

Rise of Saddozais and

*Emancipation
Of
Afghans*

by

*Umar Kamal Khan
Advocate*

(A History
of the Part Played
by Multanis for
the
Establishment of
Independent
Afghanistan
from the year
1638 A.D.
to year
1747 A.D)



*Published
by*

*Bazam-e-Saqafat 4- Mai Mehrban, Chowk Fawara,
Multan. 1999-AD*



Khudakka Mosque

Chowk Fawara Multan Built in 1290AH/1870AD
By Sons Of Author Of Tazkira-Tul-Maluk-e-Alishan

Rise of Saddozais and Emancipation Of Afghans

(A History of the part played by Multanis for
the Establishment of Independent Afghanistan
from the year 1638 A.D. to year 1747 A.D.)

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*UMAR KAMAL KHAN
ADVOCATE*



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PREFACE

In medieval times as in the modern period Kandhar was always a bone of contention between the neighbouring states. It commanded strategic position beside being a great centre of trade and commerce between India and Central Asia and this trade route from Kandhar to Delhi ran through Multan. Militarily in fact it was key to the possession of India, Persia and Transoxiana and was therefore, a frequent scene of contests between the aspirant powers for the domination of these regions.

During 16th Century two dominant powers arose, the Safvi's of Persia and Mughals of India who coveted and contested for this strategic City of Kandhar. This contest started from 928 A.H./1522 A.D. when Babar, the founder of Mughal Empire in India captured it from the Arghuns. Later on the Persian King wrested it in 966 A.H./ 1558 A.D., during the early reign of Akbar. When Akbar due to

Afghan insurrection in the North-West, started forward policy towards the North-West Frontier, he by intrigue won over Muzaffar Hussain the Persian Governor of Kandhar who peacefully surrendered the Kandhar to the Mughal Officers and enrolled himself among the grandees of the Mughal Empire. Kandhar remained the part of the Mughal Empire until the death of Akbar the Great (1014 A.H./1605 A.D.). The Persians never forgot the loss and when Shah Abbas the Great came to the throne of Persia, he started hostilities and after initial ill success, finally re-took Kandhar in 1032 A.H./1622 A.D., after a siege lasting over a month and half. Jahangir's attempts to re-take Kandhar were thwarted by Prince Khuram's refusal to lead an expedition to Kandhar and his subsequent rebellion. Later on Ali Mardan Khan the Persian Governor of Kandhar after the death of Shah Abbas the Great, through the good offices of neighbouring Abdali Chief, Maudud Khan Saddozai and his brother Bahadur Khan Saddozai bargained

profitably and handed over Kandhar in 1047 A.H./1638 A.D. to the Mughals and joined their service. From that year the Abdalis who were inhabitant of this region since the time of Shah Rukh Mirza son of Tamerlane (807 A.H./1405 A.D - 850 A.H./1447 A.D.), under their Saddozai Chiefs, actively joined the Great game, between the above two Empires for the supremacy of this region and for the mastery over Kandhar. With this rivalry between these two Empires is bound up the story of emergence of the Abdalis who came to well known notice in History since that time.

The Mughals were very sensitive regarding their North West Frontier. They regarded Afghanistan as key not only to India but essential for the tranquillity of Central Asia, Iran and Transoxiana and regarded it according to the following couplet of Allama Iqbal.

آسیا یک پیکر آب و گل است - ملت افغان درین پیکر دل است
از فساد او فساد آسیا - از کشاد او کشاد آسیا

Asia is like a body and Afghanistan is its heart. If Afghanistan is disturbed whole Asia would be disturbed and if Afghanistan is happy whole Asia would be happy.

In order to safeguard their North West Frontier they made Multan a base of all their activities going on in Afghanistan. They always entrusted the conduct of their policy in Afghanistan through their Governors of Multan who were either Princes of the Royal family or Kokas (Foster brothers of Royalty) or Khanazads (Trusted old family servants) and expended the whole income of the Province of Multan for pursuing their Afghan Policy. Thus Multan the ancient city of Punjab became hub of all the political and military activities for the advancement of Mughal Cause in Afghanistan and was linked with all the events in and around Kandhar during that period.

At that time Kandhar went through three long sieges and great military activity took place between these two rivals in this region. Great turmoil for a period of 5 years from 1649 A.D. to 1654 A.D. happened in this region and large number of people from this region were uprooted, particularly the Abdalis now a days called Durrani's who took refuge

in Multan and Derajat and made this region their home and onward always sacrificed their every thing for the defence of their adopted home. They use to sing praises for this city as per the following lines.

چہ ملتان روضہ حوران و غلمان	چہ ملتان جلوہ خیزناز خوبان
چہ ملتان راحت افزا بوستانے	چہ ملتان درجہاں دارالامانے
ہوا نش چو نسیم صبح گل خیز	زرونق کوچہ بازار لبریز
کہ خرم یک زماں من از عم	دریں بستال سراشاد و خرم

Multan is like an adored charming bride, a paradise full of houries and beautiful boys. It is an abode of peace in the world, and a garden full of pleasure and tranquillity. Its streets and markets are full of men and merchandise. Its air is life giving. I live a very happy and contented life in this garden, where I have spent a long time without any grief.

These Afghans settlers during these troubled times played prominent role on the Political Scene of Khurasan. We see successive Saddozai leaders going from Multan to Afghan Khurasan to lead the Abdalis against the Persians and heading the struggle for Afghan emancipation. Abdullah Khan Saddozai son of Sultan Hayat Khan went from Multan alongwith his son Asadullah Khan and cousin Zaman Khan father of Ahmad Shah Durrani to Afghan Khurasan where they

captured Herat and Abdulah Khan carved out an independent principality which flourished from the year 1124 A.H./ 1712 A.D. to 1144 A.H./1732 A.D.

After the murder of Shah Abdullah Khan in Herat in the year 1134 A.H./1721 A.D., his brother Muqarab Khan son of Sultan Hayat Khan went from Multan to Khurasan where he not only punished the murderer of his brother but also established himself. Later on Khan Muhammad and Allah Yar Khan two sons of Shah Abdullah Khan went from Multan and established themselves in Herat and ruled this principality successively and fought many battles with Nadir. Many others also went on this rout. All these Multani gentlemen started a campaign against the Persian Government and were torch bearers of Afghan Independence. Ahmad Khan son of Zaman Khan Saddozai the future founder of Afghanistan was born in Multan and lived up to the age of 12 years and went from Multan with his mother when his elder brother Zulfiqar Khan Saddozai established himself in Afghan

Khurasan. Thus Multan and Afghan Khurasan were inter linked with each other from 1638 A.D. to 1747 A.D. i.e. till the founding of the Kingdom and country of Afghanistan by a Multani Gentleman Ahmad Khan Saddozai.

This treatise details the events connected with the rise of Saddozai's in Afghan Khurasan which finally resulted in the emergence of Afghans under these Saddozai leaders who some how or other were linked with Multan. Even though all the authentic contemporary source material of all the languages had been utilized in this treatise but the main source of information is Tazkira-tul-Malook-e-Alishan, authored by Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai, a Multani gentleman belonging to the same family who provided leadership from Multan for the emancipation of Afghans from foreign yoke. This Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai was a highly educated and cultivated man of his time. His father Din Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai was one

time Afghan Governor of Multan during the rule of Taimur Shah Durrani, when Nawab Muzaffar Khan Saddozai was removed from the Governorship by Afghan King. Ali Muhammad Khan was born in Saffer 1193 A.H. Feb 1779 A.D. at Multan. he was widely travelled man and served as courtier to the Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk Saddozai, King of Afghanistan at Kabul and remained loyal to him throughout and attended on him during his trials and tribulations and was companion with him during his imprisonment, escapade, and retirement in Ludhiana. He remained Afghan ambassador at the court of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh at Lahore for a period of 18 months. He has been mentioned three times in Umda-tul-lawareekh, the court diary of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk and Maharaja Ranjeet Singh both liked his company and visited him at his house whenever they were in Multan. Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai was well versed in history culture and traditions of Afghan people particularly

the history of Abdalis and Saddozais. The sources mentioned by him in his history are all the prominent histories of Suri Kings, Lodhi Kings, Mughal Kings of India and the later Safvi Kings of Persia. He has mentioned a unique source of his information, a book named Akhbar-e-Khudakka but has not mentioned its author as he had not mentioned the names of the authors of books relied by him for his above treatise. This Akhbar-e-Khudakka probably was about the early history of Saddozais and Abdalis. According to renowned Afghan historian and scholar, late Ustad Abdul Hayee Habeebi, it was authored by Akbar Khudakka. Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka who having accounted in detail every Saddozai from the time of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan up to his own time, has mentioned only one Akbar Khan, great grand son of Shah Abdullah Khan Khudakka Saddozai in Tazkira-tul-Malook Alishan. According to Ali Muhammad Khan, this Akbar Khan Khudakka was an ambitious young man living in Multan, always aspiring for the

kingship. During the times of Ahmad Shah Durrani strict surveillance was kept on him. He was prohibited from crossing over the river Indus towards Afghanistan. It was standing order to the Afghan Governor of Multan that as soon as the Afghan King made a move towards India, Akbar Khan Khudakka should be immediately interned in Multan fort and be released when the king crossed river Indus on his way back to Kabul. These restrictions were later on withdrawn on the representations of Mohammad Sharif Khan Khudakka Saddozai an elder Saddozai of his times in Multan. This clemency on the part of Afghan King emboldened the ferocious spirits of this young Khudakka who during the reign of Taimur Shah Durrani (1773 A.D to 1793 A.D.) went from Multan to Kalat from where he intrigued with some recalcitrant Durrani elders and headed a rebellion against Taimur Shah Durrani who crushed it with great difficulty and much loss of life. Unluckily Akbar Khan fell into the hands of royal forces and was immediately blinded

and imprisoned in Bala Hisar, Kabul where he remained for some years. On that occasion all his brothers in D.G.Khan were also blinded and after three days by another order his brothers Ibrahim Khan and Nasir Khan were put to death. The Khudakka Saddozais suffered immensely during these days. Later on Taimour Shah Durrani sent him back to Multan where he used to live with his brother Saifulah Khan. In the meantime Taimur Shah Durrani ordered strict surveillance on all the remaining descendants of Shah Abdullah Khan Khudakka Saddozai with imposition of all the restrictions mentioned earlier but Akbar Khan did not remain idle. At the time of rebellion of Azad Khan in Kashmir some of his correspondence aroused in the mind of Afghan King suspicions against all the remaining descendants of Shah Abdullah Khan on which he ordered stoppage of their jageers, immediate arrest and death for all of them forthwith. Before the arrival of this order in Multan, Akbar Khan and his brother Saifulah Khan

ran for their lives and took refuge in Khairpur (Bahawalur State) but were refused asylum there, on which they disappeared towards India and no body knows about their fate since then. The British Scholar Revery (This is on the authority of Habeebi) while discussing Tazkira-tul-Malook in the introduction of his Pakhtu Grammar also mentions about Akbar Khan Khudakka and Akhbar-e-Khudakka.

Even though it looks as if Akhbar-e-Khudakka is now extinct but Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai certainly having used from this source copiously in his History had thus preserved it upto posterity.

Tazkira-tul-Malook Ali Shan, the history of Saddozais authored by Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai has been divided into four parts. Which are named as Muqadamma, two Assals and Khatima. Muqadamma narrates about the origin of Afghans and the history of forefathers of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan. The first Assal or part-I is divided into two

Farases (chapters) while the second Assal (Part) has got five Farases (Chapters). First chapter of part-I of this history contains the exploits of those successors of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan who ruled in Afghan Khurasan. The second chapter of Part-I relates about the history of those descendants of Sadu Mir-e-Afghan who migrated to Multan for good and made it their home.

Chapter-I, Part-II of Tazkira-tul-Malook-e-Alishan contains the history of Maudud Khel Saddozais, while chapter-II, Part II relates the history of Bahadur Khel Saddozais. Chapter-III of Part II gives the account of Kamran Khel branch of Saddozais. Chapter-IV of Part II contains all about Zafran Khel Saddozais. Likewise Chapter-V of Part-II, contains the history of Khizar Khels, the eldest branch of Saddozais.

The fourth part of this history namely Khatma contains two chapters. Chapter one relates about the history of remaining Khizar Khel Saddozais i.e. all the

decendants of Ahmad Shah Durrani Baba-e-Afghan, who left Afghanistan and settled in different parts of N.W.F.P. Punjab and India. Chapter-II of Khatima contains history of those successors of Ahmad Shah Durrani who remained in Afghanistan. The book is authentic not only regarding the history of the period but genealogy of all the Saddozais and mentions biographies of about three hundreds Abdalis and Saddozais upto seventh Moharram 1251 A.H./April 1835 A.D., when the author finished this laudable work on history and genealogy of Saddozais. I was introduced to this family history by my grandfather. Haji Hafeezulah Khan, (1872A.D-1957A.D) a man of scholarly pursuits who translated this history from Persian into Urdu at my request in the year 1954 A.D. I used to get dictations daily from my grandfather and in my absence my younger brother Dr.Mohammad Yousuf Khan used to record this translation in Urdu. It took about a year and my daily company with my grandfather for a year during my formative years and

listening his comments on our history and culture much enlightened me. My grandfather owned a copy of the original MS prepared by one Allah Bakhsh Khan Babi which he completed in Jamadi-ul-Awal 1295 A.H./May 1878 A.D. at the house of my great grandfather Mohammad Zargham Khan, the second son of the Author. This copy of the original which I inherited as a heirloom is spread over 483 pages of about seventeen lines each. According to our family tradition there were four MS of Tazkira, probably one of these four by the hand of the author. Out of those four books now three are available. The one already discussed, and the two others, one is with the family of late Mohammad Azim Khan Khudakka Saddozai which is very well persevered and richly bound, probably the original book by the hand of the author. The second is in the possession of Amanullah Khan Durrani (a Khudakka Saddozai) which probably is the copy of the original made by the pen of his grandfather Abdul Raof Khan Khudakka Saddozai.

The fourth known manuscript as related to me by my grandfather was taken for study from the family of Mohammad Behram Khan Khudakka Saddozai the eldest son of the author by one Shahzada Salih Jan Saddozai in the last century A.D. and was never returned. While discussing this book, a few months back, Wazirzada Mohammad Yousuf Khan, Kamran Khel Saddozai S/o Wazirzada Abdul Qayyum Khan Saddozai (Former Financial Commissioner and Minister of NWFP) showed me a receipt dated 07-12-1950 A.D. about handing over on loan of a manuscript named Tazkiratul Maluk to Zafar Ahmad of the Archives & Record department of NWFP Govt., which receipt Yousuf Khan found in the papers left by his late father. As mentioned in this receipt this MS is dated 1284 A.H./1867 A.D. I have yet to discover this MS, which is either the lost manuscript referred above or a copy of the original with Wazirzada family who were originally Multani Pathans, were allies of Khudakka Saddozais. During those troubled times, Head of this

family, Rehmat ullah Khan known as Wazir Wafadar Khan Saddozai made life much comfortable for the beleaguered Khudakka Saddozais particularly during the reign of Shah Zaman Durrani and his brother Shah Shujaul Mulk the kings of Afghanistan (1795 A.D. to 1818 A.D.).

No other literary or historical composition of the author had been found so far. Ali Jah Shahzada Ali Mohammad Khan Khuddaka Saddozai, as he was described in the Farmans of Durrani Kings, died in the year 1256 A.H./1840 A.D. and is lying buried in old Saddozai graveyard near S.P.Chowk, Multan Cantt. This Persian manuscript was never shown by the family to any one out of sheer jealousy common in old families. My grandfather did a valuable job by translating it into Urdu and introduced it into the world in detail and after that this Urdu translation was utilized firstly by myself in my earlier treatise on Saddozais, in Multan (1967) and by Dr.Ahmad Nabi Khan and Professor Dr. Ashiq Mohammad Khan

Durrani in their treatises on Saddozai period of Multan. I used the Persian MS for the first time while writing the biography of Nawab Muzaffer Khan Saddozai Shaheed the last Afghan Governor of Multan (1779 A.D. to 1818 A.D.) during the year 1975 A.D. - 1978 A.D. During those years I started the work on the present treatise in English. All these years I have laboured on it with love and for making this treatise most authentic I have collected the material for this book from all the primary as well as secondary sources in Persian Urdu, and English which I have detailed in the notes at the end of every chapter as well as in the end in bibliography. I was encouraged and advised about this work by my late father Mohammad Khan Saddozai, my uncle Late Lt.Col. Mahmud Khan Durrani G.C. my cousin Professor Dr.Ashiq Mohammad Khan Durrani and Dr. Christopher Shackle of London University (whenever he visited Multan) for which I am greatly indebted to all of them. Many times I wrote and re-

wrote and drafted and redrafted and was helped in this exercise of typing, earlier by late Muhammad Zia, a Steno of District Courts, Multan and lastly by late Steno Haji Soofi Muhammad Akram whose help I will remember for ever. My thanks are also to Malik Muhammad Sarfraz, proprietor of Al-Musawar Computer Centre, Chowk Kutchary, Multan, who composed the book very carefully and took great pains in making it free of errors.

Umar Kamal Khan

Advocate

EIWAN-E-MOHAMMAD

GULISTAN-E-ZAHRA

NEAR HIGH COURT

MULTAN.

June 1999

ORIGIN OF AFGHANS

The origin of Afghans had been a controversial subject, though much efforts have been made by the learned men to come to real facts on it and resolve this controversy. The Afghans themselves proudly claim an Israilitish descent and call themselves “Bani Israil”.(1) They attach great importance on this title and consider themselves a peculiar people, distinct from those amongst whom they are, now settled. There are many weighty reasons for believing their origin from this source - “the remarkable similarity of the Afghan’s physiognomy to the well delineated Hebrew race of which they have preserved the characteristics, physical features and mental traits uptil today i.e. deep religious instinct, vivid imagination, pronounced individuality, spirit of enterprise, marked ferocity towards the foes, along with similarity in social and religious institutions. This

claim has been disputed by some learned men of the past and present. The reasons advanced by them were more political than historical. The expansion of the British Indian Empire to the Afghan Border, the great rivalry between Russia and Great Britain, and afterwards, the cold war between world powers in Central Asia, encouraged the new theorist to expound something different from, what Afghans themselves claimed about their origin. The strong point advanced against this time honoured claim is in respect of the Afghan language - Pakhtu or Pashtu which is said to be of Aryan origin but language is no proof of ethnic origin as Bani Israil, who entered the Afghan country, merely adopted the Aryan tongue which was spoken there, in those days, like other Jews who adopted European tongues after settling in European countries.

The absence of Hebrew words in Pashtu could be ascribed to its assimilation with Arabic after Arab conquest. The Arabic & Hebrew having striking points of similarity, the Hebrew words of Pushtu

amalgamated into their sister language Arabic, lost their individuality and when Pushtu was noticed in historical times the historians were not able to separate the Hebrew words of Pushtu amalgamated with Arabic. Thus the notion that it has no traces of Hebrew is false. Whatever the arguments advanced by the so called historians disputing this Israilitish origin, the Afghans' conviction regarding their origin has not been shaken and this leads one to think that their claim to such a descent is quite sound, for it is not likely to suppose that a nation would cling to the same notion about their origin and early history for upwards of 2000 years, if it were not founded on truth. This argument is further reinforced by the fact that the race from which they claim to descend is shun by most other people particularly Muslims and detested by the Afghans themselves. "A point which should clearly show that they have no desire to claim without a just cause, a descent from them". (2) Whatever doubts may be entertained about the origin or pedigree of

even the existence of Afghan's eponymous ancestors, it is to them to claim whatever tribal genealogies they may have and on those genealogies the divisions, the interior government of the tribes still depends. A little deviation (which would hardly take place) from this time honoured historical origin would topple the whole structure of the genealogy of the Afghans and thus make them a laughing stock of other nations. The defence of this theory universally believed by the Afghans, therefore, is an article of faith with every true Afghan.

The following legend current amongst the Afghans is a little inconsistent with the Jewish scriptures and it is quite understandable due to the great lapse of time involved. Makhzan-i-Afghani and other Afghan chronicles which trace the Afghan lineage lay down "Yahuda (Judah) eldest son of Yaqoob (Jacob) is a remote progenitor, the more proximate being Saul surnamed Talut (C.1025B.C.) descended from Yahuda in 5th generation and was

crowned king of the Israil".(3)

ii) The story runs - when Saul was making over charge of his kingdom to Daud (David) (C.1012- C.972B.C.) and preparing for his death, which awaited him in the battle with the heathens, he recommended to Daud for his special care, two of his wives, then pregnant. He predicted, that each would give birth to a son destined to become famous in wisdom and in war and from whom would spring a mighty and a countless race. In due course of time each of the wives bore a son on the same day and Daud named, one of them Ikhriya and the other Irmiya. Both of them grew up to be godly men and in due course, Ikhriya was appointed by the king, as Prime Minister and Irmiya, as Commander-in-Chief, in which posts both obtained great renown. Each had a son. Ikhriya's being Assaf and Irmiya's Afghan and on the death of their fathers they succeeded each to their father's dignity in which they were confirmed by Soleiman (Soloman) (C.972 - C.932B.C.), when he

came to the throne. Asaf's beneficent rule was extended over all the land, while nothing was done without consulting Afghan whose awe inspired men, genni and animals alike. Afghan was blessed with forty stalwart sons. Both brothers continued, up to their death, to enjoy high power and dignity among children of Israil and also in the countries of Rome and Sham and the children's children were very many in the land.(4) Many years later Bakt Nassar (Nebuchad-Nezzar) (C.605 - 562B.C.) laid waste the temple of Suleman (Soloman) and led away into captivity the children of Israil. (597B.C.)(5) Thus descendants of Assaf and Afghans were scattered abroad. The latter took refuge in the mountains of Ghor and Ferozah (Modern Hazarajat) and the parts of Khurasan and the Suleman Range and other's in Arabia.(6) "Thus on the due consideration of the question of their migration, no insuperable obstacles or objections could be raised to the practicability of the transportation of the Afghan's from Palestine to

their present locale. On the contrary the fact thereafter mentioned, render such an occurrence not only possible but very probable".

Those who were settled in Ghor and parts of Khurasan increased and multiplied and waged wars on the surrounding heathens in right earnest.(7) They adhered fervently to the Jewish faith and propagated it with remarkable zeal. They maintained, throughout contacts with their compatriots in Arabia.

Some important persons who belonged to the tribe of the Afghans, lived near Mecca and on the advent of Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) (570-632A.D.) embraced Islam, and during the life of the Holy Prophet they made either a personal contact or sent a letter to their kinsmen of the Bani Israil settled in Ghor, to give them tidings of the new faith and invitation to join the rank of the promised Prophet and to help his holy cause.(8) On these tidings the Afghans of Ghor arranged a select deputation led by one Qais which proceeded to meet the Prophet at

Medina. This Qais son of Ais was descended from Saul in the thirty-seventh generation and from Abraham in the forty-fifth generation and from Adam in sixty-third generation. This Afghan deputation went to Medina and readily embraced the true religion of Islam. Qais soon came to stand in high regards, of the Holy Prophet, who bestowed on him the name of Abdur Rashid and title of Malik.(9) Abdur Rashid and his Afghan contingent distinguished themselves by doughty deeds in one of the early battles of Islam. The approving Prophet, prophesied that they would be the progenitors of a great people that would uphold the banner of Islam through out the ages.(10) Qais Abdur Rashid married Sarah the daughter of the great Muslim General Khalid Bin Walid and returned to Ghor where he introduced the Islamic faith. The Afghans were eager to be converted to Islam and in a comparatively short period of time, considerable number of people of Israilitish origin speedily adopted it as their new faith which was fervently propagated

by Qais among his brothers of the hilly regions of Ghor, Kaseghar and Suleman Range. All real Afghans are descended from this Qais.

By his wife Sarah, Qais became father of three sons, Sarbanar or Sare, Ghorghost and Bitan who became the heads of three great primary divisions of the Afghan race and ancestors of all who are true Afghans. Qais after enjoying high power and dignity is said to have died at the age of eighty seven at Ghor in the year 41 AH (661 AD.) Qais Abdur Rashid, when on his death bed, called his children together, urged upon them to hold fast to the tenets of Islam and appointed Sare who was the eldest and most capable among his sons, as his successor. (11)

NOTES**BOOK-I****Part-I**

- (1)- Makhzan-e-Afghani Page-4. Tazkira-tul-Malook-e-Aali Shan Page-2. Races of Afghnistan by H.W.Bellew page-14. Pukhtu Grammer by Reverty Page-19.
- (2)- Makhzan-e-Afghani Page 65.
- (3)- Makhzan - Page 67.
- (4)- Makhzan - Page 70.
- (5)- Makhzan - Page 73.
- (6)- Makhzan - Page 74.
- (7)- Makhzan - Page 74.
- (8)- Makhzan - Page 107.
- (9)- Makhzan - Page 108.
- (10)- Makhzan - Page 111.
- (11)- Makhzan - Page 112 Tazkira - Page 9

For further studies on the origin of Afghans read -
 Hayat-e-Afghani - Saulat-e-Afghani-Tarikh-e-Guzeeda -
 Kingdom of Kabul by Elphinston. History of Afghans by Dorn.

BOOK-1**Part-II****ABDALIS AND THEIR EARLY HISTORY.**

As stated earlier, by his own nomination, Qais Abdul Rashid was succeeded by Sarbanr or Sare, his eldest son, who spent his whole life in fulfilling the mission of his father i.e. propagation of Islam and subjugation of infidel tribes.(1) The conquest of Khurasan, Balkh and Mawaraun Nahar on one side and Sijistan (Seistan) on the other side was initiated by Islamic forces during his life time. The Muslim advance towards the North was through Samarqand and in the south was through Sijistan. The Afghan territories Ghour, Suleman Range, Ghazni, Kandhar etc., the areas now comprising central Afghanistan were almost left untouched and the Muslim rule (i.e. the Arabs rule) in fact did not become effective or direct in these regions. It was confined to raids and demand for tribute.

However, the spread of Muslim rule in the

North and South had some bearing on the Afghan territories. Sare and his descendants greatly benefited from it and felt strong from the proximity of the rule of their religious fellows and thus greatly increased their influence in the above areas.

Sare was succeeded by Sharkhbun, said to be his eldest son who was contemporary of famed Hajaj bin Yousuf, the Ummayed governor of Basra who was instrumental in the conquest of Kandhar and Kabul for Islam (86.AH-705AD). Sharkhbun like his father made the most of his strength from the proximity of the Islamic state, over the region under his influence. Most of the tribes around, obeyed his writs and came under his regular suzerainty. Thus the areas under his control expanded to a considerable extent. (2)

Sharkhbun was succeeded by Malik Abdal the founder of the renowned Abdali tribe of Afghans. (3) The descendants of this Malik Abdal, the Abdalis have been confused with Arabic, Hayatilla or Ephthalites, the leading tribe of Bactria, during early

Christian era.(4) Abdalis are from the pure Afghan stock and they have nothing to do with the white Huns or Hayatilla. (300-451AD) This confusion also arose due to political reasons connected with the sympathizers of Nazis in Afghanistan.

According to some sources Malik Abdal was son of Sharkhbun, while according to other reports the pedigree of Malik Abdal runs as follows. Abdal son of Tareen son of Sharkhbun. But the real fact is that several generations intervene between Sharkhbun and Abdal, as is evident from the fact that Sharkhbun was the contemporary of Hajjaj bin Yousuf while Malik Abdal lived during the reign of Sabuktigin (976-997 AD) and his son Mahmud. (997-1030AD). There is thus a period of more than 300 years which intervenes between the rule of the above mentioned two Chiefs.(5)

Among the Afghans the practice is that while stating the ancient pedigree of a tribe, the names of only those persons are mentioned who were greatly

renowned and the names of less renowned are dropped. Now after Sharkhbun, it was only Malik Abdal who had gained fame among the Afghans, due to his extraordinary valour and statesmanship. He was a great progenitor of children and children's children, each of whom established a clan which formed part of a great confederacy named Abdalis after his name. For this reason only his name is mentioned immediately after Sharkhbun and the less important links in the chain of chiefship have been omitted. (6)

Abdal is said to have received his name from Khawaja Abu Ahmad Abdal Chisti (260AH-355AH - 874AD-965 A.D.) to whom he rendered some service. (7) This favour greatly enhanced the influence of Malik Abdal and all the Sarbhar, Tareen and other tribes submitted their allegiance to him and he became the most powerful chief among the Afghan tribes. Malik Abdal effectively helped Sabuktigin in ousting the Hindu Shahi Rajas from Kabul and Ghazni. Besides, Sabuktigin, Malik Abdal backed up Sultan

Mehmud, his son, in his Indian campaigns and the latter was indebted to Abdalis for his success in his various Military expeditions and for the aggrandizement of his possessions specially in India.

In those days, the Afghans lived generally on agriculture and on sheep and cattle rearing but more so on property looted from the unbelievers further ameliorated their lot. So when in the reign of Sabuktagin and Sultan Mahmud, all the territories surrounding the Afghan strongholds of Ghor, and Ferozah came under Muslim rule and there were no unbelievers nearby to plunder and loot, the Afghans began to face financial hardship. But different campaigns towards India launched by Sultan Mahmud opened for them new avenues of employment. The Afghans inherited a restless spirit of enterprise which compelled them to leave Ghor and join service of Sultan Mahmud. The Sultan was desirous of rewarding the Afghans for the support they had afforded him in his Indian campaigns. After the

conquest of the valleys of Peshawar, Swat and Dir, he allowed the Afghans to migrate into various conquered regions to the west of river Indus and there he planted them as Military Colonists. Thus there was a whole-sale migration of the Afghans from Ghor to Kabul, Ghazni, Peshawar, Swat and Dir where they flourished rapidly. But the population in Ghor diminished to such an extent that Malik Abdal's position was weakened and his hold on different scattered and disunited Afghans became loose and internecine squabbles reached their zenith. With the migration of the Afghans to different corners of the kingdom of Mehmud, a few Afghans mainly Abdalis i.e. Malik Abdal's numerous sons and sons' sons were left in Ghor and Kaseghar. This dispersal of Afghan tribes reduced the influence of Malik Abdal whose writs were ignored in his old age, outside Ghor. Thus Malik Abdal's ambition for unification of all the Afghan tribes under his sway could not be realized, when he died at the age of 105.(8)

Malik Abdal was the founder of the Abdali confederacy and all his children and children's children how low so ever received their name from their common ancestor and are called Abdalis (now Durranis).

Abdalis are divided into two great branches, the Zirak and the Panjpa, after the names of two grandsons of Malik Abdal. From these two branches sprang nine tribes, four from Zirak and five from Panjpa, which make up this great Abdali confederacy. These tribes were further divided into clans, each having a hereditary head nominated by the tribe. (9)

Malik Abdal was succeeded in the chiefship by his son Malik Rajal alias Rajar, a brigand and a great hunter. His domain was Ghor and its environs where his predatory attacks kept every one in fear and in obedience. (9A)

Malik Rajar appointed his son Malik Eisa, a saintly man much devoted to the pursuit of peace and knowledge. It was during the chiefship of Malik Eisa

that Abdalis for the first time, started migration from Ghor to Kandhar for pasturing their flocks in the winter and returning to Ghor in the summer every year.(10)

Malik Eisa was succeeded by his son Suleman alias Zirak, so called because of his intelligence and judicious disposition. He is said to be contemporary of Shah Rukh Mirza the grandson of Timur.(11) (1377AD-1447AD).

Since Abdalis began to have seasonal migration to Kandhar District for pasturing their flocks, they began to have an eye on this fertile valley. Now the numbers of Abdalis had increased and there was dearth of land in Ghor and it was impossible for them to live on agriculture and pastures of Ghor. Malik Zirak arranged a deputation alongwith his vakils equipped with costly presents to wait upon Shah Rukh Mirza. This representative deputation solicited grant of lands in and around Kandhar for their tribesmen and other Afghan adherents of Malik Zirak. Shah

Rukh Mirza readily granted them lands on the assurance of allegiance and fidelity. Zirak alongwith his tribesmen and other adherents i.e. Tareens, Kasi, Jamund, Kakars, Babri and Ghaljis who were all over crowding Ghor, migrated to Kandhar and Ghazni districts where Malik Zirak divided equitably the lands and pastures from these new acquisitions among different Afghan tribes. In these new settlements the numbers of Afghans increased and with it their prosperity and influence was also enhanced.(12)

Zirak had three sons, Popal, Barak and Alko, all are founders of three famous branches of Abdali confederacy. Zirak invested Popal with the turban of authority in his life time and soon after died at the age of 120.(13) Popal who was tactful and brilliant, maintained cordial relations with the authorities in Kandhar, and he by strong measures and his influence with the Government of Kandhar was able to keep complete control, over all the Afghan tribes.(14)

Popal was succeeded by his eldest son Malik Habib, with whom his brother Ayub lived in amity. He was a weak and kind hearted man. Those unruly people who had remained submissive on account of tactful dealings of Malik Popal, were now tempted to revolt. Thus the villages refused to pay tithes and tributes and declared their independence. Malik Habib's authority was reduced to be the head of his own household and few other loyal tribesmen.

Malik Habib spent all his life in settling internal disputes and fighting battles to quell revolt within his own tribe.(15)

On Habib's death his son Malik Bame a boy of 15 years of age became chief of Abdalis under the guardianship of his uncle Badu whose daughter he married. After assuming the chiefship and on his majority Bame tried his utmost to improve the impoverished Khanate of Habibzai Abdalis.(16)

Malik Bame was a spendthrift and good natured and benevolent chief. He sent vakils to the courts of

Sultan Bahlol Lodhi (1447-1488AD) and his son Sikandar Lodhi, (1488 - 1517 AD) the illustrious Pathan rulers of India who sent him precious gifts and presents and extended the hand of friendship towards him.

On this, the other Afghan chiefs felt jealous and in order to win the favour of Sultan Bahlol Lodhi, presented to the king gifts on their own behalf but Sultan declined to accept these gifts and remarked that he recognized only Bame, as chief from among the Abdalis and most illustrious among the Afghans and that he gave no consideration to any other person.(17)

This greatly enhanced the prestige of Bame among the Afghans and he was enabled to consolidate his position rapidly. Bame lived a long life and is said to have been alive till the rise of Babar and final overthrow of the Lodhi dynasty in India.(1526AD).

He was succeeded by Saleh, a true successor of his father and a well meaning, pious and kind hearted man, as chief of Habibzai Abdalis. In his life time

Hamayun was expelled from India and Suri dynasty was established. When Sher Shah Suri (1486-1545AD) received the congratulatory letter from Malik Salih, he was much pleased and told his courtiers 'Malik Salih is the son of our chief, as his forefathers were the chiefs of our forefathers. No other chief can match with his distinguished family. We all do obeisance to this family and there is none among us who does not pay respect and homage to them.

“Sher Shah treated the vakils of Malik Salih with great respect and honour and sent to him the choicest things of India as gifts.”(18) This Malik Salih was father of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan, founder of Saddozais.

NOTES**BOOK-I****Part-II**

- (1)- See about the detailed geneology of Afghans-Makhzan-e-Afghani alias Tarikh-e-Khan Jehan Lodhi by Naimatulah Harvi Chapter 6.
- (2)- Tazkira-tul-Malook-e-Aali Shan page 10.
- (3)- Tazkira page 10, Hayat-e-Afghani Page 10 Tarikh-e-Ahmad page 3.
- (4)- The Pathan by Sir Olaf Caroe Chapter 6..
- (5)- Tazkira page 11/12.
- (6)- Tazkira page 13-Firstly Abdal was called Awdil.
- (7)- Tarikh-e-Ahmad Shahi page 300. See also foot notes and explanations of Mujma-tul-Tawarikh- Daulat Durrania by Maulvi Rahim Bakhsh page 1 (Qommi Press Dehli 1321 AH) See Majma-tul-Tawarikh page 19- In Saulat-e-Afghani page 336 the author has referred his source on Abdalis. Major Leech, a political officer during Afghan wars. Tazkira page 13 Hadiqa- Tul-Assrar page 76 Hayat-e-Afghani page 121.
- (8)- Tazkira page 14/15
- (9)- Tazkira page 14. The Pathan by Sir Olaf Caroe page 12.

Hayat-e-Afghani page 121

(9A)- Tazkira 13 Hayat-e-Afghani page 121

- (10)- Tazkira page 13.
- (11)- Tazkira page 14.
- (12)- Tazkira page 14.
- (13)- Tazkira page 14.
- (14)- Tazkira page 15.
- (15)- Tazkira page 16.
- (16)- Tazkira page 16-Sault-e-Afghani Page 336. Hayat-e-Afghani page 122.
- (17)- Tazkira Page 17.
- (18)- Tazkira Page 18.

BOOK-1**Part-III****THE FOUNDER OF SADDOZAIS AND
EMERGE NCE OF ABDALIS****THE BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF ASSAD- ULAH ALIAS
SADDU CALLED MIR-E-AFGHAN, THE FOUNDER OF
SADDOZAIS.**

Assadullah nick named by simple Afghans as Saddu. was born on the night of Sunday (18th Zilhaj, 965 A.H.) 4th October, 1558 A.D.(1) Before the birth of Saddu his father Malik Salih was financially, in sore straits. Salih's mother, a lady belonging to Ishak Zai tribe had beseeched earlier the holy men to bless her son Salih, with prosperity. After that Salih prospered and became a house holder. It is said that one day he was visited by the holy Sheikh Ako of Alizai tribe alongwith a large number of his disciples. The Sheikh and his disciples were cordially welcomed and the resources of the family were strained to do them honour. Sumptuous dishes were placed before the revered guest and Salih was assiduous in his

attention towards his guests. When the meal was concluded, Malik Salih ventured to ask the Sheikh for his blessings. The latter consented but put off doing so till the time of his departure. Next morning, the Sheikh drew his host aside and informed him that he had seen a dream during the night. In that he had seen a lion enter Sheikh's dwelling which meant a son would be born to him, whom he should name Assadulah (the lion of God). He added that he would be greatly favoured by Providence.

In due course Assadulah was born and his father's affairs took a favourable turn, for the tribe elected Malik Salih as their chieftain and requested him to manage their affairs and deal with the Governor of Kandhar. Moreover, as stated earlier his allegiance was sought by Suri Kings of Delhi(1540AD-1555AD) and he was recognized by them as the chief of his tribe.(2)

The mother of Saddu was a cousin of Salih.(3)
She died while Saddu was an infant and he was

brought up and looked after very carefully by his loving father, though the step mother, sometimes ill treated him. Even in childhood Saddu's face reflected talents and greatness and when he came of age Malik Salih made all the necessary and best arrangements for his schooling. He was imparted all the knowledge in the science and art of war of his times.

Saddu also achieved great perfection in manly pursuits, particularly in gunnery and archery, he was unsurpassed. (4)

Salih nominated Saddu in his life time as his successor in the presence of his whole clan who unanimously endorsed this selection. Saddu was twenty five when Malik Salih died at the age of 90 and Saddu succeeded to the patriarchate.

Malik Saddu was a favourite disciple of Sheikh Syed Najib-ud-din who was from the family of Pir Piran Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani (1078AD-1166AD). (5) This holy saint was greatly impressed by the devotion of his disciple and bestowed on him robe of honour

and a sword belonging to Pir Piran Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, in recognition of his accomplishments in religious and temporal fields. Moreover, this holy man prayed for him and prophesied for Saddu saying, "God will soon bless you with eternal fame and grandeur and make all your tribes-men dependent upon you and from your offsprings there will come off numerous chiefs, Sultans and kings and no other dynasty will equal you in any way." This enhanced his prestige further.(6).

Saddu was a just man, mighty in war and judicious in all actions. He set straight the crooked things with a strong hand. He reduced the swelling pride of Ghaljis and Hazaras and with wise and sagacious ways increased his influence. His adherents rapidly increased within a few years. He suppressed and chastised the Barakzais, a branch of Abdalis, notorious for their rebellion against the authority of their chiefs, who rose under the leadership of Haji Jalal and Malik Kalu against the authority of Saddu Khan

(7). Within few years after his accession Saddu Khan became supreme in Abdali confederacy by dint of his valour and sagacity.

At this time of history, the Afghan tribes, residing in southern Afghanistan, particularly in the districts of Kandhar, Ghazni and Kabul, were in complete disarray. There was none that could exercise full control over all the Afghans. There was chaos, bloodshed and anarchy all around. Murder, highway robbery was rife.

The Mughal administration was corrupt and was oppressing the Afghans. The Governors of Kabul and Kandhar both imposed heavy taxes on different Afghan tribes and collected these with high handedness. When the officials sent by the rulers of Kabul and Kandhar for collecting forcibly, taxes from Afghan tribes, they perpetrated excesses on them. No one came to their help despite their entreaties. On the other hand people of other tribes laughed and relished at their privations.(8)

When things came to such a pass, some wise and sincere, Afghan chiefs called a meeting of all the representatives of tribes and prominent Afghans and started deliberations on how to achieve unity.(9) They discussed the problems of bringing about peace and harmony among the Afghans and removing all the ills caused by jealousy, and dissension among them.

Assadulah alias Saddu the chief of Abdalis was also present and was the most distinguished person in the assembly. He had a fine record of his evenly justice, wisdom and sagacity. It was finally decided that from among the prominent Afghans present, a chief enjoying great popularity, commanding great respect and possessing all the qualities of a benign ruler may be elected as their supreme leader whom all the Afghans should obey in all matters temporal as well as religious. (10)

The names of different Afghan chiefs were proposed for this exalted position but were dropped for lack of unanimity and after much discussion and

consultations the majority proposed the name of Saddu who was in due course unanimously accepted by all as their chief. Out of modesty Saddu declined at first to accept this honour, but bowed to the unanimous wishes of all the Afghan tribes.

This was on 22nd Zilhaj 1006 AH. (26th June 1598 AD.) when Saddu Khan was formally installed as Mir-e-Afghans or chief of all the Afghan tribes. (11)

All other chiefs of Afghan tribes took oath of allegiance and loyalty to Saddu Khan on the Holy Quran. His authority was recognized supreme in all matters, temporal, as well as religious. The Afghans were happy with this selection and paid their entire and respectful attention towards Saddu Khan and his family with absolute obedience. Due to the great services of the Sadozais to the Afghan nation, passage of time did not effect this respect for Sadozais and preference for a Sadozai to be chief of all Afghans continued and in due course of time it became inheritance of the Sadozais.(12)

The Saddozais were formerly held in such veneration that if one of them ever attempted the murder of an amir or lord of another tribe, it was considered wrong to seek redress by assaulting that Saddozai. If an Afghan ever acted, otherwise he was declared to be an outcast in his own class or tribe.(13)

The Mughal Government regarded with suspicion the unity of Afghans and selected Saddu Khan as their chief but they had no way out, save to recognize Saddu Khan who was entrusted to collect all the Taxes and Zakat etc. from among the Afghan tribes. It was agreed that Tax Collectors of Kandhar and other officials would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Afghan tribes.

The understanding arrived at earlier lasted for only a few years and the rapacious officers began to interfere in the tribal affairs despite remonstrances from Saddu Khan. A general resentment against the Mughal administration spread which brought Saddu Khan in conflict with Shadi Khan, the Governor of

Kandhar,(14) who from the outset did not like the selection of Saddu Khan as Chief and his influence among the tribesmen. Perturbed by the growing hostility of the Mughal Governor Saddu Khan was compelled and forced to make contact with the Safvi Kings of Persia, who were anxious to make friendship with the Afghan tribes, as they were intriguing for the recovery of their former possession, Kandhar from the Mughals. The Afghans though were of Sunni persuasion are said to have preferred submission to the Shia Monarch of Persia instead of dependence on proud and luxurious court of Delhi. The reason for this preference was the desire for independence which the Afghans were able to maintain to a considerable degree by balancing between these two powerful states. (15)

In 1006AH-1598AD Shah Abbas the Great (1587AD-1629AD) started campaign for the recovery of Herat and its surrounding territories from the Uzbeks. Saddu, Mir - e - Afghan thought it good

opportunity for effecting the bond of friendship with the Persian Shah at this juncture and visited him at Herat at the head of a select contingent of Abdalis. The Shah who had recently captured Herat was vying with interest the strategic city of Kandhar and this Abdali move was most welcome to him. The Persian Shah was impressed by the personality, ability and high bearing of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan.(16) "During the course of this visit one day some one remarked in the court that Saddu Mir-e-Afghan was a high class marksman in archery. As the Safvi King Abbas the Great, was very fond of this art and he was himself a good marksman, he felt great desire to see with his own eyes the skill of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan in archery. He, therefore called together all the archers of his army and his court for a competition, which started with the throwing of the arrow by the King himself, but it missed the mark. The other competitors followed suit but none could hit the mark, the eye of a revolving wooden fish at a considerable distance. In

the end, King asked Saddu Mir-e-Afghan to throw the arrow which he did and hit the mark. All present cried out "well done well done !" but the trainer of the King in archery recited a verse in Persian which meant that some time it so happened that an uninitiated child could also hit the mark by chance. This annoyed the Mir-e-Afghan and in excitement he let off an other arrow with such precision that it pierced through the centre of the fish eye. The spectators made shouts of joy and applause. The Mir then threw the third arrow which went through the earlier hole. The king was highly pleased and stood up and embraced Saddu Mir-e-Afghan, while the trainer of the King had to cut a sorry figure. In appreciation of his excellent marksmanship King bestowed on him robe of honour and his own bejeweled bow, quiver and a slave boy named Daulat for picking the arrows. In this meeting Saddu Mir-e-Afghan entreated the Shah to turn his attention towards Kandhar region and deliver the people of this region from the oppressive

Mughal rule. Both parties with promises of future cooperation departed with satisfaction. (17)

In the meantime the Mughal, became aware of the hostile moves of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan in opposition to their hold on Kandhar, but their pre-occupation in Badakshan and Kabul valley checked them from taking any action against the Abdalis. Shah Abbas made the capture of Kandhar the main objective of his policy but for some years he could not take any military action. Systematic approaches were made with all the neighboring tribes and the tribal hostility against the Mughal administration was encouraged and supported. In 1620AD/1029AH a formal demand for annexation of Kandhar was made on Emperor Jehangir.(18) (1605AD-1629AD) In 1621AD /1030AH Shah Abbas came to Herat for the reduction of Kandhar. Saddu Khan was called and was briefed for the next year's campaign.(19) In 1622AD/ 1031AH Shah Abbas according to his plan approached in the vicinity of Kandhar and laid siege

to the citadel. Abdalis under Saddu Khan wholeheartedly supported the Persians. Abdul Aziz, the Mughal Governor was put in to very straitened conditions.(20) The neighboring tribes were all hostile and were actively supporting the Persians. Mughal Emperor Jehangir was involved in the Deccan campaign. The reinforcement sent by the Governor of Kabul was ambushed and scattered by Abdalis and Ghalji levies. The sources of provisions were systematically stopped by the depredations of the Abdalis. Becoming destitute, the weak garrison was unable to hold the city, the walls of which were mined and within three weeks of the commencement of the siege. Kandhar fell into the hands of Shah Abbas.(21)

Shah Abbas was highly pleased with the accomplishments and performances of Abdalis during the siege. In recognition of these services the Shah bestowed on Saddu the citadel of Safa situated in the lower part of Tarnak valley some 50 miles north east of Kandhar and its neighbouring territory yielding

revenue of about Rs.1,00,000/- yearly.(22) Saddu Khan was confirmed as Mir-e-Afghan and Kalantar (chief administrator or Judge) and latter on the title of Sultan was also conferred on him by the Shah.(23) The Abdalis were made exempt from all the taxes, zakat usher etc. and non interference in their internal affairs was promised. The king requested Saddu Khan to accept his commission for safe guarding the Caravan route from Persia through Herat to Kandhar.(24) The king advised Ganj Ali Khan, the Governor of Kandhar to seek advice from Saddu Khan and requested Saddu Khan for the support of his Governor.(25) With best promises and wishes for future cooperation and good government, Shah Abbas left Kandhar. This change over and internal autonomy, greatly encouraged the Abdalis and helped building confidence and national pride which resulted in the long run in resurgence of the whole Afghan nation.

Saddu Mir -e - Afghan after the Persian Shahs departure shifted to Safa which began flourishing with

the advent of Abdalis. Saddu Khan devoted his rest of life in effecting improvements into the new citadel and made it an Abdali stronghold. His hold on the Abdali confederacy was effective and his relations with the Governors of Kandhar were cordial rest of his life.(26) Saddu Khan nominated his eldest son Khizar Khan as his successor during his life time and got it confirmed from the tribal elders.(27) After this he handed over all the family relics connected with the office of chiefship to Khizar Khan. Before his death he got oath of allegiance from all his sons and tribal elders in support of his nominee and advised them to keep unity in their ranks.(28)

Saddu Mir-e-Afghan died at the age of 71 on Ist of Rajab 1036 AH (8th March 1627 AD).(29) He was survived by five sons namely Kawaja Khizar Khan (born on Ist Ramzan 990 AH./19th September 1582 AD) Maudud Khan (born 15 Shawal 992 AH./ 11th October 1584 AD) Kamran Khan (born Rajab 994 AH/15th June, 1586 AD) Bahadur Khan (born 998

AH/1590 AD). These four sons were from one mother, a woman of Habibzai tribe. The fifth son Zafran Khan (born in 1010 AH/1601 AD) was from a non Afghan wife.(30) All these five sons of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan, the founder of Saddozai family were founders of five Khels i.e. sub tribes of Saddozais.(31) The pedigree of every true Saddozai originates from these five forbears. All these sons were trained in tribal customs and Saddu Mir-e-Afghan always kept them engaged in some job or other and entrusted to them different administrative duties. Khawaja Khizar Khan was given the job of administration of justice and looking after the affairs of the confederacy. Maudud Khan was Commander of tribal levies and fighting men of the confederacy and was employed to put down insurrections, if any. Kamran Khan was incharge of finances including tax collections. Bahadur Khan was incharge of stables, farming and cattle breeding. He was also responsible for protocol and household affairs. Zafran Khan the youngest son

was always in personal attendance to the Mir-e-Afghan.(32).

CHARACTER & ACHIEVEMENTS OF SADDU MIR-E-AFGHAN

A saint, a soldier and a statesman, Saddu Mir-e-Afghan was regarded as father of Abdali confederacy. His high statesmanship was instrumental in uniting different warring tribes into one powerful Abdali confederacy and brought unknown Abdalis from oblivion to recognition in history. He exploited fully the rivalry between the Mughal and Persian Empires and maintained a considerable degree of independence by balancing between the two rivals. Internal autonomy, remission of taxes by the Persian Shah, which he achieved gave him an eternal fame in tribal history. Lastly he left behind a line of illustrious successors who played prominent role in their national history and brought independence fame and glory to the whole Afghan nation.

ACCESSION OF KHIZAR KHAN & HIS EXIT

After 40 days of mourning on the demise of Saddu Khan, his eldest son, Khawaja Khizar Khan was formally installed as the Chief of Abdalis and successor of Saddu Mir -e - Afghan. Khizer Khan was a man of mild disposition and was much devoted to religion. He was regarded a saint during the life time of his father and was highly praised and respected for his piety among the Afghans.(33) He was too soft to rule the turbulent Afghan tribes. His authority was therefore immediately set at defiance. His writs were openly disobeyed and lawlessness became rife. This leniency brought him in conflict with Maudud Khan, his younger brother, the Commander of tribal levies, a man of strict discipline and an authoritarian of great repute.(34) Other members of the family also criticized his lenient attitude which they thought would loosen family's grip on the Abdali confederacy. Khizar Khan at length realized that he could not compel obedience to his

orders and on this he made over the uneasy honour of Chiefship to his brother Maudud Khan and retired for good within 3 months of his installation.(35)

Maudud Khan within few days crushed the malcontents and set right the affairs of confederacy.

Khizar Khan now absorbed himself completely in prayers and began to live a life in seclusion. The harsh measures of Maudud Khan in curbing the disorderly behaviour of the turbulent elements compelled some chiefs to intrigue with Khizar Khan. They tried their utmost to bring him out of seclusion and pressed him to resume the chiefship. But he refused. Suddenly Khawaja Khizar Khan became seized with a mysterious illness which resulted in his death on 10 Muharam 1037 AH. (12th September, 1667 AD.).(36)

He was survived by two sons from a Barakzai wife. The eldest, Khudadad Khan alias Khudakka was 15 years old and Sarmast Sultan an infant at the time of the demise of his father.

Khawaja Khizar Khan remained chief of Abdalis for a period of 6 months out of which 3 months were spent by him in retirement.(37)

MAUDUD KHAN AS CHIEF OF ABDALIS

On the death of Khawaja Khizar Khan, Maudud Khan assumed the chiefship of Abdalis in his own right and was formally acknowledged immediately by the tribal elders. He was the bravest among the five sons of Saddu Khan. He was a man of determined character, ruthless disposition and of fearful demeanour. He held the Abdalis in terror by his authoritarian rule and within a few days of his assumption of the office of chiefship, he brought to book all disobedient elements.(38)

With the assumption of Maudud Khan as chief of Abdalis, the normalcy and peace returned in the Abdali territory. Safa flourished rapidly and became more populated; and due to safety of trade and commerce it attained a position second to Khandar in importance.(39) Maudud Khan extended his influence

far and wide and brought under his control some of the Afghan tribes who were not even in the control of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan. Ali Mardan Khan son of Ganj Ali Khan the Governor of Kandhar himself an enlightened and accomplished man, sought friendship of Maudud Khan and always sought his advice in administrative matters.(40)

Shah Abbas, the great, died in 1039 AH - 1629 AD and his successor Shah Safi (1629 AD to 1694 AD) upon his accession to the Persian throne murdered most of his relatives and all the trusted generals and councilors of his grand father. The Governor of Kandhar, Ali Mardan Khan was one of the most influential officer of the realm during the late Shah's time and a wealthy man and when he was ordered to return to Isphahan, he realized the sinister import of the summons. Perturbed by this situation he sought advice of Maudud Khan who suggested liaison with Mughal Government. On this Maudud Khan himself met Qilich Khan the Governor of

Multan and Kamran Khan Saddozai, the younger brother of the Abdali chief went secretly post haste, to make contact, on behalf of Ali Mardan Khan with Saeed Khan, the Mughal Governor of Kabul. Conditions for surrender of Kandhar were settled through these emissaries and Saeed Khan along with a strong contingent proceeded with Kamran Khan to Kandhar where Ali Mardan Khan surrendered the city immediately. This happened in the year 1047AH (1637AD).(41)

When these secret parleys were going on, and the departure of Ali Mardan Khan to Isfahan was being delayed, Shah Safi became suspicious and despatched a force to relieve Ali Mardan Khan from his charge, but it was too late and in the meantime Mughals had taken possession of the city. Maudud Khan alongwith his tribal levies and a token Mughal Contingent way laid this Persian force and defeated them and for these services Ali Mardan Khan and Maudud Khan were highly rewarded by the

Mughals.(42)

Emperor Shah Jehan (1628AD-1658AD) attached great importance to the acquisition of Kandhar. In order to substantiate his hold on this strategic city he expended large sums on the improvements of fortification and defence of the city. The Abdalis profited immensely from this change over. They were also rewarded further by concessions, allowances atc. to win their allegiance to the Mughals.(43)

Maudud Khan was originator of a unique custom in the annals of Afghans. Historians tell us that his nephew a son of Kamran Khan was betrothed to a daughter of an Abdali notable. When the time for the marriage came the father of the girl refused to give his daughter's hand in marriage. Kamran Khan complained to his brother against the objectionable conduct of the Abdali notable. Maudud Khan told Kamran not to worry about it and asked him to make preparation for the marriage ceremony according to

schedule. When such preparations were completed Maudud Khan sent a messenger to the Abdali notable reminding him that to back out after agreeing to the engagement of his daughter, was not at all a gentlemanly act; he was thus marring his good name for nothing. Abdali replied that any further discussion was useless as he was determined not to marry the girl to Kamran's son. Maudud Khan on this marched with his forces to the village of that Abdali. The tribe of that Abdali notable sided with him and prepared to give battle. In the ensuing battle, after a few casualties on both sides, Maudud Khan was victorious and entered the village and mounting the girl on horse back behind the bridegroom came back to Safa and the Nikah ceremony was performed in his house.

Since that day this act took roots and it became customary among the Pathans to lead the marriage party to the house of the bride and bring bride in a palanquin to the house of the bridegroom where the Nikah ceremony is then performed.(44)

Maudud Khan ruled for a period of a 17 years and during the last days of his rule he tried his utmost to recover the family relics from the widow of Khizar Khan and put every pressure on her but she being a woman of strong will, resisted it for a long time and long last after enduring great hardships, parted only, with the sword of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan. This much coveted sword passed on, later, from Shah Hussain Khan son of Maudud Khan to the family of Saddozai Nawabs of Multan who probably lost it to the Sikhs in 1818AD/1233AH at the fall of Multan. (45)

In 1643AD/1053AH Mir Yahya Diwan of Kabul rebelled against the Government of Kabul and the Governor sought the help of the Abdali Chief, Maudud Khan who at the head of an Abdali Contingent went in aid of the Governor, where in an encounter Sultan Maudud Khan was killed in action. (46)

Maudud Khan was a born leader of men and a very powerful man of his time. The Abdali

Confederacy was well united under his strict rule. The Abdalis profited tremendously under his able leadership and gained a formidable place in their geopolitical environments.

He was survived by two sons namely Shah Hussain Khan and Allah Dad Khan.(47)

THE WAR OF SUCCESSION AND ACCESSION OF SULTAN KHUDADAD KHAN AS CHIEF OF ABDALIS

When the news of the death of Maudud Khan reached Safa, Khudadad Khan alias Khudadkka eldest son of Khawja Khizar Khan put forward his claim for the chiefship of the Abdalis in the right of his father. A strong party of tribal chiefs supported him and Safa was engulfed in a bloody civil war. Shah Hussain Khan the eldest son of Maudud Khan and Khudadad Khan the eldest son of Khawaja Khizar Khan put their respective claims for the chiefship and eventually a battle was fought between the two cousins near Safa in which Hussain Khan was

defeated and he fled to Kandhar. Safa along with a considerable booty, the life savings of Maudud Khan fell in to the hands of Khudadad Khan, who was immediately recognized as Chief of Abdalis by all the tribal elders.(48)

This did not suit Khawas Khan (Dowlet Khan in certain books)(49) the Governor of Kandhar who had earlier recognized Hussain Khan as Chief of the Abdalis. The Governor asked Khudadad Khan to vacate Safa and to cease projecting his claim to Chiefship Khudadad Khan resisted this demand. He sent the following message to the Governor of Kandhar: (50)

“ My father was a saintly man, leading the life of a recluse, he could not fully attend to the affairs of the Abdalis. I was minor and so my father appointed my uncle as a regent. But my uncle poisoned my father and after killing my father became the Chief, being minor I did not prefer any claim during the life time of my uncle. Now my uncle is no more and I

have attained the age of majority. I am perfectly entitled to become the Chief.”

But the Governor remained adamant and increased the pressure on him. On this a select deputation of Abdali elders espousing the cause of Khudadad Khan waited on the Mughal Governor of Kandhar and put the following demands before him.

“No interference has ever been made in our affairs up to this day and none among us has himself dare requested the ruler of Kandhar to listen to our complaints against one another. If any one of us sought the help of the ruler for the settlement of our mutual disputes, he no longer remained a true Afghan and was considered to be a rustic and an outcast. It rather became a matter of shame for our tribe to own such a man. Do not treat us like the inhabitants of India, since the conditions here are quite different. It would be better not to interfere in our affairs.”

The Governor refused to listen and rejected the plea of honouring the practice of non interference in the internal affairs of Abdalis.(51)

This discomfited majority of Abdali notables, who resenting this uncalled for interference in their affairs openly sided with Khudadad Khan. Before Khudadad Khan could muster his strength for the defence of Safa the Governor in his zeal for the support of Hussain Khan decided to take immediate action.

Accompanied by Hussain Khan he brought heavy siege guns along with a strong contingent for the eviction of Khudadad Khan from Safa. In the engagement that took place outside the citadel of Safa, Khudadad Khan was defeated and Hussain Khan entered Safa as victor, Khudadad Khan fled to Kohistan where he spent some time waiting for an opportunity to retrieve his fortunes, afforded either by change of heart or the change of the person of the Governor of Kandhar but no such occasion arose for

him. Seeing no real prospects of success and prompted by restless spirit of enterprise he proceeded to Isfahan where he was received by Persian Monarch Shah Abbas the II(1642AD-1657AD), who with this welcome guest in his court concluded that time was ripe for an attempt on Kandhar. Khudadad Khan advised the Persian King to initiate the campaign in winter. For during this period the passes across the Indian border would be closed or would be rendered impossible for the luxurious Indian troop reinforcements.

With the campaign in view, necessary steps were taken for storing grains and other provisions at important strategic points.

In August 1648 A.D/Shaban 1058 A.H. an army under the command of Murtaza Quli Khan Kachar was prepared and despatched and cantoned in Herat.

Khudadad Khan was sent to raise secretly sufficient force in Kohistan and asked to wait for the

signal. The situation in the region was already heavily charged by the earlier events. Majority of Abdalis who were annoyed at the foolish interference of the Mughal Governor of Kandhar in their internal affairs deserted the Mughal cause and took side with the Persians under the leadership of Khudadad Khan. Hussain Khan was the only adherent left with the Mughals in the region.

When snow fell in Afghanistan the Persian Shah advanced and laid siege to Kandhar on 16th December, 1648 (Zilhaj 1058 A.H.). Within a few days of the siege, Khudadad Khan who advanced zealously the Persian Cause in this campaign, and was foremost in every assault even at the risk of his own life, blocked completely the sources of the supplies of besieged Kandhar as he knew so well the terrain. Kandhar occupied a strong position on three hills, on the highest of which was a fort named as Chehal Zina which was connected with the city by a wall. Khudadad Khan led the assault on this important

feature which was heavily bombarded by the efficient Persian Artillery and captured it, though with great difficulty and loss. The capture of this strategic point disheartened the defenders. The siege lasted 57 days after which the Mughal garrison under Dowlat Khan finding no help coming from India, capitulated on 11 Feb. 1649AD (Saffar 1059 AH).(52)

This disgrace to the Mughal Empire was natural sequence to the annoyance of the Abdalis at the foolish interference in their internal affairs by the Mughal Governor of Kandhar.

The devotion and zeal shown by Khudadad Khan in this campaign greatly impressed the young Persian Monarch who now made sure about the advancement of the Cause of Khudadad Khan. He appointed Mehrab Khan Qizilbash as Governor of Kandhar to keep “within the walls and Khudadad Khan in command of the country without the walls.”(53)

After disengagement from the affairs of

Kandhar and return of the Persian Shah from Kandhar to Herat. Khudadad Khan turned his attentions towards the citadel of Safa. He defeated Hussain Khan, his rival after a minor engagement and captured Safa. Hussain Khan made good his escape towards Kohistan.

THE FIRST SIEGE BY THE MUGHALS

Now spread the news about the advance of a huge Mughal force both horse and foot for the reduction of Kandhar. This greatly perturbed Mehrab Khan, the Persian Governor of Kandhar. He solicited the advice of Khudadad Khan. After due consideration of the situation it was realized that Abdali contingent remaining outside the citadel of Kandhar would be useless as more men would be needed to fully man the defences of the Kandhar. It was therefore, agreed by Khudadad Khan that in order to raise the morale of the Governor he should reside in the citadel. Besides he whole heartedly deployed force to supplement the defences of the citadel and within a few days the outer

and inner defences were substantially strengthened and the garrison was now ready to meet the Mughal onslaught.(54)

Prince Aurangzeb and Sadulah Khan who had been already advancing towards the north west for checking the operations of the Persians were now ordered by Shah Jehan to push on hurriedly to prevent the Persians from consolidating their conquest. The Emperor Shah Jehan himself proceeded to Kabul in April 1649AD (Rabi-ul Sani 1059 AH.) to direct his troops from the rear. Shah Hussain Khan Saddozai who was taking refuge in Kohistan was instructed to join the Mughal army. The Mughal army appeared before Kandhar and besieged the fort on 16th May 1649AD (Jamdi-ul Sani 1059 AH) where Shah Hussain Khan joined them with a small contingent. In the meantime a small contingent from the Persian army was sent from Herat which was defeated by the combined efforts of Shah Hussain Khan's cavalry and Mughal infantry on the bank of river

Arghandab. But Kandhar was so well and bravely defended by the Persians and Abdalis that it became impossible for the Mughals to continue the siege. Moreover, the defenders possessed a large number of field pieces, effectively employed by them to counter the Mughals who had no big guns. Thus out gunned the Mughals failed inspite of all their efforts and after a siege lasting 3 months and 20 days, Prince Aurangzeb retired hurriedly from Kandhar in obedience to his father's wishes, and with him went Shah Hussain Khan and all his family, for they could no longer remain in Afghanistan with safety. Shah Hussain Khan joined Mughal service and was awarded substantial Jagirs in the Parganah of Sialkot and Rangpur (Muzaffargarh District).(55)

Khudadad Khan returned to Safa, when the siege of Kandhar was raised and Mughal army retreated. He was formally installed as Chief of Abdalis by the Confederates. He was conferred with the title of Sultan. (56) His influence with the

Persian Administration was supreme and the Persian Governor never undertook any project without first consulting him. By sagacity and dexterity, he brought out all the Afghan area from Kase Ghar to Kandhar from the tutelage of both Persian and Mughal administration and the hold of the Persian Governor was confined within the walls of Kandhar and he became himself the undisputed overlord of the area outside Kandhar. Abdalis as well other Afghan tribes recognized him as their principal chief.(57)

THE SECOND SIEGE BY THE MUGHALS

Shah Jehan would not abandon his design of retaking Kandhar to which he rightly attached high importance. The next three years after the last siege were spent in organizing a powerful army with a siege train and large supply of munitions for the investment of the city. Multan, the government of which was entrusted to Prince Aurangzeb was made a base for future operations. Realising the importance of Abdalis, great efforts were made to built up a party for

the support of Mughals among the Afghan tribes mainly Abdalis (Alizais, Kamran Khels, and Bahadur Khel Saddozais) through the good offices of Shah Hussain Khan Saddozai, who had taken refuge in Multan. After these preliminary arrangements Prince Aurangzeb and Saddulah Khan along with Shah Hussain Khan Saddozai led the Mughal army and advanced towards Kandhar. Sultan Khudadad entrenched himself along with a strong Abdali contingent within the citadel of Kandhar. On this occasion the Mughal brought some heavy guns alongwith 120 swivel guns and the siege started on 22nd May 1652AD (Rajab 1062 AH) with an incessant bombardment on the defenders.(58) Some guns of the Mughal artillery burst from over charge of powder and they were generally inefficient as compared with the defenders who bravely withstood all the onslaughts. Moreover, Abdali contingent's sudden surprise raids caused heavy casualties. Sultan Khudadad played an outstanding role in

supplementing the defences of the city and rendered such extraordinary services to the Persians that Saddulah Khan informed Shah Jehan that there was not the least hope of success against the defenders. Some of Abdali marauders, who abandoning Safa had taken refuge in Kohistan, cut off the Mughal army's line of supply with Kabul and Multan. This resulted in scarcity of provisions and in the meantime Emperor Shah Jehan ordered the raising of the siege and the Mughal army after three months operations retired to Kabul from where Prince Aurangzeb left for Deccan in August 1652AD (Shawal 1062 AH) accompanied by Shah Hussain Khan. (59) On the way Shah Hussain Khan was instructed by the Emperor to wait in Multan for the orders about next years campaign. Thus Shah Hussain Khan took leave from Prince Aurangzeb, who had developed great liking for him thanks to his bravery. (60)

THE THIRD SIEGE OF KANDHAR BY THE MUGHALS.

In the meantime Prince Dara Shikoh the Governor of the Punjab, and the eternal rival of Prince Aurangzeb, received the charge of the Government of Kabul and undertook the conquest of Kandhar within a short time. Immense exertions brought a fresh army and a siege train in a short period of three months. Shah Hussain Khan also accompanied Prince Dara Shikoh on this last Mughal attempt on the city of Kandhar.(61) On this occasion the supporting artillery of heavier caliber than ever before was brought and in every other respects this was a most powerful army ever raised for the recapture of Kandhar. Indeed so good was the staff work that a model of the fort was constructed for the guidance of the gunners.(62) Great efforts were made to neutralise the Abdalis. Shah Hussain Khan tried his utmost to alienate as much Abdalis from the Persian cause as he could. Prince Dara Shikoh solicited through courtiers the interview of Sultan Khudadad Khan. who avoiding

interview with Prince Dara Shikoh for reasons best known to him, sensed the mood of the confederacy and extricated himself from this campaign. He left for Kohistan along with his adherents and both the Persian and Mughals were left to their own fate.(63)

Shah Hussain Khan spared no pains for the success of this campaign. However, he was not finding favour with Prince Dara Shikoh who was making a mess of the whole campaign by believing more in the blessings of mystics, Sadhus and Yogis than counsels of experienced men of war. He was therefore unable to make his officers cooperate with each other. Mining and artillery fire were tried but in vain, while appeared on the scene an Uzbek force which had to be bought off and the approach of a powerful Persian relief force, induced the desperate prince to attempt a general assault, which also failed miserably. Thus in September 1653 AD/Ziqad 1063 AH, the Mughal army was compelled to raise the

siege and retreat for good. It was chased away by the Persian relief force.

This became the last campaign and thus Kandhar was lost for ever to the Persians for Mughals. Shah Hussain Khan Saddozai also returned to Multan from where, next year, he accompanied Prince Aurangzeb to Deccan. But in 1655 AD/1065 AH. Shah Hussain Saddozai returned to Delhi and through the good offices of Ali Mardan Khan, he and his brother Allah Dad Khan's ranks were raised. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne in 1658AD/1069AH. Shah Hussain Khan a favourite of the Emperor Aurangzeb received much accession to his Jagirs but his temper soon brought him into disgrace.

On one ominous day the Emperor was looking at some horses which had been presented to him and while pointing to one of them, he asked Shah Hussain Khan of its breed. The Abdali Chief hesitated, a fine looking Pathan who stood by, answered the question

“slave” said Shah Hussain Khan in a fury “when Emperor addresses me, why do you speak.” “Slaves are known by their mean appearance,” was the reply. Shah Hussain Khan who was short in stature, swarthy in complexion and liverish in temperament was so much irritated at this remark that he drew out his dagger and stabbed the sarcastic speaker in the heart. The Emperor was affronted for this offence committed in his very presence. Shah Hussain Khan was imprisoned and, though after some time released, was banished from the Court for life. His past services under the Emperor, alone saved him from execution. He retired to Multan where he lived a comfortable life and died issueless, a few years later.⁽⁶⁴⁾ His brother Allah Dad Khan had died a few months earlier, leaving six sons from whom descended Zahid Khan, Shuja Khan, Muzaffar Khan etc. the illustrious successive Saddozai Nawabs of Multan, who ruled Multan from 1738 AD to 1818 AD when finally the Saddozai rule was overthrown and

Multan fell to Ranjit Singh.(65)

THE IMPACT OF THE SIEGES OF KANDHAR ON THE ABDALIS

Kandhar had been coveted and contested by the Mughal and Persian Empires since 1507 AD - 912 AH. When Babar defeated Mukim and captured it. The province of Kandhar occupies a position of great strategic importance. In an age when Kabul was a part of the Delhi Empire, Kandhar was regarded an indispensable first line of defence for India. It had also been an important centre of trade, from times immemorial, being situated on the Indo Persian trade route, the possession of which had become essential for the Persians after their dispute with the Portuguese who, now threatened the safety of sea route. In the 16th century AD two new empires one of Safavis in Persia and the other of Mughals in India sprang up side by side and the rulers of both coveted the possession of Kandhar for the above reasons. With this rivalry of two Empires is bound up the story of

emergence of the Abdalis who came to be well known in history since that time.

Abdalis were the inhabitants of Kandhar region since the time of Shah Rukh Mirza, the son of Tamarlane (1405AD), who granted them lands in this province. (66) It was at that time, these rustic tribes of Ghor came in first contact with the civilization. It was their habitation in Kandhar region which involved them in the conflict of these two empires and gave them prominence. The Abdalis united under, Saddozai leadership played up the jealousies of the two empires so judiciously and prudently that they got concessions and subsidies for their confederacy from both. Thus they carved out for themselves a pivotal position and for their friendship both sides largely vied and tried to out bid each other. The Persians and Mughals both expended huge sums on this conflict but the Mughals far excelled the Persians in expenditure, as they expended twelve Karor of Rupees (Rs.120,000,000) during the last three sieges and the beneficiary of all

this expenditure were the inhabitants of this region
(67)

This conflict gave the Abdalis a sense of purpose and pride in their nationhood and unity for future action. They saw two modern armies battling with each other. These experiences proved to be most valuable for their future wars. Thus much profited in many ways by this conflict, the Abdalis under Saddozais infused a spirit of resurgence in all the Afghan tribes which united under them after some time into one Afghan nation.

As we have seen Sultan Khudadad Khan was in a position to be neutral and to hold his own in the last siege. This annoyed the Persian Government, but they could not lay hands on him nor could they play up the factionalism among the Abdalis as he was holding the Abdali Confederacy in a strong grip.

Sultan Khudadad's successful manipulation of the situation during the Kandhar sieges and the profits that accrued to Abdalis, further endeared him in the

confederacy. The result was that relations with the Persian cooled down as soon as evacuation of the Mughal troops and as the time passed by.(68)

In 1657 AD/1067 AH Sultan Khudadad took on himself the reduction of Arghasan, a territory, east of Kandhar which was said to be inhabited by the infidels at that time. Sultan Khudadad succeeded in capturing the valley and annihilated the infidels though at the cost of great sacrifices. After this the lands of this valley were distributed equitably among the Abdalis.(69) Besides the acquisition of this new territory Abdalis earlier were holding lands near Kandhar and Safa but majority of them were pastoral and lived nomadic life. Now they all became owners of irrigated lands and regular cultivators. The Arghasan valley was watered by a stream by the same name. It was a rapid torrent which never remained deep for more than two or three days and left its bed dry for a great part of the year. The paucity of water, diverted the attention of the Sultan who immediately

took on himself to improve the irrigation system of the valley and for conservation of water, he built a dam on the stream which was named after him and was called Bund Sultan Khudakka. Near this dam was a mosque where Sultan prayed for some time. This mosque is now popular place of pilgrimage and is called Sultan Khudakka Mosque.(70) An other important event during Sultan Khudadad's tenure of power, was his expedition against Zhobe Valley where some miscreant had taken refuge. The valley was subjugated and plundered and ravaged in true Afghan style.(71)

SULTAN KHUDADAD'S RELATIONS WITH GHALJIS

† The Ghaljis who during this period, espoused the Mughal cause due to their Indian links, were immediate neighbours of the Abdalis. They were divided into many sub divisions inimical to each other. Though being supporter of two hostile empires Abdalis and Ghaljis had no differences among

themselves. It was all due to friendship between Sultan Khudadad on the one hand and Malakhai, head of Tokhi sub division and Malik Jabbar of Ibrahim Ghaljis sub division on the other hand. Tokhis had some disputes with Abdalis during the early decade of 17th century AD. which were amicably settled by Sultan Khudadad and Malkhai. They met at Pul-i-Sangi, south of Kalat Ghalji and fixed the boundary between certain disputed tribal lands on the Garmab Stream. After this the Tokhis settled in the area in Tarnak Valley from Pul - I - Sangi to Shibar and no further boundary disputes were heard afterwards.(72)

During the last days of his life, Sultan Khudadad was infatuated by the desire to conquer Kandhar, as all the neighbouring tribes realized the importance of Kandhar after the tussle for its possession by the above two empires. National pride and yearning for independence gave further impetus to the Afghan tribes to overthrow the overlordship of Persians. This resulted in skirmishes between the Abdalis and

Persians troops and both sides tried to encroach upon the areas of influence of other side. Therefore lawlessness became rife in the Persian territory. Safvis who were in a precarious state in their own country as well as in their neighbour-hood could not afford large campaigns and this encouraged and emboldened Sultan Khudadad who started preparation for the reduction of Kandhar and over throw of the Persian rule. A siege train with 50,000 fighting men from all the Afghan tribes were ready for this campaign when unluckily Sultan Khudadad had an attack of Pneumonia and died in August 1663 AD (22nd Safar 1074 AH). He was survived by three sons. Kalandar Khan the eldest from a Mughal wife, Inayat Khan and Hayat Khan from Murad Bibi a remarkable lady from Nurzai (Abdali) tribe.(73)

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF SULTAN KHUDADAD

Sultan Khudadad alias Sultan Khudakka was the most powerful leader of men of the Abdali

confederacy. He united them under his own aegis, curbed their internal jealousies and dissensions, channelised the tribal sentiments for enhancing the power and prosperity of the confederacy. He played a successful and profitable role in the conflict for the capture of Kandhar by the Mughals and Persians. He was a brave man of exceptional tenacity and grit. He provided for his tribesmen employment, and subsidies and gained for them new lands. He increased, greatly the cultivated area by conquest and annexation of the valley of Arghasan and judiciously distributed the new lands among the Abdalis. He improved the irrigation system of the Arghasan Valley and thus further increased the cultivated area. He had a very clean rule without civil strife, dissensions or blood feuds within the Abdali confederacy. His relations with his neighbours were cordial. He was loved by his tribesmen for these sterling qualities and he left a name that has been remembered with veneration by all the Afghans for all

time to come.

SULTAN KALANDAR KHAN SUCCEEDS **KHUDAKAKA SULTAN**

The untimely death of Sultan Khudadad greatly damaged the interest of the Abdalis. He was succeeded by his eldest son Kalandar Khan, a young man of ability and courage. He took upon himself the reduction of Kandhar and after consolidating his position in the confederacy advanced, with his tribal levies on Kandhar. The Governor of Kandhar came out to meet the attackers and a battle was fought under the walls of Kandhar. The Persian regulars were defeated and took to their heels and were pursued by Abdalis to the city gates. In the melee that ensued, both the forces mixed up and taking advantage of this confusion, Sultan Kalandar Khan leading a small select force entered the walled city. The defenders took last stand, taking cover in the built up area and showered bullets on the advancing party headed by Sultan Kalandar who received a bullet in the head and

was mortally wounded. However, his compatriots took out his body and retreated from the city but Sultan expired on the way to Safa. Due to this unfortunate incident success turned into defeat. The tribal levies greatly disheartened left for their homes and the first attempt of the Abdalis on Kandhar met a disastrous end. Sultan Kalandar Khan remained chief of Abdalis for a period of two months and 23 days. He left behind a daughter.(74)

ACCESSION OF INAYAT KHAN & HIS MURDER

Kalandar Khan was succeeded by his brother Inayat Khan.(75) During his tenure of rule his uncle Sarmast Khan raised the standard of rebellion against him and claimed the chiefship in his own right, as the eldest living Saddozai in the tribe. His claim was supported by few Abdalis but majority of Abdalis and Saddozais remained loyal with Sultan Inayat Khan, who with the support of his confederates succeeded in crushing the revolt. The battle that was

fought between the two contenders resulted in the death of Sarmast Khan. After this success Inayat Khan greatly persecuted the rebels and their supporters which resulted in migration enmass of Bahadar Khels and Kamran Khels Saddozais who alongwith other Saddozais and their adherents, left Safa for Multan and Derajat.(76) Thus decimated and persecuted by their own brothers the Saddozais were reduced to negligible minority among the Abdalis. This strife permanently divided the Saddozais as well as Abdalis into Sarmast party and Khudakka party. This factionalism played havoc in weakening and undermining the Abdalis during the coming century until the rise of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

The high handedness of Sultan Inayat Khan and persecution of his own tribesmen made him unpopular in the confederacy. Hayat Khan, his real younger brother who was cherishing a secret ambition for the chiefship, hatched a conspiracy with other Abdali notables inimical to Sultan Inayat, for his

removal from scene. One day they arranged a hunting trip for Sultan Inayat who unluckily fell down from his horse during the hunt. Hayat Khan who was following him alongwith conspirators pointed to an Uzbuk servant, a hired assassin to do away with the Sultan. The Uzbuk struck the fallen Sultan with a sword and killed him. Hayat Khan immediately buried his brothers corpse on the spot and returned to Safa to report the death of his brother. This happened on 23 Rabi-ul-Sani 1078 AH (September 1667 AD). He was survived by a daughter.(77)

Before the arrival of Hayat Khan at Safa the news of the treacherous murder of Sultan Inayat had spread and had already reached the citadel of Safa. Sultan Inayat and Hayat Khan were born of Murad Bibi, a lady of Nurzai tribe, a woman of remarkable address and daring, and a powerful personality who had herself taken part in several tribal fights during the life time of her husband.(78) She was domineering in all her roles and dealings and was terrible in wrath.

When she heard that her eldest son had been murdered for no fault of his, she felt it very much and after strengthening the defenses of the citadel got herself ready to punish Hayat Khan. The elders of the tribe, fearing another civil war assembled and entreated her to let by gone be bygone and propounded that only Hayat Khan was living from among the male issues of Sultan Khudakka and he was no other then his own son and so she should pardon him, for if he also was killed, who would then head the Abdalis. If Sultan Hayat Khan was removed from the scene, it was natural that some one from the other Saddozai families would be selected for chiefship. Had Sultan Inayat left any son, they would have certainly supported the idea of retribution.

Murad Bibi who was high strung in her feelings exclaimed " I will do unto this son of mine as he had done unto his real brother and will install the daughter of Sultan Inayat on the Masnad". All the near relatives and elders of the tribe were greatly perturbed due to

this revengeful determination of Murad Bibi. They went bare headed before Murad Bibi in a deputation putting their turbans round their necks as was customary for making humble submissions and prayed to her, saying, "Fear God and think that Uloos will never accept the leadership of a girl." They cautioned her about the state of relationship of the Abdalis with the Persian Government which was hostile since the attempt made by Abdalis on Kandhar. After they had entreated her several times to give up the intention for that extreme measure, she agreed that she would hold back her hand of retribution on two conditions, firstly that the murderer of Sultan Inayat would be surrendered to her so that she might carry out her vow of drinking his blood and secondly Hayat Khan would not henceforth show his face to her or he would forfeit his life. The elders accepted these conditions and informed Hayat Khan about the agreement. Hayat Khan refused to accept first condition fearing as the murderer having done the killing in obedience to his

own orders and if he handed him over, no one would obey him in future.(79) At this all those elders that were present put pressure on him and compelled him to hand over the Uzbek in order to appease the spirit of vengeance that fired Murad Bibi. The counsel of the elders prevailed and Hayat Khan handed over the murderer loathsomely. The unfortunate Uzbek was taken into the fort and as he was brought before Murad Bibi. She at once ordered her slaves to slaughter him like a sheep and fill a cup with his blood. When this was done and the cup full of blood was presented to her she took hold of it and began to sip the blood like a sweet drink and thus quenched the thirst of her vengeance with the blood of unfortunate Uzbek, as if it was a cup of Sherbet. She also ordered that the dead body of the murderer be thrown before dogs. Grief stricken as she was, the effect of blood drinking upset her mental equilibrium for days.(80) When finally the bloody temper of Murad Bibi had subsided, the elders of the confederacy

brought Hayat Khan into the citadel of Safa and acknowledged him as the Chief of Abdalis. Thus was brought on the scene of Khurasan, the most controversial figure in the history of Abdalis. Though hardy, warlike patriotic and intensely independent, he was cruel, unpredictable and a mercurial man by nature. With the accession of Sultan Hayat Khan to the chiefship, Abdalis came into endless conflict with the Persian power.(81) Due to Sultan's spirit of defiance he and his family members were subjected to very mean concocted attacks of vilification and lies by the Persian chroniclers.

The political situation at the time of his assumption of power was rapidly changing. The Safvi power was waning and the remote provincial Governors had gone out of control and were rebellious. They were not keeping the agreements of non interference arrived at with the indigenous population by earlier Safvis and oppression was rampant. The Mughals were pre-occupied in their

Deccan dilemma and their interest towards the Central Asia and Kandhar had greatly dwindled. The rivalry between the two Empires for the capture of Kandhar, with the passage of time had been put in the cold storage. This in fact diminished the importance of Abdalis and they were possessed by a spirit of restlessness. Sultan Hayat Khan, himself a man of restless nature was the man of hour. At first he consolidated his hold on the Abdali confederacy and eliminated all his enemies, who fearing persecution migrated to Derajat and Multan.(82) Then he turned his attention towards the Persian territories in the province of Kandhar, Farah and Herat. He changed his base temporarily from Safa to Shorawak and started a series of desultory attacks on the small Persian garrisons in the towns between Herat and Kandhar. He made life miserable for the non Afghan Iranian subjects of this area. The Iranian Governor of Kandhar was greatly affronted due to these depredations of Sultan Hayat Khan, and while Sultan

Hayat Khan was once absent from Safa in connection with these expeditions, his mother Murad Bibi was holding Safa in his place. The Persian Governor in order to punish and chastise the Abdalis thought it opportune to raid Safa, considering it defenceless. An expeditionary force was arranged under the command of an experienced Qizilbash commander who raided Safa. Murad Bibi, the mother of Sultan Hayat Khan had a small force in the citadel, but she collected sufficient forces from her tribesmen and led them out of the citadel of Safa. A pitched battle was fought near the Band-e-Makuk, in which Murad Bibi herself charging at the head of her contingent killed Iranian commander with her own hands. The Persian forces seeing the ignoble end of their commander were greatly disheartened and took to their heels. They were hotly pursued and massacred to a man, "God be praised; "what a great victory was won by the Afghans by virtue of the valour of Murad Bibi".(83)

When Sultan Hayat Khan returned victorious

from his expedition from Herat and heard about the victory won by his mother he was overjoyed and could not restrain his great enthusiasm and sense of appreciation at this feat of his mother. Despite fears expressed by his advisers he made up his mind to pay respect to his mother and to congratulate her personally, on this achievement. On second thoughts he took some security measures and put on armor concealed under his garments and thus he entered the Haram Sara (Zenana) and presented himself before his mother and saluted her. Murad Bibi on seeing him became furious as she had not pardoned him for the murder of Sultan Inayat and had forbidden him to face her. She ran after him and stabbed him. As Sultan Hayat was wearing armor he escaped with minor injuries.(84)

After this event the unforgiving Murad Bibi made the life of Sultan Hayat Khan miserable, by posing a constant threat to his life in Safa. Thus dejected and forlorn as he was in this situation, he

took to the road between Herat and Kandhar and engaged himself in pillage and plunder of Persian territory, an occupation which met the leaning of his tribesmen. The Persian army by surprises, elusive stratagems and harassing tactics of Sultan Hayat Khan was made ineffective in open country as they could not dare come out of their fortified positions in Herat and Kandhar. The territory between these two Persian garrisons was in complete sway of the Abdalis and Sultan Hayat Khan was master of the Afghan Khurasan. Sultan Hayat Khan achieved this mastery of the open country of Afghan Khurasan after he had thirty one encounters with the Persians and other auxiliaries of this empire, in which he was always successful.(85)

When the Sultan became intolerable and the local commanders failed to check the depredations of Sultan Hayat, the Persian subjects, plunged into despair, sent many representations and deputations to the Persian Shah, complaining against Sultan Hayat

Khan and requesting to check his atrocities. Some false allegations were also made and the Persian King Shah Suleman (1669AD-1694AD) was told that Sultan Hayat Khan was quite invincible. These allegations incited great rage in the Persian Shah, who swore in his court that so long as he was not able to slaughter Sultan Hayat Khan or turn him out of his territory for ever he would not return to his Capital.

The Persian Shah advanced from Isfahan to Meshad in 1680 AD (1091 AH) and after visiting the shrine of Imam Raza, he advanced up to Herat, where under his guidance, two strong punitive forces were despatched against Sultan Hayat Khan, one from Herat and the other from Kandhar, with the direction to produce him dead or alive before the King for his final elimination from Khurasan.(86)

Now the Abdalis pressed from two sides were in straitened conditions. Under this pressure they retreated with their bag and baggage to the Kohistan and Safa was evacuated. Sultan Hayat Khan after

arranging for the safety of womanfolk and belongings of the tribe came out of the Kohistan with his fighting men and fell upon the pursuing Persian expeditionary force in the open. A bloody battle was fought near Obah in which Abdalis were defeated but with heavy losses on both sides. The wounded Sultan fell down from his horse but was saved by his personal guards who bore him away from the battle field. The Persian let loose a reign of terror and adopted scorched earth policy in the Abdali territory. The Abdalis uprooted and completely dispersed took to the mountains.(89) Resistance to Persians became totally impossible. Sultan Hayat Khan while recuperating from his wounds in his hideout thought it expedient in the interest of confederacy to resign the chiefship of Abdalis in favour of his cousin Jaffar Sultan and to migrate to India with the intention of soliciting help from Emperor Aurangzeb. The council of elders was called to consider the decision arrived at by Sultan Hayat Khan. The elders endorsed the views of Sultan

Hayat Khan and Jaffar Sultan assumed the chiefship. Sultan Hayat Khan ordered him to seek immediate peace with the Persians and himself took the responsibility of persuading Emperor Aurangzeb to turn his attentions once more towards Kandhar.(87)

Thus the career of Sultan Hayat Khan in Afghanistan was terminated with his exit from Khurasan and he started on his long and arduous journey to Multan with his son Abdullah Khan, his nephew Zaman Khan and other 500 adherents and a considerable amount of treasures.(89) Mughal administration came to know of his departure in advance and he was well received by the Governor (Nazim) of D.G.Khan, from where he crossed river Indus and proceeded to Multan where he reached on 14 Shaawal 1093-AH /Sep. 1682 AD). On hearing the news of the arrival of Sultan Hayat Khan, Baqir Khan the Governor of Multan along with the earlier emigrant Afghans and Saddozai notables came forward to receive him on the river Chenab and

brought him with due honour to the Hazuri Bagh where arrangements for his temporary stay were made (90) When Emperor Aurangzeb received the news of the arrival of Sultan Hayat Khan in Multan, he immediately welcomed him into his dominion and lauded his struggle against the Persians. He bestowed on him costly presents valuing rupees one lakh (Rs.1,00,000) and an Altangah cash grant of 10,000 monthly.(91) He was further promised assistance in case he took field against the Persians. Sultan later on shifted from Hazuri Bagh to his own Kiri (fortlice) near Shish Mahal. When prince Muezuddin grandson of Emperor Aurangzeb become Governor of Multan (1694-95 A.D) and his father Prince Muazam was Governor of Kabul, Emperor Aurangzeb planned an expeditionary force for the reduction of Kandhar. Sultan Hayat Khan was asked to accompany Prince Muezuddin and he accompanied the Prince upto Bhag Nari, when due to some developments in Deccan Aurangzeb recalled them.(92) Sultan Hayat

Khan lived a long and eventful life and saw the rise of his son Shah Abdullah Khan in Khurasan and was alive even after the murder of Shah Abdulah Khan in Herat. The ease and enjoyment of peaceful retired life in India took away from him the high ambitions of regaining power in Khurasan. He died at the age of 90 years on a Friday in 1141 AH. (1740 AD) and was buried in old Saddozai graveyard in Multan Cantonment, near S.P's House.(93) He had four sons, the eldest being the renowned Shah Abdullah Khan, the conqueror of Herat, from a Mughal wife, the second son Baqir Khan was born on 1093 AH./1168 AD. in Multan of an Alkozai wife. The third son born in 1101 AH/1690 AD. was Muquarab Khan, from a bond woman, the fourth son, Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan, who later become Nazim-i-Multan under the Mughals was born on 1107 AH/1695 AD. from a wife of Indian origin. The descendants of Sultan Hayat Khan played a prominent role in the history of Multan. They are numerous and well placed today.(94)

sultan Hayat Khan was the first among the Afghans in that part of Khurasan who raised openly the standard of rebellion against the Persian administration. Though unsuccessful, the road of rebellion shown by him was continuously traversed by his Sons and grandsons which eventually resulted in the emancipation of the Afghans in 1747 AD. (95) This initiative for overthrowing the Yoke of Persian bondage on his part led the Persian chronicles to be vituperative and revengeful and they in anger imputed him and his family uncalled for and false accusations and thus darkened the face of learning.

JAFFAR SULTAN AS CHIEF OF ABDALIS

After the departure of Sultan Hayat Khan from Khurasan Jaffar Sultan was formally installed as Chief of Abdalis (1682 AD). The leadership of the confederacy had fallen on his shoulders at a time when the fortune of the Abdalis were at its lowest ebb. The Abdalis uprooted from their hearths and homes

were being relentlessly pursued by two expeditionary forces and they had taken refuge in the mountain fastness of Kohistan. After the assumption of the Chiefship, Jaffar Sultan immediately sent his representatives to the commanders of the two expeditionary forces informing them of the migration of Sultan Hayat Khan and his assumption of the chiefship of Abdalis and sought peace and friendship.(96)

The news of the migration of Sultan Hayat Khan was well received by the Commanders who were tired of uncalled for fatigue to which they were being subjected by the furious Persian Shah. They accorded cordial reception to the representatives of Sultan and through them Jaffar Sultan was encouraged to seek audience with the Persian Shah from whom they promised grant of pardon. On this Jaffar Sultan accompanied by the Commanders of the expeditionary forces visited the Persian Camp in Herat where the Persian Shah received him well and pardoned the

Abdalis. He was confirmed as Sultan and the Chief of Abdalis. All the former agreements from the time of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan were reconfirmed and Jaffar Sultan accepted the overlordship of the Persians and in return the Abdalis were allowed to recover their former lands. When Jaffar Sultan returned to Safa, the Abdalis came out of their hideouts and settled back on their former lands south of Arghandab and Helmand and up to Siah bund.

The rule of Jaffar Sultan which lasted about 13 1/2 years was of mild and benevolent in nature and his relations with his neighbours and Persian administration were cordial and peaceful. He also kept brotherly relations with Sultan Hayat Khan in Multan and sent him precious gifts occasionally. (98) This peace and tranquillity afforded to the Abdalis by the good rule of Jaffar Sultan greatly enhanced the prosperity and numbers of Abdalis. They were estimated to be about 50,000 families in the last days of Sultan who died issueless in 1106 AH. (1695

AD) (99)

ABDULAH KHAN SUCCEEDS JAFFAR SULTAN

Before the death of Jaffar Sultan, the family affairs of Sultan Hayat Khan in Multan were not sound. The relations between Sultan Hayat Khan and his son Abdulah Khan were not cordial. Abdulah Khan was twelve when his father migrated from Khurasan. While in his teens his marriage was arranged with a Mughal wife. Later on Sultan Hayat Khan for making liaison with Sarmast faction of Saddozais, arranged the marriage of Abdulah Khan with the sister of Zaman Khan, son of Dowlet Khan who had also migrated to Multan with him.(100) The father and son were always disagreeing on day to day matters. The old Sultan mercurial and ferocious as he was by nature, interfered and opposed Abdulah Khan at the instigation of another Abdulah Khan Badozai, his Superintendent of finances (Diwan) who had great influence over him. Abdulah Khan the son,

who was now aged 25 years and a house holder, with two wives and a son Assadulah who was born that year in Multan, took great exceptions to this ill-treatment and lack of independence. One day he sought audience of his father and told him that he should either own Abdulah Khan his son or Abdulah Khan his Diwan. The Sultan, obstinate as he was replied that he preferred to choose the Diwan. This brought the matter to desperation for the son, when a few days later reached the news of the death of Jaffar Sultan in Safa. Abdulah Khan who had seen no charm in the life at Multan, left secretly with Zaman Khan his brother in law and a few companions, taking some valuables, without taking permission from his father and reached Safa where he was welcomed and without much opposition was proclaimed as Chief of Abdalis. Later on he was duly acknowledged by the Confederacy.(101) His accession as chief of Abdalis was immediately recognized by the Beglarbegi of Kandhar who espoused cordial relation with the new

chief(102).

Abdulah Khan greatly consolidated his hold on the Abdalis and extended his influence further to the west towards Farah and Herat. The Persian administration in Afghan Khurasan greatly weakened by the neglect of the Government in Isfahan was cautious and never interfered in internal affairs of the Afghan tribes. The Afghan tribes chiefly Abdalis and Ghaljis, though jealous of each other were consolidating their ranks and were watchful of the opportunity to seize any territory where there was no danger of direct clash with the Persians. The situation over all being peaceful, Abdulah Khan who held many overtures to win back his angry father thought it expedient and convenient to appear before him in person. Leaving Zaman Khan his brother in law as his deputy in Safa he left for Multan and reached there in 1116 A.H. (1704 A.D.) Sultan Hayat Khan though remained angry in the beginning was happy over the achievements of his son and the gifts brought by his

son further mellowed him. The son was pardoned and greatly commended by him. Abdulah Khan stayed for more than two years in Multan.(103)

In the meantime there were rapid developments in Mughal and Persian Empires. Emperor Aurangzeb had died in Feb. 1707 AD/1118 AH and the war of succession ensued. Prince Muezuddin the Governor of Multan (1695A.D-1707A.H) who was the grandson of Aurangzeb, had very cordial relations with the Sultan. He asked Sultan Hayat Khan to accompany him in support of his father Prince Muazam. Sultan Hayat Khan cautiously to the chagrin of the Prince, refused. He thought it beyond norm of prudence to involve himself, a refugee political pensioner prince, in the war of succession. He became neutral disregarding his cordial relations with the prince and his father Prince Muazzam who afterwards, wining the war of succession ascended the throne as Bahadur Shah I, the Emperor of India (1708 AD) and successor of Emperor Aurangzeb. Immediately after the accession

to the throne the new Emperor stopped the pension of Sultan Hayat Khan and as a result of this he was put to great hardship which brought him at the verge of leaving India.(104)

In Iran Shah Safi II (called also Suleman) died in 1106 AH (1694 AD) and was succeeded by Shah Sultan Hussain (1694 AD/Oct.1722 AD), the most incompetent among his seven sons. The new Shah of Iran appointed his favourite, Shah Nawaz Khan, a Georgian, as Governor of Kandhar in 1106 AH/1694 AD).(105) This beast in the shape of human being was the main cause of the total rupture of Afghan Persian relations and eventual overthrow of Persian yoke from the Afghans. The people out of hatred nicknamed him as Gurgeen Khan (Wolf Khan). He was sensual, avaricious, vindictive, cruel and within no time annoyed the whole populace of his Province for his high handedness and constant interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan tribes.

THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN ABDALIS AND GHALJIS

Annoyed by the cruelties and high handedness of Gurgeen Khan the inhabitants of Kandhar made many representations to the Persian Shah in Isphahan but they were neither heard nor the wrongs were redressed. In the meantime Mir Waise a valiant warrior of the Hotak Clan of Ghaljis himself went to Isphahan to apprise the Shah personally about the affairs in Kandhar. But he was not allowed audience and after waiting for a long time he proceeded to Mecca and performed Haj and returned to his home with the determination to overthrow the Persian Yoke. He wrote a letter to Sultan Hayat Khan after his return from Haj to the effect "that though he had been in Multan for a long time, he had done nothing so far and had not been successful in obtaining any help from Emperor Aurangzeb, who was now dead and civil war had broken out among his sons. Moreover he (Hayat Sultan) had recalled an able son from Safa for no purpose, and he was wasting his time in indolent

Indian habits. In such circumstances there was no use sitting idle and prolonging stay in India. Mir Waise further stated that he had seen with his own eyes the condition of Persian Shah Sultan Hussain. He did not take any interest in the affairs of the State and the administration was in the hands of unworthy and incapable officers and courtiers. So there was chaos in the Persian Kingdom. If he (Sultan Hayat) could come back soon with his son, they could together capture Kandhar very easily. In that case he (Sultan Hayat) would be entrusted the rulership of Kandhar and the adjoining territories would be equally divided between the Ghaljis and Abdalis.”(106)

The idea of Mir Waise appealed to the old Sultan. He sent his son Abdullah Khan and grandson Assadulah Khan who was now aged 12 years back to Safa, where Abdullah Khan took over the Chiefship back from his Deputy Zaman Khan and resumed the leadership of Abdalis.(107) Abdullah Khan informed Mir Waise who hastened to meet him and after

making solemn agreement on conditions earlier agreed between Sultan Hayat Khan and Mir Waise in their correspondence, both of them engaged in preparations for the overthrow of Persian rule in Kandhar.(108)

Gurgeen Khan who had been conferred with the title of Shah Nawaz Khan by the Persian Shah, feeling secure in his position, further oppressed the Afghans. Both he and his soldiers gave free rein to their licentious appetites and indulged openly in women and wine, sodomy and greatly offended the Afghans. The Afghan national feelings and warlike instinct had been aroused by these misdeeds on the one hand and by the encouragement which they received from their leaders Abdullah Khan and Mir Waise on the other. (109)

THE FALL OF KANDHAR TO AFGHANS AND THE EVENTS LEADING TO IT

Now an event brought the showdown between the Afghans and Persians imminent. Gurgeen Khan asked for the hand of the daughter of Mir Waise in

marriage for himself. He was in reality a Christian and thought to be an infidel by the Afghans. He professed Islam only for political advancement. This demand outraged further the Afghan national feelings. Mir Waise sent a bond woman instead of his relative.(110) This infuriated Gurgeen Khan and he made preparations for the punishment of the Afghan tribes. (111)

Abdullah Khan who had been secretly collecting armed men had in the meantime mustered sufficient strength to defy the Persian writs.(112) Gurgeen Khan in order to punish the Afghan tribes thought it prudent to deal with them singularly and chose the Abdalis first. On the advance of the Persian punitive force, the Abdalis along with their neighbours, Kaukers, entrenched themselves near Deb Sheikh in Arghasan Valley. Mir Waise was asked to make good cause at this juncture. He came out of his stronghold but cautiously watched the fate of Abdalis from a distance. The Persian attacked furiously the

well planned and well defended position of the Abdalis and the encounter which lasted the whole day was very bloody and the Abdalis and Kaukers defended themselves desperately. The Persians failed to dislodge and evict the defenders and lost heavily and in the afternoon they made a propitious retreat. The night came to the Persians about ten miles from Kandhar(113) and as tired and fatigued they encamped there. "It was the habit of Gurgeen Khan to get drunk regularly every day after sun set, and no precautions were ever taken to guard a camp, in which every one was plunged in debauch". Mir Waise who knew this habit was following the Persian movement, finding them in their routine passtime, he collected the Abdalis and his own levies and fell upon the Persians in the dead of night. A great massacre followed and Gurgeen Khan and his troops were put to death to a man. After this Coup de main, Mir Waise and Abdulah Khan hurriedly proceeded to Kandhar and laid siege to it. (114)

The desire of Mir Waise's heart was the exclusion of Abdalis from Kandhar and to hold this principality exclusively for himself. He had induced the Abdalis for sharing this principality for convenience. Now when the fruit was ripe to fall into his hands, he had second thoughts and made up his mind to hoodwink the Abdalis and the news of the advance of a strong Persian relieving Column gave the wily Mir Waise good opportunity to fulfill his scheme. He told Abdullah Khan, that they were faced with two very important tasks at that time, one was the siege of Kandhar and the other was to check the advance of Persian relieving Column towards Kandhar. It would be better if Abdullah Khan performed one job and the other job was entrusted to him. (Mir Waise). Abdullah Khan an ambitious young man asked for the tougher and more difficult job to be entrusted to him. Mir Waise shrewdly remarked that to check the advance of Persian relieving Column was difficult task and required great experience, therefore it should be

entrusted to him as Abdulah Khan would not be able to perform it. The continuance of siege according to Mir Waise was comparatively easier job which required less diligence and it could be entrusted to young Abdulah Khan, Abdulah Khan, a sensitive, high strung stalwart youth was touched to the quick by this and fiercely remarked that old men were meant for rest and peace while youngmen were for hard tasks. Mir Waise should therefore look after the siege, while he himself would go to meet the advancing Persian Column. This Mir Waise really desired in his heart and thus Abdulah Khan fell into this trap and proceeded with his best troops towards the road from Kandhar to Herat with the blessings of Mir Waise and thus Abdulah Khan was excluded for good from the siege of Kandhar and only Mir Waise was left incharge. Abdulah Khan effectively blocked the advance of Persian relieving Column and after a few skirmishes defeated and scattered the reinforcement sent by the Governor General of Khurasan for the

relief of the besieged Persians in Kandhar. The besieged Persians in Kandhar were greatly disheartened by this news. After a few days of the siege the Persian greatly dejected and starved. capitulated and handed over the citadel and the city of Kandhar to Mir Waise and Ghaljis in 1121 A.H.(April 1709 AD).(115) Mir Waise after taking over Kandhar put to death all the remaining people of Persian and non Afghan origin, who held any appointment under the late Government.(116)

After the reduction of Kandhar Mir Waise appointed his tribesmen on all the key positions of Kandhar and strongly entrenched the citadel with his own men. The Abdalis and Kaukers who had entered in the melee after the fall of Kandhar were busy plundering the city. Unexpectedly, they were attacked by the Ghaljis, were beaten and evicted forcibly from Kandhar and were thus deprived of the booty.(117) Abdulah Khan who was in pursuit of the Persians, hearing the good news of the fail of Kandhar

returned immediately but gates were shut on him and Mir Waise did not allow him entry into Kandhar. Abdulah Khan called for the explanation of Mir Waise for closing on him the gates of Kandhar. Mir Waise replied that he would abide by the agreement in letter and spirit and he (Abdulah Khan) was at liberty to divide the adjoining territory equitably between the two Confederacies in accordance with the agreement, while he (Mir Waise) would keep under his control the city of Kandhar and the citadal till the return of Sultan Hayat Khan from Multan, when he would hand over control to the Sultan without any hesitation. This futile dialogue was continued by wily Mir Waise till the young Abdulah Khan became aware of the ruse played upon him by the former. Mir Waise knew that Sultan Hayat Khan would not be prepared to undergo the privations of a long journey and would not leave the ease of his of long Indian abode in this old age. Now Abdullah Khan realized that Mir Waise had fraudulently sent him to check the Persian

relieving Column and himself remained behind to take possession of the coveted Kandhar. He never expected from Mir Waise a grey bearded old man that he was, would do such a shameless treacherous act. At last exasperated, Abdulah Khan returned to Safa with his fighting men and called the elders of the tribes and told them how Mir Waise had tricked him out of Kandhar. "It was observed that at first Kandhar was in the possession of Qizilbashes, then it fell in to the hands of Georgians and now Ghaljis had usurped it. All were bad for Abdalis and the worst among them were Ghaljis." So preparation for taking action against the Ghaljis were started and as a result of perfidious acts of Mir Waise began a long feud between these two Afghan Confederacies and the peace that reigned between Ghaljis and Abdalis from the time of Sultan Khudadad and Malkhei was disturbed.(118)

ALLIANCE OF ABDALIS WITH PERSIANS

In the meantime Shah Sultan Hussain, the Persian Shah sent an expeditionary force and

appointed Kai Khusru Khan nephew of Gurgeen Khan its commander.(119) On reaching Herat. Kai Khusru Khan thought it expedient to make alliance with Abdalis and opened correspondence with Abdulah Khan and asked for his help. He promised Abdulah Khan the Government of Kandhar if successful.(120) Abdulah Khan who had been greatly annoyed by the treachery of Mir Waise, welcomed this Persian move and went with his men and his son to Herat. Where he readily agreed to cooperate with the Persians if he was given the government of Kandhar.(121) After solemn promises both contingents advanced towards Kandhar. The Progress of this expeditionary force was slow and they reached Farah, a town 225 miles west of Kandhar in Nov. 1710 A.D./Shawal 1122 AH.(122) For sometime Mir Waise entangled the Persians in fruitless negotiations but in 1711 AD/1123 AH. Kai Khusru Khan and his ally tired of futile negotiations resumed their advance on Kandhar. Mir Waise had posted a strong force on the bank of Helmand to

check the advance of the allies but the combined forces gave a crushing defeat to this Ghalji force and after crossing the river, invested Kandhar. Siege of Kandhar was started in 1711 AD/1123 AH. Mir Waise took a number of measures for substantiating the defences of the city and made it impregnable. The Persian army had lost much of its effectiveness due to the weakness of the central Government. The discipline had completely disappeared and the siege of Kandhar though lasted a year ended in a stalemate. Due to the harassing tactics of Ghaljis, Kai Khusru was not successful. All the exertions of Abdalis were also of no avail as the Persian artillery failed to make any impressions on the defences and Ghaljis were not dislodged from their position. On 26 Oct. 1711 AD/1123 AH order for withdrawal was given to the Persian army. As men were retreating Ghaljis came out and made a fierce attack on the retreating army. The Abdalis under Abdulah Khan and Georgians fought with their usual bravery but their

Persian comrades fled from the field. Kai Khusru Khan was killed when he fell down from his horse. The Ghaljis hotly pursued but the Abdalis and Georgians beat them off and made good their retreat. The Persian greatly disheartened, dispersed and Abdulah Khan also left for Safa.(123) Afterwards some more unsuccessful attempts for the reduction of Kandhar were made by the Persians but their declining power could not recover its possession.(124)

NOTES**BOOK I****Part III**

- (1)- Tazkira page 18. See Saulat Afghani page 337
Hayat Afghani 122.
- (2)- Tazkira page 18-See Kingdom of Afghanistan by
J.P. Tate page 33.
- (3)- Tazkira page 19
- (4)- Tazkira page 19-Saulat-e-Afghani page 337
- (5)- Tazkira page 21
- (6)- Tazkira page 22
- (7)- Tazkira page 27-Hayat-e-Afghani page 123, Tarikh-e-
Sultani 59, Saulat-e-Afghani 337.
- (8)- Tazkira page 22
- (9)- Tazkira page 23
- (10)- Tazkira page 23
- (11)- Tazkira page 24-The Pathan page 223. See Tarikh-e-
Afghanistan by Syed Jamal-ud-din Afghani page 26
- (12)- History of the Afghans by J.P. Ferrier page 22-Saulat-e-
Afghani 342
- (13)- History of the Afghans by J.P. Ferrier page 22-Daulat
Durrania page 2-History of Persia by Sir John Malcolm
Vol 1 page 403-404-History of Afghanistan by

Malleon page 42

- (14)- According to some historians the name of Governor had been quoted as Badshah Paik Khan.
- (15)- The Pathan page 224
- (16)- Tazkira page 28
- (17)- Tazkira page 28
- (18)- J.N.Sarkar
- (19)- Tazkira page 29
- (20)- J.N.Sarkar
- (21)- J.N.Sarkar
- (22)- Tazkira 29-Tarikh-e-Sultani page 19
- (23)- See History of Persia by Sir Percy Sykes-History of Persia by Sir John Molcolm-Fall of Safvi. Dynasty by Lockhart, page 96 According to Zubda tul Tawarikh-Shah Abbas the great conferred on Saddu the title of Sultan. Kalan Tar means less than a Minsiter of the realm. See Ferozulughat (Persian) page 268-See also Majmatul Tawarikh page 19.
- (24)- The Pathan page 223
- (25)- Tazkira 29
- (26)- Tazkira 31
- (27)- Tazkira 31
- (28)- Tazkira 31

- (29)- Tazkira 29
- (30)- Tazkira 30
- (31)- From Khizar Khan, the Khizar Khels-the line of Khuddaka Saddozai Branch and Sarmast Branch of Ahmad Shah Durrani. From Maudud Khan the Maudud Khels-the branch of Saddozai Nawabs of Multan From Kamran Khan the Kamran Khels-the Wazirzada Saddozais of Pakistan. From Bahdar Khan, the Bahadar Khel branch of the Nawabs of Dera Ismail Khan & Dera Ghazi Khan. From Zafran Khan, the Zafran Khel Saddozais of Deh Bota, Kandhar, Safa and other places of Afghanistan.
- (32)- Tazkira page 30
- (33)- Tazkira page 32 Daulat Durrania page 2
- (34)- Tazkira page 30
- (35)- Tazkira page 33 Punjab Chiefs by Sir Lepel Griffin page 340
- (36)- Tazkira 33
- (37)- Tazkira 34.
- (38)- Tazkira 34
- (39)- Tazkira 34
- (40)- Tazkira 34
- (41)- Tazkira 35-Amal Salih alias Shahjehan Nama Vol 2nd

- page 227-Urdu Encyclopedin of Islam Vol 2nd page
991-Saulat-e-Afghani by Haji Zardar Khan Naghir
- (42)- Amal Salih alias Shah Jehan Nama Vol 2nd page 228
- (43)- The Pathan by Sir Olaf Caroe page 222
- (44)- Tazkira page 35
- (45)- Punjab Chiefs by Sir Lepel Griffin page 340
- (46)- Tazkira 36-Urdu Encyclophedia of Islam Vol 2nd
page 991
- (47)- Tazkira page 36
- (48)- Tazkira page 36
- (49)- Majma ul Tawarikh page 13
- (50)- Tazkira page 37
- (51)- Tazkira page 38
- (52)- Tazkira page 38
- (53)- Punjab Chiefs by Lepel Griffin page 341
- (54)- Tazkira page 38
- (55)- Tazkira page 182 Punjab Chiefs page 341
- (56)- Tazkira page 39-According to Majmatul Tawarikh
page 19 all the tribal elders were conferred with the
title of Sultan.
- (57)- Tazkira page 39-According to Tazkira. Shah Hussain
Khan migrated alongwith his family and adherents to
Multan after the failure of first seige in the year 1059

A.H/1640 AD See page 181

- (58)- J.N.Sarkar
- (59)- Tazkira page 38-Punjab Chiefs page 341
- (60)- Tazkira page 182
- (61)- Tazkira page 182 Punjab Chiefs 341
- (62)- J.N.Sarkar
- (63)- Tazkira page 39-according to Saulat-e-Afghani
Khudadad Khan left for Shahr Safa while Shah
Hussain Khan left for Delh Khawaja. See page 338
- (64)- Tazkira page 185 Punjab Chiefs 341
- (65)- Punjab Chiefs page 342
- (66)- Tazkira page 14
- (67)- J.N.Sarkar
- (68)- Tazkira page 39
- (69)- Among the Abdalis one was considered to be a man
of right descent even if one was awarded half a yard
of land in Arghassan valley by Sultan Khuddakka. See
Tazkira page 39.
- (70)- The choronological data of construction of this dam
according to ABJAD calculations is derieved from the
words "BAND E YADGAR KHUDDAKKA" See
Tazkira page 39
- (71)- Saulat-e-Afghani page 338-Hayat-e-Afghani 124

- (72)- Saualt-a-Afghani page 337-Hayat Afghani 123
Tarikh-e-Sultani 40. See also Kingdom of Afghanistan
by J.P. Tate.
- (73)- Tazkira page 40
- (74)- Tazkira page 41
- (75)- Tazkira page 41
- (76)- Tazkira page 41
- (77)- Tazkira page 41
- (78)- Tazkira page 42
- (79)- Tazkira page 42
- (80)- Tazkira page 43
- (81)- Hayat-e-Afghani page 128
- (82)- Tazkira page 43
- (83)- Tazkira page 44. According to Tazkira the Persian
Commander was some one different from Gurgeen
Khan the Georgian.
- (84)- Tazkira page 45.
- (85)- Tazkira page 45.
- (86)- Tazkira page 45
- (87)- Tazkira page 46
- (88)- Tazkira page 46- Hayat Afghani 126-Tarikh-e-Zilla
Multan by Lala Hukam Chand (1880 Edn)page 70
Saualt Afghani page 50 relates a bit different version.

- (89)- Tazkira page 47
- (90)- Tazkira page 324
- (91)- Tazkira page 325-Tarikh Zila Multan page 70
Gazeteer Multan District year 1886-88-page 36
- (92)- Tazkira page 328
- (93)- Tazkira page 338/339
- (94)- Tazkira page 340 (Author is eighth in the line of
descendants to this Sultan Hayat Khan)
- (95)- Hayat-e-Afghani page 127-Saulat-e-Afghani page 50
- (96)- Tazkira page 48
- (97)- Tazkira page 48
- (98)- Tazkira page 48
- (99)- Tazkira page 48-According to Daulat-e-Durrania
page 3- Abdali numbered 60,000 families at that time.
- (100)- Tazkira page 49
- (101)- Waqiat e Durrani page 5-Tazkira page 49
- (102)- Tazkira page 49-Date of accession of Abdulah Khan
Saddozai as mentioned in Daulat e Durrania (page 3)
being 1129 A.H.is incorrect. It was 1109A.H./1697AD
when he became chief of Abdalis.
- (103)- Tazkira page 49
- (104)- Tazkira page 333
- (105)- Majmatul Tawarikh page 3

- (106)- Tazkira page 50
- (107)- Tazkira page 50. This event took place in 1709AD/ 1119AH. See also Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri page 6/7
- (108)- Tazkira page 50
- (109)- History of Afghans by J.P.Ferrier page 28. Majmatul Tawarikh page 4.
- (110)- Tarikh Afghanistan by Syed Jamal-ud-din Afghani page 31-History of Afghanistan by Malleson II Vol page 219-222-223-(1969 Edition) History of Persia by Sykes page 219
- (111)- Tarikh-e-Iran by Mohammad Hejazi.
- (112)- History of Afghans by J.P.Ferrier page 29
- (113)- According to Lockhart 40 miles from Kandhar, moreover his version is about an encounter between Mir waise and the Georgians. See page 87. I am following the Abdali version.
- (114)- Tazkira page 51-History of Afghans by J.P.Ferrier page 30.
- (115)- Tazkira page 51
- (116)- History of Afghans by J.P.Ferrier page 30
- (117)- Tazkira page 52
- (118)- Tazkira page 53-According to Saulat-e-Afghani page 339/340-After this a great battle between the two

was fought in Dasht Bori in which Ghaljis won the battle and Abdalis left for Herat region.

- (119)- Jehan Kusha e Nadri 5-Majmatul Tawarikh page 8-
Lockhart page 88
- (120)- Tazkira page 52.
- (121)- Lockhart page 88-Tarikh-e-Sultani page 98.
- (122)- Lockhart page 89.
- (123)- Tazkira page 52, Mujmatul Tawarikh 17 where the death of Kaikhusro Khan in battle is stated to have happened in 1224AH/1712AD Lockhart page 90
- (124)- Lockhart page 91-According to Malleson Mir Waise died in Nov. 1715AD while according to Majmatul Tawarikh page 18 he died six year after the death of Gurgeen Khan (April 1709 AD). He ruled in Kandhar for 8 years. See for this Jehan Kusha e Nadri page 5.

BOOK -I**Part-iv****ABDALIS TURN TOWARDS HERAT**

During the campaign of Kandhar Abdulah Khan became aware of the weakness of the decadent Persian military organization. The achievement of Ghaljis in capturing Kandhar and the failure of Persians in recovering it from them greatly encouraged him in his designs against Persians. Abdulah Khan and his son Assadulah Khan resolved to shake off the Persian Yoke and try their luck towards Herat, where Abdalis had already made inroads earlier in 1000 AH/1592 AD near Badghis and during the chiefship of Sultan Hayat Khan whose mother's tribe Nurzais had settled earlier in Kohe Dushak and Obah.(1) Some of the tribes of Abdali Confederacy had already moved from Kandhar to Herat during the reign of Shah Abbas the Great at the instance of Saddu Mir-e-Afghan. The discontentment was rampant in the Herat province due to the high handedness of Persian Administration. The

soldiery was ill disciplined and unruly and there were large arrears in their pay for recovery of which they revolted. Abdulah Khan's first choice would have been Kandhar, which was in the hands of his arch rival Mir Waise. He very well knew that he could not evict Ghaljis from Kandhar, immediately. The enmity that had been created as a result of the rivalry for Kandhar between the two Confederacies was dangerous for Abdalis as they were in close proximity with Kandhar which was now a Ghalji stronghold. They could be hit at any time. Thus prudence demanded shifting the area of operation, away from Kandhar and Herat was fit place where they could easily exploit any situation and could take benefit from it. Abdulah Khan seized the opportunity when he learnt news of the revolt of Persian soldiery in Herat and the murder of Abbas Quli Khan Shamlu Governor by the mutineers.(2) Aided by his son he went to Koh-e-Dushak and collected his tribesmen who were in the neighbouring pastures and firstly captured the fort

of Isfizar in Herat province.(3) He liberated a considerable portion of Herat territory from the Persians and entrusted the administration of this area to his son Assadulah Khan who had now come of age.(4) He was an exceptionally handsome youngman of extraordinary abilities and possessed undoubted courage and military acumen and was highly esteemed by the Abdalis for the above qualities of his.

While Abdulah Khan was collecting his tribesmen and consolidating his position in the new territory and also assessing the situation, he made up his mind to capture Herat. The Persian Government was greatly perturbed at this Abdali move and started preparations to crush the Abdalis. A new General Jaffar Quli Khan Astajlu was appointed to take charge of Herat in place of the murdered Abbas Quli Khan Shamlu and a strong reinforcement was sent to Herat.

When Jaffar Quli Khan had taken over the new office, Assadulah Khan approached the city of Herat

on one of his periodic forays. Jaffar Quli Khan who was waiting for the opportunity since his arrival, led his men out to meet the Abdalis but suffered a shattering defeat and was killed in the action and all his forces were put to rout.(5) This success greatly increased the reputation of Assadulah Khan as field commander and his ranks increased rapidly, as all the fighting men of Abdali Confederacy from far and wide trekked down to his camp and joined his standard. (6)

On hearing the disastrous defeat of Jaffar Quli Khan and collapse of Persian Administration in Herat at the hands of Abdalis, Mansur Khan Shah Sevan, Governor General of Khurasan, collected all the Persian forces stationed at Meshad, Marve and Nishapur and rushed towards Herat with a considerable strength. Assadulah Khan advanced a few stages from Herat and took defensive position at Ghorian with his small force.(7) Mansur Khan opened the engagement with heavy artillery fire on the Abdalis position and surrounded them from three

sides. A considerable portion of Abdalis could not stand the charge of regular Persian Infantry. Assadulah Khan with his undaunted spirit of perseverance and cool courage rallied them and withstood charge after charge of Persians. Tired and fatigued the Persian could not stand the ferocity of Abdali counter charge and fled and Mansur Khan's forces were routed. (8)

On this a new expeditionary force was arranged by the Persian Shah which was sent to Khurasan under the command of Fateh Ali Khan Turkman Shikar Bashi (game warden) a man of considerable military experience.(9) On arrival at Meshad in Sep. 1716 AD Shawal 1128 AH Fateh Ali Khan, in order to pay the expenses of the expedition, had many of the ornaments of the shrine of Imam Raza melted down and made into coins.(10) Thus greatly refurbished and after making necessary preparations for the coming encounter, he set out for Herat. Assadulah Khan hearing the approach of this new Persian force

towards Herat province advanced his tribal levies up to Kasuya, a village three stages from Herat where a fierce battle was fought between the Abdalis and the Persians. During the initial stages of battle the Persians looked predominant but Assadulah Khan's personal courage greatly inspired his compatriots who withstood the ground, though surrounded by the Persians. Assadulah Khan in order to break the encirclement hurled himself on the centre of the Persian army and was cut off from his main force. He was left with only sixty horsemen and was recognized and immediately surrounded. The situation was critical and desperate and it was thought to be impossible to try and to break the encirclement and every one was determined, rather to die bravely with their chief than to be killed in running away. It was only good luck and a small ruse which won him the day. With an avowed object of entrapping the Persian Commander in Chief, Assadulah Khan asked a companion to shout at full, to the encircling Persians

that Assadullah Khan was ready to capitulate to the Persian Commander-in-Chief himself. On this Fateh Ali Khan, who was confident of his numerical superiority and the desperate position of Assadullah Khan, without assessing the ruse, approached the Abdalis with a small retinue. Assadullah Khan perceiving the Persian Commander-in-Chief said in Pushtu to his companions, "now is the time for action." At this the sixty Afghans drew out their swords, galloping their horses swiftly, fell upon the Commander-in-Chief and also made a rush on the advancing entourage and Assadullah Khan making straight for the Commander-in-Chief killed him in no time, with his own hands and his companions annihilated the rest of the officers accompanying the Persian Commander-in-Chief to a man.(11) This event turned the scale of battle in favour of Abdalis! The Persian army was greatly disheartened at the loss of their Commander-in-Chief and other officers. This news rallied the dispersed Abdalis who under the

exertions of Zaman Khan Saddozai joined the battle with fresh zeal. Thereupon the rest of the Persian army fled from the field leaving all their cannon and baggage to the Abdalis, and the day was won by this small band of plucky young Afghans.(12)

THE FALL OF CITADEL OF HERAT TO ABDALIS

After this remarkable success Assadulah Khan turned his attention to the reduction of the citadel of Herat. The confidence of Persian garrison was badly shaken by the recent death and defeat of the Governor General of Khurasan. With the approach of Asadulah Khan near the city the garrison did not come out to meet the Abdalis in the open and they immediately shut the gates and entrenched themselves. Assadulah Khan invested the city forthwith and divided the battlements facing them into sectors and allotted these sectors to different tribes of the Abdali confederacy. Thus city of Herat was encircled from all sides. The Abdalis were not used to long sieges and 15 days

passed without any impression being made on the city walls which were of considerable strength. Assadulah Khan became impatient and on hearing the approach of a Persian relieving Column from Isphahan he decided to make a bold attempt on the city. Long ladders were prepared and on a dark night he ordered a general assault by his whole force on one side of the city. The defenders finding great pressure from that side, neglected the other sides. Assadulah Khan who had earlier studied the weak spots in the city walls charged from the neglected side with a picked body of men and with the aids of ladders earlier prepared, was able to escalate the walls. The rest of his men also followed him, despite heavy resistance by the defenders, who were attracted in the meantime. Assadulah Khan then led his men to a city gate through Feel Khana bastion and after massacring the guards opened the gate.(13) The Abdalis on the agreed signal from their Commander rushed to this gate and overwhelming the defenders, entered the city

enmass. The Persian defenders badly demoralized and panic stricken, took to heels and the city of Herat fell to Assadulah Khan with huge booty. The Abdalis exterminated a few persons they found there and occupied Herat. This happened on the night of 15 Ramzan 1124 A.H. (25 Aug. 1712 A.D).⁽¹⁴⁾ The citadel of Herat was thought to be invincible and the strength of its defences was sufficient to withhold the onslaughts of Abdalis and withstand a long siege. Moreover, the Abdalis had no high calibre siege guns. It was the leadership of Assadulah Khan Saddozai that overcame these weaknesses and by his personal exertions won Herat for Abdalis. This signal success made the Abdalis master of the Province of Herat.

NOTES**BOOK I****Part IV**

- (1)- Tazkira page 52 Mujmatul Tawarikh 19.
Tarikh-e-Sultani 98-J.P. Tate page-43 J.P. Ferrier page 10. According to Jehan Kusha page 7 at the out set percieving seeds of revolt in Abdullah Khan & his son, the Governor of Herat Abbas Quli Khan Shamlu imprisoned father and his son in Herat from where they escaped forcibly.
- (2)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadiri page 6, Majmatul Tawarikh Page 20, Daulat-e-Durrania 3 Saulat-e-Afghani page 340
- (3)- Majmatul Tawarikh page 20 Hayat-e-Afghani 126/127 Tarikh-e-Sultani 99.
- (4)- Tazkira page 55.
- (5)- Majmatul-Tawarikh page 20, Lockhart page 97
- (6)- Majmatul-Tawarikh page 21
- (7)- Lockhart page 97
- (8)- Lockhart page 97
- (9)- Majmatul-Tawarikh page 21 Jehan Kusha page 7
- (10)- Majmatul-Tawarikh page 27, Lockhart page 97
- (11)- Tazkira 53-54. See Lockhart 97
- (12)- Tazkira page 54

- (13)- Daulat e Durrania page 3 - Jehan Kusha page 6
Majmatul-Tawarikh page 21 - J.P. Tate page 43
Hayat-e-Afghani 127. Tarikh-e-Sultani page 98
- (14)- Tazkira page 56 - Jehan Kusha page 7.
Malleeson page 237

BOOK-II**Part-I****THE ACCESSION OF SHAH ABDULAH KHAN
SADDOZAI**

The news of the fall of Herat spread like wild fire and all the Afghan tribes were overjoyed on this great victory. Abdulah Khan who had earlier left Safa and had reached Isfizar hastened to Herat on 26 Ramzan 1124 AH (5 Sep 1712 AD). Assadulah Khan received his father at the city gate. The father was delighted on the achievement of his brave and able son and on seeing his son, dismounted from his horse and embraced him and kissed him in appreciation of his services and showered affections and praises in public. Thereafter he entered the city in procession and the people gave him a kingly reception. After due ceremonies Abdulah Khan Saddozai was installed as Shah of Khurasan and all the Abdalis and inhabitants of Herat province acknowledged him as such. Out of love and respect for his father, Shah Abdulah Khan,

ordered that Khutba at the mosques should be read in the name of Sultan Hayat Khan and the coins were also struck in the name of his father. The news of the success of Abdalis was sent alongwith costly presents to the aging Sultan Hayat Khan in Multan with the request to return to Herat and to take back the reins of the Government of Herat. The old Sultan was highly delighted on this accomplishment and made rejoicings for several days but he refused to take the government on account of his old age.(1) According to Tazkiratul-Maluk-e-Alishan, the following letter was sent by Abdullah Khan to his father in Multan.

SHAH ABDULAH KHAN'S LETTER TO SULTAN HAYAT KHAN

“ God has very graciously given us Herat in lieu of Kandhar. There is now no need of your honour remaining any longer in India. If your honour delays your departure from India, it will tantamount to denying the God's boon. If God willing we shall soon capture Kandhar also with your help and guidance.”

In reply to above letter Sultan Hayat Khan wrote:

“ I congratulate you on your achieving this great victory. Every body acquires wealth, conquers territories for himself and for the sake of his own progeny. It is enough for me that the son of Sultan Hayat Khan has captured Herat. I am now fed up with rulership and love of my children had taken the place of love for authority. Moreover, I have become very weak due to old age and have no strength to bear the hardships of long journey. So I wish that you rule on my behalf according to the laws of Shariat and administer justice to your subjects evenly.”

To those of his companions who longed to go back to their fatherland and were calling upon the Sultan to return, he said:

“ People will say that father failing to kill the prey himself, came running to feed upon the prey killed by his son and grandson. I

feel sorry going like this but at the same time I do not like to stand in the way of anyone going back. So you are at liberty to go home.”(2)

Shah Abdulah Khan was the first Abdali to be installed as Shah and it was he who laid the keel of an independent principality in Herat and raised the Abdalis from vassalage to independence.

Now, whole Khurasan was lying prostrate before the Abdalis. Assadullah Khan spending few days in merry making after installing his father in Herat took advantage of Persian inaction and complacency and within a few days took possession of all the important places of Khurasan i.e. Ghaurian, Kushan, Bala Murghab, Koh-e-Sula, Toon, Tabus, Turbat, Qain, Asfrain, Badghis. Obah fort, a strong hold to the east of Herat also fell into his hands.(3)

After this Abdulah Khan who had no other thought except Ghaljis turned his attention towards Farah Fort which was very close to the new Abdali

possessions. Ghaljis were holding it since the life time of Mir Waise. After few skirmishes and a show of force by Abdullah Khan, opposing forces of Ghaljis evacuated the fort which was occupied along with its environs by the Abdalis.(4)

Now Assadulah Khan was entrusted the task of the conquest of Argistan. After a brief campaign this district was also annexed along with all the forts and towns. Returning from Arjistan he annexed the district of Ghaur, the original habitation of Abdalis which they had left since the times of Shah Rukh Mirza. The fort of Maruckak along with its environs was also captured.(5) Assadullah Khan's policy was to annex all the districts of Khurasan which were in non Afghan hands and avoid conflict with other Afghan compatriots. However in the matter of Farah fort it was Abdulah Khan who took initiative and evicted the Ghaljis. Assadulah Khan had avoided conflict with them as Ghaljis also had pretended friendship.

ABDALIS BESIEGE MESHAD

Abdalis were sufficiently entrenched in Herat and had consolidated their hold in Khurasan which enabled them to adopt offensive on further Persian territory. Assadulah Khan along with a strong contingent of his tribal levies advanced on Meshad the capital of Persian Khurasan and besieged it. Though ill equipped the Persian garrison withstood the siege which lasted for two months. Finding no quick results Assadulah Khan raised the siege and set off in the direction of Nishapur. On reaching Qadam Gah he wrecked the fort that stood on the hill overlooking the shrine of Qadam Gah and withdrew to Herat.(6)

THE BATTLE OF KAFIR KALLAH OR KARIZ

Persia, already so much weakened by the loss of two of her finest provinces Kandhar and Herat to Afghans and three armies defeated by Abdalis, ravaged by the Uzbeks, menaced by Turkey and Russia and governed by a degraded and superstitious court, who ruled the feeble Sultan Hussain, (1694 AD

to 1722 AD) was left with no strength to make a stand against so many odds. Nevertheless the Persian Shah made a last effort and in 1719 AD/1131 AH, raised an army of 35000 men well equipped with artillery, which he placed under the command of Safi Kuli Khan Turkistan Oghlu, the Darugha of Isphahan, a general of some repute to whom the Persian Shah first allotted the task of pushing back Sher Ghazi Khan of Urgunj, the Uzbek chief who had invaded Khurasan and then secondly reducing Herat and Kandhar.

Safi Kuli Khan encountered the Uzbek near the turquoise mines near Bari Maidan and obtained an easy victory and annihilated them. Puffed up by pride, at this success, so easily achieved, Safi Quli Khan promptly entered Meshad where he halted for some time to complete his preparations for the campaign against the Abdalis. Before embarking on the campaign against Abdalis the Persian commander pompously announced his intentions to exterminate the rebel Abdalis, to whom he sent an imperious order

to come to his camp and to implore his mercy.(7) On receipt of this message and on the movement of Persian army from Meshad, Assadulah Khan decided as he had done earlier to meet the Persian force en rout and advanced at the head of 12000 men (8) as far as Kafir Kalla (now Islam Kalla) (9) and took defensive position behind numerous gardens surrounding the nearby village Kariz and readied themselves to face the fire of formidable Persian Artillery. When Persian troops drew near the prepared defenses of their foes, Abdali marksmen took a heavy toll of them from behind the protecting trees and walls of gardens and blunted the sharpness of the Persian attack.(10) Finding reluctance by the Persian to push on in the face of sharp musketry fire, Assadulah Khan once more showed his military skill and courage and attacked the Persians, inspite of the disproportionate strength of the two armies and heavy edge of Persians over the Abdalis in artillery. The issue of the battle for some time was in doubt as both sides maintained

during the whole day a most obstinate combat. At sunset due to carelessness of Persian artillery men a dreadful explosion took place in the gun powder stock and in confusion the Persian artillery men opened fire on their own infantry and so threw them in confusion. Assadulah Khan perceiving the panic in the rear of Persian army due to this unaccounted event attacked them vigorously and routed them. The Persians greatly disheartened and fatigued from the day long battle took to flight, leaving on the field of battle all their baggage and greater part of their guns. Safi Quli Khan seeing that the day was irretrievably lost preferred death to disgrace, mounted on a powder barrel and blew himself up.(11) A large number of Persian chiefs as well as 1000 Persian soldiers were slain in this battle which established the supremacy of Abdalis in Herat.

The achievements of Assadulah Khan greatly enhanced his prestige and popularity within the confederacy and affections of his father also increased

and he was allowed to assume all the responsibilities of Government in Herat and Shah Abdulah Khan in the presence of so able a son gave himself up to pastimes and sports and never thought of the affairs of state which were ably attended to by his son.(12)

NOTES**BOOK-II****Part-I**

- (1)- Tazkira page - 57
- (2)- Tazkira page 57
- (3)- Tazkira page 57 Jehan Kuslia page 6, Tarikh-e-Sultani page 99, wherein Asadullah at the dead of night entering the fort opened the gates on which Abdalis rushed into Farah & captured it. See page 99.
- (4) The retreat of Ghaljis in this matter was thought either due to their too much occupation in Persia or their desire not to embroil themselves with Abdalis in their home land.
- (5)- Tazkira page 58.
- (6)- Zubdatul-Tawarikh page 211
- (7)- Majmatul-Tawarikh page 27
- (8)- According to Malleson's History of Persia Vol II page 221. Abdalis numbered 15000 men.
- (9)- Modern boundry between Iran and Afghanistan runs near it
- (10)- Tazkira page 125, Zubdatul Tawrikh 210.
- (11)- Majmatul-Tawrikh 28 - according to Tazkira and History of Afghans by J.P.Ferrier, he was killed in the battle alongwith many other important Persian Officials.
- (12)- Tazkira page 57.

BOOK-II**Part-II****RUPTURE OF RELATIONS WITH GHALJIS.**

Now Abdalis were freed from any immediate danger from Persians and they turned their attention eastward. Assadulah Khan always pursued the policy of annexing those territories which were in the hands of Non Afghan tribes and never spared any effort to achieve this objective. As regards Kandhar which was occupied by Ghaljis who were also treated as good Afghans, he had decided to spare it. Abdulah Khan had different attitude. He bore grudge against Ghaljis for their treacherous conduct after the fall of Kandhar. as Mir Waise backed out of the promise of handing over the citadel to Abdalis after its reduction. Thus Abdualh Khan was prompted by the spirit of vengeance to retaliate and it was his cherished desire to retrieve back Kandhar from Ghaljis and he always urged his son for immediate compliance of his wishes. Assadulah Khan resisted his father on the

considerations that the attitude of Mir Waise and his brother Abdul Aziz had been very friendly and they always sent valuable gifts and the same outwardly conciliatory attitude was reciprocated by Shah Abdulah Khan and his son. The Ghaljis purposely kept the relations between the two confederacies cordial as they were being threatened by the Persians, and even when Assadulah Khan had captured Farah and turned out Ghaljis from that territory, they offered no resistance and apparently remained on good terms. Moreover, Assadulah Khan thought that after the conquest of the whole of K̄hurasan and Persian territory beyond Mashed, Kandhar would automatically fall into their hands.(1)

With the murder of Abdul Aziz Khan (March 1716 AD) (2) and assumption of Mahmud son of Mir Waise as the chief of Ghaljis the relations between the two confederacies abruptly deteriorated. The cause of immediate rupture of relations originated when in 1132 AH/1719 AD, Ghaljis forcibly evicted the

Abdalis from Safa and Arghasan, the lands of their forefathers and annexed this territory for good. A great resentment spread in the Abdali ranks and Abdullah Khan wrote to his son who was fighting in Persian Khurasan to the affect that he should attend to the home affairs and discontinue fighting for the conquest of foreign lands. Assadulah Khan respecting his father's wishes returned to Herat. There was, however, difference of opinion over the matter of Kandhar between the father and the son and the matter was referred to a holy Devine for decision. Assadulah Khan who considered it to be comparatively easier task, was in favour of capturing the remaining parts of Khurasan first and then conquering Kandhar. But Abdullah Khan desired to destroy the enemy of the confederacy first, and then attending to the task of capturing the far flung territories like that of Isfahan etc. In the meantime the news of the annexation of Safa and Arghasan reached Multan and old Sultan Hayat Khan was greatly perturbed and wrote a pre-

empty letter to his son exhorting him to punish the evil doers as they had captured the territory of their forefathers and wrote this couplet urging immediate action against Mahmud:

جائے کہ بد خواہ خونی بود تواضع نمودن زیونی بود

Before the enemy strikes, it is better to deal with him immediately.(3)

It was thought to be against the sense of honour of the confederacy and also against expediency not to punish the Ghaljis. Assadulah Khan now realizing how strongly his father and grand father desired that the matter of Kandhar should be given priority, decided to place their desire above everything else and engaged himself in the preparation for the capture of Kandhar and for this purpose he shifted temporarily his base to Farah fort.(4) Mahmud Ghalji, who had inherited some of his father's cunning was also watchful and received the warning of the impending attack of Abdalis before hand from his

spies in the Abdali confederacy and started hectic activity for the coming show down.

THE BATTLE OF DILARAM AND THE TRAGIC AND UNTIMELY DEATH OF ASSADULAH KHAN

In Shawal 1132 AH/1719 AD, Assadulah Khan started from Herat at the head of 30,000 warriors and a large train of artillery, siege guns and ammunitions and stores for the reduction of Kandhar. While on the road to Kandhar he stayed for few days in his base in Farah for reorganization where Assadulah Khan received the emissaries of Mahmud who greatly perturbed, sent them with costly presents seeking peace and friendship, with the promise of the return of Abdali Territory of Safa, and Arghasan. Assadulah Khan replied that it would have been good if these promises had been received by him while in Herat, now on the road to Kandhar nothing could avert his designs except the personal attendance of Mahmud before his father Shah Abdulah Khan and his

personal apology to him. If he was sincere he should come to him and he would produce him before his father and seek pardon for him. Thus negotiations were broken and Ghalji emissaries returned unsuccessful and Assadulah Khan advanced towards Kandhar.(5) Mahmud at the head of a strong Ghalji force came out of Kandhar and met the Abdalis at Dilaram, a place between Farah and Zamindwar on the road to Kandhar where both forces took positions facing each other. Mahmud once more sought peace which was refused by Assadulah Khan, who by nature was a man of determined character and after taking any decision would not allow second thought to interfere in his designs. (6)

On a day in the month of Ziquad 1132 AH/ Aug 1720 AD Assadulah Khan came out of his encampment and attacked the Ghalji positions on the right bank of Khash Rud and the whole day was spent in a very bloody combat. The Abdalis had an edge over the Ghaljis from the outset and Mahmud was

with difficulty keeping his levies in check. Assadulah Khan who as before was in the forefront of the attack had led charge after charge to break the resistance of Ghaljis who also fought with desperate energy under their young leader. In the evening Assadulah Khan in the forefront as before led a determined attack on the Ghalji centre, and the balance of battle was about to tilt in favour of Abdalis on account of most brilliant valour of the Abdali Commander. In the din of the battle he was treacherously shot in the back by one Wasil, an Ismailzai Abdali, a hired assassin allegedly product of internal jealousy. Assadulah Khan fell from his horse and this flower of Abdali manhood died immediately, and thus his bright career was treacherously terminated in the youth of his life on a field of battle. The loyal tribesmen immediately cut to pieces the wretched assassin.(7) The corpse of Assadulah Khan was sent to Farah fort along with the other wounded. The Abdalis were greatly disheartened but Zaman Khan assumed the command

and continued the battle till late in the evening when both sides withdrew to their respective camps. Early in the morning Abdalis entrenched in their encampment were ready to receive the Ghaljis who without knowing the death of Assadulah Khan and having suffered heavy casualties in the day, and not in a position to renew the battle, decided to evacuate and taking advantage of the darkness of night withdrew from their encampment and retired to Kandhar. Early in the morning, the Abdalis not finding any Ghalji in their encampment withdrew to Farah where they left a strong force and entrenched it and afterwards from where they returned to Herat with the coffin of Assadulah Khan and rest of the force. (8)

It was a very tragic news for the Abdalis as well as the other inhabitants of Herat. Thousands of people weeping and crying flocked to receive the coffin of the dead prince. Shah Abdulah Khan hearing this, grief stricken and frenzied came running bare footed to receive his son. The whole populace plunged

into great grief and every body mourned as if it was his personal loss. Some had been enamoured of his handsomeness, some were fascinated by his valour and others had loved him for his good manners and abilities. So when people heard of this news they came running in thousands to join the mourning. Assadulah Khan died at the young age of 26 years and was buried in Bagh Roza (at that time called Bagh -³Nau). He was issueless.(9)

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF PRINCE ASSADULAH KHAN

Assadulah Khan was a great leader of men, a flower of Abdali manhood, a rising star whose career was cut short by treachery of a hired assassin. Born at Multan in 1106 AH/1694 AD, he had been brought up under the stern discipline of his grandfather. It was a turbulent period in the history of Abdalis when Assadulah Khan was firstly introduced in Afghanistan in 1118 AH/1706 AD by his father who brought him from Multan to Safa. The Abdalis were in constant

conflict with the Persians and were seized of a spirit of resurgence and from the day of his arrival till his death he was constantly involved in military activity firstly under the command of his father and after their advance towards Herat independently. Thus he was trained, tutored and seasoned in the practical school of actual fighting and had developed great skill in warfare. He always showed excellent military acumen, courage, determination and remarkable character in crises. He became a formidable adversary of the Persian arms and humbled them successively and succeeded in throwing out Persian Yoke and carved out of their empire an independent principality in Herat for the Abdalis under their Saddozais Chiefs. He was distinguished by beauty of his person and commanding presence. His respectful attention towards every one made him popular among all. Averse to cruelty, his character had not been tarnished by any example of unnecessary bloodshed which was common in those days. By great ability and good and

generous manners and judicious treatment of his tribesmen and elders of Abdali confederacy he completely secured their loyalty and raised from among them a fine body of fighting men, ready for any sacrifice at his command. This was the force with which he defeated different Persian punitive expeditions, and made himself master of the whole province of Khuarasan with the exception of Meshad its capital. His eyes were set far beyond Meshad, in the great Persian power vacuum and if he had lived long we would have found Abdalis instead of Ghaljis battering into pieces the tottering Persian Empire in Isphahan.

MAHMUD'S INTRIGUES WITH THE PERSIANS

When the news of the death of Assadulah Khan reached Mahmud he thought himself free from any offensive designs from Abdalis and thus emboldened he began intriguing with the Persians for the final overthrow of Abdalis from Herat. In order to make good cause with the Persians, he sent a letter to Shah

Hussain Safvi in Qazvain with feigned professions of submission and obedience and in that letter he wrote that he had taken the field against Assadulah out of loyalty to Persian Shah and got him killed. He further wrote that if Persian Monarch sent an expeditionary force from Meshad for the final punishment of Abdalis, he would advance from Kandhar and crush them. The simple Persian Monarch believing these high professions of loyalty of Mahmud was completely deceived and bestowed on him the titles of Soofi Safi Zamir and Hussain Quli Khan and sending him many robes of honour, appointed him Governor General of Kandhar. On the assurance of Mahmud Ghalji, Sultan Shah Hussain Safvi took heart and started the preparation for the reconquest of Herat. A large expedition was prepared under the command of Ismail Khan who advanced up to Meshad and assumed the office of Governor General of Khurasan.(10)

PERSIAN ATTEMPT FOR RE-CONQUEST OF HERAT AND THEIR FAILURE

The death of his beloved and able son completely prostrated the aged Shah Abdulah Khan who shut himself to mourn the death of Assadulah Khan and is said to have quite lost his senses for a time through excess of grief.(11) He lived in total forgetfulness of the administration of his principality. The result was that whole affairs of the Abdalis were in utter chaos. The intelligence of the advance of Persian expeditionary force from Isfahan to Meshad roused him out of sullen lethargy into which he had fallen due to above shock. The tribal elders waited on him and told him that whatever had been, was due to the will of God almighty and he should shun this grief and take interest now in the affairs of the state for the sake of his people. It was advised that as soon as the Persians started their moves on Herat they should be received in advance. They urged upon him that the false idea of the enemy to the effect that every thing

was Assadulah Khan should be destroyed by an other feat of arms. (12)

On this Shah Abdulah Khan started taking interest in the affairs of state and assumed the chiefship effectively. He ordered for immediate and complete preparation for the coming tussle with the Persians and raised and trained new levies.

In the month of Jamadi-ul-Awal 1133-AH /Feb 1721 AD, on the movement of Persian army from Meshad, Shah Abdulah Khan set out from Herat on the road to Meshad to check the Persian advance towards his territory. He called his brother in law Zaman Khan the Governor of Zanjan and appointed him his deputy in Herat in his absence asking him to watch the movement of Mahmud.(13) When Abdali contingent reached Ghaurian fort, Ismail Khan the Persian Commander who in the meantime was encamping outside Meshad and was waiting for the advance of Mahmud on Herat. Finding no Ghalji move urged Mahmud to advance from his side on

Herat. Mahmud evaded the request by different excuses and waited for the result of this tussle. In the meantime Abdulah Khan advanced close to Meshad and since Ismail Khan having failed to induce Mahmud to move towards Herat, had no choice but to advance towards Abdali Camp.(14) Persian army approached the Afghan encampment at the time of sunset and immediately started encamping which took them many hours. At midnight one mile away from Afghan camp some Abdali irregulars attacked the Persian Camp and took a heavy toll of them. The Persians were harassed for the whole night and not for a minute they were allowed to take rest. Early in the morning Abdulah Khan opened the day by advancing close to the Persian Camp and cannonading it. A strong cavalry charge was also made on the Persians. The Persian had lost confidence during the night attack and were tired from the fatigue of the night. This early morning attack broke their resistance and they ran alongwith their Commander and took

refuge into Meshad. Shah Abdulah Khan advanced up to the gates of Meshad in pursuit of the enemy and was determined to invest Meshad when he received another unfortunate news about the rebellion of Zaman Khan in Herat.(15)

REBELLION OF ZAMAN KHAN AND HIS DEATH

As earlier stated Zaman Khan, the brother in law of Shah Abdulah Khan who was Governor of Zanzan from where he was called and made deputy of Shah Abdulah Khan in Herat in his absence. Zaman Khan was a close relative, son of uncle and brother in law and man of confidence of the Shah. He had earlier been many times the deputy of Shah Abdulah Khan and there had been no cause for bad blood between the two. The death of Assadulah Khan had disturbed the peace of mind of the old Shah and he had lost much of his old candour and confidence in people. He had become suspicious and for this he joined this time another deputy with Zaman Khan. Khalu Khan father

of Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai had great influence on the Shah and he appointed him also to look after his capital alongwith Zaman Khan during his absence.(16) Naturally this arrangement encouraged Zaman Khan for rebellion with the abetment of Khalu Khan father of Abdul Ghani Khan and the father in law of Zaman Khan and Sultan Hayat Khan, who had recently come from Multan. During the absence of Abdulah Khan the relations between two deputies developed to a point where the Khalu Khan instigated Zaman Khan to raise the standard of rebellion against Shah Abdulah Khan and he took hold of the citadel and forcibly evicted all the adherents of Shah Abdulah Khan, who when hearing this news, abandoned the idea of the investment of Meshad and hastily returned to Herat. On the way he dispatched emissaries in advance to his cousin and brother in law to dissuade him from further mischief. Zaman Khan did not surrender and not succeeding in negotiations Shah Abdulah Khan was constrained to besiege

Herat with the bulk of Abdali contingent at his command. He himself encamped in Bagh-e-Rouza. Some days were wasted in futile cannonading by both the parties. In the meantime Shah Abdulah Khan got in contact with the guards of a city gate of Herat who were compelled to join the rebel but had remained faithful to him. They promised to open the gate if attacked on that side. On this arrangement Shah Abdulah Khan attacked the gate which was opened immediately as promised and the loyal Abdalis alongwith Shah entered the city and the Herat was regained with little loss. Zaman Khan along with his chief supporter Khalu Khan and 300 of his adherents took refuge in Irak an inner fortlice of Herat which was of considerable strength. They shut the gates and entrenched themselves in it and opened fire on the advancing Abdalis under Shah Abdulah Khan. On the orders of Shah the gates of Irak were burnt and the loyal forces forcibly entered the Irak. The rebel fought desparately and after much bloodshed the Irak

was captured. Zaman Khan and Khalu Khan both had been severely wounded along with other supporters and they were made prisoners and were produced before the Shah. Zaman Khan was imprisoned in Bagh-e-Nau and Khalu Khan was beheaded on the gate of Kashik Khana and rest of the rebels were crushed in the flour mills immediately. Two days later Zaman Khan was also beheaded. This happened in the month of Shaban 1133-AH/May 1721 AD.(17) Zaman Khan had played a prominent role in the struggle for emancipation of Abdalis from the Persians. He was a formidable warrior and a man of great perseverance and in many battles it was he who by his exertions had succeeded in turning the scale of battle in their own favour. This unfortunate incident snatched from Shah Abdulah Khan an experienced man. It was now that his services were mostly needed by Abdulah Khan as with the death of his experienced son he was in need of experienced and brave men like Zaman Khan who had earlier done a yeomanly work for consolidating

the Saddozais hold on Abdalis after the death of Jaffar Sultan and later on in Herat as deputy of Abdulah Khan.

Zaman Khan had two sons when he died, namely Zulfiqar Khan and Ali Mardan Khan, both from different mothers. A posthumous son Ahmad Khan was born in Multan from a third wife stated to be the daughter of Khalu Khan Alkozai, 3/4 months after the death of Zaman Khan. This wife of Zaman Khan named Zarghuna Alkozai was pregnant when her husband was murdered. She migrated to Multan and took shelter in the house of Jalal Khan Saddozai, the maternal uncle of her husband, who had adopted earlier Zaman Khan as his son when Zaman Khan had migrated to Multan with Sultan Hayat Khan in 1093AH/1682AD. Ahmad Khan was born at the house of this Jalal Khan Saddozai where British Govt. had fixed a plaque on the road side pointing the house where Ahmad Khan was born. After the creation of Pakistan a small befitting monument had been

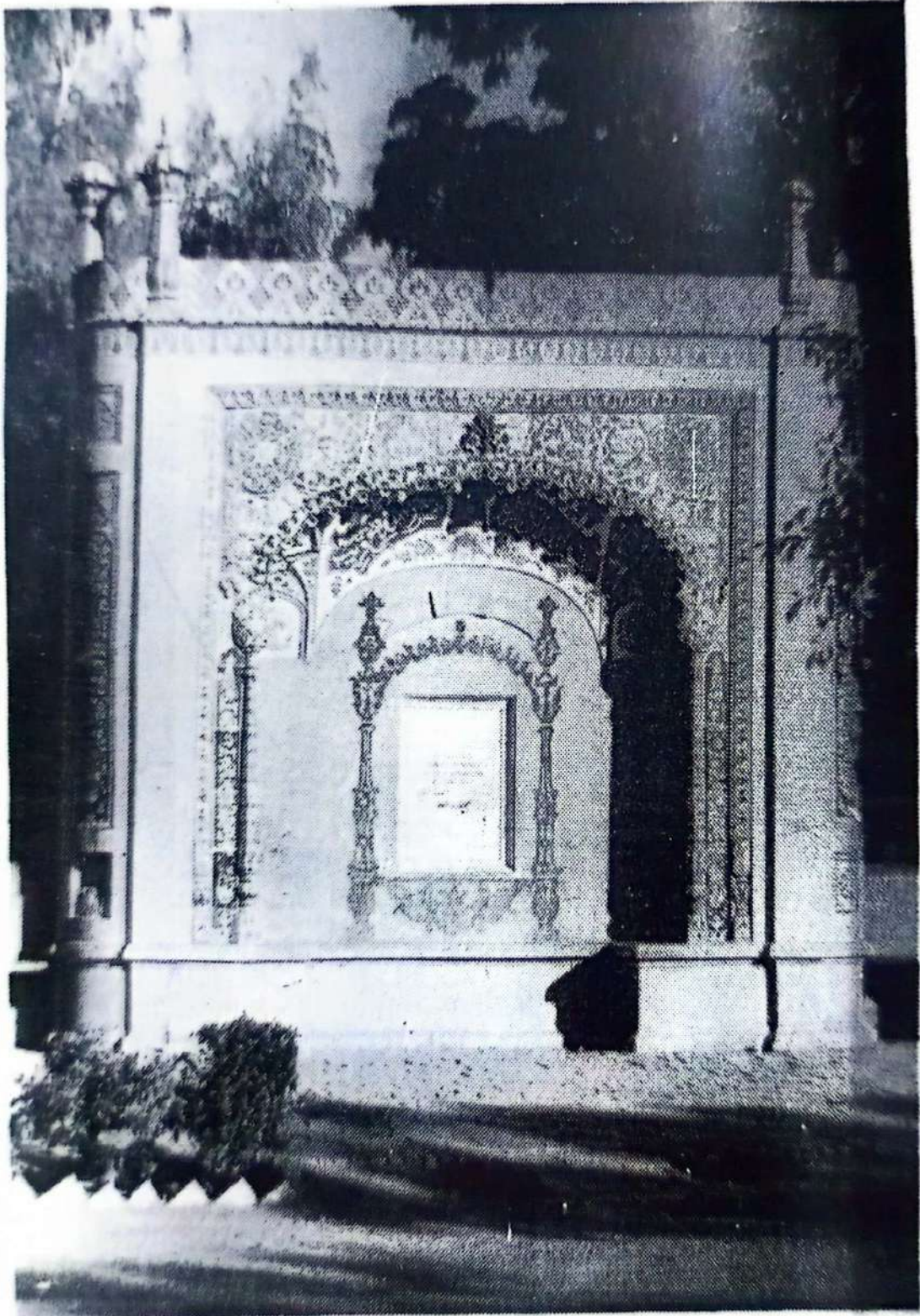
built on this site. This 3rd son of Zaman Khan later became Ahmad Shah Durre Duran the founder of Modern Afghanistan.(18)

In this rebellion Abdali lost much of their manhood and even a single family was not left whose some dear one was not killed in the rebellion. The loss of his son had earlier badly effected Shah Abdulah Khan and he was suspicious of every one but this rebellion completely shattered his peace of mind which became bad to worse and he became seized of the fear of assassination and other morbid thoughts. He suffered from long fits of anger and became tyrannous and blood thirsty. The situation further deteriorated with his indulgence in spirituous drinks and thus he became unpopular in the confederacy.(19)

The old Sultan Hayat Khan was still alive in Multan. He was greatly perturbed over this new development in Herat. He was grieved on the untimely death of his grand son and protage and also rebellion and death of his nephew Zaman Khan, formerly his



*Plaque
on
Birth Place of Ahmad Shah Durrani During
British period*



*Monument Built on Birth Place of Ahmad Shah Durrani
on Abdali road Multan city After Creation of Pakistan.*

ward. All his arrangements of matrimonial alliances which he had made to heal the wounds earlier inflicted during the Sarmast Khan rebellion came to naught. Abdulah Khan reported to his father about the uneasy situation after this rebellion and doubtful loyalty of the people around him and urged him to send from Multan his second son Khan Muhammad as he needed a deputy to look after whenever he had to proceed outside Herat. He directed that Khan Muhammad should not come by way of Kandhar, as Mahmud Ghalji was hostile. He further directed that his son should proceed to Herat through Kabul or Balakh or Hazarajat, whichever the way was suitable. Sultan Hayat Khan loved all his grandsons and he would not have allowed any one of them to leave him but the urgency of the matter was such that he arranged for the journey of Khan Muhammad through Kabul to Herat.(20)

THE ASSASSINATION OF SHAH ABDULAH KHAN IN HERAT

In the meantime the situation in Herat had further deteriorated and events moved very swiftly. Qasim Khan son of Said Khan, a grand son of Jalal Khan, Zafran Khel Saddozai, had earlier migrated from Multan to Herat in 1125-AH/1713 AD in straitened conditions. When his arrival from Multan was made known to Shah Abdulah Khan, he out of family considerations called him to his presence and helped him with cash and kind and provided for him a suitable allowance. After some time Shah Abdulah Khan found him to be a mischievous person and friendly with certain opposing factions of the Shah. This annoyed Shah Abdulah Khan who called him into his presence and gave him 500 Toumans and a few horses and ordered him to leave for Multan. Qasim Khan some how managed to win back the sympathies of the Shah who subsequently appointed him to the Government of Safarain and ordered him not to visit

Herat without his permission. In Safarain he collected a sizable number of vagabonds and bad characters round him by offering them rewards and lavish largesses. On the death of Assadulah Khan he visited the Shah in Herat for condolence and on this pretext remained in Herat for some time. He showed exemplary bravery in the battle against Ismail Khan, the Persian general. He was emissary of the Shah during the rebellion of Zaman Khan and in all the following events he pretended such a devotion to the cause of Abdullah Khan that he regained the confidence of the old Shah and became very close to him. As due to the loss of son and the rebellion of Zaman Khan, Shah Abdullah Khan, greatly saddened was neglecting the affairs of the state. He began depending on the advice of Qasim Khan, who was secretly advancing his own cause. Moreover, victimization that ensued after the rebellion of Zaman Khan had alienated from the Shah a large number of tribal elders of the Abdalis and Shah Abdullah Khan

had become isolated. Qasim Khan who had a consuming desire for power and had developed high ambitions for the government of Herat, hatched a conspiracy with dissidents and those tribal elders who had lost their kith and kin in the rebellion of Zaman Khan and subsequent victimization. By making lavish promises, he plotted to kill Shah Abdulah Khan and overthrow his government and to capture the power for himself in Herat.

Shah Abdulah Khan in those days had the habit of visiting often alone the mausoleum of Assadulah Khan in Bagh-e-Rouza and Qasim Khan thought this to be the right place to strike. On 23 Muharram ul Haram 1134 A.H/Oct 1721 AD Shah Abdulah Khan as usual visited alone the Mausoleum of his son and his servants were waiting outside the garden when Qasim Khan alongwith chief conspirators arrived at the garden. His companions were stopped outside the garden and he was allowed to enter the garden as he was supposed to be a

confident of the Shah, who was walking in the garden. Qasim Khan followed him. When Shah noticed him he invited him for a walk. Together they went for a walk and Qasim Khan engaged the Shah in talk and brought him to a corner of the garden, far away from the entrance and finding the Shah unwary, the perfidious Qasim struck a sword blow on the neck of the Shah from behind. Shah fell down and died immediately.(21)

Shah Abdulah Khan died at the age of 53 years. He ruled his tribe for a period of 28 years out of which 9 years he ruled in Herat as Shah of Khurasan.(22) Though a man of great courage and undoubted perseverance he lacked politeness which would have been soothing effect on the inner animosities of the confederacy. Before the death of his son, due to the respectful attention which was always bestowed on the tribal elders by Assadulah Khan, this want of politeness on the part of Abdulah Khan was not visible but after his death it became all the more

evident and resulted in his unpopularity. His bright career in later years we find marred by instances of cruelties and high handedness which were perpetrated more on his tribe after the rebellion of Zaman Khan and it only happened due to the absence of Assadulah Khan's balanced temperament. He was buried by the side of his son Assadulah Khan in Bagh-e-Rouza, Herat. He had four sons, Assadullah Khan born in Multan in 1106 AH/1694 AD who was the eldest and from a Mughal wife: Khan Muhammad who was born a year later from the sister of Zaman Khan: Allah Yar Khan was born on 1109-AH/1697 AD. He was the real brother of Assadulah Khan being from the same mother. The fourth son was Ali Yar Khan, from a Persian wife.(23)

CHARACTER OF SHAH ABDULAH KHAN

Shah Abdulah Khan holds a unique position in the history of Khurasan, specially in the history of Abdalis and Saddozais. None had reached earlier to such a prominence as he. He regained the leadership

of Abdalis by dint of his personal initiative which his family had lost after his father's defeat at the hands of Persians and exit from Khurasan. He consolidated the ranks of Abdalis and successfully resisted the high handedness of Persians during the time of Gurgeen Khan. The success of Afghans in capturing the citadel of Kandhar owed much to Abdulah Khan's endeavors, even though Mir Waise got the credit. He was one of the torch bearers of the spirit of resurgence that took hold of the Afghans during his times and he was foremost in the struggle for the overthrow of Persian yoke and along with his son succeeded in evicting the Persians from whole of the province of Herat upto Meshad and established an independent principality in Herat which brought Abdalis from oblivion to prominence and from poverty to immense riches. He made the principality of Herat a strong base for the Abdali Confederacy from which they played prominent part in the history of Khurasan and later on this base eventually had allowed the Abdalis or

Durrames as they are now called to create the Kingdom of Afghanistan under a Saddozai leader.

The best tribute that was paid to the father and his son Assadulah Khan has been attributed to Ahmad Shah Durrani founder of Modern Afghanistan (1747 AD). It is said that one day Ahmad Shah Durrani while in Herat visited Bagh-e-Rouza along with some courtiers. The mausoleum of Shah Abdulah Khan and his son was found in a dilapidated condition. Ahmad Shah Durrani ordered for immediate repairs and renovation of the mausoleum of the two. One of the courtiers objected and suggested that it would be better to build a mausoleum on the grave of Zaman Khan the father of Ahmad Shah. Ahmad Shah replied, "the kingdom that we now rule is due to these two lions, otherwise all the Abdalis might have grazed their herds in their rugged mountains." (24)

QASIM KHAN ASSUMES THE CHIEFSHIP

Qasim Khan after disposing of Shah Abdulah Khan and burrying him by the side of his son

proceeded to the citadel of Herat next day from Bagh-e-Rouza and by lavish rewards and strong measures, he was able to consolidate his position and silence all the supporters of the Shah. When he became sure of the loyalty of the tribesmen and other inhabitants of his principality he formally installed him as the chief of Abdalis and styled himself as Qasim Shah. He struck coins and Khutba was read in his name.(25)

The tribal elders who owed their rise to Shah Abdulah Khan and were at heart loyal to his family, finding their inability to defeat this coup and to resist this upstart, withdrew from the affairs of the confederacy and retired to their valleys. The others who were in majority took oath of allegiance in favour of Qasim Khan with the avowed object of reaping some good for the confederacy by this new administrative change over. But their dreams were shattered within no time as Qasim Khan lost his balance after this rapid advancement and showed signs of mental imbalance from the beginning.

Haunted by the murder of Shah Abdulah Khan and fearing revenge, he indulged in depravation of the highest order. He was not only blood thirsty, cruel and disloyal but also spendthrift. Moreover, he took pleasure in beheading and killing the innocent persons by cruel methods and contrivances. He innovated an operatus like guillotine for killing his prey. He built 3-1/2 yard long heavy wooden rectangular frame supported on four legs, two of which were 6 feet higher than the other two. In this wooden frame a sharp blade of steel 3-1/2 yard long 9 inches wide was fixed in the centre. Whomsoever he wanted to kill, that unfortunate was compelled to ride the sharp blade, with two heavy stones tied to his legs. The unfortunate person after riding the full length of this sharp blade eventually used to be cut into two pieces by this contrivance. Qasim Khan took pleasure by witnessing these cruel scenes. He called this operatus as "the horse of fortune." (26) By lavish largesses he emptied the treasury within few

days and to collect the money for further expenditure he perpetrated cruelties on the inhabitants of Herat and in order to unearth the hidden hordes he let loose a reign of terror on all the well to do persons of his principality. No one's life and property was safe, even his servants lived in terror, for their lives hinged on his foolish whims and caprices. One day he killed his pay master for giving rupees 10 instead of 10 gold mohers to a woman to purchase (Chaddar) head sheet of cloth against the wishes of his master.(27) His oppression had reached to such an extent that whoever was required to present himself before him, thinking that he would not perhaps return alive, use to make a will, before he left his kith and kin. This high handedness and other cruelties on the public made him unpopular. Majority of the people began despising him and became his enemy.(28)

MUQARAB KHAN AVENGES HIS BROTHER

The news of the assassination of Shah Abdulah

Khan was received in Multan with great grief. The old Sultan Hayat Khan was still alive. The shock of death of Assadulah Khan, his grandson was still fresh when this news of the assassination of so dear a son, completely prostrated him, but he took it with dignity and resignation and refused to mourn the death till it was properly avenged. He started preparation for journey to Herat in order to avenge his son's assassination and in this connection, he formally informed Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor of India (1718 AD-1748 AD) about his intentions. He further ordered his grandson Khan Muhammad who was earlier on his way to Herat to stop wherever he would be and wait for his arrival.(29) When the programme of Sultan Hayat Khan was made known to all his sons living with him in Multan, they objected to the Sultan himself taking the trouble of avenging his son's death in this old age and said that it was their duty to avenge their brother and so they might be allowed to do their duty. The Sultan did not

care much for his life and did not give any importance to the demands of his sons and would not listen to them. On this Muqarab Khan the third son of Sultan Hayat Khan who was favourite of his father submitted that the Sultan in his old age could hardly bear the privations and hardships of this enterprise and long journey. These remarks enraged the Sultan who in provocation remarked that though old he was still more than a match for young men like you who spoke softly like women. As such how could you boast of your manliness and bravery. Muqarab Khan though endowed with great bodily strength and initiative spoke with soft feminine variant and lacked the guttural voice of Abdalis and other Western Afghans. He was greatly offended by these cutting remarks of his father and in great rage could say only this much that it was not proper for a woman to sit among men and left the meeting. The coming night he secretly left Multan for Herat with a servant and reached Kandhar within eight days.(30) where he was

recognized and was immediately interned by the orders of Mahmud Ghalji. Muqarab Khan assured Mahmud Ghalji of his good intentions for him and appealed to him in the name of Afghan vendetta and code of honour and hospitality to let him be free as he was a guest in his territory and was proceeding to Herat to avenge the murder of his brother. This address of Muqarab Khan greatly touched the sense of honour of Mahmud who impressed by these truthful remarks apologized and allowed Muqarab Khan to proceed to Herat. Mahmud offered him help but Muqarab Khan cordially declined. On this Muqarab Khan was escorted out of Ghalji territory.(31)

On reaching Farah, the first important place in Abdali territory, Muqarab Khan was received with great enthusiasm. Abdalis who were tired of rapacious rule of Qasim Khan welcomed this rightful Khudakka Khan and flocked round him. He started from Farah for Herat with a sizable force which increased daily and attained the strength of 40000 fighting men near

Herat. Qasim Khan was completely deserted and beleaguered. When Muqarab Khan reached Herat, the Abdalis opened the gates of the citadel on him and Qasim Khan took refuge in the Irak which was actively besieged. Qasim Khan resisted within four walls of Irak for few days with handful of his adherents but on a day in the month of Shaban 1134-AH/May 1722 AD, the Irak of Herat was finally captured and Qasim Khan fell into the hands of the besiegers who produced him before Muqarab Khan who immediately put him to death.(32) Now the murder of Shah Abdulah Khan was avenged and Muqarab Khan was master of Herat and he thought it proper to inform his father about his whereabouts and his accomplishments. He wrote that "now when this letter is being written the blood stained dead body of faithless and disloyal Qasim is lying before me. This much has been done by a person devoid of any manliness. send a man if there is any in Multan who could rule the confederacy. The old Sultan

receiving this letter was overjoyed by this news and the accomplishment of his son and, now for the first time he mourned formally the death of Shah Abdulah Khan and received condolences from his relatives and friends which he had earlier refused till avenging the murder of his son.(33)

MU'QARAB KHAN RESIGNS IN FAVOUR OF KHAN MUHAMMAD SHAH

Khan Muhammad the second son of Shah Abdulah Khan as earlier stated was on his way to Herat when his grand father informed him the tragic news of the death of his father and ordered him to wait till his grandfather arrived. He on this broke the journey and stayed in Balkh where after some time he heard the overthrow and death of Qasim Khan at the hands of his uncle Muqarab Khan. On this Khan Muhammad left Balkh for Herat post haste and joined his uncle, who cordially welcomed him and allowed him to share the power. At the outset of his arrival Khan Muhammad in his own right as the eldest living

of Shah Abdulah Khan began actually meddling in the affairs of the State and interfered in the day to day orders of his uncle who out of love for his nephew took it easy and as the days went by this dual Government brought chaos and confusion. The dual system of chiefship did not find favour with the Abdalis who being tradition loving from the beginning remonstrated against the dual commands which they had to obey and asked both of them to decide between themselves, as two swords could not be kept in one scabbard, in this way they said two chief could not remain in one realm. The elders of the Confederacy advised them to decide between themselves as to who would rule them signally. Otherwise they were not prepared to obey them. Khan Muhammad who was a young man of high ambition did not care about the advice of the elders but Muqrab Khan far more experienced, and having mellowed under the tutelage of his father in India thought it otherwise and decided to end this confusion as he saw in it some forces

fomenting an imminent bloody clash between the uncle and nephew and with it the downfall of the family. He asked for a meeting between the two to end it once for all in a give-and-take manner. The uncle and nephew met and Muqarab Khan readily handed over the Government of Herat to his nephew as he thought it a legacy of Shah Abdulah Khan which should go to his son. After this agreement Muqarab Khan in the assembly of elders of the Confederacy resigned the chiefship in favour of his nephew and took leave of office. On this elders formally acknowledged, Khan Muhammad as their chief.(34)

Muqarab Khan after his renunciation, stayed for few days in Herat in enjoyment and pleasure and returned to Multan with a large booty and choicest commodities of Herat. Sultan Hayat Khan advanced up to village Panjgirahi and gave his son a rousing reception. Muqarab Khan returned much enriched and lived a comfortable life in Multan independently of his father or Mughal Government till his death.(35)

SHAH KHAN MUHAMMAD AS CHIEF OF HERAT AND ABDALIS

Shah Khan Muhammad took accession to the chiefship of Abdalis and Government of Herat in the month of Ramzan 1134-AH/June 1721 AD . He sat on a throne and wore a plumed crown, against the practice of his forefathers and Khutba was read in his name. He struck coins on which the following couplet was inscribed:

ابو بکر عمر عثمان علی یار۔ بہ خاقان خان محمد شاہ دیندار

(Abubakr, Umar, Usman & Ali are four friends and Shah Khan Mohammad is pious King)

He was a man of ingenious and devout ideas. Before this there was no practice among the Abdali Chiefs to bestow titles on their subjects. Khan Muhammad Shah was the first to bestow upon his son Abdul Rahim Khan the title of Jahangir Khan and on his birth he also bestowed different titles upon Abdali elders according to their respective status on this happy occasion. The Abdali elders in the meantime by different overthrows of Government had become

headstrong. Shah Khan Muhammad brought up in the Indian atmosphere, always surrounded by obedient servants in India during his formative years did not treat tribal elders equally and always demanded unflinching loyalty and obedience and saw to it that traditional sanctity allowed to the person of Saddozais since Saddu Mir-e-Afghan should be observed strictly. One day an Abdali notable mentioned in his presence that when Qasim Khan was put to death, his head could not be totally severed from the trunk as the skin of his neck still remained attached to it. When his dead body was being carried his head dragged along on the ground. Seeing this he severed the head with his dagger. Shah Khan Muhammad thought it an assault on the person of a Saddozai though dead enemy, greatly affronted, called upon the Abdali to explain how he had dared to do this. He replied that he had done this to save the head from being dragged in the dust. The Shah remarked in Pashtu that Afghans had now such sharp knives as to cut so easily the skin

of a Saddozai like a sheep. On the following day Shah Khan Muhammad ordered the beheading of that unfortunate elder. These strange and cruel disciplinary measures in order to establish the superiority of Saddozais were made common by him which resulted in great deal of ill will against his rule.(36)

SHAH KHAN MUHAMMAD BESIEGES MESHAD

On 12 Muharam 1135-AH/23 Oct 1722 AD Shah Mahmud Ghalji captured Isfahan and the Persian Monarch Shah Sultan Hussain fell prisoner into his hands. Shah Khan Muhammad was perturbed at this Ghalji success and thought it prudent to annex the rest of Persian Khurasan fearing that Mahmud might turn his attention towards his principality. Moreover, Abdalis could not sit idle as their arch rivals were reaping fruit in the direction of Persian territory.

He advanced from Herat at the head of strong contingent and reduced the Persian forts of Jam,

Turbat, Bustam and laid siege to Meshad and ravaged the open Persian territory upto Nishapur and appointed his revenue collecting officers in the whole of Persian Khurasan. The siege of Meshad continued for a period of four months but he failed to make any impressions on the city. On this he raised the siege and returned to Herat and in the way he took possession of the fort of Sinakan in the district of Khaf.(37)

While Shah Khan Muhammad was engaged in the siege of Meshad, Said Khan the father and Ashraf Khan the brother of late Qasim Khan arrived from Multan in Herat and busied themselves with the aid of one Zaman Khan Badozai (to whom they promised ministership) in a conspiracy to overthrow Shah Khan Muhammad. The main cause of his raising the siege of Meshad and returning to Herat was forestalling the conspirators. On reaching Herat he took into custody the leading conspirators and pulled out the eyes of father and son and Zaman Khan Badozai, the aspirant

for Ministership and sent all the three back to Multan. After that he put to death 17 leading Abdalis on the suspicion of their having hand in the above conspiracy. He further let loose a reign of terror and bloodshed in Herat and punished 70 other Abdali notables with different sentences. These misdeeds and strictness continued for a period of two years which brought the rule of Shah Khan Muhammad to great disrepute and he became unpopular and thoroughly discredited in the eyes of general public. When situation became intolerable and the fury of Shah Khan Muhammad despite having taken revenge did not abate, the whole confederacy became determined to overthrow his regime.(38)

This general oppression led to open revolt and foremost in opposition to Shah Khan Muhammad's rule was one Shah Nawaz Khan Khugani a notable of some repute, whose life had been spared by the Shah in the earlier conspiracy. He along with some other disgruntled elements, went secretly to the village of

Shorawak and instigated Zulfiqar Khan son of Zaman Khan the then head of Sarmast faction of Saddozais, to demand retribution of the murder of his father who had been killed in the reign of Shah Abdulah Khan. They offered him whole hearted support if he advances his claims. Zulfiqar Khan was a grown up lad at the time of the murder of his father. He had taken refuge along with his second brother, Ali Mardan Khan, in Shorawak and was left unmolested by Shah Abdulah Khan and his successors. He welcomed this offer and sued for retribution of the death of his father. All the people who had become fed up with Shah Khan Muhammad, supported this claim and dissension arose and chaos spread in Herat. Shah Khan Muhammad had great hope that as he had spared the life of Shah Nawaz Khan Khugani, the seeds of dissensions would not be sown by him and on this belief he sent a message to Shah Nawaz Khan reminding him of his earlier kindness and favour and asking him not to disturb the peace of the realm. Shah

Nawaz Khan replied, “ you killed those notables who were thought by you to be powerful and you feared their strength, while you spared me because you considered me useless and weak. I have raised this banner of rebellion against you only to oust from your mind the idea of my weakness”. This reply greatly distressed Shah Khan Muhammad.(39)

This strife between the opposing factions of Abdalis continued for a period of 2/3 months and Shah Khan Muhammad lost the support of the majority of the confederacy, who decided en mass that the rule of Shah Khan Muhammad being intolerable, was illegal, therefore he should call his brother Allah Yar Khan from Multan and hand over the charge of the Government of Herat to him and in the meantime Zulfiqar Khan should leave for Pamroo and Shah Khan Muhammad should leave for Farah and both should leave Herat, in order that strife and civil war in Herat might be averted.(40)

The dissensions among the Abdalis were all due

to the ambitions of the elders of the confederacy who since the death of Shah Abdulah Khan had greatly increased their powers by changing loyalties to different contenders and the rapid change over of Governments. Though Shah Khan Muhammad tried his utmost to curb these tendencies of the tribal elders by strong oppressive measures yet he failed as he lacked the political insight to keep the equilibrium in power structure of Abdalis. It was only by balancing and counter balancing between different inner feuding groups of Abdalis that earlier Saddozai chiefs were able to keep in check the power hungry elders.(41)

In the meantime Zulfiqar Khan encouraged by the demeanour of the general public advanced close to Herat and a collision of these two opposing factions of Abdalis was imminent, when few influential persons intervened and started negotiations to avoid blood shed. The consensus as earlier stated was that both the contenders should keep away from Herat and another son of Shah Abdulah Khan named Allah Yar Khan be

called from Multan and he be entrusted with the Government of Herat. The cause of all these sequabing was the mood of Abdali elders who had gained much influence and had profited from successive changes of Government. They had developed a great appetite for power which they did not permitted to be curbed.

ABDICATION OF SHAH KHAN MUHAMMAD

Shah Khan Muhammad realized the gravity of situation and the interest of the family prompted him to abdicate in favour of his brother whom he had informed about these developments and summoned him to come post haste from Multan. After taking solemn assurances of loyalty from the elders of confederacy in favour of his brother Shah Khan Muhammad finally abdicated in favour of Allah Yar Khan. In the month of Shawal 1136-AH/June 1724 AD Khan Muhammad Shah came out of the Irak of Herat when all the elders and fighting men of the Confederacy arrayed themselves before him and gave

him a farewell salute. Greatly dejected he looked up to the sky and said "May you be deprived of the land just as you have turned me out of it." "His prayer was granted and a few years later the folly of the tribal elders reduced them to the slavery of Nadir who turned out all the Abdalis from Herat." After his exit from Herat Shah Khan Muhammad stayed in Farah from where after the arrival of his brother Allah Yar Khan in Herat he left for Multan.(42)

ACCESSION OF ALLAH YAR KHAN AS CHIEF OF ABDALIS

Allah Yar Khan by rapid marches reached Herat in Zilhaj 1136-AH/Aug 1724 AD and was accorded a royal reception by the peace loving people and well-wishers of the Saddozais. He was immediately installed as chief of Abdalis with all the ceremonies appertaining to it and all the elders acknowledged him unanimously as their chief. According to family tradition the plumed crown was placed on his head. Coins bearing his names were

struck and Khutba in his name was read. He strictly observed the Islamic laws in decisions made by him and all the cases were decided by the Qazis according to the law of Shariat. Allah Yar Khan was kind hearted man and judicious in outlook. He took great pains in encouraging trade and always checked the oppressive ways of the Abdali elders who were always ready to plunder markets. Every body was happy and contented on account of his judicious and benign rule, particularly the Persian inhabitants of his principality for whose well being he was formost in his heart. He increased the revenue of his state by levying judicious taxes. His income from all the sources amounted to about 19 lacs rupees annually, which was very great as compared to the income in the days of his immediate predecessors and successors.(43)

But all these good measures were immediately upset by the unruly elders who from so many years had adopted recalcitrant attitude towards their chiefs.

The disciplinary measures were resented and some of the elders were determined to create mischief. The chief among these mischief mongers was Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai a man with great talents for intrigues. He bore grudge against the sons of Shah Abdulah Khan, as his father had been killed at the instance of Shah Abdulah Khan, when his father revolted alongwith Zaman Khan Saddozai in 1133 AH/1721 AD. That fire of revenge was still smouldering in the heart of Abdul Ghani Khan and he could not tolerate a son of the late Shah to be occupying the government of Herat peacefully. With a consuming determination he set on a mission to sow the seeds of discord in the ranks of Abdalis. Allah Yar Khan though hard working and brave man was kind hearted and lacked that determination and ruthlessness to curb the unruly tendencies of these headstrong elders. His orders were disobeyed. This further encouraged Abdul Ghani Khan who formed a strong party to overthrow Allah Yar Khan.(44)

CIVIL STRIFE IN HERAT

Three years after the installation of Allah Yar Khan, Abdul Ghani Khan mustered sufficient strength to raise openly the standard of rebellion and called Zulfiqar Khan from Bakhzar to lead the dissidents. The whole of Khurasan was in ferment and the rebels and Allah Yar Khan's forces continued skirmishes with each other for six months.(45) The inhabitants of the province of Khurasan particularly non Afghan tradesmen suffered immensely in this strife and were subjected to plunder and oppression by the contending levies and a great many people left the Afghan territory. These chaotic conditions were highly resented by sizeable and influential population of Abdalis who disavouring factionalism decided to manage their affairs without any chief and thus they compelled both the contenders to leave Herat. Allah Yar Khan retiring to Maruchak and Zulfiqar Khan to Farah. (46)

NOTES

BOOK-II

Part-II

- (1)- Tazkira page 58 - Hayat-e-Afghani 127.
- (2)- See History of Afghans by J.P.Ferrier and History of Persia by Melleson Vol II.
- (3)- Tazkira page 59.
- (4)- Tazkira page 60.
- (5)- Tazkira page 60/61
- (6)- Tazkira page 61
- (7)- Tazkira page 61. All other sources claim that Assadullah died while fighting and it was not the work of a hired assassin. See page 53 Majmatul Tawarikh.
- (8)- Tazkira page 61.
- (9)- Tazkira page 62
- (10)- Tazkira page 63, on this the wits of Qazvin composed a line as chronogram on this occasion, meaning thereby that Dog of the Iranian Shah has torn Lion (Asad). From this the date comes to be (1132 AH, 1719/20AD) See Tarikh e Nadiri by Mirza Mahdi page-5.
- (11)- Tarikh e Sultani page 99
- (12)- Tazkira page 84
- (13)- Zubdatul Tawarikh 214

- (14)- Tazkira page Zubdatul Tawarikh 214
- (15)- Tazkira page 63
- (16)- Tazkira page 63
- (17)- Tazkira page 63
- (18)- Mirat-ul-Ashbah by Hakim Muhammad Ahsan Ali Khan page 47. Tarikh Hussain Shahi page 11 - Tarikh Ahmad Shahi page 12- See notes on Mujmatul Tawarikh page-9. Tahqiqat-e-Chisty page 127-Daulat e Durrania page 7 Note on Ahmad Shah Durrani by Zain ul Abdeen compiler of Mujmatul Tawarikh page 405 - Urdu Encyclopedia page 130 - See also an article on Ahmad Shah Durrani by Khushal Habibi - Gazeteer Multan District year (1903-4) See Saire Afghanistan - But Mir Ghulam Mohammad Ghubar in "Ahmad Shah Baba- e- Afghan" claims that founder of modern Afghanistan was born in Herat. No other Afghan author has supported him.
- (19)- Tazkira 65
- (20)- Tazkira 65
- (21)- Tazkira 65
- (22)- Tazkira 67
- (23)- Tazkira 68
- (24)- Tazkira 68

- (25)- Tazkira 68
- (26)- Tazkira 68
- (27)- Tazkira 69
- (28)- Tazkira 68
- (29)- Tazkira 70/69
- (30)- Tazkira 71
- (31)- Tazkira 71
- (32)- Tazkira 71
- (33)- Tazkira 72
- (34)- Tazkira 73
- (35)- Tazkira 73
- (36)- Tazkira 73/74. According to Tazkira he occupied Meshad for a period of four months but could not maintain his possession and finally handing over Meshad to the former Governor of Meshad retreated back to Herat.
- (37)- Tazkira 74.
- (38)- Tazkira 75
- (39)- Tazkira 76
- (40)- Tazkira 77
- (41)- Tazkira 76, Jehan Kusha e Nadri 89.
- (42)- Tazkira 76
- (43) Tazkira 76.

- (44) Tazkira 77.
- (45) Tazkira 76
- (46) Tazkira 77

BOOK-II**Part-III****THE RISE OF NADIR AND NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN PERSIAN KHURASAN**

Now events in Persia were rapidly changing. Mahmud Ghalji was murdered in Shaban 1137-AH/22 Aug 1725 AD by his cousin Ashraf Ghalji who succeeded him in his possessions and the Persian steadily began gaining ground in their own country as soon as Nadir appeared on the scene. Nadir rose in high favour of Shah Tahmasp by defeating Mahmud Siestani near Meshad on 16 Rabi ul Awal 1139-AH/11 Nov, 1726 AD and became Commander in Chief of all the Persian forces. He took on himself the task of evicting Abdalis from Herat.(1) The Abdalis who were still managing their affairs without any chief when heard about the preparations of Persians under Nadir for their eviction from Herat and saw their own helplessness on account of civil strife. They immediately realized the gravity of the situation and

began forging their unity and decided to set their own house in order and to unite under one leader. Zulfiqar Khan was thought to be obstinate and ruthless though more experienced in the art of war and so the proposal of his appointment as leader was shelved in favour of Allah Yar Khan, the hereditary claimant who was definitely a man of mild temperament and as such much suited for the interests of the elders of the tribe.

After due deliberations the elders decided in favour of Allah Yar Khan who was summoned from Maruchak and was re-instated as Chief of Abdalis with a territory yielding Rs.18 lakhs as revenue annually, while Zulfiqar Khan was confirmed in the Government of Farah with an area yielding 1 lakh rupees annually. With this arrangement the sensible elders forged the unity among the Abdalis and immediately started preparations for countering impending attack of the Persians.(2)

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF NADIR AGAINST ABDALIS

In February or early March 1729 AD/Ramzan 1141 AH after Nauroz Nadir began to prepare for his campaign against the Abdalis and finished his preparations in May and left Meshad on 4th Shawwal 1141-AH/3rd May 1729 AD in company with Shah Tahmasp. Sultan Hayat Khan the grand father of Shah Allah Yar Khan had died seven days earlier in Multan. Nadir took the route from Meshad southwardly via Oulang Yaquy, Turbat-e-Jam, Farman Abad and Kariz. Allah Yar Khan was alert and on hearing this news set out from Herat to check the Persian advance in the way.(3)

THE 2ND BATTLE OF KAFIR KALLA

Allah Yar Khan advanced northwestward and took position near Kusuya. He also sent some selected troops to harass the Nadir on his way. Nadir sent a shrewd emissary in Kusuya to judge the demeanour of the Abdalis but when he became sure of the

determination and war like preparations of Abdalis he immediately advanced from Turbat and took position near Kafir Kalla, one mile (Half Farsakh) from Kusuya.(4) Allah Yar Khan took great precautions to conceal his position. He kept himself in the centre and surrounded his flanks by picked marksmen of his tribe. Nadir thoroughly reconnoitered and cautiously approached the Abdali position. He restrained the ardour of his troops, knowing it fully well that the first encounter with Abdalis under his command would have far reaching effect on his troops, who had faced defeats earlier by the Abdalis and were inexperienced in war. He surrounded his infantry with his artillery and posted a body of Cavalry on flanks and continued skirmishing daily for four days with 500 horse men under his personal command.(4A) The Abdalis could not restrain themselves more than four days and disobeying all the instructions of their Chief rushed on the Persians and a desperate and bloody struggle ensued. At the outset the ferocity of Abdali charge

dispersed the Persian infantry and after over-running the Persian infantry the Abdalis fell upon the Persian cavalry who were thrown into great confusion and it looked as if the Persians had lost the battle. But Nadir by tremendous personal exertions and at great personal risk retrieved the fortunes of the day and was able to rally back the Persian troops. He stemmed the tide of the Abdali advance by a cavalry charge. The Abdalis did not show any weakness and carried on the battle for the whole day. In the evening Nadir received a lance thrust in the right foot and soon after with the fall of the night both sides withdrew to their respective lines. Nadir thought it prudent to shift his camp in the night as he was close to the Abdalis who could very easily surprise him in the night. On this he broke his camp and shifted away from Abdali camp and in this attempt due to darkness and lack of knowledge of the terrain he wandered into a waterless barren ground. The Persians spent the whole night in confusion and in search of water. On the following day Allah Yar Khan

shifted his position towards Hari Rud and Nadir also next day moved towards Kusuya a town 60 miles north of Herat.(5)

THE BATTLE OF KUSUYA

The Abdalis had earlier watched the Persian move towards Kusuya and had brought during night their artillery near the new Persian encampment. Early in the morning, Abdalis began the day by cannonading the Persian positions and then Allah Yar Khan after organizing his forces into left and right flank sweeping the Persian infantry fell upon the Persian cavalry from both flanks. A severe struggle went on between the contestants from morning till afternoon. The Abdalis fought desperately but Nadir's inspiring conduct in the battle and his efficiency foiled all the attempts of Abdalis to retrieve the day. After suffering heavy losses the Abdalis retired in the evening towards their encampment.

Now the situation in the open for Allah Yar Khan became untenable. Nadir was receiving daily

fresh reinforcements and had sufficiently increased his strength and refurbished his losses. Allah Yar Khan decided to retire towards Herat and took advantage of the night and after breaking the encampment, he sent infantry and artillery in the darkness of night alongwith necessary baggage which could be borne in hurry and himself retired with cavalry in the morning. Nadir after the retreat of Abdalis entered their encampment ransacked whatever had been left by Abdalis in their camp.(6)

THE BATTLE OF RIBAT PARIAN

Nadir then continuously followed the Abdalis and advanced towards Herat through Jalla Tanzil and Tirpool. Allah Yar Khan who in the meantime had reorganized and reinforced his forces advanced from Herat to oppose the Nadir. The two armies met near Ribat Parian a village 15 miles west north west of Herat. The Abdalis opened the day with vigorous attack which Nadir repulsed with determination. The battle lasted from early morning until mid day. Both

sides suffered heavy casualties. The Abdalis having the highest toll on this day. It was a severe hand to hand fight which bled the contestants and Abdalis lost 1800 men and Nadir 1000 men. In the evening both sides withdrew to their respective encampments and a dust storm lasting 48 hours effectively prevented any further fighting. When the dust storm subsided Allah Yar Khan tried to initiate negotiation for peace with Nadir. He was powerless in the hands of tribal elders who did not allow any Abdali Chief an independent action, since the murder of Shah Abdullah Khan. An alliance with and recognition by the Persians would have strengthened his hands and would have enabled him to counter act the tribal elders. Keeping this in view he sent an emissary to the camp of Nadir but he chose wrong emissary. Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai who had great talent for intrigue and a thirst for power and who bore a personal grudge against the family of Shah Abdullah Khan was sent to the Persian camp for negotiations and Abdul Ghani Khan somehow did not

make any favourable impressions on Nadir who refused to listen to his proposals unless Allah Yar Khan along with other prominent Abdali elders came in person to sue for peace. This was too much and was vehemently over ruled by the majority of tribal elders and other events further diminished the chance of the negotiations and peace. However, hostilities ceased for the time being.(7)

THE BATTLE OF SHAKIBAN

In the meantime Zulfiqar Khan had made strong preparations in Farah to come to the aid of Abdalis in Herat and moved out of Farah for Herat with a large body of men. On receiving the intelligence Nadir shifted his main encampment to Shakiban and sent a strong detachment to repel Zulfiqar Khan in the way and to capture Farah. Zulfiqar Khan evaded the Persian troops sent against him and by rapid night marches came close to the main Persian encampment and hid in ambush near Shakiban. This move of Zulfiqar Khan greatly encouraged Allah Yar Khan

who reopened hostilities. He came out of Herat with his picked body of warriors and launched his fourth attack on the Persians from the east. When Nadir was thoroughly engaged by this offensive from the east, Zulfiqar Khan and his men came out of their ambushade and fell upon the Persian camp and began to plunder. A bloody struggle ensued and confusion prevailed for a while and a large number of Persians lost their lives at the hands of the Abdalis, but Nadir once more was able not only to drive out Zulfiqar Khan from his camp and retrieved some of his baggage but withstood Allah Yar Khan's frontal attack. Thus the battle of Shakiban was unprofitably lost by Abdalis due to lack of coordination between the two contingents of Abdalis.(8)

THE BATTLE OF HERAT

On the following day Nadir received further reinforcements from Shakiban. These new arrivals were left in the encampment to look after Zulfiqar Khan and Nadir advanced with all his remaining

forces and artillery towards Herat. The Abdalis perceiving this move of Nadir, came out of the citadel of Herat and met the Persian army in the way. An obstinate battle was fought in the outskirts of Herat in which Allah Yar Khan showed great personal courage and fought heroically till evening but the results were not favourable. Though Abdalis resisted in the open for the whole day, the attack of the Persian regulars, had the balance tilted towards the Persians, as Abdalis, having sustained more losses than the Persians were disheartened. Both forces returned to their camps in the evening.(9)

ABDALIS SUE FOR PEACE AND THEIR TREATY WITH NADIR

The losses of Abdalis in the foregoing five battles with Persians were sufficient to discourage the Abdali elders. Moreover, the zeal and obstinacy with which Nadir was pursuing his objective was also startling for the Abdalis as they had not encountered

such zeal in any of the earlier Persian Commanders.

Early in the morning after the battle of Herat Allah Yar Khan with the consultation of tribal elders sent emissaries to Persian camp and sued for peace. Shah Tehmasp and his ministers were opposed to make peace with the Abdalis but Nadir had other important matters before him which needed his personal attention in Persia. The Ghaljis were still predominant in Persia. Peace with Abdalis would set him free to deal with Ghaljis. Moreover, he wanted to secure the province of Persian Khurasan from Abdalis and a détente on this side till the final show down with Ghaljis. Thus prompted by the above reasons Nadir over ruled Shah Tehmasp and his advisers who resisted the peace offer by Abdalis earlier and he accepted the offer of peace of Allah Yar Khan. Both sides stopped the hostilities and negotiations were started. After the preliminaries Allah Yar Khan along with other important Abdali elders visited the Persian camp and they were cordially received. (10) Both

sides exchanged costly presents and robes of honour. Nadir accepted Allah Yar Khan as the Chief of Abdalis and ruler of Herat. He also called him his *Lala* (Brother). Both sides proclaimed solemn declarations of friendship with each other on holy Quran and the following treaty was signed:-

1. That Abdalis would desist from attack on Persian Khurasan and Meshad.
2. When Nadir attacked Ashraf Ghalji in Isphahan, Abdalis would not aid him but would check Hussain Ghalji if he moved to aid his cousin in Isfahan.
3. Nadir would support Abdalis in their claim to Kandhar and former Abdali territorial possessions and would help in ousting Hussain Ghalji from Kandhar.

Both sides were satisfied for the time being with this arrangement and parted from each other with fine civilities and promises of future cooperation. Nadir and Tehmasp started on their homeward march by

way of Shakiban and soon after reached Meshad on 4th Zilhaj 1141 AH/ July 1729.(11)

When peace agreement was finally solemnized, the news was received that a column of Persian Army which was appointed by Nadir for the reduction of Farah had attacked Farah and had taken many Abdalis as prisoners including some women relatives of Zulfiqar Khan. Allah Yar Khan sent emissaries and requested Nadir for the release of these prisoners. Nadir complied with the request of Allah Yar Khan and set at liberty all the prisoners including women of Zulfiqar Khan's household and also their baggage.(12)

THE EFFECT OF THE FIRST HERAT CAMPAIGN

The above mentioned five battles did not shatter the power of Abdalis. Allah Yar Khan temporarily gained prestige in the Confederacy due to his recognition as chief of Abdalis by the Persian Court. He wanted time to consolidate his position but tribal elders continued to exhibit same levity in the conduct

of their affairs. Dissensions and inner rivalries further weakened the Abdalis and all the attempts of Allah Yar Khan for consolidation of his hold on the territory and unity among the confederacy were set at naught by the tribal elders. Nadir gained a respite from the onslaught of Abdalis on Persian territory and the courage and confidence of the Persian troops under his command was also restored.(13)

THE OVERTHROW OF ALLAH YAR KHAN

The treaty of alliance between Allah Yar Khan and Nadir did not find favour with the Ghaljis. Hussain Ghalji was well contented with Abdalis squabbles after the Murder of Shah Abdulah Khan. The dissensions within the Abdali Confederacy had greatly diminished, the offensive powers of Abdalis and he had no fear from them. The emergence of Allah Yar Khan and his recognition by the Persians and the treaty of Alliance with the Nadir greatly perturbed him. It did not suite his scheme of things. Nadir disengaged from the Abdalis tried feverishly for

the permanent eviction of Ghaljis from Persia. Thus it became very essential to somehow disengage Nadir from his pursuit of Ashraf Ghalji. Keeping this in mind the wily, Hussain Ghalji, despatched emissaries to Herat in early 1730 AD/1142 AH, in the hope of inciting the Abdalis to rise and to make an attack on Meshad so as to distract Nadir's attention. These overtures found favour with Abdali elders but Allah Yar Khan outrightly rejected Hussain Khan's proposals. He asked the fickle minded elders to desist from these nefarious intrigues with Ghaljis and appealed to them to abide by the recent treaty of alliance made on Holy Quran with Nadir. This appeal did not find favour with the majority of the Abdali elders. They revolted against Allah Yar Khan and invited Zulfiqar Khan from Farah.(14) Zulfiqar Khan was waiting for this opportunity. Leaving his younger brother Ali Mardan Khan as his deputy in Farah he advanced on Herat, where all the dissidents joined him in the way. Allah Yar Khan resisted the rebels

and took precautions to defend the city, which resulted in skirmishes between the two parties. This strife between the two opposing parties of Abdalis went on for a period of 3 months, greatly increasing the sufferings of the people of Herat. Allah Yar Khan tried his utmost to prevail upon the elders to honour the treaty with Nadir but failed to regain the support of the majority. The situation now became difficult and untenable day by day. Allah Yar Khan decided to evacuate Herat. He alongwith his family, servants and some adherents left Herat and shifted to the fort of Maruchak. Zulfiqar Khan after the eviction of Allah Yar Khan entered Herat on 3rd Shawal 1142-AH/April 1730 AD, alongwith his younger brother Ahmad Khan who had earlier arrived in Farah from Multan with his mother (15) He was about nine years old at that time.

ABDALIS ATTACK MESHAD AND PERSIAN KHURASAN

Now Zulfiqar Khan was in control of the Abdali affairs. Aided and abetted by Hussain Ghalji, he

started preparation for an attack on Persian Khurasan. Nadir was engaged faraway in the siege of Tabriz. Zulfiqar Khan persuaded the elders to attack Meshad, the very base of Shah Tehmasp and Nadir's power. A strong contingent was raised for the conquest of Persian Khurasan and Abdalis numbering eight thousands under the command of Zulfiqar Khan advanced towards Meshad and encamped at Zawiya Rabbi and invested the city immediately. Allah Yar Khan hearing the news of advance of Zulfiqar Khan towards Persian territory left Maruchak and entered Meshad with his followers 3 days earlier than the arrival of Abdalis in Zawiya Rabbi. He was well received by Ibrahim Khan, the brother of Nadir who was then Governor General of Persian Khurasan.(16)

Nadir who had received the intelligence of the impending attack of Abdalis on Meshad, despatched 2000 Jazeelchis alongwith some necessary supplies. He ordered Ibrahim Khan to entrench himself within the walls of Meshad and wait for the arrival of Nadir

and avoid battle in the open with Abdalis at all costs. Ibrahim Khan for few days complied with the orders of his brother and continued an aggressive defensive policy within and outside the walls of Meshad. He did not afford any opportunity to Abdalis to fight a pitched battle in the open and continued himself with few skirmishes.(17)

Nadir sent further re-enforcements under the command of Baqir Khan from Astrabad and gave express instructions to Ibrahim Khan not to take the field against Abdalis till his disengagement in Azerbaijan and his arrival in Meshad.(18)

THE BATTLE OF KOH-E-SANGEEN

Ibrahim Khan was a proud, self conceited man, who could not understand the wisdom of Nadir's instructions. He could not sit idle within the four walls of Meshad due to his mercurial nature. Some days after the arrival of Baqir Khan, he was puffed up and yielded to bolder spirits amongst his advisers and rallied out of the citadel of Meshad in pursuit of a

decoy retreating convoy of Abdalis and recklessly advanced up to Koh-e-Sangeen, where he was ambushed by Zulfiqar Khan.(19) At the outset of this encounter Baqir Khan the commander of Persian infantry was badly wounded and the Persian infantry retreated taking their commander away. Ibrahim Khan in order to rally the Persian infantry followed them on his horse. This was thought to be a signal for retreat by the cavalry and the whole Persian force disengaged themselves from the battle field and ran helter skelter. Zulfiqar Khan perceiving this confusion in the Persian Army fell upon them with full force and exploited the situation and annihilated them and Persians lost this battle ignominiously. Ibrahim Khan saved his life by taking shelter behind the walls of Meshad. The Persians lost all their artillery and kettle drums. This happened on 13 Muharram 1143 AH/19 July 1730 AD.(20) Zulfiqar Khan was greatly encouraged by this victory and he actively besieged the city of Meshad and thoroughly plundered its environs. This continued

for a period of 31 days. The city of Meshad however again baffled the attempts of Abdalis and all their attacks for its capture were fruitless. In the meantime they heard the approach of Nadir and Zulfiqar Khan abandoned the siege of Meshad and returned back to Herat where he started preparations for the defence of Herat.(21)

ALLAH YAR KHAN ENTERS INTO NEW TREATY WITH NADIR

Nadir arrived in Meshad in the month of Rabi ul Sani 1143-AH/Oct. 1730 AD and met Allah Yar Khan warmly, showed him great courtesy and brotherly feelings. Both sides exchanged costly presents and Nadir gave assurances to Allah Yar Khan for his best support and cooperation. He promised to punish the promise breakers and to invest Herat after Nau Roz and assured to restore to him to the government of Herat after its capture. Nadir put forth a stipulation to take away from Herat 500 families of those Abdalis who had violated the earlier treaty of allegiance and in exchange asked Allah Yar Khan to

station a contingent of 500 Persian soldiers in Herat who would help Allah Yar Khan in maintaining law and order in Herat in case of any rebellion against him. Allah Yar Khan agreed to these indignities for expediency. He was ordered to proceed to the fort of Maruchak and to canvass for Nadir in his confederacy and wait till Nadir approached Herat where he was asked to bring his contingent. He was given large amount of money, arms and ammuniton, and precious wearing apparels for distribution among the Abdalis.(22)

FAILURE OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN ABDALIS & GHALJIS

When Zulfiqar Khan heard of Nadir's arrival at Meshad and of the preparations that were being made by the Persians for the forthcoming campaign, he appealed to all the tribes of Afghan origin including Ghaljis for aid and he himself actively started for the defence of Herat and collected supplies, men and material for this purpose. His appeal for aid was

accepted and many Afghan clans sent contingents. Hussain Ghalji came in Person to Isfizar where he met Zulfiqar Khan.(23) Both leaders discussed the plans of future action against the Persians but unluckily due to some unreasonable and impossible demands of Hussain Ghalji the discussions were not fruitful. Abdalis owned formerly considerable lands in Kandhar district and in Safa and in the valleys of Tarnak and Arghasan. These lands were their ancestral lands and were their former homes from where they were forcibly evicted by Ghaljis during their pre-occupation in Herat. Hussain was insolent enough to raise this touchy matter in the parleys and asked for renunciation of all Abdali claims to these lands in exchange for help and cooperation of Ghaljis in the impending attack. He was mistaken about the Abdalis attachment to these lands. As no Abdali could renounce the claims of their rights in these ancestral lands even at the risk of his own life. Zulfiqar Khan a man of considerable strength of character, did not

oblige the Ghalji and immediately broke the parleys and left for Herat.(24) At this Hussain made an excuse that he would not oppose Nadir till he gets back his brother's widow and children from Nadir and left for Kandhar on this excuse from where he started negotiations for this purpose with Nadir. But with the news of the advance of Nadir he, to save his name, among the Afghans was constrained to help the Abdalis against common enemy and despatched a token force of 3000 picked Ghalji Warriors under the command of celebrated Ghalji General Muhammad Saidal Khan Nasiri.(25)

THE SECOND CAMPAIGN OF NADIR AGAINST HERAT

In the meantime Zulfiqar Khan received the news of the advance of Nadir from Meshad on 15 Ramzan 1143 AH/13 Feb. 1731 AD, who after celebrating Nau Roz festivities, advanced via Turuq, Turbat Sheikh Jam, Rubat Tuman and encamped on 5th March at Nuqra, a small place seven miles west of

Herat.(26)

BATTLE OF NUQRA

Zulfiqar Khan on 5 Ziqad 1143 AH/6 March 1731 AD, early in the morning came out of Herat with full preparations and took position in the gardens around the Persian encampment and after assigning duties to different Abdali detachments immediately attacked on the vanguard of the Persian Army. On this the other Persian troops alongwith Nadir joined the battle which lasted till the approach of night. It was an indecisive battle, as both sides measured their respective strength and both sides retreated to their respective lines. The Persians tired from the day's hard fought battle took to sleep.(27)

NIGHT ATTACK ON NADIR'S CAMP BY SAIDAL KHAN

Saidal Khan the Ghalji General with his contingent and other Abdali irregulars hidden in Muntami Canal, was in the vicinity and was shadowing with Abdalis the Persian movements. He

saw in it good opportunity to surprise the Persians. That night Saidal Khan fell upon the Persian Camp and placed Nadir himself in great jeopardy. Nadir was fast asleep in a tower near a canal and was protected by only eight men. The Ghaljis and Abdalis without knowing the whereabouts of Nadir surrounded this tower. The Persian infantry and cavalry rallied round the tower and fought desperately to extricate Nadir. It was with great difficulty, Nadir was relieved. Persians lost heavily in saving Nadir and ground was littered with their dead bodies around this tower. However, the Persians were able to repulse the Afghan attack.

BATTLE OF TAKHT-E-SAFAR

Early in the morning Abdalis emboldened by the last night exploit, took positions in Takhat-e-Safar, a garden on the lower slopes of Kohe Mulla Khawja, three & half miles north-west of Herat. Nadir immediately after receiving the intelligence, advanced at the head of his cavalry and attacked the Abdali

position. Abdalis being on a higher ground were in an advantageous position, opened musketry fire on the Persian cavalry and inflicted casualties. Nadir was determined to clear the Abdalis from these slopes overlooking his camp and a bloody encounter took place, but the battle was again indecisive, as a heavy downpour of rain started and the movement of cavalry was made difficult. On this Nadir failing to evict Abdalis from this position retired to his camp after collecting his dead and wounded.(28)

Nadir now made preparations to invest Herat and summoned Allah Yar Khan from Maruchak, who arrived with sufficient reinforcements.(29) Nadir started hectic activity for the complete encirclement of the citadel of Herat and started building trenches and towers from the side of his camp and would have advanced them gradually on all sides. Zulfiqar Khan knew the effect of complete encirclement of Herat on his tribal levies and in order to thwart these designs of Nadir and to keep him busy in the suburb of Herat,

he collected sufficient numbers of warriors and swore not to turn back and engage Nadir in the open till the last trickle of their blood, to avoid encirclement at all costs and if possible to give Nadir a deadly blow in the open.(30)

THE BATTLE OF SALMAQ FORT

With these objects in view Zulfiqar Khan at the head of Abdalis came out of the citadel, fourth time and took position near the Persian camp and fiercely attacked the Persian lines but was repulsed with heavy losses in men and material. However Abdalis did not leave the field and entrenched themselves in Qilla Salmaq and started daily attacks on the Persian camp from this strong point and encounters and skirmishes went on for a period of 22 days between them.(31) In these some of the bravest deeds of personal combat were shown by the Abdalis in hand to hand fights and individual fights, with Persians.

Nadir was cautious and would not leave his lines and in these encounters, Abdalis lost heavily and

eventually evacuated Qilla Salmaq and retreated to Herat. Though losses were sufficient to discourage them but Abdalis succeeded in thwarting the designs of Nadir for immediate and complete encirclement of Herat.(32)

Now Nadir made attempts to cut off the supply lines of Herat and to capture other Abdali strong points and supply centres of Herat. Strong contingents were sent into the surrounding territory to collect the supplies and to lay waste the whole country. In these marauding attacks of Persians the Abdalis unfortunately lost 3 lakh heads of sheep and sufficient quantity of food grains which they had collected at different points to be transported to Herat at proper time.(33) Nadir sent 3000 troops under the commands of Pir Mohammad for the reduction of Khash. Pir Mohammad was resisted and in the battle Mustafa Abdali the Hakim of Khash was killed and the forts of Khash and Kedah fell to the Persians.(34) With the eviction of Abdalis from Qalla Salmaq and the loss of

the fort of Khash and Kedah situation was thought ripe by Nadir for the investment of Herat.(35)

On 4th May (26th Shawal) Nadir decided to invest Herat from all sides. He left a strong force at Nuqra to secure his line of retreat and himself advanced at the head of 10,000 men and heavy artillery. The river Hari Rud was in high flood and the ferry near Zandjan and Kabutar Khan was fordable. He crossed to the south side of Hari Rud and marched towards the bridge of Malan, three miles south of Herat. In the afternoon the Persians had reached Basti Nau where they took positions. The Abdalis attempted to stem the Persian advance and came out of Herat with considerable strength and took position near ShamsAbad a walled stronghold facing Persian positions.(36)

THE BATTLE OF SHAMSABAD

Nadir in order to counteract this new move advanced sufficient numbers of Infantry and artillery from his new encampment to face the Abdalis and

himself at the head of cavalry moved swiftly between Shamsabad and Herat and cut off the line of retreat of the Abdalis. Hard pressed in front by Persian infantry and artillery and their line of retreat cut off, by the Persian cavalry, Abdalis in desperation fell upon the Persian infantry but were repulsed with heavy loses.(37) Now fearing encirclement Abdalis made a hasty retreat towards Herat and were engaged by Nadir. The Abdalis under the walls of Herat and before Shamsabad fought bravely and exhibited most brilliant accounts of valour and cleared all the obstacles put in their way. In this battle, Haji Mushki Ishaqzai who had sworn to kill Nadir or die in the attempt, without recognizing Nadir attacked him and gave him a deadly sword blow and threw him from the horse. Nadir was wearing armour under the garments and was unscathed. On this Haji Mushki attacked Nadir with his heavy lance but in the meantime Nadir having recovered from the shock of earlier thrust, took out his pistol and blew out the leg of Haji Mushki and

incapacitated him and thus saved himself. When afterwards it became known to Haji that it was Nadir who was assailed, he lamented and said that "if I had known this at that time, though due to armour my weapons were ineffective on Nadir I would have killed him with kicks and fist blows." (38) Abdalis having inflicted many casualties on Persians, they themselves lost 3000 killed and wounded in this encounter and were hurled back into Herat. (39) Now Nadir was supreme outside Herat. He was receiving daily reinforcements and his determination to crush Abdalis was fourfold by these successes.

ENCIRCLEMENT OF HERAT

On the following day Nadir succeeded in seizing the bridge of Malan and took position close to Nagiban a village near the bridge. He then busied himself in building fortification and zig zag trenches and built towers and bastions around his lines and completed the task of investment of Herat's western side in ten days. (40)

While Nadir was busy in raising fortifications around his lines Abdali artillery men daily cannonaded the Persian lines. One day an Abdali artillery man perceived the magnificent tent of Nadir, opened fire on it. A cannon shot destroyed the roof of the tent and struck the ground by the side of his couch. Nadir who had just arrived from a visit from inspection of fortifications was undressing, fortunately escaped unhurt.(41)

When the western side of the city of Herat had been completely encircled, Nadir paid attention to other sides. On 4th Ziqad a detachment of infantry alongwith artillery was sent to the eastern side of the city with the object of preventing exit of Abdalis from that side. Nadir in order to divert the attention of Abdalis attacked from western side. The Abdalis came out to check the Nadir's advance. In the meantime the Persian detachment reached the eastern side and began building trenches and towers near the fort of Karkh on the bank of river. When Abdalis

became aware of this ruse, they alongwith Ghalji contingent under the command of Saidal Khan Nasiri made a sortie and pushed out the Persians from their fortifications on that side. (42)

Abdalis now diverted their attention towards eastern side and regularly attacked daily to check the building of Persian fortifications on this side. These skirmishes and encounters continued for some days.(43)

On the night of Saturday the 12th Zilhaj Nadir himself visited the eastern side of the encircling line. He was recognized and Abdalis immediately attacked on this side of Persian lines. They overwhelmed the guards and destroyed the towers and dismantled the eastern fortifications.(44) Nadir perceiving the difficult situation on this side shifted this Persian detachment to village Urdu Khan, 1 1/2 mile from Herat, but Abdalis resisted this move also and a bloody encounter took place which resulted in loss of men on both sides. But Abdalis were driven back and Persians

took position in the village. Nadir now tightened the lines around Herat and encirclement of Herat became complete.(45)

NADIR DESPACHES EXPEDITION TO FARAH

Nadir thereafter arranged an expeditionary force for the reduction of Farah which was held by Ali Mardan Khan the younger brother of Zulfiqar Khan. Imam Wardi Khan, Naib Hakim of the Province of Seistan alongwith Ibrahim Khan brother of Nadir were entrusted with the reduction of Farah. Pir Muhammad Khan who had earlier captured the forts of Khash and Kedah and was stationed there, was also ordered to join this expedition. Ibrahim Khan first of all carried out a successful raid on the province of Kandhar in the Ghalji territory and brought many thousand heads of cattle and supplies and encamped near Sanqar Karoh. On 27 Zilhaj. Pir Muhammad Khan and Imam Wardi Khan joined him and in conjunction with all these commanders, Ibrahim Khan advanced upto village

Nawar 3/4 miles from Farah and encamped there.(46)

THE BATTLE OF NAWAR

Ali Mardan Khan Saddozai came out of Farah with a strong Afghan force to check the Persians and advanced by the side of 'Kohe Shabili' and took position near the bank of Farah Rood attacked the Persian positions and gave them a disastrous blow and captured some artillery pieces. Pir Muhammad Khan and a large number of Sajistani artillery men were killed in this battle. The Persian lost in this battle 1300 men and Abdalis 500. Nadir hearing this defeat sent large reinforcement and appointed new commanders. The Abdalis continued their attacks on the Persian lines for 3 or 4 days and inflicted further casualties and continued encamping in the open but with the arrival of reinforcement in the Persian Camp they shifted into the fort of Farah.(47) The Persians though sufficiently reinforced lacked the spirit to actively besiege the Abdalis in Farah and due to the lukewarm attitude of their commander this expedition

miserably failed to achieve its objective.(48)

During the course of these operations a Persian detachment sent by Nadir carried out a successful raid on Maimana and Chachaktu.(49)

Another expeditionary force was sent by Nadir for the reduction of Isfizar fort under the command of Ismail Khan Istajlu, who sent an advance guard under the command of Sultan Kara Churlu to surprise the Abdalis in that fort. This advance guard waited for the whole night in ambush near the fort. Early in the morning they surprised the Abdalis and entered the fort but were defeated and massacred to a man. In the meantime Ismail Khan Istajlu himself advanced and Abdalis entrenched themselves in the fort and after a few days of active patrolling in the vicinity Ismail Khan withdrew ransacking in the vicinity and failing in his object.(50)

THE BATTLE OF RODE KHANA

Now the Abdalis began to feel the tightening of the noose and the complete encirclement of Herat

became imminent. All the fighting men in the citadel of Herat made a desperate determination to give a deadly blow to Nadir before they were trapped and for this they swore on holy Quran before Zulfiqar Khan to fight till their death. On 17 Muharam 1144 AH/ 22 July 1731 AD with great fervour, the whole body of Abdali-fighting men after securing the gates of the citadel came out of Herat and crossed the Hari Rud. Nadir perceiving the movement at once sent troops from the eastern side to cut off the Abdalis line of retreat and himself delivered a frontal attack. A desperate struggle ensued in which Abdalis showed most brilliant valour and excess of courage and daring. Zulfiqar Khan was in the thick of battle every where, leading charges, encouraging and exhorting his confederates. While he was fighting close to Rode Khana he fell down from his horse and his horse with all the precious trappings was captured by the Persians. On foot he tried to rally his men who thinking him captured were retreating propitiously.

but he was unsuccessful. He was recognized and was immediately surrounded from all sides by the Persians. He dived into river to save himself from capture and narrowly escaped from being drowned in the swollen river. This battle though undecided like others had very far reaching effect on the morale of Abdalis. The day was lost after suffering heavy casualties and flowers of Abdalis manhood perished by drowning (51).

Saidal Khan Nasiri, the Ghalji Commander having become discouraged at this defeat and the heavy casualties sustained by his Ghalji contingent secretly left Herat on the night of 25 July/1st Safar 1144 AH, by creeping along the bed of an old irrigation cutting, he passed the lines of enemy and marched towards Farah from where he sent message to Abdalis pretending to return immediately alongwith Hussain Ghalji and a formidable Ghalji force.(52)

ABDALI SUE FOR PEACE

As the time went on and the siege now

extended to a period of 4 months, famine made its appearance in the beleaguered town and the sufferings of the garrison and townsfolk rapidly increased and were aggravated by the shortage of salt, as an abortive Abdali attempt to get salt from Karkh was foiled by Nadir. The defection of Ghaljis further demoralized the defenders. The disunion and lack of discipline also daily grew more pronounced, till concerted action had become impossible. The insolent elders of the confederacy began cursing Zulfiqar Khan, branding him to be a war monger and creator of all their woes. Thus hard pressed from outside and subjected to vilification from within, Zulfiqar Khan decided to abandon chiefship, if it helped the confederacy.(53) The Abdali elders welcoming this move sent a select deputation from among them to Nadir and sued for peace through Allah Yar Khan.(54) The negotiations started and Nadir was ready to accept the offer for peace. But Abdalis however became reluctant, thinking that the dust storm raised by an approaching

Persian force under Ibrahim Khan was that of a relieving Ghalji army from Kandhar. Nadir in anger ordered a renewal of hostilities, but Abdalis realized their error and begged forgiveness and asked for Allah Yar Khan to be made their chief in Herat. Nadir once more acceded to their request.(55)

ALLAH YAR KHAN ASSUMES THE CHIEFSHIP OF ABDALIS

On the 11th August 1731AD/18 Safar 1144 AH Allah Yar Khan left Persian Camp alongwith Abdali elders who had earlier left Herat in batches from its five gates had sued for peace and had waited on Nadir. Allah Yar Khan entered Herat in their company and assumed the chiefship.(56)

2/3 days after the assumption of office of the chief of Abdalis and his entry into Herat, Allah Yar Khan paid a return visit to Nadir alongwith 300 Abdali notables. He presented valuable and precious gifts to Nadir and asked for the safety of Zulfiaqr Khan and his family. Nadir allowed Zulfiaqr Khan and

his brother Ahmad Khan a safe exit from Herat and retirement to Farah.(57) Nadir also allowed Allah Yar Khan to retain the citadel of Herat. Next day Allah Yar Khan received intelligence of the siege of Farah by 40,000 Ghaljis which he immediately communicated by producing Batu Khan informer to Nadir who issued orders for the despatch of a strong column for the relief of Farah. But this news was false, and Nadir became furious and ordered immediate resumption of hostilities. He thought it a ruse on the part of Abdalis to disengage his forces from Herat. Allah Yar Khan greatly perturbed on this new development, hastened from Herat with some elders and sought private interview to re-assure Nadir about his fidelity.(58) In this private interview Nadir reminded the agreement earlier arrived at between them and demanded 500 people of note from among the Abdalis as hostages from Allah Yar Khan, failing which he threatened to take over Herat exclusively. Allah Yar Khan was constrained to accept this cruel

demand. Nadir reassured by the promises of Allah Yar Khan allowed him to return to Herat but did not allow exit from his camp of Abdul Ghani Khan Alkoz i and other elders who had earlier accompanied Allah Yar Khan to Nadir's camp.(59)

ALLAH YAR KHAN BACKS OUT OF HIS PROMISES AND RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES BY NADIR

Allah Yar Khan after his return to Herat called the general assembly of the elders of the confederacy and told them what had been settled between him and Nadir in private, and disclosed that now he had to hand over 500 Abdali notables as hostages. This was tragic news to the elders who were already furious on the detention of the elders by Nadir and they remonstrated before Allah Yar Khan enmass and vehemently opposed this move. They asked him to desist from this, as his forefathers had helped in the release of their imprisoned tribesmen while he was going to hand over his kith and kin to the aliens. They

said, "we would not hand over our own kith and kin with our own hands. We would not allow this disgrace to befall us. We would rather die than be hostages with a tyrant". Then thronged old ladies of Abdalis as Nanawat at his residence, weeping & wailing. These ladies appealed to him in the name of Holy Prophet to save their relatives from this ignominious fate. They asked him to kill them rather than hand over their loved ones in to the hands of Nadir. Allah Yar Khan was in quandry due to this commotion, he was greatly moved by the protests of womenfolk. His loyalty to Nadir, his adopted brother, was shaken by these popular feelings and entreaties and his will power was swayed in favour of his own people. He decided to stand with the majority. On this he alongwith other elders vowed not to hand over Abdalis as hostages to Nadir and it was agreed upon that firstly they would request Nadir to waive these new conditions, secondly they would offer him ransom and if even after this Nadir did not budge, they would fight to the last but

would not subject themselves to slavery. Nadir got informed of this resolve of the Abdalis in Herat. He on 2nd Rabi-ul-Awal (24 August) despatched Yousuf Barakzai alongwith a Persian messenger to Herat who conveyed to Allah Yar Khan the dreadful threats of Nadir and told him about the wrath of Nadir in case of disobedience and threatened him with dire consequences if he did not fulfill the stipulations as agreed upon earlier with Nadir.(60) These threats had no effect on the resolve of Allah Yar Khan and other Abdalis. On this the messengers returned to the Nadir's camp and informed him of the resolve of the Abdalis. Nadir was greatly annoyed at this new development and he immediately ordered the arrest of Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai and 40 other elders who had been detained earlier and hostilities started afresh.(61)

ALLAH YAR KHAN ASSUMES THE COMMAND OF THE DEFENDERS

Allah Yar Khan now started to strengthen the

walls and towers of the citadal weakened during earlier sieges which were being neglected due to peace parleys and assumed the command of the defenders. On the night of 10 Rab-ul-Awal/1st September, Allah Yar Khan despatched a raiding party to Kalla Sufaid and another to Bad Ghis in order to storm the Persian positions.(62) On the same night he despatched a strong force under the command of renowned Moosa Dongi father of Sardar Maddu Khan Ishaqzai to storm the Persian positions in Bad Ghebat near the spring of Kiranphal. On this movement Nadir himself went in pursuit of Moosa Dongi's force but on second thought took position in a place called Jibrail.(63) In the meantime Abdalis emerged from the citadel of Herat keeping infantry in front and cavalry in the rear and 3 hours before day-break attacked the Persian lines. They subjected the Persians to heavy musketry fire. These attacks and movements greatly disturbed the Persians for the whole night. Nadir that night took shelter in a house

near Gibrail and this house was a special target of Abdali fire. Early in the morning Allah Yar Khan himself led on attack from the side of Darband to divert the attention of the Persians and engaged them in such a way to allow the retreat of different raiding parties back to the citadel.(64) In 'this night's engagement, the Persians losses were proportionately more than those of the Abdalis.(65)

THE BATTLE OF KIRZAN

Next day Allah Yar Khan emerged from the side of Kirzan with his full force and advanced upto Hari Rud to give battle to Nadir. His artillery was positioned near Baghistan from where he let loose a hell on the Persians and took heavy toll of them. Nadir himself came forward to counteract this move. For the whole day, both forces facing each other, subjected each other to heavy musketry fire and cannonading and in the evening both returned to their positions. These engagements continued ceaselessly for the second day and third day.(66)

THE FALL OF MARUCHAK

Allah yar Khan's family had been stationing since his earlier exit from Herat in his stronghold of Maruchak. Nadir was infuriated on account of the betrayal by Allah Yar Khan and recent active supervision of defensive and offensive moves by him. He appointed a strong raiding column for the reduction of this fort. The Persian column after encountering little resistance overpowered the defenders who were a small force and captured it. Allah Yar Khan's family and household fell into the hands of Persians alongwith their belongings. The news of the fall of Maruchak did not deter Allah yar Khan who continued actively leading the Abdalis for the defence of Herat.(67)

THE ABDALI ATTACK PERSIAN POSTIONS NEAR KABUTER KHAN

On 21 Rabi-ul-Sani Allah yar Khan arranged a desperate storming party to attack the Persian lines from the side of Kabuter Khan. Nadir had earlier in

the night strengthened this side and Abdalis were unaware of this fact. So they were surrounded and their line of retreat was cut. In desperation they took refuge in an abandoned fortlice near Kirzan. There also they were immediately surrounded. The night fell and early in the morning, Nadir himself came forward to take this fortlice by force and to annihilate the besieged. Allah Yar Khan perceiving the critical position of his men in fortlice came out of the citadel with a strong force. He despatched a column of musketeers to engage the Persians from behind and himself with another column attacked fiercely the Persians and threw them in confusion and breaking the Persian lines joined their comrades and strengthened them. On this Nadir divided his forces into two and got engaged one of his force with the Abdali musketeers and the other force strengthened the encircling Persian force round fortlice. The Abdalis who though were besieged in the fortlice were greatly emboldered with this junction, they rallied out of the

fortlice and fiercely attacked the Persians who were encircling them and made a break through and escaped after a loss of 300 men and reached the citadel with much difficulty.(68)

THE RAID ON THE OBAH FORT

The Obah fort was being used as the supply centre of Persians and Ismail Khan Ostajlu was commanding this fort on their behalf. Allah Yar Khan arranged a raiding party one thousand strong under the command of Sheran, Ashraf and Ayaz Abdalis for the capture of this fort along with its stores of supplies which were badly needed by the besieged garrison in Herat. The Abdali column one by one came out of the citadel at the dead of night and secretly marched towards the fort and took position in a hideout near the Obah fort. Early in the morning when the gates of this fort were opened, they took the garrison by surprise and captured the fort without much difficulty. Ismail Khan Istajlu and Ibrahim Khan Kalantar who fell into the hands of Abdalis after the fall of this fort

were put to death. The Abdalis now started transporting the provisions from Obah fort to Herat in a hurry but Nadir rushed a strong cavalry column towards Obah and cut off the Abdalis communication with Herat. The Abdalis column was besieged and the attempt for the procurement of the provisions which were badly needed in Herat was made unsuccessful by the vigilance and personal exertions of Nadir.(69)

AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT AT PEACE

In the first week of the month of Rajab, (December 1731 A.D) Allah Yar Khan opened peace parleys through the Sheikh-ul Islam of Herat and promised to present himself immediately before Nadir if he released his family members and allowed the evacuation of Abdalis from Obah fort and permitted exit of the detained Abdali elders from his camp. Nadir showed great magnanimity and without any pre conditions released the family members of Allah yar Khan and allowed the evacuation of Abdalis from Obah fort but did not agree to the release of Abdali

notables detained earlier in his camp.(70) Non fulfillment of this condition did not find favour with the elders, and so the negotiations failed with the result that hostilities started with fresh vigour.(71)

THE BATTLE OF GAZERGAH

On 14th Safar Nadir attacked from the side of Gazergah (Washermen's embankment). Allah Yar Khan came out of the citadel to resist this move and attacked the advancing Persian column and in the bloody encounter that ensued, he himself exhibited most brilliant example of valour and put to death a large number of Persians in hand to hand fights. Hamza Khan Popalzai who was plenipotentiary of Allah Yar Khan and in whom Allah Yar Khan reposed great confidence fell into the hands of Persians in this battle.(72) Nadir immediately ordered his death but kept the execution of this order purposely in abeyance, as one of the gates of Herat was being defended by Popalzais. Nadir got in communication with them and promised to spare the life of Hamza

Khan if they opened the gate for him. Aman Popalzai who had been earlier detained along with other Abdali elders and had been won over by Nadir, took it on himself to effect this design of Nadir. At the last moment Allah yar Khan came to know of this treachery and immediately evicted forcibly the Popalzai defenders from this gate and entrusted it to the Nurzais who were thought to be more trustworthy at that time due to their being of the tribe of the mother of Sultan Hayat Khan. Aman Popalzai, as agreed earlier, led the Persians to that gate. They were surprised by the resistance put by the new defenders of the gate. Unaware they were thoroughly punished and they had to make a hasty retreat. Aman Popalzai lost his life while leading the attack on the gate. Hamza Popalzai was put to death by Nadir in rage.(73)

FAMINE IN HERAT

Nadir now took great personal exertions to stop the supplies into the citadel of Herat. Cavalry was

deployed to keep day and night vigilance on the movement of Abdalis and to intercept the supplies. The city was completely ringed with towers and trenches and it now became impossible for the foraging parties to go out and collect supplies. The earlier raids by the Persian columns into adjoining Afghan territories had laid waste the surrounding country side and all the sources of Abdalis supplies were made extinct. This resulted in complete stoppage of supplies into the citadel and Herat was in the grip of famine. The losses of men and material in different encounters with Nadir had completely bled the defenders white and their sufferings further increased on account of starvation. Every animal, even, dogs, cats and mice though prohibited by the religion, were hunted and eagerly devoured and the defenders and the inhabitants began falling ill due to the unclean effect of unclean food and in the end people began to die and there was complete chaos.(74)

THE FALL OF HERAT TO NADIR

In this impossible situation it was thought prudent to hand over the citadel of Herat to Nadir themselves instead of a forcible entry into it by the Persians which would have resulted in the massacre of the remaining defenders and the innocent inhabitants. On this, the elders unanimously decided to surrender and Allah Yar Khan was informed of this decision. On this he passed on message to Nadir. Nadir readily accepted the capitulation on the promise of safe conduct to all.(75) People took leave of Allah Yar Khan and there were many moving scenes of affection towards him and with tears in their eyes they bid farewell to each other, Allah Yar Khan begging forgiveness if he had done any wrong to anyone and the people also reciprocating the same feelings. No one was sure of future and the atmosphere was completely grief stricken as the Abdalis were unable, despite their best endeavours to save themselves from the clutches of humiliating and

dreadful bondage. On the 1st of Ramzan-1144 AH/16 Feb 1732 AD the citadel of Herat was formally handed over to the representatives of Nadir and the defenders were ordered to proceed in lines to Buqrai fort.(76) Last of all Allah Yar Khan with full assurance of safety came out of Herat.(77) Nadir asked him to come to meet him but Allah Yar Khan forlorn, dejected and defeated begging pardon, avoided meeting Nadir, his adopted brother (Lalla) and by rapid marches proceeded to Multan.(77A)

With the exit of Allah Yar Khan from Herat, the rule of Sultan Khel, Khudakka - branch of Saddozais was over and the Sultanate period of Saddozais in Afghan Khurasan, came to an end.(78) It was most important period in the history of Afghans when in the heart land of Afghan territory these illustrious Sultan Khel, Khudakka Saddozai Chiefs of Abdalis consolidated different warring tribes into a cohesive confederacy and by their skillful and courageous leadership attained the height of glory and

independence, which none of their predecessors had ever attained, introduced into the history an unknown tribe, infused them with everlasting spirit of independence, and pride in their own existence and these sentiments always paid them and instilled in them a spirit which always kept them up and in the end created for them a country of their own and carved out an empire for their people.

THE FALL OF FARAH

The Farah fort was being defended by Ali Mardan Khan the second son of Zaman Khan Saddozai. Earlier attempts of the Persians for the capture of this Abdali stronghold were foiled due to exertions of Ali Mardan Khan and inactions of the Persian Commanders. On 15 Rabi-ul-Awal/26 August 1732, Ibrahim Khan who had been recalled earlier from Koklan was sent with reinforcement to activate the Persian besiegers. He encamped near village Momatamer and encircled the Farah fort with towers and trenches copying Nadir's siege plan of Herat.

The Abdalis fearing total blockade came out of the fort and wanted to destroy whatever they could lay hands on. But this attempt was foiled with vigour and they had to make a hasty retreat. The Abdali losses were most disheartening and dead and wounded were counted to be some 1500 men. This loss of men completely exhausted them and blunted their power of counter attack. On this they appealed to Hussain Ghalji for aid. In this period of national emergency Hussain Ghalji's attitude was luke warm and as earlier stated he did not come forward whole heartedly to make common cause with the Abdalis. On the request from Farah he ordered Saidal Khan Nasiri who after his earlier exit from Herat was stationed at Isfizar along with Zulfiqar Khan and Ahmad Khan to help the defenders of Farah with his force. Saidal Khan was making preparation to proceed to Farah when he heard the news of the fall of Herat on which he evacuated Isfizar and returned to Kandhar along with Zulfiqar Khan and his younger brother Ahmad

Khan. The defenders of Farah were also much disheartened earlier at the fall of Herat and finding no aid from any quarter and seeing further resistance impossible, they decided to evacuate it. Thus Ali Mardan Khan two days after the fall of Herat, abandoned the fort of Farah at night and proceeded to Kandhar with the remaining defenders and joined his brothers in Ghalji capital. Nadir's forces immediately occupied Farah and annexed the territory upto Dilaram.(79)

HUSSAIN GHALJI DETAINS ZULFIQAR KHAN AND HIS BROTHERS

Zulfiqar Khan and his brothers were most unwelcome guests to Hussain who had great foreboding about their arrival and presence in Kandhar. Zulfiqar Khan was a great stalwart in personality, courage and celebrity among the whole Afghan nation. He would not sit idle if any opportunity for action became available to him. Then Zulfiqar Khan as Chief of Abdalis had not

surrendered to Hussain Ghalji, the inalienable rights of Abdalis to the surrounding lands of Kandhar in exchange for his promises of help against Nadir. Hussain had many others suspicions disturbing his mind. He knew how formidable were these brothers in the midst of Kandhar the heart of Afghan territory. He also knew about the Abdali claims to the very citadel of Kandhar and rivalry between Abdalis and Ghaljis during the life time of Shah Abdulah Khan and Mahmud Ghalji. These were the thoughts which prompted Hussain Ghalji to arrest these three brothers immediately after their arrival in Kandhar, before they could do any mischief to him. He treacherously placed these guests in strict confinement and thus disobeyed the Pakhtunwali (Time honoured Afghan Code of honour) They were subjected to much torture and indignities due to neglect which is the fate of every Afghan prisonar and Ali Mardan Khan died in captivity and the other two, Zulfiqar Khan and Ahmad Khan were released by Nadir in March 1151 AH/1738

AD at the fall of Kandhar.(80)

THE ACCOUNTS OF ALLAH YAR KHAN
AFTER HIS EXIT FROM HERAT

Allah Yar Khan left Herat in a very straitened and destitute conditions. His last tenure in Herat could not be termed as profitable. His fortune and other belongings were in his stronghold of Maruchak, which fell into the hands of Persians. The fall of Maruchak and the capture of his family made him penniless at the time of his exit from Herat. He left for Multan where he lived a life much below his status. Later on he shifted to Delhi in the hope of getting some favourable treatment from the Mughal Emperor but he was unsuccessful and was granted some paltry Jageer much disproportionate to his position and he was not happy. In the meantime Nadir invaded India and defeated the Mughals and entered Delhi in the month of February 1739 (Zeeqad 1151-AH). Nadir had the intelligence of the presence of Allah Yar Khan in the Mughal Capital. He had much

regard for Abdali elders and a soft corner in his heart for Allah Yar Khan, whom he had adopted as his brother (Lala). One day Nadir enquired from Prime Minister Qamaruddin Khan, Chin Bahadar, about the whereabouts of Allah Yar Khan. The Mughal Prime Minister was unaware and asked which Allah Yar Khan. Nadir smiled and said "You rightly deserved defeat and loss of empire. It is strange that you are unaware of a person like Allah Yar Khan in your very midst. I have yet to see a brave man like him. He had fought with me seventy battles with his head high and what of you, who after a single battle had fallen prostrate". The Prime Minister of India was greatly embarrassed, when Nadir came to his rescue and explained that he means to enquire about Allah Yar Khan Abdali. The following day, Prime Minister, who having found out Allah Yar Khan, presented him before Nadir, who showed him great respect and clemency. Throughout the stay of Nadir in Delhi, Allah Yar Khan was asked to be present in his court

and on his return from India Nadir took him back with him. When Nadir annexed Sind he granted substantial Jageers to Allah Yar Khan of the forfeited territories of Khuda Yar Khan Abbasi. Later on, Allah Yar Khan fell in to disfavour by the intrigues of Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai whose authority as chief of Abdalis he always defied and treated him disdainfully, despite Abdul Ghani Khan's remonstrances to Nadir. But Nadir always treated him favourably and looked after him well and found his presence in his camp to be useful and thought it unwise to keep such a formidable former foe away from his own presence. Allah Yar Khan remained in Persian camp during Nadir's campaign in Mesopotamia and Daghistan. After the murderous attack on Nadir in Mazandran in May 1741 (Safar 1154-AH) Allah Yar Khan due to his bragging and loose talk in the camp brought on him the wrath of Nadir and he was disgraced. A few days later Allah Yar Khan died mysteriously in 1155-AH/1742 AD in the Persian Camp and it was

suspected that he was poisoned by the orders of Nadir(80A). But Nadir conduct afterwards belies all this. Nadir lamented his death and sent his corpse with due honour to Herat where he was buried along side the grave of his father and brother (Shah Abdulah Khan and Assadulah Khan) in Bagh-e-Rouza. About his issues the chronicles are silent.(81)

CHARACTER OF ALLAH YAR KHAN

Allah Yar Khan with all his human weaknesses was a man of some learning, culture and taste. Bold in war and active in peace he was by nature always influenced by councils and was always swayed by the opinion of the elders of the confederacy. Being born of a Persian mother he was much imbued by the Persian culture. He tried his utmost to encourage trade and stopped oppression of the Farsivan traders of Herat who endeared him but became unpopular among his own tribesmen who practiced plunder and oppression habitually on their non Afghan subjects. He was initiated into the Government of Herat at a

time, when Abdali elders had encroached much on the powers of their rulers and had become head strong. He tried his utmost to curb the power of tribal elders but failed due to the troubled times and confused and intrigue ridden state of Abdali affairs. His endeavours for consolidating his hold on Herat by alliance with the Persians were made fruitless by the obstinacy of selfish and headstrong elders and the war party of Zulfiqar Khan. During the siege of Herat he showed exemplary personal courage and bravery and in this matter he was true to his blood and family name and tradition. The blames which had been imputed to him were infidelity with Nadir after making promises of submission and calling Nadir his adopted brother (Lala) could be defended with impunity. He did not in the heart of heart wanted to perpetuate slavery of his people and thus he was rightly swayed by the popular feelings. The other blame of killing his members of family after their release by Nadir had not been proved by independent sources. Moreover it

looks totally against his nature as we do not find any single example of blood letting during his tenure of office as chief of Abdalis. There was nothing lacking in him except the ruthlessness which was necessary in those circumstances. He would have succeeded to defeat the Persians as his father had earlier succeeded but he failed due to his adversary. Nadir being a more formidable foe than the earlier Persian Commanders.

NOTES**BOOK-II****Part-III**

- (1)- Zubda tul Tawarikh page 223, Tazkira Ahwal-e- Hazin page 174-5. He obtained the powerful and illustrious office of Corchi Bashi Gari (Commander in Chief) and the title of Tahmasaph Quli Khan)
- (2)- Tazkira page 76, Lockhart (Fall) 324.
- (3)- Tazkira 77
- (4)- Jehan Kusha 90
- (4-A)- Tarikh e Nadiri 48
- (5)- Tazkira page 77/78-Jehan Kusha e Nadri 49
- (6)- Tazkira 78-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 92
- (7)- Tazkira 79-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 92/93
- (8)- Tazkira 80-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 93
- (9)- Tazkira 80-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 93
- (10)- There is no mention of visit of Allah year Khan into Persian Camp in Jehan Kusha.
- (11)- Tazkira 80
- (12)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri page 95
- (13)- Nadir was under illusions as to the magnitude of the task of the eviction of Abdalis from Herat. His

conversation with Russian representative, Semen Avramov on this subject confirms this on account of his cautious movements and great exertions at personal risk during first campaign against Herat. See Fall of Safvi Empire page 324

- (14)- Tazkira 81-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 131
- (15)- Tazkira 82
- (16)- Tazkira 82-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 132
- (17)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 132
- (18)- Tazkira 83-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 133
- (19)- Tazkira 83-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 133
- (20)- Tazkira 84-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 133. J.P.Tate page84
- (21)- Tazkira 84
- (22)- Tazkira 86
- (23)- Lockhart's 'Nadir' page 52
- (24)- Tazkira 87
- (25)- Tazkira 87- Lockharts Nadir 52. For Second campaign of Nadir against Herat read pages 92-94-97 of Tarikh-e-Nadri
- 26)- Tazkira 87-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 145
- 27)- Tazkira 88-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 146/147
- 28)- Tazkira 88-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 147
- 29)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 149

- (30)- Tazkira 89-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 148
- (31)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 148
- (32)- Tazkira 89
- (33)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 148
- (34)- Tazkira 89-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 149
- (35)- Tazkira 90
- (36)- Tazkira 90
- (37)- Tazkira 90-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 150
- (38)- Tazkira 90-Daulat Durrania page 4, Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 150- Tarikh-e-Nadri page 51 - Tarikh-e-Ahmad by Abdul Karim Alvi page 4
- (39)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 151
- (40)- Tazkira 91-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 151
- (41)- Tazkira 91-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 151
- (42)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 152
- (43)- Tazkira 92
- (44)- Tazkira 92
- (45)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 153
- (46)- Tazkira 92-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 155
- (47)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 155
- (48)- Tazkira 193
- (49)- Lockharts Nadir 53
- (50)- Tazkira 93-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 156

- (51)- Tazkira 94
- (52)- Tazkira 94-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 157
- (53)- Tazkira 94
- (54)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 157
- (55)- Tazkira 95-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 157/158
- (56)- Tazkira 95-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 158, Tarikh Nadri 60
- (57)- Tazkira 96-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 158
- (58)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 159
- (59)- Tazkira 96
- (60)- Tazkira 97
- (61)- Tazkira 97-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 159
- (62)- Tazkira 98
- (63)- Tazkira 98-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 160
- (64)- Tazkira 98A-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 160
- (65)- Tazkira 98A. The manuscript of Tazkira Tul Muluk-e-Ali Shan in my possession contains two pages numbered as 98 which I have re-numbered as 98A-98B.
- (66)- Tazkira 98B-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 161
- (67)- Tazkira 98B-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 161
- (68)- Tazkira 98B-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 162
- (69)- Tazkira 99-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 163 gives a different story I am following the Abdali version as given in Tazkira. (Author).

- (70)- Tazkira 99-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 164. Persian Chronicles alleged that Allah Yar Khan on release of his family members, immediately put them all to death. This is most perfidious and vituperative allegation on Allah yar Khan who was most kind hearted and tolerant man. The allegation is refuted vehemently by the family.
- (71)- Tazkira 100
- (72)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 164
- (73)- Tazkira 100-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 165
- (74)- Tazkira 101
- (75)- Tazkira 101-Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 165
- (76)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 165
- (77)- Jehan Kusha-e-Nadri 166
- (77-A)-Zubdatul Tawarikh page 215
- (78)- Tazkira 102
- (79)- Tazkira 103
- (80-A)-According to TazkiraTul Muluk-e-Alishan, Nadir suspected involvement of Allah Yar Khan on account of his loose talk regarding his acquaintance with the culprit. Nadir after the assassination attempt, one day bestowed a robe of honour on Allah Yar Khan and ordered him to wear it. This robe of honour was poisoned and he died within three days after

wearing this robe of honour. This type of revenge is against the very nature of Nadir. Moreover, he genuinely showed feelings for the loss of such a magnificent man, which refute this blame on him and the story looks to be improbable.

- (81) As related to me personally by late Sardar Haq Nawaz Khan Saddozai, Bahadar Khel of Dera Ismail Khan (Ex-Municipal Commissioner) that Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang reputed Muslim League Leader from Hyderabad Deccan, When in Dera Ismail Khan before creation of Pakistan claimed himself to be the decendant of this Allah Yar Khan Khudakka Saddozai. According to his claim, the family of Allah Yar Khan migrated from Delhi to Gawaliar from where they shifted to Hyderabad Deccan.

BOOK-II**Part-IV****ABDALIS UNDER NADIR**

The siege of Herat had occupied near about a year.(1) The most remarkable feature of this siege was Nadir's clemency, despite repeated transgressions of the Abdalis. He knew the potential of Abdalis and was much impressed by their bravery, grit and martial qualities. The generous and magnanimous manner in which he treated the Abdalis showed that he was determined to win them over by a display of moderation. He may have already conceived the idea which he afterwards put into practice of building up a non Persian and non Shia army totally loyal to himself. (2) Moreover he had planned strengthening the Persian Khurasan, which was the base of his power by settling the warlike tribes and for this purpose he had settled earlier Afshars and other tribes in that region.(3) Nadir was now master of Herat, a former province of Persia and Abdalis had surrendered. Keeping the

Abdalis into their former territories was full of danger. Their warlike spirit had not been fully subdued and in the absence of Nadir from Khurasan they would have made common cause with Ghaljis and would have risen and threatened Meshad. Influenced by these ideas Nadir uprooted the Abdalis from their hearth and homes and transported 60,000 Abdalis from the province of Herat and settled them in the districts of Meshad, Nishapur and Damghan and a large numbers to Mazandran, but those Abdalis who had earlier taken refuge into the mountains during the Nadir's campaign escaped from his clutches and continued to disturb the Persian territory.(4)

ABDALIS JOIN NADIR'S ARMY

During the siege of Herat, when the peace parleys failed some very influential Abdali elders were detained by Nadir. During their internment in his camp, Nadir developed cordial relations with them, bestowing largesses he won over their heart in his own cause. Later on some of these elders cooperated

with him during the siege of Herat and the foremost among them was Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai. After the 'surrender of Herat, Nadir bestowed the chiefship of Abdalis on Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai with whose cooperation he conceived the idea of raising an Abdali contingent for his army.(5) Abdalis in their new habitat were totally dependent on Nadir, who forced 12000 picked Abdalis to join his army and appointed some prominent Abdalis like Haji Ismail Khan, Nur Muhammad Khan Alizai, Haji Jamal Khan Barakzai, Manu Khan, Khanu Khan Nurzais etc. as their commanders. No Saddozai joined his army at that time.(6)

THE ABDALIS EXPLOITES UNDER THE COMMAND OF NADIR

After their initiation into his service Nadir employed this Abdali contingent with skill and used them in every battle in his empire. Abdalis though had joined Nadir's army under duress they proved their mettle and fought some of the most brilliant actions

under the Persian banners and were regarded by Nadir as most trustworthy troops during any crises. Their exemplary conduct on Shaban 1145 A.H./17th January 1733 A.D. in the combat with the Turks on the river Tigris was highly praise worthy, as they stood firm before Turkish onslaught, when other Persian contingents had fled from the field and this grit of Abdalis won the day for Nadir. In the battle of Jadeeda on Safar 1146 A.H./18th July 1733 A.D., it was Abdalis who not only withstood the successive Turkish charges but saved Nadir himself from a difficult position. On Rajab 1146 A.H./9th Nov. 1733 A.D.(6A). in the battle of Darband near Kirkuk, Topal Usman, a famous Turkish Commander sallied the Turks and made a desperate charge on the advancing Persians and was about to annihilate the Persians when a fierce flank attack by the Abdalis caused the Turkish army to give way. The result was that Topal Úsman lost his life and Turkish army was wiped out and Abdalis carried the day.(7)

All these acts of fidelity and high bravery and unflinching loyalty further endeared the Abdalis to Nadir who began to trust them more than his Qizilbash.

“In the siege of Daghistan against the tribe of Lizgees Nadir was engaged for more than eleven months in exertions and was not successful. One evening as he was taking his meals in his tent a ball struck the ground near him and caused some dirt to fly into the dish before him. Seized with a fit of ungovernable fury, Nadir sent for Abdali chiefs their force and swore that unless the city was taken within 20 hours they should all pay the forfeit of their lives. Upon this Abdul Ghani Khan and other leading Abdalis gathered their tribesmen together and at their head made a determined assault upon the city which after an obstinate resistance fell into their hands within the time specified.(8) Nadir was well pleased with their gallantry and promised to grant them any request they might make and the assembled chiefs putting

forward one of them as their spokesman, requested that the ancient possession of the Abdali confederacy might be restored to them, that those who had been sent into exile to Persia might be recalled and their lands then held by Ghaljis might be made over to Abdalis. The boon was granted and all the Abdalis scattered through out, half the districts of Persia were again brought to their kinsmen and their homelands. Moreover, the lands lying west of Herat and still held by Abdalis were made over to them. Nadir also promised to restore the Abdalis their former lands around Kandhar, whenever they fell into his hands". (9).

In 24 Shawal 1148 A.H./8th March 1736 A.D. Nadir became the Shah of Persia and after his coronation Abdalis reminded him of his promise to them of the restoration of their lands in Kandhar. Nadir on this discussed with his commanders as to the projected Kandhar campaign and also heard from Abdali chiefs about the political situation in the area

and announced his intentions for the reduction of Kandhar.(10)

THE FALL OF KANDHAR TO NADIR

On the 17 Rajab 1149 A.H./2 Nov 1736 A.D. Nadir started from Isphahan and came via Kirman Bam. Farah, Dilhak, and Dilaram to Grishik which was captured speedily on Jan 1738 A.D.(11) After a halt of 3 days the march was resumed via Shah Maqsud to Arghandab river close to the west of which the Persian camp was pitched. Hussain Ghalji having heard through his scouts of the presence of the Persian army on the further side of Argandab, sent his commander in chief, Saidal Khan Nasiri along with Younus Khan to deliver a surprise attack that night upon the Persians. (12) Each of these commanders was at the head of 8000 picked Ghalji horsemen. Unfortunately for Ghaljis, not only did they loose touch with one another in the darkness, but they had also not kept their plans sufficiently secret. Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai, Nadir's favourite and nominee

as Chief of Abdalis, who had staked much in the success of Kandhar campaign, had heard of the impending attack and had sent out a strong body of his men to parry the Ghalji move. These Abdalis on coming into contact with Younus Khan's men in the darkness pretended to be Saidal Khan's troops and called out to the Ghaljis in Pushtu. Younus Khan and his men were completely taken in and had begun fraternizing with Abdalis when the latter suddenly assailed them and inflicted heavy casualties on them. Hearing the fighting Saidal Khan, hastened to the rescue, but was unable to retrieve the situation and sustained much losses and eventually he had to withdraw to Kandhar. He lost many more from drowning, when fording Arghandab.(13)

On the following day Nadir crossed the river and the siege of Kandhar was begun. In the month of May, the citadel of Safa and Kalat-e-Ghalji fell into the hands of Nadir and earlier than this the Ghaljis from Zamindwar.(14)

On 13th March 1738 A.D./Zilhaj 1150 A.H.

Abdalis along with select Qizilbashes and Kurd contingents attacked the citadel of Kandhar but were repulsed. In this siege the contribution of Abdalis for the success of this campaign were unbounded and they with unequalled zeal and with vengeance advanced the cause of Nadir and were foremost in the attacks on the Ghaljis. They ransacked all the surrounding country and made the supply of provisions to the defenders impossible. Hard pressed and frustrated by these difficulties, Hussain lost his heart and when Nadir brought to bear heavy cannon on the citadel, he decided to surrender.(15) When Kandhar fell into the hands of Nadir, the Abdalis happiness knew no bounds as their dream of the restoration of their ancestral lands were likely to be fulfilled. After occupying the fort of Kandhar, Nadir ordered for the release of prisoners from different dungeons of the fort. Many people completely decimated and starved got amnesty at the hands of

Nadir and prominent among these were Zulfiqar Khan Saddozai the former chief of Abdalis and his brother Ahmad Khan Saddozai, the future Baba-e-Afghan, and the founder of the Kingdom of Afghanistan.(16A) Nadir treated them graciously and enquired about their welfare and promised both the brothers favourable treatment if they joined his force. Zulfiqar Khan proud of his descent, preferred exile than the service of Nadir and consequently was deported to Mozandran. Nadir arranged for him sufficient allowance for his and family's maintenance.(16) Ahmad Khan the youngest son of Zaman Khan, teenager at that time, obediently followed his elder brother to Mazandran and lived with him as a dependent till Zulfiqar Khan's death in 1155-AH/1742 A.D.(17)

Nadir immediately planned and laid out a new city close to the old Kandhar and named it Nadirabad. He ordered the inhabitants of Kandhar to move to this new city, which he made the capital of the province of Kandhar. He raised a Ghalji contingent and chief

command of both Abdali and Ghalji contingent *was* bestowed on Nur Mohammad Khan Alizai.

RESETTLEMENT OF ABDALIS IN KANDHAR REGION.

The distinguished services rendered by the Abdalis to Nadir were now to meet with fitting acknowledgment. Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai was made the Governor of the Province of Kandhar and other Abdali chiefs were appointed Governors of Grishik, Bust and Zamindwar. The Abdali tribesmen were brought from Persian Khurasan enmass to the Kandhar Region (18) and Ghalji (Hotki Clan) lands earlier usurped from Abdalis were apportioned to them, the valley of Arghandab falling to Abdul Ghani Khan and his clan the Alkozais and the region of Dawar to Nur Mohammad Khan and his Alizais while the Barakzais who not being so important at that time were allotted inferior lands. The lands around Kandhar were divided by Nadir into 300 ploughs, each plough being of 100 Tanabs (cords) and each

Tanab, equal to 60 square yards. Each plough of land also represented four Kharwars or as much land as can be sown with 40 maunds of seeds and was charged with furnishing two horsemen for the service of the Persians. As Government revenue ($1/10$) one tenth part of the produce was fixed upon the land near the city and rest of the lands which were brought under the above system of service were exempted from this charge and the share of $1/10$ of produce was continued to be paid at the value assessed for the first year. (19)

During the Indian Campaign, Abdalis served Nadir with distinction. They rendered him, a signal service and certainly saved his army from complete destruction, when on his return from India, he was engaged with the enemy in the mountains beyond Peshawar and harassed on all sides by the Khyberes. The Persian monarch was in a most critical situation at that time and extricated himself by utilizing the good offices of Abdali chiefs and paying

toll to these mountaineers who had closed the defile upon him.(20)

AHMAD KHAN SADDOZAI JOINS NADIR'S ARMY

In 1155-A.H./1742A.D.Zulfiqar Khan Saddozai died in Mazandran. His younger brother Ahmad Khan who had been constant companion in war, in prison and in exile of his elder brother since 1731 A.D. became the head of the family and lot of responsibilities fell on his shoulders. Earlier all his needs were being looked after by his brother from his meagre pension and as an obedient brother, he never aspired against the wishes of his elder brother who did not see eye to eye with the Persian administration and was still harping on the glory, old rights and privileges of his family. During the life time of his elder brother he could not think about employment with Nadir as the exiled Abdali Saddozai Chiefs thought it below their station and high descent to serve the Persians. But now the situation was different,

Ahmad Khan was a house holder and father of a son, with many other dependents one of which was his nephew Luqman Khan S/o Ali Mardan Khan. He needed immediate employment which could only be made available by the Persians. Ahmad Khan with these thoughts, approached Haji Ismail Khan Alizai who arranged his interview with Nadir in Zilhaj 1156 A.H./Jan. 1744 A.D, at Darband.(21) Nadir was impressed by the firm and confident demeanor of Ahmad Khan and took him on his personal staff. He was about 21/22 years of age at that time. Ahmad Khan Saddozai rose rapidly in high favour with Nadir and became Korchi Bashee (Chief of ADCS) within a short period. Nadir Shah often remarked in open court " I have not found in Iran, Turan, or Hind any man equal to Ahmad Abdali in capacity and character."(22)

Under an exacting master like Nadir the proper discharge of the duties of this appointment made great demands on the tact and discretion of the person who filled it, and the future sovereign of Afghanistan

received a training that stood him in good stead afterwards. Ahmad Khan owed his rapid advancement to his military ability and zeal which earlier had attracted Nadir's immediate notice, which gained him further, Royal favour. Ahmad Khan served with distinction in two campaigns of Nadir, the first being in Iraq in Jamadi-ul-Awal 1158 A.H./May 1745 A.D. when the Abdalis joined the battles of Kirkuk, Arbel, Altum Kapri and Mosul(23). The second campaign was in the territory of Irwan against the Turks. The Abdalis on 9 Rajab 1158 A.H./7 August 1745 A.D. played a decisive role, in the battle of Baghward. The Persian Army had lost nerves before a Turkish onslaught but Ahmad Khan at the spur of moment led the Abdalis and opened a flank attack on the Turks and routed them. The Turks fled in great confusion and Nadir succeeded in ejecting the Turks from this province.(24) These daring exploits and his expert handling of the situations in the presence of Nadir greatly

increased his influence with Nadir and Ahmad Khan eclipsed the elder Abdali Chiefs. Noor Mohammad Khan Alizai and Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai, both old guards and people of tremendous influence, though continued in high favour with Nadir but had alienated their own people due to their intrigues and arrogance. They were hated during the last days of Nadir, as they were thought to be instrumental in the bondage of Abdalis. The rise of Ahmad Khan did not find favour with both of them and they tried their utmost to undermine his position. Ahmad Khan had a keen eye for able and young people and with this view he requested Nadir to relieve two Abdalis from among the Abdul Ghani Khan's contingent for his personal service. Nadir was in high spirits and he ordered Abdul Ghani Khan to place ten men at the disposal of Ahmad Khan. The cunning Alkozai placed ten worthless, physically incapacitated his own men at the command of Ahmad Khan, who refused to take them in his service and the matter was referred

to Nadir who permitted Ahmad Khan to select ten men of his own choice from among the whole Abdali Contingent. Ahmad Khan selected all those brilliant young men of prominent families of different tribes of Abdali Confederacy, who were being neglected due to jealousies of old guards. Ahmad Khan well looked after these youngmen and furnished them at Nadir's expenses and continued patronizing them afterwards. This move greatly enhanced the influence of Ahmad Khan among the different tribes of Abdali Confederacy, particularly in the younger element who in the long run helped him in securing the Afghan Kingship.(25) His popularity was due to his modest and considerate nature. He was obedient to his seniors and inspired obedience from among his Juniors. His knowledge of men was supreme. These habits coupled with his noble Saddozai descent greatly endeared him to the Abdalis and he rapidly replaced Abdul Ghani Khan in influence in the confederacy.

THE MURDER OF NADIR & EMANCIPATION OF AFGHANS

Nadir in his last days became homicidal maniac. This mental disease increased further, after he blinded his son. He lost complete control over himself and rapidly changed himself into a monosterous person, taking pleasure in blood letting, exactions, fines and tortures. His conditions further deteriorated with the revolt of his nephew and rebellion in Seistan(26). The Abdalis were in a very dangerous situation. They were foreign troops devoted to Nadir, due to his inhuman discipline and wrath. They were hated by the Persians who felt slighted on Nadir, keeping more trust in Abdalis than in his own native Persians. The Abdali chief's every day went into the court prepared to suffer at the hands of Nadir. It was Ahmad Khan's expert handling of the affairs which saved them always from Nadir's homicidal outbursts.(27)

The whole Persian nobility and Nadir's close relatives, were totally against him and a number of

plots against his life had been hatched by these discontented nobles. "Nadir seems to have some presentiment of the evil which was awaiting him at this time".(28) He was suspicious about some influential Persian nobles particularly the commander of his guards and superintendent of his household and he resolved to forestall them. On the night of 19th/20 June, 1747 A.D./Rajab 1160 A.H.(29) he summoned Ahmad Khan and other Abdali officers and said to them - "I am not satisfied with my guards, your loyalty and your courage are known to me, I order you to arrest all these officers tomorrow morning and to place them in irons. Do not spare any of them, if they dare to resist you. It is question of my personal security and I entrust the preservation of my life to you alone."(30) Ahmad Khan and other Abdali officers, after promising to carry out Nadir's order retired and took immediate steps to prepare their men for their dreadful task in the morning. A spy however had overheard Nadir's discussion with the Abdali

officers and informed Mohammad Quli Khan and Salih Khan who resolved to act forthwith. They collected some seventy of their close and confident adherents and some hour before nightfall, they cautiously made their way to the tent of Chuki, the daughter of Mohammad Hassan Kajar with whom Nadir was passing the night. After strangling the guard who was on duty, they entered the tent of Nadir Shah and murdered him. The assassins then ransacked and plundered the Royal property and immediately killed two favourite ministers of Nadir.(31)

Then followed a scene of terrible confusion and horror in the camp. Ahmad Khan and other Abdali chiefs were attracted by this tumult and Nadir's murder leaked out to them. Ahmad Khan and his compatriots could not believe at first that Nadir was really dead. It was thought unwise and impertinent to leave the scene without ascertaining the true situation. The Abdalis also feared an attack on them and Ahmad Khan and his devoted Abdalis took strong measures to

safeguard themselves. Claiming to ascertain the safety of Nadir, Ahmad Khan, at the head of Abdalis approached the Nadir's tent which was being plundered by Qizilbashes who barred their way. They attacked Qizilbashes to make their way towards the Nadir's camp. Although greatly outnumbered the Afghans hewed their way through their opponents ranks and entered the Chukis tent. When they saw Nadir's headless trunk lying in a pool of blood, they were overcome with horror. After giving expression to their grief the Abdalis headed by Ahmad Khan fell on the Nadir's ill-gotten treasures, along with precious stones and valuables, and as their royal master and patron had been killed and there was thus now no clash of loyalties, they secured the major portion of it including the famous Kohi Noor, which along with other precious stones and valuables fell into the hands of Ahmad Khan. They fought again their way through the ranks of Qizilbashes and extricated themselves safely under the command of Ahmad Khan. (32) They

were now free people, master of their destiny and there was only one way open to them and that was to return to their mother land and to strive for her freedom from foreign yoke.

THE AFGHAN STRUGGLE FOR POWER

On the night of Nadir's assassination there were 4000 Abdalis in the camp and the rest of them were scattered and garrisoned in different parts of the Nadir's empire.(33) Among the old guards of Abdalis some were in Mazandran and Nur Mohammad Khan Alizai the chief commander of Afghan contingent was stationed in Darband and Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai. Nadir's nominee as chief of Abdalis was governor of the Province of Daghistan. When news of Nadir's assassination spread and reached them, the Afghans heaved a sigh of relief and hastened towards Khurasan. These two Afghan stalwart abandoned their posts and hastened to join their compatriots. In the meantime Ahmad Khan who was one of the commanders of the Abdali Contingent at

the night of Nadir's assassination virtually took over the command of all the Abdalis present in the camp by virtue of nobility of birth, his ability and popularity and with the help of the coterie of young men of prominent Afghan families, who were being earlier patronized by him. When all the Afghans assembled, they decided to proceed towards their home land, as it was thought dangerous to be in the midst of such a hostile and foreign people. On this, the whole Afghan Contingent left for Kandhar. The need for self defence in foreign and hostile land had welded the Abdalis and Ghaljis into a single community and they were now marching together in a compact body as one Nation. They had covered only a few stages when some Afghan elders who were jealous of Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai appealed to their compatriots in these terms "On the long journey before us we need a man whose commands all shall obey. It would be difficult, nay impossible for us to reach Kandhar with entire body of our woman, children and servants in the face of hostile

Persians unless we have a supreme chief. Let us therefore make an effort to appoint a chief to face whatever may happen before we get to our destination.(33A) Ahmad Khan is amidst us, a Saddozai of the noble Khawaja Khizar Khel branch, much devoted to the cause of his brethren, why not our contingent be under his command". Ahmad Khan objected and pointed out that there was indiscipline in the Afghan contingent and no one cared to obey any one, in such a situation how he could take the command. The elders on this overlooked Nur Mohammad Khan and sensing the consensus compelled the flag bearer to proceed in front of Ahmad Khan. When Abdalis had covered a few more stages in this formation, other dispersed units also joined and began following Ahmad Khan.(34A) The ambitious Abdul Ghani Khan thought it a challenge to his authority and tried to dissuade the Afghans from this posture. All his attempt were thwarted by the younger element of the Afghan contingent.

On this in consultation with each other some Abdali elders appointed a few foot soldiers to do away with Abdul Ghani Khan who promptly murdered him and thus the only effective challenger was removed from the coming contest. Thus ended the long and eventful career of Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai. Nadir's nominated chief of Abdalis who from the first day was reluctantly recognised as such.(34) With his removal the decision of the future leadership of Afghan Nation was made on the road to Kandhar. The whole Afghan contingent under the effective command of Ahmad Khan rapidly marched towards Kandhar, plundering the towns in their way, they entered Kandhar with huge booty and herds of cattle, a spectacle impressive and making far reaching impressions on the mind of inhabitants of the Afghan country.(35)

THE ELECTION OF AHMAD KHAN AS THE KING OF AFGHANS

With the death of Nadir Shah and the subsequent retreat of all the Afghans to Kandhar the

position, not only of the Afghan contingent but of the nation which it represented was entirely changed. "A vision of independence opened before them. No longer the hirelings of a foreign king they constituted at the moment a national army capable of resisting any power. A heterogeneous mass welded into consistency by the genius of Nadir but which, if his grasp over them loosened, would almost certainly have dissolved. But the objective conditions saved them from disarray.

(36)

The Afghan's interest during the life time of Nadir were being looked after by Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai whom Nadir has styled as chief of Abdalis. The chief command of the whole Afghan (Abdalis and Ghaljis) Contingent was given over to Nur Mohd Khan Alizai after the fall of Khandar. These two old guards were the nominees of Nadir through whom Nadir ruled the Afghans. Abdul Ghani Khan was killed on the road to Kandhar and now among the nominees of Nadir the aging Alizai was left. As the

contingent of a foreign prince, the Abdalis and Ghaljis had not been unwilling to serve under the orders of the nominees of Nadir who had conquered them, but Nadir's death had removed the reason for such obedience. As free men, they were not willing to obey an Alizai whose origin they said was not sufficiently noble.(37)

After the return of the Afghan contingent to Kandhar the common soldiery retired to their homes as they were strangers for so long a time to the enjoyment of social and family ties due to their long absence in Persia.(38) All the prominent elders of the Afghan tribes left for their homes and only Ahmad Khan remained in Kandhar, with his contingent. Ahmad Khan had no home nor any tribal affinities or family ties nearby. All his relatives were in Multan and his own household was with him. He stayed in Kandhar and made it his home. As a born leader he thought quickly. The situation was most favourable. With the death of Nadir there was power vacuum. On

the one side of him was the crumbling empire of the Mughals. on the other side was Persia completely prostrate with the shock of the death of Nadir. In his home land there was chaos and confusion. Abdalis though much profited and organized by the patronization of Nadir had not emulated any national objectives since long. Ghaljis after the fall of Kandhar had suffered much at the hands of Nadir and were dispersed and most disunited among the Afghans at that time. They were not in a position to wield any weight in the coming power contest. Abdul Ghani Khan was removed to eternity. Noor Mohammad Khan Alizai was near about eighty and could not make strenuous activity. Moreover the Afghan soldiery was dissatisfied with him(39A) and he had immediately been removed from the chief command of the Afghan contingent after the death of Nadir and interned.(39) Ahmad Khan knew the importance of his family, their place in immediate Afghan history and his own capabilities. Nobody can deny the

fact that he was not only bold and brilliant soldier but also had the making of a far sighted and forceful future statesman. The situation presented an unlimited field for his ambitions and he decided to act at once. Fortune favoured him as Taqi Khan Akhtabegi Shirazi whom Nadir before his death had sent to Sind to collect the revenue, without knowing the murder of Nadir entered Kandhar with 30 lakhs of Rupees. Ahmad Khan promptly seized the treasure and persuaded the contingent accompanying the treasure to enter his service. This treasure trove seized by Ahmad Khan served him as the stepping stone towards his goal of founding an Afghan Empire. This success enhanced his prestige far and wide and he was now being looked as employer of men and many fighting men flocked round his standard.(40)

In the mean time the Afghan elders returned to Kandhar. Ahmad Khan could have very easily crowned himself and would have been then applauded. But out of courtesy and modesty and

believing in the time honoured old tradition of consensus of Abdali elders in recognizing their chief, he withheld pronouncement of his intentions. In the meantime a tribal Jirga comprising the important personages and chiefs of various tribes gathered in council at the shrine of Sher Surkh near Kandhar to decide upon the best method of organizing a regular Government.(41) Experience had clearly demonstrated to all these chiefs that the division amongst themselves, much more than the power of their enemies, had up to that period, brought them under foreign subjection. They swore therefore to remain strictly united.(42) Ahmad Khan emphasized the necessity of electing a new chief who should be obeyed in all things and assisted in giving the unity of purpose to all military operations and direction to the civil administration, without which there was no chance for them to preserve their independence.

The proposition did not admit of any easy solution. Every one was advancing his own claim. The

prominent people who joined this meeting were said to be ten in number, namely

Ahmad Khan Saddozai,

Nur Mohammad Khan Alizai,

Muhabat Khan Popalzai,

Nasrullah Khan Nurzai,

Haji Jamal Khan Barakzai,

Shah Wali Khan Bamezai,

Abdulah Khan Ayubzai,

Musa Khan Ishaqzai alias Doongi

Ashraf Khan Ghalji.

Naseer Khan, the Chief of Kalat.(43)

Day after day eight prolonged meetings were held to discuss the various claims, but all these meetings were fruitless due to diversity of opinions and lack of consensus. Ahmad Khan Saddozai had been present at all these tumultuous assemblies and had patiently and attentively listened to all that had been said, without offering a word on the important questions which had been discussed. At an opportune moment, when the

disputant chiefs seemed weary of heated and interminable discussions, " darvesh, Mohammad Sabir Shah by name put forward the claim of Ahmad Khan saying " why all this verbose talk? God has created Ahmad Khan a much greater man than any of you. He is the most noble of all the Afghan families. Maintain therefore, God's work, for his wrath will weigh heavily upon you if you destroy it." The majority of the chiefs at once realized the superiority of the Saddozais claim. Then his second next ancestor, Khawja Khizar Khan, son of Saddu Mir e Afghan, was the national saint of Afghan tribes. The descendants of Khizer Khel had ruled the Abdalis from 1598 A.D./1006-AH to 1731 A.D./1144-AH. Ahmad Khan's father Zaman Khan was a distinguished man of his times and his elder brother Zulfiqar Khan had been a popular chief of Abdalis. Ahmad Khan himself was most powerful during the last days of Nadir and was instrumental in advancing the welfare of many young Abdalis who were being

let down by their elders at that time. Then he had full control and command over the select contingent of Abdalis who after the death of Nadir owed allegiance to him. Thus Ahmad Khan, by virtue of the ties of blood, nationality, religion, ability and means was entitled to be their king. These were sufficient claims to turn tide in favour of Ahmad Khan. The superior claims of Ahmad Khan Saddozai thus established, the chief contestants immediately withdrew their own pretensions and majority of the elders supported his election.(44)

THE CORONATION OF AHMAD KHAN

Ahmad Khan hesitated and pleaded his incompetence. But Darwesh Sabir Shah was not the man to be so easily put off. When he saw that the choice in favour of Ahmad Khan had appealed to the Afghan Chiefs and tribesmen, he availed himself of this psychological moment and raising on the spot a small platform of earth took Ahmad Khan Saddozai by the hand and seated him, thereon saying, "This

is the throne of your kingdom. He then strewed some barley shoots from an adjoining field and tucked them into his turban, adding in the end, as if to complete the ceremony, the Darvesh proclaimed. "Now you are Badshah Durri-i-Dauran" (King & a Pearl of the age).(45) But Ahmad Khan out of modesty amended the title and was content to style himself as Durr-i-Durran,(46) the pearl of pearls and his tribe. the Abdalis, as Durrani (of the pearl). It was also psychologically, astute of him to give the new name of Durrani to his own tribe, the Abdali, thus identifying them with himself and not with past feuds, quarrels and jealousies. Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Duran was only about 27 years at the time of his election as an Afghan king.(47)

Ahmad Shah's coronation took place towards the close of the year October 1747 A.D./ 1160 A.H. and great national rejoicing were held which were prolonged for several weeks. Ahmad Shah distributed the treasure which he had acquired earlier liberally

and consolidated his power.(48)

The induction of Ahmad Shah as Shah Dur-i-Duran was most opportune and fortunate for the warring Afghan tribes whom his genius welded into a cohesive and powerful nation and carved out for them a country and an empire and struggle started by his ancestor Saddu Mir-e-Afghan and his successors for the emancipation of Afghans finally succeeded in the emergence of Afghans as a mighty nation, in the comity of the people of the world.

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NOTES
BOOK-II
Part-IV

- (1)- Tazkira 103
- (2)- Nadir by Lockhart page 54
- (3)- Nadir by Lockhart page 52
- (4)- Tazkira 106, Tarikh Khurshid-e-Jehan page 365-
Hayat-e-Afghani 129- See also History of Afghans
by J.P.Ferrier and Jehan Kusha-e-Nadiri and Nadir by
Lockhart. page 54 Afghanistan by Tate 58.
- (5)- Saulat-e-Afghani 51 Hayat-e-Afghani 127, Malleson
page 268.
- (6)- Tazkira page 107.
- (6-A)- Lockhart 67
- (7)- Tarikh-e-Sultani page 119/120. Nadir Shah by
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- (8)- Tarikh-e-Sultani page 119
- (9)- Tarikh-e-Sultani page 119, Hayat-e-Afghani 128
- (10)- Lockhart 104
- (11)- Tarikh-e-Nadiri page 182
- (12)- Kitab-e-Nadiri page 178
- (13)- Kitabe-e-Nadiri page 178
- (14)- Kitab-e-Nadiri page 178. J.P. Tate 60

- (15)- Mujamatul Tawarikh 59 Tarikh-e-Nadiri page 182-188
- (16)- Tarikh-e-Nadri page 188-Tarikh-e-Ahmad page 4 Jehan Kusha Nadiri page 302, Tarikh-e-Khurshid Jehan 328.
- (16-A)-Mujmatul Tawrikh page 59
- (17)- Tazkira page 107, Luqman Khan S/o Ali Murdan Khan. Nephew of Zulfiqar Khan also lived there with Zulfiqar Khan.
- (18) Tarikh-e-Jehan Kusha Nadiri 302/303, Tarikh-e-Khurshid-e-Jehan page 378.
- (19)- Saulat-e-Afghani Page 341. Hayat-e-Afghani 128, Saulat-e-Afghani 345, Tazkira Page 104, The details of distribution of land in Tazkira are different.
- (20)- Malleson Page 269-See History of Afghans by J.P.Ferrier.
- (21)- Tazkira 107.
- (21-A) The Kingdom of Afghanistan by J.P. Tate 65.
- (22)- Tarikh-e-Ahmad Shahi 4. Daulat-e-Durrania 7, Hussain Shahi 14-Tarikh-e-Aali 121.
- (23)- Tarikh-e-Nadiri 239
- (24)- Tarikh-e-Nadiri 250 to 253.
- (25)- Tazkira 107/108.

- (26)- Mujmatul Tawarikh page 8- Bian-e-Waqai 173.
Bazin 310.
- (27)- Tazkira 108 the Kingdom of Afghanistan page 67.
- (28)- Mujmatul Tawarikh See page 12 to 16.
- (29)- According to Beal (Sunday 10th May 1747)
- (30)- Bazin page 311 to 313 See Nama Hai Tabibe Nadir
Shah.
- (31)- Bazin 331. Tarikh Ahmad 10-11. According to
Lockhart Nadir used to tie Kohinoor on his arm page
15/16.
- (32)- Gulistana page 20 - 21. Mujmatul Tawarikh, Saulat- e-
Afghani Page 52, 13 Hussain Shahi Page 15/16
- (33)- Bazin page 311-
- (33-A)-Mujmatul Tawarikh page 74
- (34)- Tazkira 108,
- (34-A)-Mujmatul Tawarikh page 60-74.
- (35)- Tazkira 108.
- (36)- Malleson page 274.
- (37)- See J.P.Ferrier's History of Afghans.
- (38)- See J.P.Ferrier's History of Afghans.
- (39)- Bian-e-Waqai page 187.
- (39-A) J.P. Tate page 68.
- (40)- Mujmatul Tawarikh page 60 Saulat-e-Afghani page

243. *Bian Waqai* Page 186-*Hayat-e-Afghani* 129.
- (41)- Incident of a Jirga of tribal elders to elect their King became current in the 19th century AD. Earlier chronicles including *Tazkira* are unanimous that the leadership of the Afghan nation was decided on the road by the younger elements of Afghan contingent while Afghans were moving from Khabushan to Kandhar under the leadership of Ahmad Khan, rest was formality. See J.P. Tate page 68.
- (42)- *Mujmatul Tawarikh* 74. *Tarikh Aali* 122.
- (43)- J.P. Ferrier 68, J.P. Tate, *Mujmatul Tawarikh* 74.
- (44)- *Mujmatul Tawarikh* 78.
- (45)- *Bian Waqai* 162-3. *Tarikh-e-Aali* 123. *Ibrit Maqal* (ii) 56-55, *Siyer ul Mutakhrin* iii-16. Hussain Shabi 17-18, *Mujmatul Tawarikh* 74, *Tarikh-e-Ahmad* 6.
- (46)- *Tarikh Afghani* 17.
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- (47)- *Tazkira-e-Anand Ram* page 233/234.
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- (48)- J.P. Ferrier 70 *Bian-e-Waqai* 187.

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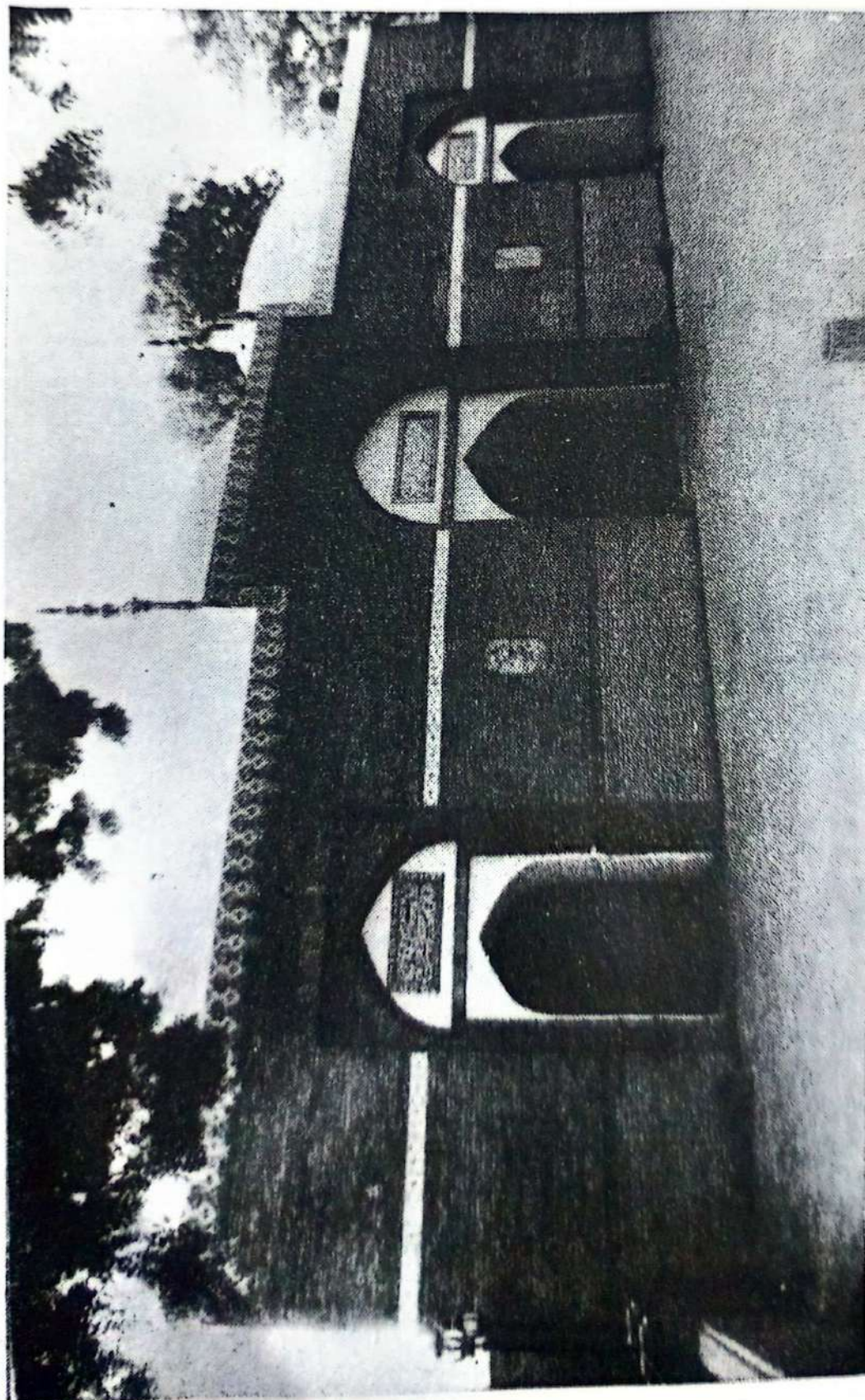
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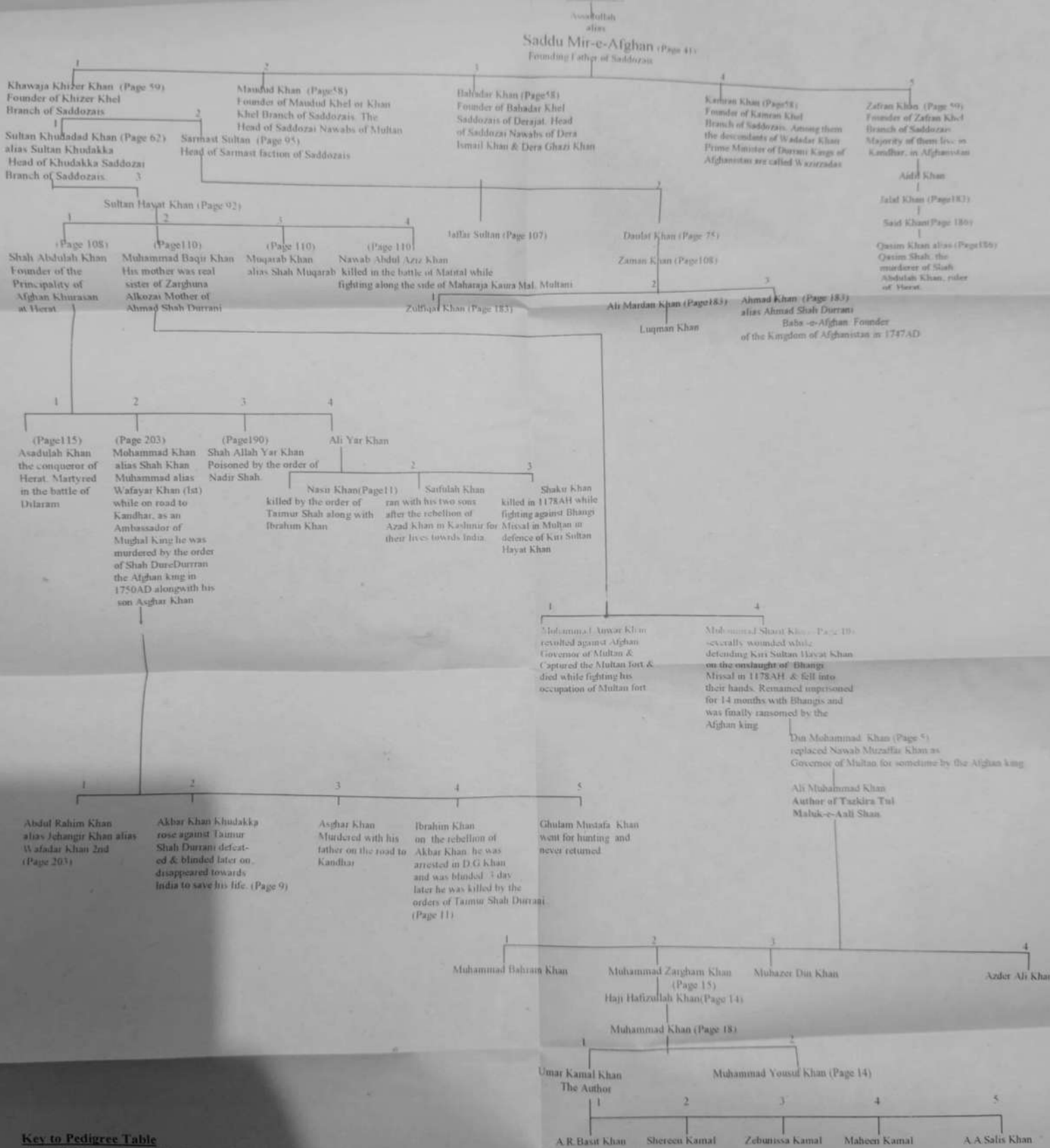
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Mosque of Sultan Hayat Khan
Inside Deputy Commissioner's House Multan

KEY TO PEDIGREE TABLE



Key to Pedigree Table

- i) The digit 3 on Ahmad Shah Durrani means He was 3rd son of his father.
- ii) Mentioning page 9 with the name of Akbar Khan Khudakka means he was firstly mentioned in the book on page 9.

MAP OF KHURASAN (AFGHAN & IRANIAN)



Özbeqs

Qarā Qum Desert

KHURASAN

Dasht-i Kavir

DASHKILET
KIRMAN

MAKRAN

GULF OF OMAN

INDIAN OCEAN

MAP OF KHURASAN (AFGHAN & IRANIAN)

Kopet Dagh Mts.

Qajars

Onus R.

BASTARABAD

MASHHAD

Maimara

Özbeqs

Dhu'l-Fiqar

Abdalis

Chahzamis Mountains

Hazaras

Kabul

Tabas

Birjand

Farah

Dilezjan

Girishky

Kakariz

Pishin

Mustang

Ravar

KIRMAN

Bam

Hamun Helman

Helmand R.

MUGHAL

Baluchi and Brahui Tribes
BALUCHISTAN

Jahrum

Lar

Bandar Abbas (Gombroon)

Minab

Kong

Huwala Arabs

OMAN

MUGHAL

60° 64° 68°

2

26

3

32

4

5

24

6

Epilogue

By a Nephew

Dear Umar Uncle,
My comments are enclosed. Would be more than happy to discuss.

Best Regards

Rise of Saddozais and Emancipation of Afghans

Preamble:

The book addresses a period of history, which has not yet received the attention it deserves. Most books on Afghan history start with the genealogical roots of the Afghans and in a couple of giant strides reach the period of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali.

Secondly, most books written during the Barakzai period like Tarikh-e-Sultani, undermine the Saddozai role in Afghan history. A number of British historians, even of the calibre of Sir John Malcolm (History of Persia), have allowed themselves to be misled by such opinions and writings.

Thirdly, the fact that Ahmed Shah was initially known as an Abdali, and later as a Durrani, has not helped the awareness about "Saddozais" and their role. Generally, the ordinary person is not able to make a link between Durrani rule and Saddozais.

Fourthly, Ahmed Shah's ascension was not

an isolated incident, but the logical conclusion of a series of inter-related events starting with the period of Abdal, which were then given impetus by Saddo. Even some historians fail to see this continuity, and express surprise at Ahmed Shah's selection, due to his young age and the fact, the Saddozais did not have numerical superiority.

In the above context, the book creates a place of its own in Afghan historiography:

a) It provides the missing link between the period when the Afghans were a non-entity in a geo-political sense, to the time when they realised their strategic value; straddling the spheres of influence between the two major powers of the time i.e. the Saffavids of Iran, and the Mughals of India. In this sense it illuminates a dark corner in Afghan historiography, and is unique in this respect.

b) It highlights the fact that it was the Saddozais who realised this opportunity, and provided the leadership, which enabled the Afghans to emerge out of oblivion and transformed them into a nation.

c) It also provides a basis for subsequent scholars of Afghan history to be able to see the continuity between the time of Abdal and the ascension of Ahmed Shah Abdali. Many historians have wondered how Ahmed Shah, belonging to a relatively small tribe could have been selected as the king, by a group of tribe leaders who had their own competing claims.

In addition, I would also like to make a few general and some specific comments:

a) I believe the book has not yet been edited.

b) It may help to add a chapter on the period of the Saddozai Kings, which briefly treats the period from 1747 AD to 1818 AD, and thereby creates the edifice for which the foundation has already been laid. In fact the Saddozai Monarchy is the logical end of the process started at the time of Abdal, and given impetus by Saddo.

c) For the period after the birth of Sado, the book primarily relies on Tuzkirat-ul-Muluk Alishan. It may help to comment on what other authors have said about the events during the same time scale. Specially, bringing in/discussing a few contrarian views might be useful.

Regarding certain specific events/facts;

a) *Title Page:*

It refers to the part played by "Multanis" Instead I suggest "Multani Afghans" since they are quite distinct from the Multanis in general.

b) *Page 50/second para/Last 2 lines:*

Khizer Khan's date of death; the Hijri date does not match with the Christian calendar. The Hijri date appears to be correct.

d) *Page 110/ line 12:*

Baqir Khan's date of birth; the Christian calenear date does not appear to be correct.

e) *Page 203/ line3:*

Khan Muhammad's accession; the Christian

calendar date does not appear to be correct.

f) Chronological sequence:

In a few instances, the narrative goes back in time after having gone forwards. I will list some of the examples:

g) Page 299/last Para:

The last para talks about the fall of Safa and Kalat-e- Ghalzi in May, but then in the first para of the next page (300), the narrative goes back to March 1738.

h) Book II/PartII

This section ends with the death of Allahyar Khan in 1742, while the next section (Book II/ Part IV) again picks up the threads from the early 1730's.

Finally, I would like to make a request. Even after more than 150 years, there is no published literal translation of the book *Tuzkirat-ul-Muluk Alishan*. I do not think that the recently published *Tareekh-e-Afghanistan* can be called a literal translation. I believe that Ali Muhammad Khan Khuddaka Saddozai has not yet got the credit that he deserves, as the author of a unique and insightful treatise on Afghan history. I would request that such a work be published in its own right as well. It will be a great service to the author and the international historian community.

Wazirzada Mohammad Yusuf Khan Saddozai

14th Sep. 1999

Lahore.

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General Secretary Public Library Bagh Langey Khan Multan. since 1971A.D.
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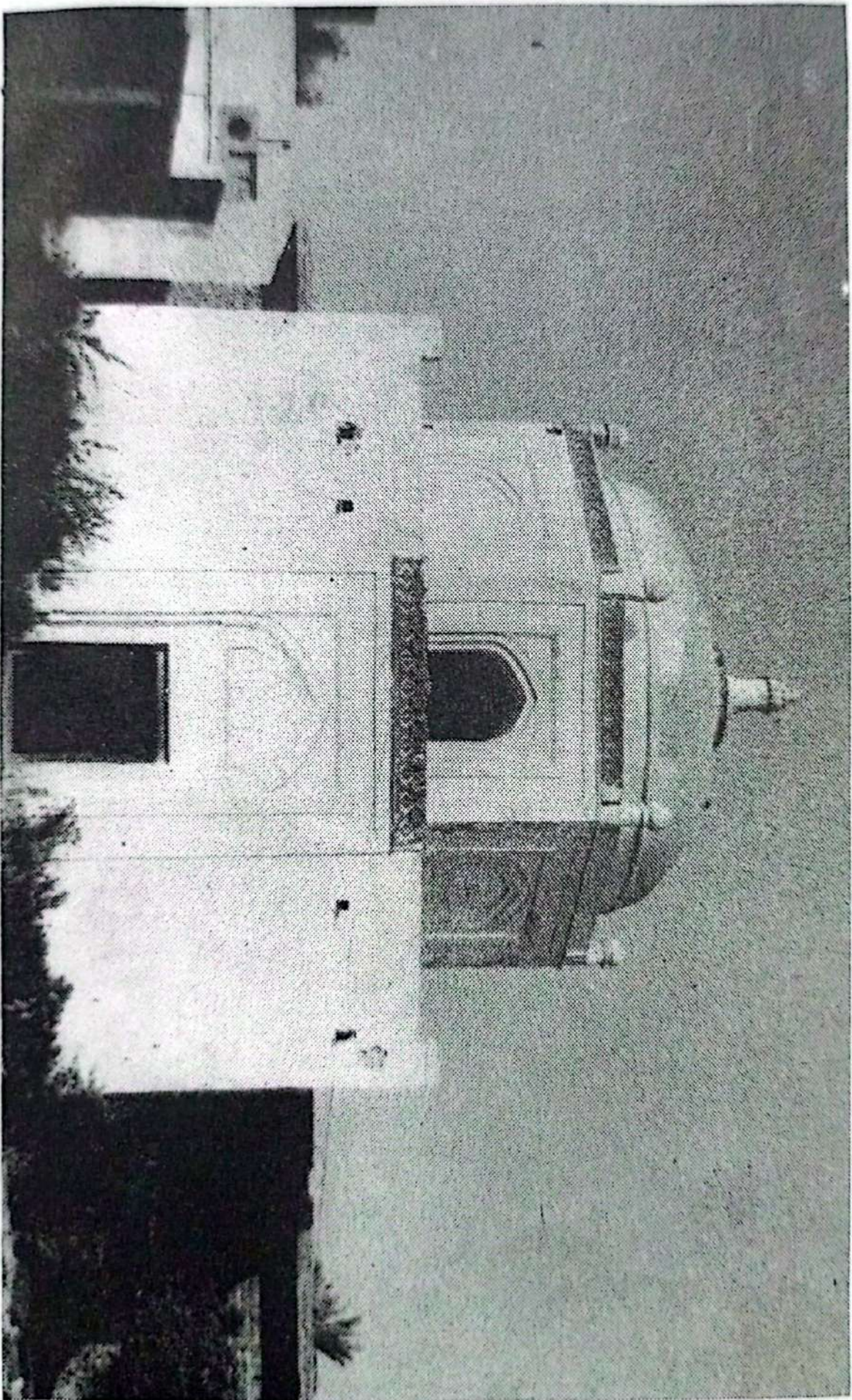
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- (1) Saddozais in Multan (1967)
- (2) History of Judiciary and Admanisteration of Multan (1980)

IN URDU

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Large numbers of Research Articles of Author Published in important Periodicals & News papers on Afghanistan, Iran, Baluchistan, Multan and Sufi poets.



Mausoleum Of Shah Hussain Khan Saddozai

Near Commissioner House Multan

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