

History of Afghanistan

During the Koragani Empire in India

by

Abdul Hai Habibi

Translated by Khushal Habibi

Part One

Babur, Homayun, Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, Jahangir,
Shah Jahan, Aalamgir until the conquest of Nader Shah

From

1504 to 1738 CE

A period of 240 years

Chapter One

Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur Founder of the Koragani Empire in India

The founder of the Koragani empire in India was named Mohammad Babur son of Omar Sheikh Mirza, king of Andajan and Fargana. He was one of the Timuri kings, who even during the time of his father, Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirza, ruled over his own domain. His father was related to Timur Koragan, the great conqueror of Asia as follows, Abu Sa'id son of Sultan Mohammad Mirza son of Miran Shah son of Timur Koragan.¹

Babur was born to Qutluq Negar Khanum,² daughter of Yunus Khan, the ruler of Mongolia on 6th of Moharam 888 H, corresponding to 14 February 1483 CE. His mother's lineage also dates back to Genghis Khan's son Chagatai, the second son of the Mongol conqueror. Babur's father fell down from the roof of Kabutar Khana palace on 9 June 1494 resulting in his death. A day later the young prince was chosen as king by the leaders of Andajan³ and he was named Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur. Later he became one of the greatest emperor of Asia and started a formidable monarchy in India.

Babur's rivalry against Mongol rulers and the Uzbeks

Immediately after the young king ascended the Andajan throne he faced rivalry from his relatives but since he was related to Genghis and Timur he was considered to be the rightful king due to his lineage. Despite the fact that the Andajan king was only a boy he stood up against the schemes of his uncles Sultan Ahmad Mirza, the governor of Samarkand, Sultan Mahmud Mirza, governor of Kunduz and Badakhshan and other Mongol dignitaries and did not allow his kingship

¹ Tarikh-i-Firishta. Amal-i-Saleh, vol. 1. Padshah Nama, vol. 1. Cambridge History of India. Akbar Nama, vol. 1, p 86.

² Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1 p. 21: Mehr Negar Khanum.

³ Tarikh-i-Firishta. Cambridge History of India. Hand written Mutla'-al-Sa'dain. Islamic Encyclopedia, vol. 1 p. 547. Akbar Nama. Padshah Nama vol. 1.

to be thwarted.¹ Babur not only managed to maintain Andajan but after repeated attacks he managed to capture Samarkand in 1497 and scattered his rivals in different directions.

Since Mongol soldiers were unable to pillage and plunder Samarkand, under the leadership of some of their leaders, such as Ibrahim Kochak (Ibrahim Baig), Jan Ali and Sultan Ahmad, they engaged in an insurrection and aided Babur's brother, Jahangir Mirza, who was waiting for an opportunity to take over Andajan. In order not to lose Andajan Babur left Samarkand after a few months (one hundred days according to Islamic Encyclopedia) and went in the direction of Andajan which had fallen before Babur's arrival and his supporters such as Mullah Qazi etc. were killed there. When Babur realized that the situation in both Samarkand and Andajan had become deranged he left for Ahangaran and sought the assistance of his maternal cousin, Sultan Mahmud Khan, son of Yunus Khan. Mahmud who found himself caught between two cousins, chose to remain neutral and went to Tashkent. Without help Babur's army retreated and scattered.

Babur sought permission from Hussain Koragan and for a while stayed in the Sagharj village. Later at the invitation of Ali Dost Taghaey, he left for Farghanistan, capturing the fort and then attempted to recapture Andajan taking charge of the city in June of 1499.²

A year later Babur directed his army to Aush. Jahangir Mirza and Sultan Ahmad Tanbail, who were waiting for such an opportunity, took over Andajan. Babur returned back and faced his enemies near the village of Khuban, three *farsang* (about 12 miles) from Andajan and managed to recapture the city.³

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Sayr-al-Mutakherin. Akbar Nama. Muntakhab-al-Lubab.

². Tarikh-i-Firishta, vol. 1 pp. 103-194. Islamic Encyclopedia vol. 1, p. 547.

³. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

In the absence of Babur, Shaibani Khan¹ attacked Samarkand. Babur wanted to subdue this new rival also and with a force of 240 soldiers attacked Samarkand unexpectedly in the middle of the night and managed to defeat Shaibani's supporters and drove him toward Bukhara in 1500.²

Shaibani who was an iron-fisted seasoned warrior did not leave his young rival in peace and in the winter of the same year captured Qara Qul and other towns. Babur realized that this rival, whose lineage extended to the Timuri princes, had sought the help of Timuri princes who governed Khorasan and other regions. Unable to receive any help from them he gathered his army in May of 1501 and faced Shaibani near Karozan. A fierce battle ensued in which the leader of Babur's supporters was killed. Shaibani reached the Samarkand fort but Babur kept the fortress under siege for three or four months. Finding the situation impossible he left Samarkand the following year with his one hundred compatriots and went to Tashkent. There his cousin, Sultan Mahmud, agreed to help Babur who tried to capture Fargana. Babur managed to take over Aush with help from his cousin but was injured in the battle with the governor of Andajan, Sultan Ahmad Tanbail, and went to Akhsi. His old rival, Shaibani, captured Tashkent and drove Babur in the direction of Mongolia and Termez.³

When Babur realized that all of Trans-Oxiana had fallen into the hands of his rivals, he diverted his attention toward Afghanistan and goes to Kabul to establish a new kingdom. It is here that we see the beginning

¹. Abu-al-Fath Mohammad Shaibani Khan, son of Shah Bedagh Sultan, son of Abul-al-Khair Khan of Shaiban lineage, son of Juchi son of Genghis Khan who became the king of Trans-Oxiana in 1501 and was killed in a battle with the Safavi king near Mahmudi village of Merv in 1511. He recited poetry in Turkish and versified Nesab-i-Turki for Qazi Ikhtiaruddin Herawi. His daughter's progeny ruled from 1599 to 1786. Other members of his family were rulers until 1599 in Trans-Oxiana, Balkh, Bukhara and Samarkand. Shaibani's forays in Afghanistan reached Herat, Seistan and Kandahar but members of his family only governed in the northern areas of the country (Dual Islamia p. 431, Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 14 onward).

². Tarikh-i-Firishta, Islamic Encyclopedia, Tuzuk-i-Babur.

³. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Islamic Encyclopedia, Muntakhab-al-Lubab.

of his endeavors in our country where he gained to fame and then headed for India.

These developments do not have any direct relationship with the history of our country but were presented to inform the reader about the life of this famous conqueror. Now we will touch upon issues which are a part of our history.

Babur in Kabul

Since Babur was unable to subdue his staunch rival Shaibani in Trans-Oxiana he decided to go to Kabul to establish his new domain. According to historians Firishta and Ma'sumi he crossed the Hindu Kush range in 1505 but as stated by Mir Khwand and Islamic Encyclopedia he made the journey in 1504 and attacked Kabul. As mentioned earlier Babur went from Bom-i-Turan to Termez and consulted with Amir Mohammad Baqir, the governor of the region, and from there headed for the southern flank of the Oxus river and Badakhshan, whose governor at the time was Khusrao Shah. Babur came to Kunduz, the center of Khusrao's domain.¹ Even though Khusrao was willing to help Babur but since he was a resolute and active person, soon after arriving to Kunduz, Babur recruited eight thousand troops loyal to Khusrao and forced Khusrao to leave confiscating all his wealth and paraphernalia. With a few followers Khusrao fled to Maimana to Prince Badi-ul-Zaman Mirza, the Timuri ruler of the region.²

After Khusrao was forced to leave Babur befriended Khusrao's troops and their families, confiscated Khusrao's wealth, and headed for Kabul.

¹: Cambridge History, vol. 4, p. 4. Earlier historians such as Firishta and Khwand Mir have not mentioned the center of Khusrao's domain. Muntakhab-al-Lubab and Sayr-al-Mutakherin, mention Badakhshan as his capital. It looks as though this Khusrao Shah was a member of the native Badakhshan people who governed the place from ancient times and traced their ancestry to the Tajiks.

²: Tarikh-i-Firishta. Mir Khwand, vol. 7. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1.

The situation in Kabul

From the time of Sultan Abu Sa'id, grandfather of Babur, Kabul had been under the control of one Prince Ulug Baig Mirza, a paternal uncle of Babur.¹ Ulug Baig died in 1502 and his young son, Abdul Razaq Mirza, became the king but the administration of Kabul was in the hands of a person named Zaki.² The leaders and elders of Kabul such as Amir Mohammad Yusuf, Mohammad Qasim Baig, Amir Ali Yunus and others left the city to wait for an opportunity. On the day of Eid, while Zaki (Shiram Zaka) was in the sultan's court, the leaders of Kabul, accompanied by 300 men, attacked and killed him.³

As a result the status quo in Kabul became grave and the young ruler, Abdul Razak, was unable to take charge of the deteriorating situation. Taking advantage of the ensuing chaos, Mohammad Muqim, the younger son of Amir Zu-al-Nun Arghun, who was governor of Garamsir of Kandahar, attacked Kabul with the help of Hazara and Nakdari fighters and captured the city toward the end of 1503. Unable to resist, the young Mirza Abdul Razak fled to Laghman. After taking charge of Kabul Mohammad Muqim married the daughter of Mirza Ulug Baig.⁴

¹ This Ulug Baig, son of Sultan Abu Sa'id, son of Miranshah son of Timur was governor of Kabul and Ghazni from 1461-1502. The other Ulug Baig, son of Shah Rukh, son of Timur, was a famous astrologer and governor of Trans-Oxiana of Khorasan from 1414 until his death in 1449. (Dual-i-Islamia, p. 429). The Ulug Baig of Kabul was involved in the migration of Afghan tribes to Peshawar and the wars with the Yusufzai and has been mentioned in Tarikh-i-Mur'asa and Makhzan-i-Afghani.

² Mohammad Ma'sum has written his name as (Shiram Zaka) in Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi but in Tarikh-i-Firishta p. 198 it appears as Zaki. In Tarikh-i-Hind vol. 1, p. 251, it is Arskan while in Babur Nama, vol. 1, p. 195 it is Shayram.

³ Tarikh-i-Firishta, Ma'sumi, Mir Khwand, Sayr-al-Mutakherin.

⁴ During the period of Timuri princes, Amir Zu-al-Nun Arghun, son of Mir Hasan Basri, took over the domain of Mullah Zaman Abu Sa'id Timuri. After that this person gained fame in Herat and Trans-Oxiana and Sultan Hussain Mirza, the king of Herat, made him governor of Ghor and Zamindawar. After subduing the Hazara and Nakdari in 1499, the king of Herat let him take charge of Farah, Ghor and Kandahar also. Zu-al-Nun managed to free Kandahar and also took charge of the Shaal and Mastang province (present day Baluchistan). This person started the Arghuni kingdom in southern Afghanistan and was killed during the

In September 1503 or 1504 when Babur left for Kabul, Mohammad Muqim, the Arghuni governor of Kabul, was besieged and after a few days he promised to let Babur take charge of the city. Babur provided him safe passage and allowed him to travel to Kandahar. In this way Babur took over the throne of Kabul and became the administrator of the region.¹

Kabul's successive earthquakes in 1506, which lasted for a month, and ruined many buildings resulted in a reconstruction melee by Babur and he gathered an army to take over Ghazni and its environs. He went as far as Qalat during his conquest and took charge of the area from the Arghun brothers and appointed his younger brother, Jahangir Mirza, as governor of Ghazni.²

Babur realized that Shaibani Khan, with his large army, posed a threat to his kingdom and if he were not deterred he could jeopardize his throne. Thus, according to Mir Khwand, in June of 1505³ and Firishta in June of 1506,⁴ Babur took action to aid Sultan Husain Mirza, the Timuri prince of Khorasan, who with the help of Sayed Afzal son of Sultan Ali, had helped him combat Shaibani Khan. Babur left by way of Hazarajat siege of Herat and the battle which he conducted with Mohammad Shaibani, the Uzbek governor. His two sons, Shah Baig and Mohammad Muqim Arghun, ruled over Kandahar and its adjacent territories. They reconciled with Shaibani, who after the siege of Herat, moved on Farah and Garamsir. Shaibani let them in charge of their territory and himself went to Khorasan (Ma'sumi, Mir Khwand). Incidents which took place during the time of Babur's rule with these two brothers is presented in the following pages.

¹ Ma'sumi. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. *Hayat-i-Afghani*. Cambridge History. Mir Khwand. *Mafateh-al-Ulum*. Akbar Nama.

² *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. *Muntakbah-al-Lubab*, vol. 1. Abu-al-Fazl A'lami in Akbar Nama, vol. 1, p. 89 provide a synopsis of this earthquake. He writes that most of the buildings of the Kabul citadel were in ruins and the houses in Baighuman (in one copy this name appears as Lama'n (possibly the present day Paghman) were destroyed. The earth shook 33 times in one day. A huge fissure appeared in the ground between Baighuman and Baigtut. In the area between Astarghaj and Maidan, nearly six farsakh, the ground rose close to the height of an elephant.

³ *Rowzat-al-Safa*, vol. 7, p. 102.

⁴ *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, vol. 1 p. 198. In Akbar Nama, Abu-al-Fazl agrees with Firishta and states that this battle journey took place in 1506. In his book, *Tuzuk-i-Babur*, Babur himself provides the same date (p. 117).

and the Aimaq region toward Herat and Merv. During this time the Timuri princes of Khorasan had gathered their forces along the bank of the Murghab river to face Shaibani Khan. After Babur passed Murchaq, he met the princes in Kul Baghan house. This meeting took place on the 6th or 8th of Jamadi-al-Akhir (2nd or 4th November 1506).

Shaibani refrained from fighting when he realized that the Timuri princes had united against him. Beside that, due to the approach of winter, it was not possible for anyone to cross the Oxus river to face Shaibani. As a result, during the month of December of the same year, Babur left Murghab and Merv and upon the invitation of Badi-ul-Zaman Mirza, spent 20 days in the house of Ali Sher from Herat. Upon hearing about disturbances in Kabul Babur left Herat on 1st January 1507 for Kabul by way of Hazarajat in the middle of the harsh winter and arrived there after facing great hardships due to the cold weather and attacks by the local tribesmen.¹

A new revolt brew up in Kabul after Babur left the city for Khorasan. Mohammad Hussain Koragan and Sanjar Barlas, gathered a large force and declared Jan Mirza, maternal cousin of Babur, as the king. Supporters of Babur such as Mullah Baba Sagharji, Khalif Muhib Ali Qurchi, and Ahmad Yusuf Qasim were besieged in the fort. When Babur became aware of the Koragani princes' plot he returned to Kabul by way of Badghis, Chakhcharan, Yak Awlang, Bamian and Ghorband and brought back the city under his control. After surrendering Jan Mirza was allowed to go to the south-western part of the country to live with the children of Amir Zu-al-Nun. Mohammad Hussain Koragan also went to Farah and Seistan.

During this time, Badakhshan province, which had come under the sway of Babur, came under attack by the Shaibani army and Naser Mirza, the younger brother of Babur, who had been appointed governor of the province, retreated to Kabul. Thus Babur lost control of Badakhshan. Since Jahangir Mirza, another brother of Babur, died as a result of excessive alcohol consumption, Babur appointed Nasir Mirza in

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Mir Khwand, Islamic Encyclopedia, Tuzuk-i-Babur, pp. 117-122.

his place.¹

The journey to Khorasan did not prove to be fruitful and since he travelled in the middle of winter through the mountainous regions of Afghanistan, plus his rivals had caused disturbances in Kabul, the trip proved to be full of difficulties. He also fell short in payments to his soldiers and expenses. After retaking Kabul his troops were in need of supplies and food so he attacked the Ghalji tribesmen, who maintained their independence and were against foreign invaders. According to Firishta, his forays against the Ghalji Afghans took place in 1508 by means of which his soldiers managed to steal a hundred thousand heads of sheep and other goods.²

The conquest of Kandahar

During the month of June 1507 Shaibani Khan turned his attention toward Herat. When he arrived to Farah and Garamsir, Shah Beg and Mohammad Muqim, sons of Amir Zu-al-Nun Arghun, governors of these regions, first pledged their allegiance to Mohammad Khan Shaibani and accepted to mint coins and announce the Friday *khutbah* (prayer for the reigning monarch) in his name. Additionally they sent a message to Babur in Kabul to come to Kandahar and help them repel Shaibani.

Babur, who kept his army on the move all the time, headed for Kandahar and Zamindawar. Upon reaching Qalat, Jan Mirza accompanied by Abdul Razak Mirza left Kandahar to help his nephew Babur. Shah Baig and Mohammad Muqim, who had made a pact with Shaibani Khan, did not want to submit to Babur and decided to confront him with a large force. The battle took place near the Khalishak village of Kandahar (some historians have incorrectly named this place as Khatak but according to Babur himself he has written its name as Khalishak, the correct name of the place at the present time is written as Khaalishak). After a fierce battle they were disastrously defeated and suffered im-

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Mir Khwand. However, Abu-al-Fazl in Akbar Nama, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has written Jan Mirza's name as Khan Mirza. In Tuzuk-i-Babur, published in Bombay, the name appears as Khan Mirza.

². Tarikh-i-Firishta, Tuzuk-i-Babur pp. 128-129.

mensly. Shah Baig left for Shaal and Mastang and Mohammad Muqim retreated to Zamindawar.

Babur, accompanied by 2000 men, managed to take charge of Kandahar and its surrounding areas and succeeded in capturing the wealth of Amir Zu-al-Num and his sons. He let his brother, Nasir Mirza, take charge of Kandahar and Zamindawar and himself left for Kabul.¹

A month after reaching Kabul, Shah Baig and Mohammad Muqim, who had fled to Shaibani Khan, under the command of the Uzbek king, attacked Kandahar. Naser Mirza left Kandahar for Kabul where he joined his brother. With the help of Shaibani Khan, Kandahar once again fell into the domain of Shah Baig and Mohammad Muqim. After recapturing Kandahar, Shaibani Khan, returned to Khorasan. During this time Mohammad Muqim died and Kandahar was left to Shah Baig.²

Battle of Nangarhar and death of Abdul Razak

As mentioned earlier, Abdul Razak Mirza son of Mirza Ulug Baig, lost control of Kabul in 1503 and fled to eastern Afghanistan where, together with Ali Shabkor Seistani, Mohammad Ali Shaibani, Abdullah Safshekan, Nazar and Yaqub, set up his domain there. Babur who feared the Uzbek rivals and Shaibani Khan, wanted to set up his monarchy far from their sphere of influence. Since he planned to occupy India, he viewed the presence of Abdul Razak among the powerful Pashtun tribes in eastern Afghanistan, as a threat and did not want him to become powerful there. As a result Babur attacked Abdul Razak in 1508. This was a time when Abdul Razak only had a force of 3000 men. A number of commanders of Abdul Razak's army were killed in the ensuing battle and he was captured and killed. In this way Babur managed to defeat his eastern rival which paved the way for the conquest of India.³

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Ma'sumi (handwritten manuscript). Muntakhab-al-Lubab. Tuzuk-i-Babur, p. 122.

². Ma'sumi, handwritten manuscript. Tarikh-i-Firishta p. 199. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1.

³. Tarikh-i-Firishta, p. 200. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1.

Zabir Ra'ey

During this time a local freedom fighter by the name of Zabir Ra'ey came to power and freed Badakhshan from the clutches of Uzbeks and Babur and managed to keep it free from the onslaught of invaders. In order to maintain Badakhshan Babur sent his cousin, Jan Mirza son of Sultan Mahmud son of Sultan Abu Sa'id, from Kabul. Jan Mirza with the help of his mother, who was a noble of Badakhshan, managed to occupy the province and outflank Zabir.

Shaibani's war with Ismail Safavi, Shaibani's death and the capture of Transoxiana by Babur

When the king of Transoxiana, Mohammad Khan Shaibani, managed to capture Balkh, Herat and Khorasan and set up an army there, the king of Persia, Shah Ismail Safavi, feared the might of the Uzbek king and in the middle of 1510 he directed his army toward Khorasan and reached Merv on 2 December of the same year besieging Shaibani in the fortress of the city. On 8 December Shaibani attacked the Safavi army with 15,000 men. In the fierce battle, which took place about a mile from Merv, nearly 10,000 Uzbeks lost their lives including Shaibani Khan. The Uzbek army suffered a major setback and Merv was pillaged by the Safavi forces. In spring of 1512 Ismail managed to advance as far as the Oxus river and then turned back toward Herat.¹

Babur's greatest rival, Shaibani, died in his attempt to defeat the Safavi army. Babur studied the events with great interest from Kabul. In 1511, after Shaibani's death, Jan Mirza wrote Babur that he needed to take advantage of the situation now that their arch rival, Shaibani, had passed away and they must capture Farghana, their ancestral homeland. With great urgency Babur marched in direction of Kunduz after consulting and seeking help from the Safavi king, Ismail. Ahmad Sultan, Sufi Ali, Ali Quli Khan and Shahrukh Afshar, together with the Safavi soldiers, also came to Babur's aid. After capturing Hisar, Kunduz and Baghlan, Babur attacked Bukhara with a large army. After the fall of Bukhara he managed to capture Samarkand also in the middle of October 1511. He

¹ Lub-al-Tawarikh, p. 252. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Mir Khwand.

appointed Nasir Mirza to govern Kabul, stayed there for eight months and discharged the Safavi force. With the passing of winter, the remaining Uzbek army, under the command of Timur Sultan, Shaibani's commander, attacked Babur and drove him out of Bukhara. After losing control of Ghajdow and other places, and not gaining any benefit from battles with the Uzbeks, he returned back to Kabul having lost control of Transoxiana in 1514.¹

Babur returned empty handed from his Transoxiana forays and considered Kabul an omen. As was his habit, he directed his attention to the freedom seeking Pashtun tribes. During that time Pashtun tribes had moved to Peshawar valley and were engaged in warfare with the local people of the area. Since the Pashtun tribesmen resisted Babur attacked them several times and unjustly robbed their livestock. Bearing in mind that their freedom was at stake the Pashtuns fought back courageously, a subject which will be dealt in detail in the chapter on Pashtun national movements.

Babur's Conquest of India

After suffering repeated defeats in Transoxiana and his futile return to Kabul Babur directed his attention to the conquest of India so that he could distance himself from strong opponents like the Uzbeks. Bearing this in mind he started his Indian adventure after 1519 and attacked it five times. On his way he engaged in battles with Pashtun tribes and during these forays he managed to take charge of Kandahar also. His significant attacks on India are as follows:²

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta p. 210. Islamic Encyclopedia. Sayr-al-Mutakhirin. Akbar Nama.

². It should be noted that the dates of his attacks in India remain confusing among historians. The author of Cambridge History of India also brings up this issue (p. 10). A contemporary historian of Emperor Akbar, Abu-al-Fazl A'lami, in the first record of Akbar Nama (pp. 91-94) talks about the military conquests (around 1606) but Tarikh-i-Firishta of Mohammad Qasem Hindushah Astarabadi, written a year later, provides different dates than that of Abu-al-Fazl. For example Abu-al-Fazl states that the first attack took place in January 1505, while Firishta notes that it took place in 1519. Similarly there are discrepancies regarding the second and third marches of Babur. Abu-al-Fazl writes that the second march took place in October 1507 while Firishta states that it took place toward the end of 1519. According to Abu-al-Fazl the third march took place in January 1519. However,

First invasion

In 1519 Babur forded the Indus River headed for India and managed to reach the Bahra region, composed of villages in Punjab. According to Firishrta he engaged in imprisoning and killing his opponents and sent a message to Sultan Ibrahim Ludi, the Pashtun king in India, stating that these lands were a part of the Timuri kingdom in the past and are a part of the domain of his ancestors at present also. Babur left the newly conquered areas as far as the Punjab river to Hussain Baig Ataka and launched an attack on Kahkaran province managing to take over the Parhala fortress together with its bounty. He then assigned Mohammad

according to Firishta it took place in 1520. The two authors provide the same date for the fourth and fifth conquests i.e. 1523 and 1525. Cambridge History of India follows Abu-al-Fazl's dating but according to the author of this book Firishta's dating seems to be correct since there are discrepancies in Abu-al-Fazl's dating which does not corroborate with his own writings. For example in page 91 he writes that the first conquest took place in January 1505. However, in page 89 he says that the first conquest of Kabul by Babur took place in the middle of September 1504. It is unlikely that the young Babur, who had staunch enemies like Uzbeks in the north and Abdul Razak in the east, would leave his newly established kingdom in Kabul after three months and head for India passing through belligerent Pashtun territory and then return back to Kabul toward the end of the same year, and during his absence Abdul Razak does not engage in any kind of counteroffensive in the east. According to Abu-al-Fazl (p. 89), after reaching Kabul Babur embarked on his journey to capture Kandahar toward the beginning of 1505, despite the fact that Kabul had been devastated by earthquakes that year. Abu-al-Fazl's dating of the second journey is also controversial. In page 90 he writes that Babur left for Khorasan, together with Timuri princes, in June 1506 while in November of the same year he writes that Babur was in Murghab and on 2 January 1507 he headed for Kabul where he disrupted his enemies in Kabul and then left for Kandahar the following year (p. 91). We find Babur to be engaged in the conquest of Kandahar the next year (1508). Therefore we see that his raid over India is hard to believe. Based on this I consider Firishta's version of dates to be more authentic since his dating of events is similar to those of Mir Khwand, Khafi Khan and Ma'sumi. The dates provided by Babur himself in Tuzuk-i-Babur, (translated by Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan, Bombay), are controversial. He does not provide any dates for the journeys he undertook after 1509. We find that at the beginning of the same year he was engaged in the conquest of Bajawar and the mountainous regions north of Peshawar. He then mentions several other journeys to these areas to attack the Yusufzai and Mohmand tribes but does not provide any dates for these encounters. Later he talks about other conquests of India and his attack on Panipat without providing any dates. Based on this I have chosen to rely on other sources which provide the dates of his journeys and conquests.

Ali to take charge of the area between Bahra and Sind and himself returned to Kabul.¹

Being a wise person Babur understood the psych of the independent minded Pashtun tribesmen of the frontier. He also realized that it would not be possible to conquer the vast land of India without the aid of these tribes who lived in the neighborhood of India.

Hence, during his first journey, he confronted the Pashtun tribes through peace ventures following in the footsteps of king Subuktageen², whose son, Sultan Mahmud, with the help of the Pashtuns, managed to be victorious in his Indian battles. Hence, during his first trip, Babur married the daughter of a prominent Yusufzai chief. By establishing a relationship with the Yusufzai he managed to take over the Bahra fortress without any opposition and issued orders so that no one may attack the local residents of the region or their property.³

Second invasion

A few months after his first invasion, Babur again decided to go as far as Lahore toward the end of 1519. According to Firishta he attacked the Yusufzai tribesmen and destroyed their fields. After crossing the Indus river he was informed that Sultan Sa'yed wanted to take over Badakhshan. Thus Babur turned back and sent Mirza Mohammad Sultan Awis, son of Mansur, son of Omar Sheikh Mirza, who was his brother's grandson, together with 4000 cavalry, to march on Lahore and himself turned his attention to protect Kabul. On his return Babur learned that Sultan Sa'yed had refrained from attacking Badakhshan so he directed his attention at the Khedr Khel Pashtuns, who had rebelled to maintain

¹ Tarikh-i-Firishta. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1.

² According to Siyasat Nama and Tarikh-i-Guzidah, Subuktageen married the daughter of a chief from Zawul, who was the mother of Sultan Mahmud. It is for this reason he was called Mahmud Zawuli.

³ Cambridge History of India, Abu-al-Fazl and Darweza, write that this woman was daughter of Shah Mansur Kalantarkhel Yusufzai whose name was Bibi Mubarak (The Pathans, p. 159).

their independence. After vanquishing the Pashtun tribesmen he returned to Kabul.¹

Third invasion

Abu-al-Fazl, Firishta and Khafi Khan are close in providing the date of the third invasion. Abu-al-Fazl provides the date of January 1519, while Khafi Khan and Firishta state that it took place in 1520. However, the events which Firishta says took place during the first invasion, Abu-al-Fazl mentions them in the third invasion.

According to Firishta, during his third invasion, Babur once again attacked the Pashtun tribes who always stood in his way, before reaching Sialkot of Punjab. The people of the area surrendered without putting up a fight but the people of Sayedpur, united with the Ludi Pashtuns living in the area, attacked Babur's army. Babur's brutality toward the citizens of Sayedpur was unprecedented. He enslaved them, looted their property and then returned to Kabul.²

Capture of Kandahar

As mentioned earlier Kandahar sporadically fell into Babur's domain in 1508 and a few months later it was recaptured by Shah Baig Arghuni but he knew that Babur would not give up control of Kandahar. As a result, with the start of winter of 1519, he directed his one thousand strong army to Bolan valley and from Sewi went in direction of Sind and invaded Kahan and Baghban.³

As envisioned by Shah Baig, Babur laid siege on Kandahar toward the beginning of 1520 but in the end reached to an agreement with Shah Baig. The reason for this move was the spread of disease among his men which necessitated that he return to Kabul in June of 1520.⁴

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

². Tarikh-i-Firishta. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1.

³. Babur Nama's English translation p. 395.. Babur provides the date of this incident as 8 April 1519. Ma'sumi p. 110.

⁴. Ma'sumi p. 111. Babur Nama pp. 431-432. It is possible that Babur's third invasion of India may have taken place a few months after this journey.

During Kandahar's siege Babur received news about the death of Jan Mirza. Following this Babur appointed Prince Hodayun as the regent of Badakhshan¹ and himself embarked on his third invasion of India.

After returning from India Babur did not allow Shah Baig to consolidate his power in Kandahar. According to several sources he left for Kandahar in 1521² where he besieged Shah Baig. Shah Baig resisted and asked Prince Tahmasap Safavi, who was governing Khorasan, under the shadow of Amir Khan. Amir Khan asked Babur to cease the siege of Kandahar but Babur did not agree.³ Finally Shah Baig got tired of the status quo and sent Skaikh Abu Sa'yed Puzani (Herawi) to work on a compromise and an agreement. Babur sent Khwaja Mahmud and Abdul Azim to Kandahar to work on a deal so that Kandahar is trusted to him the next year.

Shah Baig, who had taken over the province of Trans-Kozhak⁴ and present day Baluchistan earlier, directed his army to the environs of Shaal (Quetta) and Sewi and on 14 September 1522 sent the key of Kandahar city by means of Mir Ghiasuddin, grandchild of Khwand Mir (author of *Habib-al-Sayr*), to Babur's court. In this way Kandahar became Babur's domain and he sent Prince Kamran to govern the region.⁵

After abandoning Kandahar, Shah Baig and his sons chased Tusan Bakht from Sind and present day Baluchistan all the way to the Arabian Sea, fought with the local people and ruled the area for a number of years. However, they transferred the cultural and literary heritage of Kandahar to that region and a large number of intellectuals and administrators from Kandahar and Herat were sent there.

¹. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*.

². *History of India*, vol. 1 p. 355. *Babur Nama* p. 432.

³. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*.

⁴. The Kozhak mountain range lies between Kandahar valley and Pshin.

⁵. Ma'sumi, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. However, Ma'sumi has erred in providing dates therefore Ma'sumi's date of 1516 (p. 111) as the year Kandahar was captured by Kabul is incorrect. *Firishta's* date of 1522 is correct and *Babur Nama's* date of 14 September 1522 corroborates with what appears in *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. The same date has been inscribed in the inscription of the 40 Steps Memorial of Kandahar.

Fourth invasion

Abu-al-Fazl estimates 1524 as the year of Babur's fourth invasion of India but he does not provide any particulars but Firishta provides us details of the journey as follows:

Toward the end of the Ludi sultanate of India, when Pashtun leaders left King Ibrahim Ludi and dispersed, instability appeared in the Ludi court. In 1524, Daulat Khan Ludi, a prominent Pashtun leader in India, who had disagreements with King Ibrahim, sent a team to Kabul to persuade Babur to conquer India.¹

Babur who was aware of the animosity among Afghan leaders in India found the situation ripe and immediately attacked India even though a number of prominent Pashtun leaders in Punjab such as Bahar Khan, Mubarak Khan Ludi and Bakman Khan Luwani, faced Babur near Lahore but discord among them resulted in their defeat and Babur managed to take charge of Lahore and assigned Da'ab Chenghiz there. A few days later he attacked Debalpur and massacred its people. He assigned Mir Abdul Aziz to Lahore, Khusrao to Sialkot and Baba Qeshqa Mughal to Kokaltash and Debalpur and himself headed for Kabul.²

Fifth invasion, battle of Panipat and conquest of Delhi

The Ludi empire in India suffered immense weakness after Babur's fourth invasion due to discord and infighting among the Ludi courtiers. As a result of this Ibrahim Shah Ludi was unable to curb the infringement. This was because Daulat Khan Ludi, who was an iron-willed person, considered himself to be entitled to a share of the empire. Even though

¹ Daulat Khan Ludi was an inconsiderate Pashtun leader who opposed King Ibrahim Ludi, resulting in the downfall of the Ludi empire in India. Mohammad Qasem Firishta writes that he traced his lineage to Daulat Khan Ludi who was king of Delhi in 1408. Daulat and his sons, Ghazi Khan and Ali Khan, did not foster ties with Babur either and fought with his appointees in Punjab. As a result of this discord they supported Sultan Ala'uddin Ludi against Ibrahim Ludi to become the regent but did not succeed in this bid. In the end Ala'uddin was killed in the battles which took place between Babur and Ibrahim. As such he initiated measures which weakened the Ludi empire in India. Babur took advantage of the discord among the Pashtuns and was successful in weakening both sides.

² Tarikh-i-Firishta. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1 p. 84.

he was a brave man and had set up his base of influence in Punjab he faced two strong rivals, Ibrahim Ludi, the Ludi king in Delhi, and the Koragani occupier of Kabul, Babur. Both of whom were seeking his demise. Babur was also facing two rivals, Daulat Khan in Punjab and Ibrahim Shah Ludi in Delhi.

Babur wanted to take advantage of the friction which had surfaced in the Ludi family and did not want the Pashtun forces in India to be united and it is possible that he was working clandestinely to brew discord among them. Despite the differences which had arisen among the Pashtun leaders, Babur during his fourth invasion, was unable to defeat his two rivals. He spent two years in Kabul to strengthen his army and summoned Prince Homyun, governor of Badakhshan, with his supporters. He also ordered Khwaja Kalan Baig, governor of Ghazni and Zabul, to come to Kabul with his army. In this way Babur attracted all the belligerent fighters from Samarkand, Khorasan, Badakhshan as far as Seistan into his army and then marched to India with a strong force.

Babur left Kabul in December of 1525 with great pomp and Mirza Kamran, a courtier of his court, was appointed governor of Kandahar who was also responsible for administering Kabul.

Babur's army crossed the Indus the following month advancing rapidly in Punjab where it crossed the Chinab river near Bahlawalpur and captured Sialkot on 28 December and besieged the Malut fortress, the residence of Daulat Khan, who surrendered on 17 January. Babur who recognized noble Pashtun characteristics preserved the honor of the fallen fortress. He gave some of the books of the large collection of the fort's library to Homyun and sent some to Prince Kamran in Kabul. Both Abu-al-Fazl and Firishta provide the same narrative about this collection of books.

In this way Babur managed to get rid of his first rival, Daulat Khan. Having treated the Jalwani and Ludi fighter with honor he managed to absorb them into his army and headed for Delhi to defeat his other rival. The Ludi leaders, who had been weakened by incessant infighting, were defeated in the bloody Panipat battle which took place on 29 April 1525. Even though Sultan Ibrahim Ludi fought to the end of his life, his army

was unable to face the Mughal onslaught and a large number of Ludi soldiers were killed in this battle. With the death of the last Ludi king in India, the Ludi dynasty there came to an end. Babur ascended the Delhi throne on the 3rd of May 1525 and set up the Koragani sultanate in India.¹

After this Babur was recognized as the emperor of India and the events which took place following Babur's ascension are not related to Afghan history hence in the following pages we will discuss issues which are directly related to Afghanistan.

Governors of Afghanistan in Babur's empire

Babur engaged in impressive conquests in India and ended the Ludi power there. He sent able governors and administrators from his court to Afghanistan. Among them he dispatched Khwaja Kalan as governor of Ghazni and Gardez who left for Kabul on 6 October 1526. A year later he sent Prince Hodayun to take charge of Kabul and Badakhshan. The following year Hodayun joined with Sultan Owis of Badakhshan and marched on Samarkand with a forty thousand strong army. Babur who saw this as a premature move, before annexing all of India into his domain, ordered Hodayun to make peace with the governor of Transoxiana. After the passing of a year, Hodayun, let Sultan Owis, a relative of his, take charge of Badakhshan and went to see Babur by way of Kabul. His brother, Mirza Kamran, met Hodayun during this trip in Kabul.

With Hodayun's departure to the Delhi court, Sultan Sa'yed Khan, the noble khan of Kashghar and Auzgand took advantage of the situation to capture Badakhshan. But before he could do so Hodayun's brother, Prince Hindal Mirza, had gone there and fortified the city. Sa'yed Khan laid siege around the Zafar fort, the seat of government, for three months but failed in capturing it and returned back to Kashghar. When Babur learned about the motives of Sa'yed Khan he sent Suleiman Mirza, who had close ties with Sa'yed Khan, to Badakhshan. When Suleiman

¹ These events have been extracted from Tarikh-i-Firishta, Akbar Nama, Tabaka-i-Akbari, Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1, A'mal Saleh, vol. 1, Padshah Nama, vol. 1, Nematullah's handwritten manuscript and Tarikh-i-Makhzan Afghani.

reached Badakhshan, Sa'yed Khan, gave up his quest to capture the province. According to Babur's order, Hindal Mirza allowed Suleiman Mirza to govern Badakhshan and diverted his attention toward India. The progeny of Suleiman governed the place during the Koragani empire.¹ After the treaty of 1522 of Kandahar with Shah Baig Arghun a number of Baburi princes administered the region and the inscription of Chil Zena provides us with the following information: "After Babur's conquest of Kandahar Prince Kamran was appointed as the governor there. Later Kamran let his brother, Askari, take charge of Kandahar who laid the foundation of the Chil Zena memorial in 1524 which was completed five years later." From this we know that Babur's sons were appointed as governors of Kandahar during his reign.²

Babur's death, burial and personality

In March of 1530 Babur became ill and died on the second day of February 1531 in Agra. According to his will his body was taken to Kabul six months later and buried in a place known as Qadamgah. Later during the reign of Shah Jahan (1646) a mosque and mausoleum were built there which are present to this day.³

Historians agree that Babur was a learned and literary figure and had deep thoughts about many subjects and he portrayed ingenuity. According to Firishta he wrote the monograph of *Waladia* (offsprings) of Khwaja Abdullah Ehrar in the style of six lined verses of Mawlana Jami. He was also an able musician, poet and man of letters. He wrote the events of his monarchy in the Turkish language which was translated into Persian by Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan, son of Biram Khan, during the reign of Akbar. According to Firishta, Babur had a flamboyant personality and was fond of wine. Despite that he knew the tenants of Fiqh faith and believed in prayers.⁴ His temperament was delicate but estranged. According to Nezamuddin Herawi he had devised a style of handwriting

¹. Akbar Nama, vol. 1. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

². Muftah-al-Tawarikh, p. 156. Ma'sumi p. 131.

³. Muftah-al-Tawarikh. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Akbar Nama. Tabakat-i-Akbari.

⁴. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

which he called *Khat-i-Baburi* (Baburi handwriting) and had written a book in Turkish called Mubayin on the science of poetry and Fiqh and he also wrote papers on prosody.¹

He wrote his divan in Turkish language and recited poetry in Persian.² The following is his Persian quatrain:

*Even if we consider a dervish a derelict
But in our heart we believe in him.
Let us not differentiate a king from a dervish
Since the king is also a vassal of the dervish.*

This opening verse is also by him.

*I knew if I did not behead you
I would not be alive this day.³*

Babur became king at the age of 12 and died when he was 50 years old. His kingship lasted for 26 years of which he was emperor in India for four years. At the time of his death he appointed Prince Homyun, his eldest son, as his regent and lead a tumultuous life.

Babur's time in Afghanistan was consumed by bloodshed and warfare and he was brutal toward the freedom seeking Afghan people. As mentioned earlier he attacked freedom loving Afghan tribesmen several times in Zabul, Nangarhar, the mountainous regions of Khyber, Bajawar and Ashnagar. Based on our nationalistic feelings Babur cannot be considered to be a good king. Given his harsh tendency toward Afghans in Afghanistan and India he is considered a dark and ignoble person.

In the national sentiments of Afghans he is considered to be a person who usurped the Afghan monarchy in India and was a destructor of our national grandeur. A person who conducted bloodshed in the mountainous Afghan countryside and weakened the might of the Ludi dynasty in India and brought it to its feet. After him Afghans strived to regain their former might in India but as long as his progeny were in

¹. Tabakat-i-Akbari p. 28. Akbar Nama vol. 1 p. 118.

². Tazkira-i-Muzakar Ahbab of 1567 by Hussain Khwaja Naqib-al-Ashraf Bukhari, handwritten manuscript of Library of Berlin.

³. Akbar Nama, vol. 1 p. 119.

power there they did not allow the Afghans to live in peace both India or Afghanistan.

Chapter Two

Nasiruddin Mohammad Homayun

Homayun, son of Babur, was given birth by Mahum Begum, the daughter of a nobleman from Khorasan, on 15 March 1508 in the Kabul palace. He was declared regent by Babur on 7 January 1531 in Agra at the age of 24 and ascended the throne with the support of Amir Nezamuddin Ali Khalifa (council of the court) and Mohammad Muqim Herawi (father of the author of *Tabakat-i-Akbari*). Homayun's brothers were highly motivated and keen in rivalry and it was not long when Babur's empire came under threat as a result of discord among the brothers. Homayun thus faced hardships from his brothers throughout his lifetime.

At the time of Babur's death, Prince Kamran was in Afghanistan as governor of Kabul and Kandahar. Upon hearing about his father's death he tried to annex Punjab also into his domain, attacked Lahore and captured the city. Homayun who was aware about the belligerence of his brothers, recognized Punjab, Peshawar, Laghman, Kabul, Kandahar and Bamian as Kamran's domain. He let Mirza Hindal govern Maiwat and Alor in India and appointed his other brother, Mirza Askari, as governor of Sunbul province of India. These moves were intended to appease his antagonist brothers.¹

Moreover, others who were also eyeing power, were also appointed as governors in different provinces among which Badakhshan was given to Mirza Suleiman son of Jan Mirza (Babur's paternal uncle).²

Battles and conquest of Kandahar

During the early years of his accession to the throne Homayun let Prince Kamran take charge of Kandahar who appointed Khwaja Kalan Baig as its administrator. In 1535 the Safavi king, Shah Tahmasap

¹. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. *Akbar Nama*. *Muftah-al-Tawarikh*. *Amal-i-Saleh* vol. 1.

². *Akbar Nama*. *Muftah-al-Tawarikh*.

Safavi, dismissed Aghrawar Khan¹ as governor of Herat and named a person called Khalifa to administer the province. Aghrawar abducted the brother of Shah Saam Mirza. In order to find himself an excuse he attacked Kandahar but Khwaja Kalan Baig resisted the siege for eight months and bravely fought the Safavi army until the arrival of Prince Kamran from Lahore in February of the following year to ward off the Safavi siege of Kandahar. He attacked Saam Mirza's soldiers near the city resulting in a major battle in which Aghrawar was arrested and punished. The Safavi army scattered and a tired Saam Mirza fled the battle field. Kandahar was taken over by Prince Kamran who left Khwaja Kalan Baig to take charge of the province and himself returned to Lahore.²

Toward the end of the year Tahmasap Safavi himself sieged Kandahar. Khwaja Kalan Beg was unable to defend the city and left it to the Safavi king and went to Prince Kamran in Lahore by way of Tata and Auch. After taking over Kandahar Tahmasap appointed Mirza Badagh Khan Qajar in Kandahar and himself returned to his country. When Kamran became aware about the situation in Kandahar he headed toward the city for a second time. Badagh Khan sought refuge and relegated the city back to its conqueror and Kandahar once again became the domain of Prince Kamran Koragani.³

Dispute of brothers and victory of Sher Shah Suri

From the first day, after becoming the emperor, Hodayun's kingdom was under threat due to rivalry among his brothers. For several years he managed to curtail the dispute by means of providing gifts to his brothers. On the other hand the Koragani monarchy in India was facing another threat which Babur had managed to subdue temporarily through his military prowess. The warlike Pashtun tribes had ruled in India for centuries. This flame was extinguished in the battle of Panipat with the

¹ His name appears as Aghrawar in Tabakat-i-Nasiri while in different versions of Akbar Nama it has been written as Aghziwar, Aghranwaz and Aghraz Khan.

² Akbar Nama vol. 1 p.135. Tabakat-i-Akbari vol. 1 p. 32.

³ Akbar Nama, vol. 1 p. 136. Tabakat-i-Akbari pp. 2, 40.

death of Sultan Ibrahim. Pashtun tribes, who were opposed to Babur, temporarily stayed aloof and did not oppose the Koragani establishment until Babur's death.

A few years after the ascension of Hodayun the flames of dissension were lit once again and Pashtun fighters started a revolt. The first person who raised the banner of freedom was Farid Khan, son of Husain, son of Ibrahim Khan Sherakhel Suri. For years this Pashtun noble had access to Babur's court and the dignitaries of that period and from that very time his intention was to diminish Mughal power in India. After observing the machinations of Babur's court he gathered his compatriots to reestablish the Pashtun empire in India to drive away the Mughals from that land.¹

With such determination Farid Khan, known as Sher Shah and Sher Khan, left Babur's court and went to Bengal to unite the scattered Pashtun tribesmen. After forming a formidable army he stationed them near Sahsaram.

In the month of August 1537, while Hodayun had his eye on Junpur, Sher Khan surrounded the Chinar fort of Bengal and the governor of Bengal, Sultan Mahmud, was injured by Jalal Khan, son of Sher Khan, and fled to Hodayun's court. The following year Hodayun attacked Bengal. Sher Khan left for Char Kand mountains with his forces² until Mirza Hindal, Hodayun's brother, started a rebellion in Agra, minting coins and had the *khutbah* read in his name and besieged Delhi. Seeing this tenuous situation Mirza Kamran craved to be king and left Lahore with ten thousand horsemen for Delhi and participated with Hindal in the besiegement of the city. Facing a formidable enemy like Sher Shah, Hodayun was deeply agitated by the division among his brothers and reconciled his differences with them. Sher Shah, who was a brave and indomitable person, found the situation to his advantage and did not allow his enemies to succeed and on 6 July 1539 he attacked the Mughal army and defeated them near Bahjiopur. With a few of his aides

¹. Makhzan-i-Afghani manuscript p. 60. Suri is an ancient Afghan tribe tracing its roots to the Ghori kings. At present they are known as Ruzi in northwestern Herat and Suri in the Suleiman mountains. They had moved to India in olden times.

². Tarikh-i-Firishta. Akbar Nama. Tabakat-i-Akbari.

Homayun managed to escape the battle field, drowned in the river and with the help of a water-carrier was saved from drowning in the river's whirlpool. However 8000 of his men lost their lives while crossing the river.¹ Being victorious in battle Sher Shah managed to take revenge of his Ludi ancestors from Babur's family to restore the lost Afghan honor.

Homayun's escape

Once Homayun was defeated by his arch rival, Sher Khan Pashtun, he fled to Agra where he tried to pacify his brothers and gather a new army. Sher Khan managed to capture Bengal and engaged in driving the Mughals from India. In order to thwart this threat Homayun crossed the Ganges river on 26 May 1540 near Kunuj and the Mughal army, which was a hundred thousand strong, clashed with Sher Khan's soldiers comprised of about fifty thousand men. Even though he was outnumbered Sher Khan managed to inflict a fatal and decisive blow on the Mughal army.²

In this battle, Mughal forces were wiped out and scattered, and Sher Khan chased Homayun as far as Lahore who fled from that city and headed to Sind, Bahkar and Tatha and on 10 November 1540 he stopped fighting and the empire once again fell into the hands of Pash-tuns.

Homayun's brothers, who had been consistently defeated in battle by the Pashtun resurgence, left for Afghanistan. Mirza Kamran, together with Mirza Askari and Khwaja Kalan Baig separated from Homayun near Nawshehra and went to Kabul. Mirza Hindal also left Homayun in Rowhari of Sind and headed for Kandahar. Under great distress Homayun reached Omar Kot of Sind in the same month. His intention was to go to Kandahar but when Mirza Askari, who had been appointed as governor of Kandahar by Kamran, learned that Homayun was in Sind

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Akbar Nama. Tabakat-i-Akbari. Makhzan-i-Afghani.

². In this historical battle the following dignitaries were commanders of Sher Khan's army: Jalal Khan, Sarmast Khan Neyazi, Mubarez Khan, Bahadur Khan, Hussain Jalwani, and the renowned Khawas Khan, who with the assistance of Niyazi, Jalwani and Karrani tribes, was fighting against the Mughals.

he left with the intention of arresting him and reached Shaal (present day Quetta). But when Hodayun got word about the intentions of his brother he immediately went to Mastang and in this way he and his entourage of 22 persons avoided being detained. Hodayun left his children and the women of his harem with his brother. Askari who was disappointed about this brother's failed arrest took all the members of Hodayun's family to Kandahar.¹

Kamran's monarchy in Afghanistan

The circumstances in Kabul and the ruling of Afghanistan was such that Kamran and Askari went to Kabul by way of Peshawar, where they strengthened their forces and sought the obedience of Suleiman Mirza, the governor of Badakhshan. Suleiman did not accept their demand and hence Kamran left Kabul for Badakhshan and clashed with Suleiman in Nari (Narian). Finding himself weak, Suleiman surrendered, minted coins and read the *khutbah* in the name of Mirza Kamran, who returned to Kabul. Since Karacha Khan, the governor of Kandahar, did not want Kandahar to fall under Kamran's influence he encouraged Mirza Hindal, who had reached Rowhari of Sind, together with Hodayun's entourage, to come to Kandahar. Hindal headed there and Karacha Khan let him take charge of Kandahar. When Kamran learned about this plot he left Kabul for Kandahar where he besieged Hindal and Karacha. After the passing of four months of besiegement Hindal surrendered to Kamran who appointed Askari as governor of Kandahar. He took Prince Hindal to Ghazni and then secluded him in Kabul. In this way Kamran managed to take charge of Badakhshan, Ghazni, Kandahar and Kabul. Coins were minted in his name and the Friday *khutbah* was read in his name. Later he let Hindal take charge of Jalalabad.²

During this time, the governor of Badakhshan, Suleiman Mirza, once again tried to rebel. Kamran met him in Andarab and kept him captive in Zafar fort, the center of Badakhshan, and managed to capture

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Akbar Nama. Tabakat-i-Akbari. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1.

². Tabakat-i-Akbari. Akbar Nama.

Badakhshan on 17 October 1541 adding it to his domain.¹ With this the eastern, southern and northern regions of Afghanistan came under Kamran's domain who became the uncontested ruler of this vast territory.

Homayun's journey to Iran and the Safavi court

As mentioned earlier, Homayun reached Mastang (present day Baluchistan) and with the aid of Malik Hathi Baluch and Mir Abdul Hai Garamseri reached Seistan by way of Garamser in January of 1544 and Ahmad Sultan Shamlo, the governor of Seistan welcomed his arrival. Askari, the governor of Kandahar, had appointed Amir Baig in Zamin-dawar and Chamla Baig in Bost as administrators. They sent a message to Seistan by means of Haji Mohammad Baba Qashqa and Hasan Koma that Homayun should go by way of Bost and Dawar and with the help of these tribal leaders capture Kandahar. ⁴

Homayun declined this offer and with the invitation of Shah Tahmasap Safavi went to Mashad by way of Herat to stay at his court. He arrived in Mashad on 17 April 1544 by way of Jam and Herat and from there went to Qazwein where he met the Safavi king in August and stayed as a royal guest for some time.²

Homayun's second monarchy, departure from Iran and conquest of Kandahar

After a while Shah Tahmasap Safavi prepared an army of 12,000 men under the command of his youngest son, Prince Murad and Bedagh Khan Qajar, other dignitaries of the court and the governors of Kirman and Seistan. In total the Safavi army constituted some 30,000 men which was directed toward Afghanistan. Homayun also arrived in Meshad from Ardabel and Tabriz by way of Herat and made his way to the bank of the Helmand river. Nobody opposed him except the residents of Garamser fort and Helmand, which were a part of the Kandahar government. Among them Shahim Ali Jalayar and Mir Khalaj, who were working as administrators of Bost for Mirza Kamran, were besieged in the Bost

¹. Akbar Nama, vol. 1 p. 200.

². Akbar Nama. Tabakat-i-Akbari. Tarikh-i-Firiishta. Muntakhab-al-Lubab.

fortress but after a while were freed. With this move Homayun managed to break the first line of defense of Kandahar and the citadel of the city which was being protected by Mirza Askari. He was besieged by Homayun and Badagh Khan, the commander-in-chief of the Safavi army, on 30 March 1545. The siege lasted for six months and during this time Homayun sent Biram Khan Turkumaan to Kabul to Mirza Kamran so that by means of a compromise he may convince his brothers. Kamran rejected Homayun's offer and by the time Biram returned to Kandahar, the city was still under siege. The foreign Safavi forces were distressed and those besieged in the city were also wary of the situation and Askari's supporters one by one left the city to join Homayun. Finally Askari was forced to surrender and the city was handed over to Homayun on 12 September 1545. Based on the agreement, Homayun had made with the Safavi king, he presented the city to the Safavi prince and himself stayed in Chaharbagh near the bank of the Arghandab river (where Babur had built a garden).¹

Badagh Khan, the commander of the Safavi army, took charge of Kandahar city. Since Homayun planned to march on Kabul he needed a camp there. With the death of Prince Murad in Kandahar Homayun tried to dispel the Safavi army from Kandahar. To attain his plan he assigned Biram Khan to the Gandigan gate (in the northern sector of the city), Alugh Baig Mirza and Haji Mohammad to the Masho gate (southern part) and Moyad Baig to the New Gate, to storm the city. Homayun's strategy worked and he managed to take charge of Kandahar and sent Badagh Khan and the Safavi force back to Iran. Homayun then went to the Aqcha tower to raise the banner of his administration appointing his supporters in every direction.

Alug Baig Mirza son of Mohammad Sultan Mirza, who was a descendant of Sultan Husain Mirza, during the time Kandahar's siege fled from Kabul to Kandahar with his supporters and was appointed as governor of Tiri by Homayun, Haji Mohammad was appointed as governor of Lahwa (?), Isma'il Baig to Zamindawar, Sher Afghan to Kalat and Haidar Sultan

¹. Akbar Nama. Tabakat-i-Akbari. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Padshah Nama vol. 1.

to Shaal. Biram Khan became governor of Kandahar and Homyun, together with his men, marched on Kabul to capture the city.¹

Conquest of Kabul

As mentioned earlier Homyun faced immense difficulties due to unrest and discord among his brothers and as a result Babur's family lost control of the Indian empire. When Babur managed to capture Kandahar for the second time with the help of the Safavis and forced Askari to surrender Ghazni, Kabul and Badakhshan which were under the control of Kamran, who was known for defying Homyun several times and was confident of his power base. Therefore it was an arduous task for Babur to defeat him and Homyun was unable to attack India before clearing the Afghan regions. Therefore he stayed in Kabul and the northern parts of Afghanistan to combat his brothers and after defeating all of them he successfully invaded India setting up the Moghul empire there once again. Here I briefly present Homyun's battles in Afghanistan before his conquest of India.

After capturing Kandahar Homyun headed for Kabul. At this time Prince Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Naser, Babur's brother, came to Homyun's aid. Jamil Baig, who had been appointed as governor of Ghazni, together with Qaplan Baig, a member of Kamran's court, also surrendered to Homyun.

When Homyun's army reached Arghandi, located near Kabul, Kamran's line of defense fell apart due to infighting among members of the court. Finding that his army had faltered Kamran took refuge in the citadel of Kabul. During the night Khwaja Khezr made a hole in the wall of the citadel through which Kaman fled to Ghazni and Homyun successfully entered the city on 24 or 26 November of 1545 or 1546.²

After losing control of Kabul Kamran clandestinely entered Ghazni. Unable to capture the city he passed through the middle of Rozgan and Hazara country reaching Zamindawar. Its administrator, Hisamuddin Ali, son of Mir Khalifa, who had been appointed by Homyun, fortified the

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Tabakat-i-Akbari. Akbar Nama. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1.

². Tarikh-i-Firishta. Tabakat-i-Akbari. Akbar Nama. Padshah Nama vol. 1.

area and did not allow Kamran to capture the region. In order to protect Ghazni Homayun sent Prince Hindal there and Mirza Ulug Baig to Zamindawar. Finding the situation precarious Kamran fled to Sind, taking refuge under the shadow of governor Hasan Arghuni, waiting for another opportunity to arise.

First journey to the northern regions

After the fall of Kabul and learning that Kamran had fled to Sind, Homayun engaged in capturing the northern provinces also. He sent a message to Jan Mirza, governor of Badakhshan, to come to Kabul who refused to do so. Instead he brought under his control Kunduz and some other regions also. In 1546 Homayun assigned Mohammad Ali Taghayi, to take charge of Kabul and himself marched to Badakhshan. After crossing the Hindu Kush he stationed himself in the garden of Ali Quli Andarabi in Andarab. His rival, Suleiman Mirza, together with his army reached Shuturgaran or Tirgaran where the battle with Homayun took place. Suleiman's army suffered a fatal blow during the initial phase of the battle at the hands of Hindal, Qaracha Khan and Haji Mohammad Khan and fled in direction of Kolaab. A defeated Suleiman then surrendered to Homayun.

After this success Homayun attacked Taloqan and Keshm also. He assigned Mirza Hindal to Kunduz, Muna'am Khan to Khost and Babus Khan to Taloqan as governors there. During this foray Homayun suffered a fatal illness which caused distress among his men. After recovering Homayun managed to thwart the sedition and kept control of Badakhshan province. He assigned his administrators there sending Sher Afghan son of Quch Baig to Zuhak and Bamian. Soon after he received word about Kamran's intentions pertaining to Kabul.

Kamran who was waiting in Sind for an opportunity to brew up after hearing about Homayun's illness immediately went to Kandahar with the help of the administrators of Sind. Finding the place in the hands of an able governor such as Biram Khan he was unable to capture it therefore he left for Ghazni by way of Kalat. His supporters attacked the Ghazni citadel with the help of Abdul Rahman Qasaab in the middle of the night

taking charge of the place. Zahed Baig, who was the governor of the region, was arrested and executed.

After capturing Ghazni, Kamran, appointed his son-in-law, Daulat Sultan, as governor and Malik Mohammad, a dignitary of the Sind establishment, who had accompanied Kamran was also charged to protect the region. Not wasting any time Kamran immediately attacked Kabul in the early hours of the morning and without the knowledge of its defenders reached the Taqia gate of the citadel with his forces entering it without any resistance. Kamran, which means successful, once again succeeded in capturing Kabul and Ghazni.

During this time Hodayun was engaged in forays in Badakhshan and the northern regions of Afghanistan. Hearing about the attack on Kabul he immediately left for the city despite the cold winter weather assigning Mirza Suleiman, his rival of the northern regions, as governor. Moreover, he assigned Mirza Hindal to take charge of Kunduz, Andaraab, Khost and Ghuri. After an arduous journey he reached Taloqan and then made his way to Kunduz where he stationed himself in the garden of Khusrao Shah. After a few days he ascended the Shibarto (perhaps Shibar pass of the present time) and reached Charikar. On the way he engaged in a light skirmish with Sher Ali, who had been sent there by Kamran with a small force, and defeated him.

Kamran fortified Kabul's citadel and waited for an attack. Commanded by Hindal, Hodayun's army clashed with Kamran near the mausoleum of Baba Shishpar (?).¹ Shir Afghan, commander of Kamran's army was arrested and killed. By way of Khyaban Hodayun attacked the citadel and managed to take over Bagh-i-Diwan Khana and Awrata Bagh of Kabul and set up his artillery on Auqabain mountain, which overlooked the city. During this time supporters of Hodayun, Mirza Ulug Baig from Zamindawar, Qasem Hussain Khan Shaibani from Kalat and Shah Quli from Kandahar arrived to his aid and helped him in besieging Kabul citadel placing their men near the Yarak gate. Unable to face his brother,

¹. In another copy of Akbar Nama it appears as Baba Shamshir. It is possible that it is the present Shah-i-Doshamshera.

Kamran left the citadel on 6 May 1547 using the Delhi gate.¹ He fled to Badakhshan and Kabul was once again captured by Homyun.

In distress Kamran went to his appointee in Zuhak and Bamian, Shir Ali, and with the help of 150 men he directed his attention toward Ghorī and fought with Mirza Baig Barlas, the governor of the area, forcing him to retreat and then went to Balkh. With the help of the governor of the region, Pir Mohammad, he managed to capture Ghorī, Baghlan, Taloqan and parts of Badakhshan province. Thus freeing these regions.

Second journey to Badakhshan

Homyun did not allow Kamran to strengthen himself and immediately left for Badakhshan. His army left Khwaja Riway (Khwaja Rawash) and chased his rivals until they reach Ghorband. Sher Ali, who was fighting on behalf of Kamran, was arrested but Homyun pardoned him and let him take charge of the Ghorī administration. Karacha, who fled from Homyun, joined Kamran with some of his supporters stationed in Keshm. Homyun sent his brother, Hindal, to face their belligerent brother. Kamran was thus driven back to Taloqan where he remained besieged. After the passing of some time Kamran surrendered. Homyun pardoned him appointing him as governor of Kolaab and delegates Mirza Suleiman and Mirza Ibrahim to take charge of Keshm. Homyun himself, together with his men, returned to Kabul toward the end of 1548.²

Third journey to northern regions

After returning to Kabul from Badakhshan Prince Kamran once again engaged in irrevocable activities in the province and with the help of Pir Mohammad Khan, the governor of Balkh, tried to capture Badakhshan. Pir Mohammad Khan helped him in this endeavor and most of the province fell into Kamran's hand. Homyun who was watching his brother's activities from a distance, after the passing of winter, marched

¹. This version is provided by Abu-al-Fazl in Akbar Nama but Herawi in Tabakat-i-Akbari writes that Kamran fled through a hole in the wall of the citadel made by Khwaja Khezr. The Yarak and Delhi gates were two old gates of the citadel.

². Akbar Nama. Tabaqat-i-Akbari. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

in direction of Badakhshan on 21 July 1548 and assigned Mohammad Qasem Khan Daroghi, to take charge of Kabul. After crossing the Hindu Kush Homayun's retinue defeated a gathering of opponents in Andaraab.

While Kamran was in the Zafar fort, Hindal reached Andaraab from Kunduz to serve Homayun and was appointed governor of Ghori. Toward the end of July Homayun reached Alang Qazian of Andaraab and from there he headed for Taloqaan where Mirza Abdullah and his supporters, joined the besieged Kamran who left the Zafar fort to mingle with other fighters. He confronted Homayun's army in Khalasan but was defeated and fled to Taloqaan, where he remained besieged with his supporters.

During this time, Chakar Khan, son of Qabchaq, together with the people of Kolaab, came to Homayun's aid. Taloqaan's siege lasted for a month but the town was finally taken over by Homayun on 26 August. Kamran appeared before his victorious brother who pardoned him. Four days later Homayun's army reached the Band Gasha (Ishkamish) spring from where they go to Nari. He awarded Khatlan (Kolaab) to Mirza Kamran and appointed Chakar Khan as commander of his army. Askari was appointed as governor of Qaratagin. Qala Zafar and Taloqaan are awarded to Mirza Suleiman and Mirza Ibrahim while Mirza Hindal is given charge of Kunduz, Ghori, Baghlan, Ishkamish and Nari. Homayun himself departed for Kabul by way of Khost wa Paryan (probably present day Khost wa Firing). On his way he repaired the Parwan fort reaching Kabul toward the beginning of winter on 14 October 1548.¹

Fourth journey to Balkh

After the passing of winter Homayun tried to attack Kashmir but since he was not sure about the motives of his brothers in the north he delayed his adventure of Kashmir and in the Spring of 1546 he once again directed his attention to the regions north of the Hindukush. From Istalif he went to Panjshir and after ascending the Nari Pass Mirza Hindal

¹ Only Abu Fazl provides a description of this journey in Akbar Nama. In Tabaqat, Herawi, only provides a brief description of the journey where he states that in his clash with the Uzbeks of Balkh, Homayun is defeated and returns to Kabul. Tarikh-i-Firishta does not describe this journey but provides a detailed account of the 1549 journey.

and Mirza Suleiman joined him and Mirza Ibrahim was assigned to protect Badakhshan.

First the conquest of Aibak is deemed necessary and Mirza Hindal, Mirza Suleiman and Haji Mohammad Khan, together with some men, march there to capture the region. However, Pir Mohammad Khan, the governor of Balkh, sent Khwaja Maaq together with Ail Mirza, Hasan Sa'yed, Mohammad Quli Mirza and Jujak Mirza to defend the place. But after a siege of three days they were unable to resist Homayun and let him take over Aibak. By way of Khulm Homayun then moved toward Balkh. He settled in the house of Baba Shaho while stationing his fighters in Astana.

Pir Mohammad, the governor of Balkh, engaged in a fierce battle with Homayun for half a day. Homayun was forced to retreat to Dara-e-Gaz but Balkh remained aloof. After three days Homayun reached Chahar Chashma, from there he passed through Ghorband, Khwaja Saiaran and Qarabagh. Mirza Hindal returned back to Kunduz while Mirza Suleiman went back to Badakhshan as Homayun returned to Kabul without achieving his goal.

Kamran who was in Kolab, after Homayun's arrival to Kabul, conducted several battles with Mirza Hindal and Mirza Suleiman but had to retreat to the Hazara region by way of Zuhak and Bamian in defeat. He then asked Homayun to pardon him so that he may be able to return to Kabul.¹

The fifth journey

Homayun was aware about his rival in Bamian and tried to resolve matters with him but failed to do so. On the other hand a number of dignitaries of the court sent messages to Kamran to attack Kabul. As a result Kamran left for Kabul with the intention of creating havoc. In the middle of 1550 Homayun entrusted Kabul to Mohammad Qasem Barlas and himself left for the north. After reaching Charikar he assigned Haji Mohammad Khan, together with a number of officers of his army, to Zuhak and Bamian and sent Mun'am Khan to Salang. Mirza Kamran also

¹. Akbar Nama. Tabakat-i-Akbari. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

went with his men to the Kabchaq valley of Ghorband where a fierce battle took place resulting in Homayun's defeat who went to Badakhshan by way of Yakawlang where he resurrected his army with the help of Mirza Hindal, Mira Suleiman and Mirza Ibrahim.

Kamran's seizure of Kabul

Since Homayun had to retreat to Badakhshan, Kamran directed his attention to capture Kabul. After passing Charikar his army surrounded Kabul. Qasem Barlas, the defender of the city, surrendered after a few days of clashes and left Kabul to Kamran. Kamran endowed Jui Shahi (later during the reign of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar it was named Akbar Abad by Mun'am Khan) to Prince Askari, Ghazni to Qaracha Khan and Ghorband to Yasin Dawlat. Kamran ruled over Kabul just for three months.¹

Kabul's seizure by Homayun

Homayun did not see his stay in Badakhshan to be useful and after Mirza Hindal, Mirza Suleiman and Mirza Ibrahim gathered their forces, which were in Badakhshan, he immediately went with them to Kabul while Mirza Kamran left the administration of Kabul to Baba Jojak and Mullah Shafaye. Accompanied by his army he goes to face Homayun. The two sides clashed in Ishtergram resulting in Kamran's defeat who escaped to Laghman by way of Badanj Pass. Mirza Askari was captured during the fighting and Karacha, the commander of Kamran's force, was killed. Homayun victoriously returned to Kabul and sent Mirza Suleiman to take charge of Badakhshan. He then appointed his son, Prince Jalaluddin Akbar, to the strategic location of Charkh. Kamran goes to Laghman where he sought help from Malik Mohammad Mandarwi.²

Once again Kamran gathered his men but Homayun sent a force to deal with him. Kamran retreated to the mountains of Alikar (Alingar) and

¹. Abu-al-Fazl mentions this period as three months, Herawi in Tabakat says it lasted 40 days and Firishta records it as four days.

². It is possible that the correct version of the name is Mandarawari. Mandaraw is a place in present day Laghman.

Alishing and from there fled to the Mohmand and Khalil tribes of Peshawar. For a short while Homayun lived in peace in Kabul.¹

Battles with Kamran

After a while, Mirza Kamran, with the help of the Mohmand and Khalil tribes, besieged the Char Bagh (Jalalabad) fort. Homayun assigned Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud to take care of Kabul, and made arrangements to face Kamran, who upon the request of one Haji Mohammad, who had abandoned Homayun, goes to Ghazni but before he could do so Biram Khan, the governor of Kandahar, reached the city and took care of the city's defense. When Kamran realized that Kabul has been left void he heads toward it. Homayun, who finds out about Kamran's motive, goes to Kabul and drives Kamran back toward Laghman. This time though Homayun does not see his stay in Kabul to be useful and sent his army to the east to pursue Kamran who fled by way of the Khyber Pass. After spending the winter in Jalalabad Homayun returns to Kabul in Spring. He then sent Bahadur Khan to Ghazni, Biram Khan returned to Kandahar, Gardez and Logar were given to Hindal, Mir Baraka and Mirza Hasan were dispatched to Kunduz and Joi Shahi (Jalalabad) was handed over to Khwaja Khan.

Kamran's sedition did not come to an end with these events. After Homayun reached Kabul, he headed from Attock to Joi Shahi (Jalalabad). Homayun, together with Mirza Hindal, went to the east and set up camp in Surkhaab and Chaparhar. During the night of 29 November 1551, Kamran, together with a group of Afghan tribesmen, attacked Homayun's army. A fierce battle ensued, however, Kamran failed to capture Homayun in the night raid but Prince Hindal, the commander of Homayun's army was killed in the attack. With the loss of two

¹ Akbar Nama, Tabakat, Firishta. Mirza Askari who was captured in the battle was sent to Badakhshan and Balkh at his own request from where he embarks on his journey to the holy cities (Mecca and Medina). According to Abu-al-Fazl he passed away in 1558 in the valley between Syria and Mecca while Firishta gives his date of death as 1554. According to Mazkar-i-Ahbab (p. 85, hand written manuscript) he was a scholar and poet and was buried in Mecca, beside the grave of his brother, Kamran. His couplet:

*Directly you praised she was moon faced
Now do not indulge in a feeble excuse.*

Baburi princes, Hindal and Askari, Kamran and Homayun were left to face each other. Hindal was said to have been killed by a person named Jarinda Mohmand.¹

Homayun who lost one brother in this battle and drove off his other brother, went to Behsud and lets his son, Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, take charge of Hindal's regions and sent him to protect Kabul and Ghazni. He himself waited for five to six months in the eastern region so that Kamran may not return and rekindle his rebellion once again.

As winter came to an end and Homayun attacked the tribes where Kamran had sought refuge. Kamran managed to escape the trap and fled to India. Homayun returned to Behsud and Bagh-i-Safa and after a while reached Kabul. In the beginning of 1552 he sent his son, Prince Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, to govern Ghazni.²

Desperation of Prince Kamran and Kandahar's trip

After his defeat at the hands of Homayun, Kamran sought refuge with Salim Shah Afghan Suri, and from there went to Sultan Adham Kahkar, but when Homayun crossed the Indus river near Attock in 1553 Sultan Adham in a state of fear, handed over Kamran to Homayun who

¹: Prince Hindal was a courageous and learned person. According to Mazkar Ahabab (p. 86 hand written manuscript) he fostered scholars and poets. He was an astute calligraphist and a collector of books. This is his quatrain:

*The drop of dew which brings prosperity,
Detaches from the cloud with great cunning.
Creating an aura of jealousy on the flower
Is indeed a vision of purity.*

(Mazkar-i-Ahabab, manuscript)

He was buried in Kabul in Babur's mausoleum. The following inscription has been written on his tombstone: "By the grace of God, when emperor Nouruddin Mohammad Jahangir, succeeded in erecting the tomb of Emperor Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur in 1608, the tomb of Mirza Hindal, son of Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur, was also resurrected."

²: Akbar Nama. Tabakat-i-Akbari. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

mercilessly blinded his brother.¹ In this way Hodayun managed to get rid of all his brothers and became the sole ruler of the empire.

After eliminating Kamran's threat, Hodayun returned to Kabul. Being apprehensive of Biram Khan, the governor of Kandahar, he relegated the affairs of Kabul to Ali Quli Khan Andarabi, and in 1554 headed for Kandahar by way of Ghazni, where he stayed for two months. He appointed Bahadur Khan Seistani, to take charge of Zamindawar and with the assistance of Shah Mohammad Kalati, a local chief of the region, appointed him in charge of Kandahar. Together with Biram Khan, Hodayun returned to Kabul toward the end of the year² and then appointed Mirza Suleiman Koragani, as governor of Badakshan.³

Journey to India and capture of Delhi

After making sure that the different regions of Afghanistan were secure he appointed his son, Prince Mohammad Hakim, together with Muna'm Khan, to take charge of Kabul's affairs and in January 1555 he left for India by way of Peshawar. Even though his army was less than 15 thousand he managed to capture Lahore after some brief battles. His success was attributed to the infighting among Afghan leaders. Following the capture of Lahore he took hold of Delhi in August of the same year and once again ascended on the throne of India.⁴

Hodayun's death and his habits

Hodayun did not live long after capturing Delhi. Seven months later he fell from the roof of Qutub Khana on 27 January 1556 and passed

¹. After being blinded Prince Kamran headed for the holy cities by way of Sind and died there on 14 October 1557 and was buried in Ma'mali graveyard, near the grave of Hazrat Khadija. Kamran was a learned person who wrote poetry in Turkish and Persian. For example he wrote on Jami's mausoleum:

*This land leads me to my mentor,
His face illuminating like the moon.
Jami indeed comes from this land
Like the floret, he is from Khorasan.*

(Mazkar-i-Ahbab, manuscript)

². Tarikh-i-Firishta. Akbar Nama, vol. 1.

³. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2.

⁴. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Tarikh-i-Hind. Padshah Nama, vol. 1.

away six days later at the age of 49. His reign lasted for 25 years of which he ruled over the northern parts of Afghanistan, Kabul and Kandahar for 15 years.¹

Like his father, Hodayun was an active and hard working person. He faced a great deal of difficulties during his lifetime but did not become disappointed and after a long struggle he managed to usurp the Indian empire but he was cruel to his brothers and managed to get rid of all of them in his quest to become the sole ruler. He was knowledgeable and has left behind a divan of his poetry. He recited poetry in Turkish and Persian.²

*He who seeks the path of love,
Must sacrifice dear life in this journey.
I cry as I think of you.
The less I recall, the less is my pain.*

During Hodayun's reign Afghanistan became the battle ground of the Baburi princes where they fought fierce battles. Throughout this period, with the exception of bloodshed and warfare, no development took place. Even though, unlike Babur, Hodayun and his brothers, did not intentionally target the Afghan nation since they were in dire need of their support, but their belligerence toward each other resulted in immense bloodshed in the land. As a result, this period of Hodayun's monarchy and the conflict among the brothers did not prove to be beneficial to the country.

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Padshah Nama vol. 1. Dual-i-Islamia, p. 498.

². Mazkar Ahbab p. 74 hand written manuscript.

Chapter Three

Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar

Homayun's son, Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, was given birth by Hamida Bano Begum in Amarkot of Sind, on 24 October 1542 at a time when Homayun had fled to Sind when he was overthrown by Sher Shah Suri. He became king at the age of 13 on 23 February 1556 in Kalanur of Lahore after the death of his father.¹

The young king faced immense hostility at the hands of people such as Sikandar Shah Ludhi and other Afghan leaders who were engaged in renewing their past glory in different parts of India. However, Biram Khan, his experienced Prime Minister, managed to neutralize all his rivals.

The bloody battles which took place between Akbar and the Afghan leaders in India are not included in this book. Here we refer to incidents which took place in different parts of Afghanistan.

Siege and incidents in Kabul

When Homayun left Kabul for the second time to resume the conquest of India he left his son Hakim, together with Man'am Khan, in charge of Kabul and appointed Mirza Suleiman Koragani as governor of Badakhshan.

After learning about Homayun's death Mirza Suleiman set his sight on the conquest of Kabul together with son, Mirza Ibrahim. He kept the city under siege for four months. In order to help the besieged Man'am Khan, Akbar Shah sent a number of dignitaries such as Mohammad Quli Barlas, Khan Azam Shamsuddin Ghaznavi, Khezr Khan Hazara and Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud, together with a sufficient force to Kabul. After becoming aware of Akbar's motives Mirza Suleiman returned to

¹. Akbar Nama, vol. 2. Tabakat-i-Akbari vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2. Tarikh-i-Firishhta.

Badakhshan without achieving his goal. Given the circumstances, Prince Mohammad Hakim and Man'am Khan, stayed intact in Kabul.¹

In 1560, when disturbances took place among the dignitaries of court, Akbar Shah summoned Man'am Khan from Kabul to resolve the problems he was facing in India. Man'am Khan, together with a delegation of dignitaries from Kabul, arrived to Sar-i-Hind on 25 March 1560 and met the king who bestowed upon him the title of chief of chieftains and representative of the king. In his absence he appointed his son Ghani Khan, in charge of Kabul to be aided by Haider Mohammad Akhta Begi. After the passing of a year antagonism surfaced between Ghani and Haider. In December of the same year, Abu-al-Fath, nephew of Man'am Khan, Shugun, son of Qaracha, Darwesh Mohammad, Mohammad Hussain and a number of military dignitaries were sent to Kabul by Akbar Shah to resolve the differences which had arisen among them in Kabul.

After a few years, Fazil Baig, brother of Man'am Khan, who was in Kabul conspired with Mah Chuchak Khanum, mother of Prince Mohammad Hakim, and drove away the infamous Ghani Khan, from whose wantonness the people had got tired, out of the city and did not allow him to return back. Finding himself to be an outcast and without any recourse Ghani Khan went to Jalalabad. During this time Tulak Khan Quchin, a dignitary of Homayun's circle, who had been aggrieved by Ghani Khan, gathered an army in the bailiwick of Mah Khatun and tried to capture Kabul. When Tulak Khan Quchin reached Khwaja Rawash he faced Fazil Baig, brother of Man'am Khan and his son Abu-al-Fath. The warring parties came to an agreement that the area from Paimunar to Zohak and Bamian (a fifth of Kabul province) will be Tulak's domain.

After Ghani Khan went to India by way of Jalalabad, Prince Mohammad Hakim's mother, assigned Fazil Beg as proxy governor who in turn delegated the administration to his son, Abu-al-Fath. After the passing of some time the local people killed Prince Abu-al-Fath. As Fazil Baig attempted to flee to Hazara, Mullah Zaman, the other prince was also

¹. Tabakat-i-Akbari vol. 2 p. 128. Tarikh-i-Firishta. Akbar Nama, vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2.

killed and with this move Kabul was freed from the clutches of Man'am Khan's relatives and Shah Wali Ataka managed to take charge of the city. When emperor Akbar learned about these events he convinced Man'am Khan, who had left the province, as a result of unrest there, to return back to Kabul.

Mohammad Hakim's mother and the dignitaries of Kabul who do not want Man'am Khan to seize Kabul sent an army to Jalalabad. Kabul's residents clashed with Man'am Khan's force at Khwaja Rustam near Chahar Bagh resulting in the defeat of Man'am Khan who flees back to India. These events took place in 1563.¹

Events in Kandahar and Shah Mohammad's war With Bahadur Khan Seistani

As we learned when Homayun departed from Kandahar he endowed Kandahar to Bahadur Khan Seistani and relegated him to help Shah Mohammad Kalati, the governor of Kandahar. However, during the second year of Akbar's rule (1557) Bahadur Khan attacked Kandahar and tried to usurp the region. Shah Mohammad fortified the fort and protected it against his rival. Bahadur returned to Zamindawar where he gathered additional men and once again launched an attack on Kandahar. Shah Mohammad sought the help of the Safavi governor, stationed to the west of Kandahar, who sent a force of three thousand men, under the command of Ali Yar Baig, to Kandahar. With the arrival of the Safavi army, Bahadur Khan became agitated, fled Kandahar, and went to Akbar to pardon him for his misdeeds.

Shah Mohammad managed to maintain control of Kandahar and sent the Safavi army back making sure they did not seize the city. However, Shah Tahmasap, the Safavi king, did not allow Shah Mohammad to administer in peace and sent a force under the command of Sultan Hussain Mirza, son of Bahram, son of Shah Ismail Safavi, a Safavi prince, to Kandahar and after some resistance by Shah Mohammad managed to capture the city. Thus in the year 1557 the dignitaries of

¹. Akbar Nama, vol. 2 p. 188, Tabakat-i-Akbari vol. 2 p. 162, Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2, p. 57.

Delhi's court lost control of Kandahar province which fell into the hands of the Safavi empire.¹

Mirza Suleiman's battle with Mirza Mohammad Khan

In 1560 Mirza Suleiman son of Khan Mirza, cousin of Babur, the governor of Badakhshan, together with his son Mirza Ibrahim, readied his army with the intention to attack Balkh and engaged in battle with Pir Mohammad Khan, the Uzbek governor of the region. In the beginning Pir Mohammad agreed to give away Khulm and Aibak but after gathering his forces he clashed with Suleiman Mirza's army at Chashma-e-Gazaran. Unable to resist the Uzbek fury Suleiman Mirza fled the battlefield and his son was taken prisoner by Pir Mohammad Khan and was later killed during the same year.²

Abu-al-Ma'ali's battle with Mirza Suleiman and his domain over Kabul

Shah Abu-al-Ma'ali was from the Sadat family of Termez and the people of Northern Afghanistan who had a close relationship with Homayun and then Akbar. However, during Akbar's reign he made several moves against him and after being defeated in India he moved to Kabul in 1564. At this time Prince Mohammad Hakim, a younger brother of Akbar, was governor of Kabul who administered the area under the tutelage of his mother Mah Chuchak Khanum. Shah Abu-al-Ma'ali went from India to Sind from where he sent a letter to Mohammad Hakim's

¹. Akbar Nama, vol. 2. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

². Akbar Nama vol. 2. Just like his predecessors Prince Ibrahim Mirza was a scholar and writer and was fluent in reciting poetry in Persian and Turkish. During the time of his death he recited this quatrain:

*O ruby of Badakhshan, from it you depart
Like the sun, you leave alight.
While you are the oracle of this age
Remorsefully you are to be killed by Suleiman.*

This couplet is also from him.

*The beauty of your locks could not tame my heart;
Like the fragile branch which breaks askew.*

(Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 87)

mother asking for permission to visit Kabul. She agrees and based on his past association with Hodayun, Mohammad Hakim's sister, Fakhr Nisa Begum, was married to him. However, after a while Abu-al-Ma'ali, in association with some dignitaries, tried to usurp Afghanistan and Kabul from Moghul domination. He failed in his attempt mainly due to the presence of the prince's mother, who was an influential person and Haider Qasem, the prince's advocate. During the first part of April 1564 Abu-al-Ma'ali killed the prince's mother after which he eliminated other dignitaries and conducted battles with other men of influence in Kabul, overwhelming and scattering them. He kept Mirza Mohammad Hakim under his influence and raised the banner of freedom.

Haider Qasem who fled to Badakhshan from Abu-al-Ma'ali's grip where he enticed Mirza Suleiman, the governor of the region, to capture Kabul. Prince Mohammad Hakim, who had been dominated by Abu-al-Ma'ali, clandestinely asked for help from Suleiman. As an outcome of this Mirza Suleiman, gathered an army and headed toward Kabul. Abu-al-Ma'ali also readied his men and the two sides clashed near the Ghorband bridge.

Kabul's army was defeated in this battle and Prince Mohammad Hakim, who was kept hostage by Abu-al-Ma'ali, with the help of his supporters, freed himself and joined Suleiman Mirza. Even though Abu-al-Ma'ali managed to flee Suleiman's men followed him and captured him near Charikar. As such Mohammad Hakim was freed from Abu-al-Ma'ali's clutches and victoriously returned to Kabul together with Suleiman Mirza where they killed Abu-al-Ma'ali on 9 May 1564.

After this Suleiman Mirza married his daughter to Prince Mohammad Hakim and appointed Omaid Ali (or according to Firishta Mirza Suleiman) who was among the dignitaries of Badakhshan, as an advocate to the Prince and his cronies in the Kabul region and himself returned to Badakhshan.¹

For a long time Suleiman Mirza contemplated about controlling Kabul. Finding the time opportune, he sent Abdul Rahman Baig and then

¹. Akbar Nama, vol. 2 pp. 204-207. Tarikh-i-Firishta, p. 253. Tabakat-e Akbari vol. 2 p. 169. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh vol. 3 p. 63.

Tangari Bardi Qush Baigi together with a number of his supporters, to Kabul to prepare for its capture. However a number of Kabul dignitaries such as Khwaja Hassan, Baqi Qaqshal, Seyonak, Ali Mohammad Asp, Ali Maidani, Khwaja Khezr Hazara, Yar Mohammad Akhund, Ferouz and Khalifa Abdullah, together with companions of the Prince informed him about Suleiman's motives and engaged in purging Suleiman's men from the Kabul establishment. As a result Qara Yatim and Ibn Hasan Kabuli, who had been appointed by Suleiman in Ghazni, were suspended to be replaced by Qasim Baig Parwanchi. Similarly Qazi Khan, Sa'yed Khan, Mubarez Khan and Bahauddin, administrators in Jalalabad and Murad Khwaja, the governor of Bangash¹ were also fired.

When Suleiman become aware of the events he immediately came to Kabul. Prince Mohammad Hakim, left the province to Baqi Qashqal and went to Peshawar by way of Jalalabad to inform Emperor Jalaluddin Akbar about the situation. Even though Suleiman sent an entourage to detain the prince but was unsuccessful in capturing him. He appointed Qanbar in Jalalabad and himself laid siege on Kabul city. Baqi Qashqal successfully defended the city and did not allow it to fall into the hands of Suleiman. When Akbar heard about the situation in Kabul he sent a large force under the command of Mir Mohammad Khan and Qutb Khan Ghaznavi to Peshawar to aid Mohammad Hakim, who after a short interval, freed Jalalabad from the clutches of Qanbar and from there headed for Kabul.

Without attaining his goal, Suleiman returned to Badakhshan, when he heard about the arrival of Mohammad Hakim who broke the siege of Kabul. After some time Indian dignitaries payed a visit to Akbar's court to convey their dismay and Mir Mohammad Khan, advocate to the prince, left for India. Kabul's governorship was solely left to Mohammad Hakim. These events took place in the year 1565.²

¹. During the reign of the Timuri kings of India, this province stretched from the foothills of the Spinghar mountain to Banu, including Kuram and Gomal.

². Akbar Nama, vol. 2 pp. 237-242. Tabakat-i-Akbari vol. 2 p. 177.

Suleiman's attack on Kabul and Mohammad Hakim's flight to Lahore

Suleiman Mirza, governor of Badakhshan, tried to take over Kabul several times but was unsuccessful in his attempts. When he realized that Mohammad Hakim was in Kabul all by himself he launched his fourth attack on the city. When Mohammad Hakim learned about Suleiman's intention he left the city to Ma'sum, one of his confidant, and he goes to Shakardarah. Mirza Suleiman laid siege on the city. But since he was unable to take over the citadel he tried to capture Mohammad Hakim through deception. Realizing that a trap has been set Hakim fled to Jalalabad and from there to Peshawar where he informed his brother, Emperor Akbar, about the plot. Akbar dispatched his soldiers in Lahore to aid Mohammad Hakim and also sent Feridoun, his uncle, to help him too. However, Feridoun deceived the prince and encouraged him to attack Lahore. The two then directed their attention to Lahore and besieged the city. In November of 1566 Akbar himself lead a force from Agra against his brother. Unable to resist Akbar's army Mohammad Hakim abandoned the siege and fled to Peshawar.

Suleiman assigned Kabul to Mohammad Quli and went in pursuit of Mohammad Hakim. When he returned from the pursuit he tried to besiege the city but Masum Khan managed to defend it successfully. Unable in his attempt to capture Kabul, Suleiman returned back to Badakhshan, after the passing of winter, in failure. When Prince Mohammad Hakim learned about Suleiman's departure he returned to Kabul.¹

Shahrukh's grasp of Badakhshan and Suleiman's departure to India

Mirza Suleiman, the governor of Badakhshan, had a weak personality and was mocked by the women of the harem. Most of the decisions were made with the consent of his wife, Haram Begum, daughter of Sultan Weis Kolabi. Beside this another learned lady whose name was the respected Khanum, daughter of Shah Mohammad Sultan Kashgari, married to Mirza Ibrahim, son of Mirza Suleiman, was also instrumental

¹. Akbar Nama vol. 2 p. 273. Tarikh-i-Firishta p. 256. Tabakat-i-Akbari vol. 2 pp. 198-206.

in the administration of Badakhshan. She was the mother of Mirza Shah Rukh, grandson of Mirza Suleiman.

After returning from his fourth unsuccessful bid to take over Kabul, Mirza Suleiman, imprisoned Mohammad Quli Shaghali and other dignitaries and handed over the affairs of Kunduz to Haji Taman Baig. As a result other dignitaries left him and joined Haji Taman Baig. With the consent of his mother they took the seven year old Mirza Shahrukh and engaged in a rebellion. Suleiman confronted the rebels and laid siege on Kunduz for 40 days. He managed to free his grandson and Mohammad Quli was once again appointed as governor of Kunduz and Shah Tayab was appointed as consul to Shahrukh.

After a short period Mohammad Quli once again started a rebellion and tried to use Shahrukh to attain his goal. Suleiman took quick action, travelled to Kunduz and managed to drive away Mohammad Quli. Accompanied by his mother, Shahruk went to the foothills of the Hindu Kush and captured Andarab. Suleiman pursued him and vanquished his army. As he fled Shahrukh reached the Kunduz fort and due to the neglect of rivals he managed to take over the fort without any resistance. As a result Shahrukh managed to take charge of all the estates of Mirza Suleiman. Mirza Suleiman was thus forced to give back all the regions which were under the control of his father to Shahrukh. After the passing of some time Shahrukh headed to Taloqan. Since Suleiman did not have the capacity to defend his domain he came to an agreement with his grandson and left Badakhshan on a pilgrimage to the holy cities resulting in the takeover of the province by the young Shahrukh.

Suleiman went to Kabul and its governor, Mirza Mohammad Hakim sent him to Peshawar from where he visited Akbar's court. After the passing of a few days he goes Hijaz. These events took place in April of 1576.¹

Suleiman's return to Kabul and reconciliation with Shahrukh

As mentioned earlier in 1576 Suleiman departed from India under the pretext of performing the pilgrimage to the two harems (Mecca and

¹. Akbar Nama vol. 2 pp. 148-157.

Medina). He ended up in Iran and asked Shah Tahmasap Herawi for help and then returned to Herat. Shah Tahmasap died and Suleiman who was depending on his help to take back Badakhshan, went to Kandahar in distress and from there he went to see Prince Mohammad Hakim in Kabul. Accompanied by Mohammad Hakim he launched an attack on Badakhshan. Shahrukk went Kunduz and after fortifying it he then left for Kolaab. After staying in Taloqan for 20 days, Mohammad Hakim and Suleiman go to Rustaq, the former domain of Mirza Ibrahim. Rustaq was given to Suleiman Mirza and after concluding this compromise, Mohammad Hakim returned to Kabul. These events ended in 1580.¹

Attack on Lahore and Mohammad Hakim's return to Kabul

Toward the beginning of 1580 Mohammad Hakim gathered an army, under the command of Haji Nouruddin, with the intention of capturing Lahore. Mirza Yusuf and Sa'yed Khan confronted him in Punjab and Nouruddin's squad was driven back to the environs of Peshawar. Following this Mohammad Hakim sent another force to Punjab under the leadership of Shadmaan son of Suleiman Baig Andajani. When Shadmaan was killed in the siege of Nelab fort, Mohammad Hakim was forced to go to Punjab where he laid siege on Lahore. Sa'yed Khan, the protector of the Lahore fort, managed to hold it for 20 days until Akbar himself came to face his brother. Unable to continue with the siege, Mohammad Hakim abandoned his plan to capture Lahore and returned to Kabul. Once again he failed to take over Lahore and Punjab.²

Akbar's first trip to Kabul

After Mohammad Hakim returned to Kabul in failure Akbar gathered his royal army to confront his brother. He appointed Qasem Khan to the Peshawar region and his entourage arrived in Kabul on 23 March 1581. Mohammad Hakim was panicked by the arrival of the royal force and after a brief resistance in the surroundings of Kabul he fled. Akbar did not stay for long in Kabul and pardoned his brother's transgression and

¹. Akbar Nama vol. 2 pp. 287-288.

². Akbar Nama vol. 2 pp. 335-346. Tabakat-i-Akbari vol. 2 p. 358.

allowed him to continue to be in charge of Kabul and Zabulistan and himself returned to Peshawar on 30 March.¹

Seizure of Badakhshan by Abdullah Jan, ruler of Turan, and Suleiman's death

In the year 1584, while sedition was underway between Mirza Suleiman and his grandson, Shahrukh, the governors of Badakhshan, Abdullah Khan Uzbek, who had been waiting for an opportunity, attacked Badakhshan and drove both of them to Kabul. Mohammad Hakim dispatched Shahrukh to Akbar's court as they lost control of Badakhshan and Abdullah Khan, the Turani governor, managed to take charge of the region.² Mirza Suleiman was given land in Laghman by Mohammad Hakim, and he stayed there until 1587 when he gathered his supporters and attacked Taloqan. Abdul Momen Khan, the governor of Balkh and Mahmud Sultan Uzbek staved him off and Suleiman retreated back to Kabul. He took refuge in Akbar's court and for two years stayed in India under the tutelage of Akbar. He died in Lahore in 1589 at the age of 77.³

Mohammad Hakim's death and occupation of Kabul by Akbar's Army

On 9 August 1585, Prince Mohammad Hakim, son of Emperor Homayun and younger brother of Emperor Akbar, who had lived in Kabul from childhood and was its governor from the beginning of Akbar's reign,

¹. Akbar Nama vol. 2 pp. 355-369. Tarikh-i-Firishta p. 264. Tabakat-i-Akbari vo. 2 p. 260.

². Akbar Nama vol. 2 pp. 434-435.

³. Akbar Nama vol. 2 pp. 515-551. According to his contemporary biographer Mirza Suleiman was a poet and literary figure and wrote poetry in Persian and Turkish. A sample of his poetry:

Cup bearer my heart is tired of the world's dealings

Give me a cup of wine so I may relax.

(Mazkar-i-Ahbab p. 88, hand written manuscript)

passed away.¹ Hearing about his brother's death, Akbar immediately dispatched a force, under the command of Kunurmaan Singh, to Kabul. This move was followed by the sending of Mir Sadruddin Mufti and Banda Ali Maidani to Kabul also, to avoid any possible turmoil there. Akbar's men reach Kabul without delay and took charge of the province. The 15 year old Mirza Kaikobaad and 14 year old Afrasiyab, sons of Mohammad Hakim, received their uncle's army. Kunurmaan left behind his son Jaghat Singh and Khwaja Shamsuddin in charge of Kabul. Accompanied by the princes he pays a visit to Akbar who was in Rawalpindi. Mohammad Hakim who was in charge of Kabul's administration, and an antagonist of Akbar died and Kabul was directly linked to Akbar's court. Kunurmaan was appointed as head of the province's military and Mir Sharif was given charge of its administration. This state of affairs lasted until 1586.² A year later, when Akbar was informed about roughers in Kunurmaan's army, he appointed Zayn Khan Koka, as commander of Kabul.

Since the road to Kabul came under attack by the frontier people therefore Zayn Khan appointed the following people to protect this vital route:

Surkh Dewar, near Khurd Kabul: Zayn Khan himself.

Barikaab: Hamza Arab.

Between Doaab and Badam Cheshma: Khwaja Shamsuddin.

Jagdalak: Haidar Ali Arab.

Barikaab: Darwesh Islamabadi.

Surkhaab: Haider Ali Khweish.

Basawul: Kafshi Bahadur.

Safed Sang: Muzafar Koka.

Daka: Takhtha Baig.

Gharibkhana. Banda Ali Maidani.

¹: Mirza Mohammad Hakim was buried in Kabul in his grandfather's graveyard and his gravestone reads: "At the request of Emperor Nouruddin Mohammad Jahangir, son of Emperor Jalaluddin Akbar, the gravestone of Mirza Mohammad Hakim, son of Emperor Homyun, was completed in the year 1607."

²: Akbar Nama vol. 2, pp. 466-477.

Between Bagram and Attock: Shah Baig.

After the appointment of these people Akbar managed to protect the road to Kabul from the threat of the independent minded frontier Afghans. This arrangement took place in 1587.¹

Akbar's second trip to Kabul

Due to the influx of Mohammad Hakim, Akbar was not able to properly secure Kabul province during his first trip. In 1589, while Akbar's army was engaged in treacherous moves against frontier tribes in Swat and Bajawar, his entourage reached Peshawar and the emperor decided to pay a visit to Kabul. When his entourage arrived in Kabul celebrations were held in recreation gardens such as Bagh-i-Jahan Ara, Bagh-i-Khwaja Hasan and Safed Sang. He issued orders for a mausoleum to be built in Guzargah, at the graveyard of Babur and other Timuri princes. He appointed Mohammad Khan Kabuli to be in charge of Kabul and after staying there for one month returned to Peshawar.²

Sending his army to Kandahar and its capture

As mentioned earlier, Shah Hussain Mirza Safavi, on the order of Shah Tahmasap gained control of Kandahar in 1586 from Shah Mohammad Kalati, the administrator of the region and it stayed under the control of his sons, Muzafar Husain Mirza and Rustam Hussain Mirza, for another five years. These Safavi princes then broke ties with the Safavi court and declared their independence in Kandahar. To eliminate this threat Akbar sent Khan Khanan, together with a number of dignitaries, in 1591 by way of Baluchistan to Kandahar. But the army first got involved in clearing disturbances in Sind resulting in clashes with the Arghuni kings of Sind. On the other hand the Safavi prince, Rustam Mirza, was impacted by attacks from Uzbek kings in Herat and Farah so he took refuge in Akbar's court in September 1593 leaving Muzafar Hussain in Kandahar. Akbar sent a large force, under the command of Shah Baig Khan Kabuli, to Kandahar. However, before the arrival of Shah Baig he

¹. Akbar Nama vol. 2 p. 519. Tarikh-i-Firishta p. 266, Tabakat-i-Akbari vol. 2.

². Akbar Nama vol. 2, pp. 565-569.

sent Qara Baig and Mirza Baig to Muzafar Hussain to convince him to surrender who obliged and minted coins and had the *khutbah* read in Akbar's name in 1594. After subduing Kandahar, Shah Baig embarked on the conquest of Zamindawar and Garamser and succeeded to include these regions in Akbar's domain. Within a year he managed to extinguish the Kakar uprising between Kandahar and Sind. Since these Kakar tribesmen from Zhob province did not obey alien governors a number of them were recruited in the military service.

Shah Baig Kabuli stayed in Kandahar until the end of Akbar's kingship and toward the end of 1602 he defeated Mirza Husain son of Shahrukh Mirza in the northern regions of Kandahar. A chronology of these events is as follows:

Mirza Hussain son of Shahrukh, after being driven out of Badakhshan took refuge in Akbar's court. He then went to Shah Abas who sent him to Husain Khan, the governor of Kandahar. Hussain Khan dispatched him to Badakhshan where he was unable to conduct any work. He then goes to Hazarajat where he recruited some of the Hazara tribesmen and started disturbances in the northern sector of Kandahar but after brief clashes with Shah Baig, the governor of Kandahar, he fled to Chakhcharan to seek refuge.¹

Death of emperor Akbar

After these incidents, which took place during Akbar's life, other events do not take place in Afghanistan and he died in Akbar Abad at the age of 64 on 26 October 1605, after reigning for 52 years. Akbar was fond of knowledge and had a philosophical demeanor.² During his reign scholars and administrators were revered and he ruled with equality and treated his subjects, whether they were Moslem or Hindu, evenly. Akbar

¹: Akbar Nama, vol. 2 pp. 585-668-697-822. Tarikh-i-Firishta.

²: According to most historians Akbar was not fully educated but some pieces of poetry are associated to him.

*Last night I went to the wine-seller's street
I bought some wine with gold.
Now I am languishing half-drunk,
With gold, I only purchased a headache.*

(Tazkira-i-Hussaini)

revived civil establishments and doctrines which were initiated by Sher Shah, the Pashtun monarch of India. He established financial and military institutions according to the principles of the great Pashtun king.¹ Even though he was not fully educated but he managed to resolve issues through his keen thinking. During his reign there was freedom of religion as long as it did not result in a military uprising. His attitude toward the Afghan nation was harsher than that of his father and resembled Babur's policy. Even though his reign was considered to be a good period for India it was not a bright time for Afghanistan. This is because during his reign, his younger brother, Mohammad Hakim, was governor of Kabul. He was a young boy when he first took over as governor and let his mother and others administer the province. In the north Mirza Suleiman and his grandson, Shahrukh, were governors, who spent their life in a constant civil conflict. Kandahar and the south-western regions of the country were being contested by the Safavi and Koragani kings. Akbar's reign as king transpired in antagonism between the two powers.

Even though Akbar did not take sides in religious beliefs of the people his attitude toward the Roshani Afghans was belligerent and the mountainous regions of Pashtunkhwa and the banks of the Attock were constantly attacked by his military resulting in undue bloodshed, which will be dealt in the chapter on national movements. This period could be considered as the age of national resistance by the Afghan nation against foreign invaders since their struggle continued with the Safavi and Timuri kings from Attock to Kandahar.

¹. History of India by De La Fosse, p. 139.

Chapter Four

Nouruddin Mohammad Jahangir

Prince Salim, son of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, was born on 9 September 1569 in Fatehpur Sikri of Agra. His mother, Joda Bayee, was the daughter of Raja Auedi Singh and he ascended the throne in Agra on 21 October 1605 at the age of 38 and became famous as Nouruddin Mohammad Jahangir. During his reign he visited Kabul and some important events took place in Kandahar, which are summarized here:

Arrival of Safavi army to Kandahar, Shah Baig's confrontation and return of the army

When the news of Jalaluddin Akbar's death spread to the provinces, the Safavi governor of Herat, Husain Khan Shamlo, together with the governor of Seistan prepared an army to attack Kandahar. Shah Baig Khan Kabuli, the governor of Kandahar, started fortifying the citadel and defended it with utmost ferocity. Jahangir got word of the attack while he was in Lahore. Toward the end of 1605 he sent Qara Baig Turkuman and Pakhta Baig Kabuli, known as Sardar Khan, together with an army led by Mirza Ghazi son of Mirza Jani Tarkhan, an Arghuni prince, to Kandahar.

After learning about the departure of the Indian force, the Safavi army abandoned the siege of Kandahar and retreated. Mirza Ghazi's men entered Kandahar on 20 February 1006. Having cleared the region from Safavi threat, Jahangir appointed Sardar Khan as governor of Kandahar and after his death Kandahar was annexed to the province of Sind and Multan. All three areas were left to Mirza Ghazi. These events take place during the first year of Jahangir as regent.¹

¹. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri pp. 34-42-73. Iqbal Nama pp. 17-18. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1 pp. 255-256.

Jahangir's first trip to Kabul

Toward the end of his first year (15 April 1606) as king, Jahangir departed from Lahore with the intention of visiting Kabul. When he reached the environs of Kabul he disempowered Ahmad Baig Kabuli as governor and appointed Sher Khan Afghan, in his place. The following year he replaced Abu-al-Qasem from the governorship of Jalalabad, with Arab Khan. He arrived in Khurd Kabul on 21 June 1606 and relegated the administration of Kabul to Arif, son of Mullah Sadiq Halwayee. Arriving in Kabul on 25 June he embarked on sight-seeing of the city. He spent several months in Kabul and issued orders for the building of gardens and new buildings. He departed Kabul on 10 September 1606 and ordered Tash Baig Khan to stay in Kabul until the arrival of Shah Baig Khan, the governor of Kabul and coordinator of the northern regions of Afghanistan.¹

Battle of Kabul and dispatching of Qalich Khan as governor

During the month of April 1611 Shah Baig Khan went from Kabul to Nangarhar and Bangash. Ma'zal Malik Bakshi who was in Kabul and the national leader, Ahdad Roshani, unexpectedly attacked Kabul. Ma'zal Malik, with the help of Naad Ali Logari, defended the city.

Jahangir became suspicious about Shah Baig Khan, as a result of his ethnic ties with Ahdad. Hence he sent Qalich Khan, the governor of Punjab, to Kabul and promoted him to the rank of six thousand troops and five thousand cavalry to ward off Ahdad's threat and to administer the affairs of Afghanistan.²

Appointment of officials in Afghanistan and Shah Abas's grasp of Kandahar

Since a lot of developments were underway in Afghanistan, in particular, Ahdad Khan Afghan was bravely fighting with Jahangir's army and the former governor of Kandahar was old and weak therefore in April of

¹. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri pp. 24-58. Iqbal Nama pp. 21-27-30. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1 p. 257.

². Iqbal Nama p. 53. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri p. 97.

1617 Mahabit Khan, a confidant of the court, was sent as governor of Kabul and Bangash and Rashid Khan, who was equipped with a plethora of weapons, was sent to aid the governor. In 1620 Bahadur Khan Uzbek, who was administering Kandahar, due to ocular ailment was dismissed from his post and replaced by Khwaja Abdul Aziz Naqshbandi and Baba Khwaja, who was a supporter of Jahangir in Kandahar was given a raise.

In April of 1622, Shah Abas Safavil, the king of Iran, boosted his army by recruiting men from Khorasan and Herat and attacked Kandahar. Khwaja Abdulaziz, the governor of Kandahar, was unable to resist the attack and after a four day siege he surrendered the city to Shah Abas's men.¹ As such, Kandahar, once again fell into the hands of Safavi governors until the end of Shah Jahan's empire.

Agitated after hearing about the events in Kandahar Jahangir appointed Prince Shahriyar together with Khan Khanan, the governor of Multan, Bahadur Khan, Mirza Rustam and Ea'teqad Khan as commanders of his military and ordered his top brass to recapture Kandahar. However, since Prince Khuram starts a rebellion in India, Kandahar's operation is delayed until Emperor Jahangir managed to recapture Kandahar.

Jahangir's second trip to Kabul

In 1624 Nazar Mohammad Khan, the governor of Balkh, in a letter complained about Khanzad Khan, the Koragaini governor of Kabul, and requested Jahangir that Khanzad Khan be replaced. As a result the emperor appointed Khwaja Abulhasan as governor and his son Khwaja Ehsanullah as his assistant. Jahangir himself embarked on his journey to Kabul on 7 March 1626 arriving in Kabul on the 18th of May and after a short stay returned back to India the same year.²

¹. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 198,200, 289, 328, 350, 354. Iqbal Nama p. 105,177,192. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1 pp. 307,327,330.

². Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp. 403,410, Iqbal Nama pp. 249,269,273, Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1 p. 374.

Jahangir's death

Jahangir died on 8 November 1627 near Lahore at the age of 60 after reigning for 22 years and was buried in Lahore. Like his father he fostered knowledge and literature and himself wrote poetry but was an earnest philanderer and drunk. Nour Jahan Begum, who was a wise and beautiful queen of India, took an active role in the running of the empire and undertook most of the administrative duties. As a result, while the emperor was alive, his sons rebelled, especially Prince Khuram (Shah Jahan) revolted several times.

During Jahangir's reign the city of Kabul prospered and in his writings he considers it his second country.¹ He visited it twice where he built a number of gardens.

During his reign the Afghan frontier tribes were tense and rebellious and fought bloody battles with Jahangir's army. As a result Jahangir's era, like that of his predecessor's, was a volatile period not suitable for the Afghan nation.

¹. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, vol. 1 p. 44.

Chapter Five

Shahabuddin Mohammad Shah Jahan

Prince Khuram, son of Jahangir, was born in December 1591 in Lahore and ascended the throne after the death of his father on 14 February 1628 in the city of Agra and became famous as Shah Jahan. During his reign a great deal of events and military maneuvers took place in northern, eastern and western parts of Afghanistan. Kabul and the eastern regions were always under his control but in the northern regions bloody skirmishes took place between the Mughal forces and the kings of Trans-Oxiana. Similarly fierce fighting took place between Timuri princes and the elites of the Safavi court.

Foray of the Uzbek Nazar Mohammad Khan on Bamian and Zuhak

At the time of Jahangir's death, Khwaja Abu-al-Hasan, was appointed as commander of Kabul and Bangash by the Delhi court, on behalf of whom his son Ahsanullah Zafar Khan, was in charge of administration and order. During this time there were few Mughal forces in Kabul and as the news of Jahangir's death spread, Nazar Mohammad Khan, the younger brother of Imam Quli Khan¹ the governor of Turan, who was

¹: Nazar Mohammad Khan and Imam Quli Khan, the governors of Turan were sons of Din Mohammad Khan, descendants from the Genghis lineage, in Trans-Oxiana (1599-1786). Din Mohammad, famous as Yatim Khan, son of Jan Khan son of Yar Mohammad Khan, paternally related to Hajim Khan, the governor of Aurgang, who was paternally related to Juchi, son of Genghis and maternally related to Shaiban, son of Juchi. Yar Mohammad Khan married Zahra Khanum, daughter of Iskandar Khan, (ascension 1583) managed to capture Bukhara from the Shaibani rulers, at the time when Abdullah Khan, son of Iskandar (1583) and Abdul Momen (1598) son of Abdullah were governing in Balkh, Yar Mohammad Khan was with them. Since Abdul Momen was killed in Ramin province, Din Mohammad Khan, grandson of Yar Mohammad Khan, went to Herat and captured the city. He was later killed in the battle with Shah Abas Safavi (1605) but Baqi Mohammad Khan and Wali Mohammad Khan, two other brothers of Din Mohammad went to Bukhara and established the Janian dynasty in Bukhara in 1599. Wali Mohammad Imam Quli came to power in 1611 and lived until 1650.

always awaiting for an opportunity in the northern regions and the banks of the Oxus river, saw the time opportune and arranged an army with the intention of capturing Kabul. At this time Zafar Khan, the governor of Kabul, was engaged in confrontation with Ahdad, a national leader in the mountains of Khyber and Tirah and left Kabul to be protected by Yaqub Khan Badakhshi, Shamshir Khan, Sa'adat Khan, Abdul Rahman Khan Tarnabi and Muin Khan Bakshi (dignitaries of the Mughal court) and himself went to Peshawar to face the Afghan force. After encountering them he returned back to Kabul to ward off the threat of Uzbek attacks. However, the Afghan nationals did not allow Zafar Khan to return back to Kabul and the Mughal forces are fiercely attacked by Afghan rebels led by Ahdad Khan in the Khyber narrows. Unable to defeat the Afghans, Zafar Khan retreated back to Peshawar. This was a time when the news of ascension of Shah Jahan and the death of his father had spread. A moment for which Nazar Khan had been waiting so he may attack Kabul.

Taking advantage of the situation Nazar Mohammad Khan gathered a number of dignitaries, such as Abdul Rahman Bi Diwan Bigi, his brother Hakim Qibadiyan, Sha Nazar Mirakhowr, the governor of Tal-o-qan, Awza Haji, governor of Ghor, Qasim Hussain Qushji, governor of Aibak, Tahir Mirza Munghaz, governor of Baghlan, Saleh Kolkatash, governor of Iman, Kashgari Khwaja, governor of Aaq Sarai, Tarsoon Bi Qutghan, governor of Ishkamish to march toward Kabul with his elder son, Abdul Aziz Khan. He followed the others with an Uzbek. The first line of defense of the Koragani army was stationed in Bamian and Zuhak, under the command of Khanjar Khan Turkman. He showed fierce resistance in defending the fortress and fought bravely on the first and second day of the siege. However, on the third day, 19 May 1628, the Uzbeks launched a fierce attack on the Zuhak fortress from different directions but Khanjar Khan repelled them resulting in the death of a

Nazar Mohammad Khan became king in 1641 and died in 1651. After them Abdul Aziz, son of Nazar Mohammad (1645) and Subhan Quli, son of Nazar Mohammad (1680) reached kingship. Two sons of Subham Quli, Abdullah (1702) and Abu-al-Faiz (1711) and after them two sons of Abu-al-Faiz, Abdul Momen (1747) and Abdullah Thani (1751) ruled as kings. (Dual-i-Islamia p. 437. Padshah Nama pp. 216-220).

number of able fighters of Nazar Mohammad. Realizing that it was not possible to capture the well-fortified Zuhak fortress, he contemplated on marching to Kabul. Since the Koragani soldiers were stationed in Ghorband and Charikar, he directed his men by way of Siahsang to Kabul. He plundered Paghman and Lalandar and sent a message to the defenders of Kabul so that they may not resist. The dignitaries of Kabul and its people, in a council held outside of Delhi gate, rejected his demand.¹

Siege of Kabul by Nazar Mohammad Khan and his flight

Since Nazar Mohammad Khan was disappointed with his failure to capitulate Kabul he attacked the city on 28 May 1629 from the direction of Nahr Fateh and Bibi Mahro. The defenders of Kabul repulsed the enemy from Deh Afghanan and the mausoleum of Sayed Mehdi Khwaja. Running into a stalemate the siege of Kabul started the next day and the Uzbek forces spread around Kabul citadel. Nazar Mohammad Khan and his son, Abdul Aziz stationed themselves in the house of Abdul Rahman Tarnabi, located to the north of the citadel, Palangtosh Bi and Dadaar Bi stayed at the tomb of Khandowran (toward the east of Delhi gate), Abdul Rahman Diwanbegi in Madrasa Khwaja Abdul Haq (north of the citadel) and Kashgari Sultan placed himself toward the south of the citadel and they spread their forces near the Delhi gate, Ahani gate, Sheikh Tawoos, the Khwaja Khezr gate and in Deh Now.

The siege of Kabul lasted for three months with the inclusion of bloody battles and the defenders of the citadel fought and defended the citadel bravely. When the news of the siege and the Uzbek raid reached the Mughal court in India Shah Jahan believed that no one in Kabul or Afghanistan would be able to resolve the matter and since it was difficult for his army to pass through the Khyber mountains, he appointed a Pashtun confidant by the name of Khwaja Abu-al-Hasan, to take charge of Kabul and Bangash and provided him a force of 15,000 Pashtuns and Mughals adequately supplied men under the command of Lashkar Khan. Beside this he sent commander Mahabat Khan, together with Afghan

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1. Padshah Nama, vol. 1. Amal-i-Saleh, vol. 1.

and Indian sardars and 20,000 men to aid Lashkar Khan in purging the impacted areas of Afghanistan.

The Mughal contingent moved in direction of Kabul and Lashkar Khan, who had left earlier, reached Kabul with his men from where he sent an advanced party to Kabul under the direction of his son, Sazawar Khan. Then he attached some of his men with Zafar Khan, who was already in Peshawar and himself followed the two parties.

Lashkar Khan's men reached Char Bagh of Jalalabad and after a while stationed themselves in Gundumak and by way of Ancharak reached the Kurohi gate of Kabul.

Nazar Mohammad Khan realized if Mohabat Khan's soldiers manage to reach Lashkar Khan's army it would be difficult to face them. He thus gathered his men, commanded by Sardar Khan, Mubarez Khan Ruhila, Zafar Khan and Sa'yed Khan to attack the Mughal battalions. Nazar Mohammad Khan, who was left with no more than seven or eight thousand men fled and with great urgency reached Balkh in four days on 8 September 1628 . Thus Zafar Khan victoriously entered Kabul on 15 September together with his soldiers, bringing an end to the siege. He then attacked the Bamian fort, which had been fortified by Nazar Mohammad Khan, destroyed it and appointed Ewaz Baig to take charge of Zuhak city. ¹

Kamaluddin Afghan's insurgency and his battles

An important event which took place in the Khyber and Tirah mountains during the early years of Shah Jahan's rule was the insurgency of Kamaluddin son of Sheikh Rukanuddin Ruhila (Afghan). This iconic Afghan leader had been bestowed with honorable titles during the reign of emperor Jahangir. When the distinguished Pashtun leader, Pira Khan, better known as Khan Jahan Ludi, rose against Shah Jahan² he was stationed in southern India, away from his native homeland. Enlightened by Khan Jahan's bold move, Kamaluddin Afghan launched his own

¹. Padshah Nama. Muntakhab-al-Lubab. Amal-i-Saleh.

². Read about such impressive and brave actions in the chapter on National Afghan Movements in this book.

rebellion and united the Afghan tribes from Attock to Kabul to fight against the Mughal tyranny.

With the help of Pashtun tribesmen Kamaluddin surrounded Peshawar city on 31 July 1629. However, Sa'yed Khan, the governor of Peshawar, with the help of a number of Afghan dignitaries such as Shukrullah Khan son of Shakar Khan, Jamal and Jalal sons of Delawar Khan Kakar managed to protect the city and scattered the frontier force of Kamaluddin and was successful in breaking the siege of the city. With this move Peshawar once again came under the influence of the Koragani empire of India.¹

Defeat of Sher Khan Tarin, governor of Pshin and victory of the Safavi Governor

During the reign of Jalaluddin Akbar, Hasan Khan Tarin was considered to be a national leader in Pshin² of Kandahar. Since Shah Baig Khan, the viceroy of Kandahar considered him to be a contender for the administration of the region he took measures to get rid of him. Eventually Hasan Khan was forced to flee to Fars (Iran). Toward the end of Jahangir's reign Kandahar fell into the hands of the Safavi ruler, so Sher Khan Tarin, son of Hasan Tarin, who was a steadfast person, returned back to Pshin and became the leader of all the Pashtun tribes in the region and directly took charge of the administration of the area. After the death of Shah Abas Safavi in 1629 his son, Shah Safi, replaced him. Sher Khan Afghan, with the backing of a national uprising, tried to break the Safavi domination in the region. To achieve his goal he formed an alliance with Ali Mardan Khan, son of Ganj Ali Khan Uzbek, who was a supporter of the Safavi government, and became the governor of Kandahar after his father created an impediment to the movement of people between India and Kandahar. In the middle of 1631 Sher Khan gathered

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 1. A'mal Saleh vol. 1.

². This historic name has been incorrectly written by some as Fushanj or Pashang etc. and has confused it with Pushang or Fushang, located west of Herat. The correct form of the name is Pshin, located between the Kozhak mountain, Khwaja Imran and Shaal (Quetta).

a force composed of nationalistic tribesmen with the aim of capturing Sibi and Ganjaba.¹ When Ali Mardan, who had been waiting for such an opportunity, learned about the departure of Sher Khan and his followers to Sibi, he unexpectedly raided Pshin from Kandahar with an army of four thousand men and looted the fort together with all its riches, which was the center of Sher Khan Tirin's administration. He captured members of Sher Khan's family and sent them to Kandahar. When Sher Khan became aware of the raid he attacked Ali Mardan, blatantly defeating him in the battle which took place in the environs of Pshin, but unfortunately his men scattered and he had to retreat to Duki and Chatyali (in greater Zhobe). After this Sher Khan launched several forays against Ali Mardan but was not successful in his attempts to uproot his enemy. With the help of Ahmad Baig Khan, the governor of Multan, Sher Khan visited Shah Jahan's court on 23 March 1632. The emperor apparently bestowed kindness upon him and assigned him land in Punjab.²

Conquest of Kandahar

As mentioned earlier Homyun attacked Kandahar city and then returned to India. Later during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir, Shah Abas Safavi, wrote to the Koragani court of India, that based on ties of friendship Kandahar be returned to the Safavi monarchs. However, Jahangir, the emperor of India, did not accept Shah Abas' request and ordered Khan Jahan Ludi, the commander of Multan, to go to Kandahar to ward off a Safavi attack. However, Khan Jahan instead of going there himself sent Abdul Aziz Khan to Kandahar. Zenal Baig (Zanbel Baig), the envoy of Shah Abas, informed Asfahan about the move so Shah Abas visited Kandahar himself and after a four day siege freed the province from the clutches of the Mughals of India. In 1623 Ganj Ali Khan (former governor of Kerman) was appointed as governor of Kandahar. After Jahangir's death, when Shah Jahan ascended the throne, Jang Ali Khan died while his son, Ali Mardan Khan, become governor of the province.

¹. Both these place are located in the Bolan valley.

². Padshah Nama, vol. 1 p. 419. Amal Saleh vol. 1 p. 479. M'asir-al-Amra vol. 2 p. 655.

Shah Jahan who craved to reclaim Kandahar issued orders to Sa'yed Khan, governor of Kabul in 1637, to make preparations for the movement of troops who initially sent one named Zualqadar to Ali Mardan to gather information and to ask him to surrender Kandahar. Since this move proved to be ineffective, he arranged an army, during the 10th year of Shah Jahan's rule, to capture the province. When Ali Mardan became aware of the plan to capture Kandahar he fortified the tower and the defense parameter of the citadel and set up a small fort on top of Laka mountain in the western sector of the city and asked Shah Safi for help in defending the city. Since the Safavi court did not favor Ali Mardan, it instructed Siyawush to move to Kandahar with soldiers from Khorasan to eliminate Ali Mardan and end the Mughal threat. Ali Mardan, who was able to foresee political maneuvers, gathered the local dignitaries of Kandahar such as Malik Ma'dud and his brother Kamran Abdali,¹ without whose help Ali Mardan was unable to govern the place. He informed Sa'yed Khan, governor of Kabul, Awez Khan, governor of Ghazni and Qalich Khan, commander of Multan, and declared his allegiance to the Koragani court. Upon the orders of the emperor, Awez Khan accompanied by a thousand men, and Mohammad Sheikh, son of Sa'yed Khan, together with an additional 1,000 soldiers left for Kandahar and arrived there on 8 March 1638.

With the consent of Ali Mardan coins were minted and the *khutbah* was read in the name of Shah Jahan Timuri two days later. The Mughal emperor praised Ali Mardan and appointed Qalech Khan as commander of the citadel and dispatched Prince Mohammad Shuja, together with a contingent of twenty thousand men to Kabul. In this way Ali Mardan, with the help of Malik Ma'dud and Kamran Sadozai, Abdali leaders of Kandahar and famous dignitaries, were successful in freeing Kandahar from the clutches of the Safavi court and were officially recognized by Shah Jahan's court as national leaders. Sa'yed Khan, the governor of Kabul

¹. Malik Ma'dud and Kamran were among the five sons of the renowned Malik Sado, the forefather of the Sadozai tribe and His Majesty Ahmad Shah Baba, was the son of Khwaja Khezr, the elder brother of the family (Hayat-i-Afghani p. 119).

who was in Peshawar, was ordered to go to Kandahar to respectfully send Ali Mardan Khan to the Indian court and protect the province with the help of Qalech Khan.¹

Sa'yed Khan reached Kandahar on 2 April. Siyawush also arrived with a Safavi contingent of eight thousand men accompanied by Biram Ali Khan, the governor of Neshapur, Quli Khan, the governor of Farah, Dost Ali Khan, the governor of Khwaf and Safi Quli Sultan, commander of the Bost fort, arrived by way of Farah, Bost and Kishk-i-Nakhud to Sanjari, located about 20 km west of Kandahar. Sa'yed Khan and Qalech Khan also left for the battlefield and after the battle of Sanjari they managed to drive Siyawush to the banks of the Arghandab river and embarked on capturing the Bost, Grishk and Zamindawar fortresses. Local leaders of Kandahar, such as Malik Maghdud, Alawul Tarin, Hayat Tarin and Hasan Khan, also joined him and attacked the fortified forts located along the banks of the Helmand river. First they captured Sarwan Qala, followed by the Helmand fortress. On 29 June 1638 they lay siege on Zamindawar and on 18 July, after a siege of 20 days, Roshan Sultan, a local dignitary, surrendered and relented his fort.

This was followed by the fall of the Bost fort on 3 September with the surrender of Mehrab Khan and two days prior to this event, Safi Quli, the defender of Griskh also surrendered to Koragani soldiers stationed in Kandahar who were successful in capturing all the fortresses in the region. After the purge of Helmand the Mughal administrators returned to Kandahar on 17 September.²

During this time Kandahar province had six central fortresses, which will be discussed in the chapter on civil and military establishments.

Shah Jahan's first trip to Kabul

After Kandahar fell into the hands of Timuri officials and Shah Jahan's army took charge of the province Shah Safi tried to recapture it.

¹. Ali Mardan Khan reached the Indian court in 1639 traveling by way of Kabul and was received by Shah Jahan. He became a confidant of the emperor and was appointed as commissioner to Kashmir and Kabul for a long time.

². Padshah Nama, vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2. Amal-i-Saleh vol. 2.

When the Mughal emperor learned about this move he was forced to visit it personally to end the ongoing anarchy in Afghanistan. As a result he sent, Prince Dara Shukoh together with Sa'yed Khan, who after the battle of Kandahar, had gone to the Indian court from Kabul accompanied by Prince Mohammad Shuja, back to Kabul. Shah Jahan also left Lahore in March 1639 and arrived in Peshawar two months later. reaching Kabul on 28 May and stayed in Bagh-i-Ahokhana, adjacent to Kabul city. He sent prince Dara Shukoh, together with a contingent of men to Ghazni and appointed Sa'yed Khan to clear the Hazarajat area where unrest had brewed due to the instigation of Palangtush. Sayed Khan managed to subdue the Hazara tribes and presented Mir Ismail, the head of the Hazara tribes, together with 27 other dignitaries, to be graced by the emperor.

On 4 July dignitaries from Kandahar, Malik Maghdud and his brother Kamran presented themselves to the emperor and provided satisfaction about the region to the court. On 19 July Prince Dara Shukoh managed to clear Ghazni from Safavi influence and returned to Kabul and on the 24th of July the emperor received news and guidance from the governor of Balkh also.

Learning that Kandahar was not under Safavi threat anymore and was also provided satisfaction about the security of other regions of Afghanistan, Shah Jahan, after visiting Beigtut and Bagh Jahan Ara, left Kabul on 25 August 1639 for Lahore. Before his departure he appointed Qalech Khan governor of Kandahar, Sa'yed Khan to Kabul, Dindar Khan as commander of Kabul citadel, replaced Kasidas, recorder of events, with Mohammad Ashaq Baig and replaced Kefayat Khan, head of court in Kandahar with Samsam-al-Dawla while Khanazada Khan was appointed as chief of police in Ghazni.¹

Kandahar's events and the uprising by Awdal Pashtun

During Shah Jahan's era, Malik Awdal governed the Garamser region of Kandahar stretching from western Helmand to Farah. According to historians of Mughal era, he was in charge of half of all the Kanda-

¹. Padshah Nama vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1, part 2. Amal-i-Saleh vol. 2.

har region. His center of administration was the Khanishin¹ fortress, adjacent to Bost and Seistan provinces. He was an iconic national leader who had maintained his independence between the Mughal and Safavi empires. Governors from both sides respected him. For example Izat Khan, the suzerain of Bost, was obedient to him and Hamza son of Malik Jalaluddin (a national leader of Seistan) was his companion. When Qalech Khan, the governor of Kandahar, went to visit Shah Jahan, Malik Hamza and Malik Awdal (Abdal) formed a bond and killed the attendants of Izat Khan, who were in Khanishin to free themselves from the yoke of the Mughal government. Qalech Khan, the governor of Kandahar sent a large force to end the rebellion and a number of Izat Khan's soldiers, from Bost fort, also joined them. The Khanishin fort came under siege. Malik Awdal and Hamza's fighters not only successfully drove off Latif Baig's men to the far side of the Helmand river but during the month of December of 1639 they attacked the Mughal battalion and after a brief skirmish three hundred soldiers lost their lives in the battle and in the end Hamza returned to Seistan.

Qalech Khan then sent an additional two thousand men to the Helmand river and pillaged all the residents of the area, Malik Awdal Khan, the leader of the resurrection was captured and was executed on the orders of the Mughal court. Malik Hamza took refuge in the Fath fort of Seistan.²

Appointment of Ali Mardan, Safdar Khan and other officials in Afghanistan

Ali Mardan, son of Ganj Ali Khan, after yielding Kandahar to the Mughal court, was appointed governor of Kashmir by Shah Jahan and after that was bestowed with the title of Amir-al-Amra (prince of princes) and when Sa'yed Khan was appointed governor of Kashmir in 1640, Ali Mardan was sent as governor to Kabul. Even now there are buildings

¹. In references to the Timuri era of India it has been noted as Khanishi. Khanishin, at present time, is a place located toward the terminus of the Barakzai wash of Helmand, a part of the Garamser administration.

². Padshah Nama, vol. 2 p. 170. A'mal Saleh vol. 2 p. 313.

and streets in Kabul which were named after him. Among his rebuilding effort the Chahar Chata complex is famous in Kabul.

Moreover, Mubarez Khan was appointed as aid to Kabul, Sardar Khan as administrator of Bangash, Sufli and Izat Khan were appointed as custodians of Bost and Grishk, Awaz Khan to Ghazni and Hemat Khan became the security commander of Ghorband and Zohak.

In January 1641, Safdar Khan, replaced Qalich Khan, as governor of Kandahar with great pomp and celebrations.

Dara Shukoh's Trip to Kandahar

Shah Safi, the Safavi king, for a long time, was contemplating to take over Kandahar. Safdar Khan the commander of Kandahar and Izat Khan, the keeper of Bost and Grishk, sent a message to the Mughal court informing them that Shah Safi had commissioned Rustam Khan Garji, to prepare a large force to recapture Kandahar. As a result Prince Dara Shukoh, together with a force of five thousand men, was chosen to march in direction of Kandahar.

The prince, accompanied by Prince Murad, departed in direction of Afghanistan on 20 April 1642, together with a contingent of military officers, Sa'yed Khan and Qalich Khan and the chief of resolution of Kabul. Upon arriving to Kabul the prince prepared his army with the help of Ali Mardan and stationed thirty thousand men in Kandahar under the command of Nasrat Jang and ten thousand in Qala-i-Bost, under the direction of Sa'yed Khan. As the Mughal army was making preparations for war the news of the demise of Shah Safi on 12 May arrived and his son, Shah Abas the Second, was proclaimed king on 2 June. When Shah Jahan heard about the death of the Safavi king he refrained from sending his troops to Seistan and both Mughal princes presented themselves to the emperor toward the end of September. The following appointments were made by the Indian court in Afghanistan.

Khalil Baig, as security chief of Ghorband and Qala-i-Zuhak. Since a battle took place between Mir Yahya, the courtier of Kabul and Malik Maghdud, resulting in the death of the Malik, Mir Yahya was removed from his post and replaced by Mir Samsam-al-Dawla.

With the death of Safdar Khan in March of 1642, Sa'yed Khan (the coordinator of Punjab) was appointed as governor of Kandahar. Raja Jighat, the security officer of Kalat was sent to Kabul and Khanazad Khan son of Sa'yed Khan become the security officer of Kalat. His other son, Abdullah, was also sent to Kandahar with honor and pomp. With the death of Izak Khan, commander of Qala-i-Bost and Grishk, in August of the same year, the post was given to Purdil Khan Baretch, who was the security officer of Zamindawar and Khana Zad took his position there. His brother, Abdullah, was sent to Kalat.¹

Battles of northern regions and Shah Jahan's second visit to Kabul

When Nazar Mohammad Khan, the governor of Balkh and Bukhara, removed his father from power and declared himself king, he removed Palangtosh, governor of Balkh, Badakhshan and Kahmard, and gave the region to his son, Subhan Quli Dad and appointed Tardi Ali Kathghaan as administrator of the region. On top of this he also breached some parts of Kabul, Kandahar and Helmand and attacked Hazarajat. As a result, Ali Mardan sent Khalil Baig, commander of Ghorband fort, Ashaq Baig, Ali Baig and a group of officers from Kabul, to face Tardi Ali in late October 1644. A light battle took place between the warring parties and Tardi Ali and his friends were forced to retreat.

Toward the beginning of 1644 the Indian court learned about the death of Safdar Khan, governor of Kandahar. The news of the movement of Safavi forces toward Kandahar also spread. Therefore in May of the same year military officials such as Raja Jigat, Bahadur Khan, Qalich Khan, Nijabat Khan and Mirza Khan were sent to Kandahar to protect that province. Since Shah Jahan wanted to dominate the northern areas of the country as far as the Oxus river in 1645 and dislodge them from Nazar Mohammad Khan influence, he sent Isalat Khan to Kabul to prepare an army with the help of Ali Mardan Khan.

Isalat Khan immediately came to Kabul to launch military operations in the north. He gathered rations and assigned men to work on tracks in the difficult terrain of the Hindu Kush mountains. When he heard about

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubal, vol. 2. Padshah Nama vol, 2. A'mal Saleh vol. 2.

the discord among the administrators of Balkh and Nazar Mohammad Khan's men he sent three thousand men, under the leadership of Farhad, a serf of Ali Mardan Khan, to capture the Kahmard fortress with the assistance of Khalil Baig, security commander of Ghorband fort. This group of soldiers left for the northern areas toward the beginning of 1645. After capturing the Zuhak fort they attacked Kahmard and captured it. Isalat Khan departed Kabul on 24 July, together with his men, with the intention of capturing Badakhshan and stationed himself in the village of Mahrui, north of Kabul. Ali Mardan Khan also joined him in Ghorband on the 31st of the month.

During this time Kahmard was retaken by Nazar Mohammad Khan's soldiers therefore the leaders of Kabul did not attempt to capture it and Isalat Khan, accompanied by ten thousand men, carried his forays in the valleys of the Hindu Kush as far as Khinjan. After laying claim to a lot of riches and wealth he went to Gunbahar and this introductory military expedition concluded without any tangible results. Following this, Jagat Raja, a military officer in Kabul, was sent to the north on 5 November. After crossing the Hindu Kush, Raja set up a wooden fort between Saraab and Andaraab, where he left behind two thousand men. Nazar Mohammad Khan sent Kafash Quli Khan to face him. Raja asked Kabul for help and Ali Mardan sent a contingent of three thousand men, commandeered by Ali Baig and Ishaq Baig to the Hindu Kush. A number of skirmishes took place between Nazar Mohammad Khan and Raja's forces. Raja's army was stationed in Hisar-i-Naw and a part of the Kabul contingent stayed in Panjsher. With the death of Dindar Khan, the defender of Kabul's fort, his son Asadullah Khan, was appointed in his position by Shah Jahan and with the death of Raja Jagat, his son was appointed as defender of the Juain fort of Andaraab.¹

As planned earlier, toward the end of January 1646, Shah Jahan sent Prince Murad Baksh, together with a contingent of 60 thousand men and artillery to conquer Balkh, Badakhshan and to clear the northern parts of Afghanistan. Other dignitaries such as Ali Mardan Khan, the governor of Kabul, Nijat Khan, Mirza Khan, Abdullah Khan and a number

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1. A'mal Saleh vol. 2.

of Afghan military officers such as Nazar Bahadur Kwashaki, Hayat son of Ali Khan Tirin, Jamal Nuhani, Alawal Tarin, Ahdad Mohmand, Paharr Nouhani were appointed to different ranks of this military operation. After the prince left Lahore for Peshawar, Shah Jahan also left for Kabul on 5 April 1646 and crossed the Indus river during the month of June to reach Peshawar. The prince's contingent, which had arrived in Kabul on 25 May and had set up camp in Pai Munar reached Charikar on 6 June while Shah Jahan's cavalcade reached Kabul a day later and camped in Aurtā Bagh and Bagh-i-Mahtab of Kabul.

Conquest of Badakhshan and Balkh

Two days after the arrival of the emperor to Kabul the order to capture the northern regions was issued. Prince Murad Baksh, left Charikar on 9 June 1646, and two days later he was in Parwan and the next day he made a stop in Gulbahar. After the front lines ascended the difficult Hindu Kush passes, the prince, accompanied by Ali Mardan, left Gulbahar on 14 June and reached the base of the Tol pass a week later, crossing it the next day. At this time, Khusrao Khan, son of Nazar Mohammad, the governor of Kunduz had arrived to present his father's surrender to the prince. On the 23 June, the Mughal soldiers crossed the Gunbuzak pass, at the border of Kabul region and took over the Kahmard fort on the 26th and on the 4th of July they attacked the Ghorī fort, whose protector was Qebad Mir Akhor, captured it after a bloody battle and assigned its security to the Khan. Prince Murad Baksh's party, however, headed toward Kunduz by way of Saraab, and reached Narin on 28 June, arriving at Nilbar the following day. The protection of Kunduz was left to Jurup and Sayed Asadullah and the prince departed for Balkh on 5 July.

On the 11th of July the prince arrived at Palas Posh, located about 5 km from Balkh, without facing any resistance and two sons of Nazar Mohammad Khan, Bahram and Subhan Quli, together with a number of dignitaries from Balkh, appeared before the prince and surrendered to him. The following day the prince's party victoriously reached the Shutur Khwar gate of Balkh citadel. Rustam Khan and Mohammad Qasem

entered the city and started forfeiture of the gates. The Balkh citadel, with a circumference of about 10 km, was fortified and despite the fact that Shah Jahan granted Nazar Mohammad pardon, he chose to flee the city and on 17 July 1646, the city of Balkh fell into the hands of the prince.

After fleeing Balkh, Nazar Mohammad Khan, together with his retinue took refuge in Shiberghan. Immediately after taking charge of Balkh, Prince Murad Baksh assigned Bahadur Khan and Isalat Khan, together with ten thousand men, to chase Nazar Mohammad Khan. The two warring sides clashed about 10 km from Shiberghan. Unable to face the Mughal onslaught Nazar Mohammad fled to Andkhor and from there to Merv and his followers retreated to Char Joi of Bukhara. In this way all the northern areas, as far as the Oxus river, were cleared from the opponents of the Mughal empire.¹

Departure of the Prince from the northern provinces and appointment of officials

After the Balkh and northern regions conflict came to an end Prince Murad Baksh returned to Kabul. Shah Jahan sent Sadullah Khan from Kabul as governor of the northern provinces who left Kabul in July of 1646 and arrived in Balkh by way of Khenjan after eleven days. He brought about changes and assigned the administration of the city to Bahadur Khan Daudzai, a Pashtun and Isalat Khan, Kalech Khan and Nazar Bahadur Kweshaki to Badashshan, Rustam Khan and Raja Pahar and a number of officers to Andkhor, Shah Baig Khan was sent to Ghorī to replace Ehtemam Khan, Shaad Khan to Maimana, Daulat Khan was sent to Andkhor, as protector of its fort, Hayat Tarim to Khanabad, Khanjar Khan to Rustaq, Jabali Quli to Kalat of Sheberghan, Khushal Baig to Sar-i-Pul and Saan Chark, Shadman Pakliwal to Aqcha, Khwaja Abdul Aziz son of Safdar Khan to Khulm, Pahar Nouhani to Dara-i-Gaz, Mohammad Shah Qademi to Baba Shaho, Sheikh Fatehullah to Mom-enabad, Aflatoon Baig to Aibak, Sultan Bayazid and sons of Hemat Khan to Rubat-i-Rezgan, Shah Mohammad to Narin, Mirak Baig to Khenjan, Abdul Ghafur Baig to Dushakh, Farah Hussain to Fateh Abad, Moham-

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1. Padshah Nama vol. 2. Amal-i-Saleh vol. 2.

mad Zaman to Qerishak, Qasem Baig to Andarab and Jalaluddin Darwazi to Kolaab.¹

The Kunduz battle

In the middle of August 1646, when Rajorab was serving as the military commander of Kunduz, about six thousand soldiers of Alman Uzbek crossed the Oxus river and attacked Kunduz, commanded by Shah Mohammad and Qul Mohammad. After being repulsed by the protectors of the city they became discouraged from occupying the city but plundered the surrounding areas and returned back to Aab Khwaja Pak and the gate of Imam.²

The Andkhai battle

Supporters of Alman, after the departure of Prince Murad Baksh, also attacked Andkhai and killed Kamal Arbab Kadkhudai and then gathered about eight km from the city. On 27 August 1646 Rustam Khan, on the orders of Sa'ad Khan was sent to defend the city. After fierce battles supporters of Alman were forced to retreat and Andkhai was freed from this menace.³

Return of Shah Jahan

Since issues pertaining to security in Afghanistan were resolved during this trip and Shah Jahan felt relieved about the situation he appointed Khawas Khan as governor of Kandahar, Khwaja Abdul Rahman as allowance officer of Badakhshan, Sa'adat Khan as security officer of Termez, Sayed Asadullah as governor of Zamindawar, and Zulfiqar Khan as security officer of Kabul. Moreover, he gave a raise to all civilian and military personnel and departed from Kabul for Lahore on 20 September 1646 arriving in Peshawar seventeen days later.⁴

¹. Padshah Nama vol. 2 p. 565.

². Padshah Nama vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1. A'mal Saleh vol, 2.

³. Padshah Nama vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1. A'mal Saleh vol, 2.

⁴. Padshah Nama vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1. A'mal Saleh vol, 2.

Further incidents in the northern provinces and arrival of Prince Aurangzeb

After Shah Jahan's departure his appointed officials and affiliates in the northern province came under constant attacks by the people of the region and those residing in Trans Oxiana. As a result in mid-September, while the emperor was still in Kabul Bahadur Khan faced a contingent of five to six thousand men but managed to drive them off. After that a group composed of ten thousand men attacked Khulm and toward the end of the month they reached within a few kilometers of Balkh. In Sheberghan clashes took place with the Uzbeks and Turkmens residing in the region. On 14 December 1646 Subhan Quli launched an attack on Termez. During these incidents Bahadur Khan Pashtun and Isalat Khan defended the territory and did not allow the adversaries to take control of the cities.

Since Abdul Aziz Khan, son of Nazar Mohammad Khan, the governor of Turan, had plans to attack Balkh in Spring therefore Shah Jahan on 20 February 1647 sent Prince Aurangzeb together with a large force to Kabul and the emperor also departed for Kabul on 25 March arriving in Peshawar on 17 April and sent Sa'yed Khan Bahadur to Kabul to help the prince. Since Balkh, Sheberghan, Rustaq, Ghori and Taloqan came under constant attacks by Uzbek forces, the emperor directed a number of experienced officials and soldiers to Afghanistan.

During this time the news of arrival of Nazar Mohammad Khan from Iran had spread. After Nazar Mohammad submitted Balkh to the emperor's soldiers he went to Merv from Andkhai, then Meshad of Khorasan and then to Isfahan, the center of Pars (Iran), where he met Shah Abbas Safavi. Following this, in order to set up his sultanate, he went to Maimana and Andkhai, with a contingent of the Pars army, and laid siege on Maimana fort and for two months Shaadman Baig, the fort's security commander, with the help of Bahadur Khan, confronted Nazar Mohammad Khan's army resulting in his injury. As Bahadur Khan and other officials left Balkh to greet the prince therefore Nazar Mohammad Khan, with the aim of capturing the city, sent Qutluk Mohammad, with a contingent of men. However, when Qutluk Mohammad, defied his father he

took refuge with his brother, Abdul Aziz Khan, governor of Turan. This move made Nazar Mohammad Khan weak. On the other hand Prince Aurungzeb left Kabul, crossed the Hindu Kush and headed for the northern provinces. Abdul Aziz, the governor of Turan, who was eyeing to capture Balkh and the northern provinces, sent his brother Qutluq Mohammad with a force of ten thousand men and Subhan Quli, with a large force to confront the prince. The prince, accompanied by Ali Mardan and Sa'yed Khan, managed to drive back the Uzbek force in Gaz valley on 31 May.¹

Shah Jahan's third Kabul trip

Important events which took place in Afghanistan resulted in dispatching Prince Aurungzeb to the region. Since both Nazar Mohammad Khan and his son, Abdul Aziz Khan, were eyeing to take control of the northern provinces and Kandahar were under threat by the Safavi forces, Shah Jahan was forced to come to Kabul. As a result the royal party, together with a large force and military officers reached Kabul in the beginning of April 1647. Khawas Khan, the governor of Kandahar and Purdil Khan, security commander of Bost, were promoted and Zulfiqar Khan was sent to Balkh. Similarly Rajaji Singh, Mohammad Zaman Khan and Bakhtyar Khan were dispatched to Badakhshan.²

The battles of Timurabad and Balkh

Prince Aurungzeb who had been sent to Balkh to aid Abdul Aziz Khan's army arrived there toward the beginning of June 1647. After making war arrangements he assigned Bahadur Khan and Sa'id Khan to their posts and himself landed in Timurabad. On the other side Abdul Aziz Khan prepared his forces under the command of Qutluq Mohammad and Baig Awali to face the prince. Aurungzeb assigned Shamshir Khan Tirin to take charge of Balkh while Bahadur Khan and Sa'id Khan started skirmishes with the Uzbek army and on the 12th of June a fierce battle took place and a number of commanders of the prince's army lost

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1. A'mal Saleh vol, 2.

². Padshah Nama, vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1. A'mal Saleh vol, 2.

their lives but toward the end the Uzbeks were scattered and started to flee. The following day Ali Mardan Khan joined the battle and faced over twelve thousand mounted men. Baig Awali set up a staunch resistance but in the end the prince was once again victorious and the Uzbek forces were scattered.

On the same day, Abdul Aziz Khan, prepared another fighting force under the command of Subhan Quli to attack Balkh. Qutluq Mohammad's men and the defeated leaders of Turan also joined him and marched on Balkh. Ali Mardan Khan's warriors and those of the prince set up a staunch resistance at two or three locations and managed to ward off the Turkmen army but Abdul Aziz Khan gathered the rest of his men and himself led them into battle. He made several forays against the prince and Ali Mardan but encountered fierce resistance.

In the end Abdul Aziz Khan gathered seven armies, with a total number of one hundred and twenty thousand men, to launch a final assault and an unprecedented battle took place at Yangi Luduk of Timurabad on 17 June. The prince and Ali Mardan set up a fierce resistance and the Uzbek forces were not able to make any gains and scattered. The following day the prince's army entered Balkh and Abdul Aziz Khan crossed the Oxus river and left the battlefield to his foes.¹

Departure of Shah Jahan to Kabul and handing of Balkh to Nazar Mohammad Khan

Even though the Mughal forces were not defeated in the northern regions of Afghanistan but they were not able to stop the forays by the Uzbek tribes against them and the cost of protecting the region surmounted to more than the available resources therefore Shah Jahan concluded it was better to accept Nazar Mohammad Khan's pleas and let him take charge of the Balkh region. As a result Balkh and Maimana were handed over to Nazar Mohammad Khan and the emperor left Kabul for Peshawar at the beginning of August and asked Prince Aurungzeb to depart from the region. The prince left Balkh on 14 August and after encountering a great deal of difficulties from the local tribes he arrived in

¹. Padshah Nama vol. 2. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1. Amal-i-Saleh vol. 2.

Kabul toward the beginning of November from where he went to India. Nazar Mohammad Khan made peace with his son, Abdul Aziz Khan, and the two ruled over Balkh and Maimana.¹

Shah Abas Safavi's march on Kandahar and its conquest

For a while Kandahar was free from seizure by Safavi kings who had been unsuccessful in their endeavor to capture the region. However, Shah Abas the Second, under his own command, decided to capture Kandahar and on 29 March 1648 left Asfahan with a large army and arrived in Meshad of Khorasan four days later . He appointed an able administrator in Herat so he may arrange a battalion of ten thousand mounted and five thousand infantry to raid the Kandahar fortress during winter when it would not be possible for Delhi to send troops to Kandahar from India due to heavy snowfall. When Shah Jahan learned about this scheme he immediately instructed Prince Aurangzeb, the governor of Multan, to take action. On 19th November the prince sent 135 prominent amirs, 60 thousand mounted and ten thousand infantry, composed of Afghan and Indian troops to Afghanistan. Ali Mardan Khan also sent a contingent of six thousand men commanded by Kakar Khan to aid the troops headed for Kandahar. Realizing that the enemy was preparing to send a fighting force to Kandahar he immediately marched on Kandahar citadel even though precipitation and cold weather had made such a move difficult he laid siege on Kandahar city. On the other hand, Prince Aurangzeb, together with Sa'dullah Khan, left Lahore with 70 thousand men in the middle of March 1649.

As it turns out Prince Aurangzeb was slow in reinforcing the troops in Kandahar so after a siege of two and a half months and several bloody battles the governor of Kandahar surrendered to Shah Abas on 22 February 1649. The Safavi king chose Mehrab Khan to capture the Bost and Zamindawar citadels which he managed to vanquish after a short while. Because of the cold weather and lack of food and fodder, Shah

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1.

Abas did not stay for long in Kandahar. He left behind ten thousand men commanded by Mehrab Khan and himself left for Herat by way of Farah.¹

Siege of Kandahar by Prince Aurangzeb

When the news of the blockade of Kandahar reached Kabul and India, Prince Aurangzeb, accompanied by his troops departed from Kabul in the middle of April 1649 and after encountering a great deal of hardships managed to pass through Ghazni and with the help of Malik Hasan, the chief of Kandahari tribes, he arrived in Kandahar on the 16th of May and set up camp near Bagh-i-Ganj, opposite the citadel, resulting in the siege of Kandahar by the Mughal army.

Mehrab Khan, who was a courageous and celebrated leader and appointed as governor of Kandahar by the Safavi court showed ample resistance in protecting the fort and engaged in bloody battles with the enemy. Shah Abas also did not abandon the city and sent thirty thousand men, under the command of able Safavi generals such as Nazar Ali, Ali Quli, and Murtaza Quli. The army of the Mughal prince, headed by Rustam Khan and Qalech Khan, tried to halt the advances of the Safavi forces and a fierce battle took place around Kandahar.²

Shah Jahan's fourth visit to Kabul

After Prince Aurangzeb left Lahore by way of Peshawar and Kabul to Kandahar, Shah Jahan's entourage also left for Afghanistan and reached Kabul in the middle of July. When the king heard about the stiff resistance put up by the Safavi forces and the hardships faced by the prince's army he issued orders to end the siege of Kandahar and the return of the prince's men to Kabul. After a blockade of the city, resulting in the loss of three thousand men and four to five hundred pack animals, Aurangzeb abandoned Kandahar's siege and returned to Kabul and from there presented himself to the emperor toward the end of November 1649.³

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2 pp. 684-690.

². Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1.

³. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1.

Shah Jahan's fifth visit and second blockade of Kandahar

Two years earlier, during Shah Jahan's fourth visit, when his army was unable to make any progress and the siege of Kandahar ended in failure, the Mughal emperor delayed its plan to seize the city to a future date. In March of 1651 the emperor sent Prince Aurangzeb with a large force to Kandahar by way of Multan and Sind and appointed Rustam Khan as security chief of Kabul and assigned Sadullah Khan to aid the prince in Kabul. On 9 March 1651, the emperor also departed for Kabul. The prince's army was composed of fifty thousand mounted men, twenty large wall-piercing cannons, twenty medium range canons and ten war elephants.

Shah Jahan arrived in Kabul two months and four days later on 27 March and the prince's forces reached Kandahar toward the beginning of the month to siege the city together with the army of Sadullah Khan who had come from Kabul. The siege lasted for two months and eight days and the two sides engaged in bloody battles with each other but the prince's soldiers were unable to take charge of Kandahar. Since there was danger of Uzbek forces attacking Ghazni and other places Shah Jahan sent a firman to his army in Kandahar to abandon the siege and return back to Kabul. Yet another attempt to take over Kandahar was also unsuccessful. Shah Jahan appointed prince Dara Shukoh as governor of Kabul and himself returned to India reaching Lahore toward the beginning of September.¹

Dara Shukoh's visit and third siege of Kandahar

A year ago when Prince Aurangzeb returned from Kandahar without achieving any success Dara Shukoh asked permission from the emperor to march on Kandahar with an army of one hundred thousand men, of which seventy thousand were mounted, seven large cannons, seventeen air cannons, thirty small cannons, 170 war elephants and 30 thousand large and small rounds of ammunition. The party left with the intention to capture Kandahar in the middle of March 1652 and arrived in Kabul. The emperor also dispatched Ali Mardan Khan to Kabul to aid the prince. The

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1. Rukaat-i-Alamgir, p. 26.

first battalion of Dara Shukoh, composed of twelve thousand men arrived at the Kandahar citadel on the 16 May and started to set up a siege under the command of Mir Jafar and Nejabat Khan.

The prince himself set up camp near Mirza Kamran's orchard and a force was sent to capture the Bost fort, commanded by Rustam Khan. Mehdi Quli Khan, the Safavi security commander of the citadel, surrendered and handed over Bost citadel to Rustam Khan. But Mehrab Khan, the governor of Kandahar, who had a steadfast personality, and had managed to save the citadel of Kandahar from Mughal attacks, resisted the Mughal forays on the city.

Prince Dara Shukoh ordered several attacks on the citadel and launched the fifth attack on the fort on 13 September 1652 resulting in the loss of two thousand of his men but was unable to penetrate the firm walls of the citadel. The siege lasted for five months and the Mughal army finally gave up the conquest of Kandahar.

When Shah Jahan realized that the attack on Kandahar was unsuccessful he ordered the prince to abandon the siege and return to Kabul. The prince's army thus abandoned its mission in disgrace toward the end of October and he arrived to the Indian court in December of 1592.¹

The end of Shah Jahan's era

After this Shah Jahan was content with control of Kabul and the eastern parts of Afghanistan and was unable to attack Kandahar again. Kandahar remained under the control of the Safavi administration and the Turani (Turkmen) governors were in power in the northern regions of the country. In his last years as emperor, Bahadur Khan Afghan, was the undisputed independent governor of Kabul. However, during the last year of Shah Jahan's rule, 1657, Bahadur Khan was removed and replaced by Rustam Khan. In September of 1657 Shah Jahan fell ill and the struggle for power between his sons started. In the end prince Aurangzeb, the governor of Dakan, overpowered prince Dara Shukoh, the crown prince, and after numerous battles with his brothers Aurangzeb

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 1.

managed to capture the court of Indian royalty. He imprisoned his father, Shah Jahan, and ascended the throne in August 1658.

Shah Jahan, who was fond of science and arts, after ruling for thirty one years and four months remained imprisoned for eight years and died on 30 January 1666 at the age of seventy six.¹ Shah Jahan left behind a good legacy in the world of arts and architecture. But during this era Afghanistan became the victim of Timurid ambitious campaigns and rivalry between the Timuri and Safavi kingdoms and was the battle ground of the two empires. National leaders and the freedom loving people of Afghanistan, as far as possible, hid in the valleys and mountains to protect their freedom from this imposed dilemma.

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 2. Tarekh-i-Hindustan, pa. 41. Alamgir Nama vol. 2.

Chapter Six

Muhaiuddin Aurangzeb Alamgir

Aurangzeb, the third son of Shah Jahan and Arjuman Bano Begum, was born on 3 November 1618 in Ahmadabad of India and, as mentioned, he imprisoned his father in August 1658 and ascended the throne at the age of forty. Most of his time, as emperor in India, was spent in warfare but after a while he managed to unite the kingdom of India under a central administration and mistreated all his brothers and father in his quest for power.

After suppressing the southern Indian tribes, the Sikhs of Punjab and Marhata, he managed to establish a vast empire all over India. Events which took place in India during his reign do not have any relation to the history of Afghanistan but since the eastern regions and Kabul were a part of his kingdom, incidents which took place in these regions are dealt here.

Officials of Kabul province

One month after his accession to the throne Aurangzeb honored Mahabat Khan, commander of Kabul on 8 September 1658, and helpers of the province, Mughal Khan and Sadat Khan were also promoted. Shamshir Khan was appointed as governor of Ghazni, Riyat Khan and Eshaq Baig as allowance officers and Mir Yaqub became the tribunal officer and Sayed Khan became the military officer of Bunir and Nowshahr.¹

Toward the end of the year Ganj Ali Khan was appointed as military commander of Nowshahr and after that he served as security officer of Kabul. Hussain Baig, Allah Dad Khan, Mangal Khan and Kamil Khan were considered to be helpers of the province. After Amir Khan, Moham-

¹. Alamgir Nama vol. 1 p. 195.

mad Amin Bakshi and later Fedayee Khan became security officers of Kabul.¹

The Yusufzai revolt led by Baku and Mullah Chalaak

Unlike his predecessors, Aurangzeb was a stern and temperamental ruler exemplified by how viciously he behaved toward his rivals in India, his father and brothers. He was also abusive toward the people in different regions of Afghanistan. As already mentioned, frontier tribes rose against Mughal tyranny several times to establish their lost identity once again in India. The Mughal emperors did not interfere in their internal matters² and national leaders were allowed to rule. Aurangzeb tried to bring an end to this status quo. In order to maintain their independence national leaders declared a jihad against the emperor.

The first movement which took place in the western border regions of India was led by the Yusufzai tribemen. A national leader named Baku issued a dictum and with the aid of Mullah Chalaak (a follower of Abdul Wahab, and Sultan Mahmud Gadun, renowned Afghan freedom fighters)³ stood against the tyranny of the Mughal empire. Gathering a force of five thousand Yusufzai, they attacked the Chahachil Pakhali fort, captured it and attacked Mughal possessions. In 1666 Aurangzeb assigned Mir Khan, commander of Kabul, to neutralize them and Kamil Khan, military commander of Attock, also went to his aid. The number of freedom fighters reached over forty thousand and fierce battles took place between the warring sides resulting in the death of many fighters. Among Aurangzeb's officials, Aghar Khan, who was just as brutal as the emperor, erected skull minarets of the freedom fighters in Peshawar and Kabul. After one of the battles he dispatched two thousand skulls of the fighters to the Indian court. With utmost brutality Aurangzeb issued orders that a minaret be erected in the center of the Indian monarchy.⁴ Aurangzeb's

¹. Alamgir Nama, vol. 2 p. 964. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2.

². Alamgir Nama vol. 2 p. 1014.

³. A full description of these leaders is presented in the the section of National Movements of this book.

⁴. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2 part 1. Alamgir Nama vol. 2 p. 1039.

military operations turned out to be unsuccessful and the freedom fighters showed more resistance to Mughal tyranny. This prompted the emperor to dispatch one of his confidant, Mohammad Amin Bakshi, security commander of Lahore, to Kabul and in May of 1667 he was sent to encounter the Afghan freedom fighters.¹ But he failed in this and after a while Aurangzeb sent his son, Prince Mohammad Azam, together with a party of military commanders and twenty thousand mounted soldiers, to Kabul. The party was dispatched by the emperor on 14 September 1665.

Aurangzeb's visit to Peshawar and the movement of Aimal Khan and Khushal Khan

As mentioned earlier Afghan tribes living in the mountains of Pash-tunkhwa (land of the Pashtuns), during the Mughal era, had set up a national network and local leaders administered the area and were free to handle their own internal affairs. Since Aurangzeb tried to disrupt this system he assigned Mohammad Amin Khan, security commander of Kabul and Prince Mohammad Azam to undertake this task. But in 1668, Aimal Khan a prominent Afghan leader, who according to Khafi Khan, a historian in the mountains of Pashtunkhwa, who had been bestowed with a royal rank, and struck coins as (Aimal Shah)² launched successive attacks on Mohammad Amin Khan and managed to disperse all the Mughal soldiers or captured them alive. Mohammad Amin Khan barely managed to escape the battlefield alive and a number of his children and family members were taken captive by Aimal Khan. The Mughal army was unable to pass through the Khyber narrows to reach Kabul.

Above all the brave Afghan warrior and poet, Khushal Khan Khatak, had been released from imprisonment in India and returned back to his native Khatak land. He also started a campaign against Mughal tyranny and in the end Aurangzeb was forced to pay a visit to Peshawar together with his large contingent of Mughal army. The emperor also summoned one of his most brutal commander from Dakan, Aghar Khan, to join him

¹. Alamgir Nama vol. 2 p. 1045. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2 p. 230.

². Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2 part 1, p. 233.

who reached the emperor's entourage when it had arrived to Hasan Abdal. He immediately took steps to launch attacks on the Afghan braves. In 1669 the Mohmand tribesmen engaged in bloody battles with Aghar Khan's forces. Aghar Khan and Fedayee Khan, security commander of Kabul, attacked the Afghan forces with all the might of the Mughal army but the commander failed to pass through the Khyber narrows. Following this, the whole Mughal army got together and by way of Bazarak and Seh Choba, the Mughal commanders shifted their attention from Peshawar to Jalalabad. However, every time Agar Khan would attempt to pay a visit to Kabul he would come under attack by the brave Afghan warriors.¹

Aurangzeb remained stalled in Hasan Abdal for three years and in the end after spending large sums of money and by engaging in deceit he managed to subdue Khushal Khan due to internal disputes among the tribes. However, Aurangzeb, who was considered the most brutal and great Mughal emperor, was unable to break the will of the freedom loving Afghan tribes despite deploying all the Mughal army into battle.

Aurangzeb stayed in Hasan Abdal for three years, while Prince Mohammad Azam remained in Kabul. During this time commanders of the Mughal army were engaged in constant battles with Afghan tribes. In 1670 the emperor left Hasan Abdal for Delhi and appointed Amir Khan, son of Khalilullah Khan, in place of Fedayee Khan, as security commander of Kabul and assigned Aghar Khan and other military commanders to help him. Upon the orders of the emperor Prince Mohammad Azam left Kabul for Lahore.²

The battle of Laghman

After the failure and return of Aurangzeb his cronies, Amir and Aghar, went from Kabul to Peshawar and started attacking the Afghan tribes and constructed the Agharabad fort for their protection. During this time Aimal Khan, together with the support of national leaders, gathered in Laghman and fought a fierce battle with Agar Khan and the Mughal forces. This

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2 pp. 142-232.

². Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2.

was one of the most fierce and fearful battle which took place in the eastern regions of Afghanistan during the Mughal era.¹

Aghar remained in Kabul for a number of years and in the end refrained from attacking the Afghan tribesmen and was content with administering in Kabul. This blood thirsty person's life finally came to an end in 1691 while he was traveling from Kabul to Aurangzeb's court. He was killed by the Afghan freedom fighters.²

Death of Alamgir and events toward the end of his life

When Aurangzeb realized that the Afghans were resolute in their resistance he was content with having control over Kabul and Peshawar and henceforth did not engage with the freedom fighters.

Toward the end of his reign no major developments took place in these regions. From history books we learn that Prince Muazam Bahadur Shah, during the later part of Aurangzeb's reign, was in Kabul and Peshawar. Manam Khan and Fatehullah Khan were among the administrators of Kabul. Aurangzeb died on 3 March 1707 at the age of ninety in Ahmad Nagar of India after being a monarch for 50 years. Discontent among his sons brewed and on 15 March Prince Mohammad Azam ascended the throne in Ahmad Nagar. The prominent Prince Mazam left Kabul and during the month of April 1707 he declared his kingdom in Lahore, killing his brother Mohammad Azam in the battle which took place in Dahu Lapur.³

¹. Aghar Nama (versified history of Aghar's battles with Afghans). Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 2. These verses are from Aghar Nama:

*From every direction rose the Afghans
Thirsty for the blood of Aghar.
From Attock to Kandahar
A large army extended afar;
All ready for the combat
An army with numbers ajar.
Armed and full of vengeance
They reached the Laghman land.
Fight they did with such ferocity
That Laghman river turned red with blood.*

². Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2.

³. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol. 2.

During the time, while Aurangzeb's sons were engaged in a civil conflict and they only remained on the throne for a short while, the former administrators of the empire were in power in Kabul and Peshawar. This state of affairs lasted until the arrival of Nader Shah Afshar and the capitulation of Kabul.

As a result the influence of the Mughal empire subsided after the demise of Aurangzeb in different parts of Afghanistan. This great king who managed to bring all of India under his control had a strange disposition. His personal life was unblemished and he had a special interest in religion and was a strict follower of Islamic practices.¹

However, his ambition for power was totally brutal. The way he treated his brothers and father were so cruel that not a single kind person would even dream of doing. He was bloodthirsty especially toward the Afghan nation resulting in a lot of bloodshed and cruelty in these regions. As a result his reign is considered to be one of the darkest era of the land and in the history of Afghanistan he has been recorded as a barbaric and sanguine king and a national enemy of the people.

¹: Alamgir was a learned person. This couplet is said to be his:

*Yesterday as I was looking for the rose,
I saw a shriveled flower on fire,
Why I asked do you burn thus?*

It replied: in this garden I want to smile for a while.

(Tazkera-i-Hussaini)

Chapter Seven

Results and Criticism

Downfall of the Mughal empire and invasion of Nader Shah

Muazam Bahadur Shah passed away in March 1712 and after him Shah Alam, Jahandar Shah, Furukh Sayr, Rafi-al-Darajat and Rafi-al-Dawla ruled accordingly until Mohammad Shah ascended the throne of Delhi in October 1730. During his tenure Naser Khan was appointed as governor of Kabul and Peshawar, Baqir Khan was governor of Ghazni and Maqarhad Fasil was the Hotaki governor of Kandahar. After Baqir Khan fled Ghazni, the region fell into the hands of Nader Shah's army on 11 June 1738 and on the 21st of the same month he invaded Kabul from Ghazni. Sharza Khan, son of Naser Khan and Rahimdad Khan, who had been assigned by Naser Khan, the Mughal governor, to protect Kabul fortified the city and engaged in battle with a force of twenty thousand men. However, Nader's army managed to seize Kabul on 30 June and on 21 July the Iranian army marched into Jalalabad also. Naser Khan, who was in Peshawar, prepared his men to face Nader Khan and after a skirmish he was captured by Nader Khan's soldiers¹ and as a result all of Afghanistan fell into the hands of Nader's army. With this move the Mughals lost control of Afghanistan and the expansionism of the Kora-gani emperors of India in Afghanistan, which was initiated by Babur 240 years ago, came to an end during the reign of Mohammad Shah. Baburi sultans thus ruled the eastern regions, and for a while the northern and western regions of Afghanistan from 1505 to 1738. During this period the domination of the Timuri emperors of India, the Safavi from Pars (Iran) and the Uzbek kings of Trans Oxiana resulted in the seizure of the country but the people of Afghanistan did not accept such domination and embarked on a struggle against the Timuri rulers of Delhi and the Safavi kings of Pars for two centuries which serves as a tangible exam-

¹. Jahan Kusha-i-Naderi. Nader Nama, hand-written copy pp. 207-215. Tarikh-i-Nezami Iran vol. 2.

ple of Afghan nationalism resulting in the rise of the Hotaki kings followed by the Abdali kingdom in Kandahar which managed to preserve our national identity.

Results and criticism

The period of occupation by the Koragani monarchs of India in Afghanistan is a prime example of the struggle for freedom and emancipation by the Afghan nation. This is because Afghans had lived free for centuries in their mountainous country and no one interfered in their internal affairs and livelihood. National leaders ruled over their territories in unity. But when Babur was passing through Afghanistan to India, with the intention of establishing an empire there, he engaged in dismantling the freedom of the Afghan nation also and subjugated its mountainous terrain. As a result he fought with the brave and dexterous Pashtun tribes several times, a conflict which continued for the next two and half centuries. Both the Mughal and Safavi emperors, during this period, put to the test their military capabilities for a long time in the mountains of Afghanistan.

It needs to be mentioned that during this period the Afghan nation was content with maintaining its supremacy in its mountainous terrain and did not want any foreigner to dominate it. But since both the Mughal and Safavi empires wanted to turn this land into their colony, the courageous Afghan warriors stood up against such aggression for two and a half centuries, and divulged their motives to failure.

It must be reiterated that the belligerent motives of the Mughal emperors were seen with disdain by the Afghan people and the incursion and onslaught of the Mughals was a curse to them about which they complained. We see that in our national literature authors have constantly alluded to the brutality of these despotic administrations and have expressed their contempt in their poems and literature to the extent that during this period instead of the word, *Pashtunwala* (nationalism), which according to national Afghan traditions, is considered to be good demeanor has been attributed as *Mughulwala*, meaning the summation of cruelty, brutality, reprehensible character, bloodletting and terror. In our

national literature the noun Mughal has been equated with cruelty, darkness, destruction and desolation and our national spirit has been distanced from this dark and obscure word.

If we are to look at the national literature of the Pashtuns we encounter many such examples. Khushal Khan Khatak, the renowned leader of the Afghans, in his last injunction says:

“Bury me in a spot where Mughal shadow may not fall on my grave and the hooves of Mughal horses may not trample it.”

The national poet, Hamid Mashukhel looks at Mughals with such contempt:

All the world is at peace

But Mughal grief has embraced Hamid.

In another verse he rebukes *Mughalwala* in these words:

I shall not embrace the Mughalwala of your rival

If I have been given birth by a Pashtun mother.

Such contempt and distain against Mughal and *Mughulwala* was instilled in our spirit with the barbaric conquests of Genghis and Timur. For example Akbar Zamindawari, a contemporary of Timur-i-Lang (Tamerlane) wrote:

Mughal flaw has driven me to the extent

That I shall forget Zamindawar in this grief.

The oppressive conquests of Babur and his descendants, in the mountains of Pashtunkhwa, not only resulted in the establishment of a spirit of hatred toward the Mughals but it also instilled in them the spirit of freedom and independence and the will to protect their mountainous homeland. As long as the Mughals were in Afghanistan they were not able to rule and administer it according to their wishes.

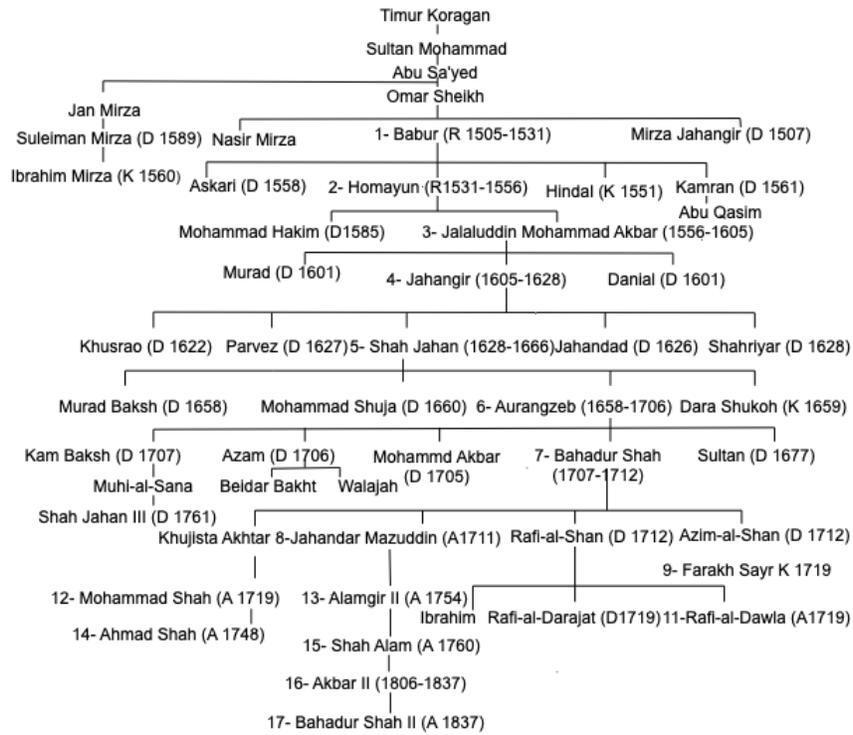
Undoubtedly the Koragani emperors embarked on a plethora of projects in India in the fields of science, industry and arts and spent large sums of money on the construction of magnificent buildings but such civil projects and the fostering of arts and literature did not take place in our country. During the Mughal era, with the exception of bloodshed, war, indignation and strife, we do not witness anything else.

As such the writers of our national history has the right to recognize the Koragani emperors of India as the perpetrators of cruelty, barbarism, and bloodshed in Afghanistan and consider their stay as a dark and gruesome period in the annals of our history.

Included is the family tree of the Baburi princes. In this chart (D) represents the date of death, (A) date of ascension to the throne, (K) the date the person was killed. Those princes, who managed to rule for a period of time, the dates of their reign are included.¹

¹. This family tree has been derived from Dual Islamia p. 507, Majma-al-Salagein and Zenat-al-Saman.

Baburi Kings and Princes



Part Two

Chapter One

National resurrections by prominent Afghan leaders during
the Mughal Period

Chapter Two

Civil and military establishments of Mughals of India in Af-
ghanistan

Chapter Three

Construction projects of the Mughal period in Afghanistan

Chapter One

National resurrections by famous Pashtun leaders during the Mughal period

The Pashtun kingdom in India came to an end with the arrival of Babur and the dominance of his descendants resulted in the downfall of the Ludi sultanate in India. After this the Suri sultanate surfaced but with the conquest of Homayun it fell apart. From the beginning of the Mughal empire until its end and with the rise of the Hotaki kingdom and later the coming into power of the Sadozai, initiated by His Majesty Ahmad Shah Baba in Kandahar, Pashtun nationalism did not die during the 250 years Mughal era. Afghans considered the Mughals as foreign invaders and waged wars against them on many fronts whether it was in the mountains of Pashtunkhwa or in the plains of India. These national movements continued against the mighty Mughal empire and even the most brutal Mughal kings were not able to quell the national spirit of the Pashtuns.

These national resurrections, during the Mughal period, are an important part of our national history. Even though historians of that period have not dwelled upon these events directly and as a result of their ties to the Mughal empire the episodes have been dealt superficially. However, in the course of history we encounter some important events which should not be forgotten as part of our national historical heritage. The names of those who participated in national resurrections against the powerful Mughal empire, kept their regions free from Mughal colonization or lost their lives in fighting the invaders, should not be forgotten. It is for this reason that a special chapter of this book is devoted to their charisma to maintain their independence.

It should be noted that all these events are related to what took place inside Afghanistan. Events which took place in India against the Mughal emperors by Afghan tribes living there are related to incidents by Afghan rulers in India such as the Ludis, Suris and other ruling families.

Movements against Babur

In the history of the Mughal period, Babur was the first person who clashed with Afghan nationalists. Freedom seeking Afghans engaged in battles against him which are considered an important part of the history of the founder of the Mughal empire in India.

When Babur arrived to the northern regions of Afghanistan from Farghana and captured Kabul his expansionist plan was to invade India. In 1519 he embarked on his first journey to India, but before he could do that the freedom seeking Pashtuns in Khyber, Peshawar and Ghazni realized his invasive motives and did not consider them to be in their interests. In 1507 Babur attacked the Ghalji tribes as he considered their actions to be an impediment to his expansionism and according to Firishta he looted a hundred thousand of their livestock.¹ A year later he engaged with the Mohmand tribes in the Khyber mountains who did not allow their freedom to be trampled.²

As part of their national traditions, Pashtun tribes always protected those who took refuge amongst them from of Babur's invasion even if their own lives were at risk. Those in different parts of Afghanistan who fled from Babur's atrocities ended up taking refuge among the Pashtuns. As a result, even before starting his march toward India, Babur engaged in neutralizing these tribes and in 1519 he assigned his brother, Sultan Nasir Mirza, governor of Ghazni, to attack and quash the tribes. As a result of fierce battles which took place three thousand Yusufzai tribesmen were killed in revenge and according to Khafi Khan, a large number of men and women were taken prisoners. The province was captured and relegated to Khwaja Kalan.³

During this time Shah Mansur, son of Malik Suleiman, from the Yusufzai tribe and Sultan Owes Suwati, were eminent leaders of these regions. Unable to subdue their national fervor by force, Babur resorted

¹. Tarikh-i-Firishta p. 199.

². Tarikh-i-Firishta p. 199.

³. Muntakhab-al-Lubab vol.1 p. 45.

to the tactics of Subuktageen.¹ As mentioned earlier, Babur, formed a marriage bond with the Pashtuns and managed to free himself from the grip and onslaught of the Yusufzai. Akin to Sultan Mahmud, his conquest of India was successful with the help of the Pashtuns. After initial battles with the Pashun tribesmen Babur requested to marry the daughter of Shah Mansur.² Soon after establishing a marriage relationship with them he was successful in neutralizing their belligerence towards him.

The Roshanis and their battles during the Koragani period

Bayazid Roshan

One of the most potent movement which took place during Babur's time is that of the Roshani clan. Beside being an important nationalist movement it was also had significant religious and philosophical connotations.

As mentioned, the Afghan kingdom in India, which had lasted for several centuries, fell apart with the invasion of Babur and his descendants. The freedom loving Pashtuns, who were rulers and administrators for a long time could not bear to be subjugated and engaged in warfare to preserve their independence. Among them were leaders who managed to instigate their followers through their spirituality and religious gravitation.

Philosophy of the Roshani movement

After the Mughal domination of Asian nations a new period was initiated. Bitter and unpleasant events of the time resulted in the suppression of people's thoughts and spirits emanating from in an atmosphere of negativeness and isolation. These feelings were prevalent throughout the Islamic world and in particular such sentiments were nurtured in Iran and

¹: Hamdullah Mustufi in Tarikh-i-Guzedah, p. 395 writes about Mahmud Zabuli that his mother was the daughter of the head of Zawul and thus he was considered to be a Zawuli.

²: Hayat-i-Afghani p 181. Akbar Nama vol. 1.

India. We are not concerned about the details of such a movement but suffice it to say that during the Baburi era the Safavi kings of Iran fostered such thinking. Mystics and sufis were official members of the courts of most Iranian emperors. Such mode of thinking was also fostered in India to which people were fervently attached.

In the mountainous regions of Pashtunkhwa, home to warrior like tribes, sufism started to take root as a result of the work of certain publicists, impacting the mode of thinking of the people. Sayed Ali Kunduzi, famous as Pir Baba, had total influence and power over the people of Swat, Bajawar and the mountainous regions of Pashtunkhwa. This person who had a large number of followers died in 1583.¹

As such ideas spread, Pashtun thinkers started contemplated to attract people by spreading such ideals and used their influence for to foster national movements and their religious motives to fight alien governments.²

Based on such philosophy and thought a genius of thought and warfare emerged and became the establisher of the Roshani movement in the mountains of Afghanistan. This person was named Bayazid, son of Abdullah, whose followers called him Pir-i-Roshan (the enlightened saint) while his opponents called him Pir-i-Tareek (the dark saint). His father was from Kandahar from the Aurmarr tribe. Later in life he lived in Kani Kuram.³

Bayazid was a learned person, trained by Mullah Payenda and Mullah Suleiman Kalangari, and was a follower of the spiritual school of thought of Khawaja Ismail, one of his relative. He studied religious philosophy during his travels to India, Turkistan and Samarkand and became a learned philosopher. He engaged in a new school of thought

¹. Tazkerat-al-Ibrar wa al-Ashrar p. 133.

². In Tazkerat-al-Ibrar wa al-Ashrar Akhund Darweza mentions the names of a large number of spiritual leaders who were fighting for their freedom during that period.

³. Makhzani-Islam, Pashto manuscript. Dabistan-i-Mazahib p. 247.

which included the mode of thinking of extremists and started spreading his ideals.¹

The author of Mazaheb, who lived from 1611 to 1670², in his treatise on sufism provides a synopsis about the life of Pir-iRoshan. He quotes from Halnama, written by Pir-i-Roshan, and states that he was a descendant of Sheikh Abdullah and traced back for seven generations to Sheikh Serajuddin Ansari. He was born in 1526 in the town of Jalandar of Punjab and his mother Binyan,³ was the daughter of Mohammad Amin. He left behind a number of compositions in Arabic, Persian and Afghani (Pashto) of which Maqsod-al-Momineen is in Arabic and he wrote a book, Khair-al-Bayan, in four languages and has a biography in which he writes about his life... the writer heard from Mirza Shah, better known as Ghaznain Khan, that Miya Roshan gained fame in 1542 as his teachings spread. His grave is in Patapur among the Afghan mountains but Akhund Derweza states that it is in Ashnaghar.⁴

Bayazid was a poet, writer, philosopher and ascetic. He understood national Pashtun psychology well. He did a profound service to Pashto literature by creating a special style of writing which has been christened under his name. His famous book, Khair-al-Bayan, was written in four languages and established a style of writing for the Pashto language.⁵ Bayazid had strong philosophical leanings and was well-versed in Sufism. According to Samsam-al-Dawla, Khair-al-Bayan is a treatise and precursor on the unification of existence.⁶ Now we will discuss his, and his descendants, military and national feats.

The foundation of his ideology was based on politics and social justice. His followers maintained a repository where a fifth of what was collected was assigned to the treasury and distributed to the people when needed. Before his death he visited Mirza Mohammad Hakim in

1. Makhzan-i-slam. Tazkerat-al-Ibrar of Akhund Darweza.

2. Kawa Journal, vol 5 p. 9.

3. According to Maasir-al-Umra, vol.. 2 p. 243: Bahbayan or Bayban

4. Dabestan-i-Mazaheb p. 251.

5. Hand written diwan by Dawlat, student of Bayazid, Pashto Academy, p. 3.

6. Maasir-al-Umra vol. 2 p. 243.

Kabul where he propagated his teachings, debated issues with scholars, and Mirza Mohammad Hakim treated him with great honor.¹

After this he wrote an essay, *Fakhr-al-Talebain*, which he earmarked to Mirza Suleiman, the governor of Badakhshan. His book *Serat-al-Tawheed* was dedicated to all contemporary kings and he sent them copies to propagate his ideology.²

He was an astute politician and scholar. After spreading his ideology and attracting the attention of the majority of Pashtun tribes in Pashrunk-hwa, he declared a holy war against the domination of Mughals and convinced his followers to distance themselves from the colonialist Mughal rulers. He declared association with them against Pashtun norms. The author of *Dabistan* provides a fascinating story, by means of which we can establish Pir-i-Roshan's vehemence against the domineering Mughals.

After Abdul Qadir, the grandson of Bayazid, surrendered to Shah Jahan's soldiers, the author of *Dabistan* writes:

"The author heard from Zu-al-Qadr, now known as Zu-al-Fiqar Khan, that upon the orders of Sayed Khan he went to see Abdul Qadir, an Afghan elder, after tasting *halwa*, he got up and said: Oh Abdul Qadir, from the time of your father until now the Mughals have not been able to venture here. This person who has come here is trying to deceive you by means of flattery and deception. It would be prudent to kill him so they may be filled with fear and not come here again. But Abdul Qadir and his mother, Bibi Alayee, daughter of Miya Jalaluddin, were not in agreement. The day Abdul Qadir joined Sayed Khan's army he was afraid of the sound of the horse's hoofs. An Afghan addressed him and said what Miya Roshan has advised the horse will obey. Abdul Qadir asked what did Miya say? The Afghan answered: distance yourself from the Mughals."³

The historian, Mohammad Hayat, writes that Bayazid used to tell his followers openly that Mughals were cruel and were conducting atrocities

¹. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* p. 215.

². *Islamic Encyclopedia* vol. 1, quoted from *Haalnama*.

³. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* p. 253.

against them. As such it was their duty to engaged in disobedience against the Mughals and free themselves from their bondage.¹ Bayazid himself explained that the motivation of his philosophy against the Mughals was based on the elimination of their oppression and injustice. Around 1553, when Biram Khan was Homayun's governor of Kandahar he paid a visit to the region. He witnessed that Mughal soldiers had tied a woman's hair to a grinding wheel and as the wheel turned it dragged the woman's body with it. After seeing such gruesome treatment of the woman Bayazid came to the conclusion that he had to free his nation from Mughal atrocities and embarked to establish a national government.²

He managed to instill hatred against Mughal atrocities among the Afghan tribes and laid the foundation of a national government in the mountains of Pashtunkhwa. His descendants carried his torch of freedom and engaged in battles with the domineering army of the Mughal empire. His descendants were thus able to set up their own free domain in the region. A contemporary writer and an adversary of Bayazid, Akhund Darweza, has mentioned these events as follows:

"Sheikh Omar considers himself to be the king of Afghans to the extent that some of the Yusufzai people are following his religious doctrine and have agreed to pay the *ushr* (10 percent tax).³

Bayazid did not want to just want the people of his mountainous regions to be free from the yoke of foreign domination but intended to capture India also, where he could revoke the flames of Afghan monarchy once again. He had high ideals and always strived to reestablish the past glory of the Afghans. His rival, Darweza, writes about the ideals of Bayazid in these words:

"I will set up an army to conquer India, whoever has a horse should join me. Emperor Akbar's riches will be ours."⁴

¹. Hayat-i-Afghani p. 156.

². Dairat-al-Ma'ref vol. 19 p. 435, referencing Tazketat-al-Ansar manuscript.

³. Tazkerat-al-Ibrar p. 155.

⁴. Makhzan-al-Islam of Darweza, manuscript p. 418.

Moreover, while describing the national ideals of Jalaluddin, Bayazid's son, Akhund Darweza writes:

“As king of the Pashtuns, they will follow me, I will destroy Akbar's royal might.”¹

The administrative setup, collection of taxes and the presence of a treasury during the time of Bayazid's descendants in the mountains of Pashtunkhwa, indicates that this family lived as rulers and governors of the region and minted coins in their names.² The author of Dabistan-i-Mazaheb, writes in this regard:

“Ahdad was a just and firm person... he made sure people got their share, he kept a fifth of what was usurped in battle for the treasury, and made sure that it was given to the family of those who were killed in battle...”³

From the writings of historians of the time it is clear that Bayazid wanted to set up the foundation of a sultanate among the frontier Afghan tribes to resurrect the might of the Afghan rulers in India. To attain his goal he wielded his sword and proclaimed a jihad against the Mughal forces. All of his descendants lost their life to attain this goal and left a legacy to the future generations.

He encouraged his followers to engage in jihad among whom Mullah Payenda, Amta Khan Akozai, and three brothers, Arzani, Mullah Omar and Mullah Ali Mohammad Mukhlis, who were poets and authors, were most famous. Beside his children and descendants, a large number of Pashto writers and poets, have followed in his footsteps and propagated his ideology. Among them Dawlat Lurn is most famous. His teachings spread from Swat to Kandahar and Quetta. He even had followers in Sind.

In the beginning Bayazid went to Peshawar and Ashnagar and became a disciple of Mullah Daulat Khan, who was influential in that area. He chose Kaladayr as his place of residence and spread his influence as far as Kabul declaring a jihad against the Mughal adminis-

¹. Makhzan-al-Islam p. 432.

². Akhund Darweza in Makhzan mentions that they minted coins.

³. Dabistan p. 252.

tration. When the security commander of Kabul and Jalalabad heard about his movement he attacked Ashnagar with a large force and after a prolonged struggle extradited Bayazid to Kabul. After a brief imprisonment he managed to escape and went to Nangarhar where continued his exploits among the Tuti tribal people and chose Tuti mountain as his center of operations. From there Bayazid went to Tirah mountain and convinced the Afghans of that region to follow his teachings. He repelled all those people in Tirah, who had connections with the Mughal government. According to Darweza, the Mughals were able to penetrate Tirah with the help of these people. He took charge of all the mountainous regions of Tirah and prepared an army of several thousand mounted and infantry men, attacked Nangarhar valley and managed to take control of the Barwa station. Muhsin Khan, the Mughal governor of Kabul went to face him. Bayazid was killed in the battle of Tor Ragha of Shinwar and was buried in Ashnagar.¹

We can estimate that Bayazid died around 1580 since according to the author of Dabistan, when emperor Akbar went to Kabul, Jalaluddin, Bayzid's son, had been appointed the chief of his tribe.² Similarly, while Abu-al-Fazl, describes the struggle of I Afghan nationalists with the Mughals in 1586, he states that the leader of the Afghan forces is 'Jalala'.³ From this we can deduce that Bayazid passed away around 1580.

According to Grieson he died in 1585⁴ but his date does not corroborate with those provided in other books and is doubtful.

Jalaluddin, son of Bayazid

After Bayazid's death, his 14 year old son, Jalaluddin, took over as chief of the tribe who gained fame during the reign of Akbar. Mughal historians of India, such as Abu-al-Fazl, Khafi Khan and Badwani, have

¹. Tazkerat-al-Ibrar pp. 140-155. Makhzan-al-Islam manuscript pp. 386-402.

². Dabistan p. 252.

³. Akbar Nama vol. 3 p. 513.

⁴. Linguistic Survey of India vol. 10 p. 10.

written his name as 'Jalala' and claimed that Akbar addressed him as such.

The author of Dabistan praises him in these words: "That after Bayazid, Jalaluddin gained prominence and he was a just and firm leader.¹ In 1581, while Akbar was returning from Kabul to India he summoned Jalaluddin, who was considered a prominent chief of the tribal areas. But Jalaluddin, who was aware of the intrigues of Mughals, refrained from seeing the emperor and went to the mountains of Tirah. Pashtun tribesmen, who were fed up with the atrocities of Sayed Hamid Bukhari, governor of Peshawar, joined him and killed the governor. During this time Jalaluddin's regiment was composed of twenty thousand infantry and five thousand mounted men, who marched against the cruel foreign intruders."² In 1581 Akbar sent a large force, commanded by Kunurman Singh and Khwaja Shamsuddin Khafi, to face Jalaluddin's men. Since the Mohmand, Ghoriakhel and Yusufzai supported him, they engaged in fierce battles in the Khyber mountains and in the end the Mughal army failed to silence the Pashtun freedom fighters. After this Akbar assigned Zain Khan Koka to lead the Mughal army and the conflict resumed.³

These battles continued until the next year and in 1587 Akbar reprimanded his military officers since they were unable to make any progress against the Afghans and sent additional battalions to the battlefield so they may launch attacks by way of Bangash and Maan Singh would come from Bagram. However, Jalaluddin, accompanied by a thousand cavalry and fifteen thousand infantry, attacked the Mughal army resulting in the loss of one and half thousand of his supporters. But he managed to inflict heavy losses on the enemy too.

After this Akbar's followers abducted people from the Afridi and Urukzai tribes and went to Bangash. All these incidents took place in

¹. Dabistan p. 252.

². Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh vol. 3 p. 354.

³. Akbar Nama vol. 3 pp. 513-514. Masir-al-Amra vol. 2 p. 245, Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh vol. 3 p. 349.

1587.¹ Despite inflicting losses on the Afghan side the Mughal court was unable to extinguish the quest for freedom of the Afghan nation. Concurrently the Yusufzai also took up arms against the Mughals. Jalaluddin who had fought the Mughals in the past year went to the Yusufzai country and in 1588 resumed his fight against the enemy. Mughal officers chased him in Swat and Bajawar and after consecutive battles Jalaluddin managed to return back to Tirah.²

At this time Sadeq Khan who was assigned by Akbar's court to command the warfare in Tirah left with a large army. After a long struggle he managed to subdue the Afridi and Urukzai tribes and arrested Mullah Ibrahim, a brave follower of Jalaluddin. However, Jalaluddin managed to escape by way of Kani Kurum to Turan while the Mughal army was engaged with the Yusufzai tribesmen for some time.³

Four years later (1592) Jalaluddin returned to Tirah from Turan and once again gathered his supporters to resume the jihad. In the same year Akbar appointed Jafar Baig, Asif Khan and Qasim Khan Kabuli to eliminate descendants of the Bayazid family. After several battles Asif Khan managed to capture a number of Jalaluddin's family members and put them in Mughal prisons. Wahdat Ali (Wahid Ali), a brother of Jalaluddin, was also arrested by the Mughals.⁴

Beside using brutal force, Asif Khan also instigated a number of tribal leaders against Jalaluddin as a result of which Malik Hamza Akozai fought against him. The first battle between Jalaluddin and Hamza took place in Sarkawi in which he was successful and he managed to drive Hamza back to Yani. However as a result of deployment of a large number of Mughal reinforcements, Jalaluddin was defeated in the third battle and his famous brothers Omar and Khairuddin were killed by the Dilazak people in Torabala. They were buried in the same place. Nourud-

¹. Akbar Nama vol. 3 pp. 520-521.

². Akbar Nama vol. 3 p. 265.

³. Akbar Nama vol. 3 pp. 531-532-533.

⁴. Dabistan p. 252. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh vol. 3 p. 388.

din who had left the battle field was killed by the Mohmands, but Jalaluddin managed to take refuge in his mountainous homeland.¹

Once again Jalaluddin started to recruit men into his army. In 1593 Emperor Akbar sent Zain Khan Koka and Skeikh Faizi to confront him and later assigned Raja Beryl and Sayed Khan with an army of ten thousand men to the mountains of Pashtunkhwa and directed his forces from different directions to subdue the freedom seeking Pashtun braves. But despite all his efforts Akbar was unable to subjugate the Pashtuns and according to historians from the forty to fifty thousand men which the Mughals had sent to battle not one returned alive and the most esteemed Mughal commander, Raja Beryl, lost his life in the mountains of Bajawar. Zain Khan Koka and some other Mughal commanders who managed to escape alive fled to Attock. When the news of the annihilation of the Mughal army reached Akbar he assigned Raja Todarmal, a confidant of the court, to tackle the situation. With the help of Mohammad Qasem Khan Kabuli he managed to keep the Kabul road open so that Zain Khan may travel to Kabul.²

Mohammad Khan Kabuli spent several years in protecting the Kabul to Peshawar road from insurgents until he died in 1596. The Afghan national forces, led by Jalaluddin, once again rose and Akbar appointed Qalech Khan to tackle them. But after exhaustive efforts he was unable to quell the spirit of the Afghans and returned to Kabul in failure.³

Conquest of Ghazni and death of Jalaluddin

Jalaluddin was a brave and chivalrous warrior and had been instilled with the spirit of freedom and restoration of the Afghan might during his childhood by his mother Shamsia Ludi. Even though the Mughal court used all its military resources to eliminate him but this brave warrior managed to have influence over all the mountainous regions of Pashtunkhwa from Khyber to Tirah, and the southern parts of Kabul as far as

¹. Tazkerat-al-Ibrar p. 158.

². Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1, pp. 190-193. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 389, Tarekh-i-Hind, p. 136.

³. Akbar Nama, vol. 3, pp. 700-703.

Ghazni. In 1599 he managed to capture Ghazni from foreign forces bringing it under his sphere of influence.¹ In 1601 Mughal officials gathered a large force and the battle over Ghazni raged for seven days. In the end Jalaluddin was injured by Shadman Hazara and went to the Rubat mountain. Sharif Khan Atka, the Mughal governor, assigned Murad Baig to find the injured Jalaluddin, a person who had spent all his life fighting against the Mughal empire of India. In the end he was captured and killed² and in this way the cruel Mughal army silenced the flame of freedom among the Afghan nation. His skull was taken to the Mughal court and presented to Emperor Akbar. Kamaluddin, another brother of Jalaluddin, who was imprisoned in a notorious Mughal jail succumbed to his death in captivity.³

Ahdad grandson of Sheikh bin Bayazid

Jalaluddin, the heir and brave son of Bayazid, was killed during the 45th year of Akbar's rule around 1601 as he was fighting for the freedom of his people. Even though the Mughal court was of the belief that with his death the cause of freedom of Pashtuns would fade away but his nephew and son-in-law, Ahdad, raised the flag of freedom in the mountains of Pashtunkhwa. Like his ancestors Ahdad was a brave warrior who was willing to fight for his freedom. According to the author of Dabistan he was a just and firm person and steadfastly adhered to the ideology of his ancestors.⁴ He started his campaign for emancipation from the brutal Mughal empire toward the end of Akbar's rule and the start of Jahangir's leadership.

Toward the beginning of Jahangir's kingdom Ahdad started to form his forces and gathered the Afghan tribes around him. In 1611 he managed to defeat Maghaz-al-Malik Bakshi, reached Kabul and clashed with the Mughal soldiers inside the city. In this battle, an elder of Ahdad's army, Baraki, was killed but the Mughal soldiers were able to defend the

¹. Dabistan, p. 252.

². Akbar Nama, vol. 3, p. 776. Dabistan, p. 252.

³. Tazkerat-al-Ibrar, p. 158.

⁴. Dabistan, p. 252.

city with the aid of Nadali Maidani. After this incident, Jahangir, sent Qalech Khan to ward off Ahdad.¹

In 1615 Jahangir sent reinforcements to fight Ahdad. During this time Ahdad was stationed in Jarji (present day Charkh of Logar). Jahangir himself described the military expedition in these words:

“Ahdad, the Afghan, who has for a long time been engaged in unruliness and sedition has managed to gather a large number of Afghans from that frontier around him. From the time of my noble father (Akbar) until the present, which is the tenth year of my kingship, a military campaign has continued against him which has weakened him and he has faced difficulties...”²

Thus Jahangir directed his brutal force against Ahdad and in the battles which took place nearly three thousand of his supporters lost their lives. Ahdad himself went to Kandahar and the center of his fighters fell into the hands of Jahangir’s army.

In 1619 Ahdad once again prepared his men to face the Mughals. Mahabit Khan, an eminent Mughal official, fought against him and Ahdad’s men were dealt a crucial blow. Ahdad himself retreated to his mountainous homeland.³

Death of Ahdad

In 1626 Ahdad gathered his men once again and started his campaign against the Mughals in Tirah. Zafar Khan, son of Khwaja Abu-al-Hasan, Jahangir’s governor of Kabul, went out to face him and surrounded his men in Nawaghar, the center of Ahdad’s insurgency. In the battle which took place at night the Mughal forces attacked the fort. Even though Ahdad fought with charisma he was killed in the skirmish. The Mughal soldiers beheaded him and sent his skull by means of Iftekhar Khan son of Ahmad Baig Khan to Jahangir. Upon seeing the skull Jahangir prostrated in prayers and ordered that a celebration be held.⁴

¹. Tuzk-i-Jahangir, vol. 1, p. 97. Iqbal Nama, p. 53.

². Tuzk-i-Jahangir, p. 153.

³. Tuzk-i-Janangir, vol. 2, p. 280.

⁴. Tuzk-i-Jahangir, vol. 2, p. 410. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, p. 358.

The author of Dabistan, while describing the desolate incident which reflects the spirit of freedom and hatred of the Pashtun nation toward bondage, states:

“After Ahdad’s death the Afghans rallied behind Abdul Qadir son of Ahdad and went to the mountains. The royal soldiers, who did not envision the fort would fall, entered the fortress and saw Ahdad’s daughter who was unable to flee. One of the soldier attempted to capture her. She covered her eyes with her veil and jumped from the wall of the fortress to her death. The people were dumbstruck.”¹

The valiant Ahdad, after fighting for freedom against the royal Mughal army, left his mark in the path of freedom in the annals of the nations history. His courage has been earmarked by many historians. Samsam-al-Dawla writes: “His courage and bravery was akin to Rustam and Afrasiyab’s legend and during Jahangir’s era he conducted fierce battles against the royal army...”²

Abdul Qadir son of Ahdad

Abdul Qadir son of Ahdad was given birth by Alayee, daughter of Jalaluddin. In 1626 when his famed father was killed in battle Abdul Qader became the tribal leader taking responsibility for the affairs of the frontier tribes. During the initial period of Shah Jahan’s rule he sent Zafar Khan as security commander of Kabul in 1628 to face Abdul Qadir, who attacked Zafar Khan’s army, captured all his paraphernalia and punished Zafar Khan’s compatriots and only members of his family managed to escape without being harmed. The bloody skirmish took place in Kharmana valley near Tirah.³

Later, when Kamaluddin Afghan rose in support of Khan Jahan Ludi, Abdul Qader also prepared his men in 1630 together with Karimdad and Mohammad Zaman, cousins of Ahdad. They readied their fighters and joined Kamaluddin in Yulum Guzar, twenty km. from Peshawar and participated in the movement. Finally in 1635 Sayed Khan, the governor

¹. Dabistan, p. 252.

². Ma’sair-al-Imra, vol. 2, p. 246.

³. Dabistan, p. 253. Padshah Nama, vol. 1 p. 190.

of Kabul, captured Abdul Qadir and took him to have an audience with Shah Jahan. A while later the emperor assigned him as commander of six hundred cavalry. He died in 1637 and was buried in Peshawar.¹

Allah Dad son of Jalaluddin

While Ahdad, cousin of Allah Dad, was fighting the Mughal army, Allah Dad, son of Jalaluddin and grandson of Bayazid, was also engaged in the national movement in his mountainous terrain and in 1619 his son and brother were detained by Jahangir and were imprisoned in Guwaliyar fort. After this Allah Dad was also captured by Mughal soldiers and presented to Jahangir.² For a long time he remained abandoned in India until he was appointed in Dakan to the post of four thousand with the title of Rashid Khani. He died in 1648. Sumsam-al-Dawla writes that Allah Dad was a brave and compassionate person and excelled in refinement of character. Commanders always consulted him on military matters and all the people were devoted to him. Even Shah Jahan was apprehensive about his influence in Dakan. He was buried in his garden in Shams Abad of Nandir.³

Karimdad son of Jalaludin

In 1637 Karimdad son of Jalaludin, after traveling to Balkh, following in the footsteps of his ancestors, gathered the Nagz tribesmen near Nowhani and tried to go to Tirah to remove Malik Tor Urakzai and Shah Baiig, lackeys of Shah Jahan.

Sayed Khan, governor of Kabul, sent a force of fifteen thousand together with an additional two thousand men, under the command of Yaqub Kashmiri, to confront Karimdad. Upon entering the Nagz area, the Mughal soldiers started to kill innocent people and engaged in destruction of property. In addition they spent large sums of money to arrest Karimdad. As a result Yaqub Kashmiri managed to arrest Karimdad and

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 312. Amal Saleh, vol. 1, pp. 379-393.

². Tuzk-i-Jahangir, vol. 2, p. 290.

³. Dabistan, p. 253. Dawlat's divan p. 22. Masir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 248.

sent him to Sayed Khan in Peshawar. This brave warrior was killed in 1637 upon the orders of Shah Jahan in Peshawar.¹

Hadidad Khan

He was son of Jalaluddin. After his family was annihilated in India he remained in a state of limbo for some time. Later he was given the title of two thousand and was sent to the Telengama region. He accompanied the princes of Shah Jahan in battle so that his actions could be scrutinized. He died in 1656 and was buried in Nanzir. He had thirty sons and one of them named Abdul Rahim, worked as a Mughal official for a long period of time. After Hadidad's death his nephew Ilhamdad was appointed as head of the family by the emperor.²

Ilhamdad

He was the second son of Rashid Khan Allahdad, who after the death of his father was appointed to a high post in southern India by Shah Jahan. Due to his bravery he was elevated to the rank of three thousand and given the title of Rashid Khan and was appointed in Bengal. After that he became commander of Kamrup and for a while worked as governor of Adisa. In 1646 he was sent back to Daccan and was commander of Nanzir after which he passed away.³

His elder brother, Asadullah, also held important posts. However, the Mughal court always kept members of this family apart and did not allow them to stay for a long time in one place, so that like their ancestors they may not engage in rebellion.

Mirza Khan

Mirza Khan son of Nouruddin was also the head of this family who was a famous Pashto poet. His divan is available. He was a scholar, writer and warrior and participated in most of the campaigns undertaken by member of his family for their freedom. According to Dawlat, a con-

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 14. Amal Saleh, vol. 2, p, 26 7.

². Masir-al-Amra, vol. 3, p. 943.

³. Masir-al-Amra, vol. 2, pp. 303-305.

temporary poet, he was killed in the Daccan battle in 1631.¹ It seems as though this brave Afghan participated in battles at the behest of the Afghan community, which the famous Khan Jahan Ludi, conducted against Shah Jahan in Daccan and was killed in one of these battles.

Qadirdad

He is son of Mohammad Zaman son of Pirdad son of Kamaluddin son of Bayazid Roshan who, like his ancestors, was engaged in activities to attain his freedom in Pashtunkhwa. He was a warrior and poet and has left behind a divan in Pashto with mystical inclinations.

The author of Masir-al-Amr, states:

“Sayed Khan detained Bibi Alayee, wife of Ahdad, daughter of Jalala, together with two of her sons-in-law, Mohammad Zaman and Sahibdad and Qadirdad,, son of Mohammad Zaman together with other companions of Abdul Qadir, at the beginning of the 11th year of kingship (1637) and sent them to the emperor.”²

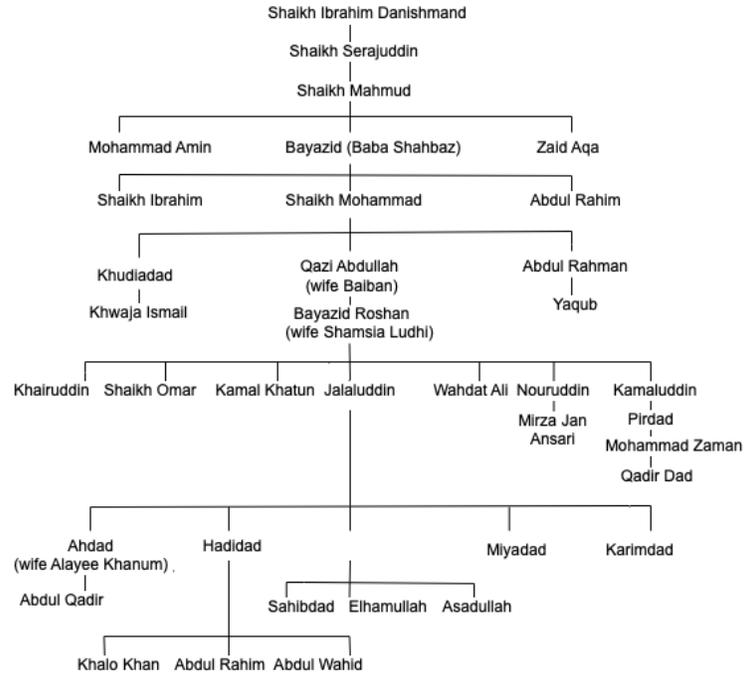
From this we can deduce that Qadirdad, through his father and mother was from the Bayazid family and was detained in 1637 by Sayed Khan, the Mughal governor, and sent to the court of Shah Jahan.

This was a synopsis of Bayazid Roshan’s family and the famous individuals of his lineage, who for a period of one century, fought for their freedom in Pashtunkhwa and India and kept the torch of freedom alive in the mountains of the Pashtun nation. Member of this family were famous until 1650. The Koragani emperors in Delhi, despite keeping them abreast in different parts of India, constantly kept them under surveillance so that they would not return to their homeland to rekindle the freedom movement again.

¹. Dabistan, p. 253. Hand-written divan of Daulat, p. 22. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, pp. 67-309.

². Masir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 247.

Family of Bayazid Roshan



This tree has been derived from Dabestan-i-Nadaheeb, Tazkera al-Ibrar, divan of Pashto poet Daulat Shah, Muntakhab al-Tawarikh, Makhzan-i-Darweza, Masir al-Amra, Muntakhab al-Lubab, Padshah Nama, Tuzk-i-Jahangir, A'mal Saleh and Iqbal Nama.

Khan Jahan Ludi

One of the leader, during the Koragani era, who rose against them and tried to reinstate the Afghan monarchy but was unsuccessful in his bid and died in executing his ideal was Khan Jahan Ludi. He was a descendant of the chivalrous Ludi family, who during the time of Sultan Mahmud, the Ghaznavi king and his father were known for their role in Indian politics in the mountainous regions of Afghanistan and several of them were rulers. The Ludi kings ruled over India with glory and their power in India came to an end after the Panipat war with Babur.

It needs to be mentioned that after the domination of Babur and his decedents the Afghans in India did not forget their past glory. The Suri dynasty were once again successful in gaining power and eminent Pashtun leaders fought for their freedom, one of whom was Khan Jahan Ludi.

Here we are not concerned with the achievements of this leader in India but would like to cast light on his actions which had an impact on the situation in the Tirah mountains and Peshawar and his galvanization acted as an inspiration to the freedom movements of Kamaluddin and Abdul Qadir Roshani in Peshawar and its surrounding mountainous regions.

His name was Pira Khan, son of Daulat Khan son of Omar Khan son of Shir Khan son of Malik Ahmad Ludi. His ancestors were governors while the Ludis were rulers of India in southern India. His father, Daulat Khan, held an eminent post in emperor Akbar's court. He showed great deftness in the Gujrat and Sind wars and later acted as an advisor in Daccan together with Prince Daniel in 1601. After serving with excellence and receiving the title of high dignity he died at the age of fifty two on 21 February 1602 and his son, Pira Khan or Pir Khan, became engaged with Prince Daniel. When Jahangir became the king he summoned Pira Khan from Burhanpur and gave him the title of Salabat Khan and the rank of two thousand. He accompanied Jahangir during his trip to Kabul.

After arriving to Lahore from Kabul, Jahangir promoted Pira Khan to the rank of five thousand and bestowed him the title of Khan Jahan. In 1610 he was sent to take charge of the affairs of Daccan and was

appointed as governor of Birar in 1612.¹ He was considered to be an eminent member of the court. Prince Khuram and prime minister Asif Khan became suspicious and started smearing him. Khan Jahan was a prudent and brave individual so he gathered a number of Afghan leaders around him. Instead of Prince Khuram, who was contending for the throne, he supported Prince Pervez, another son of Jahangir. In this way he tried to increase Afghan influence in southern India against his rival, Prince Khuram. While he was still working on his machinations in 1628, Prince Pervez died, followed by the death of Jahangir. Prince Khuram, who was given the title of Shah Jahan, an arch rival of Khan Jahan, ascended the throne.

At the instigation of Asif Khan, Shah Jahan, embarked on a campaign to weaken Khan Jahan. First they sent him as governor to Malawa and after that he was assigned to pursue outlaws and then asked to return back to the court. Khan Jahan who had been bestowed with the rank of seven thousand and commander of seven thousand cavalry² and was the governor of four regions in southern India realized the motives of the court and took measures to distance himself from the court's tumult.

Khan Jahan was a righteous person and his influence had eclipsed the monarch and his cronies. As Khafi Khan states in *Muntakhab-al-Lubab*, he openly rebelled against the king and left with two thousand cavalry, a number of war elephants and his twelve sons, for Agra on 1 October 1629.

Shah Jahan prepared an army of twenty thousand men to confront Khan Jahan. As his followers were trying to cross the Chambal river, the royal army attacked them and a fierce battle ensued. Despite their low number Khan Jahan's followers put up a strong resistance and in this battle Azmat Khan and Husain Khan, Khan Jahan's sons and some other relatives lost their lives. After the battle Khan Jahan managed to ford the river together with his followers and reached Ahmad Nagar and then settled in Daulatabad. Since Shah Jahan's army was unsuccessful in annihilating this brave warrior, the emperor was forced to personally lead

¹. Makhzan-i-Afghani

². Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 293.

his army against him in November of that year. On the other hand he also instigated the Marhata against Khan Jahan. Even though he only had two thousand followers he managed to repulse the emperor's army and engaged with them in Rajuri.

Khan Jahan was a nationalist and had gathered all the Afghan braves around him namely, Aimal Khan, Bahadur Khan, Sikandar Dutaani and Bahlol Miyana. These men left Shah Jahan's army to support Khan Jahan and showed their bravery in the battlefield.¹

Darya Khan Ruhila, a companion of Khan Jahan in this campaign, had the title of commander of four thousand men. He left Shah Jahan's army in Burhanpur. He showed great dexterity in all the battles but in the end he was killed on 15 January 1631.² His death resulted in a great loss to Khan Jahan's forces.

Khan Jahan lost some of his most able commanders in these battles and his army dwindled. He tried to reach the southern border of India to infiltrate the Afghan region but in the Bahandir battle all of his compatriots were killed and in Kalangir only 20 of his supporters were with him. According to the historian Khafi Khan, during his last clash against Shah Jahan's soldiers, he fought like a wounded lion until his last breath and all his followers succumbed as they were fighting for their high ideals.

He died on 3 February 1631 and on the 8th of the same month the skulls of those Afghans who had been killed in battle against the forces of the Indian empire were hooked over spears and displayed in Shah Jahan Abad.³ However:

Hooked over the spear the skulls revealed:

This is ascension of the braves.

In this way the unprecedented movement of Khan Jahan Ludi ended and the battles which this brave warrior conducted against the Mughal forces served as an inspiration to those who were fighting Mughal tyranny in the mountains of Peshawar and Tirah. Among them Kamalud-

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 1. Amal-i-Saleh, vol. 1, p. 365.

². Amal-i-Saleh, vol. 1, p. 401. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 296.

³. Extracted from Padshah Nama, Amal-i-Saleh, Muntakhab-al-Lubab, the book of Khan Jahan Ludi, authored by the late Akbar Shah Jahan Abadi, Indian historian.

din and Abdul Qadir Roshani, rose in the western frontiers of India and fought against the occupying Mughal army, that were described in the section on Shah Jahan and the movement of the Roshanis. It was not just Khan Jahan Ludi who fought against the Mughal government but his actions led to revolts in different parts of Pashtunkhwa against the Mughals. Khan Jahan was also a man of letters. His penmanship will be treated in the section on distinguished scholars.

The Yusufzai movement

Continuing their quest for freedom the valiant Yusufzai tribesmen embarked on a campaign of emancipation in 1640, the fourth year of Shah Jahan's reign, and attacked Mughal officials in the environs of Naushahr and the Attock valley. In this skirmish a number of Mughal officials were killed among whom was Sayed Delair Khan, the governor of Naushahr, the brothers Sayed Mohammad and Sayed Beli, Fakhrudin and his son and Sayed Mohammad, his nephew. The news of this incident reached Shah Jahan's court on 29 January 1641. As a result Sayed Khan was removed as governor of Kabul and was replaced by Ali Mardan Khan so he may neutralize the frontier tribes.¹

Malik Awdal and Malik Hamza's movement in Kandahar

Just as the flames of freedom were ignited in Attock and the mountains of Tirah and Swat against the Mughal occupation people in the environs of Kandahar were also engaged in their quest to free themselves from Mughal tyranny. In December of 1639 Malik Awdal and Hamza, security officers of Kandahar, rose against the Mughal army of Shah Jahan and the commanders appointed by the Mughals and declared a jihad. Reverberations of this movement reached as far as Seistan.

The Baku and Chalak movement

At the time when the Ludi rule was in the throes of decline in India and Babur, the famous conqueror, was beginning to dominate India and

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 222. Amal-i-Saleh, vol. 2, p. 366.

Afghanistan, a national leader, the late Sultan Mahmud Gadun, who belonged to a branch of Kakar tribe located between the Indus and Mahabin mountain¹ raised the banner of freedom and initiated a movement against the illicit Mughal empire among the Afghans.

Sultan Mahmud instigated a number of his students and followers to strive for their freedom. He was a humble scholar who was instilled with the spirit of freedom. Sayed Abdul Wahab, famous as Akhund Panjo son of Sayed Ghazi, who was a gnostic in Peshawar valley, was among the circle of students of Sultan Mahmud Gadun, to receive training in self-determination and freedom. After Gadun's death he took on the torch of freedom and further inflamed the cause of self-determination.²

During the era of the Timuri dynasty of India, Sayed Abdul Wahab, attained great fame and according to Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori he started writing scholarly works. He spoke Pashto and recited poetry in Persian and also spoke Hindi. He converted the book, *Kanz-al-Daqayeq*, of Hanafi jurisprudence, into Pashto poetry.³

During this time, Sheikh Fazel Khezrazi, the chief of Afghan tribes, became the disciple of Sayed Abdul Wahab, further expanding his

¹. Hayat-i-Afghani, p. 246.

². Sayed Abdul Wahab was born 1537 in Yusufzai country, north of Peshawar. His father left India after the fall of the Ludi rule in India and lived in the territory of Hussain of the Yusufzai under the aegis of Kajo Khan who died in 1581 in Attock and was buried there. Abdul Wahab traveled to Akbar Pur, located 13 miles, east of Peshawar, in 1582 at the age of 48 and gained fame in spreading the word of Sharia and guiding people on the path of religion. His miracles became evident and his followers were spread from Kabul to the Attock. He died on 29 April 1631 and was buried in Akbar Pur. Since he was a strict follower of the five paths of Islam, therefore he gained fame as Akhund Panjo. He had a large retinue of followers in the environs of Peshawar who collected and wrote his teachings. Sheikh Abdul Rahim Miya Ali wrote his teachings in Persian. Later in 1784 a poet from Akbar Pur, with the pen-name Khaki, wrote his teaching in poetic form under the title of *Manaqib-i-Khaki*. It was translated into Pashto by Miya Padshah of Kandi Sheikhan of Akbar Pur. Sheikh Abdul Ghafur Peshawari also wrote the teachings of Akhund. (see the *Tuhfat-al-Awlia* of Mir Ahmad Shah Rizwani, 1903, *Khazina-al-Safa*, vol. 1 of Mufti Ghulam Sarwar, *Solook-al-Ghazat* (manuscript). *Tazkera-i-Sheikh Rahamkar* of Siyahuddin Kakakhel, 1951, and *Hazrat Akhund Panjo* of Nasarullah Nasr 1951.

³. *Khezina-al-Asfiya*, vol. 1.

sphere of influence. According to Rizwani Emperor Akbar, went to see him in Akbar Pura, in 1585.¹

Abdul Wahab had two brothers named Abdul Rahman and Issa who has left behind written works. After his death, Abdul Rahman took over the chieftainship of the tribe.² Akhund Yunus was also one of his famous student, whose mausoleum is visited by people until this day in Peshawar.

Two freedom fighting brothers, Akhund Chalak and Akhund Sabak (Omar), chiefs of the Khataks, were his disciples who came from the northern parts of Afghanistan and started the uproar of jihad in the mountains of Chaghzari, Abasin, Kabulgram, Hazara and Bunir. Jamil Khan, head of Panjtar, Akhund Shah of Dand Huti of Mardan and Yar Khan Gharghashti, cooperated with Akhund Chalak and converted the populace to Islam in Pakali, Alayee, Nandhar and Chilas. The chief of these tribes, who had not converted to Islam, was defeated in battle. In this movement Sheikh Zahmatkar, famous as Kaka Sahib Khatak, who was the forefather of the Kakahel family, east of Peshawar also accompanied Sheikh Chalak on his missions.³ One of his leading disciple, Mullah Mast Zamand, was a scholar, writer and poet, who authored *Sulook-al-Ghazat* in Pashto, in which he praises his mentor, and invited people to warfare and combat. He recited poetry in the cause of jihad.⁴

In 1667 Chalak, during the reign of Jahangir Alamgir, with the aid of Baku and other Yusufzai and Khatak leaders, engaged in warfare with the Mughal forces and in April of the same year a fierce and bloody battle took place with the Mughal army.⁵

¹. *Tuhfat-al-Awlia*, p. 34.

². *Tazkerat-al-Ibrar*, pp. 185-188.

³. *Tazkerat-al-Ibrar*, p. 132. *Tuhfa-i-Saleh*, p. 32.

⁴. *Sulook-al-Ghazat*, manuscript.

⁵. In his book Sheikh Chalak describes his war against the infidels of Kohistan of Bunir, Hazara as far as Chilas. All four volumes are in Persian (*Tuhfa-i-Saleh*, p. 31)

Khushal Khan Khatak and his battles against Aurengzeb's army

A famous leader, who became well-known during the Mughal period, was Khushal Khan Khatak, a man of sword and the pen who surfaced among the Khatak chiefs. He was the son of Shahbaz Khan, son of Yahya Khan, son of Malik Akora. This Malik was the son of Darwesh, famous as Chenjo. During Akbar's reign Khushal was security commander of the Khatak tribe. The ancestry of this family stretches to Laqman Khatak and before him to Karlan and Sarban.¹

Akhora, along the banks of Kabul river, was their center of administration. Yahya Khan and Shahbaz Khan were tribal chiefs during the reign of Shah Jahan. In May of 1613 Shahbaz Khan became father of a son who turned out to be a famed warrior and poet. He was accepted as leader of the Khatak tribe during Shah Jahan's time. Shah Jahan considered him an independent leader under the Mughal empire and he was considered as a respected leader of that period.²

After the dethronement of Shah Jahan, when Aurangzeb came to power, he tried to usurp the independence of the Pashtun tribes and annexed the mountainous land of Pashtunkhwa into his domain just like other regions of India.

Aurangzeb directed soldiers from different parts of India to the mountains of Pashtunkhwa. However a number of Pashtun leaders resisted expansionism of the Mughal emperor, one of whom was Khushal Khan Khatak.

The imprisonment period

Khushal Khan, who was renowned in the mountainous regions, and did not allow blood thirsty foreign forces to trample the independent mountain valleys was recognized as an antagonist and foe of the monarchy during the first years of Aurangzeb's rule. As such the court brought him to Peshawar by means of deceit and lies and then sent him to Delhi under guard. Upon the orders of Aurangzeb, first he was imprisoned in Delhi in 1664 and then sent to the Ratanbur prison, where he stayed for

¹ Tarikh-i-Murasa. Hayat-i-Afghani.

² Tarikh-i-Murasa. Dairat-al-Ma'ref Islami, Bidulph's Poetry of the 17th Century.

four years. After his release he stayed in Delhi under guard and was required to appear in court every day.¹

Khushal Khan was a poet of the lofty peaks of Pashtunkhwa. Even today he is considered to be the most prominent Pashto poet, who wrote heart-rendering poetry in prison in memory of his beloved homeland and lamented about his beautiful countryside.

With the help of faithful friends he managed to return back to the mountains of Pashtunkhwa and in 1668 declared a jihad against the tyrannical Mughal rule.

Battles of Khushal Khan

After fleeing from captivity in India he gathered his supporters once he reached his homeland. During this time, another tribal leader, Aimal Khan, was also fighting against the Mughal occupiers. The two engaged in battles with the Mughal army in 1670. Aurangzeb himself spent three years in Hasan Abdal, fighting against this superb commander of Afghan insurgency.

Khushal Khan's fierce battles with Aurangzeb started in 1669 and continued for three years when Aurangzeb was forced to retreat back to Delhi in failure. The skirmishes continued until 1688. The famous battles of this period are:

1. The Tatra battle:

In this battle Khushal Khan annihilated forty thousand Mughal soldiers and managed to capture a large number of them too. The bounty of this war was countless.

2. Doaba battle:

In this major battle, Mir Hussaini, Aurangzeb's military commander was killed.

3. Battle of the Nawshahr citadel:

Khushal Khan managed to obliterate the Mughal army and seek his revenge.

¹. Introduction of Kuliyaat-i-Khushal Khan (Khushal Khan's poetry), published by Habibi in 1938 in Kandahar.

4. Battle of Gandaab:

The famous leader, Aimal Khan, also participated in this battle. Jusunat Singh and Shuja't Khan, Mughal commanders suffered significant losses.

5. The Khapakh battle:

In this battle Aimal Khan and Khushal Khan managed to vanquish Mukaram Khan and Shamshir Khan's army, Mughal commanders.¹ Khushal Khan's sons, Abdul Qader and Ashraf Khan, who were scholars, writers and poets and grandsons Kazem Khan Shaida and Ali Khan, also participated in this skirmish.

Khushal Khan Khatak was a national leader who fought for the freedom of his homeland and portrayed his feelings of nationalism in his fiery poetry and set the path of sacrifice and freedom for his people. He was from a literal and warrior family and a number of firebrand writers were reared in this family. Khushal Khan has left behind nearly forty thousand couplets which includes deep sentiments of nationalism, philosophy, socialism, morals and humor. He is considered to be the most prolific poet and writer of Pashto.

Death

The eminent leader and warrior, Khushal Khan, died on 20 January 1689 at the age of seventy six in his mountainous homeland. His last wish was: "Bury me in a place where Mughal shadow may not eclipse my grave and the hoofs of Mughal horses may not trample my grave." The grave of this brave fighter is a specter to the public and will serve as a mausoleum to those seeking freedom and national identity.

¹. Taken from the poem of boasting by Khushal Khan, written in 1675. Kuliyaat-i-Khushal Khan, p. 593.

Chapter Two

Civil and military structure of Indian Mughals in Afghanistan

When Babur, the founder of the Mughal empire, surfaced in India the Ludi and other Afghan kings had established the foundation of administrative structure there. From the time of the Ghori kings, several Afghan monarchs had ruled there. Babur also followed in the footsteps of these leaders, in which the country was divided into provinces where a trustworthy individual of the court was appointed as governor. The governor served as the civil leader and military commander of the region and administered in accordance to his policy, collected taxes and was responsible for security and could send soldiers wherever the need arose to neutralize uprisings and rebels and extended the sphere of his influence into new areas.

When Hodayun managed to take control of India for the second time, Sher Shah Suri, the famous Pashtun ruler and builder of civic society, had already set up a useful administration and civilization. His successor, Emperor Akbar, managed to extend it to different parts of the kingdom.¹

However, since Afghanistan was located a long distance from the center of the Mughal royalty, and Baburi princes were restrained or the land was the center of conflict, it remained aloof from the civil changes and building projects underway in India.

Provinces

Those parts of Afghanistan which were under the influence of Mughal kings, were divided into four provinces of which only Kabul remained under their control from the beginning of Babur's rule until the conquest of Nadir Afshar. The provinces of Kandahar, Badakhshan and Balkh were at times under the control of the Turan kings or the Safavi

¹. History of India by V.A. Smith. Dulafon's History of India p. 139.

rulers, who were considered to be foreigners and constantly came under attack by the national Afghan front.

Kabul

According to Babur, Kabul province was composed of 20 districts which produced over a million livestock.¹ During the reign of Akbar these districts were:

1. The district of Bagram and Parshawar, where a large monastery, Gor Kahtari, was present.
2. The district of Neik Nihar (Nangarhar) Laghmanat, its sheriff was stationed in Adinapur and in Akbar's time in Jalalabad.
3. Mandrawar district, where the Alishing and Alingar rivers meet as far as Chagaserai and Kunar.
4. Nenrao district which at that time was full of infidels. This district was famous for its flying squirrels and musk deer.
5. Charkh Logar district with its famous village of Sajawand.
6. Badrao district, the domicile of Afghans, Hazara and infidels.
7. Alsa district. Between Garamser and Sardser (perhaps present day Alisai of lower Tagab).
8. Bangash district with seven thousand cavalry and five hundred infantry, domicile of the Mohmand, Khalil, Afridi and Khatak tribes.
9. Gardez district with a firm fort which was three and four stories high.
10. Ghaznain district (Zabulistan).
11. Daman Koh district with a myriad of flowers and pleasant springs (present day Kohdaman).
12. Ghorband district where 33 varieties of tulips grow. The mausoleum of Khwaja Reg Rawan is located there.
13. Zukahak and Bamian districts with the ruins of the ancient fort of Zuhak.

¹. Tuzk-i-Baburi.

Kandahar

Eastward

During the reign of Akbar the region of Kandahar had the following dependencies.

1. Duki province with a fortress built of raw bricks. The domicile of Kakar and Tirin Afghans.
2. Pesheng province with a fortress built of raw bricks (present day Pshin).
3. Shaal province with a mud fortress, domicile of Kasi Afghans and Baluch (present day Quetta).
4. Mastang province with a mud fortress and domicile of Kasi Afghans and Baluch (in present day Baluchistan).
5. Kheyl Gari province (Chehl Gazi?).
6. Alos Pani, domicile of Pani Afghans.
7. Alos Abdali which was divided into two provinces.
8. Alos Jamand (Zamand) an Afghan tribe.
9. Surkh Rubat of the Baluch, a part of Kandahar.

Southward

10. Qalat Banjara with a mud fortress.
11. Shorabak, domicile of Afghans.
12. Alos Basika (Haski) of Afghans?
13. Alos Meshwani of Afghans.

Northward

15. Kalat Tartuk province, with a strong mud fortress, domicile of Ghalji Afghans.
16. Hazara Dahla (Hazar Dahla). The Dahla area where a dam has been built.
17. Haara Banja Banji (Da Hijr Banji)?
18. Tirin province, with a strong fortress (in Pashto it is Tiri).
19. Garamser province.
20. Zamindawar province.
21. Alos of Siyah Khana.

22. Keshk Nakhud, with a strong mud fortress, which is part of Kandahar.

This was the civil set up of Kandahar during Akbar's reign. However during the reign of Shah Jahan Kandahar had seven central forts with control over surrounding areas. They were known as:

1. Kandahar fort including the Kishki Nakhud fort.
2. Kalat fort with three associated forts in Muqur, Shahr-i-Safa and Howla Rubat.¹
3. Fushanj fort with nine associated forts of Duki, Chatyali, Harnayie,² Seh Kota, Fateh Abad, Shaal, Mastang, Kalat and Yan-chara Tal.
4. Zamindawar fort with four associated forts of Wabastan (present day Walishtan), Darfati, Musa, Beidzerak, Shahrak, Sarban, Malbun, Nawzad, Barzad, Dahna, Largha, Siyah Aab, Folad and Dalkhak.
5. Tirin fort with ten associated forts of Wuruzgan, Arlang, Darafshan, Char Shanba, Nuh, Tamran, Tamzan, Gazyaw Shir³ and Dehrawut.
6. Bost fort with eight associated forts of Khilaj, Hazar Asp, Hazar Juft, Shamlan, Malkhan, Safar, Laki and Khanshi.⁴
7. Grishk fort with eight associated forts of Malgir, Hirmand Aab, Tizi Baba, Haji, Sangin, Dazh Ghor and Dazh Safed.⁵

During Shah Jahan's reign, Abdul Hamid, provides information on the revenue on four of the twenty two provinces. The overall revenue of the empire at that time was eight billion and eight hundred million daam.⁶ They were:

1. Kabul province with a revenue of 160 million daams.
2. Kandahar province 60 million daams.
3. Balkh province 89 million daams.

¹. Present day Awlan Rubat of Shahjoi.

². Harnayie of present day Baluchistan.

³. Present day Washir.

⁴. Khanishin of Garamser of Helmand valley.

⁵. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 62.

⁶. According to money denomination during the Mughal period one daam was 25 jital. In present day conversion a daam is 4/5 payee. As such 5 daams=2 Indian annas.

4. Badashshan province 40 million daams.¹

It looks as though this distribution is linked to Jahangir's period. In earlier times, when Babur had not yet invaded India, Kabul played a central role and Balkh was not a part of its territory. Kandahar fell into Babur's hands, first in 1507 and then in 1520. It became a province run by one of the Baburi princes and was ostensibly separate from the central region of Kabul. Similarly Badakhshan was governed as a fiefdom by a Timuri prince. When Babur occupied India and later died there we see that prince Kamran's authority reigned all over Afghanistan. During the initial stages of Homayun's reign, Punjab, Peshawar, Laghman, Bamian and Kandahar were all under Kamran's authority. Only Badakhshan was given to Suleiman Mirza, another Timuri prince and Kandahar also became a separate province and Kamran appointed Khwaja Baig as its governor.

After this Kabul, Kandahar and Badakhshan were recognized as separate provinces and while Homayun and his brothers were engaged in a power struggle, Kandahar was under the influence of one prince or the other. In 1554 when Homayun managed to subdue all his brothers he appointed Shah Mohammad Kandahari as governor of Kandahar, his son Mohammad Hakim as governor of Kabul and Suleiman as governor of Badakhshan and himself attacked India.

After Homayun, during the reign of Akbar, the province of Kabul was relegated to prince Mohammad Hakim. In the beginning Kandahar remained a separate province and then fell under the domain of Safavi kings. After the death of Mohammad Hakim in 1585, Akbar extended his dominance all over Kabul and in 1595 he managed to recapture Kandahar. During this time Sayed Khan Kabuli was governor of Kabul and Shah Baig Khan Kabuli was viceroy of Kandahar. However, in official infrastructure of Akbar's court, Kandahar was considered to be a region of Kabul. During Akbar's reign the country was divided into 15 provinces of which one was Kabul. According to the division of that time every

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 117. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 2

province was known as (*sarkar*), composed of different parts and administrations.¹

Abu-al-Fazl considered Kabul province to be composed of the administrative sectors of Kashmir, Pakli, Bunir, Swat, Bajawar, Kandahar and Zabulistan. He adds that formerly its capital was Ghazni and now it is Kabul.² To the north it extended as far as Pamir, Gilgit, Badashshan, Bamiyan, Gharjistan and Ghor. To the south it extended to Garamser of Kandahar, west toward Farah and Seistan and to the east as far as Sind and Multan. All the mountainous regions of Pashtunkhwa and its adjacent areas were considered as one province of which the commission of Kandahar had 24 stations. Its revenue was 8114 tomans³ 29600 dinars cash, 45775 sheep, 45 Baluchi horses, 3,752,977 kharwar (ass load about 80 kg.) grains, 460 mun (1 mun =37 kg.) rice, two kharwar flour, 20 mun oil, 13875 cavalry, and 27,260 infantry. The tax revenue of Kandahar was 527 tumans, and 35,120 kharwar grains. The commission of Kabul had 22 stations. Its revenue was 80,507,465 daams in cash, 13,7178 daams from arable land tax, 28,178 cavalry and 21,2700 infantry. The revenue of the city of Kabul was 12,758,410 daams. Qarabagh of Ghazni formed the separation line between Kabul and Kandahar.⁴

After Akbar's reign the civil structure was composed of *suba* (province), *sarkar* (commission), city, fort and stations. The *subadar* was the civil and military commissioner and had a substantial salary. For example Ali Mardan, chief governor of Kabul had a salary of 120 million dam during Shah Jahan's reign.⁵ Civil and military officials who worked under him were known as army officer, police officer, fort officer, feudal chief, finance judge, police chief, finance officer for civil and military personnel,

¹. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 4.

². Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 169.

³. The tuman currency was in use during that time in Kandahar; eight dinars equalled one tuman and each tuman was worth 800 daam. As such the revenue needs to be expressed in daam.

⁴. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, pp. 187-193.

⁵. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 1057.

military judge and secretary. We come across these titles in historical texts as such:

Komaki

Was a military officer with extensive provisional power to curb disturbances. As seen in the sections of Mughal emperors a large number of them were sent as helpers to Afghanistan by the court. Mir Masum Kandahari, author of *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, was serving as a helper in Kandahar in 1599 during Akbar's reign.¹ Similarly Mughal Khan and Sadat Khan were serving as helpers during the reign of Aurangzeb in Kabul.²

Ta'einat

Under this title permanent military officers were appointed in different places but in the large cities and important centers a person such as Mir Masum was sent first as a *komaki* to Kandahar, during Akbar's reign, in 1599 and later was appointed as a *ta'einat* there.³ In the same tone, Mubarak Khan Niyazi Afghan was appointed as *ta'einat* during Jahangir's reign in Bangash and Yaqub Khan Badakshi became a *ta'einat* in Kabul during the eighth year of Jahangir's kingship.

Fowjdar

Deputy to a military commander. A *fowjdar* was appointed to oversee several villages and residential areas whose responsibility was to act as commander of soldiers in these areas and neutralize rebels.⁴ For example Sayed Khan was the *fowjdar* of Naushahr and Bunir during Jahangir's time.⁵ A large number of military officers were sent to Afghanistan bearing this title.

¹ *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, p. 133.

² *Alamgir Nama*, vol. 1, p. 195.

³ *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, p. 133.

⁴ *Akbar Nama*.

⁵ *Alamgir Nama*, vol. 1, p. 195.

Tahanadar, qala'dar, kotwal

The Mughals paid great attention to fortified citadels in Afghanistan. It was these very citadels which protected cities such as Kabul and Kandahar from marauders. During the Mughal era a person under the Pashto title of *kotwal*¹ (*qala'dar*, keeper of fort) existed who was responsible for overall security of the city. Under present day perception this person was the police chief. However, in the smaller forts, spread across the land, which posed a lesser security dilemma a *qala'dar* was in charge of security, who acted as a military commander in running the fort. Every large city had its own related citadel such as the seven forts of Kandahar. The *qala'dar* held a vital post such as Juroop, who was in charge of the Kahmard citadel during the 22nd year of Shah Jahan's reign.²

The *tahnadar* was posted in the border regions to protect roads in danger of raids together with a group of men. Such forts existed along the Peshawar and Kabul road, in the northern border areas of Kabul, with lines of communication with the rulers of Balkh and Turan. In 1630 Kohat was a *tahana* (police post) from where Sayed Khan went to confront Kamaluddin Afghan. Similarly in Bangash Sayed Khan was promoted from the position of *tahanadar* to governorship in 1632.³ In 1653 Mubariz Khan Badakshi was the *tahanadar* of Panjshir.⁴ From this we know that Panjsher also had the merit of having a *tahana*.

Tiwaldar

During the Mughal period certain villages and areas were bestowed to those who were close to the court as feudal territory. The *tiwaldar* was responsible to maintain security in his domain and was considered the administrator of the area. For example in 1639, Izat Khan was the *tiwaldar* of Bost during Shah Jahan's reign who engaged in battles with

¹ This Pashto title was in use from the time of the Ghaznavi kings, around 1010 in Afghanistan.

² Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 279.

³ Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 61.

⁴ Ma'sir-al-Amra, vo. 3, p. 595.

Malik Awdal.¹ Sometimes provinces and large regions were given to the princes and prominent chiefs as a *tiwal* (feudal territory). For example, Mirza Suleiman Koragani, renowned in the annals of the Koraganis, was the *tiwaldar* of Badakshan and during the reign of Akbar, his brother, Mohammad Hakim was *tiwaldar* of Kabul.

Diwan Qazi

Diwan was the accountant and financial affairs officer who worked under the *subadar*. This officer was responsible for issuing salaries.² During Aurangzeb's reign, Mir Yaqub was the *diwan* of Kabul.³ In the same token, Diyanat Khan, together with prince Mohammad Shuja, was the *diwan* of Kabul during Shah Jahan's time.⁴ Islam Khan Herawi was also *diwan* of Kabul for a long time during the reign of Aurangzeb.⁵

A *qazi* (judge, magistrate) was also appointed by the royal court to work on judicial matters. Mullah Mohammad Zahid Kabuli, was the *qazi* of Kabul during Akbar's reign and also held the same position during Shah Jahan's term.⁶ During Babur's reign, Mir Hisamuddin Badakshi was a judge and earned the title of *qazi* khan.⁷ When Jahangir arrived to Kabul he appointed Mullah Mohammad Sadiq, as its *qazi*.⁸

During the Mughal era the duties of a civil and military *qazi* were separate and a different person was appointed as the military judge. Mullah Ahmad Fazel Badakshi was appointed as a military judge during the time of Jahangir and remained in the same position until the 8th year of Shah Jahan's reign.⁹ Qazi Mohammad Aslam, who during Akbar's reign, went to India and worked his way into the court was appointed as

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 170.

². Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, pp. 430-431.

³. Alamgir Nama, vol. 1, p. 195.

⁴. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 27.

⁵. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 3, p. 667.

⁶. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 343.

⁷. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 335.

⁸. Tuzk-i-Jahangir, vol. 1, p. 51.

⁹. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 195.

a military judge. He remained in this post during the time of Shah Jahan and was also the *imam* of Shah Jahan.¹

Bakshi

The officer who was present in every city and military cantonment. His job was to pay salaries to the military and civilian officers. It is possible that different military categories such as infantry, mounted, sergeant and officers probably had separate *bakshi* serving each division.² For example during Aurangzeb's reign, Ria'yat Khan was a *bakshi* for sergeants, and Eshaq Baig, was the *bakshi* for officers.³ Nezamuddin Herawi, the renowned historian, served as a *bakshi* during Akbar's reign.⁴

Wa'qia navees wa harkara

During the Mughal period of India, we come across government officials who were responsible for writing reports and collecting intelligence. These individuals also served as news-writers and census takers. They were responsible for writing reports on official and political, events, weather reports, natural events, births, deaths and marriages, and sent their reports to the court. They also reported on the general situation of government officials, their loyalty and disloyalty and disfunction.⁵ The famous Qazi Mohammad Zahed, was a reporter in Kabul and remained in this post during the time of Alamgir (Aurangzeb) also.⁶

The court also appointed people who were known as *harkara*. Their task was to spy and collect intelligence. They worked in disguise and did not hold an official title.

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 343.

². Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 132.

³. Alamgir Nama, vol. 1, p. 195.

⁴. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1, p. 237.

⁵. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 136.

⁶. Sujat-al-Marjan, p. 67.

Nazim (registrar) and nizam

These were officials who were appointed as *nazim* whose duty was to restore order and, alike the governor, they were responsible for military and civil administration. It is possible they held high positions and went to important centers to organize matters. They acted as present day inspectors. For example Ali Mardan Khan was the *nazim* of Kabul province during the 14th year of Shah Jahan's reign and held this post for four years.¹

Mamoreen (officials) and manasib (posts)

During the Mughal period posts of officials were designated on the basis of one thousand. Both military and civilian officials equally had this designation. The largest such military designation during Akbar's reign was ten thousand (division) which included 700 horses, 200 elephants, 200 load animals, and 320 wheeled vehicles. The officers were paid sixty thousand rupees. All the officers in the division were ranked accordingly with ten commanders and 66 designations. Units with less than five thousand persons were given salaries in three categories such as the first, second and third. Both military and civilian officials received raises on this basis.²

¹. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 434.

². Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 124.

Chapter Three

Edifices of Mughal emperors in Afghanistan

The Timuri kings of India were patrons of architecture and industry. We see their impressive buildings and artistic relics all over India, depicting their worthy contribution to arts and architecture in the country. The royal forts of Delhi and Agra, mosques and mausoleums are relics which are considered to be marvels of architecture. Architecture of the Mughal period has traits which resemble the arts and structural edifices of the Ma'zi, Khalji, Ludi and Suri periods.¹

The Baburi kings are famous for their style of workmanship but since these emperors did not reside in Afghanistan and only traveled the region occasionally therefore there is a lack of their marvelous edifices in the country. Furthermore some of the structures they built have been destroyed. Here we will dwell upon those buildings and structures which they built in Afghanistan.

Chilzena (fourty steps) of Kandahar

These steps were carved out of the Sarpoza outcrop, located south of present day Kandahar and north of the old city. The staircase leads to an enclave also carved into the granite outcrop. During the Mughal period it was known as *peshtaq* and according to Babur the stairway was carved in nine years by 80 stone carvers. Mirza Kamran, Mirza Eskari, Mirza Hindal, Babur's sons, who participated in the completion of the staircase inscribed an inscription there indicating that work started on the structure in 1524 and culminated in 1546. Later, when Mir Ma'sum Kandahari, a military commander of Akbar, arrived there in 1596 another inscription in the name of Homayun and Akbar was also added to the structure together with the name of cities and provinces of Akbar's empire from 1596 to 1599.²

¹. Tamadun-i-Hind of Gustav Lebon, pp. 385-386.

². Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi, p. 132.

The view from top of Chilzena has a commanding vantage of the city as far as the Arghandab canal. It is considered one of the important edifices of the Mughal period in Afghanistan.

Other relics of that period in Kandahar

South of the old city of Kandahar lies the mausoleum of Sayed Hussain Zangirpa, nephew of Baba Hussain Abdal famous as Baba Wali. This Sayed is the son of Sayed Ainuddin son of Shamsuddin, who was born in Sabzwar and lived in Kandahar. He was from Langar village of Arghandab.¹ In 1592, his relative, Mir Ma'sum Kandahari, built the mausoleum over his grave. An inscription was also carved on the mountainside which is present to this day.²

Other relics from the Mughal period are inscriptions found at the shrine of Sayed Abdul Jalil bin Sultan Khalil bin Sultan Mohammad who died in 1450 in Shah Maqdud of Khakrez, 40 miles north of Kandahar. Mir Buzurg son of Mir Ma'sum built a building there during the time of emperor Jahangir and etched a large inscription in his own name. Later in 1645, during the time of Shah Safi Safavi, another building was erected there and an inscription was carved in the name of Saha Safi.³

Another structure related to the Mughal period is a mosque and a simple room near the tomb of Sayed Sher Qalandar Sabzwari, on the Skelcha outcrop of Sperwan, located 10 kroh⁴ west of Kandahar. This outcrop is located by the Arghandab river with a fine view. The sepulcher of Sayed Mohammad, famous as Sayed Sher Qaladar son of Sayed Mir Ansari, who was a contemporary of the Arghunis of Kandahar. He lived in Zamindawar, Sarwan Qala and other places in Kandahar and died in November 1526.⁵

¹. Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi, p. 135.

². Information extracted from the inscription in the old city of Kandahar.

³. Information extracted from the inscription at the shrine of Shah Maqsud.

⁴. A kroh is about 3000 m.

⁵. Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi, p. 140.

In the same outcrop, Mir Ma'sum etched an inscription in 1596 in the name of Jalaluddin Akbar which was completed in June of the next year. It is considered a keepsake of that period.¹

In 1604 Mir Buzurg son of Mir Ma'sum, built an abode and etched an inscription on the Shorab outcrop near Dilaram of Farah at the time while his father was going to Iran as an envoy of the Mughal court. It is considered as a memorial of this descendant of the prophet from Kandahar who was related to Sayed Sher Qalandar and Baba Husain Abdal famous as Baba Wali.² These personalities were poets, literary figures and important officials of the Mughal period.

Charbagh of Kandahar

According to Abu-al-Fazl this garden was built by Babur, located northwest of present day Kandahar and north of the old city. It is known by the same name at present time. It is surrounded by green fields and orchards along the banks of Arghandab river and is surrounded by the nearby mountain range. Abu-al-Fazl named it a pleasant place. When Homayun was on his way to India and managed to capture Kandahar he stayed in this garden.³

Edifices and gardens of Kabul

From the time of Babur until the downfall of the Mughal empire, given its location and uniqueness, Kabul was described as a favorite place of the Koragani kings by historians of that period. They have praised its gardens and buildings and Babur in his Tuzk (memoirs) has showered Kabul with praises. Charbagh of Kabul dates back to his time and it was a spot of recreation for officials and prestigious folks. At the time when Homayun was sending Biram Khan as envoy to his brother, Kamran, Mirza Kamran entertained him in Charbagh. At the same time Biram Khan met with the young prince Jalaluddin Akbar in Baghi-Maktab and

¹. Information extracted from the Sperwan inscription.

². Extracted from the Shorab outcrop inscription.

³. Akbar Nama, vol. 1, p. 236.

Mirza Suleiman and Ibrahim, Timuri princes, in Jalaluddin Baig's garden near Shahr-i-Ara.¹

From this we know that these gardens were famous during that time and served as places of recreation for high-ranking officials. Abdul Hamid Lahori, provides an elegant description of these gardens and states that Charbagh, Jelwa Khana, Aurtabagh, Bagh-i-Surat, Bagh-i-Mahtab and Bagh-i-Ahukhana were built by Babur. When Jahangir visited Kabul for the first time in 1508 he diverted the Kabul river through Bagh Shahr-i-Ara and named it Jahan-Ara.²

Jahangir who was inspired by the beautiful scenery of Kabul provides a description of Kabul's gardens and on the first day of his arrival he visited all these gardens. He writes: "Aurta Bagh was built during Homayun's time and its tall cypress are exquisite and are not found elsewhere. Charbagh is the largest garden of Kabul. Shahr-i-Ara, was built by Shahr-Bano Begum, Babur's aunt. I added some more acreage to it and called it Jahan Ara, a place which I visited frequently."³

Bagh-i-Paghman

This garden was built by Mirza Ulug Baig before Babur but he added more trees and brooks to it. He praised the flowers of the Judas tree and writes that he built benches in the shady spots of the garden and enhanced its springs which turned into a heart-rendering spot.⁴

Aurta Bagh

Together with Mahtab Bagh it was an attractive garden near Kabul city. In 1545 when Nasruddin Homayun captured Kabul he held a large festival during spring to celebrate the circumcision of his son Jalaluddin Akbar. It was a place of recreation for the royalty and while in Kabul Homayun stayed there.⁵

¹. Akbar Nama, vol.1, pp. 230-231.

². Padshah Nama, vo. 2, p. 586.

³. Tuzk-i-Jahangir, vol. 1, p. 52.

⁴. Tuzk-i-Babur.

⁵. Akbar Nama, vol. 1, pp. 162-246-305.

Takht-i-Babur

In 1508 Babur built an elevated seat near the Sher Darwaza mountain for himself which had a commanding view of the countryside. Opposite it Jahangir built another seat which was completed in 1607.¹ He erected an inscription which reads: “the seat of emperor of seven states, Nouruddin Jahangir, the king, son of Jalaluddin Akbar Shah.”

Charchata of Kabul

It is one of the famous structures of the Mughal period in Kabul with buildings with exquisite wood carvings which were built by Ali Mardan Khan, governor of Kabul, during the reign of Shah Jahan. These famed carvings have lost their glamor with the passing of time.

Shor Bazar mosque

This mosque was built by Aurangzeb and was renovated in recent times and became famous as Masjid-i-A'lia. Similarly, the grand mosque of Gadari was also built during Aurangzeb's time.

Bagh-i-Ali Mardan

This garden was built north of the citadel along Kabul river by Ali Mardan Khan, governor of Kabul province, during the reign of Shah Jahan. No traces of the garden are left and the area is now known as Bagh-i-Ali Mardan.

Bagh-i-Safa

A garden bearing this name was built during Babur's reign in eastern Afghanistan in present day Behsud and it is considered to be a relic from Babur's time.² In 1551 when Hodayun visited Behsud to pursue Kamran he spent a great deal of time in chasing his brother. Kamran fled to India and Hodayun went to Bagh-i-Safa. Abu-al-Fazl, praises this garden in these words: “it brings the pleasantry of spring, it is the delight of soul,

¹. Tuzk-Jahangir, p. 53.

². Ayeen-i-Akbari, vo. 2, p. 192.

and it can be considered a purity of the mind.”¹ Later on when Akbar came to this region in 1581, during his 34th year as king (1590), we come across the name of this garden where Akbar used to hunt.² Abdul Hakim writes that Bagh-e Safa is 32 *kroh* from Bagrami and it is a colorful garden which, in 1646, resulted in the downfall of Shah Jahan’s cavalcade.³

Bagh-i-Wafa

Bagh-i-Wafa was another relic from Babur’s time in Afghanistan. It has been described in detail in his Tuzk. Work on this garden was initiated in 1508 in front of the Adinapur fort, 13 *farsangs* from Kabul, on a mound, which at that time was the center of Nangarhar province. A stream passed through the garden. Babur made pathways and pools in the garden and planted orange and pomegranate trees. The garden was located at the base of Spinghar mountain where it did not snow and it had a pleasant surroundings.⁴

During his travels Babur would spend time there and on 13 December 1525, when he was on his way to India to fight his last battle there, he stopped in this garden.⁵ In 1598 when Akbar traveling to Kabul he spent some time in this garden where he engaged in sight seeing and hunting.⁶ Relics of this garden are present 10 *kroh* from present day Jalalabad near the Baghwani village.

Shahbaz fort

There used to be a place named Bahar near Behsud, which according to Abu-al-Fazl, existed during the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. In 1589 when Akbar’s cavalcade reached this location, the emperor

¹. Akbar Nama, vol. 3, p. 321.

². Akbar Nama, vol. 3, pp. 360-570.

³. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 603.

⁴. Tuzk-i-Babur.

⁵. Akbar Nama, vol. 1, p. 93.

⁶. Akbar Nama, vol. 3, p. 570.

issued orders that a fort be built there. It was named the Shahbaz fort and for a while it was inhabited.¹

Shah Jahan's edifices

Shah Jahan built more structures in Kabul than any other Mughal emperor. During his 12th year as king he issued order for buildings to be erected in Aurta Bagh and Mahtab Bagh which were favorite gardens of the royalty. Work on these buildings was completed during the 19th year of his reign when he paid another visit to Kabul. The cost of the buildings was 250 thousand rupees.

In addition another 200 thousand rupees were spent on buildings in Shahr-i-Ara, Charbagh and the Babur garden (the burial place of Babur), on the orders of Shah Jahan. The Kabul citadel was also repaired and water was supplied to Kabul palace in 1646.

During his second visit, Shah Jahan, repaired all gardens of Kabul and built several buildings. Three buildings were constructed in Shahr-i-Ara, each being marvelously beautiful, with fountains and ponds. He also built the mausoleum of Babur with white marble at a cost of 40 thousand rupees.² The walking paths and fountains of the garden were also built.³

Istalif garden was built during Shah Jahan's reign which was dedicated to the queen and was named Jahan Numa. Its architecture was unprecedented and Shah Jahan visited it in 1646 and repaired its pathways.

Shah Jahan left behind numerous edifices in Afghanistan and it is estimated that 1.2 million rupees were spent on the mosque, citadel and the palace fort of Kabul. In addition 800 thousand rupees were spent on Kandahar, Bost and Zamindawar citadels.

¹. Akbar Nama, vol. 3, p. 570.

². In Padshah Nama the cost is 30 thousand while in the inscription the cost has been noted as 40 thousand rupees.

³. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, pp. 509-588-589-590.

Kabul citadel

The mountain on which the Bala Hisar citadel palace was built was known as Shah Kabul in olden times on top of which was an instrument of torture. Kabul city had two mud fortresses¹ and the palace had its own fort. Later the British demolished Bala Hisar which was rebuilt by Mirza Kamran, son of Babur. When Jahangir came to Kabul he destroyed the former buildings of the citadel and built an appropriate palace for himself.² In addition the citadel outside of Kabul was constructed during Jahangir's time with gypsum used as mortar and the palace fort, which was built of mud, was rebuilt with gypsum in 1646 by Shah Jahan and a channel was also diverted to provide water to the citadel.³

A description of Kabul citadel during the Mughal period is as follows: It was a large fort with several entrances, such as the Delhi gate (to the east), Yarak (Barak) gate, Taqia Dozan gate, and Ahahnin gate to the west.⁴ Two streams flowed through Kabul, one of which was called the Khatiban stream, which flowed from the direction of Lalandar through Shahr-i-Ara and the city. The other was called the Pul-i-Mastan stream which started in the Deh Yaqub gorge and flowed in front of Delhi gate. Moreover, Maham Begum, nurse of Jalaluddin Akbar, dug a canal which passed near the Galakna community. The water of three springs flowed into Kabul which were known as the Khwaja Hamo spring, Qadamgah Khezr spring and the Khwaja Roshnayii spring.⁵

Citadel of Kandahar city

The old city of Kandahar, which was destroyed by Nadir Afshar in 1738, was located near Koh-i-Laka or Qaitol mountain which runs from the north to south on top of which the citadel palace was built. According to Abu-al-Fazl, the city of Kandahar had two forts.⁶ The mighty citadel

¹. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 4, p. 191. Akbar Nama, vol. 1, p. 262.

². Tuzk-i-Jahangir, vol. 1, p. 591.

³. Padshah Nama, vol. 5, p. 591.

⁴. Akbar Nama, vol. 1, pp. 266-267-304.

⁵. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 191.

⁶. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 187.

had walls that were several feet thick which were impossible to penetrate.¹ The fort also had a moat around it. Inside the citadel there was a tall tower about 100 meters tall, relics of which remain to this day. People call it Narenj palace. Two towers, named Burj-i-Khakistar and Burj-i-Naw were also built inside the city.²

In the mountain located west of the city remains of pools and houses can be seen. According to Mir Ma'sum, there was an ancient fire-worshipping temple on top of the mountain with huge bricks. The building was still standing until Akbar's time with no signs of imperfections.³ During Shah Jahan's reign there were three minarets on the mountain.⁴

During this period Kandahar citadel had several gates. The Gandagan and Sheikh Wali gates were located toward the north of the city, Mashor gate was toward the south, the Now and Khezri gates were to the east while the Ali Qaabi gate was near Qitol.

According to Abu Fazl the Shamsudin Ali Qazi garden of Kandahar, Char Darra and the old city were located toward the Mashor gate and the building inside the palace was known as Burj-i-Khacha (Aqcha).⁵ This person also build the Gung Ali Khan garden in the environs of the city when in 1623 he was appointed governor of Kandahar by the Safavi court. At the base of the mountain there was a fort where munitions were stored. There was a bazaar from this location up to the Mashor gate .⁶

Beside the gates mentioned by Abu-al-Fazl, Nawab Samsam al-Dawla writes about another gate by the name of Wais Qarn. In 1648 when the Iranian army overran and besieged Kandahar Shadi Khan was the keeper of the gate.⁷ Even at the present time there is a shrine by the name of Sultan Wais, to the east of the old city, therefore it can be deduced that the gate was also in the eastern sector of the city. The

¹. Akbar Nama, vol. 1, p. 231. Reqa't Alamgir, p. 4.

². Raqa't Alamgir, p. 48.

³. Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi, p. 132.

⁴. Raqa't Alamgir, p. 41.

⁵. Akbar Nama, vol. 1, pp. 229-241.

⁶. Raqa't Alamgir, p. 42.

⁷. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 661.

citadel of Kandahar existed during the Koragani period and Shah Jahan allotted 800 thousand rupees for its construction.¹

Parwan fort

After visiting Iran Homyun paid several visits from Kabul to the northern regions and his entourage traveled by the northern road leading out of Kabul to the provinces in the north. This movement necessitated the building of a fortified fort. In 1548 when Homyun returned from the north to Kabul for the third time he laid the foundation of a fort in Parwan which served as the military station north of Kabul.²

Minting in Kabul and Kandahar

From the beginning of the Koragani period, Kabul and Kandahar served as centers for minting coins. We have at our disposal a large number of coins which were minted during that time comprising a large part of the collection of Islamic coins at Kabul museum. According to Abu-al-Fazl, Kabul was among the four regions where Akbar's gold coin was minted. Silver and copper coins were also minted in the city.³

Similarly we see that a large number of copper coins were minted in Kandahar toward the end of the 16th century, which the writer has in his collection. These coins are from the reign of emperor Jahangir. During the 14th year of Shah Jahan's reign a one rupee coin was also minted in Kandahar with this couplet:⁴

*From the time of Akbar to Jahangir
Coins were minted in Kandahar.*

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 714.

². Akbar Nama.

³. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 19.

⁴. Preface of Tuzk-i-Jahangir, p. 24.

Part Three

Afghan celebrities and eminent men of letters of Afghanistan during the Koragani period

Chapter one

Men of letters and artists

Chapter Two

Distinguished military and administrative personnel

Prologue

As you read in the first part of this book the Koragani period in Afghanistan stretched for an agonizing two and half centuries. Throughout this period this land was the battle ground of bloodletting and civil strife of these monarchs and did not see any peace and prosperity.

Being the land of the brave and men of erudition this land not only produced warriors and people fighting for their independence but also learned and knowledgeable people who left behind monumental scientific and literary work in Central Asia.

Knowledge

The knowledge base of this time is a remnant of the bright period of Timuri kings of Herat. A time which fostered learned leaders and eminent men of knowledge such as Jami and others surfaced. During the Koragani period the schools of Herat, Trans-Oxiana and India had an austere impact on knowledge in this reign and we come across the names of many men intellectuals whose works are of great importance.

Literature

This can be divided into two categories: Pashto literature and Persian literature. During the Mughal period Pashto literature reached its pinnacle and Pashto schools of style such as the Khair-al-Bayan style, Khushal Khan style, Rahman and Hamid style of writing were introduced during this period and ghazals, odes, quatrains, five-verse poetry and other forms were recited. Famous poets surfaced during this period who are considered to be the limelight of Pashto literature.

Persian literature also went through a phase of expansion. Both the Safi kings of Iran and the Koragani kings of India fostered its literature resulting in the upbringing of famous poets who traveled from Iran to

India through Afghanistan.¹ The famous style of Persian literature known as the Indian style surfaced as a result of the intermixing of Indian and Persian men of literature. We see the impact of the Indian style in the works of Persian authors of Afghanistan during that period.

Arts

Compared to the resplendent period of the Timuri kings of Herat a decline in arts took place during the Koragani era in Afghanistan. However, since both in Iran and India arts were advancing we see changes in Afghanistan also. For example, Mir Ali Herawi and Sultan Mohammad Khandan, were two famous calligraphists of this period.

We also come across miniatures, paintings and woodwork related to this period in Afghanistan. Examples of such artwork can be seen in the buildings of that time. But unlike India where the Koragani kings left behind monumental works of art, the ones in Afghanistan are insignificant such as the mosque of Babur garden and the Chilzena of Kandahar.

Even though constant wars resulted in a decline in literary and artistic works but despite that we come across a substantial number of scholars during this period which will be introduced in this section.

¹: For example Sayeb Asfahani spent some time in Kabul and wrote the famous ode of Kabul. Similarly Shaukat Bukhari passed through Afghanistan on his way to India and recited this verse:

*Its cities and countryside were like a garden galore
A delight if Shaukat passers through Kabul.*

Chapter One

Men of letters and arts

Mawlana Agah

He was from Sheberghan and was famed for his proficiency in poetry and *tariqat* (a confraternity of dervishes) and spent his whole life in asceticism. People and leaders of the time were his devotees. His poetic pen name was Yamin. He passed away in 1597 and was buried in Sheberghan. A quatrain:

Lovers on judgment day fear not hell,
The beloved's beauty they live to tell.
If I am dragged to heaven galore
Without my love, there I shall not dwell.¹

Mawlana Agahi Herawi

Originally he was from Khorasan and was raised in Herat. He was a secretary in Sultan Hussain Bayaqla's court and was a penchant writer of odes. In reply to Amir Khusrao's comment about the citizens of Herat he recited these lines:

A glimpse of Hari city is a heavenly sight
Like the glimmer of sun it's a delight.

As a result of satirizing the Safavi governor of Herat, Amir Khan, issued orders that his right hand and tongue be cut but he managed to write even more illustriously with his left hand. He died in Herat in 1526.²

Abtari Badakshi

He was a learned person and lived during Akbar's reign. He was fluent in philosophical science and had a good temperament. This verse is from him.

Shall we be faithful to the lover or not?

¹ Majma'-al-Fusaha, p. 287.

² Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 126.

This is a question never sought.¹

Ibrahim Bitani

He was a historian from Afghanistan during the Mughal period who made additions to Makhzan-i-Afghani. He added some incidents of Afghan leaders which were not included in the book from the history of Nizamuddin Ahmad and added the Sher Shahi History of Abas Khan Sarwani to the book too. The hand written manuscript, which includes the work of Nematullah, Abas and Betani, was compiled in Kandahar in 1702.

Malik Abu Alfath

He was the brother of the renowned Malik Hamza, governor of Seistan, who was a man of letters and the sword.

May your verse be blemished not
Enmity I shall seek not!
Even though I do not see deceit
In this fire, indulge not.

In reply Abu Alfath recited:

My poetry is indeed sublime
The wise one knows his crime.
The needy needs not a firebrand
My magnanimity will appear in time.

He adds:

The morning glory you must know
Without hardship it is not in tow.
Of what use is bewilderment?
If it is just a veiled show.²

Atashi Kandahari

¹. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 188.

². Tazkera-i-Nasr Abadi, original copy, p. 51.

He was a renowned figure from Babur's time who went with the emperor to India and was in charge of noting down events. Later he worked for Homayun and died in Lahore in 1566.

The new moon surfaced in twilight anew
Like the rosy goblet revealing a clue.¹

Hazrat sheikh Ahmad Mujadad Kabuli Sarhindi

His name was Mawlana Abdul Ahad Faruqi, who was the 26th descendant of Hazrat Omar. His forefathers were from Kabul and Hazrat sheikh was born in Sarhind on 5 June 1564. After childhood he became a student of Mawlana Kamaluddin in his father's chamber in Sialkot at the age of 17. He studied the Hadis from sheikh Yaqub Kashmiri and sheikh Abdul Rahman, two masters of the prophet's teachings, and was graced by Khwajai Mohammad Baqiullah Kabuli. He grew up to be a prominent ascetic gaining prominence in India and Afghanistan through the virtue of his erudition.

Hazrat Mujadad was considered to be a genius of the 16th century who brought about reforms in the world of Islamic thought and became a renowned scholar of this creed. Even though his teachings and reforms had an educational dimension Jahangir feared his influence and imprisoned him, under a false pretext, for three years in the Gwalior fort. After being released from his confinement he went to Sarhind and started guiding his disciples from all walks of life in India and Afghanistan until he died on 10 December 1624 at the age of 63 and was buried in Sarhind.

Hazrat Mujadad was famous for his scholarly research in devising a new standard for Islamic thought. His three volumes, Maktubat, is considered to be his famous work which shows his knowledge and ascetic genius. In addition to this he authored numerous pamphlets. They are entitled: Tahlilia, Isbat-i-Naboot, Mabda wa Ma'ad Mukashifat Ghaibia, Adab-al-Murideen, Ma'rif Ladnia, Rad-al-Shaiya, Ta'liqat-al-Awarif, and Shahr Rubaiyat Khwaja Baqi ba Allah Kabuli. Among his sons

¹. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 5, p. 181.

Miyan Mohammad Masum (died 1670) and sheikh Ahmad Sayed (died 1660), were famous in the world of gnosticism.¹

Arzani

This poet was among the nobility of the Roshani clan. According to Akhund Darweza he participated in the writing of Khair-al-Bayan. He was from a family of three brothers from the Khoshaki Afghans, one of whom was the eloquent and witty poet Arzani. He wrote poetry in Pashto, Persian, Hindi and Arabic. He authored a book named Chahar Rama² and after a while he separated from Bayazid and went to India.³ Among his contemporary poets Arzani praised Dawlat. In his poems, Khushal Khan, also mentioned Arzani. Rahman Baba also considered him a Pashto poet. Since he was a contemporary of Bayazid we can say he lived around 1543. Referencing an ode from Qasem Ali Afridi, Raverty mentions Arzani.⁴ Darmesterer, the famous French orientalist, considers him to be among the early Pashto poets.⁵ His divan was recently published in Peshawar.

Ashraf Khan Hijri

He was the eldest son of Khushal Khan and like his father was a poet warrior. He is considered to be among the most prominent Pashto poets. His divan includes ghazal, odes, quatrains and selected pieces which has been published in Peshawar.

Ashraf Khan participated in his father's battles for independence and in 1682 he was taken prisoner during a battle with Aurangzeb's army and remained anonymous and imprisoned until his death in Bejapur and Daccan.

¹. Mujaddad has been mentioned in Tazker-i-Ulama-i-Hindi, p. 12 and Sujat-al-Marjan, p. 48.

². It is possible that the correct name in Pashto is Char Zma meaning my works and my literary works.

³. Tazkerat-al-Ibrar, p. 149.

⁴. Introduction to Pashto Grammar.

⁵. Haar wa Bahar of Pashtunkhwa Poetry, 1888.

In his years of separation from his homeland he recited enticing poems longing for his nation. He was in Mughal custody for 10 years where he passed away. From his poems it is evident that he died at an old age and passed away around 1689. He wrote love, ethical, boasting and nationalistic poems. In remembrance of his country he says:

In haste I suddenly became agitated
As I turned my back to Attock ill-hearted.
Its of no use now to wail about my country,
Since I myself said goodbye and departed.¹

Mir Ea'jaz Herawi

He lived around 1670 in Herat and his name was Mullah Atta. He was proficient in prose and poetry. Later he went to Asfahan where he was involved with men of letters until he died there.

I have traveled two worlds, see this strange intimacy,
Forgotten have I been, see my ill-fame.²

Afghan Lodhi

His name was Mohammad Salim Khan and he was a grandson of Khan Jahan Lodhi. He was considered to be a distinguished writer and learned personality of his time. He was associated with Sayeb Asfahani.

Conceal the lineage of the Pathan,
The one who is a true Afghan.³

Afzal Khan Khatak

He was the son of Ashraf Khan Hijri and grandson of Khushal Khan and was among the eloquent poets of this family. In 1678 he was abducted by the Mughal soldiers while fighting in Khushal Khan battles and lived in Kabul. In 1689 he went to Jalalabad and after that returned to his

¹. Pashtana Sha'ra, vol. 1, p. 169.

². Tazkera-i-Nasr Abadi, p. 512.

³. Roz-i-Raushan.

homeland in the Khatak mountains.¹ After the death of his grandfather and father became the leader of the Khataks. He carried this duty with utmost dedication and skill for 16 years.² According to his son, Kazim Khan Shaida, he died during the month of December 1679.³

Like other members of his learned family Kazim Khan was also a scholar and man of letters. He was also a historian and *Tarikh-i-Murasa* is his work of prose in Pashto which clearly and fluently provides descriptions of general Afghan history and historical events. His work is considered to be a masterpiece of Pashto literature.

Beside this he translated the history of A'sam Kufi⁴ into Pashto and *Kulia wa Damna* in January 1716 with the title of (*Alm-i-Khana-i-Danish*). He has left behind an excellent work of poetry.

Mullah Ali Hotak

He was a scholar and Pashto poet who lived around 1590 in Athgar of Kandahar. He was a traveler and visited several countries. He compiled a book in Pashto poetry which includes religious and ethical poems. *Nasihah Nama*, one of his literary work, is a *masnavi* (poetry composed of distichs corresponding in measure) called *Bahr-al-Iman* which was completed in April 1610.⁵

Imamuddin Mutizai

Imamuddin Mohammad Enayatullah bin Hazrat sheikh Kabir Balapir was a writer and gnostic whose lineage is traced to sheikh Muti, famous as Kalat Baba (buried in Kalat mound of Kandahar). This scholar and

¹. *Tarikh-i-Murasa*.

². *Hayat-i-Afghani*, p. 322. *Khurshaid-i-Jahan*, p. 244.

³. *Kazim Khan's Divan*, hand-written.

⁴. This book was written in 819 with the title of (*Al-Futuh*) by Khwaja A'sam Kufi in Arabic. In 1199 it was translated into Persian by Mohammad bin Ahmad al-Mustufi al-Herawi and was published in 1882 in Bombay.

⁵. *Pashtana Shua'ra*, vol. 1, p. 73

historian was born in the month of April 1611 and died 40 years later and was buried in Peshawar.¹

He wrote a book about the history of tribal Pashtuns, a copy of which is present in the royal library. The author refers to rare books such as Rowza al-Ahbab, Majma' al-Insab, Asnaf al-Makhlukhat, Tawarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi of Mawlana Mushtaqi and Khwaja Ahmad Nizami, sheikh Abas Sarwani, Khan Jahan and Israr-al-Afghani.²

Amani Kabuli

A poet with a divan from the nobility of Sadat of Kabul. He was a scholar and in 1573, during the reign of Akbar, he fell down from his horse and died.³ In praise of Kabul he says:

In spring Kabul is like the garden of Iram
While in fall the burning leaves are calm.

Amani Afghani

Mirza Amanullah son of Mahtab Khan was a famous leader during Shah Jahan's reign who was governor of Bengal. His pen name was Amani and he lived around 1667.⁴

The golden sash around my turban
Is nothing, but a headache.
From head to toe as I watch
I see an amorous gesture of love.⁵

Amir

He was a Pashto poet from Akbar's time. He was born after 950 and wrote a short *masnavi* on the science of reading the holy Koran. A copy

¹. Makhzan-i-Afghani, hand-written, p. 309.

². Preface of Tarikh Afghan of Imamuddin, manuscript.

³. Tazkira-i-Haft Iqleem.

⁴. Tazkira-i-Nasr Abadi.

⁵. Tazkira-i-Shama' Anjuman.

of this book was scribed in 1614. He was a follower of the style of Mullah Alif Hothak and his book contains 300 verses.¹

Anwari Fatwi

He was the brother of sheikh Bahauddin and was a scholar who lived in Herat during the Mughal period and for a while was the Shaikh-al-Islam of that place. He wrote prose and poetry and his pen name was Fatwi. He died in Herat.

You cannot be just with pretense
Clear your conscience you will be cleanse.

Your loyalty is entrapped in your heart
This prisoner awaits approval, be smart.²

Allah Yar Balkhi

He lived toward the end of the Koragani period during the time of Aurangzeb. His name was Allah Yar bin Haji Mohammad Yar Uzbeki Balkhi. He wrote two books: *Awsaf Nama-i-Alamgiri* and *A'zam Nama*, whose hand-written copies are preserved in the Cambridge library.³

Baba-i-Balkhi

He lived around 1543 in Balkh and was considered to be a learned person.⁴

Your complexion eased my aching heart,
Your fiery glance, my soul impart.

Babo Jan

Babo Jan was one of the followers of the style of writing of Khair-al-Bayan and Makhzan. According to Raverty he was a black-garment kafir from Baluristan and then converted his religion.⁵ However, Mir Ahmad

¹. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 131.

². Tazkera-i-Nasr Abadi, p. 280.

³. Brown's List of hand-written manuscripts.

⁴. Tazkera-i-Nasr Abadi, p. 325.

⁵. Raverty's preface of Pashto Grammar.

Shah Rizwani states that he was from Laghman.¹ It is possible after conversion he lived in Laghman. A part of his poems, which Raverty includes in *Gulshan-i-Roh*, deal with religious advice and precepts. A copy of *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, which was scribed in 1732 by Abdul Wahid son of Shir Khan, includes other poems by Babo Jan also.

Babo Jan was a contemporary of Darweza's sons and lived around 1640. A hand-written manuscript of his *divan* has been mentioned. Rizwani, quoting Raverty, that he was buried in the Yusufzai country.² His writings suggest that he was familiar with Arabic teachings such as *fiqh* (religious jurisprudence) and ethics.

Love for this world has troubled your heart
Devoted to it were you from the start.
This love changed you so much,
Lies you adopted as you depart.³

Khwaja Baqi Biullah Kabuli

He was a famous scholar and ascetic of the 16th century who was born in 1564 in Kabul. He was the son of Qazi Abdul Salam and became a famous gnostic. He was a famous Naqshbandi sheikh and was known as Pir Mujadad. He died on 12 November 1603 and was buried in Delhi. *Al-Ahrar* was his famous scholarly work. Beside this he left behind numerous gnostic poems and quatrains.⁴

sheikh Bayazid Afghan

He was a famous scholar and ascetic of Aurangzeb's reign. According to Khafi Khan he was a great philanthropist who had attracted the attention of Muslim and Hindu disciples who helped the poor and needy. sheikh Bayazid was an outspoken person and addressed kings and great people to follow the right path. For example while preaching in the grand mosque he told emperor Aurangzeb that the since Prophet

¹. *Shakaristan-i-Afghani*, 1905.

². *Baharistan-i-Afghani*, 1931, Lahore.

³. *Pashtana Shua'ra*, vol. 1, p. 220.

⁴. *Maktubat-i-Hazrat Mujadad*, vol. 1.

(PBUH) made his daughter master of the house, why does he, as the king of a vast empire, not let women become master of their houses? His excellent qualities are so abundant that it is not possible to count them.¹

Bayazid Purani Herawi

Puran is a village located in the environs of Herat and this family has lived there from old times. They were known for their piety, fame and influence. Maulana Jami has praised him in his genealogical notes.

Bayazid was an artist, poet and learned person and a master of Nasta'liq form of calligraphy like Mullah Azhar. The tablet of the alter of the old mosque of the grand mosque of Bukhara was written by him.

He lived in Herat and Bukhara for a long time from where he went to Sind. After 1495 he managed to secure the confidence of the court of Arghuni rulers and through his efforts this family managed to spread literature, arts and culture in Sind with famous leaders surfacing among them.

From a convent to a mosque I went
Guided by an ascetic in my ascent.²

Mir Babur

He was from Sadat of Sari-i-Pul and was the brother of Mir Kochak Elmi. He was a student of knowledge and a good poet.

My affliction of the night
Has darkened the day's light.
Your appeal is so strong,
I know not where I belong.
Help me, I am lovelorn
Oh king, for you I was born.
To Babur I remain true

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 2, p. 552.

². Mazkar-i-Abhbab, p. 118.

Dedicated I am to you.¹

Bayazid Roshan

He was a Pashtoon scholar and national leader. Beside his status as a national and military leader he also possessed a literary status and created a new style of writing prose in Pashto and wrote his book, *Khair-al-Bayan*, in that style.

He was the creator of his special school of thought in Pashto with a large number of followers and numerous books which were written in the system he created.

Bai Khan

He was a Pashto poet who lived around 1689 in Bunir. He translated the story of Laili and Majnun into Pashto poetry. Raverty mentions his work in his book.²

Badakshi

He was a good-natured poet from Taloqan of Badakshan who at times recited witty poems. He lived around 1543.

The fragrance of your hair
Has put the wise in despair.
Your generosity which abounds
Has put pearls in a lair.³

Sheikh Bostan Baretch

He was a Pashto poet who in his youth went from Ruh to India and settled in Samana village. He engaged in business and was an abstemious person. Nematullah Herawi, who was his contemporary and his devotee writes: sheikh Bostan cared about people and spent a lot of time crying and recited heart-rendering poetry which had a deep impact on people. Nematullah was accompanying him during a maritime journey

¹ *Majma'-al-Baladan*, p. 343.

² *Pashtana Shuara*, vol. 1, p. 256.

³ *Majma'-al-Fusuha*, p. 269.

from Ahmad Abad to Gujrat. Upon arrival he died on 4 January 1594 and his burial was conducted by his countryman.¹ According to Mohammad Hothak he is the author of Awlia-i-Afghan, which is listed by Hotak in his references.²

Banayee Kabuli

He was a poet from Kohistan of Kabul who went to India during Homyun's reign.

Addicted am I to your moon face,
Afflicted by your charming grace.³

Bo-al-A'jab Kabuli

A poet from Kabul region which is evident from his surname. He died in Kabul in 1567.⁴

Beikhudi Balkhi

He was a poet from Balkh who lived there around 1543.

Your foreheads charm has men enslaved
Like the crescent's beauty by many craved.⁵

Beikasi Ghaznavi

According to Badawani he was of virtuous character and went on pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Later he went to India where he immersed in knowledge and died in Peshawar in 1566. He has a good compilation of poems and was famous during Homyun's time.

In the convent and mosque I seek you
Wherever I am, to you I am true.⁶

¹. Makhzan-i-Afghani, p. 250.

². Pata Khazana, p. 63.

³. Qamoos-al-A'lam in Turkish.

⁴. Sakinat-al-Fuzula, p. 57.

⁵. Mazkar Ahbab, p. 310.

⁶. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 2, p. 193. Tazkera-i-A'lamaye Hind, p. 34.

Tayeb Herawi

He was a native of Herat but grew up in Bokhara. He served the king of Bokhara and lived around 1670.

Your ruby lips has put to shame
The goblet's glitter all the same.
My negligence has given me gray hair
Like the moon's light in despair.

Tash Mohammad Kunduzi

He was a scholar from Aurangzeb's time who lived in Kunduz. He traveled to India and wrote a book in 1689 called Hujat-al-Aurangshahia in Arabic and Persian dealing with religious matters.¹ A copy of this book is present in the palace library.

Turabi Balkhi

Mullah Turabi Balkhi lived in Mazar-i-Sharif for a long time. He wrote odes in praise of Imam Quli Khan, the governor of Turan.

I wail and cry without you
Like a rock I find life undue.²

Tamkin Kabuli

He was a famous calligraphist from Akbar's reign whose hand-writing was envied by all. He was a skilled Nastaliq calligrapher.³

Tawakul Baig Ghaznavi

Tawakul Baig, son of Tulak Baig, was an author from Ghazni who wrote Tarikh Dilkushai Shamsir Khani in 1653 dedicated to Shamsir Khan, governor of Ghazni, in which he summarizes the stories of Shah-nama of Firdawsi. A copy of this book is present in Cambridge Library of Britain.⁴

¹. Hujat-al-Aurangshahia, manuscript.

². Tazkera-i-Nasrabadi, p. 642.

³. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 31.

⁴. Cambridge catalogue, vol. 4.

Sabet Badakshi

His name was Mir Mohammad Afzal and his forefathers lived in Badakhshan. He was born in Delhi and was a proficient poet.

Good news I do not foresee
Afraid that she will leave me.¹

Sabet Baretch

He was a gnostic from the Baretch tribe who lived in Baloot town during the Mughal period and had gone there from his native Shorawak of Kandahar. He was a disciple of sheikh Mowdud Chisti. His grave is in Awdal mountain.²

Sani Khan Herawi

He was a leader and poet during Akbar's reign who was famous for his piety and benevolence. He is the author of a divan.

Separation is a dreaded snare
Of which Majnun has deep fear.

Your departure has put me in grief
Which even Farhad could not bear.³

Mir Jamaluddin Herawi

He was a Herawi and was raised in Balkh and was allied with Jami. His pen-name was Khademi. Based on royal research he wrote Shahnama-i-Abdullah in the name of Abdullah Khan, the king of Turan. His poetry is attractive and pious.

Like a whirlwind you enthrall
Those who worship your stature tall.⁴

¹. Atashkada-i-Azar, p. 385.

². Makhzan-i-Afghani, p. 254.

³. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 207.

⁴. Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 299.

Mir Chuchak Elmi

He was a Sadat from Sar-i-Pul of Balkh. His pen-name was Elmi. He lived around 1592.

I investigate the secret deep
Of good tidings in your sleep.
Your charm and beauty they know
Who studied you from head to toe.
None can match your writing style
Which they cannot truly beguile.
The impudent know not love true
And shall not divulge his secret to you.
If you seek knowledge anew,
Pray so you may ignorance eschew.¹

Jahangir Herawi

He was from the descendants of Shah Tayeb Herawi and was a versatile poet. He came to Sind during the reign of Babur. He wrote Mazhar-al-Asaar in reply to Tuhfa-al-Ahrar. He has also left behind a divan. In 1540 he went to Hijaz and died on the way.²

Habibi Kabuli

Habibullah, with the family name Habibi, was a resident of Farza of Kabul. He was a well-versed poet during Aurangzeb's time. He left behind works such as Yusuf and Zuleikha and the exposition of Yusuf chapter of the holy Quran and a large number of poems. He died around 1679 in Farza of Kohdaman.³

Hesamuddin Badakshi

His father, Qazi Nezam, went to India during Babur's reign and attained the rank of amir and qazi (judge). His son, Mir Hesamuddin was

¹ Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 341.

² Tarikh Sind Ma'sumi, p. 2306. Preface of Mazhar-al-Asaar.

³ Sakenat-al-Fuzula, p. 60.

born in Badakshan and attained spiritual guidance from Khwaja Abdul Baqi Kabuli. He was a judge during Babur's time and later.¹

Halima

She was a learned and well-spoken Afghan woman and was the daughter of Khushal Khan Khatak and the sister of Abdul Qadir Khan. Mohammad Hotak provides her description in Pata Khazana (Hidden Treasure). He writes: Halima is a scholar and a chaste woman who is a prominent Pashto poetess. She studied books of mystic thought and through her brother became the disciple of sheikh Sadi Lahori and was capable of solving the complexities of *masnavi* and the notes of Hazrat Imam Rabani.²

Malik Hamza Seistani

He was the son of Jalaluddin, renowned national Afghan leader, who had total power in his region. As we saw in the sections on Shah Jahan's and national movements, Malik Hamza together with Malik Awdal, rose up against the Mughal rulers in Helmand. He passed away in Seistan in 1672. He was an influential leader whose position was recognized by the Safavi court also. Beside being a national and military leader he was also a learned person. His pen name was Ghafil.

Know there are things two
Great tidings it will bring you.
Strive so you may achieve one
True wisdom or insanity anew.³

Hamid Mashokhel

He was a Mohmand from the Mashokhel clan and lived in the Tsarban village of Peshawar. He was born around 1689 and turned out to be a prominent personality and astute poet. He created a new style in Pashto poetry which is known as Hamid's style, in which poetry is written

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, p. 335.

². Pata Khazana, p. 179.

³. Tazkera-i-Nasr Abadi, p. 50.

like the Indian style of Persian. He introduced the thought and terminology of that style into Pashto.

He is the author of an excellent divan, which in the world of imagination, is as good as the Indian style. In 1725 he wrote the story of Shah Gadai Helali in poetry and translated the story of Neyrang-i-Eshq of Malwana Ghanimat into Pashto with great skill.

In short he was a brilliant Pashto writer and the establisher of a new style of poetry with a large number of followers.

The new comer's ignorance I adore
Striving to achieve knowledge evermore.¹

Hamid Gul

He was the nephew of the famed Rahman Baba who lived near Peshawar.² It is estimated he lived after 1689. He was a national poet of the Pashto language who recited poetry in the style of the people. His poetry is famous from Peshawar to Kandahar.

Mawlana Khaki

He was from Balkh and for 20 years was involved with Mawlana Nowabadi. He was a disciple of Mawlana Mohammad Amin Zahid and Talib Alman Saa'i. He knew the holy Koran by heart and was involved in schooling. He authored *Ayena wa Tuti*, *Gul wa Bulbul*, *Qasid wa Maqsud*, *Iskandar Nama*, *Zara wa Aftab*, *Shama' wa Parwana*, and a number of pamphlets in jurisprudence. His divan includes ghazals, odes and quatrains.

Beloved does your suitor seek
Your dark tresses, your figure sleek.
Broken hearted fear your oppression
Pay some attention to the meek.³

¹ Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 232.

² Da Pashtunkhwa da Sha'er Har-wa-Bahar.

³ Majma'-al-Fusaha, p. 287.

Khangul Khalil

He was a follower of Hamid Mashokhel's style and was a prominent poet who lived near Peshawar in 1690. He belonged to the Khalil tribe.

Insanity engulfed my aching heart
When your beauty I did crave.
Your amour has put me in a bind
I knew then I have become a slave.¹

Khani Kabuli

His name was Khan Mohammad and he was from Sakana of Kabul. He lived around 1577 and was close to Homayun.

If someone could my message convey
To my love, whom I do pray.²

Kherad Baigi Kabuli

A poet from Kabul known for his piety and he was engaged with scholars and prominent people. He died in 1568.³ According to Amin Razi he made a pilgrimage to the two holy cities.

Barley bread and water is my stay
The prophet's teachings I convey.
To the friends who share my bread
Whose valor has in Sanjar spread.
This is the bliss, the envy of all
In the land of Qaisar with a thrall.⁴

Khalqi Qalandar

¹. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 243.

². Sakina-al-Fusaha, p. 66.

³. Nafais-al-Masir of Qazwini.

⁴. Tazkera Haft Eqleem.

He was from Balkh and was a genuine student of Marvi. He lived like a derelict and spent 30 years in travels and finally ended up at the gate of Hazrat Ali's shrine. He died in 1575.

Oh beloved of my heart,
Stay by me, do not depart.¹

Khwand Mir

He was a famous historian from Herat and was a grandson of the renowned Mir Khwand, the author of *Tarikh Rowzat-al-Fusaha*. His ancestors moved from Balkh to Herat and became famous men of letters of Herat. Khwand Mir wrote his famous book of history, *Habib-al-Sayr*, in 1523 and died 12 years later. He is also the author of *Khulasat-al-Akhbar* and *Dastur-al-Wuzara*.²

Khwaja Zada Kabuli

He was a good looking person and his pen-name was Zari. He studied in Bokhara and died in India while he was still young. Baqayi Andarjani writes that he changed his surname of Khwaja Zada to Rahimi. He went to Samarkand from Kabul in his youth where he studied. He was a courageous person but in later life suffered from a mental ailment and died in 1543.

On Eid night I envision her face,
In the crescent moon I see her grace.
With in-trepidation I let her know
That my petition is not just a show.
Even though I cannot see her
To her street I will embark without ado.³

Khwaja Hasan Herawi

¹ *Majma'-al-Fusuha*, p. 242.

² *Tazkera Ulama Hind*, p. 265.

³ *Majma'-al-Fusaha of Baqayi*, p. 114.

He was known for his erudition and was close to Akbar's court. He was good tempered and was a master of eloquence. He is author of a divan and Faizi was his famous student. He died in Kabul in 1572.

I crave the love I have for you
You know that and I and God.¹

Khwaja Mohammad Bangash

He was a famous Pashto poet who was a contemporary of Aurangzeb. His poetic collection can rarely be found these days. Raverty includes some of his poetry in his book.

You blame me for doing wrong
I wonder to what cast I belong.²

Khushal Khan Khatak

We discussed his warrior-ship in the chapter on national movements. Beside his ability to engage in battles he was also a prolific writer, scholar and philosopher. He started his famous school in Pashto literature which is known under his name. He superseded all others in versification and prevalent sciences and has left behind voluminous titles in Pashto literature and is known as father of Pashto language. His literary works can be summarized as:

1. His divan, a collection of forty thousand couplets
2. Tarikh Pashto (history of Pashto literature)
3. Ayar Danish (touchstone of wisdom)
4. Religious articles
5. His memoirs
6. Farakh Nama (on knowledge, arts and beliefs)
7. Fazl Nama (on religious matters)
8. Riyazi-al-Haqiqa (on exact sciences)
9. Baz Nama (on falconry)
10. Translation of Hidayah into Pashto
11. Ayena (reflections on life)

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 2. Tazkera-i-Ulama Hind, p. 50.

². Gulshan-i-Roh of Raverty.

12. Dastar Nama (criteria for turban wearing)
13. Sehat-al-Badan (on health issues)
14. Zangiri¹ (short-hand form of writing).

Daa'i Keshmi

Famous as Mir Buzurg, his name was Mir Shamsuddin, and he was a renowned personality from Badakshan. He was well-versed in literature, arithmomancy and decimals. He was from Balada of Kishm and according to Mir Jalaluddin he died in Kabul in 1586 and was buried there.

I'm the one who long for my land,
Afflicted in this palace grand.
Like Majnun I live in sorrow
Disgraced, I boldly stand. ²

Darweza Nangarhari

Akhund Darweza was a renowned scholar who surfaced around 1590 in Pashtunkhwa. He was from the lineage of Jayun bin Janti and his father was Gadayee bin Sa'di, who lived in Kunduz for some time and then came to the mountains of eastern Afghanistan and married Maryam, sister of Malik Daulat Malizai, and lived there.³

He was a disciple of Sayed Ali famous as Pir Baba. Upon the instigation of the Mughal court he started a crusade against those who were fighting against the atrocities of the Mughal rulers. Akhund Darweza spent his whole life spreading propaganda to defame the Roshani movement of Bayazid and his followers.

Akhund Darweza followed the style of writing of Roshan and wrote a book, Makhzan-i-Islam, in poetic Pashto, in which he is critical of the Roshani movement. His book received so much notoriety that it became

¹ Tarikh-i-Mura'sa. Kelid-i-Afghani. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 151. Pata Khazana, p. 80.

² Cheragh-i-Anjuman, p. 105.

³ Tazkera-al-Ibrar, pp. 31, 105.

a text all over the country read by Pashtun men and women alike. In Swat Nama, Khushal Khan, refers to this book.¹

The vile propaganda spread by Darweza and his followers in Pash-tunkhwa was one of the main reason for the failure of the Roshani movement. Beside Makhzan, he wrote another book by the name of Tazkerat-al-Ibrar wa al-Ashrar in Persian which was completed in 1612. In this book he discusses the events of the time condemning the Roshani freedom movement. Irshad-al-Salatain is another book he wrote.

According to Rahman Ali Khan, Darweza died in 1673² and was buried in Peshawar. He left behind a family of scholars and his children were all Pashto scholars, poets and writers and have left behind their works.

Dawlat Lawani

Sheikh Dawlatullah was the son of Dado from the Luhani (Lawani) tribe. According to him his mother was from Wardak and Raverty mistakenly considers him a later al-Islamic personality.³ This error stems from the name sheikh, which in present day India is known as al-Islam. Since he has introduced himself in his writings there is no room for such error.

Dawlat was a follower of the Bayazid faith and he praises Bayazid Roshan's children in his poems and has written encomiums in memory of his compatriots. From his poetry we know that he lived to the age of 40 and was alive until 1648.⁴ He was a prolific poet and his divan is five thousand verses which includes ghazals, quatrains, *masnavi* and odes. His style is lucid which reflects his writing eloquence. His divan is rare and one copy is preserved in the British Museum, catalogued as number 4228 which was written in 1690.

The lover's gaze is worth more
Than a golden allure.⁵

¹. Kuliya Khushal Khan, p. 1004.

². Tazkera Ulamayi Hind, p. 59.

³. Preface to Pashto Grammar.

⁴. Hand-written divan of Dawlat.

⁵. Asaar Atiqah Hind, vol. 15, p. 567.

Dost Mohammad Kakar

He was the son of Babar Khan and was in Herat in 1507 and in 1523 wrote Gharghast Nama in Pashto about the life of Gharghast and other Afghan leaders. Mohammad Hotak, author of Pata Khazana, was in possession of this book and he writes: this book was written by Babar Khan, father of Dost Mohammad with the title of Tazkera-i-Gharghast but it got lost with time and Dost Mohammad Khan rewrote the book in poetry naming it Gharghast Nama. Mohammad Hotak has copied one narration from the book in Pata Khazana.¹

Mawlana Duri Balkhi

He was a poet from Balkh who around 1543 spent his life as a merchant and was famous for his clear mindedness and good nature. He was a contemporary of Masihi Balkhi and a student of Mawlana Abu-al-Khair Lang.

Love is my endearing passion
A fervor I will crave all my life.
Though separation will tear me apart
In sadness I will continue my strife.²

Daeri Kabuli

His name was Mohammad Ibrahim Husaini and he was a native of Kabul.³ During the reign of Shah Jahan he was bestowed with the title of Hemat Khan. He is from the lineage of Islam Khan and was a preserver of arts and literature. He died in 1631.

Afflicted am I at night
Restless I live outright.
Lost am I in my sadness
Not knowing wrong from right.⁴

¹. Pata Khazana, p. 88.

². Majma-al-Fusuha, p. 297.

³. Shams Anjuman. Tazkera-i-Hussaini.

⁴. Tazkera-i-Roz Roshan.

Rabia

She was from Kandahar and lived during the reign of Babur. According to Mohammad Hotak she wrote a divan and is considered an astute Pashto poetesses. Pata Khazana includes one of her quatrain which states: Humans were brought to this world burning their innards with fire. Additionally hell was created on earth and it is named separation.

He brought man to the world's mire
And put his body on fire,
By creating hell on earth called separation
To endure, if you diving love desire.¹

Rabi Balkhi

He lived around 1670 in Balkh and was engaged with Shaukat Bukhari who gave him the pen-name of Rabi.

Your departure has made the garden sad
The birds, in misfortune, are clad.²

Rahman Baba

He was the most gracious Pashto poet who was born in 1633 in Bahadur Kalie, south of Peshawar. His father was Abdul Satar Mohmand. He is associated with the Ibrahimzai clan of Mohmand tribe.³ Abdul Rahman turned out to be an outstanding poet of Pashto and established his own style of poetry which is known as the Rahman Baba style. In his childhood he took lessons from Mullah Mohammad Yusufzai and became a scholar of jurisprudence and thought.

Rahman Baba was alive until the time of Shah Alam, son of Aurangzeb, who was inaugurated as king in 1707. According to Hughes he met Khushal Khan in Akora several times to receive inspiration from his august company.⁴

¹. Pata Khazana, p. 193.

². Tazkera-i-Nasr Abadi, p. 639.

³. Introduction to Kelid-i-Afghani of Hughes.

⁴. Kelid-i-Afghani of Hughes.

Rahman Baba was an exquisite and well-composed poet and hails extreme respect in Pashto literature which others have not been able to achieve. His style is most comprehensive. He talks about human nobility from the inner depths of his heart. His poetry is reminiscent of the nature of Afghans. His style of writing is favored throughout Pashtunkhwa which has attracted a large number of followers. His grave is in the Hazar Khana graveyard of Peshawar near that of Akhund Darweza.

His love has put me in a frenzied bind
My apathy is dedicated to His kind.
From this storm he will be safe
Who helps others collect their waif.¹

Rezayee Kabuli

He was a fluent poet and wrote a divan in Persian. He was a sacrificer of his time and lived around 1543.

In the grave that you dig
Is an intact body and a free heart.²

Mawlana Riyazi

He was the brother of Mawlana Niyazi who was a well-versed poet and his pen-name was Wusuli. In 1605 he wrote a ghazal in reply to Afghani in which he laments about Afghani's independent lifestyle while he has chosen a life of seclusion.

Red wine makes me intoxicated
Praise the goblet, it makes me intoxicated.
How strange the cup-bearers affection
Makes my vision clear from intoxication.
From too much grief I turn listless
Like the Phoenix when it is intoxicated.
You make merry while I stay in solitude
You may laugh while I stay intoxicated.
Slander me while I shed my blood

¹. Introduction of Kelid-i-Afghani. Pata Khazana.

². Majma-al-Fusuha, p. 256.

Enough said, as I lay in blood intoxicated.
How strange if all drunk people awake on judgement day
If you recover from this ordeal, then stay intoxicated.¹

Rownaqi Badakshi

He was a poet from Badakshan who lived in Lahore from where he returned back to his native land and was involved with Mirza Ibrahim in Badakshan. He died in 1557.

In Badakshan calamities abound
Red rubies, like blood are here found.²

Roghani Herawi

He was from Herat and during the Mughal period he grew up in India. His pen name was Roghani.

Roghani your heart is lit with fire
This is my one and only desire.³

Zaair Badakshi

His name was Saleh Mohammad and he was a follower of Hazrat Mujaddad. He was from Najba of Badakshan. He was a free-spirited poet and died in 1657.

Sometimes injustice makes me gloom
Sometimes in grief I assume,
That separation is an awakening
To cry and stay in utter doom.⁴

Zarghona

She was the daughter of Mullah Din Mohammad Kakar who lived in Panjwayi of Kandahar and was married to Sadullah Khan Nourzai. Mohammad Hotak provides information about her life and poetry which

¹. Majma-al-Fusuha, p. 329.

². Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 310. Cherag-i-Anjuman, p. 107.

³. Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 275.

⁴. Cherag-i-Anjuman, p. 108.

he had heard from his father and writes that Zarghona gave birth to able sons. She translated Bostan of sheikh Sheraz into Pashto in 1498. Mohammad writes that his father saw a copy of this book in the poetesses hand-writing. She was an excellent calligraphist and others learned from her work.¹

Pata Khazana provides us a sample of the Pashto translation of Bostan in verse from which we can judge her excellent penmanship.

A story I have heard
Sweeter than honey is its every word.
One morning on Eid day
Bayazid was on his way,
He had come out from a bath
And was walking on the path.
Someone threw down some ash
Unknowingly from a stash,
His face and head were soiled
And his clothes were spoiled.
Bayazid thanked God with grace
And said as he cleaned his face:
"I am worthy of this fire
May it burn my attire,
Ash I do not despise
Nor will I complain in guise."
Wise men seek to be humble
With pride they do not rumble,
Those who proudly yelp
Cannot look at God for help.
By boasting, honor you won't attain
From pride you should abstain,
With humility you will earn fame
Pride will destroy you in shame.

¹. Pata Khazana, p. 191.

Mawlana Zulfi Balkhi

He was from Rodaba of Balkh and lived around 1543 and was a poet and scholar of his time.

Mighty king treat the poor well
Do not separate me from your cell.
Let not love slip away tomorrow
In sedition you need not dwell.¹

Saghari Herawi

He was a poet from Herat who lived around 1543 and visited the holy cities with Waisi Herawi and from there returned back to India.² In Herat Saghari was involved with Mawlana Jami. He had a mild temperament and would joke with Jami who wrote a quatrain about him mocking his talent as a poet. It is said that when people learned about the quatrain Saghari went to see Jami and complained that he had become the ridicule of all. Mawlana replied that it was not his fault, the scribes had misspelled his name.³

Sarwari Kabuli

His name was Aalim Baig and he was among the courtiers of Aurangzeb. He wrote colorful poetry.

The words she uttered from her ruby lips,
Heed not, it's a firebrand she quips.

Your curse soothes the ailing heart
Like water which doses a fire apart.⁴

Sikandar Khan

¹. Majma'-al-Fusaha, p. 296.

². Khazina-i-Gangagahi, referenced by Springer.

³. Ketab Jami Ali Asghar Hekmat, p. 107.

⁴. Latayef-al-Tawayif of Mawlana Fakhruddin Ali Kashafi,

He was the son of Khushal Khan and a poet with a Pashto divan. He was a student, together with Ali Khan and Shaida Khan, in Khushal Khan's school. Referencing an ode from Qasem Ali Afridi Raverty mentions his name.¹ Hughes, in *Kiled-i-Afghani*, presents a ghazal from his divan. He translated a book with the title of *Mehr-wa-Mushtari* in Pashto verse, which had been written in Persian by Atar Tabrizi in 1377 in five thousand verses. This book has also been translated into Turkish by several authors.

When the musician plays his song
Bringing joy to spring all along.
It is then with joy I drink
To forget my sorrows prolong.²

Sultan Kandahari

He was a poet from Akbar's time and was a native of Sperkie in Kandahar. He was involved with the poet Mullah Qasim Kahi Kabuli in India. Badawani writes that Sultan was a poet of mild temperament and for many years travelled in Daccan and other regions of India and was involved in the Daccan uprising.

He who thinks the heart is a shell
Scatters his pearls in a spell.³

Sutan Ali Obehi

He was a native of Obeh of Herat and lived around 1543. He was a calligraphist par excellence and rivaled with Sultan Ali Mashadi. He lived in Bukhara for a short time where he had gained fame for his fortitude and erudition. He died at the age of 109 and was buried in Bukhara.

Your ruby lips are enticing
Your mouth all inviting.
Not a blemish on your face

¹ Introduction to Pashto Grammar.

² *Kashf-al-Zunon*, vol. 2, p. 373.

³ *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*, vol. 5, p. 238.

Your crescent eyebrows despising.¹

Sultan Mohammad Khandan

He was a famous calligraphist and poet from Kabul who led a simple life around 1689² and spent his time writing melodic poems.

Cup-bearer shed my blood anew
Wet your lips with my blood too.³

Susani Kabuli

His name was Zamana Baig, son of Ghaur Baig Kabuli, who was a courtier in Jahangir's court. He was known as Mahabit Khan and for a while was governor of Kabul.⁴

Susani had a pretentious character and had eclipsed Jahangir. In the end, due to rivalry with other courtiers, he spent his life as a recluse in Daccan.

Bachelors who roam free with joy
Not entrapped, life they enjoy.⁵

Sayed Ahmad

He was son of Miro and his grand father was Ako. He received his training in the Khatak tribe and turned out to be a scholar. He was a writer during Akbar's reign and lived around 1592. According to Darweza he authored several pamphlets.⁶

Saif Khan

His name was Faqirullah and he was raised in Khost of Qataghan. He grew up to adulthood in India. During Shah Jahan's reign he was governor of Allahabad. Saifabad, near Sarbind is the settlement he built.

¹. Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 208.

². Roz-i-Roshan.

³. Tazkera-i-Sultani.

⁴. Roz-i-Roshan.

⁵. Riyaz-al-Shua'ra.

⁶. Tazkera-al-Ibrar, p. 172.

He was an administrator and scholar and was involved in exquisite art. He authored a book entitled Rag Darpan¹ dealing with classical music. During Shah Jahan's reign he was governor of Kashmir. He died on 5 September 1684.²

Mullah Shah Badakshi

This scholar and poet was a contemporary of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's reigns who went from Badakshan to India and for a while stayed in Lahore and Kashmir where he studied under Miya Mir. He was famous for his piety and inspiration. He is the author of a divan and an interpretation of religious matters named Arkshahi. He died in 1660.

Intoxicated despondents know not
High ideals they know not.
Don't mention God to non-believers
Prayers to God they know not.³

Shuja' Seistani

He was the son of Umm Malik Hamza. He was a young man of utmost respect and spent a long time in Abas Abad of Pars.

I do not hold the key to hope
Content, I stay within my scope.⁴

Shukhi Herawi

His father was a shoe maker in Herat and he had a joyful temperament. In one of his poem he wittingly states that the beautiful ones crave your wealth only.

Suddenly I noticed my love is disturbed,
Something that made me disturbed.
Drunk at night but in daytime alert

¹ Rag Darpan is a Sanskrit musical work. A copy of this book is preserved in the library of India Office.

² Cherag-i-Anjuman, p. 108.

³ Tazkira-i-Husaini, p. 166. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 333.

⁴ Tazkera-i-Nasr Abadi, p. 51.

He came out from his house disturbed.
Facetious he is after tasting wine
This is the state of the love-lorn disturbed.¹

Shaida Balkhi

He was a relative of Mawlana Qiaymuddin Balkhi who was acquainted with the knowledge of wisdom and was well-versed in jurisprudence and interpretation of the Koran. Shaida was a courtier of Babur and had an elegant personality. The author of Makar-i-Ahbab learned astronomy from him. In this poem he has commented about the mightiness of Balkh fortress.

Balkh fort has a structure grand
Times trepidations it did withstand.
When asked about its history and name
I said its dark, upright and well-planned.²

Amir Shir Ali Khan Lodhi

Chief of the amirs, Shir Ali Khan Lodhi was a distinguished leader during Shah Jahan's reign. Beside his political and military capabilities this Afghan was also a scholar, writer and poet. His book, Tazkira-i-Marat al-Khyal, provides us a memoir of poets and a description liberal arts. The writing of this book was completed in 1691.³

Shir Mohammad Hotak

He was a scholar from Kandahar who was born in 1681 in Kandahar. He undertook his studies in Herat and Iran and died at the age of 83 in 1762 in Kandahar and was buried in the graveyard of Mullah Shaho.

He was acquainted with subjects such as religious jurisprudence, religious tenets, interpretation, logic and prophetic traditions. His book,

¹. Mazkar-i-Abbab, p. 191.

². Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 234.

³. Tazkera-i-Marat al-Khyal.

Israr-al-Arifin, is written in Pashto verse. He is a follower of Mullah Alif's style.¹

Shir Mohammad Nangarhari

He was a student of wisdom who lived in Nangarhar around 1689. He wrote religious and moral poetry in Pashto. Having not achieved his ambitions he laments in his poems and hopes he were just a speck of dust.

From folks I stay away
Like a nebula astray.
Or I wish to be in love
Like the sun up above.
If neither goal do I achieve
In dust Shir Mohammad will bereave.²

Sadeqi Kandahari

He was a poet from Homayun's reign who was born in Kandahar and spent time in India where he died.

Your piercing arrow rips my shell
In every direction I can tell.
Will you alas come to my rescue
To save me from this hell.³

Sabuhi Badakshi

He was a poet from Badakshan who lived in India where he died in 1566.

My nightly wailing will disturb her sentinel
And he will certainly bid me farewell.⁴

Sabuhi Kabuli

¹. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 212.

². Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 216.

³. Muntakhbat-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 259.

⁴. Cheragh-i-Anjuman, p. 112.

He was a poet in Akbar's court and served him for a while.
Of what use will it be if I explain?
The deep pain in my heart.
Weakness now prevails all over me
How can I my sorrow impart.¹

Sadr Khan Khatak

He was the son of Khushal Khan Khatak and was a prolific writer. He has left behind a divan in Pashto and is considered one of the most prominent poet of the language.

Enough is one lesson of love
Of the whole world thereof.²

Haji Arif Kandahari

A historian of the Koragani period of India who was the first historian during Akbar's reign and wrote Tarikh Akbari before any other author. His name was Mohammad Arif and when Biram Khan was governor of Kandahar, during Homyun's kingship, Arif was in charge of his logistics.³ Mohammad Arif accompanied Biram Khan to the very end and after his death he went on pilgrimage to the holy cities. Upon his return in 1577 he worked with Muzafar Khan Turbati and a year later found his way into Akbar's court and was appointed as a judge in Punjab.

He resigned from this post immediately and lived in the Tanda fort with Muzafar Khan. In 1580 when Muzafar Khan was captured and killed in the fort, Mohammad Arif also passed away.

Mohammad Qasim Firishta writes his name as Haji Mohammad Kandahari and used his writings as reference while discussing events in Gujrat, Sind and Bengal.⁴

Arif Kandahari is author of two history books, one with the title of Mutala' and the other Maqta'. These two books are known as Tarikh-i-

¹. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 485.

². Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1.

³. Masir-i-Rahimi, vol. 2, pp. 1-8.

⁴. Firishta, articles 4, 7 and 8.

Akbari, and very few copies of this history are available with only one copy preserved in the Rampur library but the front and last pages of the book are missing. The missing pages of the first part are present in Cambridge library which start with the adoration of Akbar. The first part of the book deals with events which took place during Homyun's reign while the second part is related to historical episodes from the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi to Jalaluddin Akbar's reign and was completed in 1578 dealing with events which the author witnessed.¹ Haji Arif was a writer and historian of the Koragani period. In Haft Eqleem, Amin Razi provides us this verse.

There are a thousand wishes in my heart
All which her yearning does impart.

Arif Kabuli

He lived around 1592 in Samarkand. He was a native of Kabul and was a free-willed person.

Kiss your feet I will,
Bow to you I shall with frill.²

Mullah Alim Gulbahari

He was a poet and scholar of the Akbar period. According to Abu-al-Fazl and Badwani he was a charming person who was born in Gulbahar, north of Kabul. In the beginning he chose Bahari as his pen-name and later changed it to Rabia'i. He is the author of Wafaye-al-Wilaya, which provides information on the life of scholars, sheikhs and leaders of India. He was famous for his eloquence in writing among the scholars of Akbar's period and had access to the court.³ In reply to Selsilat-al-Dahab of Jami he wrote Selsilat-al-Jaras. His other books are Dalalat-al-A'qal, Bahr-al-Jawd, and A'walim-al-Asar.⁴ He died in 1584.

¹ Recollections of Islamia Education conference at Lahore by Azhar Ali, professor at Delhi University.

² Haft Iqleem. Roz-i-Roshan.

³ Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 465.

⁴ Tazkeria-i-A'lami Hind, p. 100.

My pleasure fades when I see you,
My thoughts go astray when I see you.
With spite you want to kill me
Not a moment of love when I see you.¹

Abas Sarwani

He was an Afghan historian from the Sarwani tribe and was alive during Homayun's reign. He wrote the historical events of the Lodhi and Suri dynasties with the title of *Tarikh-i-Shirshahi*, dedicated to the enlightened Afghan ruler Shir Shah Suri. His book was renowned among historians of the Mughal period and apparently Nematullah Herawi, the author of *Makhzan*, had seen this book.²

Abdul Salam

He was a contemporary of Darweza's children who lived around 1640. He participated in making additions to *Makhzan* and it is possible he was from the same family. We have at our disposal his writings and poetry written in Darweza's style.³

Abdul Karim

Famous as Karimdad, he was son of Darweza who was endowed with nominal and spiritual accomplishments. He gathered the scattered pieces of *Makhzan* and made additions to it in its original style of writing. He was famous for his gnosticism. In *Ma'rij-al-Wilayat* and *Khulasat-al-Bahr* he is known as *Muhaqiq Afghani*. Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori and Rahman Ali have also praised his work and consider him to be a scholar of high merit and say that he died in 1662 in the Yusufzai nation.⁴

The annotations which Karimdad added to his father's *Makhzan*, indicates that he made improvements to his father's style and has tried to add structure to the half-rhymed poetical style of writing. He also made

¹ *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*, vol. 3, pp. 272-273.

² Introduction to *Makhzan-i-Afghani*. Introduction to *Tarikh-i-Afghan* of sheikh Imamuddin.

³ *Makhzan-al-Islam*, manuscript.

⁴ *Khazinat-al-Asfiya*. *Tazkira-i-A'lamayi Hind*, p. 131.

improvements to spiritual poetry of Pashto and has also written love poems. From Karimdad's writing we know that he travelled to India and spent time in Agra.¹

Abdul Halim

He was son of Abdullah and grandson of Darweza who participated in the writing of annotations to Makhzan. He lived after 1592. He was a follower of his grandfather's style and wrote Pashto poetry in prosody.

To the vagabond the world is home,
Wherever he is that is his home.
East or west to him is the same
The whole world is his home.²

Abdul Rahman Bakhtyari

He was among the gnostics of Afghanistan and had disciples such as sheikh Mati Kasi and lived after 1495. He resided in Tahara of India and was famous for his knowledge and spiritualism.³

Abdul Aziz Herawi

He was from Herat and during Babur's reign went to India together with his son and took residence in the Kahan area and started teaching. He is the initiator of contemplative sciences in Sind. Renowned leaders of the time sought his wisdom.⁴

Abdul Rahman Ramzi

Famous as Haji Ramzi he was a scholar from Badakshan. Hazrat Mujaddad Kabuli, studied prophetic traditions from him. He authored pamphlets in Arabic and Persian such as *Isbat-i-Nabwat* and *Rad-al-Shia'*.⁵

¹. Makhzan, manuscript.

². Makhzan, manuscript, p. 328.

³. Makhzan-i-Afghani, p. 251.

⁴. *Tarikh-i-Sind Ma'sumi*, p. 199.

⁵. *Chiragh-i-Anjuman*, p. 108.

Mir Abdullah

Son of Mir Na'man. He was a famous sufi clergy who was a follower of Hazrat Mujadad. He is know for his eloquent poetry.

Do not hurt those close to you
Whom you trust in time due.
Don't hurt your beloved friends
Those who remain faithful and true.¹

Haji Abdul Ali

He was a native of Taloqan and went to India where he joined the rank and file of secretaries of Sultan Qutb Shah. He was a scholar and fluent writer and wrote a book on fluency. He died in 1650.²

Abdullah Niyazi

He was a scholar during Akbar's time who was involved with sheikh Salim Chisti. Later he served Sayed Mohammad, famous as Mehdi. After a number of journeys he settled in India. In 1585 Akbar gave him land and a salary but he declined the offer. He died seven years later at the age of 90.³

Mawlana Niyazi

He was from Badakhshan and was acquainted with the art of fluency, enigma and prosidy. He went to India from Badakhshan and started serving Jalaluddin Akbar. In 1602 he embarked on a journey to the holy cities where he died. He was over 60 when he died.

The garden's flowers are no match
The beauty you dispatch.
Gazelles will follow in your steps
In the desert wasteland steppes.

¹. Chiragh-i-Anjuman, p. 114.

². Chiragh-i-Anjuman, p. 114.

³. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 42.

Your coquetry in this earth
I will bear in my berth.
Niyazi her grief has afflicted you
And her thoughts has addicted you. ¹

Abdullah

He was the son of Mullah Raknuddin who lived in the environs of Abasin (Indus) and the mountains of Pashtunkhwa during Akbar's time. According to Darweza he was a Pashto poet who wrote about matters related philosophy and poetry.²

Abdul Rahman

He was an influential scholar during Akbar's time in Pashtunkhwa and was considered a national leader. According to Darweza he minted coins in his name. He lived in Hazara and Mankirai and spent many years in India. He has written about jurisprudence, one of his work is called Hasina. Darweza writes that he was inclined toward the Roshani movement.³

Abdul Rahim Mankirawi

He was a scholar from Akbar's period and has left behind works on religious matters. One of his book is Rad-al-Bada'.⁴

Abdul Wahab Mankirawi

He was among the distinguished men who lived during the 16th century in the environs of Peshawar. He has written in prose and poetry. His works are in Arabic, Persian and Hindi. He is the author of Kanz-al-Daqayiq.⁵

¹. Majma'-al-Fusaha, p. 326.

². Tazkira-al-Ibrar, p. 170.

³. Tazkira-al-Ibrar, p. 171.

⁴. Tazkira-al-Ibrar, p. 280.

⁵. Tazkira-al-Ibrar, p. 214.

Abdul Rasul

He was the son of Sayed Ali who lived around 1689. He is the author of two volumes of a dictionary of Arabic to Persian with the title of *Majma'-al-Lughat wa al-Asma*. Work on the two volumes was completed in 1706.

This scholastic work was undertaken upon the orders of Malik Fateh Khan and includes several thousand Arabic words. The second volume, scribed by the author is present in the royal library.

Abdul Qadir Khan Khatak

He was the son of Khushal Khan and was an outstanding Pashto poet who was born in 1652 and we are certain that he lived until 1706. Like other members of his family, Abdul Qadir was also exiled to India upon the orders of the Mughal court and for a while he was banished to live in Kabul. His poetry is composed of love, social and ethical poems and has a hint of philosophy too and is considered a good example of the Khushal Khan style of poetry. He is considered to be among the most eloquent Pashto poets.

Beside his *divan*, which is nearly 3500 verses, he is the author of other titles also among them is *Guldasta*, the Pashto translation of Sa'di's work, *Nasihah Nama* on the art of homonym, *Chil Hadis*, *Adam Khan aw Durkhani*, *Yusuf wa Zulikha*, in four thousand couplets. He completed work on his last book in 1701. His poetry includes ghazal, masnavi, quatrains, and five lined poetry.

In the soft dripping rain,
The hyacinth flowers once again.
It is the season of pleasure
With my saqi I shall remain.¹

Abdul Samad Badakshi

He lived around 1543 in Bukhara and was originally from Badakshan.

On the throne of love, see the zealot's lore

¹. Introduction of *Divan of Abdul Qadir Khan*. *Pashtana Shua'ra*, vol. 1, p. 174.

The afflicted with love, to whom they can implore. ¹

Abdul Rahim Hotak

He was a poet and scholar from Kalat of Kandahar province who lived toward the end of the Mughal period and beginning of the Hotaki rule in the old city of Kandahar. His father was from Shah Bolan of Kalat. At the age of ten he and his father were banished to Iran and he stayed in exile in Nishapur, Khorasan and Bukhara until he was 80 years old. Away from his homeland he wrote heart-rendering poetry in remembrance of his native country. His divan is six thousand couplets. He was a follower of Rahman Baba's style. His poems are composed of masnavi, ghazal and quatrains. From his poetry we can tell that he was knowledgeable about philosophy, logic and Arabic sciences. He was engaged with schools in Khorasan and Bukhara for a long period of time.

In remembrance of his country:

I remember my beautiful Kandahar
No matter if it is close or afar.

Aspiring for his country:

I, Rahim, in Bukhara earnestly pray
To be in Kandahar someday.²

Abdul Rashid

He was son of Sultan Hussain son of Abdul Rahim. His family was renowned for their scholastic achievements in Multan and were revered by the Mughal emperors of Delhi. He went to Langar Kot from Multan and lived there around 1689. In 1717 he wrote his famous book, Rashid-al-Bayan in Pashto verse in which he describes all matters related to jurisprudence and religious tenets. His style is fluent, simple and attractive. He is a follower of Mullah Alif's style and his book is read and used by common Pashtuns.³

¹. Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 318.

². Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 321.

³. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 318.

Abdul Razak Kabuli

He was among the distinguished people of Kabul and a master of contemplative sciences and commented on abstract matters and rejected judicial judgements. Shah Jahan appointed him to teach in Kabul's madrassa. After some time he went to Kashmir and lived there in Gujwari village until his death.¹

Abdul Latif Abasi

Abdul Latif son of Abdullah Abas was originally from Bunir and lived in Tirah. He edited a copy of *masnavi* of Mawlawi (Mawlana Balkhi) with 80 other hand-written copies in 1615 and prepared several manuscripts of this work in Amnuish of Tirah and Elam Guzar of Peshawar. Copies of this work are available in Peshawar, Kabul and Cambridge. He died in 1639 and prepared and corrected copies of Hadiqa-i-Sanayee during this time.²

Abdul Hadi Parsa

He was the son of Khwaja Abu Nasr and the grandson of Khwaja Mohammad Parsai Balkhi who was sheikh of Islam in Balkh for a long time and people conferred with him. His poetry is fluent and alluring.

He lived around 1495 and died at an old age and was buried in Balkh. His title was Khwaja Nizamuddin Parsa.³

Ezat Herawi

He went to India from Herat and lived in Shah Jahan Abad. He was a master of composition and speech. He attained the rank of commander of seven thousand (soldiers) in Alamgir's court. After a while his relationship with the king soured and he went to Lahore and died in 1670.

Not a moment do I stay in peace

¹. Tarikh Kashmir.

². Ehtih's List, p. 641 from India Office library.

³. Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 201.

When will this fire in my heart cease.¹

Eshqi Kabuli

He was the son of sheikh Ismail and attained the title of *mirbakshi* during Akbar's reign. He was a man of letters and an artist. He wrote a book in verse in the style of Hadiqa-i-Sanayee. He died in 1582. He also wrote poetry in Urdu.

At daybreak your bragging begins
With one blow you will shun.²

Ali Khan Khatak

He was a famous poet from Khushal Khan's lineage and was the son of Afzal Khan. He was born toward the end of the Mughal era in 1728 and was alive for another 40 years. After the death of his father he became head of the tribe but after a while his brother, Sadullah Khan, incapacitated him and Ali Khan went to Peshawar and Ashnagar³ from where he traveled to India.

He is the author of a divan in Pashto which is about 2000 couplets. He was a follower of Khushal Khan's style. To a certain extent his poetry is also reflective of the style of Hamid Mashokihel and his brother, Kazem Khan Shaida.

I am in search of that face
Which has the pearl's grace.⁴

Sayed Ali Kunduzi

Sayed Ali son of Qanbar Ali son of Sayed Ahmad Yusuf was from Kunduz and during the Mughal period he gained fame in the region near the Indus, the Bajawar mountains and Swat. He came from the lineage of Timur's sister. In the beginning of life he lived in Badakshan and Kunduz and then went to India and during Babur and Hodayun's time he

¹. Tazkira-i-Hussaini, p. 222.

². Roz-i-Roshan. Haft Iqlim.

³. Hayat-i-Afghani, p. 322. Khurshaid-i-Jahan, p. 244.

⁴. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 275.

visited a number of places there. Sayed Ali was a spiritual person and was known as Pir Baba among Afghans. He attracted a large number of followers and died in 1583.¹ His grave is still a revered shrine in Bunir.

Omar Khweshaki

He was a renowned scholar from Hodayun and Akbar's reigns. He is one of the three learned brothers who were Pashto writers and poets and lived for a long time in India and then returned to their homeland and joined the freedom movement of Pir-i-Roshan, the valiant Afghan leader and accompanied him in all his battles. Mullah Omar lived among the Akozai and according to Darweza he wrote pamphlets about saints in which he discussed complex matters related to sufism.²

Ewaz Mohammad Khan

He was a learned student from Qibadian of Balkh who sought knowledge in Badakshan and Kunduz and found his way to the court of Shah Rukh Mirza, the governor of that region, reaching a celestial height. His poetry is fluent and he was famous for his gentle temperament.

The date palm's leaves provide no shade,
Even if it brings happiness it is of no use.³

Eyani Kabuli

He was from Kabul and after finishing his studies he went to India where he gained prominence as a military officer. He got injured and died in the battle of the commander Adil Shah, in 1597. He sometimes recited poetry also.

My bloodletting is due to love,
My indulgence is due to love.
In this house no sane shall step,
Since this is only a house of love.
In the school of love Eyani

¹ Tazkerat-al-Ibrar, p. 133.

² Tazkerat-al-Ibrar, pp. 97-149.

³ Majma'-al-Fuzula, p. 374

Learns affection from the house of love.¹

Essa

He was an influential scholar during Hodayun's reign with a large number of followers and lived near Peshawar and the Pashtunkhwa mountains. He was a follower of Sayed Abdul Wahah, famous as Panjo, and wrote a book on the virtues of people of the faith.²

Essa Meshwanai

He was a poet of the Pashto language. According to the writers of *Insab Asma al-Rijal*, he was from the branch of Kakar, who are scattered in Kohdaman and parts of India.³ Sheikh Issa was a contemporary of king Sher Shah Suri. According to Nematullah, author of *Makhzan* and Mohammad Hotak of *Pata Khazana*, he was from Damla and lived around 1495. Nematullah writes that Issa wrote poetry in praise of God in Pashto, Persian and Hindi.

What I do I then deny
From ideals I do not shy.
High praise be to you
Devoted in hell I will be to you.
Essa is bewildered in this world
Who to befriend, what to gain.⁴

Essa Akhundzada

He was a Pashto poet with a *divan* who lived around 1640 and was involved with the erudite of Kandahar. He was from the Kakar tribe.

No one is more disgraced than I
Or more bound in calamity than I.
Endlessly I burn in this fire of love

¹ *Majma'-al-Fuzula*, p. 383.

² *Tazkerat-al-Ibrar*, p. 188.

³ *Hayat-i-Afghani*, p. 144.

⁴ *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, manuscript.

God set me from this debacle free,¹

Ghazi Kalandar

A poet from Herat who was an ascetic and lived around 1543. His poetry is heart-rendering.

Come, for you I crave
Your doorstep I shall stave.
My heart is at your feet
Your beauty I shall rave.²

Ghaznavi

Mir Kalan Mashor was an eminent figure of Akbar's court and went by the pen-name of Ghaznavi. He was a proponent of knowledge and supporter of literature who came from Ghazni. Beside being an astute politician he was also a poet and left behind a divan. He was governor in Afghanistan and Sunbul of India.

When the cup-bearer is generous indeed
Drink fearlessly to the musician creed.³

Ghulam Mohammad

He was son of Shir Khan of Mugiakhel clan of Gaygani tribe. Born in Duwawa he went to India and wrote Ma'raj Nama in 1704 in Pashto verse.⁴ He also authored the story of Saif-al-Muluk.⁵

Ghauri Kabuli

¹. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 211.

². Majma'-al-Fusaha, p. 275.

³. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 278.

⁴. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 254.

⁵. At the beginning of the 18th century a number of native leaders, named Saif-al-Muluk, were governors in Afghan Gharjistan. Among them Shah Mohammad Saif-al-Muluk, was killed upon the order of Tahmasap, the Safavi king. His son, Tahir Saif-al-Muluk, fled to India and was governor around 1704 in Bengal (Tabakat-i-Akbari, p. 454). The native rulers of Gharjistan were named as such. There is a shrine of Saif-al-Muluk in the citadel of Maimana and a mosque in Kabul has the same name.

He worked for prince Mohammad Hakim in Kabul and after the death of the prince he went to Akbar's court in India where he died in a battle. He was considered a good poet.

Desire will lead me to that door
Which I shall visit evermore.
Beware the lock of hair
Which is ensnaring to the core.¹

Fazil Kabuli

Fazil Munshi was from Kabul who was proficient in composition and was able to scribe different forms of calligraphy. He was secretary during the governorship of prince Mohammad Hakim in Kabul. After the death of the prince he went to serve Jalaluddin Akbar in India where he became a secretary to note historical events.

My thoughts are engulfed by you
My soul entrapped by you.
At your doorstep I stand
Enthralled and bewildered by you.²

Fakhri Herawi

Sultan Mohammad bin Mohammad Amiri whose pen-name was Fakhri was involved with Timuri and Safavi kings around 1543 in Herat. In 1555 he went to Sind during the Arghuni period. He was a scholar and skilled writer, poet and historian. He is the author of Latayif Nama, the Persian translation of the Turkish Masjalis-al-Nafayis of Mir Ali Shir, Bostan-al-Khyal,³ selections of Persian poetry from Tuhfat-al-Habib, Nuradaf-i-Ashar Farsi, Rowzat-al-Salatain, a memoir of 74 poets, Jawa-jhir-al-Ajayeb, a memoir of Persian poetesses, Haft Keshwar which deals with the history and art of poetry which was written for Shah Hasan

¹. Tazkira-i-Haft Iqlim.

². Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 353.

³. Tarikh-i-Sind Ma'sumi, p. 362.

Arghun famous as Sepahi in Sind. Fakhri was a mediocre Persian and Turkish poet and a scholar of Arabic.

See the dervish at dawn
In prayers they always stay.
Pay attention to poor Fakhri alas
Who the king's benevolence convey. ¹

Mir Ferughi

He was from Sadat of Andkhai of Maimana who went to India after his initial studies and got involved with the enlightened people of the sub-continent and gained fame as a poet. He was involved in the art of poetry and died on 2 February 1611.

It is love that has put me at war
Religion and prayers I have set afar.
Nay! alas I live in delight
Without any fear, without fright. ²

Fasih Herawi

He was a poet with a divan with six thousand couplets. He lived in Herat during the Mughal period.

Talk I shall not about my sadness and insanity
Nor about my bleeding heart's calamity.
In deep sleep I shall remain
In my grave with utmost severity. ³

Fasiha Herawi

She was a poetess from Herat who was married to a person named Habibullah who went to India during the Koragani period and died there. ⁴

¹. Tuhfat-al-Habib, manuscript.

². Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 382.

³. Tazkera-i-Nasr Abadi, p. 362.

⁴. Tazkerat-al-Khwatain, p. 242.

Fayaz

He was a Pashto poet who lived a nomadic life during the Koragani period.¹ He versified the story of Bahram and Gul Andam. He is considered a story telling Pashto poet. Hughes included his book in his *Kilid-i-Afghani* in 1893.

Fayaz

He was a distinguished figure from Herat and went to India after 1689. He was a Persian poet of high qualifications.

At dawn the cock makes clear
You humans are all asleep in fear.
Wake up it may be resurrection day
Seek affection in horizon without delay.²

Feroza Kabuli

He was a distinguished personality in Hodayun's court who refrained from exigencies. At times he used the pen-name Hanafi in his poetry. He held important posts in Kabul and was a skilled musician also.³

Mawlana Faizi

He was a native of Balkh who learned the sciences of writing and spelling, poetry and enigma in Meshad of Khorasan and was engaged in writing different kinds of poetry. He is the author of a *divan* and went to India where he got involved with nobles of the state.

We engage in our offensive fear
A calamity which we ourself declare.⁴

¹. Introduction to *Kilid-i-Afghani* and Pashto Grammar of Raverty.

². *Tazkira-i-Roz* Roshan.

³. *Tazkira-i-Nafais-al-Masir*.

⁴. *Majma'-al-Fusaha*, p. 377.

Qasim Kandahari

He is among the scholars who was famous during Akbar's reign in India. He was a master of contemplative science and taught it.¹

sheikh Qasim Ghoryakhail

A scholar from Hodayun's time who lived in Peshawar. Since the Mughal governors plotted to kill him he went to Kandahar and from there to the holy cities and then returned back to Duwawa of Peshawar. Since his spiritual influence spread among the frontier people Akbar sent him to the Chena prison in Lahore where he died.

His famous work is Tazkira-i-Awlia Afghan in which he provides descriptions of famous spiritual Afghan leaders.² According to Nematullah his children lived in Ashnagar. Qasim was born in 1549 near the Badani river, east of Peshawar and died in 1607.³

Qasim Kahi Kabuli

His name is Najmuddin Abu-al-Qasim.⁴ His father was a contemporary of Timur-i-Lang. He was born in Balkh and raised in Kabul. He was a famous poet of the Akbar period. According to Nezamuddin Herawi he was endowed with perfections and accomplishments and he has left behind compositions in music. He lived over 100 years in utmost freedom of thought and independence. He has a divan in which he indulges in refuting Bostan.⁵

At the age of 15 Kahi went to Badakshan from Kabul and was blandished by Mirza Askari, the governor of that place. After that he went to Herat by way of Balkh and Maimana where he became a student of Mawlana Jami when he was 17 years old.⁶ He engaged in further studies

¹. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 469.

². Tazkerat-al-Ibrar, p. 184.

³. Makhzan-i-Afghani, p. 308.

⁴. Qamoos al-'alam Shamsuddin Sami.

⁵. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 485.

⁶. Khazana-i-A'mira.

in Herat and learned the sciences of versification, wisdom, logic, sufism, and literature. Then he immersed in piety and engaged with spiritual circles in Herat.¹ While in Herat he got involved with the court of Sultan Husain Mirza and his learned vizier, Mir Ali Shir Nawayi. After that he went to India and made his way to the court of Jalaluddin Akbar in Agra. Due to his knowledge he became famous among men to literature there and the famous poet of the court, Akbar Ghizali Mashadi, recited a quatrain in his honor praising his talent as a poet.

In this way Kahi Kabuli gained fame in India and was endeared by the court and he was given 1000 rupees every time he appeared at the court. But due to his noble disposition Kahi abandoned going to the court.² He died on 27 May 1580 and was buried near the Madarjai gate.

He left behind his divan, the refutation of Bostan and a number of pamphlets on prosody, interpretation and criticism of poetry. He finished work on his writings in the village of Tunak in 1569.³

Kahi was also well-versed in the science of interpretation, sufism and prosody and was a master of enigma and music. He has a famous divan by the name of Gul Afshan. He wrote odes in praise of Homayun.

Kahi you are the bulbul of Kabul
Not the shriek voiced crow of Hindustan.⁴

Qasim Shinwar

He was from the Payankhel tribe of Shinwar and lived during the time of Akbar. He wrote Fawid-al-Sharia' in Pashto in 1569.⁵ His style of writing resembles that of Khair-al-Bayan and Makhzan, a part of which Raverty included in Gulshan in 1860. The book is a collection of issues related to Sharia' and morals extracted from Arabic texts on jurisprudence and morals, translated into Pashto. From the introduction of the

¹. Riyaz-al-Arifain.

². Khazana-i-A'mira.

³. Kabul magazine, vol. 1.

⁴. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, pp. 173-175.

⁵. Raverty's Introduction to Pashto Grammar.

book which was published in Lahore in 1938 we see that Qasim was a follower of Darweza and lived among the Yusufzai.¹

Qadri Sabzwari

He was an eloquent poet and a contemporary of Sikandar Herawi and was famous for his sweet-spoken poetry in Herat. He lived around 1543.

As her treason intensifies
It is best to stay calm and composed.
May the agony of martyrdom not avail you
So you grave's soil may not fail you.²

Qalandar

A Pashto poet who lived before 1690 and was a contemporary of Khushal Khan. His work is not available but Khushal Khan considers him an able poet.³

Qalandar Apridi

Around 1690 a person appeared in the Peshawar valley whose name was Qalandar. According to Darmester he was from the Apridi tribe.⁴ He lived near the banks of Bara and Jamrud rivers, which start in the Apridi mountains. Qalandar was a contemporary of Hamid Mashokhel and in his ghazals followed Hamid's style.

Qalandar had a guide by the name of Mira to whom he was utterly devoted and their story was well-known among people which they recited in their gatherings. His forceful and heart-rendering poetry is mainly composed of four lines which mirror his deep love which in terms of expression of emotions is considered the first of its kind in Pashto poetry and the reader can envision his deep feelings in his work.

At dawn the stars fade away

¹. Introduction to Fawaid-al-Sharia'.

². Majma'-al-Fusaha, p. 257.

³. Kuliyaat-i-Khushal Khan, p. 984.

⁴. Da Pashtunkhwa da Shir Har wa Bahar.

The news of my beloved remain afar.
Oh messenger get me her news
Travel it will on this endless road.¹

Kazim Khan Shaida

He was son of Afzal Khan, son of Ashraf Khan son of Khushal Khan Khatak, who was born in 1723 in one of the most influential scholastic Khatak family. He was the brother of Ali Khan and was an outstanding poet. Like other members of his family Shaida was also condemned to live away from his native land for a while. He lived in Rampur of Sarihind. He was alive until the end of the waning of the Koragani family in 1777. He prepared his divan at the age of 64 in 1768.

Like Hamid Mohmand, Kazim Khan's poetry is penetrating and emotional and is considered an exemplar sample of Hamid's style.

There is no reliability about the cosmos
One day the sun may totally explode.
Don't believe in the unfaithful
Travel you will on the endless road.²

Kashifi Badakhshi

He was an author from Badakhshan who lived in India in 1633. He was a poet with good demeanor.³

Who is familiar with the snare
Entrapped in the whirlwind beside.
Will the sheikh repents his deeds?
Or let God's benevolence heed the tide.

Mirza Kamil

He was from sheikh Ahmad's lineage who traveled from Badakhshan to India and lived in Kashmir with his father where he engaged in learn-

¹. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 244.

². Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 259.

³. Cheragh-i-Anjuman, p. 122.

ing sciences and gnosticism. He is the author of Bahr-al-Zaman in four volumes. He died at the age of 77 on 17 May 1768.¹

Kami

His name was Shah Hussain and he was a native of Obeh of Herat. His ancestors were famous learned people of the time. He was a talented poet and enigma solver and spent his life in seclusion. He died at the age of 77 in 1534.

I hid my sorrow from the world at large
Even though my tears are fully abound.
One day friends will gather in this short life,
A glare of her tresses I will see safe and sound.²

Kamali

He was a rural Turkmen from Sheberghan of Balkh from where he went to India around 1592 and for a while was involved with the ruling class. Later he went to Samarkand where he wrote his varied poetry.

Kamali why are you so disturbed?
Depressed about the yearning at last.
When circumstances come to light
Kamali becomes intoxicated fast.³

Gadayee Kabuli

He was a poet during Homayun's reign. We do not have any additional information about his life.

When the moon-faced show their curls
No one cares about Eid's crescent moon.⁴

Layeq Balkhi

¹. Cheragh-i-Anjuman, p. 123.

². Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 130.

³. Nafayes-al-Maasir.

⁴. Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 130.

Hakim Layeq was a poet from Balkh who lived during the time of governor Imam Quli Khan of Turan.

After a hundred pleas I get your attention
Awaiting for the light to show at dawn.¹

La'li Badakshi

His name was La'l Baig son of Shah Quli Badakshi. He was a young scholar during Akbar's time.

In fear I walk to your abode
Hoping you will not turn me away.²

Mawlana Matami Herawi

He was an eloquent orator from Herat who wrote witty poetry. He died in Herat in 1566 and was buried in the mausoleum of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari.

The story of your tresses black
Talks about my obsessive track.
Are you not aware of faithfulness' bliss
Letting everyone endure the crisis.
In your eyes I see sedition only
Attentively you ensnare the lonely,
The afflicted, I said, you will kill
Smiling she said, such is my skill.³

Madhi Badakshi

He was from Badakshan who sought knowledge and attempted to write poetry. Toward the end of his life he went to India and died there around 1592.⁴

When her tresses I endear
My life ends up in fear.

¹. Tazkira-i-Nasrabadi, p. 742. Tazkira-i-Hussaini, p. 371.

². Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 320. Shama' Anjuman.

³. Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 154.

⁴. Majma'-al-Fusuha, p.374.

Sheikh Mati

He was a scholar and gnostic during Akbar's reign from the Kasi tribe who lived in Punjab as a hermit. He paid a visit to the capital of Akbar at his own discretion asking for a pardon from the court.¹

According to Nematullah Herqwi, Sheikh Mati, was a generous person and helped the poor and his guest house was full of food matching that of the royal court even though he himself only ate barley bread and used a brick as a pillow. He died in 1602.²

Mohammad Badi Qazi

He was the son of Qazi Ikhtiyaruddin Herawi and was a judge in Herat for some time. His writings are on contemplative sciences and his composition was par excellence. His odes have a flavor of honesty. He found his way into the court of Herat and later was a judge in Shahr-i-Sabz. He is the author of Mukhtar-al-Ibrar and a masnavi in five thousand couplets. He was knowledgeable in medical practice.

Only she knows my heart's pain
Which she willfully may disdain.³

Mohammad Rafi Sowda

A renowned man of letters who was the son of Mirza Mohammad Shafie, a businessman from Kabul who went to Delhi where his son was born in 1713. Mohammad Rafi, whose pen-name was Sowda, became a renowned poet of Urdu in India with an abundance of poetry in Urdu and Persian. He authored a number of useful books one of which is an a memoir of Urdu poets. His Urdu poetry has an admixture of Persian

¹. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 286.

². Makhzan-i-Afghani, p. 251.

³. Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 248.

words and his style is fluent and attractive. He became a pioneer of Urdu literature and was given the title of king of poets. He died in 1781.¹

Mir Mohammad Zahid Herawi

He was the son of the famed Herawi, Qazi Mohammad Aslam who lived in Herat and Kabul. He was born in India and grew up there where he became an elite and researcher. He studied from the most famous Indian scholars. In 1654, during the reign of Shah Jahan, he was assigned to documents events in Kabul. He stayed in this position for a number of years. In 1667, during the reign of Aurangzeb, he was assigned to the post of military superintendent and then sent to Kabul where he spent several years teaching. He died in 1700 and was buried in Kabul. This scholar authored a number of books which included annotations on Sharh-i-Mawaqif wa Sharh-i-Tahzeeb of Alama Duwani, Tasawar wa Tasdiq of Qutbuddin Razi, Sharh-al-Hayakul, and Zawaid Salasa.

He was also a good poet.
Her eyelashes my sorrow retain,
From her injury I abstain.
My wailing rings a bell tune
My heart may deception obtain.²

Qazi Mohammad Aslam Herawi

He was a descendant of Khwaja Kohi and was born in Herat but grew up in Kabul. After a trip to Bukhara he went to Lahore in pursuit of knowledge under the tutelage of the most renowned scholar of the time, Sheikh Bahlol. After finishing his studies he joined Jahangir's court and was appointed as judge in Kabul where he gained fame as in piety. Given his fame Jahangir summoned him back and appointed him to the post of military court. After the ousting of Shah Jahan he remained in his post and was given the title of commander of a thousand men. He was a judge for 30 years and revered by the court. He was also the imam of Shah Jahan. In 1642 he was awarded 6500 gold coins equivalent to his

¹. Tazkera-i-Aabhayat. Tarikh-i-Adab Urdu, p. 137.

². Tazkera-i-Aabhayat. Tarikh-i-Adab Urdu, p. 127.

body weight. Later he asked permission from the emperor to return to his country and was given land worth ten thousand rupees in Kabul. Considered a learned scholar of his time he died in 1651 and was buried in Lahore.¹

Sheikh Mohammad Amin

Originally he was from Badakshan and in the beginning he was engaged as an official in the Mughal empire in Lahore but he left his post and went to Kashmir where he gained fame in piety and asceticism. He died at the age of 70 on 21 July 1687 and was buried in Kashmir. His literary work is named Qatarat.²

Mohammad Yusuf Kabuli

He was the son of Shah Baig Khan Kabuli and was born in Kabul and raised in India. He was killed in Surat in 1573. He was a poet of high calibre.

Good fortune avails in the tavern only
Beside the clay pot I sit lonely.
Whoever intoxication to her taught
With blight be always fraught.
Come to my abode, I asked her
She said: in your hell I need not stir.
Her beauty has me entrapped
With her tresses she has me trapped.³

Mohammad Saleh Farighi

His father who was the book keeper for Homayun and he was from Kabul. From childhood Mohamad Saleh served Akbar and toward the end of his life was appointed in Kabul. He spent his life in leisure and his pen-name was Farighi.

With her tresses she has me chained

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 343. A'lama-i-Hind, p. 178

². Khazinat-al-Asfiya.

³. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 340. Negaristan-i-Sukhan.

I have no recourse but be banned.¹

Sheikh Saleh Mohammad Alakozai

He was a Pashto poet and scholar who lived in Jaldak, northeast of Kandahar. He was a contemporary of Shah Baig Khan Kabuli who was governor of Kandahar around 1606.

Mohammad Hotak, quoting Tuhfah-i-Saleh, written by a student of Saleh, provides information on his life. He writes that Mohammad Saleh was engaged in teaching others and was a pious and devout ascetic. Shah Baig Khan asked him to visit Kabul but he refused the offer and wrote back: "I do not covet fame. I do not want to go after the world but would like the world to come to me. If you respect me, leave me where I am and do not make me a traveller seeking the world." He wrote this in verse and sent it to Shah Baig.²

Mawlana Mohammad Saleh Badakshi

His pen name was Mukhlisi and he was a scholar and poet from Badakhshan who, in his youth, went to Trans-Oxiana, in search of knowledge. Toward the end of life he went on pilgrimage to the holy cities. He recited different kinds of poetry.

Her love's flower has not blossomed yet
Such is truly my heart's regret.
What alas is your desire
Which has set you alight on fire. ³

Mohammad Saleh Nedayeri

He was a student of Mawlana Mushfaqi and was engaged in prevalent sciences and he was an excellent calligrapher of Nastaliq form of writing. He was also an expert in solving enigmas. He wrote Sarf-i-Bahayee in verse and wrote a masnavi on Khusrao wa Shirin in the

¹ Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 51.

² Pata Khazana, p. 98.

³ Majma'-al-Fuzula, p. 301.

name of Hasan Khaldar and presented it to him in Kabul. After the death of prince Mohammad Hakim he left Kabul for Badakshan to attend Mirza Shahrukh. When Abdullah Khan captured Badakshan he wrote an ode in praise of amir Qul Baba Kokaltash. After the age of 50 he embarked on a journey to India in 1603. He then went on pilgrimage to the holy cities and toward the end of his life he joined the sufism sect.

Alas the thought of Indian idols
Will take me from my homeland to Hindustan.¹

Mohammad Taqi Taloqani

His pen name was Ghafila and he was from Taloqan, northern Afghanistan. He was a poet of the Mughal period and died after 1640.

Your beauty has left such pain in my heart
From which it is hard to depart.²

Mullah Mohammad Herawi

He was a scholar during Akbar's reign and was known for his knowledge of contemplative science and history. In 1576 he went to India from Herat and was treated with respect in Akbar's court. He died in 1582.³

Mohammad Hashim Kandahari

He was a famous personality in Kandahar during Biram Khan's tenure as governor. He lived during Hodayun's reign, and was his companion with an esteemed personality.

Oh pretty face listen to my plea
Evil speech is not good, we agree.⁴

Mohammad Fazil

He was from Badakhshan and severed his relationship with Mullah Sadiq Halwayi and went to Turan where he became a student of Mullah

¹. Majma'-al-Fuzula, p. 340.

². Tazkera-i-Nasrabadi, p. 432.

³. Tazkera-i-Ulama Hind, p. 219.

⁴. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 364. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vo. 2, p. 500.

Mirza Jan Shirazi. He learned interpretation and fundamentals of science from Mullah Jamal Lahori and became a justice for eight years during Shah Jahan's time.¹

Mohammad Amin Foushanji

He was the son of Amir Qanbar Ali Foushanji who was an eminent figure of the Shaibani court and his son, Mohammad Amin, was also a renowned person who was well-versed in the art of enigma. Toward the end of his life he went to India around 1592.

A bird I saw in Tabriz

Drawing the attention of Parvez.

In a beautiful voice it said:

Where is the bejeweled crown and where is Shabdez?²

Mohammad Tahir Ansari

He was the son of Abdullah Ansari, the famous religious leader, and around 1592 he went to India and wrote on the cover of *Ketab-i-Dosti*.

I wrote in your book about my faithfulness

Hoping some day you will remember me.³

Mohammadi

He was the son of Miya Omar from the Chamkani tribe and was from a distinguished family of Peshawar. His father was a spiritual person. He was a contemporary of Kazim Shaida and a follower of Hamid's style of Pashto poetry. He authored a delicate *divan* and was considered an elite author. He was born around 1590 and started writing when he was 50 years old.⁴

¹. *Padshah Nama*, vol. 1, p. 340.

². *Mazkar-i-Ahbab*, p. 2767.

³. *Mazkar-i-Ahbab*, p. 279.

⁴. *Pashtana Shua'ra*, vol. 1, p. 271.

Mohammad Yusuf Ataki

Mohammad Yusuf son of sheikh Rahamutallah Ataki lived near the Indus river and wrote a book around 1646 with the title of Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, a copy of which is preserved in the Cambridge library.¹

Mahmud ibn Ibrahim

He lived during the time of Sultan Ibrahim, the last king of Lodhi dynasty in India and wrote Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi, which provides a description of events of the sultanate. This book has been referenced by Nematullah Herawi in his Makhzan.²

Mukhlis

His name was Ali Mohammad. He was a follower and contemporary of Pir Roshan who lived around 1543 and poets of his time, Dawlat and Mirza have praised him. Mukhlis was the brother of Arzani, the poet and author of Pashto. He was a renowned poet but his divan has been lost.³

Mudami Badakshi

He was a poet during Akbar's reign who was involved with Mirza Koka Aziz and has left behind a good collection of poetry.

Oh heart why agonize about her mischief
Which you have experienced more than once.⁴

Mullah Mast Zamand

Mullah mast from the Zamand tribe was a follower of Akhund Chalak, who started a rebellion around 1640 in the eastern mountainous regions of Afghanistan against the Mughal empire. He wrote a book in Pashto named Sulook-al-Ghazat in which he encouraged Pashtuns to participate in a jihad. He also wrote poetry in praise of freedom fighters and ethical articles. From his poetry we can envisage that he was acquainted with

¹. List of Cambridge manuscripts, compiled by Brown 1869.

². Introduction of Makhzan-i-Afghani, manuscript.

³. Tazkerat-al-Ibrar, p. 149. Tarikhcha-i-Sabkhay Sha'r Pashto.

⁴. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 334.

the sciences of ethics, jurisprudence, interpretation and religious tenets. He also wrote poetry in memory of those who sacrificed their life for freedom.

As I remember the martyrs of Lamta
My tears shed uncontrollably.
A deep breath of agony I take
As the fire of sorrow alights in my heart.¹

Mustafid Jagdalki

He was from Jagdalak and lived in Balkh. Later he went to serve Abdul Aziz Khan in Bokhara and found his way into the court. He was alive around 1495.

Alas bestow me some wisdom
Of your grace and foresight.
Or with efforts endless
Give me strength outright.²

Masud

He was the son of Abdullah and a famous Pashto writer and poet who lived around 1592 in the Indus area. He wrote the love story of Adam Khan and Durkhani and has left behind a good collection of Pashto poetry.³

Mawlana Masihi

He was originally from Balkh and was a student of Mawlana Kawka-abi. He died in 1569 when he was 80 years old and was buried in Khwa-ja Roshani of Balkh.

Your beauty or the sun, which one do I reach?
Your dark tresses or your musk I seek.

¹. Sulook-al-Ghazat, manuscript.

². Tazkera-i-Nasrabadi, p. 640.

³. Qesa-i-Adam Khan wa Durkhani, manuscript.

In fire of separation do I burn
Is it my ailing heart or am I weak?¹

Mustafa Khan Khasi

He was a scholar in Aurangzeb's court and was a civil and military advisor and in charge of important affairs of prince Mohammad Azim. He organized the army with extreme dexterity. As his influence in the court with the prince increased, Aurangzeb, who was against influential Afghans and was afraid of their power, by means of deceit separated him from the prince and sent him on pilgrimage to the holy cities. Mustafa was a learned scholar and a skilled writer. After returning from pilgrimage in 1696 he wrote a book entitled *Imarat-al-Kalam* in which he explains passages from the holy Koran.² Khafi Khan writes that Mustafa Khan had gained fame among Afghans for his perfection, attainment and astute bravery.³

Mustafa Mohammad

He was son of Nour Mohammad, son of Abdul Karim, son of Darweza, who collected the works of his ancestors in 1701 and added them to *Makhzan*. He was a talented writer of that period.⁴

Mawlana Mutala'i

He was a prince in Badakhshan and from the family of judges who lived around 1543. He sought knowledge in a state of hot-temperament.

You do not pay attention to my ailing heart
Subdued from my journey I will depart.⁵

Muzafaruddin Badakshi

¹ *Majma'-al-Fusuha*, p. 192.

² *Ma'sir-al-Amra*, vol. 3, p. 637.

³ *Muntakhab-al-Lubab*, vol. 2, p. 439.

⁴ *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, manuscript.

⁵ *Majma'-al-Fuzala*, p. 299.

He was a writer from Badakhshan and in India he was a member of Mullah Zamin Mohammad Aziz Koka's company and a contemporary of Qasim Kahi Kabuli. In his poem he provides the date of death of Kahi as 1579.

His lofty disposition will be remembered
For no one else matched his disposition.¹

Mir Ma'sum Nami

He was a historian and poet during the Koragani period from Afghanistan. His name was Nezamuddin Mohammad Ma'sum and his pen name was Nami. His father, Safayee, was the son of Mir Murtaza from the Sadat lineage and was related to Baba Hasan Abdal, famous as Baba Wali Kandahari. He was born on 17 February 1538 in Bakr of Sind where his father had moved and in 1570 was given the title of sheikh-al-Islam by Sultan Mahmud, the king of that region. He died there in 1583.

He engaged in his studies at an early age and turned out to be a famous scholar, writer and poet. From Bakr he went to Gujrat. Accompanied by Khwaja Nezamuddin Bakshi Herawi, the author of *Tabakat-i-Akbari* he paid a visit to Akbar's court in Lahore and joined its military ranks. In 1595 he was promoted to the rank of commander of 250 by Akbar and was sent to Kunduz. Mir Masum was a military assistance in Kandahar until 1599 after which he returned to India. Five years later he was appointed ambassador to the Safavi court of Iran. He went there by way of Kandahar with his son Mir Buzurg, who prepared an inscription in his honor in Delaram of Farah. He returned back to India in 1605 and after Akbar's death he was appointed as civil officer in Bahkar by Jahangir where he died on 19 February 1611. His grave is near the minaret of Bahkar, named after him. He was a pious writer, and scholar and at the same time sought peace. He is the author of *Tib Nama*, *Mufridat-i-Masumi* (a treatise on medical issues), his *divan* and *Tarikh-i-Sind* which

¹. *Nafais-al-Ma'sir*.

he wrote in 1601. His masnavis are Ma'dan-al-Afkar, Husn, Naaz, and Akbar Nama.¹

Mir Ma'sum was always in the company of learned men and historians of that period such as Nezamuddin Herawi. There are a number of historical inscriptions attributed to him in Kandahar in one of which a poetry by him remembering his father has been etched.² He has also left behind several masnavis.

In this place of solitude
A man of virtue you were.
As we see friends depart
You among them were most revered.
Even though heaven is your place
But buried in the ground you are.
Let us remember our deeds
At the place of our burial.³

Ma'zi Herawi

He was from Sadat of Herat. In his childhood he studied together with Mirza Kamran, son of Homayun and spent 50 years in India where he died in 1574.

With great anguish I tell my tale
In great sorrow do I wail.⁴

Mua'jaz Kabuli

His name was Nizamuddin Khan or Mohammad Nizam and he was from Sakana of Kabul. He lived in Kabul during Aurangzeb's time and later went to India and died in Shah Jahan Abad in 1747. Toward the end of his life he was suffering from blindness. He was an eminent poet of that time.

My endless tears have reached a pitch

¹. Introduction to Tarikh Sind Ma'sumi.

². Information extracted from the mentioned inscription.

³. The Husn wa Naz masnavi is from a rare copy attributed to Hashim Shayeq.

⁴. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 327.

In which I think I will drown.¹

Mufid Balkhi

He was a scholar and poet in the court of Abdul Aziz Khan, the king of Bukhara, who lived around 1640.

Little by little I care not
About the agony of my heart.
Like a reed I wail and cry
Hoping you shall not depart.²

Maqsud Herawi

He was a member of Hodayun's court and a skilled calligrapher of Reqa' and Nastaliq forms of writing. He was a fabricator and artist. His works totally amazed people. He was an artist par excellence during Akbar's time.

The mirror cannot withstand your beauty
Replaced by your dainty duty.³

Mamnun

His name was Taj Khan and he was an Afghan living in India. He was a resident of Mawu and engaged with the elite of Belgaram. His pen name was Mamnun. He lived after 1689 and died in 1737.⁴

Mowji Badakshi

His name was Qasim Khan and he was among the distinguished people in Hodayun's court who was well-versed in literature. He versified the story of Yusuf and Zuleikha in six thousand couplets in the style of Jami. He also versified the story of Laili and Majnun. He resigned from his official duties toward the end of his life and passed away in 1581 in Agra.

¹ Roz-i-Roshan, p. 634. Nigaristan Sukhan.

² Tazkera-i-Nasrabadi, p. 644.

³ Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 31.

⁴ Yad-i-Bayda. Roz-i-Roshan. Nigaristan-i-Sukhan.

Oh wind bring me the news
Of gladness which I will not refuse.
It is difficult for me to reach her
Be kind and end this fateful ruse.¹

Mehri Herawi

She was a poetess from Herat who lived in India during Jahangir's time and had access to queen Nour Jahan. She was married to Khwaja Hakim. Her poetry has a good flavor.

Every issue which the sage could not resolve
We did so after drinking more wine.
It came to me to ask about the sanctity of wine
Whoever I asked was drunk indeed.
The burning candle slowly melted away
Like my faded life it burned away.
Behold my wailing and lamentation
Matches the red hue of the tulip.
Whatever they say about Babylon and the angel
All included is what I see at dawn.
This treasure is sealed and hidden
Unfortunately it is only a hasty collection.²

Mir Kalan Herawi

He was the most prominent scholar during Homyun and Jahangir's reign and his fame has spread all over the world. He was from the tribe of Khwaja Kohi and studied the sciences and prophetic traditions from Mirakshah Shirazi and was the teacher of Mullah Ali Qari, who in Marqat Sharh Mashkoot notes his excellence in gnosticism was comparable to that of Mawlana al-Shahir. After completing his studies this learned scholar went to Iran and Arabia and from there to India. He was revered in Akbar's court and was assigned to be the teacher of prince Jahangir.

¹. Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 3, p. 326

². Marat-al-Khyal, p. 335.

Many scholars of prophetic traditions took lessons from him. He died in 1575 at the ripe age of 100 and was buried in Akbarabad.¹

Mirak Balkhi

Mullah Mirak Khan, whose pen name was Fikri, was from Balkh who went to Iran during the time of Shah Abas Safavi and joined the inner circles of the court. He is considered an elite scholar of the time and did not have a rival in composition. He spent 40 years in Asfahan and died in 1651. He spent most of his life in piety.

Every drop of blood which drains
Is a vestige of your companionship.
A glance of your face indeed
Further punctures my ailing heart.
Your stature has put me in a trance
Imparting my feeble life again.
Miraki stands full of sorrow at your door
As you display your ruby lips intact.²

Mirak Herawi

In his youth he traveled from Herat to India and studied under Abdul Salam, the scholar in Lahore, and then went on pilgrimage to the holy cities. After his pilgrimage he was the teacher of prince Darashukoh and Murad Baksh and he was responsible for arranging trips to Mecca. Later he was appointed secretary to the harem and given the rank of three thousand soldiers. During the second year of Aurangzeb's reign he became the prime minister. He died in India in 1661.³

Mir Hussain Herawi

He is from Sadat of Herat and was born in Turbat of Khorasan from where he went to India and joined prince Daniel's group of poets.

Like a gem in a munificent bag

¹ Subhat-al-Rajan, p. 67.

² Tazkera-i-Nasr Abadi, p. 242. Atishkada, p. 325.

³ Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 3, p. 519.

Like a perfume blown by the wind,
I am like the unfortunate pen
Always dipped in black ink.¹

Mir Dost Kabuli

He was a calligrapher during Akbar's reign and was renowned for his Reqa and Nastaliq form of writing and had a knack to recognize charlatans.²

Mirza Khan

Mirza Khan, son of Nouruddin, was an important personality of the Roshani period famous for his nationalistic achievements. Beside his skills as a militant he was also a scholar and writer. He is the author of a divan in Pashto. He was a sufi poet and versified the beliefs of his father. Later poets such as Daulat and Khushal Khan recognize his poetic talent.³

Mir Aalihi

He was a poet from Badakshan who lived around 1543. When Mawlana Kharabi was appointed as judge of Kolab by Nadim Baig he criticized the appointment in a quatrain stating that he will derail the Shariat law.

When the vagabond takes over the world
The whole place is full of music,

But when it falls into the hands of his companion
All laws and rules go astray.⁴

Mira

¹. Majma'-al-Fuzula, p. 314.

². Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 31.

³. Tarikhcha-i-Sabkhayi Sha'r Pashto.

⁴. Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 323.

This Pashto poet was the spiritual guide of Qalandar Apridi who lived around 1689. His love story with Qalandar is famous and their heart-rendering poetry has remained as a keepsake.

God tear this world apart
Show me my lost beloved.
In loneliness I burn alight
For one glance of his sight.¹

Mir Ali Herawi

He was an iconic artist from Herat and is considered to be a master of calligraphy. He was the student of the famed calligrapher, Sultan Ali. He was taken from Herat to Bukhara believing he was an Uzbek. He complains about this move in his poems.

Life as it passes by inadvertently
Until I understand what it means?
My students are all great kings
While in Bukhara I lament my life.²

Maili Herawi

Mirza Quli,, whose pen name was Maili Herawi was a poet with a divan who went from Herat to India during Akbar's reign and served Nowrang Khan for many years until he was poisoned. He died in Malowa in 1575.

You know your affection will not dissipate
Even among the dust of old graves.³

Nazim Herawi

He was a leading figure in Herat and lived around 1660. As stated in his verse he wanted to leave his name in the world.

Leave your name in this world

¹. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 253.

². Tazkira-i-Nasrabadi, p. 526.

³. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 2, p. 329. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 173.

For life is not meant to wilt away.¹

Mir Nasiruddin Herawi

He was a scholar and a pious individual during Aurangzeb's reign who found his way into the court when he was young and was considered one of its pillar. After leaving the material world he became an ascetic and engaged in piety and became a renowned worshipper of God. He was a righteous person who preached the leaders and openly criticized their errors. He would not accept the lavishes and gold of Aurangzeb's court and died during his period.²

Qazi Nizam Ghazi Khan Badakshi

He was a leading military and scholastic figure of the Mughal period in India. His name was Qazi Nizam and he was a student of Mullah Asam. From the beginning he was involved in the court of Mirza Suleiman, the governor of Badakshan, and participated in most of his battles. Later he joined Mohammad Hakim's court in Kabul from where he went to India in 1574 to Akbar's court and was appointed to the post of issuance of permits. Since he displayed bravery in most battles he was bestowed with the title of Qazi Khan first and then Ghazi Khan. He died in 1584 at the age of 70 in Awdah of India. He was the author of several important books. Abu-al-Fazl writes that he amalgamated the sword with the pen. He was a man of the battlefield and knowledge. After his death, his son, Mir Hisamuddin, became a learned figure in Akbar's court and died in 1634. He was a pious and content person.³ He is the author of a pamphlet in proof of discourse of faith and Tasdiq wa Hashia which deals with sufic beliefs.⁴

Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad Herawi

¹. Tazkira-i-Nasrabadi, p. 483.

². Muntakhbat-al-Lubab, vol. 2, p. 558.

³. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 3, p. 857. Ma'sir-i-Rahimi, vol. 3, p. 19.

⁴. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 153. Tazkira-i-Ulama, p. 242.

Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad was son of Mohammad Muqim Herawi. He was a leading historian during Akbar's time. His father was a close associate of Babur responsible for administering houses. Later he became a noble of Homayun's court and was involved in decision makings of the court. Later he became a minister in the court of Mirza Askari.¹

His son Nizamuddin Ahmad was a military chief in Akbar's time and was his travel mate² and was considered a historian of the court. He wrote Tabaqat-i-Akbari in three large volumes which is a detailed history of India, describing the lives of all kings after Subuktagin and provides the history of the Mughal period from Babur's time to 1594. His descriptions regarding Akbar are of most importance since he saw most of the events first hand. He died in 1595 and his everlasting history Tabakat-i-Akbari is considered an important work on the Akbari period.

Nazmi Balki

He rose from the Faloor village of Balkh and worked for Nazar Mohammad Khan for a number of years. He lived around 1689 and died in Balkh. He is the author of a divan and odes.

Without you I am totally lost
Without you I cannot bear to live.³

Nematullah Herawi

He was the son of Khwaja Habibullah Nourzai Herawi and belonged to the Pashtuns of Herat. He lived around 1590 and was a wayfarer and traveller. He was a historian who wrote the most valuable history on the lineage of distinguished Pashtuns during the reign of Jahangir in 1609. He was working for Khan Jahan Lodhi who was governor of the southern states of India. He commissioned Nematullah to write about Afghan personalities. In order to complete this task he sent his employees to Pashtunkhwa to gather information about the people. Based on the

¹. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, pp. 28-38.

². Muntakhab-al-Lubab, vol. 1, p. 237.

³. Tazkira-i-Nasr Abadi, p. 642.

information Nematullah wrote Makhzan.¹ This book is the oldest historical document which provides us information on Pashtun lineage and the Afghan royalty in India. It also includes information on famous spiritual Afghans. The book was translated into English by Professor Bernhard Dorn in 1836 and published in London.

Nematullah

He was the son of Mullah Raknuddin and brother of the Pashto poet Abdullah who lived during Akbar's time before 1592 in the mountains of Pashtunkhwa. He was an erudite person and wrote several pamphlets on sufism one of which, according to Darweza, was on the definition of admonition and thought.²

Namkin Herawi

His name was Mohammad but he was famous as Namkin Herawi. He was a man of honor who lived around 1540 in Herat and was famous for writing quatrains.

His dancing was superb

His smile so enticing.

His longing was captivating

His leaving was heart-braking.³

Nekbakhta

She was a Pashto poetess and daughter of Skaikhullah Dad Mumozai who, together with his ancestors, were guides of the Mumozai in Ashnagar. Referencing Awlia Afghan, Mohammad Hotak writes that this chaste woman was an icon of religious matters and spent her lifetime dedicated to God.

In 1544 she was married to Sheikh Qadam Mutizai and a year later gave birth to a son in Badani of Peshawar, Sheikh Qasim Mutaizai, who became a renowned gnostic and author.

¹ Introduction to Makhzan-i-Afghani. Introduction to Pashto Grammar.

² Tazkerat-al-Ibrar, p. 170.

³ Majma'-al-Fusaha, p. 257.

This Afghan scholar wrote a book in verse entitled *Irshad-al-Fukura* which was completed in 1562. Mohammad Hotak's father had seen this book in Banun and the author of *Pata Khazana* includes some verses in his book.¹

Naeki Kabuli

He was a poet from Kabul who during the governorship of Mirza Ibrahim, son of Suleiman Mirza, went to Badakhshan where he grew up.

My kindness she refuses as such
True that fairness is a curse.²

Negahi Kabuli

He lived around 1543 and was a laborer but also engaged in writing enchanting poetry.

Your sedition is well known
Your calamity is well known.
Your provocation is surmounting
Spreading sorcery all around.
Last night a dog blocked my path,
Then suddenly my rival appeared.
When I looked at the moon
I saw you face in the hallow light.³

Wasif Kandahari

He was a poet from Kandahar and also a musician. He lived after 1640. He traveled to Iran and died in Asfahan.

Among people you will not be adored
Unless you reveal your kindness to them.⁴

¹. *Pata Khazana*, p. 183.

². *Majma'-al-Fusuha*, p. 263.

³. *Majma'-al-Fusuha*, p. 303.

⁴. *Nasr Abadi*, p. 493.

Wasil

He was a Pashto poet but we do not have any of his work in our disposition. We know him from the writings of Khushal Khan. He lived around 1495.¹

Wasili Kabuli

He was a poet from Kabul and had a drawn personality. He died in 1561. His poetry is heart-wrenching.

That moon-face among the stars
Is like the blue flame of fire.²

Waqia'e Herawi

His name was Ibn Ali and he served emperor Akbar. He was engaged in writing poetry.

The gentle breeze waiving her hair,
Tomorrow it shall bring her tidings.³

Walayi Katghani

Ziauddin Hussain, the prime minister, whose pen name was Wala famous as Salam Khan, was from Sadat of Khost of Qataghan. He received the titles of Hemat Khan and Islam Khan during Shah Jahan's reign. For a while he was governor of Kashmir and after six years he was appointed to the high post of governorship of Akbar Abad. He died in 1664. He had a pleasant personality and wrote poetry.

Spread oh desert for I am bereaved
My cries can be heard all over the land.⁴

Mawlana Walihi

¹. Tarikhcha-i-Sabkhai Sha'r Pashto.

². Roz-i-Roshan, p. 733.

³. Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, p. 382.

⁴. Cheragh-i-Anjuman, p. 113.

He was a poet from Balkh and was a student of Mawlana Wasili. He is the author of a divan and died at a young age in 1570.

No one is so obsessed as I am
In the alley of love I am abused.
In the street of intrepid I will step
To be the first to tread it.¹

Weda'i Herawi

He was a poet during Akbar's time and went to India during that period where he died later. In remembrance of his native land he wrote poetry.

This Indian knowledge I relay
With great envy and regret.
Bid goodbye to the land of Hindustan
Pray that you will leave it intact.²

Wisali Balkhi

Mirak Wisali was from Taghai Bogha of Balkh who was famous for his erudition and calm demeanor. He was a master of Nastaliq calligraphy and wrote poems in praise of Abdullah Khan. He was a student of Mawlana Mushfaqi and he met Baqayi, author of Majma'-al-Fuzula, in 1575.

At dawn as I went to the garden
I was overtaken by the narcissus' beauty.³

Wafayi Herawi

He was an aged poet from Herat who lived in India for a while around 1640 and then went to Asfahan where he died.

Don't hide your face I am not ill-mannered
My glare is nothing to be afraid of.⁴

¹ Majma'-al-Fuzula, p. 198.

² Muntakbab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 382.

³ Majma-al-Fusaha, p. 333.

⁴ Nasr Abadi, p. 494.

Wuqufi Herawi

He was a scholar during Akbar's time who lived in Badakhshan and was famous as Mir Wa'iz.

Even if I were to lose my head
I will still not forget your sincerity.¹

Waisi Herawi

He was the author of a divan and was a famous scribe. He went on pilgrimage together with Saghari Herawi. He wrote an anthology, entitled Mazkar-i-Ahbab, in 1575, a copy of which is preserved in the Berlin library.

My life is always stained in blood
A result of my intense devotion.
Don't say Waisi did not admire you?
Just your smile is my consolation.²

Hashim Kandahari

He as a native of Kandahar who was born in Lahore. He gained fame in astronomy and was a close courtier of Jalaluddin Akbar. He was an elegant poet and recited an ode during the birth of prince Khusrao bin Salim which provides the date of birth of the prince.

From the shining moon and the cosmos
That voluptuous beauty did appear.
Maqsud's treasure from Hodayun's mine
Illuminated by the stars and sun.
For eons the grandeur of the revolving moon
Brings forth the aura of auspiciousness.³

Hedayat Badakshi

¹ Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 385.

² Khazina-i-Ganj-i-Ilahi, Latayef Nama of Fakhri, pp. 60-61.

³ Majma'-al-Fusuha, p. 380.

His name was Khwaja Mohammad Sediq and his pen name was Hedayat and he was a companion of Hazrat Mujaddad. In his youth he went from Kishm of Badakhshan to India and found his way into the presence of Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan. He recited elegant poetry and wrote *masnavi* in the styles of Mawlana Balhki, Khusrao and Shirin. He died in Delhi in 1640.

When I heard about my death
To God I prayed holding my breath.¹

Himat Khan

His name was Mir Mohammad Issa and was famous as Himat Khan. He was from the family of Islam Khan Qataghani and held a high position in Shah Jahan's court. He was governor of Allahabad, Akbarabad and Ajmir and was promoted to the rank of high amir. He died in Ajmir in 1681. He was a distinguished Afghan author.

The pain in Majnun's heart
Cannot be matched by anyone.²

Himat Seistani

He was son of Malik Hamza who went from Seistan to India and gained fame in Shah Jahan's court. He was a scholar and writer.

The clear-sighted will not enlighten in India
At night the lantern's glass becomes sooty.³

Yari Herawi

He was a poet from Herat who lived around 1543 and spent some time in Bukhara. He has left behind his divan as a keepsake.

A lover's intentions are not without meaning
He knows that no matter the circumstances.⁴

¹. Chiragh-i-Anjuman, p. 133.

². Chiragn-i-Anjuman, p. 134.

³. Nasr Abadi, p. 53.

⁴. Mazkar-i-Ahbab, p. 389.

Yahya Sabzwari

He was from Sabzwar of Herat and was a well-versed poet. During the time of Munshi Turam Khan he was in Uzbekistan and later went to Iraq and the holy cities. He died in Mecca in 1626.

As time fades away one's youth
Only the garden flower knows the truth.¹

Yaktai Balkhi

He was a poet from Balkh who lived around 1590 in Trans Oxiana in service of Imam Quli Khan, king of that region.

For he has invited me to this festivity
My mentor revealing to me love's secrets.
My pain also is gone away
Which for years was my supplication.²

Yagana-i-Balkhi

Mullah Yagana-i-Balkhi was a poet who served Imam Quli Khan and lived around 1590 in Balkh.

The sweat on your fiery forehead
Brings radiance to your face instead.³

Yunus

Yunus was a Pashto poet who lived around 1590. He was a student and follower of Rahman Baba's style and has left behind an exclusive divan of poetry which puts him among the icons of Pashto poetry.

Your beauty spot is enticing indeed
This is a reality truly guaranteed.⁴

¹. Nasr Abadi, p. 389.

². Nasr Abadi, p. 644.

³. Nasr Abadi, p. 643.

⁴. Pashtana-Shua'ra, vol. 1, p. 202.

Chapter Two

Distinguished Military and Administrative Leaders

Distinguished Afghan military and civilian officers in India, during the Mughal period, were people who were leaders or kings and governed there for a long time. Their history is not related to our treatise and here we will just mention those individuals who were native Afghans and held official posts in the Mughal court so that we may shed light on this dark period of history also.

Ahdad Mohmand

He was a military officer during Shah Jahan's reign and the holder of rank of 1000 infantry and 500 cavalry. He served in the mountainous areas of Peshawar region.¹

Ahmad Baig Kabuli

He was a civil administrator during Shah Jahan's time and worked for prince Mohammad Shuja and in 1631 was appointed as the *foujdar* (officer) of Multan and after a year he became the governor of that place. He was famous as Ataka.²

Ahmad Khan Niyazi

He was son of Mohammad Khan, In 1630 he had the rank of 1500 infantry. Three years later he participated in the battles of Daulat Abad of Daccan. He was a famous officer of his time.³

Asad Khan Kabuli

He was son of Ma'sum Khan Kabuli and his name was Shuja'. In 1633 he was given the rank of 1500 cavalry and the title of Asad Khan. He became the commander of Ghazni fort.⁴

Iftikhar Khan Kabuli

He was son of Ahmad Baig Atka who in 1628 received the title of Mukhlis-al-Dawla Iftikhar Khan and a year later became commander of Jamun with over one thousand cavalry under his command and the rank of 2000 infantry. In 1630 he was promoted to the rank of 7000 infantry.⁵

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 310.

². Padshah Nama, vol. 1, pp. 304, 372, 421.

³. Padshah Nmaa, vol. 1, pp. 292, 509.

⁴. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 451.

⁵. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, pp. 198, 258, 299. Amal-i-Saleh, vol. 1, p. 287.

Babo Khan Karani

He was a member of Shah Jahan's court, who during the ascension of the emperor, was holder of 500 infantry rank and 300 cavalry. After that he was elevated to the rank of 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry. He died in 1631 during the third year of Shah Jahan's reign.¹

Baz Bahadur Afghan

He was among those people who in India established his own independent sultanate and during Akbar's reign had his own government in Malwa and for four years the *khutba* was read in his name and coins minted in his name. After the disintegration of his sultanate he joined Akbar's court and was given the rank of 2000.²

Bahadur Khan Ruhila

During the ascension of Shah Jahan he held the rank of 4000 cavalry and on 30 December 1628 he captured the Iraj fort and participated in the battles of Daccan and two years later was taken captive by the enemy but was released after a year.³

Bahlol Badakshi

He was an important courtier during Babur's time and the head of ministers.⁴

Bahlol Miiyara

In March of 1628 Shah Jahan bestowed him the rank of 4000 and 3000 cavalry and in November 1629 he was appointed as *jagidar* (an officer who received land grants) of Balapur. He joined the national forces of Khan Jahan Lodhi, who lead an uprising against the Mughal establishment.⁵

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 121.

². Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 442.

³. Padshah Nama, vol. 2, pp. 117, 247, 424. Amal-i-Saleh, vol. 1.

⁴. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 54.

⁵. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, pp. 182, 289.

Purdil Khan

His name was Pira and he was son of Dilawar Khan Barch. On 11 May 1632 he was given the title of Purdil Khan and the rank of 1000 and 400 cavalry. Two years later he was promoted to the rank of 1000 cavalry.¹

Pir Khan Miyara

During the reign of Shah Jahan he had the rank of 1000 and 600 cavalry. He died in 1635 in Ahmadabad of India.²

Tarkhan Miyara

After the ascension of Shah Jahan he was given the rank of 1000 and 600 cavalry.³

Jalal Kakar

He was son of Dilawar Khan Kakar and the brother of Jamal Khan. In 1628 he was given the rank of 500 cavalry. Two years later both brothers were working as officers in Peshawar.⁴

Jamal Nuhani

He was from the Pashtun Luwani tribe during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan with the rank of 1500 and 500 cavalry.⁵

Jahan Khan Kakar

He held the rank of 1000 and 400 cavalry during the reign of Shah Jahan.⁶

Hayat Tarin

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, pp. 384, 541.

². Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 308.

³. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 119.

⁴. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 184.

⁵. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 79

⁶. Amal-i-Saleh, vol. 1.

He was the son of Ali Khan Tarin who was a leading figure in Jahangir's court and was killed in Tata. His son, Hayat Khan, was bestowed with the rank of 1500 by Shah Jahan in 1628 and was an officer in Daccan. In 1639 he was fighting alongside Sayed Khan Kabuli in Kandahar and captured the Bost fort. Later he became a candidate for the wars in Balkh and Badakhshan and became commander of Khan Abad fort. He was honored with the title of Shamshir Khan. Later he became the security commander of Balkh.

In 1650 he accompanied Aurangzeb to Kandahar and was assigned to protect Kalat. He then received the rank of 2500 and was the fort commander of Ghazni. In 1658 he was promoted to the rank of 3000 and became governor of Kabul. Later he was security commander of Awhind, near the Indus.¹

Husain Betnai

He was holder of rank 1000 in Akbar's court. He died in Swat.²

Khwaja Jahan Aminayi Herawi

During Akbar's reign he was holder of rank 1000 and had military duties.³

Darya Khan Rohila

He was from the Daudzai clan and was engaged with Shah Jahan while he was a prince. He displayed his valor in the battle of Bengal. As a result Shah Jahan gave him a hundred thousand rupees and several elephants. After the ascension of Shah Jahan to the throne he was given the rank of 4000 and was appointed in Bengal. When Khan Jahan Lodhi rose against Shah Jahan, based on his ethnic Pashtun background, he joined the army of Pashtun nationalists and became one of his ardent companion. He engaged in several forays against the Mughal establish-

¹. Masir-al-Imra, vol. 2, p. 679. Amal-i-Saleh, vol. 1, pp. 119-124.

². Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 445.

³. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 161.

ment until he died in one of the battles. He was killed along with his sons in 1631.¹

Dilawar Khan Baretch

He was a high ranking official of Shah Jahan's court and held the rank of 4000 cavalry and was the administrator of Junpur. He died in 1635.²

Dilawar Khan Kakar

His name was Ibrahim. In the beginning he was engaged with Mirza Yusuf Rizwi and gained prominence in Kahtar in Jahanagir's reign and was appointed governor of Lahore. He displayed bravery during the siege of the city and later participated in the Rana battle with prince Shah Jahan. In 1618 he was appointed governor of Kashmir and captured Kishtwar, located 60 *kroh* from Kashmir, and was given the rank of 4000.³ During the first years of Shah Jahan he was in Gujrat.⁴ His two sons, Jamal and Jalal, were also famous.

Dilaer Khan Rohila

His name was Jalal Khan from the Daudzai clan. He was the younger brother of the famed Bahadur Khan and held a military position in the battles of the northern regions of Afghanistan during Shah Jahan's reign. Later he was the military officer in Kalpi of India and was then appointed to Daccan. In 1657 he received praise and promotion in Shah Jahan's time. After the battle of Banaras, which he conducted with prince Shuja, he was given the rank of 3000. Showing extreme dexterity in the Shah Jahan Pur battle he was raised to the rank of 5000. In the battle of Ajmir, when no one dared to march against the cannon onslaught of the enemy, he led his men against the killing cannon fire. He also showed

¹ Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, pp. 19-20. A'mal Saleh, vol. 1, p. 401. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 296.

² Padshah Nama, vol. 1, pp. 297, 383, 398.

³ Masir-al-Amra, vol. 2, pp. 10-14.

⁴ Padshah Nama, vol. 1.

extreme valor in the battles of Bengal as a result of which Samsam-al-Dawla, equated his courage to that of the legendary Rustam and Isfand-yar.¹ He also showed supreme bravery in most of the battles he participated during Aurangzeb's reign.

In 1658 he was appointed as governor of Multan and a year later went to Daccan to become the governor of that state. According to Samsam-al-Dawla, he was an astute administrator and a relegate of battles as a result of which Aurangzeb was always fearful of him. When he fought together with prince Shah Alam in Daccan and then came to Aurangzeb's court, the prince complained to the emperor that his valor and dexterity was unrivaled in battle. The complaint of the prince made the emperor restless and replied that he was not concerned about Shah Alam but if Dilaer Khan would have been an opponent then only the emperor could face him off in battle.²

Dilaer Khan was a brave warrior and statesman whose fame was equal to that of emperor Aurangzeb. Despite his service and sacrifices for the Mughal empire in the end he faced the same fate as his Afghan ancestors. Aurangzeb feared him so intensely that he was poisoned in 1683.³

Dawlat Khan Lodhi

He was from the Shahukhel clan of the Lodhi and was one of the most dexterous Afghan personality during Akbar's reign. He served Mirza Aziz Koka and later was in the service of Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan and showed bravery in most battles. When he died in 1601 in Ahmadnagar due to hepatic colic Akbar equated his bravery to that of Sher Shah Suri. According to Samsam-al-Dawla, Dawlat Khan, was a champion of his time and Akbar always praised his valor.⁴

Zain Khan and Saif Khan and their family

¹. Masir'al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 46.

². Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, pp. 54-55.

³. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, pp. 54-55.

⁴. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 6. Tazkerat-al-Khawatain.

Members of this family were nobles in the Koragani empire. Saif Khan and Zain Khan, sons of Khwaja Maqsud Herawi, were the leaders of the family. Their father had access to Homayun and was the servant of Jalaluddin Akbar. Later the daughter of Khwaja Hasan, brother of Maqsud, was married to prince Salim and in this way they became members of the royal family. During the early period of Akbar's reign Zain Khan had the rank of 2500 and served as military officer in parts of Afghanistan. In 1587 he became governor of Zabulistan and spent many years engaged in warfare in the mountains of Afghanistan. In 1595 he was promoted to the rank of 5000 and died in 1602 while he was governor of Lahore.¹ He was acquainted with music and sometimes wrote poetry.²

The other brother, Zain Khan, attained the rank of 4000 during the time of ascension of Akbar and gained fame for his valor until he died in the Ahmad Abad battle in 1573. His sons, Shir Afghan and Amanullah, also held important military positions. Zahid Khan Koka had the rank of 2000 and died in 1645.³

Sa'dat Ali Badakshi

He was a leading figure in Akbar's court with a rank of 1000. He lived after 1543.

Salim Khan Kakar

He lived around 1540 and had the rank of 1000 in Akbar's court.

Shah Mohammad Khan Kalati

He was a leading figure in Homayun and Akbar's time and worked for Birm Khan in Kandahar. When Homayun was trying to recapture the Delhi throne, Shah Mohammad was governor of Kandahar and defended its fortress from the assault of Safavi army. He was an independent governor of Kandahar for a number of years. In 1558 he went to Akbar's

¹ Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 362. Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 160.

² Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, vol. 3, p. 235.

³ Ayeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 160. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, pp. 370, 373.

court and was given the rank of 2000 to protect Kot and its government. Later he served in other government positions also. He died after 1573. His sons, Adil Khan and Qiyam Khan, were also military officers during Akbar and Jahangir's reigns.¹

Shah Baig Khan Kabuli

He was among the nobles of prince Mohammad Hakim, governor of Kabul, and after his death he joined Akbar's court and was given the rank of 3000. He was also governor of Kandahar for a while.²

Shuja Khan Kabuli

He was the son of Masum Khan Kabuli. He was given the rank of 1000 and 600 cavalry during Shah Jahan's reign.³

Shamsuddin Athka

He was son of Mir Yar Mohammad Ghaznavi. In the beginning he served Mirza Kamran and then made his way into Homyun's court in India. He remained Homyun's friend to the very end and his wife breast-fed prince Mohammad Akbar. After recapturing the throne of India for the second time, Shamsuddin was given the title of Khan Azam and then he became a celestial figure in Akbar's court and took part in the running of the government and affairs of the empire until May of 1562 when he was killed inside the court by Adham Khan. After that the family of Shamsuddin was known as Athkakhel and all of them were engaged in Akbar's circle and were given the rank of 4000.⁴

Shamshir Khan Tarin

His name was Hussain Khan and he worked in Burhanpur during Aurangzeb's time. Later he was appointed as commander of Jamun. After serving in Baijapur he was given the title of Shamshir Khan and he

¹. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 545. Aeen-i-kbari, vol. 1, p. 161.

². Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 440. Tarikh-i-Sind of Masumi.

³. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 308.

⁴. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 531. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 427.

worked for prince Mohammad Azam. After his death, his sons, Mohammad Omar and Mohammad Osman were courtiers in the Mughal court.¹

Shahbaz Khan Ruhila

He was famous as Shir Khan and was an officer with rank 3000 and 2000 cavalry during Shah Jahan's reign. He died in 1631 in Daccan.²

Shahdad Khan Khweshaki

His name was Abdul Rahim. After his service in the Tahta battle, during the time of prince Mohammad Azam, son of Aurangzeb, he was given the title of Shahdad Khan and served as an officer in Jamun. During Mohammad Shah's time he was governor of Hansi. According to Samsam-al-Dawla, his fear spread among the people. An event which has not been properly recorded.

After controlling Hansi, which was the center of rebels, Mohammad Shah elevated him to rank of 6000. He was killed in the battles of Nader Khan. His sons relegated power after his death.³

Shir Khan Tarin

He was an intellect from Kandahar who in 1622 started a national resurgence. He was a person with keen intelligence and steadfast character. He inherited the leadership of his people and started the movement of independence. He took inspiration from the revolutionary folks of Iraq and India and started his campaign against Ali Mardan Khan, the governor of Kandahar. From there he went to the Mughal court in India and attained the rank of 2000 and a salary and lived in Punjab. Since Shir Khan had the backing of his people and was influential among them Shah Jahan detained him in Akbar Abad and his children and relatives were also held captive in Mughal jails. He became ill in the Akbar Abad prison and was buried there. This brave freedom fighter died

¹. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 684.

². Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 298.

³. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 711.

at a young age.¹

Sadiq Mohammad Khan Herawi

He was the son of Mohammad Baqir Herawi and was the vizier of Qara Khan Turkuman, the governor of Khorasan. From there he went to India and befriended Biram Khan and became involved with the Mughal court. He went through the ups and downs of life in India and participated in most of the battles there and gained fame for his bravery and astute administrative skills. He owned land in Patna until he was given the rank of 5000 by Akbar in 1596. He built several building in Dehwalpur, 20 kroh from Agra and died there a year later. His sons, Zahed Khan, Dost Mohammad and Yar Mohammad held important posts from the time of Akbar to the reign of Shah Jahan.² His son, Mohammad Aziz Kokaltash was given the title of Khan Azam and the rank of 5000. He was an esteemed scholar of Akbar's court.³

Abdul Rahman Tarnabi

He was a noble from Kabul and was a trusted individual of Shah Jahan's court who was involved in the incidents of Kabul and was in charge of important undertakings of the region.⁴

Abdul Rahman Rohila

He was the holder of rank 1000 in Shah Jahan's court and was an Afghan leader in India.⁵

Abdul Rauf Miyana

He was son of Abdul Hakim Bahlol Khan of the Miyana clan of Afghans, During Shah Jahan's reign he was supreme sardar in Bijapur and after him his son, Abdul Rauf, was successful in capturing Bijapur in

¹. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p 658.

². Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, p. 724.

³. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 428.

⁴. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 409.

⁵. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 308.

1686 and was given rank 6000 and the title of Dilaer Khan. In 1705 Aurangzeb promoted him to rank 7000. After Aurangzeb's death he was military commander of Bijapur. His descendants remained leaders of the region until the British took control of India.¹

Osman Rohila

He was an Afghan noble in India and was the uncle of Bahadur Khan Rohila. During Shah Jahan's reign he was given rank 1000 and 700 cavalry.²

Alawal Tarin

He was son of Ababakr Tarin and was originally from the Psin valley of Kandahar and during Shah Jahan's time (1633) held the rank of 1000.³

Ali Quli Andarabi

Holding a prominent position in Akbar's court with rank 1000 he held several military positions.⁴

Futu Afghan

First he was an officer in Salim Shah Suri's court and then joined Akbar's court with rank 2000. He was a famous warrior of the time.⁵

Kakar Khan Chisti

An officer of Akbar's court he was among those with rank 2000.⁶

Mubariz Khan Afghan

In 1628 he was appointed to rank 3000 in Shah Jahan's court. He was in Sayed Khan in Kabul that year and participated in the battles in

¹. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 2, pp. 54-55.

². Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 308.

³. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 476.

⁴. Aeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 161.

⁵. Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. 2, p. 440.

⁶. Aeen-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 161.

Northern Afghanistan. In 1632 he was given charge of Maiwat and a year later he participated in the battle of Daulat Abad of Daccan.¹

Mubarak Khan Niyazi

He was son of Muzafar Khan son of Mohammad Khan from the Niazi tribe who at a young age became an attendant in Jahangir's court and during Shah Jahan's reign (1630) he was rank 1000 with 700 cavalry. Two years later he was promoted to rank 2000 with 2000 cavalry. For a time he served as assistance in Kabul. In 1654 he became commander of the fort in Bangash. He made the house of friendship in India.²

Mutahawir Khan Khweshaki

His name was Rahmat Khan and he was from the Husainzai Khweshaki tribe and worked for prince Aurangzeb. He displayed bravery in a number of battles and was given the title of Janbaz Khan. He served in different military positions in various parts of India. After Aurangzeb's death, while his sons were fighting over power, he was given the title of Mahtur Khan. He died in June 1743 at the age of 60. He was a good writer and a scholar with a keen interest in the sciences.³

Nazar Bahadur Khweshaki

He was a renowned officer during Shah Jahan's time and grew up in Punjab. In 1627 he attained the rank 1500 and showed extraordinary bravery in several battles. In 1646 he was promoted to rank 3000. He participated in Shah Jahan's conquests of Balkh, Badakshan and Kandahar. In 1650 he was promoted to rank 4000. He was a just person and passed away in Lahore in 1652.⁴

Nasib Khan Shirani

After the ascension of Shah Jahan he received rank 1000 and 700

¹. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 521.

². Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 3, p. 513. Padshah Nama, vol. 1, pp. 298, 307, 399.

³. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 3, pp. 780, 792.

⁴. A'mal-i-Saleh, vol. 1. Ma'sir-al-Amra, vol. 3, p. 820.

cavalry. He was from the military establishment of that time.¹

¹ Padshah Nama, vol. 1, p. 119.