

KHUSHAL KHAN KHATTAK AND SWAT

Khushal Khan Khattak was a prominent and versatile Pukhtun poet and prose writer. He was also a swordsman and being very loyal to the Mughals, he served them with full dedication like his ancestors against his fellow Yusufzai and Mandarn (commonly referred to as Yusufzai) Pukhtuns for a long time before he turned against the Mughals.

Due to some disagreements and decreasing favours from the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, Khushal Khan Khattak endeavoured to instigate the Pukhtun tribes against him. In this connection he visited Swat as well. He has praised Swat and its scenic beauty, and has made its comparison with Kabul and Kashmir in this respect but has reviled and condemned the people of Swat for various things and traits.

In the course of his tour of Swat, Khushal Khan fell in certain controversies which led to serious disputes and debates with Mian Noor: a reverend religious figure in Swat at that time. This created fresh grudges between him and the people of Swat, and the Swati Yusufzai therefore did not support him in his campaign against Aurangzeb.

Besides, the Swati people were in no conflict with Aurangzeb. Therefore it was not to be expected of them to make a common cause with a person who and his ancestors remained loyal to the Mughals and served them to their best against the Pukhtuns.

The diverging beliefs and subsequent debates between Mian Noor and Khushal Khan also contributed to the failure of Khushal Khan's mission in Swat. Although he reviled both Mian Noor and the Swat people, in fact he was responsible for his failure in his mission in Swat by creating fresh controversies and debates and more so for his past credentials.

This paper deal with and critically analyze Khushal Khan's career, his contentions about Swat and the people of Swat of his time, and also his own pitfalls in this respect.

Khushal Khan's Carrier

Khushal Khan Khattak (1613—1689) hailed from Akora Khattak, situated between Attock and Nawshehra, in the present day Khyber Pukhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. He was a renowned and versatile poet and prose writer. He is considered and generally recognized not only a man of letters or master of pen but also a swordsman and a warrior.

Since his great-grandfather Malak Akor's time his family remained loyal to the Mughal rulers of India. That was why they fought for the Mughal cause against the fellow Pukhtun tribes, viz. the Yusufzais and Mandanrs, to the best of their abilities. This created grudges, hate and enmity between the Khattaks and the Yusufzais-Mandanrs. His father, Shahbaz Khan, not only fought for the Mughals against the Yusufzais-Mandanrs but also against other Pukhtun tribes, e.g. Bangash and Afridis, and it was as a result of the injuries he received in a war against the Yusufzais-Mandarns that Shahbaz Khan died.¹

Khushal Khan succeeded his father as the chief of his tribe in 1641² and the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan bestowed the chieftainship and *mansab* upon him.³ He too continued to serve the Mughals to his best against his fellow Pukhtun tribes which he has admitted in his poetry. For example he has said in this regard:

ڊير شاهان خوانان مے يود بله ووژل
 تير ساعت ارمان دے پنبيمانی نشته حاصل
 زۀ د يوسفزی پۀ خان زهر وُم قاتل
 بل مقصود مے نه وۀ پۀ خدمت کنبے د مغل

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Meaning: I was a deadly poison for the Yusufzais and wished nothing else in serving the Mughals but to kill and destroy them. I have killed numerous kingly youths that I regret now.

Interestingly, when Emperor Shah Jahan asked him as to why he continuously fights the Yusufzais, his reply was: Because they (the Yusufzais) are insubordinate and rebel of the Mughal government and that he (Khushal Khan) is its well wisher due to which he is fighting them.⁵

In the war of succession between the sons of Shah Jahan, Khushal Khan did not side openly with any of the princes, but he also did not remain fully non-aligned. He favoured Aurangzeb and refused to assist his brother Dara Shikoh, due to personal grudges with Dara, because he had interceded with Shah Jahan for the Yusufzais to patch up.⁶ He recognized Aurangzeb's rule and continued to serve him to his best and hence fought not only the Yusufzais-Mandanrs but also joined the Mughal forces against the Afridis and Orakzais in the battle of Tirah in 1659.⁷

However, when Aurangzeb abolished some taxes not authorized by Islam including transit duty on food grain, one of the sources of revenue not only of the state but also for Khushal Khan—as his family collected it since his great-grandfather's days—this allegedly became one of the reasons of dispute between Khushal Khan and Aurangzeb.⁸ The main reason however as asserted was the role played by Amir Khan—the new governor of the province of Kabul, of which this area was a part—and Khushal Khan's uncles, which led to Khushal Khan's imprisonment in January 1664.⁹

During this time of trial and tribulation, despite Khushal Khan's previous anti-Yusufzais role, when the emperor ordered that his family be brought to the capital as hostage, the Yusufzais provided protection to them against the Mughals.¹⁰ Khushal Khan's imprisonment and the orders to bring his family to Delhi as hostage made his relations with the Mughals muddy.

Interestingly, he was provided facilities in the confinement and was later freed in May 1666, but was not allowed to go back home and he joined the Mughal service in the court.¹¹ When the governor of Kabul was changed and Mahabat Khan was appointed as the new governor, on Khushal Khan's recommendation, he also was allowed to go home in 1668. However, in the meantime Khushal Khan became annoyed with Mahabat Khan due to the personal favours that he wished to receive from the emperor but Mahabat Khan, as perceived by Khushal Khan, became the hurdle.¹²

After his return from India, Khushal Khan remained loyal to Aurangzeb and Mahabat Khan sought his assistance against the Yusufzais, for which a *hazari mansab* and chieftainship of the Yusufzai areas was offered to him. He opposed the construction of a fort at Langarkot (now Garhi Kapura) and apprised Mahabat Khan of the impending troubles of his intending venture.¹³ For example, he told Mahabat Khan:

مہم دیوسفزیو درتہ و وایم نبکارہ
د خرہ خصی کول دی لاس گندہ گریوان پارہ

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Meaning: The expedition against the Yusufzais is tantamount to the castration of an ass, in which one gets his hands dirty and his shirt torn/collars rent.

And that:

چند کہگل مینائی بے بقا دیوار را
گر تو لنگر کوٹ خواہی قلعہ کن دمنار را

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Meaning: The construction of a fort at Langarkot will never serve your purpose, i.e. bringing the Yusufzais to Mughal subordination is not so easy. For that purpose you will have to occupy Swat, after which you can bring the plain Yusufzais to subordination, a great and difficult task indeed.

Mahabat Khan ignored his counsels and went ahead with his plan. In the meantime, Muhammad Amin replaced Mahabat Khan as the governor of Kabul in 1670, who was Khushal Khan's well wisher and benevolent. Therefore, it now devolved upon Muhammad Amin to face the rebellion of not only the Yusufzais' but also of the Safis, Mohmands, Afridis and Shinwaris who rebelled under the leadership of Aimal Khan and Darya Khan.¹⁶

In the battle, between the Mohmand, Shinwari and Afridi Pukhtun tribes and the Mughal forces under Muhammad Amin—fought in the Khyber area in the winter of 1671-72—Khushal Khan fought to his best on the Mughal side but to no avail.¹⁷ The defeat and destruction of the Mughal forces at Khyber led to the replacement of Muhammad Amin by Mahabat Khan as the governor of Kabul. Mahabat Khan, who had served on the post twice previously, was friends with Khushal Khan. Mahabat Khan however, this time, conspired with Khushal Khan's sons which not only again led to strained relations between the Mughals and Khushal Khan but also to continued fighting, in which even Khushal Khan's family and the Khattaks were divided—some fighting for and some against the Mughals—and Khushal Khan was running from post to pillar for his survival.¹⁸

As is evident, Khushal Khan did not revolt against the Mughals even after his imprisonment and remained loyal thereafter too. It was when he was pushed to the wall and was left with no option but either to surrender or fight for his personal survival—as his own son Bahram Khan became his rival for the chieftainship and thus his tribe also divided—that he

took arms for the first time against the Mughals. His fighting against the Mughals, therefore, was not for the Afghan *nang* (Afghan honour/cause) as he has claimed in the following verse:

د افغان په تنگ مے وتړله توره
تنگياله د زمانے خوشحال خټک يم
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Translation:

I took up sword (against the Mughals) for the sake of the
Afghan *nang* (honour)

I, Khushal Khattak, am the esteemed of the age.

It was just for his personal survival that he was fighting,
to which he has tried to give the name of the Pukhtun *nang*.

Bahadar Shah Zafar Kaka Khel endorses that it was due to his personal disgrace and un-acknowledgement of his personal and family services that broke Khushal Khan's heart that was not to be remedied by gifts and rank.²⁰ He moreover admits that the severed relation between Khushal Khan and Aurangzeb was due to personal reasons rather than 'Pukhtun *nang*'.²¹ Similarly Khushal Khan's following verse also speaks of his vanity:

زه تنها په کنبه په غم د نام و تنگ يم
يوسف زئی فراغت په کنبه کار
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Meaning: I am alone in the cause of the Pukhtun honour and name, whereas the Yusufzais care less.

It is to be noted that while the Yusufzais were fighting the Mughals for the "*naam wo nang*", Khushal Khan was serving the Mughals wholeheartedly against the Pukhtuns.

According to Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, Khushal Khan's taking arms against the Mughals was neither for Pukhtun cause, nor did any national necessity made him

to oppose them and nor did the desire to expel the Mughals from the Pukhtun land guided him. He and his ancestors have remained loyal to the Mughals. The sole reason of the fury that erupted was taking revenge of personal grudges. He painted his personal opposition and revenge as a national one and aroused the tribesmen against the Mughals in which he made thousands of Pukhtun to be sacrificed in vain that brought no benefit to the Afghan *millat*.²³

Khushal Khan's Account of Swat

In the aforesaid scenario, at his fall in favours of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and his endeavours for his survival, Khushal Khan tried to instigate the Pukhtuns tribes against Aurangzeb and personally visited Swat to seek and enlist support of the Yusufzais of Swat against the Mughals.

During his stay in Swat for seven months,²⁴ he toured and observed its every aspect and later wrote a book entitled *Swat Namah*. He has praised its meadows, natural riches, scenic beauty, fertility, fragrant breezes, low prices, rich-past and so forth. For example comparing Swat with Kabul and Kashmir, he has said that the air of Swat is better than that of Kabul in summer and in pleasant climate it is like Kashmir but the pity is that compared to Kashmir, Swat is narrower.²⁵ Referring to its springs, snow and climate, he has asserted that Swat is blessed with springs and rivulets of cold water as well as snow, that there is no hot winds in Swat nor do dust and other impurities, and that small rivulets flow from house to house in every village.²⁶

While referring to the abundance of the crop-yield and low prices, he has asserted that the people of Swat has no activity other than indulging in agriculture and reap rich harvest due to which the prices of the commodities fall so low that in mere paltry sum of two *torah* twenty guests can be served.²⁷

Praising the rich archaeological past of Swat, he has stated that it has great ancient minarets and monasteries, and remains of palatial houses and forts of great antiquity.²⁸

While discussing different birds that were trapped and hunted, Khushal Khan has said that every year two to three hundred falcons are trapped. And while other types of game are limited, francolins are most common. The wild ducks are abundant in all the Swat River that are shot mercilessly by the amateurs. Although abundant previously, the wild sheep, goats and deer etc. are now reduced to the limit of extinction by the gunners.²⁹ Besides, flies and fleas are common in Swat not to mention the bed-bugs (*mangwanr*) and swallow-bugs (*barorra*).³⁰ Referring to the dogs and fowls Khushal Khan has asserted that in every house is as much dogs as are the household members and walk in their courtyards hundreds of fowls.³¹

Khushal Khan has acknowledged the freedom of the Yusufzais of Swat by stating that they are neither subjects of any ruler nor they pay taxes to anybody.³² However, he is critical of them for his own reasons. In the course of speaking and praising the natural beauty and rich natural resources of Swat as well as its destruction by the Yusufzais, he has contended that “the natural beauty of Swat renders it suitable for the enjoyment of Kings and monarchs” but the Yusufzais has turned it “into a ruined inn”³³; and that: “every place in Swat is worthy of King and Knights. But as there is no Sardar or chieftain in the region, it is just a country of crude mountain dwellings.”³⁴ He moreover has asserted that Swat is suitable for the gardens of fruits and flowers and befitting for kings during summer time, and natural fountain-springs and waterfalls and cascade are everywhere over here as well as good cities and descent inns and markets but such a beautiful and praiseworthy country has been turned into mere meadows and grazing grounds by the Yusufzais.³⁵

Khushal Khan has said that he “studied the people of Swat in full depth” and has “analysed every group and individual thoroughly”.³⁶ Referring to the frequent shifting of the population from one place to another, under the *wesh*³⁷ system, he has stated that “they lose their properties due to ‘Hisk’ [drawing lots] year to year, and invade themselves without using force”.³⁸ He has lamented that their men alone inherit property of their fathers and as soon as a person is buried his brother takes

his sister-in-law in wedlock by obligation; that in taking revenge they kill the person more valued and influential than the real murderer; and that all the *mullas* favour these injustices and evil acts.³⁹

Putting a question mark on the religious bona fides and *nang* of the people of Swat, Khushal Khan has asserted that although they confess that they are Muslims, in practice they care less for religion⁴⁰; and that he believed that Swat was inhabited by the Muslims but as now he discovered them, he learnt that they are all heathens.⁴¹ They have no idea of 'Afghan *nang*'. As they are cowardice and lack courage, they avoid going to the battlefield and to fight bravely. Although they are not any good in warfare, yet they boast their bravery.⁴²

Khushal Khan has observed absence of government and leading head or chief; and the consequent dismal situation and ruinous state of Swat. In condemnation of the people, he has further stated that although rulers have once enjoyed here, the present occupants have no such calibre.⁴³ He moreover has contended that though the Yusufzais are numerous but they are like herd of animals, so their number is useless.⁴⁴ They live in dirty and stinking houses like some unclean and foul-smelling inn.⁴⁵ They keep a number of grain-bins in their houses and are thus worse than the Hindus by storing the grains. The Baizi among them is socially mix-up with the noble people but the Khwajuzi are just money-minded.⁴⁶

Khushal Khan has reviled the people of Swat because (in his estimation) they do not abide by their words and promises. They go after small gains, minor benefits and insignificant purposes and for minor reasons they are either pleased or displeased. They make friends just for personal gain, do not appreciate the value of honour and grace, and all are hen-pecked money-mongers. Besides, they tolerate the vanity, orders and undue expectations of their wives and obey whatever they command to them. They do not spend their wealth themselves but either the *sheikh* and *mulla* thrive upon it with his cunningness and conjure or is expended by their wives on

whomsoever they please. They engage their daughters in return for money and care little for the breed of the man.⁴⁷

Khushal Khan has moreover asserted that the people of Swat keep superficial friendship and can cause great damage to others for a minor personal gain. They even cause themselves great losses for small immediate benefits. They may be rich but eat bland food. They lack manners. The entire population is like some wild flock and all of them are malicious, extremely self-centred and ego-centric.⁴⁸ Their “yes” is not trustworthy, and their “no” may be. They make promises face to face which they do not abide and turn their back easily.⁴⁹

Besides, they do work all the year round and never sit idle. Money is their faith and idol and they always long for gold and silver. They always try to turn one *paisa* into two by whatever means they can and all of them—male and female, young and old—are completely lost in it. They neither welcome a guest with open heart nor do they have any courtesy of words and kindness.⁵⁰ If an aggrieved seeks justice from a *malak*, the other party can manipulate the *malak* with a rupee who turns the poor innocent into guilty.⁵¹

Condemning some other traits of the people of Swat, Khushal Khan has asserted that they do not use common sense and wisdom but believe in hearsay. They are engulfed by wrong manners and deeds and the wicked-ones are not properly punished. If someone cunningly becomes a doctor, no one will expose his falsehood. And if someone cunningly pretends to be an *alim* or *darwaish* (scholar or hermit) no one will worry about his bona fides.⁵² Besides, all the *malaks* and *khans* are fool like asses and all their religious *alims* and *shaikhs* (scholars and holy persons) are ignorant.⁵³ The *malaks* fights with their brothers for the landed property and the property of their father is divided in small bits and pieces.⁵⁴ Although the *alims* and *shaikhs* should do their work and the *khans* their's, the Yusufzais mix them up.⁵⁵ Their *alims* are all ignorant: neither are they scholars, nor educated, nor jurists. Their knowledge is limited to the basic books of *fiqah*, viz. *Kanz* and *Quduri*, but that too is superficial

and lacks the in-depth knowhow. They exploit their religious status and position for worldly gains caring not what is fair and unfair.⁵⁶

While condemning and reviling Mian Noor,⁵⁷ especially, Khushal Khan has put question mark on his knowledge and beliefs.⁵⁸ He has contended that it was Mian Noor who caused the failure of his mission of collecting *lakhkars* (*lashkars*) from Swat against the Mughals.⁵⁹ He has moreover stated about Swat:

دوه کاره دی په سوات کښه که خفی دی که جلی
مخزن د درويزه دے يا دفتر د شيخ ملي
دادوه نشته په سوات کښه خو کچه وائي يا علی
الصالحون لله والطالحون لی

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Meaning: Two works are reputed in Swat, in public and in private: the *Makhzan* of (Akhun) Darwizah or the *Daftar* of Shaikh Mali. And two are nonexistent in Swat: those who call Ali (i.e. Shias) and those who attribute all the good things to Allah and the bad to themselves (probably referring to some sect or religion).

Whereas at another place he has stated:

مخزن د درويزه د میان نور شیخی پیری
الثالث بالخیر د حمزه خانی میری
داد دے تو که ډیر قدر ډیر عزت لری په سوات کښه
و خدائے و ته ښکاره دی وئیل نشی په خیری

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Meaning: *Makhzan* of Darwizah and *sheikhi* and *piri* (priesthood and sainthood) of Mian Noor, and the third one is the *khan-ship* and chieftainship of Hamzah. All the three carry great value and respect in Swat. This I am not saying due to grudge but Allah knows it is so.

Analysis of Some Points

As is evident from the aforesaid, Khushal Khan Khattak has praised some aspects of Swat such as the meadows, natural riches, scenic beauty, fertility, fragrant breezes, low prices, and rich past. At the same time he has criticized some of its aspects and has accused the people for not honouring the blessings and not acting in a manner required of them which Swat deserves. He has also criticized the social and religious evils, the *khans*, *pirs*, *faqirs*, and *mullas*, alike, for their behaviour, misconduct, unworthiness and abusing their status, power and prestige for the worldly gains, and the ignorance, religious beliefs, violation of Islamic laws as well as not honouring ‘Pukhtun *nang*’ by forming a *lakhkar* and taking arms on his side against the Mughals.

Some of Khushal Khan’s contentions are sound. For example his analysis of the drawbacks of the *wesh* system (no doubt, it was instituted in good faith and was ideal in that time and circumstances); giving no share in inheritance to the female heirs; the wedlock with the in-laws by the brothers or other near male agnates of the deceased; and killing not the real murderer in revenge but a person of his family more influential or valued. His condemnation of the role of the *malaks* and *khans* (e.g. their bribery and exploiting their status for personal gains) and the religious persons (e.g. exploiting their status for worldly gains) is also justifiable. Similarly, his this contention that the people of Swat do not use common sense and wisdom but believe in the hearsay; that they are engulfed in wrong manners and deeds and that the wicked-ones are not properly punished; that if someone becomes a doctor by cunning no one expose his falsehood; and that if someone cunningly pretends to be an *alim* or *darwaish* (scholar or hermit) no one worry about his bona fides, also carry weight.

However, Khushal Khan’s all contentions and assertions are not sound; and his prejudices can easily be inferred. For example all the aforesaid vices, save the *wesh* system, were not specific for Swat only. Most of the vices Khushal Khan has enumerated and talked about Swat and the people of Swat were

found and prevalent in other Pukhtun areas as well, some of them in a greater degree than Swat. For example taking money by the bride's family from the bridegroom's family was prevalent in other areas with greater intensity. Besides, this money, on the whole, was rather spent on bride's marriage arrangements and other paraphernalia (and therefore a female's marriage was not a burden for her family as is these days, as in this way all the marriage expenses were borne by the bridegroom's family).

Khushal Khan's reviling the people of Swat for not looking into the breed of the person to whom they marry their daughter and sister is justified by establishing matrimonial relation with Khushal Khan; as Malak Malu Khan's daughter (Malak Hamzah Khan's sister) was married to Khushal Khan in total disregard of Khushal Khan and his family's past anti-Yusufzai and pro-Mughal role, and hence his breed.

Khushal Khan has condemned the people of Swat for hard work, which is not condemnable but a praiseworthy trait. As far his condemnation of the division of land among the brothers is concerned, it was due to their being owners of the land. The practice was perhaps strange for Khushal Khan because the land in his country was recognized ownership of the rulers and they granted it in *jagirs* (fiefs) to whom they wished and was resumed from whom they wished. There is a significant difference between an owner and a fief-holder (he himself was a fief-holder and not an owner).

Khushal Khan's reviling the people of Swat for not being hospitable is also not justifiable. His misconception is perhaps due to his long stay of seven months in Swat. A person who stays for a long period is never considered a guest and so is treated or served like the family members in routine. And a Pashto saying about a guest who stays for long is:

میلہ چي دريو ورځونه زيات شي نو شيطان شي

Meaning that when a guest's stay exceeds three days he becomes unwanted like Satan.

More importantly a guest like Khushal Khan, who remained pro Mughals and anti Yusufzais for most of his life, would have been entertained as guest as obligation of the Pukhtun code of life but certainly not very warmly.

As far the religious bona fides of the people of Swat questioned by Khushal Khan is concerned, the same was the case also with the other Pukhtuns. His condemnation of some other traits of the people of Swat, e.g. the lack of manners, superficial friendship, causing great losses to others for minor self interest, tolerating vanity and obeying orders of their wives and so forth, also do not withstand hundred percent scrutiny. These are remarks and contentions of a person who left Swat in rage and as a failed person, and who's personal famous saying is:

بنګ به لرګۍ نه شي او خټک به سرۍ نه شي

(meaning: Indian hemp will never become useful wood and Khattak would never learn how to behave). This has taken the form of a Pashto proverb.

Similarly, Khushal Khan has asserted:

هر مغل چې په سوات راشي شهزاده شي
هر سرۍ ئې و منصب ته اماده شي

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Translation: Any stray Mughal who enters Swat, turns to become a prince and everyone from amongst the people of Swat long for rank and status from him.

And that:

د هغو چې زړه د چرګ په مرګ ریرې دي
مصلحت د سپینو تورو ورته پلیژدی

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Translation: They who tremble at the sight of a dying chicken,
cannot be expected to get into the field with
drawn-out swords.

And that:

د بی بی پہ کورئے ووری کت کت کانپ
چہ د سوات خلمی بیلیری لہ پالنگہ
64

Meaning: As if a stone storm will hit his wife if a Swati youth
left his bed (meaning went out of Swat).

These verses are clear testament of Khushal Khan's unfounded allegations and absurd contentions, as neither Swat remained under Mughal suzerainty, despite Akbar's attempt, nor did any Mughal had come to Swat nor the people of Swat sought Mughal services. And the people of Swat gallantly fought the Mughal forces for years during Emperor Akbar reign, who sent Mughal forces into Swat, and not only made a failure of the Mughal attempt but continually maintained their independence.⁶⁵ They never served the Mughals like Khushal Khan and his family nor longed for ranks and status from them. He himself also has asserted at another place:

کہ دسم کہ د غرہ دی یوسف زئی
ہمگی مزی دی مہ تے وے زوال
66

Meaning: Long live the Yusufzais—lions of both plain and hills.

He has condemned all the people of Swat and has written what came to his heart, as he himself has admitted. He has condemned the rituals of the area and has laid undue allegations. However his own writings speak of his prejudices and absurdities; and contradictions are visible. One can find the true picture in-between his writings about Swat.⁶⁷ Rahim Shah Rahim has aptly asserted:

کار روزگار دے کہ مذهب دے کہ رواج دے
خوشحال خان وائی بی دینہ ٲول سماج دے
ہریان ئی ذنفرت او حقارت دے
ٲہ لہجہ کنبی ئی بی کچہ ٲہر شدت دے
د سوات خلق ئی ویستلی ٲول د دین نہ
خارج کری ئی د شرعی د ائین نہ
د جھان وارہ عیبونہ ئی شمہرلی
ہغہ ٲول ئی ٲہ سواتیانو ورتپلی

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Meaning: All what he has said is hate and sardonic, and the tone is greatly harsh. In his estimation he has ousted all the people of Swat from Islam. He has counted all the vices of the world and has linked them with the Swatis. All profession or religion or customary law prevalent in Swat have been condemned and reviled by Khushal Khan.

And that:

وروستو بیا ٲسی تحریر ئی سواتنامہ کرہ
ٲہ کنځلو ئی داغی ورلہ جامہ کرہ

69

Meaning: And subsequently he wrote *Swat Namah*, all stained by abuses.

The main reason of Khushal Khan grudges against and reviling the Yusufzais of Swat was their not taking arms at his behest and fighting the Mughals, although some did so. But, in this respect, he has undue expectation which is evident from his following verse.

چہ دنگ تورہ دِ واخیستہ خوشحالہ
 درومہ سوات تہ خۂ ختک خۂ ئے لببکرِ

70

Meaning: If you Khushal ought to fight for the *nang*, you have to look to Swat, for Khattak *lakhkar* is of no worth.

The Swat Yusufzais have their own grounds for such a course of action and policy. They could not side with him, because relations between Aurangzeb and their brethren—the Yusufzais of the plain area—had already become cordial. Mian Noor's role, because of divergence in his and Khushal Khan's viewpoint and beliefs, also contributed to the failure of Khushal Khan's mission in Swat, for which he has reviled both Mian Noor and the people of Swat.⁷¹ But he has to be blamed for it. He visited Swat for making the Yusufzais his allies but instead he caused unnecessary controversies and debates by objecting to and criticizing Akhun Darwizah's beliefs, stature and also his book *Makhzan* as well as Mian Noor's.⁷² Surprisingly enough, a time which Khushal Khan should have spent in battlefield or swiftly convening Swati Yusufzais to fight for a cause, was instead wasted (long seven months) in touring, hunting, debates, creating controversies and unwanted grudges with the people and leaders (both religious and mundane) of Swat.

Khushal Khan uses his own yard stick of love and hate. While condemning Mian Noor, Khushal Khan says that it is not him but his heart to speak against Mian Noor; and his heart is unlike others; and that when his heart judges someone as good, he can never be called bad, and that those who his heart rejects, shall be rejected as such.⁷³ That was why the Mughals were good as far as he was in their good books and the Pukhtuns (including Yusufzais), who opposed the Mughals, were bad and hence deserved to be beheaded, effaced from the surface of the earth and domes made of their skulls. And when he turned against Mughals, the Mughals became the lot to be beheaded, destroyed and effaced from the surface of the earth and the Yusufzais to be made allies and befriended in self-interest. Besides, Rahim Shah Rahim has negated Khushal Khan's contention about Mian

Noor's stature and education and has asserted that Mian Noor acquired education in Lahore, Sultanpur and Delhi, stayed in Makkah and Madinah for years and has great services for the cause of Islam.⁷⁴

On the one hand Khushal Khan proudly contends that:

هر پښتون چه د مغلو نوکری کا
که د زده د هغو وارو بهتړک یم

75

Meaning: I am better than any Pukhtun who is in the service of the Mughal, should you have any wisdom.

He however previously foresaw his future in Mughal services as he has admitted:

ما و زده د مغل په نوکری کښه
رکيونه کړم د سرو، د سپینو نال

76

Meaning: I believed that in Mughal service I will make the saddles of my horses of gold and their shoes of silver.

And later when things go wrong, he curses all those Pukhtuns serving with Mughals. He moreover has admitted poetically that he has killed thousands Pukhtuns—Orakzi, Bangash and Yusufzi—for the Mughals so much so that the animals used to walk over their dead bodies and even now there are heaps of their skulls, and in Attock and Peshawar one can still see their skull-towers in existence.⁷⁷ And he himself has said: and then suddenly Pukhtuns rose against the Mughals once again and this reminded him of his revenge against the Mughals.⁷⁸ He has admitted that it was not he but Emperor Aurangzeb who severed the relations with him.⁷⁹ However, as said earlier, all his sons and the Khattak did not side with him, and hence is his assertion that:

شکایت له نورو مه کوه خوشحاله!
چه خپل ځویه هم په تنگ له تا ویزار دی
80

Meaning: Do not make complains of others, when your own sons are disgusted of you and don't side with you in *nang*.

Khushal Khan has spoken of the support that the Yusufzais promised⁸¹ but has also condemned them, terming them lazy in the cause of *nang*.⁸² His condemnation is not justified. As a matter of fact, a person who not only himself but his ancestors too served the Mughals, for generations, against the same fellow Pukhtun Yusufzais, could not be trusted by the Yusufzais without reservations. He personally has admitted:

لکه زه وم په راستي په درستي کښي
د مغل په خدمت نه وه بل افغان
83

Meaning: No Afghan was ever so loyal to the Mughals as I was.

And that:

زه نوکروم یوسفزي ئې روگردان وو
ځکه ورغله تر سواته زما گران وو
84

Meaning: I was loyal to Mughals whereas the Yusufzais were rebel. That made my going Swat so difficult.

Khushal Khan, therefore, should not have expected unquestioned support and alliance of his former enemies.

But despite all these when he came to Swat, a *jargah* or meeting was held in Damghar and the Swat Yusufzais pardoned his past deeds and promised to take arms and form *lakhkars* in his support against the Mughals.⁸⁵ It was his revile and sardonic

remarks about a copy of Akhun Darwizah's book *Makhzan* that turned the tide⁸⁶ and the core issue of forming *lakhkars* and fighting the Mughals went into the background. Basically, he was not a good politician and has stumbled at each and every step. He moreover did not know the politics of Swat.⁸⁷ His undiplomatic and unwise behaviour and stand even divided the *khans* and *malaks* into two blocks, viz. one siding with Mian Noor and the other with him.⁸⁸ Instead of having been diplomatic and polite and accepting the counsels of his friends and well-wishers, he was taken over by emotions which ruined all his previous efforts and the main purpose for which he was in Swat.⁸⁹

Hamesh Khalil also has evaluated Khushal Khan's pitfalls and shortcomings in this regard and has contended that for achieving alliance of the Yusufzai of Swat he was required to concentrate all his efforts on the completion of his mission rather than indulging in activities that were to be counterproductive. Instead of controlling his temper, in fury, he went beyond moderation which directly resulted in his failure.⁹⁰ Bahadar Shah Zafar Kaka Khel has said that Khushal Khan was extremist by nature.⁹¹

While dealing with Khushal Khan's approach to the Yusufzais for an alliance against the Mughals, Olaf Caroe has stated that "with the Yusufzais he failed, and failed completely". He has asserted that this "failure was more or less inevitable, it was rooted in history".⁹² Because,

The Khataks had basked in Mughal smiles when the empire was fighting the Yusufzais; they had taken advantage of the imperial aid to occupy large slices of Yusufzai territory. Now that the Khataks were out of favour, the Yusufzais saw no reason to help them — very much the reverse. Khushhal himself seemed unable to see this; he merely scorned the Yusufzais as cowards and opportunists. Some of the verses he wrote about them are amusing, but their colour has to be corrected with this in view. In Khushhal's eyes they were double-dyed villains, first because they were hereditary foes

and secondly because, when he approached them, they would not play.⁹³

Interestingly, the people of Swat had no conflict of interest with Aurangzeb. They were neither his subject nor neighbours. Neither Aurangzeb has made attempt against Swat like his great-grandfather Emperor Akbar nor did he usurp their independence. There was no ground and logic for the people of Swat to take arms at the instigation and behest of a person, although some did so, against Aurangzeb, who not only remained loyal to the Mughals but served them to his best against the interests of the Pukhtuns and particularly anti Yusufzais in his past career; and “whose father, grandfather and great grandfather have died fighting the Yusufzais”⁹⁴ for the cause of the Mughals.

While evaluating the causes of why the Yusufzais did not take arm and side with Khushal Khan against the Mughals, Bahadar Shah Zafar Kaka Khel has stated that one of the reasons was that the enmity between the Yusufzais and the Khattaks was quite old and, despite the relations becoming somewhat friendly after Khushal Khan’s imprisonment, its roots had spread quite deeper.⁹⁵ Besides, Khushal Khan himself has openly admitted his personal and of his father and grandfathers’ loyalty and services to the Mughals and was proud for them.⁹⁶

Significantly, despite all these, the Swat Yusufzai apparently kept the past grudges and grievances aside, but he turned the tide by causing fresh unnecessary controversies, debates and disputes. Hence the people of Swat were quite justified for not joining hands with Khushal Khan to form a *lakhkar* against the Mughals and that it was Khushal Khan’s past history and his behaviour in Swat that caused his failure to win the Yusufzai of Swat (although some formed a *lakhkar* and attacked a Mughal fort).

Notes and References

- * The author is grateful to Dr. Mohammad Usman FRCS (Consultant Surgeon, Saidu Sharif, Swat) for his going through the draft of the paper and giving his input.
- ** This paper was presented in the ‘International Conference on “Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: History and Culture”,’ held in Peshawar on 28-30 November 2012, organized by National Institute on Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, and Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar.
- 1 See Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak: Swanih Hayat aur Adabi Aasaar par Tabsirah* (Urdu), 2nd edn. (Peshawar: Shaheen Books, 2006) [henceforward Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*], pp. 56-70; Afzal Khan Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa: Muqabilah, tashih au notonah la* Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil Momand (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 2006), pp. 316-22; Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans, 550 B.C.—A.D. 1957*, reprint (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 231; Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *Yusufzai* (Karachi: Muhammad Ali Educational Society, 1960), p. 277. For the causes and factors responsible for and the enmity, and the wars between the Khattaks and Yusufzais-Mandarns, see Hamish Khalil, “*Sarizah*” to Khushal Khan Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, with *muqadimah, tahqiq au samun* by Hamesh Khalil (Akora Khattak: Markazi Khushal Adabi wa Saqafati Jargah (Regd.), 1986) [henceforward Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*], pp. 32-33; Sayyad Bahadar Shah Zafar Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay* (Pashto) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), pp. 551, 557, 634; Khushal Khan Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, *Qasaid, Rubaiyat, Qitaat au Mutafaraqat* (Pashto) (Peshawar: Azeem Publishing House, n.d.) [henceforward Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2], pp. 45-47, 53, 283; Sher Shah Tarkhawi, “*Da Khushal pah haqlah*” to Khushal Khan Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, *Ghazliyat* (Pashto) (Peshawar: Azeem Publishing House, n.d.) [henceforward Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1], pp. *shpag-uwah*; Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 241; Yusufi, *Yusufzai*, pp. 267-69; Khan Roshan Khan, *Yusufzai Qaum ki Sarguzasht* (Karachi: Roshan Khan & Co., 1986), pp. 235-56.

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- 2 Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 70, 79; Also see Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 322.
 - 3 Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 80. Also see Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 323; Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 64.
 - 4 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 366. Also see Muhammad Nawaz Tair, “*Dibachah*” to Pir Muazam Shah, *Tawarikh Hafiz Rahmat Khani*, with “*Dibachah*” by Muhammad Nawaz Tair, 2nd print (Pashto/Persian) (Peshawar: Pukhto Academy, 1987), p. 20. See also Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 369.
 - 5 Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 95.
 - 6 Ibid., p. 120; Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 232.
 - 7 See Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 120-23. Also see Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 329-42.
 - 8 See Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 127-30; Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, p. 600; Munawwar Khan, “Swat in History”, *Peshawar University Review* (Peshawar), Vol. 1, No. 1 (1973), p. 62; Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 239.
 - 9 See Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 127-30; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 326-27; Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, pp. 600-601. For Khushal Khan’s contention regarding the causes of his imprisonment, and his trial and tribulation etc., which he has written in Rantanbor (Ranthambhor), see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 360-70; Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 233.
 - 10 See Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 54, 364-66; Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 134-38, 149-50; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 327; Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, p. 602.
 - 11 Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 139, 147-49. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 269; Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 233.
 - 12 See Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 161-62.

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- 13 Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 346; Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, p. 604.
- 14 Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 346; Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, p. 604; Tair, “Dibachah” to Shah, *Tawarikh Hafiz Rahmat Khani*, p. 22; Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 166.
- 15 Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 346; Tair, “Dibachah” to Shah, *Tawarikh Hafiz Rahmat Khani*, p. 22; Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 166.
- 16 See Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 175-76.
- 17 See *ibid.*, pp. 182-84; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 348-49. Bahadar Shah Zafar Kaka Khel however has contended that Khushal Khan was present in the battle due to his friendship with the Mughal governor, and not for the Mughals, see Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, pp. 606-10. For a similar contention, also see Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. 234-35.
- 18 See Mohmand, *Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 190-99. Also see Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 351-70; Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, p. 295; Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 17-19; 52, 68-70. For a somewhat moulded version, see Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, pp. 611-14, 620-21, 623-25.
- 19 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 52.
- 20 See Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, p. 621.
- 21 See *ibid.*, p. 637.
- 22 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 25.
- 23 Yusufi, *Yusufzai*, pp. 279-80.
- 24 Khushal Khan Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, ed. & trans. Shakeel Ahmad, with preface by Raj Wali Shah Khattak (Peshawar: Pashto Academy, n.d.) [henceforward Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*], p. 13; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 56; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 380.
- 25 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 2; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 48; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 377.

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- 26 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 3; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 48-49; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378. The climatic change and dustiness can be gauged from comparing Khushal's version and the present state of affairs.
- 27 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 3; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 48-49; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 28 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 4; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 49; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 29 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 6; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 51; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 30 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 5; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 50; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 31 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 5; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 50; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 32 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 22; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 64; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 382.
- 33 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 2; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 48; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 377.
- 34 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 3; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 49; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 35 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 4; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 49-50; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 36 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 16; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 59; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 381.

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- 37 The landownership and tenure system devised by Shaikh Mali, after the occupation of the land by the Yusufzais in the sixteenth century, under which the land and villages were interchanged among the owners after every few years.
- 38 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 5; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 50; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 39 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 23; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 64; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 383.
- 40 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 21; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 62; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 382.
- 41 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 60; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 92.
- 42 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 25; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 66; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 383. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 286-87. For his further contention that the Yusufzais have no concern for *nang*, see Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 52, 57; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 86, 90; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 390; Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 334-35.
- 43 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 3; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 49; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 44 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 7; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 52; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 379. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, p. 82.
- 45 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 5; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 50; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.
- 46 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 5; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 50; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 378.

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- 47 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 16-17, 22, 68; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 59-60, 63, 98; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 381-83. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, p. 82.
- 48 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 18; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 60-61; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 381-82.
- 49 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 19; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 61; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 382; Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, p. 82.
- 50 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 20, 25-26; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 62, 66; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 382-83. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 263.
- 51 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 21; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 62; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 382. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, p. 82.
- 52 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 24-25; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 65; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 383.
- 53 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 27, 36-37, 41-42, 54; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 67, 77-78, 88; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 383, 396-87. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, p. 82; Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 286-87.
- 54 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 28; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 68; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 384.
- 55 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 59; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 92.
- 56 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 28-30; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 68-70; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 384.

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- 57 Mian Noor was grandson of Akhun Darwizah and a reverend religious person in Swat at that time. He had his differences with Khushal Khan over his views about Akhun Darwizah's religious stature and criticism of his book *Makhzan*. Khushal Khan alleges that he was a Mughal agent also. For detail about Mian Noor, his family and influence, Khushal Khan's allegation against and condemnation of him and Rahim Shah Rahim's rebuke of Khushal Khan's contention, see Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*; Rahim Shah Rahim, *Swat Namah Jawab Namah* (Pashto verse) (Mingawara: Shoiab Sons Publishers and Booksellers, 2006), pp. 106-10, 113.
- 58 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 31-33; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 70-72; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 385.
- 59 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 52; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 86; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 390.
- 60 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 349.
- 61 Ibid., p. 281.
- 62 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 25; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 66; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 383.
- 63 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 25; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 66; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 383.
- 64 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 287.
- 65 For detail, see Sultan-i-Rome, "Mughuls and Swat", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi), Vol. 50, No. 4 (October-December 2002), pp. 39-50. For the rivalry, enmity and fighting between the Mughals and the Yusufzai in general, see Rahim, *Swat Namah Jawab Namah*, pp. 58-59. Also see Khalil, "Sarizah" to Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 20-32; Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, pp. 549-57.
- 66 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 38.

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- 67 Rahim, *Swat Namah Jawab Namah*, pp. 153-54. For a judicious analysis of Khushal Khan's condemnations and allegations against the people of Swat, also see *ibid.*, pp. 155-58.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 155.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- 70 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, p. 59.
- 71 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, *passim*; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, *passim*; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 385-91.
- 72 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 34-70; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 72-100; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 385-91.
- 73 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 64; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 95-96.
- 74 See Rahim, *Swat Namah Jawab Namah*, pp. 92-98.
- 75 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 51.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- 77 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 8; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 52-53; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 379.
- 78 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 9; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 53; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 379.
- 79 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 10; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 54; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 379; Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 50, 367. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, p. 190; Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 37, 39-40, 50, 54-55, 62, 149, 268-69, 287. See also Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. 239-40.
- 80 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 1, p. 295.
- 81 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 13, 15; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 56, 58;

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- Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 380-81. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 201.
- 82 See Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 25, 52, 57; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 66, 86, 90; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, pp. 383, 390. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 24-25, 286-87, 317, 324.
- 83 Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, p. 62.
- 84 Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 1; Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, p. 47; Khattak, *Tarikh Murasa*, p. 377. Also see Khattak, *Swat Nama of Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 8-9; Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 364, 367.
- 85 See Rahim, *Swat Namah Jawab Namah*, pp. 115-21.
- 86 See *ibid.*, pp. 121-30.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 132.
- 89 *Ibid.*, pp. 139-41.
- 90 Khalil, “*Sarizah*” to Khattak, *Swat Namah da Khushal Khan Khattak*, pp. 39-42, 45-46.
- 91 Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, p. 639.
- 92 Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 241.
- 93 *Ibid.*, pp. 241-42.
- 94 Khan, “*Swat in History*”, p. 62. Also see Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, p. 634; Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 231.
- 95 Kaka Khel, *Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*, p. 619. For some other would be causes due to which the Yusufzais did not take arms against the Mughals at this stage, see *ibid.*
- 96 *Ibid.*, p. 635. Also see Khattak, *Kulyat-e-Khushal Khan Khattak*, Vol. 2, pp. 36-37, 40, 45-47, 50, 53-55, 366-67, 369; Yusufi, *Yusufzai*, p. 277.

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