THE KABUL PRINCIPALITY UNDER MIRZA MUHAMMAD HAKIM [1554 - 1585 A.D.]

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Dedicated
to
My Parents
now a memory
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(Muhammad Ziaullah)
PREFACE

The Mughal political system has generally been studied from the perspective of the imperial court. Most studies of the period rely on large-scale, central and mano-perspectives, even in cases where the concern is with economic or social developments. Even though this has its own merits, for a complete understanding of the political system, it is imperative to shift the emphasis from the imperial centre to the regions i.e. subas or provinces. It is with this view in mind that this work studies the Mughal suba of Kabul under Mirza Muhammad Hakim.

The Kabul principality was an important suba of the Mughal empire, but has not been paid the attention it deserves. The region of Kabul was an integral part of India and shared its culture and custom. In return, Kabul also contributed considerably in enriching the diversity of Indian civilization. Indeed, Kabul's association with India was not just political, but also equally social and cultural. There were strong economic connections between Kabul and northern India as well. Merchants from Kabul were regular suppliers of commodities and luxury goods to the north Indian markets.

The suba of Kabul under Mirza Muhammad Hakim has not been studied, so far. This is partly because of the paucity of source material. In attempting to construct its history, I have based myself on the scanty information and incidental references in the context of Akbar found in the contemporary and later chronicles, geographical as well as statistical accounts and travelogues of the Mughal period.
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CHAPTER-I
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPALITY

The history of the Kabul region goes back to the reign of Kai-kaus\(^1\) of Kai-aniah dynasty.\(^2\) Its original name was Bakhtar, which was called Bactria, during the period of Greek dominance\(^3\) (3rd to 1st Century B.C.). It was also called 'Aryadwipa' when Aryans came and overwhelmed the region.\(^4\)

It is said that an infidel named Zabul occupied Bakhtar, thence the region began to be called Zabul. In due course of time the initial letter 'Z' of Zabul changed for that of 'K' and the city, since then is known as Kabul.\(^5\) This story is not very reliable because it is based on a tradition only. Moreover

1. Appanage of mythical Rustam.


5. Travelogue of Mohan Lal, p.45.
Kabul and Zabul are mentioned in the same sense in various sources, where Zabul is meant for Ghazni. But actually the city of Kabul is the Sanskrit 'Kubha', the Kopfen' of Arrian and "Kao-fu' of Hsuan-tsang (7th century A.D.).

According to Muqaddasi all the country between Kabul and Ghazni was known as 'Kabulistan'. Siddi Ali Reis also names it Kabulistan while Alberuni mentions it as 'Kayabash'.

The history of the principality of Kabul goes at least to five thousand years back. The excavation of Harappan site at


4. Siddi Ali Reis, The travel and adventures, translated from Turkish into English by A Vambery under the above title, London, 1899. He was a Turkish admiral, who travelled in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during 1553-1556 A.D. (Hence Travelogue of Siddi Ali Reis); Alberuni's India, Edited by E.C. Sachau, Delhi, 1989, p.259.
Shortughai, proves that it was also a seat of culture, when Egypt and Babylonia were famous for their civilisations.¹

Before reaching India, the Aryans established their kingdom in the Kabul region and composed greater part of Rig veda here. It was Kabul region where Zoroastrians preached Ahura Mazda (one Omnipresent God) and other tenets of Zoroastrianism.²

In the fourth century B.C., Alexander -- the great, conquered Kabul and left behind the Greek settlements there. After his death Kabul became independent. When Sleukas -- the governor of the east, attempted to recover it, he was defeated by Chandragupta Maurya (321-297 B.C.) and Kabul came under Mauryan Empire.³ Asokan Rock Edicts are found at Shahbazgarhi and Mansera in Peshawar and Hazara districts respectively.⁴ During the reign of Asoka Buddhism found its way in Kabul and flourished for a

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thousand years. The massive Buddha statue (180 ft. high) at Bamian
cave and stupas, all over the country were testimony to it.¹

In about 250 B.C. Diodotus succeeded in establishing
independent kingdom, called Graeco-Bactria, which lasted for more
than two centuries. This was the brightest period of the kingdom.
It witnessed all round development in art, architecture, culture,
education and philosophy. The city of Bactria was called
‘Paradise of the East’.²

After Graeco-Bactrians, the Kushanas became masters of Kabul
in the early parts of Christian era, and opened the trade route
with Rome. After the collapse of Kushanas, Kabul fell to anarchy
and petty rulers overwhelmed the era. About 460 A.D. Kabul was
overrun by White Huns (Ephthalites). They extirpated Buddhism
from here by the massacre of monks and destruction of viharas. In
565 A.D. the Persians with the help of Western Turks, defeated
Ephthalites and became masters of Kabul. It was in 619 A.D. that
the Tun Sha Khu of Thang dynasty drove away Iranians and extended
their boundaries up to Kabul.³

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1. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, XIV, Calendar Press,
Oxford, Reprint, New Delhi, 1908, p.242, (Hence Imperial
Gazetteer of India); M. Ali, p.2.

2. M. Ali, pp.1-2; Nilkantha Shastri and Srinivasachari,
Advanced History of India, Allied Publishers Private Ltd.
Calcutta, Bombay, New Delhi, 1970, pp.152-153 (Hence
Advanced History of India).

After the collapse/decline of Persian Empire Turkan Shahi Ratbil or Rantbil or Ranthel came on the scene. In 850 A.D. his Chief-Minister Kalar - an influential Brahmana dispelled Lakaturman - the last king of the line and established a new dynasty called Brahman Shahi or Kabul Shahi.

Arabs entered Kabul in pursuit of Yazdgird III - the ruler of Persian Empire. From then, attacks on Kabul, for not less than six times went in vain. Few persons who attacked were - Humaid who was sent by the Caliph Mansur, Abdullah bin Abu Bakr, Abdur Rahman, and Ishaq bin Muhammad who was sent by Hajjaj bin Yusuf -- the governor of Khurasan. In 725-26 A.D. (107 A.H.) Abdul Malik - the governor of Khurasan conquered many regions including Kabul and reduced Kabul Shah to pay tribute. It was 870 A.D. When Yaqub -- the founder of Saffarid dynasty, brought Kabul into Islamic domain.

The Saffarids were succeeded by Samanids, who ruled for 120 years, until 999 A.D. Alptagin - the Samanid general, having quarrelled with his sovereign, took possession of Ghazna and


2. W. Barthold, An Historical Geography of Iran, Trans by Svatt Soncek, Edited by Bosworth, New Jersey, 1984, p.76, (Hence Barthold); M. Ali, p.4.

Kabul and founded Yamini or Ghaznavid dynasty. In 1186 A.D. Ghaznavids were driven out by Ghoris and one of the Ghori slaves Tajuddin Yalduz possessed Kabul when it was assimilated into khwarizm Empire in 1194 A.D. In 1218 A.D. Chingez Khan let Kabul fall into anarchy after destruction of Khwarizm Empire. Then Kabul reverted to Timur. Timur was succeeded by his grandson, Sultan Khalil (1404-1409 A.D.) then his son Shahrukh Mirza, who left his son Ulugh Beg to rule in his name till 1448 A.D. and as an emperor for a year till 1449 A.D. when he was killed by his son Abdul Latif. Abdul Latif was also killed in 1450 A.D. After this anarchy, Abu Said Mirza came to power who was succeeded by his son Ulugh Beg to rule Kabul (d.1501 A.D.). After his death his minor son succeeded him; so Kabul fell to anarchy, and thus paved the way for Babur’s conquest of it in 1504.1

After the conquest of Hindustan, Kabul remained intact in Mughal Empire. When Babur died in 1530 A.D. and Humayun ascended the throne, he divided his empire among his brothers, according to Timurid tradition. Kabul went under the jurisdiction of Mirza Kamran. Humayun faced defeat at the hand of Sher Shah and fled to Persia. Later on, he returned with feeler from Shah Tahmasp to reconquer his lost empire. After the conquest of Qandahar he

conquered Kabul finally in 1553 by defeating and then blinding his brother Mirza Kamran.1

When Humayun moved towards Hindustan, he left Kabul principality to his infant son Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who ruled as an independent king till his death in 1585. On his death Kabul passed to Akbar. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Afghan tribe of Ghilji founded an empire which was overthrown by Nadir Shah. Thus up to its capture by Nadir Shah in 1738, it was held by Mughal emperors of India. From Nadir Shah it passed to Ahmad Shah Durrani, whose son, Timur, made it the capital of his kingdom. It continued to be the capital of Afghanistan during Sadozais, Barakzais, and continues to be so till now.2


CHAPTER-II
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

Kabul was a land resplendent in colour and beauty, from the lofty blue white grandeur of its snow capped peaks, to the green softness of its crops, heavy highland plateaus passes of importance and rivers.¹

(a) Mountains: The Kabul principality was bounded on all sides by lofty mountains, covered with perpetual snow. The principality has mountain tracts, valleys (dar‘ah) and very rare flat lands.²

The principality was separated in the north from Balkh and Badakhshan by Hindu Kush mountains.³ Hindu Kush mountains in the east rose 20493 ft. high and had many branches stretched. One of the branches, broad but not high extended so far to the south as to join the roots of Safed Koh. The valley of Kabul river


2. Elphinstone, I, p.126; Baburnama, p.405; Mohammad Azhar Ansari, Geographical glimpses of Medieval India, Delhi, 1989, p.86.


Hindu Kush means :killer of Hindus". It may refer to some long forgotten disaster to a Hindu army attempting to invader Turkistan.
separated the southern projection of Hindu Kush from the Safed Koh. The breadth of branch was twenty five miles. Thus in the east it stretched from the hills of inferior height upto the mountains near the plain of Jalalabad.¹

The valleys opening into Kabul from Hindukush were those of Alingar, Kunar, Alishang, Lamghan and Kohistan which also included Nijrau, Panjshir and Ghorband. Kohdaman and Sal-i Aulang were situated between Ghorband and Panjshir and this entire region lay in the south of Hindu Kush.²

The Parapamisan chain had very high hills. It was unnamed between Pamghan (west of Kohdaman) and Bamian. Its northern side suddenly descended into Balkh.³

In the east of the tuman of Kabul, a non-snowy mountain called Siah Koh⁴ ran between Ningnahar and Lamghanat. Then in the further east, the Khaibar mountain was situated in the east of Safed Koh.⁵

4. Siah Koh mean black mountain, named for looking as black due to being non-snowy, see Baburnama, p.206.
To the south of Lamghan territory was Safed Koh. In other words, Safed Koh stood to the south of the projection of Hindu Kush separated from it by the river valley of Kabul. The highest ridge of the Safed Koh range ran south and south east, pierced by Kurram river. It then proceeded in southerly direction and formed the mountainous territory of Jadraon, which extended up to south of the 33° latitude.\(^2\)

The region consisting of the valley of Kabul river was linked with Ghazni by a road. In meridium, the Kabul river valley was parallel to Ghazni and the entire region from the Kabul river valley to Ghazni was mountainous. Thus mountainous region between Parapamisan hills and Kabul-Ghazni road had very narrow valleys.\(^3\)

The entire Bangash consisting of mountain tracts and valleys, lay between 34° latitude and the salt range.\(^4\)

(b) **Rivers:** As rainfall averaged a scant fifteen inches per year, the rivers, swollen during the spring season with the water of melted snow of the mountains, were very important for

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1. Safed Koh is a Persian word which means "white mountain'. In Pushtu it is called 'Speenghur and has the same meaning. As it is always covered with white snow, it is called Safed Koh.


3. Elphinstone, I, p.139.

irrigation. The principality was covered by large and small rivers, which issued from mountains. Helmund, Kabul and Baran were principal rivers. Then there were a number of regional minor rivers also, named after their respective tumans and places from where they issued, and finally joined the principal rivers.

The Helmund river (Etymander) rose at 1250 ft. high in Koh Baba, about thirty miles from Kabul; then it ran 1007 kms. south-west through those moutains and irrigated the cultivable land. After that, it ran through the heart of Qandahar and Girishk and emptied its water into the lake of Zarah and the swamps of Seistan in Iran. It had considerable water in dry season and thus was useful source of irrigation and actually converted its lower valley into the granary of Central Asia.

The noted Kabul river also issued from the same Bamian-Pamghan hills, from where Helmund issued. But unlike Helmund river's flow to south-west, the Kabul river flowed towards the

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3. Koh-i Baba is Bamian mountains according to Baburnama, p.216; Pamghan, according to Afghanistan - Ancient land with modern ways, p.19; Parapamisan chain according to Elphinstone p.133 and according to Irfan Habib, very High Range, Atlas, p.2.
east. The Bande Baba and Pamghan formed a great watershed in its centre and divided the upper reach of Kabul and Helmund rivers.¹

The Kabul river was joined by Pule-Mastan and Logarh rivers in the south, near Kabul city.² About forty miles from Kabul it received Baran river (i.e. Ghorband river) along with Panjshir's river flowing from the north. Thirty five miles below, at the Baran river's confluence, the united streams of Alingar and Alishang joined Kabul river from north and at a few miles' interval, the Surkhab river joined it from the south, above Jalalabad, and again the Cheghan Sarai river from north at Kameh, just below Jalalabad. Now flowing with great force, it entered the plain of Peshawar (Parashawar) and broke into two branches near Michni fort - Andezai on the north and Naguman on the south. These streams once again met at Nusatta and after receiving water of the Swat river and

1. Baburnama, p.216; Le Strange, p.7; Atlas, p.3; Afghanistan—Ancient land with modern ways, p.19.

2. Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, edited by Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p.84, (Hence Sujan Rai), p.84.

3. Since Cheghan Sarai river meeting Kabul river at Kameh, the Kabul river was called Kameh river. While Cheghan Sarai river (Kashghar river) was called Kuner below Cheghann Sarai. See Raverty, I, pp.105-110, 121.
flowing for about fifty miles they poured into Indus at Atak. Indus river flowed through the border of the principality which is known as Nilab.¹

The Baran or Ghorband river issued from Ghorband range; it was joined by Ghuzak or Ghubzak river, then by Panjshir river below the town of Parwan and then joined by Lamghan streams at the fortress of Druta.² The Cheghan Sarai river of North-east, entered into the buluk of Kama, where it was joined by Baran river i.e. Kabul river.³

Kashghar river entered into the Kabul principality from the north-east, where it was called Cheghan Sarai river. Descending further, it was called Kunar river which was marked by the junction of Alingar and Alishang and western affluent of Pech river. It joined Kabul river at Kameh. Alingar and Alishang were northern rivers issued from their respective tumans' mountains and fell in Baran river.⁴

Pul-i Mastan river (Logarh river) came from Ghazni and joined Kabul river near Loghar (Logarh). The other southern river was Khatiban, which came from Lalandar.¹

Surkh rud (river) flowed below the tuman of Ningnahar and joined Kabul river below Jalalabad.²

To the south of Safed Koh i.e. southern region of the principality, flowed Kurram river,³ and one of its tributaries called Kaitur river, flowed in the tuman of Kohast.⁴

In the north west of the principality Doghara river, issued from Bamian range, flowed.⁵

(c) Routes and Roads: As the rivers were not navigable,⁶ therefore the Kabul principality had only land routes.

The grand route ran from Qandahar to Lahore via Kabul city, thence it reached Agra.⁷ From Qandahar it entered the principality at Qarabagh in Ghazni, then went through Sher Dahan Pass, Haft Asia and reached Sujawand. From Sujawand it got

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1. Sujan Rai, p.84; Atlas, p.3.
2. Baburnama, p.209; Atlas, p.3; Imperial Gazetteer of India, p.246.
3. Kurram river is also called Bangash river. See Baburnama, p.233.
5. Ibid., p.3.
7. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Travels in India, I, English Translation by V. Ball, New Delhi, 1977, p.73, (Hence Travelogue of Tavernier).
divided into two routes - one via Maidan and Arqandi, reached Kabul while the other (main) commenced from Sujawand, passed through Dehi Nau, Safed Sang, Charasia and reached Kabul. Its distance from Ghazni to Kabul was 50 Karohs. From Kabul the route passed through Butkhak, Khurd Kabul, Jagdalak, Gandamak, Nimla pass, Bagh-i Safa, Jalalabad, Basawal, Dakka (Dahka) Khaibar pass, Ali Masjid, Jamrud, Parashawar, reached Nilab and crossed it to reach Lahore.\(^1\) This route was called Ali - Masjid Khaibar route and its west to east distance, from Kabul to Nilab was ninety Karohs.\(^2\)

The Hindu Kush separated Kabul from Balkh, Badakhshan and Qunduz and had seven passes in it. There were three routes which passed through Panjshir (in the north), the highest of them was over khawak pass, the next was Tul pass, and the third was Bazarak. Among them the Tul pass\(^3\) was the best inspite of being long. From Kabul it passed through Charikaran, Parwan, Gulbahar, Rukha, Bazarak and then it passed near the border of Badakhshan, while Bazarak passed directly through Parandi.

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3. Tul means 'long' whence it seems, it is called Tul as the route is very long.
Three roads commencing from Kabul passed through Ghorband valley and Parwan. The nearest route was through the pass of Yangi Yul. It led to Khinjan. The second route passed through the Qipchaq pass. The third was Shibertu pass road; it went to Aq Rabat in the north-west of the principality. All the above discussed six routes; passed from Kabul and reached Charikaran via Qarabagh in single route, thence it got divided and ran in different directions.¹

Thus the route from Kabul to Aq Rabat was via Qarabagh and Charikaran. From Charikaran it turned to west towards Ghorband and reached Shibertu pass. From Shibertu, the route got divided into two alternative branches for Zuhak; one moved along the narrow valley of Doghra river and the second running westward being known as Iraq river, reached Zuhak. The other and much longer route turning south from Shibertu, went through Zirak and Hajigak passes also called Sadbarg pass, reached Zuhak. It was called Ab Darra route.²

The Ab-Darra route was joined by Maidan route in the west of Zuhak. It commenced from Kabul, ran through Maidan, Tukanih, Siah Sang, Sadbarg pass, (Hajigak pass), and Ghalgal. All these three

¹. Baburnama, pp.204-5; Ain-i Akbari, II, pp.405-406; Abdul Hamid Lahori, Badshahnama, Edited by Kabiruddin and Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1867, II, pp.512-514, (Hence Lahori).
routes got united together near Zuhak and reached Aq Rabat and from there they entered Balkh via Gumbazak pass.\(^1\)

From Bamian a route running through Yaka Aulung, on the western border of the principality reached Herat.\(^2\)

The seventh route from Khurasan (Balkh, Badakhshan and Herat etc) beyond the Hindu Kush commenced from Qandahar, and while passing through the Kabul principality it did not cross any mountain pass.\(^3\)

Three routes existed between Kabul and Lamghanat. One commencing from Kabul reached Lamghanat after crossing Baran river and Diri pass. Another was via Qaratu; it entered Lamghanat after crossing Baran river at Aulung Nur and Bad-i Pich pass. The last one after crossing Nijrau, Badrau, Qara Naqariq and then again Nijrau, went through the pass of Bad-i Pich.\(^4\)

Besides the road from Parashawar to Kabul, four other roats existed between Hindustan and Kabul. One road which passed through Nilab ferry fifteen miles below the Atak reached Jalalabad through the Lamghanat. It was called Karappa road.\(^5\) The second road crossed Indus (Nilab) at Dinkot (Dhangot) ferry

\(^{1}\) Lahori, II, p.670; Atlas, p.2.
\(^{2}\) Baburnama, pp.308-11.
\(^{4}\) Baburnama, p.209.
\(^{5}\) Ain-i Akbari, II, p.405.
situated near Kalabagh and went through Bangash to Kabul. The third was the Naghr route; it was called after the Nagh tuman that it passed through. The fourth road crossed Indus (Nilab) at Champara, took on Farmul route, went on to Ghazni and joined the grand road to Kabul.¹

(d) **Passes:** The Kabul principality is not only bounded by mountains, but contains vast mountain ranges where roads pass through mountain passes.

The Shahrah (Grand road) from Parashawar to Qandahar via Kabul crossed many important passes. Most important were Khaibar pass² between Jamrud and Dahka, then Nimla pass³ between Bagh-i Safa and Gandamak, Badam Chashma pass⁴ between Adinapur and Kabul and Sher Dahan and Haft Asia passes⁵ between Ghazni and Sujawand.

In the north and north-west of the principality, out of seven routes, which go to Balkh and Badakhshan, six go through the passes of Hindu Kush. The northern most is Khawak pass, then Tul pass, then Bazarak pass in descending order in the Panjshir

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3. Lahori, II, p.603; Travelogue of Mohan Lal, p.39; Raverty I, p.56.
5. Elphinstone, I, p.143; Atlas, p.3.
tuman. The Bazarak route passes through seven other minor passes called Haft Bachcha (seven young lings) between Parwan and Parandah—its main pass at the border of the principality.

Three routes go out of Ghorband and Parwan valley. Yangi Yul pass is near Parwan; below it is Qipchak pass and another is Shibertu pass—between Ghorband and Bamian.\(^1\)

Two other passes exist in Kabul—Aq Rabat route via Ghorband, other than Shibertu pass—one is Zirak and another is Hajigak pass. These passes are between Shibertu pass and Zuhak. Hajigak also falls in Maidan route from Kabul to Aq Rabat. Another pass, near Aq Rabat on the border is named as Gumbazak pass.\(^2\)

There are two passes between Ghazni and Qandahar—Rughnin and Ab-i Istada. The Diri pass on the Buina route exists between Kabul and Lamghan route, while Bad-i Pich pass is on Qaratu and Nijrau routes.\(^3\)

(e) Climate: The principality of Kabul fell in the third and fourth climate.\(^4\) It may be divided into three climatic regions

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4. 30° to 50° above the equatorial line is the third and fourth climate i.e. Aqlim-i Som and Aqlim-i Chaharum.
according to the elevation and circumstances. The low parts are hot, middle the temperate and the high is cold.¹

In the east was Lamghan territory. It consisted of five tumans and three buluks (The tumans were: Ningnahar, Alishang, Alingar, Mandrawar, Kunar and Nurgul' and buluks were: Cheghan Sarai, Darra'h Nur and Kama). They were in warm tropical region.²

The other region i.e. the cold one was that of Kabul and its dependencies upto Badam Chashma pass in Ala Sai hills - i.e. dividing line between cold and hot climate. These were mostly located on the slopes of mountains and were mostly covered with snow throughout the year. In summer this region had very pleasant climate. No such climate is known in the world, that even in summer one can't sleep at night without a fur coat and although snow falls in most of the places in winter but the cold is not excessive like that of England.³

Third climatic region might consist of the rest of the tumans of the principality, which had great climatic variation like Hindustan, due to their elevation and circumstances.

Albeit the low parts were hot, the middle temperate and the high cold, nevertheless, the average heat did not reach that of

2. Baburnama, p.207; Travelogue of Mohan Lal, p.34.
India and the cold that of England. Parashawar was situated on a low plain, had highest temperature i.e. 45°C (112°-113°F) while Ghazni had the coldest climate in the principality.\(^1\)

(f) **Seasons:** In the principality there had been only four seasons excluding the rainy season.\(^2\)

The principality was free from monsoonal rain and it had only fifteen inches rain a year. Clouds are formed from Indian ocean and through south west reached there. As Kabul lay to the leeward of Africa and Arabia it received only vapour of narrow sea. So except in those near high mountains which arrest the clouds and procure a large supply of water for neighbouring tracts, the rest of the principality had scant rain. The second rain to be noticed fell in winter in the form of rain or snow according to the temperature of the place.\(^3\)

In few places, the winter of the principality was very severe for three months. From the beginning of December, snow fell very heavily till March. The inhabitants used to buy up all the provisions for winter season and many never came out from their homes till forty days of extreme cold.

While spring, summer and autumn were quite European in character with few exceptions of July and August, in the Abkhana hilly region during summer, hot and sultry winds blow.\(^4\)

1. Elphinstone, I, pp.175, 177, 178, 181.
2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, p.242; Gazetteer by Thornton, I, p.307, (Here Thornton enumerates five seasons. Perhaps he had included rainy season also).
CHAPTER-III
POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

The principality of Kabul i.e. Kabulistan was situated between Indus and Helmund. There were intermittent mountain valleys (dar'ah) in the basin of Kabul river and its tributaries. The countries from Ghaznin to the frontier of Bamian, partially including lofty highlands of Hazarajat, were situated in western directions, while the principality was situated in the south east upto the Kurram river valley. Its coordinates were roughly 32° to 36° latitude and 66° to 71° longitude.

Its capital - Kabul city, was situated immediately above the confluence of Kabul and Logarh rivers; its coordinates being 69°13’ longitude and 34°30’ latitude.

The Kabul principality was surrounded in the north by Anderab and Qunduz. It was separated from the north by Hindu Kush where Ghor and Kamrud were situated.

In the west it was surrounded by the mountains and Herat, in the south-west by Qandahar, in the south by Bannu and Afghanistan, in the south east and east by Lahore and some of the areas of Hindustan, and in the north-east by Swad and Kashghar.¹

Thus the length of the principality from Atak Benaras on the Indus river to the Hindu Kush was 150 Kos and the breadth from Qarabagh to Cheghan Sarai was 100 Kos.²

By the reign of Akbar, its border line got slightly changed from what it was during Babur's reign. During Akbar's reign the principality of Kabul got extended in the east and south-east upto Hindustan, while earlier it was Lamghanat, Hashtnagar, Parashawar and some countries of Hindustan which formed the border. During Babur's reign Kamrud and Ghor were the border regions while during Akbar's reign Herat became the border area.³

Administrative Divisions of the principality - The tumans and buluks:

The principality of Kabul was divided into tumans. Tumans may be called districts while buluks may be called sub-districts or

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small districts. Sometimes Tumans were subdivided into buluks while at others they formed independent units also.¹

Babur mentions fourteen tumans of Kabul principality excluding tuman of Bajaur, swad and Hashtnagar. Sujan Rai Bhandari enumerates fourteen tumans, including those tumans, which Babur has excluded, Abul Fazl mentions twenty tumans while according to Raverty and the Atlas of Irfan Habib in the time of Akbar there were twenty two tumans in the principality.² These were the capital city of Kabul, Parjhir (Panshir),³ Zuhak-Bamian, Maidan, Ghorband, Nijrau, Alsai, Badrau,⁴ Daman-i Koh, Lughar, Ghaznin, Girdiz,⁵ Alishang, Mandrawar, Alingar, Kunar and Nurgul, Hashtnagar, Ningnahar, Bigram (Parashawar) Bangash (Bala wa Pain, upper and lower),⁶ Kohast, Nughz and Farmul.⁷

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2. Baburnama, p.207; Sujan Rai, pp.84-86; Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.413; Raverty, II, p.682; Atlas, pp.2-3.
4. The Tuman of Bigram in the Ain-i Akbari, II, p.414, was Babur’s district of Parashawar, see Baburnama, p.200.
5. According to Baburnama, Zurmut was the tuman whose headquarter was Girdiz, p.220
The city of Kabul - capital of the principality was well-fortified and was situated between Kabul and Lughar rivers - a short distance above their confluence. Kabul was a beautiful city, had spread from east to west, was surrounded by mountains and covered with snow. It had many pleasure gardens with running brooks. In the north of it was Qarabagh, to the south-east was Sher Darwaza, to the south, Bala Hisar, in the east was Siah Sang ridge; in the west Kabul river flows and to the south west was Shah of Kabul. (Fortified town built by Hindu Shah of Kabul, thence it is called Shah of Kabul). Its coordinates were 34°30' North and 69°13' East.¹

Tuman of Panjshir had the same name as the river. Panj and Sheer, mean five and sweet (water), indicates that the river consisted of five branches, having palatable water. The tuman of Panjshir was the northern most tuman of Kabul principality. The coordinates of Panjshir were 35° latitude and 69° longitude.²

The Tuman of Nijrau lay in the south of Panjshir which lay in the north of Kabul, in the Kohistan region -- the valleys

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1. Baburnama, p.200; Ain-i Akbari, II, p.408; Humayun Nama, p.63; Alberuni's India, p.317; J.B. Tavernier, Travels in India, Eng. Trans. by V. Ball, New Delhi, 1977, p.74, (Tavernier was a French traveller, who visited India in 17th c. AD. The first edition of his travelogue came in 1676 in French); Travelogue of Siddi Ali Reis, p.63; Thornton's Gazetteer, p.304.

opening into Kabul from Hindu Kush. Its coordinates were 35° latitude and 70° longitude having length of about twenty Karohs.¹

The Tuman of Ala Sai, present Wala Sau, a buluk during Babur's reign; it was situated in the north of Kabul four to six miles (2 or 3 farsangs) east of the tuman of Nijrau, intermediately in between the torrid and cold belts. Its coordinates were 35° latitude and 69° longitude.²

Tuman of Badrau ran along the tuman of Ala-sai, extended in the north to the Kohistan of Nijrau and in the south it terminated at the united river of Lughar and Ghorband. Its coordinates were 34° latitude and 69° longitude.³

The tuman of Daman-i Koh was extended in the north from Kabul to beyond Qarabagh. It had many places of importance for the sovereigns' amusement like Pamghan, khidra, Farrah, Istraij and Istalif. The tuman was called Punjab of Kabul as in its total revenue it was second only to the tuman of the city of Kabul.⁴

The tuman of Zuhak and Bamian is the site of archaeological interest, situated in the north-west of the principality. Zuhak

¹. Baburnama, p.204; Elphinstone, I, p.126; Raverty, I, p.103; Atlas, p.2.
³. Baburnama, p.221; Raverty, I, p.103; Atlas, p.2.
⁴. Sujan Rai, p.84; Atlas, p.2; Ain-i Akbari, II, p.412.
was the headquarter of the *tuman* and lay on route, from Kabul via Ghorband to Aq Rabat. In the west of this *tuman* was the country of Hazara known as Hazarajat. Its coordinates were $34^\circ$ latitude and $67^\circ$ longitude.¹

*Tuman of Lughar* (modern Lohgar), lay a few miles to the south of the city of Kabul. It is bounded from all sides by mountains of greater or less elevation. It extends in length from Sujawan pass to Khurdgan, from south and south west to north and north east was about 14 karohs. In the north of it was Kabul, in the south was Zurmut, in the west was Maidan and in the east was Kohast. Its coordinates were $34^\circ$ latitude and $69^\circ$ longitude.²

The *tuman* of Ghaznin was known as Zabul or Zabulistan. It was situated on the border, between Kabul and Qandahar and was called the ‘gate way’ of Iran’. In the west of this *tuman* was the dam of Band-i Sultan built by Sultan Mahmud. During Ghaznavids and then Ghoris, Ghaznin was the seat of power, not Kabul. So when Alauddin Jahan soz burnt the city, he also destroyed this dam, but then Babur repaired it. The coordinates of the *tuman* were $33^\circ$ latitude and $68^\circ$ longitude.³

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2. Baburnama, p.217 (Babur spells Lughar as Luhugur); Raverty, II, p.681; Atlas, p.2.
3. Baburnama, pp.217-18, (Babur spells Ghazni); Sujan Rai, p.84; Raverty, I, p.64; Atlas, p.2.
The Lamghanat (lamghan country) consisted of five tumans - Alishang, Alingar Kunar and Nurgul, Hashtnagar, Mandrawar and Ningnahar. Lamghan is actually Lamkan, on the name of Lamak, the father of Nuh. In Tajik language 'Kaf' is called 'Ghain' so it became Lamghan.¹

The tuman of Alishang was named after two large villages with the same name. It was situated in the north east of Kabul. It is 15 Karohs in length, which, in the north and north east, is connected with the mountain range of Hindu Kush. The tomb of Lamak, from where Lamghan is derived, is situated in this tuman. Its coordinates were 34° latitude and 70° longitude.²

The tuman of Alingar was situated in the north-east of Kabul, on the west of dara'ih Nur. Its length is 16 Karoh and formed the border line of Kator (Kashgar) near Kafiristan. Its coordinates were 35° latitude and 70° longitude.³

The tuman of Mandrawar, extending in the direction of north-west and south east from Nijrau to the mountains of Darunatha to the immediate east of Kabul river, where the rivers Alingar, Alishang, Logarh and surkh rud became one and called Kabul river.

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¹ Baburnama, p.207; Raverty, I, p.100.

² Baburnama, p.210; Ain-i Akbari, vol.II, p.410; p.84; Raverty, I, p.102; Atlas, p.3.

Mandrawar is proper Lamghan and its length is 20 Karohs. Its coordinates are 34° latitude and 70° longitude.¹

The Tuman of Kunar and Nurgul consisted of two buluks - Kunar and Nurgul; it was situated on the eastern and western bank of the Chighan Sarai (Kashkar or Kashgar river). It forms the border of the principality between it and the principality of Bajaur, and had coordinates of 34° latitude and 70 latitude. It does not appear in the Ain-i-Akbari in the list of tumans.²

The tuman of Ningnahar (modern Nangnahar) to which Babur called Adinapur, was actually Nek-Anhar, where Nek means good, beneficial and Anhar is plural of Nahr, means stream. Its seat of government was Adinapur during Babur’s time and it was shifted to Jalalabad by Akbar, who had founded Jalalabad in 1582, when he came here in pursuit of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. The tuman extended from Surkhab river in the west to Batikot in the east and from Kabul river on the north to Kaja on the south. Its coordinates were 34° latitude and 70° longitude.³

¹ Baburnama, p.209; Ain-i Akbari, II, p.410; Raverty, I, pp.108-9, 12; Atlas, p.3.
² Baburnama, Trans. of Thackston, p.175; Raverty, I, pp.106-9, 21, Atlas, p.3. (Kunar was originally Kohnar where Koh means moutain and nur means rough).
³ Baburnama, pp.207-209; Ain-i Akbari, II, p.409; Sujan Rai, p.84; (Ain and Khulasah spells Ningnahar as Neknihar and Nekbahar respectively); Raverty, I, pp.49-51; Atlas, p.3; Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, The Tabaqat-i Akbari, II, English translation by Rajendra Nath De, Edited by Baini Prasad, Delhi, Reprint, 1992, p.549. (Hence Tabaqat-i-Akbari).
The tuman of Hashtnagar was north-eastern tuman of the principality bordering upon Swad, above the Kabul river. It lay on the route between Atak—the gateway of Kabul, and Parashawar thence to Kabul city. Its coordinates were 34° latitude and 70° longitude.¹

The tuman of Bigram was Babur’s district of Parashawar (modern Peshawar). It was situated in the extreme east of the principality towards Hindustan. In its west was Bala Hisar. Here was the most venerated shrine called the Korkhatri shrine; it was destroyed by Shahjahan. This tuman’s coordinates were 34° latitude and 70° longitude.²

The tuman of Bangash was the south eastern tuman of the principality towards Multan. It was named after the Afghan tribe which lived there with the name of Bangash. It was, called Bangashat also, because it was divided into upper (bala) and lower (pain) Bangash. It consisted of mountain tracts and it was situated in the cold climate. It extended from Safed Koh in the north and Kurran river in the west to the border of the

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1. Baburnama, p.200; Raverty, Atlas, p.3.

principality. Its coordinates were 33° latitude and 69° to 72° longitude.\(^1\)

The \textit{tuman} of Kohast (modern Khost) was southern \textit{tuman} of the principality. It was 30 Karohs in length east to west, and 8 Karohs in width north to south. It was situated in the valley of Kaitu river, a tributary of Kurram river. The \textit{tuman} lay in the west of Bangash, and Lahori describes it as the headquarter of Bangashat, while Raverty, a constituent of Bangash. Its coordinates were 33° latitude and 70° longitude.\(^2\)

The \textit{tuman} of Girdiz was called so due to its main town and headquarter Girdiz. Babur has called Zurmut on the name of its main town. It was situated 12 or 13 farsangs south of Kabul and between south and east of Ghaznin. Its coordinates were 33° latitude and 69° longitude.\(^3\)

The \textit{tuman} of Nughz was the southern \textit{tuman} of the principality; it lay in the north of the valley of Indus and west of the Multan Sarkar. It was situated on the border between Kabul and Bannu. Its coordinates are 33° latitude and 70° longitude.\(^4\)

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1. Baburnama, p.209; Sujan Rai, p.86, (He has written it as Nekshab but Irfan Habib says it is a misprint, see Atlas p.3); Lahori, II, p.486; Raverty, I, p.75; Atlas, p.3.

2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.414 (spells it Kohat); Lahori, II, p.158; Raverty, I, p.75; Atlas, p.3.


The tuman of Farmul was the southern most tuman of the principality near Bannu and Afghanistan. It was named after the Farmul tribe, who were Sheikhzadas (descendant of Sheikh Mohammad Musalman) and were much favoured in Hindustan during Afghan period. Its coordinates were 32° latitude and 69° longitude.¹

The tuman of Maidan was central tuman of the principality. It lay in the south of Kabul below the city. It was bounded by mountains of greater and lesser elevation on all sides. The lofty mountain range bound it on the south and west; it was bounded in the north-west by Pamghan valley, and in the south east by Bangash. It was one of the most fertile and well cultivated tuman of the principality watered by mountain streams. Its coordinates were 34° latitude and 68 longitude.²

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(a) Ethnic Composition: The inhabitants of Kabul principality had included Afghans, Tajiks, Hazaras, Kafirs, Turks, Persians, Mughals and many other tribes. The chief among them were Afghans; they consisted of about sixty percent of the population. The Tajiks, Hazaras and Kafirs were other elements of the population. The pasturage of the country was in the hands of Afghans and Hazaras, while trade and artisanship were in the hands of Tajiks; and kafirs' chief occupation was carrying on war with other races.

Afghans: The term 'Afghan' once a synonym of Pushtoon, appeared in Hudud-ul-Alam of unknown author in 982 AD and then it was mentioned by Alberuni in 1060 A.D. The origin of Afghan race is an intricate


question and Muslim chroniclers and modern scholars have divergent opinions. Abul Fazl advocates Israeli origin and Alberuni advocates Persian origin while modern scholars advocate Armenian, Jewish and so on. Among them Bellew and Holdich are the exponents of Jewish origin.\(^1\) Afghans too, considered themselves the descendants of Israel. They assert that their remote progenitor, named Afghan had three sons viz Sarban, Ghurghusht, and Batan. From these three, developed several clans, each distinguished by its eponymous tribarch. The following septs were united in Sarban viz Tarin, Baraich, Miyana, Kharshin, Shirani, Umar, Kashi, Jamand, Kheshgi, Katani, Khalil, Mahmand, Safi, Mohammadzai, Daudzai, Yusufzai, Kaliyani and Tarkalani. From Ghurghusht, sprang the Surali, Jilan, Orakzai, Afridi, Jagtai, Khattaki, Kararani, Bawar, Mansub, Kakar, Naghar, Maswani, Bani, Pani and Taran. To Batan' are ascribed Ghilzai, Sarwani, Lodi, Niyazi, Lohani, Sur, Bani and Kakbor.\(^2\) Among these tribes Ghilzai, Yusufzai, Safi, Daudzai, Afridi, Mohmand, Khalil, Mohammadzai were major constituents of Afghan population in the principality. Ghilzai were mainly populated in Jagdalik between

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Kabul and Jalalabad, Chahardeh-i.e. between Kabul and Ghazni, Chakkuri near Girdiz, Khurd Kabul, Nimla-a village in the tumans of Ningnahar, Mandrawar, and in other places. Afridis are mainly populated in between Kabul and Kohat, Parashawar and Khaiber, Safi in Alishang, Cheghan Sarai, in the slope of Spin Ghar, and in Kumar valley, Mahmund in Kunar, Bajaur and between Parashawar and Khaiber, where Daudzai and Khalil also live. Mohammadzais lived in Hashtnagar, and Yusufzai who were problems for the Mughals lived in northern side of the range of spin Ghar near Parshawar and Panch Kora and Swat and Buner. In Bangash were Afghans such as Khugiani, Khirilchi, Turi, Landar.

There were many wild tribes such as Khwajah, Khizri, Qaqshal, Maidani, Uzbek, Kalatki, Paranchi, Nilpurchi, Bakderi, Bahsudi, Sidibai, Tufankandaz, Arab, Gilahban and Tuqbai, but not as numerous as the first mentioned and most of them had become

1. Raverty, I, pp.58, 70, 76, 96, 97, 100, 103.
2. Ibid., p.94.
3. Ibid., pp.104, 106, 218; Macmunn, p.23.
5. Ibid., p.217.
settled colonists at that time. Among these wild tribes, those who lived in Kohistan were called Kohistani by Elphinstone. It can be gauged, if we correlate Pashai, Parachi of Baburnama, with Siddi Ali Reis' Peshai of Qarabagh (Kohistan) and foot note remarks of Elphinstone and then Khwaja tribe of the Ain and Elphinstone's Khaujeh Khanjee among Kohistani.

**Tajiks:** It was the second largest population consisting of about twenty percent of the population of the principality. The term 'Tajik' is an Arabic word derived from the word 'Taj' means 'ornament' as a sign that they were "ornament of the prophet Mohammad". According to the dictionary meaning, Tajik means a descendant of an Arab, born in Persia or in any other foreign country from Arab and Persian intermarriage, and that succeeding generation was called Tajiks. Tajiks were also known as

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2. Baburnama, p.207; Travelogue of Siddi Ali Reis, p.65; Elphinstone, I, pp.411 FN, 408.


"Farsiwan" particularly in the north of Hindu Kush. By the fourteenth century the Tajiks had come to mean "Persian speaking sedentary Muslims."\(^1\)

The Tajiks were extending all over the principality except Hazarajat, and particularly in and around the towns. They were mainly populated in the north and north east of the principality upto Hindu Kush,\(^2\) including tumans of Lamghan, Alishang, Nijrau, Mandrawar and Kunar and Cheghan Sarai buluks. In the centre, they were near Khurd Kabul and in the southern region they were mainly in Loghar and Girdiz, mainly.\(^3\)

The Tajiks were Sunni Muslims and unlike Afghans they were not divided into "khel" and 'Zai'.\(^4\) They occupied a subordinate and servile position among the inhabitants, lived as Humsaya\(^5\) means neighbour. Every uлоос (tribal political unit) had many people attached to it, who were not Afghans, to protect their

5. Every uлоос (tribal political unit) had many people attached to it, who were not Afghans, to protect their rights. These are called Humsaya. Elphinstone, I, p.228, FN
rights. These are called Humsaya.\textsuperscript{1} They had no voice in its
government or politics. In rural areas they were devoted to
agriculture called 'Dahqan' Dehqan means farmer. They often
worked as tenets, farmers or labourers. In the town and
cities they furnished several industrial and mechanical trade
with their handicrafts and acted as shop keepers, petty traders
and merchants.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{Hazaras:} The Hazaras were descendants of Mongols, and were
distinguished by Mongol features. It is believed that they had
occupied the area when it became vacant owing to the devastation
of Chingiz Khan.\textsuperscript{3} While Abul Fazl says that Hazaras are
descendants of Chaghtai army sent by Manku Khan, under the
command of his son Nikodar Oghlan to assist Halaku Khan.\textsuperscript{4}
Their settlement extends in western part of the principality,
bounded in the north by Bamian, Maidan, Ghazni, Qandahar,
Herat, and Balkh (Clock-wise). With exception, the region is
mountainous.\textsuperscript{5}

\begin{verbatim}
1. Elphinstone, I, p.228, FN.
3. Bellew, p.113; Sykes, p.15.
\end{verbatim}
The general idea regarding the word Hazara is that it is derived from Persian word Hazar "a thousand", applied to the army unit of one thousand of Chingiz Khan. The Hazaras were divided into various factions e.g. Jaghuri or Dahi Zangi, Dahi Rawad, Dahi Chopan, Dahya etc. They had lost their mother tongue Turkish and had adopted Persian in its place and were followers of Shi'a doctrine of Islam.

Kafirs: The Afghans called them Kafirs because they were non-Muslims, infedels or unbelievers, were Aryans of early flock, and lived in Kafiristan. They remained untouched for generations till nineteenth century. It was Abdur Rahman, who converted them to Islam and named them 'Nur' in 1892.

Kafirs were of fairer skin than their neighbours, had long beards, moustaches and whiskers well trimmed, and left a small tuft of hair on the head called 'tsarai' or 'tsarnai'. In religious matters they were ignorant but their ceremonies

1. Bellew, p.114; Vigne, p.168; Raverty, I, p.67, According to Raverty Hazaras were Mings which latter on became Ming Hazaras, as 'Ming' is Turkish word means 'thousand'.
4. Ibid., p.115.
5. Macmunn, pp.23, 24; Fletcher, p.19.
resembled those of Zoroastrastraße. They were idolators and their form of paganism was much mixed with animism. They ate even beef and drank wine along with other foods.¹ They spoke various languages like Dard, Dravidian like Bruhi, which were different from others.²

Their social system was entirely tribal and they were divided into tribes, having their chiefs respectively.³ But they consisted of two great sept or divisions viz. Tor Kafir and Spin Kafir.

Tor Kafirs - also termed Siah Posh or Black Coats were those who dressed in black garments. Spin Kafirs - also termed Safed Posh or White Coats were those who dressed in White or light coloured garments.⁴

Their country was called Kafiristan. It was a mountoinous valley between Hindu Kush, Kabul and Kunar rivers.⁵ It was a big region, constituted northern part of the principality and extended to other adjoining principalities.⁶ Thus kafirs of the

1. Raverty, I, p.131; Sykes, p.15.
3. Raverty, I, p.131; Sykes, p.15.
4. Raverty, I, p.130; Fletcher, p.19.
5. Macmunn, p.23.
The Kafirs were remarkable mountaineers, lived in villages, carried a mixed agriculture and pastoral economy. But they considered carrying wars with other races as their chief occupation.

(b) Languages: The inhabitants of the principality had diverse languages. There were more than twelve languages spoken by the different nationals in the principality. These were Pushtu, Persian, Arabic, Turki, Mughli, Hindi, Afghani, Pashai, Parachi, Gibri, Birkı, Lamghani. Pushtu was the main language of the principality spoken by Afghans particularly in the countryside. Persian was spoken by Tajiks and the people and merchants of the city. Kafirs of Kafiristan spoke various forms of Aryan languages like Dar, Dravidian like Brahui.
The Afghan though spoke Pushtu but they used Persian alphabet and wrote in Naskh character. The origin of Pushtu language is concerned, is not known, but the word common in it, belongs to Persian, Zend, Pehlevi, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Arabic, Armenian, Georgean, Hebrew and Chaldaic.¹

¹ Elphinstone, I, pp.250, 252.
CHAPTER-V
AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

The Kabul principality was land of endless variety, mountains, deserts, forests, plain, and fertile plateaus. Therefore we can witness unique varieties in fauna and flora in the principality.

(a) Fauna: There were animals, wild as well as domestic in the principality. Among wild animals were tigers, lions of weak quality, leopards, wolves, two kinds of bears - black and dirty white, hyenas, found particularly in Hindu Kush mountain forests and Kohistan, rhinoceroses in Khaiber mountains, wild asses, Nilgau, ape, hog deer, and deer of many kinds -- Pauzen, Kiyik and Ahu found in Ghazni, Flying Fox in Nijrau, wild sheep, wild goats, antelopes, monkeys particularly in Mandrawar, ferret, wild dogs, hares, squirrels etc.

Among the domestic animals sheep of many variety - Rang, Dumba etc. were domesticated by pastoral and Hazara tribes for

meat, fat, skin and wool. Horses, especially a ponee called 'Yaubos', asses, camels, particularly she-camel called Bakhti were domesticated for carriage, while oxen for tillage, dogs of a kind called 'Khundee' for hunting by Hazaras and pastoral tribes, and buffaloes and goats, and Persian cat called Boorauk and beehives etc. were also domesticated.1

Among the reptiles of the principality were harmless snakes, scorpios, turtles, tortoises, smelling rat called Mushk Rat in Nijrao, Fish, locust, bees, mosquitoes; god fly and so on.2

Among the birds parrots, mina, peacocks, luja (chameleon) pigeon, doves, crows, sparrows, cuckoos, magpies, cupk (Indian Chikori) quails, patridges, swans, geases, wild ducks, storkes, cranes, herons, chirks, shaheens, baaz, falcons, hawks, eagles etc. were found in the principality.3

(b) Flora: The Kabul principality had attained an enviable reputation for its practically unlimited supply of fruits. Most of the finest fruits of Europe grow wild in different parts of the principality, like Jilgoza, pines of different kinds, two


kinds of oaks, cedars, walnut, wild olive, edible berry called 'Shnee', pistachio, birch, holly, hazel, grow wild in mountains. While on the plain, wild trees were of mulberry, tamarisk, willow, plane, poplar called 'siah chob', wild grapes etc. grew.¹

(c) Horticulture: For growing fruits there were gardens, groves, orchards, vineyards all over the principality. Throughout the principality orchards extended for miles and hardly a country and a house was without its walled garden. Among these gardens, names of the famous ones were Bagh-i wafa (Garden of fidelity) or Chahar Bagh and Bagh-i Safa were in Ningnahar, laid by Emperor Babur.² Shahr Ara (city of adorning) laid by Shahr Banu Begum, daughter of Abu Sa'id Mirza, Mahtab (moon light garden), Urta Bagh (middle garden) --- a garden laid by Bika Begam - Akbar's grandmother, a Garden made by Maryam Makani-Babur's wife, and Surat Khana Garden were in and around Kabul. Instead of these, there were gardens specialized for some or other fruits like "melon garden" outside the fort of Kabul.³

The fruits that were grown were apple, pear, quince, plum, apricot, peach, cherry, mulberry, pomegranates, almond, walnut,


alu-balú (sour cherry) Jilgoza (seeds of pine gerardiana) rhubarb, grapes, melon, cypress, fig, guavas, girdalus, aluchas, plantain (banana).¹ Orange, citron, few dates called Qismi, and amluk called Qarajinish (European date plum) of hot climate fruits were also grown in the principality along with the Jilgoza and pomegranates.²

The principality was also famous for its own varieties of fruits. Among them were many varieties of grapes like Arah-tashi (yellowish) and Suhan-tashi (Red wine colours), Sahibi, Husaini, Qandahari, Karankali, Kishmishi, many varieties of melon like Mirzai, Mahtabi, Baba Shaikhi, Sarda, varieties of Cherry like Shah Alu, Gilas, varieties of plum like zardalu, zardalu Paywandi, Mir Mahmudi, stoneless pomegranates, special kind of apple and quinces, myrobalam called Ahlilaj (a large sort of dry fruit) and so on.³

¹ Baburnama, pp.203, 208; Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.69; Sujan Rai, pp.85-86; Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, pp.106, 116; Travelogue of Mohan Lal, p.38; P. Sykes, p.12; Imperial Gazetteer of India, p.246; Vigne, pp.172-175.

² Baburnama, pp.203, 209; Sujan Rai, p.86; Surat-ul-Arz, p.187 (Accordingly to it dates were not found in Kabul); Hamdullah Mustaufi Qazvini, Nuzhat-ul-Qulul, ed. by Le. Strange, London, 1915, p.261.

³ Baburnama, pp.208, 211, 218; Sujan Rai, pp.85-86; Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p.116; Le Strange, p.349; Imperial Gazetteer of India, p.246.
(d) **Flowers:** The principality had also the variety of 'floral' hues, beyond expression. There were thirty three types of tulips in Ghorband, among them Rose scented tulip and Hundred leaved tulip were unique varieties. White and yellow rose, Jasmine, poppies, lily, narcissuses, hyancinths, tube rose, stock, marigold and other coloured, beautiful and European flowers were found there.¹

(e) **Agriculture:** There were both two and one harvest system in a year in the principality. In 'two harvest' system, the one which was sown in the autumn and reaped in summer was called Behareh. It consisted of wheat, barley, addus, Nukhud (Indian musoor and chana) and some pease and beans. The other harvest, sown in the end of spring and reaped in autumn was called Pauizeh or Teermakee (means fall of leaves and autumn respectively). It consisted of rice, Arzun (millet) Gall (Panicum miliaceum) Jawaree (Holcus sorghum) Bajra and Maush (Indian mung).²

The one harvest system in a year was called "Kuttawaz" sown at the end of one autumn and reaped at the beginning of another;

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1. Surat-ul-Arz, p.186; Baburnama, p.214, 223; Sujan Rai, p.84; Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.412; Travelogue of Mohan Lal, p.38; Vigne, p.175.

2. Elphinston, I, p.392; Sykes, p.12.
but in the Hazarah and cold countries, sown in spring and reaped in the end of autumn.¹

In Parshawar and Bangashat, both Behareh and Pauizeh were equally important. At the same time almost all other 'tumans' of the principality had fertile lands for cultivation, particularly the tumans of Ningnahar, khost, Lamghan, Maidan, Loghar, Girdiz, Nijrau, Panjshir Nekshab and Nur valley, Kohistan and Hazara country were productive of both season's crops.²

Usually wheat was the staple food of the people; pulses, Arzun and Gall were much used for bread, barley for horses and bajra was the principal grain of the mountainous countries of Bangashat.³

There was a kind of wheat called Dandan-i Shutur (camel teeth). It was called so because of its shape. It was produced in the principality.⁴ For the production of rice, Loghar and Parashawar were important but the tuman of Bigram was famous like Bengal of India, particularly for a variety of it called Sukhdas.⁵ Nevertheless at the time of Babur Kabul principality

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was not fertile in grain; a four fold or five--fold return was reckoned as good there.

Among the oil seeds, the palmi christi or castor oil plant called Bundanjeer, sesanum, mustard were abundant everywhere in the principality.¹

Cotton was cultivated in Khost, Loghar, Nijrao, Panjsheer, and Ghorband as it was confined to hot climate.² Sugar cane was confined to rich plain and in gardens along the fruits.³

Another type of cultivation, which was called 'Paulaiz', consisted of melons and vegetables like various sorts of cucumbers, pumpkins and gourds. The other vegetables of the principality were cabbage, lettuce, turnips, carrots, peas, endive, cauliflower, celery, onion, garlic, fennel, egg plant, spinach and greens of all kinds. These vegetables and melons were produced in open fields and were of good quality.⁴

(f) Methods of Irrigation: Both natural and artificial methods of irrigation of fields were common in the principality. The land depended on rain, mostly in hills, and the lands on rivers which were always moist were called 'Lalmi'. Lalmi lands were of lesser

2. Elphinstone, pp.394, 409; Raverty, I, p.75; Raverty, II, p.682.
quality, produced lesser revenue crops like barley and cotton etc. While the land which depended on streams (artificial irrigation) and was called 'Rudi', was of good quality and produced wheat and rice. Gardens of the principality were irrigated by the canals cut from the streams.

Among the artificial irrigation, stream was general means of irrigation throughout the principality during the Mughal period. The water of stream was merely turned to the land but most often carried to the land and garden by cutting little canals. In large rivers, a partial embankment was made on one side, which extended for a certain distance into the current, thus a part of stream water was forced into the canal. From canal, smaller water courses were drawn off to the fields.

Another form of artificial irrigation in the principality was reservoirs (dams), where a great body of water was collected by an embankment and the stored water was let out as required.

1. Raverty, I, pp.49, 75; Elphinstone, I, p.399.
2. Raverty, I, pp.49, 75, 95.
The most famous dam Band-i-Sultan at Ghazni was among the three or four dams built by Mahmud Ghazni. Later on, Alauddin Jahan Soz destroyed them and thence these fell in ruin. When Babur conquered Hindustan, he sent money to Khwaja Kalan and got repaired Band-i-Sultan and Sakhan dams of Ghazni. There was another dam in working order at Saridih.

In Parashawar, wells were also used for irrigation and Persian wheel was used for raising water from wells and rivers.

CHAPTER-VI
TRADE AND COMMERCE

The Kabul principality had important trade marts like Kabul, Parashawar and Ghaznin, where foreign traders used to come with their merchandise to sell and buy. Among these, Kabul had great 'bazar' within the precinct of its well fortified city. Yaqubi, in the 9th c. describes that Kabul was much frequented by merchants who brought back Indian merchandise. According to Sairul Bilad the finest and most costly commodities of the four quarters of the world were disposed of in this city. There was a great 'bazar' in the city which was later on roofed over by Ali Mardan Khan during Shahjahan's reign. This roofed arcade consisted of four covered arcades called Chahar Chhatta at the western end of the street leading from Darwaza-i Lahori. It was hardly possible to ride through any part of Kabul without passing along a 'bazar' consisting of the lines of shops, including shops of intoxicating

2. Travernier, p.75; Imperial Gazetteer of India, p.243.
5. Imperial Gazetteer of India, p.243; Vigne, p.159.
liquor (Dukan-i Miskran) near main tower (burj) and shops of food items.\(^1\) The bazar of Kabul was so much profitable that many a traders were not contented with a profit of three to four hundred percent.\(^2\)

The shopkeepers and artisans were divided into thirty two trades, each of which had its chief called 'Cudkhoda' who had to manage all transaction between traders and government.\(^3\)

Parashawar and Ghaznin were main stages between Kabul and Lahore and Kabul and Multan respectively, for Caravans of traders.\(^4\) Kabul was situated on the land route of trade and commerce traffic, leading to westwards via Ardabil and Tabriz, where European traders met.\(^5\)

The principal trade of Kabul principality was with Hindustan, Persia and Turkistan. While Caravans also came from

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Kashghar, Balkh, Bukhara, Badakhshan, Farghana, Samarqand, Hisar, Khurasan, Rum (Anatolia) Iraq, China and Bhutan.¹

Kabul was great emporium of Indian trade as Yaqubi describes in 9th century A.D.² Babur says that ten to twenty thousand heads of houses brought their merchandise to Kabul.³ The imports to Kabul from Hindustan included slaves, white cloth, muslin, coarse cloth, sugar candy, refined and common sugar, aromatic roots, some sort of silken cloth, brocade, ivory, chalk, bamboos, wax, tin, musk, drugs and spices of all kinds.⁴

Imports to Hindustan were principally horses,⁵ ponies, furs, Multani Chintz, madder, assafaetida, almonds, pistachio nuts, walnuts, hazel nuts and all types of fruits-dried and fresh in great quantity. Among fresh fruits were apples (of Farmul) pears, coarse grapes, pomegranates (of Alsai) apricots, girdalus, aluchas, cherries, mushk melons and among dried fruits were plums, raisins and kishmish. The shawls were most important item of export to India and Persia. Wardrobe of Akbar had five sets (misl) of Kabuli silk dress called "Kamkhab".⁶

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2. R. Sanskrityayana, p.349.
Among imports from Persia were raw silk of Gilan and Resht, silken stuff made at 'yezd and Kashan, Knuddak cotton manufacture of various colours made best at Isphahan, embroidered satin, velvet and Persian brocade, coins and bullions. Indian Chintz came from Masulipattam to Busheer in Persian Gulf and then was carried by land to Kabul.

The exports to Persia were shawls and shawl goods, indigo, carpet of Herat, Multan Chintz, Indian brocade, muslin and other cotton cloths. Among imports from Turkistan, Iraq, Bulkh, Bukhara and the Uzbek country, the main item was horse of various breeds -- they varied from seven to ten thousands a year. It were the Turkomans at Kabul from whom Humayun bought Iraqi horses to combat Kamran. Other import items were gold and silver from Turkistan, carpet from Herat, Cochineal broad cloth purpet and tinsel, caste iron pots, urmuk - a fine cloth made of camel wool from Bukhara.

The export to Turkistan were mainly imported from India. These were white cloths of all kinds, shawls, Multani

1. Elphinstone, I, p.385; Tavernier, I, p.75; Tavernier, II, p.203.

2. Akbarnama, I, p.476; Tavernier, I, p.75; Travels of Mohan Lal, p.45;

Chintz, and indigo.\textsuperscript{1}

The import items from China including Chinese Turkistan and Bhutan, were wool of a particular kind, Chinese silk and satin, porcelain, raw silk, cochineal, crystal, gold dust, golden ingot and yamboos of silver with Chinese stamp.\textsuperscript{2}

In export, they mostly bartered their goods. Bhutan bartered her goods for horses, mules and camels; China bartered her goods (including wine and vinegar) for Indian and Kabul cloth, salt, cowries, pewter, tin and slaves.\textsuperscript{3}

The internal trades were carried on from west to east and goods included pieces of wool, furs, madder, cheese, croot and Herat carpet, and articles of dress. The trade from east to west included lungees, silk, Chintz of Multan, mixed silk and cotton cloth of Bahawalpur, indigo and some cotton.\textsuperscript{4} The grains of Loghar and coarse cloth were supplied to the market of Kabul.\textsuperscript{5}

\textbf{Conveyance:} In an inland country, deprived of navigable rivers, and roads not suited to wheel carriage, commerce was carried on the beast of burdens. Among these, camels were the best, because

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Elphinstone, I, p.384.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Baburnama, p.202; R. Sanskrityayana, p.349; Tavernier, II, p.203; Elphinstone, I, pp.385-86.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Elphinstone, pp.384-85; Tavernier, II, p.203.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Elphinstone, I, 386.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Raverty, II, p.681.
\end{itemize}
of their strength, patience of thirst and were fed on any kind of bush. Only the caravans to Turkistan were all on horses or ponies probably on account of very mountainous roads which lay in one part over the snowy ridge of Hindukush.

**Caravan:** The trade was carried on camels themselves, and if they could not, then they hired merchants for this purpose. The camels hired from particular tribes usually made their journey in company with the tribe to which they belonged and sometimes others were also attached to them for safety. Thus formed "caravans" and in this manner all foreign trade was carried on.

Each caravan had a hereditary chief, elected as Qafila Bashi (Turkish term which means head of Caravan) who used about eighty men to assist him. His duty was to keep peace, settle disputes, appoint and post guards and escorts, settle customs and collect money accordingly to pay custom.

2. Sujan Rai, p.87; Elphinstone, I, p.382.
There were 'caravansarais' in the towns, large squares surrounded by apartment and having a mosque and often a warm bath in the centre and a common gate way.\(^1\) It seems that carvansarai of Parashawar was in its fort because when Mirza Hakim died in 1585 AD, Faridun obtained his release from there only after a fire broke in the fort and a thousand camel loads of merchandise, belonging to merchants was burnt.\(^2\) In a letter to Khwaja Kalan at Kabul (10th Feb, 1529) Babur refers to the repair of the Carvan Sarai and warm bath. It shows that Carvan Sarai was a very important part of the Kabul fort.\(^3\)

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CHAPTER-VII

MIRZA MUHAMMAD HAKIM AND HIS REIGN

Humayun's last recorded wife, whom he had married in 1544 A.D. in Kabul was, Mah Chuchak Begam. She had four daughters -- Bakht Nisa Begam, Sakina Begam, Amina Begam and Fakhrun Nisa Begam and two sons Mirza Muhammad Hakim and Farrukh Fal Mirza -- who died in infancy.¹

Mirza Muhammad Hakim was born on Wednesday, 15 Jamadil-awwal, 961 A.H. (18th April, 1554). He got two patronoms -- Abul Mafakhir and Abul Fazail, as the Chronogram of these two names equal to 961 A.H. -- the year of his birth.²

In 1554 A.D. Humayun left for Hindustan, leaving Mirza Hakim as nominal governor under the charge of Munim Khan as Ataliq. In 1556 A.D. Akbar had confirmed the appointment. In 1560 A.D. Akbar issued a farman summoning Munim Khan from Kabul. In 1561 A.D. before leaving Kabul, he appointed Haider Muhammad Khan Atka Begi, as the governor, or Ataliq. But, he removed him soon, and appointed his son Ghani Khan in his place. As Mahchuchak,


2. Humayun Nama, Introduction by Mrs Beveridge pp.56, 86; Travelogue of Siddi Ali Reis, p.64.

nobles and other people of Kabul were not happy with the (disagreeable) manner and conduct of Ghani Khan. Mahchuchak was very wise and clever lady, she shut Ghani Khan out of Kabul, when Ghani Khan went out of the fort to the melon garden, and by killing his men - Fazail Beg and Abul Fath Beg, took up the guidance of her son’s affair in her own hand. She chose three men - Mirza Fazail Beg and his son Abul Fath as his deputy and Shah Wali Atka, to help her in administration. Due to the discrimination in the assignment of Jagir, the Begam and Shah Wali Atka felt their attitude to be authoritative. They were soon killed at herdictation, planned by Shah Wali Atka, who later on became supreme as he assumed the management of affairs and adopted the title of Adil Shah.

When the news of these developments reached to the court, Akbar, appointed Munim Khan as governor and guardian of (Ataliq) of Mirza Hakim, and sent him along with many other nobles to Kabul, to put things straight.

Mahchuchak Begam took Mirza Hakim (10 years old), came to Jalalabad and in the first onset, utterly defeated Munim Khan, who fled to the court. After this success, on suspicion, she killed the last adviser or third adviser Shah Wali Atka and appointed Haider Qasim Kohbar as the agent of the Mirza. These
events are of 1563 AD. From then onwards, she continued with these, till 1564 when Shah Abul Ma'ali came to the scene.¹

In 1564 A.D. Shah Abul Maali reached Kabul, after his revolt against Akbar, and prayed for shelter, after assuring his loyalty to the Begam. Mah Chuchak not only welcomed him but gave her daughter Fakhrun Nisa in his marriage and management of the affairs in his hand. As the Begam and Haider Qasim Kohbar appeared to be a hurdle in his mission, so he got both of them, killed. It led to woeful slaughter within the walls of Kabul. Muhammad Qasim - the brother of Haider Qasim Kohbar, and the men of Mirza Hakim reached Badakshan to seek Mirza Sulaiman's help.²

Mirza Sulaiman had covetous eyes on Kabul since the days of Humayun. In 1556 A.D. when Munim Khan was the Ataliq of the Mirza and governor of Kabul, Mirza Sulaiman launched his first attack. As Munim Khan had shut himself up in the fort, therefore Mirza Sulaiman failed in his project, made Munim Khan to agree to insert his name after Akbar in public prayers (khutba) and then returned to Badakhshan.³

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   Muhammad Arif Qandahari, Tarikh-i Akbari, Eng. Trans. by Tasneem Ahmad, Delhi, 1993, p.106 (Hence Tarikh-i-Akbari).


Mirza Sulaiman utilised the opportunity when Mirza Hakim was passing through difficult times. He came with the army of Badakhshan to Kabul and defeated Shah Abul Ma'ali at Ghorband valley and put him to death on 17th Ramadan 970 A.H. After his victory, Mirza Sulaiman gave his daughter in marriage to Mirza Hakim, appointed Umaid Ali as Vakil or administrator of M. Hakim and partitioned out greater part of Kabul’s Tumans in Jagir to his Badakhshi armies.¹

Soon in 971 A.H./1563-64 A.D.), irritation against the interlopers led to the Badakhshis expulsion from Kabul on some pretext or the other and Khwaja Muzaffar Ali Turbati (old servant of Bairam Khan) was raised to the position of vizarat-i Diwan-i A'la (Minister of Finance) and honoured with the title of Khan.²

Mirza Sulaiman came to Kabul the third time, to punish Mirza Hakim, for his behaviour against Badakhshis. Mirza Hakim, being unable to withstand him, left Kabul in the charge of Baqi Qaqshal, went to Nilab (Indus) and complained to his elder brother Akbar. According to Akbar’s order the ‘amirs’ of Punjab joined the Mirza. He defeated Qambar and killed all his men, who were stationed at Jalalabad.

When this news reached Mirza Sulaiman who was besieging Kabul fort he became disheartened. At the same time Baqi Qaqshal came out of the fort and defeated Mirza Sulaiman, who now fled to Badakhshan. Mirza Hakim came to Kabul and established himself firmly on the throne. All the amirs of the Punjab returned to their Jagirs except Khan-i Kalan who was appointed as Ataliq or guardian of Mirza Hakim. Mirza Hakim married his sister (widow of Shah Abul Maali) to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi (a descendant of Khwaja Bahauddin) without informing Khan-i Kalan. Moreover, when the Khwaja took management of the household, Khan-i Kalan left Kabul and came to the imperial court at Agra.

Mirza Sulaiman, hearing the news of returning of the amirs of Hindustan, collected Badakhshis and with his wife invaded Kabul in 1566 A.D. the fourth time. Hearing Mirza Sulaiman’s arrival, Mirza Hakim left Kabul in the charge of Masum Kuka and himself with Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi went to Ghorband. This time, Mirza Sulaiman, after besieging Kabul, tried to supplement his failing military action by treachery. His wife Khurram Begam, also called Wali Niamat Begam and Haram Begam, got him to lie in an ambush for Mirza Hakim. She had invited Mirza Hakim to meet her at Qarabagh. She had told him that she wanted to adopt him

as her son, because her own son Ibrahim had died fighting against Pir Muhammad. But this plan got revealed to Mirza Hakim, when he was going to meet her. So he turned back and fled, and declining the advice of the Khwaja to go to Pir Muhammad, he finally reached Indus for Akbar's help. Akbar sent Faridun, Mirza Hakim's maternal uncle, to help the Mirza. At the same time he also sent Khush Khabar Khan with money and articles and Farman to the amirs of the Punjab to help him. But, after the arrival of Khush Khabar Khan, Faridun instigated the Mirza, pleading that the conquest of Lahore would be easy for him. Thus Mirza Hakim gave secret permission to Khush Khabar Khan to leave, and he, along with Faridun and two other rebel nobles of Akbar -- Sultan Ali and Hasan Khan made an abortive attempt to conquer Lahore, after plundering the neighbourhood of Bhira.

On the other hand, the siege of Kabul prolonged. Winter was becoming severe, so Mirza Sulaiman had no way out but to effect a peace settlement with Masum, who finally agreed to pay a small tribute to him and then he returned to Badakhshan.

Fortunately, the timely departure of Mirza Sulaiman gave a way out to Hakim to evade the clash with Imperial forces which came to crush his revolts in Lahore.\(^1\) Then in 1567 A.D. once

again Mirza Sulaiman came to Kabul. This time he came to pray for help against his grandson Shahrulkh, who had planned to kill him. But Mirza Hakim turned down his appeal and only agreed to send him to Nilab (Sind) river, to appeal to Akbar.¹

In 1567 A.D. when Akbar was in the Punjab, the nobles like Ali Quli Khan, Bahadur Khan and Iskander rebelled in Agra and recited ‘Khutba’ in the name of Mirza Hakim and the latter again revolted in 1572 when Akbar was in Gujarat. But these revolts were not important, because they were crushed easily.² Then in 986 A.H. (1576 A.D.) the brave and daring foster brother of Mirza Hakim, namely Masum Khan deserted the Mirza due to differences and went to the court where he got the mansab of 500 and Jagir in Bihar. In 1580 AD Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, the Qazi of Jaunpur issued the ruling (fatwa) that as Akbar had deviated from Islam, so it was incumbent upon all the Muslims to fight against him. As a result, under the leadership of Masum Khan Kuka, most of the Jagirdars and officers of Bihar raised the standard of rebellion, and spread in Bengal also. The victorious rebels proclaimed Mirza Hakim as their king and recited the ‘khutba’ in his name. They held meeting and distributed offices among themselves. Masum Khan Kuka was


appointed Wakil (Prime Minister), Baba Khan Qaqshal as governor of Bengal. Other nobles were also appointed to various offices. In January 1581, though Shahbaz Khan had defeated the rebels near Jaunpur, but they were crushed fully only in 1584.1

In 1582 AD Mirza Hakim received a letter written by Asi Kabuli and Masum Farankhudi that the conquest of Hindustan is easily possible. Moreover, his uncle Faridun also instigated him, so he advanced to conquer Hindustan.

Akbar had taken it very seriously and had already sent Man Singh along with a large number of and then other soldiers with advance salary of eight months.

Man Singh defeated and killed Shadman, sent by Mirza Hakim and found three farmans of the Mirza addressed to Hakimul Mulk, Khwaja Shah Mansur and Muhammad Qasim Khan in the portfolio of Shadman. These farmans were written in reply to their invitation.

Mirza Hakim reached Lahore, and encamped. So Man Singh, Said Khan, and Raja Bhagwan Das shut themselves in the fort of Lahore. But when Mirza Hakim heard the news of the arrival of the Imperial army, he crossed the Nilab and went to Kabul. Reaching at Attock, Akbar sent many nobles including Man Singh, in pursuit of the Mirza, and Prince Murad to conquer Kabul.

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At this, the Mirza sent Khwaja Abul Fazl, son of Hasan Naqshbandi, with petition of apology and pardon. But Akbar did not agree because the Mirza failed to provide his sister, as security.

When Prince Murad reached near Kabul, Mirza Hakim came and fought a battle at Khurd Kabul but was defeated. Murad occupied Kabul and Mirza Hakim intended to go to the Uzbeks. Hearing this, Akbar sent Latif Khwaja with good news of pardon of all his offences. Mirza Hakim promised loyalty and sent Ali Muhammad Asp to attend on the Emperor, when Akbar was returning to Hindustan.\(^1\)

In 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) Mirza Hakim fell ill; so Faridun hurried with the sons of Mirza Hakim to Kabul but Akbar had already sent Man Singh and Bhagwan Das. Mirza Hakim died on Friday, 12th Shaban 993 A.H./30th July, 1585 and Kabul was annexed to the empire. It was not bestowed on either of the two sons of Mirza Hakim, namely Kaiqubad (15 year old) and Afrasiyab (14 years old) as they were young, and the Uzbegs had seized Badakhshان and had created threat for Kabul. The sons and 'amirs' of the Mirza became recipient of royal favours, suitable \textit{Jagirs} and stipends.\(^2\)

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Tabaqat-i-Akbari}, II, pp.544-553.
\item \textit{Akbarnama}, III, pp.703, 712-14; \textit{Tabaqat-i-Akbari}, II, pp.584, 602, 607.
\end{itemize}
(a) Nature of rule during Mirza Hakim's reign: Mirza Hakim was appointed nominal governor of Kabul principality under the guardianship of Munim Khan by Humayun in 1554, and confirmed by Akbar in 1556 A.D.¹ Mirza Hakim's mother Mahchuchak Begam was very intelligent and ambitious lady. Before his departure to the imperial court in 1560 A.D. Munim Khan had appointed Ghani Khan in his place. She expelled him soon after Munim Khan's departure and tried to carve out her son's independent kingdom. Moreover, she defended the insubordination by defeating Munim Khan, sent by the emperor Akbar, later on. But her helm of power could not last long as she was killed by Shah Abul Ma'ali in 1566 A.D., who was also removed by Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan soon. In the same year (1566 A.D.) Akbar sent his amirs including Mirza Hakim's Taghai (maternal uncle) Faridun Ali Asp to help the Mirza against the incursion of Mirza Sulaiman.² Then onwards, Mirza Hakim not


only ruled the principality independently but also tried to extend his authority in Hindustan several times.\(^1\)

In this way Mirza Hakim ruled the principality independently for all practical purposes\(^2\) and even Shah Ismail II of Persia (May 1576-1577) addressed him as an independent king *Padshah-i Masnad Nashin*.\(^3\) But there is no evidence of striking coins nor any reference of *khutba* in his name.\(^4\)

Akbar, on the other hand, connived at Mirza Hakim's insubordination as if it did not exist and continued to send his agents to Kabul till the death of the latter in 1585.\(^5\) The agents sent were Munim Khan (1554-60 and again in 1560) Khan Kalan Mir Muhammad (1566) Sakina Banu Begam (1576) and Bakht Nisa Begam (1581).\(^6\) Thus the Kabul principality remained part of Mughal empire, though it was nominally subjected to Akbar till 1585 A.D. when it was annexed to the empire after the death of Mirza Hakim.

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2. Richards, p.40.
4. John, F. Richards, The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India, Delhi, 1987, p.40. (Hence Richards).
(b) **Administration**: Mirza Hakim’s administrative structure was similar to the provincial administration of Akbar in Hindustan. His government and revenue was in the hands of ‘amirs’ of the principality.¹

**Ataliq**: (Deputy governor) According to the system when a young prince was appointed as governor, a capable and experienced person was sent as ‘ataliq’ (guide and preceptor) and the young governor had to follow his advice. And if the prince was minor, the ‘ataliq’ was the defacto governor.² Mirza Hakim was appointed as governor of Kabul principality in 1554 by Humayun, when he was two years old, so his ‘ataliq’ Munim Khan (1554-60 A.D.) acted as governor.³ In 1566 A.D. Khan Kalan Mir Muhammad was appointed as the ‘ataliq’ of the Mirza, when the latter was sixteen years old. It seems that the Mirza neglected his ‘ataliq’ as he came of age, so Khan Kalan left Kabul without permission in the same year.⁴ When Mirza Hakim created problems  

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in Hindustan, Akbar sent Sakina Banu Begam to give counsels to him (1576 A.D.).

Again, when Akbar restored Mirza Hakim's, principality to him in 1581 A.D., he also Akbar appointed his sister Bakht Nisa Begam as the official governor of Kabul.

Vakil: Deputy (vice regent) Vakil was the highest officer in the state and practical head of the administration and the chief adviser of the king. It seems that whenever there was no agent of Akbar in Kabul, then the Vakil managed the affair but not as Akbar's agent. When in 1560, Mahchuchak Begam, the mother of the Mirza, defeated Munim Khan and became powerful she appointed Fazl Beg as the Vakil and his son Abul Fath as his Naib (deputy). Later on she got both of them killed and appointed Haider Qasim Kohbar as Vakil of the Mirza. Mirza Sulaiman came to help Mirza Hakim in late 1560 A.D. and at the time of his departure to Badakhshan, he appointed Umaid Ali as the 'Vakil' of Mirza Hakim, who was later on expelled by the Mirza.

2. Sykes, p.305.
**Diwan:** the chief financial officer, was responsible for revenue or agrarian administration, civil justice and supervised the Sadr's department. Mughal princes also had 'diwan' to manage their property and even household.¹ Murad Beg Qazvini was 'Diwan' of Kabul principality, when Munim Khan was 'Ataliq' of Mirza Hakim (1554-60).² In 1566 Mirza Hakim married his widow sister (widow of Shah Abul Ma'ali) to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi, who took the management of affairs of the household of the Mirza into his hand. The Khwaja had Muhammad Ali as personal his Diwan. The last reference of the Diwan of the Mirza Hakim is of Malik Sani Kabuli.³

**Sadr:** As there were Suyurghal grants⁴ which were expressed in Qalba (ploughland), Kharvar (loads of grain), bighas and villages,⁵ there must have been sadr and still lower level officer known as Mutawallis.⁶ Mulla Abdul Baqi Turkistani was the Sadr of the principality.⁷ In 1585, when Akbar annexed Kabul principality, he appointed Mir Sharif as the Sadr of the principality (province).⁸

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1. P. Saran, p.175; JN Sarkar, p.146.
5. A Ray, p.98.
But when Jahangir was in Kabul in 14th R.Y. he made Suyurghal grants but mention is not made of Sadr awarding the grants.\(^1\)

Qazi: Bayazid mentions Qazis of the tuman of Alingar, Mandrawar and Ningnahar. It shows that each tuman had more than one Qazi. The impression is also made that Qazis were living in the town where Dar-ul-Qaza was situated, as Bayazid says that if a Dehi (villager) has any dispute in Alingar, Mandrawa and Ningnahar\(^2\) the Qazis were sent for, instead of disputant going to Dar-ul-Qaza.\(^3\) When nobles of the principality were brought to the imperial court in 1585 A.D. after the assimilation of the principality into the empire, 'Qazi' Izztullah was one of them. It seems that he was the 'Qazi' of the principality.\(^4\)

Bakhshi: The army of the principality consisted of both regular and tribal militia.\(^5\) There seems to be the department of Bakhshi, as the reference of Baba Dost Bakhshi comes in the contemporary books. Baba Dost was in the service along with other charges since the days of Humayun.\(^6\) The other officer of the department

\(^1\) A. Ray, p.98.
\(^2\) Bayazid, p.219.
\(^3\) Bayazid, p.219; Raverty, I, p.102.
\(^4\) Akbarnama, III, pp.713-14.
\(^5\) Bayazid, p.224; Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.413; Akbarnama, III, pp.535-36.
\(^6\) Bayazid, pp.6, 6FN, 197, 222.
was called Akhta Begi -- the superintendent of gelding (castrating esp. of horses) Haider Muhammad was Akhta Begi at the time of Munim Khan's departure to the imperial court in 1560 A.D.¹

(c) **Nobles of Mirza Hakim:** The noble of the principality were called 'amirs'. Notables among the were Baqi Qaqshal, Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi, Haider Muhammad Khan, Abul Fath Beg and his father Fazil Beg (both were killed by Mahchuchak Begam) Haider Qasim Kohbar (killed by Shah Abul Maali) Tardi Muhammad Khan, Hasan Khan, Banda Ali Maidani, Khwaja Muhammad Husain, Malik Sani Kabuli, Ahmad Beg Kabuli, Shah Beg Arghun (the governor of Parashawar) Taj Khan, Abul Qasim Namakin, Janish Bahadur, Khan Kalan Mir Muhammad.² The nobles of Mirza Hakim who joined Akbar's service immediately after his death, were Faridun Ali Muhammad Asp. (Taghai or maternal uncle of Mirza Hakim) Afrasiyab, and Kaiqubad (sons of Mirza Hakim) Wali (Mirza's sister's son) Shah Beg Arghun, Gada Beg, Tash Beg Quchin, Takht Beg, Qasim Parwana, Muzaffar Koka, Janish Bahadur, Tatar Beg, Ghaiyur Beg, Ulugh Beg, Nur Muhammad, Khwaja Khizri, Dost Muhammad, Turnabi, Khaki Ghalaban Ataliq, Qasim Koka, Khwaja Yaqut (eunuch) Atam Bahadur,

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Khwasham Bahadur, Haider Ali Arab, Qazi Izzatullah, Farrukh Beg Musawwir (Painter) and others.¹

(d) Tuman administration: It was usual for the ruler of Kabul principality to make Parashawar another quarter. Kabul was summer station called 'Ilak' while Parashawar was called 'Kishlak' or winter quarter and the ruler of Kishlak was also called governor.² Shah Beg Khan Arghun was appointed by Mirza Hakim as governor of Parashawar and when Mirza Hakim died Faridun Ali Muhammad Asp (maternal uncle) ruled Parashawar for the Mirza.³

Kabul principality was divided into 'tumans' - consisted of toppajat (towns) and mauzas (villages). The tumans were mostly known by their main towns which were also their headquarters. The chief administrative officer of the tuman was called 'Irman'. The 'Irmanes' were responsible for the revenue realisation and they paid a fixed amount of it to the treasury of Kabul as the tribal area did not permit the enforcement of elaborate process of revenue assessment and collection.⁴

(e) Local Self Government: The Kabul principality was mainly populated by Afghan tribes which had their "clannish common

¹ Akbarnama, III, pp.713-14.
² Raverty, I, p.43.
³ Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.408; Raverty, I, p.43.
called Uloos. An Ulus/Uloos (Qaum) was divided into several branches called khel, each under its own chief. These branches were again sub-divided and this operation was repeated till the last subdivision contained only a few families called Kor or Kahol. Each of these branches had its proper name taken from its own immediate ancestor and had their own elected chiefs, subordinated to the chief of the division in which it comprehended.

The chief of the Uloos was called Khan or Malik, chosen from the oldest family of the Uloos. He was sometimes elected, and sometimes selected by the king. The internal government of Uloos was carried by the Khans or Maliks in consultation with the council called ‘Jirga’ of the chiefs consisting of the great branches of Ulooes. The subordinate branches also had their own ‘Jirgas’ with whose help the chief ran the government.

All the criminal trials were conducted before a Jirga, which was assisted by Muslim scholars and sometimes Qazis appointed by the king.

As the tribes had feuds between them, so when they got engaged in little wars, they called on volunteers who could wield arms. As the Yusufzai tribe had continual strife, it made them systematic in war.

The fighting men received no payment. Only in some tribes, if the horse was killed, the owner received the price from fund formed by fines and by tax on the tribe. The main source of
gardens were fixed 2-3/4 rupees per bigha as usual Nasaq rate.\textsuperscript{1} It appears that under Mirza Hakim, similar Nasaq rate continued on fruit bearing gardens.\textsuperscript{2} Alongwith paying the revenue, each tribe (Qaum) of the tuman had to furnish a stipulated number of infantry and cavalry for the state.\textsuperscript{3}

The Nasaq system was not 'ryotwari' but it was "group assessment" realised from Qaum (tribe or clan) in the principality.\textsuperscript{4}

The Jama of the principality included tolls or customs (Tamgha) and taxes on dwellers, other than land revenue.\textsuperscript{5}

The toll on import called 'Nirkh' was taken on merchandise at the rate of two and half per cent.\textsuperscript{6} The same rate (one fortieth) was taken on import and export of merchandise from Muslim traders in the form of Zakat.\textsuperscript{7} The toll was also realised on the produce of mines sold in the bazar of Kabul.\textsuperscript{8}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Sri Ram Sharma, Mughal government and administration, Bombay, 1951, p.95. (Hence S.R. Sharma).
\item \textsuperscript{2} Baburnama, p.228; Raverty, I, p.54.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp.414-15; Elphinstone, I, p.229.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Saran, pp.282-83; Raverty, I, p.103.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Baburnama, p.221; Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.413; Saran, p.294.
\item \textsuperscript{6} Raverty, I, pp.65; Ibid., II, p.691.
\item \textsuperscript{7} Qureshi, p.146.
\item \textsuperscript{8} Vigne, p.142.
\end{itemize}
Among the dwellers who paid tax were dancers, singers and prostitutes. They were called 'Luli' and were found everywhere in Kabul.¹ The other singers and dancers, who were famous for 'Arghustan' dance, were called 'Bughra'.²

In this way Kabul principality contained twenty two Mahals and its total Jama was 80,507,465 dams, its Suyurghal was 1,37,178 dams; it had 28187 cavalry men and 212700 infantry men.³ According to the Ain-i Akbari, the amount of the revenue and Suyurghal, as well as the number of cavalrymen and infantrymen of the Kabul principality were the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahals</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>Suyurghal</th>
<th>Cavalry</th>
<th>Infantry</th>
<th>Tribes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City of Kabul</td>
<td>1275841</td>
<td>7000</td>
<td>15000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Bigram</td>
<td>9692410</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Parashawar)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Neknihar</td>
<td>11894003</td>
<td>1224</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ningnahar)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buluk of Kama</td>
<td>Not Recorded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Mandrawar</td>
<td>2684880</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Alishang</td>
<td>3701150</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>Alishang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Alingar</td>
<td>1544670</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lamghani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buluk of Nijrao</td>
<td>2045451</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kafir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Loghar</td>
<td>3193214</td>
<td>22960</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Badrao</td>
<td>413885</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Alsai</td>
<td>600000</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dilzak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. Alberuni, p.157; Travelogue of Siddi Ali Reis, p.64.
contd....

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahals</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>Suyurghal</th>
<th>Cavalry</th>
<th>Infantry</th>
<th>Tribes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Panjshir</td>
<td>461940</td>
<td>35000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Bangash</td>
<td>3332347</td>
<td>7087</td>
<td>87800</td>
<td></td>
<td>Afghan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Kohast</td>
<td>701620</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Orakzai &amp; Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Naghz</td>
<td>854000</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>7000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Afghan Barnu Khad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Girdiz</td>
<td>2030002</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Afghan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Maidan</td>
<td>1606799</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hazara &amp; Maidam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Ghaznin</td>
<td>3768642</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Farmul</td>
<td>325712</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Daman-i-Koh</td>
<td>16461785</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hazara &amp; Turkoman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Ghorband</td>
<td>1574760</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuman of Zohak-Banian</td>
<td>861750</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The amount is in Dams\(^1\) where tribes are not mention they might be Tajiks.\(^2\)

(b) **Various forms of land grants:** There were two types of land grants --- *jagir* and *Suyurghal*; first, in lieu of service and other as aid of subsistance. These being the common system of land grants, were not new thing in the principality.\(^3\)

**Jagir:** When Mun'im Khan took charge of the principality, the distribution of *Jagir* was done; Kabul went in the *Jagir* of Muhammad Quli Khan, Ghazni to Khwaja Jalaluddin and Mun'im Khan

\(^1\) For datae see *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, pp.414-15; Raverty, I, pp.50, 103, 104; Raverty, II, p.682.

\(^2\) Raverty, I, p.50.

\(^3\) *Baburnama*, p.27; *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p.213.
got Lamghan and Ningnahar. In 1566 Mirza Sulaiman came to Kabul, to help Mirza Hakim against Shah Abul Ma'ali. After reinstating Mirza Hakim as the ruler, Mirza Sulaiman made over most of the tumans of the principality, in jagir to his men in lieu of salary.

The land belonging to Mirza Hakim was also called Jagir and not Khalisa. In 1560 Fazail Beg took the management of Mirza Hakim in his hand, and he kept the best jagirs for himself and the bad ones for the Mirza and his retainers. There may be two reasons for it, first it was Akbar's period when all territory began to be broadly divided into two categories khalisa and jagir. Secondly, the khalisa land was for the king, while Mirza Hakim never declared himself as independent king though he was independent for all practical purposes.

The grant of land as Jagir was transferable and not permanent, except the Jagir granted to the sardar of a few Afghan tribes for guarding passes in Khaiber and Parashawar. It was similar to Watan Jagir and was exempted from revenue. The holders of this grant were called "Nauker" for this service.

1. Bayazid, p.211.
3. Ibid., p.270.
However they had to furnish contingent of soldiers to the rulers of Kabul.¹

**Suyurghal:** The Suyurghal, also called Inam, and *Madad-i Ma‘ash*, was a grant as aid of subsistence.² In 1584 Mirza Sulaiman came to Kabul, when he was expelled from Badakhshan by Abdullah Khan. Mirza Hakim granted him ‘mauza’ of Istalif for subsistence, and not as royal grant, and Mirza Sulaiman passed his time there.³ The land grant for *suyurghal* was expressed in Qalba (ploughland) *Kharvar* (loads of grain) *bighas* and *mauza* (village).⁴ The total *Jama* of Suyurghal grant was 1,37,178 *dams* in the principality. The Suyurghal grant were not in every *tuman* but were limited to Ningnahar, Alishang, Loghar, Maidan, and Ghazni.⁵

(b) **Currency:** It is certain that Mughal Indian currency did not circulate in Kabul principality. Contemporary sources give the impression that Shahrukhis were possibly current there.

Shahrukhi was a thin, one ‘misqal’ (4.6g) silver coin of Central Asian fabric. This was 25 mm in breadth and was 1 mm thin

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2. Irfan Habib, p.298.
It had distinctive caligraphic style commonly used by the later Timurid and Shaybanid princes, north of Hindu Kush.\(^1\)

Babur was accustomed to striking Shahrukhis in his dominion.\(^2\) Humayun and Akbar issued Shahrukhis not only in Kabul principality but also in Hindustan from Agra and Lahore, along with the rupees till 965 A.H./1557 A.D. When it was finally abandoned. But in Kabul Shahrukhis were maintained in preference to rupee. Akbar got issued Shahrukhi (of Kalima type) from Kabul mint in 964 A.H./1556 A.D. and 966 A.H./1558 A.D.

As Kabul was great market for the goods of Persia and Central Asia, Shahrukhi continued as currency here, though there is no evidence of regular mint operating.\(^3\) But mention has been made of Mulla Khurd "Zargar".\(^4\) Broad thin silver Shahrukhis of Shaybanid king Iskand (968-91AH/1560-83AD) from Bukhara and Bulkh mint have been discovered. Akbar's counter stamp were applied at Kabul. So Kabul principality under Mirza Hakim probably contented itself with the use of foreign currency, occasionally authenticated by the government.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Richards, pp.14, 40.
\(^3\) Richards, pp.14,15,40.
\(^4\) Bayazid, p.225.
\(^5\) Richards, p.40.
The Kabul mint produced no copper dams and for this reason they are not found not in evidence in dam hoards. It was only with the assertion of Akbar's authority in the principality, that a mint was opened at Kabul\(^1\) and it became one of the four places in Akbar's empire where gold coin began to be minted.\(^2\) The evidence of minting gold and silver coin is found since 1598 AD onwards, while copper is evident in 1587 to 1596 A.D. The silver rupees were not full rupee but half rupee of Ilahi type, the copper coins smaller than dams.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Ibid., p.41.

\(^2\) Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.32.

\(^3\) Richards, p.41; Cf. Aziza Hasan, Mints of Mughal Empire, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, xxix session, pp.34-5.
CHAPTER-X

MILITARY ORGANISATION

(a) Army: The army of Kabul principality consisted of infantry and cavalry. It had included the personal army of Mirza Hakim and his adherents and the contingent furnished by different tribes in tumans.¹

Mirza Hakim had his regular army in Kabul since the beginning. When Munim Khan (1560) left Kabul for the imperial court, he took five hundred soldiers with him and left the remaining army in the service of Mirza Hakim.² Mahchuchak Begam collected his son Mirza Hakim’s army and defeated Munim Khan at Jalalabad in 1560.³ Mirza Hakim tried, unsuccessfully, to invade Lahore many times with his army and when he died his soldiers planned to go to Turan in bewilderment.⁴

The other constituent of his army was furnished by tribes in tumans. The Ain gives the following table of the contingents furnished by different tribes in the tuman of Bangash.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Cavalry</th>
<th>Infantry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohmand</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalil</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>6500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daudzai</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>3700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gagiyani</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>4500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadzai</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sini</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uthmankhail</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghilzai</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khizrkhail</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherzad</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharguni</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khattaki</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdur Rahmani</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afridi</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>10500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oruk</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>5500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6510</strong></td>
<td><strong>82,700</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus each *tuman* had to maintain a fixed number of infantry and cavalry, furnished by different tribes, with exception of Bagram (Parashawar).\(^1\) Raverty says that the table of the contingent of Bangash, given in *Ain* is a mistake as it may be of Bangash along-with Parashawar.\(^2\) A few other tumans like Alsai and Punjshir maintained only infantry while the *tuman* of Maidan had only cavalry. The total number of infantrymen and cavalrymen

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maintained by the tumans of the principality was 2,12,700 and 28,187 respectively.¹

The army was led by the commander. Shadman was the most famous commander of Mirza Hakim, who was called 'Sword' of his army.²

The weapons of the army were bows and arrows, swords, quivers and shields. (Tir-o-Kaman, wa Shamshir wa Tarkash wa Sipar).³ There was no topchi' in the fort of Kabul. That was the reason that encouraged Mirza Sulaiman (Badakhshan) to invade Kabul when he heard the death of Humayun. Munim Khan (governor) became defensive and saved the fort by including Mirza Sulaiman's name in the Friday Khutba.⁴ Later on Mirza Sulaiman came two times in 1566, and Mirza Hakim had to leave Kabul fort under Baqi Qaqshal for the first time and then under Masum Koka, and he himself went to seek Akbar's help.⁵ In this way both Munim Khan and then Mirza Hakim remained defensive against Mirza Sulaiman because of lack of the provisions and fire arms in the fort.

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4. Ibid., pp.197, 206, 209.

(b) **Forts:** Forts were very important for defence against the invasions of enemy because forts were always full of provisions and weapons to defend against the aggressors. The principality had many forts; among them notable were, the fort in the tuman of Ghorband,\(^1\) Pesh Bulagh fort situated between Daka and Jalalabad,\(^2\) Michni fort near Khaiber range,\(^3\) fort at tuman of Girdiz,\(^4\) fort at Bishud\(^5\) (erected by Humayun to fight against Afghans). The most important forts were of Jalalabad, Parashawar and Kabul.\(^6\)

Forts used to have many gates, (Darwazah) tower (Burj) and 'morchas' (watch tower at the gate of forts) at interval particularly along the gates. Each morchal was giver under the charge of important nobles.\(^7\)

The Kabul fort was very large, and the seat of government was within its precinct.\(^8\)

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8. Travelogue of Mohan Lal, p.40.
It had many gates like Iron Gate, (Darwaza-i Ahini) Delhi Gate (Darwaza-i Dehli) Yarak Gate, Arak Gate, Ushtur Garden Gate and so on.\(^1\)

Many other forts, seem to be the seats of power of tumans and residence of its authority (Hakim). The fort of Parashawar was the residence of Faridun (maternal uncle of Mirza Hakim), the incharge of Parashawar.\(^2\) When the principality was annexed to Akbar's empire, forts were kept under the charge of Faujdars. The fortress of Parashawar was under the faujdar Syed Hamid. He was killed by the members of the Raushanya movement in 1586 A.D.\(^3\) During Jahangir's reign Shukrullah the faujdar of Bangashat was also the commandant of the fort of Kabul.\(^4\) During Mirza Hakim's reign, forts were under the command of important nobles along with forces\(^5\) but no term has been used for the commander of the forts where its arrangement is described in contemporary sources.

\[\text{References:}\]
\[1. ~ \text{Bayazid, pp.209-11.}\]
\[2. ~ \text{Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, 602, Bayazid, 219, 255.}\]
\[3. ~ \text{Raverty, I, p.45.}\]
\[4. ~ \text{Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.589.}\]
\[5. ~ \text{Bayazid, pp.201, 257; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, II, pp.290,318.}\]
Kabul's position and role in the perspective of Mughals' relations with Persia and Central Asia (during second half of the 16th century).

Kabul was supposed to be the northwestern gate or key of Hindustan, so the Mughal Emperors realised that its possession was essential for the safety of Hindustan against Persia and Turan (Iran and Turan). Thus the strong Mughal emperors held Kabul as Persians held Herat and as were Samarqand and Bukhara to Uzbegs. Qandahar vacillated between Mughals of Hindustan and the Safavids of Persia. But the Safavids never attacked Kabul nor did Mughal emperors attack Herat, which was disputed between Uzbegs and Persians.

During the days of Mirza Hakim, there is no reference, either of planning to attack on Kabul or to instigate the Mirza against Akbar, by Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576 A.D.). The Shah was satisfied with the conquest of Qandahar in 1558 A.D., which was not handed over to him by Humayun according to promise. After its conquest


2. Sykes, p.306.
the Shah tried to maintain cordial relations with Akbar by sending two embassies in 1560s (1562, 1563-4 A.D.).

In 1575 A.D., Mirza Sulaiman was compelled to leave the principality of Badakhshan by the intrigue of his grandson Mirza Shahrukh and his crafty mother, and came to the imperial court to seek Akbar's help against his grandson. He was given all honour and respect probably due to his association with Babur and Humayun, but Akbar was too clever to back a loser. Thus in 1577 A.D., Sulaiman, disappointed by Akbar's duplicity, left ostensibly for Hajj but in reality to gain help from Persia. At this time Mirza Hakim had created problems in the north-west. These developments had given rise to great apprehension in the mind of Akbar, because Shah Ismail II (May 1576-Nov-1577) had not only given assistance to Mirza Sulaiman but had also sent a royal letter to Mirza Hakim, addressing him as independent monarch (Padshah-i Masnad Nashin) and expressed hope that the Mirza would


2. Dr. Abdur Rahim, Mughal Relations with Persia and Central Asia (Babur to Aurangzeb) vol.VIII & IX, Aligarh, 1934-35, pp.70-71 (Hence Abdur Rahim).
send some one as envoy to establish relations.\(^1\) So Akbar himself moved to the Punjab and sent Sakina Begum (1577-78 A.D.) to persuade Mirza Hakim to render obedience. In the meantime in November 1577, Shah Ismail II died and his blind brother Khudabanda became the Shah of Persia. Persian army deserted Mirza Sulaiman after the Shah’s death\(^2\) and no further diplomatic exchanges between Mirza Hakim and Shah Muhammad Khudabanda are heard of. Infact, Shah Muhammad Khudabanda was so weak that in his predicament, he sent an embassy to India, headed by Sultan Quli Chandan Oghli, to seek Akbar’s help against the Turks and also against his Qizlbash nobles. As his reign was marked by internal conflict and revolts and foreign incursions, so in 1588, the blind ruler abdicated the throne in favour of his son, who became the great Shah of Persia named Shah Abbas I. Then onwards, only Qandahar remained the bone of contention between the two empires.\(^3\)

The Uzbegs were the closest neighbours of the Mughal Empire, and the traditional rivalries existed between these two powers.\(^4\)

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Uzbegs had expelled Babur from his 'ancestral lands' in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and since then recovering the 'ancestral lands' remained a dream for the Mughals. In subsequent years, both the Uzbeg and the Mughal rulers were faced with internal problems and could not venture any expansion. But during the second half of the sixteenth century, Akbar in Hindustan (1556-1605) and Abdullah Khan Uzbeg in Central Asia (1560-1598) got prominence and it was this period in which Kabul was ruled by Mirza Hakim.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, diplomatic intercourse was not very frequent with Abdullah Khan because between Hindustan and Turan were Balkh under Nazr Muhammad, Badakhshan under Mirza Sulaiman and Kabul under Mirza Hakim.

In 1572, first embassy of Abdullah Khan came to Hindustan after his conquest of Balkh (1572) from one of his cousins, which had pushed his frontier closer to Hindustan. Akbar responded the embassy with cold blood and maintained his policy of 'non-involvement' there. But Abdullah sent second embassy in 1577, and by that time Abdullah's power had greatly enhanced, so Akbar could

4. Abdur Rahim, p.68.
not ignore it now and sent the return embassy to him with reply of Abdullah's letter.¹

In November 1577 Shah Ismail II of Persia had died and thus the Persians, who were sent to help Mirza Sulaiman in recovering his territory from his grandson -- Shahrukh Mirza, deserted the Mirza. Mirza Sulaiman, on being deserted by the Persians, appealed to Abdullah Khan and Mirza Hakim. By that time Akbar was facing trouble in Gujarat and Kashmir. Moreover the frontier had become even more insecure, due to growing friendship between Mirza Hakim and Mirza Sulaiman and in 1579-81 Mirza Hakim had exchanged embassies with Abdullah in connection of Badakhshan. Mirza Hakim had sent Maulana Nuruddin to Abdullah and Abdullah had sent Mehr Ali Kokaltash.²

It was at this time that Mirza Hakim had attempted a major rebellion in Hindustan in 1582. Akbar took this rebellion as major threat and marched personally upto Kabul. When Akbar was in Kabul fort, it was reported that Mirza Hakim intended to go to the Uzbegs. Akbar pardoned him and restored him Kabul, in apprehension that it will drag Kabul into Central Asian politics.³

¹ Abdur Rahim, pp.68, 89; Riazul Islam, p.52; Mansura Haider, pp.314-19.
By 1583 Abdullah Khan had conquered all Transoxiana and had also eliminated all his kinsmen and after the death of his 'Khan' father, Iskandar in 1583 he became the 'Khaqan' of Turan. In 1584 Abdullah, had conquered Badakhshan from Mirza Sulaiman and with this conquest he came closer to Hindustan, particularly to Kabul.\(^1\) By the annexation of Badakhshan, Mirza Hakim got alarmed and appealed to Akbar for assistance. This was promised in case of attack on Kabul which did not however take place.\(^2\)

After Mirza Hakim's death in 1585 Akbar was anxious for the safety of Kabul, in view of a plot by treacherous Mughal nobles and later, by Mirza's soldiers, to flee to Abdullah Khan with Mirza Hakim's two sons (Kaikubad and Afrasiyab).\(^3\) So Akbar sent Kunwar Man Singh to Kabul and himself hurried to Punjab, where Man Singh came with the two sons of the Mirza and his nobles at Rawalpindi. Then Akbar reached Kabul in 1586 and appointed Man Singh its governor.\(^4\) The preparation alarmed Abdullah Khan who realised that the move against Kabul would involve war.\(^5\) Thus Akbar had a firm control over Kabul, and once again exchange of embassies took place between them. In 1587 an embassy was sent by Akbar under Hakim Humam, as a result of which a pact was made and Hindukush was fixed as the boundary between the two dominions. In effect, it gave Badakshan and Khurasan to Abdullah Khan, made Kabul secure with Akbar and led to the conquest of Qandahar by Akbar later on.\(^6\)

\(^{1}\) Riazul Islam, pp.51, 53; Sykes, p.305; Abdur Rahim, p.73.
\(^{2}\) Sykes, p.305.
\(^{3}\) Akbarnama, III, pp.703, 712-13; Sykes, p.306.
\(^{4}\) Tabagat-i-Akbari, III, pp.604-605; Akbarnama, III, p.713.
\(^{5}\) Sykes, p.306.
\(^{6}\) Riazul Islam, pp.54-55.
ART AND ARCHITECTURE

(a) Monuments: Kabul principality possesses very few edifices of antiquarian interest. Among them the minarates and the tomb of Sultan Mahmud Ghazni in Ghazni, Bala Hisar (fort) and tomb of Babur in Kabul and Caravanserai in Bala Hisar of Parashawar are the only buildings worth noticing. There were many other forts of lesser importance like Ghorband fort, Pesh Bulagh fort (between Daka and Jalalabad), Jalalabad fort, Michni fort (near Khaiber range), Girdiz fort, Basaul fort and many other monuments like

2. Vigne, p.159.
5. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p.105.
mosques, porches, fountains reservoirs and aqueducts.\(^1\)

There are two minarates in the plain outside the city of Ghazni. They are called pillars of victory. One of them was erected by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni himself and the other was built or at least finished by his successor Sultan Masud.\(^2\)

Both the minarates rise on rough stone work but are exquisite specimen of brick work. The lower part of these towers is of a star like form --- the plan being apparently formed by placing two squares diagonally, the one over the other. The upper part is round and rising to the height of about 140 feet from the ground. They are hollow and have winding stair leading to the top. Beautiful ornaments of terracotta and inscriptions in Cufic (Kufic) character are placed in different parts of the pillars.\(^3\)

The other monument is the tomb of Sultan Mahmud called Rauza-i Sultan. It is situated in a garden of a village, three miles north-east of Ghazni. The tomb is triangular prism of fine white polished marble, resting on a raised platform of the same material. It consists of an oblong chamber, thirty six feet long and eighteen feet wide with a mud cupola. The grave stone is also highly polished marble covered with inscriptions.\(^4\)

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1. Fergusson, p.192.
2. Ibid., p.194.
3. Fergusson, p.194; Vigne, pp.128-129.
The interior of the tomb is hung with ostrich eggs, peacock feathers and other trumpery. The inscriptions on the tomb are, both in Naskh and cufic character. The gates of the apartment, which repose the relics of the sultan were brought from Somnath temple of Gujarat in India. These gates are of sandal wood, eighteen feet high, each five feet broad and three inches thick, very beautifully carved in tasteful arabesques.\(^1\)

The city of Kabul is on the recess formed by the junction of two ranges of hills, while Bala Hisar (fort) is on the south-east and Babur’s tomb is in the south of the city.\(^2\)

Bala Hisar is on the citadel built on the activity of the hill, one hundred and fifty feet above the city, with a lower extensive enclosure surrounding. Thus both, the upper fort and its lower precinct are surrounded by double and triple lines of walls.\(^3\) These walls are of stone, sun burnt brick and mud, are thirty feet high and strengthened at intervals by a number of towers. A broad tagnant moat defended by fausse braye surrounds


2. Ibid., p.308.

the whole. It had seven great gates viz Darwaza-i Dehli, Darwaza-i Yarak, Darwaza-i Arak, Darwaza-i Ushturgardan, Darwaza-i Ahini, Sher Darwaza, and Darwaza-i Lahauri, in which only Darwaza-i Lahauri survives now.

The fort is about half a mile long from east to west and a quarter of a mile broad and its circumference is one and a quarter mile. Within the extensive circuit of the fort is a small town and rest of the space being occupied by the royal palaces, Chihl Sutun Diwan Khana (Audience Hall), Jama Masjid called Masjid-i-Bala Chauk, Caravan Serai and other government offices and gardens.

The tomb of Babur at Kabul is in reality a grave, open to sky, and lies in one of the beautiful gardens. The terraced garden of his burial place lies on the slope of the hill of Shah-

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, p.242.
7. Baburnama, pp.646-47; R. Nath, p.126; Imperial Gazetteer of India, p.244.
i Kabul. The burial garden was 500 gaz (yard) and its ground was in 15 terraces, thirty gaz apart. Babur’s tomb is on fourteenth (14th) terrace. In accordance with his will, no building was erected over it, but later on Shahjahan built a beautiful marble mosque on the terrace below it.¹

The city of Parashawar had also a Bala Hisar, which was destroyed by Ranjit Singh. It had fine houses, mosques and most important of it was a vast magnificent Caravan serai, that has been converted into government offices by the Sikhs.

The Caravan serai had quadrangular outline, each side measuring two hundred and fifty yards and contained extensive accommodation.²

The other houses of the principality were generally made of burnt brick, unburnt brick and mud, had flat roof and single storey, except in the tumans of Ghorband and Girdiz the houses were three and four storeys high.³

(b) Sculpture: In Bamian, mountain excavated, where many interesting sculpture in stone, slate and plaster are found. Among them the most remarkable relics of bygone age are the


colossal figures carved in the cliff and caves. There are three colossal figures viz statue of a man, eighty yards in height, statue of a woman and a child measuring fifty and fifteen yards high respectively.¹ The authorities differ as to their origin, but it seems most probable that they are Buddhist. The surrounding caves answer to the requirements of a Buddhist monastery and close to the foot of the cliff is a mound resembling a Buddhist stupa.²

(c) Painting: Among paintings there are many beautiful paintings of Babur’s regime in Kabul. These are paintings of the ‘Bagh-i-Wafa’ garden laid by Babur in Adinapur, ‘Khodja Seyaran Spring in the vicinity of Kabul, ‘Bird catching’ in the vicinity of Kabul, the one in which Babur takes pleasure ride to Bigram (Parashawar).³

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, p.242.
CHAPTER-XIII

CONCLUSION

Kabul principality was known by different names at different stages. It was called ‘Aryadwipa’ by Aryans Bakhtar or Bactria (by Greeks) Zabul, in some traditional accounts, Kubha (in Sanskrit), Kophen (by Arrian), Kau-fu (by Hsuan tsang) Kabulistan (by Muqaddasi), Kayabash (by Alberuni) and thence Kabul.

The principality had the history of atleast five thousand years. It may be traced to Harappan age as Harappan site Shortughai is excavated in the principality. It was this region where Rigveda was completed, Zoroastrianism sprang, Buddhism spread and then Islam overwhelmed it.

The region witnessed political dominance of Alexander and other Greeks, Mauryans, Graeco-Bactrians, Kushanas. White Huns (Ephthalites), Persians, Turkan Shahi Ratbil, Brahman Shahis, followed by Muslims - Saffarids, Samanids, Mughals, Ghilzais, Nadir Shah, Durrani, Sadozais, Barakzais and others. It was under the Mughals, when Akbar’s step brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim (1554-1585) ruled Kabul principality.

Geographically, the principality extended in the basins and valleys of Helmund, Kabul, Kurram and many other rivers in the north and north-west of Nilab (Indus). The two main rivers i.e. Helmund and Kabul issued from Kohbaha (in the North-west); Helmund ran through south west, and entered into Qandahar, while Kabul river flowed towards east, joined by many small rivers of the principality like Baran (Ghorband) Lughar, Panjshir, Alingar,
Alishang, Surkhab, Cheghan Sarai, and Kameh. With these affluents, Kabul river poured into Indus.

The principality was bounded on all sides by lofty mountains as well as consisted of mountain tracts, valleys (Dar‘ah) and very rare flat land. The Hindukush in the north, Safed Koh in south and south east, Koh Baba (Parapamisan Chain) in north-west, Siah Sang in the east and Khaiber-further east were notable mountains in the principality.

The principality had three climatic regions, in accordance with the elevation of the land. The lower parts were hot, middle the temperate, and high - the cold. But nevertheless average heat did not reach that of India and cold that of Europe. As for the seasons, there were winter, autumn, spring and summer but it lacked rainy season as only fifteen inches rainfall was usually noticed.

The rivers of the principality were not navigable. Therefore, the principality was traversed by roads, and was the trade routes passed through it. The Shahrah (Grand road) ran from Qandahar to Lahore via Kabul. There were three other important roads also; Kabul to Badakhshan, Kabul to Qunduz and Kabul to Balkh via Ghorband and Zuhak Bamian.

There were a number of mountain passes, through which the roads of the principality passed. The Shahrah passed through Khaiber, Nimla, Badam-Chashma and other passes. The other passes were those of Khawak, Tul, Bazarak on Badakhshan and Qunduz.
route, while Yangi Yul, Qipchak and others were on the Balkh route.

Politically, the principality was surrounded by Badakhshan and Qunduz in the north, Herat in the west, Qandahar in the south-west, Bannu and Afghanistan in the south, Lahore in the east and Swad and Kashghar in the north-east. Its coordinates were roughly 32° to 36° latitude and 66° to 71° longitude.

The principality consisted of twenty two tumans (district/pargana of Hindustan) and many buluks. The city of Kabul was its capital. These tumans were Panjshir, Badrau, Nijrau, Daman-i-Koh, Alsai, Alishang, Alingar, Kunar and Nurgul, Ghorband, Hashtnagar, Zuhak-Bamian, Maidan, Lughar, Ningnahar, Mandrawar Girdiz, Bigrum (Parashawar), Bangash (Bala wa Pain), Ghaznin, Kohast, Nughz and Formul.

The principality was inhabited by the Afghans, Tajiks, Hazaras, Kafirs, and many wild tribes. The Afghans were the main constituents, constituting sixty percent of the total population. The authorities differ on the origin of the Afghans, while the Afghans consider themselves to be Israelites. They assert that their remote progenitor, named Afghan had three sons - Sarban, Ghurghusht and Batan. From these three developed several clans, divided into 'Khel' and 'Zai'.

Tajiks were the next major constituent of the population. They constituted about twenty percent of the population. They were descendants of the Arabs, or were born in Persia or in other countries, from the intermarriage of the Arabs and the Persian.
The succeeding generations were called Tajiks. They lived in and around the town, were involved in trade and industrial activities and those who were involved in agriculture were called Dehqan.

Hazaras and Kafirs were other constituents of the population. Hazara is a Persian word which means 'thousand'; it was applied to the army unit of Chingiz Khan. Thus the Hazaras were descendants of Chingiz Khan. When Manku Khan had sent the Chaghtai army to assist Halaku Khan then they had settled in the principality. The Hazaras were divided into various factions - Jaghuri, Dahi Rawad, Dahi Chopan, Dahya etc.

While Kafirs (non-believers or infidels) were Aryans of early flock, who lived in Kafiristan, and remained untouched until 19th century. They were divided into two septs - Tor Kafir (Siyah Posh) and Spin Kafir (Safed Posh). Their social system was tribal and their economy was mixed - pastoral and agricultural. War was an occupation with them.

'Pushtu' was the main language of the people, while Persian was also spoken in the town. A whole, eleven languages were spoken in the principality, other than the local languages of Kafirs. The script of the language was Naskh in character.

The principality had mountainous terrain; it had deserts, forests, plain and fertile plateaus also. Therefore, it had varieties in fauna and flora also. Almost all kinds of wild animals were found there, specially varieties of deer named Pauzen, Kiyik and Ahu and an animal called Flying Fox. Similarly sheep -- Rang and Dumba, ponie horses called "Yabus", dogs called
'Khundee' were kinds of its own along with the other domestic animals, reptiles and birds.

The principality had enviable reputation for its unlimited supply of fruits. There were gardens, groves, orchards, vineyards all over the principality which produced fruits in abundance. Fruits like grapes with their varieties called Arah-tashi (Yellowish) Suhan-tashi (Redwine Colour), Sahibi, Husaini Qandahari, Karankali, Kishmishi and mellow's varieties like Mirzai, Mahtabi, Baba Shaikhi, Sarda, and stonelss pome granates were unique in the principality.

The principality had also the floral varieties, beyond expression. There were thirty three types of tulips only.

Some areas of the principality had two harvests annually while some others had only one. Among two harvest system one was named 'Behareh'; it was sown in autumn and reaped in summer, the other was Pauizeh or Teermakee, sown in spring and reaped in the autumn. The one harvest in a year was called 'Kuttawaz' sown at the end of one autumn and reaped at the beginning of another autumn. The other type of cultivation was called 'Paulaiz'; it produced melon and few vegetables.

Wheat was the staple food of the people. It was a Behareh crop and its specialized variety was called Dandan-i-Shutur (camel teeth), while rice was Pauizeh crop, and its famous variety was called 'Sukhdas'.

Both, the natural and artificial methods of irrigation of fields were common in the principality. The lands, which depended
on natural irrigation were called 'Lalmi'; they were of lesser quality. The artificial or stream irrigated land was called 'Rudi'; it was of good quality, and produced crops like wheat and rice. Stream was the general means of artificial irrigation, while reservoirs and wells were also used. Persian wheel was used to raise water from rivers and wells.

Mirza Muhammad Hakim's reign and its nature: Mirza Hakim (b.1554) was the son of Humayun from the last recorded wife Mahchuchak. He was appointed nominal governor of Kabul principality, under the guardianship of Munim Khan, by Humayun (1554 A.D.) and confirmed by Akbar in 1556 A.D. When Munim Khan left Kabul (1560 A.D.), he left his son Ghani Khan in his place. Mirza Hakim's mother - Mahchuchak Begam, an intelligent and ambitious lady, expelled Ghani Khan out of Kabul, took the charge in her hand and tried to carve out her son’s independent kingdom. In 1564 A.D. Shah Abul Ma’ali came to Kabul and Mahchauchak not only gave her daughter in marriage to him but also the affairs of the principality in his hands. But soon in a fit of power, he killed the Begam (1566 A.D.). Very soon he was also removed by Mirza Sulaiman (of Badakhshan) on the request of Mirza Hakim. For then the saviour Mirza Sulaiman became the problem for Mirza Hakim. He made three attempts to invade Kabul. Mirza Hakim checked these incursions but only with the help of his brother Emperor Akbar. Whenever, Mirza Hakim got a chance; he revolted against Akbar. Therefore, when Mirza Hakim died in 1585 A.D., Akbar annexed Kabul
principality to Hindustan and Mirza Hakim's sons and amirs were brought to Hindustan and given royal favours.

Thus by nature, Mirza Hakim's rule in the principality was independent for all practical purposes; while Akbar kept his claim alive by sending his agents with interval and by finally annexing the principality, after the death of the Mirza in 1585 A.D.

There were three tier system of administration in the principality - viz. Central, tuman and local self government. In the central administration, the Mirza was at the helm of power; he was assisted by Ataliq as his deputy governor or guardian, Vakil - as vice regent or practical head of the administration and chief adviser, Diwan -- the finance officer, Sadr --- religious head and Qazi --- the Judge. Bakhshi and Akhta Begi -- the superintendent of gelding/castrating especially of horses. The Qazis were appointed for each tuman, lived in Dar-ul-Quzat, in the town. The uniqueness of the judicial administration was that the Qazis were sent for, instead of the disputants going to Dar-ul-Quzat. The principality had two capitals - Kabul as summer headquarter called 'Ilak' and Parashawar as winter headquarter called 'Qishlak'.

In the second tier the principality was divided into tumans, and its chief officer was called 'Irman'. He managed the tuman and paid fixed amount of revenue and furnished stipulated number of armymen to Kabul (centre).
The third tier of administration of the principality was local self government of Afghans called Ulus (clannish commonwealth). Each Ulus was divided and sub-divided to smallest unit, consisted of few families called 'Kahol'. The Ulus had a chief, called Khan or Malik; he was either elected or selected and a council called Jirga also existed. The non-Afghan tribes called Humsaya had no place in Ulus, but their rights were protected by the Ulus, under whose jurisdiction they fell.

The main constituents of the army were infantry and cavalry. Mirza Hakim had both personal regular army, and army maintained by different tribes in the tumans. The total number of army maintained by the tumans was 21,2700 infantrymen and 28187 cavarmen.

The weapon used by the armies were Tir-o-Kaman wa Shamshir, Wa Tarkash wa sipar (bows and arrows, swords, quivers and shields), but neither topchis were employed nor fire arms were used.

The principality had many forts, notable among them were those of Jalalabad, Parashawar and Kabul. They were under the charge of nobles who commanded large forces. Forts had gates (Darwaza), tower (Burj), Morchal (Watch tower at the gates of forts) and each Morchal was given in the charge of nobles.

The method of revenue realization was 'Nasaq' system, because the tribal population of the principality generally did not permit the enforcement of elaborate process of revenue assessment and collection. Nasaq was 'group assessment' realized
from Qaum (clan) in the form of Kharwar (ass load of grain) and in other ways also.

The revenue from 'rudi' land i.e. lands irrigated by rivers varied from one half to one fourth of the produce. It was realised in the form of Naqdi (Cash). On Lalmi lands i.e. land depended on rain or lands on rivers which always remained moist it was about one tenth and was realised in kind. The revenue officer was called Tahsildar. Each Irman (head of tuman) had to pay a fixed amount of revenue, besides furnishing stipulated number of armymen. The other source of income was tolls on import called Nirkh, taken on 'merchandise' at the rate of two and a half cent. The principality had twenty two 'Mahals' and its total Jama was 80,507465 dams, 1,37,178 dams as suyurghal, 28187 cavalry men and 212700 infantrymen.

Shahrukhi, of one misgal (4.6g) silver coin, on the pattern of Central Asian coins was current in the region since Babur's time. During the reign of Akbar, it bore the stamp of Akbar. Thus, the principality under Mirza Hakim also, perhaps, contented itself with the use of foreign currency, occasionally authenticated by the government.

There were two types of land grants --- Jagirs and Suyurghal (In'am, Madad-i-Ma'ash). The Jagir was granted in lieu of service and Suyurghal as the aid for subsistence. The land belonging to Mirza Hakim was also called Jagir and not Khalisa, Jagirs were transferable except the Jagirs granted to the few Sardars of Afghans who guarded the passes. They were permanently assigned to
them. It was revenue free grant, (Similar to Watan Jagirs) and its holders were called ‘Naukar’.

Kabul principality had trade marts like Kabul, Parashawar and Ghazni, where foreign traders used to come with their merchandise to buy and sell. Kabul had a great ‘bazar’. Parashawar and Ghaznin were the main stages for transactions by the Caravans between Kabul and Lahore and Kabul and Multan respectively. The shopkeepers and artisans of the ‘bazar’ of Kabul were divided into thirty three trades; each had its chief to deal with the government. He was called Cudkhoda.

The principal trade of Kabul was with Hindustan, Persia and Turkistan. While caravans also came from Kashghar, Balkh, Badakhshan, Farghana, Samarqand, Hisar, Khurasan, Rum (Anatolia), Iraq, China and Bhutan.

The trade of Kabul was carried by caravans and each caravan had hereditary but an elected chief called Qafila Bashi, to maintain peace in the caravan and settle customs etc.

The conveyance of caravans was mainly by camels, because of their strength and patience for thirst and were fed on any kind of bush. Horses or ponies were used only to Turkistan, perhaps due to the mountainous roads.

For the convenience of traders, caravansarais were built in the towns of the principality. They consisted of apartment, mosque, and often warm bath etc.

Kabul’s position and role in the perspective of Mughal relations with Persia and Central Asia were very important. As it
was the northern gate of Hindustan, so this possession was essential for the safety of the Mughal empire from the incursion of Iran and Turan.

The area of contention between India and Persia was confined to Qandahar. It was only in 1576-77 A.D., that Mirza Hakim had created disturbance in the North-West and Shah Ismail II (of Persia) had addressed him as independent king (Padshah-i-Masnad Nashin) and expressed hope to open diplomatic relations. Mirza Hakim invaded the Punjab after the promulgation of the Mahzar in 1579 A.D. He did it to take advantage of the explosive situation in Northern India which had resulted due to its promulgation. Shah Ismail II had also given assistance to Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan, so that the latter might recover his principality from his grandson. Mirza Sulaiman had failed to get Akbar’s help. But the disturbance by Mirza Sulaiman could not last long as Shah Ismail died in 1577 A.D. and his blind brother Khudabanda became the Shah of Persia. Khudabanda stopped the assistance.

The Uzbegs were not only the closest neighbour of the Mughal empire, but were also the traditional rivals of the Mughals. After recovering from internal problems, Akbar in Hindustan and Abdullah Khan Uzbeg in Central Asia got prominence during the second half of the 16th century. Embassies were exchanged between these two powers with cold blood. On the death of Shah Ismail II in 1577 A.D., the Persian help to Mirza Sulaiman came to an end. So the Mirza appealed for help to Abdullah Khan Uzbeg as well as to Mirza Hakim and Abdullah Khan Uzbeg exchanged embassies in
1579-81 A.D. on this issue. Moreover, it was the time when Mirza Hakim attempted a major rebellion in Hindustan. Akbar took it seriously and came in person to Kabul; but he again pardoned Mirza Hakim because of apprehension that he might go to Abdullah Khan Uzbeg and it would drag Kabul in Central Asian politics. In 1584, Abdullah Khan conquered Badakhshan, and in 1585 A.D. Kabul was annexed by Akbar when Mirza Hakim died. These developments forced Akbar and Abdullah Khan Uzbek to a pact in 1587 A.D. which fixed Hindukush as the boundary between the two dominions.

As to architecture, the principality possessed very few edifices of antiquarian interest. Two minaretes, built by Mahmud of Ghazni and his son Masud and Rauza-i-Sultan - the marble tomb of Mahmud of Ghazni, with sandal wood gates are important in Ghaznin. In Kabul Babur’s tomb, which is in reality a grave in open sky and Bala Hisar (fort) with seven great gates and Caravansarai of Parashawar are important. These colossal statues of man, woman and child at Bamian are specimen of sculpture while various paintings depicted from Baburnama are also found in the principality.

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