteen years of his imprisonment. During his absence Bihram Khan became the head of the Khattak tribe.⁷⁹⁷

After the establishment of the administration under Amir Khan, Prince Shah Alam returned to Delhi while Amir Khan with his vanguard Aghir Khan came to Peshawar and busies himself in the task to punishing the rebel tribes of the area. Aghir Khan later on erected the fort of Aghurabad or Ughirabad at Nik Bahar in a very short time. The rebel tribes once again raised their heads and assembled to defeat the Mughal commander Aghir Khan. When the news reached to the Subehdar of Kabul, Amir Khan, he sent his own troops and artillery with about one thousand of imperial troops under the command of Muhammad Raza (Rada) an experienced commander for his help and assistance. At the meantime Aghir Khan arranged his troops in the way that he placed one side of the army under his own brother Tangri Wardi Khan with a number of brave and experienced Mughal warriors and the other side posted the Rajputs and some of the Afghans under the command of the princess of Ghakkar. After making these arrangements Aghir Khan prepared himself for the battle against the rebel tribes.⁷⁹⁸

6.15 Battle of Lamghan

The Yusafzai chief Aimal Khan along with the *Sardars* and Tumansdar of Lamghan, everyone among whom brought with themselves a number of their soldiers against the Mughal army and a fierce battle took place between them. Though there was a little chance of success for the Mughals against that strong army of the Afghan but Aghir Khan with his bravery killed a huge number of the men of his enemy. He sent the heads of about one thousand and seven hundred

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid, 309-13.

⁷⁹⁸ Moinul Haq, 242-48.

dead persons from the side of the Afghan rebels to the court of Aurangzeb. After that victory over the rebels Aurangzeb promoted Aghir Khan to the rank of four thousand from three thousand. Tangari Wardi Khan and his other relatives also received rewards and promotions from the Mughal emperor.⁷⁹⁹

6.16 Impact of the War with Afghan Tribes

The last ten years of the reign of Aurangzeb mostly remained peaceful in Kabul but the authority and power of the Mughals almost came to an end in the province. The fear of the Mughal was no more there and most of the tribes remained independent in their acts while the Mughal authority was nominal over those areas. Those rebellions proved very harmful for the Mughal empire of India and weak the foundation of the empire. The Marhatas, Sikhs and other tribes in different parts of India also got the courage to revolt against the Mughal rule. With the Mughal defeats in those battles reduce their pomp and glory at greater extent. On the other hand continuous wars with the Mughals the tribes of the Kabul province also faced with financial and human losses and there was unrest in almost all of the areas of the province of Kabul. There were financial difficulties and the people of different tribes instead of doing trade and agriculture always considered themselves insecure. The result of which was the poverty increased in the province.⁸⁰⁰

At the meantime Aurangzeb received news from Kabul that Sher Beg the son of Saadat Khan and grandson of Tarbiyat Khan killed his father. Aurangzeb ordered Mahabat Khan the Nazim to imprison him and appointed Shamsheer Khan to look after the fort of Kabul in place of Saadat Khan.⁸⁰¹

6.17 Revolt of Afridi Tribe

Another rebel tribe was the Afridi, to check and make a watch over their activities Aurangzeb appointed Raja Jaswant Singh as the Hakim of Jamrud. In 1672 AD the Afridi chief Akmal Khan declared and crowned himself the king of his clan and declared war against the Mughal imperial authority. He summoned all the

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁰¹ Maasir-i-Alamgiri, 16.

Afghan tribes to gathered and join him against the Mughal. They attacked over the Mughal governor of Kabul, Muhammad Amin Khan. The Afridi also attached the battle with the revenge for the tribe of Safi against the Mughals. It was during that battle that the Afghan tribes made their confederation and collectively blocked the Khyber Pass and made an attack over the governor of Kabul and defeated the Mughals by giving them a great loss of men and money. The Mughal governor saved his life with great difficulties and a number of Mughal army killed in the battle.⁸⁰² Later on after the death of Amir Khan in 1698 AD, Aurangzeb appointed his son Muhammad Shah Alam as governor of Kabul.⁸⁰³ A man from Kabul named Fateh Khan tried his best to get the support of the prince for administering the affairs of Kabul and he remain successful as Shah Alam give him all of the authority and himself return to India. But he because of his jealousies withdraws a number of nobles from Kabul including Mir Jaffar, Imam Quli etc and imprisoned Malik Muhammad Mehtab son. He also demanded from the tribes of Khyber extra tribute, but was refused after which his relations with the Khyberis also became worst.⁸⁰⁴ When Shah Alam came back to Kabul his return route was once again block by the Khyberis, and was attacked by them. Fateh Khan and Munim Khan were along with him during his journey. He asked Fateh Khan to resolve the problem but he insisted that for many years those tribes failed to give tribute to the Mughal treasury in Kabul.⁸⁰⁵

6.18 Expedition to Bannu

Shah Alam remained on the position of Kabul till the death of his father Aurangzeb in 1707 AD. When the prince was at Kabul some of his men including Muhammad Hussain and the son of Bairam Khan (chief of Khattak tribe) advise him for visiting and making attack over Bannu. Shah Alam became agree and with a huge army reached to Bannu from Kabul. After reaching Bannu he gives bribes to its chief so they remained peaceful so Shah Alam nominated Asalat Khan to the administration for Bannu and for the security of the new fort Shah Kot constructed

⁸⁰² Bakhshi, Aurangzeb, 7.

⁸⁰³ Shagraf Nama (Tareikh-i-Aurangzeb) place at Pashto Acedmy, university of Peshawar with Accession no. 471. Pg. 458.

⁸⁰⁴ Tareikh-i-Murassa Place at Pashto Acedmy, university of peshwar with accession No. 1491, pg, 309-10.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid, 314.

on the advice of Aurangzeb and himself return to Kabul. Shah Alam on his way to Kabul was attack by different tribes of Banusi and Wazirs etc. But after giving heavy bribes Shah Alam remain successful in saving his life and reached safely to Kabul. Later on Shah Alam for the second time dispatched an army towards Bannu and this time he was once again save his life with great difficulties. Nasir Khan later on imposes 2 lakhs annual tributes over those tribes and recived 40,000 rupees from them. One of the reason for attacking Bannu was to make Kabul self sufficient in economy.⁸⁰⁶

According to Afzal Khan, Shah Alam on his returned to India advice Nasir Khan to get the support of Khushal Khan Khattak but he refused because of two reasons, firstly Khushal Khan Khattak was no more confidence over Mughals and secondly as at Kabul the Mughals did not leaved any person during their march to India as governor of Kabul so Khushal Khan Khattak believe that if he went to India the peace of the area would be ended.⁸⁰⁷

6.19 Causes of the Failure of Aurangzeb Policy at Kabul

Though Aurangzeb give much importance and attention to the affairs of Kabul but because of its fluid state of affairs at Kabul did not allowed him to rule peacefully there. There were many causes for their failure at Kabul the main reason was that the Mughal did not give much attention to the area because of their engagement in the other areas of India particularly in Deccan. The Afghan tribes after the negligence of the Mughals, raised rebellions in different districts of Kabul but the Mughal were not able to check and end it permanently. Aurangzeb though undoubtly one of the greatest rulers of the time and one the greatest emperor of the world yet his policy towards different tribes of Kabul did not proved successful. As he was mainly busy in Deccan and other parts of India. Though he was not solely responsible for this failure at Kabul but the policy towards tribes of Kabul was framed by his forefathers particularly his great grandfather Akbar, he was the real architect of the policy towards Kabul and its tribes. It was Aurangzeb

⁸⁰⁶ Gul Ayub Khan Saifi, Banu Aw Da Waziristan Tareikh (Pashto) (Bannu: Afzal Medical Hall, Bannu, nd), 90-5.

⁸⁰⁷ Tareikh-i-Murassa, 382.

that reaped for what that sown by his predecessors.⁸⁰⁸ On one occasion Aurangzeb replied to a Pakhtun *Sardar* showed his lack of interest in the area of Kabul. When a Pakhtun *Sardar* advised him to end the rebellions of the Afghans he replied that If India remained with me, Kabul would be there and if India loses to us Kabul would be no more important. That shows that Aurangzeb did not give much importance to Kabul. For several years Kabul was without governor which increased the disturbance in the area.⁸⁰⁹

Another cause of the failure of the emperor Aurangzeb was the nature of the Afghan tribes that they did not accept the authority of the outsiders. It was because of that reason that it became difficult for the outsiders to control Kabul and its surrounding areas. It also became difficult for the Mughals to surrender and subdued all of the tribes of Kabul and reduced them into total submission. The Mughal rulers tried their level best to secure their position at Kabul and for that purpose the emperor Akbar failed to subdue the tribes he followed diplomacy and fought one tribe against the other by giving bribes to several tribal chiefs with posts, pensions and Jagirs. But despite of those conciliatory measures and diplomacy Akbar failed to bring all the tribes under complete submission. That policy was followed by his successors with mild changes. It was during the reign of Jahangir that the religious Afghan movement, Roshniya movement turned into a political one. Despite of much struggles Jahangir was not able to end the rebellions and at last it was during the reign of Shah Jahan that the movement was crushed and they accept the Mughal authority. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne he became the target of the opposition of the policies of his forefathers.⁸¹⁰ Aurangzeb during his reign only for once visited Kabul during his illness in 1664 AD to restore his health. He was accompanied by his sister Rushan Ara Begum during that visit to Kabul and they returned to India after the recovering of Aurangzeb from illness.⁸¹¹

Aurangzeb during his stay at Hasan Abdal to supervise an expedition against the tribes also made some conciliatory measures and gives as a bribe a number of

⁸⁰⁸ Anonymous, *The Turkish invasion of India*, (np nd), viii.

⁸⁰⁹ *Tareikh-i-Khattak*, 281-4.

⁸¹⁰ Zafar, Pukhtana, 810.

⁸¹¹ Muhammad Athar Ali, *Adab-i-Alamgiri (The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb)*, (Aligarh: Muslim university, 1966), 73. (hereafter *Adab-i-Alamgiri*)

Jagirs and posts to different Afghan groups and their chiefs. Though he failed in longer terms to bring peace in the area and failed in his objectives of maintaining full control over the area.⁸¹² At the time of his returned from Hasan Abdal he just at some extent control the affairs of the area and became able to win the support of different Afghan tribes like Khalil, Momand and Arbab.⁸¹³

Some of the other reasons for the Mughal failure at Kabul was that Aurangzeb policies were not based on mutual trust and understanding with the tribes. He followed his predecessor policy of matrimonial alliances with the Afghans by marrying an Afghan girl from Kabul to his son Prince Mauzzam Shah. But failed to develop mutual trust with the Afghans and Aurangzeb never trust them. He even did not allow the Afghan and non Afghan officers and nobles to mix with each other freely and whenever he became suspicious about their meetings he either changes or punished those nobles. Aurangzeb replaced Mahabat Khan from the governorship of Kabul because of his friendship with the Afghan of Kabul.⁸¹⁴ The reason for that harsh policy was to reduce the thread of the uprising of the Afghans. A number of fortresses were built to check the uprising of the tribes but failed to reduce those raids. Their policy of bribing the afghan was also not affective for long terms. Secondly the lack of information about the actual condition of Kabul as Aurangzeb was far away from Kabul and unaware of the condition of the province and blindly followed and acted upon the advice of the officers posted at Kabul. As like in the case of Khushal Khan Khattak imprisonment which was totally took place on the advice of the deputy Abdur Rehman and governor of Kabul, Syyyid Amir Khafi. That act of Aurangzeb turned one of their supporting tribe to the arch enemy of the Mughal. It was because of those reasons that particularly in the last years of Aurangzeb reign and after his death the Mughal position at Kabul became very weak.⁸¹⁵

⁸¹² Muhammad Hayat Khan, Hayat-i-Afghani, tr, Major Henery Priestly, Afghanistan and its inhabitants (Lahore: Sang-e-meel publications, 1999), 210.

⁸¹³ Zafar, Pukhtana, 698-9.

⁸¹⁴ J. M, Sarkar, History Of Aurangzeb Voliiii (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar &sons, 1928), 213.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid, 766-7.

6. 20 Causes of the Failure of the Mughals at Kabul

The causes of the failure of the Mughal at Kabul were that firstly they did not study the nature of the Afghans and to their area properly. Secondly they instead of looking for getting the Afghan support through securing and protecting their interests they worked only for their own interests there. The inability of some of the officers turned several tribes against the Mughals as in the case of the Khattak tribe. As Khushal Khan Khattak and even his forefathers served the Mughals faithfully, as they work under Jahangir, Shah Jahan and even in the early years of Aurangzeb. But the emperor act of imprisonment to Khushal Khan turned the whole tribe against him. It was not only Aurangzeb but all of the Mughal emperors believed and act upon the information provide to them by the officers stationed at the province. The Mughal also failed to use the Afghan as an effective force against for subduing problems in other parts of India.

The earlier Mughal rulers set some objectives to be fulfilled from the area and tried their best to give full attention to the affairs of Kabul because it was a place from where they guarded and checked the activities and intentions of the Central Asian (Turan) and that of the Persians. There three main objectives at Kabul were:

Through diplomatic means they tried to prevent any hostile power to the Mughals in Persia or in Turan (Central Asia).

They worked for making strong policies and a strong administration at Kabul and if possible to secure and protect Kandahar from the Persians, which was considered and regarded as a “gateway to Kabul.”

They also keep warring and brave tribes at Kabul and in the tribal areas, by providing to them with a huge amount as a financial aid in the form of Jagirs, pensions and subsidies etc to raise them against any foreign aggression.

To implement and fulfill these objectives at Kabul and surrounding areas the Mughal rulers appointed noblest of their men to the governorship of Kabul with a large army. They also allotted and spent a huge amount of money on the administration, army and security of Kabul.

Thus the earlier Mughal rulers remained successful in keeping the foreign invaders away from Kabul, though they had some serious threats from both the Central Asian and Persian side.⁸¹⁶

6.21 Effects of the Failure of the Mughals at Kabul

The failure of the Mughals at Kabul caused the raising of rebellion and disturbance at Kabul which not only affects the Mughal authority there but also encouraged the Hindus and Rajputs to raise revolts in different parts of India which weakened the Mughal Empire. The tribal uprising engaged many of the experienced soldiers including Aghir Khan in suppressing the rebellions in Kabul provide opportunity to the Rajputs and other rebels to challenge the Mughal authority in India. The failure of the Mughal policy further reduced their prestige at Kabul. Those rebellions not only cost the loss of men and money but also politically affected the Mughal empire and to that of the stability of the empire.

The cumulative effect of the policy appeared during the last years of the reign of Aurangzeb and particularly after his death. It was at last after 30 years of the death of Aurangzeb that those uprisings of the tribes caused the loss of Kabul to the Mughals forever with the invasion of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah Afshar. The loss of Kabul was a double danger for the Mughal at first the loss of a strategically important area weakened the empire and secondly a threat of the external attack over India increased as at first protected by Kabul.⁸¹⁷

6.22 Aftermath of the Death of Aurangzeb

After the death of Aurangzeb his successors did not give much attention to the affairs of Kabul and it was only a source of revenue for their treasury. That negligence of Kabul by the later Mughal caused a number of uprisings against the Mughal rule in the area which resulted at last the loss of Kabul forever to them.⁸¹⁸

The reign of Aurangzeb was one of the glorious eras of the Mughal rule. As he after the imprisonment of his father and after the success in the war of succession

⁸¹⁶ Chandra, 243.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid.

⁸¹⁸ Afghanistan (Kabul: 1958), 58.

ascended to the throne of India and became one of the great rulers of the time as well as one of the greatest administrators of the empire. It was during his rule that the Mughal empire reached to its zenith. It was because of his wise policy that he temporally tamed the Afghan tribes of Kabul by bringing peace in those areas for a time being.⁸¹⁹

During the governorship of Amir Khan the Mughal for some time remain in peace from tribal uprising but with his death once again the tribes raised to revolt. Bahadur Shah entitled by Aurangzeb as Shah Alam was appointed to the governorship of Kabul in 1698 AD and was assisted by Nasir Khan as his deputy, a former Jagirdar of Jamrud. In 1700 AD, Shah Alam was also appointed as governor of Lahore, while his son Jahandar Shah became in charge of Multan. As in charge of Kabul, though Shah Alam was responsible for the safety of Kabul but because of the strategic location of the area, Aurangzeb himself kept a close eye over the development of Kabul and personally supervises its affairs. Shah Alam made constant marches towards different tribes which helped the Mughals to keep the tribes under their control. He also prevented the rebel prince Akbar, who took shelter at Iran and was with the intentions to attack Kabul. Later on Nasir Khan was given the responsibility of governing Kabul.⁸²⁰ At the time of the death of Aurangzeb prince Shah Alam was at Kabul and it was during his presence at Kabul that the chief of the Pukhtoons Pir Dil Khan was killed by Mughal troops in Kabul.⁸²¹

6.23 Kabul under Later Mughals

After the death of Aurangzeb and with the accession of Shah Alam (Bahadur Shah) to the throne of Delhi, he appointed Ibrahim Khan, the son of Ali Mardan Khan as the governor of Kabul. But he failed to performed his responsibilities in proper manners, thus soon after that appointment Shah Alam once again restored Nasir Khan to his post as governor of Kabul, who continued the post till his death in 1717 AD. After his death, his son succeeded as governor of Kabul, who also

⁸¹⁹ Henry George Keene, The Mughal Empire from the death of Aurangzeb to the overthrow of the Marhata power (Lahore: Sang-i-meel publications, 2012), 25.

⁸²⁰ Tate, kingdom, 28.

⁸²¹ Habibi, Afghanistan, 152.

entitled as Nasir Khan. The new governor Nasir Khan was in good relations with the Afghans as his mother belongs to one of the Afghan tribes. He brings good administrative reforms and proper settlement in the area and also kept the roads in good order.⁸²² But Muhammad Shah ignored the importance of the area and failed to give full attention over the troops guarded different strategic passes and valleys of Kabul. Kabul earlier received twelve lakh rupees a year from the central government, half of the money spent on the forces stationed at Kabul while the other half was paid to the tribal chiefs reside in Khyber Pass with the purpose to keep the road open. But the negligence of Muhammad Shah caused delay in the installment because of which the governor failed to pay the troops and the tribe and they started revolts in different parts of the area.⁸²³ Though the overall condition of Kabul that faced by Muhammad Shah with his accession to the throne was that the authority of the Mughals at Kabul was the edge of its end. It was even difficult for the governors and officers of Kabul to rescue themselves there.⁸²⁴

In 1719 AD, with the instance of Sarbuland Khan, the governor of Kabul Nasir Khan ii was replaced by Saiyid Abdullah Khan, but the tribes were dissatisfied with that appointment and made an attack over the son of Surbuland Khan, when he was on his way returning from Kabul to Peshawar, after conducting operations there. In that attack of the tribes the Mughal lost all of their baggage and a number of their men to them. After that incident Saiyid Abdullah Khan was overthrown from the charge of Kabul and Nasir Khan ii was reappointed to his post.⁸²⁵

For later Mughals Kabul was not as much important and diverted their attention to other areas of India and neglect Kabul. Though the governors were appointed with their consent in Kabul but they failed to checked and investigate their authority. That lack of interest in Kabul encouraged the governor by not bothering about the condition of the people of the area. It was because of that reason that the quota and allowances of the troops stationed there and of other officers fallen into debth

⁸²² Gazzatter of Peshawar, 61-2.

⁸²³ Seid Ghulam Hossein Khan, Seir Mutaqherin, Vol. I (Lahore: oriental Publishers, 1975), 300-301.

⁸²⁴ Muhammad Hayat Khan, tran, Farhad Zareefi and Abdul Lateef, Hayat-i-Afghani (Peshawar: Danish publishers, 2007), 87.

⁸²⁵ L. Lok Hurt. Tran, Tahir Mansoor Farooqi, Nadir Shah (urdu) (Lahore: takhleeqat publisher, 1998), 177. (hereafter mansoor farooqi)

and arrear into later period, particularly after the death of Roshan ud dula. The people of Kabul became anxious and disheartened about the Mughal rule there. The army and a group of strong nobles raised into revolt against that state of affairs in Kabul after which one of the prince was sent to Kabul by the emperor to sort out their problems. It was too late for the Mughals and Nadir Shah captured Kabul after the submission of its governor Nasir Khan.⁸²⁶

6.24 Advent of Nadir Shah

At the meanwhile a great change took place in the politics and affairs of Persia, due to the weaknesses and rapid decline of the Safwaid, the ruling dynasty of Persia. The decline of the Safwaid dynasty provide an opportunity for the Ghilzai Afghans of Kandahar and surrounding areas to organize themselves against the Safwaid authority, as Kandahar at that time was the part of Persia. After organized themselves the Ghilzai for the first time in 1709 AD, under their chief Mir Wais raised the standard of revolt against the Persians and seized the fort of Kandahar. But the actual thread to the Persian ruling dynasty was from Mir Wais son Mahmud, who gives the final blow to their rule at Kandahar in 1715 AD. After taking Kandahar the Ghilzai chief Mahmud struggle for the taking of Isfahan and some other areas of Persia from the Safwaid and for that purpose organized a huge army of the Afghans. The Ghilzai chief Mahmud at last after a long siege of Isfahan on 22nd October, 1722 AD, became able to force the ruler of Persia, Shah Sultan Husian to surrender Isfahan to them and after deposing him, Mahmud crowned himself the new monarch of Persia.⁸²⁷

On the other side the Mughal ruler of India and the governor of Kabul were the silent spectators of the event. They failed to realize the danger of an independent Afghan state on the border of Kabul. One of the Mughal noble Nizam-ul-Mulk, referred an expedition against the Ghizai to restore the Safawaid, but the Mughal court was not the desire and were not the power to do so, instead they made friendly relations with the Ghizai by exchanging with them the letters of

⁸²⁶ Tran. S. H. Askari, IqbalNama by An anonymous contemporary writers (New Delhi: Janaki Prakashan, 1983), 152-3.

⁸²⁷ Ashiq Muhammad Khan Durrani, Tareikh-i-Afghanistan ba hawala tareikh-i-Sadozai (Urdu) (Lahore: sang-e-meel publications, 1999), 37-8.

friendship. The defeat of the Persians from the hands of Ghizai also encouraged Russia and Turkey to attack and occupied a number of the areas from Persia. At that time of danger a Persian name Nadir Shah Afshar appear to the scene by organizing a huge army of the Persians under his command for leading a Persian war of national resistance against all those invaders with the purpose to withdraw them from their areas. In 1730 AD, Nadir Shah became able to expel the Ghilzai from Persia and then defeat the Abdalis of Hirat. He also remained successful in taking back their lost areas from Turkey, but failed to take Baghdad from them. In these struggles, Nadir Shah became successful in driving out the Turks, Russians and Afghans from the former Persian territories and gathered a band of faithful followers with the help of which he became one of the greatest and brave leaders. He forced the Safawaid ruler Shah Tahmasp to renounce the throne of Persia in favor of his infant son in 1732 AD and from him Nadir Shah finally ascending himself to the throne of Persia.⁸²⁸

6.25 Invasion of Kabul by Nadir Shah Afshar

In 1737 AD with the attack of the Persian, Kabul for ever lost to the Mughals and that to the Indian empire. Though the attack of Nadir Shah at Kabul and India was not a sudden development that took place, but the possibility of a Persian attack was from long discussed and even the topic for bazaar gossip but the Mughal emperor was imprudent from the thread. Nadir Shah following the trend of the Turks that India was the region that conquered without much difficulty by any invaders. Nadir Shah for a long time with the pretence that his main object for the invasion of India was the destruction of the Afghans a great danger for Mughals and Persians and then to defeat the Marhatas and to save the Mughal empire.

The main causes of the invasion of Nadir Shah were included firstly to increase the wealth of the Persian treasury. Secondly the Mughal empire became very weak and suffered from the hands of the Marhatas, their weaknesses provide opportunity to the Persians to attack them. Thirdly the Mughal court failed to prevent the influx of the Ghizai refugees and some other tribes that seeking shelter at India. It was early in 1730AD that Nadir Shah sent one of his envoys, Ali

⁸²⁸ Sir Wolesely Haig, History, 357.

Mardan Khan Shamlu to the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah with the request to close the Indian border for the Afghan refugees and to not allow them in Kabul. Though Muhammad Shah assured him for his cooperation and ordered the governor of Kabul to reinforce the army on the frontiers and to withdraw the Pakhtoons of Kandahr from Kabul, but when Nadir Shah became busy in the campaign against the Turks, the Mughal also forgot the security of the borders. In 1732 AD second envoy and then in 1737 AD during the expedition to Kandahar for third time, Nadir Shah sent his envoy to the Mughal court, but the Mughal court neglect because they were not in the position to control those refugees. The delay in replay caused the raise of anger for the Persians and at last they made an attack over the Mughal areas. It was also believed that some of the Mughal nobles invited Nadir Shah to invade India including Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadat Khan.⁸²⁹

In Kabul Roshan-ud-Dullah and Zafar Khan, who was nominated by the emperor for the duty of disbursing the subsidy of 12 lakhs annually among the tribes for keeping the passes and roads open for the traders, Mughal army and visitors. Khan-i-Dauran, as he was not in good terms with Roshan-ud-Dullah, bring into the notice of the emperor that Roshan-ud-Daullah was not loyal to his post and wrongly appropriated half of the sum of the subsidy regularly. He was also charged with peculating the other sums from the Mughal treasury of Kabul. He was ordered by the emperor to pay back the peculated money in the form of 2 crores of rupees to the Mughal treasury. He also lost his post and was entrusted to Khan-i-Dauran. The new in charge of disbursing the subsidy was not in good terms with the governor of Kabul, Nasir Khan ii. The main reason of his dislike was his support for Roshan-ud-Daullah. The new in charge Khan-i-Dauran was though not a corrupt man but because of his opposition to the governor Nasir Khan, he connived at the peculation of the subsidy with the purpose that none of the amount reached to the governor. With that act of Khan-i-Dauran, the Kabul government became weak and the efficiency of the army of Kabul decline rapidly, with the raising of disturbance by different tribes. Though the governor of Kabul time in again requested from the emperor for allotting money, because at the time of the invasion of Kabul, the Mughal emperor and court did not made an attempt to assist the government of Kabul and the passes towards India was also not

⁸²⁹ Tareikh-i-Hindustan, 775-6.

defended.⁸³⁰ According to several writers the Mughals were with the imagination that the Persian would return back after the invasion of Kabul. Nadir Shah with great zeal and with well discipline force march towards the area of Kabul and put his troops in order.⁸³¹

In June 1738 AD, he besieged Kabul. The people of Kabul divided into two parts one supported the Persian and joined them while the other including the commander of Kabul, Shiraz Khan depend the city for some time against the Persian. The fight continues for several days but it last Nadir Shah became successful in capturing Kabul. Because of the less revenue of Kabul which could not fulfill the needs of the Persian army, Nadir Shah made attacks over the surrounding areas for not less than twenty two days. Later on Nadir Shah sent forces towards Jalalabad which was also captured easily⁸³². Prince Raza Quli Mirza with his troops from Balkh visited Kabul and met Nadir Shah there⁸³³. Nadir Shah after the invasion of Kabul crossed the Indus towards Lahore on 12th of December, 1738 AD and fall to their hands on 12th of January, 1739 AD with the submission of its governor Zakariya Khan. As the governor of Kabul blocked the way of Nadir Shah with about 20,000 of Afghan mercenaries at Jamrud, but failed to prevent him from further advance.⁸³⁴

Nadir Shah with about eighteen thousand men continued his march towards Lahore. At Lahore after defeating Zakariya Khan, Nadir Shah stayed at Shalimar garden. He then continues his journey towards Delhi though Muhammad Shah Alam with about three lakhs of army tried to defend the city but failed. After looting Delhi, Nadir Shah once again return to Kabul and recruited about forty thousand people from Kabul, Peshawar and some other areas in to his services.⁸³⁵

The failure of Mughal against Persian was the delay in their expedition as the Mughal preparation for the expedition against Nadir Shah was depend upon the arrival of Nizam-ul-Mulk from Deccan and upon the Deccan army, but when

⁸³⁰ Ahmad Ali Kohzad, Bala Hissar Kabul va pesh amad-i-hay tareikhi vol.i, (Persian) (Afghanistan: anjuman-i-tarikh Afghanistan, nd), 314-16.

⁸³¹ Nadir Nama, place at Pashto academy, university of Peshawar with Accession no. 77. 83-4

⁸³² Mansoor Farooqi, 178.

⁸³³ Tareikh-i-Pakhtun, 379-90.

⁸³⁴ W. Spain, 35.

⁸³⁵ Tareikh-i-Pakhtun, 379-90.

Nizam-ul-Mulk or Burhan-ulMulk reached to the court he was with a very small number of army and horses by sending his best troops to Deccan. The Mughal were even without any experienced leader to lead the army against the Persians. A huge discussion for the appointment took place but without any success and at last decided that the Mughal emperor himself took the leading position and lead the Mughal army.⁸³⁶

At the meantime the lost of Lahore to Persian reached to them after which they encamped at Karnal and wait for the arrival of additional help from Saadat Khan. After the arrival of Saadat Khan and after four days of further march they came and laying into face to face with the Persian army for several days. At the meanwhile the news came to the Mughals that about 500 camels baggage belonging to Saadat Khan was plundered by the Persians. The Mughal though fought bravely, not be able to defeat the Persians and they were besieged. During the battle Khan-i-Daurran received wounds while his son and some other relatives were killed. After the imprisonment of some of the nobles of the Mughals and the emperor, Nadir Shah entered Delhi and assessed 20 crores of rupees from there.⁸³⁷ It was after the invasion of Kabul that Nadir Shah sent one of his envoys towards Shah Alam, but unfortunately the envoy was killed at Jalalabad which became the alternate cause of Nadir Shah invasion of Delhi. Though the governor of Kabul Nasir Khan with the support of the Yusufzai and some other Afghan tribes blocked their way at Khyber, which caused the delay of a month in the Persian invasion of Delhi but that time with the help of Malik Sarwan Orakzai, they found an alternate route which was used for reaching India with 10, 000 of troops by Nadir Shah. At the same time some of the troops of Nasir Khan came face to face with Nadir Shah and caused a battle in which Nasir Khan received defeat. Nasir Khan was imprisoned but later on received pardon and became the governor of Kabul and Lahore on behalf of the Persians. After invading Delhi and plundering it Nadir Shah at last return to Persia and after few months killed by some of his officers like Qajar Irani, Musa Beg Afshar etc in sleep.⁸³⁸ Nadir Shah after plundering Dehli reached Kabul via Khyber Pass on first Ramadan. Nadir Shah

⁸³⁶ Tareikh-i-Hindustan, 777-8.

⁸³⁷ Tareikh-i-Pakhtun, 383-9.

⁸³⁸ Hayat-i-Afghani, 88-9.

from different tribes of the area of Attock, Peshawar and Kabul recruited about forty thousand men in his army.⁸³⁹

6.26 Effect of the Invasion of Nadir Shah

It was after the death of Aurangzeb that the Mughal empire became weak to a greater extent and during twelve years after the death of Aurangzeb three times the successors of the Mughal empire changed. It was a historical fact and saying of the time that whoever controls Kabul would be safe and would be the king at India. That saying fitted over the Mughals that until Kabul remained under their position they safely ruled Kabul but once Nadir Shah took Kabul from them their power also shaken in India and it took not more than one hundred and fifty years that their rule came to end in India. With the invasion of Kabul by Nadir Shah Afshar Kabul for ever lost to the Mughal and came under suzerainty of the Persian and then became part of the independent Afghanistan later on became capital of the country. The people of Kabul supported Nadir Shah because under the Mughals the affairs of Kabul was fallen into great confusion. The Afghans from long doing what made them pleased withholding the revenue and not followed the orders of the Mughal governor of Kabul. In Nadir Shah they found a man with iron hand and a master who by no means safe to ignore.⁸⁴⁰

Nadir Shah imposed annual tribute over Kabul and reappoint Nasir Khan there as governor of the area but was responsible to Persia not to Mughals. With the treaty signed with Nadir Shah, Muhammad Shah agreed to the clause that the area behind Attock was under the Persian rule. Nasir Khan remained on his post as governor of Kabul till 1747 AD. During the reign of Ahmad Shah Abdali, when they face savior economic problems he dispatched some of his men including Akhta Begi and Shirazai to collect and bring the tribute imposed on Kabul by Nadir Shah. According to G. P. Tate Nasir Khan give two carores of rupees to Ahmad Shah. He also promised Ahmad Shah Abdali of giving five lakhs annually from Kabul treasury. When he reached Kabul the people of the area refused to recognize him as their governor and thus he fled to Peshawar after which the area

⁸³⁹ Tareikh-i-Pakhtun, 390.

⁸⁴⁰ Tate, kingdom, 65.

was occupied by Ahmad Shah Abdali and thus became part of Afghanistan.⁸⁴¹ But according to *Tareikh-i-Hindustan* five lakh rupees as Ahmad Shah accepted Nasir Khan as governor of Kabul demanded 5 lakh rupees but Nasir Khan refused Ahmad Shah and send expedition against Nasir Khan. He fled to Peshawar and then further to Lahore.⁸⁴²

Aurangzeb was the last great rulers of the Mughal dynasty and after his death the Mughal dynasty gradually fallen not only in Kabul but also in India. In fact it was during the reign of Aurangzeb that the Mughal control over Kabul declined because Aurangzeb failed to put his hold over the uprising of different tribes of Kabul. Those tribes and their uprising created disturbance in the whole area. The reason behind those disturbances was the lack of interest that Aurangzeb paid to Kabul. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb diverted his attention towards the affairs of India and particularly towards Deccan. It was his great mistake of because he failed not only in Deccan which gave him lost economically as well as caused rebellion in Kabul. Because of his negligence the Mughal authority at Kabul weakened and under his weak successor the area permanently lost to them. The later Mughals like Muhammad Shah *Rangela* were busy in their own lives and luxuries and forgot their responsibility towards the state. During later Mughals the governors of Kabul were not satisfied with their rule and they were in cold relations with the rulers because of which the rulers regularly changed the governors there that rapid change of governors increased problems of the area. There were also disturbance and misunderstanding between the provincial and central government and the central government were not able to helped economically the government of Kabul which caused a huge economic deficit and because of the lack of money the provincial government of was not able to pay salaries to different government officers including the army of Kabul. Though the governor of Kabul Nasir Khan asked again and again for money but Shah Alam failed to provide money and there were also problems among different officers of Kabul with the governor which increased with the passage of time and increased by the lack of money. Many of the men particularly the army raised to revolt because of not getting their salaries. On the other hand in Persia a change took

⁸⁴¹ Ibid, 69-70.

⁸⁴² *Tareikh-i-Hindustan*, 781.

place in the form of Nadir Shah Afshar who after getting the throne of Persia in from Persian Shah looking forward to the Mughal territory and was with the ambitions to extend his empire. When he came to know about the weaknesses of the Mughal empire and their refusal to help the Persian against the frontier tribes of Kandahar. Those disturbed condition of Kabul at last attracted Nadir Shah Afshar to attack the area. Unfortunately the Mughal rulers though informed about the Persian thread and attack failed to provide help and assistance. With the attack and invasion of Kabul by the Persians under Nadir Shah Afshar in 1738 AD, it lost permanently to the Mughal rule first became part of Persia and then included to the state of Afghanistan under Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1747 AD.

The lost of Kabul weakened the Mughal empire at greater extent and later on their control and authority at India were challenged by the Portuguese and French and at last their rule came to end with the direct rule of British in 1857 AD.

CONCLUSION

Kabul valley is geo-strategically and politico-economically important. It has seen the rise and fall of many ruling dynasties so many times that it has been termed as the graveyard of empires. Kabul remained significant in ancient, medieval and modern times. Being in the confluence of South and Central Asia, Kabul has played considerable role in the regional political storm and calm. The thesis deals with political ups and downs in Kabul during the Mughal rule in India. Kabul was an important post and trading centre of the Mughal empire.

Zahirruddin Muhammad Babur the founder of the Mughal empire at India was compelled by his competitors in Central Asia to leave. He came to Kabul defeated the contenders and strengthened himself for his onward march on India. It was in Kabul that he envisioned his Indian Mughal Empire. Babur gave Kabul a uniform administrative system with a mix culture through the people that accompanied him during his invasion of Kabul and settled there with Babur. Those people were with Uzbek and Turkish origin who after settling there mixed with the local people. As far as the Mughal impact over Kabul is concerned it was with the coming of Babur that the revenue of the area increased due to his frequent expedition to the neighboring areas. He also recruited a huge number of local persons of Kabul in his army. The Mughal women were the source of inspiration for the local women of Kabul. Though after the foundation of the Mughal empire at India, Babur shifted his court and capital there but still he did not neglect the importance of the area and leave his son there to look after the affairs of the area. Babur love and affiliation with Kabul showed from his memoirs in which he again and again mentioned not only the importance but also of the beauty of the area. It was his love and respect for Kabul that Babur chooses the area for his burial and was buried there.

After the death of Babur his successor also know the importance of Kabul as many of them were with the opinion that until Kabul was not under their control and authority they could not reign peacefully in India. Kabul was a key not only for the Mughal rule and their success in India but also for the prosperity and peace of India. Humayun after loosing India put his eyes over Kabul and it was Kabul

and the people of the area with whom help Humayun once again became able to gain his lost territories of India from the Suri dynasty.

Akbar realized that Kabul was the notheren key of India and it was essential to keep the area under his control for the safety of his empire. Due to this realization his hold always remained strong on Kabul. It was during the reign of Akbar that Kabul recived great importance and he after getting the possession of Kabul introduced a uniformed system of administration in the area. For communication purposes Akbar ordered one of his engineers to construct and improved the road to Kabul. For securing Kabul from rebellions after the death of his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar took strong action against the rebel tribes of Kabul and brought them to obedience. It was during Akbar reign that the Roshniya movement started getting their foot holds in the velly and different areas of Kabul and Peshawar. But the threat was not as much as later on increased during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

Jahangir and Shah Jahan paid a number of visits to Kabul for the peace and security of the territory. As previously Shah Jahan took back from the Afghan all of their titles given to them by his father Jahangir. On return of receiving that type of treatment from the new emperor different Pakhtun tribes started struggle for controlling and taking the area of Kabul from the Mughal rule but failed. Shah Jahan after realizing his mistake reshaped his policy by following a friendly policy towards those tribes. After that shift in the policy peace came into the area of Kabul and surrounding areas, which made it clear that for securing the Mughal control at Kabul and for the peace in India Kabul and its tribes played important role. For the peace and security of the Mughal rule at Kabul and India it was necessary for all the Mughal rulers to remain in friendly relations with, if not the whole but with some of the tribes of Kabul. The Mughal followed that policy and when they took action against one of the rebel tribe they enhanced their support for its rival tribe to balance their rule in the area. As Shah Jahan was the supporter of the Khattak but later on during the reign of Aurangzeb the Yusafzai tribe got to prominence. Till the reign of Aurangzeb the Mughal work for the security of Kabul and know the importance of the area for the existence of their empire.

When the Mughal successors ignored Kabul and made themselves busy in India they paid a huge price for it in the form of the downfall of the Mughal empire. The early Mughals took great care of administration and condition of Kabul by appointing and changing its governors frequently for administrative purposes. Those Mughal rulers also paid frequent visits to the area. To hold a full control over the area the Mughal rulers look after the affairs of Kabul with vigilant eye and if there was any insurgency in the area by any tribe the emperor took strong steps against it and if possible for him he himself marched against that insurgency.

From trade point of view the area was very important and the traders from India and Central Asia used Kabul route. Every year a great number of caravans passed through the area and it was necessary for the Mughal to keep the roads open and the tribes of the area in peace. For the purpose of keeping the roads open and for a safe journey the Mughal rulers bribed the tribes because those caravans were very essential for economy of Mughal India as well as for Central Asia. The traders and caravans made the trade of important articles as from Central Asia and Kabul horses were exported to India which was used for war and strengthening the Mughal military. Cotton, Furs and dry fruits etc were also the main articles that India imported from Central Asia. India also exported spices, sugar and rice etc to the Central Asia.

Because of the bravery of the Afghan tribes the Mughal treated them as a balancing force not only against the Rajputs but all other warring tribes of India as well as against the Persians. A huge number of the Mughal army consisted of different Afghan tribes from Kabul. The Mughal used those tribes for their own benefit and empowered them according to the demand of the time. Particularly Yusufzai and Khattak tribes of Afghans were affected by the Mughal policies. All Mughal rulers followed the policy of divide and rule at Kabul and used one tribe against the other. The Mughal policy towards Kabul and its tribes changed with changing of the ruler. Akbar and Shah Jahan look towards the support of the Khattaks and followed by Aurangzeb but later on he turned against them and started supporting the Yusufzai by taking back all of the honors and positions from the Khattak tribe. The Afghan tribes of Kabul valley enjoyed their post and possessions till the satisfaction of the Mughal emperor.

Mughal considered Kabul as oxygen for their rule and political existence in India. They know very well the importance of the area for their existence as their predecessors, Babur was driven out from Central Asia and the importance of his conquest of Kabul for getting the throne of India. Though the Mughals after their invasion and foundation of Indian empire gave much of their attention to the huge land of India nevertheless they did not forget Kabul. As it was Kabul that could provide the opportunity for them to once again took the control of their lost territories of Central Asia, their ancestral homeland. One of such attempts was made by Shah Jahan by sending expeditions for the conquest of different territories of Central Asia. Because of the Mughal ambitions for conquering and expanding their territories if there was any revolt in Kabul it disturbed not only the ruler but they became intolerant which caused the loss of trust and the widening of the gap between the Mughals and the Afghan tribes. The tribes during Mughal era were neither fully independent nor they were under the full control of the Mughals.

With the coming of the Mughals to Kabul they brought a number of things with themselves which directly affected the cultural, political and economic life of Kabul. The Mughal introduced Persian as the court language which encouraged the people of Kabul to learn and study the language not only for dealing with them but also for economic reasons. As a court language for Mughals Persian became official language in Kabul. During the Mughal rule in Kabul contribution were made not only in Persian but also in Pashto. Babur memoirs provide invaluable information about Kabul valley and its people. The Mughals also introduced a uniform system of administration in all over Indian empire including Kabul. The same Mughal coinage was used in Kabul as used in other parts of India with the building of mint in Kabul. The contacts and treaties with the outer world were established because of trade and visits of the foreigners to the area. Religious unity also prevailed at Kabul during the Mughal reign. Most of the people were with the Sunni faith but there were also the followers of Shia faith.

The consolidation and peace of the area mainly depended on the people of the area and their support to the Mughals but the events took place in later period showed that the relations between those tribes with the Mughal rulers was not free from

suspicion and distrust. Both of them never trust each other which caused the failure of a successful Mughal policy towards the area and most of the time Kabul remained a place of revolts and disturbance. The Mughals recruited a number of their army from Kabul and used them in their expeditions towards Balkh and different Afghan rebel tribes as well as against the rebellions in India.

In the rise and demise of the Mughal empire the Kabul valley and its inhabitants played significant role. The Mughals failed to control the rebellions in the Kabul area which not only harm the Mughal treasury but also weakened their position and power in India.

When the later Mughal rulers did not pay proper attention to the affairs of Kabul, rebellions rose and weakened the empire. Mughals did not introduced reforms in Kabul like they have introduced reforms in India proper. Nadir Shah Afshar took Kabul from the Mughals in 1738 AD and about one hundred and eighteen years after the loss of Kabul, in 1857 AD the nominal rule of Mughals in India also came to a close.

Mughals used the resources of Kabul particularly its human resources for strengthening their position against the Rajputs, Marhatas and other war like Hindus. For this purpose the Mughals gave special attention and importance to Kabul particularly from Babur to Aurangzeb with little ups and downs, but the later Mughals failed to follow that policy due to which they lost Kabul.

The Afghan tribes of Kabul valley played important role in strengthening the Mughal empire and were facilitated by the Mughal rulers to settle in different parts of India. They were also given important posts and *mansabs* e.g., Mahabat Khan and Khushal Khan Khattaks family.

The legacy that Kabul got from the rule of the Mughal was the opening of Kabul to the outer world with the coming of mix culture and that of the Sufi *silsilas* (orders) to the area. The Mughal rulers also brought a number of scholars to the area and develop the literature and languages of Kabul. They also raised to prominence a number of Afghan tribes by giving them land and tribute and settled different Afghan groups in their present day areas. A huge number of people from

Kabul migrated to different parts of India. Kabul also received a uniformed administrative system with allotting highest ranks to some Afghan chiefs.

Kabul's march in time under Mughals underscores that it was a bridge between South and Central Asia. It played an important role in the political rise and fall of Mughal rulers. It was not just a trading post but an important route through which South and Central Asia interacted and as a result enriched both the regions.

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