

THE INQUIRY INTO THE HAZARA MONGOLS OF AFGHANISTAN



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THE INQUIRY INTO THE HISTORY OF THE HAZARA MONGOLS OF AFGHANISTAN¹

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ONE OF THE PUZZLES which confronts students of Afghanistan is the presence there of Mongols interspersed among Afghans, Persians, and Turks. Very little information has been available concerning them, and the circumstances of their coming to Afghanistan have been a matter of conjecture rather than of history.

The best known of these Mongol peoples are the Hazara Mongols, or Hazaras, whom the writer visited in 1938-39 for ethnographic study. That they were Mongoloid was attested by their sparse beards and high cheekbones. That they were Mongols seemed probable enough in view of the general history of the area. That they were descended from military garrisons left in Afghanistan by Chinggis Khan in the early part of the thirteenth century AD, as is frequently stated by European writers, seemed open to question. If the ancestors of the Hazaras came directly from Mongolia to Afghanistan, why did their language, an archaic Persian, contain so many more Turkic words than Mongol?

Since the writer was interested in comparing the culture of the Hazaras with that of the medieval Mongols, it seemed wise to determine as precisely as possible the historical relationship between the two peoples. Tracing the history of the Hazaras was not an easy task. Central Asia, including both Mongolia and Afghanistan, lies on the fringes of the historical world. For the Mongols we have *The Secret History*, originally compiled by anonymous Mongol authors ca. 1240 AD. For Afghanistan we have the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* of Minhaj-ud-Din, who was an officer in the Ghurian army which resisted Chinggis Khan when that Mongol conqueror invaded Afghanistan. Other than these two works we are dependent on historians who were primarily concerned with events in Iran, China, or, somewhat later, in Turkestan. At times these historians follow events into central Afghanistan; at others they turn their attention elsewhere, leaving an historical void. Thus one can do no more than assemble such fragmentary data as are available and from these infer the general outlines of Hazara history.

The Hazaras, who number approximately half a million souls, dwelt until the end of the nineteenth century in the Hazarajat, a mountainous region ex-

¹ The research for this paper was done under a Grant-in-Aid from the Social Science Research Council.

tending from a few miles west of Kabul westward about half way to Herat, and southward from the main spine of the Hindu Kush toward Ghazni and Kandahar. The Hazaras are divided into a number of tribes, of which the Besud, Dai Zangi, and Dai Kundi, just south of the main line of mountains, form a stable core. On the northern slopes of the mountains are the Yek Aulang; just east of the Hazarajat proper are the Timuri. To the south, ranged from east to west

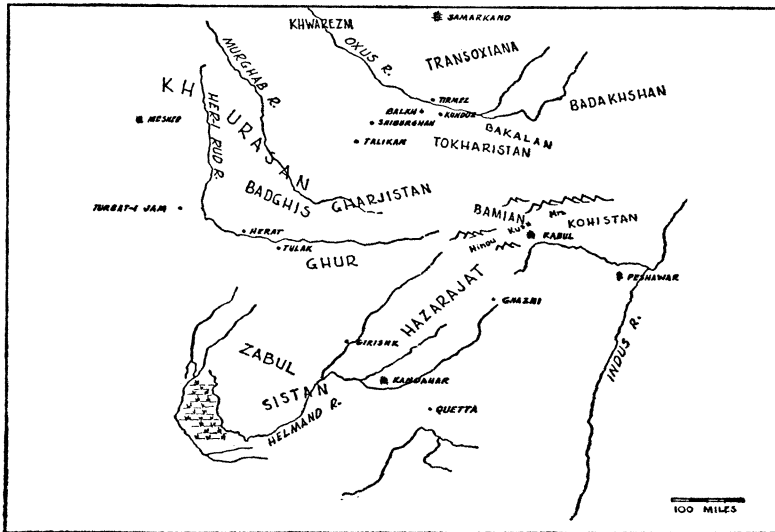


FIG. 1. Places in Afghanistan and adjoining regions mentioned in the text.

in an arc around the central tribes, are the Dai Mirdad, Ghazni Hazaras (Chahar Dasta, Muhammed Khwaja, and Jaghatu), the Jaghuri, the Urazgani (made up of the formerly independent tribes of Dai Khitai and Dai Chopan), and the Polada. At the end of the nineteenth century many Hazaras, consequent on an unsuccessful revolt against the Afghan Government, migrated to Quetta in Baluchistan and Meshed in Iran. Hazara colonies remain in these two areas today. Many, however, returned to Afghanistan and settled in Afghan Turkestan, north of the Hindu Kush, where they were granted land. Almost no Urazgani remain in their former home, and many Jaghuri are to be found in Turkestan or abroad. The writer has not been able to obtain sufficient data on the groups in Turkestan, however, to indicate their location with any accuracy.

THE ORIGIN OF THE HAZARAS

The Hazaras themselves have no precise traditions of their origins. Of several informants questioned by the author, only two had ever heard of Chinggis Khan. One had heard the name, but did not know to what it referred. The second reported that descendants of Chinggis Khan were to be found among many of the Hazara tribes; that they kept their genealogies written in a little book, and

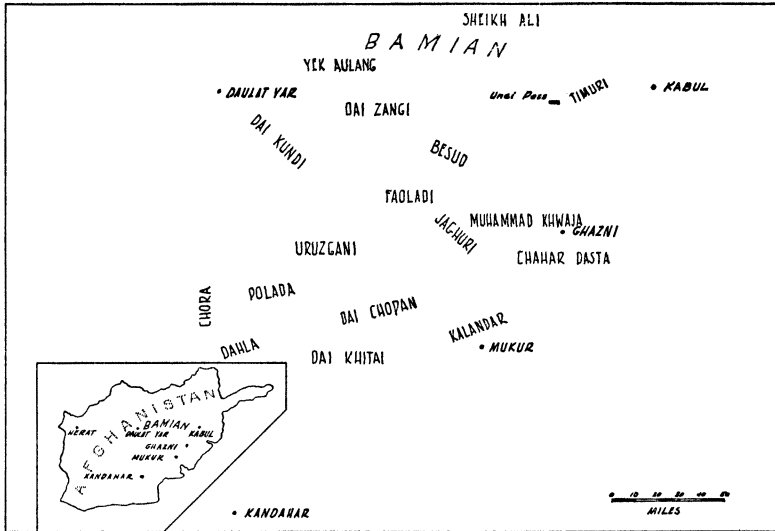


FIG. 2. Location of the Hazara Mongol tribes (based on data given in the Geographical Section, No. 3919 Quarter Inch Map Series, published by the War Office, 1941-1942; and on other information).

that they were called Joberi Ansor.² The same informant said that the Western Hazaras "had been workers for Chinggis Khan and the Mongols."³

Elphinstone, who traveled among the Hazaras in the early part of the nineteenth century, reported that "they have no account of their own origin . . .,"⁴ although "they themselves acknowledge their affinity to" Moguls and Chagatyes, "as well as to the Calmuks now settled in Caubul."⁵ Ferrier, traveling through

2 Another informant, when asked about the name Joberi Ansor, replied that he had never heard of it.

3 The Western Hazaras are a group of Mongols living in western Afghanistan and adjacent parts of Iran.

4 Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul* (2nd ed., London, 1842), vol. 2 p. 202.

5 *Idem*, vol. 2, p. 203.

Afghan Turkestan a few years later wrote of "Mongols" near Seripul who "pretend to have been settled there by Ghengis Khan."⁶

Schefer reported that "Les Hézarèh fixés dans les environs de Dèh Koundy se donnent comme les descendants d'un Arabe de la tribu de Qoreïch."⁷ That the Hazaras should be of Arab descent is visibly incorrect. He may, however, be referring to *seyyids*, who trace their descent from Muhammed, and who are to be found scattered among the Hazaras.

The most circumstantial tradition is that recorded by Elias⁸ as the view of the origin of his people which was held by a chief of the Hazára of Turbat-i-Jám, who died in 1894 . . . [that] the present Hazára belonged to one of the chief sections, or largest tribes, of the Moghuls. They rebelled against Chingiz Khan, who ordered them to be removed from Moghulistan to the Kohistán of Kabul. This order was being carried out, but Chingiz died just as the Hazára had crossed the Oxus. One of Chingiz's sons [descendant may be meant] moved part of them to the Kohistán of Kabul; but some effected their escape and settled in Bádghis.

When one turns to historical records, there seems little basis for the often reported statement that the Hazaras are descendants of military colonists planted in Afghanistan by Chinggis Khan at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁹ This statement may be traced back to the so-called *Tarikh-i Wassaf*, written by 'Abdullah b. Fadlullah of Shiraz at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Persian text is not available to this writer. D'Ohsson, drawing on Wassaf, wrote as follows:¹⁰

Tchinguiz-khan avait ordonné à ses quatre fils de fournir chacun un régiment de mille hommes pour former ce corps qui resterait cantonné dans les districts de Schébourgan, Talécan, Ali-Abad, Gaouunk, Bamian et Ghaznin. Ces troupes firent des invasions dans la partie septentrionale de l'Inde.

6 J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Beloochistan* (London, 1856), p. 231.

7 Charles Schefer, "Khorassan" (extracted from Vol. 9 of the *Fihris out Tewarikh* of Riza Qouly Khan, appearing as Appendix I to *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale* by Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary, in *Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, Paris, 1876), p. 265.

8 Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlár, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (London, 1898, appendix by N. Elias), p. 494d. This chief was probably a Western Hazara. The Kohistan of Kabul lies just north of Kabul, and just east of the Hazarajat, and is not now peopled by Hazaras. Badghis lies north of Herat.

9 See H. W. Bellew, *Afghanistan and the Afghans* (London, 1879), p. 204; H. W. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan* (Calcutta, 1880), p. 114; Joseph Hackin, *In Persia and Afghanistan with the Citroën Trans-Asiatic Expedition* (The Geographical Journal, vol. 83, 1934, pp. 353-363), p. 357; Sir Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century* (4 vols., London, 1876-1888), vol. 3, p. 42.

10 Baron C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* (4 vols., Le Haye and Amsterdam, 1834-35), vol. 2, p. 280.

Hammer-Purgstall gives the following translation:¹¹

Er [Dschengis-Chan] befahl seinen vier Söhnen jeder mit dem Emire eines Hesare (tausend Mann) bis an die Granze Hindostan's und die Districte Schaburghan, von Talikan und Aliábád, Kaweng und Bamian, bis nach Ghasnin vorzudringen.

Hammer-Purgstall's use of *vorzudringen* bears out the impression given by other historical accounts of Chinggis Khan's expedition to the west, that his activities in Afghanistan were limited to brief thrusts in which the armies were withdrawn after the immediate objective had been attained.

One obtains an understanding of the nature of Chinggis Khan's expedition into Afghanistan from the account of Minhaj ud-Din Juzjani, who served the kingdom of Ghur¹² during the period when Chinggis Khan's armies were ravaging the land (1220-1225 AD), and who took part in the defense of one fortress. He was thus able to recount events with the detail possible only to a contemporary observer. Minhaj ud-Din writes:¹³

From thence [Tirmid]¹⁴ the Chingiz Khan despatched bodies of Mughal troops down towards Khurasan, Ghur and Ghaznin.

The whole of the cattle and flocks that were around about the cities, towns, kasrs, and villages of Khurasan, Ghur, and the Garm-sir, fell into the hands of the Mughal forces; and the country as far as the gate of Ghaznin . . . was ravaged, and the greater part of the Musalman inhabitants were martyred and made captive.¹⁵

In this same year¹⁶ likewise, the army of Mughals under the Juzbi, Uklan, appeared before the gate of the city of Firuz-Koh, and attacked it with great ardour for the space of twenty-one days, but did not succeed in getting possession of it, and they withdrew baffled in their attempt. When the winter season drew near, and the snow began to fall upon the mountains of Ghur, the Mughal forces turned their faces from Khurasan towards Mawara-un-Nahr.¹⁷ The number of the Mughal army which was in Ghur, Mughals and renegades included, was about 20,000 horse, and the route of that force lay by the foot of the fortress of Tulak,¹⁸ and, for a period of eight months, a force from that army used to carry their raids up to the foot . . . of that fortress. . . .¹⁹

11 Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte Wassaf's* (Wien, 1856), p. 24.

12 Ghur was a Tajik (Iranian) kingdom which had its capitol near Herat and which included within its limits much of the present Hazarajat.

13 The Maulana, Minhaj-ud-Din, Abu-'Umar-i-'Usman, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* (Major H. G. Raverty, tr., 2 vols., London, 1881), vol. 2, p. 1005. This was in 1220 AD.

14 The present Termez, on the Afghan-Soviet border.

15 *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 1006.

16 617 AH-1220 AD.

17 Transoxiana, the area north of the Oxus River.

18 The fortress where Minhaj ud-Din was stationed.

19 *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 1007.

In the spring of 1221 Chinggis Khan is reported to have appointed a governor over Ghazni before leading his army eastward toward the Indus.²⁰ The governor was apparently not supported by any considerable garrison, for while Chinggis Khan was occupied with the Indus campaign the people of Ghazni revolted, and in 1222 Ogotai was sent to destroy the city.²¹ Further corroboration that Mongol governors, where appointed, were not supported by garrisons of any size, comes from Herat. There the governor seems to have been supported by only a small bodyguard. Once the governor was lured out of his stronghold in the city, the Herati disposed of the guard with little difficulty.²²

While Chinggis Khan was occupied with his Indus campaign, during . . . the month of Rabi'-ul-Awwal of the year 618 H . . .²³ the Mughal hosts, a second time, were despatched into different parts of Khurasan, Ghur, and Gharjistan. . . .²⁴

When the new year, 619 H.,²⁵ came round, again the Mughal forces from Khurasan, Ghaznin, and Sistan, entered the different parts of the mountain tracts of Ghur.²⁶

During the winter of 1222-23 Mongol troops again operated south of the Hindu Kush:²⁷

From Gibari, in the depth of the winter season, he [Chinggis Khan] despatched Uktae [Ogotai] with an army of Mughal troops into Ghur and Khurasan. Uktae reached a place situated between Ghur and Ghaznin which they . . . call Pul-i-Ahangaran . . ., near unto Firuz-koh, and there Uktae pitched his camp. . . . Uktae likewise sent the Nu-in, Ilji, into the hill-tracts of Ghur and Hirat. In short, Shahnahs [Intendents] and bodies of troops were appointed to proceed into every part of Ghur, Khurasan, and Sistan; and, during the whole of that winter, those bodies of troops from the Mughal forces, which had entered into those different territories, carried slaughter into all the townships and villages thereof.

According to d'Ohsson it was in the summer of 1223 that Ogotai for the first time appointed civil governors, *dorogas*, to the conquered cities,²⁸ but no

20 d'Ohsson, vol. 1, p. 305; Howorth, vol. 1, p. 90.

21 d'Ohsson, vol. 1, p. 310.

22 d'Ohsson, vol. 1, pp. 311-312, based on a late fifteenth century manuscript, *Kitab Raouzat ul-Djennat fi Evssaf Medinet il Herat*, "Gardens of Paradise, or Description of the province of Herat," by Moa'yen-ed-din Mohammed El-Esfazari.

23 1221 AD.

24 Minhaj-ud-Din, vol. 2, p. 1008.

25 1222 AD.

26 Minhaj-ud-Din, vol. 2, p. 1065.

27 Minhaj-ud-Din, vol. 2, pp. 1047-48. See also d'Ohsson, vol. 1, pp. 313-314, 317-318.

28 *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 317, based on "History of the First Four Khans of the House of Tchinguiz-khan," by the Archimandrite Hyacinthe, containing a translation of the *Thoung-kian-kang-mou*, which is an historical abridgement of the *Tai-Yuan-tong-tchi*, a collection of laws made under the emperors of the Chinggis Khan dynasty (see d'Ohsson, vol. 1, p. ix).

mention is made of garrisons assigned to support these civil governors. Shortly thereafter Ogotai rejoined his father on the upper Indus. After an unsuccessful attempt to return to Mongolia by way of Tibet, the Mongol armies returned to Peshawar and proceeded north across the Hindu Kush. Except for a pause at Balkh to slaughter such inhabitants as had returned to the destroyed city, no further campaigns are recorded in Afghanistan for Chinggis Khan and his armies before they crossed the Oxus.²⁹ Early in 1224, while Chinggis Khan was wintering in Samarkand, three Mongol regiments invaded northern Iran from Transoxiana and destroyed a number of cities which had survived or recovered from the earlier depredations of the Mongol generals Chebe and Subutai,³⁰ but following this brief incursion, Chinggis Khan and his armies returned to Mongolia, where the great leader died in 1227 AD.

There is no indication that any Mongol troops were left south of the Oxus River.³¹ One son of the Sultan of Khwarezm, who had originally provoked Chinggis Khan's conquest of the west, made himself master of Khorasan, Mazanderan, and 'Iraq, that is, all of northern Iran.³² The eldest son, Jelal ud-Din, whom Chinggis Khan had pursued to the Indus, returned from his refuge in India in 1223, even before Chinggis Khan had crossed north of the Hindu Kush. He appointed a governor over Ghazni and Ghur, moved through southern Iran, and by 1225, just as Chinggis Khan was returning to his *ordu* in Mongolia, Jelal ud-Din had brought his brother to submission, and was ruler of most of Iran.³³

When, after the death of Chinggis Khan, this conqueror's empire was divided among his four sons, none of the royal appanages included territory south of the Oxus.³⁴ It was necessary for his successors to reconquer this western part of the empire. A Mongol army appeared in northeastern Iran in 1227, and won a technical victory over Jelal ud-Din at Ispahan, but Mongol losses were so great that the survivors were obliged to retire again beyond the Oxus.³⁵

As soon as Ogotai was enthroned as emperor in 1229, an expedition was dispatched westward from Mongolia to deal with Jelal ud-Din. This army was

29 d'Ohsson, vol. 1, pp. 317-320.

30 *Idem*, vol. 1, p. 349.

31 Raverty writes concerning the statement that Chinggis Khan had appointed *daroghahs* to the conquered cities in the west: "Troops, too, would have been required, but none are mentioned, and the subsequent proceedings, after his death, prove that no Mughal troops were left behind in I-ran-Zamin, i.e., west of the Jihun [Oxus], and it is very doubtful whether any *Daroghahs* were" (Minhaj-ud-Din, vol. 2, p. 1082, footnote).

32 d'Ohsson, vol. 3, pp. 2-3.

33 *Idem*, vol. 3, pp. 5-10; vol. 1, p. 323.

34 *Idem*, vol. 2, p. 2.

35 *Idem*, vol. 3, pp. 22-27.

joined in Turkestan by troops under Chin Timur, then governing Khwarezm for the family of Juchi, eldest son of Chinggis Khan. While the main army proceeded against Jelal ud-Din, Chin Timur remained in Khorasan as governor of that province.³⁶

According to Minhaj ud-Din, a second army was sent by Ogotai towards Ghazni under a leader called Mangutah, who was given control over Tokharistan, Kunduz, and Talikan, that is, the northeastern portion of Afghanistan.³⁷ A force was also dispatched to Herat and thence to Sistan, and after the accession of Ogotai to the throne, Taïr Bahadur, leader of the Sistan troops, was ordered to proceed to Ghur and Ghazni.³⁸ This army must have remained in the region, for Minhaj ud-Din writes³⁹ that

the territory of Ghaznin, and Karman, remained in the hands of the Mughal Shahnahs [Intendents], until the year 639 H.,⁴⁰ when the Mughal forces, and the troops of Ghur, were directed to advance to Lohor.⁴¹

When Mangu Khan ascended the imperial throne in 1251 it was decided in the imperial *quriltai* that Mangu's brother, Hulagu, be sent to Iran at the head of a major expedition.⁴² Hulagu, who arrived in the west in 1256 AD, gave his attention to the conquest of the Ismaili in northwestern Iran, of the Muslim Caliphate at Baghdad, and of Syria, but did not concern himself with Afghanistan. Indeed, at the coronation of Mangu Khan the whole territory extending from Herat to the Indus was given in appanage to a descendant of the Tajik dynasty which had ruled Ghur prior to Chinggis Khan's invasion.⁴³

Hulagu's successors, the Mongol Ilkhans of Iran, made little attempt to bring the area now known as the Hazarajat under their control. Khorasan, the northeastern province of Iran, was traditionally administered by the heir to the Ilkhanate, and the Badghis region, just north of Herat, was a favorite headquar-

36 d'Ohsson, vol. 3, pp. 47, 103; Minhaj-ud-Din, vol. 2, pp. 1109-10. Although Chin Timur was himself a Turk, he is reported as being assisted by four representatives of the family of Chinggis Khan (Howorth, vol. 3, p. 15). As d'Ohsson points out, the Mongol troops inherited by Chinggis Khan's sons as part of their appanages formed only a nucleus of their armies, which were recruited chiefly from peoples native to the appanage (d'Ohsson, vol. 2, pp. 5-6, footnote). In the thirteenth century the population of Transoxiana was largely Turkish.

37 Minhaj-ud-Din, vol. 2, p. 1109.

38 *Idem*, vol. 2, pp. 1119-26. According to Minhaj-ud-Din this army reached Sistan in 625 AH (1228 AD), that is, before the coronation of Ogotai.

39 *Idem*, vol. 2, pp. 1131-32.

40 1241 AD.

41 In India.

42 d'Ohsson, vol. 3, pp. 134-135.

43 *Idem*, vol. 3, pp. 129-131.

ters for Mongol troops in the province.⁴⁴ Herat and the lands running eastward were ruled by the Tajik dynasty of Kert, whose vassalage to the Mongol Ilkhans was often only nominal.⁴⁵ To the south, Sistan was under the control of the independent Nikudari, who appear to have been a mixture of Mongols and Tajiks, who used Sistan as a base for their brigand raids.

But if the descendants of Hulagu were not interested in what is now central Afghanistan, Mongols centered to the north of the Oxus were. On the death of Chinggis Khan, the steppe country north of the Oxus had been given in appanage to his son Chagatai. Chagataians made raids into Khorasan whenever the control of the Ilkhanate armies was weak. Farther east, where there was little resistance, the Chagataians crossed the Hindu Kush at frequent intervals in the hope of gaining for themselves the riches of Hindustan. During the twenty-four years between 1282 and 1306 no less than nine major expeditions crossed the Indus.⁴⁶ Although they were unsuccessful in establishing a foothold in India, the Chagataians did gain control over the route to the Indus, and in the last decade of the thirteenth century Doua, the Chagataian governor of Transoxiana, granted in appanage to his son Coutlouc Khodja the countries of Ghazni, Sistan, Balkh, and Badakhshan, together with an army of five toumens (50,000 men). Coutlouc Khodja made his winter quarters in Ghazni, his summer quarters in Ghur and Gharjistan.⁴⁷ This places Chagataian Mongols well within the lands of the modern Hazarajat.

Daud Khodja, son of Coutlouc Khodja, inherited his father's appanage early in the fourteenth century, but was forced north of the Oxus by an army of Uljaitu, Ilkhan of Iran (ruled 1305-1316 AD). Uljaitu, however, granted the country between Balkh and Kabul, Badakhshan and Kandahar, in appanage to Yassavour, a Chagataian leader who had transferred his allegiance to Uljaitu.⁴⁸ When Yassavour sought to become independent of the Ilkhanate as well as of the Chagataian Khan, armies from both Transoxiana and Iran were sent against him at Kandahar. Yassavour was killed, but his considerable following was apparently allowed to remain when the invading armies retired. Although the combined armies are said to have numbered 40,000 men, their leaders chose to buy off Yassavour's generals rather than undertake a military engagement.⁴⁹ This sug-

44 *Idem*, vol. 4, pp. 4, 121, 564-565, 605, 670, 674.

45 *Idem*, vol. 4, p. 181.

46 d'Ohsson, vol. 4, pp. 559-562.

47 *Idem*, vol. 4, pp. 268-269.

48 *Idem*, vol. 4, pp. 562, 568.

49 *Idem*, vol. 4, pp. 642-644.

gests that the Mongols were both numerous and well-intrenched in the Kandahar-Ghazni region.

In 1326 a Khan of Transoxiana invaded the area, but was defeated near Ghazni by the son of Choban, the great general of Chagataian origin who served several Ilkhans in Iran. Choban was stationed at Badghis at the time. Shortly thereafter, having incurred the displeasure of the Ilkhan, Choban was killed at Herat. It is possible that some of his sons and followers took refuge with Chagataian compatriots to the southeast,⁵⁰ although we have no statement to this effect.

With the death of Abu Sa'id in 1334 AD the Mongol Ilkhanate of Iran came to an end in effect, although the title of Ilkhan was held by various contenders until 1337. A period of anarchy and of historical obscurity followed the fall of the Ilkhanate. Concerning this period Browne writes of Iran:⁵¹

Persia was . . . left to its own devices, and was divided between four or five petty dynasties. . . . The history of these dynasties is very intricate . . . , while the territories over which each held control were indeterminate, and their frontiers (if such existed) constantly shifting, and often—indeed generally—civil war prevailed between members of the same dynasty. . . .

For Afghanistan, except Herat under the Kert dynasty, historical records are almost entirely absent.

In 1380 AD Timur, a Chaghataian prince who made his capitol in Samarkand, invaded Iran. In 1381 he occupied Herat, which he placed under the control of his son Miran Shah; in 1389 Timur had put to death the last surviving members of the Tajik Kert dynasty.⁵² In 1392 he conferred on his grandson Pir Muhammed, son of Jahangir, the government of the provinces of Kabul and Ghazni, Kandahar, Kunduz, and Bakalan,⁵³ and a number of generals with their troops were assigned to accompany the youth when he set out to take possession of his domain.⁵⁴ For the year 1399 it is recorded that four chiefs, "Seyud

50 See below, page 246.

51 Edward G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion (A.D. 1265-1502)* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 160.

52 *Idem*, p. 180.

53 Major David Price, *Chronological Retrospect, or Memoirs of the Principal Events of Mohammedan History* (3 vols., London, 1821), vol. 3, p. 127; Petis de la Croix, *The History of Timur-Bec, written in Persian by Cherefeddin Ali, native of Yezd, his Contemporary* (English translation, 2 vols., London, 1723), vol. 2, p. 4; Quatremère, "Notice de l'ouvrage qui a pour titre: *Matla-assaadein ou-madjma-albahrein*, et qui contient l'histoire des deux sultans Schah-rokh et Abou-Saïd" (in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Institut Royal de France*, vol. 14, Paris, 1843), p. 51.

54 Petis de la Croix, *Timur-Bec*, vol. 1, pp. 384-385.

Khaujah, Sheikh Ally Bahauder, Jahaun Melek, and Peir Mahommed Pûlaud, with other distinguished chiefs attached to the government of Khorassaun, hastened to Herât. . . ."⁵⁵ It is possible that one of these chiefs, Pir Muhammed Pulad, may have been the founder of the modern Hazara tribe of Pulad.⁵⁶

When Timur died in 1405 AD, he was succeeded by his son Shah Rukh, who reigned until 1447. Shah Rukh made his capitol in Herat, with his favorite summer quarters in the district of Badghis, north of Herat. Thus the center of gravity of political and military power which had been fixed in northwestern Iran under the Ilkhans, and in the plains of Turkestan under Timur, was shifted to western Afghanistan under Shah Rukh. In 1413 AD it was possible to write:⁵⁷

Aujourd'hui, grâce au Dieu très-haut, les provinces de Khorasan, de Khwarizm, de Zaboul, de Kaboul, jusqu'aux extrémités de l'Hindoustan . . . se trouvent soumis à l'autorité de nos serviteurs; et, de tous les côtés, nous sommes sans inquiétude.

There is a specific reference to troops garrisoned at Badghis,⁵⁸ and in the winter of 1417 Shah Rukh established winter quarters on the Helmand River near Kandahar, whence he despatched officials toward Ghazni and Kabul, and among the Hazara tribes⁵⁹ to collect tribute. It was necessary for him to send a punitive expedition to enforce collection, a not uncommon occurrence in this area during more recent times, but in general it is clear that Shah Rukh was concerned, not with making a quick expedition of conquest into alien territory, but with the administration of his established domain.⁶⁰ Since the tribes of the area have never been noted for their docility, Shah Rukh must have maintained substantial garrisons at strategic points to give support to administrative officials.

55 Price, *Chronological Retrospect*, vol. 3, p. 296.

56 See page 246 below.

57 Quatremère, *Matla-assaadein*, p. 238.

58 *Idem*, p. 20.

59 See discussion of the use of the term Hazara, page 244 below.

60 "Shah Rokh returned from Kandahaur to the banks of the Heirmund, where he had determined to take up his winter quarters. . . . Ameir Ibrauhim the son of Hajuan Shah had, towards the end of the month of Ramzaun, already returned from his mission towards Kabûl and Gheznein, and announced that Mirza Keydou was on his way to the royal presence, in order to make his submission. Ameir Sheikh Lûkman Berlaus, on the contrary, who had been dispatched among the Hazaurah tribes, in order to collect the stipulated tribute, transmitted information that, after a residence of several days, instead of fulfilling their engagements, he found them disposed, under every possible pretext, to protract and elude the payments for which they had pledged themselves. In consequence of this, the Ameirs Mahommed Souffy, and Moussa, were necessarily employed by the order of the Shah, to over-run and lay waste the country; which having executed, and further sufficiently chastised the insolence of these refractory hordes, they rejoined the camp of their sovereign on the Heirmund" (Price, *Chronological Retrospect*, vol. 3, pp. 534-535, based on Kholaussat-ul-Akhbaur).

Following the death of Shah Rukh's successor in 1447, the capitol of the greatly reduced Timurid domain was returned to Samarkand, and central Afghanistan returns to historical obscurity until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Timurid prince Babur invaded Afghanistan and established his capitol at Kabul. By that time the Hazara Mongols were a distinct people, dwelling in much their present habitat.

The foregoing résumé of Mongol history in Afghanistan shows that the traditional statement made by modern writers concerning the origin of the Hazaras is incorrect. The available evidence indicates that while several expeditions were made into Afghanistan by the armies of Chinggis Khan, the troops withdrew again as soon as the object of the campaign had been accomplished. There is no suggestion that Chinggis Khan himself left any permanent garrisons in the region, although he may have paved the way for future Mongol settlement by killing off part of the former population of the mountain area.⁶¹

The region now known as the Hazarajat seems to have been peopled chiefly by Chagataians from Transoxiana. Other Mongols, and some Turks or Turco-Mongols may have joined these Chagataians. Troops stationed in Khorasan by the Ilkhans revolted against their monarch on more than one occasion,⁶² and it is possible that some of these rebels sought refuge in the central mountains of Afghanistan, where they could more easily avoid possible punitive expeditions. Later, under Timur and his son Shah Rukh, troops and administrative officials were sent into the area, and it is probable that some of these remained when the Timurids returned to Samarkand.

Thus it would appear that the present Hazara Mongols are descended, not from military garrisons planted by Chinggis Khan, but from Mongol troops, many of them Chagataian, who entered Afghanistan at various times during the period from 1229 to about 1447 AD.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE HAZARAS AS A PEOPLE IN AFGHANISTAN

When the Emperor Babur invaded Afghanistan at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Hazara Mongols were a distinct people, dwelling in approximately their present habitat. In order to understand the evolution of the Hazara tribes, it will be well to consider briefly the organization of Mongol armies and the terminology of the military units.

The Mongol armies were organized into units of tens (*arban*), hundreds (*jä'ün*), thousands (*minggan*), and ten thousands (*tümän*).⁶³ The *tümän*, or

61 See above, page 235, footnote 27.

62 Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

63 B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime Social des Mongols* (Paris, 1948), p. 134.

division, was probably more often than not an artificial unit from the point of view of tribal affiliations, since it is improbable that many tribes were sufficiently numerous to muster 10,000 fighting men. Vladimirtsov writes that among the Eastern Mongols of the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries the word *tümän* was used as the equivalent of the *ulus*, a large tribal grouping or feudal fief. For example, the Urianghat constituted a *tümän-ulus*, the Oirat comprised four *tümän-ulus*. But in this later period the *tümän-ulus* was not capable of furnishing a division of even approximately 10,000 fighting men.⁶⁴ Still later, the term *tümän* disappeared entirely from Mongol usage.⁶⁵ Under the empire of Chinggis Khan and his immediate successors, who had the power to dispose of troops as required by military needs, the assignment of regiments to a *tümän* seems to have been often arbitrary. At best, the *tümän* as a military unit represented the warriors of an impermanent tribal confederation.⁶⁶ Under the Western Mongol Ilkhanate the use of the word *tümän* appears to have fallen gradually out of use.⁶⁷

The *minggan*, on the other hand, seems to have corresponded to an effective social unit, which might be designated as tribe. The fact that the Mongol soldiers sent to the West were accompanied by their families and live stock emphasizes the social nature of the military units.^{67a} Vladimirtsov writes: ⁶⁸

Dans le cadre de leurs *minggan* et *jägün* les *noyan* mongols jouissaient généralement d'un pouvoir illimité, rendant la justice, appliquant les sanctions à leur subordonnées, dans l'esprit du Jasaq⁶⁹ et du droit coutumier en général.

Des tribunaux spéciaux furent, il est vrai, institués auprès des camps impériaux, mais "dans la steppe" toutes les questions judiciaires étaient probablement du ressort du *noyan-chiliarque* [chief of a thousand].

This description of the functions of the chiefs of thousands and of hundreds suggests strongly that they were not only military leaders in warfare, but also the chiefs of tribal units. Vladimirtsov writes:⁷⁰

64 *Idem*, pp. 171, 174, 175.

65 *Idem*, p. 200.

66 *Idem*, p. 175.

67 Rashid ed-Din, historian at the court of the Mongol Ilkhans at the beginning of the fourteenth century, occasionally used *tümän* for groups of a thousand, as if the word no longer had a very precise meaning (see Vladimirtsov, *Régime Social*, p. 135, note 5).

67a "Une quantité assez importante de troupes mongoles nomades, c'est-à-dire de guerriers avec leurs familles, bétail et avoir, fut emmenée par les princes impériaux vers l'ouest, dans les *ulus* d'Ögädäi, de Čagataï, dans la Horde d'Or et en Perse" (Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 162).

68 *Idem*, p. 152.

69 A codification of Mongol customary law made under Chinggis Khan.

70 *Idem*, p. 140.

En effet, élevé dans les idées de clan, Činggis-han constituait généralement un "millier" avec les représentants d'une même tribu-clan et plaçait à sa tête un *noyan* appartenant au même clan. Autrement dit, Činggis prenait simplement une unité déjà constituée, une lignée, un clan. . . .

Military divisions could not be expected to follow exactly the lines of social divisions. The great tribes, which could furnish many more than a thousand men, were frequently broken up into a number of *minggan* regiments which were assigned to service in different parts of the vast Mongol Empire.⁷¹ Since even the smaller tribes were of varying size and could probably seldom be counted on to produce fighting men in units of a thousand, even the *minggan* on occasion was composed of members of different tribes.⁷² Sometimes military expediency called for the recruiting of new regiments from several established ones. When Hulagu was preparing for his great western expedition, Mangu Khan ordered that a levy of two men in ten should be made on all the troops of Chinggis Khan which had been apportioned among the sons, brothers, and nephews of that monarch, to form the personal army of Hulagu.⁷³

Nevertheless the *minggan* regiment seems to have coincided with the tribe to such an extent that even where members of different tribes were brought together in a regiment this originally military unit gradually took on the attributes of a tribe, including territoriality and a feeling of tribal solidarity. In Mongolia, in the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries, the term *minggan* disappeared, to be replaced by *otoq*, which was employed to designate a tribal grouping.⁷⁴

71 ". . . la répartition des patrimoines en 'milliers' consacrait l'éparpillement définitif de toute une série de grandes et anciennes tribus mongoles, Tatar, Märkit, Jajirat, Naïman, Käräit, par exemple, dont les vestiges se trouvaient, le plus souvent, dispersés à travers divers *ulus* et patrimoines-milliers" (Vladimirtsov, *Régime Social*, p. 142).

72 ". . . selon l'*Histoire Secrète*: 'Après avoir réparti le commandement sur les populations, il apparut que le peuple commandé par le charpentier Güčügür était en petit nombre. En vue de le compléter, Činggis ordonna de détacher plusieurs hommes du peuple de chaque chef et désigna (en qualité de) chiliarques Güčügür avec Mulqalqu du clan Jadarat.' 'Ensuite, Činggis donna l'ordre au pasteur de brebis Dādāi de rassembler tout le peuple sans feu ni lieu et de devenir son chiliarque'" (Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 141). Both Güčügür and Dādāi were, according to Vladimirtsov, members of the Bāsut tribe.

"Les trois 'milliers' constituant le patrimoine d'Alčidai, neveu de Činggis-han, furent recrutés comme suit: 'certains étaient de la tribu Naïman, et certains étaient recrutés dans d'autres tribus'" (Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 142, translating from Rashid-ud-Din).

73 "Tous les princes désignèrent parmi leurs enfants, leurs proches, leurs serviteurs, ceux qui devaient marcher à la suite de Houlagou: de là vient que dans nos contrées il a toujours existé et il existe encore des émirs qui sont les descendants et les parents de chacun des émirs de Tchinghiz-khan . . ." (Etienne Marc Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de Perse écrite en persan par Raschid-Eddin*, Paris, 1836, vol. 1, p. 133).

74 See Vladimirtsov, *Régime Social*, pp. 173-174.

In the west, the *minggan* was replaced by the Persian equivalent for "thousand," *hazara*, which, like *otoq* in the east, came to acquire the meaning of "tribe."

In Afghanistan, furthermore, by the fifteenth century, *hazara* meant not only tribe, but specifically "mountain tribe." At first it seems to have been applied to any mountain tribe, regardless of ethnic affiliations,⁷⁵ and the name Hazara is still applied to non-Mongol groups in Badakhshan, and in northwest India. By 1504, however, when Babur first writes of them, the name Hazara had become, through a shift in usage from the general to a specific group of mountain tribes, the proper name of the tribes of Mongol origin dwelling in the mountains of central Afghanistan.

Early in the fifteenth century Mongol tribes bearing the name Hazara were dwelling in what is now the Hazarajat,⁷⁶ and it is clear from Babur's accounts that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the name Hazara specifically referred to these Mongols.⁷⁷ Thus the Hazara Mongols had become established as a people in their present habitat by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

It is not easy to trace the names of modern Hazara tribes back to name groups of the Mongol period.

One of the largest of the Hazara Mongol tribes has the name Besud, a name which appears in the thirteenth century *Secret History of the Mongols*, which traces the origin of the tribe.⁷⁸ Vladimirtsov mentions three Bäsüt regiments in the army of Chinggis Khan: one composed entirely of members of the Bäsüt tribe,⁷⁹ and two others with Bäsüt leaders but a mixed following.⁸⁰ In the time of Timur there was a "hord of Bisoud" in Afghanistan near Kabul,⁸¹ that is, in the vicinity of the present home of the Besud tribe.

75 Minhaj-ud-Din, vol. 1, p. 221, note 1. See also Quatremère, *Matla-assaadein*, p. 484.

76 Price, *Chronological Retrospect*, vol. 3, pp. 534-535, based on Kholausset-ul-Akhbaur.

77 "On the west it [Kabul] has the mountain region in which are Karnud (?) and Ghur, now the refuge and dwelling-places of the Hazara and Nikdiri . . . tribes" (*The Babur-nama in English [Memoirs of Babur]* by Zahiru'd-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi: translated from the original Turki text by Annette Susannah Beveridge, 2 vols., London, 1912-21), vol. 1, p. 200. "In the western mountains are the Hazara and Nikdiri tribes, some of whom speak the Mughuli tongue" (*idem*, vol. 1, p. 207).

78 Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Secrète des Mongols: Restitution du Texte Mongol et Traduction française des Chapitres I à VI* (Paris, 1949), p. 128. See also E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid Ed-Din* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 12, Leyden and London, 1910, Appendix, p. 289, based on the Yuan-Shao Pi-Sheu, the Chinese translation of the *Secret History*).

79 Vladimirtsov, *Régime Social*, p. 142.

80 *Idem*, p. 141.

81 Petis de la Croix, *Timur-Bec*, vol. 1, p. 315.

A modern sub-tribe of Besud is the Burjigai, a name strongly reminiscent of Borjigin, the Medieval Mongol *oboq* to which Chinggis Khan belonged.⁸²

Another Mongol tribe was the Tatar, which originally lived in northeastern Mongolia.⁸³ According to Burnes, a nineteenth century explorer in Afghanistan, a sub-tribe of the Hazara tribe of Dai Chopan was named Tatar.⁸⁴ Although the name Tatar or Tartar came to be applied to Mongols in general by Chinese, Russians, and Europeans,⁸⁵ it seems more likely that a tribelet in the isolated mountains of Afghanistan should have retained the original name from the Mongol period than that it should have adopted an alien usage not usually encountered south of the Hindu Kush.⁸⁶

One of the original Hazara tribes, according to modern Hazara tradition, was the Dai Khatai or Dai Khitai. It would be tempting to relate this tribe to the Khitans or Kara Khitai, a Tungusic or Mongol people, one branch of which ruled Turkestan until the beginning of the thirteenth century, another of which, in north China, became vassals of the Mongols under Chinggis Khan. However, the links of relationship, if there were such, cannot be traced.

One of this writer's informants gave Qarluq as the name of a sub-tribe of the Uruzgani. The Qarluq—a Turkic, not a Mongol tribe—were active in Transoxiana in the period immediately preceding Chinggis Khan's invasion of the west, and although many of the Qarluq fought with the armies opposing Chinggis Khan, some served with the Mongols in Tokharistan.⁸⁷ Qarluq remnants have been reported as surviving in northeastern Afghanistan,⁸⁸ and it is

82 Chinggis Khan's father founded the Qi'at Borjigin lineage of the Borjigin. The Bäsüt were formed by a similar branching off from the Borjigin several generations earlier (see Pelliot, *Histoire Secrète*, pp. 121-128).

83 Howorth believed the Tatars to be of Tungusic origin (see *History of the Mongols*, vol. 1, pp. 25-26, 700-703).

84 Lieut.-Col. Sir Alexander Burnes, *Cabool; being a Personal Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence in that City, in the years 1836, 7, and 8* (London, 1842), p. 229.

85 W. W. Barthold, "Tatar" (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 4, pp. 700-702).

86 Ferrier writes that "The Hazara Tartars . . . are a small tribe settled amongst the mountains intersected by the river of Khulm and the river of Balkh . . .," that is, in northern Afghanistan (Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, p. 219). Masson speaks of Tatar chiefs resident on the Dasht Saféd, again north of the Hindu Kush (Charles Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, The Panjab, & Kalat*, 4 vols., London, 1844, vol. 2, p. 307). These two Tatar groups might possibly have derived their name from the more general usage.

87 W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (2nd ed., London, 1928), pp. 411, 441; Minhaj-ud-Din, vol. 2, p. 1132, footnote.

88 Gunnar Jarring, *On the Distribution of Turk Tribes in Afghanistan* (Lunds Universitets Arsskrift, N.F., Avd. 1, vol. 35, no. 4, 1939), pp. 71-73; Mirza Muhammad Haidar, p. 19, footnote 4.

possible that some might have become incorporated into an Hazara tribe. The presence of a Besudi sub-tribe among the Polada Hazaras indicates that tribal fractions did sometimes become affiliated with other tribes.

Vladimirtsov has pointed out that under the Mongol Empire the *minggan* regiments were sometimes designated by the old tribal names, sometimes by the name of their leader.⁸⁹ Many of the Hazara sub-tribes are named after leaders of a former period, and it is possible that some of these date back to the period when the ancestors of the Hazaras were settling in Afghanistan.

One of the original Hazara tribes, now a sub-tribe of the Uruzgani, is the Dai Chopan. According to d'Ohsson, when a certain Khan of Transoxiana invaded Afghanistan in the year 1326 he was stopped near Ghazni by the Emir Husein, son of Choban, the great Mongol general who served the Ilkhans from Gaikhatu (1291-92 AD) to Abu Said (1317-34 AD). After the battle Husein returned to Herat.⁹⁰ Leech, who explored parts of the Hazarajat in the early nineteenth century, wrote:⁹¹

Many of the names of villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Candahar prove a Hazarah founder; and the tomb of one of their progenitors, Choupan, is on the high road between Candahar and Herat near Greeshk.

This tomb, reputedly that of the founding ancestor of the Dai Chopan tribe, is in about the center of the fighting range of the fourteenth century Husein, son of Choban. Choban himself was executed in Herat by order of Abu Said, and his remains were buried at Medina. We know that Husein made his headquarters with his father in Badghis,⁹² and it is very possible that when his family fell into disfavor with the Ilkhan, Husein retreated with his followers toward Kandahar. Thus the tomb mentioned by Leech may well be that of Husein, son of Choban.

A famous chief in the armies of Timur was Pir Muhammed Pulad.⁹³ The name resembles that of the tribe Polada, but the name Pulad appears not infrequently in the history of the Western Mongols, and it is not possible to trace the tribal name to this particular leader. So many different Zangi or Zengi

89 Vladimirtsov, *Régime Social*, pp. 142-143.

90 d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 670.

91 Major R. Leech, *A Supplementary Account of the Hazaras* (Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 14, new series, pp. 333-340, Calcutta, 1845), p. 333. Girishk is not far west of Kandahar.

92 d'Ohsson, vol. 4, pp. 669-675.

93 Price, *Chronological Retrospect*, vol. 3, p. 296.

are mentioned in the literature⁹⁴ that it would be unprofitable to speculate as to which, if any of them, might have been the founder of the Dai Zangi.

The names of many Hazara tribes and sub-tribes cannot be traced in the historical record. Some bear the names of historically unidentifiable founders, such as Sultan Ahmad, Darwesh Ali, Abdul. Some are descriptive, probably of the founder, although they might be proper names: Bacha-i Ghulam ("son of a slave"),⁹⁵ Mir-i Hazar (Emir or commander of a regiment), Daulat ("government") Khan.⁹⁶

Some of the tribes or sub-tribes take their names from places. For example, the Yek Aulang tribe derives its name from a valley in the Hindu Kush which was already known by the name in the time of Timur.⁹⁷ The "Turkman Hazaras" mentioned by Babur appear to have derived their name from a place rather than from any supposed affiliation with the Turkomans.⁹⁸

Other sub-tribes have such names as Zardalu (Persian, "apricot"), and Shirin (Persian "sweet").

Attempts to trace the origin of modern Hazara tribal names to Mongol tribes or to leaders who left their mark on western Mongol history can be only suggestive. Mongol tribal history is marked by a restless movement, a succession of alignments and realignments of the loyalties of leaders and their followers. When they entered Afghanistan, particularly the central mountain area, they stepped beyond the borders of recorded history. That names once fixed do not necessarily persist indefinitely is indicated by the fact that no tribal unit, so far as this writer has been able to discover, retains the name of Sultan-Mas'udi, which according to Babur was the most numerous Hazara tribe at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁹⁹

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94 Minhaj-ud-Din, vol. 1, pp. 175, 342; vol. 2, p. 1002; Howorth, vol. 3, p. 319; de Guignes, "Exposition de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable (sur la terre) et des merveilles du roi tout-puissant. Par Abdorraschid, fils de Saleh, fils de Nouri, surnommé Yakouti. Ouvrage de géographie, composé dans le XV^e siècle" (in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vol. 2, pp. 386-545, Paris, 1789), p. 474.

95 Ghulam is, however, an Islamic name in good standing, so that Bacha-i Ghulam might be translated as "son of Ghulam."

96 Daulat might be derived from the Chagataian tribal name Dughlat.

97 Quatremère, *Matla-assaadein*, p. 120.

98 Beveridge, *Babur-nama in English*, vol. 1, pp. 251-252. Some of the Turkman Hazaras were reported camping at Dara-i-Khush, northwest of Kabul, of which Beveridge writes "it seems to be the Dara-i-Turkman of Stanford" (*idem*, vol. 1, p. 251, note 1). Masson, writing in the nineteenth century, speaks of the Hazara district of Turkoman (Masson, *Narrative*, vol. 3, p. 119).

99 *Babur-nama in English*, vol. 1, p. 221.