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Land, Conflict And Traditional Institutions In The North-West Pakistan: An Appraisal Of Hazarkhwani, Peshawar[•]

Abstract

The previous anthropological studies on Pukhtuns, conducted by different scholars have usually focused on peripheries like Swat. The present article looks Hazar Khwani, a village in the vicinity of Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, a major urban and trade centre since centuries. Unlike Swat, the sources of income were multiple in the area and the area went through a major social and economic transformation. Permanent settlement started much earlier as compare to rest of Peshawar valley. The mediators of the conflict were also different from other parts of the province. The paper attempts to answer a few questions: how economic transformation expedited social transformation? How the people were affected by the availability of multiple sources of income? How it affected the not only the economic relations but also the nature of conflict? What caused the emergence of different actors and factors of mediation?

Introduction

Most of the anthropological researches on the Pukhtuns in present Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa are circumscribed to certain topics and geographical areas. The present paper would be more focused on the transformations which have occurred on the land tenure system and their structural implications in the socio-political organization, taking into consideration the case of HazarKhwani, a village in the Peshawar District, in North-West Pakistan. HazarKhwani constitutes in itself a distinct case with its own structural framework, and which allows us to understand the problematic inherent of outlining a supposed general model of analysis. Situated near to a large and important urban center i.e. Peshawar city, the village was thus subjected to many transformations over the years.

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The data here analyzed is based on a fieldwork conducted in the village of HazarKhwani, in 2011. Certainly the quantitative research has its own limitation due to several hindrances in the fieldwork. Consequently, it is not the intent of this paper to draw on general conclusions but, instead, to infer on the complexity that this type of analysis represent. During the fieldwork, it was tried to focus on the Pukhtun landowners, the so-called 'saintly' families and a few non-landowners: i.e. land-tenant Awans and Gujars. The departure point in this analysis was in a first instance, to analyze the nature of conflicts over land and the mechanisms and modes of conflict resolution in HazarKhwani. These conflicts are of different sorts: conflicts over land, marriage and alike.¹Notwithstanding, the present study does not has to seek to contemplate the conflict in itself but yet, the underlying complexity in the modes of social organization and mutations occurred across history in these conflict resolutions. Conflict resolution is done usually through *jargah* or through intervention of religious figures.

In Barth's discussion on the Swat Pukhtuns (1980 [1959]), 'the figure of chief (*khan*) and of the saint is presented as complementary figures who share the political limelight and responsibilities; and, there is a clear division of labour, whereby chiefs initiate violence and saints act as mediators to solve it – both are necessary components of a political bloc opposing other such blocs' (Banerjee, 2004: 143). Notwithstanding, the figure of the 'Saint' was not yet explored comprehensively and thoroughly, remaining many questions unanswered. According to Akbar S. Ahmed, Fredrik Barth was mistaken in proposing that power oscillated between 'Khans and Saints over Pathan sociopolitical history, partly because Barth has failed to understand how the category 'Saints' encompasses contrasting groups' (Ahmed, 1976; Dupree, 1977; Dupree et al, 1977). The present study suggests that though Barth's study has certain limitation and he might be mistaken in some places but same is very much true about Ahmad's. Ahmad had two flaws in his judgment over Barth conclusion; firstly, he belonged to state machinery and despite his scholarship one can rarely be objective in his analysis if one belongs to a certain group/class/ideology. Secondly, Barth had studied Swat in late 1950s when it was a princely state while Ahmad studied in mid 1970s when Swat was merged into Pakistan and the entire socio-political structure was transforming.

This dyadic model seems to be related to the model of segmentary lineage system in the Swat Valley. But how to explain this model outside the Swat Valley, in the context of Peshawar district were many administrative changes have been put under way by the British and where subsequently, land was re-allotted and re-distributed? The question remained if with the changes in the land tenure system and subsequent changes in the sociopolitical organization have interfered in the conflict resolution and in the role of the certain figures within society. Thereunto, we will dwell on the figure of the Saint, which will serve us in the construction of our argument: what is the current role of the 'Saintly' families within the sociopolitical organization and in the mediation of conflicts?

Our thesis is that the origin of the lands owned by these holy families have not been yet fully explored, as the motives behind the attributions of these lands. The

general idea is the one that these lands were allotted to these holy families has a reward for the mediation of conflicts. Notwithstanding, it is still not clear the complexity inherent to the attribution of these lands.

Land, political leadership and models of social organization

Land incorporates a key-element in this narrative: among the Pukhtuns, it has been regarded as a source of power and authority; hence, also a source of competition and conflict, representing “a source of political identity and belonging” (Rome, 2007). In the case of the Swat Valley, the importance of land is based on the idea that from its ownership may derive political power – through which his followers and clients arise. As Michael E. Meeker mentioned, land was the vehicle of a political identity and involvement and only ‘incidentally’ the basis of human subsistence and prosperity (Meeker, 1980). However, in the case of the Peshawar valley, land was thus just one among other sources of prosperity – commerce, trade and the existent Imperial employment; and, there was occasionally an affiliation with the rulers and a sharing in victory or plunder, like in the Yusufzais' settlement in the sixteenth century. The distinction presented by Mukulika Banerjee, between the 'big *khans*' and the 'small *khans*', attests the correlation between the relationship maintained with colonial authorities and the status of these Pukhtun landowners.²

The system of land rights in Peshawar District and of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa was subjected to many changes across history. Many of these changes were a result of the contacts maintained with the various Imperial and centralized forces. In the past, land was divided according to the *wesh* system (redistribution of land) introduced in the sixteenth century by the Shaikh Mali, in order to attain an equitable division of land. In this system, two types of land could be distinguished: (a) the *daftar*, in which the individuals did not own land permanently and land allotted to the main branches of the tribe was re-allocated periodically among the respective sub-branches (or segments) of each tribe; (b) the *serai* lands, owned by the holy families or other non-Pukhtun groups³, and which were not subjected to the periodic re-allotment (*wesh* system). However, Sultan-i-Rome states that in case of Swat Valley, different types of *serai* lands were owned by Pukhtun landowners, and not subjected to the *wesh* system (Rome, 2005:33).⁴ The *wesh* system started to decline by the nineteenth century and according to Robert Nichols: “the effects of the decline of *wesh* system in Peshawar valley *jagirs* may have been similar to the process of change analysed in the later formation of a Pukhtun state structure in the Swat Valley” (Nichols, 2001:57). Nowadays, these lands have been privatized and are occasionally bought and sold (Knudsen, 2009) entering in a new logic of market. For the construction of our argument, we will concentrate ourselves in these *serai* lands owned by these holy families and, their implications in the sociopolitical organization.

As Sultan-e-Rome refers:

[...] *serai* lands were allotted to the holy families and persons, i.e. Sayyads, Mians, Mulas and Sahibzadas, in the allotment of Shaikh Mali. The tribes later on frequently allotted such lands at the times of the new *wesh*. The owners of *serai*

lands were generally called *Stanadar*. Serai were also allocated to the mosques and in some cases to the Imam of the mosque as well, which remained in his possession till he remained Imam” (Rome, 2005: 33).

Fredrik Barth states that those *serai* lands were given to the ‘Saintly’ castes as a reward for their role in the mediation of conflicts and the location of these lands had great implications for the political position of the Saints, as “the main sources of political influence and authority of Saints is their control of land, their role as mediators and their reputation for morality” (Barth, 1980 [1959]: 90). Robert Nichols also refers that in this system of redistribution instituted by Shaikh Mali, “in each *tappa*⁵ and village [...] it was assigned to *ulema* and figures of hereditary sanctity (*stanadars*)⁶ to maintain the public order, being that every year the morality of the whole tribe was reviewed” (Nichols, 2001: 18). However, contrary to the case of the Sanusi of Cyrenaica, the lands allotted to the Saints are not located in regions separating two hostile groups; rather, they received land of inferior strategic and agricultural quality (Noelle, 1997: 139-140).

In line with Steven Caton argument, the ‘saintly lineages are part of a theory of the state in tribal society’ (Caton, 1990: 96), ‘where in the quotidian of tribal segmentary politics, the heterodox religion – personified by the figure of the Saint – function to maintain a political order in a violent world propitious to factions and feud (*ibid.*, p. 96). However, this is to infer that the role of the Saints were uniquely related to the segmentary lineage system and that their role as mediators derives from this segmentarity. What we want to propose here in line with relatively recent discussions on the theory of segmentary lineage system⁷, is that the role of these so-called ‘Saintly’ families, might as nothing to do with the segmentary system or with their role in the mediations of conflicts. The data arising from the fieldwork attests that these Saintly families still hold a pertinent role in the mediation of conflicts. However, do the system of conflict resolution and the role of the ‘saints’ takes the same configuration as in the Swat Valley?

The Peshawar Valley: the case of HazarKhwani

HazarKhwani is located in the suburb of Peshawar city, has a total population of around 46050 inhabitants. The origin of the name of HazarKhwani raises many explanations: some say that the name derives from the idea that there were ‘thousand Khans’⁸, ‘thousand landowners’ or ‘thousand homes’; others, sustain the hypothesis that the name of HazarKhwani, derives from one person named Zar Khan.⁹ Other explanation is that the village was divided between four brothers, from whom the Khans of HazarKhwani are believed to be descendant from. However, there are many interpretations regarding this recite: for instance, some can only recall the name of two brothers: Bara Khan, which resulted in the Bara Khel; and Tata Khan; others recall the follow names of the four brothers: Hazar Khan, whose village is known as HazarKhwani; Bahadur Khan, which resulted in the village of BahadurKalay; Musa Khan, originating the village named Musazai; however, it was not possible to assert the name of the fourth brother.

In the past, it is said that there was a continuous exchange of land (system *wesh*) between HazarKhwani and the village of BahadurKallay.¹⁰ In the conventional

division or distribution of land of the Pukhtuns, this village is situated in the MohmandTappa and herein live the Mohmand tribe. We may distinguished here the follow lands: the *serai* lands given to the 'Saintly' families; and, the lands given to *mullahs* in reward for their services at the mosque, which are called *malakana*. Some of the *serai* lands are located adjacently to the Khans' lands, namely, near Abdul Rauf Khan's lands. Abdul Rauf Khan descendants are said to be the 'biggest *khans*' in HazarKhwani. However, according to some sources, the majority of the *serai* lands are situated near Pando Road (Tukhtabad), outside HazarKhwani.

We may also include the lands where the shrines of the Saints are located. HazarKhwani is a place where we may found many important shrines: the shrine of AkhundDarweza and adjacent to the village, the shrine of the Pukhtu poet Abdul Rahman popularly known as Rahman Baba.¹¹ According to one interlocutor, the land where the shrine of Rahman Baba is located was given as a *serai* land to AkhundDarweza. According to HumayunAkhund,¹² there is a large public property near these tombs which is given on rent (*ijara*) every year.

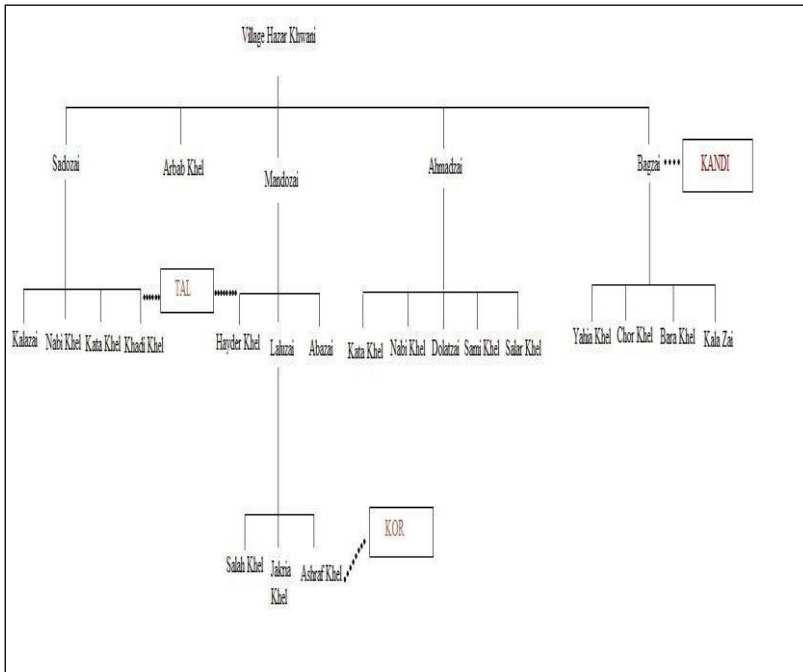
Social organization of HazarKhwani

We may proceed to the following social organization within the village: (a) those of a holy lineage – the heterogeneous Saintly group, which have itself an internal stratification¹³: Sayyed, Mian, Sahibzada, Akhundzada and, Pirzada; (b) the landowning Pukhtun, from various different Pukhtun tribes; (c) religious leaders: priests (i.e. *mullahs*); (d) agricultural workers, (e) skilled artisans and (f) unskilled artisans or traders. The land-owning Pukhtuns are composed from different Pukhtun tribes: Mohmand, Afridi, Swat Yusufzai, Afghans, etc.; being that these later groups have migrated to HazarKhwani and purchased some land. It seems thus to exist an implicit idea that the Mohmand Khalil¹⁴ composed the "original tribes", whereas the remaining tribes have posteriorly arrived.

Some groups migrate from other areas to work in the Peshawar District (and namely, in HazarKhwani): many Gujars migrate (sometimes every year) from the Swat and Kalam area during the winter due to the harsh winters in the area (which do not allow them to stay); or, during the Swat flood crisis in 2010. They are like *kisaans* (farmers), working in the fields of other landowners Khans (based upon pre-established networks-relationships). Seven families from the same *khel* are living in the lands of these Khans. Other *zamindars* are working in the land of the *khans* and sometimes these alliances regarding the *khans*' family might be extended to several previous generations (renting houses and working in the fields).

The village it is divided upon to five *kandis* or *mohalas*¹⁵ (the interlocutors using both terms): Mandozai, Sadozai, ArbabKhel, Ahmadzai and Bagzai (being the *mohala* or *kandi* Sadozai, also known as Cheena or Amazai). On the other hand, each of these *kandis* is further subdivided into different *tals*. The *tals* may be further subdivided by *kor*(ps.), "house" (fig. 1). Each of these *kandis* supposed to correspond to a Pukhtunkhel¹⁶ the common term for a patrilineal descent group (see fig. 1).¹⁷ According to Fredrik Barth (1980 [1959]), in the case of the area of the Swat Valley, where he has conducted his research, a 'ward may hold the name of its

present chief or the dominant descent segment residing in it, being that these wards usually composed the units of administration and political life'. However, it is not clear if in the case of HazarKhwani, this type of organization still holds this same importance or whether it has ever taken the same form as in the context of the Swat Valley.



The division of the village varies according to an individual conceptualization by each of the village's inhabitants. Though of extreme importance, it will not be possible to infer on the problematic associated to this division, which would imbued an historical contextualization (and relegates to the social organization at the village level), and we will leave this discussion out from this presentation. We will just focus therefore on some of these conceptualizations, which raises sore pertinent questions: for instance, according to Faiz Muhammad there are five *mohalas* or *kandis*: Mandozai, Sadozai, Bara Khel, Manjawar, where the descendants of HazarKhwani are located and Cheena (also known as Amazai).

The Manjawarkhel [sic]18, as it is referred by some of the interlocutors, raises a particular issue here: it is referred as if it was a particular *kandi* component of the village; and as a *khel*, ManjawarKhel, a segment of a Pukhtun tribe. However, the Manjawar is not a Pukhtunkhel and it does not appear in the Patwari record as a

mohalla. According to some sources in the village, the Manjawarkhel[sic] is not from a Pukhtun background but, instead, originally composed from Punjabis who came from Gujrat to serve in the graveyard (*mazar*) of the PanchPir¹⁹, in HazarKhwani. The visitors provide them with some *nazrana*²⁰, being that they are dependent upon this income.

The Saintly families

The village of HazarKhwani holds several families which may be consider of saintly background. We may highlight the following 'Saintly' groups: Sayyeds, Miangan, Pirzadas, Sahibzadgan and Akhundzadas.²¹ The inference on the status of each of these families is of particular importance for the present discussion. It is referred that lands were given to these distinct Saintly families, in reward for the services provided to the Sayyeds.

The Miangan are the descendants of saints and spiritual leaders of the past who have acquired wide fame and reputation among many tribes. The Sahibzadgan are in Swat the descendants of the Pirs of lesser or local fame and reputation.

The most influent Saintly family in HazarKhwani is, according to some interlocutors, the Sahibzagan family who migrated from Waziristan and to whom the elders of HazarKhwani had given some lands. The family of Sahibzagan are the descendant of HazratBanur Sahib who was has the *murid*(follower) of Sarang Sahib and they are the only Sahibzagan family living in HazarKhwani. They are also known as *mullahs* and as *pirs*. The sources of income of the Sahibzagan are the school run by this family, the *nazranas*²² and the *shukranas*²³. The old enmities ended due to the role of these Sahibzagan. They belong to the NaqshbandiyaMujaddidi sect Shuja-il-ia. They came from North Waziristan, Tahsil Mir Ali, near the village of Musaki. It was his grandfather, Muhammad Kabir, who migrated to HazarKhwani. The lands where they are living – which comprise the *khanqah*, the mosque and one *kanal* (30 *marlas*) and his house – comprise *serai* land. SayyedShujaul Noor was the grandfather of this person to whom this land was given by his KhalifaPirSayyedQutub din Shah, who had his own Khalifa named Abdul Star Shah Baba. Their elders played a role in spreading Tasawuf.

The Sheikhan family (Sheikh Akram Mino Khan) of HazarKhwani are the descendants of Sheikh Hayder Baba, being his grandsons – Mino Khan, Sheikh Ghulam Baba and Qayum – living near Sadozaikandi. This Sheikhan family is said to hold an important role in mediation. It is said that the Sayyeds living in HazarKhwani are the descendants of ShahsedBacha. Many Akhundzagan live in the Sadozaikandi but others also live in the Mandozaikandi, which people referred also as Jamal Ghari. However, some of the Sayyeds of HazarKhwani attest that the Akhundzagan are known in the village as *mullahs* and that their main site is Dir.²⁴

According to SayyedZargun Shah – a Sayyed from HazarKhwani – the land which he hold was given by the *kandis* of Baigzo, Amazo, Sadozai and Mandozai, and their lands were not affected by the British reforms ²⁵. According to

SayyedZargun Shah, Moin-ud-din Chisti was the head of the Sayyed family, denying the claim of the Naqshbandis as Sayyeds.

Mediation of conflicts

These 'Saintly' families are consulted in order to solve disputes but, according to this Sayyed, their role in mediation is nowadays decreasing and they are not reliable any more. Some of the Khans from HazarKhwani are of the opinion that the lands given to Sayyeds and Mians since they were members of respectable families and descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, but not because they held a particular role in the conflict's mediation. According to one of the Khans, they could not recall the exact time when the Miangan families came to HazarKhwani or, when the *serailands* were given. These *serai* lands were given to these 'Miangan' families in reward for their services: i.e. they provided the oil used in the lamps in the *mazar*; or, washing and changing the *ḡilāf*(veil used to cover the tomb of the Saint the *mazar*).²⁶However, SayyedZargun Shah²⁷ was of the opinion that due to education, the Miangan have made illegal transference of lands.

The main causes of conflict are due to the division of land. One of the Miangan stated that he is doing mediation of the whole meera or, even other areas such as the Masizo area. However, as the next sentence states well, it is not his title of Mian who define his role in mediation: "Miangan are many, but they can't mediate. They can't speak in front of people".²⁸ This Miangan stated that his family are the descendants of AkhundDarweza.

However, SayyedZargun Shah, a Sayyed from HazarKhwani, was against the fact that some people considered the Miangan as Sayyeds or to call them as "Badshah Sahib". He pursued by saying that these Miangan belonged to the Kakakhel. This reference to the Kakakhel is of particular significance, since they played a major role in independence movements: i.e. fighting against the Sikhs. In the mediation of conflicts, there is a reference to the recourse to non-peaceful people or people who are violent, in opposition to a past where the Saintly families and peaceful people held a very important role in the mediation of conflicts. According to some, the role of the Saintly and religious figures is decreasing. Instead, it might be said that 'the Khan holds a dominant role in the Pukhtun society', being that some of the *khans* spend their own money in the conflict's resolution. In the past, people were giving due respect to the 'Saintly' families, being considered a sign of pride to be visited by a Sayyed.

According to the argument of Fredrik Barth, "the saints are outsiders to Pukhtun organization and have no access to Yusufzai assemblies (*jirgas*)" (Noelle, 1997: 139). However, in the case of HazarKhwani, several of the 'holy' families interviewed states to have an active role in the *jirgas*:

Piety

According to the model presented by Fredrik Barth, "while chiefs gain their standing on the basis of their reputation for honor, the saints make a name for themselves on the basis of their piety" (Noelle, 1997: 140). It is somehow visible

the fact that some of 'Saintly' families from HazarKhwani, refer that a connection with political life can affect or influence the respect of their family.

Conclusion

According to some *khans* from HazarKhwani, the role of the 'Saintly' castes is decreasing nowadays, because according to some in order to mediate disputes, people should have wealth and force.

Abdul Rauf Khan has given lands to the Sayyeds and to the mosques. Some of the Saints' family have given the lands to the poor people and they do not demand any type of payment for the use of the lands; and, according to them, they have good relations with the tenants.

When inquired about the role of Miangan in mediation, he said that he got tired of the *jirga* system, despite being just arriving from a *jirga* and being always busy in mediations. According to him: "in the past people were respecting the elders and obeying what they were saying – they were pious, honest, and sincere – however, nowadays, Miangan role is decreasing and their descendants do not have any preponderant role as mediators in conflicts".

Notes & References

- ¹The idea of conflict is expressed in many proverbs: i.e. the adopted Pukhtu proverb, “*zan, zar, zamin*”, “women, gold and land”. See also the Punjabi proverb: “*har qatl di ay jar / zan, zar, zamin*”, “Three things for which we kill: land, women and gold”.
- ²The ‘big *khans*’ “[...] were the substantial landed aristocracy who had been designated by the colonial authorities as ‘natural leaders’ of the people and given extensive privileges, such as they typically owned thousands of acres, had substantial wealth and status and exercised great influence over the villages in their domain. The big *khans* would remain throughout the loyalist linchpins of British rule in the Frontier”. (Banerjee, 2004: 31). The ‘small *khans*’ by their side, “were far more numerous than the big *khans* and their landholdings could vary considerably in size, some being very substantial, others quite small. Their main defining feature was that they were landowners who were not favored by the government and not directly employed in its service” (ibid.).
- ³“If however it is alienated to an individual of another caste, whether Saint or lower caste, it is classified as *siri land*” (Barth, 1981: 32).
- ⁴ “[...] *Da KhanaiSerai*(*Seraiof* Khanship), *Da DadaySerai*(*Seraiof* serving guests with maize cobs), *Da MelmaSerai*(*Seraiof* serving guests), *Da TeluSerai*(*Seraiof* oil for burning in the *hujra*). Although in principle the seat of Khanship and Malakship depended on the will of the people of the tribe, practically the seat became more or less hereditary. As such the families of the Khans and Malaks appropriated to themselves the above-mentioned *serailands* as their personal property” (Sultan-e-Rome, 2005: 33).
- ⁵*Tappa*, “segment; area; locality”
- ⁶“The *stanadars* are literally holy place-possessors which enjoy the benefits of the Astan – *ziarat* or shrine” (Oliver, 1890). Apart from the case of Dir, another element was active in balancing the *dullahs* – the *stanadars*: “descendants of holy men, who served as mediators in local land distributions, judges at *wesh* redistribution, and guardians of moveable property for exiles” (Lindholm, 1979: 489). Some refer that they were called Stanadar - “Master of Abode”, because in the case of departure, or attack, other people would deposit their precious materials in the houses of Stanadars (Miangan and Mullah), as the invaders would not touch them.
- ⁷ Munson, H. 1989;
- ⁸ From, *hazar*, “thousand”; and *Khawani*(a transformation of the word *khan, khani*).
- ⁹Zar Khan had a brother, Bahadur Khan, who held the property from Kohat Road up to BadaBeera and from there to Kohi Daman. This means that from Kohat to Kohi Daman it was enclosed all the property from Bahadur Khan and that included KagaWala and BadaBeera. The property which belonged to Zar Khan is Qamar din Gari, Jabba, HazarKhawani, Khalisa ,Chagnalpooora and Músazai.
- ¹⁰ One of the sources which attests this exchange, it is present in the discrepancy between the birth of Rahman Baba in the village of BahadurKilli and its burial near to the village of HazarKhawani, being said that Rahman Baba moved to the village of HazarKhawani in a *wesh* exchange.
- ¹¹ Though HazarKhawani it is famous as the burial place of Abd-ur-Rehman Baba, this information is to some extent wrong, given the fact that the tomb of the Saint is situated in Shah Dhand, which might had been in the past, a suburb of HazarKhawani.
- ¹²HomayumAkhund, *HazarKwani*, Peshawar: RoznamaAkhbarSahar Newspaper.
- ¹³ A Sayyed from HazarKhawani (belonging to a Chistiorder), expresses the follow hierarchy concerning the various ‘Saintly’ castes: “the Miangans served Sayyeds and Miangan were served by Akhundzagan and Akhundzadas were served by Sheikhan”. The hierarchy would be like that: “after Sayyeds, the category of Miangan, [and] then comes Akhundzagan. After that comes the category of Sheikhan”.
- ¹⁴The Mohmands and the Khalils belong to the Sarban tribal group, which are descendants of Sarban, one of the sons of Qais Abdul Rashid, the common ancestor of the Pakhtuns. The Mohmands might be divided according to two main branches: the Bar Mohmands which inhabited the hills and

- the KuzMohmands, which inhabited the plains in the Peshawar Valley, being that both belong to the GhoriahKhel clans – Khalil, Mohmand and Daudzai. According to Colonel H.C. Wyllly (1912), the KuzMohmand might be divided into five main clans – Kayakzai, Músazai, Dawezai, Matanni and Sirgani.
- 15 *Mohala*, “quarter of a town”. “A term broadly used by the Ottoman administration – *maḥalle*, in reference to a quarter or a ward of a town – which, characteristically, consisted of a religious community group around its mosque and headed by a religious chief”, Bearman *et al.*, “Maḥalle”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Brill, Brill Online, 2011, Fondation des Sciences de l’Homme [accessed: 13th July 2011] https://sargasse.biblio.msh-paris.fr:443/http/www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-4775
- 16 Khel (ps.), “clan; swarm; kind, type”, Dictionary Pashto-English, Peshawar: Ariana Book Agency. See also, *xelxānd*, “family”. One of the explanations given for the word *khel*, it is that the word derives from an Arabic word which means “association” or “company” (Crooke, 1896).
- 17 Nevertheless, this division presented here is based on the land record at the Patwari office.
- 18 In this context *Manjāwar*[sic] (ps.) is used to denominate a person who performs pilgrimage; the guardians of a *mazar* or, a person who collects money from the *mazar*. See, *mujāwīr*(ps.) “adjacent, neighbouring near”, Dictionary Pashto-English, Peshawar: Ariana Book Agency.
- In Urdu: *mujāwīr* (act. Part of jāwar ‘to become the neighbour of’; but formed from jār, ‘a neighbour’), “neighbouring, adjacent; – fixed or confined to a mosque or place of worship (and occupied in prayer and religious meditation), devoutly employed; – a neighbour; – an attendant at a mosque or shrine; one who is constant in prayer and meditation in a mosque; the sweeper of a mosque”; “the office of attendant at a mosque or shrine”, John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindī and English*, New Delhi: MunshiramManoharlal Publishers, 2004.
- 19 “The PanchPīr refers to a list of *auliā* (saints) venerated by South Asian Muslims. It is likely that the term PanchPīr originally refers to the PanjatanPāk (Five Pure Ones) of Shī‘ī Islam – Muhammad, his daughter Fāṭima, his son-in-law and cousin Imām ‘Alī, and his two grandsons ImāmḤasan and ImāmḤusayn – who are also venerated by Sunnī Muslims. In the popular Ṣūfī tradition, this devotional allegiance to five holy individuals centers instead upon on a variety of lists of five Ṣūfīpīrs. There are several collective dargāhs of the PanchPīr in South Asia which serves as site of pilgrimage (*ziyārat*)”, “PanchPīr” in M. A. Mills, P. J. Claus, and S. Diamond (editors), *South Asia Folklore. An Encyclopedia*, London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- 20 *Nazrana* or, charity items or endowments.
- 21 The early reports from the British administrators, expressed their views on these ‘Saintly’ castes: the Mians as a group who had abandoned the world in order to devote themselves to the teaching of the Islamic doctrines, but benefiting yet some privileges and possessing some of them special powers (Oliver, 1890: 138). The Sahibzadas in their turn were described as the ‘sons of holy men’; occupying almost the same position with regard to the Sayyeds, Pirs and Mians and, being all these four groups equally place possessors (*ibid.*). According to A. H. Rose (1911), the Akhundzada (also known as Pirzada), is a descendant of a Saint of merely local or tribal reputation (as opposed to Mian).
- 22 *Nazrana* or, charity items or endowments.
- 23 *Shukrana* or, money paid by way of gratitude by a person whose work has been done without his having to pay a bribe.
- 24 One of the major family of Dir are the AkhunKhel or Akhundzadgan. The AkhundKhelruled the Dir State for a very long time.
- 25 According to him, he holds around 3 to 4 *jareeb* of land.
- 26 Ġilāf, “a covering, an envelope, a wrapper, a case, cover, sheath, scabbard; a pillow-case”, John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindī and English*, New Delhi: MunshiramManoharlal Publishers, 2004.

27 According to his elders, their ancestors have migrated from Multan but, they cannot recall the exact time when they came to HazarKhwani. His ancestor had four sons: two of these brothers went to Charsadda and two brothers came to HazarKhwani.

28Bahadur Shah, retired Subedar.