

*Altaf Qadir
Zakir Minhas*

KHYBER PASS IN IMPERIAL POLITICS OF THE MUGHALS (1519-1707)

*Being a Pukhtun,
your love turned me into a Mughal.
I pass through the Tataria
When you ambush the Khyber
(Murad Ali Shinwari)*

*I will not bear the Mughal attitude of your rival
If I am truly engendered by a Pukhtun mother.
Abdul Hameed*

Introduction

Khyber Pass has been the most important link of communication between India and Central Asia since time immemorial. The caravan, invading armies and seasonal nomads have been passing through this route. The ancient and medieval historians were, however, more interested in recording the chronicles of the invading armies. The invading forces were mainly Central Asian and Persians, but at times the rulers from India, especially in ancient and rarely in medieval times, also included parts of modern Afghanistan in their dominion. The pass is inhabited by different Pukhtun tribes, including Afridi, Shinwari, Mullaguri, Orakzai and Shalmani. The Pass has been their main source of income and the inhabitants have levied toll on the travelers and caravans for safe passage. The invading armies were not exempted from the levy and they also preferred the payment instead of wasting their energies in fighting the tribes.

Like many earlier adventurers, Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, also came from Central Asia and established his rule in

India. Unlike previous dynasties at Delhi, the Mughals were more concerned with the safety of Khyber Pass as they kept Kabul under sway from its first occupation in 1504 till its subjugation by Nadir Shah of Persia in 1738; though they had shifted their capital from Kabul to Delhi after the first battle of Panipat (1526). They also needed its safety for mobilizing their forces against the Persians and suppressing the rebels across Khyber Pass. The Mughal rulers adopted a policy of concessions to the inhabitants of the route though, at times, force was also used against them. The present paper is an attempt to study the relation of the Mughals and inhabitants of Khyber Pass and the concessions offered to the latter for the safety of the Pass during this period.

Khyber Pass: Historical Perspective

Khyber Pass has been the most important route due to its military and historical importance throughout known history.¹ It is 23 miles long and begins at a distance of 11 miles west of Peshawar, some three miles from Jamrud and extends up to the Pak-Afghan border at Torkham. Starting from the foothills of the Sulaiman range it gradually ascends to an elevation of 3800 feet above sea-level. The Khyber Pass from the geographical standpoint is one of *magnum opus* of nature's baffling freaks of architecture.² Ali Masjid is the most difficult part of the whole pass. About 10 miles west of Ali Masjid lays Landi Kotal fort which is the highest point of the pass and is also an important market centre. From Landi Kotal the Pass runs through another gorge and enters Afghanistan at Torkham.³

Khyber Pass is one of the most important passes of the world. Its history enables us to understand many episodes of the history of the Indian subcontinent, Central Asia and Persia. Apart from being caravan route since time immemorial, it has witnessed marches of immigrants, invaders during ancient, medieval and early modern times, i.e. Aryans, Persian, Greeks, Scythians, White Huns, Saljuqs, Tatars, Mongols, Turks, Mughals and Durranis, making successive inroads into the territories beyond Peshawar valley and Indus. It was through this

pass that the Russian invasion of the Indian subcontinent was feared by the British in the 19th century.⁴

Khyber Pass is inhabited by the Pukhtuns (also written Pushtun, Pashtun, Pakhtun) the principal tribes being the Afridis, the Shinwaris, the Mullagoris, the Orakzais and the Shalmanis. The Afridis are supposed to be the most formidable.⁵ This tribe is divided into eight distinct clans and their main homeland is Tirah which lays to the south of the pass. The Khyber Pass is accessible from Tirah through many narrow gorges in the mountains.⁶ The Orakzais are living in the mountain tract of Tirah, the Khyber and Jalalabad. The Mullagoris are residing to the north of Khyber Pass. The Shinwaris inhabit to the west of Khyber Pass and at times, they being in alliance with the Afridis offered stiff resistance to the Mughal rulers.⁷

The Pukhtun tribes residing around the passes leading to India have little or no sources of substance to feed themselves. They, therefore, either levied taxes on the caravans for safe passage or opted for highway robbery and plunder of industrious and tame plainsmen and of rich traders passing their passes.⁸ The invading armies from Central Asia and Persia proceeding to India through Khyber Pass preferred to pay, instead of wasting their resources in fighting against these tribes. David M. Hart complement that the Afridis were past masters in the art of toll collection long before the existence of New York.⁹ Henry G. Raverty asserts that as a reward for their guarding the Pass, the inhabiting tribes of Khyber paid no taxes to the state. Besides, they held *jagirs* for free grants of land from the government to the value of 1200 rupees annually. The Orakzais held *jagirs* in the valley of Peshawar for performing this service and consequently styled themselves *naukars* (servants) of the state.¹⁰ However, they were required to provide men for military services at the time of need. The Orakzais were required to furnish 300 horsemen and 5000 foot for military purposes to the Emperor Akbar.¹¹ Azmat Hayat contends that the system of allowances for keeping the pass open was even continued by the British and is in use up to this day.¹² We, however, do not agree with his assertion on few grounds. Firstly, the British Indian government and Government of Pakistan paid these allowances

to selected *malaks* of all the tribal area, irrespective of their closeness to the passes or otherwise. Secondly, the earlier invaders paid money for the safe passage or rulers, i.e. Mughals, paid subsidies to the people for keeping their dominion intact. The British Indian government or its successor has self proclaimed “strategic depth” in Afghanistan.

Khyber Pass in Mughal Emperors’ Strategy

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1526-1530), the founder of Mughal dynasty at Delhi, took Kabul in 1504 after his failure at Farghana. The Afghan tribes were recently been displaced from Kabul by the Mughal Prince Ulugh Baig Mirza from Kabul and they were residing in plains and hills of Laghman, Kunar, Peshawar, Swat and Buner. These tribes were more or less independent under their traditional chiefs. The former Sultans of Kabul had claimed them as subjects but usually failed to extract the compulsory tribute. These tribes occupying the hills regularly attacked the plains and high roads. Those especially bordering the different passes leading to India, looked upon them as part of their revenue either by way of plundering or levying contributions on caravans and travelers.¹³

Babur had gazed eyes on India from the time of his conquest of Kabul.¹⁴ He was well aware that without controlling the frontier tribes, especially those inhabiting Khyber Pass, the conquest of India was impossible. He therefore used different tactics and brought the frontier tribes under his control before his final invasion of India.¹⁵ He was convinced that none of the invaders could succeed without the help and guidance of these tribes.¹⁶ He was led by the chief of Gugyani tribe through Khyber Pass in his first Indian campaign in 1505. During his very first attempt, Babur used force and at times promised to make his way through the pass and further adventure to Kohat, Hangu and Bannu.¹⁷ Babur’s second attempt to conquer India was via Bajawar instead of Khyber Pass.¹⁸

He made contacts with the chiefs of Dalazak tribe during his stay at Peshawar in 1519, who presented him gifts and served feast at Ali Masjid on his return journey to Kabul.¹⁹ He married

Bibi Mubarak, daughter of Malak Shah Mansur, an important person of Yusufzai tribe. Malak Shah Mansur assisted Babur in his campaigns in the area.²⁰ They had also agreed that they would not stop the line of communication of the Mughal armies and would restrain from plundering on highways and roads. Babur was also joined by a large number of tribesmen at Khyber Pass when he was going to the field of Panipat.²¹ Apart from friendly gestures, for safety of Khyber Pass for his Indian campaign, Babur terrorized the Pukhtun tribes. During his first invasion across Khyber Pass in 1505 he erected the pillars of human skulls of his defeated opponents at Kohat and Hangu.²² The same act of brutality he practiced in Bajaur in 1519.²³

The Mughal forces crossed Khyber Pass unmolested in Babur's final Indian invasion in 1525 and got victory at Panipat (1526). In order to strengthen his hold over Khyber Pass to keep functioning the line of communication between India and Kabul, he built a fort at the site which is known as Bala Hissar.²⁴ Babur also strengthened forts of Peshawar and Hasthnagar, stored ammunition and corn and appointed Mir Hussain in command of a body of troops.²⁵ Babur has referred to Ali Masjid in Khyber Pass more than once in his *Waqai* where he had met a prominent person of Dalazak tribe when he was going back to Kabul after his first adventure of India.²⁶

Babur retained a tenuous control over the frontier areas and kept the Khyber Pass open till his death in 1530. But soon after his death the Afghan tribes revolted and the area was dominated by Afghan chiefs save for a brief period between 1552 and 1556 when Babur's son Humayun held Peshawar.²⁷

Humayun (1530-1540 and 1555-1556), son and successor of Babur, did not get sufficient time to pay much attention to the frontier areas. He was busy in wars against his brothers and Sher Shah Suri. He could not withstand the military moves of Sher Shah and roamed in Punjab and Sindh as fugitive and finally took refuge in Persia and the sovereignty of Hindustan passed to the Suris. But Sher Shah did not try to keep hold over the frontier areas and the Khyber Pass²⁸ as he had no

interest in Central Asia and remained busy in North India. Humayun, with the active support of Shah of Persia defeated his opponents including his brother Kamran Mirza and entered victoriously in the city of Kabul.²⁹

Like his father, Humayun chose the Khyber Pass after overpowering Kamran and made the occupation of Peshawar as the stepping stone to further conquest eastward. He suppressed the tribes of Tirah as they had given help to Kamran and rebuilt the fort of Peshawar to safeguard the Khyber Pass which the Dalazaks had destroyed. A strong garrison was placed in the fort of Peshawar under the command of Sikandar Khan Uzabk and the fort was provided the grain of neighbouring Dalazaks.³⁰

The establishment of Mughal rule in India by Babur had necessitated all his successors for almost two centuries to keep a strong hold on their life line connecting Delhi with Kabul. As Khyber Pass was the key point in this scheme of strategy, its tribes and its possession was at the top of all the policies of the Mughal emperors.³¹

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar (1556-1605) had to face many difficulties in the North West Frontier particularly at the hands of the Pukhtuns. Mirza Muhammad Hakim, his brother revolted at Kabul in 1580 when he was busy in conquering Kashmir. Akbar dispatched Man Singh to Kabul and followed by him personally,³² occupied Kabul but restored it to Mirza Muhammad Hakim³³ Apart from Mirza Muhammad Hakim's revolt, Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan attacked Kabul several times and tried to annex it to his dominion but failed due to the active policy and quick response of Akbar.³⁴

The disturbance at frontier was suppressed and by 1586 Akbar reestablished the imperial rule over Peshawar and appointed Man Singh its governor.³⁵ However, the tribesmen rose in rebellion, closed the Khyber Pass and drove Man Singh out. During this time Khyber Pass was infested by the Roshnites who wielded great influence over the Afghan tribes.³⁶ The Roshnites under Jalala revolted in 1588 but were unable to face

the imperial forces and fled to Tirah. Akbar sent Abdul Mutalib at the head of huge army. The Roshnites faced the Mughals but were unable to stand for long. They at last fled from the field after a serious defeat.³⁷ The Rajput general had to force the Pass when Akbar desired to secure Kabul on the death of his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim. In the following year Akbar had to come himself to Attock to suppress the tribes and to keep the Khyber Pass open.³⁸ During his stay at Attock the chiefs and Malaks of the tribes and clans of Khalil, Mohmand, Gugyani and others dwelling in the tracts between Kabul and Peshawar came and complained to the Emperor that the Yusufzais were in constant habit of plundering caravans and travelers, and on their account they themselves got a bad name for the acts of the Yusufzais. Consequently on these complaints a force under Zain Khan and Birbal was dispatched against the Yusufzais.³⁹ On the other hand Man Singh inflicted more than one defeat on the Roshnites at Khyber Pass but they kept the imperial troops in the field throughout the year 1587. It was not until the following year that the Afridis and the Orakzais submitted and undertook to keep the Khyber Pass open.⁴⁰

Another important measure of Akbar to keep open the Khyber Pass was the payment of allowance to its inhabiting tribes especially to the Afridis.⁴¹ In sixteenth century the Afridis collected Rs.125000 a year from the Mughal Empire in addition to individual levies on each traveler's per laden camel, per horseman and per-unladen camel or pedestrian.⁴² To ensure safe passage of caravans and Mughal armies between Delhi and Kabul, Akbar constructed a fort at Attock and a road through Khyber Pass by giving its responsibility of protection to its inhabiting tribal chiefs.⁴³ The fort of Attock also helped the Mughals to deal effectively with the Pukhtun tribes.⁴⁴ The duty of protection of the route from Attock to Peshawar was assigned to Malik Akor, chief of the Khattak tribe, in lieu of a Jagir.⁴⁵ About Khyber Pass, Abul Fazal says "the Khyber route was exceedingly difficult but by the Akbar's command, it was so improved by Qasim Khan who had superintendence of the work that the road which before that time was so difficult even for

horses and camels wheeled carriages could pass over with ease and the Toranis and Hindis generally use it".⁴⁶

Jahangir (1605-1627), son and successor of Akbar, wanted to follow mild tribal policy. He faced the tribal people for the first time in 1607 when he was going to Kabul through Khyber Pass. He appointed Hassan Baig the governor of Kabul and ordered him to suppress the Pukhtuns.⁴⁷ He had appointed Sher Khan, an Afghan to guard Khyber Pass. During his return journey from Kabul, he also appointed Shah Beg Koji to the *sarkars* of Tirah, Kabul, Bangash, Sawad (Swat) and Bajawar to bring the tribes of these areas under control.⁴⁸ The Roshnites disturbed safe passage through Khyber Pass. Shah Beg tried to deal with them but the situation became increasingly complex and the security of Khyber Pass was not ensured.⁴⁹

Qadam,⁵⁰ an Afridi who was assigned to guard Khyber Pass in lieu of the transit dues revolted against the Mughals. All the Mughal posts were attacked and men stationed there were killed. The brother and son of the rebel were at the Mughal court as a bond of his good conduct. Jahangir ordered to imprison them at Gwalior. The Mughal officers stationed at the frontier tried to suppress the uprising but failed.⁵¹ The Imperial Mughal Army sent from the capital in 1620 was destroyed by the Roshnites while trying to force its way into Tirah. At last Mahabat Khan was appointed as the governor of Kabul and Peshawar who very cleverly invited the Orakzai chiefs of Roshnites to a feast at Kohat and killed them. At another occasion Ahdad, leader of the Roshnites was killed along with his many supporters and his seal of authority and scepter were presented to Jahangir when he was passing through Khyber Pass on his way to Kabul.⁵²

Jahangir generally followed the policy of his father for the safety of Khyber Pass and he continued the allowances to the tribes on the same manner as his father did.⁵³ It was during Jahangir's reign that Qandahar was lost to the Persians and Prince Khurram would restore it but the palace intrigues dismissed him and appointed Shaharyar to led the expedition.⁵⁴ He had appointed Sher Khan Rohilla, a Mansabdar of 3500 as

the Faujdar of Peshawar and Khyber Pass and he did his job so well that Jahangir always praised and appreciated him. Over all Jahangir was able to keep hold over the frontier tribes and to keep Khyber Pass open in his reign.⁵⁵

During the reign of Shah Jahan (1627-1658), the Roshnites hindered the passage of the Mughal army which was going to Kabul under Muzaffar Khan. Shah Jahan has mentioned in *Badshah Nama* that all of a sudden Afridis and Orakzais emerged in thousands from the hills of Khyber Pass and attacked the Mughal army. The royal army had to suffer heavy losses. This time the invaders were led by Bibi Alai and her son Abdul Qadir, the leaders of the Roshnites. A large quantity of weapons fell into the hands of the invaders. Even the women of Muzaffar Khan's harem could not be saved. Only a wife of Muzaffar Khan was rescued after payment of ransom.⁵⁶

The Roshnites laid siege to Peshawar in 1630 once again but were dispersed by the Mughal force and they retreated to Tirah. Thus Tirah was invaded and pacified by the imperial troops in an arduous campaign.⁵⁷ Syed Khan who was a brave and intelligent general induced Bibi Alai and Abdul Qadir to lay arms to the Mughals. Abdul Qadir died after a brief illness and Bibi Alai was presented before the Emperor who granted her a big *jagir* and in this manner the Roshnites group came to an end.⁵⁸ The Roshanites had created a lot of disturbance to the Mughals and at times had established control over key cities and regions including Nangarhar, Ghazni, and Kabul. Adherents of the sect gained control of the Khyber Pass, which they blocked at intervals. The assassination of Bayazid Ansari's grandson Karimdad in 1638 shattered the political organization of the movement.⁵⁹

Shah Jahan, on one hand had the ambition to conquer his ancestral lands and on the other hand he had to counter the expansionist policy of the Persians. He moved his forces towards Kabul through Khyber Pass. In the early days of Shah Jahan, Pukhtun tribesmen rose against the Mughals and tried to occupy Peshawar. They besieged the city but were defeated by the

Imperial forces.⁶⁰ Qandahar was occupied by the Persians in the last days of Jahangir which remained with them for some time due to disturbance in Mughal Empire. Shah Jahan sent his forces and occupied the city.⁶¹ *Shah Jahan Nama* has some details about Shah Jahan's first march towards Kabul but has not mentioned which path he followed. He has however mentioned that in return he followed the Bangash area. Raja Jagar Singh was appointed *faujdar* of Bangash (present day Hangu and Kohat) for maintaining order in the area.⁶² Shah Jahan ruled frontier tribes despotically and caused discontent among them.⁶³ Shah Jahan constantly moved Imperial forces to Central Asia during his reign.⁶⁴ The constant marches in his reign to Qandahar, Balkh and Badakshan kept the Pukhtun tribes pressed and inactive.⁶⁵ Resultantly the frontier areas and the Khyber Pass comparatively remained peaceful in his reign.⁶⁶ The Yusufzais were befriended.⁶⁷ Shah Jahan passed through Khyber Pass many times.⁶⁸ On one or two occasions Khushal Khan Khattak also accompanied him. Overall Shah Jahan was more successful than his predecessors and successors to keep Khyber Pass open.⁶⁹

Aurangzeb (1658—1707) occupied the throne after his success against his brothers in the war of succession. Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor of Lahore was transferred to Peshawar. Amin Khan was unaware of hill wars and frontier politics and before his arrival hostility had broken out between the Mughals and the Khyber tribes due to the attitude of the Mughal Chief, and Khyber Pass was made insecure. Amin Khan was intercepted in Khyber Pass in the summer of 1670 on his way to Kabul but the affair was settled through negotiation.⁷⁰ Two years later, the Afridis under Aimal Khan and other Afghan tribes closed the Khyber Pass. While in summer of the same year the Mughal governor disregarding the advice of his officers moved to Kabul from Peshawar with all his family and camp followers. His camp was blocked by the tribes in the narrow gorge at Ali Masjid. Amin Khan opened negotiation with them but the price they demanded was too high and he tried to force the Pass. In the battle which followed, the Pukhtuns rained down arrows, bullets and stones from hill tops on the Mughals. The Mughal army broke into a confused mass and Amin Khan with a

band of his officers escaped to Peshawar.⁷¹ The whole Mughal army was destroyed and everything was lost which include troops, treasure, elephants, camp equipage, families including Amin Khan's wife, mother, sister, son and servants.⁷² About 1000 Mughal soldiers were killed, 2000 men and women were captured and 20 million rupees were looted.⁷³ After this victory, Aimal Khan crowned himself as a king and proclaimed a holy war against the Mughals and summoned all the Pukhtun tribes to join the national movement. When the news of the defeat reached Aurangzeb, he disregarded the threat to his empire from Marathas come to the frontier region to restore royal prestige and to direct operations personally.⁷⁴ From 1673 to 1675 the war with the tribes under his general direction continued but his arms met with little success and he was at last compelled to come to terms which left the Pukhtun tribes almost independent and he withdrew his forces to India.⁷⁵

Nonetheless by the end of 1675, Aurangzeb had established sufficient control to enable him to return Delhi. He accomplished this success mainly by diplomacy. Many clans were brought over by paying them subsidies.⁷⁶ The Mughal emperor had learnt by bitter experience that it was cheaper to pay these hillmen as a means of keeping the Khyber Pass open and the valleys at their foot safe than to coerce them. A sum of Rs. 600000 was annually allocated by Aurangzeb for paying subsidies to the various border chieftains and headmen of families.⁷⁷ Rival claimants to the headship of tribes were encouraged. The perpetual jealousy and distrust of one group for another were fanned. Imperial spies penetrated the tribal councils. Brother was paid to oppose brother and son was encouraged to depose father. By the time, Aurangzeb departed, the Afridis and the Khattaks alone remained in alliance against the Mughals.⁷⁸

Aurangzeb's policy was continued by Amir Khan, an exceptionally able governor of Kabul who ruled the province for the emperor from 1677 to 1698.⁷⁹ He set himself to win the hearts of the Pukhtuns and entered into social relations with them with such success that the chiefs of the clans gave up their shy

and unsocial manners and began to visit him without any suspicion.⁸⁰ He broke up a confederacy under Aimal Khan by secretly instigating the chiefs of other tribes to demand a division of the loot which the revolt hoped to gain before the war began. He worked to promote dissension between the Afridis and the Khattaks. Afridi abandoned the fight after the death of Aimal Khan and came into terms with the Mughals and agreed to keep the Khyber Pass open in lieu of the payment of subsidies.⁸¹

Aurangzeb's policy of divide and rule was neither original nor unique but he applied it more persistently and scientifically than any of his predecessor or successor. The policy produced disunity in the Frontier but it also resulted in security for the empire. Thus the communication line to Kabul was kept open by disuniting the tribes who were no more able to threaten peace of the Mughal Empire.⁸²

The successors of Aurangzeb retained a nominal possession of the frontier areas. They had neither the power nor inclination to make any further attempt to control the Pukhtun tribes. In 1718 Nasir Khan was appointed the governor of Kabul. He adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Pukhtuns with whom he became popular.⁸³ But the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah's neglect to guard the narrow passes and defiles of the frontier together with the little attention he paid to the complaints of the troops appointed to guard those inlets of the mountains resulted a mighty calamity which Hindustan suffered from Nadir Shah's invasion. For had he attended to the payment of the mountaineers destined to guard those difficult passes and had he taken for the conservation of that province such other precautions as the case required, it is probably that Nadir Shah would not have thought of invading Hindustan.⁸⁴

The governor of *Subah Peshawar wa Kabul* received 12 *lakh* rupees a year, half of which was spent on the troops stationed in the area and other half was paid to the tribesmen residing in Khyber Pass. The negligence on the part of Delhi delayed the payment to troops and tribesmen. Hence the guards abandoned their posts and the garrisons being utterly neglected.

The people used these passes unobserved, no intelligence was forwarded to the court and emperor nor were ministers ever taken to task for this negligence.⁸⁵ Nasir Khan had long foresaw the storm which was about to burst upon the falling empire and had for some years warned the court about Nadir's approach. His calls for assistance were however ignored.⁸⁶

After proclaiming himself emperor of Persia in 1736, Nadir Shah marched eastward captured Qandahar and Kabul in 1738. He arrived in the Khyber in late November of 1738 and overwhelmed the Mughal governor of Kabul who tried to block Nadir's advance at Khyber Pass with a force of 20000 Afghans.⁸⁷ The Yusufzais and their confederates closed the Pass so effectively that Nadir, in order to get the bulk of his army and equipage through, being unable to force his passage by a front attack had to endeavour by a flank movement to fall upon their rear. While the Yusufzais held the defiles, Nasir Khan's position was strong enough but after it had been forced the Afghans in the Pass, probably fearing they might be attacked from two sides, retired.⁸⁸ A fierce battle ensued but finally Nasir Khan was defeated and Nadir Shah became the ruler of Khyber Pass and the surrounding areas.⁸⁹ Nadir Shah advanced eastward and defeated the Mughal emperor and looted the capital of Hindustan. On his way back to Persia, the Afridis closed his passage through Khyber Pass but he led his army through the back paths of Tirah.⁹⁰

Conclusion

The Khyber Pass has been serving one of the most important means of communication between South Asia and Central Asia. It has a unique geography and a rich history. It has been considered one of the most important geostrategic positions of not only the region but the World. It has been shaping the history of the sub-continent and Central Asia throughout the known time. It has witnessed a long series of bloodshed between the inhabiting tribes and the powers who wanted

Notes and References

- 1 Ahmad Salim, (ed.) *Peshawar: City on the Frontier* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 14. Henceforth Salim, *Peshawar*. The present study is not discussing the epistemology of the name and just giving hints. According to one version it is a Hebrew word, means a castle and it got its name in the past as it enjoyed a strategic importance as a fort. Muhammad Shafi Sabir has traced the term Khyber as originated here and the Jews took the name with them to the Middle East or vice versa. Teepu Mahabat Khan, *The Land of Khyber* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2005), p. 43. Henceforth Khan, *The Land of Khyber*. Yet another source contends that the name Khyber is applied to the range of arid broken hills through which the Pass runs. (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/317-182/khyber-pass>).
- 2 Syed Abdul Qaddus, *Pakistan: From Khyber to Karachi* (Lahore: Islamic Book Centre, n.d), p. 151. Henceforth Qaddus, *Pakistan*.
- 3 <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic317182/khyber-pass>.
- 4 Qaddus, *Pakistan*, pp. 148-49; James W. Spain, *The Way of the Pathans* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 46. Henceforth Spain, *The Way of the Pathan*.
- 5 Salim, *Peshawar*, p. 14. upper hand in the region. The inhabitants blocked the passage of the invading armies, who in turn usually paid them allowances instead of wasting their energies in the narrow passages.

Like many predecessor and successor powers, the Mughals invaded India and established their rule in Northern India. The Mughal had always wished to regain their ancestral country from their opponents which elevated the importance of Khyber Pass for them. The Mughal emperors for almost two centuries were necessitated to keep their hold over this narrow passage which connected India and Central Asia. Babur for the occupation of India and Humayun for the re-establishment of his authority over India were required to secure and safeguard Khyber Pass for their safe passage. Akbar and Jahangir for the occupation of Qandahar and Shah Jahan for achieving his Central Asian ambition looked upon Khyber

Pass as a key point in their scheme of strategy. Aurangzeb secured it after the loss of men and resources.

However, on the whole it was secured and kept open through the old custom of paying allowances and subsidies and grant of *jagirs* to its inhabiting tribes. These tribes were befriended but sometimes discontent and disunity were also fanned among them so as to weaken their strength. The measures taken by the earlier Mughals did not completely pacify the tribes of the Khyber Pass but they were able to cross the pass at times of need. The later Mughals were unable to concentrate on Khyber Pass and the consequent negligence on their part paved the way for their destruction as it enabled Nadir Shah of Persia to invade India which proved a crushing blow for the Mughal power in India.

- 6 James W. Spain, *The Pathan Borderland* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1985), p. 46. Henceforth Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*.
- 7 Henry George Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Baluchistan*, reprint (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1976), p. 95. Henceforth Raverty, *Notes*.
- 8 Woseley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India: Mughal Period*, vol. IV, reprint (Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1987), p. 10. Henceforth Haig, *The Cambridge History*, vol. IV.
- 9 Khan, *The Land of Khyber*, p. 44.
- 10 Raverty, *Notes*, p. 44.
- 11 Ibid., p. 95.
- 12 Azmat Hayat Khan, *The Durand Line: Its Geo-strategic Importance* (Peshawar: Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2000), p. 47. Henceforth Khan, *The Durand Line*.
- 13 *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-98*, reprint (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004), p. 55. Henceforth *Gazetteer of Peshawar*.
- 14 Haig, *The Cambridge History*, vol. IV, p. 10.
- 15 Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Story of Khyber* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1966), p. 60. Henceforth Sabir, *Story of Khyber*.

- 16 Ihsan H. Nadiem, *Peshawar: Heritage, History, Monuments* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007), p. 81. Henceforth Nadiem, *Peshawar*.
- 17 Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Waqai Babur*, Urdu tr. Yunas Jafari (London: Shahar Banu Publishers, 2007), pp. 120-22. Henceforth Babur, *Waqai Babur*.
- 18 Ibid., p. 190.
- 19 Habibullah Tagi, *Pukhtana* (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: Danish Kitab Khana, 1999), pp. 201-202. Henceforth Tagi, *Pukhtana*.
- 20 Babur, *Waqai Babur*, pp. 193-94.
- 21 Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Subah Sarhad* (Urdu) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1986), pp. 270-74. Henceforth Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Subah Sarhad*.
- 22 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, p. 30.
- 23 Sayyid Bahadar Shah Zafar Kakakhel, *Pushtun Tarikh kay Ayenay Main, 550 BC—1964 AD*, Urdu tr. Sayyid Anwar-ul-Haq Jeelani, reprint (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 2007), p. 271. Henceforth Kakakhel, *Pushtun*.
- 24 Sabir, *Story of Khyber*, p. 59.
- 25 Nadiem, *Peshawar*, p. 81.
- 26 Babur, *Waqai Babur*, p. 205.
- 27 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, p. 31.
- 28 Nadiem, *Peshawar*, p. 81.
- 29 Abu-l-Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, tr. H. Beveridge (reprint) (Lahore: Book Traders, n.d.), pp. 538-39. Henceforth Fazl, *Akbar Nama*.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Nadiem, *Peshawar*, p. 81.
- 32 Sabir, *Story of Khyber*, p. 61. 14
- 33 Kakakhel, *Pushtun*, p. 353.
- 34 Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, vol. 2, Urdu. Tr. Muhammad Ayub Qadri (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1990), pp. 420-30. Henceforth Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*.

- 35 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, p. 32.
- 36 Zahid Shah, "Religio-Political Movements in the Pashtun Belt-The Roshnites", *Journal of Political Studies* (Lahore) Vol. 18, Issue 2, (2011), pp.119-132.
- 37 Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 420.
- 38 Khan, *The Land of Khyber*, p. 45.
- 39 Raverty, *Notes*, p. 44.
- 40 Haig, *The Cambridge History*, vol. IV, pp. 136-37.
- 41 Khan, *The Durand Line*, p. 47.
- 42 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, p. 46. The present study consulted different primary sources but little details are available related to Khyber Pass. Khafi Khan shortly deals with the disturbance at Peshawar and its surroundings but has no details are available. See Khafi Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab: Mughlia Dawr-i-Hukumat, Babur sey Jahangir tak*, Urdu tr. Mahmud Ahmad Farooqi, 4th edition (Karachi: Nafees Academy, 1985), pp. 209-211.
- 43 Nadiem, *Peshawar*, p. 82.
- 44 Raverty, *Notes*, p. 32.
- 45 Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Subah Sarhad*, p. 298.
- 46 Raverty, *Notes*, p. 39.
- 47 Khan, *Mutakhab-ul-Lubab*, pp. 266-67.
- 48 Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir*, vol. I, tr. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, reprint (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1974), pp. 103, 128. Henceforth Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.
- 49 Sabir, *Story of Khyber*, p. 62.
- 50 The name is not confirmed as it was not readable in *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 121.
- 51 Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 321, 323.
- 52 Sabir, *Story of Khyber*, p. 62
- 53 Ibid., pp. 62-63.
- 54 Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, pp. 323-26.

- 55 Kakakhel, *Pukhtun*, p. 364.
- 56 Sabir, *Story of Khyber*, p. 63.
- 57 *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series: North West Frontier Province*, reprint (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002), p. 17. Henceforth *Imperial Gazetteer: NWFP*.
- 58 Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Suba Sarhad*, p. 325.
- 59 Yury V. Bosin, "Roshaniya movement and the Khan Rebellion", in Immanuel Ness (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest* (New York: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), p. 2869.
- 60 Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, vol. II, pp. 40-41.
- 61 *Ibid.*, pp. 145-47.
- 62 Muhammad Salih Kambu, *Shah Jahan Nama (Amal-i-Salih)* vol. 2, Urdu tr. Nazir Hassan Zaidi (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1974), pp. 249-51. Henceforth Kambu, *Shah Jahan Nama*.
- 63 *Imperial Gazetteer: NWFP*, p. 17.
- 64 Kambu, *Shah Jahan Nama*, pp. 302-303.
- 65 Balkh and Badakhshan were conquered by Prince Murad in 1646. Kambu, *Shah Jahan Nama*, p. 410.
- 66 Sabir, *Tarikh-i-Suba Sarhad*, pp. 323-24.
- 67 Kakakhel, *Pushtun*, pp. 381-82.
- 68 Shah Jahan was more ambitious as compare to his predecessors and hence visited Kabul a few times. One of his visit to Kabul was after the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan. Kambu, *Shah Jahan Nama*, pp. 423-24.
- 69 Sabir, *Story of Khyber*, pp. 63-64
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 <https://sites.google.com/site/airavat/aurangze'safghanwar> (online)3-10-2012.
- 72 Raverty, *Notes*, p. 42.
- 73 Haig, *The Cambridge History*, vol. IV, p. 238.
- 74 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, p. 33.

- 62
- 75 *Gazetteer of Peshawar*, p. 61.
- 76 Khan, *The Land of Khyber*, p. 46.
- 77 Haig, *The Cambridge History*, vol. IV, pp. 237-38.
- 78 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 34.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Haig, *The Cambridge History*, vol. IV, p. 240.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, 34.
- 83 *Gazetteer of Peshawar*, pp. 61-62.
- 84 Seid Gholam Hossein Khan, *Seir Mutaqherin*, vol. I (Lahore: Oriental Publishers & Bookseller, 1975), p. 300. Henceforth Khan, *Seir Mutaqherin*.
- 85 Ibid., pp. 300-301.
- 86 *Gazetteer of Peshawar*, p. 62.
- 87 Spain, *The Pathan Borderland*, p. 35.
- 88 Raverty, *Notes*, 38.
- 89 Sabir, *The Story of Khyber*, p. 65.
- 90 Khan, *The Land of Khyber*, p. 47.