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ANCESTRAL HISTORY OF AHMAD SHAH DURR-I-DURRAN

A number of theories¹ have been advanced regarding the origin of Afghans.² Ali Muhammad Khan³ follows the traditional origin of Afghans from Bani Israel and says that Malik Talut (Saul) King of the Jews had two sons, Armia and Barkhia. Armia's son Afghan was the father of the Afghan nation and gave his name to it. The Afghans, therefore, claim an Israelite descent and called themselves 'Bani Israel'. This claim according to Lepel Griffin is supported by their culture because 'in physiognomy, in manner and in their religious rites, the Afghans much resemble the Jews.'⁴

Malik Talut (Saul) while fighting a battle against an infidel Djalut, announced that whosoever would kill Djalut, he would not only appoint him as his successor but also marry his daughter to him. 'Daud killed⁵ Djalut' and became his successor as well as his son-in-law.⁶ Sulaiman, the successor of Daud,⁷ appointed Malik Afghan son of Armia as his Commander-in-Chief and Asif son of Barkhia as his Minister.⁸

Once Sulaiman passed over a beautiful place '*Rodah* or *Roh*'⁹ situated on the '*Kaseghar*'¹⁰ mountain'. He liked the place very much and there he held his court. The place is known as '*Takht-i-Sulaiman*'¹¹ till this day. Before leaving the place, Sulaiman gave it to Malik Afghan, who settled there alongwith his tribesmen.¹² Malik Afghan and his tribesmen entered into matrimonial alliances with the local people of village '*Pasht*'¹³ and with the passage of time their descendants adopted their mother tongue that is '*Pashtu*' and left their ancestral language 'Hebrew'. The descendants of Malik Afghan are better known as '*Pakhtuin*' because of the village '*Pasht*'.¹⁴

Qais Abdur Rashid, a descendant of Malik Afghan, embraced Islam and was conferred the title of 'Batan' by the Holy Prophet, because the former displayed great valour in a battle against the infidels. The word 'Batan' was changed into 'Pathan', therefore, his descendants are called 'Pathans'.¹⁵

The Abdali tribe to which Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran and the last rulers of Multan belonged, traces its origin from 'Malik Abdal' the fifth in descent from 'Qais Abdur Rashid'. Malik Abdal son of Tarin was the grandson of Malik Sharkbun, whose grandson was Malik Rajjar. Malik Rajjar had four sons, Malik Isa, Nur, Khukar and Mako. Malik Isa's son was Zirak and his son was Malik Popal. Malik Popal's son Malik Habib was the father of Malik Bame, whose son 'Malik Saleh' was the father of 'Malik Saddu'.¹⁶

Malik Saleh the father of Malik Saddu was the chief of his tribe. His importance was not only recognized in his own country but also by the rulers of India. Sher Shah Suri acknowledged his importance and paid glowing tributes to him in his court on the arrival of his envoy.¹⁷ Malik Saleh had two wives, one of them was his cousin. She gave birth to a son, on the night of Sunday 30th September, 1558 (18th Zil Hijj, 965 A.H.), who was named 'Saddu'.¹⁸ Malik Saddu was the ancestor of the 'Saddozai tribe' of the Afghans, the last Subedars of Multan and Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran. He has been wrongly called Sardar Khan or Asadullah or Sadullah by some historians. His real name was 'Saddu'.¹⁹ His mother died during his infancy. Malik Saleh had four other sons from another wife but he loved 'Saddu' very much. Saddu was brave and had the ability to command the people. While judging his popularity and realising his ability, Malik Saleh appointed him as his successor. After the death of his father, Malik Saddu became chief of his tribe.²⁰ Malik Saddu being the chief of *Alus*²¹ *Habibzai*²² played an important role in uniting the tribes of Afghana. First of all he united all the Afghan tribes living in the surroundings of Qandahar and within a very short period, he became the chief of 'Safa'²³ and *Alus Abdali*²⁴ on 16th July 1598 (22nd Zil Hijj 1006 A.H.).²⁵ Being the chief of Alus Abdali, he had to deal with three potentates: the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1542-1605), the Emperor Jahangir (1569-1627) and the Safavid Emperor Shah Abbas (1587-1629). In the meantime, Qandahar became a bone of contention between the Mughals and the Safavids and due to some misunderstanding Malik Saddu allied himself with Shah Abbas instead of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. Malik Saddu helped in conquering Qandahar in 1622 (1032 A. H.). Shah Abbas, therefore, realising Malik Saddu's importance in the territory of Qandahar, acknowledged his chiefdom and bestowed upon him the government of 'Safa' along with the title of Mir-i-Afghan. He also exempted Alus Abdali and Malik Saddu from paying annual tribute to the Safavid Emperor.²⁶

Malik Saddu was a great warrior, a politician and a pious man. His

descendants are called *SADDOZAIS* and command great respect till this day. Their rule in Herat (Afghanistan) and Multan lasted till 1818. Malik Saddu died on Thursday, April 1626 (1st Rajab 1036 A.H.) at an advanced age of 71.²⁷ He left five sons, Khwaja Khizr Khan born on (1st Ramzan 990 A.H.) June 1580, Khan Maudud born in July 1582 (15th Shawwal 992 A.H.), Kamran Khan born in April 1584 (Rajab 994 A.H.), Bahadur Khan born in 1588 (998 A.H.) and Zafran Khan born in 1600 (1010 A. H.).²⁸ Malik Saddu was succeeded by his eldest son Khwaja Khizr Khan.²⁹ He was a very pious man. He had no interest in worldly affairs and after three months of his succession, he abdicated in favour of his younger brother Khan Maudud. Khwaja Khizr Khan died after a short time in October 1626 (2nd Muharramul Haram 1037 A.H.).³⁰ The 'descendants of Khwaja Khizr Khan are called Khizr Khel. Ahmad Shah Dur:-i-Durran, the founder of Afghanistan was his direct descendant. Khwaja Khizr Khan was a godly man and is still worshipped by the Afghans as a favourite saint to whom offers of 'Nazar-o-Niaz', presents and prayers, are made on all solemn occasions. The devotion and awe, inspired by this holy personage, lent a sense of sanctity to the whole clan of Saddozais and its members enjoyed peculiar privileges. Their persons were sacred, no punishment could be inflicted on them, except by one of their own family ; nor could even the head of the Abdalis himself pass sentence of death upon a Saddozye'.³¹

Khan Maudud ruled over 'Safa' and its surroundings for 17 years. He was a brave man. He maintained good relations with the Safavid Emperor Shah Abbas II. The Safavid Emperor bestowed upon him the title of 'Khan', therefore, his descendants are called 'Khan Khel' and the last Muslim Subedars of Multan were his direct descendants.³² He laid down his life in 1642 (1053 A.H.) fighting against Mir Yahya Diwan, in the civil war of Kabul. He left two sons, Shah Husain Khan and Allah Dad Khan. He was succeeded by his elder son Shah Husain Khan.³³ Khan Maudud's eldest brother Khwaja Khizr Khan also left two sons, Sultan Khudadad Khan the eldest, alias Sultan Khudakka as his tribesmen call him and Sarmast Sultan the great-grand-father of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran, the founder of Afghanistan.³⁴ At the time of assassination of Khan Maudud, both the sons of Khwaja Khizr were capable enough to guide the destiny of their people, therefore, Khudadad Khan alias Sultan Khudakka challenged the succession of his cousin Shah Husain Khan.³⁵ Alus Abdali was divided into two groups. During the same period the Safavid Emperor, Shah Abbas II, wanted to capture Qandahar. When Khudadad Khan met him in Isfahan, both agreed to cooperate. The Emperor attacked Qandahar in 1648 (1058 A.H.) and

captured it with the help of Khudadad Khan in 1649 (1059 A.H.).³⁶ Now Khudadad Khan attacked Safa and captured it. Shah Husain Khan in spite of the help of Khawas Khan, Mughal Governor of Qandahar was defeated and he alongwith the Mughal Governor fled to Ind a.³⁷ Shah Husain Khan was the first Saddozai chief to arrive in Multan in 1649 (1059 A.H.) alongwith his younger brother Allah Dad Khan. He was elevated to the rank of seven hundred, alongwith a Jagir in Rangpur (Muzaffargarh District) by the Emperor Shah Jahan. He settled down in Multan and built his Kiri³⁸ there. In his Kiri, he built a very beautiful palace known as Shish³⁹ Mahal, and a mosque which is still there. He was also conferred the title of Wafadar Khan by the Mughal Emperor.⁴⁰

After defeating Shah Husain Khan near Safa and rendering valuable services to the Safavid Emperor Shah Abbas II during the siege of Qandahar in 1648-49 (1058-59 A. H.) Khudadad Khan established his rule in Safa. His territory included the area extending from Kaseghar⁴¹ to Qandahar including Argistan.⁴² Only Qandahar Fort was left for the Safavid Emperor to satisfy his greed. Khudadad Khan ruled independently and did not pay the annual tribute either to the Safavid Emperor or to the Mughals. He was the first amongst the Saddozais who styled himself as 'Sultan'.⁴³ Sultan Khudadad Khan alias Sultan Khudakka ruled for more than 16 years and died at the age of 54 in November, 1665 (on 2nd Safar 1076 A. H.), leaving behind three sons, Kalandar Khan, Inayat Khan and Hayat Khan.⁴⁴ The descendants of Sultan Khudakka are called Khudakka Saddozais. The celebrated author of *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai was the direct descendant of Sultan Khudakka. Sultan Khudakka was succeeded by his eldest son Sultan Qalandar Khan who was an ambitious man. He wanted to capture Qandahar and hence he attacked it with a large force but was killed in the battle during the siege of Qandahar Fort. His rule lasted only for two months and 23 days.⁴⁵ Sultan Qalandar Khan had no male issue. He was succeeded by his younger brother Sultan Inayat Khan. His uncle Sarmast Sultan challenged his succession and a civil war broke out amongst Alus Abdali. Ultimately Sarmast Sultan was defeated and killed and Sultan Inayat Khan was recognised as chief of Alus Abdali.⁴⁶ He maintained friendly relations with the Iranian Governor of Qandahar. His younger brother Hayat Khan who was 19 at the time of his father's death, was very ambitious. When once his brother Sultan Inayat Khan was on a hunting excursion, he

availed of this opportunity and got him assassinated in January 1667 (on 23rd Rabi-us-Sani 1078 A.H.).⁴⁷ As Sultan Inayat Khan had no male issue, his younger brother Hayat Khan was declared as the chief of Alus Abdali. In spite of the fact that he got his elder brother killed treacherously, and besides the opposition of his brave mother Murad Bibi, he succeeded as the chief of his tribe⁴⁸ and styled himself as the Sultan. He was a very brave man. He fought several battles with the Iranians and maintained his independence. He became a terror not only for his enemies but also for his own people. Several important persons of Alus Abdali left Safa for Multan due to his fear. One of these Saddozais was Jalal Khan (maternal uncle of Zaman Khan the father of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran) son of Aidal Khan son of Zafran Khan son of Malik Saddu, who got refuge in Kiri Shah Husain Khan with his maternal uncle Shah Husain Khan the chief of Khan Khel Saddozais.⁴⁹ His rule lasted from 1667 (1078 A.H.) to 1680 (1091 A.H.). Sultan Hayat Khan fought 32 battles during his short period of about 13 years against his enemies including the Iranian rulers of Qandahar and Herat. He was defeated near Qandahar in 1680 (1091 A.H.) and fled to India via Kohistan.⁵⁰ Before leaving his ancestral land, he nominated his cousin Jaffar Sultan as chief of Alus Abdali with the instructions to sign a peace treaty with the Iranian Emperor. Sultan Hayat Khan reached Multan on 16th October 1682 (14th Shawwal 1093 A.H.) via Dera Ghazi Khan alongwith his family including his eldest son Abdullah Khan aged 12, his nephew Zaman Khan father of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran) and several other notable Saddozais. He settled down permanently in Multan and was granted a perpetual grant of agricultural land in Multan by the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb.⁵¹ He built his Kiri near a site where the present Deputy Commissioner's house is located. He also built a palace, a fruit garden and a mosque.⁵² He died at an advanced age of 84 on 15th April 1729 (27th Ramazan 1141 A.H.) and was buried in his own garden.⁵³

Jaffar Sultan the chief of Alus Abdali met the Iranian Emperor in Herat and accepted his overlordship. The Emperor bestowed upon him the title of Sultan. He maintained good relations with the Iranian Governor of Qandahar. He died in 1695 (1106 A. H.).⁵⁴ When the news of the death of Jaffar Sultan reached Multan; Abdullah Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Hayat Khan Khudakka Saddozai alongwith his cousin and brother-in-law Zaman Khan (father of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran) and with several other Saddozais of note left Multan and soon reached Safa.

He was welcomed by Alus Abdali and succeeded to the chieftainship of his tribe in Safa. He also adopted the title of Sultan. After establishing his rule, he appointed his brother-in-law Zaman Khan as his Deputy (Naib) and left Safa for Multan in 1704 (1116 A.H.) to pay respects to his father Sultan Hayat Khan who was very happy over his success in their ancestral territory⁵⁵. On his return journey he was accompanied by his eldest son Asadullah Khan who was not only very handsome but was also an exceptionally brave youth of 18. In Safa he met Mir Wais Ghilzai, Chief of Hotak, who had recently come back from Pilgrimage. He requested Sultan Abdullah Khan to unite against the Iranians. Both the chiefs attacked Qandahar and during the siege, Gurgin Khan, the Georgian chief and the Iranian Governor of Qandahar was killed. When the Iranian army advanced, Mir Wais Ghilzai requested Sultan Abdullah Khan to check its advance. The Abdali chief rushed towards the Iranian army and after a pitched battle near Farah,⁵⁶ defeated it. The news of Afghan victory reached Qandahar and the Iranians surrendered the Fort. The Fort was captured by Mir Wais Ghilzai in 1708 (1120 A.H.). When Sultan Abdullah Khan returned to Qandahar after defeating the Iranian army, Mir Wais Ghilzai closed the doors of the Fort. On his enquiry, Mir Wais Ghilzai sent a message to him to takeover all the lands outside Qandahar excluding the Fort. Sultan Abdullah Khan frustrated with the treacherous role of Mir Wais Ghilzai went back to Safa⁵⁷. Then 'Mir Wais proclaimed the independence of the Afghans at Qandahar.'⁵⁸

Sultan Abdullah Khan fought several battles not only against Ghilzais but also against the Iranians. He alongwith his brave son Asadullah Khan marched towards Khurasan and captured many forts and towns. Asadullah Khan defeated the Iranian army and conquered Herat in August 1712 (15th Ramazan 1124 A.H.)⁵⁹. On hearing this good news, Sultan Abdullah Khan reached Herat, enthroned himself as 'Shah' and thus he became the acknowledged head of the Abdalis⁶⁰. He was the first amongst the Sadozais who became master of Herat, declared independence⁶¹ and styled himself as 'Shah'. He struck coins⁶² and read *Khutba* in the name of his old father Sultan Hayat Khan living in Multan.⁶³ *Alus Abdali* migrated to Herat from Safa. His star was on its zenith in 1719, when his able and brave son Asadullah Khan defeated a powerful Iranian army, numbering thirty thousand strong, under the command of Safi Qali Khan.⁶⁴ A pitched battle between Alus Abdali and the Ghilzais was fought in October 1720 (Ziqad 1132 A.H.) at Dil Aram on the right bank of river Kash Rud in which

Asadullah Khan lost his life⁶⁵ at the age of 26. It was a great shock for Sultan Abdullah Khan.

The Ghilzais and the Iranians decided to take revenge of their previous defeats at the hands of Alus Abdali, and Mahmud Ghilzai agreed to assist the Iranians in any military move against the Abdalis.⁶⁶ A large army was collected by the Iranian Emperor under Ismail Khan to march on Herat. Sultan Abdullah Khan got the news and marched with a strong army towards Mashhad to take the battle field in December 1720 (Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1133 A.H.). Before leaving Herat, he appointed his brother-in-law Zaman Khan (father of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran) as his deputy in Herat. When he reached Mashhad, he got the news that Zaman Khan had declared his independence and had closed the doors of the fort of Herat. Zaman Khan was supported by Khalu⁶⁷ Khan father of Ghani Khan Alkozai. Sultan Abdullah Khan at once rushed back to Herat and forcibly took it. Zaman Khan, Khalu Khan and several other Abdalis were captured and put to death. This incident took place in the month of July 1721 (Shaban 1133 A.H.).⁶⁸ It divided Alus Abdali into two groups which led to a civil war and which resulted in the triumph of Sultan Abdullah Khan. Zaman Khan left two sons, Zulfiqar Khan and Ali Mardan Khan. His youngest wife was pregnant. When the disaffection had started in Herat, he had sent his wife Zarghuna Alko ai to Multan to his maternal uncle Jalal Khan, considering Multan as a safe place. Zaman Khan's mother was already staying with her brother Jalal Khan in Multan. Zarghuna gave birth to Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran in Jalal Khan's house in the *Kiri* Shah Husain Khan in 1722 (1134 A.H.).⁶⁹ The infant was brought up in the house of Jalal Khan where he lived till the age of 7.⁷⁰ Soon afterwards he was carried to his ancestral land to join his elder brother Zulfiqar Khan. After the revolt of Zaman Khan in 1721 (1133 A.H.), Sultan Abdullah Khan wrote to his father Sultan Hayat Khan to send his (Abdullah Khan's) second son Muhammad Khan from Multan to Herat.⁷¹ In the meantime, Sultan Abdullah Khan was treacherously killed by Qasim Khan,⁷² son of Said Khan son of Jail Khan Zafran Khel Saddozai in Raoza Bagh at Herat in August 1721 (23rd Muharram-ul-Haram 1134 A.H.).⁷³ Sultan Abdullah Khan ruled over Herat for 9 years 4 months and 7 days and was 53 at the time of death. He left 3 sons, Muhammad Khan (from the sister of Zaman Khan), Allah Yar Khan and Ali Yar Khan. Qasim Khan succeeded as the chief of Alus Abdali at Herat.⁷⁴ When the news of the assassination of Sultan Abdullah Khan reached Multan, the latter's son Muhammad Khan had already left for Herat.

His old father Sultan Hayat Khan was very much shocked and to take revenge, he at once despatched his third son Muqarrab Khan who 'reached Qandahar from Multan, on a riding camel, very easily in eight days'.⁷⁵ On reaching Farah all Alus Abdali gathered around him and he marched on to Herat which was captured without any resistance in March 1722 (Shaban 1134 A.H.). The tyrant Qasim Khan was killed after a rule of 7 months. In the meantime, Muhammad Khan also reached Herat. Muqarrab Khan offered him the government of Herat which he hesitantly accepted. Muhammad Khan succeeded as the chief of Alus Abdali at Herat in April 1722 (Ramazan 1134 A.H),⁷⁶ with all privileges. Muqarrab Khan then left for Multan.

Mahmud Ghilzai conquered Isfahan in 1723 (1135 A.H.) and the Safavid Emperor, Shah Husain, was made prisoner. Encouraged by the weakness of the Iranians, Muhammad Khan attacked Khurasan and after conquering several towns like Turbat⁷⁷ and Bustam,⁷⁸ he besieged Mashhad.⁷⁹ In his absence Shah Nawaz Khan Khugani⁸⁰ instigated Zulfikar Khan (elder brother of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran) to take revenge of the murder of his father from Muhammad Khan. Zulfikar Khan revolted and many Abdalis gathered around him. The result was that the Alus Abdali was divided into two groups once again. They fought with each other. Ultimately after bloodshed, the elders decided that neither Zulfikar Khan nor Muhammad Khan deserved the chieftainship of Alus Abdali. Allah Yar Khan was to be invited from Multan to succeed as the chief of Alus Abdali. Zulfikar Khan was asked to go to *Pamarz wa Chaman* and Muhammad Khan was requested to abdicate in favour of his younger brother Allah Yar Khan. In the meantime, Allah Yar Khan reached Herat from Multan in July 1724 (Zilhijj 1136 A.H.), and succeeded as the chief of Alus Abdali.⁸¹ Muhammad Khan went back to Multan. The peaceful rule of Allah Yar Khan was disturbed in 1727 (1139 A.H.) by Abdul Ghani Alkozai⁸² whose father Khalu Khan was murdered alongwith Zaman Khan by the order of Sultan Abdullah Khan. He instigated and supported Zulfikar Khan to revolt against Allah Yar Khan. The result was once again a division of Alus Abdali who went to war with each other and the Ghilzais availed the opportunity and captured their lands in Qandahar. This led to a series of battles against each other. Zulfikar Khan went back to his stronghold 'Farah'. In the meantime, Nadir Quli Afshar, later came to be known as Nadir Shah, who was Commander-in-Chief of the army of Shah Tahmasp II Safavid invaded Khurasan. He

encouraged the division of Alus Abdali. Zulfikar Khan was recognised as the chief of 'Farah', and Allah Yar Khan was accepted as the chief of Hera.⁸³ Alus Abdali were divided into two groups with two chiefs Allah Yar Khan at Herat and Zulfikar Khan at Farah. Both fought with each other, as well as with the Ghilzais and the Iranians. Nadir Shah attacked Herat in June 1729 (Shawwal 1141 A.H.), but could not conquer it. Nadir Shah was satisfied with the nominal submission of Allah Yar Khan and both agreed to help each other against the common enemy, the Ghilzais.⁸⁴ In the meantime, Zulfikar Khan got the opportunity and captured Herat in June 1730 (3rd Shawwal 1142 A.H.) and Allah Yar Khan went to Maruchaak.⁸⁵ Now Zulfikar Khan advanced towards Mashad and besieged it on 30th July 1730 (13th Muharram-ul-Haram 1143 A. H.) but could not conquer the fort. The moment he heard the news of Nadir Shah coming to the help of his brother Ibrahim Khan, Zulfikar Khan went back to Herat.⁸⁶ Now it was the turn of Nadir Shah. He advanced towards Herat in March 1731 (Ramazan 1143 A.H.). On hearing this news Zulfikar Khan requested the Ghilzai chief for help. Saidal Khan⁸⁷ was despatched to Herat from Qandahar with a strong army of 3000,⁸⁸ to help him against Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah attacked Herat in (Muharram-ul-Haram 1144 A.H.) July 1731. Zulfikar Khan, even with the help of Saidal Khan, could not repulse the attack of Nadir Shah who was assisted by Allah Yar Khan. In the meantime, Saidal Khan fled to Qandahar. Now Nadir Shah forced Zulfikar Khan to hand over Herat to Allah Yar Khan, and it was done with the help of the elders of Alus Abdali on 24th July 1731 (18th Safar 1144 A. H.).⁸⁹ Zulfikar Khan alongwith his younger brother Ahmad Khan (Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran, the founder of Afghanistan) left Herat for Farah. When he reached Farah, he found Saidal Khan there. Saidal Khan took Zulfikar Khan and his younger brothers Ali Mardan Khan and Ahmad Khan to Qandahar with an assurance to get help from the Ghilzai chief. But on their arrival at Qandahar, Hussain Ghilzai, the ruler of Qandahar, treacherously confined them in the fort. They remained in the Qandahar fort till it was captured by Nadir Shah on 22nd March 1738 (2nd Zil Hijj 1150 A.H.), and then they were set free. Nadir Shah had fought several battles against Allah Yar Khan and Zulfikar Khan. He realized their importance and was impressed by the bravery of Alus Abdali. He gave Zulfikar Khan and his brothers lands in Mazandaran^{90, 91} and settled them there. Soon Ahmad Khan Saddozai

son of Zaman Khan joined the army of Nadir Shah and within a very short period became chief of the contingent consisting of Alus Abdali. He accompanied Nadir Shah to almost all expeditions. He enjoyed the confidence of Nadir Shah. It is said that once Nadir Shah humbly said to him, 'remember Ahmad Khan Abdali, that after me the kingship shall pass on to you. But you should treat the descendants of Nadir Shah with kindness'.⁹² The kingdom passed on to 'Ahmad Khan Abdali', soon after Nadir Shah was assassinated on the night of Saturday 8-9 June 1747 (11th Jamadi-us-Sani 1160 A. H.⁹³). 'Ahmad Shah Abdali' ascended the Afghan throne in the month of July 1747 and styled himself as Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran.⁹⁴

NOTES

1. Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, London, 1962, pp. 4-10.

2. Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai, author of *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* (T. M.), had a vantage position to watch contemporary historical developments. For being a direct descendant of Malik Saddu who had the honorific title of *Mir-i-Afghan*, was a renowned scholar of his time. For being the nearest kin and a close associate of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, the exiled King of Afghanistan, Ali Muhammad Khan was deputed by him to seek assistance of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to capture Multan. Ali Muhammad Khan was an ocular witness to many important events of the later Muslim period in Multan as he was living during the siege of Multan in 1818. After capturing Multan, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh visited Multan in 1820 (1235 A.H.) Ali Muhammad Khan had fallen seriously ill. The Maharaja, as soon as he learnt about his illness visited his place and enquired about his health. During his extensive travels he had collected rare original documents on the history of the Saddozais. This manuscript was completed on 16th April 1835 (7th Muharram-ul-Haram 1251 A. H.) at Multan. The manuscript measuring 10 inches by 7 inches consists of 483 folios.

3. T. M., pp. 2, 4, 5; Sher Muhammad Nadir, *Zubdatul Akhbar* (Z. A.), Lahore, 1832 (1248 A. H.), p. 3; Nimat Allah, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, Vol. I, Dacca, 1960, pp. 1-52; Sher Muhammad Khan, *Tawarikh Khurshid Jahan* (T. K. J.), Lahore, 1894, pp. 36, 45; Abdul Karim, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah*, tr., Lahore, 1963, pp. 3, 4; Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, Karachi, 1973, p. 10.

4. Lepel Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Panjab (a revised edition of the Panjab Chiefs)*, Multan District, Vol. II, pp. 317, 318.

5. *Al-Quran*, Para 2, *Sura Al-Baqra*:

و قتل داؤد و جالوت

6. T. M., p. 4; T. K. J., p. 42.

7. *Al-Quran*, Para 19, *Sura Al-Naml*:

و ورت سليمان داؤد

8. T. M., p. 5; T. K. J., pp. 45, 47.

9. *Rodah* or *Roh* is the same word, a Pashto word meaning mountain.
10. Kaseghar: situated in the Sulaiman range.
11. Takht-i-Sulaiman: situated in the Sulaiman range.
12. *T. M.*, pp. 5, 6; Fraser Tytler, *Afghanistan*, London, 1953, p. 49, says that 'the original habitat of the Pathans was the country lying round the Sulaiman range.'
13. '*Pasht*': In Tajik Persian signifying the back of a mountain range. Hence came the word *Pashtan*, with its plural *Pashtanah*. From this was derived the hard *Pakhtun* of the northern Afghans and the general appellation *Pathan*'; Fraser Tytler, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.
14. *T. M.* pp. 6, 7; Caroe, *op. cit.*, p. 252, says 'the Abdalis are a people Persian in language and in dress half Persian, half Pakhtun'; Tate, *The Kingdom of Afghanistan*, Karachi, 1973, p. 15, writes that 'the Afghans call themselves Pakhtan (Pakhtana), from which the change to Paktana and again to Pathan is easy'.
15. *T. M.*, pp. 7, 8; *T. K. J.*, pp. 58-64; Tate, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 15, writes, 'Bahtan—the rudder, or the mast or both of a ship'; Bellew, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16, writes, 'Bahtan the rudder of a ship'. All the above mentioned authors have mentioned this, but it could not be verified from the early Islamic sources. Also see: *T. K. J.*, pp. 50, 51, 53, 55, 175, 176.
16. *T. M.*, pp. 9-19; The following authors give a different account which cannot be given the credence deserved by *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*. Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 33, 'Saddo's father was Umar'; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 1, 'Umar's second son was Saddo'; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, pp. 3, 4, 'Saddo was son of Bame and Saleh was his brother; Atta Muhammad, *Taza-Nawa-i-Muarak*, Shikarpur, ed. Karachi, 1959, (1271 A.H.), p. 769, 'Saleh was elder brother of Saddu'; Azizuddin Fafalzai, *Timur Shah Durrani*, Kabul, 1333, p. 46, 'Umar Khan Fofalzai was father of Asadullah *alias* Saddu'; Caroe *op. cit.* p. 12, confirms that 'Abdal was son of Tarin and grandson of Sharkbun'. Also see: *T. K. J.*, pp. 170, 171, 182; Rahmat, *Khulasat-ul-Ansab*, MS., pp. 4-30; Faiz Muhammad, *Tuhfatul Habib*, 1770 (1184 A.H.), pp. 20-60.
17. *T. M.*, p. 18.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19. The authors named below have wrongly stated that Malik Saddu's name was Asadullah or Sadullah. They have not quoted any authentic reference. *Z. A.*, p. 6; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Tate, *Op. Cit.*, p. 33; *Taza-Nawai-Muarak*, p. 769; *Timur Shah Durrani*, p. 46.
20. *T. M.* p. 20; *Z. A.* p. 7.
21. *Alus*: A Turkish word meaning tribe.
22. *Habibzai*: The descendants of Malik Habib.
23. Safa: 40 miles north-east of Qandahar.
24. *Abdali*: The descendants of Malik Abdal.
25. *T. M.*, p. 27; *Z. A.*, p. 7.
26. *T. M.*, pp. 28, 29; *Z. A.*, p. 9.
27. *T. M.*, p. 31.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 30; *Z. A.*, p. 9; *Timur Shah Durrani*, p. 46.
29. *T. M.*, p. 32: c. f., Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 2, he writes that Khwaja Khizr was the second son of Malik Saddu which is incorrect.
30. *T. M.*, p. 33.

31. *T. M.*, p. 33. *Note*—This Khwaja Khizr Khan should not be confused with the Prophet Hazrat Kwaja Khizr of *Aab-i-Hayat*. He was so named after him.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 34; Yousuf Gardezi, *Tazkirat-ul-Multan*, Multan, 1861 (1278 A.H.) p.
35. *T. M.*, p. 34.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 38.
38. *Kiri*: In Pashto it means a place of residence meant particularly for the chief of a tribe and his tribesmen.
39. *Shish Mahal*: It was destroyed by the Sikhs in 1818. Later on Commissioner's residence was constructed on its site.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-184; *Z. A.*, p. 18.
41. Kaseghar: Situated in the Sulaiman range.
42. Argistan: The territory around Safa was known as Argistan.
43. *T. M.*, pp. 38, 39, *c. f.* Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
44. *T. M.*, p. 40.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41. The authors mentioned below have not given any authentic reference, therefore, they are mistaken that 'Sultan Khudakka resigned his office in favour of his younger brother Sher Khan'; firstly Sultan Khudakka never resigned and secondly his younger brother was not Sher Khan. His name was Sarmast Sultan who was great-grand-father of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran and lastly Sultan Khudakka was succeeded by his eldest son Sultan Qalandar Khan; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Tate, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35.
46. *T. M.*, p. 41.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 42.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 43, the correct name was Sultan Hayat Khan and not Hayat Sultan, as stated by Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
49. *T. M.*, p. 43.
50. The territory above the present Dera Ismail Khan was known as Kohistan.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 46, 48, 323-325, 338, 339; Tate, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 36, writes, Hayat Khan the cause of this trouble migrated to India and settled in Multan, 'Hayat Sultan had resigned this authority to his young kinsman Daulat Khan', but according to *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* it is incorrect as stated above. Jaffar Sultan had been nominated as his successor.
52. This mosque still exists in the compound of Deputy Commissioner's bungalow but his palace was destroyed by the Sikhs during their first raid on Multan in 1764.
53. *T. M.*, pp. 338, 339.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49.
55. *Ibid.* p. 49; *c. f.*, Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 7, 8. They are mistaken, that 'Sultan Abdullah Khan with his son Asadullah came from Multan and joined Kai Khasrau Khan and received the office of chieftain of the Abdalis'. The actual position is that this chieftainship he inherited from his father Sultan Hayat Khan and it was not bestowed or given by Kai Khasrau Khan nor was he ever appointed by any Emperor.

56. Farah: A town 170 miles west of Qandahar.
57. *T.M.*, pp. 49-52; Tate, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37, 41-43.
58. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London, 1938, p. 3; Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*. London, 1879, pp. 225, 226; Ferrier, *History of the Afghans*, London, 1858, pp. 28, 29; Sultan Muhammad, *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, Bombay, 1881 (1298 A.H.), pp. 68, 69.
59. *T.M.*, pp. 53-56, the dates of the capture of Herat given by Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 43 as 25th July 1717 and Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 8 as 26 July 1717 (26th of Shaban 1129 A.H.), are incorrect, because while stating the dates they have not given the reference of any original source. See: *T. K. J.*, p. 137.
60. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
62. So far we have not found any coin of his name.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 57; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, pp. 5, 6, 97, 98.
65. *T.M.*, pp. 61, 62; *c.f.*, Lockhart, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
66. Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
67. Khalu Khan: Father-in-law of Zaman Khan and was Alkozai chief.
68. *T.M.*, p. 62, 65: The authors named below have wrongly stated that Sultan Abdullah Khan was murdered by Zaman Khan, father of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran and place the event in 1718 and also state that Zaman Khan ruled as chief of Alus Abdali at Herat for more than 2 years; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10; Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 44; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, p. 100; *Saulat-i-Afghani*, p. 340.
69. *T.M.*, pp. 65, 201, 202; Yousuf Gardezi, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
70. *Taza Nawa-i-Muarak*, p. 769.
71. *T.M.*, p. 65.
72. Qasim Khan: His grandfather Jalal Khan was brother of the grandmother of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran.
73. *Ibid.* p. 67.
74. *Ibid.* pp. 67, 68.
75. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Baluchistan*, Quetta, 1976, p. 12.
76. *T.M.*, pp. 69-73; Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 10; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, p. 100; Lockhart, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- Turbat: 100 miles west of Herat.
78. Bustam: Near Turbat.
79. *T.M.*, pp. 73, 74; Tate, *Op. Cit.*, p. 55.
80. *Shah Nawaz Khan Khugani*: He was chief of his tribe.
81. *T.M.*, pp. 74, 75, it is incorrect that Allah Yar Khan was elected the chief of the tribe in 1725-26 (1138 A.H.) as stated by the following authors. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 10, Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 55. They have not given any original sources.
82. Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozai: He was maternal uncle of Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durran.
83. *T.M.*, pp. 76, 77; Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 11; *T. K. J.*, p. 138.
84. *T.M.*, pp. 70-80; Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

85. Maruchaak: A valley east of Herat.
86. *T. M.*, pp. 81-84; Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 56, 57; Ganda Singh, p. 12, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
87. Saidal Khan: Commander of the Ghilzai army and the chief of Nasar tribe.
88. Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 57, writes '4,000 picked men'.
89. *T. M.*, pp. 87-95; Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 12; *T.A.S.*, p. 7.
90. Mazandaran: A mountainous range in Iran near the Caspian Sea.
91. *T. M.*, pp. 96, 104, 105; Sykes, *op. cit.*, pp. 337, 338; *T. A. S.*, pp. 9, 10.
92. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 352; *T. A. S.*, pp. 9, 10.
93. *T. M.*, p. 107; Tate, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Lockhart, *op. cit.*, p. 261; Caroe, *op. cit.*, p. 254; *H. P.*, p. 209; Gupta, *H. H. P.*, Calcutta, 1944, p. 159; Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 615, gives the date of assassination 15 Jamadi-us-Sani, 1060 A. H., and Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 21, writes 'on the night of the 19-20 June 1747'.
94. *T. M.*, p. 109; Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Tate, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 69; Caroe, *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 256; Fraser Tytler, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

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