



# Swat Nama (Chronicles of Swat)

of  
Khushal Khan Khatak

Edited and Annotated  
by  
Prof. Abdul Hai Habibi

1979

# Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khatak

1- Introduction by Abdul Hai Habibi

2- English translation by Khushal Habibi

Reminder: In the footnotes (M) refers to Tarekh-e Murasa', which was compiled by Dost Mohammad Kamel in 1974 in Peshawar and published by the University Book Agency. Henceforth (A) refers to Armaghan-e Khushal, a collection of the poetry of Khushal Khan Khatak, which was published by the same agency in 1964 by Sayed Rasul Rassa.

Both these books were used in the compilation and writing of footnotes of Swat Nama.

Habibi 24-6-1385 SH (15 September, 1979)

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# Introduction

## (1) Swat

The snowbound mountains and head-valleys of the Hindukush range start in the heart of Afghanistan. Toward the northeast, this range forms the northern sector of the Pashtunkhwa mountains, which abuts the beautiful valleys of Qara Qoram and Dardistan. From these valleys roaring rivers such as the Kabul, Kunar, Panj Korra, Indus, Panjsher, Ghorband and others flow. Toward the northwest, in the Pakhala region, the rapidly flowing Kunar river takes its source in the Kashan valley. All these life-giving rivers not only irrigate the northern regions of Pashtunkhwa but also the extensive plains of Punjab.

The Swat is one of these swift rivers. It flows from Asho Kalama and joins the Kabul river at Nasta. Its length is about 60 miles. This is a very beautiful and attractive region, whose charm is unmatched in the northern mountains of Pashtunkhwa.

Historically the name Swat is also very old. When European tribes, who had settled in Bactria and the verdant valleys of the Hindu Kush, migrated to the east three thousand years ago, we find the names of Kabul, Koram, Gomal, and Indus in their ancient book, Rig Veda. Swat river has been named as Sueti in this book. Yet in another ballad this name has been recorded as Suvastu.<sup>1</sup> From this we can assume that during the time of Aryan migration this bountiful region was developed where these people had set up their settlements.

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After the Rig Veda period, when Aryan people spread to the northern regions of India, the great genius of Sanskrit language and the writer of its grammar, Panini, who lived near the banks of the Attok river, states that the Suvastu river, together with its tributary, Gauri (Panj Kora), flows from Uddiyana in the northern sector of Gandahara. The blankets of this region were famous as Pandu-Kambala.<sup>2</sup>

The famous Indian scholar, Agra Wala, writes: During the time of Panini both these rivers, Swat and Panj Kora, were famous which flowed through the

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1. English translation of Rig Veda 1/522, ballads 5-6-10. You can read an assumed and approximate analysis of this name in the 10th section of this introduction.

2. Ashtad Hayayi (the eight sayings), the fifth book of Panini, p. 2, 77.

upper regions of Uddiyana of Gandahara.<sup>1</sup> This life-giving river of Swat has been mentioned as Bhisjhma in Maha Baharta (chapter 9). The Greek historian, Arrian, around 175 CE has named this river as Suastos. According to Buddhist writers, it was a part of the country whose capital was known as Arishtha-Pura, the present day Char Bagh of Swat.<sup>2</sup>

Geographically, Swat is situated in the northern mountains of Pashtunkwa, close to the crossroads of India, among lush-green valleys. Aryan people, from the time of Rig Veda, had a close affiliation with these mountains and valleys, which they chose as their place of residence. The social life of these people changed over time from that of a nomadic lifestyle to a sedentary and agricultural mode of living in villages. It was for this reason they preferred the mountains and flourishing valleys of Swat, with extensive agricultural land and pastures and its pleasant weather. Its remoteness also made it a safe place to live from the onslaught of invaders.

In the winter of 326 BCE the Macedonian warrior, Alexander, fought with the Ashpazi (Yusufzai) in the Konar region. From there he crossed over to Bajawar and Chakdara and took control of Swat as far as Masagei. By way of Attock, he then crossed the Indus River, and captured Taxila. Alexander's conquest in these regions was ephemeral but later, his remnant generals, governed in Bactria and Pashtunkhwa for centuries. With the establishment of the Murya dynasty in India in 324 BCE, under Chandra Gupta, Indian cultural influences admixed with Greek beliefs and customs. Later in 260 BCE, Maharaja Ashoka, spread Buddhism in the region. In this admixture of cultures, Swat attained the vestiges of Greco-Buddhist civilization and when the civilization and power of Kushan tribes started to spread at the beginning of the Christian era the winter capital of Kanishka, was transferred to Swat. Hence we see a great deal of relics of Kushan culture, until this day, in every nook and cranny of Swat.

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During the first three or four centuries of the Gregorian calendar the Swat region was a threshold of Buddhist culture and expansion. Buddhist monks who came to the area from distant places made sure that they pay a pilgrimage to the

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1. V.S. Agarvala. India as known to Panini, Lucknow, p 42. 1953.

2. Nundo Lal. The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India, p. 199, Delhi 1971.

holy shrines of Swat. Three Buddhist monks who visited Swat mention the region in their travelogues as follows.

The Chinese monk and pilgrim, Fa-Hien, left Changan in 400 CE to visit holy Buddhist monasteries in search of lost religious books and returned back to Nankin after 14 years of wandering.

From Kashghar Fa-Hien came to the Indus River region and Gandahara. He visited Banu, Hadda, Jalalabad, Peshawar and Swat. He writes: “Ouchnag (Udiana) is located in northern India and all its people speak the central Indian language. Their clothes and characteristics also resemble those of central India. Buddhist religion has been practiced here for a long time and there are a large number of Sangharama (monasteries) in the region numbering nearly five hundred. The people are followers of Hinayana (the small vehicle) and the locals say that Buddha left his footprint here, which according to believers expand and contract in size. A large and slippery rock also exists here, on which Buddha had spread his clothes, and in this So-ho-to, Buddha sacrificed a part of his flesh to a hawk to save a puppy and people built a golden stupa there.”<sup>1</sup>

Song Yun was another Chinese pilgrim who traveled to this region in 517 CE. He states that in the Udiana and Balur valleys the people use heavy chains to make suspension bridges. The governor of the area does not eat meat and is a vegetarian and a strict follower of Buddhism.

Song Yun provides a description of all Buddhist shrines. Among them he visited the shrine of Buddha’s footprint, which Fa-Hien had mentioned in his travel book. Every place he visited he saw temples and monastries for the monks and he provides a description of Buddhist miracles in Swat.<sup>2</sup>

A century later another Chinese pilgrim, Hsuen Tsang, embarked on a westward journey in 629 CE and returned back to his country in 645. During this journey he gathered 124 books on Mahayana (the large vehicle) which were transported to China on 22 horses. He recorded his adventures in a book entitled Si-yu-ki (Reflections on Western World).

On the first day of January 631 Hsuen Tsang was in Udiuana and from there he reached Su-fa-sa-to, present day Mardan, on March first and then went to Taxila in April.

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1. The Travelogue of Fa-Hien, p. 15. English translation by Giles. Cambridge 1923.

2. Se-yu-ki, Pashto translation, p. 66, Kabul, 1979.

Hsuen Tsang's journey in Pashtunkhwa took place at a time when Islam had not reached this region. It was the 9th year of the Hijera calendar and the people of the land were followers of the great and small vehicles of Buddhism. Gandahar and Udiyana (Mardan) and Suvastu (Swat) were the centers of Buddhism and hundreds of monasteries were packed with monks.

When Hsuen Tsang arrived in Kapisa he found that its ruler was a Kashtaria (from a military background) who was exceptionally wise. His domain spread 1200 miles and his authority spread to ten other countries and every year he built an 18 feet tall statue of Buddha and held a grand council of Buddhist every year. Six thousand monks lived in a hundred monasteries and his authority was widespread as far as Peshawar and Attock. Hsuen Tsang mentions 1400 monasteries on both sides of the Swa river, some of which were in ruins and in the past eighteen thousands monks lived there. The regions had four or five towns and the governor's place was called Mangala, which may be present day Mingora. The Apalala Naga reservoir was located to northwest of the city, which formed the headwaters of the Swat river. To the west lay the shrine of Buddha's footprint, the Mahawana temple and several memorials depicting Buddha's life, which Hsuen Tsang mentions in his travelogue.<sup>1</sup>

According to Hsuen Tsang, Swat lies 600 li (100 miles) north of Peshawar which was known as Auchang (Udiyana). This name is from the Sanskrit *ujana* which means a big garden or a lush green area. Its boundary was 5000 li (833 miles) and includes all the lands below the Swat River such as Panj Kora, Bajawar, Swat and Bunir. A huge wooden statue of Buddha, which stood 100 *lata*, was built during the reign of Emperor Ashoka (243 BCE), in this area.

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Before Islam Swat's fame, structures and cultural was an admixture of Indian and other local traits and we can say that the past history and culture of the people of Pashtunkhwa was similar. Different groups of the Kushan and Yaftali people remained in the area as governors such as the family of the Kabul Shah, which governed the area from Kabul to the banks of the Indus river and to the north their sphere of influence spread as far as Swat. We have a relic from this time in the form of a stone inscription which was written in Sanskrit and Saradanagari scripts. This tablet was discovered in 1897 and is preserved in the

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1. See the Pashto translation of Si-yu-ki, Book 3, p. 185.

Lahore museum. The writing states: “In the reign of the supreme sovereign superior king of great kings and supreme lord, Sri Jayapala Deva.”<sup>1</sup>

This Jayapala is the Kabul Shah whose father was Bahyam Deva, who ruled around 913 CE. Jayapala became king in 960 CE and according to Al-Utbi he set himself on fire in 1003 CE.<sup>2</sup> The family fought with Amir Subuktageen, the king of Ghazni, and when they found themselves homeless in Kabul Jayapala set up his second capital in Waihind (Hund) and the area from Laghman to Pakhala, including Swat, was under their control.<sup>3</sup> Sultan Mahmud’s forays weakened these rulers and according to Al-Biruni, the fifth king of this family, Bahyama Pala, was killed in 1026 CE.<sup>4</sup>

It needs to be mentioned that during the early Islamic period, a Kabul Shah, Yawhaman Mardan Shah, ruled the area from Zabul to the Indus river (around 600 CE) on whose coin it has been inscribed: “Bagh Khutai Wahman Mardan Shah” (the great king Whaman Mardan Shah), in Pahlavi script.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that this Kabul Shah’s influence stretched all the way to the Indus river and the southern flank of Swat, known as Mardan, was under his kingdom. It may be for this reason he considered himself Mardan Shah and the present name of Mardan is a remnant from that time. It is here that Swat river adjoins the Kabul river.

This area which is now called the *Hawara* (meaning lowland) of the Yusufzai was named *al-ahwar* by the Arabs and the light of Islam spread here at the time when the Islamic conqueror of Kabul, Abdul Rahman bin Samara, sent his commander-in-chief, Muhajib bin Abi Sufra (Fars al-Farsan) to this region, who captured Buna and *al-ahwar*, the region between Kabul and Multan and an Arab poet wrote:

They sang the hymns of prosperity at night  
To Bubna went the the army in winter.

Even though the spelling of Buna and al-Ahwar has appeared incorrectly in several manuscripts and has been written in different forms, but here I am in agreement with the writing of the Yusufzai Afghan that the Buna of al-Belazari is the present day Buna Dahiri, a mound in Totali of Mardan, two miles from the

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1. Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* 112, London, 1958.

2. *Tarikh-e Yamyani*, Lahore, 1883.

3. See *Afghanistan After Islam*, pp. 71-104, 1071-1071, Kabul, 1979.

4. *Ketab-al-Hind*, 2/18, English translation, Lahore 1962.

5. *Afghanistan After Islam*.



Gomati canal. Ruins of an old city can be seen there until the present time. The Arabic *al-ahwar*, is the Pashto *Hawara*, which is now called the Yusufzai territory.

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We see that Islam reached this region during the first half of Hijra century (seventh century CE) which is located at the confluence of the Kabul and Swat rivers. We can conclude that during the third and fourth Hijra centuries Islam spread in Swat with the conquests of Ghaznavid dynasty as corroborated by the following statements.:

Hudud-al-Alam 983 CE: Beside what we mentioned earlier, we have the writings of an author from Jouzjan. His name is unknown but he wrote Hudud-al-alam Min al-Mashriq Eli al-Maghrib in 983 CE in the Dari language a facsimile of which was printed in the Soviet Union in 1930.

This book does not provide us the name of Swat but give us the names of surrounding areas. Regarding the area of Belour, located north of Swat it says: “Belour is a large area and the people say they are children of the sun and unless the sun rises they do not wake up from sleep. They are also of the belief that a son should not rise before his father. This region is devoid of salt which is brought from Kashmir.”<sup>1</sup>

Mohammad Haider Doghlat states that to the east of Belour lie Kashghar and Yarkand, and Badakshan to the north. To the west lie Laghman and Kabul and to the south the Kashmir territory.<sup>2</sup>

From this we can surmise that Belour was a vast region which started at the foothills of the Kashmir mountains and stretched to the lower valleys of present day Nuristan and included all of present day Swat. In that the rulers of this mountainous area associated themselves with the sun, three hundred years before Hudud-al-Alam, Hsuen Tsang heard this story and writes that a Chinese princess was being married to a king of Pu-sa-la-so (Parthia) but due to a skirmish she was being protected in a cliff so no one may harm her but in the afternoon someone came down from the sun and impregnated her and this

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1. Hudud-al-Alam, Bartold's facsimile, Leningrad, 1930.

2. Doghlat, English translation of Tarekh-e Rashidi, London, p. 385. Minarski's footnotes on Hudud-al-Alam, p. 216, Kabul.

family is her progeny.<sup>1</sup> Sir Oral Stein considers this place to be present day Kezkarghan of Pamir (Qala-e Dukhtar, fort of the maiden).<sup>2</sup>

Regarding Bunir, the author from Jouzjan, states: “Bunihar is a place whose king is a Moslem and he has several Moslem, Afghan and Hindu wives.”<sup>3</sup>

In another place, while describing Samarkandan, he says that this large village is at the border of Trans-Oxiana where Hindus, Wakhis, Tibetians and Moslems live.<sup>4</sup>

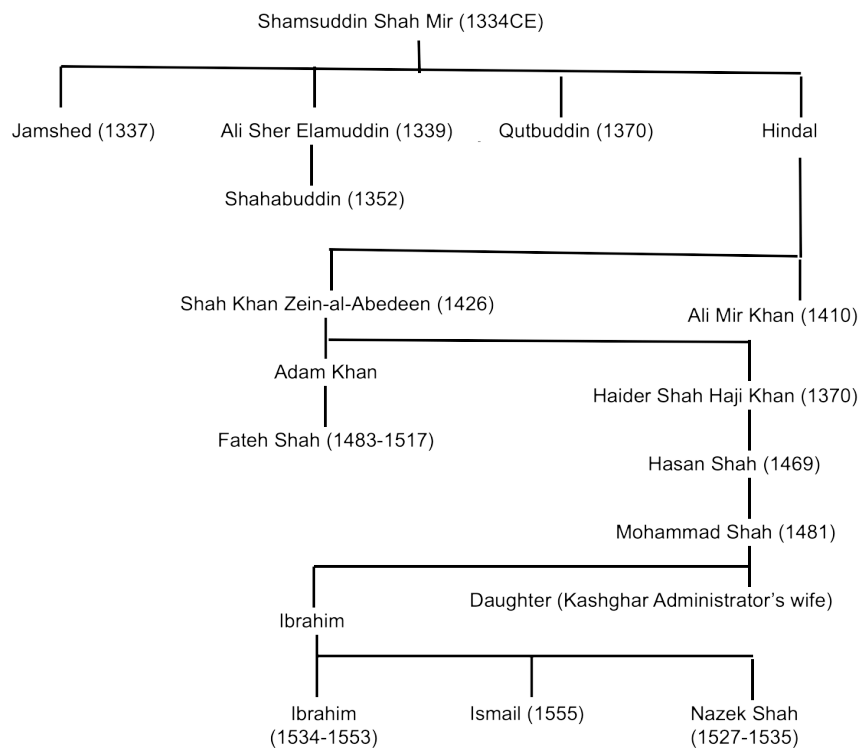
From all this evidence we can conclude, that from the first century to the third century Hijra, Islam had spread to the northern mountainous and southern regions of Swat.

During the 12th century CE some regions of Swat were linked with Kashmir where a Brahman government existed with an admixture of Indian and Islamic vestiges. The Kashmiri writer, Kalahna, in his book Rajatarangini talks about a Hindu family with rulers such as Harsha Deva (1086-1101 CE), Semha Deva (1286 CE) etc. During their administration Moslems headed toward Kashmir and migrations to the area started (1320 CE). A large number of people from Swat were engaged in the administration of government and the spreading of Islamic culture. Among them was a person named Shamir, who was a minister to Reitchan Sadaruddin, governor of Kashmir (1320 CE) who later assumed power from Audayena Deva and queen Kota Rani in 1339 CE. In 1334, under the title of Sulltan Shamsuddin he established the sultanate of his family from Swat. He ran his administration with justice and equity and only took one sixth tax from farmers. He died in August of 1324 CE.<sup>5</sup>

Shah Mir Swati's family ruled over Kashmir for two centuries. Zimbawar provides a genealogical tree of this family as follows:

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1. Si-yu-ki, Beil's translation 2-296.  
2. Minarski: Hudud-al-Alam notes, p. 217.  
3. Hudud-al-Alam p. 46, Tehran 1932.  
4. Hudud-al-Alam, p. 73.  
5. History of India 5/740 in English, Delhi 1970.



As is apparent the rule of Shah Mir's family in Kashmir lasted until the time of Jalaluddin Akbar when he took control of the region. It looks as though Swat, Belor, Chilas, Chitral, Bajawar, Kunar and Kafiristan were under the feudal administration of local sultans and chiefs since the people of these areas had abandoned their nomadic lifestyle and started a settled mode of living in villages and were engaged in basic agricultural practices.

These sultans lived in Pech valley of Konar and according to Akhund Darweza they considered their ancestors to be associated with Alexander the Great. Their sphere of influence spread as far as the border of Kashmir. One of them was Sultan Pakhar, son of Kahjaman son of Hindu (circa 1397 CE). A region in northeastern Pashtunkhwa of Hazara District has the name Pakhal. An inscription of this person is present in the Konar valley. It is said that after Pakhal his sons were engaged in fighting and they conducted many battles with each other. Sultan Bahran, another son of Kahjaman captured Laghman and

Nangarhar and established his capital at the base of Spinghar mountain and his authority was widespread in Kunar and Swat. After him Sultan Tumana, akin to Bahram, had control over these regions (around 1412 CE).<sup>1</sup>

(2)

## Latest Migrations of Some Pashtun Tribes and Their Social Structure

Even though Pashtuns had been living in the land between the Oxus and Indus rivers for thousands of years but during the 14th century CE the social and cultural structure in Central Asia, Khorasan, Iran and India was in turmoil. In this vast land the economy, agriculture, trade, administration, arts and all other aspects of social life had passed their initial stages of development and feudalism had taken a firm hold in society. It is for this reason we see centralized monarchies in the region in which princes, landlords of large estates, capitalists, and some elite spiritualists played a major role in society and hundreds of farmers had attained authority in Khorasan and Trans-Oxiana. In Iran the Aaq Qounalo, meaning owners of white herds, Turkmens were in power and in India the great monarchy of Afghan Ludis were rulers there.

During this time the land between the Indus and Helmand river was known as Afghanistan. We see this name repeatedly in the writings of Saifi Herawi during the 12th century<sup>2</sup> and it looks as though Indian historians have also called this area by the same name. The name also appears in the writings of Zia Barni in incidents which took place in 1335.<sup>3</sup>

The territory known as Afghanistan (ancient Pashtunkhwa) had attained the highest standard of feudalism i.e. the establishment of monarchies during the time of the Ghaznavi and Ghori dynasties five or six centuries earlier. It was at the trade and economic crossroads and the center of amalgamation of cultural

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1. See Tazkirat-al-Berar wa al-Ashrar, Peshawar 1890, and Tarikh-e Mukhtasar Afghanistan 2/22. Kabul 1968.

2. In Tarikh Nama-e Herat (Calcutta 1943) this name appears as Awganistan 36 times.

3. Tarikh-e Feroz Khan Shahi 3/480. Calcutta 1862.

and political ties between the East and the West. But at the beginning of the 13th century these ties faltered with the invasion of the Mongol armies and the center of power transferred to other areas.

The powerful monarchies of India, Iran and Trans-Oxiana used the roads of this region for transport of goods and maintained control of central cities such as Peshawar, Balkh, Kandahar and Herat by means of military force.

In the mountains and valleys of Pashtunkhwa, those Pashtuns who led a nomadic life, lived in a free and democratic society under the leadership of their elders, independent from the yolk of ruthless monarchies.

In accordance with their culture and norms these Pashtuns held local councils in which their elders gathered to solve local problems. They called the decisions of the councils and their rituals “Pashto” and as such they were creeping towards a central feudal system and those tribes which migrated to India came under the influence of a stern feudal system. The economic and spiritual bond of these freedom loving tribes was linked to the ruling Ludhi family of India. Every year, during winter, the tribes would migrate to India in search of pastures and its warm weather. The Ludhi emperors of Delhi received them with courtesy as they used these strong entities to subdue rebels and outlaws of the state, settled them on agricultural lands and provided them large estates in India. During the reign of the Ludis, a large number of Suri, Farmali, Jalwani, Sarwani, Kakar, Niazi and other tribes migrated to India and became landlords and important vassals of the court.<sup>1</sup>

During this time Pashtun Abdali tribes who lived in the Tarnak, Arghandab and Helmand river basins were inching towards feudalism. Their relationship with the Timurids of Herat, the Ludi and Suri of India were improving.<sup>2</sup> Influential lords and statesmen rose among them and the leader of the Abdalis in Kandahar, Malik Bami Popalzai was appointed as administrator of Kandahar by Sultan Sekandar Ludi (1451-1495).<sup>3</sup> Later, the great-grandson of Bami, Malik Saleh, had established ties with Sher Shah Suri and had sent his emissaries to the

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1. For further details refer to: Tarikh-e Feroz Shahi of Reza Barni, Tarikh-e Shahi of Ahmad, Tarikh-e Mubarak Shahi of Yahya Sarhindi, Afsana-e Shahan of Mohammad Kabir, Futuh-al-Salatein of Esami and History of Sher Shah Suri.

2. See Abdul Razak Samarkandi's Mutla' Sa'dein and Saifi's Tarikhnama-e Herat and the history of Ludi and Suri in India.

3. Raverty: Referencing Tazkirat-al-Mulook in the Introduction of Pashto Grammar.

Suri court.<sup>1</sup> In the events of the year 1417 CE it has been stated that between Kandahar, Garmseer, Indus and Ghazni lived the children of the Kandahari Saifal, Malik Mohammad and Kharshwani<sup>2</sup> Afghans and Suris who were at war with the mighty empire of Shah Rukh of Herat.<sup>3</sup>

According to Saifi Herawi, these Afghan tribes lead a nomadic life in the Helmand basin, Teri, Mastang, Duki, Saji and Terah<sup>4</sup> in the Kasi mountains and the Arghasan, Marup, and Psin valleys. Their numbers increased with the passing of time. The pastures of Helmand, Arghandab and Tarnak did not suffice their needs and they were not able to adopt the agricultural lifestyle of the Kurts and Timurids of Herat which was influenced by strong tribal leaders of the region. Toward the end of the 14th century these Pashtuns made their way to the pastures and highlands of Kabul.<sup>5</sup> From 1409 to 1449 Alug Beg, son of Sultan Abu Sayed Koragan, ruled over Kabul. During this period the Pashtun Kand and Zamand and other tribes who realized that the Arghasan pastures were insufficient for their needs, together with Gomal nomads, moved to the verdant pastures of Kabul. "They prospered but did not pay attention to the native Pashtuns who lived in this area."<sup>6</sup>

The leaders of these tribes were Madad, Mado, Osman and Sultan Shah. Mirza Ulug Beg<sup>7</sup> gathered and killed them in Siang of Kabul. Only Malik Ahmad, son of Sultan Shah managed to escape from this tragic event. Together with the Yusufzai he went east and brought under his control the region of Peshawar as far as Swat. He drove the Delazak Pashtuns and captured the cultivated lands fed by the Kabul and Swat river as far Jamrud, Gandawa and the Indus river.<sup>8</sup> Before the invasion of Pashtuns, the Swat region was under the control of local Swati people. Hafiz Rahmat Khan writes: "Ethnically the Swati

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1. Raverty referencing Tazkirat-al-Mulook.

2. Kharashavani belonged to the Saraban tribe who have been referred to as Khushboon by historians. Kand, Zamand and Kasai are three tribes from this lineage (Makhzan-e Afghani). This is a Pashto name: sha+rasha meaning good natured.

3. Matla' Sa'dein 2/365, Lahore.

4. Tarikhcha-e Herat pp. 209, 222, 303, 305.

5. Akhund Darweza, Tazkerat-al-Ibrar wa al-Ishrar 124. Tarekh-e Murasa of Afzal Khan Khattak, p. 231. Pata Khazana of Mohammad Hotak, p. 21.

6. Tarikh-e Murasa.

7. Akhund Darweza has written this name as Mirza Quli Beg (p. 126) but according to other historians Ulug Beg is correct (MA 1502 CE).

8. For these migrations see Tarekh-e Murasa' p. 231, Tazkera al-Abrar p. 124, Hayat-e Afghani, Tarikh-e Hafiz Rahmat Khani and Makhzan-e Afghani.

people are not related to Afghans but they speak the language of the Afghans and follow their traditions... from the beginning they have been living in Swat and Bajawar but when the Yusufzai came into power they took over all mountainous regions and then diverted their attention to Swat and conducted battles with the local residents of Swat, defeating and abdicating them in the end... the locals left and settled in Pakhali, which is situated between Swat and Kashmir. Most of them are from the Gabri, Munrawi and Mumyali groups. It is said that Gabri (associated with Gabar Jarri in Bajawar) are the children of Sultan Upas, Sultan Bahram, Sultan Pakhal, and Sultan Jahangir and they are also known as the Jahangiri Princes.”<sup>1</sup>

At that time these people, who were leading a nomadic lifestyle, started practicing agriculture and became more sedentary and settled near their fields, pastures and open lands and began cultivating their fields and thus they started a new phase in their mode of living. Malik Ahmad Yusufzai, was the leader of these newly settled people who led them in their endeavor to adopt to an agricultural based economy. With the help of Skaikh Adam Yusufzai (who was famous as Shaikh Mali bin Yusuf) he organized the newly settled people, prepared a social system for them and helped these people settle peacefully as far as Swat in fields and dales. Khushal Khan's son, in his poem about Adam Khan and Durkhany, writes:

The Yusufzai followed the code  
Of their nomadic lifestyle and mode.  
They used to settle in different places,  
Sometimes by the river or without traces.  
They would go to the hills  
Or come back to their mills.  
With time their lifestyle changed  
They settled in Swat, arranged.

Shaikh Mali who was a learned and wise man wrote a book on social norms around 1417 which people called the “Daftar of Shaikh Mali” (Register of Shaikh Mali).

Since these migrant tribes took control of agricultural fields from Peshawar to the Indus River they started a new phase in their lives. In order to equitably

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1. Khulasat-al-Insaab, p. 147, Peshawar 1973.

distribute the agricultural land and pastures, Shaikh Mali, in his Register, came up with a just system of distribution in which the land, water, pastures and villages were distributed in accordance to the number of people in each household. This form of distribution was also endorsed by the tribal councils. The people were obliged to grow crops in their designated fields and took advantage of its products in according to the laws laid down in the Register of Shaikh Mali.

Since the number of people in each family waxed and waned with the passing of time, every ten years, the system of distribution was revised and all the fields, pastures and villages were allocated as public property and then redistributed in accordance with the demographic changes that took place in each household. The distribution took place in accordance with soil structure of the fields and the availability of water at different stages of the flow of water. Each allotment was called a *warr*. In the first instance Shaikh Mali's Register had six *tapa* (hills):

1. The Yusufzai hill (Northern Mardan and Swat).
2. The Mohammadzai hill (Ashnagar and Charsada).
3. The Kagyano hill (Duaba, Bajawar and Charmang)
4. The Daudzai hill (Kalyani, Bagyani)
5. The Khalil hill (from Peshawar to Nawshahr)
6. The Mohmand *tapa* (northern and southern regions of Peshawar).

Each of these six hills were were divided into different sections and fields and each person's share was known as a *wand* and the pasture was called an *ursho*. The sectors were distributed by the village lottery. A parcel of land known as *seery* was kept aside for the community, the proceeds from which were used for the benefit of the village such as expenses incurred in running the mosque, education of the children and the salary of the town barber and crier. The expenses of the village guest house were also paid from this public fund.

Shaikh Mali's Register also included stipulations on the distribution of houses and villages. Every village was divided into sections which were called *cham* each one having several houses called a *kandar* and each house had rooms called *koota* which contained a vestibule.



Each *cham* had a mosque, guest house and a tower for defensive purposes where sentries were posted to protect the village. Every ten years a family was responsible to take care of the *kandar*.

The share of a person in the agricultural fields was called a *bagray wand* and a ten year share was known as *muti*.

Shaikh Mali's distribution of land and pastures was in effect in the six regions, based on its redistribution every ten years. This system was accepted by the people and the reason was that both Malik Ahmad and Shaikh Mali were distinguished and accepted leaders and guides of the Pashtuns. Pir Muazam Shahs states: "Malik Ahmad's influence is on the rise and all Afghans are obedient to him. It is said that Shaikh Mali was a shrewd and pious person and paid attention to everybody's needs. All the households followed the code of his Register and this code is still actively abided by the Yuskufzai..."<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Mali's collective social and agricultural reforms were implemented in Swat but later other Afghan tribes came to the area and cultivated more fields. The newly developed fields were called *banda* and the newly arrived tribes settled near the six hills.<sup>2</sup>

It is said: "In later years Shaikh Mali succumbed to measles and passed away and was buried in Ghorbandi of Swat. His grave is surrounded by popular trees and a large village has also sprung there. His grave looks as though it is illuminated."<sup>3</sup> Darweza writes: "At the time of his death Shaikh Mali said that he has not resorted to any wrong doing during his lifetime and has obeyed God. If he is truthful then the distribution of land, which he has enacted among the Yusufzai, shall stay until the end of time, but if he is not, then he will not be considered lofty among them."<sup>4</sup>

In this way Shaikh Mali initiated his distribution of land. A year later Malik Ahmad also passed away and he was buried near Shaikh Mali's grave, close to the main road. It can be estimated that these events took place between 1446 and 1495 CE.

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1. Tarikh-e Hafiz Rahmat Khani, p. 145, Peshawar 1971.

2. Hastinger and Gopal Daas: Tarekh-e Peshawar pp. 406-433, Lahore 1873. Habibi, History of Pashto Literature 2/235, Kabul.

3. Tarikh-e Hafiz Rahmat Khani, p. 145.

4. Tazkirat-al-Abrar wa al-Ashrar, p. 146.

## Moral Obligations

Shaikh Mali's register, beside providing guidance to Pashtuns, on economic matters, also contained issues pertaining to Islamic punishment dealing moral obligations of the people which were implemented by scholars and elders of a particular area taking in consideration of social norms. Pir Muazam Shah writes: "The Yusufzai were a people of good temperament and punished those who were engaged in gambling, use of narcotics and fornication and such misconduct was punishable throughout the community. They called these infringements "Shaikh Mali" and on the seventh month of the year a moral purgation of the whole tribe took place."<sup>1</sup>

In accordance to Islamic tenants these punishments included disciplinary actions such as making a person sit on a donkey, blackening his or her face and parading the person in town, shaving the head of an immoral woman, whipping and stoning the person to death.

### (3)

## Babur

Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur, son of Omar Shaikh and grandson of Sultan Abu Sayed Mirza, was sixth in line from Amir Timur Koragan (1483-1531 CE). He ascended the throne in 1494 at the age of twelve. He spent seventeen years in Trans-Oxiana fighting with his rivals and fled to Khorasan during the month September 1504 CE and four months later managed to take over Kabul from Mohammad Muqim Arghuni.

In Afghanistan he was engaged in skirmishes with his rival princes and Pashtuns and on 3 January 1519 he crossed over to Bajawar by way of Kunar and Jandul where he managed to capture the Sultan fort<sup>2</sup> from the Lazak Pashtuns and killed 3000 Pashtuns in battles there. He built a minaret from their skulls in Bajawar.

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1. Introduction of Tarikh-e Rahmat Khani, p. 29.

2. Babur Nama, p. 137, Bombay 1308 H.

During this time Sultan Wais Swati Dehgan son of Sultan Pakhal was stationed in the Mangur fort and according to Muazam Shah: “The Mangur fort is the throne of Swat princes and it was very developed at the time with palaces, homes for the poor and a plethora of shops. The princes of Swat are progeny of Sultan Jahangir.”<sup>1</sup>

During the time of Babur’s forays Sultan Alauddin Swati, Farukhzad Mir Hindashah Mansur, son of Suleiman Shah, Malik Ahmad’s cousin, Malik Qara, son of Behzad Mandan, Salak Musa son of Aliskor Bayazdi, Malik Musa son of Abu Bakr Mandan, Malik Bazeed son of Mahmud Khalil, Malik Mohammad Khanmson of Sultan Gagyani and Tawus Khan, younger brother of Shah Mansur were tribal leaders in Swat and the Yusufzai country. They adhered to the code of Shaikh Mali but among the Pashtuns certain malleable chiefs and tribal leaders had emerged who were friendly with the emperors of Herat and India for whom they collected taxes from farmers and nomads. These feudal minded chiefs were known under the titles of marazban, sultan, malik or khan and Babur states that among the Yusufzai Malik Shah Mansur and Taus Khan, sons of Malik Salman Shah, were working for the royal court.<sup>2</sup> With the help of Sultan Wais Swati, the villages of Kahraj were imposed with four thousand *kharwar*<sup>3</sup> of grain in taxes, which they were unable to pay. The people were not used to such taxation, as a result of which they disintegrated.<sup>4</sup>

Babur was a prince raised in royal surroundings and his presence among the nomadic and pastoralist Pashtuns engaged in agricultural practices had an impact on their society since he befriended the Pashtun chiefs and khans and imposed a burden on the common people. He enforced his power to safeguard the highways of India by means of these very same tribal leaders. To achieve his goal, Babur allowed the chiefs to have total supremacy over the people and allowed them to have control of the fields and pastures. Muazam Shah describing the feats of Khan Kajo writes:

“He took over as chief and was responsible for the upkeep and safety of the land and attained more dexterity than Malik Ahmad and all the other Afghans, including the farmers and the Indian gypsies, the Neylabi, Swati, Gabiri, Teynuli

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1. Tawarikh-e Rahmat Khani, p. 32.

2. Babur Nama, p. 139.

3. One kharwar is approximately 450 kg.

4. Babur Nama, p. 138.

and the infidels of the mountainous regions became his subjects. It was clear to all people that during the time of Khan Kajo the Yusufzai had one hundred thousand lances meaning they had a hundred thousand infantry, cavalry and spear throwing men. People from other lands were also recruited which increased the number of the total army further.”<sup>1</sup>

The total number of Khan Kajo’s army totaled nearly one hundred and forty thousand men.<sup>2</sup>

The region was ripe for the advancement of tribal chiefs, khans and feudalism. Babur and members of his family nurtured such powerful families and with the passing of time Shaikh Mali’s Register lost its relevance in the lowlands and was only implemented in the remote mountainous regions. When British colonialism spread in the area in 1869, they started a system by the name of *bandobast* (tying and binding). The social reforms of Shaikh Mali were totally abandoned and the agricultural land was given to the powerful khans and taxes were imposed. This was the start of a feudal system in the region.

There are no copies of Shaikh Mali’s Register in existence. When tribal chiefs took over the land they destroyed copies of the Register since it advocated a division of land based on a just social system.

Even though the book does not exist at this time but in the mountainous regions and head valleys of Bajawar, Swat and Mahaban the elders recognize this book and often refer to it by saying: “This or that incident took place seven years before or after the Register.” When the British started their *bandobast* system in 1869 and uprooted the established norms of the Register people were greatly agitated and condemned this move and sang songs of bereavement. Aziz Khan from the Baja village of the Yusufzai country, who was a talented Pashto poet wrote a long ballad of grief, a part of which is presented here:

Come let me tell you a story of what is at hand  
Taxes are on the rise in our sacred land,  
The land owner is suffering.  
Get yourself ready, my friend dear  
With force *bandobast* is being imposed far and near,  
At the delight of the clerks.

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1. Tawarikh-e Rahmat Khani, p. 184.

2. Ibid, p. 149.

Everybody is immensely tense and in grief  
Lest you give a few coins to the chief,  
And then he wants more.  
No one knows you thus, just waiting perchance  
Asking for money whenever there is a chance,  
Then refusing to acknowledge you.  
Taxes have been imposed, nowhere to flee,  
The tax collector will not listen to our plea.  
The farmer is in trouble.  
The cruel officer constantly asks for wherewithal,  
Beating up the people, not caring for them at all.  
The farmer is afflicted.<sup>1</sup>

### Bibi Mubaraka

Babur was an astute prince and familiar with Pashtun psychology. He was not content with ruling over Kabul and Afghanistan. His vision was to capture the wealthy state of Hindustan (India). He used to say that India is a state under rule and order while Kabul and Afghanistan are unruled.<sup>2</sup> Meaning that in India a systematic feudal system is in place where taxes are levied and collected in accordance to set rules while other places, such as Kabul, the rule of law is obscure and taxes need to be collected by force.

Babur marched on India several times. In his first attack he went there by way of Konar and Bajawar as far as Swat and marching through Ambahir and Katlang he crossed the Indus river in February 1519 CE. He realized that Pashtuns lived in the region from Kabul to Indus who were valiant and warrior-like and without their cooperation it would be very difficult to capture India.

“In December Babur went to the fort of Shah Mansur Yusufzai, disguised in the garments of a dervish and saw the beautiful and voluptuous daughter of Shah Mansur, Bibi Mubaraka... he fell in love with her and wrote a decree to Malik Ahmad and Shah Mansur asking for her hand in marriage and that he will not bother them any further... When Shah Mansur saw the decree he denied he had

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1. Bandoost, Peshawar, 1950.

2. Babur Nama, p. 92.

a daughter. An in case he had a daughter such a relationship would not be possible since they do not have any ties with the Mughals.”<sup>1</sup>

Upon insistence by Babur this relationship took place and according to Babur: “On Friday February 6, 1519 CE, in the province of Mandesh, in order to make peace with the Yusufzai nation, I asked for the marriage of Shah Mansur’s daughter and received word that his daughter was coming with the Yusufzai tribute.”<sup>2</sup>

Among the Yusufzai of Swat, elders still talk about the tales of Bibi Mubaraka. She is the same person whom Mughal historians have named as (Afghani Aghacha). Babur’s daughter, Gulbadan Begum, writes:

“In 1519 Babur took over Bajawar by force, massacred its people and on that same day, Malik Mansur Yusufzai, father of Afghani Aghacha, came over to see the exalted, and my revered father married his daughter.”<sup>3</sup>

Babur and the Yusufzai had engaged in battle and when this relationship took place Bibi Mubaraka was taken to Babur’s harem but she refused to be intimate with her husband and demanded: “I want my people to be treated properly, if the king wishes to do so then he should treat them with respect.”

The king told her: “Okay Pashtun woman, I now respect your people, pardon my errors, he assured.”<sup>4</sup>

It is said that Babur went to Shah Mansur’s citadel disguised as a hermit and was arrested by Mansur’s guards and imprisoned. Shah Mansur’s daughter, Bibi Mubaraka, was walking in the compound with her companions and saw the prisoner and asked him who he was and what was he doing there?

Babur told her she needs to promise him she will release him, then he will introduce himself. Bibi told him, young man introduce yourself, I promise I will release you.”

Babur replied: I am prince of Farghana, the Babur Shah of Kabul, my soldiers are stationed down below and I came here to see how you are doing.

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1. Tawarekh-e Rahmat Khani, p. 97.

2. Babur Nama, p. 239. Abu-al-Fazl and Akhund Darwea has also written the name of this maiden as Bibi Mubaraka (Caroe’s *The Pathnas*, p. 159 and Yusufi’s *Yusufzai Afgnans*, p. 317). Her brother, Mir Jamal, accompanied Babur in the capture of India. He and his sister died in India during the reign of Akbar Shah (English translation of Babur Nama 2/87).

3. Humayun Nama, p. 10, Delhi, 1972.

4. Tawarikh-e Rahmat Khani, p. 101.

Bibi Mubaraka: As an exalted prince you are my guest, even though we will be facing each other in battle tomorrow but at this moment you are a respected guest in every Afghan fortress and the guards will take you back to your camp. This is because Pashtuns defeat their enemies in the battlefield but take good care of their guests. When the village council takes place in the evening they will honor their word.

It is said that a Pashtun escort took Babur back to his soldiers. In later battles when Babur was victorious Bibi Mubaraka fell into the hands of his soldiers and when she was taken to Babur, he prostrated in front of her and said I will treat you exactly the way you treated me.

Babur ordered his soldiers they need to take her back to her house with due respect. He added it is because I have fallen in love with this maiden and I care about her deeply.

Mubaraka: My people are fighting you to preserve their honor, and the prince of Fargana is victorious over us. I cannot contain friendship and enmity in my heart at the same time. If I am dear to you then safeguard the honor of my people, give them freedom!

After that Babur sought peace with the Yusufzai and, as mentioned earlier, Bibi Mubaraka was married to Babur and he became son-in-law of the Pashtuns.

It is said that one evening Babur was holding consultations with his compatriots in arms as to how they are to raid the Yusufzai. They agreed they will wake up in the middle of the night and surprise the Pashtuns in their sleep and capture them alive. When Bibi Mubaraka learned about the raid she considered the move against Babur's promise to her. Before Babur woke up to get ready for the raid she left the room and locked its door securely.

When Babur woke up from his sleep he found that Mubaraka was missing and the door locked. When he knocked on the door Mubaraka did not reply. Babur realized that Mansur's daughter had done her mischief.

In the morning Mubaraka returned, unlocked the door and greeted the king with respect and addressed him: "You had made a promise to respect my people

hence I protected them from your raid and prevented you from spewing venom toward them.”<sup>1</sup>

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After Malik Kajo, and during the time when Babur left the Yusufzai region and captured the Delhi throne with the help of Pashtuns from Sultan Ibrahim Ludi in 1526, the Yusufzai and other people of Swat lived a free life under their sultans and chiefs. In some places the chiefs had appropriated a part of the land as their property but the rest of the people lived by the code established in the Register of Shaikh Mali and every few years they would redistribute the land in accordance to Shaikh Mali’s criteria and this form of land distribution was in place until the time of Khushal Khan Khattak. In 1676, when Khushal Khan visited Swat where he spent seven months he mentions the pattern of land distribution in Swat Nama. Since Khushal Khan was raised in a family of chiefs and landlords and was a high ranking chief himself and a vassal of the Mughal empire, he does not consider the code set in the Register with good faith and writes:

Its gardens are most pristine  
Which the Yusufzai have built routine...  
Every other year the land is divided  
Leaving people’s destiny one-sided.<sup>2</sup>

### Misri Khan

Babur died in 1531 and was buried in the Zar Afshan garden along the banks of the Jamna river and his son, Humayun, ascended the throne who, for ten years, was engaged in skirmishes with his brothers and rivals until Sher Shah Suri Afghan attacked him and Humayun fled by way of Sind and southern Kandahar to Iran and Sher Shah became king of India on 15 May 1541.

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1. I heard this story from the eminent Sayed Jabar Shah, who was from the family of Amir Sayed Akbar Shah of Swat, and for a while was the chief of Swat and died in November, 1952.

2. Swat Nama, 29th couplet. It looks as though this system was still in use until the end of the 19th century in Swat. Enwanuddin Kakakhel writing about Swat states on 18th March 1882: That even though Swat’s land is productive, its people are followers of Darweza and distribute the land. Since they fight among themselves they are unable to attain prosperity. (Pashtunkhwa Sher Har wa Bahar, p. 32).



Before Babur, the family of Ludhi Pashtuns ruled in India (1451-1526). Their political doctrine was to attract Pashtuns to the land so they may become land owners and attain official titles.<sup>1</sup> When an Afghan would visit Sher Shah's court he was given a large amount of cash and the king would address the person: "You are a partner in the fame which I have gained in India, this is your salary, you will receive it every year."<sup>2</sup>

Sher Shah Suri was victorious over Babur's son, Humayun, established an orderly sultanate in India, and laid down the foundation of civilization. He also demarcated the border between India and Kabul where he built the Rehqas fort<sup>3</sup> but let Pashtuns enjoy their freedom. When Kajo Khan became the leader of the Yusufzai he engaged in rivalry with Sher Shah<sup>4</sup> who in turn did not want the freedom of his people to be jeopardized.

After Kajo Khan, Malik Misri Khan, son of Jalal Khan, a commander of the Yusufzai, became the leader of Pashtuns. He expanded his sphere of influence from Swat to the banks of the upper Indus river, Hazara, Mahaban and Pakhali and erected dams every where. The Nugram and Chach dams, up to this day, are named after him. In order to protect the southern flank of his territory between the Yusufzai and Ghoryakhel, he built the Misri settlement to protect Yusufzai territory. Malik Henda Akazai, Mata Khan Akozai, Mullah Ibrahim Alyaszai, Malik Tarkiyal Mandan and Malik Babuli were popular tribal chiefs during the time of Misri Khan.<sup>5</sup> They administered the affairs of their region with freedom and according to Sir Olaf Caroe: Babur, Homayun and Kamran were not able to rule over the highlands and lowlands of Pashtun territory and only had control of the main roads or recruited the frontier men to aid them in their dynastic wars. During the reign of Babur, Terah, Waziristan, Swat, Dir and Bajawar were not under his influence. Sher Shah did not advance that far and his western push only reached Banu region and the Indus river.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Abas Sarwani: Sher Shahi Tarikh-e, p. 7, Pashto translation, Kabul 1976.

2. Ibid, p. 273.

3. Nematullah Herawi: Makhzan-e Afghan 1/1313, Dhakka 1960.

4. Ibid, 2/578.

5. Yusufi: Yusufzai Afghan, p. 652.

6. The Pathans, p. 196.

(4)

## The Roshanians and Pir Baba

Bayazid, son of Qazi Abdullah Aurmarh, whose father and grandfather lived in Kani Kuram of Waziristan, was born in 1524 in Jalandar of Punjab. His mother, Bibi Amina, was the daughter of Haji Abubakar. The family was from the Ansari lineage and Bayazid's title was "Miskin" (meaning poor or indigent).

As you read earlier, during this time Pashtuns had entered a new agricultural phase of life and chieftainship and feudalism was on the rise. Beside the powerful khans some spiritual minded people were also engaged in society and people gathered around these individuals who professed mysticism and claimed they knew the right path.

The evaluation of social norms and events of the time needs a prolonged study which I have presented in my earlier works such as *The History of Afghanistan During the Indian Koragani Period* (Kabul, 1963), *Babur Shah* (Kabul, 1973), *introduction to Khair-al-Bayan* (Kabul, 1975) and *Remembering Roshan* (Kabul, 1977).

Among his disciples Bayazid was known as Pir-e Roshan (the enlightened guide), while his rivals called him Pir-e Tareek (the dark guide). He was the author of Pashto *Khair-al-Bayan*, Arabic *Maqsood-al-Mominen*, Persian *Serat-al-Tawheed* and several other booklets. His spiritualism was based on the teachings of Pir-e Kamel and eight other tenets: Islamic jurisprudence, guidance reality, knowledge, nearness, friendship, unity and tranquility.<sup>1</sup>

These states of mysticism can be seen in the works of other spiritual leaders also but we see that sufis spent their life in peace and tranquility and the result of their strife was to spend their life in peace and openness. They fled from war and did not bother any living creature.

Pashtun politics and their geographical location necessitated that they remain neutral to the rivalry which was taking place between the Indian Moghul and Iranian Safavi empires. In order to maintain their freedom and avoid the exigencies imposed by these two mighty empires of the time Roshan's posture was to nurture thousands of disciples who were ready to sacrifice their life for

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1. Bayazid Roshan: *Serat-al-Tawheed*, p. 47.

their freedom and well-being. He left the life of a hermit and stood in the battlefield with a sword in his hand. His children, disciples and other relatives also embarked on the path of freedom and engaged in a prolonged struggle to free their land.

Roshan's sphere of influence spread from Kabul to the Indus river including Swat. He started his religious philosophy with the writing of *Serat-al-Tawheed* in 1570 CE. A year later he conducted the Asnagar and Ashazpur battles and in 1572 he was killed in the Tour Raghā battle. After his death, his children, relatives and followers continued the torch of his campaign for a long time.

His crusade was a major impediment to the Koragani dynasty of Delhi since the Kabul and Indus roads were in Pashtun territory and under the guidance of Roahsn these Pashtuns stood against the marauding Moghul army who were unable to subdue them.

The policy of the Delhi court was to encounter Pir Roshan's enlightenment with someone of his own cadre, so they sent Sayed Ali Termizi (Pir Baba), who had been reared in India, and was the nephew of Amir Timur (death 1583), to this part of Pashtunkhwa. He managed to attract the Yusufzai of Swat, Bajawar, to his sermons and his disciples started to accuse Pir Roshan of wrong doing. Among them Akhund Darweza, son of Gudai (death 1639), was at the forefront of this movement. He wrote the *Pashto Makhzan-al-Islam* to refute Roshan's *Khair-al-Bayan*. His book became so popular among the Pashtuns of Swat that when Khushal Khan visited the area he heard about two things:

In Swat there are two things, hidden or apparent  
Makhzan of Darweza or Register of Shaikh Mali.<sup>1</sup>

Up until the time of Khushal Khan, Pir Roshan's family continued its struggle against the Delhi emperors and in 1638, Karimdad, son of Jalaluddin, was captured after the Nagarthar battle and was killed upon the orders of Shah Jahan.<sup>2</sup>

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1. People openly read *Makhzan-al-Islam* and as stated in couplet 207 of *Swat Nama*. People considered it to have celestial impact and was read openly while Shaikh Mali's Register was not disclosed and remained hidden.

2. Abdul Hamid Lahori: *Padshah Nama* 2/14, Calcutta 1872. Mohammad Saleh Kanu: *Amal-e Saleh* 2/267, Calcutta, 1912.

In Swat Nama, Khushal Khan, has criticized both Pir Roshan and Darweza and considers both Khair-al-Bayan and Makzan, to have literal and spiritual inadequacies.<sup>1</sup>

All Yusufzai were involved in the skirmish between Roshan and Darweza. In Tazkera-al-Berar, Akhund Darweza mentions the Sarkari, Meni and Baar battles under the leadership of Mullah Mir, the famous disciple of Pir Roshan, from the Mandano of Amanzo tribe. This civil strife among the Yusufzai resulted in great loss to both the lowland and highland Yusufzai. This was a time when Jalaluddin Akbar was the Mughal emperor in India around 1582.

### Kalo Khan Amanzai

Kalo, son of Ali Khan, and grandson of Mubarak Khan, was from the Rakhro of the Yusufzai. When fighting between supporters of Roshan and Darweza subsided, Kalo Khan gathered the Yusufzai chiefs to a council. He summoned Malik Ayub, Malik Babo Abakhel, son of Mullah Mirud, and Mirwais Khan and addressed them that the fighting between Roshan and Darweza had nothing to do with them and declared it is a conflict among the clergy. He emphasised it was the duty of the council to maintain freedom and dignity from foreigners.<sup>2</sup>

Through such persuasion, Kalo Khan managed to unite the Yusufzai, and directed them to pay attention to their needs. He developed the agricultural land and built dams to irrigate the fields. Several dams in the area are still under his name. The villages he helped build are famous as Kali of Kalo Khan and Kalo Derai.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Refer to couplets 351, 360, 361, 362, 371 and 377 of Swat Nama.

2. Yusufi: Yusufzai Afghans, p. 295.

3. Ibid, p. 298.

(5)

## Skirmishes Between Akbar and the Yusufzai

The policy of the Delhi court was to divide the people and rule them. The Mughal emperor, Akbar, considered his brother Prince Mohammad Hakim, his rival and had sent him to Kabul as governor who died in Bala Hisar fort on August 8, 1585 and was buried in Babur garden beside his grandfather. In order to maintain control of the area Akbar sent Konurman Singh with a large force to Kabul to kill all Pashtuns and the Roshanians.<sup>1</sup> In the area between Kabul and Attock, the Mughal emperors were only in control of the main road and Peshawar city while the Pashtuns enjoyed their freedom. They did not abide by anyone's rule and settled their social affairs through their local councils. Beside committing atrocities, Konarman Singh did not do anything useful, and in 1587 Akbar sent Zain Khan Koka as administrator of Kabul who appointed Shah Beg to protect the road between Peshawar and Attock.<sup>2</sup>

Kalo Khan gathered the Pashtuns of the lowlands and prepared them for battle with Akbar. In 1589 the Mughal emperor sent a large contingent from Delhi to the Indus to support Zain Khan Koka who was attacking the Yusufzai from three fronts. The first contingent was based in Chakdara, the second in Sadoom and the third in Swabi.

The Yusufzai tactical maneuver was one of slowly retreating backward toward the highlands where they could annihilate the Mughal forces. As a result fighting between the Pashtuns and Mughals had reached the Bajawar and Swat mountains. This move bewildered high ranking Mughal officers and their complaints reached the Delhi court.

Emperor Akbar knew if his forces are not reinforced and left without any help in the battlefield word of his defeat could spread all over India. He immediately summoned two able officers, Raja Mahesh Das Beryal (his chief minister) and Hakim Abu-al-Fath, together with a large force to vanquish the Yusufzai.

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1. Shaikh Farid Bahkari: *Zakhera-al-Khawaneen*, 1/184, Karachi, 1921.

2. Abu-al-Fazl Alami: *Akbar Nama* 2-519, Calcutta 1889.

Zain Khan also joined them and the Mughal contingent went to the Malakand pass where they held a war council in Chakdara to send their men to Bunir and the Yusufzai highlands. This provided a good opportunity to the Yusufzai fighters to face the well-equipped Mughal force. When the Mughal army went past Barikot they came under attack but Akbar's men managed to retreat to Tursak of Bunir where they held a second war council and came to the conclusion that it will be possible for them to go over the Kara Karnar pass by way of Karapi. The Yusufzai, however, remained in the highlands and did not come down to the lowlands. They met the 80,000 strong Mughal army in Selei and dealt a fateful blow to them. Raja Beryal and Hasan Khan Betnnei were killed in the skirmishes and the poet-minded Abu-al-Fath, who had hid behind a bush, fled the scene together with Zain Khan and the two arrived in Attock three days later.

When Akbar learned about defeat of the royal army he belittled Zain Khan and Abu-al-Fazl in Attock as to why they abandoned his chief minister and fled the battlefield? The king summoned his son, Prince Murad, and Zain Khan to take revenge on the lowland Yusufzai. The Mughals started attacking innocent and unarmed citizens in the villages and built military forts in Gari Kapur, Langar Kot and Hund, along the banks of the Indus river to continue their forays on the Yusufzai and the Roahanians from their new establishments. These events took place in February of 1586.

Zain Khan's attacks against the Yusufzai in the valleys of Bajawar and the Tirha lowlands continued with Jalaluddin Roshani (Jalala, son of Pir Roshan) until 1592 but Swat, Bunir and Bajawar did not succumb to Akbar. According to Raverty, despite the fact that Akbar's forces killed many Yusufzai in the highland and lowlands of Swat and destroyed many villages, they were unable to take hold of the region and were unable to subdue the Pashtuns into submission.<sup>1</sup> Akbar who had lost 40 to 50 thousand of his men in these battles sent another able officer, Raja Tudarmal, to protect the roads. With the aid of Mohammad Qasem Kabuli, Tudarmal, managed to open the road to Kabul and sent Zain Khan Koka to Kabul.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Sir Olaf Caroe: *The Pathans*, p. 218.

2. Nezamuddin Ahmad Herawi: *Tabakat-e Akbari* 2/389, Calcutta 1931. Khaqi Khan: *Muntakhab-al-Lubab*, 1/190, Calcutta 1892.

Pashtun leaders who lost their lives in these battles are: Murad Khan, son of Jalal Khan, leader of the Amanzo, whose grave is famous as Shah Murad Tsali, Dawran Khan, brother of Mardan, Qabul Khan, Nedi Khan and Suleiman Khan, son of Mama Khan Khezr. The Suleiman Baba dam, in Panjtar, is still named after him.<sup>1</sup>

Skirmishes with the Pashtun's continued during Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar's long reign (1555-1605) and after him his son, Nuruddin Jahangir (1605-1628) was also engaged with the Roshanians and he visited Kabul twice. When his son, Prince Khuram (Shah Jahan) ascended the Agra throne in January of 1628, the Uzbek army in the north had reached the Hindu Kush mountains and during the month of June they besieged the city of Kabul for three months. Shah Jahan sent a force of 35 thousand under Lashkar Khan Mohmand and Mahabat Khan to Afghanistan and on 12 November, 1629 he captured Kabul. Nazir Mohammad Khan went to Balkh by way of Ghori. During this time Kamaluddin, son of Rakhuddin Afghan, instigated the Pashtuns from Attock to Kabul and on 20 July, 1629 he surrounded Peshawar but Sayed Khan, the governor of Peshawar and Kabul, managed to drive Kamal's men from Peshawar.<sup>2</sup> But the Mughals were engaged with the grand children of Pir Roahan for several more years. Shah Jahan himself toured Kabul five times from 1640 to 1651. The excursions took place in May 1639, May 1646, April 1647, May 1649 and April 1651. The road between Attock and Kabul was under his control but his battles continued along the banks of the Indus river, Kabul, Kandahar and Balkh with the Pashtuns, Uzbeks, and the Safavids.

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1. Yusufi: Yusufzai Afghans, p. 30.

2. Padshah Nama, 1/316.

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Sultan Mahmud Gadun, Baago Khan<sup>1</sup>  
and Akhund Tsalak<sup>2</sup>

Gadun is a clan of the Kakar Pashtuns who live between the Indus and Mahan mountains in the northern Hazara district of Pashtunkhwa.<sup>3</sup> Around 1572 a freedom seeking leader, Sultan Mahmud Gadun rose in the Gadun nation, who was a wise and good-natured man. He had a large number of followers, and was dedicated to freedom and piety in Swat, Mahabin, Chach, Hazara and Pakhali.

The northern highlands of Swat as far as Nuristan (land of light), in present day Konar province (formerly known as Kafiristan, land of infidels), lived a group of people who had not converted to Islam. They worshipped idols and ancient beliefs. Sultan Mahmud Gadun's movement was aimed at spreading Islam among these highland people which had a religious connotation. It was limited to the Hazara district and northern highlands of Swat. After the forays of Babur in 1526 the people of Swat led an independent life and avoided court politics and the animosity which existed between Babur's children and grand children. Their whole attention of these freedom fighters was directed at converting the kafirs to Islam. Afzal Khan Tirin, a student of this mode of thinking provides the following description of Akhund Tsalak Tirin:

“As a result of certain events Akhund went to the Yusufzai, where he was engaged in jihad with the freedom fighters... due to his efforts a lot of people were freed from the darkness of infidelity and now all the people have accepted Islam. It is said that Shah Jahan, the king, sent a decree which stated: “Obey God and Obey the Prophet and my orders Meaning that the people are

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1. Indian historians have written this name as Bahaku. But the Yusufzai and the people of Bunir pronounce it as Baago. In the hand-written manuscript of Tarekh-e Murasa' it has been spelled as Bahagu. Among the Pashtuns from Kandahar it was (Bagi=Bago). The name of the chief minister of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Shah Wali, was Bagi Khan. These names are derived from Bag (meaning God and great) and during the Koshani period it was the name of god and the king or it was used to mean distinguished or august. It was a common word in Sanskrit, Bahawi and Bactrian languages. (For further clarification see my book The Mother of Dari Language, pp. 73 and 107, Kabul 1964).

2. Indian historians have also changed this name and have written it as Akhund Saalak but in contemporary and later Pashto books it is Tsalak=Chalak (Pashto Sulookk-al-Lughat, hand written manuscript of Kabul).

3. Hayat Khan: Hayat-e Afghani, p. 246, Lahore 1867.



rebellious, do should not disparage and come to the sanctuary of the king. This is Yusufzai country, which is a strong nation and they may hold you for being a friend of the court. He wrote back these people may be rebellious to the court but they are not rebellious toward God. They and I are constantly engaged in converting infidels (to Islam). The possibility exists if the king wishes to help in this endeavor he is welcome. Otherwise you asking me to abandon this noble deed and come to you is not possible.”<sup>1</sup>

Sultan Mahmud’s movement was functional in a restricted area. It is for this reason historians have not mentioned it but from the actions of his followers his elevated status and religious movement can be asserted.

Shah Jahan was aware of Pashtun battles with the Mughals from the time of emperor Akbar and the losses which they had incurred as a result of the engagements. It was for this reason he did not want to stir the bee’s nest so he directed his effort to sway Pashtun leaders through bribes and official titles and to create discord among them so they are at the mercy of the court in confronting their rivals. This policy was in force during Shah Jahan’s long reign (1628-1668). It was achieved by befriending a number of tribal leaders among the Yusufzai and in order to safeguard the main highway, high ranking chiefs such Malik Akora Khatak and Khushal Khan Khatak were recruited who were engaged in fighting with rivals but were submissive to the Mughal court.

Among the Mandano, Utman Khel and Sadozai tribes the Khado Khel is a large clan. A famous chief among them was Mamo Khan, who lived in the 17th century and his son Baku Khan Khadokhel, chief of the Yusufzai, was a contemporary of Shah Jahan, who conducted his affairs from Banjara.<sup>2</sup>

Based on his political aspirations Bago Khan espoused the court while at the same time he befriended the Islamic holy war fighters, led by Akhund Tsalak. In this way he managed to persuade the court to recognize his status which Shah Jahan acknowledged by sending a decree in his name. A horse with a golden saddle was also sent by the royal court to him. In this way he managed to spread his authority from Swat to the Indus river, Hasan Abdal and Pakhali. With the help of Akhund Tsalak, he conducted a holy war against Doma, who was king of the infidels. He managed to capture all the land from Bunir as far as

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1. Tarikh-e Murasa’, p. 592.

2. Yusufi: Yusufzai Afghans, pp. 306-399.

Tanawal from the infidel dwelling tribes which the Yusufzai council distributed among themselves. Hence Bago Khan was recognized as the leader of all Yusufzai. In a decree Prince Dara Shukoh, son of Shah Jahan, praised his efforts and recognized him as leader of all Yusufzai and promised him if he paid a visit to the court he will be given all the gold he wishes to obtain.<sup>1</sup>

With the help of Dara Shukoh, Bago Khan, managed to usurp the authority of the highland and lowland Yusufzai from Khushal Khan resulting in animosity between the two powerful tribal leaders.<sup>2</sup> However, skirmishes between supporters of Bago Khan and Khushal Khan's father, Shahbaz Khan, has started earlier. In the last battle Shahbaz Khan received a blow to his head resulting in his death on 17 January, 1641.<sup>3</sup>

In July of the same year, when Shah Jahan was visiting Pashtunkhwa, Bago Khan's son, with the support of Dara Shukoh was given the title of a military officer and animosity between Bago Khan and Khushal Khan reached a high pitch.<sup>4</sup> In their last battle, which took place in Jalbali battle ground on 17 May, 1660, Bago Khan was defeated and his followers killed. His brother, Saida Khan and nephew, Daud, had been killed earlier.<sup>5</sup>

During the reign of Shah Jahan, tussles were underway between Bago Khan and the Khattaks, and an accepted government did not exist among the Pashtuns. When Shah Jahan visited the area in 1541, Khushal Khan reported: "Eleven thousand Yusufzai households live in the lowlands, whose leaders are Habib Bago and Zarif. They can muster three thousand and five hundred cavalry and the Swat force is composed of Kachi, Hamid and Kacho who have five thousand men under them."<sup>6</sup>

From this we can ascertain that the Yusufzai in Swat and the lowlands were free until the imprisonment of Shah Jahan in 1658. When Aurangzeb arrested his father and killed his brother, Dara Shukoh, he became the supreme king of India he started desecrating Pashtuns. His first target was Bago Khan who had taken over the Chahachal fort in Pakhali. In 1667, the military commander of Kabul,

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1. Dara Shukoh's decree was written on August 31, 1657 and the above mentioned book was printed in 315 pages.

2. Afzal Khan Khatak: Tarekh-e Murasa' p. 224.

3. Ibid, pp. 269-270.

4. Tarikh-e Murasa' pp. 279-282.

5. Ibid, pp. 273-289.

6. Ibid, p. 278.

Mir Khan, clashed with a forty thousand Pashtuns force. The king sent his son, Prince Mohammad Azam, together with twenty thousand cavalry and a large force in 1668.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Bago Khan, his followers directed their attention to converting infidels to Islam. Reinforcement were sent from Kabul under the command of Shamsher Khan. The Yusufzai were defeated in several locations in the lowlands and the royal force destroyed Hund and Shahbazgarh. Under the command of Mohammad Amin Khan, Najawar and Swat came under his sway resulting in a lot of destruction. However, due to the fear of Pashtuns, the Mughal army retreated back to Hund and the lowlands in 1669.<sup>2</sup>

In couplet 169 Khushal Khan mentions an incident that someone else started calling himself as Prince Shuja drew the attention of the Yusufzai. The commander of Attock, Kamel Beg, scattered them in April of 1667 along the banks of the river near Hund. Shuja's imposter fled to Swat where he died.<sup>3</sup>

To subdue Pashtuns, Shah Jahan, sent Zarin Khan to build military camps in Bajawar and Swat and through Shahbaz Khan Khatak, followed by his son Khushal Khan, a tax of twelve thousand rupees was levied on the Yusufzai.<sup>4</sup>

Following this Jeun Khan and his son Misri Khan from the Amanzai and Khushal Khan with the help of Aial Khan Mohmand and Darya Khan Afridi created obstacles from Attock as far as Khyber which bewildered Aurangzeb's army and commanders. The king himself, supported by a large force armed with cannons, came to face the Pashtuns and in July 1674 the Mughal army set camp in Hasan Abdal. Fierce fighting ensued until January 1676.

During this time the lowlands and highlands of Swat were free from Aurangzeb's domain and in the month of August of the same year Khushal Khan paid a visit to Swat from Akora to establish peace with the Yusufzai so that all Pashtuns may rise against Aurangzeb (see couplets 87, 88, 89 and 90 of Swat Nama).

Khushal Khan mentions the Banizai, Khwjozai and Yusufzai (couplet 35, Swat Nama). He married the daughter of Malo Khan, who was a Banizai,

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1. Munshi Mohammad Kazem: Alamgir Nama, 2/1045, Calcutta 1868; Muntakhab-al-Lubab 2/313.

2. Yusufzai Afghans, p. 313.

3. Afzal Khan: Tarikh-e Murasa' p. 291.

4. Sher Mohammad Khan Gandapur: Khurshaid Jahan, p. 196, Lahore 1894.

mother of Sadar Khan (couplet 6). Other esteemed chiefs of the Yusufzai were Awdal, Hamza, Nali and the grandson of Kacho (couplets 179 to 182). But most influential was a clergy by the name of Mian Nur, the spiritual guide of Akhund Darweza. Tribal leaders such as Mian Khan, Mangi and Sangar supported this ignorant clergy (couplet 259). He had two law-officers named Allahdad and Dost Mohammad (couplet 212). They all came to encounter Khushal Khan in the Langar Khatak village (couplet 260).

It looks as though these chiefs and clergy had control over Swat and the period of authority of khans started during at this time as the Yusufzi were adopting an agricultural lifestyle while some of the other citizens were engaged in pastoralism. Whenever the opportunity arose Aurangzeb's administrators would exploit the people of Swat and Bajawar by attacking their fields and villages.

It is worth mentioning that the remnant mujaheddin fighters of Sultan Mahmud Gadun were engaged in converting people in the northern highlands and sometimes engaged in tribal conflict with the people of the lowlands. The Delhi court was happy to see these freedom fighters engaged in converting people so that they may not get involved in political affairs of the lowland folks and refrain from following in the footsteps of people such as Khushal Khan, Darya Khan and Aimal Khan, who were a major source of headache to the Delhi court.

### Akhund Panjo

At the time when the Ludhi banner was still being hoisted over the Delhi fortress a person by the name of Sayed Ghazi arrived from India and lived in Yar Hasan village of the Yusufzai under the tutelage of Kajo Khan. In 1536 his wife gave birth to a son whom he named Sayed Abdul Wahab. After the death of his father in 1589 in Attock, a year later Abdul Wahab went to Akbar Pura, a village west of Peshawar and became a guide of Sharia and religious guidance. Since he was teaching the five pillars of Islam people started calling him Akhund Panjo. His disciples were spread from Kabul as far as Attock and he advanced feudalism in the region until his death on 28 April 1631 and was buried in Akbar Pura. Mufti Ghulam Sarwar writes that he was involved in spreading knowledge

and could converse in Pashto, Persian and Hindi. He recited poetry in Persian and translated the Hanafi faith *Kanz-al-Daqayeq* from Arabic into Pashto.<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Fazel Khadrzai, who was chief of Pashtuns in Belot became his disciple. His influence was such that when Emperor Akbar came to the area the king summoned him for a meeting in 1585 and expressed royal devotion to him.<sup>2</sup>

We know two brothers of Akhund Panjo, Abdul Rahman and Essa. Essa left behind a number of publications and it is possible this is the same Shah Essa mentioned in couplet 352 of *Swat Nama*. After Akhund's death, Abdul Rahman, followed in his brother's footsteps<sup>3</sup> and Akhund Yunus, who is buried in Peshawar city, was a disciple of Akhund Panjo.

### Freedom Fighter and Author

In the history of the lowland and highland Yusufzai, a famous student of Akhund Panjo, Akhund Tsalak and his brother Akhund Sabak (Omar) played a vital role. The two brothers were from the Tarin tribe. Their father had come to Swat from Afghanistan and settled in Khatak country northwest of Khair Abad. His children went to the Yusufzai country<sup>4</sup> where they were engaged in propagating Islam in Gagarzo, Abasin, Kabulgram, Hazara and Bunir so they may convert the people of Pakhali, Alabi, Nandahar and Chilas to Islam. Since these people were fighting against Moslems under the leadership of their guardian Doma. Khushal Khan's brother, Jamil Beg, representing the Khatak, Omar Khan from Shewa, Bagu Khan from Panjtar, Akhund Shah Dand from Huti Mardan and Yar Khan from the Gharghast accompanied Akhund Tsalak in his endeavors. Shaikh Rahamkar Kaka Sahib Khatak was also his companion.<sup>5</sup>

The lowland and highland Yusufzai and other Pashtuns from the high northern regions were all engaged in war with the infidels. While the Delhi administrators were just in control of the main road in the lowlands. They did not interfere in internal affairs of the Pashtuns<sup>6</sup> but when Aurangzeb started

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1. *Khazinat-al-Asfiya* 1/479. Read *Kanz-al-Daqayeq* clarification in couplet 192's footnote.

2. Ahmad Shah Rizwani: *Tuhfat-al-Awlia* p. 340, Lahore 1903.

3. Darweza: *Tazkerat-al-Abrar* pp. 185-188.

4. Afzal Khan: *Tarekhe Murasa'*, p. 592.

5. *Tazkera*, p. 132, *Tuhfa* p. 32.

6. Mohammad Kazim. *Alamgir Nama*, 2/1041.

meddling in their affairs Bagu and Tsalak conducted battles with the Mughals from 1667-68 which were mentioned earlier.

Tsalak was a knowledgeable teacher and writer. He wrote *Fatwa-e Gharbia* in Arabic and his second book is *Bahr-al-Ensab*, which provides information on ethnology of Afghans, Turks, Sayeds, and Shaikhs (elders of faith). His third book is about his campaigns in the mountains of Bunir, Hazara and Chilas to convert its people to Islam. His fourth book is entitled *Manaqebat-e Akhund Panjo*, in which he praises his mentor Sayed Abdul Wahab. He wrote all four books in Persian.<sup>1</sup> It looks as though Tsalak was a scholar of Islamic studies and Persian, who was famous for his benevolence, and a renowned critic and scholar such as Khushal Khan also followed in his footsteps and the famous scholar, Mullah Jamal was his student also.<sup>2</sup>

In *Tarekh-e Murasa*' Afzal Khan Khatak, while describing Pashtun saints, has devoted five pages to the scholarly work of Akhund Tsalak and two pages to the reverence of Pir Sabak.<sup>3</sup>

Mullah Mast Zamand was a student of Akhund Tsalak, who was a freedom fighter, poet, writer and scholar of Islamic studies. His burial place is still known in the mountains of Shinwar. He is the author of the Pashto *Sulook-al-Ghazat*. Only a single copy of this book is available in the Kabul manuscripts library.

His death can be estimated to have taken place around 1688. He is a follower of Pir Roshan's Pashto prose and he describes events of his time and the jihadi battles which took place during his lifetime. He chronicles some of these events in poetry also. He talks about famous personalities and those who are dead and introduces Pashun leaders and warriors. At times he recites odes, tales and quatrains also. His poetry is composed of ballads or fear, praise and criticism. He uses Mast as his pen name in his poetry. In one of his descriptive poem he states:

The Khasi, Safi, Shinwar freedom fighters  
Fighting in the name of God Almighty.  
Their leader is the gallant Akhun Tsalak  
May God prolong his life and grace.

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1. *Tuhfa*, p. 31.

2. *Tarikh-e Murasa*, p. 593.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 560-592.

His battles against infidels I shall describe

May righteousness be on my side.

'Mast' is a student of Akhun Tsalak

Speaking about blasphemy day and night.<sup>1</sup>

Among the companions of Akhund Tsalak we know Omar Khan Razar from Sehwa, Bado Khan, Akhund Yunus, Khao Sahib from Tor Dehri and Akhund Sahib Dandor from Huti Mardan.<sup>2</sup>

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## Downfall of the Babur Dynasty in India and the Rise of Afghans

With the death of Aurangzeb at the beginning of the 18th century the might of the Baburi family began to wane. Under the leadership of Mirwais Khan Hotak the Pashtuns in Kandahar had gained their freedom and only the main road between Kabul and Peshawar and its associated villages were under the control of the administrators of the two cities. Between 1738 and 1740 Nader Afshar's forays in Pashtunkhwa diminished the power base of Nasir Khan, an appointee of the Dehli court in Peshawar and Kabul. Taxes were imposed on the Khyber Pashtuns<sup>3</sup> and Nader Khan returned to Khorasan from India but the Yusufzai of Swat remained independent under the leadership of their chiefs and held their local councils.

As you read earlier skirmishes between the Pashtuns and the Babur family continued for two centuries until the death of Aurangzeb having religious, tribal or political connotations. Although these engagements resulted in the rise of national leaders, but the Pashtuns residing in these regions, played a major role in this campaign to keep their land free of foreign influence. City dwelling chiefs and princes exploited the people. The banner of fiefdom spread from

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1. For further elaboration see: Pashtana Shuara, 1/77, Kabul 1942.

2. Tuhfa, p. 32.

3. Fryer: The History of Afghans, p. 67, London 1858.

Herat to the Attock and the Sadozi Abdali leaders established centers of influence in Herat, Farah, Kandahar and Multan. Ahmad Shah Abdali, son of the Sadozai chief of Herat, was chosen in the Sher Surkh national council as the king of Afghanistan in October 1747.

Ahmad Shah Abdali's policy was to unite all Khorasan and Afghanistan (Pashtunkhwa) from the Oxus and Damaghan to Margali and Kashmir and once again rise the banner in India which had been lowered by Babur. His call was:

United we are, whether Ghalji or Abdali  
Best is the one with a clear heart.  
All Pashtuns need to unite  
And spread their religious might.<sup>1</sup>

As a Pashtun monarch, Ahmad Shah conducted eight forays in India in remembrance of the past might of Farid (Sher Shah Suri) and Hamid (Shaikh Hamid Ludhi). He writes:

The period of Farid and Hamid will be revived  
When I conduct my battles in every direction.<sup>2</sup>

With such undertaking and resolution Ahmad Shah became the accepted leader of all Pashtuns and on his way to India he would recruit Pashtuns from the regions he passed through. The Yusufzai, from the lowland and highlands, also joined his army. Sher Mohammad Gandapuri writes:

“During the reign of Ahmad Shah, pearl of the pearls, king of Afghans, all the tribes obeyed him and their leaders (the Yusufzai) accompanied the king to Hindustan to conducted their religious war...”<sup>3</sup> The British historian and politician, Elphinstone who visited Shah Shuja's court in 1809 in Spring writes: “Ahmad Shah's conduct and love toward every Pashtun tribe was so immense that even if one tribe would rebel against him he refrained from fighting against them in order to avoid losses and casualties to the tribe. He called the Yusufzai, Tarkalan, Gigan, Utman Khel, Bar Mohmand, Mohammadzai of Hashtangar, Khalil, Mohmandzai, Afridi, Shinwar, Urakzai, Daudzai, Khatak and Bangash

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1. Ahmad Shah Baba's Divan, p. 292, Kabul 1941.

2. Ibid, p. 321.

3. Khurshaid Jahan p. 192.



the Bar Durrani (Upper Durrani) and showed so much reverence to them as he did to his own tribe.<sup>1</sup>

The Yusufzai Pashtuns stem from the Saraban branch, which is a part of the four main branches of Pashun ethnicity and the Sarabani or Awdali (Durani) also belong to this branch. As mentioned earlier, when the Yusufzai ventured into Kabul during the 15th century, as a result of the high elevation of Kabul, they were known as the Upper Pashtuns or Upper Durrani. After migrating from Kabul to Peshawar, Attock and Swat, and settling in the highlands and lowlands, they were known as the Upper Durrani. Ahmad Shah considered them as his brothers and an important branch of the Pashtun lineage. When Ahmad Shah built the city of Kandahar in 1761 a bazaar and the north eastern section was designated as Bar Durrani for the Yusufzai and other related tribes. This part of the city still bears the same name.

As you read earlier, the Yusufzai were never totally subjugated by any emperor but when Ahmad Shah passed through Khyber all the Pashtuns from Swat to Bajawar accepted his authority and he befriended major chiefs of this region such as Faizullah Khan Khalil, Abdul Samad Khan Mohamadzai of Ashnagar, Fateh Khan Yusufzai, Arsala Khan Mohmand and others. He married a Yusufzai woman to his son, Timur Shah, in 1771, who was the mother of Shah Zaman and queen of Afghanistan and this couplet was written in royal decrees:

The celestial heavens are envious of:

Fatima's slave and Zaman Shah's mother.<sup>2</sup>

We see the names of leaders of this region in Timur Shah's reign also who accompanied the king in his travels and the battle with the Sikhs, which took place in 1773, such as Zangi Khan Durrani, Shah Wali Khan, son of Fath Khan Kamelzai, and Bahadur Khan, son of Faiz Talab Khan Mohamadzai Ashnagar and other Yusufzai chieftains.<sup>3</sup> Bahadur Khan was the grandson of Abdul Samad Khan, who was a prominent figure in Ahmad Shah's court and the governor of Sara-e Hind, martyred in the battle against the Marhata. According to Hussaini:

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1. Elphinstone, *The Kingdom of Kabul*, London 1839 as referenced in *Da Pashtano Tarekh* by Qazi Ataullah, Peshawar 1948.

2. Azizuddin Wakili: *Durat-al-Zaman*, p. 5, Kabul 1959.

3. Imamuddin Hussaini: *Tarikh-e Hussaini*, p. 172, Kabul, hand-written manuscript.

“The amir was bestowed with kindness which the people praised. His cavalry was composed of 500 riders.”<sup>1</sup>

Lashkar Khan Kamalzoi of the Yusufzai also had a cavalry of 500 spear throwing men and Zafar Khan, son of Fateh Khan Yusufzai was governor of the territory extending from Hasan Abdal to Kashmir.<sup>2</sup>

Husain Shah states that 18,000 men from the Upper Pashtuns formed Shah Zaman’s army as far as Bajawar who paid 700,000 rupees in taxes<sup>3</sup> and the Yusufzai only provided 2200 men for security of the border with India, which included the youth from Swat and Bunir also.<sup>4</sup>

In 1788 when Azad Khan, son of Haji Karimdad Bamizai Araz Begi, was governor of Afghan Kashmir he was accompanied by some Yusufzai from Swat. The late Sayed Jabar Shah, the deposed amir recited this folk couplet, which shows the affinity of the Swat Pashtuns with Afghan rulers:

I lost my love by the Swat river

Now I accompany Azad to Kashmir.<sup>5</sup>

Ahmad Shah’s grandson, Zaman Shah, who was a dexterous king, wanted all of northern India to be a part of Kabul just as it was during his grand father’s time. His aim was to drive the British away from his ancestral land, who had come from the eastern parts of India, as far as Terkha Daryab, in the guise of traders.

To achieve his goal he consulted with the Baburi princes and explained the situation to the Sikhs of Punjab, he also befriended their leader, Ranjit Singh, in Lahore and embarked toward Peshawar on 25 October 1798.

The British governor general, who was stationed in Calcutta, feared this move and directed all his colonial forces in this direction. This movement strengthened and became more dangerous when the emissary of Napoleon arrived at Shah Zaman’s court and to Tipu Sultan’s court in Eastern India while political talks were underway to subvert the British advances.

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1. Ibid, pp. 228, 325, 380.

2. Ibid, pp. 370, 390.

3. Imamuddin Hussaini: Tarikh-e Hussaini, p. 176, Kabul, hand-written manuscript.

4. Wakili: Durat-al-Zaman, pp. 78-310.

5. I heard this couplet from Sayed Jabar Shah in 1951 in Peshawar (Habibi).

The British intelligence had penetrated the Sikhs in Punjab, the Baburi princes and the administration of Kabul's court. They regularly provided the British about Shah Zaman's moves.

Within Afghanistan Shah Zaman was fighting for power with his brothers and high ranking courtiers. But at the same time he remembered those Indian provinces which were a part of Afghanistan in the past. He went to Punjab several times but due to internal conflicts he had to return back. In June of 1799 the British governor general received word that Shah Zaman had managed to resolve issues with two leaders of the court, Wafadar Khan and Sher Khan. He assigned Wafadar Khan to be in charge of the region from Herat to Attock and delegated Sher Zaman Khan to take control from Attock to Delhi and told him: "I had to return twice from Lahore due to animosity between the two of you. Such conflict is detrimental to me and the court."<sup>1</sup>

The British realized if Zaman Shah, accompanied by the Afghan army, were to come to Attock all Pashtuns and the Yusufzai, as far as Swat, would join him and the Pani Pat account would once again resume. So they resorted to political intrigue and sent their ambassador, John Malcom, to Iran to encourage Fateh Ali Qajar, to march over Afghan territory in Khorasan and Herat so that Shah Zaman may leave Peshawar to protect Herat. This strategy of the colonial minded British was successful and a civil war ensued in Afghanistan. Ghulam Mohammad Darwesh, from Hindustan, who was sent by the East India Company to Kandahar, managed to rise a number of chiefs against Shah Zaman and was successful in his plot. Shah Zaman killed all the belligerent chiefs. Darwesh fled to India but managed to create such chaos in Afghanistan that Shah Zaman was detained and blinded in 1800.

After this incident Afghanistan was engaged in civil strife for the next 40 years. The Sikhs gained so much courage that they crossed the Attock and reached the outskirts of Khyber (1818). The authority of the region fell into the hands of the Sikhs and the Barakzai warlords but in reality the Yusufzai and the Pashtuns of the highlands were supporting freedom fighters under Sayed Ahmad

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1. Parmatammasharan: Persian News and Letters, Delhi 1966. This book is a collection of those people which the East India Company spies provided to the office of governor general from 1776 to 1803. This report, number 214, appears on page 484 of the book. This books dwells on British concerns regarding Afghanistan and Shah Zaman's military moves.

Baryalwi. This group of Indian freedom fighters came to Peshawar by way of Kandahar and Kabul in 1826 and Pashtuns joined them because they had raised the banner of jihad. They fought the Sikhs and the Kabul sardars and engaged in activities which were against Pashtun norms. It was fortunate that the highland and lowland Yusufzai distanced themselves from this lot but Fateh Khan of Panjtar, Sayed Amir Pacha of Kotie, Ashraf Khan from Zayedi, Shadi Khan from Hund, and Amir Mohammad Khan from Bajawar supported this group. However, Sayed Ahmad Baryalwi, was successful against the Sikhs and the sardars. He visited the Pashtuns in Bunir and Swat and they accepted his cause of Islamic resurrection.<sup>1</sup> He spent two years in Peshawar, Panjtar and Awshar and with the help of Pashtuns conducted several battles with the Sikhs and the Kabul sardars until several freedom fighting leaders such as Sayed Ahmad, Mawlawi and others were killed in the Bala Kot battle of Hazara district in May 1831 in the battle against the Sikhs.

Those freedom fighters who survived lived with Pashtuns in Samch and Chamarkand in Bajawar and had links with national leaders and freedom movements in India and Afghanistan. From time to time they published journals under the names of Al-Mujahid and Shuhla.

For the next 50 years the Yusufzai and other Pashtuns of the highlands and lowlands lived a free life in accordance to the Pashtun code but were suppressed by the khans and the wealthy and from time to time they paid taxes to the cruel Sikhs and the Kabuli sardars. In 1849 the British put an end to the power of the Sikhs and the sardars, captured Peshawar, and to a certain extent brought the Yusufzai region under British colonialism.

## (8)

### Yusufzai and the British, New Establishment in Swat

During the first decades of the 19th century the region of Swat gained so much precedence as a center of religious and political activity that the British

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1. Ghulam Rasul Mehr: Sayed Ahmad Shahid, p. 430, Lahore.

kept an eye on it in London. In his book Tutma-al-Bayan, Sayed Jamaluddin Afghan expresses his happiness and honor to the quest of these people to jihad.

In the last decade of the 18th century Mia Abdul Ghafur, son of Abdul Wahid was born in the Cherie village of Hamizi in upper Swat. At first he tended his family's sheep, then he engaged in educating himself and started learning the path of righteousness. In 1828 he gained so much fame in religious jurisprudence that a large number of people started following him. He learned the Naqsbandi sect from Hazrat Ji of Peshawar and the Qaderi sect from Sahibzada Mohammad Shuaib in twelve years. In 1828, when the waves of the Indian freedom fighters from Kabul reached Swat, he joined them and started propagating their cause. Then he went to Swat where he organized thousands of followers in Swat, Bunir, Bajawar and Dir and a year later participated in the battle with Amir Dost Mohammad Khan against the Sikhs. When the Amir returned to Kabul he went back to Swat and settled in Saido Sharif.<sup>1</sup>

It was during this time that the British built their fort in Peshawar and were spreading their authority in an organized fashion. In the lowlands of Yusufzai country they were holding discussions with the khans and chiefs and were bringing them under their influence.

Akhund was a judicious guide of Pashtun customs and psychology. He called for a large council composed of the residents of Swat, Bunir and Bajawar. Through his fiery speeches he united them and in 1850 he appointed Sayed Akbar Shah, a compatriot of Sayed Ahmad Baryawlawi and a person of trust as their religious imam and he himself was given the title of Shaikh-al-Islam. He started his jihad against the foreigners so that they may not be able to spread their influence in Swat. Unfortunately Sayed Akbar Shah died in May of 1857 and his son, Sayed Mubarak Shah, took his place which created chaos among the people. Through the efforts of Akhund the people's council was called and skirmishes continued with the foreigners in the lowlands and highlands by the people of Swat and other Yusufzai tribes. Akhund and Sayed Mubarak Shah personally participated in most of these battles.

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1. Abdul Ghafur Qasimi: Tarikh-e Swat, Peshawar 1937. Nasrullah Nasr: Akhund Sahib of Swat, Peshawar 1950. Wali Mohammad Swati: Virtues of Akhund Sahib in poetry (manuscript). Huges: The Akhund from Swat, London 1895. Mohammad Ismail Towrawi: Saheb-e Swat, Peshawar 1953.

The first battle of Narengi took place on 18 July, 1857 led by Rahim Khan, Khado Khel Muqrib Khan and Madad Khan and the Mahmudzai from the lowlands. Disciples of Akhund Sahib from Swat also participated in this religious skirmish. Rahim Khan, known as 'Zrawar Hushyar' (the sober valiant), was among the people who, after the battle, established a fund for the martyrs of the farming families.<sup>1</sup>

The second Panjtar battle: A group of the Indian mujaheddin,, under the leadership of Mawlalwi Nematullah, were stationed in Panjtar fort of the Yusufzai. Mir Baz Khan, son of Muqrib Khan's uncle was their compatriot who did not pay taxes to the British. The Akhund Sahib from Swat also joined with his followers and attacked the foreigners. Major General Sydney Carter and Major Waxon, together with a large contingent of men, went to face the freedom fighters and skirmishes started in April of 1858 between the two sides. Mir Baz Khan was martyred in battle and the Commander of freedom fighters was detained and executed. His village was set on fire and the lower part of Narengi was destroyed and the upper part of the village was trampled by elephants.<sup>2</sup>

Third, the Ambela battle: North of the Yusufzai lowland country, in the northeastern part of Sodom, lies the six mile long pass which leads to Bunir, known as Ambela and has a strategic location. All the Bunir, Swat, Hund and Yusufzai freedom fighters had gathered there. The mujaheddin arrived under the leadership of Mawlawi Mohammad Abdullah and Malik Essa Khan Jadron, attacked Tobie in Swabi resulting in the fleeing of the British forces. The Akhund Sahib of Swat also arrived with his fighters and heavy engagements took place in late October 1763. The freedom fighters from Dir, Bajawar, Swat and Bunir continued their forays with such ferocity that the British commander Neil Chamberlin, together with his 7000 strong well-armed force was forced to retreat and Chamberlin was injured. Over nine hundred enemies lay dead in the battle field and the Pashtuns would recite:

The Ambela foxes are now satiated,  
After eating the livers of the white foreigners.

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1. Lomsdon: Swat Report, Calcutta 1900. Yusufi: Yusufzai Afghans, p. 392.

2. James Darmesteter: The Governor of Peshawar, London 1898. Yusufi: Yusufzai Afghans, p. 393.

After witnessing their failure in Ambela the British brought in a large force on 18 November 1863 which forced Akhund Sahib to deploy an army of 15,000 freedom fighters. Fierce fighting took place until 15 December and so many died that the place was named as 'Qatal Garrh' (Death's Parlor).<sup>1</sup>

Little has been written about Pashtun history. What is available is the work of foreigners. However, Pashtuns have poets amongst them who recited poems and ballads in their language. We have at our disposal a lot of ballads about the battles and freedom fighters of Swat. A resident of Tarkei, Ahmad Gul, praises Akhund Abdul Ghafur, in these words:

He has come to conduct a holy war  
May God help Abdul Ghafur in his effort!  
He brought the gypsies from Belchi with him  
Messages have arrived for him from Manja.  
The foreigners are distraught about this matter  
With the mighty sword the world is stained in blood.  
They have come to fight for freedom, enlightened  
The British enemy, how great is his value?  
His food is contributed, his attire green,  
His fort is auspicious, his gathering memorable.  
Mangal will bloody the British force red. <sup>2</sup>

Akbar Shah was a mullah among Akhund Sahib's followers. He describes the Qatal Garrh battle as follows:

Freedom fighters are here to face the enemy  
In Qatal Garrh,  
In large numbers they have arrived to fight  
Creating havoc.  
They will face off these monkey-faced foreigners  
To attain their vengeance.  
They did not have a sword and fought with a billet  
Fighting in Qatal Garrh.

In another stanza he describes the death of the mullahs as follows:

The mullahs are dead, come to their aid Sahib of Swat

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1. James Darmesteter: *Da Pashunkhwa Har wa Babar*, p. 22. Paris 1888.

2. *Ibid*, p. 14. This is a large ballad, we present a small part of it here.

My tears flow, O Lord!  
Poor people are under threat O God!  
Bunir is now childless,  
Like the nightingale threatened by the hawk  
They are in Qatal Garrh.

In the end he writes:

The devout are not afraid of the enemy  
They won't repent,  
They are ready for martyrdom of the infidels  
Believe in this.  
I Akbar Shah go to the battle field to provide support  
I go to Qatal Garrh.<sup>1</sup>

In such ballads we can see descriptions of battles. While describing the battle of Bunir, Hamid Gul, writes that the British forces include both white men and Sikhs.

British forces have arrived from Calcutta  
Together with some Sikh soldiers..

The Bunirwal, Chamlawal and Malikawal were all fighting side by side with the Pashtun men. Freedom fighters from Qashqar in Swat had also joined them:

The Bajawar youth were reinforced  
When the men from Qashqar arrived.<sup>2</sup>

In his ballad about the valiant fighters of the Bunir battle, such as Akhund Sahib, Nasir Khan of Bar Keley, and the Salmey and Swat Yusufzai, Nawab Khan praises these freedom fighters in these words:

You killed the foreigners, your dream is fulfilled  
The cry of danger prevails.  
They were blinded after seeing freedom fighters  
Now they are afflicted.

In Har-wa-Bahar, pages 4 to 31, Darmesteter, provides examples of poets of the time in which the exploits of the Yusufzai in Swat as far as Qashqar, and their struggle against the invading forces have been recorded.

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1. Pashtunkhwa, Har-wa-Bahar, p 16.

2. Ibid, p. 19.



The foreigners are under threat  
They are fleeing if they can find a way.  
Swat has arisen, from lowlands to Bunir  
Rotting are the corpses of foreigners.  
They were vanquished in the province  
When the Pashtuns arrived wave by wave,  
The Swat people then realized  
Many foreigners were killed in Bajawr.<sup>1</sup>

Freedom fighters also killed 14 foreign officers in Ambela. With the aid of a renegade chief, Zaidullah Khan, the foreigners set Malika alight and the British officer gave him his pistol as a prize but his own Pashtun tribals killed him in 1868 with the same weapon.<sup>2</sup>

How long will you glow, short-lived candle  
The moth will eventually revenge you.

The British realized it was impossible to fight against Pashtuns with their weaponry in such difficult terrain so they engaged in sowing discord among them and let them fight amongst themselves. Unfortunately Pashtuns are known to fight each other and crave for a civil strife. In February of 1868 a number of chiefs from Bunir declared animosity toward the Swat freedom fighters and Akhund Sahib with the aid of some people from Hund. The followers of Akhund Sahib prevailed and the invaders fled. This further increased Akhund Sahib's influence in Bunir and Jaghrazo.<sup>3</sup>

The forays of Bunir highlands, Ashozo, Dawlatzo, Nourazo and other tribals continued in 1877 against foreign forces led by Ajab Khan from Char Kaley of Mardan, who was grandson of Mullah Miro Roshani. The British asked him to attend a council, arrested him with this pretext and hanged him in 1878.<sup>4</sup>

This period of resurrection in Swat ended with the death of the freedom fighting saint and leader, Akhund Abdul Ghafur on 12 January 1877 in Saido Sharif. Akhund Sahib's personality, leadership and spiritual influence is a bright period in history of Swat. He prepared a fervent prayer in Pashto prose and had a large number of followers. Among them we know of Mullah Najmuddin, from

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1. Har-wa-Bahar, p. 27

2. Yusufi: Yusufzai Afghans, p. 430.

3. Ibid, p. 431.

4. Ibid, p. 432.

Hada of Jalalabad (dead 1902), Abdul Wahab, the saint from Mangi Sharif, author of Pashto Aqaid-al-Mo'mineen (dead 1905), Mullah Abu Bakr from Ghazni, Faiz Mohammad, from Musahi of Kabul, Miyan Hamidullah from Tagab, the mullah from Timal Garrh, Shah Baba from Dir, the mullah from Karbogi, a mullah from Kandia, Miya Gul Jan, the mullah from Shasho, upper Swat, the Mullah from Mitra and thousands of other disciples and freedom fighting students.<sup>1</sup> His enlightenment continues up to this day.

Akhund had maintained close relationship with the court in Kabul and Afghan kings and he recited sermons in the name of the Afghan king. Afghan currency was in use in Swat and its people considered themselves tied to Afghanistan. All this was due to the efforts of Akhund Sahib who had managed to maintain Swat free of foreign influence where Islamic regulations and an Islamic government was in place among the different rumbustious tribes. Emissaries from Kabul also went to see him. Amir Sher Ali Khan sent his ambassador, Ahmad Khan Sakzai, the governor of Jalalabad to Swat. Being a wise and diplomatic personality Akhund never interfered in the internal affairs and conflicts of Afghan princes and preached Islamic brotherhood to everyone. In 1873 Amir Sher Ali Khan introduced crown prince, Abdullah Jan, to Akhund through a decree who agreed with this gesture and sent a letter of congratulations to Kabul (dated 4 December 1873) which was published in Shams-al-Nihar of Kabul.<sup>2</sup>

The people of this region considered themselves attached to the people of Afghanistan. In 1875, when a dispute erupted between Faiz Talab Khan of Bajawar and Ghulam Haider Khan of Nawakey, the matter was settled through the mediation of Amir Sher Ali Khan. In 1873 the superintendent of Mirzoi of Chitral paid a visit to the king's court.<sup>3</sup> After the death of Akhund Sahib the flames of freedom came to an end in Swat. In 1897 the Salarzai and people from Bunir attacked Malakand but this time the foreigners were not facing a mighty adversary like Akhund. The battle lasted for 12 days. The British managed to maintain their raj and on 19 January 1898 the fighting discontinued.<sup>4</sup> The British were vehemently spreading their influence in the highlands persuading tribal

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1. Hujat-al-Bayzha, Bombay, 1894.

2. Shams-al-Nihar, Vol. 7, 1873. Letter addressed to Amir Sher Ali Khan.

3. Abdul Hai Habibi. Da Afghanistan Peshlik, p. 201, Kabul 1975.

4. Yusufi: Yusufzai Afghans, p. 432.

chief and landlords in Swat, Chitral, Bajawar, Dir, Bunir, Kohistan, Talash, Chilas, Tawamib, Alayee and Pakhali to join them and like leeches were sucking the blood of the common people.

(9)

### Swat After Akhund

In order to consolidate their power in the mountainous regions of Malakand, Swat, Dir, Chitral the British in 1895 formed the Malakand Agency under the command of political agent, Major H.A. Dean and started working on an asphalt road from Peshawar as far as Swat.

The importance of this road was stated in letter number 240, dated 8 May 1895, but the government in Britain and Lord Rosbery's cabinet did not want to interfere in Chitral and openly disagreed with such a move in a reply dated 13 June 1895. After the defeat of Rosbery, when Lord Salisbury came to power the road linking Mardan, Huti, Malakand, Rabizoy, Chakdara and Swat was built passing through Luhari all the way to Chitral.<sup>1</sup> This resulted in subjugating all the frontier people under their yolk and military influence. The Pashtuns would say:

London and Chitral, so far apart.

Disgrace has taken over, the foreigner is in Chitral.

The British were engaged in their colonial schemes and after the establishment of the Band-aw-Bast scheme they distributed the agricultural land to certain khans and chiefs and consolidated the roots of feudalism in the land. Even though the chiefs were British vassals but the common people were still against British schemes and in fall of 1897 the people of Upper Swat once again rose up. The Nawab of Dir informed his British masters that the Palam mullah was making plans to start a jihad with the support of his disciples.

Landaki is a place in the first part of Swat. Here Mullah Mastan Ghazi, whom the foreigners called the Mad Mullah, while the people knew him as

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1. Yusufzai Afghan, p. 440.

Sartor Faqir (the dark headed faqir) but whose real name was Sadullah Khan, who was from a family in Bunir waved the banner of jihad and in the middle of the night conducted an unexpected raid on Malakand. Hand to hand fighting took place between the Pashtuns and foreigners. A number of freedom fighters were killed and the British lost three officers while three other were injured. Twenty one soldiers were killed and 31 injured.<sup>1</sup> Later, the freedom fighters from Swat and Bajawar also arrived and after 31 July 1897, fierce clashes took place in Chakdara and Amandara and during the end of August General Beldier attacked Swat and Jandawal. The Pashtuns resisted until the end of September and on 11 October some nawabs such as Khar Khan, the nawab of Jaar, the khan from Nawagi and other British vassals gathered in Nawi Kaley. The khan from Nawagi was bribed ten thousand rupees, Khar Khan three and a half and the nawab from Jaar Khan received two and a half thousand rupees from the British. As such they sold themselves and their freedom loving countrymen to the invading foreigners.

In this way the freedom movement of the brave people of the Yusufzai and other Swat citizens came to an end, a people who had not accepted subjugation by mighty emperors like Babur, Akbar and Aurangzeb.

The light of freedom thus faded in Swat and among the Yusufzai, Ghulam Mohammad Khan, the grandson of Mullah Alyas Akhund, was the tribal chief during the middle of 18th century. After him Qasem Khan, then Rahmat Khan (dead 1884), Nawab Mohammad Sharif Khan (dead 1904), Nawab Pacha Khan (dead 1925) and Nawab Shah Jahan (dead 1960), all of whom were British vassals, were busy exploiting the people of Swat. However, Haji Imra (Umra) Khan, son of Abas Khan Mastikhel, in 1869, established his power base in Dir and Bajawar, built war fortresses in several locations and established an organized army. By 1890 he attained supreme power. The British felt threatened by his power and instigated the surrounding nawabs to rise against him. Since in Kabul, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, who was also wagging his tail to the British, sent the Makrani Mullah from Kabul to Jandawal. Imra Khan, who was a sagacious and experienced leader and had seen a lot of destruction of the Pashtun people, managed to capture Chitral also.

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1. Ibid, p. 442.

On 14 March, 1895, the British sent a large contingent of soldiers under the command of General Sir Robert Lou, together with five other officers to Swat to combat Amra Khan's nationalists in the Swat highlands. A number of battles took place and a large number of freedom fighters were killed. The well-armed British forces were sowing discord among the people and instigating traitors among the Pashtuns. Finally on 17 April 1895, Imra Khan's base of power waned and he left for Kabul where he stayed as a guest of the Kabul government. Boasting their victory the British would say: "All the frontier chiefs are our vassals or are the bondsmen of our friend, the Amir (king) of Afghanistan." <sup>1</sup>

Imra Khan passed away in Kabul in 1953 and was buried in the Bala Joi graveyard of Waisalabad of Chardehi. His children live in Kohdaman on the land which was gifted to him by the Afghan state.<sup>2</sup>

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## Historical Investigations of Swat

The beautiful landscape of Swat, which lies at the crossroads of vanquishers, on their way to Kabul, Konar, Bajawar and the Indus basin, according to Panini, who lived around 350 BCE, was known as Udyana, which in the Prakrit language was Ujyana meaning a garden.<sup>3</sup>

This name can be traced in the Pashto language. Uddi (ادې) has a root in wadi (ودې) of Pashto meaning building or growing. When dyana-wanna-bann is added to the word it takes the meaning of a garden in Persian.

Earlier you read that in Rig Veda ballads the name of Swat River is Suti or Swasuti. Since the source of the Swat river is from natural springs its water is clear and translucent. In ancient Aryan languages, the present day Pashto *spin* or

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1. Ibid, p. 485.

2. Abdul Rauf Benawa, Pashtunistan, p. 433, Kabul, 1952.

3. Samuel Beil: Si-yu-ki's Pashto translation, p. 185, Kabul 1979. In a footnote Beil writes since Swat is like a garden it was known as Udyana.

Persian *saped* was *speta-suweta-spenta* which was *spaeta* in Avesta, *siata=spet* in Pahlavi and *cvet* in the Vedic language.<sup>1</sup>

Due to the clarity of Swat river's water the name of Swat may have been derived from these ancient words. In the 7th century, Huen Tsang, the Chinese traveler, also praised the luminescence of the water, which take its source from the Samar lake.<sup>2</sup> Abu Raihan Beruni also mentions its clear water: "The people of Kashmir celebrate the Jivasarman festival on the 26 and 27th of the month and I asked them why they celebrate this festival? They replied: to the left side of the source of Jehlum river lies a lake which is called Khudai Shahr and during the month of Weysaka the water brings forth an abundance of logs . This place is in Swat, on the other side of Keri (present day Garri), where 53 streams meet. During these two days the water of these streams is very clear. People says that Mahadeva, bathed in the river during these two days."<sup>3</sup>

Even now there is a place by the name of White Water in the surroundings of Saido Sharif which indicates that the name of Swat may have been derived from the name of the river's "white water."

Swat became the waypoint and resident of ancient Aryan tribes. Alexander passed through the region on his way to India and later his Greek general, Alan, who was engaged in war in Balkh, Hindukush and northeastern India, the impact of Greek and Bactrian civilization prevailed in Swat. Later it became an important center of Buddhism, Khushal Khan states in Swat Nama:

You can see tall minarets and idols of stone  
Large abodes and ancient relics well known.

At the beginning of the 19th century, when the British had not reached Swat no one paid attention to its historical relics. However, as a result of his keen vision Khushal Khan's mentions these relics during the 17th century as mentioned in the above couplet.

The ancient Buddhist temples, which were called *sangarama* or stupa (tup in Pashto) existed in Ramkand (Khadokhel), Mangora, Kateli, Hudigram, Sunigram, Panjigram, Kanjigram and Bunir. From 250 BCE to the Ashoka period these temples were linked with Indian, Buddhist, Greek, Kushan and Hephthalite royal families until the eighth century.

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1. Muayen: Footnote of Burhan-e Qata', p. 93, as referenced by Neuberg, Tehran 1964.

2. Si-yu-ki's Pashto translation, 1/193.

3. Al Beruni: Ketab-al-Hind 2/245. Sachau's English translation, Lahore 1962.

Legend has it that a large serpent, named Apalala, lived in the monastery located at the source of Swat river and Buddha convinced the serpent to refrain from mischief so that it may not cause destruction to agricultural fields. A little distance upstream from this location Buddha washed and spread his cloak, the imprint of which can be seen until the present time on rocks. On another rock Buddha's footprint is sculpted in rock.<sup>1</sup> In 1895 a tablet was discovered in Dargani of Swat, written in Kharoshti script dated 5 July 29 CE which is now preserved in Lahore museum. An unknown person built a temple and monastery at this location.<sup>2</sup>

Kharoshti inscription which are older than 1900 years have been found all over Swat dedicated to local leaders or Indian princes, and are now preserved in Peshawar, Lahore, Swat and London museums such as:

1. The Bajawar Miya village seal with the name of a Greek ruler.
2. The Dewa village inscription of Umb preserved in Lahore museum dating to the year 116 CE.
3. The inscriptions of Jamal Garri: Related to the building of an orphanage in 275 CE. Four other inscriptions which do not have a date.
4. The Qala-e Sang inscription of Mahaban, 17 CE in Lahore museum.
5. The Pacha village inscription related to the digging of a well in 27 CE, in Lahore museum.
6. The Salimpur inscription of Panjtar, dated 38 CE, dealing with the endowment of two gardens.
7. Nine other inscriptions in different museums.
8. An inscription near the bank of Panjkora in Kangala.
9. A clay pot from Swat which contains writing dealing with a Greek administrator.
10. The Takhtbahi inscriptions from 19 CE in Peshawar museum.
11. An inscription on the face of a rock with the figurine of Buddha in Tirat in Kohistan of Swat.
12. Writing on a broken pot found in Patkari of Swat.
13. Five inscriptions from Paylami village in Loryan gorge of lower Swat preserved in Calcutta museum.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Si-yu-ki, 1/188.

2. Stein Kuno. Kharoshti inscriptions 2/65, Oxford 1929.

3. Ibid: Different pages. Habibi, Tarekh-e Khat wa Nawistaha-e Kuhan Afghanistanistan. p. 29-49. Kabul 1972.

Archeological excavations were started in Swat 1956 by an Italian research group who have found ancient cities and structures where they have been able to discover a great deal of artifacts housed in Swat museum.

This research group states that relics dating back to 500 BCE have been discovered in Swat. The Audigram relics indicate that the place existed there before Alexander's attack and was rebuilt during the reign of Sultan Mahmud. In some other locations third and fourth century old relics have been discovered and Mangora, a place which was the center of administration during the fifth and sixth centuries. The Chinese traveler, Sin Yen, mentions the Talo temple in 518 CE. It is the temple which was surrounded by 120 other small places of worship where a large number of artifacts have been found. This is the place where idol carving and stone implements were highly developed. According to professor Touchi, skilled workers from here were taken to China during the 7th century to embellish the temples of that country.<sup>1</sup>

(11)

## Khushal Khan and Swat

Kabul river, because of its narrow width, is known locally as Landey, flows between the Khatak and Yusufzai territory. The Khatak region extends along the right bank of the river from Nawshahr to Attock while to the left lies the Yusufzai country. The Yusufzai are spread from Swat to Bunir forming a large Pashtun nation. During the time of Khushal Khan Khatak the lowland Yusufzai contained 11,000 families who were able to provide a cavalry of 5000 men.<sup>2</sup>

Fewer in numbers, the Khatak nation numbered 9500 households spread over 30 tapa (hills)<sup>3</sup> and at present time the Khatak population is estimated at 200,000 persons.<sup>4</sup> They lived near the main roads and in particular Malik Akora (1545-1594) lived in Karboga of Changozoy of Kohat. As a result of tribal

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1. Professor Touchi: Article in Dawn newspaper, 6 December 1958.

2. Tarekh-e Murasa<sup>3</sup>, p. 278.

3. Ibid, p. 265.

4. Dost Mohammad Kamel: Khushal Khan Khatak, p. 17, Peshawar 1951.



conflicts he left his ancestral home and settled in Srail, along the bank of Kabul river around 1581. This place is now named Akora after him.

As a result of their policy of subjugation the Mughal administration of Delhi was looking for a strong family who would carry their nefarious policy along the Kabul river to safeguard the Attock and Peshawar road. A tribe who will be able to face off the Yusufzai in battle and the feudal political arena. Since divide and rule is the norm of colonial powers, the Kabul and Peshawar administrators were keen to sow discontent between the Yusufzai and Khattak tribes and hence benefit from the conflict between these two nations. As an example Amir Khan, the Mogul administrator in 1684 spent 900,000 rupees with the patronage of Malik Hamza to squash the Mondo people of Karbi.<sup>1</sup>

Feudal animosities between the family of Khushal Khan and the Yusufzai had been going on for a long time. When Emperor Akbar came to Nelab in 1581 to free his brother, Mirza Mohammad Hakim, he delegated the land from Khairabad to Nawshahar to Mailk Akora.<sup>2</sup> In the bloody battle of 1586 in which Akbar's prime minister, Birbal, was killed the Khatak's were fighting in favor of Akbar. The animosity continued during the life of Yahya Khan and Shahbaz Khan, as described by Afzal Khan Khatak.<sup>3</sup> In December of 1640, Khushal Khan's father, Shahbaz Khan, was injured in the battle of Kamalzoy hill and later died from his injuries:

It was the Hijra year 1050

When Shahbaz Khan was martyred.<sup>4</sup>

Before this Shahbaz's father, Yahya Khan (1562-1610), who was son of Akora had captured Misri Kot (Banda) "from the Yusufzai and killed prominent Yusufzai chiefs together with Malik Mamo and when Shahbaz Khan renewed his campaign against the Yusufzai they were frightened to the extent they could not sleep in peace. The Mandan were killed repeatedly... he levied taxes on Mandan and Akozay and all the Mandan were conquered with the might of his sword."<sup>5</sup>

As a result "this animosity was passed on to Khushal Khan Khattak.<sup>6</sup> This tragedy continued for four centuries until the time of Khushal as a result of which the Khatak were known as "well-wishers" and the Yusufzai as

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1. Tarikh-e Murasa', p. 502.

2. Ibid, p. 265.

3. Ibid, p. 268.

4. Ibid, p. 270.

5. Ibid, p. 268.

6. Ibid, p. 268.

“rebellious.”<sup>1</sup> The events of war between the two tribes has been documented in detail in *Tarikh-e Murasa*.

When Aurangzeb extended the influence of his empire from Kandahar to Attock, Khushal Khan raised the banner of freedom and became the leader of Pashtun resurrection and wrote:

All Pashtuns from Kandahar to Attock  
Unknown or known are fighting for freedom.

As a national leader and poet his call to the people was to refrain from the ills of the past and not support the Delhi king against the Pashtuns. He regrets his role in supporting the Delhi government as a servant of a foreign state and states:

My family served Mughals for generations six  
Enriching our pockets by many tricks.  
All the Khatak tribesmen follow me  
Casting doubt, as they, my future foresee.  
For the Mughals I wielded my sword  
While the Pashtun's curse was my reward.  
The Warkuzi, Bangash and Yusufzai all  
Wondered at my blatant gall.  
A large number of Pashtuns I have killed  
Whose bodies have many graves filled.  
Their skulls to this day are on display  
In Attock and Peshawar on a sway.<sup>2</sup>

Attesting that Pashtuns cursed him is a special peculiarity of Khushal's poetic prowess. He was respected in the Delhi court, the Yusufzai and Khattak were his followers but the pangs of nationalism burned in his heart. He writes:

The Mughul's way of life I despise  
My dark past I wish to disguise.  
Imposed upon me was the Mughul's rank  
Bearing it, to disgrace I sank.<sup>3</sup>

Khushal Khan's feudal lifestyle was undignified as the Pashtuns only sought their freedom and cursed him but he was on fire. The servitude of Mughals was a curse and in order to part from his past he started a new phase in

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1. Ibid, p. 278.

2. Swat Nama, after verse 49.

3. Swat Nama, verses 57-58.

his life. He was the chief of Pashtuns, but now he became their leader and started fighting for the cause of the poor and defenseless Pashtuns.

Suddenly in this land euphoria prevailed  
To seek retribution, I myself availed.  
Today I guard the Pashtun pride  
Steadfast I stand against the tide.  
In my old age I bravely say  
I despise Mughals in every way.  
This is the time for Pashtuns to rise  
To sacrifice their life, with intentions wise.

Khushal Khan had a vision of Pashtun freedom and set the path for the liberation of his nation:

Attok shall be the boundary true  
To bring to end, Mughal tyranny undue.<sup>1</sup>

The Delhi court tried to court him once again. In his notebook he writes: “Mahabit Khan left Delhi and wrote me that he was proud of my service, let us meet face to face so we may discuss matters related to the administration of the land. I had set aside Mughal servitude and truthfully wrote him, adding this Persian quartet:

I yielded the Mughal sword  
Killed Afghans without reward,  
In the end I am an Afghan  
And will stick to my guard.<sup>2</sup>

Necessity prevails that changes take place in the social structure of society as a result of which, Pir Roshan, an ascetic left his hermitage for the battlefield and the chief of the Khatak was forced to visit the Yusufzai to make peace.

On 29th of July 1675 Khushal Khan left for Swat and spent seven months there.<sup>3</sup> He saw the good and evil of Yusufzai and beside, Swat Nama, he mentions Swat and its people in other works also and mentions their lifestyle and habits. As an example of his vision of the people we present some of his critical verses.

He portrays the wretched state of the common people as such:

The Yusufzai has many houses untidy  
Full of fowl smell and unworthy.

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1. Swat Nama, verse 90.

2. Swat Nama, p. 299.

3. Kamil: Khushal Khan Khatak, p. 183.

Mosquitos and lice are abundant here  
In every corner and every lair.  
Twice my body swelled a lot  
No matter where I slept or in any cot.  
The dogs are as plenty as the men,  
In every corner there is a hen.  
The whole house is full of things odd  
Smelling worse than a Hindu squad.<sup>1</sup>

The Delhi court had witnessed the prowess of Pashtuns in their mountainous terrain. Hence they were intent on sowing discord among them through bribes and motivation. In a couplet written in 1675 Khushal Khan expresses his sentiments:

Riches from Hindustan have come forth  
Gold coins have spread in the mountains.<sup>2</sup>

For a long period the Yusufzai were free from Mughal bribes and were engaged in battle with Emperors Akbar and Jahangir but later, due to the vagaries of some local leaders, they also succumbed to Mughal bribes. Khushal Khan says:

Mughal sorcery has enticed the Yusufzai  
Like flies they all throng.  
They sell their dignity for money  
And seek riches for miles.  
If they crave money being an ascetic  
The sweeper will seek fortune like a fox.<sup>3</sup>

In Swat Nama he points to this trend in these words:

Land distribution is at the mercy of fate  
The Yusufzai appreciate this system irate.  
Money to them is like a religious faith  
In silver and gold they want to bathe.  
All they think about is their wealth  
For which they are ready to forsake their health.<sup>4</sup>

In Swat Nama, from verse 111 onward, Khushal Khan vents poetic criticism against the Yusufzai. The criticism is not just applicable to the Yusufzai

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1. Swat Nama, verses 30-34.

2. Khushal Khan's Kuliyaat, p. 593. Kandahar 1940.

3. Khushal Khan's Kuliyaat, p. 1035 Kandahar 1940.

4. Swat Nama, verses 132-134.

but reflects on the economic and geo-political life of the Pashtuns as a whole. Khushal and his Khatak tribe were also afflicted by such grievances.

Given their geographical location and mountainous terrain the life of Pashtuns was not geared toward industrialization. Leading a nomadic lifestyle, with basic agricultural practices and a rural setting, they were forced into an existential environment where it was difficult to make a living. Whatever was available to them they took advantage of it. Even the wellbeing of their chiefs was at stake:

A chief who uses brutal force  
Not knowing there is another discourse.  
No wonder what he does is innate  
Without realizing his repute is under debate.  
His income is to collect dole  
In every village like a rickety vole.<sup>1</sup>

For seven months Khushal Khan was engaged in uniting and uprising the people. However the Mughal court was engaged in devilry and instigated the chiefs and clergy. Mian Nur, who was a Yusufzai saint, was involved in dismantling the militarization of people and with the persuasion of Khushal Khan he openly refrained from supporting the royal court but was clandestinely involved in misleading the people:

I told him not to support the Mughal tide  
He accepted my word with ardent pride.  
With the leaving of army peace will prevail  
Then in more evil he would blatantly entail.<sup>2</sup>

Afzal Khan writes that as a result of Khushal Khan's trip and persuasion a council was held in which the Yusufzai, Mandan, Jangrez, Pani Pir and Saykari people participated. Later war broke with royal forces near Shahbaz Gari.<sup>3</sup>

Khushal Khan writes:

The Mughal's built Langar Kot  
Afghan pride in my veins flow.  
Was is Yusuf or Mandan?  
I became protector of both.  
I became the Mughal's thorn  
To the mountains I did go.

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1. Swat Nama, verses 183-185.

2. Swat Nama, verses 125 and 148.

3. Tarikh-e Murasa', p. 344.

Among the Yusufzai in Swat  
In each household I was a guest.  
In all Yusufzai nation  
I was the savior of the battle.  
Then I left the Swat lowland  
For my mountainous home.<sup>1</sup>

Khushal Khan managed to befriend the Yusufzai and the people of Swat. Eventually Mian Nur also repented and refrained from supporting the Mughals. The lowland Pashtuns also joined him. But he regrets his efforts in these words:

I saw Terah, then came to Swat  
Where I saw a lot of proud Pashtuns  
But none showed any prowess  
Here I am back in utter failure.<sup>2</sup>

The heroes of certain national movements do not reap the fruits of their efforts but later it becomes apparent that their movement was the precursor to other crusades by means of which the goal is achieved and victory finally attained.

Khushal Khan's campaign was part of the social struggle of Pashtuns, the foundations of which were laid by Pir Roshan and Mirwais Hotak's struggle for independence. Hence I do not consider the efforts of Khushal Khan to be without merit. I refer to the words of Afzal Khan, who was a contemporary of Mirwais, and envisioned his movement with hope and considered it to be of utmost importance. He writes:

“In the year 1024 (1615 CE) he is leading the nation from Kandahar, may he be blessed with victory, he is a good Pashtun.”<sup>3</sup> There are a lot of complaints dealing with war and peace between Khushal Khan and the Yusufzai, he has written a great deal of poetry about Swat. This couplet culminates the story of Khushal Khan and Swat. He writes:

The Yusufzai may not a battle partake  
But noise they will make without mistake.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Khushal Khan's Kuliyaat, p. 549, Kandahar 1940.

2. Ibid, p. 727.

3. Tarikh-e Murasa, p. 402. See Afzal Khan's chapter about Mirwais Khan in Tarikh-e Murasa (p. 398).

4. Swat Nama, verse 104.

## Swat Nama (Chronicles of Swat)

- (1) When Shah Jahan<sup>1</sup> was the rightful king  
Into his kingdom, prosperity he did bring.
- (2) Sarai<sup>2</sup> and Swat are forty kroh<sup>3</sup> apart  
Crossing Swat river, through the mountain's heart.
- (3) Three things about Swat I will remember:  
Throughout my life, in desperation and slumber.
- (4) First my in-laws,<sup>4</sup> whose distraught I do measure,  
Second the narcissus, and third the hunting pleasure.
- (5) Despised by the Yusufzai, since I was in Mughal's lair<sup>5</sup>  
With trepidation and caution I went there.
- (6) Malo Khan's daughter did I marry  
Who gave brith to Sardar in a hurry.
- (7) The hunter's rage, or the narcissus' bloom  
Led me to marriage in old age with eternal gloom.<sup>6</sup>
- (8) I traveled through Swat end to end,  
Examining every nook and cranny godsend.
- (9) Swat is most favored by the kings!  
As such great misfortune is brings.

---

1. Prince Khurram, son of Jahangir, grandson of Emperor Akbar became the regent of India in 1628 with the title of Shahabuddin Mohammad Shah Jahan. He was king for 31 years and in 1658 his son, Aurungzeb, deposed and imprisoned him. He was in jail for 8 years and died on January 29, 1666. Khushal Khan and his father, Shahbaz Khan, were his contemporaries.

2. Sarai is located 12 miles west of Attock in Akora in the Khatak tribesmen region along the Landai river. It is the birthplace of Khushal Khan Khatak and was built by his grandfather, Malik Akora. This center of the Khatak people lies on the southern banks of the Kabul (Landai) river.

3. A kroh is approximately 4 km in length.

4. One wife of Khushal Khan was a Yusufzai, daughter of Malo Khan, son of Ismail Khan, whom he married during his trip to Swat. She gave birth to Sadar Khan (Tarikh-e Murasa' p. 259).

5. Yusufzai despised him because he was a servant of the Mughal empire.

6. Khushal Khan was 62 years old when he traveled to Swat.

- (10) To the north lies the Baluristan<sup>1</sup> crest,  
Kashmir is east, then Badakshan and Kabul west.
- (11) The mountains have such jagged peaks  
A barrier with uncrossable creeks.
- (12) More pleasant than Kabul is its air,  
It's fragrance has a flowery flair.
- (13) Like Kashmir, its air has a fresh delight,  
Though Kashmir is vast, Swat valley is tight.
- (14) A long valley measuring thirty kroh  
With a breadth of two, wherever you go.
- (15) Swat river flows from east to west  
Twisting and turning with contest.<sup>2</sup>
- (16) In every house a stream flows,  
Sprawling verdant fields wherever one goes.
- (17) Working people in Swat there are none  
After collecting the harvest their work is done.
- (18) Sometimes prices here drop so low  
With two coins you can feed twenty in tow.
- (19) Spring season is cold with plenty of snow  
Absent is the stifling hot wind, of places low.
- (20) Swat all over is a graceful place,  
In the absence of lords or the administrator's disgrace.

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1. Baluristan is a mountainous area north of Swat which extends all the way to the Qara Qoram range. It is also known as Balishtan or Little Tibet (Largon-e Hind, p. 11). The Chinese traveler, Huen Tsang, writes that Pu-lu-lu (Belor), with an area of 666 square miles, lies to the east and west with snow covered mountains and an abundance of gold mines. According to Ganangaham, this place is the present day Baltistan or Little Tibet and the people there are engaged in extracting gold by filtering river sand. This is an old name and Ptolmey called it Balyawi. This region extends 150 miles along the Indus river with a breadth of 70 miles. Its total area is 460 square miles (The Ancient Geography of India, p. 71). Mohammad Haider Doghlat in Tarikh-e Rashidi (p. 385) writes that Kashgar and Yarkand lie east of Balor, to the north is Badakshan and Laghman to the west, while Kashmir abuts its southern boundary. Present day Hunza, Gilgit, Chitral, Nuristan and Upper Konar all fall within its boundary. Marco Polo, who passed though this area, mentions Baluristan in his writings (Marco Polo's Travels, 1/172).

2. The Swat river gives life to Swat valley which is known as Landai. This river flows from northeast to the west. Landai starts in Ashokala and joins the Kabul river in Nasta. This valley is 60 miles long.



- (21) The lords are the ones who indulge here  
Without paying attention to what is fair.
- (22) You can see tall minarets and idols of stone  
Large abodes and ancient relics well known.
- (23) Fruits, flowers and gardens are abundant  
For the lords, who are never malcontent.
- (24) In Swat, two things are worthy most  
Beautiful Kafir maidens and the hawk's ghost.
- (25) Swat has many houses galore  
Beautiful maidens in gardens floor to floor.
- (26) It's gardens are most pristine  
Which the Yusufzai have built routine.
- (27) Everywhere fountains and waterfalls abound  
Towns, guest houses and markets surround.
- (28) A land with fresh air and streams  
But it lacks any grace and dreams.<sup>1</sup>
- (29) Every other year the land is divided,  
Leaving peoples destiny one-sided.<sup>2</sup>
- (30) The Yusufzai has many houses untidy  
Full of fowl smell and unworthy.
- (31) Mosquitos and lice are abundant here  
In every corner and every lair.
- (32) Twice my body swelled a lot  
No matter where I slept or in any cot.
- (33) The dogs are plenty as the men,  
In every corer there is a hen.
- (34) The whole house is full or things odd  
Smelling worse than a Hindu squad.

---

1. Despite the fact that Swat has pleasant weather and beauty it lacks grace. In the next couplet Khushal provides the reason for such a lack.

2. Here Khushal Khan alludes to the land distribution system of the Yusufzai by means of which every ten years the land was redistributed according to the number of people in each household. This form of social distribution of land was initiated by Sheikh Mali and adopted by the people. It is an example of ancient communal living by mankind. The system was described in Sheikh Mali's "Daftar" which is a lost book.

- (35) The Babizai<sup>1</sup> are considered to be a rival  
While the Khwajizai pedal goods for survival.
- (36) Every year they will catch a mighty hawk,  
To the voluptuous Kafir maidens they will flock.
- (37) While other game is limited in number  
The partridges are plenty in color umber.
- (38) Duck's abound near the river's shore  
With ignorant hunters missing the lure.
- (39) The flocks of goats and wild sheep are plenty  
But if you are runt you bag will remain empty.
- (40) Surrounding Swat there is land plenty  
More than enough even for a gentry.
- (41) Chitral and Swat have a common border  
Every acre fertile, and in perfect order.
- (42) To Chitral you take the Kohistan<sup>2</sup> road  
A five day journey without a load.
- (43) The road is only open during summer season  
Snow and rain closes it without reason.
- (44) Traffic slows down on this road  
Allowing the village chief to goad.
- (45) From Hindu Koh you can go to Turkistan  
While through Chitral you travel to Badakshan.<sup>3</sup>
- (46) Another road leads from Batan<sup>4</sup> to Kashgar alas,  
While from Murang<sup>5</sup> the road leads to the pass.

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1. Babizai is a branch of the Yusufzai who are the in-laws of Khushal Khan. Khwaja was brother of Babizai and grandson of Ako and the great grandson of Yusuf (Khurahid-e Jahan, p. 194).

2. The region is still known as Kohistan and its people Khoistani. Chitral lies to the northwest of Swat.

3. There are trails which lead from the Hindu Kush valleys to Turkistan and Badakshan at the present time.

4. Batan is a village in northeastern Swat in the Kohistan region along the Indus river.

5. Murang is a region in Koch-e Bahar of India, several hundred miles from Swat. Here Khushal Khan is probably referring to the Rang Barang region of Swat. It is possible that Murang is a short form of these words which scribes may have converted as such. Khushal Khan, in his collection of poetry, refers to this region as Arang Barang (Khushal's Collection of Poetry, p. 960).

- (47) These roads lead to Hindustan's border  
While those through Khorasan<sup>1</sup> are in order.
- (48) Yusufzai no doubt are plenty  
Like cows and donkeys without a sentry.
- (49) My family served Mughals for generations six<sup>2</sup>  
Enriching our pockets by many tricks.
- (50) All the Khatak tribesmen follow me  
Casting doubt, as they my future foresee.
- (51) For the Mughals I wielded my sword  
While the Pashtun's curse was my reward.
- (52) The Wurkuzi<sup>3</sup>, Bangash and Yusufzai all  
Wondered at my blatant gall.
- (53) A large number of Pashtuns I have killed  
Whose bodies have many graves filled.
- (54) Their skulls to this day are on display  
In Attock and Peshawar on a sway.
- (55) During Aurangzeb's reign imprisoned I was  
Without any crime, without any cause.
- (56) Three to four years I spent like an engot  
Once released, vengeance I sought.
- (57) The Mughul's way of life I despise  
My dark past I wish to disguise.
- (58) Imposed upon me was the Mughal's rank  
Bearing it, to disgrace I sank.
- (59) Suddenly in this land euphoria prevailed  
To seek retribution, I myself availed.
- (60) With a flicker I set a fire  
In Aurangzeb's house with desire.

---

1. Former nomadic tribal people who would cross the Khyber, Spin Ghar or Kasi mountains to present day Afghanistan called the land of Khorasan. They came to the highlands of Afghanistan during the summer months to graze their livestock in the verdant pastures of the Oxus river basin, and the highlands of Herat and Badghis.

2. Khushal Khan's great grandfather, Malik Akora, was a contemporary of Emperor Akbar who ruled during the mid 16th century.

3. The Wurkuzi and Bangash live in Terah and Khoram and the Yusufzai live in Mardan and Swat. They are all part of a prominent Pashtun lineage.

- (61) Darya Khan<sup>1</sup> was my companion close  
Aimal Khan, beside me freedom chose.
- (62) With my Khatak brothers, I rode upon  
Mughal army which rode thereon.
- (63) I had faith in my strength alas,  
Be it in Khapash or the Khyber pass.
- (64) Fate as we know is in not in our power  
King Aurangzeb destroyed it in the bower.
- (65) Suddenly he took upon himself  
To manifest unusual behavior like an elf.
- (66) I accept what is sketched in my inner soul  
Like the Pashtuns who accept their fateful goal.
- (67) If I had with the Mughals intent good  
Not a single Pashtun could my war cry stood.
- (68) Today I guard the Pashtun pride  
Steadfast I stand against the tide.
- (69) In my old age I bravely say  
I despise the Mughals in every way.
- (70) No matter what the Mughals may do  
To me it is old fodder ado.
- (71) If I were to return to the Mughal's though  
I will do better, this I know.
- (72) For a few days I will be greeted well  
Then considered a fool, with a story to tell.
- (73) All Mughal officers will be mute  
When they witness my rigid salute.
- (74) For my services they will vie  
And rejoice, as they see Pashtuns die.
- (75) Pashtuns will curse me without doubt  
Those who brag about their bravery's clout.
- (76) A few things I will let you know  
Before my fear takes over the show.

---

1. Darya Khan was an Afridi chief who attacked Kohat in 1673 and was a compatriot of Khushal Khan. Aimal Khan Mohmand, and other Mohmand tribal chiefs, defeated the forty thousand strong Mughal force in 1672 in the Khyber battles. Both these names have Pashto roots, Aimal meaning an august companion and Darya means steadfast.

- (77) The Mughals, I will face with pride  
Steadfast, I shall remain wherever I ride.
- (78) I will not entertain any shame  
Even if it slanders my father's fame.
- (79) This is the time for Pashtuns to rise  
To sacrifice their life, with intentions wise.
- (80) Sword in hand, I strike innate  
My world wide fame I celebrate.
- (81) My conquests increase with each passing day  
Doubling Mughal losses in every foray.
- (82) From Kabul to Attock I will wield my sword  
Mughal skulls shall be my eternal reward.
- (83) Aurangzeb, accompanying his mighty force<sup>1</sup>  
Came over to see the river's course.
- (84) From Hindustan he came with great pride  
Retreating in defeat, with no one at his side.
- (85) Five or six years have now gone by  
The Pashtuns are elated, the Mughals shy.
- (86) No one knows what fate may bring  
It's God's wish, what he does next spring.
- (87) If I live, I will depend on my prism  
To bring to end the Yusufzai schism.
- (88) Seven months in Swat I have spent  
Everyone swears their allegiance, without repent.
- (89) The chiefs have to respect their oath  
The warriors need not loath.
- (90) Attock shall be the boundary true  
To bring to end, Mughal tyranny undue.
- (91) The Attock, Peshawar and Kabul forts  
Will surrender to my destructive cohorts.
- (92) If the Yusufuzai, my celebrity condemn  
I will turn my back to them.

---

1. On July 5, 1674 Aurangzeb arrived to Hasan Abdal, 77 miles east of Peshawar, together with his Indian army to face the Pashtuns. He stayed there for 16 months and retreated back to Delhi in defeat on 1 January, 1676.

- (93) Among the Tsoutara and Luhani my name will rise  
To the Karlarri it will be a surprise.
- (94) Resolutely I will nurture my grit  
To achieve status with my wit.
- (95) Aimal Khan and Darya Khan by me stand  
My support they willfully demand.
- (96) The Pashtuns will be in a thrall  
When Mughal's bounty will stall.
- (97) While some Pashtuns want the Mughal foray  
From such dole we shall far stay.
- (98) From disaster, may God save us  
Distancing us from the woeful Mughal pus.

#### **Khushal Khan's Elegy On The Tribulations Of War With The Mughals<sup>1</sup>**

- (99) All those who participate in battles galore  
About Mohmand they will talk no more.
- (100) May the Shinwar and Afridi live in grace  
The Safi and the Ghalji they shall embrace.
- (101) When Mughals attacked the Jakdali<sup>2</sup> fort  
The Ghalji bravely defended the court.
- (102) One hundred thousand Khatak were ready to fight  
While the rest were unduly in flight.
- (103) The Warkuzi and Bangash<sup>3</sup> live in shame  
Curse them both, they are the same.
- (104) The Yusufzai may not a battle partake  
But noise they will make without mistake.
- (105) If alas, I get some time free  
I will amply talk about this melee.

---

1. This title is present in all manuscripts of Khushal Khan's collection of poems but later on we do not come across any poem related to this subject. It is possible that Afzal Khan may have left space for the long elegy which Khushal Khan wrote on 23 July, 1675 about the battle which Aimal Khan and Darya Khan fought with the Mughals starting with this couplet:

From where has come spring season,  
Bringing forth flowers for good reason.

2. Jakdali is present day Jaldak of the Ghalji nation to the east of Kabul.

3. The Warkuzi and Bangash live in Kohat and Korma.

- (106) A whole book about it I will write  
Of how to strike, how to fight.
- (107) Many battles were duly fought  
Bringing destruction and what not.
- (108) Now I will talk about Swat's land  
About its people and schemes grand.
- (109) When you stand to defend your right  
The brave and the coward will go alight.
- (110) Pashtuns are ignorant, a useless lot  
The Yusufzai more so on the spot.
- (111) I saw all Swati people in shock  
The inns and outs of the whole flock.
- (112) They may claim to be Muslim true  
But their promise they will never renew.
- (113) Looking for minute prosperity in life  
They are bound to be unhappy in strife.
- (114) They befriend you when there is something to gain  
Otherwise, from friendship, they will abstain.
- (115) Indeed they do not have any shame,  
Slaves to their wives and money's fame.
- (116) Their spouse's pride, orders and airs they accept  
To every whim of a woman they adept.
- (117) The Sheikh and Mullah are both corrupt  
Or the wife who usurps all wealth abrupt.
- (118) They will sell their daughter for a profit  
Not listening to the words of the Prophet.
- (119) Totally blinded by greed of the quid  
Their sister or daughter goes to the one with the highest bid.
- (120) For a profit they befriend you  
A friendship undoubtedly not true.
- (121) Your wealth you shall not retain  
If from their friendship you do not abstain.
- (122) Their discretion is indeed most obscure  
Imagining hail as pearls for sure.
- (123) Even though they may have gold at home  
They eat wild plants like a gnome.

- (124) Showing no etiquette whatsoever at all  
They show no respect to elders or children small.
- (125) Like livestock together they flock  
Even worse than the nomadic Tajik stock.
- (126) House to house, evil they spew  
Proud of themselves, totally undue.
- (127) Listen to my advice if you will  
Believe in their nay and faint hearted drill.
- (128) Face to face they willfully confess  
Next moment they lie with utmost finesse.
- (129) If you were to ever believe them  
You judgement they will truly condemn.
- (130) Through the year they will work not  
Like a weevil that in the rice paddy rot.
- (131) Either the soil here does not capture rain drops  
Or the Yusufzai are not good at growing crops.
- (132) Land distribution is at the mercy of fate  
The Yusufzai appreciate this system irate.
- (133) Money to them is like a religious faith  
In silver and gold they want to bathe.
- (134) All they think about is their wealth  
For which they are ready to forsake their health.
- (135) Lost in a world of sheer illusion  
Men and women seek a wishful conclusion.
- (136) In this world, be it day or night  
Like a slave they live in flight.
- (137) It is not just Yusufzai who follow this path  
But all in Swat partake this wrath.
- (138) To the guest they show no affection  
Nor a kind word or heartfelt action.
- (139) A noble person is sold like a slave  
His plight no one ever forgave.
- (140) If the needy were to ask for a dole  
In it the chief wants to have a role.
- (141) Even though they recite the word of God  
In practice a Yusufzai is a total fraud.



- (142) If ochre were to turn into golden dust  
You will find a great deal of loathing and lust.
- (143) If a Hindu recites God's word  
His repentance is blasphemy absurd.
- (144) Free they are from courtesy's swirl  
Like the Arab or Hindu slave girl.
- (145) Every task they undertake is without bounds  
Throughout their life absurdity surrounds.
- (146) Fruit trees this land lacks  
Just thorny bushes abound in stacks.
- (147) Their promise they will never keep  
Ill-mannered, ill-judged, their character cheap.
- (148) All edibles to them are the same  
Apples, turnips, pomegranate and quince you name.
- (149) Like a brave warrior they will not fight  
Their elders congregate and lie outright.
- (150) Their word, they will honor not  
With ambiguity they are fraught.
- (151) Their wealth and riches they do not share  
About the welfare of the poor they do no care.
- (152) Their friendship is like a daunting dream  
It is merely a skillful scheme.
- (153) Engaged in deceit and fraud  
Their wickedness one cannot applaud.
- (154) If their pious men behave as such  
Don't expect from the evil ones much.
- (155) Father's inheritance they gladly rake  
Leaving their mother and sister without a stake.
- (156) When a brother dies and goes to his grave  
His wife they marry, as though she is a slave.
- (157) When a murder is a case prime  
They will blame someone else for the crime.
- (158) Every clergy, with them is in toe  
The Yusufzai trend they certainly know.
- (159) Such behavior stems from their baseness  
All together unfounded is their hastiness.

- (160) Prosperity among them we see not  
Nor wealth or munificence to jot.
- (161) In haste they pick fruits raw  
Ruining the harvest, not obeying nature's law.
- (162) The land's crops and harvest is bleak  
Its people unhealthy and weak.
- (163) In appearance they may look human  
But their nature is worse than the demon.
- (164) Engaged in every wrong deed  
Ruining their community in such need.
- (165) The miscreants see no punish  
Their demeanor is kind of dullish.
- (166) Wrong they think is right  
Confusing day from night.
- (167) If by fraud one claims he is a doctor  
No one can tell that he is an imposter.
- (168) If by malice one claims he is a clergy true  
It is unclear whether he is a farce undue.
- (169) Every Mughal in Swat can become a prince  
Everybody accepts his status without a wince.<sup>1</sup>
- (170) Even the most wealthy in this place  
Will not show a guest any grace.
- (171) Be aware they do not have the Afghan pride  
Disregarding the Pakhali<sup>2</sup> and Laghmani aside.
- (172) Those who cry at the death of a hen  
Cannot distinguish one from ten.
- (173) To a battle they will not go  
Trembling in fear from the foe.
- (174) Such is the cowardice of this clan  
A disgrace to every woman and man.
- (175) Content they are with their stock and gold  
Knowing not what wisdom can behold.

---

1. In *Tarikh-e Murasa'* (p. 291) Afzal Khan refers to the incident in which Prince Shuja, son of Shah Jahan, vanished in Bengal and among the Yusufzai a person claimed he was Prince Shuja. In this couplet Khushal Khan is referring to the mentioned incident which Afzal Khan brings up with vanity in *Tarikh-e Murasa'*.

2. Pakhali is a mountainous region in northern Pashtunkhwa, domicile of the Pashtuns.

- (176) In ignorance they live in the dark  
In smoke filled rooms without a spark.
- (177) They do not spend their money out of greed  
A wretched lot, what a breed?
- (178) Their leader and chief acts like a mare  
Their scholars and sheikhs ignorance declare.
- (179) If Abdul<sup>1</sup> is considered their best leader  
Like a mad dog he attacks his feeder.
- (180) Collect all the wrongs of the land  
And make for Hamza<sup>2</sup> a garland.
- (181) Taali is a place that will not last  
Like groats in a large pan cast.
- (182) Kachu's<sup>3</sup> grandson is not a chief  
He is a wicked lad full of grief.
- (183) A chief who uses brutal force  
Not knowing there is another discourse.
- (184) No wonder what he does is innate  
Without realizing his repute is under debate.
- (185) His income is to collect dole  
In every village like a rickety vole.
- (186) A chief who does not have any command  
And cannot claim his own ancestral land.
- (187) Even though a chief may have three brothers  
The father's land will be distributed to others.
- (188) One part belongs to the tribal head  
The rest goes to others instead.

---

1. Malik Abdul was a Yusufzai chief during the time of Khushal Khan whom he met during his trip to Swat in 1675 (Tarikh-e Murasa' 327). Khushal Khan writes:

The prominent chief in Swat is Malik Abdul  
May God kill him like an anguished bull.

Khushal's Collection of Poetry, p. 926.

2. Malik Hamza was son of Malik Malo Khan and Khushal Khan's brother-in-law and uncle of Sadar Khan. According to Afzal Khan: "Hamza accepted shame and was a lackey of the Mughals." (Tarikh-e Murasa' p. 327).

3. Kachu was a famous elder of Swat.

- (189) If this is the status of pious men  
Mian Nur<sup>1</sup> will outshine all ten.
- (190) First I will tell you the scholar's lore,  
Then about Mian Nur I will deplore.  
\* \* \*
- (191) These scholars are all a woeful score  
Ignorant than others, they are more.
- (192) By reading Kanz and Qadwari<sup>2</sup> he claims  
To be a mullah, while others he blames.
- (193) But the teachings of Kanz he know little  
And about Qadwari his knowledge is brittle.
- (194) Pretending to be a mullah true  
He steals words from books undue.
- (195) Deciphering to people Sharia law  
He claims to be a judge with awe.
- (196) He preaches generosity to the town folk  
But fills his pockets without revoke.
- (197) Five times a day he announces the prayer call  
To collect his alms once and for all.
- (198) Stealing the inheritance of others  
He calls himself a scholar among his brothers.
- (199) Proudly he claims he is a clergy great  
As though he inherited knowledge innate.
- (200) Neither able to properly read or write  
Issuing false amulets outright.
- (201) He is more happy to see people sick  
And come up with false prayers quick.

---

1. Mian Nur was an illiterate pseudo-scholar and with the backing of the Mughals he stood against the independent minded Pashtuns. Khushal Khan, during his visit to Swat, clashed with him in Langar Khatak village and denounced him. The villagers intervened and settled their dispute. Khushal Khan thus managed to deter Mian Nur from supporting the Mughals. Even though Mian Nur refrained from spreading Mughal propaganda but he continued to do so clandestinely.

2. Kanz-al-Daqayeq is a famous Arabic text of the Hanafi faith written by Sheikh Abu-al-Barakat Abdullah (death 691). Mukhtesar-al-Qadwari is also another famous text based on Hanafi teachings written in Arabic by Imam bin Mohammad-al-Qadwari Baghdadi (death 1037). Both these books are taught in mosques and madrassas.

- (202) Even when the sick have not gained their health  
His eyes are drawn to their wealth.
- (203) If you were to delay his fee  
You will get a cynical melee.
- (204) Claiming he is not treated with esteem  
Without an amulet his health won't redeem.
- (205) Regaining health, the sick turn their back  
To his treatment and prayers in tack.
- (206) Though a thousand may complain  
Their whining will leave no stain.
- (207) If you look at him with disregard  
You may surely turn into a retard.
- (208) Among common folks he spreads fear  
His motives though are not clear.
- (209) Preaching sorcery he has no fear of God  
His life being full of fraud.
- (210) A mullah who follows Mian Nur obtund  
Will take money from the village fund.
- (211) If Mian Nur comes up with an absurd claim  
The clergy will, a decree proclaim.
- (212) Two judges in Swat are Mian Nur lackeys  
Allah Dad and Dost Mohammad, the donkeys.
- (213) Their knowledge is blunt, but they talk a lot  
Quoting Mian Nur on the spot.
- (214) Now I will tell you the actual truth  
More than others he is uncouth.
- (215) Listen to what sort of slander he spread  
About my beliefs and what I said.
- (216) In Sunni faith I am not lost  
I condemn the Rafizi<sup>1</sup> at any cost.
- (217) The Rafizi have condemned me to the core  
Calling me an infidel in their lore.

---

1. Rafizi is a troop that abandons its officer. This was a Shiite group which swore allegiance to Zaid bin Ali bin Hussain and then left him.

- (218) Sediq and Faruq<sup>1</sup> I do adore  
Osman and Haider even more.
- (219) The prophet's children I do respect  
His followers I do accept.
- (220) Shame on Yazid<sup>2</sup> who was defiled  
Endless malice he maligned.
- (221) The evil of a base person is known well  
With it, all his life he does dwell.
- (222) Darweza<sup>3</sup> decided to write a book  
Spread over Swat from nook to nook.
- (223) Illogical and convoluted is this book  
Praising Yazid, the evil crook.
- (224) More I will tell you in another section  
So I may focus on my selection.
- (225) Suddenly I came upon this book  
Its wording I did not mistook.
- (226) Yazid it does not condemn  
Full of heresy down to the stem.
- (227) Hussain's death Yazid did not implore  
Importunate he was to his core.
- (228) Many a chef did he kill  
Surprised I was at his skill.
- (229) He then goes on to confess  
Only a Rafizi will the prophet bless.

---

1. Sediq is Abu Bakr, the first caliph and Omar Faruq, the second caliph.

2. Yazid, son of Ma'awiya, was the second king of the Ma'awiya family 680-684.

3. Akhund Darweza, son of Gadai bin Saadi (1534-1638), was a Pashto author who wrote Makhzan-e Islam, Ershad-al-Tabebain, Tazkera-al-Ebrar and other books. He was an ally of the Mughals and a staunch opponent of Pir Roashan. He was a fanatic clergy but was respected by the Pashtuns and had many followers. Since there was political and intellectual schism between followers of Darweza and Khushal Khan therefore he comes under criticism in Swat Nama. Leaving aside their differences, through his writings, Darweza has aided the Pashto language. As a result Khair-al-Bayan of Pir Roshan, Makhzan of Darweza and Swat Nama of Khushal Khan were written. Khushal Khan's criticism dealing with the literally inadequacy in Makhzan-e Islam has an exalted status in the history of Pashto literature and is a beneficial piece of literary work. Makhzan's literary inadequacy, together with that of Khair-al-Bayan, are worthy of mention.

- (230) The ignorant mullah<sup>1</sup> who scribed this book  
Knew not the task he undertook.
- (231) Openly he lays the blame,  
You are a Rafizi to make such a claim.
- (232) The main issue then came into view  
Which all the people in Swat knew.
- (233) The pseudo clergy to Miah Nur go  
Further inflaming his sordid ego.
- (234) Mian Nur was on fire with shame  
No one was there to extinguish the flame.
- (235) All the mullahs, gather he did  
Scaring them about consequences forbid.
- (236) Mian Nur said: Akhund is our leader unbent  
Makhzan to him has been sent.
- (237) He who decries Makhzan is an infidel  
His death in Sharia is not a riddle.
- (238) Someone said: he who curses Yazid  
Is undoubtedly a Rafizi indeed.
- (239) Someone said: don't kill him with a sword  
The fire of hell is his reward.
- (240) Someone said: he should be an outcast  
Or else killed in a blast.
- (241) Suddenly a great tumult erupted  
But my resolution was not disrupted.
- (242) A Yusufzai chief is like an ass  
In dirt he is totally en masse.
- (243) Ignorant and devoid of knowledge  
But Darweza they do acknowledge.
- (244) To what extent will you praise him  
And his book full of grim.

\* \* \*

---

1. Here Khushal Khan is referring to someone else and not Akhund Darweza. The person in question was probably a scribe of the book. In 1675 Darweza was not alive and neither are there such clarifications in Darweza's Makhzan. It is possible that some other fanatic person, or the ignorant scribe, may have added certain unjust issues which Khushal Khan has criticized.

- (245) Darweza sought to gain fame  
Makhzan-al-Israr<sup>1</sup> is its name.
- (246) Every subject is vague and baseless  
Adrift from cultural norms and tasteless.
- (247) Unbalanced and out of pose  
It is neither poetry or prose.<sup>2</sup>
- (248) Where alphabetical letters are mixed  
And certain words transfixed.
- (249) Bo Sayr's<sup>3</sup> qasida<sup>4</sup> has been translated  
Worse than Pashto, the Arabic stated.
- (250) Words in the qasida like pearls flow  
In Pashto they are a futile memo.
- (251) Azari's<sup>5</sup> enigma he has translated  
His mystery to the world initiated.

---

1. Makzan-al-Israr is Nezami's divan. Darweza's book is famous as Makhzan-al-Islam or Makhzan-e Islam and there are numerous manuscripts available. It has been published several times in India. In 1969 it was published by the Pashto Academy with an introduction by Taqwim-al-Haq Kakakhel. Khushal Khan's criticism is directed at the literary aspects of the book. It is not clear why Khushal calls it Makhzan-al-Israr which is the book of poetry of Nezami Ganjawi, versified around 1175.

2. In fact Makhzan is neither pure poetry nor prose. Based on the analysis of his poetic prowess Khushal Khan scrutinizes the sentences of Makhzan, which are unstructured and hence he criticizes them with force.

3. Bo-Sayr is a place in Bani Suyaf of Egypt. Abdullah Mohammad bin Sayed bin Hamad (1212-1295), the Arab poet, is from this place whose collection of poetry has been published. His Al-Barda poem is very famous which contains 162 couplets. He composed the poem at a time when he was suffering from a stroke. He dreamt about the prophet in his sleep who blessed him. As a result he recovered from his ailment. The *qasida* has been translated into several eastern languages. Its Pashto translation appears in Makhzan (p. 9-31). In the end he states: This book, which praises the prophet, is in Arabic by Mohammad Bo-Sayari and the humble writer translated it to Pashto. The translation of this *qasida* (ode) into Pashto requires scrutiny. Khushal Khan, who has ridiculed the use of words and literary aspects of the translation, emphasize that the translation does not convey the original meaning of the *qasida*.

4. *Qasida*: An ode or elegy.

5. Nuruddin Hamza Azari bin Abdul Malik Tousi was a mystical poet of the Persian language who is author of several books and a divan. He died at the age of 82 in 1462 and is buried in Asfarayan (Habib-al-Sayr 4/61 and Majma-al-Fusaha 4/8). Some of his verses are enigmatic, whose meaning is unclear. In Makhzan Akhund Darweza has translated one ambiguous verse of Azari which leaves the reader confused (Makhzan p.110).



- (252) Shah Naser's<sup>1</sup> philosophical work  
His thoughts turned into a quirk.
- (253) Many issues into Pashto he has put asunder  
What can I say? They are a blunder.
- (254) His book is obscure to the extent  
That with Haft Awrang<sup>2</sup> of Jami one is content.
- (255) Dirt-seekers join a dirt-seeker  
Who likes to listen to one speaker.
- (256) With awe it is a matter of critique  
Akhund's Makhzan of imperfection does reek.
- (257) Everyone who talks about Makhzan  
Know that it is full of pun.
- (258) He gathered the clergy and chiefs  
Confusing them with his beliefs.
- (259) Mian Khan, Mangi and Sangar<sup>3</sup> all  
But only Sangar avoided his gaul.
- (260) Into Langar Jang village I managed to creep  
Under the mulberry tree I went to sleep.
- (261) These gloomy dogs came and woke me up  
In anguish and fear I did erupt!
- (262) Laughing they said aloud  
Get up Khushal Khan, the proud.
- (263) Dauntingly you come to Swat then nap  
Careless and fearless you do not snap.
- (264) Mian Nur is waiting by the river  
We have come to talk, don't quiver.

---

1. Shah Naser is the famous physician, writer, and critique, Naser Khusrao Balkhi (1004-1088) who was a renowned Persian poet. He is buried in Yamagan of Badakshan. His divan has been published several times and a number of manuscripts of his divan are available. Akhund Darweza includes two verses of the poet in Makhzan, the wording of which has been adulterated. It is for this reason that Khushal Khan is critical of the way Darweza has translated the immensely thoughtful verse in which Khusrao talks about two celestial entities (self and wisdom).

2. Abdul Rahman Jami, son of Nezamuddin Ahmad Dashti, was a famous mystic, poet and scholar (1414-1493). His Hafto Rang is a collection of seven books. It has been written in the style of Nezami Ganjawi and Amir Khusrao Dehlawi's five books, the poetry of which is considered to be fluent and of great literary importance.

3. Mian Khan, Mangi and Sangar were Yusufzai chiefs in Swat.

- (265) When among our people there is a feud  
The chiefs mediate without being lewd.
- (266) Go convince Mian Nur without debate  
Or accept Darweza's Makhzan at any rate.
- (267) The clergy in Swat do agree  
You will benefit if you accept our plea.
- (268) I said: Mohammad's religion I accept  
Beside the Koran, no other book I adapt.
- (269) Darweza is neither a leader or warrior  
Makhzan is fake and Darweza a terrier.
- (270) All the clergy in Swat live on dole  
Without knowledge, not knowing religion's role.
- (271) They said: this is an answer rude  
Get up, Mian Nur is ready for the feud.
- (272) I got up and embarked on the path  
All alone to face Mian Nur's wrath.
- (273) If a dog at you may bark  
Don't immerse in terror stark.
- (274) We faced each other in anger  
In our discussion we did not languor.
- (275) The chiefs and elders all got together  
Swallowing their pride in shame altogether.
- (276) I told them to follow scholarly rules  
And avoid the worthless talk of fools.
- (277) Devoid of knowledge and a brain  
From such people you need to abstain.
- (278) There was no one to make a judgment true  
Without any bias or construe.
- (279) The chiefs all engrossed in their pride  
With the clergy and scholars beside.
- (280) But God, his sincere follower trust  
Whose deeds and actions are most just.
- (281) Mian Nur started his dialogue long  
Without thinking he was right or wrong.
- (282) He had sent me his long note  
Undue ignorance was what he wrote.

- (283) Full of grammatical and spelling flaws  
Revealing his folly without a cause.
- (284) Boasting about mysticism and conduct good  
Intermixing letters like an insipid would.
- (285) Boasting about himself all the time  
Without any reason or rhyme.
- (286) I wrote him about his shortfall  
Which he knew, one and all.
- (287) I told him like a fox you are  
Thinking your fur shines bright afar.<sup>1</sup>
- (288) Flying aimlessly all night like a bat  
When the debacle starts you merely sweat.
- (289) In letters you froth and boast  
No knowing my fame at most.
- (290) To the Yusufzai yourself you praise  
I know you and your maze.
- (291) Cock-eyed and ill-mannered you are  
An imposter gone totally ajar.
- (292) Without shame you are an ignorant bore  
No need to disparage you anymore.
- (293) About prosody I made you aware  
Makhzan is vague and without a flair.
- (294) My words of knowledge were swept away  
His haughtiness he openly portray.
- (295) He spreads his word all around  
Deceiving the wise with his sound.
- (296) This quarrel I want to be known  
About Makhzan I will groan.
- (297) If Makhzan is to be left aside  
Then I will lose my dignity and pride.
- (298) Totally immersed in his wrong way  
Arguing and bent on saying nay.

---

1. This is a reference to Mawlana Jalaluddin Balkhi's poem in which he says that when a jackal, with a dull coat, came out of his den he imagined his coat to be bright and colorful and said that he looked like the illuminated peacock (Masnavi, part 3, p. 148).

- (299) If honesty were in his creed  
Why would he be so deceptive indeed?
- (300) An honest man does not call another a liar  
His good deeds he sincerely desire.
- (301) The unjust insist on their stand  
Justice and fairness they shall not demand.
- (302) But God is bound to punish those  
Who to deception are intimately close.
- (303) When he finally started to talk  
It put everyone in shock.
- (304) Then he praised his ancestors more  
Leaving his listeners further bore.
- (305) Forgetful of what he had read  
Ironically this is what he said:
- (306) I do not claim Yazid was right  
And Darweza does not call him a knight.
- (307) Makhzan is neither poetry or prose  
A convoluted text without purpose, I suppose.
- (308) It is just an allegorical text  
Without meaning or context.
- (309) Pashto poetry is full of grace  
But his lore is without a trace.
- (310) Where the moon shines bright  
It will rip apart deception outright.
- (311) Truths bounty is like the rain  
Endless lies will only bring pain.
- (312) When his nonsense he did utter  
His breath just smelled like a gutter.
- (313) Under my influence he certainly was  
Then suddenly he left without pause.
- (314) He then tried to ring his magic bell  
I knew I had him under my spell.
- (315) I said enough, this was my goal  
My rival knows my comment's droll.
- (316) In Makhzan, Yazid is openly praised  
Its style of writing will leave you dazed.

- (317) Openly I say it is a work raw  
He himself admits his flaw.
- (318) Everyone who came to know this:  
That it is a lie, without bliss.
- (319) Among the believer I am exalted  
My position then cannot be faulted.
- (320) With Pashtun pride to Swat I came  
Neither seeking fortune or fame.
- (321) In dispute we will all go astray  
No one can then assemble the fray.
- (322) Of this matter I was aware  
I did not seek any other flare.
- (323) Keeping this in mind I acted with caution  
Otherwise I could have raised a commotion.
- (324) But when I learned about his scheme  
I also let out a lot of steam.
- (325) I told him not to support the Mughal tide  
He accepted my word with ardent pride.
- (326) He agreed to once and for all repent  
Pashtun pride he will not bent.
- (327) Since it is our religious duty  
And not a vagrant war booty.
- (328) With sincerity I shook his hand  
His motive was vague, I know his brand.
- (329) He headed home in disgrace  
Losing faith without a trace.
- (330) Then I realized he was a liar  
Satan's vileness he did aspire.
- (331) With God's help I tore him apart  
So with contempt he may depart.
- (332) I assumed Makhzan's errors he will correct  
But he presses on with his intentional neglect.
- (333) He continues to praise Makhzan  
With his roguery he is not done.
- (334) This is why I despise my rival  
But spite I will not use for my survival.

- (335) Let the whole Swat burn  
As far as I can attain my goal in turn.
- (336) Its foundation is weak  
About its disappearance we can speak.
- (337) Among scholars and the clergy folks  
There are more who are a hoax.
- (338) They do wrong all the time  
Not fearing God with their crime.
- (339) Their life, they have spent in lies  
Like a beggar, tricks they devise.
- (340) What is the worthiness of their prayer  
Without any blessing, without flair.
- (341) Praying and fasting just for cant  
Of piety they cannot rant.
- (342) If they seek approval of others  
They will be cursed by their mothers.
- (343) If they pray with true devotion  
Heaven's wheel they will put in motion.
- (344) A thousand times they may prostrate  
Their sins they cannot inundate.
- (345) Mian Nur went home in shame  
Regretful of his words all the same.
- (346) Every chief knows he is a crook  
Known in every corner and nook.
- (347) With the leaving of army peace will prevail  
Then in more evil he will blatantly entail.
- (348) He who always creates woes  
On the wrong path he goes.
- (349) Yusufzai are without honor or pride  
With the debased they stand beside.
- (350) If the warriors would listen not to Mian Nur  
They will not act like a boor.

## Chapter

- (351) When Pir Roshan<sup>1</sup> started his intrigue  
All Pashtuns joined his unwieldy league.
- (352) The Pashtuns followed clergies unjust  
Some devotees of Shah Essa, others of Sarmast.<sup>2</sup>
- (353) Roshan impacted the Warkuz and Afridi<sup>3</sup> tribes  
Good at robbery and taking bribes.
- (354) With Qasem's<sup>4</sup> blessing both tribes did prevail  
Dangar Pir's idol was full of detail.

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1. Bayazid (Pir Roshan) 1525-1572, son of Abdullah, from the Ormarh tribe, was an august Pashto writer, thinker and freedom fighter. He is the author of *Khair-al-Bayan*, *Maqsood-al-Mominen*, *Sirat-al-Tawheed* and other books. He and his progeny conducted a long campaign against the invading Mughal monarchs. Mughal lackeys condemned him and considered his movement to be corrupt. Khushal Khan also accuses him of wrongdoing. Before Khushal Khan's campaign against the Mughals, Pir Roshan was lambasting the Mughals. Hence we distance him from other opportunist clergies of the time.

2. Shah Essa: Mian Essa was an ascetic of the Saadat from Bakhar in Sind who lived in Attock. Akhund Darweza has mentioned him in his books around 1572. We know another Sayed Essa, brother of Abdul Wahab Akhund Panjo. It is possible that these two individuals may be the same person. Sarmst: I do not know anyone by this name but there is a Mullah Mast Zamand, author of *Sulook-al-Ghazat* and a poet, who was a disciple of Akhund Tsalak Tughi, probably born around 1542, and was alive before Khushal Khan. It is possible the reference is to this Mast.

3. Warkuzi and Afridi are two prominent Pashtun tribes who live in Terah and Kohat who were disciples of Pir Roshan.

4. It is possible this is a reference to Skeikh Qasem bin Sheikh Qadam Mutizai Khalil Ghoryakhel (1545-1604), who was a saint of the Qaderi faith in Duwawa of Peshawar, author of *Tazkerat Awlia-e Afghan* (*Tazkera-al-Ibrar* 255). Or it may be a reference to Akhund Qasem son of Abdullah Payeen Khel Shinwari, author of *Fawaed-al-Shariat* and a member of Akhund Darweza's literary school. He lived before Khushal Khan. I do not recognize Dangar Pir. It looks as though he was a priest of the Shitko nation in Banu. Shitak was son of Kaki and grandson of Karlan. The Khatak, Afridi and Zadran are considered to be progeny of Kaki and Karlan (*Khurshaid-e Jahan* 239, *Makhzan-e Afghani* 2, 905).

- (355) The Khatak followed Bubakar and Pir Mansur<sup>1</sup>  
Distancing from corruption they stayed pure.
- (356) All Khatak follow the Sunni faith  
But they consider their saint to be a wraith.
- (357) They may act like an infidel  
Craving to conquer a citadel.
- (358) All Yusufzai follow Essa<sup>2</sup> blind  
They all have a money-grabbing mind.
- (359) Qasemi<sup>3</sup> and Shah Essa were at war  
Roshan and Pir Mansur were not much afar.
- (360) From somewhere Darweza<sup>4</sup> did appear  
Ignorant, but to the people he is dear.
- (361) When he realized how foolish these people are  
He wrote his book to be a star.
- (362) He saw Roshan's Khair-al-Bayan<sup>5</sup>  
Whose reading makes people yawn.
- (363) All of a sudden he became an orator  
Acting like a mad dictator.
- (364) Pashtuns then had little skill  
Darweza among them was better still.

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1. Abu Bakar and Mansur were Khatak saints before Khushal Khan, whom we know from this couplet of the poet. In that a critique like Khushal Khan considers them to be distant from corruption shows they were honest people. Akhund Darweza talks about an Abu Bakar Kandahari, saint of the Khatak, who was from the Matizai Khalil and Sheikh Kata lineage and Bakakarkhel Matizai is related to him. It is possible this is a reference to this person but Pir Mansur, son of Pir Omar Babar, who was priest of the Khatak people residing between Peshawar and Banu.

2. Essa: Meaning the followers of Shah Essa mentioned in couplet 352.

3. Sheikh Qasem Sulaimani was mentioned earlier in couplet 354.

4. From this it is clear that Darweza was not raised among the Pashtuns and came from somewhere else (meaning he had been sent from India) and after studying the local people he started writing Makhzan.

5. In clarity and expression and taking into account the fluency of Pashto prose and poetry Khair-al-Bayan has some serious shortcomings.



- (365) He was a Sunni but he converted  
With the Khariji<sup>1</sup> he flirted.
- (366) Even though the dervish cursed Yazid  
Darweza condoned Yazid's errors indeed.
- (367) He got involved in the realm of soul  
The elimination of dervishes became his goal.
- (368) In Swat he disbanded the dervish outright  
Replacing them with his magical insight.
- (369) With his sorcery he created an aura  
About his book like the northern bora.
- (370) Not paying attention to what is bad  
His children, in his disposition were clad.
- (371) Darweza in deception's ruse  
Was bent on guile and abuse.
- (372) Even his sword was tainted,  
Yusufzai under his guise fainted.
- (373) The Yusufzai did not know better that:  
Darweza was wearing an imposter's hat.<sup>2</sup>
- (374) Emperor Akbar without any dread  
His new religion he did spread.<sup>3</sup>
- (375) Shah Essa may have got a bag of gold  
The Baloot<sup>4</sup> did gratitude behold.

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1. Khariji: In 657 a battle took place between Hazrat Ali and Mawiya bin Abu Sufyan in which seventy thousand people were killed. After fighting for 110 days the two sides decided to cease fire. Abu Musa Ashghari, representing Hazrat Ali, and Omro bin Aas were appointed to reach a settlement. The two came to the agreement that both Ali and Mawiya should abstain from becoming the caliph and Moslems should appoint someone else to the caliphate. As a result some people stayed with Hazrat Ali who were Shiite. The people of Syria swore allegiance to Mawiya. There were some other Muslims who left Ali and they were called Khawarij whose singular is Khariji. They played a vital role in the history of other Islamic countries and Afghanistan. Their beliefs had a peculiar flair (see Afghanistan After Islam, p. 877). Khushal considers Darweza a Khariji since he has written that no one should curse Yazid.

2. It seems that Khushal Khan did not consider Darweza to be a Pashtun.

3. Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, son of Homayun and grandson of Babur (1556-1605), was a famous emperor of India who tried to spread a new mixed religion which the Islamic clergy rejected outright.

4. Baloot is the name of a village in Dera Ismail Khan.

- (376) Many are his followers devoted  
A joke which cannot be quoted.
- (377) Roshan's disciples turned up to be wrong  
Sedition they found in the throng.
- (378) Darweza, who followed the wrong creed  
Many Yusufzai he converted with speed.
- (379) The whole world knows Koran's message  
But he cast doubt on its express-age.
- (380) Those who behave like a beast  
Should not follow fools at least.
- (381) When one selects the wrong way  
From such mistake stay away.
- (382) The ignorant do not know the truth  
God helps those misguided in youth.
- (383) Why follow the saint's way?  
See what knowledge is at bay.
- (384) Learned people, there are a lot  
So are the clergy competing for the pot.
- (385) I will stay afar from the clergy group  
May the learned be part of my coop.
- (386) Scholars I wish to follow  
Not the unwise and the hollow.
- (387) He who is learned is divine  
Fake knowledge is certainly benign.
- (388) A half-willed saint is a rogue  
Knowledge will not turn him into a vogue.
- (389) If a saint were to knowledge gain  
From which-craft he cannot abstain.
- (390) One whose heart is devoid of grace  
Has a vile and evil face.
- (391) He persuaded the Yusufzai to withdraw  
From Sayed<sup>1</sup> whom he considered a flaw.

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1. By Sayed Khushal Khan is referring to Shah Essa mentioned in couplets 352-358.

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