

The Short Lived Gibari Empire: A Little Known Chapter of the History of Medieval Hazāra

ABDUR RAHMAN AND SHAKIRULLAH

Abstract

Pakhlāe, the heartland of Hazārah, has been changing hands from time to time. In about the middle of the fourteenth AD or a little earlier, the exact date is not known but it must be placed before Amīr Tīmūr's invasion of India (AD 1398- 99), it fell into the hands the Tājik Gibari Sulṭān Pakhal; hence its name pakhlāe, Sulṭān Pakhal's father, was named Sulṭān Jahāngīr; hence the dynastic title Jahāngīrian. All Jahāngīrian Sulṭāns of Swāt were descendants of Sulṭān Jahāngīr. An attempt has been made to bring into limelight for the lovers of history, historians, researchers and academicians this almost forgotten chapter of the history of the region.

Keywords: *Gibari, Pakhlāe, Jahāngīrain, Yūsufzais, Akhūnd*

Pakhlāe, the heartland of Hazārah, has been changing hands from time to time. In about the middle of the fourteenth AD or a little earlier, the exact date is not known but it must be placed before Amīr Tīmūr's invasion of India (AD 1398- 99), as we shall see below – it fell into the hands the Tājik Gibari Sulṭān Pakhal; hence its name Pakhlāe, Sulṭān Pakhal's father, according to Khwāju (1977: 134) was named Sulṭān Jahāngīr; hence the dynastic title Jahāngīrian. All Jahāngīrian Sulṭāns of swāt were descendants of Sulṭān Jahāngīr (Ibid).

Surprisingly, the Akhūnd, Darwezā, the celebrated saint of the Pakhtūns who lies

buried in the Hazārkhāni graveyard in Peshāwar , and who, on his mother's side, was related to one section of these Sulṭāns, and whose words therefore carry much greater weight than those of Khwāju, does not mention Jahāngīr in the pedigree of these Sulṭāns. The pedigree runs as follows: Qarāri (Akhūnd's mother) daughter of Nāzo Khān, son of Malik Dāwaryāe, son of Malik Bālo, son of Sulṭān Qirān , son of Sulṭān Khwāja, son of Sulṭān Tomnā , son of Sulṭān Bahrām , son of Sulṭān Khajāman , son of Sulṭān Handu , son of Jaras, son of Sulṭān Jamār. The last mentioned, the Akhūnd (1960: 113-14) remarks, was one of the

descendants of Sulṭān Shamūs, a son of Sikandar Zulqarnain (the two – horned Alexander). According to the Akhūnd Sulṭān Pakhal (written as Fakhal) was a brother of Sulṭān Bahrām. Thus Khajāman and Jahāngīr refer to one and the same person. Whether Khajāman was the original name and Jahāngīr his title is not known for certain.

After a brief diversion in which he gives his own pedigree and also mentions an untoward incident which happened to his grandfather, the Akhūnd tells us that when the mantle of power fell upon the shoulders of the two brothers- Sulṭān Bahrām and Sulṭān Pakhal – the latter marched towards the mountains and brought the entire territory stretching from Bajaur to Swat and Kashmir under his control; while Sulṭān Bahrām conquered Lamghān and Nangrahār, fixed his capital at Pāpīn in the territory of Nangrahār, and drove out a tribe called Budni (Budīni) which predominated over the Nangrahāris as the Akhūnd styles the Tājik inhabitants of that part. After sometime he made up his mind to conquer Kashmir- a task which was perhaps left incomplete by Sulṭān Pakhal. Leaving his own son Tomnā in Nangrahār as his deputy, he invaded Kashmir and brought the whole valley under his control. On coming back he wanted to dispatch Tomnā and his family to Kashmir but when he reached Kot, a

village in Nangrahār, he died. His offspring in Kashmir, apparently from a Kashmiri wife, settled in Kashmir and that from a Nangrahāri wife settled in Nangrahār.

Throwing light on his own genealogical table, the Akhūnd (p. 105) writes that his ancestor named Jannati was a Turk and related, on his mother's side, to the Sulṭāns of Balkh. Jannati's son Jīwan was a very pious person who came to be known as Shaikh in his neighbourhood. It so happened that due to some unknown reasons he shifted his residence from Lamghān to the Mohmand darah and settled on the bank of a stream. A white bearded gentleman, he was generous to all, and, in order perhaps to appease the Mohmands, he invited them to a sumptuous meal and treated them with great generosity. But the behaviour of at least one of the guests was too outrageous to be set aside as an ordinary affair. Passing his own judgement on the incident, the Akhūnd remarks: whenever a mean person is treated with grace and generosity, he in turn shows insolence and arrogance which springs from his sheer baseness, and tries, out of jealousy, to humiliate you. But when you treat him with a heavy hand, his arrogance at once turns into humble submission.

Quite astonishingly, after the meal was finished one of the guests got up and

approaching the Shaikh cleansed his dirty hands on his white beard. It must have created a moment of great laughter amongst the cowboy guests, but they did not know that they would be made to pay heavily for this insulting behaviour. As the news spread around and reached the Sulṭān of Balkh, he dispatched a strong force to chastise the Mohmands and bring them under his own control. The rule of the Darah, the Akhūnd remarks, was still in the hands of the descendants of Jīwan at the time he wrote his *Tazkirat al- Abrār wa al- Ashrār* (An Account of the Pious and Wicked). It was completed in the year 1021 H/1612-13.

Of the seven sons of Jīwan one was Mattah, whose son, Aḥmad was the father of Darghān who shifted his residence from the Mohmand Darah to Pāpīn - the capital of the Gibari Sulṭān Bahram. When the Yūsufzais shifted from Nangrahār to Peshāwar, Darghān's son Shaikh Sa'adi accompanied them and was accounted, at the time of Shaikh Mali's distribution of Lands, among the Mandizai section of the Daulatzai division of the Malizais and was assigned a share for 30 persons, the number of his family and dependents. Subsequently the ruler of the country (Mirzā Kāmṛān probably, at the time he held the fief of Kābul and its dependencies) had occasion to chastise the ulūs (subject people in general) and

dispatched the Amīr, Qodāni, with a body of horse, to make a raid upon them. Some of these horsemen fell in with Shaikh Sa'adi and his family, and, taking him for one of the Afghān ulūs, put him to death, and carried away his son Gadāe, captive. Soon afterwards it was found out, through the Amīr Qodāni's, inquiries about the Shaikh, that he had been unjustly killed; and the horsemen who had done the deed were severely punished for it, but there was no remedy for what was past. However, the Amīr forthwith set Gadāe at liberty, and, for the late Shaikh's sake, liberated all the other captives in his hands.

Subsequently, from some cause or other, Gadāe left the Mandizai Malizais and joined the Ismā'īlzai khel of Chagharzai Malizais; and, by them, he was assigned a share of land for ten persons. This Gadāe was Akhūnd Darwezā's father.

While the Akhūnd has preserved the pedigree of the descendants of Sulṭān Bahrām, Khwājū-the original author of the *Tārīkh-i Afgāhana*—likewise, gives us an almost complete genealogical tree of the successors of Sulṭān Pakhal. This Sulṭān, we are told, was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Awais, the last Jahangīrian ruler of Swāt, who, owing to the constant harassment of his people whom he was unable to provide security and depended merely on the strength of the fort he was

residing in, decided to abandon his capital Manglawar in upper Swāt, of which some substantial remains can still be seen, and take up his residence in the Nihāk Darah, also called Lahore, further north. There he had a strong fort built amidst the hills and there he continued to dwell till his death.

Khwāju does not tell us how Sulṭān Awais came to power. He mentions only the plain fact that he succeeded his father Sulṭān Pakhal. Akhūnd Darwezā however makes it clear that Sulṭān Awais' succession was not as smooth as it appears from Khwāju's statement. The Akhūnd (1960: 108) says that Sulṭān Pakhal's death was followed by a fierce fratricidal war of succession which upset even Sulṭān Awais's mother—a kind-hearted lady—to such a degree that she hurled a curse upon the country that it should not last long. And this is precisely what happened. The empire created by Sulṭān Pakhal which extended from Jehlam to Manglawar and Bajaur to Kashmīr quickly fell apart as a result of the war of succession. Sulṭān Awais occupied the territory between Hashtnagar and Manglawar. Similarly some territory on the right bank of the river Swāt fell under the control of the Mutrāwis who vaguely claimed descent from the Yūsufzais but appear to have been related to the same Gibari family as Sulṭān Awais and others. Both Sulṭān 'Alā ad-Din and Sulṭān Awais are known to have waited

upon Zahīr ad-Dīn Bābur (1987: 372) during his invasion of Bajaur in AD 1519. The country of Bajaur was then ruled by Sulṭān Ḥaider 'Alī Gibari.

When the Yūsufzais got entrenched in the Doābah, so graciously assigned to them by the Dilazāks, they began to look upon Hashtnagar with greedy eyes. It was then peopled by the Shalmānis (originally from Shalūzān) and Dihqāns (farmers) and formed part of the dominions of Sulṭān Awais whose governor Mīr Handā, son of Azru of the (Tājik) Dodāl tribe, lived in the Bālā Hisār fort (the actual words are “fort of Hashtnagar”)

In order to initiating hostilities with Mīr Handā, the Yūsufzais sent a party of mauraders to lift some of his animals. As the news reached Mīr Handā he dispatched some of his horsemen to retrieve the situation. Perceiving that their lives were in danger, the animal-lifters left the animals and fled to their own territory. The Yūsufzais once again repeated the exercise but, this time also sent a body of horsemen to provide the animal-lifters additional cover. The horsemen hid themselves in a grove of trees so that they could not be spotted. Mīr Handā as usual dispatched a small contingent of his cavalry to repel the animal-lifters without knowing that a bigger force was waiting for them. As Mīr Handā's men approached the grove of trees they were suddenly attacked and

repulsed. Meanwhile more and more Yūsufzai warriors joined their countrymen and forced Mīr Handā's army to take shelter behind the citadel walls. The Yūsufzais got even more encouraged and went ahead to invest the fort cutting off water supply and other necessities of life; Mīr Handā was left with no alternative but to negotiate. According to the terms of the treaty agreed upon, he was given a safe passage and allowed to carry all that he could and hand over the fort to the Yūsufzais. Mīr Handā hurriedly packed up and took the road to Swāt to join his family at Thāna. The Yūsufzais took control of the entire country up to the foot hills of the Mālākand range. Sulṭān Awais thus lost the richest part of his kingdom.

The Yūsufzais were still not content with what they had achieved. They wanted more; they wanted to occupy Swāt indeed. Many of them therefore gathered near the Shāhkoṭ pass and got busy with planning how to scale the mountains which obstructed their advance. Only two routes provided access to the valley—the Shāh Koṭ and Mora, in front which they had fixed their camp, and the Mālākand which lay further west at some distance. Shāh Koṭ was most effectively guarded by Mīr Handā who successfully foiled several Yūsufzai attempts to scale it. The Yūsufzais then turned to the Mālākand under cover of darkness and climbed up

the mountain without facing any resistance. To their surprise, Shāh Awais (confused by Caroe (p. 180) with Sulṭān Awais) and Farrukhzād, both eminent Amīrs of Swāt, who had been posted to guard the pass, were found asleep and when they were awakened by the loud clamour of invaders they fled to Thāna (actually Atan Jāe or place of Jirgah), where the Sulṭān had already convened a Jirgah to prepare a strategy to check the advance of the Yūsufzais. When the news of this disaster reached Mīr Handā he, too, abandoned the Shāh Koṭ and Mora and rushed to Thāna to strength its defence. In the meeting it was decided to face the enemy one and a half mile to the south of Thāna.

Meanwhile the Yūsufzai Lashkar reached Malkūt, a stone-built fortress used for storing provisions, and took control of it. Then the Lashkar advanced to 'Khār' in the open country and halted for some time and then ravaging the country side reached Ala Ḍanḍ and Shinkar, the Yūsufzais took foodstuff from the local Swātis and let their horses graze in their crops. In the clash of arms which took place near Thāna the Sulṭān suffered a disastrous defeat in which a great number of his relations and Amīrs, including Farrukhzād and Shāh Awais, lost their lives. The Sulṭān fled to Manglawar and reached home with great difficulty. The entire country, except

Manglawar, fell into the hands of the Yūsufzais. The invaders had no siege equipment and found the fort of Manglawar impregnable, therefore, they decided to harass the Swātis in general and ravage the countryside (Khwāju1971: 145, 170).

The Sulṭān held out against constant Yūsufzai attacks for sixteen long years (Khwāju says that it took the Yūsufzais sixteen years to get possession of that part of Swāt which was formerly under the control of Sulṭān Awais). Meanwhile the Sulṭān paved the way for shifting to Nihāk Darah further north of Manglawar, brought the non- Muslim tribes of the Darah under his control and got a strong citadel built for his residence. And one fine morning he abandoned Manglawar forever and halted at Tāj khela on way to Nihāk Darah. From Tāj khela it took him four days to reach his newly built residence where he lived till his death and was buried there.

Sulṭān Awais was succeeded by Fīrūz Shāh who ruled for many years. His brother Qazān Shāh was killed by the Yūsufzais in a surprise attack and his head brought to Khān Kaju when, on the left bank of the Landae river, he was poised to engage the Ghoria khels in battle at Shaikh Tapūr (original name ‘Abd al- Ghafūr) incorrectly identified by Raverty and Caroe, and following them by many others, the most recent of which is Maria

Shaheen (2015:136), with Shāh ‘Ālam branch of the river Kābul. The tomb of Shaikh Tapūr, a brick-built sizeable domed structure still stands in a graveyard between Pīr Piyāe and Nowshera. The Grand Trunk road passes through this graveyard and the site is marked by an overhead bridge for the railway line to pass underneath. The “Dab” (a marshy land marked by Dab—a kind of tall grass) which separated the Khalīl and Yūsufzai lashkars, after the latter had crossed over to the right bank of the Landae has since been dried up and brought under cultivation.

Fīrūz Shāh was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Māh, and he, by his son Sulṭān Zain ‘Ali; in this way the descendants of Sulṭān Awais continued to rule over the Nihāk Darah for many generations and may have extended their dominions in the direction of Chitrāl of which the rulers likewise claimed descent from Sikandar Zulqarnain (the two-horned Alexander). Muslim writers in general consider Sikandar Zulqarnain as a person different from Alexander, the Great, who conquered western Asia and also the Indus region in the fourth century BC. But the epithet Zulqarnain (two-horned) can help decide the issue. The coins of Alexander, the Macedonian ruler, show him wearing a helmet marked by two horns. Thus

Sikandar Zulqarnain was none other than Alexander, the Great.

How this idea germinated and got stuck in the minds of the Gibari rulers, and those of Chitral, and also of some parts of Asia is not known. In the case of the Gibari Sultāns at least it does not stand the test of reasoning. Alexander passed through Kabul in 326 BC, whereas the last of the descendants of Sultān, Bahrām to adopt the epithet Sultān, suggesting sovereignty, was Sultān Qirān. His successors took the inferior titles malik or khān. This according to the Akhūnd happened at the time when Amīr Tīmūr (AD 1398-99) swept across the Kābul valley and brought it under his control. This may be taken to suggest that Sultān Qirān was the contemporary of Amīr Tīmūr and that his predecessors had died long before this. From Sultān Shamūs to Qarāri the number of generations is 13, and from Alexander to the Akhūnd (Qarāri's son) the total number of years (1612+326) comes to 1938. According to this computation the average duration of one generation (1938÷13) is 149 years, which is an impossible proposition. Descent from Alexander appears nothing more than a myth.

The Mutrawis

Another Tājik tribe or perhaps a section of the Gibaris established its rule, under its

chief Malik Ḥasan in lower Swāt, possibly after the war of succession, in the territory defined by Khwāju (1977: 144,172) as extending from the top of Shāh Melah to Landakae and Mora. Much of the country was occupied by mountains, he remarks. Malik Ḥasan was one of the deadliest enemies of Sultān Awais, and when the latter, after his defeat in the battle of Thāna fled to Manglawar, he, by mistake entered the territory of Malik Ḥasan and was constantly haunted by the fear that, if discovered, he would be instantly put to death. He therefore took the most arduous route to conceal his identity and also shed his royal robe for the same purpose. Only when he reached Damghār, his own territory, he took a sigh of relief.

Malik Ḥasan lived in Bālgrām (perhaps Bālāgrām meaning 'high village') — a very strong citadel built on top of a mountain, a circumstance which made it difficult for any invading force to access it without taking the utmost pains.

The Yūsufzai *lashkars* stationed in Khār, Thāna, Chakdara and Rāmora, in their advance towards Bālgram got together and encamped at Kāt Gali, the only open space in the Mutrāwi country. Daily skirmishes became the rule of the day. Whenever the Yūsufzais attempted to approach the citadel, they were repulsed by the Mutrāwi fighters. The invaders then resorted to their favourite tactics: they ravaged the

countryside, and after some time they even succeeded in investing the citadel. Malik Ḥasan then lost heart and one night taking his dependents with him he abandoned the citadel and took refuge in the high mountains. The invaders took control of the citadel and found huge quantities of provisions. The Yūsufzais had now conquered the hole of Swāt. This happened, Khwaju says (p.172) in the seventeenth year (since the beginning of the Swāt invasion). Our sources are deficient in dates, but Sir Olaf Caroe (1958: 181) believes “AD 1515 would not be far wrong” for the completion of the Swāt operation. But wrong it certainly is, for, Awais and his rival ‘Alā ad-Dīn, both are styled Sultān of Swāt by Bābur (1987: 372) waited on him when he was in Bajaur in AD 1519 that is, four year after the date suggested by Caroe.

As a result of the occupation of Swāt by the Yūsufzais, the Tājik tribes of Swāt (i.e. Gibaries and Mutrāwis) fled to the east, crossed the river Indus at Thākot and, inundated Alai and Pakhlae where they overcame the local Khakhas (Khasas) and Bambhas (and Domas) whose chiefs had been ruling these areas in the past. Having for the most part come from Swāt they were styled Swatis by their immediate neighbours. They now speak Pushto but they are neither from the Afghān race, nor are they of Afghān descent.

Pakhlae

Who won the choice land of Sultān Pakhal, which came to be known as Pakhlae after his name, in the fratricidal war of succession which broke out amongst his sons after his death, and as a result of which the Gibari empire fell apart into several independent and rival units paring the way for their own down fall, neither the Akhūnd, nor Khwāju, has anything to say. However the Akhūnd’s remarks that their mother (i.e. Pakhal’s wife) was so much moved by the carnage that she hurled her imprecation at the country that it should not last long. The Akhūnd firmly believed that the early fall of the Gibari Empire was due to this curse. But he does not name any natural disaster or human agent who under the influence of this curse brought about the breakup of the empire.

In the case of Nangrahār however, he tells us that the kingdom founded by Sultān Bahrām suffered at the hands of Amīr Tīmūr (AD 1398-99). That the same Tīmūr was responsible for putting an end to the Gibari rule in Pakhlae, we know from several sources including the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (1978: ii, 124 -26) where it is written that “The Sarkar of Pakli is 35 koss in length and 25 in breadth, on the east, on two sides, is the hill country of Kashmir; on the west. Aṭak Benares; on the north,

Kator; and on the south, the Gakhar country. At the time when Timur, after conquering Hindustan, turned his reins backwards towards the capital of Tūrān, they say that he placed in these regions this body of people, who were in attendance on the victorious stirrup. They say themselves that they are Qārlughs, but do not know for certain who was their leader at that time”. Tīmūr is said to have left behind a ming (in Persian Hazār) of his troops in this land; hence the name Hazārah.

Our next question is who suffered at the hands of Tīmūr? This question is likewise shrouded in complete darkness except for a ray of light in the *Babur Nama* (1987: 372, 376) which records that on Wednesday the 17th of Muḥarram (Jan. 19th, 1519) Sulṭān ‘Alā ad-Dīn of Swāt, the rival of Sulṭān Awais, waited on Bābur. Both were given horses and robes of honour and allowed to go back on Wednesday, Feb. 9th, 1519 (p. 376). Who this ‘Alāud ad-Dīn was, we have no clue. It is probable however that he or possibly his father possessed Pakhlae when Amīr Tīmūr (AD 1398-99) drove him out and assigned that land to his Qārluq regiment. Our assumption that the person driven out of Pakhlae by Tīmūr was ‘Alā ad-Dīn’s father is based on the fact that, had ‘Alā ad-Dīn assumed power early in his life and was about twenty when Tīmūr drove him

out, he would have been 140 years old in 1519 when he waited on Bābur. This no doubt is too long a life-span for one person. Having lost his own country to the Qārluq Turks, he might have been living in Swāt as an honourable guest considered by Bābur as a rival of Sulṭān Awais who, as Khwāju tells us, was the undisputed sovereign of Swāt, except for the Mutrāwi country and of the plain to the south of Mālākand down to the Hashtnagar (land of the Hashti or, as abbreviated the Asti people).

Nangrahār (Nagarahāra: City Land)

It has been mentioned above how Sulṭān Bahrām, brother of Sulṭān Pakhal, conquered Nangrahār, fixed his capital at Pāpīn and drove out the Budīnis. Akhūnd Darwezā has more details (pp 107-09). The original seat of this Gibari tribe was Darah-i- Pīch, west of the better known Chaghān sarāe. The Budnis (correctly Budīni) consisted of several powerful tribes and predominated over the Tājik population of Nangrahār and Tīrah (correctly Tīrath: place of pilgrimage). The Akhūnd mentions two reasons for the expulsion of the Budnīs. Firstly, they were Kāfirs (non-Muslim) and left no stone unturned in creating troubles for the Muslims. Over and above this was the cold-blooded murder of Shaikh Muḥammad, who was known for his piety

and had converted several un-believers to Islam. His murder enraged Sulṭān Bahrām who took action against the Budnis and dispersed them.

The Akhūnd, who strongly believed in the efficacy of a curse, says that when the sister of Muḥammad, a pious lady, although she was glad that her brother had obtained martyrdom, was very much hurt at heart. She took out a log of burning wood and furiously struck it on the ground so that her finger broke into pieces (i.e. severely injured) while hurling a curse on the Budnis, as a result of which, the Akhūnd tell us, Sulṭān Bahrām took action against them.

The second reason was a secret plan prepared by the Budnis to murder Sulṭān Bahrām. It so happened, the Akhūnd says that having extended his supremacy over Lamghān and Nangrahār, the Sulṭān was one day sitting upon his throne, when a person passed a costly prayer-mat of Markhor's (stag) (skin) before his eyes. Fascinated by the beauty of the animal, the Sulṭān enquired about its natural habitat and was told that it lived in the mountain recesses of the Sufed Koh (Snowy Mountain). With a view to hunting the animal, he organized an expedition and taking a number of his dependents and servants with him, he, one fine day, set out towards the Snowy Mountain, where one

of the Budni chiefs entertained him with a plentiful and delicious meal.

In accordance with a custom specific to the Budnis, the wife of the host in such a case becomes the adopted sister of the guest who could see and talk to her, and he, in turn become the adopted brother. Thus every time the Sulṭān went there, he was obliged to bring costly clothes for his sister. For some time it went very well, but in the course of time the Budnis in general suspected that, in view of the fondness of the Sulṭān for the territory, he might one day decide to snatch it from them. They therefore secretly decided to poison him to death.

On one occasion the Sulṭān, unaware of the plot, was staying with the Budni chief as usual when he observed something abnormal: his adopted sister neither welcomed nor talked to him. Suspecting that she might disclose the secret to her adopted brother, the Budni chief had apparently forbidden her to approach him, although she happened to pass before the Sulṭān a couple of times in her best accoutrements. At heart the Sulṭān was annoyed at the uncivility shown by her, but, more importantly, his sixth sense told him that he was in danger. Instantly the Sulṭān moved out of the city and encamped in an open space, and ordered the food prepared by his host to be brought there. He was still not satisfied and gave a

little bit of the food to a dog to test its purity. As suspected the dog instantly died. Having seen what happened to the dog the awful truth now fully dawned upon him.

As a precautionary the Sultān massacred all those who had come to serve the food so that nobody could go back to spy on the weakness or strength of the Sultān's attendants and quickly packed up to reach a safer place. Nevertheless, the news that the ploy to murder the Sultān had failed to work, spread like wild fire, and fearing a dreadful reprisal, the Budnis hurriedly packed up and, saying goodbye to their home country, fled to Peshāwār from where they scattered in different directions and lost their strength as a tribe. The most southerly of the branches of river Kābul, now flowing in the vicinity of Peshāwar, still bears their name and is called the Budni (wrongly interpreted so far as "old"). This also clarifies the mystery who the much venerated Shaikh Budīn whose graves lies on top of a hill near the Pezu Gap on the road connecting Dera Ismā'īl Khān with Bannu. The town called Badīn in lower Sindh shows how far the Budnis had spread in the course of centuries. A Budīni tribe still exists in Balūchistan. Sultān Bahrām was succeeded by his son Sultān Tomnā who somehow fell into the hands of the Nangrahāris (Akhūnd 1960: 113). What happened to him after this, the Akhūnd has nothing to say. The last of the

descendants of Sultān Bahrām to take the title Sultān was Sultān Qirān whose descendants took the inferior title malik. This shows that they no more enjoyed sovereign status. This happened when Tīmūr (1398-99) brought the Kabul valley under his control.

Kashmīr

Raverty (1976: 278 n) gives a short account of the first Muslim ruler of Kashmīr. Shāh Mīr, afterwards Sultān Shamsud ad-Dīn, who ruled over Kashmīr and its dependencies from 742 H to 746 H (1341- 42 to 1345 -46) – some say from 743 H to 747 H – and who introduced the Muslim religion into Kashmīr, was a Gibari from Swāt. The role of Shāh Mīr in Kashmīr is a very confused problem. We therefore put it aside for some other occasion, for, further enquiry in this matter would be irrelevant for the moment.

Bajaur

Another part of the Gibari empire was Bajaur (=Āb Johar meaning "Lake Water") where the Sultān, named Mīr Ḥaider 'Ali, had established an independent kingdom long before any of the Afghāns moved into it. The Gibari Sultān lived in a strongly built fort. In AD 1519 Zahīr ad-din Bābur, the then ruler of Kābul made up his mind to chastise the Yūsufzais of Swāt after the refusal of

Malik Aḥmad, the Yūsufzai chief, to attend his court, the second time. He set out from Kabul with a considerable army for Swāt by way of Bajaur. He had a reason for taking this route. The Gibari Sulṭān of Bajaur, Khwāju says (1977: 159), had, in former years, manifested insolence towards Mirzā Ulugh Beg, Bābur's paternal uncle, when he ruled Kābul and its dependencies.

Having entered Bajaur, Bābur invested the fort and took it by storm on Friday, 15th of Muḥarram (7th Jan, AD 1519). Khwāju's narrative of the siege differs from that of the *Bābur Nāma*. As the siege prolonged, Khwāju says, people inside the fort began defecting to Bābur for fear of dire consequences. Even a nephew of the Sulṭān dispatched a petition to Bābur tendering his allegiance, and offering to come out and present himself to him. Fearful of the thought that his own kinsmen might one day seize him to be delivered to Bābur, he took poison and committed suicide. Having reduced the fortress Bābur elevated the same nephew of Ḥaider 'Ali to the position of king and assigned Bajaur to him (Khwāju 1977: 160)

This stands in total contrast to what Bābur writes with his own pen; "By the favour and pleasure of the most High God this strong and mighty fort was taken in two or three astronomical hours! Matching the

fort were the utter struggle and effort of our braves; distinguish themselves they did; and won the name and fame of heroes. The country of Bajaur we bestowed on Khwāja Kalān, assigning a large number of braves to reinforce him" (*Bābur Nāma* 1987: 370)

What precisely happened to Mīr Ḥaider 'Ali, the *Bābur Nāma* has nothing to say. He probably laid down his life in the defence of his fort, or perhaps he was one of the "Sulṭāns" who were put to death and their heads sent to different destinations, while the rest of the captives were set at liberty. This was the last blow to the Gibari Empire which once extended from Bajaur to Kashmīr and Swāt to western Panjāb. The Gibaris disappeared as a ruling race.

A distinctive feature of the Gibari Sulṭāns of Swāt, Khwāju says, was that they wore gold earrings. Only the Sulṭān had the privilege of wearing such earrings. People in general could wear silver earrings. The Sulṭāns spoke their own Gibari dialect, while the subject people spoke Dari. The people of Swāt used only these two dialects (Ibid: 135).

The Tājik tribes, perhaps closely related to each other, who burst out from Darah Pīch, west of Chaghān Sarāe (white inn), in a blitz under their leaders Sulṭān Pakhal and Sulṭān Bahrām, and conquered a vast tract of land as shown above, consisted of,

besides the Gibaries, Mutrāwis, and Mamiālis which contained several ramifications such as Dudāl, Jahāngīri, Begāl. The termination “al” affixed to the names of Pulāl and Handoāl of Tunawul shows that they were also of the same stock. The success of the Gibaries owed much to the destruction caused by Chingiz Khan who had uprooted all centres of power in the territories subsequently seized by the Gibaris. But the Gibari empire lacked centrality and quickly fell apart into independent units whose rivalries brought about the total collapse of the empire. They never acted in uniformity against their enemies, and one by one fell before the grasping Yūsufzais and the Mughals.

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