

A SHORT HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN

By

Professor Abdul Hai Habibi
President, Historical Society of Afghanistan

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In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Preface

Afghanistan has been at the crossroads of different civilizations and cultures from pre-historic times and has acted as the cradle of human thought and discipline. During its long history many empires have risen from its soil which strived to maintain their independence and nationality through the turmoil of history.

For several years there has been a need to publish the history of Afghanistan comprehensively in one or two short volumes taking into account millenniums of the past to the present century. A book which would be useful to students and the general public and highlight true historical facts.

When I was appointed president of the Afghan Historical Society last year, Mr. Mohammed Osman Sedki, the Minister of Information and Culture of the time, informed me of the need for such a book. I immediately embarked on the project and started writing A Short History of Afghanistan.

In writing this book I used a large number of references in the Eastern and Western languages which are included in the bibliography. However, during the publication of this work, I ran into difficulties and had to omit certain passages and references. I mention this to assert that all the facts in the book are based on authentic sources.

Included are figures from various sources. It is my hope that those who read this book will find it useful. The first volume deals with pre-Islamic history and the Islamic era up to 600 Hijera (1222 AD). The second volume deals with the last 700 years until the independence of Afghanistan. (Both volumes are presented in this translation together).

While writing this book I strived to present historical facts in as much detail as possible bearing in mind that they are not lengthy. It is hoped that in future the writing of this book will pave the way for preparing a detailed history of the country, a sample of which is The History of Afghanistan After Islam, which was published last year. It is a comprehensive treatment of the history of Afghanistan during the first two centuries after the advent of Islam in the country in one thousand pages.

Abdul Hay Habibi
Kabul, Jamal Mena, 1 Sunbula 1346
(September, 1967)

Part One

A Glance at Pre-historic Times

Historians consider pre-historic times the period when man had not invented writing. The period after the invention of writing is considered as historic time, in case the early writings are readable. Since there are certain early inscriptions which have not been read they are considered to be pre-historic. When they are read they will be included as part of the historic era. In general the period dating back 4500 years BP (before present) is considered historic in the Eastern hemisphere because Egyptian and Mediterranean inscriptions that have been read are that old. The Mohenjodaro inscriptions, in Sind and Harapa, have not been read as yet and are therefore considered pre-historic.

Pre-historic excavations in Afghanistan were started by European archaeologists in 1936. Stone implements dating to the Third Stone Period, and pottery and iron implements of Chalcolithic period were found during these investigations. From these scientific finds it has been deduced that human civilization existed in Afghanistan and adjoining lands as early as 6000 years BP because in the Anu region near Merv copper finds have been found. Pre-historic relics in regions neighboring Afghanistan have been found at the following sites:

1. Harapa in Punjab. These are the plains east of the Hindu Kush mountains where a city and development has been discovered.

2. Mohenjodaro. This site is situated in Sind where a city has been excavated. The contour of a city, streets and shops are evident. The streets include a drainage system and bins for the disposal of rubbish.

In the city statues of the Goddess of Creation, pottery, cotton, gold and silver jewelry, other metals together with industrial implements and metal statues have been found. All these objects are preserved in a museum of the ancient city. Among the delicate finds small statues of elephants and the drawings of hefty oxen have been discovered. Some carry an inscription but the writing has not been interpreted as yet.

The Mohenjodaro civilization, spread between Harapa and Mohenjodaro in the Indus (Sind) valley for a distance of one thousand miles without interruption to the east of Afghanistan. It was four times as large as the Babylon and twice the size of the Egyptian civilization. It is famous for its buildings, clay pottery and working instruments. It has been concluded that this civilization spread throughout the Indus valley and the cities of Harapa and Mohenjodaro were its northern and southern capitals. It had relations with western civilizations that spread as far as Babylon and about 4000 years BP a quarter for Indian traders existed in the city.

The archaeological finds of the Mediterranean shows that the people of the Indus valley made counting instruments and balances. The findings at Harapa indicate that the majority of people lived in two story houses and most houses had a well, bathroom and an underground reservoir. The common people, workers and artisans, lived in small double room houses that were separate from each other. The cities of these pre-historic people had numerous citadels that were most probably used for grain storage.

The ruins of the latest civilization of Harapa show the misery which the people encountered. Most of the houses have been destroyed and the city, which was well designed and structured, has been laid to waste. From this state of affairs it has been concluded that the people came under the attack of western Aryans who destroyed their civilization. Even though the Harapa scriptures have not been read it is clear that the inscriptions belong to the period before the migration of the Aryans. The wheels which were

pulled by horses were made by a people who spoke in the Indian and European languages but those of the Mohenjodaro and Harapa were pulled by sturdy bullocks as is evident from drawings of the time.

Similar civilizations have been found in the southern parts of Afghanistan in Nal wa Jalawan, Lorlayee of Baluchistan, Nad Ali of Seistan and some parts of southern Iran. The civilization stretches up to the Mediterranean and is related to people who resided there before the arrival of the Aryans. In the archeological finds of these areas statues of the Goddess of Creation have been found which resemble those of the Indus civilization. It is therefore possible that their religion, beliefs and culture were similar.

The archeological finds of Qala-e Gul Mohammad, a mound situated a few miles northwest of the city of Quetta, shows that the ancient residents of this land did not know the art of making earthenware pottery. They used stone knives, bone needles and implements resembling pointed spears. They were a nomadic people among whom the making of houses and buildings was not prevalent. In later times they started making earthenware pottery and buildings. Archeologists consider it the pottery of Zhobe valley. Pictures of gazelles and cattle are seen on the pottery. Large quantities of bones have been found in their homes indicating that these people were meat eaters and used stone mortars to grind grain. Iron implements are missing among the finds and some of the earthenware is shaped in the form of the letters T-A-W-V. Such shapes have not been seen elsewhere, therefore archeologists have not come to any conclusion regarding these finds. The civilization is estimated to be 6000 years old.

The borders of the pre-historic civilization of Harapa have been extended to the Rann of Kutch of India. From the years 1954 to 1965 relics were found from various mounds in the area. These finds are similar to the Harapa civilization. This areas lies south of the city of Rajkot.

In Afghanistan pre-historic sites have been discovered in several locations.

1- Sir Mark Aurel Stein, Roman Ghirshman and Thomas Hocken conducted excavations in Nad Ali, Zaranj of Seistan, Qala Kang and Sarotar before the Second World War. They found stoneware, various kinds of weapons, arrows, decorated bows, silver earrings and bone implements. Scholars consider these to be similar to the finds of Anu of Merv, the archeological excavations in the west and those of the Indus valley. They have come to the conclusion that a large civilization extended from the Indus to the Nile valley, including Afghanistan, during this time.

In Tapa-e Dagh, Ghirshman dug 12 m deep pits in a 30 m high mound. He was successful in finding relics that date back 3000 BP. He stated that if we dig another 21 meters it is possible to find relics dating back 6000 BP which could be related to the Indus valley, Mediterranean and Egyptian civilizations. In this area there are numerous mounds which may contain remnants of ancient civilizations.

2- Pre-historic relics have been found in excavations conducted in the Arghandab valley and Panjwayee, west of the city of Kandahar. Similarly pre-historic finds have also been discovered at the Badawan cave and Deh Morasai. These civilizations are related to those of the Indus valley, Punjab and Baluchistan. The statues of the Goddess of Creation have been discovered at these sites.

Ancient relics dating back five thousand years, excavated in 1966 at the Mundigak mound, 66 km southwest of Kandahar, represent a pre-historic civilization in the Arghandab valley. This civilization shows that the barren Keshk-e Nakhud valley, which lies west of Kandahar, was fertile three thousand years ago. The land was under irrigation with water from the Keshk-e Nakhud river which is dry at the present time. The last civilization in the valley dates back three millenniums and the area became dry due to inclement climatic conditions. This area was the crossroad of the people living in Herat, Farah and Helmand to the Rakhd valley (Arghandab), Psheen and Indus valleys. It extended all the way to the Tarnak valley and Ghazni up to the outskirts of the southern Hindu Kush mountains.

The Mandigak mound represents 15 stages of development from 6000 to 3000 BP. At its last and

uppermost strata grain storages have been found. The depots are rectangular in shape and the walls are made of mud mixed with straw. Despite their smaller size they are totally similar to the storage facilities of the Harapa excavations. In the lower level bedsteads were kept. Since the edifices of the storages have been found at three levels it is believed that the repository were used during different eras.

The upper level has guard rooms. From these rooms earthenware, stone arrowheads, slingshots and earthen sling balls have been excavated. This shows that the guards used these implements to protect the grain. These implements date back 3000 years. In front of the storage rooms with square stones in the ceilings are present and the northern side of the structure contains bricks. The front area has a huge opening which is surrounded by a large number of small rooms. Relics of a large palace can also be seen. It includes huge pillars made of semi-circular uncooked bricks embellished with artwork and white paint. Even up to the present time the majesty and size of the structure is evident in the pillars. Implements found in the palace include a brass knife with a bone handle, intricate pieces of pottery, weapons and a statue of Aditi, goddess of prosperity. It has close resemblance to the idols found in Baluchistan and Sind.

In other mounds, which were built prior to the one discussed above, living quarters for people have been discovered. A kitchen, together with kitchenware, has been excavated including a large number of mortars and their pounding handles. It is possible that the place was used as a pharmaceutical storage. In other rooms an oven with brick tiles and incomplete spears can be seen. The roofs of most of the rooms are inclined and the outer walls have spears and spear heads embedded in them. Seven human skeletons were discovered in the graveyard.

From bottom to the top the different strata of Mundigak mound vary. From the ground up to the ninth level remnants of nomadic life have been found. It can be said that the original dwellers were a nomadic and pastoralist people. The walls of the buildings were made of mud mixed with straw. After this uncooked mud bricks have been used in the following three levels. The earthenware at the lower level is simple but that at the upper level becomes sophisticated in workmanship. As the level of sophistication increases we come across china with artwork which contains the pictures of mammals, birds and floral designs. There are sketches of ibex with large horns, partridge, turkey and the leaves of morning glory. Embellished pottery is seen after the eighth strata upward and resemble the pottery excavated near Quetta. Brass and copper metals can be seen from the sixth layer onward. Carbon dating of the coal found there shows that it dates back to 4625 BP. According to Jean-Marie Casal, an authority on pre-historic era, the mound dates back to 5000 years. Therefore this civilization was probably older than the Mohenjodaro civilization of Sind.

3- Pre-historic finds have also been discovered in northwestern Afghanistan. Similarly pre-historic finds have been excavated in the northeastern section of the country also. These finds were discovered in October of 1962 by a team of Italian archaeologists. The Hazar Sum plain lies at the northern foothills of the Hindu Kush at an elevation of about 1000 m. This plain stretches 16 km northwest of Samangan and in the old times it was part of the great silk route and was used by people traveling from India via Kabul, Baghlan and Kunduz to China. There are numerous natural caves in the mountainside which were used as human dwellings where flint stones and stone burins have been discovered. Some of the structures date back to the time when man left caves and started to live in dwellings. Some of the blocks are 20 to 37 m long encompassing an area of 335 ha. Remnants of an irrigation canal from the Hazar Sum river with a wall extending 125 m along the canal have also been excavated.

The caves have triangular rooms with large niches in the walls which contain stone chairs. The walls are covered with stone slabs and the caves have fireplaces. The implements and drawings found in these

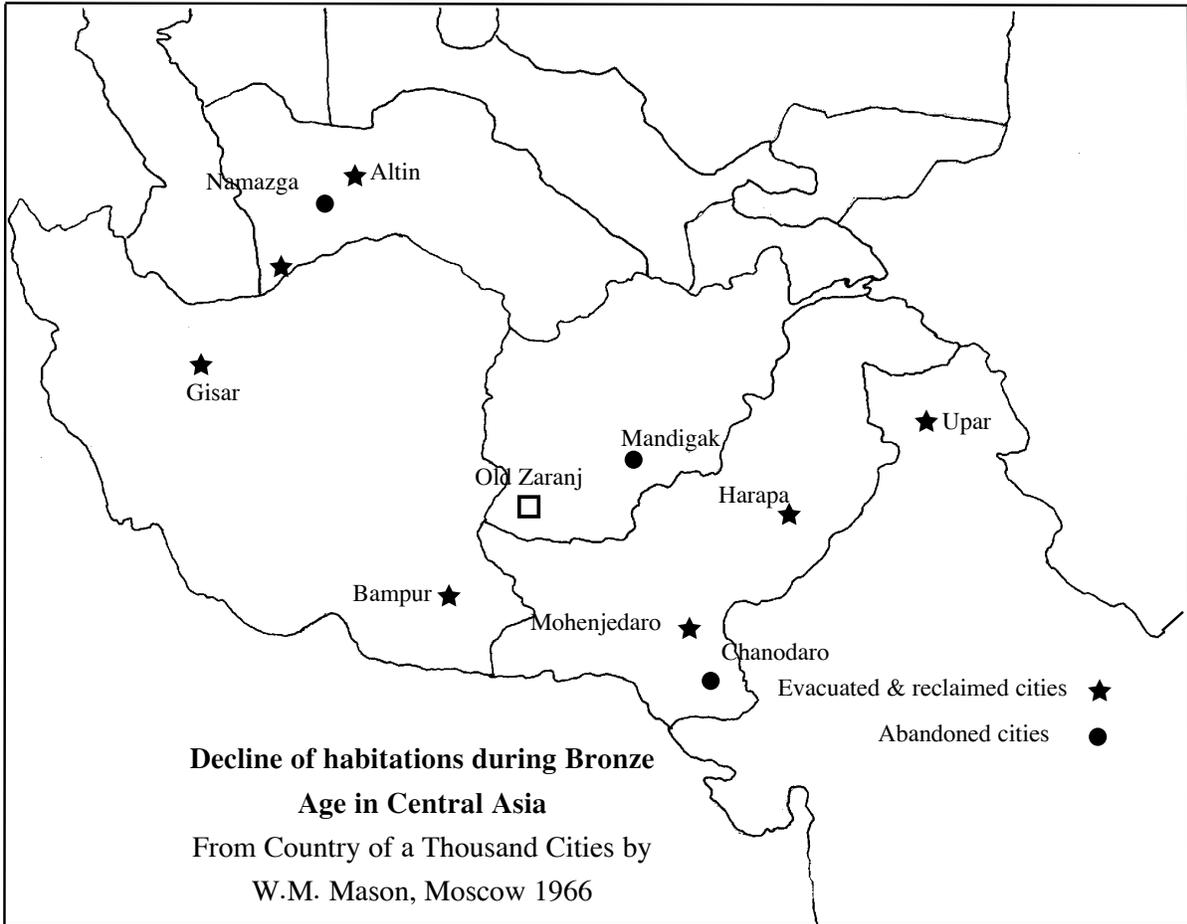
caves resemble those seen in west European caves. The implements found at Hazar Sum are human figures; drawings of hands, animals and an assortment of lines and figures whose meaning is not clear.

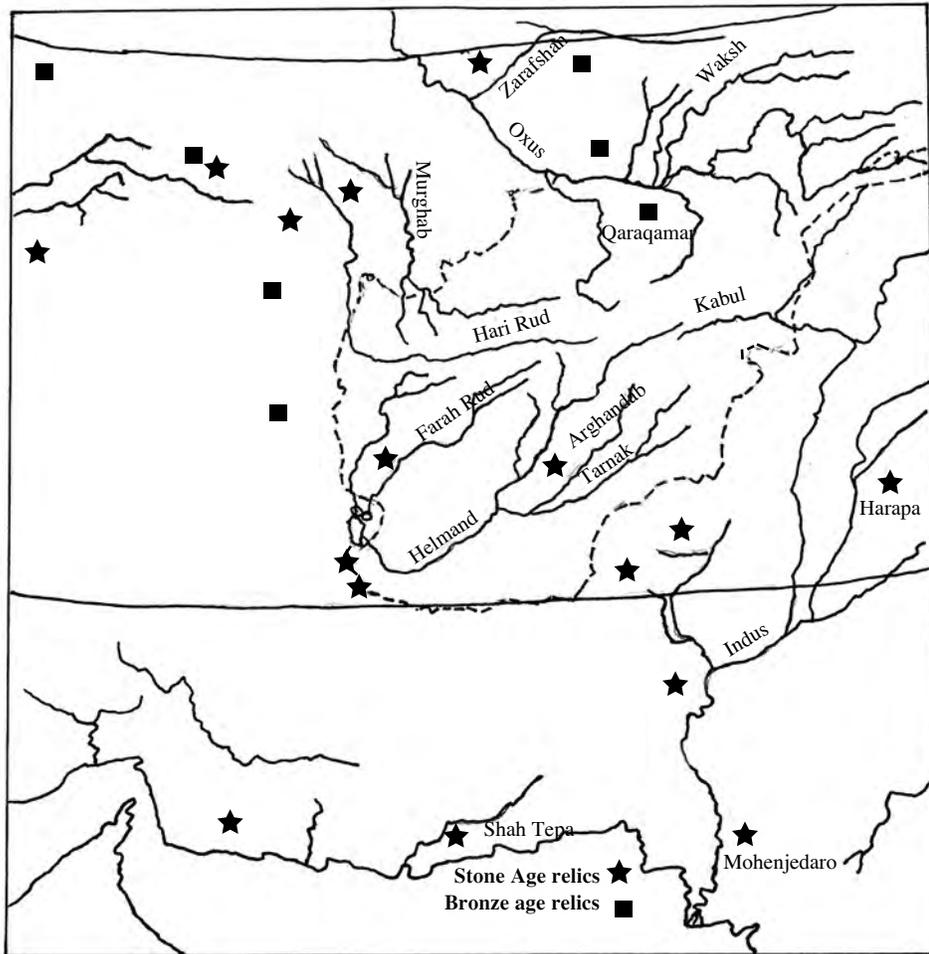
Comparison of Central Asian Cultures with Afghanistan

Afghanistan and eastern lands	Western Tajikistan	Fargana	Greater Zarafshan	Khwarazm	Southern Turkestan			B.C.
					Giokasur	Namazgah	Anu	
Late metal and iron age in Aq Kupruk, snake and horse cave, Deh Morasi Ghundi, Mandigak, Nad-e Ali Seistan	Catacombes	Chost		Abadamir		Baztepa 1	Fourth A	1000 B.C.
	Beshkand	Bronze age plains dwelling people's culture				Sixth	Third	
Darra-e Kor	Citadel culture		Baba period	Kelet Minar	Khaopur	Fourth		3000 B.C.
			Tuzkan		Gioksur	Third		
Aq Kypruk, Deh Morasi, Mandigak Seistan					Yeldgacha	Second	Second	
Aq Kupruk 1-2, Qala-e Gul Mohammad Quetta Mohenjodaro, Harrapa, Qara Kamarm Kacha	Lapis Lazuli				Leichidas	First	First B	4000 B.C.
							First A	
32000 B.C. Aq Kupruk					Janyotun			5000 B.C.
50000 B.C. Darrae Dadil, Hazar Sum, Darra-e Kor								6000 B.C.

From The Stone and Bronze Age, USSR Science Academy, Moscow 1966

The column on Afghanistan has been added by the author.





Afghanistan and Central Asia during the pre-historic stone and bronze ages. From Stone and Bronze Age, Publication of the USSR Science Academy.

Archaeologists compare the sketches of Hazar Sum with those found in Spain, Italy, Switzerland and Ireland. They have come to the conclusion that such drawings were common among pre-historic people. For example one drawing of Hazar Sum is in the form of a mushroom with a semicircle and a perpendicular line cutting through it. This drawing reflects the portrait of a human form showing its spinal chord and hands. It resembles similar figures which have been found in pre-historic relics of Spain, Italy and Ireland.

The use of lapis lazuli stone from Badakhshan in pre-historic Chalcolithic and stone implements period is prevalent. Artifacts found in the Sialk Kashan mound, Sumar, Mesopotamia, the tomb of Tutankhamun, the Egyptian pharaoh, and the Elam civilization contain lapis stones. This shows that this semi-precious stone from Badakhshan was famous six thousand years ago and it was used in lands as far away as Egypt.

Pre-Historic Cultural Periods of Afganistan

Pre-historic Cultural Periods	Aq Kupruk (Snake Cave)	Aq Kupruk (Horse cave)	Aq Kupruk (Open air site)	Aq Kupruk (Skull cave)	Deh Morasi Ghundii	Mandigak	Nad-e Ali	Seistan Sites	Darra-e Dadil Darra-e Chakah	Qaraqamar	Hazarsum	Darra-e Kur
Early Iron Age 1000 B.P.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
New Stone Age and Goat Cult ¹ 3780±120 (collagen) ² 3425±125 (carbonate)												x
Bronze Age 5000 to 3500 B.P.	x	x		x	x	x		x		x?		
Chalcolithic Period 7030±110 B.P. ³	x				x	x						
Neo-stone and pottery 7220±100 B.P. ⁴	x	x										
Neo-stone age without pottery 8600±100 B.P. ⁵	x	x										
Middle stone age 10580±720 B.P. ⁶										x		
Upper Palaeolithic 34000 B.P. ⁷												
Middle Palaeolithic 50000 B.P.									x		x	x

1. C-14 dates from Geochron Laboratories Inc.

2. B.P. refers to before 1950.

3. C-14 dates from Geologic Inc, Hanover. Sample HV 429.

4. C-14 dates from Geologic Inc. Hanover. Sample 428.

5. C-14 dates from Geologic Inc. Hanover. Sample 425.

6. C-14 dates from University of Pennsylvania.

7. C-14 dates from University of Pennsylvania.

Based on Liou Dupree's archeology paper.

Historic Afghanistan Before Islam

By historic Afghanistan we mean all those places which had common historic, political, cultural and civil ties with Afghanistan and have undergone through similar historical events. From the east to west this geographical entity contains the area west of the Indus river to Khorasan in the eastern deserts of Iran. To the north the land extends to the valleys north of the Oxus river to Samarkand and the foothills of the Pamir mountains and to the south it reaches the shores of the Arabian sea. This vast area shares a common history.

The Aryans

About 2500 BC a large group of Caucasian Aryans lived as pastoralists and nomads in the land known as Aryan Veja, north of the Indus river. As their population expanded they dispersed into the plains south of the Oxus river and Bactria and resided in the northern and southern outskirts of the Hindu Kush mountains.

Due to an increase in their population and the expansion of tribes these people migrated eastward. They crossed the Indus river and settled in the north Indian plains and valleys. Here they established a civilization which has been mentioned in the four books of Veda, therefore it is called the Vedic civilization which existed around 3400 BP. In these books the names of famous Afghan tribes, such as Paktha (Pashtoon), Alena (the people of northern Laghman and Nuristan) is seen. From these books we can deduce the cultural, civil and linguistic state of the people of Afghanistan. The four Vedas are Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Atharva Veda and Yajur Veda. Rig Veda is the oldest of all in which the names of several mountains, geographical areas, people, kings and Afghan tribes have been mentioned.

Arena Veja

Aveja (Arena Veja), which in Pashto until this day is used to mean a land or domicile, according to historians, refers to land of the Pamirs or the environs of Khwarazm and the banks of the Khazr rivulet. This area is adjacent to the place under discussion. No relics of the life of Aryan people (meaning pure and agriculturists) have been found and their past remains obscure in pre-historic records. Thus there is no information pertaining to their language, lifestyle, religion or art. Gustave Le Bon considers Arek to be the language of the ancient Aryans of Arena Veja.

The Vedic Civilization

The historic period of the Aryan people starts with Vedic hymns. It is from this historical document that we extrapolate the lifestyle, mode of thinking, movements from Afghanistan and other important historical issues pertinent to their life. Linguistic studies and comparisons indicate there are similarities between the languages of Afghanistan, Vedic and Sanskrit. Vedic ballads were written at different times and passed from one generation to the other just as Vedic scholars state: "Beside the Vedic hymns presented in the four books, some other old lost ballads were recited in the form of Ved and other ancient ballads existed, which transformed with the passing of time." These ballads were most likely associated with Afghanistan and the language which the Aryans spoke prior to their migration to the vast valleys of the seven rivers of northern India. There is similarity between Vedic subjects, language and books and Avestan ballads which originated from the lands west of the Indus river. From this we can say that the source and center of ancient Vedic ballads, which are lost now, was in Afghanistan and Bactria and that Vedic civilization had its roots in Afghanistan. A number of old Vedic and Sanskrit words are rooted in the Aryan languages

of Pashto and Persian. This linguistic affiliation is probably linked to the ancient Aryans.

For example there are two explanations for the word *arya*. Some scholars think it means noble and original while others say it means a grower or farmer. In Pashto the word *ara* means original or sometimes it is used to mean a farmer. We can say that with the addition of the letter (noon) it has been transformed to mean a farmer such as *palan*=infantry and *turan*=swordsmen. Since farming was a respected profession among these people therefore the word was denoted to mean noble.

Because the Aryan people went to India that land was named Arya Warta or Arya Warsha. In Pashto this word is alive in the form of *warsho*, meaning elevated or a land. In Pashto *sind* means a river which in the Vedic language was *sindho*.

The words Sindho (Sind), the Kohaba river (Kabul), Gomati river (Gomal), Kuromo (Karam), Soyati (Swat), Warka (Kunar), the land of Gandhara (the wadi of the Kabul watercourse), the Hara Weti river=Sara Souti (Arghandab or Arakozi, whose ancient name is preserved in Dehrawot), Bahalana (the Bolan valley) have been mentioned in the hymns of rivers in Rig Veda. In Atharva Veda the name of the ancient city of Balkh has been written as Balheka. Later it has been converted to Bahleka in Maha Baharta and Sanskrit literature. This word takes its root from bahli=bakhdi. Similarly in Atharva Veda the Munjuwan mountain, adjacent to Gandares (the inhabitants of Gandhara), has been mentioned. This is in reference to the Manjan mountain between Nuristan and Badakhshan.

The battle of ten Aryan tribes has also been mentioned in Vedic hymns. This battle seems to have taken place before Veda was written 3400 BP, along the banks of the Ravi river in Punjab. Among the tribes the names of Afghan people and the surrounding lands are mentioned such as Alena (the people of Ali Shing and Alinigar), Bahalana (the people of Bolan valley), Shewa (the people living along the Indus river), Puro (the people of Gandhara and Paktaha (Pashtoons). In the second volume of Rig Veda the Paktaha tribes, their kings and leaders have been mentioned repeatedly. One king was known as Tourwena the equivalent of which in Pashto is *toura wahonie* meaning a swordsman. In the Derawut and Arghandab valleys the names of various tribes have been mentioned such as Pani, Dasa, Parwata and Bareysa. Among present Afghan tribes Bareitsh and Pani are present in southern Kandahar and Sewey valley. The tribes of Daso (Suleiman Khel) and Parwat (Alekozai) are still referred by their old names.

The Aryans from Aryana Veja, who settled north and south of Hindu Kush, led a nomadic life. The discovery of a pottery figure, found near Samarkand in 1939, is believed to be that of an ancient Aryan king known as Gumars (Gomard) or Gopat Shah. Half of this figure is human and the other half is a bull. In Goyasht, which is a part of Avesta, he has been referred to as the king of shepherds. This shows that even while these people led a pastoral and nomadic lifestyle they had kings. The family (*kola=kahol*) of Pashto formed the essence of their lifestyle leading to the formation of tribes and they had a leader known as *pati*. A gathering of several *kola* was considered a *gerama* or *weisa* and the king's abode was known as *pur*. These three words are seen in the names of people and places such as Bagram, Mirwais and Sherpur.

The first Aryans, before their immigration to India, did not practice the cast system. While in India they amalgamated with the ancient dark skinned people of that land which were divided into four castes i.e. the Brahmin (priests), Kshatriya (warriors), Vaisyas (residents and traders) and Sudra (untouchables). Such division had a profound effect on their social life and historical events.

Vedic books and other Aryan documents show that a system of royalty existed among the earlier settlers. They prayed to different lords and held meetings known as *sabha* and *samyati* and held ceremonies known as *samana*. Girls and women made love to the youth and men and they also held marriage ceremonies. They prayed for the proliferation of their families. They had poetesses whose songs

have been recorded in Rig Veda. They played games, rode horses, danced and performed music and were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. Their dresses were made from wool or animal hides. They herded sheep, goats and cattle and family wealth was based on the number of livestock they owned, especially milking cows. When they came to Afghanistan to purchase fodder they sold the cows per unit head. These cows were known as *pasu*. It is likely that the word *paisa* (a monetary unit) comes from this word.

They were familiar with carpentry, iron work, the weaving of cloth, pottery making, and the making of metal ornaments and wheels. Their food consisted of grains, dairy products, hunted meat and fermented drinks. They worshipped natural features such as *aruna* (god of the heavens), *andara* (god of war), *surya* (love), *agani* (fire), *soma* (intoxicating plant juice) and *marok* (wind) and made sacrifices to each god. They called their religious scholars *reshie*. From *resha* the word *rasha* is used in Pashto which means character and knowledge.

The Avestan Civilization

The second civilization of the Aryan people of Afghanistan was concentrated in Bakhdi (Balkh), northern Hindu Kush. It started about 3200 BP and a book entitled Avesta, containing five volumes, is related to that time. Since our sources regarding this civilization are the remaining parts of Avesta therefore we refer to this civilization and culture as Avestan. This civilization rose in the land of Bakhdi in Afghanistan therefore it forms an important part of the history of the country. Avesta provides exceptional details about the culture and social life of the ancient people of Afghanistan.

From Avesta it is clear that the Aryan people abandoned their nomadic and pastoral lifestyle and settled in villages and towns. They started a new phase in their social and economic life. A structure of royalty was formed for the first time in Balkh and a king named Yama (Jam) built the city of Bakhdi (Balkh). These people had a confirmed religion and followed set social and spiritual values. It was named Mazda Yasna=Mazdesna (the preaching of God) and was started by Zarathustra (Zoroaster) of the Spetama or Spetamaan tribe (in Pashto *spin=saped* (means white)+*tama* or *taman* (means race). Zoroaster preached in Bakhdi (Balkh) and Seistan. His father was named Pourusaspa (owner of an old horse), his mother Dughdova and his grandfather Padresh Pater Ketraspa. The names of his four brothers were Ratushtar, Rangushtar, Nutrikani and Tesh.

The name of his first wife is not known. She was the mother of Aist, Astra and three daughters. His second wife gave birth to two sons, Pourucista and Uruvat-Nara. His third wife, who was from the eastern part of Bakhdi, was named Hvovi. She was the daughter of Fereshta and Shatra, the brother of Jama (the minister of Keshtasap). Among his sons, Isat Vastar was worshipper of the sun and a high priest, Uruvat-Nara was the leader of farmers, and Hvare Cistra was a general. The three sects of his religion were started by these sons. He also had three daughters named Freni, Sreni and Pourucista.

The exact time when Zoroaster lived is not known, but according to historians, he was born in 660 BC. He married at the age of 20 and started preaching ten years later. In 618 BC Goshtasb became his follower and he died in the year 583 BC at the age of 77 during the hordes of Arjasp Turani. He was killed in the fire-temple of Balkh by Bratar Karsh Turani. Historians doubt these dates and believe that he was born around 588 BC.

Zoroaster is one of the oldest personality who brought deep rooted economic reforms in ancient Afghanistan. According to J. Domzal he introduced his economic system at a time when the Aryan people were transferring from a nomadic to a settled lifestyle i.e. rather than grazing their animals on unidentified rangelands, parcels of the range were assigned to separate clans and tribes. It is for this reason that

cattle, which was the only means of agriculture and distribution of wealth, was considered sacred. Cattle manure was also considered an important component of the agricultural lifestyle of the people.

Zoroaster believed in the unity of one God (Ahura Mazda=Surordana) and abolished the system of several gods, which the Aryans worshipped at the time. He said that from the beginning of the world, after the unity of God, there are two spirits. One which follows the virtuous path and the other an evil path. Life is a constant struggle against evil and in it brightness struggles against darkness while wisdom struggles against ignorance. He forbid the sacrifice of animals and the drinking of the intoxicating beverage of soma in his teachings. He has stated that the intoxication of soma cannot help attain a virtuous path and a live oxen is more useful to the farmer than a dead one. His teachings include belief in restitution, the day of judgment, the prevalence of truth and the defeat of lies, heaven and hell, bridge over the eternal fire and the presence of angels. He considers fire to be holy which is present in the inner self of all living creatures and forms the essence of their life. Based on these teachings his followers have continued to worship fire.

In Zoroastrianism the forces of virtue are called *amesha spenta* (meaning eternal holiness) and *ezdan* (self preaching) which contains six forces of enforcement, each of which in its sphere of influence, helps in running of the world. These forces are considered to be a manifestation of the virtues of Ahura Mazda. They are:

1. wahumana=bahman (good thought) the angel of guardian of livestock and living creatures.
2. asha wahesha=ardi behesht (good order) the angel of fire.
3. khashsara waeiriya= shahryur (domination) the guardian of metals and precious stones.
4. spenta armayeti=sapendarmaz (virtue and humility) angel of protection of the world.
5. hayorwatat=kherdad (health) guardian of health, living quarters and water.
6. amiritat=amardad (eternity and perpetuity) the angel of fields and flora.

In the beginning of creation, Mazda Yasna, was the leader of these six angels of wisdom, who was followed by Ahura Mazda and sometimes by Sara Ausha (*saroosh*=harbinger of goodness). Against these forces of virtue, enlightenment and goodness there were the forces of darkness and evil. Angra Mainyu (ahriman) was the leader of the forces of fraud and evil. All the forces of wickedness and darkness are referred to as *dewa* in Avesta. The six guardians of evil were referred to as *kamarikan*. They are:

1. akamana against wahumana meaning evil thought which was the source of mischief, discord and evil.
2. aendara against ardi behesht, the spirit of schism and deceit.
3. saorawa against shahryur, manifestation of disorder and confusion.
4. naonakhaisiya against sependarmaz, manifestation of slander and disobedience.
5. tayurawi against khordad, demon of destruction, evil, hunger and thirst.
6. zei reish against amardad, companion of tayurawi.

Sometimes dewayashma (fury) against saroosh was the seventh guardian of evil who was a representation of disobedience and scorn.

Zoroaster based his religion on three principles of character i.e. *humata* (good thought), *hukhta* (good words) and *huvarshata* (good deeds). His followers tried to base their character on the basis of the teachings of Zoroaster and refrained from evil thought, bad speech and indignant deeds. They maintained hygiene, a clear conscience and virtuous character. Lies and deceit were forbidden and each follower of the faith was considered to be free of evil with the blessing of fire, water and earth. It was for this reason that they protected the earth from contamination of the bodies of the dead. They did not bury their deceased but left them in a high place so that scavenging birds would eat the flesh and get rid of the cadaver.

Zoroaster's religion, which surfaced in the oldest capital of the world in Balkh, was preached through Avesta. In Pahlavi language its interpretation is called Zend and the language with which Avesta was originally written is close to the Vedic language. Prior to the conquests of Alexander Avesta had 815 chapters in 21 volumes but he burned 1200 cow hides on which Avesta had been written. When the work was collected after this incident only 348 chapters were recovered which were divided into the original 21 volumes. According to West all the volumes contained 3,457,000 words. Today only 83,000 words remain. According to Brown, the original Bactrian version of Avesta has been lost and what remains is a quarter of the work as follows:

1. Yasna (prayers and jubilation) containing religious sermons in 72 chapters.
2. Visparad (chiefs) collection of prayers in 23 to 27 chapters.
3. Vendidad (defender of evil) containing 22 chapters on the characteristics of holy men, forgiveness, repentance and religious statements.
4. Yasht (prayers) containing praise of God and the angels in 21 chapters.
5. Khorda Avesta (short Avesta) written by Azarbad Mehr Aspad around 350 AD which includes prayers and advice.

During the Avesta civilization which started around 1200 BC, the first royal regime was formed in Bakhdi as mentioned in Avesta: Upon the orders of Ahura Mazda, Yama built a *wara*, the length and width of which was one *asperees* (the size of a horse racing course) in which sheep, cattle, dogs and birds were kept. A one *hatra* (mile) canal was dug to the city and the *wara* included houses, shops and streets which were built in a special style. Cheaters, liars, simpletons and ill-tempered people were not allowed in the city. The first Aryan (*waraye*) center of civilization was thus built in Bakhdi. The *wara* of Avesta is the same word which was transformed to *hara* in Sanskrit. In Dari (Persian) it is *bahar*. The city of Naubabar of Balkh existed in its place until the first Islamic century.

It was during the Avestan civilization that the people living north of the Hindu Kush started building permanent houses and transformed their lives from nomadism to settlements. This was a major step in the building of abodes and economic transformation. At the same time royalty was created. A number of kings are mentioned in Avesta as *para zata*, meaning the leaders. These rulers brought about discipline and justice to their system of government. According to the interpretation of Avesta these Bakhdi rulers had the status of Lord of Mankind. They have also been mentioned in Vedic ballads, therefore it can be said that they lived before pre-historic time when the Aryans had not migrated from the region which lies north of the Hindu Kush.

Avesta mentions a famous warrior named Haoshyangha (a descendent of Gayomart), who had the title of Parazata = law-giver; meaning the first law officer. This is the same Hoshang of Dari literature who in the Alburz mountain sacrificed for Nahid (Anahita), the Goddess, fought with demons and was the ruler of seven countries.

In the third book of Dinkard it has been mentioned that the practice of agriculture and ownership of land was started by these officers. Later *dehyo patya* (according to Al Beruni *deho fazya*), meaning proper government, royalty and the protection of the people was conceived by Hoshang. From this narrative we know that Avestan civilization was different from the early period of Vedic civilization and nomadism. The people of Bakhdi started practicing agriculture, building structures and established dwellings and cities. They transformed their lives from nomadism and beduism to agriculture and the ownership of land had reached the higher step of *dehyo patya* (formation of government and sultanate). Hoshang governed a vast region and fought the demons, magicians and evil people, who were the destroyers of civilizations and enemies of settled people and farmers.

Hoshang was followed by another king, Tahmuras, who has been mentioned as Tukhma-au-rupa in Avesta, whose title was Azena Want (armed). He was the king of seven lands and was the son of Vayonaghan who was the son of Anghat who was the son of Hoshang. He ruled justly for 30 years with the aid of his vicegerent, Shedasp. He is called Dewband, one who established a royal court, harems and new codes of civil conduct which were necessary for the development of the new economic order such as the spinning of wool, cutting of material, sewing, the domestication of livestock and the use of animals such as the horse, camel, donkey and cattle and the introduction of writing and literacy. According to Christensen, Tahmuras was followed by his brother Jamshed, as the ruler, and for the first time he started the celebration of Nauroz (New Year). According to Avesta he was known as "owner of good livestock". This title is mentioned as Husuwa (*hurmu*g of Pahlavi). He had three sisters named Yamag, Wari Nook and Sanghook (Arnawaz, Shahrnaz of Shahnamah).

The period of Avestan civilization and narrations in ancient books before Islam and after the advent of Islam concerning the Aryan royal dynasties, rulers and warriors has, with the passing of time, taken the form of fables which have been incorrectly narrated in these books. Here we will try to investigate the historical significance of these stories.

The great Peshdadi monarch has been mentioned as Yama, Yima in Avesta, Yam in Pahlavi and Jam in Dari. In Avesta he is named Xshaeta, Shet in Pahlavi and Shedy Umi in Dari, which is Jamshed meaning a brilliant Jam. The father of Jam is Vivahvant in Avesta, which later has been written as Viuneghut=Viuneghan and Arabized as Viunejan. His son Yama=Jam was declared as monarch of the people by Ahura Mazda. He was entrusted with development and safety of the people. He was given a cane, jewels, sword, cup and a gold coated iron bull as symbols of his kingship. He was to use the bull to till the soil, increase the number of citizen and their animals and set up Bakhdi customs. He was entrusted the task of building his residence and a city in the place mentioned in Avesta as "beautiful Bakhdi with its tall banners".

Yama, the Bakhdi king, is the first monarch who established the base of civilization, adopted the style of city dwelling and set up a social order. During his reign agriculture, trapping, labor, the smelting of iron, weaving, use of weapons, jewels to establish military ranks, architecture, the use of metals and pharmaceuticals were promulgated. As the first royal capital, Beautiful Bakhdi, became a center of architecture and civilization. According to Banunist, the French historian, he is the Aryan personality known as Imra among the people, prior to their acceptance of Islam. He was considered the great god and above all rulers. His statues were placed in the central temple of Nuristan where religious sacrifices were conducted.

In the 9th Yasna, part 3 to 5, it has been mentioned: During the reign of Jam extreme heat or cold did not exist, nor old age, death or grief in the world. In 19th Yasht, parts 31-38 it has been stated: During the reign of Jam life on earth passed with happiness and there were no signs of grief and destruction.

In Avesta, Arab and Persian works the fable of Jam and the Peshdadi kings, being ancient rulers, has taken a fictitious character and the emperor Jam has been considered as the bestower of tranquility and virtue. The person who brought about the decline of this just establishment has been called Azhi Dehaka (serpent). This person was Beyor Asp son of Arwand Asp from the Giumars (garshah=gharsha) lineage, whose mother was Yamag, the sister of Jam. Beyor Asp means owner of ten thousand horses, and since he was a fast runner and had swift horses he has been called a hound (*tazi*) and some considered him a *tazi* and from Arab lineage. It is said that he came from the land of Bouri and until this day a place in Zhobe, east of Afghanistan, is referred to by this name.

Arab historians and writers have arabized this name as Zuhak, therefore he is considered to be of

Arab origin. Since people of Samanid decent were rivals of the Aryans, anyone who tried to endanger the newly established Bakhdi civilization and monarchy was considered to be of foreign lineage. Like the nomadic Touranians, who were of Aryan lineage, Zuhak Beyor Asp was considered to be an Arab. Experienced historians such as Tabari and Al Beruni say that Zuhak was determined to be of Arab lineage by the Arabs and of Persian lineage by the Persians.

In historical names of places and cities of Afghanistan (such as Zuhak, the esteemed center of the Ghori dynasty, and the Zuhak of Bamiyan) the roots of this name are present and historians relate this name to the Aryan Giumars who is believed to be the nephew of Jam. Therefore it is unlikely that he was of Arab origin.

According to Avesta, Beyor Asp the Serpent, attacked the civilization of Pretty Bakhdi and since the city (splendor of monarchy) had been separated from Jam, the influence of power came under the victorious Serpent who cut Jam in half with a saw. According to Ram Yasht, part 19, the Zukah of Tazi had a splendid palace named Mount Rinta, which had a royal throne and a roof embellished in gold. In Dari literature of the Islamic period the palace is known as Zuhak-e Maran, Mardosh and Azhdaha.

According to Avesta, Beyor Asp then attacked Terayatna (Ferytoor=Ferydoon in Pahlavi), the son of Pur Toura (Pur Gaw), who was a descendant of Jam. His father was named Asoya (Asfeyan=Abtayeen); these people were agriculturalists and with the majority of their names the cognomen *Gaw* (bull, *Giu* in Pahlavi) has been added. Ferydoon sacrificed 100 horses, 1000 cattle and 10,000 sheep in the name of the Goddess of Water (Anahita) and succeeded in vanquishing and killing the Serpent. He freed Ari Nook and Sanghook, sisters of Jamshed, who had been captured by Zuhak.

The story of uprising of people against the Serpent, based on traditions of the gods of the pre-Islamic period, has been related as such in Shahnama by Ferdousi: A blacksmith named Kawak (Kawa) took his apron and wrapped it like a banner on a spear and rallied the people behind him to rise against the Serpent and tyranny. This is the same Kawiyan standard which for generations was a symbol of freedom of the Aryan people. Ferydoon led the masses in this uprising, and in order to observe his success he started the celebration of Mehrgan, which was similar to the events of new year. He killed the demons and captured many lands.

In Aryan fables similar narratives are seen which state: Ferydoon divided the lands of Iryana, Toyarina and Sayar Yamyana among his three sons, Araj (Aeraj), Toch (Tour) and Saram (Salam). Salam and Toch became jealous of their brother and killed him. When the son of Aeraj, Menosh Chesra (Menocher) was born he revenged his father's dastardly killing. Similar tales have been related to the three sons of Zoroaster and the three Afghan brothers Gharshast, Betnay and Sarban. According to George Domzil the ancient Aryan society was composed of three elements, holy men, warriors and merchants. The old Indian caste system was based on the same division, warriors and agriculturalists. Among the three sons of Zoroaster, the elder son was a spiritual personality, the second was a warrior and the youngest was a shepherd.

At any rate Menocher killed his uncles, Saram and Tour, and repelled the nomadic Tourani attacks. In his reign famous warriors such as Qaren son of Kawa, Nareman, Zal and Rustam came to the limelight. These warriors defended the lands of Arena from invaders. According to Avesta, his son Neotara (Nawzad), became the king. In the end Afraseyab Tourani managed to capture and kill him after three battles. He left behind a large family known as Neotaryan (Nauzadyan) whose ballads are written in Avesta.

After the death of Nawzad, one of the descendants of Ferydoon, named Awzowa, son of Tomasapa (zo=zaab=bin touhamasap=tahmasap), who was a just and wise man, ruled for five years (the root of this

word is seen in Zabul and Zhobe). He fought several battles with the Touranians and established the banks of the Amu (Oxus) river as the boundary of his kingdom.

After the death of Zaab, his son Kereshaspa (meaning one who owns a feeble horse), ascended the throne as the tenth monarch of the Peshdadi dynasty. With his death after nine years, Afraseyab, under the orders of Yashang Tourani, pillaged his kingdom. With the end of the story of Kereshaspa the historical narrative of the Yashdadiyans comes to an end. It is worth mentioning that this Kereshaspa son of Zaab, beside being referred to as Kereshaspa Nareman, the famous Avestan warrior, is also known as son of Sereta (seryat=asrat), who belonged to the Saam Seistani lineage. During the last part of Ferydoon's reign and the beginning of Menocher's rule he was a decrepit follower and a warrior and not a Peshdadi monarch.

The Kawi (Kaian) Rulers

Kawi or Kaawi in the Vedic and Avesta languages means learned and monarch. According to Avesta Kawi=kai of Pahlavi was used in the title of the ancient rulers of Balkh and the area surrounding present day Afghanistan. It was not used west of this land. The word was used as a prefix in the name of Balkhi monarchs who ascended the throne after the Peshdadyan lineage. They were given the title of Kavaenem-Xuareno. In Dari *kai* has been pluralized as Kayan. In Shahnama and other books this family has been referred to as Kaian, Kaianeyan and Kaiani.

According to Avesta, the first ruler of this family was called Kavata and he has been referred to as Koi Kawata (Kaikobad). He is said to have ascended the throne in the Alburz mountains (south of Balkh) at the request of Rustam's father, the Seistani warrior. He was a just and kind king who looked after the welfare of his people and reigned for a period of 15 years. Ferdausi considers him to be of the Ferydoon lineage.

After Kaikobad the names of Kai Apyo, Kai Arshan, Kai Bershan, and Kai Pasheen have also been mentioned in Avesta who are considered to be Kaikobad's descendants but the fables relating to them are scattered and few and they are also not well-known in other old books.

After Kaikobad, his son Kavi-Usan (Kaikawoos), *usan* meaning happiness, ascended the Bakhdi throne. He started a war against the non-Aryan people who lived in the forests of Mazenderan, north of present day Iran. He defeated these people who were against the Aryan culture. Avesta refers to them as demons and states that, Kavi Ausan (Kaikawoos), the strong and brave warrior, sacrificed 100 horses, 1000 cows and 10,000 sheep in the name of Anahita on Mount Erezifya so that he may become the greatest monarch. This mountain, according to historians, is situated in Balkh and northeast of Khorasan. Kaikawoos built seven palaces there and hence all these events are related to the history and the land of Afghanistan. He is among the famous kings who ruled over seven countries. He had a wise prime minister, known as Oshnar, who has been mentioned as Puru-Jira in Avesta, meaning exceptionally wise (In Pashto *Pura+dzer* means a totally deep-sighted person).

In Avesta we see errors relating to Kaikawoos as it has been said that he killed his prime minister, the elimination of the bull the protector of the rangeland, and the claim of elevating to the sky. For this reason the Farkiyans abandoned him and the Tourani Afraseyab managed to defeat him and destroyed his homeland until Rot-Staxmak (Rustam), the Seistani warrior, gathered his men and forced Afraseyab from the homeland.

Among the other Kainid rulers of Balkh, Kawi Syavarshan ascended the throne after Kaikawoos, who was a powerful king and died in the battle against the invading Aryan (Touranian) armies of the Oxus river basin. He is considered to be the son of Kaikawoos. In Pahlavi and Dari literature he is known as

Syawaxshan=Syawoosh.

Syawoosh built a large fortress called Kangdazh near Arena Veja (the Kangha of Avesta) which was considered to be the second major Aryan center. In Touran he married Frangees, daughter of Afraseyab Shah Tourani, and had a son from her by the name of Hausravah (=Kai Khosrao), who ascended the throne after his father's death. He engaged in battle with the Touranians to avenge his father's death and with the help of his able general, Haoma, managed to capture Afraseyab and his brother, Kairesa Wazda, (Karseyoz of Shahnama) and put them to death.

It has been stated in Avesta: Since the Farkiyans came under Khusrao's rule he uplifted them. He had attained great fortune, strength and magnificence and united the Kiyani kingdoms. It is for this reason that he is known as xshatharai-hanekremo in Avesta meaning a uniter of nations and the elevator of kingdoms.

After Kai Khusrao other rulers became monarchs whose names had the suffix *aspa*. This is a pure Bactrian name since the land of Bactria has been the breeding ground for horses and the Aryan cavaliers used the animal in their battles and conquests. This tradition has continued from old times up to the present day and horses are bred there for riding and games. Some historians have named the ancient Balkh kings as the Aspa monarchs but in reality they are the descendants of the Kayanids.

A monarch from this group, mentioned in Avesta, who ascended the Balkh throne, was Aurvat-aspa. This word means a thunderous horse and resembles the likes of Kaikobad and Menocher. According to Firdausi he was crowned the king in October. He built a large castle in Balkh and the fire worshiping temple known as Azar Barzeen. According to more recent Sassanid narrations he attacked Aur Shelem, while accompanied by his general Boxt-Narseya (Arabized as Bakht al Nasr), destroyed it and scattered the Jews. Toward the end of his life he abdicated and passed the monarchy to his son Vishtaspa (Gashtasap of Dari meaning a timid horse). He himself went to Naubahar of Balkh, shaved his head, adopted a spiritual lifestyle in praise of God and accepted the Zoroastrian religion. In the end he was killed in one of the attacks of Arjasep Tourani.

Vishtasapa was a bold ruler who had swift horses. He was a follower of Zoroastrian and believer of Mazda. He was a virtuous man and succeeded in defeating his Tourani enemies. His prime minister, Jamasapa, according to Avesta was an honorable, wise and wealthy person who was owner of many lands. He was the husband of Poro Chesta, daughter of Zoroastrian, and strived to spread the Zoroastrian religion. His son, Spento-data (Isfendyar), was known as Taxma (Tahum=brave) and the brother of Vishtaspa, who was named Zairi-vairi (Zarir), are among those who participated in diffusing the Zoroastrian religion. In a version of Avesta, written in the Pahlavi language, during the eighth century AD, which was found in Samarkand, it has been stated: Under the orders of Gashtasap, Zoroastrian wrote his book on 12,000 golden sheets and preserved them in the temple of Warharan. This temple was built by Asfandiyar in Nawazak Bakhl Bami (Balkh Bami).

Similarly, Azar Farbagh (Eternal Temple) and Azar Barzeen Mehr (Temple of Agriculturists) are from the time of Gashtaspa. The later temple was, during his reign, removed from Khwarazm and brought to the Roshan Mountain of Kabulistan and was there until the Arab conquests in 792 AD. Bastawairi, the son of Zarir, established the city of Bost and made significant sacrifices there and molested the enemies of the state who were in the area. After Isfandiyar, other rulers have been mentioned from this family among whom we know Wahuman Sepand Atan (Bahman Isfand Yari), his daughter Humai and Darab her son. Their stories are from the lands of Helmand and Seistan. Some historians have mixed these rulers with the Hakhamanid kings of Persia.

The Avestan Warriors

During the Avesta period, beside the royal families mentioned earlier, a number of warrior families were also a part of this historical epoch. There were several Aryan books which referred to their epic deeds and most of these families were either from Khorasan or present day Afghanistan. With the passing of time and generations their historical tribulations took the form of fables and their prowess and strength has been greatly exaggerated in legends. However, through these fables one can filter out certain historical facts such as the Seistanian families, according to Avestan narratives and those in other books, relate themselves to the Bakhdi king (Yama=Jam=Jamshed). He is said to have married the daughter of Korang Shah of Zabulistan. From this wedlock was born Sam Nereman whose son Zal was so named because his hair was of white color and was appointed as the monarch of Seistan through his father's lineage. He fell in love with Rudaba, the daughter of Mehrab Shah of Kabul (who belonged to the Zuhak lineage), and later married her. From this marriage was born Rustam, who was the bravest and greatest warrior of his time. He killed Kak Kohzad (Gharzi=Ghalji) to whom Zal paid revenues. Eventually during the time of Bahman, Rustam met his death at the hand of his brother, Shagad, by falling into a well with his horse.

Beside Rustam and Shagad, Zal had another warrior son named Zawara. He had two sons named Farhad and Takhar (Takhwar). Rustam's children were Farmarz, Sohrab, Jahangir, Keshsab Bano and Zar Bano. Sohrab, who met his death at the hands of his father, had a son named Barzo who fathered a son named Shahriyan. Several books are related to this warrior such as Faramiz Nama, Barzo Nama, Shahriyar Nama, Bano Keshsab Nama, Jahangir Nama and Sam Nama. In the celebrated Shah Nama of Ferdousi the stories of these famous characters are mentioned. The story of Rustam, Zal and Takhwar date back to pre-Islamic times. Until this day there are several places named after these warriors such as Takht-e Rustam in Samangan, Tapa-e Rustam, Qala-e Zal, Takharistan, Qala-e Kak Kohzad and Akhur Rustam in Farah. Some of these names have also been mentioned in Arabian history books after their conquest of the area. In the history of certain other countries, such as Armenia, Mousa Khorani (dating back to the 5th to 8th AD), Rustam's name has been mentioned.

Another family of the time which was famous for the strength of its warriors was the aforementioned Kawa. These warriors united the people against the oppression of the Zuhaks. Karan Kawagan was a famous warrior of this family, who during the time of Fareydoon, Ayezaj and Menocher fought with Afraseyab in the battles of Kaikobad. This family, until the Ashkenid and Sassanid period, was known as Karan. Even until the third century they had maintained their fame and power.

Nawzaryan is another family of great warriors. In Avesta this family is known as Naotairyana. Nawtar, the son of Menocher and Tousa (Tous) the son of Nowtar, after whom the city of Tous in Khorasan has been named, are among those mentioned in fables. They were famous warriors of the Kayanid period and over-powered the sons of Vaesaka, the uncle of Afrasyab Tourani. Another son of Nawtar, as mentioned in Avesta, is Vistauru (Vistakhum of Pahlavi and Gastahum of Dari). They killed many enemies of the Mazdista faith. Zar Asp also belongs to this family of Tous.

Similarly, Faribraz (Barza Fara of Pahlavi) the son of Kawoos, Zarir son of Lahrasp, Bastoor (Basta Waira of Avesta) the son of Zarir, Asfandyar son of Gashtasap, Gerami (Gramik Kurt of Pahlavi) son of Jamasap and Zeraz were princes or sons of noble men of this era who have been mentioned in different narratives as famous warriors. Their chivalry has been alluded to in Bakhdi and Khorasani historical narratives and their deeds praised.

Avestan Lands and Afghanistan

Vendidad has been mentioned in the third book of Avesta, a land of 16 parcels of the time. Some of these areas fell within the borders of present day Afghanistan or Khorasan. Similarly in Avesta the names of mountains and rivers have been written which are a part of this land. For example Arena Veja is a place in the Pamir mountains or Khwarazm near the Oxus river, Saghda (Sagd, north of Oxus), Muro (Merv of the waterway of Murghab), Bakhdi (Balkh), Neysaya (Nasa, in northern Khorasan), Haraiwa (Herat), Akerta (Kabul), Awrawa (Rawa of Pakthia province and the Suleiman mountain), Hari Veyti (Arghandab and Deh Herawut), Ay Tomana (Helmand), Rah Ka (Ragh of Badakshan=Raga of Pashto), Hapta (Hind and Sind). All these place are a part of Afghanistan or the surrounding lands.

Names such as Seyamaga (Siyah Koh), Yaw Paari Sena (meaning a mountain higher than the flight of an eagle=Hindukush), Sepeta Gunagere (Spin Ghar) have been mentioned in Avesta. The names of these mountains and rivers show that the writers of the book were familiar with the geography of this land.

God and the Deities

Zoroaster created a new reformed order and, as mentioned earlier, placed six angels of virtue against the forces of evil. Despite this he was not able to eliminate the effects of the gods of the ancient Vedic Aryans. In the new order, Ahura Mazda, stood in place of Warwana, the great goddess of creation, the meaning of which is master of knowledge. This was the name given by Zoroaster to the sole God, and the Aryan gods (demons), who still hold the position of gods in India, were considered obsolete in Zoroastrian faith. Hence, the word *dawe*, which, before Zoroaster meant God, converted to mean demon and deviant. From then onwards the followers of God were considered Mazdesna and the followers of the false religion were considered Dawesna. Despite this the word *dawe*, maintained its original meaning among all the Aryan nations, with the exception of the Zoroastrians. Among Hindus, *deva* still means god. Zeus, the great Greek god, the Latin Deus, French dev and the Pashto *deva* (meaning light and lamp) are from the same root.

Among the Aryans of the Vedic era, Agni was the goddess of fire and a messenger of God which in Avesta was known as *atro* and *aatrish*, *atoor-atar* in Pahlavi, *azar* or *atish* in Dari and *aur* in Pashto. In Zoroastrian religion, one of the gods is known as Ansuri and the son of Ahura Mazda, whose flame was recognized as the splendor of God. Hence luminous flame burners were placed in the altars of temples.

Water is another Avestan god that has been mentioned as Apam Napat (meaning the son of water) in the Vedic era. The Bactrian Aryans extensively utilized waters of the Oxus river, which ran through the central parts of their country, and had assigned a goddess called Anahita to the river. They called this river Ardvi-sura and the eighth chapter of Avesta is dedicated to the praise of this goddess. Historians link it to the goddess of mother=*adita*, whose statues have been found in pre-historic relics. In later eras the last part of the name has remained as Anahita=*Nahid*. In the eighth chapter of Avesta it has been mentioned as a pretty girl who is wearing a golden dress, has a tall stature, is adorned with exquisite jewelry and a golden crown. According to Rawlson, in his book Bactria, the famous temple of Anahita, was present in the city of Bactria. In the fifth chapter of Avesta this attractive goddess was known as the purifier of the male sperm and the female uterus, instructor of fertility and provider of pure milk to women.

Another elementary Avestan god is Wata meaning capable and harsh. This word in Dari and Pashto is *baad* and was *vayu* in the Vedic era. Assistance was sought from this god in the thick of battle against the enemy, or during the attack of alien and cruel elements on purity and religion, or when someone fell into the hands of the enemy due to treason. He was mighty, warlike, steady-paced, farsighted and just. The figure of this god was minted on coins until the time of Kanishka (circa 125 AD) in the form of a

running figure with a beard. In Kushanid Dari he has been called *waad*.

The German historian, Geiger, has named a number of Avestan deities star gods. One of them, named Mithra, was the illuminator of light and brightness. The Warona god had the capacity to maintain the government of the world in unity and preserve the law of righteousness. According to Domzil this *misra=mehr=mir* (chief) of old Dari and Pashto was the god of pacts, owner of vast pastures and guardian of the just, who was vicious toward evil people and rescinders of pacts and kind to encomiasts. He was considered to be responsible for fertility of pastures, increase in agricultural productivity, rain and prosperity.

Mehr, who is the harbinger of light is the staunch rival of evil, and is light of the sky and sight of Ahura Mazda. According to Avesta, Ahura Mazda built a resident for him on the mountain of Hara Barzati (Alburz or Pamir mountain) from where he emerged every day in a bright and illuminated chariot from the east, driven by four white heavenly horses. Such an image of the god, Mehr, together with its white horses and chariot, is present on the fresco on the ceiling of the recess of the 35 m statue of Buddha in Bamiyan. The effects of the beliefs of these ancient Aryans spread throughout western Asia. The adoration of Mehr and Nahid, related to the fire-worshipping Avestan culture of Bakhdi regions, spread in all directions. Beside Mehr (*hoor*), the moon (*mawaga*) was considered the light of night and illuminator of plants and since it was a patron of livestock it was called Gao-chitra.

Among these elementary gods and stars, the Teeshtaria star (*teer*) was the distributor of rain, opener of heavenly springs and augments of springs, streams and rivers. In Avestan religion, beside the six mentioned angels, other appointed angels have also been named such as: Arshitat=Rashn (the angel of justice), Wartaraghana (Bahram= angel of success), Sraosha (Saroosh=the angel of obedience and law), Ashi and Gahwi (protector of virtue and abstinence).

Literature, Languages and its relation to the Afghan Languages

Earlier we briefly described the three periods of pre-historic civilization of the Vedic era of the Avestan period in Afghanistan and stated that from the beginning of historic times we have at our disposal two written works, Veda and Avesta. Comparative linguistics suggests that relics of both these languages can be seen in words of Afghan languages, ensigns and names of places. A large number of old words are still in use and have maintained their historical meanings. Pashto and certain dialects of the northern mountains have maintained such historical elements. As an example only a few words are explained here:

Aryan: This word is from the root of *araka* meaning pure, original or sower. The word *aara* in Pashto literature means pure, foundation or agriculture. With the addition of the suffix (*noon*), Pashto relative, the word *aryan* means noble or a noble farmer.

Arena Veja: This is the ancient land of the Aryans where they lived prior to their pilgrimage to the northern Hindukush regions. It means a secure dwelling or land of the noble. The word *aweja* is still used in Kandahari Pashto meaning a land or dwelling.

Arya warsha: Nomadic Indian Aryans called their original land Arya Warsha (*warta*). In Kandahar a vast pasture is still called *warsho* and this word is related to the nomadic and hunting lifestyle of the old Aryans.

Waata: As explained earlier it was the god of wind in Avesta. In Yaghnubi dialect this word was *waat* and *baad=waad* in Pashto and Dari. In the Nayeeni and Swendi dialects of Iran it is close to its Vedic form of wa=wind; it is *weya* in Samani and *wayaa* in Zaza.

Reeshi: It is a Vedic word meaning an eloquent speaker. In Pashto its roots are *warasha* (speech)

and *rasha* (manners).

Sindhu: It is a Vedic word and *sind*, meaning a river, is a living word in Pashto.

Soma=homa: A famous plant which in Pashto is *auma*.

Chahand and ashlook: Meaning a poem, which in old Pashto literature has been used in its old Vedic form.

Brahman: Barman in Pashto (*barm*=dignity).

Kashtari: In Pashto (*kash+turyee*) means a swordsman. In Khair-al-Bayan of Pir Roshan it is (*tur+kash*).

Weyseya: In Pashto *weysaa* means trust.

Sho dara: In Pashto *sodar* means vile, wild and ill-mannered.

There are a number of other Vedic words that are alive and in use in Pashto. It was mentioned earlier in the section on the Avestan period that this language had close affinities with Pashto. Based on this we can consider Pashto to be the sister language of Sanskrit and Avesta and existed in the area where the two Aryan languages met. It has common grammar, words and rules with these two languages but it is possible that old Dari formed from Avesta in Afghanistan. This subject will be discussed in future chapters.

From Vedic ballads, which are the only literary work of that period, we know of the wise words and ballads of learned people, among whom eloquent Aryan women have also been mentioned. For example the first book of Rig Veda, ballad 117 and the sixth book ballad 39-40 carry the poems of Princess Ghocha. Similarly the ballads of Lopamudra, Mamata, Awapala, Andani, Sasi and Weshura are also present in Rig Veda. To emphasize the thought, style and mode of speech of that era we present Ballad 117 of the first book of Rig Veda, which has been translated by Griffith, sung by Princess Ghocha.

In praise of Agni, the god of fire, here is a poem of Madochandras, the son of Washwa Mitra, in praise of Gayatri in nine verses, some of which are presented here:

I praise Agni, the spiritual representative. He illuminates during the time of prayers and rewards us for prayers.

Agni deserves praise from former and contemporary scholars because he brought the court here.

Oh Agni! God accepts that praise in which there is no hindrance and which you fully protect.

Oh Agni! Be available as a father is to a son. Stay with us for our welfare.

Now we present some Avestan ballads which are the words of Zoroaster. In 30th Yasna he says: Listen to wise words, look at the picture with a clear vision. Make a clear distinction between truth and false. Before the day of judgement arrives everyone should declare his religion, for it is possible that we may reach our goal. Of the two gems, which in the beginning appeared in the world, one is virtuous in character, speech and manners while the other is evil. From the two, a wise man shall choose virtue and not evil. When the gems amalgamate life and death appears. For this reason, liars, in the end meet the vilest fate (hell) while the followers of truth go to the most blessed place (heaven). In 53rd Yasna he says: Oh young brides and grooms. Let me make you aware, remember my advice. With courage follow a virtuous path. Each one of you should surpass the other in virtuous deeds and in this way spend your life in harmony.

The Alien Achaemenid Kingdom

What has been written until now are internal events of our country's history. With the passing of time these events were molded into stories. Nevertheless, they are a part of the culture of this land and are related to those times about which no artifacts have been unearthed. These events have, however, been mentioned in religious books such as Veda and Avesta and other books related to the ancient gods and

national episodes. Among the nations with Aryan ancestry that migrated to the east and west and established civilizations and governments outside the land of Aryana (ancient Afghanistan) some had affinities with Afghanistan from the standpoint of history and politics. That is to say their political and cultural influence had spread to the extent that its effects were present in Afghanistan also.

For example the Ailam people of Aryan ancestry, whose civilization is related to pre-historic times of central Asia and in the end they amalgamated with the Sami people, did not have a direct bearing on our old culture. Similarly, the Metani tribes, whose artifacts have been found at Bogharkawi of Asia Minor in the capital of Haiti (Petryom), and are related to the western Aryans living around 1400 BC, did not have any direct influence on the Aryans residing in Afghanistan. The Medes, a tribe with Aryan ancestry who spoke the Arayan language, and whose land has been mentioned as Amadai in Asuri inscriptions, arose from the northern regions of present day Iran. Their royal capital was Hagmatan (Agamatan of Herodotus=Hamdan). According to Herodotus four emperors of this tribe ruled for a period of 150 years starting from 701 BC.

1. Deioces, son of Fravartis, ruled from 707 to 655 BC for nearly half a century.

2. Fravartis, son of Deioces, ruled from 655 to 633 BC for a period of 22 years (mentioned as Frartish in the Darius inscription).

3. Uvakhshatra (Kwakazar, Cyaxares in Greek) ruled from 633 to 585 BC for 48 years.

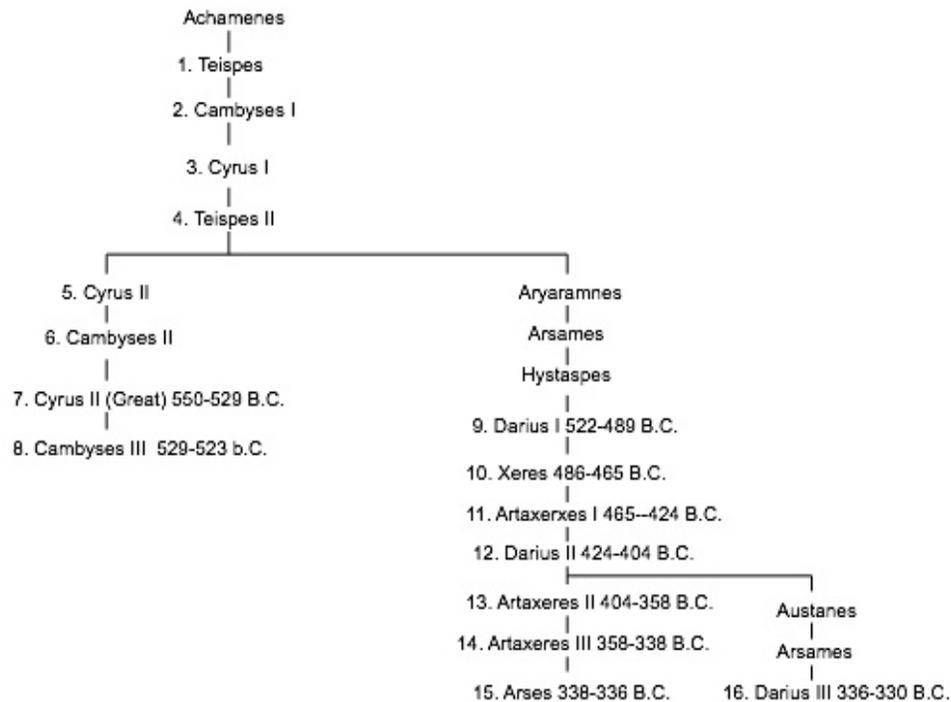
4. Astyages, son of Uvakhshatra ruled from 585 to 550 BC. After ruling for 35 years the Maad dynasty was dissolved and replaced by the Achaemenids.

The period of Median dynasty and their civilization is important on the history of Afghanistan, because, according to Herodotus, the second ruler of Medes, Fravartis, captured all the eastern Aryan lands as far as Bactria to the banks of Jayhun (Bactrus) river. Because of this the effects of their culture, administration, architecture, language, carpentry, sculpture and fire-worshipping had its effect on the eastern Aryans as it had on the Achaemenids. Darmester, the famous French scholar, considers Pashto to be close to the Median language. Herodotus states that the Medes called a bitch *sepako*, which in present day Pashto is *speie*. The diminutive feminine noun of which is *speiko*. A number of historians state that Zoroaster went to Bactria from Media. Since the Maagh people, the priests of the Medes, had mixed sun-worshipping with witchcraft. Zoroaster tried to reform the religion and left for Bactria where he found success.

The Achaemenid rulers borrowed a large number of ideas from the Medes and a major portion of their structure was similar to that of the Median dynasty. With the decline of the Median rule no major changes took place in the political or social structure of society. It can be said without doubt that the Achaemenid Parsis derived their beliefs from the Median people. For example, Herodotus and Strabos have written that the Parsi people, borrowed their style of clothing from the Medes. The felt cap, sleeved vest, purple, black and red dresses, a long garment made of leather which extended to the knee, leather trouser, laced sharp pointed boots, belt and dagger and different kinds of weapons are things which were inherited from the Median people.

During the reign of Howakshar, the Median kingdom had reached its zenith and had ties with western kingdoms. The daughter of Eliat, king of Leidy, was the queen of Media and similarly the sister of Asteyages was considered to be the queen of Babylon. During the time of the Medians, a tribe of Aryans, named Parsuwa, moved from north to south and resided in an area that came to bear their name and was called Pars. We know from Asuri inscriptions that the princes of Parsuwa were the followers of Asur. Among the Median kings, Fravartis (655-633 BC) had subjugated Pars under Media.

Among the six city dwelling Parsi tribes one was Parsa Gad, whose leader was Achaemenes (700-675 BC). His descendants became the Achaemenid kings in the following order:



There is a difference of opinion about this histogram. Some historians have stuck out the names of certain kings but what the author of Ancient Iran presents looks more logical which is presented here with some explanations.

The Achaemenid kings ruled around 700 BC as local satraps under the Median emperors. The last Median king, Astyages, who was not a wise ruler, had married his daughter Mandane to Cambyses II, the Achaemenid ruler who gave birth to Cyrus the Great who attacked Astyages and killed him. He established a vast empire in 559 BC which spread all over present day Iran. Even though Cyrus is the seventh Achaemenid king he is the first great conqueror of this dynasty and extended his empire to the west to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. To the east he diverted his attention toward Pars and extended his empire to Gurgan, Parthia, Herat, whose capital was Artacana, present day Seistan, along the banks of the Helmand and Arghandab rivers, the Kabul River valley, the Hindu Kush mountains, Ghazni, the provinces of Gandhara (from Nangarhar to the Indus river), Bactria (Balkh), and all the way to the Pamir mountains. He also annexed Sugd, Syr River, Khewa, Khwarazam and Merv in Transoxiana to the Achaemenid empire.

Ancient remains of the temple of Cyrus are present in Khyber valley of eastern Gandhara. According to the Peshawar Gazetteer of 1931 the remains are located 12 miles north-east of Shahbaz Ghari of Mardan District in Swabi. The height of the temple is 11 ft with a diameter of 60 ft. It is based on 60 stone

pillars and between each stone there is an opening. Scholars believe this fire worshipping temple had 30 doors and people used a different door each day of the month.

Cyrus was killed in a battle in 529 BC or died of natural causes. His follower Cambyses III continued with his conquests and during the time of his death his empire was the largest of its kind. He was followed by Darius I, the ninth monarch of this dynasty in 522 BC, and within a year he managed to control the Cambyses empire. He ruled from Greece to India over a vast kingdom. He ushered in a civilization, built massive buildings, formed an administration, built roads, and a strong army. He died in 484 BC and it was during this time that the Achaemenid civilization and culture spread through Afghanistan. Many tablets associated with Darius are present in Pars, Shush, Egypt and Alwand mountain written in Mekhi, the old Pars language, Aylami, Asuri, Egyptian, Babylonian and Sushi scripts. The Mekhi language had 42 symbols and among the most important of all are the writings of Darius in Naqsh-e Rostam and Behistun of Pars. He has mentioned the names of countries under his domain. What pertains to our country are: Parthava (Khorasan and Gurgan), Bactria (Balkh to the north of which is the Oxus river, to the west Merv and to the east a tribe known as Sethi, whose capital was Zeriaspa (present day Balkh?), Sughuda (Sogdiana), Karmania (between Parsa, Gedrosie and Parsua), Gedrosie, Zaranka (Zaranj=Seistan), Hariva (Herat), Uvarzmiy (Khwarzam), Gadara (Kabul and Peshawar), Hindush (Sind), Thattagush (Setageid of Herodotus=the Shetak and Khatak of Kohat and Banu), Saka-Homavarka (the Saks of Homa, possibly in the Pamirs), Saka Tega of Kheuda (the Saks of Tezkhud), Saka Tiya Tardarya (the Saks on the other side of the river), Maka (Makran) and Harauvatish (Arakoz).

The vast nation of Darius had 31 satraps (provinces) which included all of present day Afghanistan and adjacent lands. In the Babylonian and Aylami tablets the province of Gandara has been written as "Para Aupra Azana" that is the province beyond the mountains (of Afghanistan). We do not have details of events of the time but can say that from 550 BC, the year of departure of Darius, until 331 BC, when the Achaemenid dynasty was destroyed by Alexander, the land of Afghanistan was a part of this vast dynasty. Parts of Punjab and areas along the Indus river were also annexed to Darius's empire. As a result of the amalgamation of the Achaemenid and Indian cultures the Khorashti script was created from Aramaic script, which was the official script of the Achaemenids. Among the people of the Indus valley, as a result of the mixing of the conqueror and conquered, the Maurya kings of India (323-190 BC) adopted the Achaemenid style of industry and architecture.

Herodotus (death circa 425 BC) has provided detailed information on the Darius period and the eastern parts of Afghanistan. In book 444 he writes: "Darius sent Skylax from the Kandariya people together with a team to find the delta of the Indus river to the sea. This team left the city of Kaspaturus and the Paktuiké region and reached the sea". The same author in book 3-102 considers Kaspaturus to be located in the Paktuiké country and says that these people resemble the Bactrians in their lifestyle and behavior and are very warrior like. Most historians associate Kaspaturus and the Paktuiké of Herodotus with the Pashtuns of Peshawar. Even before Herodotus, the famous geographer, Hecataeus, who lived around 500 BC mentions that Kaspaturus is located in Gandhara which is Peshawar of Gandhara.

In his seventh book (66-67-85) Herodotus provides a list of the army of Xeres where he mentions the Gandapuri and Dadikai armed with Bactrian weapons and Paktuis (sheepskin wearers with bows and spears) and the nomadic tribe of Sagartioi, whose language is Persian, and who wear half Parsi and half Paktuan dress, who provided eight thousand men to the army. Historians consider Gandapuri as the people of Gandhara, Dadikai as Tajiks and Paktuis as Pashtuns. I consider the Sagartioi of Herodotus as the Sagarti of the Behistun inscription of Darius, who can be associated with Sakhar=Sagar (southern Ghor), and with a slight possibility they can be associated with Sharkhabun (=Kharshabun=Kharwhwani,

a Pashtun tribe from Kandahar).

The Darius inscription of Behistun provides valuable information about the life of the people in the area. The number of satraps mentioned in the Behistun inscription is 33 while in other inscriptions it is 31 provinces. This is an indicator that satraps, under the Achaemenid empire, revolved and were at times not considered to be a part of the kingdom. The name of Sagrtioi province is just mentioned in the Behistun inscription of Pars and not in other inscriptions.

The Behistun inscription (Column 2, line 2) states: When Darius was in Babylonia, Parthia (Khorasan), Margiana (Merv), Sattegydia and Scythia rebelled against him. Darius's father, Vistaspa, curbed the rebellion. He fought with Phraotes in a place named "Vispauzatis" and defeated him. In Sagarti (if this place can be in Khorasan) a rebellion took place under the leadership of Chitraxm. Darius sent an army under the command of Texmaspada and arrested Chitraxm. When he was brought to Darius the king cut his ear and nose, gouged his eyes and then hanged him (Column 2, line 14). In Merv of Khorasan a person by the name of Frada revolted. Darius sent Dadrasheh, the governor of Bactria, to quell him who managed to subdue the Mervian people and all of Bactria was cleared of rebellion (Column 3, line 3).

When Vahyazdata became rebellious in Pars, he sent an army to Harakhwatish (Rakhj=the Arghanbab valley) to drive away Vivana, the governor of Rakhj. But the governor sided with the army of Darius, stationed in Kandahar, and the battle which took place at the Kapisakanis fortress on the 13th day of the Anamama month (29 December 522 BC) the rebellious army was vanquished. Once again in the area of Gandum (Kandahar) the rebellious army was defeated on the 7th day of Viyaxana (21 February 521 BC). The commander of the rebellious army fled with his horsemen but was captured by Vivana in the Arsada fortress in Arachosia (Kandahar) and was killed. And hence Rakj was considered a satrap of the province of Darius (Column 3, line 3). These events took place from 29 September 522 BC to 10 March 520 BC.

Regarding the march by Darius to conquer India it has been written that in 512 BC he crossed the Indus river and took over Punjab and Sind. He sent the Greek Scylax to the Oman river. A great deal of gold was brought from India to Pars. In this way trade links were established between India and the western countries and from this 20th province every year 360 talan gold (approximately 25 million afghanis) in duties was sent to the Achaemenid court.

In Takht-e Jamshid of Pars, on the tomb of Darius, the names and drawings of people under the Achaemenid empire have been inscribed. The names of Parthi (Khorasani), Herati, Bactrian, Sughdani, Khwarazami, Zarangi (Seistan), Rakhji (Kandahar), Tata Goshi (related to Paktia as far as the banks of the Indus), Gandari, Hindi, and Sagarti are mentioned together with the names of 30 other nationalities. This shows that during the 5th century BC the people of this region were known by their respective names.

In Sush, the capital of Darius' empire, he built a palace, whose inscription was written in the Barsi, Elami and Babylonian languages, in which the names of the people of the provinces of Afghanistan is mentioned. He writes: the sandal wood of this palace comes from Gandara, gold from Bactria, the lapis stone from Sughd, and the turquoise from Khwarazm, ivory from India, and oak wood from Gandhara. All of these lands fall in the vicinity of Afghanistan.

Darius divided his empire into 30 satraps (provinces) in which people of different ethnicities with different religions, languages and cultures lived. He appointed local governors who had the freedom to engage in their faith. Each province had a governor who was known as Khastarpavan (keeper of the province), who administered with the help of a secretary and a military commander. The chief secretary

was in direct contact with the center and there were presses, roads, and guest houses. In each province the Khastarpavan collected taxes and recruited the infantry and cavalry soldiers. The strong army was known as Jawedan (victorious) and contained 10,000 men. Herodotus provides the revenues of each province of which those related to Afghanistan and adjacent lands are:

1- The seventh Achaemenid empire was composed of Sattegydia, Gandhara, Dadik and Apridi and provided a tax of 170 talan (about 10 million afghanis).

2- The 12th province was Bactria and its affiliates. Its tax was 300 talan (about 18 million afghanis).

3- The 4th province was Sarragtia, Zarangi (Seistan) with people living up to the coasts of the islands of Oman. It paid a tax of 600 talan (about 30 million afghanis). The remains of an old city have been found along the border with Seistan which is associated with the Achaemenid civilization period.

4- Parthia, Khwarazm, Sughdia and Herat paid 300 talan in taxes (about 18 million afghanis).

5- India and Sind paid 4680 talan in taxes which is equivalent to 166 million afghanis.

This was a summary of the taxes of eastern provinces. The total revenue of the Achaemenid empire during the time of Darius was 4680 talan in gold which equals 450 million afghanis.

According to Olaf Caroe, Cyrus, Darius I, Xeres, and Darius II directly ruled over Gandhara and Peshawar and Chahar Sada were the capitals of the eastern provinces. Sir David Huggard in his book on Alexander states: "The Gaugamela battle which took place between the armies of Darius III and Alexander, in accordance to the list provided by the Greek historian, Arrian, Pashtuns and people from the Hindu Kush mountains were included in the Achaemenid army." This is also an indicator of Achaemenid association with this land.

Alexander's Campaigns

As a result of the succession of historical events which had a major impact on the development of Afghan culture, art and mode of thinking, after the Vedic, Avestan and Achaemenid cultures, Alexander's conquests had a major impact in Afghanistan. These event changed the old culture, civilization, mode of thinking and lifestyle of the people and resulted in a comely change among the people. As a result this event has left an important and deep impact on the history of this land. The influence of these events was so great that it completely changed the political life, lifestyle, mode of thinking, literature and arts of the time and ushered a new era.

Alexander was the son of Philip II, who was a Macedonian king in northern Greece. He was born in Pella in 356 BC. His father, Philip was the son of Amyntas III. His mother, Olympias, was the daughter of Neoptolemus I of Epirus. According to Greek mythology, Alexander was related to Hercules from his father's lineage and to Achelous, the patron god of the Achelous river, from his mother's lineage. Since his father was murdered in 336 BC Alexander ascended the throne at the age of 20.

At this time the Achaemenid dynasty was ruled by Codommanus, famous as Darius III, and the empire was governed by a wicked eunuch Bagoas. Codommanus was a quiet and irresponsible person and because of that it was not difficult for Alexander, a commander, who wanted to be a worldwide invader, to conquer the vast Achaemenid empire. He crossed the Granicus river with 80,000 men and military hardware and attacked the Asian continent.

Darius III had a large army of 80,000 troops some of which were Greek mercenaries, led by Memnon, a high-ranking Greek commander who was on the Persian side. But in the three battles of Granicus, Issus and Gaugamela the Persians suffered major losses and as a result Alexander burned down Takht-e Jamshed (Persopolis) capital of the Achaemenids. Darius left for Parthia (Khorasan). He was killed at the age of 50, during the month of July in 330 BC, by Bessus, the governor of Bactria and Barsaentes, the

governor of Rakj. His death took place in Nagyana (Kandahar and Seistan).

Alexander went to Khorasan to capture Darius and when he found him dead he hung those who were involved in his killing and concentrated in conquering the eastern lands. At this time Bessus escaped to Bactria and made preparations to face Alexander and announced his kingship. Barsaentes made his way to Seistan and Satibarzanes also participated in this defensive coalition from Herat (Aria). When Alexander arrived in Susia (Tus) he was greeted by the governor of Herat. He then left for Bactria to capitulate Bessus. In his absence the people of Herat revolted under the leadership of Satibarzanes and killed the commander of the Greek army. When Alexander heard about the national revolt of the people of Herat he immediately returned to Saticoana (Herat) and brought down the revolt spearheaded by Satibarzanes who was hiding in a wooded area together with his men. Alexander set the woodlot on fire and killed Satibarzanes and his supporters. He established the city of Alexandria Aria as a base for his soldiers, which is present day Herat. He appointed Arzases as the administrator of the territory.

Once Alexander occupied Herat he headed for Zarang (Seistan) by way of Farah. In October of 330 BC he killed Philotas son of Parmenion, whom he feared, and also killed, Demetrius, commander of his guard. From there he headed in direction of Garamseer on the bank of the Helmand river which was administered by Teridatus. He occupied the area together with Balochistan and established Aryasap as its capital.

From Helmand Alexander went to Arakozia (Arghandab) and established the city of Alexandria Arakozia during the winter of 329 BC in the environs of present day Kandahar. This citadel became the base of his military operations. He also enlisted the local people and appointed Menion as the governor of the province.

Even though Alexander was in control of three major provinces at the time, Aria (Herat), Nagyana (Seistan) and Arakozia (Kandahar) but Satibarzanes, the national tribal leader of Herat, asked Bessus for 2000 men and raised the banner of freedom in Aria (Herat). Alexander sent a strong force, under the command of Artabazus, Erigyus and Caranus. The governor of Parthia, Fratafiron, joined the Greek commanders of Alexander. They managed to besiege the Herati national forces from all sides. As a result Satibarzanes was killed by Erigyus and the rebellion by the people of Herat ended.

After this Alexander directed his attention to the Kabul valley and the Paropamisus mountains. He arrived in Kabul during in November in 329 BC and left for Kapisa, north of Kabul, where he established the city of Alexandria Qafqaz in Hopian, near Charikar. Toward the end of spring Alexander left the town of Qafqaz and passed through the Hindu Kush range by way of Andarab and attacked Bessus, the governor of Bactria, who had a force of 8000 men. When Bessus realized he was unable to withstand Alexander's army he left Bactria and destroyed parts of Bactria and all its food supplies. He crossed the Oxus river and went to Sogd. As a result Bactria came under Alexander's control where he appointed Aretes as governor. He left Alcetas, together with his guards, to control the area. He crossed the Oxus river at Keleft and managed to capture Bessus in the environs of Karshi and took over the city of Samarkand and established Alexandria Tanaes there, which is known as present day Khajand.

Alexander's forces came under fierce attacks in Soghdiana. Alexander left Ophellas together with 3000 men and himself went to Bactria. When he arrived there, the governor of Herat, went to see him at his court. He made Arzases, the governor of Herat and Barsaentes, the governor of Parthia, who had been appointed by Bessus as regents of the area. Bessus was tried and killed in 328 BC.

At this time 19,000 fresh soldiers joined Alexander's army. He managed to defeat the local forces of Arimazeus in the valley of Margian (Murghab) and hung the local leader. In Merv, Alexander established the citadels of Sarkhas and Murochaq and then returned to Balkh. On his way he established four military

citadels in Maimana, Andkhoi, Sheberghan and Sar-e Pul. He crossed the Oxus river to join his forces in Samarkand.

Spitamenes, a brave warrior from Bactria, who had challenged Alexander and was driven out temporarily from the scene surfaced once again in Bactria and imprisoned Peithon, commander of Alexander's force in the military garrison. However, Craterus challenged Spitamenes and drove him away from the garrison. A while later when Alexander returned from Soghdiana the same Spitamenes confronted Alexander with 3000 Soghdian and Bactrian cavalry. Tired of this nuisance, he dismissed Virtabesus, the governor of Bactria, who was accused of aiding Spitamenes. Instead he appointed the Macedonian, Amyntas, so he may be able to administer Bactria with the help of general Coenus. Spitamenes continued to challenge Alexander but in the end was killed in 327 BC due to treachery by his own supporters resulting in the end of the Bactrian nationalist movement. Most of the nationalist tribal leaders were killed by Alexander. Oxyrates, a Bactrian noble, managed to escape into the mountains but Alexander's soldiers chased him and arrested him together with his graceful daughter, Roxana, and brought them before the conquerer. Alexander married Roxana in the spring of 327 BC even though his commanders were against the marriage between a Macedonian king and a Bactrian woman. As a result of this dispute a famous commander by the name of Cleitus was killed by Alexander during a celebration of drinking. After fighting in Soghdiana and Bactria for two years, Alexander started thinking of moving to India. He recruited 30,000 Bactrian youths into his army and in the spring of 327 BC marched in the direction of India from the Hindu Kush with a force of 120,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, of which 70,000 were Asians. He left Amyntas with 10,000 infantry and 3500 cavalry to administer Bactria.

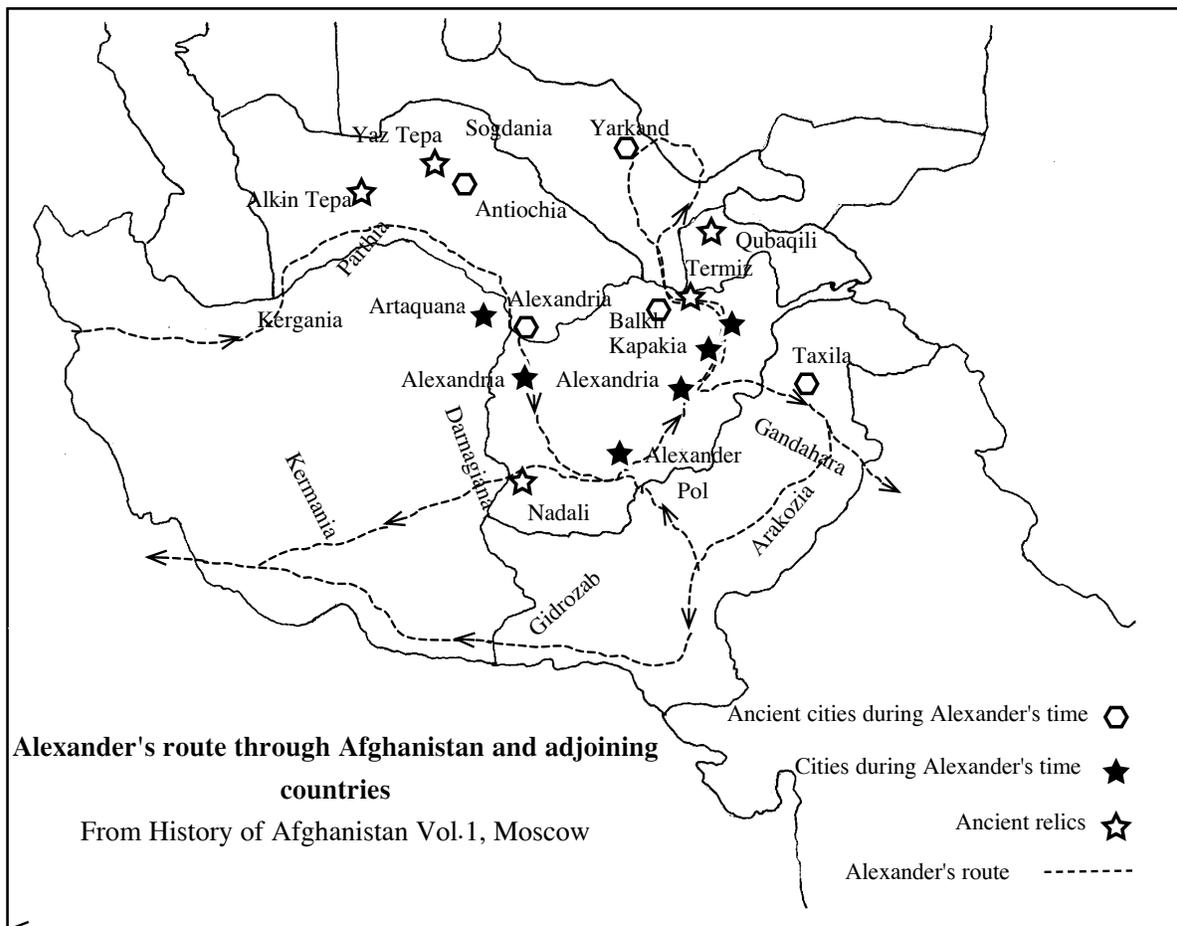
Alexander crossed over to Kapisa by way of the Khawak valley. He assigned Nicanor to administer the area and appointed Tyriaspes as the governor of Kabul valley. By way of Darunta and the Konar and Asmar valleys he made way to Bajawar and Jandol but constantly faced opposition from the local people. In a battle which took place with the Aspezi people (most likely present day Yusufzai) in the Konar valley he took 40,000 prisoners and 230,000 cattle as ransom. His forces, under the leadership of Hephaestion and Peridccas, managed to pass through the Kabul river valley, with the aid of Ambhi, the king of Taxila, to take control of Peshawar, Charsada and Awhind spreading his domain all the way to the Indus river.

Alexander faced hideous resistance by the Afghans from Konar to Bajawar and was injured twice in the battles which took place there. In revenge he destroyed the cities and killed its inhabitants. Since the ruler of the area, Aspezi, had set up a stiff resistance in the Suwast (Swat) valley, Alexander passed through Sarkanei, Chamarkand and Nawagei and entered the Swat valley by way of Gori (Panjgora). He managed to capitulate several cities and tribes. According to the Greek historian, Arrian, who lived around 175 AD, a people known as Assakenos lived in the Swat valley and their central city was Massaga. The remains of this city can be seen between the Katgala valley and Wuchkhor. Since 75,000 men arrived to aid the native people a fierce battle took place. Alexander managed to besiege them in the city for four days and in the end killed all of them. After that he capitulated the cities of Aur and Bazina, present day Barikot, and went all the way to the foothills of the Mahaban mountain, which is located 30 miles north of Attock, and appointed Coenus as regent of the area and Nicanor became the governor of the land west of the Indus river.

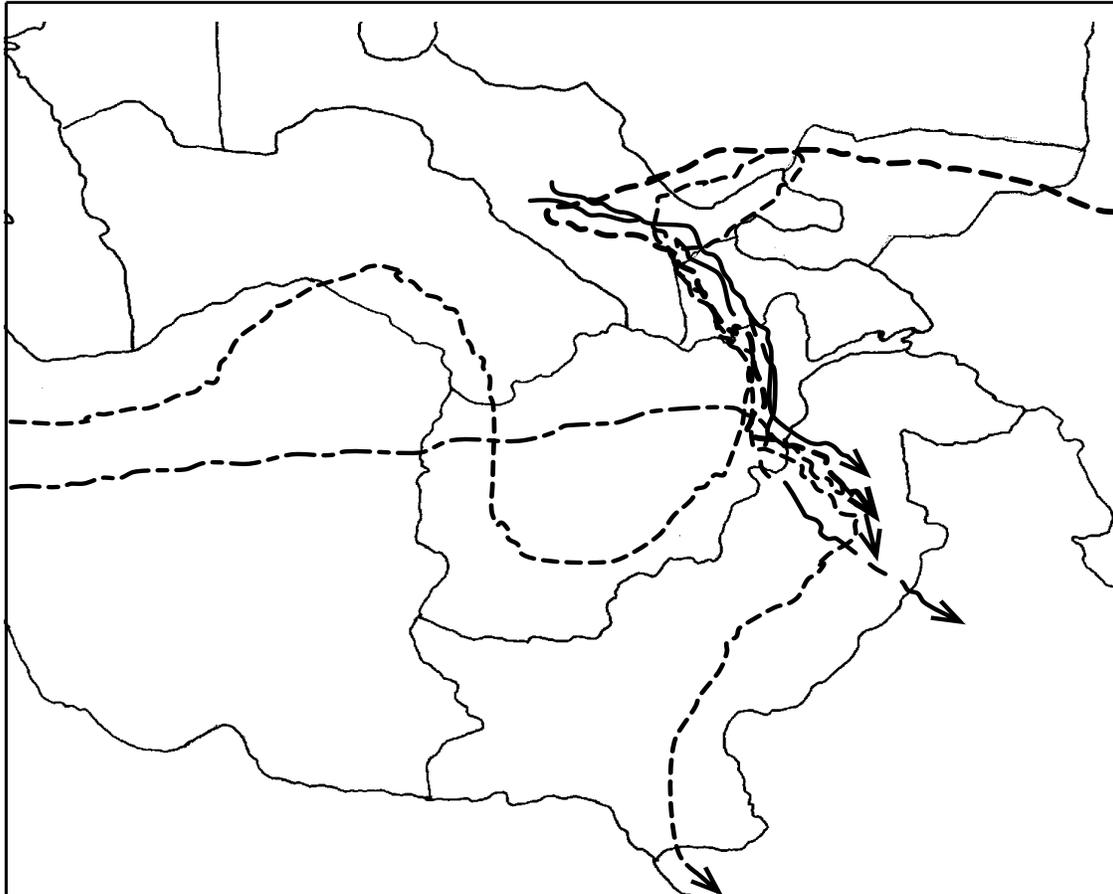
Alexander crossed the Indus over a bridge which was erected in the environs of Attock in February of 326 BC and marched on to Taxila, a large city and center of erudition of the area, which is located at the base of the Margala pass and is 10 miles from Rawalpindi and appointed Ambhi, who had reconciled with Alexander, as the satrap of Taxila and received 5000 warriors from Ambhi arriving to the banks of Jehlum

river in May of 326 BC. In July of the same year he clashed with Purus (Foor) the king of India. Purus surrendered and Alexander replaced him as regent and himself marched as far as Biyas. His commanders rebelled and refused to march any further into the hot terrain of India and convinced Alexander to turn back. He divided his army into three contingents: He sent the first army with Craterus and the sick soldiers by way of Bolan, Kandahar and Seistan. He dispatched the second army, which consisted of 12,000 soldiers and 2000 sailors by way of sea, under the command of Niarcus in 100 ships. The third army reached Multan by marching along the western bank of the Indus river. Alexander personally accompanied this group. The local people of the area set up a fierce resistance and managed to injure Alexander in the battle. As a result they were all killed. In addition about 80,000 people were killed in the Indus river valley. In 325 BC Alexander arrived at the environs of the present day city of Karachi (Dibal of the Islamic era) and established a marine Alexandria. From there he marched on to Gadrozia (Baluchistan, south of Afghanistan) and went to Pars. When he arrived at Babylonia he died in the night of 13 June, 326 BC at the age of 32 from Malaria. His conquest in Aryana, and the stiff resistance put up by the people lasted from 330 to 326 BC.

After Nicanor another person by the name of Philips became the regent of the region west of the Indus river in eastern Aryana. He was killed by Greek soldiers in 324 BC. After that Euthydemus, with the aid of the people of Taxila, cut off his ties with the area west of the Indus. Upon Alexander's death, Purus, the Indian monarch, took control of the Indus valley but was killed by Euthydemus who later abandoned India. With his departure the succession of Greek rule ended in eastern India.



Conquerors routes through Afghanistan



- | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| - - - - - | Genghiz | - - - - - | Babur |
| - . - . - . | Darius | - - - - - | Timur |
| | Alexander | | |

Temporary Maurian rule in Aryana and the major impact of Buddhism

With the death of Alexander, his vast empire disintegrated. His elite commanders held a meeting in Tripoli of Syria and divided the empire among themselves. The southern provinces of Aryana, Arakoz (the Arghandab valley), Gadozi (Makran), were vested to Sibyrtias. The Cypriot, Stasandar, became the regent of Arya (the Hari Rud valley) and Nagyana (the Helmand valley). Bactria and Sogdiana were given to Stasanor, another Cypriot commander. Oxyrates, father of Roxana, wife of Alexander, became the regent of central Aryana, i.e. the Paropamisus of Kabul province.

The eastern provinces of Aryana, which stretched all the way to Taxila, remained in conflict between the Indian princes and the Greek generals. The coming of the Greek army to the land and the establishment of a dynasty by the remnant Greek commanders in Bactria established Greek influence,

culture, arts, and ideas in the land. The vestiges of Greek culture, which had amalgamated with the culture of the local people, faced a major event from the east which was the rise of the Maurya empire in India.

From the political perspective, the Mauryan empire did not last very long in the eastern regions of Aryana and a sovereign Greco-Bactrian monarchy was established there. But during a short period of time the Maurya kings and missionaries of the Buddhist religion spread their religion in eastern Aryana. As a result an isogloss of culture, intelligence and ideas developed and resulted in the starting of the Greco-Buddhist culture. This religion and culture continued for another 1000 years until the influence of Islam on Afghanistan. The main elements of this culture were:

1. The local Bactrian culture, arts and ideas of the people of the land.
2. Greek ideas and industry which started with the coming of Alexander in 330 BC.
3. Buddhist art, culture and religion with Indian flavor which came with the Maurya dynasty.

The establisher of the Maurya dynasty in India was Chandra Gupta (Sandrakottos in Greek) who came from the Nanda Maurya lineage, who was related to the Kashteri and Rajit princes. He ascended the throne in 324 BC and died in 300 BC after ruling for 24 years. After his death his son, Bindusara, became the king whose mother was Durdhara, the daughter of Seleucus I Nicator. The capital of the Maurya empire was Patna.

Chandragupta was a Nanda commander and had allied with Chanakaya, the head of the Brahman sect in Taxila, who had authored Arthashastra (a treatise on statecraft, economic policy and military strategy). Later on Chanakaya was appointed as an adviser and the two managed to vanquish the Magda empire and its king and established a vast empire between the Ganges and Indus rivers. The duo managed to pass a series of major political and economic reforms. Chandragupta was not just a military commander but an able and wise politician. He spread his empire all the way to the Indus river. The Greek commanders, who were in power after Alexander, tried to take back the lands which they had conquered. When Seleucus I Nicator became the ruler of Babylonia he vanquished Pars and Parthia and in 311 BC conquered Aria and Bactria. In 305 BC he headed to the east by way of Kabul, crossed the Indus river, and faced Chandragupta's forces along the eastern banks of the river. When Seleucus realized that his rival was very strong he established peace with him and gave his daughter's hand in marriage to Chandragupta and returned 500 elephants from the Gandhara, Arakozia, Gadrozia and Paropamisus provinces to the Indian monarch and appointed Diodotus as the regent of Bactria.

After the peace treaty between Chandragupta and Seleucus relations between the two sides blossomed and the trade of Indian goods, by way of Kabul and Balkh, increased toward the Caspian Sea and Seleucus sent his general, Megasthenes, as ambassador to the Maurya kingdom who wrote a book on India and the Maurya kingdom. This book is not available now. Strabo and other Greek historians have quoted passages from this book in their treatises. According to this ambassador Chandragupta had a force of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry and 9000 elephants. There were 400,000 men in his royal camp. He managed to extend his empire over half of Aryana to the southern Hindu Kush mountains. This was the first time that the cultural and political influence of the Indian Aryans spread as far as the Hindu Kush mountains.

After Chandragupta's death in 300 BC his son Bindusara took over the reigns of power and bestowed upon him the title Amitraghata (enemy killer). He continued the friendly policy with the Greek regents and expanded trade relations through Gandhara, Paropamisus, and Arakozai. Seleucus I Nicator died in 270 BC at the age of 78 and his son Antiochos Soter replaced him as regent. He sent Dimachus as ambassador to the Patna court of Bindusara.

Relations between the Maurya kingdom and the Greeks fostered after this and this movement resulted in the setting up of the Indo-Greek culture. Trade and movement was also established by way of sea with India. Petrokles, a commander of Seleucus, and his son traveled to India by way of the Indian Ocean and provided ample geographical information on their travels which was later used by Pliny and Strabos.

The Maurya monarchs had such a good relationship with Greek rulers in that the writer of the old Indian political history notes: Bindusara wrote to Antiachos to send him a physician, sweet wine and dry figs. Antiachos replied he will send the wine and figs but under Greek law it was forbidden to sell knowledge. This Maurya king had special interest with Greek sciences and literature and during his time Indians translated Greek poetry to their language and recited it. Varahamihara, in his book Brihat-Samhita, considers Greek cosmology an important science. These events shed light on the Greco-Buddhist culture which we have treated here briefly. Bindusara, who was a friend of the Greek rulers, died in 273 BC after ruling for 27 years. His son Ashoka, with the help of his adviser, Radhagupta overpowered his brothers and took control of the reigns of the Maurya throne. He is undoubtedly a great Indian monarch who ruled all over India and parts of Afghanistan as far as the Arghandab river.

In the beginning Ashoka was a warrior and bloodthirsty person who killed a hundred thousand people during the Kalanga battle which took place on the banks of Bay of Bengal and took another 150 thousand people as prisoners of war. The atrocities which he saw during the battle and death of a hundred thousand people due to hunger left a deep impact on him. As a result he adopted the peaceful philosophy of Buddhism and in 260 BC he officially adopted the Buddhist religion and started propagating it. After that he became a just and peaceful monarch and diverted his attention to peace, the expansion of philanthropy and the building of Buddhist monasteries, roads, travel houses and the spread of religion. Wherever he went in his vast empire he etched on stone tablets advice for protecting the human race and even animals in different scripts and languages which exist until this day. These tablets shed light on the state of affairs during that time.

In Gandhara valley and the eastern parts of Afghanistan, extending all the way to the south in Kandahar, there are ample Buddhist stupas some of which have been excavated and studied. It is believed that Ashoka erected four large stupas in the northern parts of his kingdom, one of which was built on the hill in Peshawar which contains the Peshawar citadel. This stupa existed in its original splendor until 630 AD at the time when Hiuen Tsang visited the area. According to this Chinese traveler and author the stupa was built from large blocks of stone and bulky wood. According to Fa Hein the stupa was adorned with gold and silver. Monsieur Foucher says this is the same stupa which was famous as gift of the eyes and Buddhist were of the opinion that Buddha sacrificed his eyes there.

Another stupa, built by Ashoka was on the Kaniz hill, which lies to the east of Charsada and was referred to by the same name until the time of Hiuen Tsang who states that the four rules of Buddhism were preached there in later years.

Buddhism and its propagation in Afghanistan

During this time the people of Afghanistan, beside following old Vedic and Avestan beliefs in the eastern regions of the country, also followed Zoroastrianism (Mazdayasna) in the north and western parts of the country. But when Ashoka started preaching Buddhism in 260 BC the religion spread widely and was practiced for another thousand years in the eastern and northern parts of the country. It had a deep impact on the life, thought, arts and culture of the people.

The founder of this religion was Buddha, a Kshatriya prince, related to the military elite of the Sakya

tribe who was famous as Sakyamuni (the one who is capable). He was born in 563 BC in the town of Lumbini in the southern plains of Nepal. He abdicated from his princely status and left his family at the age of 29. After staying in seclusion for 5 to 6 years one bright night (*budh*) he started preaching his religion and invited the Indian kings to join his faith. After converting most of the people of India to Buddhism he died at the age of 80 in 483 BC in Kushinagar.

Since Buddhism did not have a structured scripture his followers gathered in Bajgara, after Buddha's death, to hold a religious meeting and three of his ardent disciples, Ananda, Upali and Kasyapa, gathered his teachings and called the collection Tripitaka (three baskets of flowers).

With the expansion of Ashoka's kingdom, Buddhism spread from the southern Hindukush to Kandahar. The third Buddhist council, led by Ashoka and an elder scholar and monk Moggaliputta, beside arranging and composing the rules of Buddhism, decided that a group of Buddhist missionaries should be sent to other outlying countries. In his 14th year of reign in 256 BC Ashoka, in royal edict number 13, inscribed the names and places where the missionaries were sent. This inscription indicates that several missionaries, Majhantika, Madhiyantika, Dahamarakahya, and Maharkahyita, went to Kandahar and the eastern regions of Aryana. The missionaries who were known as Douts were propagating the Buddhist religion around 258 BC. During this time Antiochos, son of Seleucus, was the ruler in Bactria. His name has been mentioned in the inscription as Antiaca.

The last Maurya regent who ruled over the Kabul valley was Sufagaznes whose influence lasted until the time of Euthydemus in Gandhara and the western section of Kabul valley. When Euthydemus was recognized as an independent sovereign he sent his army to southern Hindukush and brought to an end Mauryan influence over Kabul. After this southern Hindukush came under the influence of the Greco-Bactrian empire.

Political influence of the Maurya kingdom was brief in Afghanistan. Ashoka died in Taxila in 232 BC after ruling for 40 years. A powerful king did not exist in his family to take his place and maintain the vast lands of his empire. As a result their influence waned in Afghanistan but the religion which Ashoka introduced remained for another 1000 years influencing the thoughts, arts and culture of the people.

Buddha did not engage in philosophical issues but his followers converted his teachings into a divine theology and with the passing of time two major branches of the religion developed:

First Mahayana: Meaning the great vehicle (*yana* in Pashto means a religion and following). This branch is widespread in Northern India, Tibet, China as far as Japan. Being practiced in a vast area and by various tribes numerous changes have taken place in this branch of Buddhism. The followers of this branch believe in a state wherein one remains in the cycle of rebirth to help others reach awakening under the dharma law. A person who wants to free himself from evil should not isolate himself from others and make an effort to be collective and not independent. It is this kind of effort through which one attains Bodhisattva which means a state of knowledge to help others. Hence a human being has two creeds, one to is attainment of knowledge and the other is service and kindness towards others.

The other branch is Hinayana (the smaller vehicle). Followers of this path live in southern India. They adhere to the individualist effort and their books are mainly in the Pali language while the books of the greater vehicle have been written in Sanskrit. Chinese pilgrims, who came to Afghanistan, after the advent of Christianity, state that both branches of Buddhism were practiced in the country.

Buddha devised his religion on seven precepts: right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort and right concentration and said whoever follows these seven precepts will be free of bonds and concentrate on freeing oneself from desires and will be able to attain four other statures:

1. Knowing the truth.
2. Contemplating in knowing the truth.
3. Deep thinking and tranquility.
4. Total quiescence and equilibrium which is called Nirvana i.e. transcendence.

Foucher, the French historian, writing on the spread of Buddhism states: The people of eastern Aryana, who found themselves under suppression as a result of constant raids by the Achaemenids, Alexander and Chandragupta, adopted this religion which forbids bloodshed, preached renunciation of craving and compassion. Finding this religion attractive the farmers and merchants embraced it willingly.

Ashoka was so fervent in spreading this religion that he built 80,000 stupas. Those made in Kabul and Kapisa have different shapes than the others. They are taller and the cylinder between the platform and the dome is square in shape. At the topmost portion of the stupa a gable roof can be seen. Stupas with Indian design, made during the time of Ashoka, are rare in the Aryan countryside.

Ashoka's rock edicts are a collection of Buddhist preachings. Beside the Taxila tablets two other inscriptions, etched on stone, have been found. One is in Mansera, 10 miles north of Abotabad at the entrance to the Pakhali valley and the other is in Shahbazgari, 8 miles east of Hoti Mardan. It is located along the Swabi highway. Both inscriptions are written in Kharoshti script in Prakrit language, while all other edicts of Ashoka in India are in the Brahimi script, which may be the original script used in India.

Another inscription of Ashoka's moral principles is located in Darunta between Laghman and Nangarhar, written in the Aramaic language. It was etched on a triangular tablet which is present in the Kabul museum. It has extensive damage and only a few lines are readable. The subject is abstention from the killing of animals.

Another important rock edict of this king was found in the city of Kandahar. It has been etched on the face of the mountain near Chil Zena. It is written in two languages in Greek and Aramaic scripts. The top portion encompassing thirteen and a half lines is in Greek, while the lower portion which is seven and a half lines is in Aramaic. The tablet has a length of 55 cm and a width ranging from 45 to 55 cm. Ashoka's name, like in other tablets, has been written as Piyadassi (he who regards everyone with affection).

A study of this rock edict indicates it was written on the 10th year after Ashoka embraced Buddhism, i.e. 250 BC. This was a time when the Maurya influence had spread all the way to Kandahar and most of his moral principles had been implemented. He preaches the same principles in his other inscriptions also. A translation of the writing in Greek is as follows: "After ten years of struggle King Piyadassi made know the principles of piety to men and from that day he made people all over the world more pious and the king refrained from killing animals. Most of the hunters and fishermen desisted from killing animals. They started being obedient to their parents and the elderly and in this way they will lead a better life."

This engraving shows that during the mid third century BC both Greek and Aramaic languages and scripts were used in Afghanistan. The influence of Greek language and culture was so great that the Greek has been given prominence in the engraving. This is a time when the Greco-Bactrian dynasty was being established in Bactria. The effects of Buddhism and Greek culture had reached Arakozia (old Kandahar). But at the same time the Aramaic script, introduced by the Achaemenids, was used in the region also.

The Independent Greco-Bactrian Empire

When Alexander captured Bactria he appointed Artabazos, a Persian general, as the regent of the satrap who died after a short while and Amintas, son of Nicholaoos, became the regent. According to the Aryans the Cypriot Stasanor became the governor of Bactria and Sogdiana after the death of Alexander.

Since Seleucus agreed to have peace with Chandragupta in India (302 BC), the Bactrian regent acknowledged the Greek ruler and when Seleucus returned to Babylon Bactria remained under his family's control. A large number of coins of the Hellenistic ruler have been discovered in Bactria and Bukhara. He recruited native Bactrians in his army also.

During the reign of the third Greco-Bactrian ruler, Antiochos II, the regents who served him rebelled against him as Antiochos was busy with the invasion of Egypt. As a result the native Bactrians and those Greeks who had become familiar with Bactrian culture and manners united and declared their independence. Diodotus was the ruler of Bactria at this time and with the aid of Bactrians he declared a sovereign kingdom in Bactria in 256 BC. His empire spread as far as Sogdiana, Merv and the Hindukush. Since he managed to free the Bactrians from the yoke of other rulers, and established a sovereign government, he was given the title of Manji (savior).

A coin of Diodotus exists which has the figure of Antiochos II on the obverse side and on the reverse side the god Zeus with two wings who was considered a protector of the family. This indicates that he had issued the coin before the declaration of independence of Bactria in the name of Antiochos. After declaring independence he minted a gold coin in his name as a monarch. This coin which is preserved in Pars has the figure of Diodotus on one side and a naked figure of the Roman god, Jupiter, on the other side. The figure of an eagle is also present near Jupiter's feet. On the rim of the coin the name Basileus Diodotus is inscribed meaning King Diodotus.

After the death of Diodotus, his son Diodotus II reigned in Bactria (from about 250 to 230 BC). He established friendly relations with the Parthian kingdom since Arsas, the founder of the Pars government was from Bactria, Diodotus had amicable ties with him. During his rule the Hari Rud valley and the city of Herat were annexed to Bactria and an emissary was sent to Sogdiana also.

The reign of Diodotus II did not last long and a commander of Diodotus by the name of Euthydemus, who was the governor of Sogdiana, rebelled and killed the Bactrian king and was recognized as a sovereign ruler of Bactria about 220 BC.

During the time of Euthydemus the Greek ruler of Syria Antiochos III attacked Parthia from the west and defeated Teridates, the Parthian king, and in 208 BC marched towards Bactria. Euthydemus went to face him with 10,000 men along the banks of the Darius river (Hari Rud). Since he did not have the strength to face the enemy he returned back to Bactria and stayed under siege for two years in the city of Zaryasap, the capital of Bactria (the location of this city is believed to be between Merv and Andkhai). At this time Antiochos III also attacked Nagyana and Arakozia but since he failed to take over Zaryasap and the two sides were tired of fighting. When Demetrius, the prince of Bactria, went to see him for a peaceful settlement he married his daughter to Demetrius. After this Euthydemus started working on the unification of his country and subjugated Sophagasens, the king of Kabul, and managed to reach the Pamir mountains, Turkestan, China and Khotan. To the west he managed to take control of Merv, Herat and Tus and appointed his son Antiochus as the regent of the area. To the south he marched as far as Arakozia and Nagyana. In this way all the lands of Aryana came under his control. His other son, Seleucus, was the regent of this area. According to Greek geographers this vast area had a thousand cities and at the time the Bactrian kingdom had established trade and cultural relations with India and western China.

Euthydemus is the first king during whose reign Bactrian artists and skilled workers passed on their skills to India. According to Rowelson, a Khorashti tablet shows that Bactrian artists went to India and influenced the arts there. Euthydemus is said to have ruled from 220 to 190 BC. After his death his son, Demetrius, became the king in 190 BC. After conquering Taxila he managed to march on as far as Gujrat and Patna, the capital of Maurya dynasty. The conquest was successful due to the diligent work of two

generals, Apolodotus and Menander. Menander was born in Kabul and his family ruled in India until 100 BC.

Demetrius returned to Bactria from his conquest of India around 175 BC and appointed his third son, Panthaleon, as the regent of Arakozia and Seistan and Demetrius II, his other son, was the ruler of Bactria. With the death of Panthaeleon, his fourth brother, Agathocles, took over as regent.

Demetrius and his heirs minted coins all over their domain and this king established the cities of Demetriusmas Aracozia (Qalat), Euthydmiya (Sialkot), Demetryas of Sind (Patyala), and Aufelia (in the Indus delta). The second city is named after his father and the fourth after his mother.

Since Demetrius was engaged in India until the end of his life, a Greco-Bactrian, named Eucratides, rose to power in 181 BC in Bactria and declared himself as king. He minted a coin under the name of Basilews Megalou (Great king- the Indian Maharaja). Demetrius, however, failed to regain his throne and died later. Thus Eucratides started the third line of lineage of Greek rulers in Bactria and fought with Menander, the ruler of eastern Aryana, until 186 BC till he managed to take over all the lands of Aryana. But Mehrdad I, the king of Parthia, took control of the western provinces of the country and the schism which had arisen between the families of Demetrius and Eucratides resulted in the weakening of the Bactrian empire. Around 135 BC the capital of the country was moved from the northern Hindu Kush to Kapisa. Eucratides' son, Heliocles, who became regent around 147 BC, is considered to be the last Bactrian king. After abandoning the area north of the Hindu Kush his empire only extended as far as Gandhara, i.e. Taxila and Jehlum.

After Heliocles ten of his descendants ruled over Kabul, Gandhara and Punjab. Among these rulers, Antialkidas Nikephores, Amyntas and Hermaeus are more famous as the Greek rulers of Kabul around 30 BC. The rise of the Saka tribes resulted in the demise of the Greco-Bactrian kings during the first century BC. Their dynasty lasted for 250 years. From the time of Diodotus until 100 BC 36 kings and one queen ruled the Greco-Bactrian dynasty in Afghanistan and India and spread the Greek culture in Aryana and India. During this time Greek culture, arts, deities, philosophy, language and script spread throughout Aryana and amalgamated with local Buddhist traditions and way of life resulting in the creation of Greco-Bactrian culture whose impact lasted until the advent of Islam.

According to Daniel Schlumberger, the head of the French Archeological Mission in Afghanistan, the influence of Hellenism lasted until the 7th century in Afghanistan. This influence can be traced to two factors, arts and calligraphy. Even until the 7th century, before the Islamic conquest, the arts of the land were a branch of the renowned Greco-Bactrian artifacts.

When Hiuen Tsang, the famous Chinese monk and traveller, passed through Bactria in 630 AD, the time when Islam was on the rise among the Arabs, an alphabet composed of 25 letters existed in the area. Undoubtedly it was the Greek alphabet, composed of 24 letters. The letter sween (ش), which existed in old Dari, but was not present in the Greek language, was added to the alphabet. This letter was written as pX which is a combination of the letters sheen (ش) and khe (خ).

Two rock edicts in Aramaic and Greek languages found in Kandahar in 1958 and 1963 depict the moral sermons of King Ashoka. Such edicts are found throughout India in Indian languages. The Kandahar rock engravings prove that the Aramaic language and its script was used all over the land until 250 BC. According to Hellenistic scholars the Greek writing of the tablets is a superb example of Greek literature and the structure of the sentences is in par with the writings of Greek scholars such as Aristotle and Plato. We see that the language used during the 3rd century BC is similar to what was spoken in Athens. The engraving of the stone tablets depicts Greek engravings and culture and shows that the Greeks were residents of the area. According to a Greek scholar a Greek city existed in Bactria during the

rise of Christianity. In 1961 the French archeological team found important relics in the city which is known as Ai-Khanum. Remains of this town lie at the confluence of the Oxus and Kokcha rivers in northern Afghanistan. The city has two distinct sections, one part of the city is located on a hill overlooking the Kokcha river. On the other side of the 20 metres high hill runs the Oxus river. Above this large fortifications are seen which indicates these fortifications were part of the citadel of the city. The citadel and tower had the shape of an arc. Inside the city a 1600 m. road extends from the southern gate of the city to the northern gate. City streets are can also be seen among the ruins.

The civilization found in this city should be named as the Greco-Bactrian civilization which was ruined by nomadic invaders from Central Asia. The relics of the city depict brilliant craftsmanship in masonry and stonework. The structures are built of bricks and stone columns. The central building has a large courtyard and green, yellow, red and black paint has been put to use. The bricks used in the structures measure 45x13x12 cm. The water distribution system from the Kokcha river runs throughout the town all the way to the citadel. The water from the Kokcha was diverted to the city by means of a 20 km. long canal. The town had three sections, the higher citadel, the lower citadel and the palace. The south-eastern section of the city contained houses of the people, buildings, gymnasium, and the bazaar. The statue of Hermes, the Olympian god, was found in the gymnasium. A dedication in Greek to Hermes and Hercules was found engraved on one of the pillars. The dedication was made by two men with Greek names (Triballos and Strato).

Another sample which depicts Greek thought and philosophy was found on a stone block (funerary monument), identified in Greek as the tomb of Kineas. The inscription describes these Delphic precepts: "As children, learn good manners, as young men, learn to control the passions, in middle age, be just, in old age, give good advice, then die, without regret." This precious epitome represents the thoughts and characteristics of the Greco-Bactrians.

The Sakas, Parthians and Pahlawa

We saw in Achaemenid inscriptions that the Saka tribes lived on the far side of the Oxus river, beyond the Pamir mountains, under the administration of their kings by the names of the Harbingers of Homa and the Fast Saka. By way of Parthia (Khorasan) they crossed to Zaranga=Daranga and named the place Sakistan=Seistan. They also lived in the lands north of the Hindu Kush and in Bactria from where they spread to the east and west. Their chronicles are part of the history of Aryana.

Monsieur Hackin in his treatise on ten years of archeology in Afghanistan states: Before their general immigration the nomadic Sakas went to visit the Greek and worked for them as soldiers. Some of their leaders had attained high civil and military ranks. Among them Heraius, imitating the later Greco-Bactrian kings, struck a coin in his name. Hackin found this coin in Tashkurghan. From Bactria and the Hari Rud these tribes migrated to the Helmand and Arghandab valleys where they started their kingdom. The eastern border of their country extended to the Indus valley and Bolan and it was named Ki-Pin. Among these Saka tribes, who were living in Arghandab and Lesser Sind, rose a leader by the name of Mayos around 72 BC who gave himself the title of the Great King Mayos and struck coins in his name and spread the influence of his empire as far as Taxila. His inscription, etched on a copper plate, has been found in Taxila which dates to 78 BC. This shows that the domination of the Greek kings in eastern Punjab was terminated by Mayos. Seven coins relating to this king, with Greek and Kharoshi scripts, have been discovered.

After Mayos two of his descendants have also been recognized from coins, one is Azes (circa 50 BC) and the other is Azilises. The two were contemporaries and both have been addressed as great kings in

the coins. There are coins which contain the name of both kings, one is in Greek script and the other in Kharoshti.

When these nomadic tribes amalgamated with the Pakhat=Pasht=Pashtuns, in the environs of Bactria and the lands laying south of the Oxus river, they continued to be called by the name of Saka. The Pashtun tribe, Sahak in Zabul and Kabul and the Sakzai in Helmand valley carry this name until this day. Other tribes, known as Parth, are scattered from the Hari Rud valley all the way to the Caspian Sea and this region is known as Parthia. Since they migrated from their original domicile of Bactria to the Hari Rud valley and Damaghan (a part of Khorasan), they became known as Parthians. In the Sakian language this word means exiled. They are people who migrated from Bactria.

Sir Olaf Caroe, a scholar on Pashtuns, has found similarities in the names of Saka regents with Pashto and writes that their names are close to those used in the Pashto language. For example an analysis of the word *spalag-dama* shows that (*spala* means a soldier), plus (*ga* which is a sign of glorification) plus (*dama* which means glory) collectively it means a glorious soldier.

Another name is Spala-Hura: *spala* means a soldier, *hura=oriahur*, means a soldier of fire or sun or the soldier of light. *Chastana* is the (څښتن *chastan*) of Pashto which means owner and God. If we are to consider *parth=parsahwa* as one who has been exiled its current usage in Pashto is *pradei* (پردي) meaning stranger and one who has immigrated.

It looks as though that the early migrations of the Saka people to Seistan took place a long time ago. According to Monsieur Foucher, Cyrus the Great (around 540 BC) during his conquest of Seistan, considered the Saka people, due to their services, as honest. These people were resident of this land and in 330 BC Alexander treated them with kindness and compassion (refer to Civilization of Iran).

Around 250 BC the Bactrian Arsas=Arshak=Ashk together with his brother, Tirdad (the sons of Phirapatius) marched to the west and killed the Greek regent of Parthia, Phareikles, and established the Ashkani dynasty, minted coins in Greek and Kharoshti, and declared himself as the king of kings. His capital was near present day Damagan and a series of Ashkanin kings are related to him. According to Strabo he died after two years due to internal fighting as a result of a wound he received by his lance bearer in 247 BC. His son, Tirdad, ascended the throne as Ashk II a year later. He was a strong and judicious king. He conquered the lands up to Babylonia and toward the east managed to reach Bactria. He established peace with the Greek king Diodotus II. He died of old age and his reign lasted from 248 to 214 BC.

Other famous Ashkani kings are:

3. Artaban (Ardawan) 214-196 BC, son of Tirdad, who during the reign of Antiochis III attacked Parthia and marched on to Bactria.

4. Phirapatius, son of Ardawan, 196-181 BC.

5. Farhad I, son of Phirapatius, 181-174 BC a contemporary of Demetrius of Bactria.

6. Mehrdad, brother of Farhad I, 174-136 BC. He was a wise and great king. He managed to take hold of the western provinces of Greco-Bactria and Merv and also conquered Arakozia, Kabul and Sind and extended Parthia all the way to the Indus river. Despite his conquests his government was a constitutional monarchy and had two houses of parliament.

7. Farhad II, son of Mehrdad, 136-127 BC. He sought help from the Saka tribes to assist him fight Antiochos. But the Sakas refused his request and Farhad fought against them until he was killed and the Parthians were defeated.

8. Artaban II (Ardawan), 127-124 BC. He was the uncle of Farhad II and son of Phirapatius and ascended the Parthian throne after the death of Farhad II. He engaged in battle with the people of Takhar,

who were a part of Bactria, and was injured in the arm which resulted in his death. The Parthians retreated and this was the time when the Saka captured Nagyana (Seistan) and called it Khudsagistan (Arabicized as Seistan). After capturing Kabul they moved in the direction of India and established the land of Hind and Saka or Hindusaitaheen. During this time a number of nomadic white Aryan tribes (Huns) attacked from the north and captured Bactria and Takhar in 127 BC and drove the Greek rulers to the south-east to the Kabul and Sind valleys. All these nomadic Saka, Takhari and Hun tribes were northern Aryan people and were not of Mongoloid blood line. Their language, stature and facial features are Aryan. The relics found in the Turfan ruins sheds light on this subject.

9. Mehrdad II son of Artaban, 124-76 BC was a great king who during his 48 years of reign managed to subdue the Saka and other rebelling tribes. He occupied parts of Bactria and Seistan and extended the border of his nation as far as the Himalaya mountains. But he moved the capital of Parthia from Khorasan to the bank of Dajla river and remained engaged in battle with Armenia and the Roman empire. As a result the events which took place in the Parthian government are not related to Aryana and it is not a part of our history.

From the time of the Ashkanians until the 5th century AD a large number of emperors ruled over Iran, Armenia and the land further west but their activities do not have any relation with Afghanistan and its people. Except for Ashk IV (Farhad IV) who in 33 BC engaged in cruelty and oppression and the people rebelled against him. He fled to the east and came to the Saka people who had settled in Bactria, Seistan and Rakhj. From there he fled back to his country.

Prathwa (Pahlawa) was the other branch of mixed Saka and Parthian people who had managed to establish a monarchy in southern Afghanistan and western India. Their first political administration was set up in Sagistan and Aracozia, meaning the Helmand and Arghandab valleys. During the first century AD their rule extended as far as Taxila. When Apollnois visited Taxila in the year 43-44 AD, a 21 year old king by the name of Phraotes, who belonged to the Pahlawa people, was in power.

The founder of the independent Seistan and Aracozia Pahlawa rulers is a person by the name of Vonones who has been referred to as the great king in numismatics. He established his kingdom around 120 BC. His coins are in Greek and Kharoshti scripts. Other coins from the time carry the names of his relatives and dependents such as Spalahora (brother), Spalagama (nephew) and another brother, Spalirisa. We can thus conclude that these individuals participated in the administration of the Pahlawa in this area. These relatives were his deputies in different parts of the country around 110 BC.

Another great king of this lineage is Gondophares (19-48 AD). In coins he has been described as king of the kings, emancipator, undefeated and pious. The inscriptions of Takht-e Bayee, located north-east of Peshawar, dating 103 AD, name him as Guduvhara. His authority spread from from Seistan to Sind and Punjab. Some historians associate the name of present day Kandahar city to this king as Gondopharo. In this name the word (*phar*) is related to grandeur and glory and it means the attainer of glory. If we are to convert this name to Pashto *gondaphar* (ګوندۀ فر) it means cardinal glory. We see that the coins of Koshanid kings also carry the word *phar* (فر).

The writer of Political History of India, based on information from the tablet of Takht-e Bahi, has established the year 47 AD as reign of Gondophares and states that this date coincides with Christian accounts. Bearing in mind the time frame this king followed the Zoroastrian faith. But Saint Thomas, a disciple of Christ, and a missionary of the Christian faith in India, was sent to the king's court who adopted Christianity. In Christian accounts his name has been written as Gondophorous. In a number of coins he has added the epithet, Deva-Vrata, meaning a religious person, to his name.

In the Political History of India it is stated that a number of his relatives were involved in the running of

the state. Among them his nephew, Abdagases, was a regent in southern Afghanistan and the generals Hspavarman, and Sasses and the governors Spedana and Satavastra, were engaged in running the affairs of Taxila.

After the death of Gondophares, his extensive empire was divided into smaller portions around 50 AD Sanabares became the regent of Seistan and Pakorse and Sasses were governors of Gandhara and western Punjab. Their coins, in Greek and Khorashti languages, have been discovered in Taxila. The name of another prince, Ortagnes, also appear in the coins. He is considered to be Goda=Gadana, the brother of Gondophares. He ruled in the second half of the first century AD and his name has been mentioned as Gadasa in Kharoshti inscriptions of Charsada. Some historians consider this to be the name of the Gondophares tribe. This reminds us of the name of Gadoon tribe of the Pashtuns of the Mahaben region, who are found north of Chach (Sasses). Arab historians have Arabized this name as Sassa.

The Kushanids

Around 165 BC those tribes which amalgamated with the Aryan Saka and Seiti tribes and had the same facial and physical features and linguistic affinities are considered to be Aryans from the north-west. The Chinese called these people Yueh-Chi. They left their old abode in eastern China and reached the Sir Darya valley, north of the Oxus river. They drove the Saka living in the area to the east and Bactria and southern Hindu Kush in Aryana to the extent that some of them retreated to India after 127 BC. Their lands were taken over by the Yueh-Chi.

In 138 BC when the Chinese emperor Wou-Ti (140-87 BC) got fed up with the actions of the Huang tribes he sent an emissary by the name of Tchang-Kein, to the Yueh-Chi, so they may aid him but his request was disregarded. According to this emissary the area south of the Oxus river, meaning Bactria and Badakshan, was inhabited by the Ta-Hia (Takhar) people. Another Chinese historian, Seu-Matsien (circa 90 BC), indicates that the Yueh-Chi still lived in the area north of the Oxus until 125 BC and had not migrated to the realm laying south of the Oxus.

The Yueh-Chi people crossed the Oxus around 70 BC and with the help of the people from Takhar they occupied Bactria. After this an amalgamation took place between the Yueh-Chi and the Takhar people resulting in the creation of a distinguished blood line. The famous Kushi tribe (Kui-Shang=Koshan) was one of the five tribes of these people. The word Kuchi (nomadic, *powinda* in Pashto) is used both in Dari and Pashto and represents this lineage. According to a Chinese historian, the leader of the Kushans, by the name of Kieu-Tsiu-Kiu managed to subdue the leaders of the four other tribes and was recognized as king Kiu Shang. It is from this time that the word Kushan replaced the name of Yueh-Chi in history. The first famous king of these people, according to Chinese writers, was Kieu-Tsiu-Kiu=Kujula-Kara-Kadphises (circa 40 AD), who conquered the Parthians of Khorasan, Kabul and Kapisa and also subjugated the Pauta around Ghazni. According to the French historian, Du Posin, these people are the Pashtuns.

This Kushan king, during his long reign, managed to root out remnants of the Greek and Parthian kings and spread his influence all over Aryana and lay the foundation of the greatest empire in Afghanistan. He died at the age of 80 after reigning for 38 years. Only his copper coins, with different denominations and shapes have been found with Greek and Kharoshti script letters. In Greek his name is Kozalokidaphes. His title has been denoted as religious and the king of the son of sky.

After the death of great Kushan emperor, Khadphises I, his son Wema Khadphises II ruled until 110 AD and died at the age of 80. He was the first Kushanid king who expanded the eastern limits of his

kingdom as far as the banks of the Ganges river. He sent an emissary to the Chinese court and asked for the hand in marriage of the daughter of the Chinese emperor but when his request was rejected he sent an army of 70 thousand men in 90 AD, under the command of his deputy Si, by way of the Pamir mountains to eastern China but was defeated by the Chinese general Pan-Chao and paid taxes to the Chinese emperor Ho-Ti. After this he maintained ties with the Roman empire and in 99 AD sent his representatives to the Roman emperor, and maintained trade and cultural relations with the Roman empire. The style of Roman coin minting can be seen in coins minted during his era. The words the great Kushan King Deva-Putra, (meaning son of god), can be seen on the coins. His death is considered to have taken place around 110 AD. After this there is a gap of 20 years since no coins relating to any king have been discovered. Some scholars place the coins of Sutar Megasthenes (the great savior) during this period. But most are of the opinion that this person was the deputy of Wema in India.

Anyhow the great Kushanid empire was ruled by Emperor Kanishka between 125-144 AD. It is possible he had a blood relationship with the Khadphises family. Kanishka set up a great empire which ruled over our country until the middle of the third century and his empire had influence over parts of India also.

The winter capital of Kanishka's empire was Puro Shapura (Peshawar) and Bagram of Kapisa was his summer capital. The eastern limits of his empire spread to Banaras and mingled with Parthia in the west. He conquered Kashghar, Yaqand and Khutan in the north. He held Chinese hostages and adopted Buddhism. Like Ashoka he started preaching and spreading the religion. He set up the fourth grand Buddhist council, which included 500 religious scholars, in Srinagar of Kashmir to sort out the differences which had surfaced among the spiritual orders of the religion. Since sedition had surfaced in Buddhism and the religion had veered from its original teachings and different sects had developed these problems were sorted out at the council under the leadership of the 7th high priest of the faith, Vasumitra, the scholar from Gandhara. It was decided that the old Hina-Yana sect (small wheel) of the religion, which was practiced for five centuries after the death of Buddha, needs to be reformed. This sect which recommended simple piety and the refining of the soul was converted to the new sect of Maha-Yana. It was prepared by a scholar by the name of Nagarjuna. In the great Buddhist religion, which later spread to eastern Aryana also, it was believed that the self should attain Bodhisattva, which is a spontaneous wish to attain buddha hood for the benefit of all sentient beings. Instead of just showing the feet or other features of Buddha, his statues should show his whole body, like the Aryan gods, which were common place in Greco-Bactrian life and the use Sanskrit instead of the south Indian Pali language as the language of religion. Because of this the sect of lesser wheel is practiced in southern India and the greater wheel is followed in northern India. When the great Kushan emperor embraced Buddhism he started engraving the full bust of Buddha on coins instead of the Aryan gods. In this way the followers of the greater wheel managed to distance themselves from the lesser wheel and spread their belief in the world of Buddhism and prepared and interpreted their new religious guidance.

At that time we see no other court which had more competent religious scholars than Kanishka's court. Beside Nagarjuna there were other great scholars such as, Asvaghosha, a writer of epics, dramas and Budhachatra and Sariputra; Charaka, the writer of medical texts; Parsuwa, the religious advisor of the court; Singarashka and Sadrasana, the missionaries who converted Kanishka to Buddhism.

During the reign of Kanishka a large number of Buddhist temples and monasteries were built all over the country. According to Hiuen Tsang the temple of Sha-Lo-Kya had been built by Chinese invaders, which also contained a buried treasure at the foot of the great statue Mahakala. If the temple were to be destroyed it could be built with the buried treasure. The ruins of this temple are present in Puza-e

Shaturak, two kilometers from Bagram. Beautiful sculptures and exuberant engravings have been discovered at the site.

Another temple which Kanishka built is located near the winter capital of Peshawar. Relics of this temple were present in Shahr-e Shahki. These remains are on a 150 ft. high mound. The temple was built to preserve Buddha's *parta-chitya* (cup suspended by a chain). About 700 monks lived in the monastery of this grand temple. According to Hiuen Tsang, the cup was later moved to Kandahar (it was moved to the Kabul museum in 1952). It is said that the cup was moved to Kandahar when King Kingala of Kabul conquered Gandhara during the 6th century.

A 100 ft. tall peepal tree grew near the temple and according to legend Buddha slept in the shade of the tree and predicted the birth of Kanishka, the emperor who promoted the Buddhist religion. Emperor Kanishka built a large stupa to the south of the holy tree and according to Fa Hein the tree was adorned with expensive gems. Relics of the temple have been found in Shahji Daheri, half a mile south of Peshawar, in the area of Shashgari. In 1909 Spooner found a decorated metal chest on which a standing portrait of Kanishka was carved. The chest contained holy relics of Buddha which were given by Lord Curzon to the Burmese Buddhists. An inscription on the chest has been translated as follows: "The slave Agisala, the overseer of works at Kanishka's Vihara in the Sangharam of Mahasena."

At any rate Kanishka was one of the greatest Kushanid emperor in Afghanistan and with his departure a central administration and civilization developed in the land. Since he ruled for 22 years his death can be estimated to have taken place around 151 AD and he may have died in Khutan between the Chinese mountains and Sugd.

After Kanishka's death his empire was divided between his sons and his son, Vasishka, who was a governor in Matura of India ascended the throne. His coin has not been found but in an inscription found near Matura, which was written in the 24th year of the reign of Kanishka, his name has been mentioned. His name also occurs in two other writings written in the year 26 and 29 of Kanishka's reign. This indicates he ruled from 154 to 160 AD in India. In the Ara inscription, near the Indus river, his name has been written as Wajishka Putra Kanishka, meaning Vasishka son of Kanishka. His son was named Kanishka II.

Kanishka had another son by the name of Huvishka, who, in the year 33 of the empire, was the governor of the eastern provinces and around the 40th year of Kanishka's empire (169 AD) he was named Maharaja Devaputra (born from a god). This shows he did not have full independence before this date and minted coins later. It seems as though he ruled over India and his nephew, Kanishka II, was the king of Aryana. In the 51st year of the empire (circa 180 AD) Huvishka's influence had spread all the way to Kabul. According to the inscription found in Kwat of Wardak he is considered a maharaja (emperor). Numerous coins related to him have been discovered in Bagram. The eastern limits of his empire extended from Kashmir to Matura in India. He built a magnificent temple in Matura under his name. Coins related to him are inscribed with the words Emperor Huvishka Kushan in Greek letters. The city of Huviskka Pura, in Kashmir, was built by him. His death has been written to have taken place around 182 AD.

Another prince of this family is Vasushka. In Indian writings he has been known as Vasu-Diva. He ruled in India around 182 AD and his sphere of influence did not extend as far as Aryana. In coins his name has been minted in Greek letters as the *shahinshah* (emperor). We do not know any other king from this family after him.

The era of the Kushanid empire which started with the accession of Kanishka in 125 AD ended in 250 AD with the death of Wushushka, lasting a century and a quarter. During this time elements of Vedic and

Avestan culture and thinking amalgamated with Achaemenid, Greek, Indian and Buddhist civilizations. Elements of Saka and the Turani Aryans of the north also fused with this movement resulting in the creation of a strong Afghan culture in which there was total religious freedom. Zoroastrian fire temples existed side by side with Buddhist stupas where holy and sacred Buddhist holy scriptures were preserved and worshiped. Greek and Indian gods were present in temples and their names ascribed on coins. Even though Kanishka and his sons were strict followers of Buddhism, temples of other faiths and their followers were present all over the vast Kushanid empire. For example the Mahadazh temple of Baghlan was built during the reign of Kanishka. This temple was repaired during the 31st year of the empire (160 AD). Relics of the holy fire and a Zoroastrian temple have been discovered there. A person from the Marig family repaired the temple whose name was Nokonzoko. According to French archeologists the name Marig has also been mentioned in two Kharushti inscriptions found in the Khwat tablet in Wardak. In the Baghlan temple relics of fire worshipping have been discovered while the Khwat inscription reflects signs of Buddhist religion. This temple was built in the 51st year of Kanishka's ascension (around 180 AD). The two temples were built 20 years apart. Other paragons of religious freedom during this period are: In Taxila, center of Buddhism, relics of a fire worshipping temple have been discovered. This temple was 158 by 85 feet. The columns of this temple manifest Greek architecture which was built after the setting up of the Greco-Bactrian civilization. In addition there were Buddhist temples and Brahmin idol worshipping temples in the area too. The followers of each faith conducted their religious rites in these places with utmost freedom.

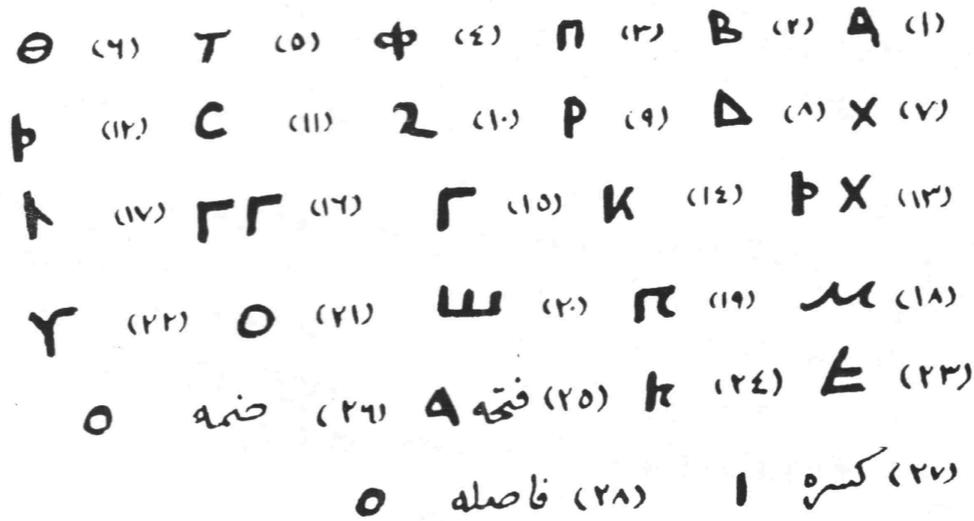
The Kushanid culture was well developed as it used Greek, Brahman and Kharoshti scripts in inscriptions found in the temples. The old Takhari Dari language has been used in writing the Mahadezh of the Baghlan temple which was close to Pashto. We also see the use of Brahman language at the time. The modifications added to the Greek script during the Kushanid period have been considered as the Greco-Kushanid script by some scholars. This script was used until the time Hiuen Tsang's visit during the 7th century. It was written from left to right and contained 25 letters.

The relics found from the Kushanid and Kanishka temple of Surkh Kotal, dating 130 AD, shows that the Kushanids played a major role in developing the thoughts, culture and industry of the land, which after the Greco-Bactrian era can be coined as an "Afghan culture" during which time visible changes have taken place one of which is the creation of rituals of king worshipping which together with the remnant Buddhist and Zoroastrian (the devotion of holy fire) elements contained the inclusion of idols of kings in the temples. We see the continuation of this ritual until the beginning of the Islamic period in the turnstile of the Bamian gate in the Ghazni mosque. Fearing that Moslems invaders would destroy the idol of his ancestors, the last king of the Loyak family hid the statue in a silver casket and buried it in the mosque which was formerly a special temple for king worshipping. This event has been recorded in Ghazni's history.

Monsieur Foucher writes: The Kushanid craftsmanship can be considered as the ingenuity of this period since the stupas of this period are far more superior than that of the Ashoka period. Stupas built during the time of Ashoka were not in use in Iran but those of Kanishka and his followers have found their way to India. In the outskirts of the city of Peshawar the Kushanid emperor built one of his largest temples.

The German, Hermin Goetz, a scholar on India, writes about the arts of the Kushanid period: "A transformation has taken place in Greek art as it started adopting the Indian forms and converted to the Gandhara school of arts. We should not call this art an expansion of the Greek and Buddhist style but an expansion of the eastern Iranian (Aryana) style of art. It developed parallel with the arts which developed during the time of the south-eastern Sakas and the Kushanids. It remained extant until the third and fourth

centuries as we see signs of it in the Harwan temples of Kashmir. It remained as a pure and permanent form of art and it was the raids of these people which overthrew the Greek, Bactrian and Indian empires. A form of art was created which is linked to the north-eastern parts of Iran and is not a derivative of the western Iranian and Achaemenid arts.



Alphabet of Takhari Dari obtained from Kushanid inscriptions.

The civilization of the Kushanid period in Afghanistan was a manifestation of the culture of this land. The architecture, statue carving, language, minting of coins and clothing showed total Afghan properties. For example the coins of the kings, despite the use of Greek language and script or Indian script and language or Khorashti language, also contained words from Takhari Dari, which is the mother of present day Dari, such as *sha=shah* and *shananasha (shahanshan, emperor)* and *fer* (magnificence). These are words used in old Dari. The best example of this civilization is the temple of Naushad in Baghlan, whose remains were discovered in Surkh Kotal. It was the largest Zoroastrian fire worshipping temple where inscriptions, statues, coins, ancient relics and a fire worshipping alter were discovered. Three tablets were found in the temple. The most important and complete stone tablet, found in Surkh Kotal, is a huge cube stone. The side of the stone is 117x110 cm. while the face is 132x125 cm. Its surface is flat and plain. The condition in which the inscription was found makes it evident that the stone contained certain marks before the inscription was carved, The inscribed words have not been damaged and 25 lines can be read with ease. There are a total of 947 letters in Greek script, 25 to 48 per line.

In the lower section of the temple remnants of a large well were found. The walls of the well are made of stone masonry. Some of the stones used in the well contain the same script and words which were used in the most prominent inscription on the large stone tablet with the exception of some minor spelling errors. Twenty one of these stones form the second inscription and it contains 27 lines. With regard to the correctness of the carving of letters and spelling it can be considered second class to the first one. The third tablet contains 32 stones and 27 lines and its form of writing and spelling is crude. It is not clear why these 53 stones were used in the well. All three tablets are now preserved in the Kabul museum.

It is evident from the writing of the inscription that the primary founder of the Baghlan temple was Kanishka (circa 130 AD). It was this great king who built the Baghlan temple which was also called the Naushad temple. But after Kanishka's death (circa 151 AD), the water of the temple dried and as a result

the fire worshipers left the temple until in the 31st year of the empire (about 160 AD), when King Baghpur Loyak Busar son of Shizogarg the late, who was a regent of the area under the Kushanid empire instructed Nokonezok, as a result of the king's order, who had the title of Kenarangi of the Marek family and was responsible for the distribution of water came to Baghlan and dug a well to renovate the temple once again and raised the walls of the well with stones and added a large courtyard to the temple. After the availability of water the Naushad temple was put to use once again and the fire worshipers gathered there.

The names of several people, who participated in the rebuilding of the temple, are inscribed at the end of the tablet. They are Burzomehr, Kuzgashkipur, Nokonezeki Kenarang Mariq, Ayman Noubakht Mehrmand, and Burzomehr Puramehraman.

The language which is written in Greek script is without doubt an ancient form of the present day Dari. On the basis of use of words and grammar it has close affinities to Pashto also. For example:

aab – feristar aab, the official responsible for water distribution

sha – shah bag lang of Baghlan

bag shah – shah buzurg, the great king

maliz – mahadezh (temple)

annd (which in Pahsto means auspicious)

saad – chah (well)

namobarg – to make famous

fero gerd – to complete

tadi – in Pashto it means to hurry

stad – to stand

eir – a fire temple (in Waziri Pashto eir still means fire= aur

fri- fra (for)

khudi – khudai (god)

bag pohar – faghfur (emperor)

alo – spirit in Pashto and Dari

ewag audohirus – yawdersh (31) of Pashto

nishan – month of Hamal

ma- mah (month)

mal – mahal of Pashto meaning time

kand – past perfect of kandan (digging)

nowshal – nowshad

feroman – firman (order)

The French Archeological team writes that this magnificent temple in later centuries was burned down as a result of a vast fire and thick layers of ashes were found in the bed-chamber, hallway and veranda of the building. Evidence of setting of fire are present in both the primary and secondary Nowshad temples. It is possible that the deliberate burning of the temple may have taken place during the conquest of the Sassanid king, Shapur I, about 240 AD

An analysis and study of the inscription shows that the Dari language was spoken and written during the first and second centuries AD in its ancient form in Takharistan and the Kushanid court. During this time Pahlavi was spoken in western and northern Iran and it was the language of the court and religion. This symmetrical use of the two languages, in the east and west, indicates that the Dari language did not take root from Pahlavi and did not spread from the west to the east, but it was the native language of the

people of Afghanistan and was close to Pashto, having similar roots.

Since a language does not develop or improves instantly we can say that the old Dari language existed in Takharistan before the migration of the Saka and the Kushanids to this area. With the domination of the Greeks, the Greek language took precedence over it and it was the language used in the minting of coins, the court, and in official documents by the rulers who were in power after Alexander. It is possible that after the Aryan tribes, living in the north, crossed the Oxus river and became residents of Takharistan and Bactria, and later dominated all of Aryana, the Dari language may have become the language of court. The Surkh Kotal inscription is a testimony of the official footing and celebrity of this language.

The Vestiges of the Kushanids and the Emergence of the Hephthalites

Kanishka's successors ruled until 225 AD and during these two centuries Buddhism was prevalent and spreading. However the transience temperament of this religion did not match well with the militarism of the Kushanids and their use of force and inclination toward conquest. This resulted in the defeat of the Kushanids by the Sassanids. As a result people abandoned Buddhism and converted back to the Brahmin religion. According to the Sanskrit text, Agni Purana, the acceptance of Buddhism was a cause for the decline of the Kushanid empire.

In 226 AD Ardsher Babakan, the grandson of Sassan, established a strong empire in Pars. After his death, his son, Shapur became the king in 240 AD. It looks as though the border of the Sassanid empire had spread up to Peshawar. This city was conquered by Ardsher circa 230 AD. The Shapur inscription, which was written between 260–273 AD in the city of Paski-Bawara (Peshawar) is considered the easternmost border of the Sassanid empire. The inscription also carries the word Abagan, which is a reference to the present Afghan. We also have the Wasud (the *dewa* of Pashto) inscription from the year 226 AD. This name implies that he was a Brahman and shows that survivors of the Kushanids reverted back to Brahman religion and it was during this time that the Sassanid influence had reached Peshawar. The Sassanids called the areas of Afghanistan under their influence Kushan Shahr. The Sassanid empire lasted until 325 AD when the white Huns extended their conquest until the southern Hindu Kush, Zabul, the Sind Valley and Kashmir.

Those princes who are linked to the Kushanid blood line, after the reign of Vasudeva (145–176), continued to rule in far fetched corners and valleys of Aryana, some of whom maintained their dominance until the beginning of the Islamic period in the land. One of these princes married his daughter to Hermez II the Sassani king (301–309 AD). According to Indian sources, Devaputra, the great Kushan king, had sent numerous exquisite gifts to Samudara Gupta (around 325 AD). One of the remaining Kushanid princes by the name of Kidara was ruling over Gandhara as far as Kashmir during the mid 4th century. Several other people have also been recognized by this name. According to Chinese sources their capital was Peshawar which was Ki-tu-Lu in Chinese. These people were at war with the Zwan tribes. They came from Bactria and established their rule over Kabul and Gandhara. The industry of glass making was developed during their time in China.

Kidaryan coins reveal that in the beginning they were under Sassanid influence and later became independent. Their second king was Shir, whose name has been incorrectly noted down as Pero. The Shiran of Bamiyan are probably related to this person who was the son of Kidara, who minted coins under the authority of the Sassanids. His coins were minted in both Brahman and Pahlavi. From this we can derive that the influence of the Sassanid civilization had spread and Pahlavi script of the Sassanid period was prevalent.

Marquart, the German historian, quoting a Roman officer states: Shapur II, the Sassanid king, fought against the Khaunids and the Kushanids between 350–385 AD, who were rulers in Kabul, Zabul, Takhar and Bactria. The leader of these tribes was Grumbates, with whom Shapur signed a peace accord in 358 AD and these tribes were helping Shapur in his campaign against the Baromins. It can be estimated that around 356 AD Kabul was under the possession of Shapur as during the same year Sulook, the chief justice of Kabul, wrote an inscription in Takht-e Jamshed in which he prays for Shapur to return to Kabul in good health.

This shows that the Sassanid king Shapur, together with the Kidarians, was engaged in fighting in Gandhara and had managed to take over this area before 365 AD. Kidara struck a coin in Gandhara during the year 239 of the Kanishka empire which corresponds to 327 AD.

The influence of Kidara had reached Taloqan and the Merv valley where he fought against the Sassanid king, Yazdgard II, son of Bahram (439–475 AD) and managed to drive him away. This king until the very end of his life remained engaged in this venture. After him his son, Feroz (459–484) tried to subjugate the Kidarians but they resisted. During this time the Kidarian king was Kungkhas, son of Kidara. The Sassanid king offered his sister's hand in marriage to him as a gesture of peace but was unsuccessful in this bid as Kungkhas left for Gandhara. In the beginning the capital of the Kidarians was Kapisa but was later moved to Peshawar due to pressure by other tribes. Their silver and copper coins have been discovered in which the halo of the new moon is seen over the crown of Kidara, who is beardless and is wearing earrings. In Brahmi script the words "Kidara Kushan Shah" have been scribed. The obverse side of the coin shows a fire temple with two guards with swords.

The other Kidarian king who ascended the throne around 375 AD is Shir, whose name was mentioned earlier. In a coin half his torso is shown with a royal ribbon with two curved horns to the right and left. He has a small mustache and pearls are hanging from his beard and he is wearing earrings and a necklace. The letters *sher sha* are written in Brahman script. The obverse side of the coin has a fire temple with two guards. The Kidarian coins show that they were not Buddhists, but were fire worshippers. The word *sher sha* shows that their language was old Dari used in the Baghlan temple.

Sher Shah was followed by another Kidarian king, Varharan (Bahram). His coins resemble those of king Shir. It is feasible that the Sheran of Bamian and the Sharan of Gharistan, who ruled until the advent of Islam, in the heart of Afghanistan, are remnants of the Kidarian family and are the descendants of Shir.

The Hephthalites

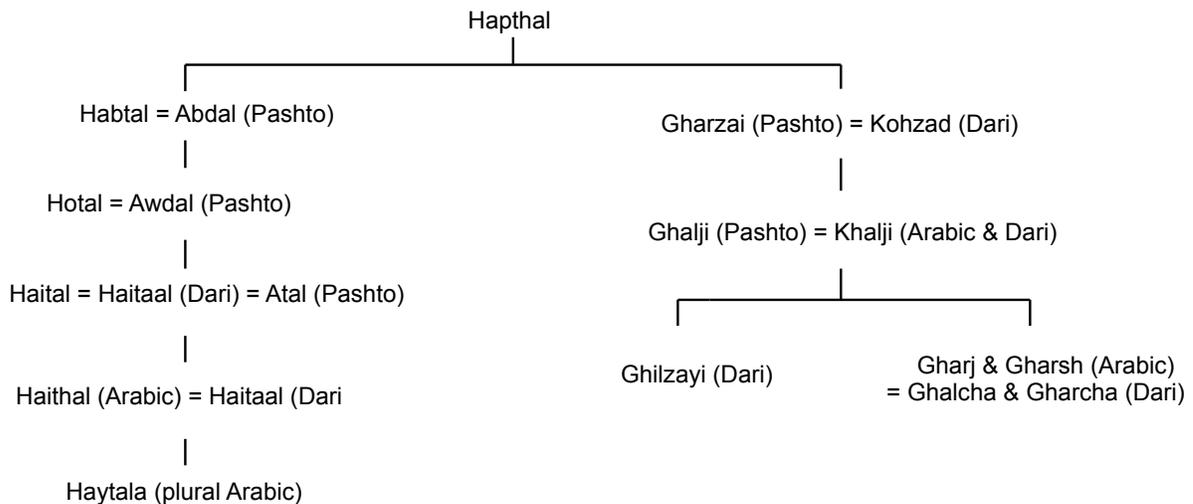
At the beginning of the 5th century AD the remaining Kushanid and Kidarian kings lost their grip on power to the Gupta empire in India and the Sassanid empire to the west but in order to maintain their freedom and national footing they retreated to mountainous regions where they managed to survive.

Around 425 AD white Aryan tribes, which were named by the Chinese as Ye-te-li-do, Ephthalites or Chionites by the Greek and Romans, Hion or Hun by the Persians, and Heptal, Haital, Hayftal and Hayatala in Pahlavi, Arabic and Dari and in Sanskrit sources Shutahuna (white Huns). These people left their Central Asian and Oxus River region and settled in northern Hindu Kush, Takhar and Bactria. The Chinese consider them different than the Huang-Now Huns. Procopius, the Byzantine historian, who is a contemporary of the Hephthalites and died in 562 AD, considers them a separate race than the barbaric Mongols since these people were white and more refined and according to Chinese historians their language was not Mongolian or Turkish. It is possible they spoke a mixed Turkish and Aryan language and may have adopted the name Khan=Hun. Originally these people are the Yu-Chi.

These Hephthalites moved from the north to the south around 360 AD and when the Kushanid

Kidarians sensed danger they asked the Sassanids for help but were unable to defend the territory and it is believed the Kushanids retreated back to the Gandhara valleys. The Hephthalites, whose name is still used in Yaftal of Badakshan, managed to completely take over Bactria by 425 AD and threatened the Sassanid empire to the west. To the south they managed to conquer the Kabul, Gandhara and Zabul valleys and established a strong Hephthalite kingdom in Afghanistan.

Like the Kushanid, Kidarian and Sakas the Hephthalites also amalgamated with native Aryan people and the Pashtuns living in the region. Since they were white Aryans and spoke an Aryan language and embraced an Aryan culture they set up a strong and potent stock in Afghanistan. They had prominent noses and the appearance of their kings resemble the Ghalji and Abdali youths of present day Afghanistan. The name of the Afghan Abdali and Ghalji tribes seems to stem from this same root.



The Hephthalites spread their empire all over Afghanistan from Merv to Kashmir. We see that this name was prevalent as Odal among the black garment wearing infidel tribes (present day Nuristan) until the beginning of the 19th century. The people of the lands surrounding the Nuristan region, who were Moslems were called Awdal. The Englishman, Mason, who was in Kabul during the time of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, had heard this account from the black garment wearing infidels of the area and noted it in his memoir.

The first clash of the Hephthalite forces with the Sassanid king Bahram Gor took place in 427 AD and the Hephthalite ruler, Khaqan, fought against the Sassanid king, with a force of 250 thousand men in the Arghandab and Merv valley. He was defeated and was killed in battle. His bejeweled and golden crown was dedicated by Bahram Gor to the fire temple of Azerbaijan and he appointed his brother, Narsi, as the regent of the western Aryan lands.

In 438 AD Yazdgard, son of Bahram Gor, ascended the Sassanid throne. He attacked the Hephthalites living in the desert country of Gurgan and Taloqan but was defeated and died in 457. After him Feroz I (457-484) became the king. The Hephthalites had also formed a kingdom and Akshonwar (Khashonwar) or Akhshwan was their king. This word in Sughdi means a king. The Hephthalite and Sassanid kingdoms engaged in battle in northern Khorasan and as a result Feroz was defeated and retreated from Taloqan

and signed a treaty with Akhshwan as a result of which the Pars empire agreed not cross into Khorasan and would pay a heavy tribute to the Hephthalites for two years and Feroz was to send his son Kwaz (Qebad) as hostage.

Despite this treaty Feroz violated the pact and after some time attacked the Hephthalites. However lieutenant general Bahram was not in agreement with this move. The Pars soldiers were annihilated in the countryside north of Khorasan and Feroz was also killed in the fighting (484) and his daughter fell into the hands of Akhshwan who married her. The Hephthalite rule extended to Merv river and Herat and the Sassanid kingdom had to pay them taxes. As a result Akhshwan managed to extend his empire over Aryana from Hari Rud to the Kabul valley and Helmand and established a strong government.

During the time when the Hephthalite kingdom has spread all over Aryana some tribes settled in Zabul and in the inscription of Zabul kings they have called themselves Jabula or Jauvla meaning a Zabuli.

After Feroz's death, his brother, Walash (Balash) became the king but after four years he was deposed by Zarmehr, a minister, and was blinded. In 488 Kwaz (Qebad), son of Feroz, who was a hostage with the Hephthalites and had established a good relationship with them ascended the Sassanid throne. This was a time when the Sassanids had to pay dues to the Hephthalites. Gold coins of Walash, Kwaz and Khosrow I contain writing in Kushani and Hephthalite scripts and according to Marquart (in Iran Shahr, p. 62) these coins were minted especially to pay tax to the Hephthalites.

The Hephthalites had a friendly relationship with Kwaz and he married the daughter of Akhswan. Kwaz's kingdom, however, was threatened by his rivals because he adopted the Mazda religion. In his place his brother, Zamyasap, was appointed as king. Kwaz took refuge in the Hephthalite kingdom of Afghanistan and with the help of Hephthalite soldiers he once again succeeded to become the emperor of Pars in 499.

The kingdom of Akhshwan, the great Hephthalite king, which lasted for half a century contained 40 provinces. The empire spread from Pars to Khutan, China and India. To the west the Hephthalites managed to subdue the strong Sassanid empire and to the east they overwhelmed the Gupta empire of India. Sassanid kings, Balash and Kwaz, worked for Akhshwan and payed him taxes.

After Akhswan another famous Hephthalite king was Turamana (in Pashto the word means a swordsman). This king diverted his attention toward India and created instability in the Gupta empire. He established his Indian capital in Sakala (present day Sialkot in Punjab).

Turamana's death is estimated to have taken place in 502. His son, Mihirakola, replaced him as the king of the Hephthalite empire in Zabul. His name has been mentioned in the Gwalior inscription of India in the year 517. He managed to extend his conquest as far as the middle of India. His name is a pure Pashto word. *Mir* (sun)+ *kol* (family) meaning from the family of Sun. In a hand written Dari memoir from Badakshan his name translated into Dari is Mehrpur. He subdued the Indian princes and the remnants of the Gupta empire and made them pay taxes. He conquered Kashmir and he is the same king whose name has been mentioned in the Cosmos book (around 547) as Golloss. His soldiers, accompanied by 2000 warrior elephants, rampaged India. Balkh, Bamian and Badghis were his military centers.

The reign of Mihirakula lasted until 543 in appalling bloodshed and constant warfare which has been recorded in the works of Indian Buddhists, Chinese and the Byzantine traveller who visited northern India at that time. Because of this threat Indian princes such as Bahana Gupta, the local ruler of Bengal, aligned with Gupa Raja and other regents. Mihirakula was defeated in the fierce battle of 501 and he retreated to Kashmir. Following this in 528 Wasudharman, the raja of central India, in unity with other rajas, managed to drive away the Hephthalites forces from India. Mihirakula died in 542 but his legend continued to be recited in Kashmir for a long time.

The Peshawar museum contains three Hephthalite inscriptions which were found in Tuchi of Waziristan. The writings are in Greek and Mongolian scripts which have not been read as yet. Inscription number 41 of the museum, beside Greek and Mongolian, also contain the words Allah and Mohammad in Kufic script. There are two Hephthalite stone tablets in the Shall valley of Uruzgan, north of Kandahar. One inscription contains the words “bgosh shah zawul mehrzi” in Greek letters meaning the great king Zawul Mehrzi. This king is the same Mihirakula=mehrzi=mehrpur. The words used in the inscription have Dari and Pashto roots.

The Hephthalite empire weakened after the death of Mihirakula and during the reign of Khusrow Anushirwan (531-579) the Sassanid forces from the west and the tribal Turk forces from the north attacked the Hephthalites. These united forces capitulated the Hephthalites in 568. The defeat of the Hephthalites is also mentioned by Firdawsi in his *Shahnama* (book of kings). It was at this time that the Hephthalite kingdom fell apart and local dominions, composed of Kushanid, Hephthalite, and Turkish elements, continued to rule in Afghanistan until the advent of Islam.

The effects of Hephthalite culture and language remain in Dari and Pashto. Among them the title “khan” is part of the name of every Afghan and every Afghan is referred to by this title in India. Tor Khan and Mehr Gul are prominent Afghan names. Similarly the words *ulus* (nation), *jirga* (grand council), and *yarghal* used in Pashto and Dari and names such as Sahak=Saka, Khelji=Ghalji, Abdali=Hephthali, Keshanai=Kushani, Mirwais=Mehr Wasa=Mehr Kula (meaning from the family of sun) have remained in use from the time of the the Sakas, Kushanids and the Hephthalites.

It looks as though the Hephthalites were not followers of Buddhism and destroyed many Buddhist temples during their conquests and killed the followers of this faith. When Hiuen Tsang came to Afghanistan in 630 he saw many people and princes in Gandhara who were engaged in repairing their temples. This destruction had taken place before the arrival of Hiuen Tsang to Afghanistan. In 520 when Tsang Yun, the Chinese traveller, arrived in Trans Oxiana he observed that the Hephthalite king was sitting on a golden throne in a felt yurt and receiving guidance from men of the 40 provinces he had subdued. In southern Hindukush Mihirkula was a destructor of the Buddhist faith.

Hephthalite coins discovered in Hadda, Kabul and Ghorband show kings who resemble the features of nomadic Ghalji Afghans with prominent noses, wearing crowns, and bejeweled earrings. The coins contain Greek, Pahlavi, Mongolian and Sanskrit scripts. One coin has the figure of a fire temple with two guards. This shows they respected the fire temple and light. The remains of the Surya (sun) temple, from the same period, have been discovered at Khair Khan pass and the temple of Zor (sur) was present in Zamin Dawar in Helmand until the time of the Islamic conquests. It can be said that the Hephthalites worshiped fire and the sun and abolished Buddhism.

Afghanistan During the Emergence of Islam

During the first half of the 7th century AD while Islam was on the rise from the Arab lands Afghanistan was under the influence of local regents and eastern and western religions. The western part of the country, Seistan, Herat and its dependencies was under the political, literal and religious influence of the Sassanids, who were followers of Zoroastrianism and spoke the Pahlavi language. In the central mountains, Zabulistan, Kabul valley (named Gandhara), the Arghandab valley and Tarnak as far as the Hindu Kush mountains, the region north of this mountain range and the area along the banks of the Indus river, local rulers who were remnants of the Kushanids and Hephthalites and others, who practiced Buddhism and Brahmanism, were in power. Their culture, religion and customs had a local flavor and it seems that from the first century AD, free belief and freedom of religion prevailed in the country and

numerous faiths existed in different parts of the land. During the first five centuries of Christianity the area between Taxila and the Helmand river and to the north, Balkh and Takharistan, were at the intersection of the Greco-Buddhic civilization and different religions and civilizations. The people of Afghanistan played a role in amalgamating this civilization. Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, sun worshipping, eloquence worshipping, Nestorian Christianity, and the worshipping of local gods and idols was prevalent.

Kharoshti, Pahlavi, Sradanagari, Sanskrit, Greek and Mongol scripts were in use. Relics pertaining to these scripts have been unearthed. Languages used at the time were Dari (Takhari), Pashto, Pahlavi and Prakrit. We have been able to find traces of these languages in Afghanistan in ancient relics and historical accounts.

Hiuen Tsang who came to Afghanistan in 630 made detailed notes on the social, cultural and political conditions of the people living in the eastern and northern parts of the country. He states: "The followers of the greater and lesser vessels of Buddhism were prevalent and temples of the two sects were present in most cities where thousands of monks lived and prayed. Each area had a governor and as a result the social, political, economic and thought process were not in good shape due to noncooperation and lack of a centralized government. Delusion and superstition had eclipsed religious beliefs."

Hiuen Tsang writes about the Buddhist temples in Peshawar, Hadda, Laghman, Kapisa, Bamian, Ghazni, Balkh and other cities north of the Hindu Kush. In 645, after returning from India, he saw the heavenly spirit (Sona) temple 23 miles south of Kapisa in Aruna. He says that the temple had been moved to Sonagir in Zabulistan. This is the temple of Jabal Zor (Zoon) of Zamindawar. According to al-Belazari, the temple was razed by Abdul Rahman, the Islamic conqueror, in 651 and its golden idol with eyes of rubies was shattered to pieces.

Shah Bahar is another famous temple of this era. Hiuen Tsang has mentioned several royal temples north of Kabul and one large temple was in the environs of present day Shibar Pass in the Hindu Kush mountains (Shibar is a short form of Shah Babar). The Arab historian, Yaqubi, writes the temple was between Ghorband and Surkhbad of Bamian (Sarkhor). He says that in the year 797 it was destroyed by Fazl bin Yahha Baraki and its idol was set on fire.

The writings of Chinese travelers, who came to the area to perform pilgrimage at these temples, are other sources of information about the temples. Among them Shi Fahsien came in 399, Sung Yen in 517-518, and Hiuen Tsang (629-645), Ang Hiuen Tsu, the ambassador (660), Hiuen Chao (664) and Wu Kung (751) visited Afghanistan and have provided important information regarding the state of affairs in the land.

Hiuen Tsang, who has provided detailed information on the cities of Afghanistan during the later part of the 7th century, mentions a military Kashtari ruler in every province. After him Arab historians and geographers also mention a separate governor existed in each separate entity. They are: Sajistan Shah, Merv Shah, Qafas Shah, Makran Shah, Kabul Shah, Qaiqan Shah, Dawaran Shah, Qashmiran Shah, Nakhsban Shah, Kinar of Nishapur, Mahoya of Merv, Razoya of Sarkhas, Bahman of Abyorad, Ibrah Nisa, Baraz Band of Gharjistan, Kilan of Merv Rud, Feroz of Zabulistan, Termez Shah, Sher of Bamian, Feroz of Saghd, Akhshed of Farghana, Riu Shah, Gozgan of Khaza, Khutlan Shah or Sher of Khutlan, Bukhar Akhda, Tarkhan of Samarqand, Ratbel of Seistan, Rakh and Dawar, Berezan of Herat, Poshang and Badghis, Kushan Shah of Trans Oxiana, Shar of Gharjistan, Nezak of Badghis and Takhar, Yabgho of Takhar, Jahan Pahlawan of Sur and Ghor, Loyak of Ghazni and Gardez. The poet Firdawsi has provided interesting tales about the lineage of Mehrab Kabuli, Saam and Zal.

Loykan of Ghazni was an old family and the name of one of their king has been mentioned as Loyak Bosar in the Baghlan inscription. He was the minister for water distribution of the Kushanid empire around 160. The descendants of this family were present until the time of Yaqub Layce and Sultan Masud in Gardez and the Ghazni court (for details refer to Afghanistan After Islam 1–31 and the article on Loykan–e Ghazna).

Another famous family is the Ratbels of Zabulistan who were related to the Kabul Shah and ruled over Zabul from Ghazni to Seistan. According to Baihaqi the town of Ratbel was situated in Kohak along the banks of the Arghandab river. According to Arab historians nine rulers have been identified from this family. This family fought against the Arab Islamic forces from the time they came to Afghanistan until they were annihilated by Yaqub Lyce Safari in 879.

Another famous and strong family is the Kabul Shahs who ruled from Kabul to Punjab during the first Islamic century, a time of Arab conquest. According to al–Biruni, this family is the offspring of Berahtagin. During the time of king Laktorman, his prime minister, Kalar, deposed the last king of this family. Samand, Kamlu, Bahim, Jipal, Annandpal, and Trojanpal are Brahman kings from the lineage of Kalar. Beside the writings of al–Biruni we know the names of a number of Kabul Shah kings from coins such as Khudwayaka, Sepala Pati, Padma and Wanka Dewa.

The author of History of Siestan mentions the names of two other Kabul Shah kings around 657. He writes that the Greater Kabul Shah, after the defeat of the Lesser Kabul Shah, at the hands of Abdul Rahmn bin Samara, resisted the forces of Samara. He had 28 thousand well–equipped soldier and elephants.

The Arab historian, al–Yaqubi, name the Kabul Shah kings as Khanchal, who were the contemporaries of al–Mehdi bin Mansur Abas around 785. After the Islamic conquest and after pulling out of Kabul the Kabul Shah settled in Peshawar, Waihind, Taxila and Punjab. Sultan Mahmud drove them away from Waihind, along the banks of the Indus river. Around 911 the king of Kashmir, Gopala Warman, dominated Swat and Mardan, situated north of Peshawar, from these rulers. Their progeny lived in Kashmir until 1111 under the name of Shahi Putra (prince). [Raja Tarangini, p. 8. For further clarification refer to Afghanistan After Islam 1–71].

During this time a family of local Afghan leaders has also been recognized from coins by the name of Napki Malika=Napki Shahan (kings). It is likely they are the descendants of local Hephthalite and Kushanid rulers.

Taginan was another family of kings from northern Hindu Kush. Nizak, Shad and Jabghoriya ruled over the area stretching from Takharistan to Badghis. Arab historians write about the fierce resistance put up by Nizak against the forces of Qatiba, the Arab conqueror in 712.

The Sheran of Bamian was another family during this period who ruled during the travels of Hiuen Tsang (630) and they also had a ruler in power in 785. The first Sher of Bamian converted to Islam during the time of Mansur Abas (757–759). His son, Hasan, lived around 797.

The Sur family, who were natives of Ghor, governed over the area and Mahoy Suri, around 656 was a contemporary of Hazrat–e Ali. Other kings recognized from this family are: Shansab son of Kharnak (circa 657), Amir Polad (circa 751), Jahan Pahlawan Amir Kror son of Amir Polad (760–775), Amir Nasir son of Amir Kror (circa 780), Amir Banji son of Naharan (circa 791), and Amir Suri son of Mohammad (circa 858). The Ghorid family is also linked to this lineage. (See details about this family in Afghanistan After Islam 1/91).

During the rise of Islam in Afghanistan people lived under the rule of various kings with divisions and in disunity with different religions, thought and cultures. Even though their religious beliefs were superstitious and decaying but they had a great deal of interest in their national identity, freedom and culture.

Historical Elements of Afghan Culture Before and After Islam

This title has an interesting explanation from the historical perspective, meaning that we consider all the civil and cultural movements which have taken place in historical times as an “Afghan culture.” This culture developed from the oldest historical era, that is the Vedic period about 3400 BP, and continued until the Avestan period around 3200 BP. It is during this period that the nomadic Aryan people living in Balkh adopted a settled city life. This was also the time when Zoroaster started preaching Mazdaism and the three principles of life i.e. good thoughts, good words and good deeds. During this time the Peshdadyan and Kiyani royal families also started their empire in Bactria, the cradle of human civilization.

Following this the Achaemenid, Ashkanid and Sassanid civilizations of the Aryan people developed in the western parts of the country and they spread their special cultural elements until the end of the Achaemenid period when Alexander of Macedonia invaded Afghanistan in 331–332 BC by way of Iran. His coming ushered the use of Greek language, administration, politics, arts, script and other Greek cultural elements into Afghanistan. In 250 BC Diodotus established the Greco-Bactrian empire in Afghanistan which lasted until the beginning of the Christian era and resulted in the setting up of a Greco-Bactrian culture and civilization which had old Vedic and Avestan roots. This transformation left a major impression in the land.

In the early part of the second century the great Kushanid king, Kanishka, established the Kushanid empire and with the acceptance and propagation of the Buddhist faith he left a peculiar Afghan impression on the civilization and culture of the country. His summer capital was Kapisa and his winter capital was Peshawar. He spread the teachings of the Greater Wheel of Buddhist faith, Mahayana, all over Afghanistan and the northern parts of the Oxus river and in India and established the vast Kushanid empire. During the Kushanid empire, which lasted until the 4th century AD, the internal culture and civilization of Afghanistan was composed of old native Zoroastrian elements, Indian Buddhist influences and the Greek heritage.

The relics which have been discovered in the Surkh Kotal temple of Baghlan show that the Kushanids played a major role in the creation of a peculiar culture and thoughts which can be considered to be the Greco-Buddhic era of the country. Thus playing a major role in the formation of this era.

Monsieur Foucher, the French archeologist, considers Kushanid arts as an ingenuity of the Kushanid era. He writes: “The style of the stupas of this period is by far superior than the time of Ashoka. If it is to be compared with European religious structures then the structures of the Ashoka period resemble those of the 10th to 12th century in France while those of the Kanishka era resemble the Gothic structures of 12th to 15th century. Ashoka’s stupas did not find their way into the highlands of Iran, while Kanishka’s stupas and those of his followers are prevalent in India.” In Homa, which lies south-east of the city of Peshawar, the Kushanid emperor built the largest temple. This temple was set on fire several times and only its scarred remains exist now. From the writings of Chinese travelers to the region we have been able to decipher the script which was used in the temple. In the ruins of the temple a sacred Buddhist

object has been discovered which contains the signature and portrait of Kanishka.

Herman Goetz, the German scholar on India, while writing about arts of the Kushanid era states: The Greek arts started changing to Indian arts forms and became the Gandhara art, but most historians are of the opinion that this art form should not be linked to the Greco-Buddhist style but an expansion of the eastern Aryan form, i.e. Afghanistan which developed during the time of the Saka tribes of the southeast and the Kushans. It remained intact as a stable pure art in this form in Kashmir until the Gupta period (the 3rd and 4th centuries AD) as seen in the ruins of the Harwan Buddhist temples. The conquests of these people brought down the Greek and Bactrian rulers and introduced new elements into India which was not related to western Iran and the Achaemenid influence but associated to the northern areas of Iran (Iranian Heritage, p 153).

The culture, civilization and arts of the Kushanid period underwent changes and effacement and continued until the beginning of the Islamic period and the Arab conquests around 650. It converted into another mixed civilization and culture which can be called the culture of the early Islamic period of Afghanistan.

Elements of Islamic and Arab heritage which mixed with the pre-Islamic culture and civilization of the land gave it a completely new facet. This tradition later spread from Khorasan and Afghanistan to the north and east as far as China and India.

From the perspective of its geographical location Afghanistan can also be considered to be birth place of amalgamation of cultures in the past centuries. It is for this reason that the historian Toynabee has concluded in his book, *Between Oxus and Jamna*, that Afghanistan has been a round-about and a crossroads of cultures and during thousands of years what was its own culture and what it absorbed from other cultures it spread to India, Iran, Trans Oxiana and Central Asia.

In the first quarter of the Islamic century (circa 645) the conquests of Arab army reached Khorasan, Merv, Sistan and as far as the Arghandab valley. It was during this time that the southern parts of the country came under the influence of Arab forces and their thoughts, religion, culture and language. All these new cultural features, together with refining of the ancient culture during two centuries in Afghanistan, reached the Indus valley. This is evidenced from a stone inscription, in Arabic and Sanskrit, found in the Tuchi valley of Northern Waziristan. The date of the inscription is September 857.

The Tuchi valley was the passageway of conquerers and the caravans of merchants who went from Ghazni and Gardez toward India. From this we know that the Arabic language and Islamic culture had reached the area around 815.

Islamic culture had peculiar Arabic elements which, during the time of the Rashideen and Omawiya caliphates, was based on pure Arabic principles. The main features of which were: pure Arabic habits, customs and traditions; the teachings of Koran and the traditions of Prophet Mohammad, the messenger of Islam, which stressed unification and good character, social obligations of individuals and groups and third those new cultural and civil elements which Moslems had learned from the Egyptian, Roman, Pars and Khorasan civilizations during their conquests and trading. Especially after 753 when the influence of the Omawiya waned and the Khorasanians set up the al-Abas caliphate in Baghdad. With this revolutionary move Islamic culture took on a new flavor and Khorasani elements impacted the Abbasid civilization and culture with great speed and Khorasani culture and thought impacted Arab conventions.

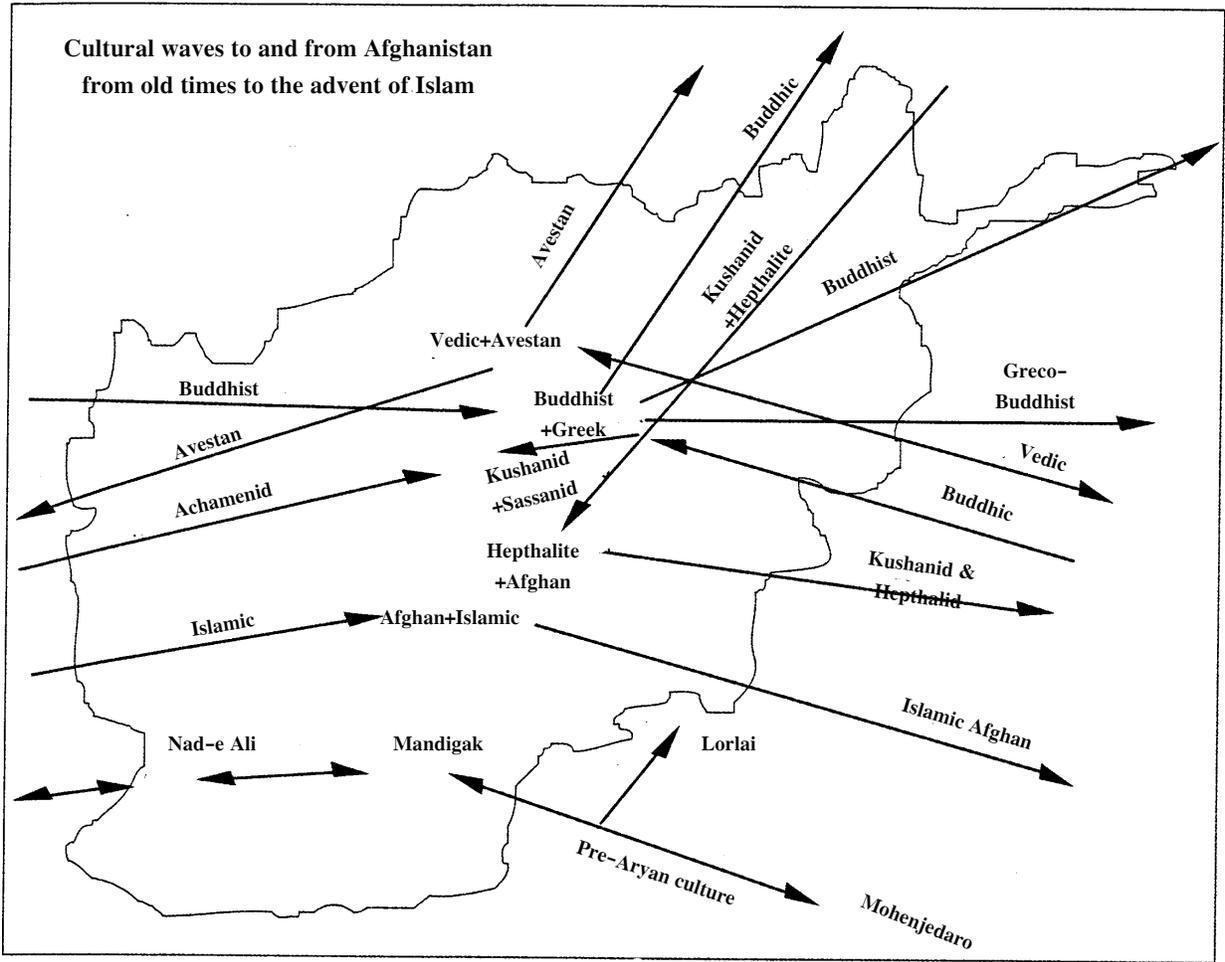
During this time a special Islamic culture developed in Afghanistan. A new element was added to the cultural aspects of the period before Islam which was the impact of Koran and Islam on society which was

passed on to India, China and Trans Oxiana since Afghanistan acted as a passageway of cultures.

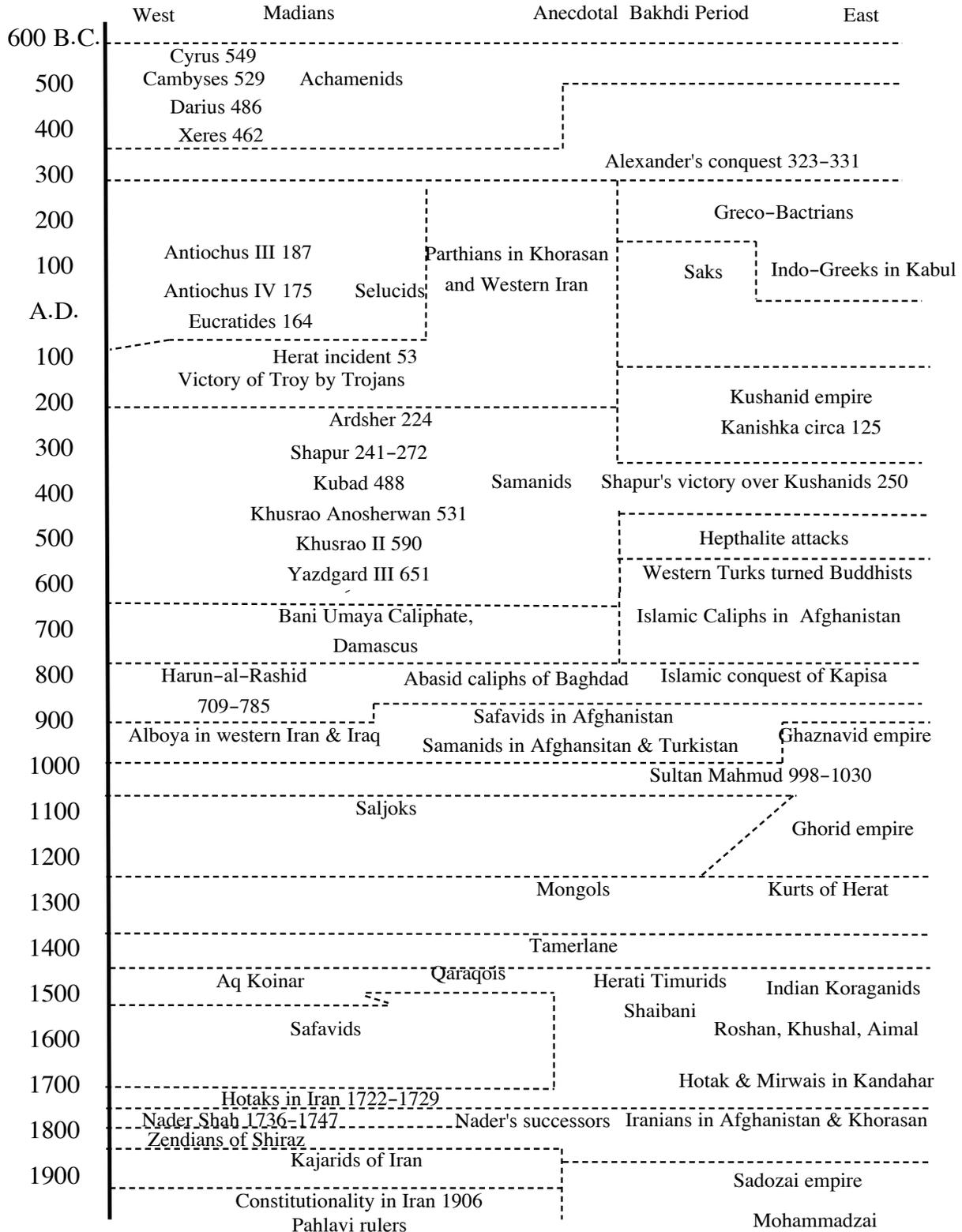
Islamic Khorasani culture had taken on a peculiar form. This is because the Khorasani people were familiar with the traditions of their old culture and they accepted elements of the Islamic culture also. They went to the political, cultural, administrative and learning centers of Khorasan and the centers of the Abbasid caliphate, especially Baghdad, and brought about visible changes. The Barmaki family of Balkh, which had been reared in all facets of Khorasani and Afghan culture, took over the governance, arts and sciences of the Abbasid domains. Islamic sciences flourished as a result of the efforts of these people and the famous cities of Khorasan, Neshapur, Merv, Herat, Zaranj, Balkh, Bost and Bashghor became nurturing grounds of Islamic sciences, thought and culture. Khorasani goods found their way into Arabic families and Khorasani cultural traditions were transmitted to the Arab world. The influence of Khorasani and non-Arab culture was immense in the Abbasid court of Baghdad and other cities of the vast Abbasid empire, in that some of the caliphs married Khorasani women and the mothers of several influential Abbasid rulers were Khorasani women.

The Khorasani Islamic culture, which was nurtured in Khorasan and Afghan lands, developed to the extent that even Arabic speaking poets, added Khorasani themes, thoughts and words into their language. Since Khorasan was situated at the crossroad of Central Asia, Arabic features were transferred to the east and vice versa. As an example Ibn-Nadim, while discussing the Buddhists and their leader, talks about a book which was written by a person from Khorasan. From this we know that the Khorasanids and the people of Afghanistan were instrumental in transferring Indian thoughts to the Arabs. In summary we can say that Afghan culture existed in the region throughout historical times and with the passing of time its form and color changed but maintained its Afghan characteristics.

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Historical Dates of Afghanistan and Iran



Short History of Afghanistan Vol. 1, from Iranian Civilization

Comparitive Chart of rulers of Afghanistan at the time of advent of Islam

Date A.D.	Loyaks of Ghazni	Ratbels of Zabul	Sheran of Bamiyan	Kabul Shahs	Tagins	Suris of Ghor
100	Shizogarg Loyak Bosar			<p align="center">Barhatgin (?)</p> <p align="center">Shast Pusht (Al Biruni)</p> <p align="center">Kanak Khodoyaka</p> <p align="center">Sepalapasti Yadmanya Wakaroya</p>		
200						
300						
400		Feroz bin Ka'k?	Great Sher			
500						
600		Ratbel circa 651 Ratbel circa 766 Great Ratbel 721	Begartuli 685	Kabulshah Great Kabulshah	Nader Shah 630 Tezak circa 652 Tezak circa 712	Mahui Suri 654
700	Wujuyar 721 Khanan 785	Ratbel circa 751 Ratbel circa 784 Ratbel circa 821	Hasan bin Sher 800	Khanchal 784	Tagin circa 757	Amir Polad 750 Amir Krorr 759 Amir Nasir 780 Amir Yahya 790
800	Mohammad bin Khanan 821 Aflakh bin Mohammad 900	Ratbel circa 851 Ratbel circa 871 Ratbel circa 906	Sher ? 825	Laktorman 821 Kalar 871 Saghand 901 Kamlo 911		Amir Suri 872
900	Mansur bin Aflaj Abu Ali 985		Sher Bareek 948 Sher 986	Jahim 941 Jabir Pala 971 Antala Pala 982	Alaptageen 972 Eshaq 975 Subuktageen 986 Tarbutgeen 990	
1000	Marsal bin Mansur Sahal bin Marsal			Taroja Pala 1030 Bahyam Pala 1037		

Part Two

The Emergence of Islam in Afghanistan and the Caliphate Period

A quarter of a century after the emergence of Islam, when Hazrat Omar was the leader of the Islamic caliphate, the brave and heroic Arab forces strangled the old Sassanid empire of Pars. Yazgard III, the last Sassanid king, after the battles of Jalula (637) and Nehawand (640) went to Khorasan and asked for help from Khaqan, the ruler of Trans Oxiana, but his request was declined.

The Islamic caliph, Hazrat Omar, sent Ahnaf bin Qais, who brought peace to Khorasan, to pursue Yazdgard. During this time the regent of western parts of Afghanistan, Ghor and Merv was Mahoy Suri. According to Ferdowsi and Tabari he was considered as the ruler of Khorasan. As Ahnaf chased Yazdgard he went to Merv to seek refuge from Mahoi Suri. Mahoi who feared the consolidation of Yazdgard with the rulers of Trans Oxiana killed Yazdgard with the help of a mill operator in Merv in 651. According to Ferdowsi he extended his rule to Balkh, Herat and Bokhara. His military commander, Kerseyon, took over Bokhara. The Suri family were considered to be the most famous local rulers in the region. But Ahnaf drove Mahoy Suri away from Khorasan and Merv to Jaihoon, who to the end of his life, ruled over a part of Khorasan, under the tutelage of the caliphate. Even though the power of the Suri family disintegrated but Mahoi managed to survive. This family will be mentioned later in detail.

According to Belazari, the Arab forces, from the south, had also reached the gates of Tabseen (the Tabs and the Karin fortresses). This area borders present day Garamseer of Afghanistan. The commander of the Arab forces there was Abdullah bin Bedil Khazani.

Toward the end of the Faruqi period (642–643), a contingent of Arab soldiers, under the command of Abdullah bin Amer, after the conquest of Kerman attacked Sajistan (Seistan) also. The ruler of Seistan, who was in the city of Zarang (Arabized Zaranj) asked for sanctuary but since the Islamic army had made its way to Kandahar and India (Sind), the ruler of Zarang made peace with the Arab army and Zarang fell into the hands of Moslems. The Arab army which had marched from Seistan to the east, met the forces of Ratbel in the Arghandab valley and killed him. Belazari calls his domain Hayatala, which extended all the way to Herat in the year 633.

The Osmanid Period (645–655)

Islamic conquests were on the rise in Afghanistan during the Islamic period after 645 and Abdullah bin Amer, commander of the Arab army reached Kabul and cordoned the city. After a fierce battle he managed to take over the city. However the people of Kabul once again raised the banner of freedom after the Arab army left and lived in freedom under the rule of local kings for another five years.

Hazrat Osman appointed Ahnaf bin Qais as the governor of Merv and Herat, Khabib bin Qurat-aleer Bo'ee in Balkh and Takharistan and Abdullah bin Amer Lycee in Seistan. A revolt took place against the Arab army all over Afghanistan but the governor of Seistan killed all those who were revolting in Kabul

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and once again occupied Kabul. Majasha' bin Masood, the governor of Kerman, fought against the Qafs (the present day Kochi (noamdic) tribes, and the Baluch of Garamseer, of southern Afghanistan, and capitulated them after bloody battles (around 649). In the north Ahnaf bin Qais and his compatriots cleared Balkh, Takharistan as far as Samangan from the influence of the revolutionaries by 652 and for a long time continued to conduct battles in Balkh, Merv, Gozganana and Taloqan (northern provinces of Afghanistan). It was during this year that Bazan, a local prince in Merv, who had a 30,000 strong army, was besieged in the Ahnaf palace and killed. Khaled bin Abdullah, on the other hand, managed to capture Herat, Badghis, Ghor and Khorasan. Razoya, a local border commander of Sarkhas, made peace with the Islamic governor of Herat, Badghis and Fushanj, after agreeing to pay a fine of one million dirhams. In the year 652, Qaren Herati rose against the Arabs with a force of 40,000 men but after several fierce battles he was defeated by the Arab governor of Neshapur, Abdullah bin Khazem.

The Caliph sent Rabe' bin Zyad to Seistan in 650 and after conquering Pahra (Fahraj), and Zaleq (Jaleq) he crossed the Helmand and fought a fierce battle in Zosht, 30 miles from Zaranj. Aprozay or Iran bin Rustam, the border chief of Seistan, compromised with the Arab force and submitted Zaranj to the Moslem forces. Rabe' continued to forge ahead and took over Sanaward and Qarnein, the bastions of Rustam, and reached Khwash (Khashrud) and Bost. The people of Seistan remained silent as far as Rabe' was there. When he left Seistan after two years the people once again revolted and drove away the deputy governor of Rabe'. In this delicate situation, the Caliph, sent some eminent followers of Prophet Mohammad, Abdul Rahman bin Samara, together with Hasan Basri and a number of religious leaders to Zaranj. Samara besieged the city in 653. The governor of the area, Aparwez, conceded and agreed to pay a fine of two million dirhams and two thousand slaves. With the help of the religious leaders Abdul Rahman started preaching Islam but it was during this time that the news of the death of Hazrat Osman reached Seistan. Abdul Rahman left Amir bin Ahmar in Zaranj and himself went to Basra. Taking advantage of the absence of Abdul Rahman the people revolted against the governor and drove him away and they managed to break the noose of obedience to Arab rulers.

The Caliphate of Ali (655-660)

Hazrat Ali sent Abdul Rahman bin Jarwultayee as the governor of Seistan (in the year 656). He was killed in a battle with Haska bin O'tab. Abdullah bin Abas, who was the governor of Basra, sent 4000 men, under the command of Rabe' bin Kas Anbari, to vanquish Ibn O'tab. Rabe' killed Ibn O'tab and captured Seistan and under the command of Sagar bin Da'oor and Haris bin Mara reached as far as Qaiqan (the Qalat of present day Baluchistan). Twenty thousand Qaiqani locals fiercely resisted the Arab forces but got scattered in 658 after some bloody battles in which thousands of their men were taken prisoners by the Moslem forces.

In 657 an Arab force, under the command of Abdul Rahman bin Samara, by way of Seistan and the Arghandab valley managed to besiege Kabul. Kabul Shah who himself participated in this battle eventually succumbed to the Arab force.

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Mahoy, the regent of Merv, during the time of Hazrat Ali, went to Kufa and showed his willingness to obey Arab domination. Hazrat Ali gave him a decree so that the farmers and local chieftains of Khorasan would pay tax to him. But the people of Khorasan revolted and Jada bin Habira Makhzomi (whose mother was Om Hani, daughter of Abu Taleb) was sent to subjugate them. But this person also did not manage to capture Khorasan.

The Umayyid Period (661–749)

In 660 Ma'wiya bin Sultan took charge of the reigns of the Islamic nation and sent the Islamic army in two fronts to the north and south of Khorasan. In the northern front Qais bin Alhaitham took over Herat, Badghis and Fushanj and reached Balkh where he destroyed the Nau Bahar temple. His deputy Ata Khaskh built three bridges over three rivers in Balkh which were famous as the bridges of Ata. After this until the year 665 the following individuals were the Islamic regents in the area. Abdullah bin Khazem was in Balkh; Nafe' bin Khaled in Herat, Badghis, Fushanj and Qadis; Qais bin Alhaitham in Taloqan, Faryab and Merv al Rud; Amir bin Ahmr in Merv; and Hakh bin Omar al-Ghafari was the regent in other areas of Khorasan representing the Omayyid court. In 671 when Walid bin Harasi became the governor of Khorasan he moved 50,000 Arabs to the area. After that Sa'id bin Osman was sent to the province of Khorasan who, for the first time, dispatched the Arab army to Trans Oxiana also. After him Abdul Rahman bin Zyad became the governor of Khorasan who stayed there until Ma'wiya's death.

With the death of Ma'wiya, Yazd sent Salim bin Ziyad to take charge of the governorship of Khorasan and after the death of Yazd he appointed Muhalib as the governor. With the departure of Salim the people revolted against Muhalib as a result of which Suleiman bin Yazd was sent to take charge of Merv, Taloqan and Gozgan and Abdullah bin Khazim became the regent of other areas of Khorasan. But during this time contentions arose among the Arab regents and Abdullah appointed his son, Musa, in his place and himself went to Herat to besiege Bani Rabiya' and Bani Tamim. After one year of war, in which 8,000 people lost their lives, he took over Herat by force and handed it over to his son after 683.

Abdullah bin Khazem stayed in Khorasan until the reign of Abdul Malik Omawi. In 691 Waqe' bin Omaira was sent by the caliph who killed Abdullah, cut his head and took control of Khorasan. But in 697 Hujaj, the governor of Iraq, relegated control of Khorasan to Mohaleb. Mohaleb crossed the Mervalrod and went as far as Balkh where he crossed the Amu (Oxus) river and continued his battles for two years in Trans Oxiana and then returned to Balkh.

After the death of Mohaleb in 701, Hujaj appointed his son Yazid bin Mohaleb as governor of Khorasan and after him, his brother Mafzal bin Abi Sufra, became the governor. In 703 he captured Badghis. In 705 when the famous Arab conqueror, Qutaiba bin Muslim returned from Seistan Hujaj interceded the caliph, Abdul Malik, to appoint Qutaiba as the regent of Khorasan. Qutaiba came to Merv and from there captured Balkh, Taloqan, and Takharistan and enslaved many in Balkh after which he started his conquest of Trans Oxiana. Qutaiba declared Khorasan, Takharistan and Balkh as the center of the source of his major conquests and whenever he returned from his military adventures in Trans Oxiana he recruited fresh troops into his army from Khorasan, Takhar and Balkh. From 705 to 710 Qutaiba was

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a strong-willed conqueror, who with his army of 53,000 men capitulated all his opponents from the province of Khorasan all the way to Aqasi of Takharistan. One of the defender of the northern provinces of Afghanistan was Neyzak Badghisi who was appointed as regent by Yabgho Malik of Takharistan in 703. For a time he was allied with Qutaiba in his conquests of the area stretching along the banks of the Oxus river.

When he reached Nau Bahar of Balkh he declared independence and united the people of Balkh, Mervalrud, Taloqan, Paryab (present day Maimana) and Gozganan (present day Sar-e Pul) against Qutaiba. Kabul Shah also promised his assistance. In the spring of 709 Qutaiba attacked Takharistan and confronted Neyzak's force in Taloqan whose army was routed by Qutaiba and his two sons were killed. Neyzak went to his center, Baghlan, and Qutaiba captured Samangan and besieged Neyzak in the Kazr fortress for two months but was unable to capture it. Finally Qutaiba sent a person by the name of Salim to reconcile with Neyzak who was taken to Qutaiba under the promise of a pardon. However, Qutaiba killed him and his two nephews together with 12,000 of his supporters. In this way he managed to quell the resistance in all of the present day northern provinces of Afghanistan by 709. After this animosity developed between Qutaiba and the Omawaid ruler, Walid bin Abdul Malik. Qutaiba started a revolt against the caliphate in Khorasan and the Omayid court managed to kill Qutaiba in 714 with the help of Waki, their military commander. After this no major events took place in Khorasan for a while but the people were against the Bani Omawiya and wanted to change the caliphate back to the prophetic mission.

Since Bani Omawiya were at odds with Bani Hashim and the Imam family therefore Hazrat Yahya bin Zaid (from the Ali family) left Kofa for Balkh and captured the governor of Balkh, Eqil bin Mafzal, who was a protégé of the Omayid court and imprisoned him. In the year 723 Hasham the Omayid died and Walid bin Yazid wrote a letter to Nasr Sayar, the amir of Khorasan, to free Yahya. After being freed Yahya together with 70 of his companions fell into the trap of the agents of the Omayids and after a fierce battle he was killed in 742 in Gozganana. His body remained hanging on a pole until the departure of Abu Muslim.

Among other incidents which took place around 725 is the advance of Asad bin Abdullah, the Arab governor of Khorasan, into Ghor and Gharjistan and a battle with the local ruler of Gharjistan, Namrod and the people of Ghor. As a result the revolt of the people ended and Nemrod was converted to Islam.

Events at the Southern Front

In 663 Ma'wiya once again sent Abdul Rahman bin Samara as governor of Seistan who quelled all the rebellions in the region in the next two years. Later he headed for Bost and Kesh (Keshk-e Nakhud of Kandahar), Dawar (Zamindawar on the banks of the Helmand river) and Rakhj (Arachosia of Arghandab valley) and reached the Zor mountain, located between Zamindawar and Ghor, and the large temple of Zor. Abdul Rahman shattered the golden idol of the temple which was embedded with eyes of rubies. He then headed for Zabul, the Tarnak valley and Ghazni and ended up in Kabul. After surrounding the city he

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penetrated it by using catapults and stayed there for some time. In the ensuing battle, Abu Refa' Abdullah Adwi Tamin bin Asad, a companion of the Prophet, was killed in 665 whose shrine is famous in Kabul.

The same year Ibn Samara sent an army, under the command of Faris al-Farsan Muhalib bin Abi Safra, to conquer the eastern provinces. Muhalib marched from Kabul to Peshawar and defeated the army of Kabul Shah, comprised of regiments of 7 large elephants (every elephant was accompanied by 4,000 men). He took over Bana and Lahore, located on the Indus river. Abdul Rahman appointed Muhalib as commander and passed through Multan and captured Qandabeel (Gandha Baheel located 5 parasangs, about 30 kms, from Qasdar near Qalat of Baluchistan). This was the first Arab invasion in the area on the far side of the Khyber pass which took place from Kabul.

In 666 Rabi al-Harasi was appointed as governor of Seistan and the following year he attacked Bost and Rakhj (Rakhz), engaged in battle with Ratbel (the king of Zabulistan) and defeated him. Rabi established the finance, accounting and advocacy offices in Zabulistan, Arghandab valley and Seistan and with the help of Hasan Basri established law and order in the region. After this Abdullah bin Abi Bakra came to Seistan in 671 and fought with the Zoroastrians of the area and then went Bost, Rakhj and Kabul and clashed with Ratbel. Peace was settled with the payment of two million dirhams and Ratbel surrendered and Abdullah returned back to Seistan.

In 679 Ma'wiya appointed Ebad bin Ziyad as governor of Seistan. He too crossed the Helmand river and made his way to Kandahar and Kabul and engaged with the local forces who had come to meet him and defeated them. Ebad remained the governor of Seistan until the end of the Ma'wiya period. When Yazid became the king, Ebad who had plundered 20 million dirhams and other valuables from the riches of Kabul and had transferred them to the treasury of Seistan, went to Basra. It was in 681 that Yazid bin Ziyad was sent to Seistan as governor and Bu Obeid bin Ziyar as the military commander. This was the time when the people of Afghanistan, under the leadership of the king of Kabul, rebelled against the Arab appointees and were engaged in a resurrection for their freedom. Yazid and Bu Obeid attacked Kabul but faced fierce resistance and Yazid was killed in the ensuing battle and the commander, Bo Obeid, was taken prisoner in Kabul. The Omayyid court sent Talha al-Talhat and Omar, his brother, to administer Seistan and each Arab commander took control of the different regions of Afghanistan. When Marwan al-Hukan ascended the Omayyid throne in Syria he sent Abdul Aziz bin A'mer, who had experience in running the affairs of Seistan, as the governor of the province. He consolidated the Arab force in Seistan in 685. Since the people of Afghanistan were fed up with taking orders from Arab governors he marched on Bost and Kabul and engaged with Ratbel Shah of Zabul and defeated him. After clearing Kabul and Zabul he returned back to Seistan with extensive riches and slaves. He stayed as governor of Seistan until 692 when Abdul Malik Omawi was king. During the same year Abdul Malik sent Hujaj as governor of Seistan. Hujaj sent Amiya bin Abdullah to Seistan who in 693 attacked Bost and fought with Ratbel Shah of Zabul and forced him to provide a kharwar (80 kg) of gold and two million dirhams. In addition he took 300,000 dirhams from Ratbel Shah for himself. In 694 Abdul Malik dismissed Abdullah as governor of Seistan and sent Musa bin Talha instead. Since the affairs of Seistan had deteriorated once again, Obeidullah bin Abi Bakra (Obeid bin Bakra), who had experience in the region, was sent to Nemroz. In

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695 he sent a large force under the command of Harish bin Bastam to Seistan and took over the city of Zaranj and attacked Bost by way of the Bakwa desert and made his way to Zabul and Kabul. But Ratbel managed to vanquish this force and forced Abdullah to pay 700,000 dirhams and established peace with him a year later. Facing disgrace Abdullah died in Bost. His son, Bo Barda' attacked Ratbel and asked for a payment of 700,000 dirhams and then went to Seistan. On the other hand Hujaj prepared a force of 10,000 cavalry under the command of Abdul Rahman bin Ashas and sent it to Seistan in 700.

When Abdul Rahman arrived in Seistan Hamiyan bin A'di, the commander of the rebels faced him with his strong force in Seistan, but Hamiyan was defeated and Abdul Rahman killed a number of his leaders and after that attacked Bost. He fought a fierce battle with Ratbel of Zabul and returned back to Seistan with a large amount of loot. As Abdul Rahman strengthened his hold on Seistan, Zabul, Kabul and Sind he turned into a rebel and in 701 went to Iraq to fight Hujaj but was defeated there and he returned back to Zaranj of Seistan. It was during this time that Hujaj sent a letter to Muhalib, the governor of Northern Khorasan, who sent a large contingent under the command of Mafzal to subdue Abdul Rahman who retreated from Seistan to Bost. Mafzal's army chased him and a major battle took place between Bost and Rakhj. Abdul Rahman was defeated and fled to Zabulistan and asked Ratbel for refuge. Hujaj sent Omara bin Tamin as an emissary to Ratbel and exempted him from any financial payments and made him a promise of permanent peace. Ratbel captured Abdul Rahman and his companion, Abu al-Anbar, and wanted to hand them over to the emissary of Hujaj but both of them jumped off the roof and were killed. These incidents took place in Rakhj (Rakhd) of Arghandab valley in 703 and 704.

In 705 Musma' bin Malik was sent to Seistan who fought several battles with the rebel Abu Khalda and captured him but Musma' died the same year and was replaced by Quteiba bin Muslim who concentrated his attention on Khorasan and sent Ashas bin Bashar to Seistan. He clashed with Ratbel in 706 in Bost and afterwards Omro bin Muslim, Quteiba's brother, repeated the quest to subjugate Ratbel but in the end settled on a peace deal for 800,000 dirhams. In 715 Quteiba himself paid a visit to Seistan from Khorasan. Ratbel feared him and agreed to pay a yearly tribute of one million dirhams.

Until 726 several persons were sent as governors to Seistan but they did not go any further than Seistan. During the reign of Hasham Omawi, Asfah bin Abdullah came here with Mohammad bin Jahsh as his military commander. In 730 he left Seistan and fought several battles with Ratbel Zabuli in which many Moslems and Asfah himself were killed. After this discontent brewed up among the Arab tribes in Seistan which lasted until 747. The Omayid kingdom sent several persons as governors and the civil war continued until the fall of the Omayid empire. The Arab armies that came by way of sea occupied Sind and Mohammad bin Qasem, the famed conqueror, managed to capture renowned cities such as Armabel, Debal, Neyron, Sewastan, Ashihar, Brahmanabad, Aror (Ruhari), Babiya and Multan until 714. After this Sind remained under the control of Arab commanders from Multan to Peshawar. In this way the Moslem armies managed to continue their conquests in Afghanistan. But as mentioned earlier the people of Afghanistan, from Merv and Seistan to Kabul and Peshawar, continued their quest for freedom against the Arab forces and bloodshed and conflict continued in the mountainous country. When the Ratbel and

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Kabul Shah families, in Zabul and Kabul, would face defeat they would retreat to Gardez, Peshawar and Waihind, regroup their forces and vanquish the Arab forces. One century passed in such turmoil but the people of Afghanistan defended their freedom with virility and gradually accepted Islam.

During this time the province of Gandahara, from Kabul to Peshawar and Waihind all the way to the Indus river and Taxila, was under the Greco-Buddhist civilization and large Buddhist and Brahman temples existed in the land.

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The Abasid Period (749-820)

One hundred and thirty years of Islamic rule by the Rashida caliphate and the Omayid Emirate was filled with constant strife in Afghanistan. The people of the land were first against the Arab political and military domination and supported the Hashimites in the conflict between the Bani Hashim and Bani Omya. After embracing Islam they laid down their arms and were constantly trying to ensure that the Bani Hashim are in power. During this period they tried to maintain their independence and power.

One famous dignitary of Khorasan, Abdul Rahman, famous as Abu Muslim Marwazi bin Bendad Hurmazd (born in 718) was from Makhan, three parsangs from Merv, became a legendary leader and in 741 visited Kufa at the age of 23 and met with Imam Ibrahim Abasi in Mecca and encouraged people to accept the al-Abbas. After returning from his journey in 749 he traveled in the northern provinces of Afghanistan and gathered people from Merv to Takharistan around him and declared the al-Abas caliphate and raised the black flag, which was the sign of the movement. He lit a large fire in Lashkargah and gave himself the title of Shahenshah (king of kings).

Nasr bin Sayar, the Omayid governor of Khorasan, developed animosity toward Abu Muslim and Marwan Omayid in 748 wrapped the head of Imam Ibrahim in lime and killed him. His brother, Abdullah, fled to Kufa but Abu Muslim marched toward Kufa with troops from Khorasan and in 749 read the sermon in the grand mosque of Kufa in the name of Abdullah Safa Abasi and declared the fall of the Abbasid caliphate. After making this important and radical statement he returned back to Merv. He organized the affairs of Khorasan until 752 and also took control of Trans Oxiana and in 753 entered Mecca with royal pomp and magnificence. Caliph Mansur Duwaneqi, brother of Safa, feared Abu Muslim's popularity and killed him in 755 at the age of 37 and kept Khorasan under the helm of the Abbasid empire. In the same year the charisma raised by Abu Muslim came to life again and the Zoroastrian, Feroz Sindbad, from the village of Ahrawana, west of Herat, raised an army of 100,000 men to revenge the death of Abu Muslim and gain their independence from the Abbasids. He went to the west of Tabri and Tabaristan. Mansur, the Abbasid Caliph, sent a large force under the command of Jahur bin Marar A'jali to combat Sindbad,

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who together with 60,000 of his followers was killed in the ensuing battle. Another independence movement by the people of Khorasan took place in 762 under the leadership of Berazbanda under a white banner. Caliph Mansur sent his son, Al-Mehdi, to counter the rebellion. Berazbanda's army was defeated and he was killed in the battle. This defeat took place on July 16, 758.

The people of Bost and Kandahar once again rebelled against Mansur in 761 and fought with Zaher bin Mohammad Azdi, the governor of Seistan. In 767 Seis Herawai from Badghis together with Harish Seistani rebelled and the caliph sent a force of 24,000 under Hazim bin Hazima to combat Seis Herawi. Under the orders of the caliph, Omro and Abi A'un, sons of Quteiba, marched against the rebels from Takharistan killing about 70,000 followers of Seis, who was taken prisoner and was killed in Baghdad. Haroon married his daughter Marjila, who was the mother of Mamun. In 768 the people of Zaranj also rebelled and the inhabitants of Seistan, under the direction of local leaders, Mohammad bin Shadad and the Zoroastrian Azroya bin Marzban fought against Khalifa Mansur. The governor of Seistan, Yazid bin Mansur defeated Khalifa. In 777 another person, Hashim bin Hakim, from Kaza village of Merv revolted and gathered people around him under the name of the white garmented from Herat, Badghis and Merv. He crossed the Oxus river but was annihilated together with his army of 30,000 by the Abbasid forces in 779. Around 776 Yusuf al-Barm rose in Khorasan and raised the banner of rebellion in Maimana, Murghab and Poshanj but was taken prison in the ensuing battle by Yazid bin Mazid, the governor of Khorasan, and was killed in Baghdad.

During the reign of Safa, a person by the name of Bo Asem, took over the governorship of Seistan. The Abbasid court sent Suleiman Kandi from Khorasan and killed Bo Asem. He also fought with Ratbel in Bost and killed him in 755. The people of Seistan once again rebelled under the leadership of Hazin bin Reqad in 758. Mansur Abasi sent Henadi al-Sari and later Khaled al-Mehdi Yazid bin Mansur as governors to Seistan in 763 but after a while he returned and was replaced by Ma'an bin Zayeda in 768 who went as far as Rakhj (in the Arghandab valley). He fought against Ratbel and captured Ratbel's son in law, named Mawand or Mawed, together with 30,000 prisoners and sent Mawand to Baghdad. In 769 the people of Seistan killed Ma'an by ripping off his guts and the activity of rebels in Seistan increased. In 775 Hamza bin Malek was sent to Seistan by Caliph Mehdi to quell the rebellion in Seistan. Among other important events in Seistan is the governorship of Tamim bin Sa'id who was sent to Seistan by the Mehdi court in 785. He attacked Bost and Rakhj and fought Ratbel, took his brother as prisoner and sent him to Iraq.

During the reign of Harun-al-Rashid Ja'far bin Mohammad Tusi and two years later Abas bin Ja'far were assigned as governors of Khorasan. In 790 Khaled al-Ghatrif and in 792 Hamza bin Malik served as governors in Khorasan. In the year 793 Fazl bin Yahya Barmaki Balkhi was appointed as the governor of Khorasan by the Baghdad court. He set up a strong army under the name of The Khorasan Army which numbered half a million and gained ample influence. In 795 he returned to Baghdad and as a result of the strong army he had raised from the people of Khorasan he became a chief of the Abbasid court. The famous family of Barmakian Balkhi is related to him. During the reign of Harun-al-Rashid two of his sons, Fazl and Ja'far, became the viziers of the court. Eventually the caliphate got scared of their

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influence since the people of Khorasan also rebelled to gain their independence. Therefore Harun-al-Rashid killed all members of this family in 803 which had taken control of all aspects of administration of the Abbasid court.

After the emirate of Fazl Barmaki, Ali bin Essa bin Mahan was appointed governor of Khorasan in 796, followed by Harthama bin A'yen in 807 and Abas bin Ja'far in 809. In the year of the accession of Harun a rebellion took place in Seistan and Katir bin Salem, the Arab governor, fled to Baghdad. Following this Osman bin A'mara managed to subdue Seistan and fought against Ratbel in Rakhj and engaged in fierce battles with Bashar bin Farid and Hasin Seistani, who were rebelling in Bost and Seistan. After him Daud bin Bashar Seistani became the governor of Seistan in 792. Realizing their fallacy, the caliphate was forced to use a local administrator to quell the rebels. Daud first eliminated Hasin and managed to subdue Seistan. But in order to ensure that Daud may not gain power in Nemroz he was dismissed immediately and Yazid bin Jarir was sent as governor of Seistan. Yazid attacked Zabul and Kabul and after him Essa, the governor of Seistan, managed to march as far as Kabul in 798.

Another important event of this period is a brave warrior, Amir Hamza bin Abdullah Seistani, who was from the Tahmasap lineage, appeared in the year 798. Like other independence seekers of the past this ingenious personality raised the banner of independence and drove away Essa bin Ali, the governor appointed by Harun al Rashid. He took control of Zaranj and went to Herat and Poshanj looking for Essa but Essa managed to drive him back to Seistan. Hamza gathered fresh troops in Nemroz, once again attacked Neshapur and conducted formidable battles and returned back to Seistan in 804. The rise of this warrior from Nemroz created fear in the Abbasid power structure as the people of Khorasan and Nemroz raised their voice to gain independence. Because of this Caliph Harun al Rashid himself paid a visit to Khorasan in 808. Hamza accompanied by a force of 30,000 men went to Neshapur. Since the caliph died in Tus of Khorasan in February of 809 Hamza did not fight with the beleaguered remnants of the Abbasid force and returned to Seistan. He then marched toward Balochistan and Sind and conducted many successful battles. In 814 he returned from his sojourn and was killed in 818. The tale of his bravery and deeds was recited for centuries and he was recognized as a national warrior. Following in his footsteps, Harb bin Obeida, a resident of Khash of Seistan, took the torch of rebellion and fought against the Abbasid governors until 814 keeping the spirit of independence alive. Even though Abbasid governors would come to Seistan but the real power was in the hands of al-Taher.

The Suris of Ghor were among the influential families in Afghanistan who aided Abu Muslim Khorasani in establishing the caliphate of Aal Abas, who are the descendants of Mahui. Shansab bin Kharnak ruled in the mountains of Ghor toward the end of the Omayid period. His son, Amir Polad, accompanied Abu Muslim during his campaign in Khorasan in 747. Details of which will be discussed in the Ghorid period.

References: Tabari, al-Belazari, Tarekh-e Seistan, Tabaqat-e Naseri, Pata Khazana, Yaqubi, Tarekh-e al-Baramaka, Islamic Encyclopedia, Ibn-e Asir, Murawaj al Dahab, Ma'jam al Insab, Zein al Akhbar of Gardezi, Tarekh-e Afghanistan ba'd az Islam Vol. I, Al-Kamel of Ibn Asir, Majmal Fasihi, Ibn Khaldoon.

Social and Civil Status of Afghanistan During the Omayid and Abbasid Periods

As you read in the past chapters that during the period of the Rashiddin and Omawaid caliphs the people of Khorasan, Takharistan, Merv, Seistan, Zabul and Kabul rebelled against the Arab political domination several times. The Brahman Kabul Shahs and the Ratbels continued to resist Arab domination for 180 years in Kabul and Zabul after the ascendance of Islam. The effects of Buddhist and Brahman civilization remained alive in Kabul, Zabul, Takharistan and Balkh. In the western regions of Afghanistan such as Seistan, Herat, Gozganan and Merv the impact of Zoroastrian culture could be seen.

The resistance of the people, whether they were Buddhist or Zoroastrian, was arduous and the people of the country did not want to be subjugated by others. During the Omayid period the leaders of Khorasan gave this resistance an Islamic blend. In order to resist the Omayid empire they took up arms in support of the Hashamids and Khorasan became a sanctuary for the Hashimids. It must not be forgotten that even though the people were supportive of the Hashamids but the movement had a nationalistic foundation based on their wish to have their independence. It was these people who uprooted the Omawaid empire and they also weakened the base of the Abbasid empire. Bo Muslim Khorasani managed to elevate Ibrahim Imam and Safa to the high echelons of the Baghdad court. But as we witnessed the uprisings and perturbations did not cease in Khorasan and the people of the area fought the Abbasids just the way they had fought the Omayids. The struggle of national warriors who surfaced over time were not just fighting the Omayids just because they were supportive of the Hashamids as that would have meant that the struggle would have discontinued after the the Hashamids and the Abbasids came to power.

However, the people of Afghanistan continued their struggle for independence under different names such as in defense of their old religions, paganism, in support of the Hashamids, or as rebels. They all struggled for one objective, which was to gain their independence and end foreign domination over their land. Years later with the rise of Al Taher and Al Samanids the local leaders managed to attain their goals.

The two hundred year old struggle was beneficial for the people of Afghanistan in that they embraced Islam with a new progressive spirit and the consecutive struggle resulted in the establishment of local administrations and Khorasani culture was intermingled with Islamic and Arabic traditions resulting in the rise of strong individuals who defended and spread Islam as their old religion became eroded and was full of superstitions and delusions.

During the first two Hijera centuries Islam replaced Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Brahmanism in Afghanistan and the Arabic language and script spread all over Afghanistan. However in the eastern regions of Afghanistan Sanskrit language and script continued to be in use for two and half centuries together with the Arabic Kufic script. The oldest Arabic inscription, which was discovered from the Tuchi valley in eastern Afghanistan, dated September 857, is in Arabic and Sanskrit. This tablet is preserved in Peshawar museum.

Pahlavi language used in Herat, Seistan and Khorasan during this time was replaced by Dari and Islamic subjects such as Koranic interpretation, Hadith (words, actions and habits of the Prophet

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Mohammad), the study of time and age and virtues became prevalent in Afghanistan. Large Islamic madrassas were built in Zaranj, Balkh, Herat and Merv and famous Islamic scholars such as Imam Azam Abu Hanifa bin Sabet bin Zawti (north of Kabul), Ibn Al-mubarak Marwazi, Mohammad bin Keram Seistani, founder of the Kerami sect, Ibrahim bin Tuhman, Herati scholar of Mohammadan traditions, Abu Ashaq Ibrahim bin Yaqub, Jowzjani innovator, Ibrahim Adham, sufi from Balkh, Abu Suleiman Musa Jowzjani, Hanafi theologian, Ibrahim bin Rustam Mervi, follower of Bo Hanifa, Abu Daud Sajistani, scholar of laws and sayings of Mohammad, Abu Hatim Sahl bin Mohammad, scholar of Mohammadian traditions, Abu Jafar, astrologer from Balkh, Abu Quteiba, historian from Merv, Bashar bin Bard, Arabic poet from Takhar, and Ali bin al-Jaham, Arabic poet from Khorasan. It was through such prominent individuals that Arabic civilization, literature and administration was transferred to the Abbasid court. Arabic words mingled in the Dari language resulting in present day Dari. A mixed Arabic and Khorasani civilization developed and numerous Arab conquerors stayed in cities such as Herat, Zaranj, Balkh and Merv resulting in the intermarriage of Arabs with Aryans and the starting of Arab traditions in the land. Beside the resident Arabs a large number of Arab soldiers were engaged in wars in Khorasan. According to Ibn Asir 9,000 soldiers from Basra, 7,000 from the Bakr tribe, 10,000 from Tamim, 4,000 from Abd Qais, 10,000 from Azd and 7,000 Kufi soldiers were engaged in Khorasan under the command of Quteiba during the Omayid period. Quteiba also recruited local people and he mobilized 10 to 20 thousand locals who worked with the Arab army. This indicates that the Arab army in Khorasan was not more than 100,000 soldiers which conducted Islamic conquests in Trans Oxiana and all the way to the borders of China.

During the Omayid and Abbasid periods Islamic conquests made its way to most regions in Sind and western India and as a result Indian products such as medications, opals, textiles and industrial goods from Indian trading centers, such as Multan, Debal, Mansura, Waihind, Arur (Rahri), Qandabeel (Gandawi) and Qazdar (present day Khazdar), Turan, the Indus valley and Kashmir were exported by way of Zabul, Seistan and Herat to Iran, Iraq, and cities such as Baghdad and Damascus. According to Asthakri and Ibn Howqal white-sugar candy from Qazdar, Makran and Turan (present day Baluchistan) was exported all over Khorasan and Iraq. Al Bashari states that factories manufacturing the highest quality sugar were located in Turan.

Trading caravans from Punjab passed through Kabul, Ghazni and Khorasan on their way to Bukhara and Trans Oxiana and from there carried Chinese goods to India. Silk products from Khorasan and Merv composed some of the main trading goods which were also sent to China. According to Heid this trade expanded greatly during the Abbasid period. Indian china, iron from Khorasan, colorful textiles from Kashmir, musk and cinnamon from China, aloes-wood, sweet william, coconut and cotton textiles from India and Sind passed through Afghanistan on their way to the Arab countries. With stability of the Islamic government in Khorasan security was established there during the Samanid period and trade with China increased. Sultan Mahmud's conquests linked India with the Arab countries as a result of which trade expanded immensely all over Khorasan and the Central Asian countries.

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Abu Zaid Sayrafi wrote that successive caravans go from India to Khorasan and then return back. The main route these caravans used was through Zabulistan from where they went to Qazdar, Kaizkan (Qalat) and Makran and conducted trade with Sind by way of Shaal, the Bolan valley and Sebi (Sewi). According to Ibn-e Asir textiles produced in Herat were extremely popular and as a result of this the trade of Herawi clothing was called Hera. When Maqrezi talks about the famous Egyptian textiles he refers to delicate Khorasani products, such as velvet and brocades. This shows that Arab artisans in Egypt copied Khorasani textiles with the same name and quality.

According to Jouzjani Belhri was also an Indian trade center where Khorasani and Indian traders worked and the place was famous for the trade of musk, sugar cane and livestock. Other Khorasani and Indian trading centers were Jelwat, Belwat, Laghman, Denur and Wayhind. Wayhind was a center for the trade of musk, gems and expensive goblets.

According to Jouzjani, the author of *Hudud-al-Alam*, Khorasan was a productive region with gold, silver, turquoise and gem mines, the birthplace of horses, drugs, silk and cotton. Its largest trading center was Neshapur. Other cities with famous products were: Herat: canvas, skim milk and buttermilk; Malin: currants; Kurukh: raisins; Merv: high quality cotton, decorated goblets and cider; Gozghanan: horses, felts, carpets and mats; Taloqan: felts and carpets; Kandaram: felts; Balkh: oranges, sugar cane and morning glory; Takharistan: sheep, cereals and various fruits; Samangan (present day Aibak) carpets and fruits; Banjaher (present day Panjsher) silver and argent; Ghor: armor, cuirass and weapons; Seistan: floor covering, rugs, dates and asafetida; Bost (large center of trading with India): dried fruits, canvas and soap; Badghis: saffron; Badakshan: silver, gold, lapis and amber.

The German historian, Voncramer, writes that the swords from Sheberghan were popular in the Abbasid kingdom and Indian swords were also traded via this place. Felts, carpets and other woolen products from Taloqan had widespread fame and cloaks and clothes made from goat hair were in common usage.

Large cities in Khorasan, Seistan and Zabul, which were centers of trading, are an indicator of the agricultural and industrial development of the area.

Historical documents shows that the Omayid and Abbasid governments collected various kinds of Islamic and land taxes from these provinces. According to Jehshiyari and Ibn Khaldoon the taxes according to regions were:

Khorasan: 28,000,000 dirhams, 2,000 silver blocks, 4000 cattle, 1,000 slaves, 20,000 garments and 30,000 pounds of citrus fruits.

Seistan: 4,000,000 dirhams, 300 garments and 20,000 pounds of sugar candy.

Turan and Makran: 400,000 dirhams.

But according to Qudama bin Jafar, during time of peace, the revenue of the Abbasid government was:

Khorasan: 37,000,000 dirhams.

Seistan: 1,000,000 dirhams.

Turan and Makran: 1,000,000 dirhams.

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But the author of History of Seistan provides the revenue from Seistan after Islam as follows:

Bost, Rakhd, Kabul, Zabul, Nowzad, Zamindawar, Isfazar and Khajistan: one million dirhams.

Revenue from Seistan until 200 Hijra: 38 million dirhams. The same author, regarding the taxes on Seistan, states that all the taxes of Seistan are 5,397,000 dirhams of which 58,000 dirhams are net tribute taxes and 5,312,000 dirhams include the rest of taxes.

Using official documents, Ibn Khardazba provides important information around 846 which reveals that financial and administrative structure of the caliphate was similar to the system which existed in Khorasan before Islam. The golden coin was a dinar which contained 4.25 grams of gold and the silver coin was dirham which contained 2.97 grams of silver. *Kili* was the weight measure for goods paid as taxes, which was called a *kar* and was 6 *kharwars* (about 42 kg.).

Ibn Khardazba provides figures on the revenue of eastern regions as follows:

Seistan 6,776,000 dirhams.

Rakhj, Zabulistan and Zamindawar as far as Takharistan 147,000 dirhams.

Sarkhas 307,400 dirhams.

Shahjan Merv 1,147,000 dirhams.

Merv Rud 420,000 dirhams.

Badghis 440,000 dirhams

Herat, Asfzar and Kanj Rustaq 1,159,000 dirhams.

Poshang 559,350 dirhams.

Taloqan between Merv–al–Rud and Balkh 21,300 dirhams.

Gharistan between Herat and Merv Rud and Ghazni 100,000 dirhams and 2000 sheep.

Environs of Takharistan between Balkh and Jayhoon 106,600 dirhams.

Faryab 55,000 dirhams

Qabroghan (Qataghan?) 4,000 dirhams

Gozganan 154,000 dirhams

Bonza 2000 dirhams

Barmakhan and Banjar 206,000 dirhams

Khatlan, Balkh and Kohistan 193,300 dirhams

Mandajan 2000 dirhams

Khulm 12,300 dirhams

Roab and Samangan 12,600 dirhams

Bamian 5,000 dirhams

Kabul 2,000,500 dirhams cash and 2000 concubines worth 600,000 dirhams.

Rewsharan 10,000 dirhams.

Makran 1,000,000 dirhams

Sheghnan 40,000 dirhams

Wakhan 20,000 dirhams

Kest (Khost) 10,000 dirhams

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Akhrun 32,000 dirhams.

In this revenue the tributary sums were received from non-Moslems such as Hindus and other believers of heavenly entities. According to Imam Abu Yusuf in Khorasan each person paid three dinars. However the poor and needy were exempt from paying this tax. This amount was levied during the period of Abdul Malik Omawi. According to Maqrizi, during the Omayid period, the tax on one jereeb (half acre) of vineyard was 10 dirhams, palm grove 8 dirhams, sugar cane grove 6 dirhams, orchard 5 dirhams, wheat field 4 dirhams, and barley field 2 dirhams.

From this historical study we can conclude that the total revenue of the Arab state of Khorasan from Neshapur to Sind and from the Oxus river to the Arabian Sea, according to Qedama and the unknown author of History of Seistan, was about 44 million dirhams. According to Jahsheyari and Ibn-e Khaldoon and Ibn-e Khardad the total revenue was 45 million dirhams. If, according to Maqrizi, we consider the weight of 10 dirhams to be 6 or 7 misqals (30 to 35 grams) silver and each misqal had a value of 5 afghanis then the total revenue was 225 million afghanis.

Varied information exists regarding the revenue of Arab states but we do not have any information of expenditure. Only the unknown author of History of Seistan has provided a precise list of expenditures in Seistan from which one can determine the expenditure of the government at the time. We will use that to estimate the expenditure of the state during that time based on the budgets of the present time in one of the provinces of the Arab states.

The author provides the expenditure of Seistan to be 5,397,000 dirhams and explains it as:

The king's budget 2,000,000 dirhams

Repair of Taymuq? 2,000,000 dirhams (probably the Helmand river dam)

Repair of the city's fortress 12,000 dirhams

Repair of flooded areas 4,000 dirhams

Repair of various fortresses 50,000 dirhams

Money for prisoners 30,000 dirhams

Month of fasting expenditures for mosques 30,000 dirhams (payment of orator and keeper of mosque during Ramadan 30 dirhams)

Payment to muezzins 20,000 dirhams

Release of 100 individuals every year 500 dirhams

Hospital expenses 10,000 dirhams

Dams maintenance 25,000 dirhams

Police salaries 30,000 dirhams

Tax clerks and finance chief 50,000 dirhams

Justice personnel 20,000 dirhams

Sand restoration 30,000 dirhams

Earth dams on rivers 50,000 dirhams

Bridges and canals of Helmand river 30,000 dirhams

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Besides these specified expenses, the author of History of Seistan indicates that the rest of the revenue was saved to be used to help travelers and the poor and other expenditures which were the authority of the governor.

Beside the coins which were minted by the Omayid and Abbassid governments in all the Islamic provinces in Khorasan, as far as the banks of the Indus river, certain non-Islamic coins were in circulation. On these coins, which were from the Sassanid kings or the Buddhist kings of Gandahara, Punjab and Bactria, the name of the caliph and the word *taiba* (good), was also inscribed.

The governors of the Abbasid Caliphate in Neshapur, who were sent to Khorasan, had permission to mint coins in their names. As such Hamid bin Qahtaba (circa 768), Abdul Malik bin Yazid (circa 776), Jafar bin Mohammad (circa 787), Ali bin Essa (circa 769), Hartama bin A'yin (circa 807) and Gasan bin A'bad (circa 817) minted coins in their names specimens of which are available. Abu Muslim Khorasani minted a coin in his name in Merv under the name Abdul Rahman bin Muslim. This coin exists until the present time.

With the conquest of Islamic armies coins of Arabic governments were circulated in all the captured countries. Maqrizi explains that during the Islamic period Hazrat Omar Faruq minted dirham coins in the style, form and weight of Sassanid coins on which the words In the name of God and Mohammad is his prophet were written. The ten dirham silver coin weighed 30 grammes and Hazrat Osman inscribed the words God is Great on this coin. During the time of king Ma'wiya, Ziyad bin Abusafyan, in Basra and Kufa, issued a ten dirham coin which weighed 35 grammes. A coin minted during the time of Ma'wiya in Damascus contained the form of a human with a sword around the neck. During the Omayid period, Masa'b bin Zubair minted coins in Iraq based on the Omayid coins. Abdul Malik Omawi, by means of pilgrims, circulated dirhams in Iraq with a weight of 30 grammes and the words, there is one God, inscribed on them.

After 816 local kings established their kingdoms in Khorasan and each family of kings such as the Taherids, Samanids, Safarids and Ghaznavids, who were contemporaries of the Abbasid kings, established minting factories in Neshapur, Tus, Herat, Zaranj, Bost, Ghazni, Bukhara, Samarkand, Merv, Balkh, Rai and other cities and minted gold and silver coins with the writing in Kufic script. Both the names of the king and the caliph were inscribed on the coins. Some coins of the Sultan Mahmud period were also minted with Sanskrit script. It is possible these coins were minted in those regions of India which were conquered by Sultan Mahmud.

Astakhri and Ibn Howqal mention a coin which was in use in the eastern regions of Afghanistan as far as the Indus river which was called Qanhari related to Gandahara, the land between Kabul and Rawalpindi. It was minted by the Ismaili ruler of Multan and Ludiya. This coin was the equivalent to 5 Iraqi dirhams and the pure gold coin was equal to three Indian dirhams.

Maqsadi points out that the weight measure of *mun* in Mansura, Multan, Kandahar and Turan was equal to the Mecca *mun* and another weight measure was called *keji* which was equal to 40 *muns* and used in Keji and Turan.

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The political division of the Omayid empire was such that the conquered territories of Khorasan, Trans Oxiana, up to Kabul, Punjab and Sind were considered part of the Iraqi Arab province and the governor of Iraq sent two emissaries with one stationed in Merv, to administer Khorasan, and the other to administer Kabul, Punjab and Sind. But with the expansion of Islamic conquest, during the Abbasid period in Afghanistan, the administrative structure changed and the region was divided into several provinces.

First the province of Khorasan which extended from Herat to Balkh and Takharistan. Second the province of Sajistan which extended to Kabul. Third from Turan to Makran and the Indus river. The structure of financial and revenue offices was based on the pattern of the time. Khwarazmi has provided a good explanation of the system and states that tax was levied in three ways: first cash or bartering, second division (tax on harvest) and third distribution (tax which was decided between the government and estate holder).

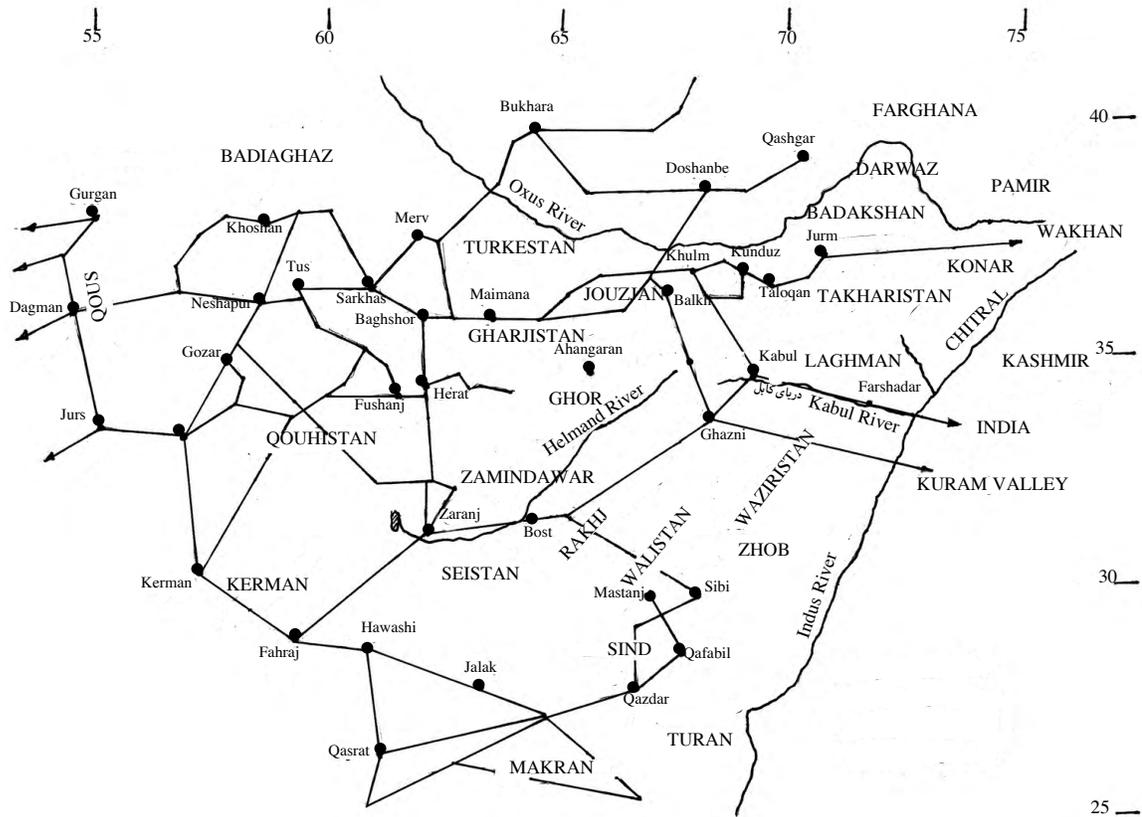
There were courts and offices to resolve financial issues, postage, military, correspondence, charity, exports, endowment, salaries, police and justice in all provinces. According to Ibn Khaldoon clerks played an important role in administration, who were considered to be trustworthy by the Arab governors. Several individuals would be assigned to conduct this task at one time. The decrees and official documents were all prepared by the clerks. The work which is done by a minister and a secretary was handled by the clerks. After the clerks the chamberlain conducted the duties of the minister of court and most of the work was done by the chamberlain and the army was divided into the cavalry and infantry divisions. They were armed with swords, spears, armor, bows and arrows, catapults and a tank like vehicle under which soldiers took cover. The uniform of the soldiers consisted a shirt, trouser and slippers (similar to the dress of the mountain people of Afghanistan). A unit had five flanks, the center in which the general commander stayed, the right flank, the left flank, the forward and flanks were made up of the cavalry. Most of the major commanders were probably Arabs.

The Judiciary

In the Omayid period scholars, companions and followers of the caliph were appointed as judges by the caliph or the governors of the provinces in the provincial centers or important cities. These justices made their judicial decisions based on the Koran, the sunna (traditions), social issues and analogy. They had the freedom of making decisions based on Sharia (Islamic jurisprudence) law and were not under the influence of politicians. According to Caliph Omar bin Abdulaziz they had five qualities: knowledge, lack of greed, forbearance, dignity and association with people of knowledge. They wrote their judicial decisions in bound registers. Some of the justices did not receive government salaries and the salaries of those who received government money totaled to 1000 dinars a year. There were Sharia superintendents for vice and virtue, weights and measures, trading affairs and propaganda of religious affairs. Islamic scholars and followers of Prophet Mohammad were sent to the conquered states such as Khorasan and surrounding regions to propagate Islam. As an example in 667, Rabi al Thani, the Arab governor of Seistan and Zabulistan, with the help of Hasan Basri, a famous scholar of the time, implemented Islamic laws.

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Cities and roads of Khorasan.

Part Three

The Taherid Independent Islamic Period (820–873)

The head of this family was Taher, son of Hussain bin Mas'ab bin Razeq bin Mahyan, which was an influential family of Poshang (Zenda Jan located west of Herat). Mas'ab bin Razeq was a celebrated literary figure, who during the Abbasid Period, was in charge of the government of Poshanj. After him his son, Husain was in charge of Poshanj in 796. Husain was born in 776 and was the governor of Syria and Baghdad. He died in 815. His son, Taher, became a courageous freedom fighter in Khorasan and he established the first Islamic national government in Khorasan and the efforts of all those who had fought for independence for the past 200 years bore fruit.

After the death of Harun-al-Rashid antagonism developed between his sons, Amin and Mamun. Amin who was governor of Baghdad sent Ali bin Mahan with 60 thousand troops to fight against his brother in 814. Mamun, who was in Khorasan, sent 4 Khorasani armies under the command of Taher Poshanji, and Ali was killed in battle and Amin's army was defeated. Taher attacked Baghdad and killed Amin and declared Mamun as king of Baghdad and thus managed to gain great glory. As a result first he was appointed as governor of Syria and later governor of Khorasan and was bestowed the title of ambidextrous in 814.

After coming to Khorasan Taher first worked on unification of administration and stability of Khorasan and in three years attached Kerman, Seistan, Herat, Neshapur, Merv, Jouzjan, Balkh and Takharasan to his center of power and by 820 he freed himself from these conquests and set up working on a plan of independence. He reminded the people of Khorasan the splendor of the past. After gaining assurance about the centralization of provinces he gathered the people of Khorasan around him and declared the independence of Khorasan on November 13, 822. He did not mention the name of Mamun during Friday prayers. This was the first day in the 200 years history of Khorasan that the wish of the people to gain their independence came to fruition and the foundation of a national government was laid by Taher Foushanji. Unfortunately this brave and courageous man died that same night. His son, Talha, who was the governor of Seistan, took over his father legacy of independence and for six years ruled justly and with kindness. The Baghdad government also recognized his leadership as it feared the independence minded people of Khorasan. In 827 Talha fought with Hamza in Seistan but in the same year this just and pious king passed away and his brother, Abdullah bin Taher (born in 798) was declared king, who was governor in Syria and Egypt for some time and later fought against Babak Khorami in Pars under the orders of the Baghdad court. The Baghdad court officially recognized him to lead the Khorasan emirate. Abdullah's relationship with Baghdad was extremely friendly and he constantly fought against the enemies of the Baghdad court and subdued them. In 834 he imprisoned Imam Zada bin Qasem in Taloqan and sent him to Baghdad. In 835 he defeated Mazyar bin Qarin, the governor of Tabristan and his governors in Seistan suppressed several rebellions in Seistan.

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Abdullah ruled over all of Khorasan and the western parts of Afghanistan for 17 years and died in 844. He was a man of literature, a scholar and builder. During his reign a major earthquake took place in Khorasan in 838 and in 835 an extreme drought took place in Seistan.

After Abdullah his son, Taher II, ruled for 18 years. During his rule the uprising of the people of Seistan took place, under the leadership of Saleh bin Nazr and Yaqub Lyce, resulting in the downfall of the Safarid emirate. This was due to the fact that Taher had appointed Ibrahim bin Hazin as the governor of Seistan. Ibrahim appointed his incapable son, Ahmad, as regent of Bost. Ahmad fought with Osman bin Nasr, Ahmad Basti and Bashar Basti, who were renowned figures of the province. The people of Bost and Seistan went against the Taherids and in 852 they formed an allegiance with Saleh in Bost. As a result of this turmoil Yaqub Lyce came to power and in 860 he managed to free Seistan from the authority of Taher, who died in 862.

Mohammad, son of Taher, heir to throne, was an incapable, pleasure-seeking and lazy individual. Yaqub Lyce overpowered him and in 872 imprisoned him. From this family Ibrahim bin Mohammad bin Talha bin Abdullah bin Taher was in Merv in 881 and Khejistani defeated him in 891. Ahmad bin Mohammad was in Khwarazm in 880 and Taher III bin Mohammad was the regent in Neshapur from 873 to 895. Five kings from this lineage ruled only over western and northern Afghanistan while Ratbel and Kabul Shah ruled over the southern and eastern regions of Afghanistan. The Taherid family maintained friendly ties with the Baghdad caliphate and their court and the literary language was Arabic and they worked against the remnant elements of Zoroastrian religion in Afghanistan. As such Abdullah burned Zoroastrian books in 828.

List of Taherid rulers of Afghanistan:

1. Taher bin Husain Fushanji 820–822.*
2. Talha bin Taher 822–828.*
3. Abdullah bin Taher 828–845.*
4. Taher II bin Abdullah 845–862.*
5. Mohammad bin Taher II 862–873.
6. Taher III bin Mohammad 873.

(* coins of these kings exist).

References: Tabari, Zein-al-Akhbar, Tarekh-e Seistan, Rowzat-al-Safa, Ibn Asir, Tabakat-e Naseri, Tarekh-e Iran Dawra-e Taherian, Tabakat-e Salateen Islam, Ma'jam-al-Insab of Zembawar, / Tarekh-e Adabiyat Iran by Dr. Safa, Tarekh-e Ejtema'i Iran, Tarekh-e Adabiyat-e Farsi by Sayed Nafisi.

The Safavids (861–1003)

During the Omayyid and Abasid periods Seistan remained a hotspot of political activity and the Khawarij, an Arab faction, was centered in the province. At this time the Ayaran group, similar to the political and social parties of present time, came to power in Seistan. A native of Seistan by the name of Yaqub son of Lyce who was born in the Qarnain village came to the fore. He started serving Saleh bin Nazr, the governor of Seistan, together with his brother Omro Lyce and reached the rank of commander

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of the forces of Darham bin Nazr (according to Ibn Khaldan his name was Darham bin Husain). Yaqub was a brave and aspiring person and wanted to establish a strong government in Khorasan and Seistan as the Taherid rulers had become weak and did not have the strength to face off the powerful Baghdad caliphate. Hence on December 22, 1456, with the help of Ayaran, he defeated Darham Nazr and the Khawarij and asked for allegiance from the people of Seistan. Saleh asked for help from Zawul Shah Ratbel but Yaqub was able to defeat Ratbel and capture Bost. In this battle 6,000 persons were killed and 30,000 imprisoned and a number of war elephants fell into the hands of Yaqub. Saleh bin Nazr retreated to Walishtan (north of Kandahar) and took refuge in Zabul but eventually he fell into the hands of Yaqub and was killed. In this combat the brother and relatives of Ratbel were brought to Seistan as prisoners in 865 and Emar Khariji was brought under siege in Neyshak of Seistan and in 866 Saleh bin Hajr, cousin of Ratbel, rebelled in Kohazh (Kohak). Yaqub was able to kill him in 866 and in the same year managed to purge Walishtan, Zamindawar and Bost. He defeated the amir of Taginabad (near present day Kandahar) and after that he engaged with the governor of the Taherids in Herat, took over control of that city and in 868 captured Kerman also. A year later he fought against the son of Ratbel in Rakhj, who had escaped from the Bost prison, but had to flee to Kabul in retreat. In 872 Yaqub took control of Rakhj, Zabul, Panjwayee (Kandahar), Ghazni and Kabul and attacked the Gardez fortress which was under control of Abu Mansur Aflah bin Mohammad bin Khaqan Loyak. Aflah settled by providing 10,000 dirhams yearly. From there Yaqub conquered Bamian, Takharistan and Balkh. He got agitated with Kabul Shah and took over Perozward (in the environs of Kandahar) and then returned to Seistan. From a coin he minted in 872 in Panjheer (present day Panjsher) it can be deduced that he had managed to take over all of Kabulistan.

In 873 Yaqub set off to Karukh of Herat to defeat Abdul Rahman Khariji and was successful in capturing the province. In the same year Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Saleh Sagzai (the Sakzai tribe lives in Seistan at the present time with the same name) rose against Yaqub but he was defeated and fled to Neshapur to the Al-Taher. Yaqub pursued him, vanquished the Al-Taher and the Sagzai from 873 to 877. According to Ibn Khalqan, Yaqub managed to subdue the regents of Multan, Rakhj, Tabsin, Zabulistan, Sind and Makran.

After this Yaqub conducted battles in Fars and died of colic on March 4, 1474 after reigning for 17 years. During the Islamic period Yaqub was the first just ruler and a strong but clement person who managed to conquer all of Afghanistan from the Oxus river all the way to Seistan, Makran, Badghis, Merv, Herat, Kabul, Gardez and Zabulistan. He spent a lot of revenue in organizing the army, armaments and development. Masudi considers him one of the greatest king of all times and has written a detailed chapter about his political savvy and management. He writes: there were 5,000 Bactrian and 10,000 Safavid camels in his army and after his death the Seistan treasury contained 50 million dirhams and 80 million dinars. He boasted about his non-Arab origins and in a letter sent to the caliph of Baghdad he warned the Abbasid family of Baghdad to leave his country or else they will have to face the wrath of his sword.

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After Yaqub's death his brother Omro Lyce became the king and the caliphate court recognized him as the king of Khorasan, Seistan, Fars, Kerman, India, Sind and Trans Oxiana. In the beginning he maintained a cordial relationship with the Baghdad court but after a short time the caliph announced his dismissal and eradication to an audience of pilgrims from Khorasan.

Around 879 a remaining regent of the Taherid kings, Ahmad bin Abdullah Khajestani, rebelled and marched on Herat and the border of Seistan but Omro Lyce was able to defeat him in 880. After this Rafa' bin Hartama, who according to Ibn Khalqan, was being instigated by the caliph, rose against Omro in Khorasan and took control of Herat and Farah taking advantage of the absence of Omro who was engaged in war in Fars and Iraq. However Omro managed to subdue him. Rafa' went to Trans Oxiana and asked the Samanid king, Nasr bin Ahmad, to help him. A number of rebellious people in Khorasan joined Rafa' but Omro was able to drive him out of Khorasan to Khwarazm. He was killed there by Mohammad bin Omro Khwarazmi, governor of Omro Lyce, in 896. After purging Khorasan Mohammad bin Hadan was appointed as governor of Zabulistan by Omro Lyce and Bard A'li was his agent in Ghazni. At this time two local rulers of Gandahara valley, Naser and Alman, attacked Ghazni. This was a time when Omro Lyce was fighting the army of Ismail bin Ahmad Samani with a force 70 thousand cavalry armed with lances. He was taken captive in 900 and sent to Baghdad and was killed there a year later.

Omro was also a just king and advocator of development. He built 1,000 caravan houses, 500 mosques, bridges and roads. According to Ibn Khalqan he had no match in politics and administration of his country. Ibn Asir writes he was well acquainted with the affairs of his country, the army and its officers and no one was able to punish anyone without his permission.

After the death of Omro Lyce the Safavid administration became weak and the Balkhi Samanids took over the northern provinces and Herat as far as Seistan. The descendants of the Safavids remained the regents of Seistan for a while. In 901 the grandsons of Omro, Taher bin Mohammad and his brother Yaqub, were in power and conducted battles in Fars for some time and managed to march on to Bost and Rakhj in 903. In 908 Lyce bin Ali bin Lyce managed to capture the two brothers with the help of Sabkari, a slave of Omro Lyce. They were sent to Baghdad and he declared himself as the ruler of Seistan and his sermon was read in Bost, Kesh and Farah. Lyce sent his brother, Ma'dal to Zabulistan and spread his influence into Bost, Rakhj and Kabul in 909. A year later he minted a coin in his name in Bost.

In 910 Lyce was captured in a battle by Sabkari, who was being supported by the imperial caliph, and imprisoned in Baghdad. The people of Seistan chose Ali or Abuali Mohammad bin Mohammad bin Lyce I as their king and his sermon was read in Bost, Ghazni and Kabul. But Mohammad was defeated by the Samanid governor of Seistan and he went to Bost where the soldiers of Ahmad bin Ismail Samani detained him in Rakhj in 910, took him to Bost and sent him to Baghdad with Sabkari. During the same year the sermon in Seistan was read under the name of the Samanid family and the Safavid family lost its influence.

In 911 the people of Seistan, led by a Safavid lord, Sandali, rose against Mansur Ashaq, the Samanid governor and declared Abu Hafs Omro bin Yaqub bin Mohammad bin Omro Lyce, who at the

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time was ten years old, as their leader. The rebellious people arrested the Samanid governor and with the help of the Ayaran movement of Seistan read the sermon in the name of Abu Hafs.

The Samanid court sent Husain bin Ali Marwazi to Seistan and Abu Mansur Jeyhani, the Samanid minister, once again took charge of Seistan as far as Zamindawar and Zabulistan in 915. The Samanid administrators managed to spread their influence to Rakhj and the Arghandab valley and cleared the region from the influence of its former ruler Tarabel (probably Mashaf Tarabel). In 922 Ahmad bin Qadam and Aziz bin Abdullah were the amirs of Seistan. The people of Seistan once again rebelled in 923 and brought Amir Abu Ja'far Ahmad bin Mohammad bin Khalf bin Lyce, from the Safavid family and declared him as the amir of Seistan and a sermon was read in his name in Rakhj .

He appointed Hamak as the governor of Rakhj, sent Mohammad to Bost and managed to consolidate his power up to Rakhj and Herat and governed independently until 923. He was a well-liked and judicious person and 40 years of his dominion in Seistan passed by with grace and in the end he was killed in Seistan in 963. His son, Amir Khalf Bano, took his place as leader but he developed enmity with Amir Taher Buali, from Yaqub Lyce's family, over the administration of Seistan. After the death of Taher in 969, his son, Amir Husain, fought with Amir Khalf Bano, and in 983 sought help from Amir Subuktageen, who had consolidated his power over Ghazni as far as Bost. However Amir Subuktageen helped Khalf and the two leaders declared peace among them the same year. With the death of Husain the emirate of Seistan was left to Amir Khalf who ruled the place with tranquility and independence until 999. This was a time when Sultan Mahmud was threatening the Seistan emirate from Ghazni. Khalf capitulated and agreed to pay the treasury of Ghazni the sum of 100 thousand dinars yearly.

Despite this Sultan Mahmud attacked Seistan in 1002 and besieged Khalf in the Taq Sepahbad fort. Khalf went to meet the Sultan who banished him to Gozghanan of Khorasan and Seistan became a part of the Al-Subuktageen kingdom. Local administrators, from the blood line of Khalf, under the title of chiefs, remained in power until 1480 and even up to the time of the Safavids who governed the place under the orders of the Ghaznavid kings.

The Safavid kings were the very first just and development minded rulers in Afghanistan who managed to bring about political and religious unity in the country. It was during the time of the Safavids that the Dari language became the language of court and a literary language. Mohammad bin Waseyf Sagzi, wrote the first Dari elegy in the name of the Safavid king. It was during this time that the eastern regions of Afghanistan such as Kabul and Gardez were freed from the clutches of Kabul Shah rulers and the influence of the Ratbel and Kabul Shah ended in Afghanistan.

1. Yaqub bin Lyce 861–879*
2. Omro bin Lyce 879–900*
3. Taher bin Mohammad bin Omro Lyce and his brother Yaqub 902–909*
4. Lyce bin Ali bin Lyce I 912*
5. Abu Ali Ma'dal bin Ali Lyce I 912
6. Abu Hafs Omro bin Yaqub bin Mohammad bin Omro Lyce 913
7. Amir Abu Ja'far Ahmad bin Mohammad bin Khalf bin Lyce 923–963*

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8. Abu Ahmad Khalf bin Ahmad ibn Bano (circa 955, deceased 1009)*
9. Amir Taher Buali bin Mohammad bin Taher (Safavid from mother's side) 963–970
10. Amir Husain bin Taher 970–983
11. Bahauddin Taher bin Nasr bin Ahmad 1087
12. Tajuddin Nasr bin Taher bin Mohammad circa 1089 (deceased 1164)*
13. Shamsuddin Abu al-Fath Ahmad bin Nasr 1164
14. Az al-Muluk Mohammad bin Nasr?
15. Tajuddin Harb bin Mohammad 1167, deceased 1215.
16. Shamsuddin Yamin al-Daula Bahram Shah bin Osman 1215
17. Tajuddin Nasr bin Bahram Shah 1221*
18. Raknuddin Abu Mansur bin Bahram Shah 1221*
19. Shahabuddin Mahmud bin Osman 1222
20. Ali bin Osman 1225
21. Shamsuddin Ali bin Masud bin Khalf bin Mehraban bin Taher 1229
22. Nasruddin bin Abu al-Fath bin Masud 1254*
23. Shah Nasrat bin Nasruddin 1367
24. Qutbuddin Mohammad bin Raknuddin Mahmud 1331*
25. Tajuddin bin Mohammad 1346
26. Sultan Mahmud bin Shah Ali 1350.
27. Azuddin bin Raknuddin Mahmud 1333*
28. Qutbuddin bin Azuddin 1382
29. Shah-e Shahan Tajuddin bin Qutbuddin 1419
30. Qutbuddin bin Tajuddin 1402*
31. Shah-e Shahan Shamuddin bin Qutubuddin 1419*
32. Nezamuddin Yahya bin Shamsuddin 1438
33. Shamuddin Mohammad bin Yahya 1480
34. Sultan Mahmud?
35. Amir Mohammad Mubarezuddin circa 1441
36. Qutbuddin Ali 1419–1438
37. Shah Hussain bin Malik Ghiasuddin Mohammad author of *Ahya al-Mulook* in 1618.

References: Gardezi, *Tarekh-e Seistan*, *Tarekh-e Adabiyat* by Brown, *Tabakat-e Salatain Islam*, *Ibn Asir*, *Tabari*, *Tabakat-e Nasiri*, *Ibn Khalkan*, *Tarekh-e al-Islam al-Siyasi*, *Murawaj al-Dahab*, *Tarekh-e Arab*, *Rowzat al-Safa Lub-ul-Tawarekh*, *Gazeda*, *Ma'jam al-Baladan*, *Ma'jam al-Udaba*, *Tarekh-e Tamadun Islam of Georgi Zeydan*, *Ahya al-Mulook*, *Tarekh-e Adabiyat* by Dr. Safa, *Tarekh-e Adabiyat-e Farsi* by Sa'yed Nafisi.

The Samanids (980-999)

Members of this family are descendants of Saman Khuda, a pious man who was a chief from the Saman village of Balkh, and was a follower of Zoroastrianism. According to Gardezi he converted to Islam at the persuasion of Mamun-al-Rashid in 812. His son, Asad, established links with Hazrat Mamun. Asad had four sons, Nouh, Ahmad, Yahya and Elyas. Ghasan bin Abad, the governor of Khorasan, let Nouh administer Samarkand and Sughd, Ahmad administer Farghana, Chach and Asroshna was run by Yahya and Herat by Elyas. Ibrahim, son of Elyas managed to become a commander of the Taherid kingdom. The son of Ahmad bin Saman, whose name was Amir Nasr, was appointed as governor of Trans Oxiana in 874 by the caliph. He let his brother take charge of the administration of Bokhara. However in 888 a major battle took place between the two brothers in Bokhara and Nasr was captured by Ismail and was sent to Samarkand who later died in 892. With the death of his brother the whole of Trans Oxiana and Khorasan fell into the hands of Ismail and the caliphate also recognized him as king.

He is the founder of the Al-Samanids who came to power in 900. The court in Baghdad strengthened him so that he may combat the Al-Safar of Seistan who were demanding their independence. In the same year he managed to capture Omro Lyce and as a result he annexed northern and western Afghanistan from Takharistan to Merv, Herat, northern Iran, and the countries of Trans Oxiana into his Samanid empire. According to Majmal Fasihi, Ismail had managed to subdue a part of western India also. It is possible this area may be Gandahara. Mohammad bin Mohammad bin Abdullah Bal'ami, translator of Tarekh-e Tabari into Dari, was a learned minister of this king. Ismail passed away in 907.

After Ismail's death, his son, Ahmad, ascended the throne and in 909 went to Herat and sent Hussain bin Ali Marwazi to Seistan to depose the Safavid governors, Ma'dal and Abu Ali, who had spread their influence as far as Bost and Rakhj. He assigned Mansur bin Eshaq as the regent of Seistan but the people of Seistan, under the leadership of Sandali, captured him in 912. Ahmad was killed a year later by his slaves and the people declared his 8 year old son, Nasr bin Ahmad, as their regent. The country was, however, being administered by Abu Abdullah Mohammad bin Ahmad al-Jayhani, an astute minister.

In 914 Mansur bin Eshaq Samani rebelled in Khorasan and Hussain Ali Marwazi joined him from Seistan and Herat. The Samanid court sent commander Ahmad bin Sahl to Herat to subdue the uprising. Mansur died in Neshapur, Hussain surrendered in 918 after conducting some formidable battles and was pardoned. During the reign of Nasr, the administration of Seistan changed between local rulers and Samanid governors. Other incidents during this period are not related to the history of Afghanistan. Nasr died in 942 after reigning for 30 years and his son, Nouh I, became the king.

Among the main events of the time, in the northern regions of Afghanistan and Khorasan, is an uprising by Bo Ali Chagani bin Muhtaj who was a governor of these areas. With the aid of Amir Khatlan, he gathered an army in Balkh, Gozgan, Samangan and Takharistan but was defeated by the army of Amir Nouh and in 952 he was once again recognized as governor of Khorasan by the Samanid court. Nouh died in 954 and his son, Abdul Malik I, became the king. During his time Abu-al-Hasan Seimjour was appointed as commander of Seistan in 960. Since people complained about him and instead Abu Mansur Abdul Razaq came to Khorasan and after him Alaptageen, the chamberlain of the female quarter,

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was appointed as commander of Khorasan. Abu Ali Mohammad Bal'ami was the governor at the time and according to Ibn Maskoya, Bakr bin Malik was appointed there to expel Bu Ali from Khorasan.

Bakr managed to banish him to Aqasi of Khorasan. Abdul Malik I died in 961 and was replaced by his brother, Mansur bin Nouh I. He sent Abu Mansur Abdul Razaq as governor of Khorasan to ward off Alaptageen. In 961 Alaptageen retreated from Neshapur and went to Balkh, Khulm, Takharistan and Ghazni and established the Ghaznavid empire. In 964 Abu Ali Mohammad bin Abas rebelled in the Tulak fort of Herat. Abu-al-Hasan Seimjur, the governor of Khorasan, sent Bu Jafar to counter the rebellion. After capturing the Tulak fort he also attacked the Ghor fortress. During the reign of Mansur, Khalf bin Ahmad, the governor of Seistan, was also supported by the Samanid court. However after this Khalf stopped obeying the Samanid court and Mansur fought him for seven years and in the end the belligerence ended in peace in 983. According to Ibn Athir these events led to the weakening of the Samanid court and the outlying governors felt bold about the weakness of the central government. Mansur died in 976 and was replaced by Nouh II bin Mansur. Until his death in 988 the governor of Khorasan was Abul Hassan Seimjor. Alaptageen had also passed away and Ghazni was under the reign of his son-in-law Subuktageen. Following the death of Abul Hassan, his son, Abu Ali Seimjor, took control of the affairs of Khorasan, joined hands with Fayeq Khasa, the governor of Balkh, and started rebelling. Nouh sent a dignitary of the court, Abu al-Abbas, to take charge of Khorasan and quell the rebellious governors and asked Subuktageen for help. Subuktageen together with his son, Mahmud, went to aid Nouh II and defeated Abu Ali near Herat in 994 who went and took refuge in the court of the Yalmiyan. Amir Nouh II bestowed upon Subuktageen the title of Naser-ud-Din (defender of religion) and declared him the regent of Khorasan as far as Ghanzi, Kabul and Balkh and gave his son, Mahmud, the title of Saif-ul-Dawla (swordsmen of the empire) and appointed him as governor of Neshapur. Amir Nouh and Subuktageen both died in 996 and Mansur II, the immature son of Nouh II became the Samanid king which resulted in the downfall of the Al-Samanid family. Ailak Khan took control of Bukhara and Fayeq and Baktozoon, blinded Mansur II in 998 and declared his brother, Abdul Malik II bin Nouh II as king. Sultan Mahmud went to Merv to revenge the disposition of the blinded king and eventually reached a settlement with Bakhtozoon and Fayeq that Herat and Balkh (meaning the territories of Afghanistan as far as Kabul) would be the domain of Mahmud and Neshapur and Merv would belong to them. Mahmud returned from this battle in 999 and during the same year Ailak Khan took control of Bukhara and imprisoned Abdul Malik II in Auzgand and then killed him. Abu Nasr Ibrahim, son of Nouh II, the last Samanid prince, fought bravely with Nasr, brother of Mahmud, and Aylak Khan and eventually was killed in 1000 at the instigation of Mahmud resulting in the downfall of the Samanid dynasty.

Two able ministers and administrators of this dynasty were Mohammad bin Ahmad Jaihani (writer of a lost geography book) and Mohammad bin Mohammad Balami (translator of Tarekh-e Tabari into Dari). Famous Dari poets of this period were Abu Shukur Balkhi, Rudaki and Daqiqi and Abu Mohammad Hashim was a Pashto poet who died in Bost in 910.

During the Samanid period Islamic religion and civilization spread with Arabic language and literature as far as Kabul but the eastern sections of the country such as Nangarhar, Laghman, Konar valley and

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the mountainous regions of Khost and Mangal, maintained their traditional civilization, religions and languages. During this period the Dari language developed a great deal.

Samanid rulers:

1. Nasr I bin Ahmad Samani 875–892.
2. Ismail bin Ahmad 908–914.*
3. Ahmad bin Ismail 914–931.*
4. Nasr II bin Ahmad 931–943.*
5. Nuh I bin Nasr 943–954.*
6. Abdul Malik I bin Nuh 954–961.*
7. Mansur I bin Nuh 961–977.*
8. Nuh II bin Mansur 977–997.*
9. Mansur II bin Nuh II 997–999.*
10. Abdul Malik II bin Nuh II 999.
11. Abu Ibrahim Muntasar bin Nuh II 1000 until his death in 1005.

References: Gardezi, Ibn Athir, Tabakat-e Naseri, Dairat-ul-Ma'rif Islami, Tarekh-e Seistan, Tajarub-al-Imam, Tarekh al-Islam al-Siyasi, Mukhtasar Tarekh-e Iran by Powel Horn, Rawzat-al-Safa, Tabakat-e Salatein Islam, Ma'jam al-Insab Zembawar, Tarekh-e Bukhara, Lub-al-Tawarekhe, Tarekh-e Yamyani, Turkestan by Bartold, Habib-al-Sayr.

Pashtun Rulers (circa 913)

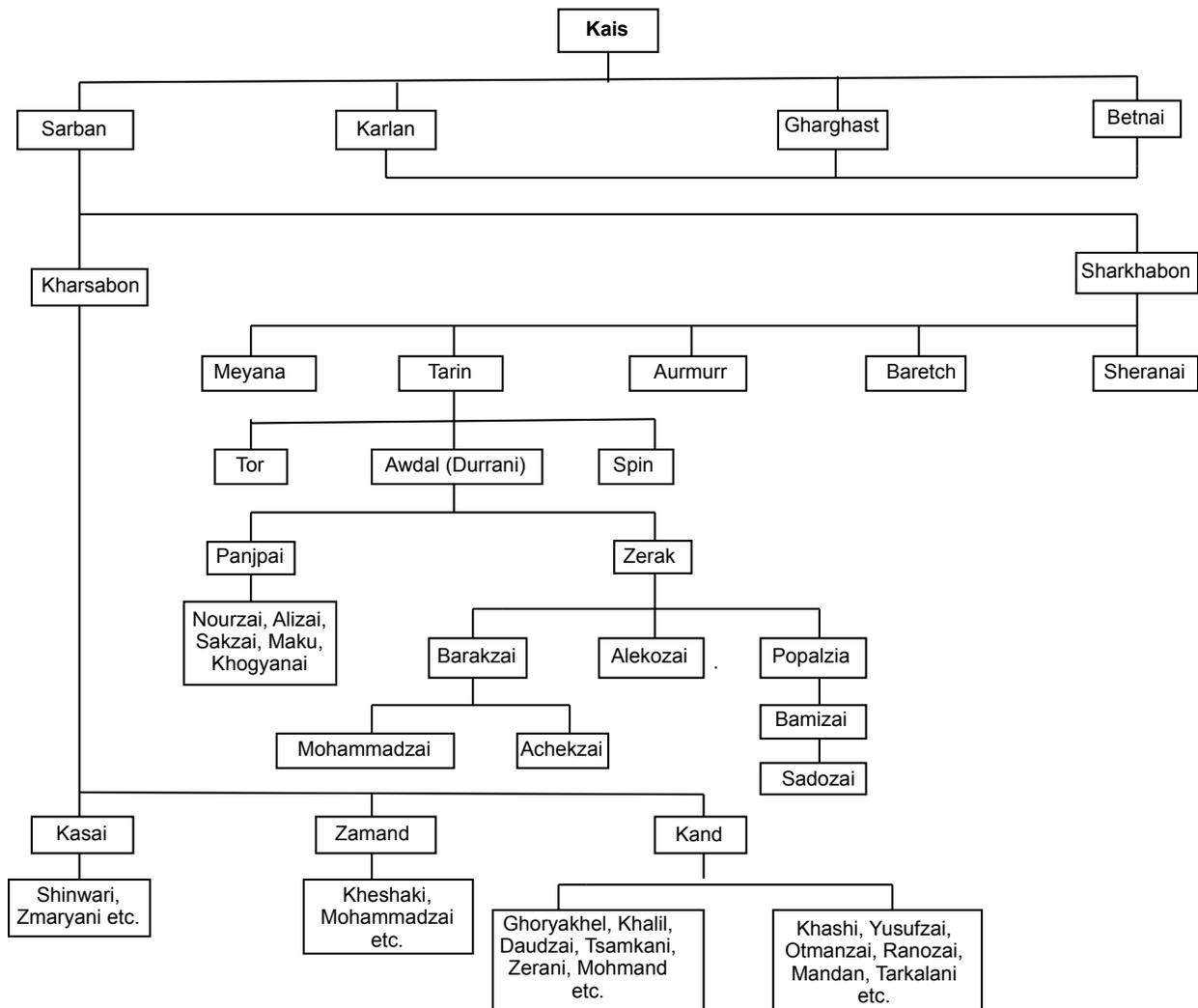
An old family which governed and provided guidance to people from the Suleiman mountain all the way to the mountains of Ghor was composed by three famous brothers: Gharghasht, Betnai and Sarban. They are the sons of the famous Pashtun (Pathan) leader, Abdul Rashid Kais. A lot of local Pashtun narratives exist about this family but from what the oldest Afghan historian, Suleiman Maku, wrote in his memoirs in 1215 and after him other historians have corroborated him such as Abu-al-Fazl A'lami in Ayeen-e Akbari in 1597, Akhund Derwaza, deceased 1628, in Tazkerat-al-Abrar and Makhzan-e Islami, Nematullah Herawi in Makhzan-e Afghani in 1609, and Sheikh Iman al-Din Khalil, deceased 1650 in Tarekh-e Afghani, are historical events. From this we can conclude that the three brothers had spiritual and tribal influence in Afghanistan from Ghor to Suleiman mountain. Some of the prayers of Sheikh Betnai have been narrated in Pashto literature over the eons.

After this Kharshaboon bin Sarban was in power from Suleiman mountain as far as Ghundan mountain of Ghilzai-e Kalat. He died in 1020 in Margha, located at the southern base of Suleiman mountain. Similarly Ismail bin Betnai had spiritual influence in the region of Suleiman mountain. His sphere of influence spread from Waza Khwa, the southern side of Suleiman mountain, to Ghazni. We have Pashto poetry from these two distinguished men of letters in our possession dating to 1009. Three sons of Kharshaboon are Kand, Zamand and Kasi, who were famous in their own right. Their descendants have been mentioned in Elm-al-Insab-e Afghani.

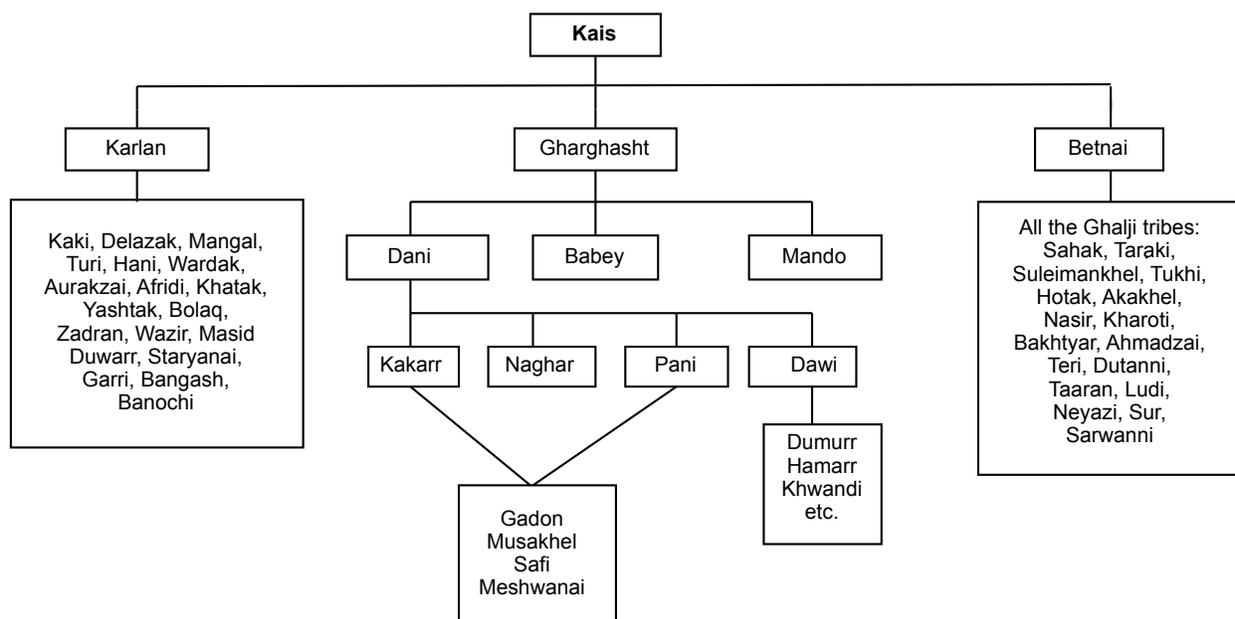
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It needs to be mentioned that Pashtuns related to Kharsaboon had spread in the eastern parts of Afghanistan. As a result Abdul Razaq Samarkandi mentions them in Ghazni and Barmal as the Kharshabooni Afghans in 1417 (Mutale' Sa'dain, vol. 2, part I, page 359, Lahore). In books on Afghan genealogy these three brothers, Gharghasht, Betnai and Saraban are considered to be the fore fathers of all Pashtoon tribes. We provide a chart of their genealogy.

References: Tazkerat-al-Awlia of Suleiman Maku, Pashtana Shua'ra vol 1, Ayeen Akbari Makhzan-e Afghani, Tazkerat-al-Abrar of Derwaza, Pata Khazana, Tarekh-e Adabiyat-e Pashto vol. II, Mutla' Sa'dayn vol II, Hayat-e Afghani, Shukat-e Afghani, Sulat-e Afghani, Khurshaid-e Jahan, The Pathans by Sir Olaf Caroe, Gazateer of the Frontier, Baluchistan Gazeteer of Afghanistan, Tarekh-e Sultani.



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The Ferighounids (864–1019)

Members of this family were the regents of Gozganan during the Ghaznavid and Samanid periods and maintained friendly ties with both these royal families. They were peace-loving and erudite kings. Their sphere of influence spread from the Oxus river in the north to Gharistan, Ghor, Taloqan (near Karwan caravanserai) as far as Zamindawar and Helmand. A governor in Ghor by the name of Ghor Shah administered the place under the Ferighounids. Gozganan was in present day Sar-e Pul and this family is related to pre-Islamic kings (Gozgan Khuda) of Ferighoun caravanserai. According to Maqdasí this caravanserai was a distance of one day travel from Andkhai and Kurki and the word *afregh* appears in the the old names of this area as far as Khwarazm. We do not have any information about Ferighoun, the founder of this family, except what Al-Utbi has stated that he lived during the 3rd Islamic century in the environs of Afrighoun caravanserai. However his son, Ahmad bin Ferighoun, is the first person whom we know in the history of the Islamic period from this family. Narshaki states: When Amir Ismail Samani fought with Omro Lyce Safari in Balkh in the year 900 Amir Ahmad Ferighouni was recognized as governor of Balkh by Omro Lyce Safari. Qabos Nama considers him owner of several herds of horses. This is a true statement since the people of this area are famous as herders of horses up to the present time.

Abu al-Haris Mohammad bin Ahmad is another ruler of this family whom we know from an old Dari book of geography, *Hudud-al-Alam*. He was a proponent of knowledge and the mentioned book was dedicated in his name in 982 and this family ruled in Raia'an. Astagri mentions him in 951. According to Barthold he married his daughter to the young Samanid prince, Nouh bin Mansur in 975. Al Utbi informs us Nouh bin Mansur summoned him to fight Fayeq in 990 but he was defeated. Ibn Athir writes that in

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993 Nuh went from Khorasan to Gozghanan and Abu-al-Haris joined him. In 995 when Subuktageen challenged Fayegeq Abu-al-Haris went to Herat to help Subuktageen. It was during this time he married his other daughter to Mahmud, son of Subuktageen and married the daughter of Subuktageen to his son, Abu-al Nasr Ahmad bin Mohammad. When Subuktageen died in 996 Abu-al-Haris was the person who established peace between Mahmud and his brother, Ismail. He went with Mahmud to Ghazni and in 998 Mahmud asked Abu-al-Haris to take charge of the arrest of Ismail. This is the last record of Abu-al-Haris in the annals of history.

Al-Utbi in 1003 talks about a person by the name of Fereigoun bin Mohammad who was sent by Mahmud from Balkh to Merv and Andkhai to pursue the last Samanid prince but there is no mention of him in historical records but another person from this family, Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Mohammad Aywa-al-Haris, who according to Al-Utbi and Gardezi, was the governor of Gozghanan. He led Mahmud's army in 1007 in the battle of Pul-e Charkhiyan between the Karakhanyan and Mahmud's brother. He also accompanied Mahmud in the battle of Bahyam Nagar in India and died in 1010. Describing the events of 1010 Baihaqi states that the same year Mahmud went to direct the fighting in Ghor and his sons Masud and Mohammad, who were 14 years old, were in Zamindawar under the care of Hasan, son of Amir Ferigoun of Gozghanan. Since Amir Abu-al-Haris had died the same year therefore his young son, Hasan, whose mother was the daughter of Subuktageen, was heir to the throne of Gozghanan. But it is not certain whether this Hasan is the son of Fereigoun bin Mohammad or Abu Nasr? But we know that Sultan Mahmud, according to Al-Utbi and Oufi, asked for the daughter of Abu Nasr Feroughni, to be married to his son Mohammad. He returned Gozghanan to Abu Nasr and appointed Abu Mohammad Hasan bin Mehran, to jointly administer the region with Abu Nasr. This shows that the territory of Gozghanan was completely under the authority of the Gaznavids in 1017.

The Fereigounid rulers were local kings in the north-west of Afghanistan who were famous for fostering sciences, justice and goodwill. The Al-Fereigounid court reared and supported famous scholars and writers such as Badi-ul-Zaman Hamdani, Abu-al-Fatha Basti, Khwarazmi the author of Mafateh-al-Olum and the unknown author of Hudud-al-Alam.

Ferigounid rulers:

1. Amir Ferigoun 864.
2. Amir Ahmad bin Ferigoun 892-948.
3. Abu Haris Mohammad bin Ahmad 948-999.
4. Ferigoun bin Mohammad 1004.
5. Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Mohammad 1000-1019.*
6. Hasan bin Abu Nasr Ahmad? 1019.

References: Al-Utbi, Gardezi, Asthakri, Narshakhi, Maqdasi, Baihaqi, Qaboos Nama, A'ufi, Ibn Asir, Hudud-al-Alam, Bartold's Historical Geography of Iran, Ma'jam-al-Nisab, Minorsky's Articles, London.

The Ludis of Multan (Circa 980–1011)

Subuktageen came to power in Ghazni in 976 as the Samanid rulers became weak. As a result of this shift different regions such as Takharistan, Balkh, Gozganan, Herat, Seistan, Bost, Kabul as far as Gardez came under the Ghaznavid rule in 978 while the eastern regions of Afghanistan as far as banks of Indus and Multan were ruled by famous Ludi rulers while Jiyapala, the Kabul Shah, ruled the area extending from Lahore to Khyber. When Subuktageen attacked Kabul and Nangarhar, Jiyapala faced him off near Ghazni but was defeated and returned back to Lahore after paying damages of the battle and united the rajas of Qunooj, Dehli, Ajmir and Kalanjar around him. He gathered an army of 100,000 men and passed through the Khyber pass and reached Laghman near the banks of Kabul river. Subuktageen fought him resulting in the death of several thousand soldiers and chased the opposing forces as far as the banks of the Indus. He left one of his commander with 2000 men in Peshawar and himself returned to Ghazni in 991.

During this time Ghazni was under the rule of Sheikh Hamid Ludi, a famous Afghan tribe. When the Ludis saw the immense strength of Subuktageen they made peace with him. With the defeat of Jiyapala Sheikh Hamid stayed in power in Multan and signed a pact with Subuktageen in 992. Ahmad Ludi, in Akhbar-al-Ludi, writes that Sheikh Reza, nephew of Hamid Ludi, was a Pashto poet who during the rule of his uncle was preaching Islam in the Koh-e Suleiman area. This shows that some Afghans, living between Ghazni and the Indus river, had embraced Islam. However the author of Hudud-al-Alam, a book of geography, in 982 writes that the city of Kandahar (on the banks of the Indus) was a Brahman and idol worshiping town, Laghman was a place of idols and Bunir was the abode of Afghans and idol worshiping Hindus. This is in contrast with the situation in Bost, Ghazni, Ghor and Rakhd which were Islamic cities while half the population of Kabul was Moslem and the rest Hindu.

We do not have any information about the death of Sheikh Hamid. What we know is that his sphere of influence was from Multan to the banks of the Indus river and Koh-e Suleiman (Suleiman mountain) while Lahore, Taxila, Waihind and Kandahar (along the banks of the Indus) were under the control of Jiyapala. In 1001 Mahmud attacked Waihind and launched his first attack on Multan in 1005, at a time when its ruler was Abu-al-Futuh Daud bin Nasr. This shows that Nasr bin Sheikh Hamid, the second ruler of the Ludis, was in power around 999 who ascended the throne after Hamid. As a result of political rivalry of the Ludi family with the Ghaznavids, he was accused by Sultan Mahmud to be a follower of the atheistic Ismaili faith. From Pashto vernacular such as Pata Khazana (Hidden Treasure) and his Pashto poetry it is clear that this accusation was false and he was not an atheist.

Abu-al-Daud, became the king after Nasr and when Sultan Mahmud attacked the ruler of Bahatiya (Bajiraw) in 1004 Daud did not pay him any heed and the next year the Ghaznavid king marched past Nangarhar with fresh soldiers. After defeating Raja Annad Pala in Peshawar he reached Multan and after a siege of 7 days, Daud agreed to pay a tribute of 200,000 dirhams a year, while according to another source this sum was two million dirhams and he payed 20,000 dirhams in damages and signed a peace pact with Mahmud. He ruled over Multan and the eastern sections of Afghanistan until 1010 when Mahmud marched to Multan again and arrested him and imprisoned him in the Ghorak fort (north of

Kandahar) where he died later. With the removal of Daud the power of the Lodi family ended but his relatives stayed in Multan. According to Fakhr Mudabir, Daud's son Sheikh, rebelled in Multan after the death of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Mawdud sent a force, under the command of Ahmad Mohammad, to subdue him. When the army arrived at the Wayawa fort, Sheikh together with his followers went to Mansura and the Ghaznavid forces took over Multan. This is the last recollection of the remnants of the Ludi family in Multan.

This family is a representative of the intermixing of Islamic and Afghan culture in India and two family members, Shaikh Reza, Hamid's nephew and Nasr bin Hamid were Pashto poets whose biography and poetry is included in Pata Khazana, the memoirs of Pashto poets, referencing A'lam al-Wada'i fe Akhbar al-Ludi of Sheikh Ahmad ibn Sa'yed al-Ludi in 1287. Fereshta also corroborates that this is an Afghan family. We see that the Ludis once again established a Ludi empire in India in 1451 under the leadership of Bahlol Ludi and were in power for a century around 1526. The first Ludi family is associated with Afghan history while Bahlol's family ruled in India.

Ludi rulers:

1. Sheikh Hamid Ludi (circa 980).
2. Sheikh Reza nephew of Hamid (circa 990).
3. Nasr bin Hamid (circa 1000).
4. Abu al-Fultuh Daud bin Nasr 1005–1011.
5. Sheikh... bin Daud (circa 1041).

References: Ta'loqat-e Hind wa Arab, Zein-ul-Akhbar, Tarekh-e Adabiyat-e Pashto vol. 2, Shaukat-e Afghani, Tarekh-e Yamyani, Fereshta, Tabakat-e Akbari, Hudud-ul-Alam, Tarekh-e Sind, Ibn Asir, Hayat-e Afghani, Khurshaid Jahan, Pata Khazana, Aadab-al-Harb.

Al-Banijor of Takharistan (847–982)

The amirs of this lineage ruled in Takharistan, Balkh, Khulm, Termez, Andarab, Panjsher, Bamian, and Waksh and are related to Banijor, a person who was a contemporary of the Abbasid caliphes, Mansur and Mehdi and may be a remnant of Tagin Shahian who lived before Islam. These rulers were:

1. Daud bin Ilyas who minted a coin in 847 in his name and in 872 Yaqub Lyce Safari captured Balkh from him. He was the governor of Balkh from 848 to 872 and died in 873.

2. Abu Daud Mohammad bin Ahmad bin Banijor. He minted a coin in his name in 874. He was the governor of Balkh from 874 to 879 and after that was the governor of Takhar, Jouzjan, Khatlan and Termez until 892.

3. Abu Ja'far Ahmad bin Mohammad bin Ahmad who was a governor around 892 and minted a coin in his name in 901 in Andarab.

4. Ja'far bin Ahmad bin Mohammad who ruled after 922 and minted coins in 922, 924 and 925 in Khatal. The coins exist until the present time.

5. Ahmad bin Ja'far bin Ahmad who was a ruler around 982. According to Gardezi he was an assistant to Abi Ali Ahmad bin Muhtaj Chagani.

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There were other governors in this family such as Daud bin Banijor (821), A'mil Basra, Hashim bin Banijor, deceased in 857, who was governor of Waksh and Helaward, Baig bin Abas bin Banijor, governor of Khatal and Haris from 885 to 906 and he minted a coin in his name, Daud bin Abu Daud bin Abas who lived around 885, Hatim bin Daud bin Banijor who was governor of Jowz Kerman around 865, and Ilyas bin Hashim who was commander of the Egyptian army in 826.

The Sharan of Gharistan (902-1155)

As explained by Marquat in Iran Shahr *shaar* is a word related to *sher* (lion) and *shah* (king) and it was the title of a number of rulers of central Afghanistan. Their domain bordered the nation of Sheran of Bamian to the east and as mentioned earlier in the book these royal families are remnants of the Kushanid Hephthalites of this land. Their center of administration was in Bashin and Shormeen and Baghshur were other cities of their domain. The name of their country in Avestan pronunciation was Gharstana and in Tabakat-e Naseri it has been mentioned as Gharistan (*ghar* in Pashto means a mountain + stan). Ferdowsi in Shah Nama calls it Gharchagan and the Arabic versions of the name are Gharjistan and Gharshastan. The rulers of this land, the Sharan, were famous for their justice. Naser Khusrow Qebadyani has mentioned their name and center of administration in his poetry.

It looks as though that the Sharan of Gharistan ruled in this area before Islam and an image of these people is similar to the one of the Hephthalite rulers.

In the Islamic period their name appears with the conquests of Mahmud Ghaznavi and their administration came under the Ghaznavid rulers. One of the Gharistan Sharan, named Shar Rashid, was political adviser to Sultan Mahmud in 999 and worked to unify the administration of the Ghaznavid nation. Another Shar is Abu Nasr Mohammad bin Asad who was imprisoned by Sultan Mahmud in 1015 and died a year later in Herat.

3. Shar Shah Abu Mohammad bin Mohammad became ruler while his father was alive and fought against Sultan Mahmud and Abu Ali Semjor and died before 1016.

4. Shar Ardsher.

5. Shar Ibrahim bin Ardsher.

6. Shar Shah bin Ibrahim whose daughter, Hur Malik, was married to Sultan Hussain Jahansoz Ghori.

The Sharan who lived after the reign of Sultan Mahmud and governed under the influence of the Ghaznavid and Ghorid kings. They were scholars and men of letters.

References: Ibn Asir, Utbi's Tarekh-e Yamyani, Dairat Alma'ref Islami, section on Ghajistan, Iranian Names by Justi, Rawzat-al-Safa, Tarekh-e Guzida. Ma'jam-al-Insab of Zimbawar, Ibn Khardazba 39, Ma'jam-al-Baldan 3/785.

The Andarab Rulers

These rulers also seem to be related to the Kushanid Hephthalites. They embraced Islam during the Islamic period and stayed in the mountains of Andarab. Since their land was in the middle of rugged mountains they may have survived the wrath of ruthless invaders. We only have two names of these rulers from coins they left behind. These coins are preserved in the Hermitage museum.

1. Maktoom bin Harb circa 970.*
2. Sahlan bin Maktoom circa 976–984.*

References: Majam–al–Insab of Zimbawar, List of Hermitage by Markov.

Chaganid Rulers (Aal–Muhtaj)

Chagan (Saghan in Arabic) is a land on the far side of the Oxus river which at present time is the southern section of Tajikistan. A royal family by the name of Chagan Khudat ruled this land from ancient times whose lineage is linked to the Arayan Tajiks. At the beginning of the third century of Islamic period, Amir Muhtaj, known as Chagan Khudat, became the ruler. After him his family has been referred in history as the Aal–Muhtaj. Just and learned rulers came from this family and during the Ghaznavid and Ghorid periods they ruled in the area on two sides of the Oxus river, Balkh, Takhar as far as the northern Hindu Kush mountains. The father of Muhtaj, whose name was Ahmad, has been mentioned in Ma'jam–al–Udaba of Yaqt and he lived around 864. Other members of this family are:

1. Muhtaj left behind a son by the name of Abu Sa'ad Muzafar who lived and ruled around 913. His son, Abu Bakr Mohammad bin Muzafar was the chief of the court of Nasr bin Ahmad Samani. In 933 he was the governor and commander of all the forces of Khorasan. In 911 he was sent by the court of Ahmad bin Ismail Samani to conquer Seistan and later became a governor in Gorgan. He was governor of Khorasan from 933 to his death in 941. He was a strong and effective governor and was buried in Chaganian.

2. Abu Ali Ahmad bin Mohammad bin Muzafar who at the time of his father's illness in 939 was commander and governor of Khorasan. He fought against Makan bin Kaki in 941 in Jorjan and killed him but he was deposed as governor of Khorasan by Amir Nouh bin Samani. In 945 he became rebellious and removed Nouh and himself took control of Khorasan. He was in conflict with the Samanid court until his death in 955 and was buried in Chaganian.

3. Abu–al–Abas Fazl bin Mohammad bin Muzafar was appointed by his brother Abu Ali to take charge of Belad Jabal (Arabic Iraq). After that he became an important commander of the Samanid forces. He fought against his brother also but was imprisoned in 947 in Bukhara.

4. Abu–al–Muzafar bin Ahmad bin Mohammad bin Muzafar was a hostage in the court of Amir Nouh Samani after 948. Two years later he fell from his horse and died and was buried in Chaganian.

5. Abu Mansur bin Ahmad bin Mohammad was a deputy governor of Chaganian in 951.

6. Abu–al–Muzafar Taher bin Fazl bin Mohammad bin Muzafar was governor of Chaganian. He was a learned person and fostered literature. Manjik Termizi is his eulogizer and he died in 987.

7. Fakhr-ul-Dawla Abu Al-Muzafar Ahmad bin Mohammad was a literate governor and has been praised by Daqiqi and Farukhi. Farukhi's famous laudatory poem, the flight of the bluebird shames the meadow, was written in his praise. He also minted coins in his name.

In general the Al-Muhtaj rulers maintained good ties with the Samanid and Ghaznavid kingdoms and with their backing managed to continue their governorship of the northern Hindu Kush provinces of Badakshan, Takhar, Balkh and Jouzjan. This family is famous as propagators of Dari literature.

References: Chahar Maqala of Dr. Moin, Ma'jam-al-Insab of Zembawar, Ibn Asir, Tarekh-e Yamyani, Ma'jam-al-Odaba, Rudaki by Said Nafisi, Ibn Khaldoon, Rowzat-al-Safa, Diarat-al-Ma'ref Islami, Dewan-e Farunki, Char Maqala of Aruzi Samarkandi.

Simjuri

According to Justi the meaning of the word *simjur* in Iranian names means a silver onager. It is the name of Abu Imran Simjur, a Khorasani chief, who was head clerk in the court of Ismail bin Ahmad Samani in 900 and was known as Dawati, which was a large Khorasani family.

1. Abu Imran Simjur Dawati was appointed as governor of Seistan in 911 by Ahmad bin Ismail Samani but in 914 the people of Seistan showed opposition to Nasr bin Ahmad and Simjur left the province. In 926 Amir Nasr bin Ahmad captured Rai and made Simjur its governor. He was a brave soldier of the time who fought against Abu-al-Hasan bin Nasir Atrush near Khorasan in 928.

2. Abu Ali Ibrahim bin Simjur was the governor of Merv, Herat, Nishapur and Qahistan after his father in 945-947. After the defeat of Abu Ali Ahmad Chagani, Nouh bin Nasr, appointed him governor of Khorasan. He was also governor of Gorgan for a time. He died in 948.

3. Abu-al-Hasan Mohammad bin Ibrahim bin Simjur. After the death of his father he became commander of Khorasan and was given the title of Naser-al-Dawla. In 967 he was sent with an army to capture Rai. He died in 988.

4. Abu Ali Mohammad Muzafar bin Mohammad bin Ibrahim. He took over his father's position after his death. During the time of his father he was governor of Herat for a while after which he was appointed as commander of Khorasan in Neshapur. He has minted a coin in his name and laid claim to independence until he united with Fayege, governor of Balkh, and rebelled against Amir Nouh Samani. Amir Subuktageen and his son, Mahmud, fought against them and the two were defeated on 22 October 994 in Tus. Abu Ali fled to Khwarazm but was arrested there in 996 and handed over to Subuktageen who imprisoned him in the Gardez fort until his death in 998.

5. Abu-al-Qasem Ali bin Mohammad bin Ibrahim. He was governor of Herat and in 996 he went to Nishapur and joined the class of dignitaries of Subuktageen's court and was appointed as governor of Qahistan. After some setbacks he joined the Samanids in 1001 and fought against Nasr bin Subuktageen in Sarkhas. He was arrested and sent to Ghazni.

6. Abu-al-Hasan bin Abu Ali Simjuri. After the defeat of his father in 995 he went to Rai but was arrested in Neshapur by Amir Mahmud and was sent to Ghazni. He was a prisoner in the Gardez fort.

7. Abu Sahl bin Abu-al-Qasem Ali bin Mohammad. He lived circa 998.

Famous dignitaries of this family played a vital role in events in Khorasan during the time of the Samanid and Ghaznavid kings. They ruled with strength and independence for a long period of time. At times they minted coins in their names as kings. The coin of Abu-al-Hasan Mohammad, Naser-al-Dawla, who ruled from 982 to 987, is available. One of his daughter was married to Nouh bin Mansur, the Samanid king. Abu Ali Mohammad Muzafar, whose title was Imad-al-Dawla, 987–997, has also minted a coin in his name and was an independent administrator.

References: Al-Kamel, Tarekh-e Yamyani, Tabakat-e Naseri, Namhay-e Irani, Turkistan by Bartold, Zimbawar's Ma'jam.

The Ghaznavids (962–1187)

In the section on the Samanids it was mentioned that in 960 Alaptageen was chamberlain in the court of Abdul Malik I Samani, and was appointed as commander of Khorasan. After the death of the Samanid king Alaptageen rebelled against Mansur bin Nouh Samani and went to Ghazni and Zabulistan in 961. During this time the ruler of Ghazni was a person from the Loyak family mentioned earlier in the book. It is possible that these people were remnants of the Kushanid Hephthalites rulers of Afghanistan. Alaptageen and his descendants, whose names end with the word *tagiz* are related to the royal Tagin family, which has a mixed Turkic and Afghan lineage. According to the Chinese traveler, Wou-Kong, these people ruled over the eastern parts of Afghanistan and the southern Hindu Kush. The city of Taginabad existed until the time of Mahmud toward the north-west of present day Kandahar. Their coins, dating to the early Islamic period, have been found in the environs of the Hindu Kush.

Alaptageen managed to take over Ghazni from Loyak (Anok) in 962 and until his death in Ghazni a year later ruled over Ghazni and Zabulistan. His son, Ishaq, replaced him and it was during this time that Loyak tried to retake Ghazni. Ishaq went to Bukhara to seek help from Mansur bin Nouh and managed to take charge of Ghazni. He died in 965 after ruling for three years. After him a companion of Alaptageen, Balka Tageen, who was a pious, just and militant individual took charge of Ghazni (it is likely that he is related to the Afghan Tageen kings). He ruled in Ghazni for ten years and minted a coin in the city around 970 and died six years later during the siege of Gardez. With his death, Amir Piri Tageen, who was a corrupt person and a companion of Alaptageen took charge of Ghazni. The people were fed up with him and requested Loyak, the amir of the old Ghazni and Gardez family, to return to Ghazni. With the help of Kabul Shah, Loyak launched an attack near Charkh (Logar, south of Kabul) but Amir Subuktageen (son-in-law and companion of Alaptageen) defeated Loyak and captured 10 elephants and went to Ghazni. Since the people were fed up with Pir Tagin they embraced Amir Subuktageen, son of Jouq Qara Bajqom bin Qara Arsalan (most likely related to the Tagin kings), as their leader on 19 April 977.

Amir Subuktageen was an outright and brave person. According to Siyasat Nama of Nezam-al-Mulk and Tarekh-e Gardezi he asked to marry the daughter of a Zabul chief. Since he became the son-in-law of a Pashtun the people joined his army to fight for him. He managed to capture Bost, Qasdar (present day Khazdar, south of Kalat of Baluchistan), Zamindawar, Bamian, Takharistan, Ghor, Zabulistan and

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Kabul which were under the control of agents of Qara Tageen and minted a coin in Parwan, north of Kabul. As mentioned in the section on the Ludi kings, he fought Jiyapala, the Kabul Shah, near the banks of Kabul river in Laghman and defeated his army of 100,000 capturing Laghman as far as Peshawar. He publicized Islam to the people of the region in 991. As a result of these battles Subuktageen managed to accumulate a lot of wealth and he became very strong. According to Otbi and Ibn Atir Afghans and Khalj (present day Ghalji) became compliant to him.

As mentioned earlier among other deeds conducted by Subuktageen one was providing assistance to Nouh II, the Samanid king as a result of which the opponents of Samanid court were weakened. This just, brave and truthful monarch died in 997 after reigning for 21 years at the age of 65 in the village of Madad Moi, between Balkh and Bamian and was buried in Ghazni. His empire spread from the Oxus river to Qasdar of Baluchistan and from the Indus river to Neshapur. Local satraps such as the Safavids in Seistan, the Al-Fereigoun in Ghozganan and the Ludi kings of Multan accepted his rule.

After the death of Amir Subuktageen, among his six sons, Ismail came to Ghazni and ascended the throne. Since he was an incompetent individual there were protests against him. His elder brother, Amir Mahmud, who was governor of Khorasan in Neshapur, marched to Ghazni against his brother. Since his mother was from Zabul and Firdawsi also considers him to be a Zabuli, he managed to defeat his brother's army, with the help of the people of Zabul. After ruling for 7 months Ismail died in prison.

After taking charge of Ghazni Mahmud diverted his attention toward Balkh and managed to capture northern Afghanistan. He held court in Balkh and then marched toward Merv to combat the army of Abdul Malik bin Nouh but in the end a peace deal was agreed upon. Mahmud was recognized by the Samanid court as the ruler of Takharistan, Balkh and Herat in 998. When he returned from Merv to Balkh, his status as ruler of Khorasan was officially recognized by the caliph of Baghdad with the title of Right Hand of Government, Popular Caretaker and Amir of the Faithful, in 998. In coins he has been referred to as Bringing Order to Religion, and King of Nations. Firdawsi called him king and Al-Otbi refers to him as sultan. Other historians of the Ghaznavid period such as Baihaqi and Gardezi call him an amir. Nizam-al-Mulk in Siyasat Nama, Ibn Athir in Al-Kamel, and Menhaj Seraj in Tabakat-e Naseri write: First Mahmud was bestowed the title of sultan. According to the author of Majmal-al-Tawarekh wa al-Qesas, Mahmud received the title from Amir Khalf Safari after which he was referred to as the Sultan.

This title has not been inscribed on his coins and those of his successors and for the first time appears on the coin of Ibrahim Ghaznavi who ascended the throne in 1059. However the tombstone of Sultan Mahmud's shrine in Ghazni, which was written with a script resembling the old Kufic script, and was inscribed sometime after his death describe him as: Amir Al-Sayed Nezam-al-Din Abi Al-Qasem Mahmud bin Subuktageen. This is an old established record of his name.

In 999 Sultan Mahmud succeeded to capitulate Baktur Zoon, Fayege, Abdul Malik Samani and al-Muntasar, the last Samanid prince and during the rest of his life, between 1002 to 1021, he attacked India 17 times and between 1000 to 1002 he fought against Jiyapala in Waihind (present day Hund, along the banks of Attock), Laghman and Peshawar and managed to capture Peshawar and became famous with the title of "ghazi." In 1002 he captured Khalf bin Ahmad Safari and appointed the

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chamberlain, Kabji Bo Ali Shaad, to administer Seistan. However, Bo Bakr Abdullah, who was the grandson of Khalif, and Bo-al-Hasan rebelled against the governors until the Sultan returned to Seistan in 1003 and laid down the rebellion.

In 1005 he crossed the Indus and captured Multan and a year later defeated Ailak Khan of Turkestan who had taken charge of Herat, Balkh as far as Neshapur and in 1008 he defeated Anand Pala in Waihind and the Indian Rajas. Between 1011 and 1012 he conducted wars in Punjab and Kashmir and in 1012 he captured Gharjistan (north of Ghor). According to Baihaqi he attacked Ghor by way of Bost in 1014 besieging Amir Mohammad Suri, the ruler of Ghor together, with 10,000 of his troops in the Ahangaran fort. Around 1016 he conducted attacks in Punjab and Kashmir. A year later the people of Khwarazm rose against Mamun Khwarazm Shah (Sultan Mahmud's brother-in-law) and killed him. However Mahmud managed to capture Khwarazm and appointed Al-Tuntash there in 1017. In 1019–1020 he attacked India and captured the banks of Ganges together with a great deal of loot and slaves. He returned to Ghazni with three million dirhams. According to Ibn Athir he fought the Afghan tribesmen on the way who always attacked his forces as they marched from Ghazni to India. In 1020 he captured Ghor and a year later besieged the Lohar Kot fort of Kashmir. In 1022 he captured the Gwalior fort and Kalanjar and a year later the takeover of the Suleiman range was completed.

In 1024–1025 he went to Trans Oxiana and subdued the rulers of Balkh and those along the banks of the Oxus river. He signed an agreement with Qadr Khan Kashgari and moved 4000 Saljoki families to Khorasan. In 1025 he attacked Somanat of Katiwar in southern India destroying the famous temple and acquired a large amount of loot. He also managed to capture Gujrat. The last assault of Mahmud took place in 1027. It was undertaken to convert the *jat* (gypsy) tribe of Multan.

During his lifetime Mahmud was successful in establishing a large kingdom extending from Asfahan, Hamdan, and Tabristan to the shores of the Ganges river from the west to east and to Syr river and Khwarazam to the north and to Baluchistan and Katiwar to the south. He appointed his son, Masud, as regent of Isfahan in 1029. He managed to bring this vast empire under Ghaznavid rule establishing an imperial empire in Asia. He minted coins in Ghazni, Parwan, Nishapur, Herat, Jouzjan, Balkh, Takharistan and Lahore. His court was always a gathering of great Dari poets such as Firdawsi, Farukhi, Minochehri, Ansuri and scholars such as Al-Biruni, Ibn Sena, Ta'lubi, Khumar and Al-Utbi. He was a great, able, courageous and forgiving king and familiar with running political affairs. According to Al-Utbi he established a large army composed of Turks, Afghans, Tajiks, Indians and Ghalji (who according to Astakhri and Yaqut lived in Khorasan and Seistan as far as Kabul). He converted Pashtun tribes living in the mountains of Ghor, Suleiman and Spinghar to Islam. According to Dahabi and Ibn Asir he converted the schismatic, Ismaeli, Jamhiya sect and counter-Islamic sects and burned their books. According to Ibn Khalqan he considered it his duty to conduct the jihad in India every year and kill infidels. He was a follower of the Shafi'i faith and Ibn Khaldan, quoting Mughais Al-Khalq fe Ikhtyar al-Haq of the Imam of the Holy Mosque, Abdul Malik Juwaini (a contemporary of the Sultan), writes that Mahmud was a follower of Imam Abu Hanifa and had full faith in the Hadith and always listened to it from great religious leaders but came under the influence of Marwazi, the famous Shafi'i theologian, and converted to the Shafi'i faith.

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Sultan Mahmud was a brave and defiant king. According to Ibn Asir he was a handsome man with small eyes and red hair and according to Ibn Khalkan he was born in 972 and after establishing a mighty empire in Asia he died from tuberculosis at the age of 61 after ruling for 33 years. His death took place on Thursday 29 April 1030. He was buried in Feroz palace in Ghazni. There are no signs of this palace in Ghazni at this time and only the tombstone of his shrine remains on which the following is written in Kufic script: May God bless the deceased Amir Nizamuddin Abi-al-Qasem Mahmud bin Subuktageen. May the mercy of God be upon him. He died on Thursday, the month of Rabi-al-Akher, the year 421. The dome under which the body of the Sultan lies at the present time was built in 1911 under the direction of Amir Habibullah Khan.

After Mahmud his son Mohammad came from Gozdana and became the king. He appointed his uncle, Amir Yusuf bin Subuktageen as commander, Khwaja Abu Sahl Ahmad Hamdawi as the prime minister and Ali Qareeb as the chief chamberlain. However after the passing of 50 days Abu-al-Najm Amir Ayaz Aimaq and Ali Daya left Ghazni and went to Amir Masud, the elder son of Sultan Mahmud, who was governor of Rai and Asfahan, to ask him to go to Ghazni as a result of the wishes of the people. Mohammad sent his commander of the Hindu force, Sund Harai, to subdue the two but slaves in the contingent killed Sund Harai and went to Neshapur to Amir Masud. At this time the caliph of Baghdad recognized Masud as the king and sent Marsal bin Mansur bin Aflah Gardezi to Amir Masud. According to the Islamic Encyclopedia he was given the title: defender of religion, protector of the servants of God and patron of the caliph of God. Ibn Athir has written this title as lion of the land and sovereigns. And hence Masud was officially recognized as the king of Khorasan.

Amir Masud went from Herat to Bost and Mohammad brought his army from Ghazni to Taginabad (located between Arghandab and Helmand rivers) but was captured by Amir Yusuf and Ali Qurayeb in Taginabad and blinded. Amir Masud was declared as the king in 1030. Sultan Masud released Khwaja Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi (deceased 1033) from prison and appointed him as his minister and hung Hasan Maikali, famous minister of Amir Hasnak in Balkh, accusing him of being a Carmathian.¹ Masud usurped a great deal of wealth from Yanalatgin, treasurer of Sultan Mahmud, and sent him to India. In 1030 he captured Kerman and Makran and went to Herat a year later and appointed commander Abdus to prevent Turkmens from engaging in corruption in Khorasan. In 1033 he attacked Sarsati in Kashmir and managed to dominate Amil, Sari and Tabaristan the same year and sent Amir Baktagdi together with a large force to subdue the Turkmens living in the northern wilderness of Khorasan but the army returned in failure.

In 1034 he sent a force under the command of Talak bin Jahlan, commander of India, to combat Ahmad Yanalatgin, who had rebelled in India. Ahmad was defeated and fled to Mansura and was

1. Carmathians, Qarmathians, Karmathians) were a syncretic religious group that combined elements of the Ismaili Shia Islam centered in al-Hasa (Eastern Arabia), where they established a religious utopian republic in 899. They are most famed for their revolt against the Abbasid Caliphate. Mecca was sacked by the sect's leader, Abu Tahir al-Jannabi, outraging the Muslim world, particularly with their theft of the Black Stone and desecration of the Zamzam Well with corpses during the Hajj season of 930.

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drowned while crossing the Indus river in 1035. During the same year Masud marched on Hanasi and other forts in India. After several conquests he appointed his son, Amir Majdud, as governor in Lahore and returned to Ghazni a year later. Since the Turkmen were constantly creating problems in Khorasan, he went by way of Balkh to Trans Oxiana. The Turkmen, Daud, attacked Balkh and when Amir Masud returned to Balkh Daud retreated to Merv. In 1038 he displaced Masud Ali Konduzi from Gozganan and managed to satisfy some Saljuks by giving them rangelands. He fought against some other people in northern Khorasan and in 1039 returned to Ghazni by way of Herat and Ghor. He abdicated commander Ali Daya, Sahashi and Bakta'zi, who had disobeyed him in the ensuing battles to India. At this time Tugril, and Chaghri Beg, sons of Mikayel Saljoki, managed to occupy Khorasan, Nishapur, Herat, Balk and Seistan and defeated Masud in the battle of Dandanuqan, between Merv and Sarkhas. The last coin which Masud minted in his name in Neshapur took place in 1039 after which Tugril Saljoki minted a coin in his name in 1041.

Since Amir Masud sensed a deteriorating situation arising in the country he left his son, Maudud, in Ghazni and himself left for India with the royal treasure, army and his blind brother Mohammad. However in Marigala (east of present day Hasan Abdal) his soldiers rebelled against him and declared Amir Mohammad as the monarch. They imprisoned Masud in the Giri (Gahri) fort and had him killed by Taher bin Mohammad on 16 January 1040. Amir Maudud, who was in Ghazni, left for India with his army and engaged the force of his uncle, Mohammad, in Danpur (near present day Jalalabad, the Adina Pur of Babur) and killed the Turkish and Tajik killers of his father. He captured Mohammad and his son and killed them in 1040. There he established a city by the name of Fathabad which is still called by the same name.

Sultan Masud established amicable relations with the Turkish Saljokis, who were gaining power in Trans Oxiana, and married the daughter of Ghugri Beg. Despite this move he was not able to free himself from their mischief. For this reason the Ghaznavids put their trust in their Indian colonies. This move is first seen in the coins of Masud who inscribed the figure of Siva, the bull, together with the inscription of Sri Samanta Diva on his coin which is a derivative of the Kabul Shahs of Waihind. Masud died at the age of 39 after ruling for 9 years in 1049. For two months the Ghazni kingdom was relegated by Masud II bin Amir Maudud and his uncle Ali bin Masud I until Abdul Rashid bin Sultan Mahmud dominated them and ascended the Ghazni throne the same year. Daud Saljoki, who was governor of Khorasan, attacked Bost and Zamindawar by way of Seistan and his son, Alap Arasalan, moved his force to Ghazni by way of Takharistan. Tugril, the commander of Abdul Rashid's forces, and a slave of Sultan Mahmud, defeated Alap Arsalan in Khumar (probably the present day Kohna Khumar of Maidan). He defeated Daudin Bost and subdued, Yabghu, uncle of Daud, in Seistan and then returned to Ghazni. He killed Abdul Rashid and some of the princes of Al-Mahmud in 1050 but the people of Ghazni rose against Tugril and a person by the name of Naushatgin killed him and placed Sultan Firkhazad bin Masud bin Mahmud on the throne of Ghazni in 1051. He lowered the heavy taxes imposed on the people of Zabulistan and because of that became popular. He let Kharkhez, the chief chamberlain take charge of the administration of the country who sent a large army to Khorasan to combat the Saljok rulers. According to Ibn Athir he was

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successful in many battles. Some of his opponents plotted to kill him in a bath house but in 1058, with the aid of his friends, the plot was not carried out and after seven years of reign Masud passed away in 1059 and his brother, Ibrahim bin Masud ascended the throne. He made peace with Daud Saljoki and Alap Arsalan. Thus the eastern parts of Afghanistan, as far as Lahore, stayed under his domain. He made several forays to India. He built the forts of Khair Abad and Aiman Abad, mosques and several palaces and ruled with peace and tranquility for 42 years and died in 1098 at the age of 60. His son, Ala'uddin Masud III replaced him as monarch who assigned Amir Azd-al-Daula, as regent of India. Since he was married to the sister of Sultan Sanjar he had peaceful relations with the Saljok rulers. As a result he directed his attention toward the conquest of India. His commander, Taghatagin, managed to cross the Ganges river in India.

Sultan Ibrahim died around 1115 and his son, Arsalan Shah, ascended the Ghazni throne. He killed his brother, Sherzad, and insulted his step-mother, who was the sister of the great Sultan Sanjar. His other brother, Bahram Shah, fled to the court of Sanjar. Sanjar helped Bahram Shah who managed to defeat Arsalan Shah in Ghazni and forced him to flee to India who later died there in 1117. Bahram Shah, with the support of Sanjar Saljoki, became the king and minted the name of Sultan Sanjar on his coin. He attacked India and killed Mohammad Bahailam together with his 10 sons in Multan in 1118 and built the Nagoor fort in Suwalak.

When he returned to Ghazni he got in conflict with Sultan Ala'uddin Jahanzoz Ghor and his son, Dawlat Shah, was killed in that battle therefore Bahram Shah had to retreat to India. Ghazni fell into the hands of the Ghorids. When the Ghorids left he returned to Ghazni and died in 1157. After his demise Khusraw Shah bin Bahram Shah (1157-1161) and Khusraw Mali bin Khusraw (1157-1187) reigned in Ghazni and Lahore. But Khusraw was defeated by the people of Ghazni and he fled to Lahore. In 1187 Sultan Ma'zuddin Mohammad Saam Ghor captured Khusraw in Lahore and imprisoned him in the Belrawan fort in Gharjistan and he was killed in 1191. The Ghaznavid empire of the Subuktageen family ended with his demise.

The Ghaznavid dynasty lasted for two and half centuries in Afghanistan, Iran, India and Trans Oxiana from the shores of Dajla to the Ganges river. Ghazni, Lahore, Balkh and Bost were its capitals. During this time Islamic civilization and the Dari language developed a great deal. Islam spread throughout the country and India was also enlightened with the religion. The remains of Kabul Shahi government and religion vanished from the east of the country. Famous ministers of the Ghaznavid court were: Abu-al-Abas Asfarayeni, Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi, Hasan bin Mohammad Maykali, Khwaja Abdul Samad, Khwaja Taher Mastufi etc. Famous scholars and writers of the time were: Alburuni, Ibn Seena, Abu-al-Fath Basti, Ta'lubi, Abdul Jabar-al-Otbi, Bu Nasr Mashkan, Abu-al-Fazl Baihaqi, Nasrullah Saheb, author of Kulia and Damna, Abu Mansur Moafaq Herawi, author of Ela Abniya, Edifices and Truth about Drugs, Abdul Hai Gardezi, Fakhr Mudabir Mubarakshah, author of Manners of War and Bravery, Abu-al-Hasan Hajweri Ghaznavi, famous Sufi and author of Discovery of Chastity. Development took place in Afghanistan, India, Trans Oxiana and Iran and trade flourished.

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Famous poets of the Ghaznavid courts were: Ferdawsi, Farukhi, A'nsuri, A'sjadi, Menochehri, Sanayee, Masud S'aad Salman, Naser Khusrow, Asad Tusi, Sayed Husain Ghaznavi, Abu-al-Farj Rumi, and Mukhtari Ghaznavi.

The Ghaznavid court was a center for nurturing poets, scholars and masters of sciences. Sultan Mahmud was a scholar and learned king. Some authors name him as the author of a book on religious jurisprudence and contain pieces of his poetry in their books. During the time of the Ghaznavids fine industry and architecture developed a great deal. Even though the barrage of the Tartars destroyed all the effects of industry in large cities of Afghanistan the tombs of Subuktageen, Sultan Mahmud, two minarets of Ghazni, and remains of the Masud III palace are examples of architecture and construction of the time. The remains of the city of Bost, which were discovered in 1950 by the French archeological team, reveal the mode of art at the time which depicts the vivacity of arts and industry of the Ghaznavid period.

During the Ghaznavid period the administration of provinces was conducted by governors appointed by the court. Famous commanders, chamberlains, princes and relatives of the king were selected for these positions. According to Baihaqi, the center was run by a minister of the court and a person of distinction, who acted as the minister of finance or the prime minister, the commander of the forces acted as the minister of war, and a secretary-general took charge of written affairs of the court. The court also contained senior advisers by the name of *nadim*, ministers, capacitors and magistrates. Since the country was linked to the center and security prevailed the collection of taxes took place on a regular basis. According to historians, during the beginning of the Abbasid period, the revenue of Khorasan was estimated to be 45 million dirhams. Based on this figure the revenue of all the provinces of Ghazni, Zabul, Takharistan, Peshawar, Lahore, Multan, Sind, Trans Oxiana, and Khwarazm can be estimated to have been over 100 million dirhams. This figure does not include the riches and jewels which were plundered in the wars in India.

The chiefs of post office, intelligence, commander of the armed forces, and police worked in various large cities. Matters of the judiciary were the responsibility of the Sharia judge (*qazi*). As such when Qazi Abu-al-Hasan bin Qazi Abu Mohammad Alfazari came to Ghazni from Pars Sultan Mahmud placed him in a position of esteem, based on his knowledge and piety, and let him take charge of judicial matters of Ghazni. His descendants were judges in the city for a long period of time. The Ghaznavids maintained friendly and cordial ties with the caliphate in Baghdad and the chief of Trans Oxiana and emissaries from Trans Oxiana and China paid regular visits to the Ghaznavid court who were greeted with utmost respect by the chief of protocol. People from all the provinces worked as government officials and Indians were also included in high positions as military officers in the army. The number of Afghans in the Ghaznavid army was large who received ample compensation during the conquests of India.

Ghaznavid rulers:

1. Amir Alaptageen 962-963.*
2. Amir Ishaq bin Alaptageen 963-966.
3. Amir Balkatageen 966-976.

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4. Amir Piritageen 976–977.
5. Amir Subuktageen 977–997.*
6. Amir Ismail bin Subuktageen 997.*
7. Sultan Mahmud bin Subuktageen 997–1030.*
8. Amir Mohammad bin Mahmud 1030.*
9. Sultan Masud bin Mahmud 1030–1041.*
10. Mohammad (second time) 1041.
11. Sultan Moudud bin Masud 1041–1049.*
12. Masud II bin Maudud 1049.*
13. Ali bin Masud I 1049.
14. Abdul Rashid bin Mahmud 1049–1052.*
15. Tugril (Mahmud's slave) 1052.
16. Farkhzad bin Masud I 1052–1059.*
17. Sultan Ibrahim bin Masud I 1059–1099.*
18. A'lauddin Masud III 1099–1115.*
19. Sherzad bin Masud III 1115.
20. Arsalan Shah bin Masud III 1115–1117.*
21. Bahram Shah bin Masud III 1117–1157.*
22. Khusrao Shah bin Bahram Shah 1157–1162*
23. Khusrao Malik bin Khusrao Shah 1162–1187.*

(see map 58)

References: Tarek-e Seistan, Baihaqi, Tabakat-e Naseri, Ibn Athir, Tabakat-e Salatain Islam, Gardezi, Al-Otbi, Mukhtasar Tarekh-e Iran, Adaab-al-Harb of Powell Horn, Dairat-al-Islami, Tarekh-e Islam, Rahnuma-e Afghanistan, Siyasat Nama, Ibn Khalkan, Ibn Khaldoon, Tajarab Elamam, Fereshta, Rowzat-al-Safa, Habib-al-Sayr, Tarekh-e Guzida, Majmal-al-Tawarekhe wa Al-Qesas, Tarekhe-al-Islam al-Siyasi, Tarekh-e al-Islam Dahabi, Mujala-e Ariana, Lubab-al-Albab, Ma'jam-al-Nisab of Zimbawar, The Pathans of Sir Olaf Caroe, Akhbar-al-Dawlat al-Saljokia, Rahat-al-Sudoor, Afghanistan baad az Islam, Vol 1, Madar-e Zaban Dari, Futuh-al-Salatain, Ghaznavid by Busort.

The Influence of the Saljoks and Khwarazam Shahs and Brief Description of the Seistan Chiefs (1038–1235)

The Saljoks were a Turkmen tribe from north of Sayhoon and the Aral Sea. During the Samanid period they settled in Trans Oxiana and Nour, north of Bokhara (presently called Nourata) and embraced Islam. Since they were herders they were on the move to find pastures. A chief of one clan in Jand named Saljok, son of Towqaq or Yaqaq Timur, had four sons: Yabghor Arsalan, famous as Israel, Mikail, Yunus and Musa.

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Sultan Mahmud mistakenly moved 4000 Saljok families from Sayhoon and gave them pastures in Khorasan as far as Neshapur. According to Menhaj Seraj, the son of Saljok, Israel, who was a valiant and fiery person, was imprisoned by Sultan Mahmud in Kalanjar of India in 1025. However the sons of Mikail, Tugri Beg, Daud and Chugri Beg gathered their tribesmen and took control of Khorasan as far as Ghazni, Seistan, Balkh, Neshapur and Kerman. Tugril (1038–1063) defeated Sultan Masud in the battle of Dandanoqan and crowned himself as king in Neshapur in 1037. He sent his brother, Yabghur, as governor of western Afghanistan, Poshanj, Herat and Seistan. In 1041 he advanced as far as Bost and his brothers, Daud and Chugri Beg, captured the northern regions of Afghanistan from Merv and Sarkhas to Balkh and Sheberghan but were defeated by Sultan Masud's forces in Alyaabad of Balkh but in the battle of Dandanoqan. The Saljoki forces defeated Masud's army in 1040. Daud spread his sphere of influence southward to Seistan and in the north to Balkh and Takharistan. Even though Sultan Maudud sent his minister, Abdul Razaq, son of Ahmad Maimandi to the Salajaka battle in Seistan around 1048 but was not able to attain any success. Alap Arsalan, son of Chugri Beg (1063–1072), had Takharistan, Balkh, Termez, Qibadian, Waksh and Walwalaj under his domain. He and his son, Malikshah (1072–1092), maintained cordial relations with Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznavi and let the Ghaznavids take charge of Zabulistan, Kabul as far as Lahore. At this time, Tekesh, brother of Malikshah, rebelled in Balkh. Malikshah managed to capture him in 1048 in Termez and blinded him. Malikshah's son, Sultan Sanjar (1117–1157) who is a famous Saljoki king, aided Bahram Shah Ghaznavi against Arsalan Shah and declared him king of Ghazni as far as Lahore under his tutelage in 1117. In this way the border of the Sanjari nation extended up to Lahore. However, Sultan Sanjar engaged in battle with Sultan A'lauddin Hussain Jahansoz Ghor in the mountains of Herat at the location of Seh Gosha. A'lauddin was detained and sent back to Ghor around 1155. Afterwards the semi-barbaric tribes, Qarakhatyan and Ghazan, who came out of the mountains of Central Asia, ended the Sanjari empire around 1128. They invaded parts of Afghanistan as far as Ghazni, Zabul, and Seistan and drove Khusrao Shah Ghaznavi to Lahore. The Ghorids and Khwarazam kings managed to end Ghaznavid dominance and the Khwarazm family, during the Saljoki period, managed to take charge of Khorasan and the northern and western regions of Afghanistan.

A major event which took place during the Khwarazam period was the confrontation between the Khwarazam kings with the Ghorid family, who had freely reigned over Ghor and Bamian for eons. Around 1214 Alauddin Mohammad took control of Ghor, Ferozkoh, Herat all the way to Ghazni and displaced the Ghorid family from Ghor. After that the last king of the Khwarazam family, Sultan Jalaluddin, was in battle with the army of Genghis Khan in Afghanistan which will be explained later. During this time Afghanistan had been divided into four parts: the northern provinces from Takhar to Merv were under the control of the Sanjari and Saljouki courts, while Ghor, Bamian, Gozganan as far as Herat were under the influence of the Ghorid family. The province of Zabul, from Helmand to Ghazni, Kabul, Nangarhar up to Peshawar and Lahore was the domain of the Ghaznavids. The province of Seistan encompassing Bost, Zamindawar, Zaranj, Farah and Niya was under the control of the Seistan chiefs, who maintained cordial ties with Saljok, Ghorid and Ghaznavid kings and even the Genghis lineage. They were the remnants of

the Safavids and the local Nemroz rulers and managed to maintain friendly ties with the Tartar conquerors and had control over Herat and Seistan. Malik Tajuddin, as mentioned under the Safavid rulers, was a vestige of the Seistan and Safavid rulers, around 1089. His offsprings were amirs in Seistan for a thousand years. According to Rio (1619) Malik Jalaluddin's ancestry can be traced to 16 generations to Omro Lyce Safari and Shah Hussain bin Malik Ghiasuddin Mohammad who wrote the history of the Safarids with the title of *Ahya-al-Mulook*, was related to the Safavids.

References: *Tabakat-e Naseri*, *Akhbar-al-Dawla al-Saljokian*, *Lub-al-Tawarekh*, *Tarekh-e Seistan*, *Ibn Athir*, *Tarekh-e Mukhtasar-e Iran* by Powell Horn, *Duwal-e Islamia* of Khalil Adham, *Ma'jamal-Insab* of Zembawar, *Rahat-al-Sudoor*.

Ghorids (660-1215)

The Suri were an Afghan clan from Khorasan and Ghor who until the present time are known as Zuri in Badghis. They live near Zurabad (the Zurabd of Yaqut), northwest of Herat. This family was in power in the pre-Islamic period in the mountains of Takharistan, Ghor, Herat and Khorasan and were known as Gharshah (*ghar* in Pashto means a mountain). They are related to the legendary figure Zuhak of Firdawsi (in Pashto sources such as *Tarekh-e Suri* they are referred to as Sahak. Tabari, Al-Buruni and Ibn Balkhi calls them Biurasap Azdahaq, Masudi names them Dehak). According to Tabari the Arabic form of the word is Azdahaq (in Avesta it is Dehaka=Azideha=Azdaha of Persian and Azdahar of Pashto). Khorasani personality such as Zuhak, who lived around 1010, was the name of Abdul Hai Gardezi's father, the writer of *Zein-al-Akhbar* and Zuhak Shaibani (around 900) the famous jurist. The city of Zuhak near Bamian, Sahaka, (the famous Aryan tribe after whom Sakistan has been named), Sahak and Sahakzai, are names of Afghan tribes. This shows that it is an ancient name of Afghan families.

Another personality of this family is Bastam (Arabic version Gastaham=wastaham meaning a strong person). Firdawsi also mentions this person. This person ruled in Sheghan, Bamian Takharistan and Ghor. After him Amir Sur and Saam, two brothers, were commanders from the same clan in Ghor and the chiefs of the Suri tribe are named after them. Firdawsi and other historians mention Mahui of the Suri lineage and Belazari mentions the Zur mountain and its famous idol. Hiuen Tsang had seen the statue in 603 with the name of Shona. Ibn Funduk in *Tarekh-e Baihaq* mentions Omaid Suri of Khorasan who lived at the time of Sultan Masud. In later years the famous Sher Shah Suri, who is from the same family, came to power in India.

One of the celebrated figure of the Suri family is Shansab bin Kharnak, who according to Menhaj Seraj, in reference to the book *Nasb Nama* of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, was a contemporary of Prophet Mohammad and was converted to Islam by the prophet and he received a promise that whoever from the family becomes a king will have the backing of Hazrat Ali. This is the first Ghorid ruler which we know during the Islamic period. Amir Polad Ghorid was from this family who had control over the mountains of Ghor and managed to revive the name of his forefathers. When Abu Muslim Marwazi came to power Amir Polad put the army of Ghor at his disposal and he helped in strengthening the Al-Abas. Amir Polad's center of power was Mandesh of Ghor and he reigned over Ghor and surrounding territories around 747.

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We know a son of Amir Polad who was named Amir Krorr from the lore of the people of Kandahar and the Hidden Treasure which carries his narrative based on Tarekh-e Suri of Mohammad bin Ali Basti. He was the amir of Ghor in 756 in Mandesh of Ghor and had the title of Jahan Pahlavan (brave warrior of the world). This is a title with which Firdawsi referred to brave warriors. He had control over Balishtan (Walishtan, north of Kandahar), Khaisar, Tamran and Bar Koshak (the famous fort of Ghor). He was a warrior who could fight ten persons. It was for this reason he was named Krorr which in Pashto means firm and strong. The sphere of influence of this family reached Zamindawar, Bost and Walishtan. He accompanied Abu Muslim in the revolutionary battles of the caliphate. The Hidden Treasure contains his poem of boasting which was included in Tarekh-e Suri and considers him a poet of distinction. In the poem Amir Krorr Jahan Pahlawan writes that his sphere of influence includes Merv, Herat, Jurm (Garamseer), Gharj and Takhar. He states he vanquished Zaranj (Seistan) with the force of his sharp sword. This heroic poem is the oldest such work of the Pashto language. It is a representation of his national pride and conquest. It contains words which do not exist in the Pashto language at this time.

Amir Krorr was killed in the battle of Poshang (west of Herat) in 800 and his son, Amir Naser, became the ruler of Ghor, Bost and Zamindawar (circa 776) (refer to the Hidden Treasure and volume II of History of Pashto Literature for more information about this interesting subject).

After mentioning Amir Polad, Menhaj Seraj until the time of Harun-al-Rashid around 786, does not mention anything about the rulers of this family. This gap has been filled by the Hidden Treasure using Tarekh-e Suri of Mohammad Basti as reference which mention Amir Krorr and Amir Naser. Later Menhaj Seraj talks about another ruler of this family, Banji bin Neharan Shansabi, who together with another dignitary from Ghor, Shesh bin Bahram, went to the court of Harun-al-Rashid. As a result Amir Banji was declared as the ruler of Ghor with the title Qaseem Amir of the Faithful and Amir Shesh was recognized as the commander of the Ghorid army (around 786). The rulers of Ghor are descendants of Banji and its commanders take stock from Shesh. It was during the Safavid period that Amir Suri became the ruler of Ghor in Mandesh from the blood line of Al-Shansab around 967. As mentioned in the discussion of the Safavids Yaqub Safari managed to capture Nemroz, Bost, Dawar as far as Tagin Abad and Rakhj and overpowered the amir of the place. This was a time when Amir Suri was the ruler of the Ghor mountains and half the people of Ghor had not converted to Islam. Later Amir Subuktageen also launched attacks on Ghor but did not manage to harm the Suri family. Sultan Mahmud also attacked Ghor and the Amir of the place, Mohammad Suri, sometimes obeyed the Ghaznavid king while at other times he rebelled against him.

According to Baihaqi, Sultan Mahmud came to Ghor with a large force in 1014, while Ibn Asir writes that the march on Ghor, by way of Bost and Khwabein by Sultan Mahmud, took place in 1011. The army was led by Al-Tontash, the governor of Herat and Arsalan Jazeb, the governor of Tus. Amir Mohammad was besieged in the Ahangaran fort together with his men. After some time Amir Mohammad left the fort and surrendered to Sultan Mahmud. The Sultan took him and his younger son, Shesh to Ghazni. Not accepting captivity, when the party reached Gailan near Ghazni, Amir Mohammad, is said to have taken poison which he was hiding in his ring and died. Native accounts of Pashto, which have been noted in the

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Hidden Treasure, are based on the books, Ancient Afghans and History of Suri which corroborate this historical account and Mohammad's elegy, written by Sheikh Asad bin Mohammad Suri (who died in 1034 in Baghnein of Zamindawar) is also included in the book. Asad was a poet in the court of the Ghorid king. This elegy which is a profound example of the eloquence of poetry and fluency of language depicts Mohammad's bravery and grandeur, the battle of Ahangaran, and his capture by Sultan Mahmud. He is considered a pride of the Suri family who committed suicide in order to preserve the honor of his family. This elegy by Sheikh Asad is a prime example of old Pashto literature.

After Mohammad's death Amir Bo Ali bin Mohammad Suri became the amir of Ghor at the behest of Sultan Mahmud and he was submissive to the Sultan. He started building schools, mosques and palaces in Ghor and was fond of knowledge. He was the ruler until the end of the Mahmudian era. During the reign of Masud around 1033, Abas bin Shesh, nephew of Bo Ali, rose to power, imprisoned his uncle and sat on the throne. Abas was a tyrant and dauntless person and had an interest in the science of astrology. He built an observatory in Sanga fort in Mandesh province. However the people complained about his cruelty to Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznavi. Ibrahim attacked Ghor and imprisoned Amir Abas in Ghazni and appointed his son, Amir Mohammad bin Abas, who was submissive to the Ghaznavid court but was a well-liked, just and knowledge seeker, as the ruler (circa 1058). After Mohammad, his son Qutbuddin Hasan bin Mohammad bin Abas, who was a great king and is the ancestor of the Ghorid lineage, took over the Ghorid throne around 1067. He subdued rebellious elements by force and was killed near Koshak and Jaristan (southwest of Ghazni) by rebels around 1100 and his son, Malik Azuddin Hussain, became the ruler. He established friendly ties with the Sanjari rulers and was a just and well-liked king who fostered knowledge. His seven sons managed to absorb Khorasan, Ghor, Zabul, Ghazni, Bamian and Takharistan under their rule and each one governed over an area as such:

1. Qutbuddin Mohammad, who officially gave himself the indigenous title *garshah*, in Arabic Malek-al-Jebal, and built the Feroz Koh fort. As governor of Warshad (Warsad) province he got in conflict with his brothers and went to Ghazni. There he was killed by Bahram Shah Ghaznavi in 1146. It was his death which resulted in the disagreement between the Ghorid and Ghaznavid families.

2. Bahauddin Saam was the governor of Sanga in Mandesh. When Sultan Suri went to Ghazni the administration of Feroz Koh was also given to him. He ascended the throne in Feroz Koh in 1149. He established friendship with the Sharan of Gharjistan and built the Kojoran (present day Kajran between Kandahar and Ghor) fort in Garamseer, the Sher Sang fort in the mountains of Herat, the Bandaro fort in Gharjistan, and the Feiwar fort between Gharjistan and Madin. He married the daughter of Malik Badruddin Gailan (queen of Gailan) who was from the Shansab family. She is the mother of two famous sons, Sultan Ma'zuddin Mohammad Saam and Sultan Ghiasuddin Mohammad Saam. In order to revenge his brother's death Sultan Bahauddin gathered his army from Jurm and Gharjistan and attacked Ghazni but was killed in Gailan (Ghazni). Before departing for Ghazni he had left the throne of Ghor to his brother Sultan A'lauddin Hussain.

3. Malik Shahabuddin Mohammad Kharnak bin Hussain who governed over Madin, a province of Ghor. His son, Malik Naseruddin Abu Bakr was governor of Gazyaw and Tamran provinces (north of

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Kandahar) around 1221. After the invasion of Genghis he went to the court of Al-Titmarsh to India and died there around 1223.

4. Malik Shujauddin Ali bin Hussain governed over Jurmas of Ghor. His son, A'lauddin Abu Ali, took charge of the province after his death. During the reign of Sultan Ghiasuddin the territories of Ghor, Bost, Wajir, Garamseer, Daramshan, Rozgan, and Ghazni were under his administration. After the conquest of Khorasan he was governor in Neshapur. Sultan Ma'zuddin made him governor of Gharjistan and Zamindawar. In 1025 he managed to capture the Janabad palace of the Qahistan atheists. After the death of Sultan Ma'zuddin he was imprisoned in the Ashiar fort of Gharjistan.

5. A'lauddin Hussain bin Hussain was governor in Wajiristan of Ghor. After the death of his brother, Sultan Bahauddin, he became regent of Ghor and Ferozkoh, gathered the armies of Ghor and Gharjistan and headed for Ghazni. Sultan Bahram Shah left with his army from Ghazni and India and went to Zamindawar by way of Garamseer and Taginabad. A'lauddin who was fighting to revenge his two brothers clashed with Bahram Shah near Taginabad. After this he broke the Ghaznavid defense lines twice near Ghazni and managed to take over the Ghaznavid capital (1150–1151). He destroyed the great city to the ground and massacred its people for eight days. From there he marched on Bost and Zamindawar. He also destroyed the city of Bost which had unrivaled architecture and buildings of the era. It was for this reason he became known as *jahansoz*, the burner of the world. After this he annexed Takharistan to his domain and appointed his brother, Fakhruddin, as governor of the province.

Later A'lauddin engaged in conflict with the Sanjari Saljoki ruler. Sultan Sanjar met his force near the village of Naab of Hari Rud. Since people were annoyed with his behavior six thousand of his Ghalji and Turk soldiers surrendered to Sanjar. But since Sultan Sanjar had been overthrown by the Ghaznavids he treated A'lauddin fondly and aided him and sent him back to Ghor. He silenced the rebels of the Kasi province and went to Feroz Koh. In his absence the people had brought Malik Naseruddin Hussain bin Mohammad from Madin and made him ruler of Feroz Koh. But when they heard about the return of A'lauddin they killed Naseruddin and surrendered to A'lauddin. He managed to bring Bamian, Takharistan, Jurm (Garamseer), Dawar, Bost, Tulak, the mountains of Herat, Gharjistan and Murghab under his domain. He allowed heretic messengers to go the mountains of Ghor and died in Sakaha of Ghor around 1156. His son, Saifuddin Mohammad, ascended the throne of Feroz Koh. He killed the heretic messengers and directed his energy to get rid of the Ghaznavid conspirators who had reached Herat and Qadis. He did not live long and was killed in the Ghazan battle by the Ghorid commander Shesh in 1163. A'lauddin Jahansoz was the first Ghorid ruler who managed to bring the whole of Afghanistan under his domain and annexed it to its capital of Feroz Koh.

6. Sultan Saifuddin Suri (1148–1149) is the first Ghorid king who attained the title of Sultan. The center of his power was in the Hastia fort of Ghor. Since his brother, Qutbuddin Malik-al-Jabal, was killed in Ghazni Sultan Suri fought with Bahram Shah Ghaznavi and drove him to the Kurram valley and took over the throne of Ghazni and let his brother, Sultan Bahauddin, take charge of Ghor. But in winter when his brother, A'lauddin Hussain, went from Ghazni to Ghor, Bahram Shah together with a force of Ghalji Afghans attacked Ghazni from the east and captured Sultan Suri and his minister Sayed Majduddin

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Musawi and hanged them at the Taaq bridge of Ghazni. His brother, Jahansoz, later destroyed Ghazni to revenge the death of his brother.

7. Malik Fakhruddin was the eldest of the seven brothers and became governor of Kasi of Ghor. Since Sultan A'lauddin Jahansoz, after the conquest of Ghazni, captured Takharistan he assigned his elder brother Malik Fakhruddin as governor of Bamian. He managed to bring Shegnan, Takharistan, Darwaz, Belour, Badakshan and Waksh under his domain. He was captured by his nephews in the battle of Raghzar and sent to Bamian where he died around 1155. His elder son, Shamsuddin Mohammad, became the amir of Bamian and his dominion was recognized by the Feroz Koh court and Sultan Ghiasuddin. He captured Balkh, Chaganiyan, Waksh, Jurm (Garmseer), Badakshan, and Shegnan. He participated in the battle of Rudbar in support of the Ghorid army against Sultan Shah of the Khwarazm kingdom and gained the title of sultan. After his death, his son Bahauddin Saam, took over the reigns of power of Bamian in 1189. He was a distinguished king and his court was a gathering of scholars such as Imam Fakhruddin Razi, Skeikh-al-Islam Jalaluddin and the great scholar Maulana Serajuddin.

His empire spread from Kashmir to Kashghar, Termez, Balkh, and to the south to Ghor, Gharjistan and Ghazni. Since Sultan Ma'zuddin was martyred in 1205 the leaders of the nation asked him to go to Ghazni but he died in Gailan after ruling for 14 years and was replaced by his son Jalaluddin Ali and appointed his brother, Alauddin, as regent of Ghazni. When the Ghorid and Ghaznavid soldiers and Tajuddin Yaldoz, from the Kerman valley, attacked Alauddin, he left Bamian to help his brother and in his absence his paternal uncle, Alauddin Masud bin Shamsuddin Mohammad, took hold of the Bamian throne and assigned his minister to take charge of the administration. However Jalaluddin returned to Bamian soon after taking care of the situation in Ghazni and killed his uncle and his minister. Tajuddin Yaldoz attacked Ghazni a second time and defeated the army of A'lauddin at the Sanqaran (Shangaran) caravansarai and he was jailed in Ghazni. Jalaluddin went to aid his brother but both brothers were captured by Yaldoz and were sent back to Bamian and died there around 1215.

This was the summary of the lives of the seven Ghorid brothers who established the Ghorid empire. After them, Sultan Ghiasuddin bin Mohammad Saam Bahauddin Qasim, amir of the faithful, who is one of the great Ghorid ruler, became the king. Together with his brother Ma'zuddin he was a prisoner in the Wajiristan fort on the orders of his uncle A'lauddin but Sultan Saifuddin bin A'lauddin freed them. Saifuddin was killed by his commander Shesh who gathered the army of Ghor and Gharjistan and aligned with Ghiasuddin and appointed him as king of Ferozkoh in 1162. He appointed his brother, Ma'azzudin, as the governor of Astia and Kajoran and defeated Abu-al-Abas Shesh, who after the killing of Sultan Saifuddin, had accumulated power. During this time, the uncle of Ghiasuddin, Malik Fakhruddin Masud, the governor of Bamian, asked for help from Malik A'lauddin Qemaj Sanjari, the governor of Balkh and Tajuddin Yaldoz, governor of Herat, and with the army of Bamian, Balkh, Herat and Ferozkoh attacked the Ghorid army at Raghzar. The Ghorid soldiers first killed Yaldoz and scattered the army from Herat. After that they defeated the Balkh army and beheaded Qemaj. Ghiasuddin and his uncle Ma'zuddin were respectfully captured and sent to Bamian.

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Sultan Ghiasuddin then captured Garmser and Zamindawar and annexed Qadis, Kalion, Faiwar, Saifrud, Gharjistan, Taloqan and Garziwan to his Ghorid empire and sent his brother, Ma'zuddin, from Jurm (Garmser), Tagin Abad and Seistan to Ghazni, Zabul and Kabul. He drove the Ghaznavid army, which was in power of Ghazni in 1173, out of Ghazni and added Ghazni to his Ghorid kingdom and went on to capture Herat. Bahauddin Tugril, a slave of the Sanjar family, who had taken control of Herat, went to Khwarzam to escape the wrath of the Sultan's army. As a result Herat was annexed to the Ghorid empire in 1175 followed by the annexation of Foushanj two years later.

During this time the Seistan leaders also surrendered and northern areas such as Taloqan, Andkhoi, Maimana, Faryab, Panjdeh, Merv, Dazaq and Khulm were also conquered. Jalaluddin Mahmud, son of Ail Arsalan Khwarazmshah, with the aid of the Khataian, was creating problems in the northern parts of the country therefore in 1192 Ghiasuddin gathered the Ghazni army under the command of Ma'zuddin, the Bamian army under the command of Malik Shamsuddin and the Seistan army under the command of Tajuddin Harb in Rudbar of Merv and defeated Khwarazmshah along the banks of the Murghab river in 1199. He cleared Khorasan and marched as far as Neshapur and let Malik Ziauddin Abu Ali Shansabani take charge of it. He also captured Merv Shahjan and appointed Malik Nasruddin Mohammad Kharnak as governor of the area. He appointed Tajudding Zangi, son of Fakhrudding Masud Bamianai, as governor of Sarkhas. Since Ghiasuddin managed to centralize power he brought all the lands of Central Asia from India to Iraq and from the borders of China and Jayhoon as far as the Hermez river under the banner of the Feroz Koh kingdom and was recognized as the sole great king of Khorasan. The caliph of Baghdad, Naseruddin Ullah also sent his emissaries, Ibn Rabi', Qazi Majduddin Qudwa and Ibn-al-Khatib to the Feroz Koh court and officially recognized the Feroz Koh empire. Serajuddin Mohammad Jowzjani was sent from the Ghorid court as ambassador to Baghdad. In this way cordial ties were established between the two great empires of Feroz Koh and Baghdad.

Sultan Ghiasuddin was one of the greatest monarch of the Ghorid empire and the east. He was just, kind and a patron of knowledge with a large gathering of scholars. He died on 10 February 1202 and was buried in the grand mosque of Herat which he had ordered to be built. This mosque still exists in the city of Herat. Like his ancestors in the beginning he was a follower of the Mohammad Keram Seistani faith but later converted to the Shafieii faith. Scholars in his court were Qazi Wahiduddin Shafieii Marwardi, Sadruddin Kerami Neshapuri, chief justices Qazi Ma'zuddin Herawi, Qazi Shahabuddin Hermabadi, and ministers Shamsulmalik, Abdul Jabar Gailani, Fakhru'lmalik Sharafuddin Qazdari, Majdulmalik Dewshawi, A'inulmalik Suryani, Zahirulmalik Sajzi, and Jalaluddin Rioshari.

His summer capital was Feroz Koh and he stayed in Zamindawar in winter. His royal title was Unity for the Love of God. After his death his son, Ghiasuddin Mahmud, who was a philanderer, was appointed as governor of Bost, Farah and Asfazar by his uncle Ma'zuddin. He gathered an army and went as far as Merv Shahjan and after the death of his uncle in 1206 he went from Bost by way of Zamindawar to attack Ghor. He captured Feroz Koh from Malik Ala'uddin Abu Ali and annexed Gharjistan, Taloqan, Garziwan, Qadis and Garmseer to his domain and became the inheritor of his father's and uncle's lands. He appointed Tajuddin Yaloz, who was a servant of Ma'zuddin Mohammad, to take charge of Ghazni as far

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as the Indus river and in 1208 appointed Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak as governor of the Indian domain and in this way spread his empire to India.

In 1210 Malik Rakhnuddin Iranshah Mahmud son of Malik Alauddin Abu Ali together with 50 thousand soldiers from Ghazni and Kasi attacked Ghor and Feroz Koh but Ghiasuddin Mahmud was able to defeat Rakhnuddin and beheaded him. He also defeated Ala'uddin Atsaz Hussain Shansabi, who with the aid of Sultan Mahmud Khwarazm Shah, with an army composed of soldiers from Balkh, Merv, Sarkhas and Rudbar, had attacked Ghor by way of Taloqan by confronting them at Salora, between Maimana and Faryab. Later Alishah, son of Tekesh Khwarazm Shah, who had fled from his brother to the Ghorid court was imprisoned by Ghiasuddin Mahmud in the Barkoshak palace. Alishah's servants killed the Ghiasuddin in 1210. He was a just and kind ruler and distributed 800 boxes of gold to the people left by his father.

After Ghiasuddin Mahmud's death his 14 year old son, Bahauddin, was declared king by the dignitaries of Ghor. Three months later Sultan Ala'uddin Atsaz Shansabi, with the help of Sultan Mahmud Khwarazm Shah and Malik Khan of Herat, attacked Feroz Koh and captured the city in November of 1210. They sent Bahauddin, together with the female members of the court, to Khwarazm. Ala'uddin Atsaz bin Ala'uddin Hussain Jahansoz took over the throne of Feroz Koh and ruled for four years. However he clashed with Malik Tajuddin Yaldoz and Mohammad bin Abdullah Seistani and was defeated. After that Malik Nasruddin Hussain Amir Shekar attacked Ghor from Ghazni and killed Ala'uddin Atsaz in Jarmas and managed to bring Ghor under the domain of the Ghazni kingdom. Around 1214 Tajuddin Yaldoz sent Ala'uddin to take charge of the Feroz Koh court but a year later Ala'uddin was captured by Sultan Mohammad Khwarazm Shah and he died in Khwarazm. Hence the whole of Ghor came under the domain of the Khwarazm kingdom.

Another brother of Sultan Ghiasuddin Mohammad, Abu-al-Muzafar Ma'zuddin Mohammad bin Sam Qasim, the amir of the faithful, was also a great king of the Al-Shansab family who was one of the greatest ruler of the east and together with his brother was the commander of the royal guard. Afterwards he became the governor of Kajoran and Astia provinces of Ghor in 1162. He captured the cities of Garamseer as far as Tagin Abad and ended the 12 year reign of the Ghaznavids in Ghazni and with the order of Sultan Ghiasuddin became the ruler of Ghazni in 1173. He captured Gardez two years later and took over Multan from the Carmathians and in 1177 punished the rebels of Sanqaran. In 1178 he returned in failure from the battle of Bahim dew Naharwala but in 1179 he captured Farshor (Peshawar) and two years later captured Lahore. Later on, until the end of his life, he captured all of India and enlightened it with the torch of Islam.

The battle of Sultan Ma'zuddin Mohammad against the infidels of Khata and the people of Turkestan in Andkhud (Andkhoh) is an important event of this period. The battle was led by commander Hussain Kharmail, the chief of Garziwan, but since the Ghorid army was unable to make any progress Malik Osman Samarkandi from the Al Afrasiab family of Turkestan intervened and established peace between the warring parties. The Sultan returned to Ghazni since the Kohkaran and the tribal people of Koh-e Jud

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in Punjab revolted. The Sultan went to subdue the rebels and upon his return to Ghazni he was martyred by a devotee of the infidels in Dameek (present day Jehlum division of Punjab) on 14 March 1206.

Sultan Mohammad Ma'zuddin, like his brother, managed to maintain a vast empire in the heart of Asia and expanded the realm of the Ghorid empire to the shores of the Ganges river in India and spread Islam in that country. The Ganges was the eastern border of his domain and to the west it spread to Khorasan, Khwarazm, Nesaw and Baward while to the south it extended to the Arabian sea. The governors of various provinces under his domain were: Malik Ziauddin in Ghor, Malik Tajuddin Zangi in Bamian, Malik Hesamuddin Ali Kermaj in Multan, Malik Qutbuddin Aibak in Lahore, Malik Tajuddin Yaldoz in Ghazni and Kerman, Malik Nasurddin Qebacha in Sind and Acha, Sultan Bahauddin Saam in Bailan, Sultan Ghiasuddin Mahmud in Feroz Koh, Malik Tajuddin Harb in Seistan, Malik Tajuddin in Kerman, and Malik Shah in Waksh. His famous ministers were: Zia-al-Malik Darmashi, Moayed-ul-Malik Mohammad Abdullah Sanjari, and Shams-ul-Malik Abdul Jabar Gailani. The judges of his domain were Sadr Shahid Qazi Nezamuddin Abu Bakr and Sayed Sharafuddin Abu Bakr bin Sadr Shahid and the judge of the military was Shamsuddin Balkhi.

His summer capital was Ghazni in Khorasan and the winter capital was Lahore in India. The flag of the nation was red to the right and black to the left. Menhaj Seraj writing about the wealth of the royal treasury states that according to the treasurer, Khwaja Ismail, the treasury in Ghazni contained 1,500 *muns* of diamonds (one *mun* equals 7 kg).

From the Hidden Treasure, citing old books, we know that Pashto poets existed in the court of Mohammad Ghorid. One of them was Skarandoi bin Ahmad, the magistrate of Feroz Koh who wrote a magniloquent poem about the conquests of the emperor in India which has been included in the Hidden Treasure and is considered one of the most important historical piece of Pashto poetry.

After the death of Ma'zuddin Ghori the country was split into pieces and the eastern section of Afghanistan, from Ghazni to the Indus river, fell into the hands of Tajuddin Yaldoz, a worker of the Ghorid court who served Mohammad. This Tajuddin had married one of his daughter to Malik Qutbuddin Aibak, the governor of India, and another daughter to Naseruddin Qebacha, the governor of Sind. But when Qutbuddin Aibak attacked Ghazni from Lahore Yaldoz met him in Panj Aab of Indus river and was defeated and retreated to the Koram valley of Kerman and from there launched an attack on Qutbuddin Aibak who went back to India after ruling over Ghazni for 40 days. Yaldoz once again took over the reigns of the Ghazni court and with the help of Sultan Ghiasuddin Mahmud fought against Sultan Mohammad Khwarazm in Herat and also attacked Seistan and signed a peace treaty with Tajuddin Harb, the chief of Seistan in 1206. For nine years he minted coins under the name of Ma'zuddin Mohammad.

When Sultan Mohammad Khwarazm Shah attacked Ghazni from Takharistan and took over the area as far as Gardez, Tajuddin Yaldoz went to Lahore and was captured in the battle against Sultan Al-Titmash in Tarayan and was killed in Badwan around 1214. During the downfall of the Ghorid kings around 1215 the Khwarazam kings took over the northern provinces of Ghor and Herat while Seitan as far as Bost and Tagin Abad fell into the hands of local rulers while Tajuddin Yaldoz took charge of the provinces of Ghazni and Kabul, as far as the banks of the Indus river. After him the Khwarazamshah

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governors were Malik Karbar in Ghazni, Amir Malik in Herat and Ikhtyaruddin Mohammad Kharpost in Peshawar (the demise of the Al-Shansab will be addressed in the section on the exodus of Genghis).

The civilization of the Ghaznavid era reached its peak during the Ghorid period. The Ghorid conquerors spread Dari literature to Delhi and the Pashto language was fostered by the Suri family turning it into a language of literature and poetry. They spread Islam all over Afghanistan and parts of India. Examples of their advanced architecture are the grand mosque of Herat, the minaret of Jam and the Qutb Minar of Delhi. Sciences and technology were advanced and famous scientists and literary figures were reared and the Afghan and Indian Islamic civilization, which was established by the Ludis and the Ghaznavid rulers, reached its sophistication.

Famous poets and scientists of the Ghorid period are: Imam Fakhruddin Razi, Nezam Samarkandi, Ahmad Maidani Neshapuri (author of *Majma' al Imsal*), Ali Bakharzi (author of *Damiat al Qasr*), Qazi Menhaj Jouzjani (author of *Tabakat-e Naseri*). Qazi Wahiduddin Shafa'i Marwardi, Sadruddin Kerami Neshapuri, Ma'zuddin Herawi, Sheikh al Islam Jalaluddin Warsad, Mawlawi Serajuddin Jouzjani, Abu Nasr Farahi, Mohammad Aafi (author of *Lubab al Albab*), Asa'd Suri, Sheikh Tamim, Taimani, Malikiyar Gharshin, Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar, Skarandoi, and Malik al Kalam Fakhruddin Mubarakshah (author of genealogy of the Ghorids).

The court languages of the Ghorid kings were Pashto and Dari. Since the Ghorids belonged to the Pashtun Suri tribe during their time many Pashtun tribesmen from the mountains of Ghor and Suleiman and the Arghandab, Tarnak and Helmand, Kabul, and Hari Rud came and joined the Ghorid army during their conquest of India. Numerous tribal leaders remained in India with the Ghorid kings and their heirs. They can be found all over India up to this day such as the Ludis, Suris, Niyazi, Mohmand, Sheranians, and Bahrchan. Most of them are called Ruhila or Patan in India. Even up to the present day these people have influence in various administrations and areas in that country.

Ghorid moarchs:

1. Shansab bin Kharnak (circa 660–690).
2. Amir Polad bin Shansab (circa 748).
3. Amir Krorr bin Polad (756–771)
4. Amir Naser bin Krorr (circa 777).
5. Amir Banji bin Naharan (circa 786).
6. Amir Suri bin (?) (circa 867).
7. Amir Mohammad Suri (circa 1014)
8. Amir Bu Ali bin Mohammad Suri (circa 1034).
9. Ghias bin Sheish, nephew of Bu Ali (circa 1058).
10. Amir Mohammad bin Abas (circa 1058).
11. Qutbuddin Hasan bin Mohammad (circa 1068).
12. Malik al Jabal A'zuddin Hussain bin Qutbuddin Hasan (circa 1116).
13. Qutbuddin Mohammad bin A'zuddin (deceased 1146).
14. Bahauddin Saam bin A'zuddin (1149–1159).

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15. Malik Shahabuddin Kharnak bin A'zuddin (circa 1155).
16. Malik Sujahuddin bin A'zuddin (circa 1155).
17. Sultn Alauddin Hussain Jahanzoz bin A'zuddin (1449–1156).*
18. Sultan Saifuddin bin A'zuddin (1148–1149).
19. Malik Fakhruddin Masud bin A'zuddin (circa 1145).*
20. Saifuddin Mohammad bin Jahansoz (1156).*
21. Sultan Ghiasuddin Mohammad Saam (1163–1203).*
22. Sultan Ma'zuddin Mohammad Saam ((1174–1206).*
23. Sultan Ghiasuddin Mahmud bin Ghiasuddin Mohammad (1203–1210).*
24. Sultan Bahauddin Saam bin Mahmud (1210).*
25. A'lauddin Astaz bin Jahanzoz (1210–1214).
26. A'lauddin in Ghor (1203–1215).
27. Malik Naseruddin Gazyaw bin Shahabuddin Kharnak (circa 1221).
28. Sultan Shamsuddin Mohammad bin Fakhruddin Masud (circa 1252).
29. Sultan Bahauddin Saam bin Shamsuddin Mohammad (1191–1206).
30. Jalaluddin Bo Ali Bahauddin Saam (1206–1215).*
31. A'lauddin Masud bin Bahauddin Saam (1206–1215).
32. A'lauddin Masud bin Shamsuddin Mohammad (circa 1213).

References: Tabakat-e Naseri, Ibn Athir, Duwal-e Islamia, Pata Khazana, Aadab al Harb, Diarat al Maaref Islami, Fereshta, Shukat-e Afghani, Ma'jan al Insaab, Guzeida, Lub al Tawarekh, Futuh al Salatein Asami.

The Khwarazm Shah Rulers

Khwarazm was a famous, fertile and developed province which was irrigated by the Oxus river and it was about 80 parasang (about 480 km) in length. Its villages were close to each other and its cities contained business centers. The countryside had fertile fields and fortresses. Its capital was known as Garganej (Georgia). From ancient times the people of this locality had economic, political and cultural ties with the inhabitants of northern Afghanistan and the region south of the Oxus. According to Marquart Aryana Vego (the original land of the Aryans before migrating to Bactria) was the name of this very place. This name has been mentioned in Avesta as Xvarizem and in old Fars it was called Howarzamesh. Khwarazami was a language close to other Aryan languages. Evidence of this language has been discovered in recent archeological diggings. Albiruni in Asar al Baqiya considers it a separate language and provides the names of months in the language and writes that the kings of Khwarazam were known as Khwarazam Shah.

Around 65, Ahnaf bin Qais, the Arab conqueror, attacked the area south of the Oxus, from Takharistan to Taloqan, Faryab and Jouzjan and made his way to Khwarazm by using the Oxus waterfront but failed to conquer it. During Yazid bin Ma'wiya's rule Salam bin Ziyar made a peace pact with the people of Khwarazm by giving them 400,000 dirhams. When Yazid bin Muhallib came to

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Khorasan he also fought with the Khwarazm people around 701 and four years later Qutaiba bin Muslim Bahili managed to conquer the place.

According to Al-Biruni, the founder of the Khwarazm Shahs was Kaikhusrow and from the early Islamic period the administration of Khwarazm was split into two sections: the northern part, with the capital of Garganej was governed by the Arab leaders and the southern part, with its capital in Kaat, was the domain of the Khwarazm Shah kings. The famous family of Khwarazm Shahs, before and after Islam, were the Mamunians. Their founder, during the Islamic period, was Abu Sayed Ahmad bin Mohammad who lived around 951. His available coins date to 977. Arsamokh Khwarazm Shah who was from this family lived around the start of the Islamic period and according to Al-Biruni his ancestry can be traced to Afregh. When Quteiba managed to take over Khwarazm the second time he recognized Khwarazm Shah Askjamuk bin Azkajuwar bin Sabri bin Sakhar bin Arsamokh as the Khwarazm Shah around 705. Ahmad's ancestry can be traced to this person: Ahmad bin Mohammad bin Iraq bin Mansur bin Abdullah bin Turkisbasa bin Shawshiar bin Askjamuk.

Second: Abu Abdullah Mohammad bin Ahmad, who according to Ibn Asir, died in the year 995.

Third: Mamun bin Mohammad, whose family is named as Manuni, was appointed as governor of Khwarazm by the Samanids in Garganej He fought against Abu Abdullah Khwarazm Shah and was victorious and transferred the title of Khwarazm Shah to his family in 995. He died two years later and one of his daughter was married to Sultan Mahmud.

Fourth: Abu Al Hasan Ali bin Mamun was coronated in 997 and married Hura, daughter of Subuktageen. He invited the scholar, Ibn Sina, to his court. His coin is available.

Fifth: Abu al Abas Mamun bin Mamun circa 1000.

Sixth: Abu al Haris bin Ali bin Mamun, who minted a coin in his name in 919, was removed by Sultan Mahmud a year later and the great magistrate from the Ghaznavid court, Al Tuntash, was appointed as governor of Khwarazm and was given the title of Khwarazm Shah. After Al Tuntash his son, Harun, was governor in 1032 followed by Ismail Khandan bin Al Tuntash in 1034 and Shah Malik (1038) until they were uprooted by Tugril Beg Saljouki in 1043.

The second Khwarazm Shah family was started by Anoshtageen, a slave of Balkatageen. He managed to gain prominence in the Saljoki government around 1078 and attained the title of Gharshah. When the governor of Barkiyawaraq, Agangi Kachkaar was killed, Amir Dad Habshi, the governor of Khorasan, with the approval of the people of Barkiyawaraq, appointed Qutbuddin Mohammad bin Anoshtageen as the Khwarazam Shah and after that this title remained in the family until the arrival of Genghis Khan. Their sphere of influence sometimes reached as far as Zamindawar. In 1220 Jalaluddin Munkabarni, the last Khwarazam Shah ruler, fought several battles with the Mongol army.

Other individuals of this family who attained the rank of Khwarazam Shah are:

3. Atsaz bin Mohammad who became ruler in 1127 and minted a coin in his name. In 1139 he was defeated by Sultan Sanjar but two years later the throne of Khwarazm was bestowed back to him. During his rule Ali Chatri rebelled in Herat but Atsaz managed to take control of all the Sanjari lands and his

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court became a gathering of scholars. Rashiduddin Watwat wrote his book *Hadayeq-al-Sahr* in his name. He died in 1156.

4. Ayl Arsalan bin Atsaz became the ruler after the death of his father. He established peace with the tribes of Karakhata and Kafchan and drove away the remaining Sanjari rulers from Khorasan or made peace with them. He died in 1260.

5. Sultan Shah Abu-al-Qasem Mahmud bin Ayl Arsalan (1173–1193). Because of animosity with his brother he took refuge in the court of Sultan Ghiasuddin in Ghor but since the Ghorid court had made a pact with Sultan Tekish he did not receive any help from the Ghorids. Mahmud went to Trans Oxiana and received help from the leader of Khata and managed to free Khorasan from the occupation and oppression of the Ghaznavids. He established his capital in Merv and Bahauddin Tugril, the chief of Herat, joined him and became a threat to Ghor. Sultan Ghiasuddin Ghorid gathered the armies of Ghor, Bamian and Seistan in Merv and the battles continued for six months. In the end the Ghorid army managed to cross the Murghab river and killed Bahauddin. Mahmud returned to Merv defeated in 1192 where he consumed poison and died in 1193.

6. Abu-al-Muzafar Sulan Tekish bin Ayl Arsalan. He became ruler on 17 March 1193. He was a magnanimous and scholarly king and managed to take charge of half of Khorasan with his writ. The extent of his borders reached the shores of the Helmand river. Numerous coins minted in his name have been discovered in Zamindawar. Tekish established peace with the Kafchaq and Khata tribes. He managed to take control of Mazindaran and a part of Iraq and captured Sultan Tugril, nephew of Sanjar. His actions turned into a threat to the caliphate in Baghdad and he managed to defeat Ibn-al-Qasab, the minister of Baghdad. The caliphate sent two emissaries, Ibn-al-Rabi' and Ibn-al-Khatib to the court of Feroz Koh and Ghor so that Sultan Ghiasuddin may supplicate Tekish's aggression but Sultan Tekish died on 2 July 1200.

7. Alauddin Mohammad bin Tekish. He became the ruler after the death of his father and let his brother, Alishah (deceased 1213) take charge of Neshapur and sent ambassadors to the Ghorid and Ghaznavid courts and asked for the establishment of peace. After the demise of the Ghorid kings he took control of Khorasan and Malik Azuddin Khermil Ghorid joined. After a siege of eleven months he managed to capture Herat and also took control of Balkh. The borders of his country spread all the way to Belasagoon, Kashghar and Khata. Tayenko Taraz and Ghor Khan, the khans of Turkestan capitulated to him and he managed to take over parts of Iraq and Azerbaijan. He defeated Sultan Jalaluddin Ali Saam Ghorid in Bamiyan and in 1216 attacked Ghazni and drove Tajuddin Yaldoz in the direction of India and extended his empire to the Indus river. He assigned his son, Jalaluddin Munkabirni, as regent of Afghanistan. However in 1220 the Mongol hordes attacked his country from the east and he was forced to take refuge in the Absukoon river island and died there.

Among his brothers, Yunus Khan bin Tekish was governor of Iraq, Malik Khan was governor of Neshapur and Khorasan and Ali Shah governor of Iraq and Asfahan. After the escape of Ala'uddin Mohammad in 1220 his son, Arzolo Shah, ascended the throne but Genghis captured Khwarazm. His son, Raknuddin Ghorishanisti bin Alauddin Mohammad was governor of Iraq for a short while until his

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death by the Mongol soldiers in 1220. Aq Sultan, son of Ala'uddin Mohammad, also ruled in Kerman for a while until he was killed by Buraq Haajib.

8. The last brave king of this family was Jalaluddin Munkabarni, the elder son of Sultan Mohammad Khwarazam Shah, who took charge of the throne after his father fled. He fought against the Mongol hordes with utmost bravery.

During the reign of his father he was the deputy ruler of Khorasan, Ghor, Ghazni and his minister was Shahabuddin Alap Sarkhasi. He had assigned the administration of Ghazni to Malik Karbar, Feroz Koh to Mubarezuddin Sabzwari, Kerman to Malik-al-Umra and Pershor (Peshawar) and Bobakrpur to Malik Ikhtyaruddin Mohammad Ali Kharpost.

Since his father fled the Mongol raid in 1220 he resisted the Mongol army in Neshapur, Khorasan, Kerman, Nemroz, Bost and Dawar until Malik Khan Amin Hajib, the defeated governor of Herat, also joined him. Genghis sent his son-in-law, Qutu, after them. After fighting three battles in Parwan Qutu was defeated until Genghis himself turned upon them from Taloqan. Jalaluddin retreated to Parshur (Peshawar) and Genghis followed him as far as the Indus river. Jalaluddin was defeated in a battle which took place along the banks of the river. He crossed the Indus and went to Pars by way of Awcha, Multan and Kerman in 1224. He stayed there until his death on 15 August 1231 by Kardan thus ending the dominion of this family.

References: Tabakat-e Naseri, Ibn Asir, Ma'jam-al-Nisab, Tarekh-e Mukhtasar-e Iran, Tarekh-e Guzida, Jahan Kusha-e Juwaini, Sera-e Jalaluddin Munkaharni, Nafsat-al-Masdur, Turkestan of Barthold, Tarekh-e Iran dar Ahd Mughul of Abas Iqbal.

Part Four
The Departure of Genghis Khan and the Last Khwarazam Shah
(1219–1242)

At the time when Genghis was departing from Afghanistan the Ghaznavid and Ghorid dynasties came to an end and the northern part of the country was in the hands of the Khwarazam Shah family. The weak local Nemroz tribal leaders governed Seistan feebly and the eastern sections of the country were under the control of governors who had been appointed by the Ghaznavids and Herat was governed by the Al-Kurt family. Under these circumstances the forces of the nation were scattered while the raids of Genghis took place on its advanced and civilized cities. This was a time when a great empire was established in the Karakoram region of Mongolia by Genghis Khan (Timuchin born in 1154, son of Yasu Kai Bahadur from the Qayat tribe). In the east his empire spread from the Yangtze river all the way to the highlands of Pamir. Nearly one million Mongols were at his ironic command and willing to do what their leader ordered.

During this time, Ala'uddin Khwarazm Shah, who was from Auganj, ruled parts of Afghanistan, Iran and Trans Oxiana. He managed to vanquish the Karakhatian and Turkanian rulers of Samarkand, who were caught between the onslaught of the Khwarazam Shah and the hordes of Genghis. He also managed to capitulate the Ghorid dynasty which had subjugated the brutal Ghaznavids. He also had animosity toward the caliph of Baghdad, Al-Naseruddin Allah (1179–1225), and had removed his name from coins and the Friday sermon. Through his letters the caliph of Baghdad encouraged Genghis Khan to continue his raids of the kingdom even though the Khwarazm court had established written contacts with Genghis Khan. His administration was under the influence of Turakan Khatoon, mother of the king. But all the leaders of the country had got fed up with the atrocities of this treacherous woman resulting in the downfall of the Khwarazm kingdom due to internal and external factors.

The Genghis empire contacted the Khwarazm Shahi government in 1219 and it was during this same year that the Khwarazm king plundered a Tartar mercantile caravan and killed the Mongol emissary. An outraged Genghis attacked the Khwarazm kingdom with an army of 200,000 soldiers with the backing of another million people. His army crossed the Oxus river and defeated the Khwarazm army and with an unprecedented ferocity and barbarism, the like of which had not been witnessed in history. He attacked the Islamic cities of Trans Oxiana such as Bukhara, Samarkand, Benakat, Khujand and Jand. He destroyed these cities and killed its citizens in 1220. Fleeing the Mongol hordes, Khwarazm Shah, crossed the Oxus into Balkh and after hearing about the atrocities of Genghis and his forays of destruction he fled to Tus and left the cities of Afghanistan to the following chiefs to defend it against the Mongol raids.

Termez: Amir Zangi Abi Hafz, chief of the Seistan army.

Lakh of Takharistan: Amir Sarhang Saam.

Bamian citadel: Amir Omar Karobardi.

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Peshawar and Ghazni: Malik Ikhtiaruddin Kharpost.

Sanga of Ghor: Malik Hesamuddin Sarzarad.

Another Ghor fort: Malik Qutbuddin Hasan.

Kalioon of Herat: Ikhtyar-al-Malik Dawlatyar.

Herat: Shamsudding Jouzjani.

Citadel of Faiwar of Gharjistan: Asiluddin Neshapuri.

Nasrat Koh of Taloqan: Confidants of Malik Shamsuddin Atsaz.

Garziwan (Jouzjan): Alugh Khan.

Gharjistan fort: Omaid Pahlawan.

Sharwan and the city of Feroz Koh: Mubarezuddin Sabzwari.

Tulak citadel: Amir Habshi Nezawar.

However the Genghis army, under the command of Jaba, Sabtai and Taghajar, crossed the Oxus in May of 1220 after annihilating Balkh headed for Herat to capture Khwarazm Shah. They besieged Amir Malik, the governor of Herat, and conducted a total massacre as far as Poshanj and headed in haste for Tus. The dastard, Mohammad Khwarazm Shah, fled to the Absekoon island and died in November of 1220 and the Mongol soldiers burned his remains. After that the Mongol hordes destroyed the city of Aurganj (Georgia), one of the most fabulous city of Asia which was the center of knowledge and learning and killed its inhabitants in March 1221. Khwarazm Shah's mother together with other members of his family fell into the hands of the Mongol soldiers. Jalaluddin, the brave son of Mohammad Khwarazm Shah, by way of Neshapur and Zuzan, went to Bost and from there to Herat. Genghis himself went to Termez, situated along the Oxus river and after 11 days of fighting annihilated its citizens and also killed the people of Balkh. Tuli, son of Genghis, attacked and destroyed the area extending from Nesa, Herat, Feroz Koh to Tulak. The Mongol hordes killed two million people just in Merv in 1221. The people of Herat who, under the leadership of Shamsuddin Jouzjani, resisted the raids of Tuli after a siege of seven days surrendered and several thousand of them were killed and thousands of young women were taken prisoners. After this the Mongol raiders took hold of the provinces of Jouzjan, Andkhoy, Maimana, Faryab and Taloqan. They laid siege around the Nasrat Koh fort of Taloqan for ten months until all its inhabitants were killed. After this they attacked Bamian where Mutujin, son of Chagtai, was killed. This enraged Genghis and beside killing all its inhabitants the Mongol hordes also killed all its livestock and considered the city of Bamian a sinister place and destroyed it to the extent that no one could live there later on.

During this time Jalaluddin Munkabarni Khwarazm Shah went from Herat to Ghazni. Native Afghan chiefs such as Amin Malik, Saifuddin Aghraq, Azam Malik, Muzafar Malik and other Afghan chiefs gathered in Parwan to face the 45,000 strong Mongol army commanded by Qutqu. After two days of intense fighting the Mongols were flagrantly defeated and the Genghis hordes left Hisar and Lakh of Takharistan and fled. However the Afghan leaders started quarreling among themselves, returned to Peshawar and for three months continued to kill each other until the Mongol army, in order to revenge their defeat in Parwan, after capturing Nasrat Koh of Taloqan, attacked Ghazni by way of Bamian. Jalaluddin left Ghazni and retreated to Gardez. After implanting his governor in Ghazni Genghis marched

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in direction of the Indus river and confronted Jalaluddin in the passageway of Nelab (south of Attock) who was trying to cross the river. His eight year old son was killed. Jalaluddin drowned his mother, wife and courtiers of the haram and confronted the Mongol army with 700 of his supporters but in the end he jumped into the Indus with his horse and managed to ford it alive. Genghis killed other members of his family and entourage and for three months continued his massacre of Peshawar and the frontier of Punjab and carried his forays as far as Chitral. After that he left two of his sons, Augdai and Ghagtai in charge of the place and himself went back to the shore of Oxus river by way of Kabul and Bamian in November 1221. Three years later, Turbi Naween, commander of Genghis, besieged Naseruddin Kebach for 40 days in Multan but returned back without any achievement.

The emergence of Jalaluddin inspired the people of Khorasan to rise against the tyranny of Genghis, his governors and police. But the Mongol raids turned Merv into a rubble and killed the people of Herat who were led by Malik Mubarezuddin Sabzwari in July 1222 and the city was destroyed on the orders of Achieldai Noyan, an officer of the Mongol army. Amir Mohammad Gharjistani, who was related to the Ghorid kings, and was resisting in the Ashyar citadel was killed a year later. Ghazni was depopulated and its citizens taken to a plain and killed there. Feroz Koh was so blatantly destroyed that it is not possible to find its location easily at the present time. Chagatai destroyed the provinces of Sind, Makran and Kerman (in Kuram valley).

Genghis who had become sick due to unpleasant weather of the Indus valley returned, together with his sons, to Trans Oxiana in 1222 and two years later arrived at his ancestral home. This brutal man died at the age of 72 in the Tangit desert in August 1226 and the world was freed from his oppression and atrocities. (His other conquests and destruction of other nations are not relevant to the history of Afghanistan).

Jalaluddin Khwarazm Shah, who did not lose faith under the most ardent circumstances, spent some time in the woodlands along the Indus river and managed to gather followers in a short time and started a rivalry against Naseruddin Qebacha, the governor of Sind, and sought help from Sultan Shamsuddin Ailtimish (1210–1236), the emperor of Delhi. The Sultan ignored his request under the pretext that the weather was not conducive for him to visit Delhi. Jalaluddin married the daughter of an Indian Raja in Lahore and with his help crushed Naseruddin Qebacha, looted much wealth and went as far as the cities of Tahta and Debal. Sultan Ailtimish started fearing the influence of Jalaluddin and sent an army of 30,000 to face him.

Even though a commander of Jalaluddin's army defeated the Delhi army, Jalaluddin by way of Makran, went to Kerman in Iran together with 4000 of his companions and captured Tafliis, Khalat, Gurjistan as far as Armenia in 1226. He was killed in Miyafareqin in 1231. With his death the Khwarazm Shah dynasty came to an end (the details of his other conquests are not related to the history of Afghanistan).

The Mongol army went as far as Aqasi looking for Jalaluddin and because of their mass destruction they did not need a large force to maintain law and order in Khorasan. From 1225 to 1236, Saifuddin Hasan Qarleggh, was the governor of Ghazni, Bamian and Ghor, a minion of Genghis who struck a coin in the name of Zaher the caliph of Baghdad in 1225. When in 1231 Augtai Qaan ascended the throne the

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people of Khorasan, led by Qaracha Waighan Sanqoor, rebelled against the Mongol governors and police force. Aughtai sent a force from Badghis under the command of Taher Bahadur who kept Qaraha besieged in the Seistan fortress for two years. The rebellion spread all over Afghanistan and the Tartars once again pillaged the cities of Afghanistan after which Jantamur was appointed as governor of Khorasan in 1232. He declared Malik Bahauddin as the amir of Khorasan. Later in 1237 Nowsal and in 1240 Gargozwaz were the appointed as amirs by the Genghis court. The chief of Kurts administered Herat, Feroz Koh and Gharjistan under the helm of the Mongol rulers and preserved these lands from the evil Tartars. When Holaku, the grandson of Genghis, paid a visit to Khorasan around 1245 Amir Arghun together with Malik Shamsuddin Kurt, the ruler of Herat, went to pay their homage to the Tartar ruler.

The Chagatians, who were stationed in Trans Oxiana, ruled over provinces of Afghanistan such as Takharistan, Balkh, Maimana, Jouzjan, Gharjistan, Ghor, Herat, Badghis, Seistan, Zabul, Ghazni and Kabul either directly or indirectly by force. In 30 years they destroyed major cities which were the centers of Islamic art and culture and killed its inhabitants indiscriminately. They burned hundreds of libraries and as a result a period of stagnation of knowledge, culture, industry and commerce took place and Khorasan, as far as the Indus river, turned into a rubble. According to historians, the period of destruction of Genghis is considered to be the most devastating in human history. According to Ibn Athir it harmed all the people of the region. Genghis' army managed to reach every nook and corner of the land and they managed to add another chapter to the civilization of the area, which was a composition of the ancient Aryan, Arab and Islamic civilizations and had been fostered by the great Samanid, Ghorid and Ghaznavid rulers. Another facet was added to this civilization which can be called the Mongol Period. Mongol formalities, together with their language and words, had an impact on Dari language, which was the language of the court. The lifestyle, customs, morals and clothes of the people also changed accordingly.

Local chiefs who administered independently or under the orders of the Mongols will be discussed in the coming section.

Despite the bloodshed and anarchy caused by the Mongol hordes in Khorasan, resulting in the destruction of learning centers and the killing of scholars, we still see that there were scholars and poets who preserved the Islamic culture with its unique Khorasani traits. Some of them escaped the tyranny of the Mongols by emigrating to India and other countries. Scholars and poets during the Mongol period in Khorasan are: Hazrat Mawlawi Balkhi (author of Masnavi), Sheikh Najmuddin Daya (author of Mursaad-al-Ibad), Khwaja Nasruddin Tusi (famous physician), Moa'inuddin Juwani (author of Negaristan), Sheikh Ata Neshapuri (famous sufi and author of Tazkerat-al-Awlia), Pur Baha Jami (poet), Imami Herawi (poet), Amir Husaini Ghorid (author of Nuzhat-al-Arwah), Ibn Yamin Feryawmadi Juwaini (poet), Suleiman Maku (author of Tazkerat-al-Awlia in Pashto around 1215).

Administrative and political structure and reforms during the Mongol period were different compared to the Caliphate, Ghaznavid and Ghorid eras in that commanders of the Genghis hordes were in charge of enforcing the orders and laws of the Mongol court all over Afghanistan. During this time Tartar military strategy was implemented which expounded the destruction of cities, the enforcement of its councils, punishments and Mongol lifestyle. These measures were enforced like the teachings of a holy book which

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was called a Tura (or a collection of tribal and ancestral dogmas). According to Cartermeir, the French orientologist, in the introduction of Jama'-al-Tawarekh Rashidi, writes that each Tartar king had Moslem advisers by means of which they also managed to implement the Islamic judicial code and the orders of the chief justice among the Moslem population. Among them were clergy (Bakshi and Tuyan) who repulsed the evil spirits. The Uyghuri script was in use at the time.

Division of labor among the Mongols was as follows: *qorchi* (weapons carrier), *charbi* (gatekeeper), *akhtachi* (keeper of horses), *darugha* (head of special gate), *kashikchi* (guard) and *bahadur* (soldier). *Naween* or *noyan* was a prince and *ulug noyan* was a higher prince and *tarkhan* (military officer) were among the dignitaries of the court. The emperor was known as *khan*, *qaan* and *khaqaan*. The military was divided in divisions composed of 10,000 men which were called *tuman*. Each band of 1000 men was called *hazara* and a troop of 100 men was called *sada*. In the battle field the soldiers were divided into *jarnaghar* (left wing), *barnaghar* (right wing), *qol* (center, which was the location of the khan), *chandawul* (stem), *harawul* (prelude), and *qarawul* (discoverer). Provisions and foodstuffs were called *aghrooq*. They made caravan houses for travelers where horses belonging to the state were kept known as *ulaagh* by means of which royal communications took place.

The courts were called *yargho*, the judge *yarghochi* and the court document was known as *muchalka*. *Hashar*, military and compulsory work was done by the people. The seal carrier of the emperor was known as *tamghachi* and the seal was called *tamgha*. Every *yarleigh* (order) which carried the seal was to be obeyed and the orders were carried by the *eilchi*. The council of leaders, which was known as *qor yaltai*, was held for many reasons. The headquarters of the military (*yurt* or *urdu*) was called *yaalaq* or *keshlaq* and its officers were known as *yurtchi*.

During this time Chinese art had a major impact in Central Asia and this industry prospered to a great extent. Chinese tile work, architecture, silk textiles, delicate clothes, gold jewelry, and carpet weaving progressed a great deal. Trade routes between China, Mongolia, India and through Khorasan to Iran and Iraq were established and the great silk route, which started in China and passed through Khorasan to the countries in the West, was created. The India and Sind road which meandered through Peshawar, Kabul, Balkh, Kandahar, Herat and Seistan expanded trade of the Mongol empire since Mongol trade took place with European countries through Khorasan but this exchange took place after the death of Genghis resulting in a decrease in the tirade of the Mongols by his children and grand children. Mongol emperors who ruled over Afghanistan are:

1. Genghis (in Afghanistan from 1219–1221).*
2. Augdai son of Genghis (1221).*
3. Chagtai son of Genghis (1221–1242).*
4. Tuli son of Genghis (1223).*
5. Qara Holago son of Tuli son of Genghis (1242–1251).
6. Arghun son of Abaqa son of Holago (1245).

References: Tabakat-e Naseri, Jama'-al-Tawarekhe of Rashidi, Jahan Kusha of Juwaini, Tarekh-e Wasaf, Ibn Asir, Duwal-e Islamia, Iran of Powell Horn, Iran az Chengiz ta Timur by Abas Iqbal, Habib-

al-Sayr, Tarekh-e Guzida, Serat-e Jalaluddin by Mohammad Naswi, Tarekh-e Sind, Tarekh-e Adabiyat-e Iran by Brown, Tarekh-e Adabiyat-e Pashto Vol. 2, Rowzat-al-Safa, Mukhtasar-al-Duwal by Ibn Abri.

Al-Kurt and Afghan Leaders During the Genghis Period (1204–1381)

During the reign of Sultan Ghiasuddin Mohammad Saam Ghorī (1163–1203) two brothers, Tajuddin Osman Marghani and A'zuddin Omar Marghani, nephews of the sultan of Ghor, were influential personalities of the court. According to the Islamic Encyclopedia they are the progeny of Amir Mohammad Gharjistani who was killed by the Mongols in the Ashyar fort in 1223 (but this statement is skeptical). Azuddin was a minister of the sultan and the Herat region was his domain. He appointed Hesamuddin Ali Omar Marghani to govern Gharjistan and Tajuddin Osman to be in charge of Khaisar who was given the title of Head of Gendarmery. The daughter of A'zuddin, Aisha Khatoon, was married to Naseruddin Osman Harb, the chief of Seistan (circa 1215). These two brothers were the grandsons of Malik Abubakr Kurt who was famous during the era of the Ghorid kings and Malik Raknuddin Mohammad son of Tajuddin Osman, the police chief of Khaisar, was married to the daughter of Sultan Ghiasuddin Mahmud (1203–1210). The famous historian, Menhaj Seraj, was a dignitary of his court. He maintained a cordial relationship with Mongol emissaries and as a result Genghis put him in charge of Khaisar, Ghor and other captured cities. He appointed his nephew, Malik Shamsuddin Mohammad Mohayan, as the crown prince and companion of Genghis Khan. As a result of this move he was trusted and was favored in the Mongol court. Raknuddin died in 1245 and Shamsuddin Mohammad Muhayan bin Abi Bakr Kurt replaced him. In 1246 he attacked Multan together with Salen Nawin, a Mongol commander, and managed to subdue the people of Lahore and Multan and was appointed governor of Lahore. However because of his support of Moslems the Mongols were angry with him. He went and sought refuge from Tayer Bahadur, the Tartar governor. He was appointed as governor of Tagin Abad (near present day Kandahar) but since he was accused of protecting the people of Afghanistan (it was during the time when the name Afghanistan was used for the first time as mentioned in Saifi's History of Herat, page 163) he went to the court of Mango Khan in 1247. Based on the appreciation of his family the Khan appointed him as regent of Herat, Jam, Khezer, Kosiya, Fushanj, Tulak, Ghor, Feroz Koh, Gharjistan, Murghab, Faryab, Marjaq as far as the Oxus, Farah, Sajistan, Tagin Abad, Kabul, Tera and Bost, encompassing the whole of Afghanistan as far as the Indus river. Hence he was considered as governor of all the area of present day Afghanistan. Around 1248 he assigned dignitaries of his court to administer the land. When he found that Sharafuddin Baitakji, the administrator of Ghor and Herat, was cruel to the people he detained him together with his supporters and killed them. After that in 1249 Malik Fakhruddin, the governor of Taloqan, Malik Shamsuddin, the governor of Asfazar, Mohammad Ewaz, the governor of Khwaf, Malik Shamsuddin governor of Garziwan (present day Maimana), Maik A'zuddin, Hesamuddin, Shamsuddin the governors of Tulak, Malik Ali Masud from Abi, Malik Tajuddin, governor of Farah, Neiz from Seistan, Malik Ali Momen and Nasruddin Naihi went to Shamsuddin Mohayan to pay their allegiance. However Malik Saifuddin of Gharjistan refused to obey him. Malik Mohayan sent commanders of his army to Gharjistan

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to capture Saifuddin and he was killed in the city of Herat in 1249. A year later Shamsuddin Mohayen went from Herat to Farah where he gathered the Seistan army and then made his way to Khaisar. Gathering the Ghorid army he went to Tagin Abad and made an attempt to capture Afghanistan (at that time the land between Kandahar, Ghazni as far as the Indus river was considered to be Afghanistan). The famous amirs of this tract of land were:

1. Malik Shahan Shah, the great governor who ruled over the territory of Afghanistan from Mastang (in present day Baluchistan) and refused to pay taxes to the Mongols.
2. Malik Miran Shah, son-in-law of Shahan Shah.
3. Malik Bahram Shah bin Shahan Shah.
4. Malik Tajuddin Hermozteri (in an area north of present day Kandahar).
5. Hesamuddin Jawul in Zabul.
6. Pahlawan Jelm.
7. Sendan Afghan.
8. Ahmad Turi.
9. Mehtar Kiora.
10. Mehtar Seiora.
11. Rana Kanjar.
12. Jamaluddin Bahroz Keharani.

Since Amir Shahan Shah Afghani had an independent government in Mastang he proposed to Malik Shamsuddin to levy yearly taxes which he would pay and did not send his army to the battlefield but Shamsuddin took his army as far as Mastang and in 1253 Malik Tajuddin, brother of Miram Shah (governor of 50 parsangs of Afghan land), and some other Afghan chiefs surrendered to him. Shamsuddin surrounded Mastang in 1259 but Amir Shahan Shah, Bahram Shah and Miran Shah, together with five thousand fighters, took refuge in the Khasak fort and after five fierce battles Shahan Shah and Bahram Shah together with 90 of their relatives were killed. However Miram Shah bravely attacked the central core of Shamsuddin's forces and managed to escape and took refuge in Seistan until he returned back to Mastang in 1259 and was killed by Shamsuddin's soldiers in an ensuing battle.

Another center of power of the Afghans was the Teri citadel which until this day exists 40 miles north of Kandahar. The amir of this citadel was Almar Afghan who repeatedly defeated the forces of Tayer Bahadur, Qara Naween and Sali Naween and did not submit to the Mongols. At the time when Shamsuddin captured Mastang he also attacked the Teri citadel and defeated and killed Almar after a fierce battle and let Amir Hesamuddin Jawul take charge of the citadel in March 1255. Similarly Shua'ib Afghan, who was a courageous Afghan amir, returned in September 1255 from Kashmir and attacked the Al Kurt ruler near Tagin Abad but Shamsuddin Muhayan immediately went to Tagin Abad from Khaisar and killed him in the Kahira citadel. After that he turned his attention to Sindan Afghan, who was from the Surani tribe, and killed him in the Duki citadel in present day Baluchistan after a fierce battle. Famous commanders such as the chief of Tulak, Malik A'zuddin, the chief of Baghni, Malik Tajuddin, and Malik Tajuddin Kurt, participated in the battle as leaders of the Al Kurt (around the middle of 1265). Following

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this battle the commander of Shamsuddin's forces chased the opposing forces as far as the Suleiman mountain and the Saji citadel, which was the center of minor Afghan amirs, was captured in 1257. Shamsuddin appointed Mubarezuddin Mohammad Nahi as governor in Tagin Abad and himself went to Herat. A year later when the people of Seistan made an effort to gain their independence he killed Malik Ali bin Masud and exiled his nephew, Malik Nasruddin and A'lauddin to Mastang and managed to conquer all of Seistan and disarmed its people in 1258. A year later he besieged the Bahkar citadel along the banks of the Indus and returned after receiving 10,000 dinars and a bounty of other goods. In this way Shamsuddin Mohayen managed to take charge of all of Afghanistan under the domain of Herat and succeeded in uniting the country after the Ghorid period even though the country had been financially and intellectually damaged by the Mongols.

When Malik Tajuddin Kurt rebelled in 1260 and went to Mastang fort with the help of Amir Hobo and Amir Hermuz Teri, two Pashtun chiefs, the officers of the Kurt army, Malik Ikhtyaruddin Tulak, Mohammad Nahi and Tajuddin Baghni, fought against them. Until 1266 Shamsuddin was engaged in the movement of the Mongol rulers in Iran and a year later fought in battles in Afghanistan as far as Tera. He managed to subjugate the people and forced them to pay taxes. Since Herat was the center of attention of the Genghis princes Shamsuddin Muhayen secluded himself in the Khaisar fort. When prince Buraq was defeated by the army of Abaqa, a decree was once again issued in the name of Shamsuddin to take charge of the mentioned provinces and he was moved to Herat in 1275. The Mongol princes did not want a local icon to be in charge of Khorasan and since Shamsuddin Mohayen was a person who had united Khorasan and Afghanistan the Mongols feared his leadership and asked him to visit Asfahan where he was poisoned and killed in 1278.

After the death of his father his son, Mailk Raknuddin (with the title of Shamsuddin Kahin) took over the throne of Herat in 1279 and started to develop Herat and Khorasan and established courts and justice and by 1280 managed to take charge of the forts of Ghor and Khaisar and a year later managed to take over the Kandahar fort also. He appointed his son, Malik A'lauddin, in charge of Herat and himself went to the Khaisar fort in Ghor in 1283. Like his father he established cordial ties with the Mongol princes and captured Hindu Nawin, the Tartar commander, who was engaged in mistreatment of the people of Herat. As a result of infighting among the princes and civil unrest Herat was once again destroyed. Malik Shamsuddin Kahin died in 1306 but his elder son, Malik Fakhruddin, who was imprisoned by his father, managed to free himself from jail, went from Khaisar to Herat, and captured Khawaf, Farah and other parts of Khorasan (1289). After experiencing some vicissitudes he managed to ascend the throne of Herat a year later. Ghaza Khan officially recognized his domain which spread from Herat all the way to the Indus river.

Fakhruddin was a king who favored development and the pursuance of knowledge. Khatib Poshanji, known as Rabi'i, dedicated his book Kurt Nama in his name. In 1301 he repeatedly attacked Asfazar but when Oljayatu, the Mongol, became king he did not leave Herat to congratulate him. The Mongol emperor sent Danishmand Bahadur together with 10,000 cavalry to Herat to subdue Fakhruddin who assigned a Ghorid commander, Jamaluddin Saam, to take charge of the Herat fort and himself went to

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the Amankoh fort. Saam defeated Danishmand Bahadur and vanquished his army. In rage Oljayatu sent Amir Yasawul and Bojai, son of Danishmand Bahadur, together with 30,000 soldiers to Herat. Fakhruddin died in 1307 while animosity between the local leaders and famine forced Saam Ghor to surrender the fort and he and his followers were killed on the orders of Amir Yasawul.

Oljayatu assigned Malik Ghiasuddin Mohammad, brother of Fakhruddin, in 1708 to govern Herat, Asfaraz, Farah, Seistan, Ghor and Gharjistan. When he arrived in Herat he also occupied Ghor, and Khaisar. However some of the dignitaries of the Mongol court created doubts about Ghiasuddin. As a result Oljayatu asked him to come to his court in 1311 together with his army and did not give him permission to leave until 1315. In his absence Deldai and Auljai subjugated the people of Herat to atrocities fearing they will be rebellious. During this time Daud Khwaja, a just Tartar prince, had managed to capture Ghazni, Bost, Zabul and Tagin Abad but in 1315 Ghiasuddin Mohammad was once again sent by the Oljayatu court to govern Herat as far as Aqsa and the border land of the Oxus river. The Mongol princes and Ghiasuddin Alishah, the chief of Badakshan, clashed near the banks of the Oxus and Sheberghan, Balkh as far as Morghab turned into a battle ground. Bojai bin Daneshmand Bahadur was killed in battle and in 1316 Auji Bala, the amir of Nekodriyan, was killed by Ghiasuddin and he also managed to subjugate his other opponents and conquered the forts of Khorasan and Seistan. He vanquished Malik Qutbuddin in Asfizar, Malik Yanalatgin in Farah, Malik Abdul Aziz in the Zara Bakharz fort and Malik Farukhzad in Tulak. In 1321 he assigned his son, Shamsuddin Mohammad, to take charge of Herat and went on pilgrimage to Arabia. It was Ghiasuddin who killed Amir Chopan in 1326 and a year later went to the court of Abu Sayed. He died in Herat in 1328 after returning from pilgrimage.

After the death of Malik Ghiasuddin his sons Malik Shamsuddin Mohammad (1329–1330), Malik Hafez (1330–1332), and Malik Ma'zuddin Hussain (1332–1370) served as rulers. Malik Ma'zuddin was a celebrated personality of the Al Kurt family and a proponent of knowledge and science. Mawlana Sa'duddin Taftazani wrote his lengthy book in his name. Amir Masud, brother of Khwaja Abdul Razaq Bashtini, the founder of the Sarbadarian dynasty in Khorasan (1336–1386) fought him in Zawa but was defeated in 1342. After that he defeated the leaders of Andkhai and Sheberghan in Badghis. When the amir of Kazghan came from Trans Oxiana and surrounded Herat in 1351 Ma'zuddin made peace with the amir. In the following year he went to Trans Oxiana and his brother, Amir Baqir, proclaimed himself the monarch of Herat but Hussain immediately returned to Herat and imprisoned Baqir. Ma'zuddin Hussain died in 1329 after reigning for 39 years and his son, Malik Ghiasuddin (1369–1381), became the regent. He was victorious in the battle of Sarbadaran in Sabzwar and asked for the hand in marriage of the nephew of Amir Timur for his son, Pir Mohammad. But when Amir Timur conquered Herat in 1381 he abdicated Malik Ghiasuddin, his son and brother to Trans Oxiana and killed them in 1385 thus ending the Al Kurt lineage.

The chiefs of Nemroz were contemporaries of the Al Kurt in Seistan who were discussed under the Safavid kings. Another family of amirs were the Hotak kings who lived near the Tarnak river, ruled over Qalat-e Ghilzai and resisted the onslaught of the Mongol hordes. Among them is Baba Hotak, son of Tular (1262–1339), who was a Pashtun chief and well known for his resistance against the Mongols.

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After him his son, Sheikh Malikiyar (circa 1348) was a famous Pashto poet, warrior and the chief of his tribe. He fought against the Mongols along the Tarnak river and it was this family which established the Hotak government in Kandahar during the 18th century (refer to the passage on the Hotaks). Other well known personalities during this period are: Sheikh Mati Khalil (1226–1289), a sufi poet of Pashto, Mohammad bin Ali Basti, author of Tarekh–e Suri, Ahmad bin Sa'yed Ludi, author of A'lam al Wadi fi Akhbar al Ludi (1287), Sheikh Kata Matizai Khalil (circa 1349) author of Larghoni Pashtana (Ancient Pashtuns).

The Al Kurts were rulers who fostered knowledge and sciences and were engaged in developmental projects. Despite the onslaught and destruction of the Mongol hordes knowledge, industry and development took place and their court acted as an assemblage to poets and scientists. Kurt Nama of Rabi Pushanji, Mutul–e Naqtazani, Tarekh–e Herat, Saamnama, Majmua' Ghiasi of Saifi Herawi, Zaad–al–Musafereen and Nuzhat–al–Alrawah of Amir Hussaini Ghorri are the most famous compilations which took place during the time of the Al–Kurt rulers.

The Al–Kurts of Herat:

1. Malik Kurt 1106.
2. Tajuddin Osman Marghani, circa 1203.
3. A'zuddin Omar Marghani circa 1203.
4. Abu Bakr Kurt circa 1203.
5. Raknuddin Khaisar circa 1245.
6. Malik Shamsuddin Mohammad Muhayin bin Abi Bakr Kurt 1227–1245.
7. Malik Raknuddin (title Shamsuddin Kahin) bin Abi Bakr Kurt 1278–1305.
8. Malik Fakhruddin son Kahin 1305–1306.
9. Malik Ghiasuddin Mohammad son of Kahin 1306–1328.*
10. Malik Shamsuddin bin Ghiasuddin Mohamad 1328–1329.
11. Malik Hafez bin Ghiasuddin Mohammad 1329–1331.
12. Malik Ma'zuddin bin Ghiasuddin Mohammad 1331–1369.*
13. Baqir bin Ghiasuddin Mohammad 1352.
14. Malik Ghiasuddin Pir Ali bin Ma'zuddin 1369–1381.*

References: Tarekh–e Herat of Saifi, article on changes in the genealogy of the Al Kurts by Habibi Ariana Magazine, Tarekh–e Iran dar asr Mughul of Abas Iqbal, Pata Khazana, Lub–al–Tawarekhe, Tarekh–e Seistan, Tarekh–e Adabiyat–e Iran, Vol 4 by Brown, Tarekh–e Adabiyate Pashto, vol. 2, Tazk–e Timuri, Habib–al–Sayr, Rowzat–al–Safa, Tabakat–e Naseri.

Part Five

The Timurids of Herat (1369–1414)

Timur (meaning iron) famous as Koragan (meaning son-in-law) and Timur-e Lang (Tamerlane) was the son of Taragai Barlas related to the Genghis family. He was born in the city of Kesh of Trans Oxiana on 11 April 1336. He turned into one of the most bloody and famous conqueror of the world. He became famous in 1359 and in March 1369 he defeated the governor of Trans Oxiana, Amir Hussain, and gained the title of Sahebquran (owner of the Koran). After taking charge of the territories of Trans Oxiana he crossed the Oxus river in 1380 and attacked Andkhoy, Sarkhas and Poshanj and then moved on to capture Herat and vanquished Ghiasuddin Pir Ali, the last ruler of the Al Kurt family. His second foray in Afghanistan took place in 1383 on Sabzwar and Farah and he managed to destroy Zereh and Seistan to the extent that the ruins of these places have not been discovered at all and he erected a myriad of skull towers. In this attack he also destroyed Bost and Kandahar. Until the end of his life he conducted 36 forays from China to Egypt and from India to Istanbul and Moscow. His other conquests are not related to the history of Afghanistan. In 1397, when he moved on to conquer India, he once again ravaged the downtrodden country of Afghanistan and destroyed its cities which had been reconstructed by the Al Kurts after the destruction of Genghis.

During the same year Timur passed on the administration of Khorasan from Feroz Koh to Rai to his son, Shah Rukh, and handed over Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar to his grandson, Pir Mohammad, who fought against the Pashtuns from Koh-e Suleiman to the Indus and captured Acha and got engaged with the agents of Sarang Khan and managed to capture Multan after a siege of six months. Timur crossed the Hindu Kush range by way of Andarab and after capturing Kabul went to Suhul of Laghman and from there headed north and fought with the black garmented *kafirs* (Katir which is derived from Kedara, the title of the lesser Kushanids=Qaidar) who are still known by this name. In the vicinity of Chagan Serai he inscribed his conquests on a mountain slab which exists until this day. After this he headed for India and on 24 September 1398 crossed the Indus river and ravaged India as far as Delhi resulting in the carnage of one hundred thousand people. In this journey 12 thousand cavalry Afghans, under the command of Malik Bahauddin Jalwani, Malik Yusuf Sarwani and Malik Habib Neyazi accompanied him. After vast destruction and the setting up of the Timurid empire Timur died on 17 February 1404 at the age of 71 and was buried in Samarkand.

At the time of his death the governor of Kabul and Afghanistan, from the Oxus river as far as the Indus, was Pir Mohammad bin Ghiasuddin Jahangir bin Timur. He was a philanderer and as a result Khalil bin Miranshah bin Timur, who was in Samarkand, took over matters in his hand and until 1409 was ruling over parts of Trans Oxiana. However, Shah Rukh, son of Timur, ascended the throne in Herat in March 1405. He was magnanimous and a great ruler of the East who ruled over 20 years in Herat and rebuilt all the destruction caused by Genghis and Timur in Afghanistan. He constructed magnificent buildings, schools and convents which can be still seen all over Khorasan such as the Baqa' Rizwi

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mosque of Meshed. He and his wife, Gowharshad, are famous for rebuilding and justice. During the first year of his reign he subdued the rebellion of Sultan Ali Sabzwari and in 1406 overwhelmed Sultan Hussain, Timur's grandchild and Amir Suleiman Shah. His son, Mirza Ulug Beg, took control of Andkhai and Sheberghan and was put in charge of running the affairs of Khorasan as far as Tus and Neshapur. When Malik Saleh, son of Malik Ismail, came to Ghor from India and started a rebellion with the help of Mohammad Sepahbad Ghorii it was subdued by Amir Luqman Barlas and Amir Hussan Jandar in 1406. A year later Shah Rukh went to Balkh to face Pir Ali Taaz who fled to the Hindu Kush. In this way Shah Rukh managed to cleanse all the northern areas of Afghanistan as far as Takharistan and Khotan in 1408. A year later he subdued Yanalategin, Shah Iskandar and Pahlawan Shams Daraz in Farah. He captured the Aurak fort and Juwain and defeated Shah Qutbuddin bin Malik Mahmud in Seistan and appointed Pahlawan Jamal in charge of the province. He appointed his son, Mirza, as governor of Kandahar, Ghazni and Kabul and Mirza Ibrahim as governor of Balkh, Takharistan and Badakshan provinces and sent Sheikh Zainuddin Khwafi to Seistan in 1410. As antagonism arose in Kandahar between the brother of Amir Tuman Kandahari, Pir Mohammad, son of Amir Katlo, famous as Pirak and Maudud Garamseri both were asked to come to Herat and the government of the province was handed over to Pirak and Maudud was appointed to the court of Herat in 1410.

In the beginning of 1411 Khezr Khan, the judge of Multan, was sent by the king of India as emissary to the court of Shah Rukh and met the monarch in Badghis. According to Abdul Razaq Samarkandi sermons were read in Shah Rukh's name and coins minted with his name in India.

In 1412 Shah Bahauddin, the governor of Badakshan, rebelled and Shah Rukh's soldiers from Baghlan and Ishkamesh were sent to subdue the rebellion. They chased Bahauddin into the Pamir mountains and appointed Shah Mahmud, brother of Shah Bahauddin, as governor of the province. However four years later, Mirza Seyur Ghutmish, became governor of Badakshan. In 1413 the citadel of Ikhtiaruddin in Herat, which was built by Fakhruddin Kurt but had been destroyed during the forays of Timur, was rebuilt by Shah Rukh.

As a result of animosity in 1417 between two local rulers, the son of Saiqal Kandahari and Malik Mohammad and Pashtuns from Kandahar as far as Sind and Garamser revolted. Shah Rukh sent Sadaruddin Ibrahim to the Hazara region who gathered the leaders of the area and they were assigned to serve the king. The fighters from Badakshan joined Mirza Seyur Ghutmish and the Seistan fighters joined Malik Qutbuddin and attacked Kandahar under the direction of Shah Rukh.

The Hazara leaders, together with chiefs of Bermal, under the leadership of Khwaja Luqman (Ne'man) came from Ghazni and declared their allegiance. As a result Mirza Qaido was given the governorship of Kabul and Shah Rukh returned to Herat by way of Agrak near the Helmand river. Amir Abdul Samad was declared governor of Garamser and Amir Hesam was appointed as magistrate of Kandahar. Since Mirza Qaido rebelled and after a fierce battle he was arrested and imprisoned in Herat therefore Shah Rukh appointed his son, Mirza Seyur Ghutmish in 1418 as governor of Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar provinces as far as the Indus river. He ruled over most of Afghanistan for nine years until he died in 1462 in Kabul and Shah Rukh assigned his son Mirza Sultan Masud as governor of Kabul.

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Shah Rukh successfully ruled over a vast country from the Oxus River to the Arabian Gulf and from Western Aqasi of Fars to the Indus river for a period of 50 years. He died at the age of 71 on March 12 1446 in Rai. After his death discord and disputes arose among the Timurid princes. His astrologer son, Uleg Beg (author of *Zaig-e Ulug Beg, Ulus Arba'* and the founder of the Samarkand observatory in 1438) ascended the throne. He went to Balkh and captured the northern provinces of Afghanistan and appointed his son, Mirza Abdul Latif, as governor and himself returned to Samarkand in 1447. During this time Mirza A'la-ul-Dawla bin Bayasanqar bin Shah Rukh took over Herat and headed for Balkh and Sheberghan to face Abdul Latif but returned back to Herat in failure after causing destruction and a rampage. Ulug Beg gathered an army from Trans Oxiana, Khutlan, Konduz, Baghlan, Badakshan, Maimana and Faryab and headed for Herat. Mirza A'la-ul-Dawla met him at Tarnaab, 14 Parsangs from Herat but was defeated and fled to his brother Mirza Abul-al-Qasem Babur in Meshed. Ulug Beg appointed Sayed Emaduddin as administrator and Mawlana Qutubuddin Ahmad Emami as the chief justice of Herat and himself went to Meshed in 1448. In his absence Amirzada Yar Ali and Amir Sultan Abu Sayed, who were imprisoned in the Naratu citadel, escaped from jail and started a conspiracy in Herat. Ulug Beg returned to Herat, pillaged the outskirts of the city and appointed Mirza Abdul Latif as governor and himself crossed the Oxus river in 1448. After 15 days Mirza Abdul Latif fled to Balkh as Mirza Abu-al-Qasem Babur threatened Herat from Sarkhas. Babur Mirza captured Herat and killed Amirzada Yar Ali (toward the later part of 1448). After this Babur Mirza added Seistan and Nemroz to his domain but when his brother, A'la-ul-Dawla rebelled in Balkh and Badakshan, Babur chased him off into the mountains of Badakshan with the army from Herat and appointed Amir Naseruddin and Amir Mubarezuddin to take charge of the northern provinces of Afghanistan from Badakshan to Murghab (1450). Babur Mirza ruled over Herat, Seistan and the northern provinces of Afghanistan until 1458 and died the same year. However Abdul Latif rose against his father in Balkh and in 1449 killed his father Ulug Beg and his brother Abdul Aziz. A year later he was killed too.

Other famous Timurid rulers were Sultan Abu Sayed Koragan bin Sultan Mohammad bin Miran Shah bin Timur who in 1456 ascended the throne in Herat. He ruled over Zabulistan as far as Aqasi of Khorasan, and Turan. In 1458 he killed the famous queen Gowharshad and ruled successfully for ten years. He let his son Mirza Ulug Beg take charge of the provinces of Kabul, Ghazni and Afghan territories as far as India. Some of his soldiers went as far as the gates of Multan in 1459.

However Mirza Sultan Abubakr, another son of Abu Sayed, ruled over Badakshan (1461-1479) who came under attack by a local prince who was killed. He had appointed his other son, Mirza Sultan Murad, as governor of Kandahar and Garamser who was arrested in 1468 and killed in battle by Awzoon Hasan.

Sultan Hussain bin Mansur bin Bayaqra bin Omar Shaikh bin Timur, a just and learned king, was a rival of Abu Sayed. He ruled for a long time in Iran and Trans Oxiana and faced a great deal of difficulties. Sultan Abu Sayed was defeated by the forces of Amir Hasan Beg seven parsangs from Qarabagh, in northern Iran, and was imprisoned and killed on 27 January 1469. As a result Sultan Husain ascended the throne of Herat on 23 March 1469. Like Shah Rukh he was also a just, learned and vivacious king and his vizier, Amir Ali Sher Nawai, was unrivaled in politics, knowledge and arts (deceased 2 January

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1501). The renowned preacher, Alama Jalaluddin Dawani, Mawlana Jami, famous scholar and Sufi, Mir Khwand, Khwand Mir, and Abdul Razaq Samarkandi were famous authors of this period. The prolific artist from Herat, Behzad, lived during this era. The shrine related to Hazrat Ali, in Khwaja Khairan of Balkh (present day Mazar-e Sharif), is an architectural relic sanctioned by Sultan Hussain Bayaqa. During his reign Amir Abu Ishaq Tarkhan was governor of Balkh and Mirza Sultan Hussain was governor of Sheberghan. Since both died Mir Moghul was sent as governor to Balkh and Malik Yahya was appointed as governor of Seistan. In 1469 Mirza Mohammad Omar, a Timurid prince, was sent from Herat to capture Garamser. Nezamuddin Ahmad Barlas, governor of Kandahar, surrendered and Mirza Mohammad Omar became governor of the province. The Sultan himself captured the Naratu fort and cleared the area of Murghab river from the influence of his adversaries. In 1470 when Hussain was busy combating the Turkmen tribes in Khorasan, his brother, Yadgar Mirza took over Herat. Sultan Hussain went to Herat with 1000 men, by way of Maimana and Faryab, and captured Yadgar while he was asleep and killed him. Sultan Hussain died after ruling for 39 years on 4 May 1506 at the age of 70.

The political and scholastic influence of the Herat rulers had spread to Istanbul and southern India and the Al Osman rulers in Istanbul and Mahmud Gawan, the famous vizier of the Islamic rulers of Southern India, had political and scholarly ties with Herat and Mawlana Jami.

After the death of Sultan Hussain, the reign of power of the Herat government was passed on to his princes, Badi-ul-Zaman Mirza and Muzafar Hussain. However the civilized and prosperity motivated government, which turned Herat into a center of science and knowledge and spread from the Indus river to Aqasi of Iran and the Oxus river to the Arabian Sea, once again fell into the hands of a person related to Genghis Khan, Shaibak Khan, who destroyed the empire and religious animosity between the Sunni and Shiite sects, as seen in the battles between the Uzbeks and the Safavids, ruined the beautiful city of Herat.

Timurid rulers of Herat:

1. Timur bin Turagai (1370–1404).*
2. Shah Rukh bin Timur (1404–1446).*
3. Ulug Beg bin Shah Rukh (1446–1449).*
4. Abdul Latif bin Ulug Beg (1449–1450).*
5. Abu-al-Qasem Babur bin Bayasanqar bin Shah Rukh (1447–1457).*
6. Abu Sa'yed Koragan bin Mohammad Miranshah bin Timur 1457–1468).*
7. Sultan Hussain bin Ghiasuddin Mansur bin Bayaqa bin Omar Shaikh bin Timur.*

References: Riyaz-al-Insha of Mahmud Gawan, Mutala' Sa'dain of Abdul Razaq Samarkandi, Tareikh-e Iran dar Dawra-e Mughul by Abas Iqbal, Tarekh-e Adabiyat-e Iran ba ahd Mugul by Brown, Rahnuma-e Afghanistan, Dairat-ul-Ma'ref Islami, Habib-al-Sayr, Rowzat-al-Safa.

The Konar Rulers and the Yusufzai (1397–1495)

Around 1397 when Timur's incursions were underway in parts of Afghanistan a local family were rulers in Konar valleys who were known by the title of Sultans. This family was centered in the Pech valley of Konar and according to local legend they are considered to be related to Zoo-al-Qarnein. Two brothers, Sultan Pakhal and Sultan Bahram were sons of Sultan Kahjaman bin Hindu. Sultan Pakhal's domain extended from Laghman to Konar, Bajawar, Swat and Kashmir and the name Pakhali (situated in the Hazara district of the Frontier Province) is named after him. His inscriptions can be found in the Konar valleys. After his death his children engaged in animosity against each other and fought a major battle.

Sultan Bahram managed to take charge of Laghman and Nangarhar and exiled some of his opponents to Peshawar. The center of his rule was below the foothills of the Spinghar mountain and after the passing of his brother he managed to take control of the area as far as Kashmir. After this Sultan Tomna became the ruler but the sphere of influence of this family remained limited to the mountains of Shinwar, Konar, Swat and Bajawar as far as the Hazara District and Kashmir.

During the Timurid period the migration of Pashtun tribes from Kandahar and Arghasan started toward Kabul, Nangarhar and Peshawar. Kand and Zamand, forefathers of the Pashtuns, as a result of animosity with their neighbors and lack of space, migrated to Kabul and others from Gomal joined them and they started living in Kabul valley. Their leaders were Madad, Madu and Shaikh Osman. In 1465 when Mirza Ulug Beg bin Sultan Abu Sayed Koragan was governor of Kabul he gathered the leaders of these tribes together with Malik Sultan and killed them. However the nephew of Sultan Shah Yusufzai (Ahmad) managed to escape this tragedy and placed the Tarkalani people in Laghman.

But a major battle took place between the Yusufzai and Mohmandzai in Hesarak as a result of which the Mohmandzai took charge of Nangarhar and the Yusufzai migrated to Bajawar, Bunir and Swat. The Dalazak, the local people of the area, fled from the Yusufzai and took refuge in Peshawar. The Yusufzai killed the leader of the Shalmani, whose name was Jelow, and took control of Ashnaghar and Duaba, located north of Peshawar as far as Nawagi and Arhind (Bajawar). During this time Malik Ahmad and Malik Mali were the leaders of the Yusufzai. Shaikh Mali bin Yusuf who took root from the Pashtun Sarban tribal lineage became a famous leader of the Yusufzai. He was an established legislator and famous for his virtue and piety. He wrote a book dealing with social laws, tribal customs and the distribution of land around 1417 which is called the Daftar of Shaikh Mali (the account of Shaikh Mali). For the next four centuries the Yusufzai distributed their land in accordance to the suggestion of Shaikh Mali. According to this procedure the arable land, pastures and homes sites were distributed justly and equitably and a revision took place after ten years bearing in mind the addition of family members. This book is one of the oldest work of Pashto prose literature and it contained the dates of migration of the tribes together with tribal statistics.

After Shaikh Mali's death the reign of power of the Yusufzai was relegated to Kajo Khan Ranizai (around 1494). He also wrote a book which was a completion of the Daftar of Shaikh Mali. It included a description of history of the Yusufzai and completion and revision of the laws put forth by Shaikh Mali. He remained a leader of the tribe for a long time and with the aid of 12,000 cavalry he fought the Ghoryakhel

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in Shaikh Pator and defeated them. Another famous battle of the Yusufzai took place against the Delazk in Langar Kot who were defeated for the last time. After Kajo Khan, two Yusufzai guards, Shah Mansur son of Malik Suleiman and Sultan Wais Swati, became the governors of the region and they were considered as the local sovereigns around 1504 to 1519. Emperor Babur married the daughter of Shah Mansur, Bibi Mubarak. Sultan A'lauddin Swati and Tawus Khan were Yusufzai dignitaries who were contemporaries of Babur who has mentioned them in his memoirs.

Famous leaders of the Yusufzai are:

1. Sultan Pakhal Kunari bin Kahjaman bin Hindu (circa 1397).
2. Sultan Bahram bin Kahjaman (circa 1407).
3. Sultan Tomna (circa 1412).
4. Malik Ahmad Yusufzai (circa 1412).
5. Shaikh Adam Mali bin Yusuf (circa 1417).
6. Kajo Khan Ranizai (circa 1494).
7. Shah Mansur son of Suleiman (circa 1504)
8. Sultan Wais Swati (circa 1504).
9. Sultan A'lauddin Swati (circa 1504).
10. Tawus Khan (circa 1504).

References: Tarekh-e Murasa', Tazkerat-al-Abrar wa al-Ashrar, Tarekh-e Peshawar, Hayat-e Afghani, Nasb Nama Afagana in Asar-e Etiqa Hind, Salnama-e Kabul, Pata Khazana, Tarekh-e Adab-e Pashto Vol. 2, Khurshaid-e Jahan, Sulat-e Afghani, Babur Nama.

The Timurids of India

The Influence of Arghonids, Uzbeks and Safavids (1504-1738)

Toward the end of the Timurid era of Herat, Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur son of Omar Shaikh Mirza son of Abu Sayed Koragan, the sultan who was mentioned earlier, ascended the throne on 8 June 1494 in Andajan of Fargana when he was 11 years old. This was a time when the Herat princes were at odds with each other and the Herati kingdom was weak and in a state of languor. Since Babur was related to Genghis and Timur he managed to be a successful ruler despite his minor age. At this time his uncles, Sultan Ahmad Mirza, ruled over Samarkand and Sultan Mahmud Mirza was governor of Konduz and Badakshan. They opposed Babur and his brother, Jahangir Mirza, was also his rival and because of this animosity Babur had to leave Andajan. Shaibani Khan (1499-1510) bin Ibrahim, from the Juji stock of Genghis, occupied Samarkand and quarreled with Babur. However a description of these events is not related to the history of Afghanistan.

Babur fought with Shaibani until 1503 and when he felt that his rival was strong he left for Afghanistan, crossed the Oxus river the same year and went to Konduz to visit Khusrao Shah, the governor of Badakshan, and after a short while he managed to gather around him 8,000 soldiers of Khusrao Shah and drove Khusrao to Maimana who sought refuge from Badi-ul-Zaman Mirza, the Timurid prince, and took possession of Khusrao's domain. Accompanied by Khusrao's soldiers and 3 to 4

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thousand Moghuls he headed for Kabul. The governor of Kabul at the time was Abdul Razak Mirza, the youngest son of Ulug Beg Mirza. A person by the name of Sheram Zaka (Zaki) was in charge of the Kabul government. The elders of Kabul such as Amir Mohammad Yusuf, Mohammad Qasem Beg and Amir Yunus Ali killed Zaka in the royal house for lunatics. At this time the governorship of Kandahar and Garamser was in the hands of the family of Amir Zu-al-Noon Arghun bin Mir Hasan (in Baluchi accounts he is famous as Zano). Amir Arghun was a courtier of Abu Sayed Koragan who had been appointed as governor of Ghor, Gharjistan and Zamindawar by Sultan Hussain Bayaqla. In 1498 he managed to subdue the Hazara and Naqdari tribes and was awarded the governorship of Ghor, Kandahar and Farah. In 1496 he married his daughter to Prince Badi-ul-Zaman and helped him fight against his father, Sultan Hussain Mirza, in Asyan. In 1498 he managed to capture Herat. Since Badi-ul-Zaman was triumphant in capturing Balkh Arghun managed to take over Seistan. When Sultan Hussain Bayaqla died in 1505 Arghun's influence spread and he was successful in capturing the provinces of Shal, Bolan, Mastang (of present day Baluchistan) as far as the Indus river. He was killed in the siege of Herat and the Shaibani battle (around 1507). But his two sons, Shah Beg and Mohammad Muqim Arghun, were in charge of the area extending from Kandahar to the Indus river and made peace with Shaibani Khan after conquering Herat. When Zaki was killed the administration of Kabul became deranged. As a result Mohammad Muqim Arghun attacked Kabul from Garamser and in 1502 drove Mirza Abdul Razaq to Laghman and captured Kabul. He married the daughter of Ulug Beg. When Babur crossed the Hindu Kush from the north and Mohammad Muqim left Kabul for Kandahar Babur managed to take control of Kabul in 1503.

Mohammad Muqim prepared his army in Kandahar and Babur went to Qalat-e Ghilzai in Ghazni with his force and appointed his brother, Jahangir Mirza, to take charge of the government in Ghazni (1505). A year later all the Timurid princes in Afghanistan gathered along the banks of the Murghab river to face the ever increasing power of Shaibanis and they invited Babur to join them too. Since Babur had heard about the death of Sultan Hussain and according to him he was apprehensive at heart he went to Marwachaq by way of Hazara and Aimaq and met the princes at Kalbaghan (July 1506). Since Shaibani did not attempt to engage in battle and Babur heard about the unrest in Kabul he went to Kabul in the middle of a severe winter and his party suffered major losses because of the cold. In his absence a number of Kabul leaders had appointed his uncle, Jan Mirza, as the king. With his return his uncle was exiled to Kandahar and Seistan. At this time Shaibani attacked Badakshan and drove Nasir Mirza, Babur's youngest brother, to Kabul.

Babur became a powerful king second only to Genghis and Timur. He fought the Afghan tribes who lived a nomadic life in the pastures and mountains where they raised their livestock and managed to rectify the major losses he has suffered during his trip to Herat by pillaging the Ghalji tribes living southeast of Ghazni in 1507.

The same year Shaibani Khan, after ransacking Herat, reached as far as Farah and Garamser. Babur left Kabul and faced Shah Beg and Mohammad Muqim Arghuni in Khalishak of Kandahar and with the help of 2,000 soldiers managed to capture Kandahar. Shah Beg fled to Mastang and Muqim to Zamindawar. Babur put his brother Mirza in charge of Kandahar and himself went to Kabul but Argun's

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sons, who had taken refuge under Shaibani, attacked Kandahar with the help of Shaibani and drove Naser Mirza to Kabul. Shaibani appointed Shah Beg to take charge of Kandahar and himself returned to Khorasan in 1507.

As mentioned earlier Mirza Abdul Razaq was defeated by Mohammad Moqim and fled Kabul toward eastern Afghanistan. With the help of Ali Shabkor Seistani, Mohammad Ali Shaibani, Abdullah Safshikan, Nazar and Yaqub he declared himself as regent. In 1508 Babur gathered a force of 3 to 4 thousand men and defeated Abdul Raziq in Nangarhar. With the help of his uncle, Jan Mirza, Babur managed to capitulate Zabir Ra'ei who was challenging his authority in Badakshan. While Babur was busy in Kabul and Badakshan Shaibani Khan managed to bring down the government of the Timurid princes in Herat and Shaibani took control of Khorasan as far as Kandahar. Because of this Shah Ismail, the Safavid king, went to Merv in 1510 and besieged Shaibani there. On 27 November Shaibani with 15,000 men attacked the Safavid force and as a result 10,000 Uzbek forces lost their lives together with Shaibani in this battle. In Spring of 1511 Shah Ismail marched as far as the Oxus river and then returned back to Herat. With the death of his main rival, Shaibani, the opportunity arose for Babur to take action. He attacked Trans Oxiana with a force of 60 thousand men. Despite early success he lost control of the lands he had captured and in 1514 returned to Kabul in failure.

Since he was facing strong rivalry in Trans Oxiana Babur did not pay attention to that region and focused on the larger domain of India. He made preliminary arrangements in Kabul and in 1519 conducted his first foray of India. After crossing the Indus river he reached Bahra in Punjab. He appointed Husain Beg Ateka to the region and attacked the province of Kahkaran and the Purhala fort. He let Mohammad Ali take charge of the area between Bahra and the Indus and himself returned to Kabul. He managed to befriend the Yusufzai tribes, living north of Peshwar, and married the daughter of Shah Mansur, the leader of the Yusufzai.

Like Subuktageen who married an Afghan woman, the mother of Mahmud, Babur also befriended the brave and courageous Pashtun tribes by marrying one of them and with their power he became the emperor of India. The Yusufzai were in control of the region between the Khyber pass and the Indus river and it was not possible for anyone from Kabul to venture into India without their help and cooperation.

Having removed one obstacle Babur went on his second campaign toward the end of 1519 and crossed the Indus at Attock and on his return journey he attacked the Khezzr Khail tribe. In his third campaign he went as far as Sialkot in Punjab and destroyed Sayedpur, killing its inhabitants and then returned to Kabul. Since Shah Beg Arghun was attacking Kandahar from Sind Babur surrounded Kandahar and made peace with Shah Beg and then returned to Kabul in 1519. The next year he besieged Kandahar again and drove Shah Beg toward Shaal and peacefully took control of Kandahar city on 4 September 1522 and appointed prince Kamran as its governor.

Babur's fourth sojourn took place in 1523. He went as far as Lahore, Sialkot, Dibalpur and during his 5th campaign he killed Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Pani Pat on 19 April 1526. He ascended the Delhi throne on 23 April. It was during this time that the migration of Yusufzai tribesmen took place to the

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Peshawar, Kohat and Banu valleys and the Baluchi tribes took charge of Sind region as far as Dera Ghazi Khan and southern Punjab.

After these events Kabul, Kandahar and Badakshan were administered by Babur from Delhi. Khwaji Kalan was governor of Ghazni and Gardez (1526), Prince Hodayun was governor of Kabul and Badakshan and Prince Kamran was governor of Kandahar. When Hodayun went to India in 1528 Sultan Sayed Khan Kashghari attacked Badakshan but was defeated by Hodayun Mirza bin Babur and Suleiman Mirza was appointed as governor of the area by Babur.

After Kamran the affairs of Kandahar were handed over to Prince Askari and in 1523 he started work on the Chil Zena of Kandahar which was completed in 1546. Babur was a famous, treacherous, and brave ruler, a scholar and writer who ruled over a country stretching from Badakshan all the way to Delhi. He wrote poetry in Persian and Turkish and authored several important books. He died in January 1530 in Agra. According to his wish he was buried in Babur Garden in Kabul and Shah Jahan built his shrine in 1646 which is famous up to this day.

After Babur, his son Naseruddin Hodayun ascended the Delhi throne. He appointed his brother, Prince Kamran, as administrator of Punjab, Peshawar, Laghman, Kabul, Kandahar and Bamian and relegated Badakshan to Mirza Suleiman, son of Jan Mirza (Babur's uncle). In 1535 Saam Mirza Safavi attacked Kandahar from Herat and took control of the place from its governor Mirza Kamran. Kamran who was in Lahore went to Kandahar, defeated Saam Mirza and appointed Khwaja Kalan Beg as its administrator and himself returned to Lahore. The next year the Safavid king, Tahmasap, once again took charge of Kandahar from Khwaja Kalan and appointed Mirza Bedagh Khan Qajar as its administrator but when Shah Tahmasap returned to Iran Kamran went back to Kandahar and took control of Kandahar in 1536.

Hodayun was unable to retain control of his father's throne since Babur had destroyed the Ludi kingdom and had damaged the historical grandeur of the Afghans in India. For this reason the Afghans were striving to maintain their pomp in India and considered the Indian kingdom as their inherited right. Due to a faulty administration and improper reasoning, Sultan Ibrahim Ludi, had dispersed the Afghan forces and saw the defeat of his force during the battle of Pani Pat against Babur. It was during this time that an astute leader, Farid Khan known as Sher Shah, from the Suri tribe emerged in India. He gathered the scattered Afghan army in India and once again instigated the might of the Afghans. After uniting the Afghans and repairing the damage he attacked Hodayun and the Moghul force. Hodayun was defeated and the Afghans, the historical rulers of India, once again took control of the Delhi throne. In November 1540 Hodayun went to Omar Kot of Sind and by way of Shaal, Mastang, Garamser, Seistan and Herat went to Mashad and took refuge at the Safavid court. Mirza Kamran took refuge in Kabul and Mirza Askari and Mirza Hindal sought refuge in Kandahar. After a while Mirza Kamran left Kabul and fought against Mirza Suleiman, the governor of Narin, and forced Suleiman to obey him. Later he attacked Kandahar and took charge of the city from Mirza Hindal and handed it over to Mirza Askari. Hindal was appointed to Joi Shahi (Jalalabad). Coins were minted in his name and his name was orated during prayers as regent of Afghanistan. After engaging in battle with Suleiman Mirza in Andarab he managed to

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take charge of all of Badakshan and added it to his domain. He ruled from Badakshan to Kandahar and from Kabul to the Indus river and Kabul was the capital of his kingdom.

Homayun sought help from the Safavid court and in 1544 went from Herat to the shores of the Helmand river with a force of 30,000 men and besieged Shaham Ali and Mir Khalj, who had been appointed by Kamran, in Bost and after a siege of six months took control of Kandahar from Mirza Askari in 1545. According to the pact he had made with the Safavid king he handed over the city to the Safavid prince Murad. When the young prince died in Kandahar Homayun appointed Biram Khan as its governor, relinquished the Safavid forces from Kandahar and himself went to Kabul. Those appointed as administrators by Kamran surrendered to Homayun who managed to take charge of the city of Kabul in November of 1546. Kamran fled to Ghazni and from there sought refuge from the Arghunid rulers of Sind. In the same year Homayun managed to drive Suleiman Mirza from the northern provinces of the Hindu Kush to Trans Oxiana and took charge of those provinces. Kamran once again came from Sind and took over Ghazni and Kabul. Homayun returned with great urgency from the north, defeated Kamran in May of 1547 who fled to Badakshan and Homayun captured Kabul.

When Kamran gained influence in Badakshan, Taloqan and Baghlan, Homayun without any delay forced Kamran to surrender and sent him to the province of Kolaab, appointed Mirza Ibrahim as governor of the place and himself returned to Kabul in 1547. But Kamran managed to gather supporters around him and with the help of Pir Mohammad Khan seized Badakshan. As a result of this Homayun made a third journey to the northern regions and after clearing up the place he made Mirza Kamran in charge of Khutlan and Kolaab. He handed Qala-e Zafar and Taloqan to Mirza Suleiman and Ibrahim while Konduz, Ishkamesh and Narin were left in the custody of Mirza Hindal. He returned to Kabul on 4 October 1548.

Homayun's fourth sojourn to Balkh took place against Pir Moahmmad Khan but he returned in failure in 1549 and a year later when Kamran once again managed to accumulate power in the northern provinces Homayun went there for the fifth time but was defeated in the Ghorband battle and Kamran managed to take charge of Kabul. Homayun gathered an army with haste and challenged Kamran at Ishtergram who fled to Laghman. Homayun managed to capture Kabul and sent Mirza Askari, who had been captured in the battle, to Badakshan and Balkh, who went to Arabia and died there in 1557. However Kamran managed to forge a force from the Pashtun Mohmand and Khalil tribes and surrounded the Char Bagh fort (Jalalabad). Homayun succeeded to drive him from Khyber to Peshawar. The two brothers once again waged a battle in Chaparhar in 1551 resulting in the death of Mirza Hindal and Kamran fled to India. Sultan Adam Kahkar detained him and handed him over to Homayun in 1552 who unmercifully blinded him.

At the time when the Babur family was engaged in wars in Afghanistan and Homayun was busy subduing his brothers and bloodshed was taking place in the country Sher Shah Suri managed to establish order, civilization and development in India but this progressive king died in a fire on 21 May 1545 in the Kalanjar fort and his descendants were not able to maintain his glory. Without proper guidance the Afghan leaders split apart.

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Homayun managed to free himself from turmoil with his brothers and appointed his brother, prince Mohammad Hakim, as governor of Kabul. In January of 1554 he headed for Taskhir of India, by way of Peshawar. He ascended the throne of Delhi in July of the same year and died on 20 July 1555 in Delhi. He was replaced by his 13 year old son, Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, on 23 February 1555 in Lahore. When the news of Homayun's death reached Kabul Mirza Suleiman and his son Ibrahim besieged Mohammad Hakim for four months. But when Akbar's forces reached Kabul Suleiman returned to Badakshan without capturing the city. This was a time when the mother of prince Mohammad Hakim, Mah Chuchak Khanum, was in charge of the affairs of Kabul and various leaders were at odds with each other. In 1562 the Akbar court sent Munam Khan Khanan to Kabul. He engaged in battle with the Kabul army in Charbagh of Jalalabad but was defeated and fled to India.

Homayun had appointed Shah Mohammad Kalati Ghilzai as governor of Kandahar. Shah Tahasap Safavi sent an army under the command of Sultan Hussain Mirza, the grandson of Shah Ismail Safavi, to Kandahar and captured the city from Shah Mohammad in 1556.

Similarly in 1559 Mirza Suleiman lead his army from Badakshan with the intention of taking over control of Balkh but was defeated by Pir Mohammad Khan in Chashma-e Gazaran and his son, Mirza Ibrahim, was killed by the enemy.

After these events Abu-al-Ma'ali Termizi fled from Akbar's court, went to Kabul and married Mohammad Hakim's sister. He killed Shahzada's mother together with a number of other leaders. Shahzada and the oppressed people of Kabul asked Mirza Suleiman, the governor of Badakshan, for help. Mirza met Abu-al-Ma'ali and the Kabul force at the Ghorband bridge. Abu-al-Ma'ali was killed and Kabul was captured in 1563. Suleiman appointed prince Mohammad Hakim, his son-in-law, and Mirza Sultan Omaid Ali as administrators of Kabul and himself went to Badakshan. With the help of Akbar's court Mohammad Hakim became the independent governor of Kabul and the influence of Mirza Suleiman faded in 1564. As Mohammad Hakim consolidated power in Kabul with the temptation of his uncle, Feridoun, he attacked Lahore from Peshawar. But in 1566 Akbar went to Lahore from Agra and drove Mohammad Hakim back to Peshawar.

However in the absence of Mohammad Hakim Mirza Suleiman came from Badakshan and laid siege on Kabul. When he heard about the return of Mohammad Hakim he abandoned the siege and returned to Badakshan. Since Shah Rukh bin Ibrahim, Mirza's grandson, had attained power in Badakshan, Andarab, Taloqan and Konduz, Mirza fled by way of Kabul to India and Shah Rukh was able to take over the governorship of Badakshan in 1575. Under the pretext of conducting the pilgrimage Suleiman left India, went to Iran and from there traveled to Kandahar and Kabul and with the help of Prince Mohammad Hakim he attacked Badakshan and his grandson in 1579. Shah Rukh made peace with him and let him take charge of the area between Taloqan and the Hindu Kush and himself contented to being in charge of Badakshan.

Despite the compromise Prince Mohammad Hakim once again attacked Peshawar and Lahore from Kabul and managed to lay siege on Lahore but Akbar drove him away from the environs of Lahore in February 1581 and continued his journey to Kabul. Once again he put Mohammad Hakim in charge of

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Kabul and Zabulistan and returned to India on 19 March 1581. Since animosity developed between Mirza Suleiman and Shah Rukh in Badakshan, Abdullah Uzbek, the governor of Balkh, taking advantage of the discord, drove both of them to Kabul. Badakshan, as far as the Hindu Kush, was annexed to Balkh.

Prince Mohammad Hakim died in Kabul on 8 August 1585 and Akbar sent Kunurman Singh with fresh forces to preserve Kabul. He appointed Zain Khan Koka as its governor and in 1586 Kabul became a part of the Akbari kingdom. In Swat and Bajawar Akbar's forces engaged in conflict with the warrior Pashtun tribes and Akbar himself paid a visit to Peshawar in 1588 and visited Kabul for the second time. After staying in the city for one month he appointed Qasem Khan Kabuli as governor and himself returned to Peshawar. However, in the ensuing wars between the Pashtun Roshani leaders and Jalaluddin bin Bayazid the Mughals suffered 40 to 50 thousand losses and Raja Beril, an important pillar of the Akbar court and Ghazni fell into the hands of the Roshanids. They will be treated in the passage on the Roshanids.

As mentioned earlier Kandahar had fallen into the domain of the Safavid princes and was separated from the Akbari kingdom. In 1590 Khan Khanan attacked Kandahar by way of Baluchistan but in 1594 Shah Beg Khan Kabuli annexed the city back to the Akbari kingdom and remained the governor of Kandahar until the end of the Akbar period. In 1602 he drove back Mirza Hasan, son of Shah Rukh Badakshani, who attacked Kandahar. Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, the emperor of India, died in 1605.

Akbar's son, Nouruddin Jahangir, was declared the king and the Safavid governor of Herat, Husain Khan Shamlo, with the help of the governor of Seistan, attacked Kandahar but Shah Beg Khan managed to resist the siege. Jahangir also sent a contingent of fresh forces to Kandahar and the Safavid soldiers fled without attaining any gains. Jahangir appointed Ghazi Khan as governor of Kandahar, Sind and Multan in 1605.

A year later Jahangir paid a visit to Kabul and appointed Shah Beg Khan as governor of several regions of Afghanistan. Five years later in 1611, when the Roshanid forces attacked Kabul, Jahangir appointed Kalech Khan instead of Shah Beg as governor of Kabul (an account of the war of Roshanids against emperors Akbar and Jahangir will be presented in the section on the Roshanids).

Since Kandahar was a center of dispute between the Safavid and Baburi kings and had fallen into the hands of Jahangir hence in 1621 Shah Abas Safavi captured the city and despite paying a second visit to Kabul in 1625 Jahangir was unable to send his troops to retake the city. He appointed Khwaja Abu-al-Hasan as governor of Kabul and Bangash as far as the Indus river and himself returned back to India. Jahangir died on 7 November 1627 in Lahore.

His son, Prince Khuram, ascended the throne and became famous as Shahabuddin Mohammad Shah Jahan. The wars which were conducted by the family of Bayazid Roshan in Terah, Peshawar, Kabul, Ghazni and Bangash, from the time of Hodayun and Akbar, continued until the ascension of Shah Jahan. The governors of the Delhi court faced intense opposition (further details will be provided in the section on the Roshanids). When Jahangir died Zafar Khan, the governor of Afghanistan, was battling the descendants of Roshan. Nazar Mohammad Khan, the governor of Balkh, took the opportunity and attacked Bamiyan and the Zuhak fort. After capturing the northern areas of Afghanistan he crossed the

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Hindu Kush and laid a bloody siege on Kabul for three months. Shah Jahan sent Khwaja Abu-al-Hasan Mohmand Lashkar Khan with 15,000 infantry and commander Mahabat Khan with 20,000 cavalry to Afghanistan in July 1627. Nazar Mohammad retreated back to Balkh by way of Ghor and Kabul fell into the hands of Lashkar Khan in July 1628. Toward the end of the year, Kamaluddin, son of Shaikh Raknuddin Afghan, managed to unite the Afghan tribes from Kabul to Attock, rose against the Delhi government and laid siege on Peshawar. But Sayed Khan, the governor of Kabul, managed to disperse the rebels and took charge of Peshawar in August 1628.

During the Akbar period, Hasan Khan Tarin, was a famous leader in Pushtun, present day Baluchistan. His son, Sher Khan Tarin, maintained his independence between the Safavid and Timurid kingdoms. In 1631 he made an attempt to take over Seistan and it was at this time that the Safavid governor of Kandahar, Ali Mardan, attacked Pushtun. Sher Khan took refuge in the Duki and Chaitali fort but Shah Jahan sent a force to Kandahar in the middle of 1637. Ali Mardan Khan, the Safavid governor, surrendered and let Shah Jahan's forces take over the city. The native leaders of Kandahar, Malik Maghdud and Kamran (refer to the section on Abdalid kings) were officially recognized as governors by Shah Jahan's court. Shah Jahan's forces captured the terrain as far as the Helmand river, Bost, Greshk and Zamindawar in September of 1638. A year later, in May of 1639, Shah Jahan paid his first visit to Kabul. He appointed Ali Mardan Khan to quell the Yusufzai freedom movement who had managed to kill his important appointees in Nawshehra and Peshawar. He appointed Sayed Khan in Kabul and Qalech Khan in Kandahar as governors and in this way annexed half of Afghanistan from the Hindu Kush to Kandahar to the Timurid kingdom of Delhi.

However, Malik Awdal and Malik Hamza Afghan, who had maintained their independence in Helmand and Seistan fought against the forces of Shah Jahan in January 1636 along the banks of the Helmand river but were killed in failure. In order to protect Kandahar from Safavid attacks Shah Jahan sent Prince Dara Shukoh with a force of 50,000 men as the Safavid forces were threatening Kandahar and Nazr Mohammad Khan, the governor of the provinces north of the Hindu Kush, was threatening Kabul. In January 1646 Shah Jahan sent a force of 50,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and heavy artillery under the command of Prince Murad Baksh and himself reached Kabul in May of the same year. He launched an attack on the northern provinces by way of Parwan and the Hindu Kush valleys and captured all regions of Badakshan as far as Balkh extending the sphere of influence of the Timurid kingdom of Delhi as far as the Oxus river. He appointed Khwas Khan as governor of Kandahar, Khwaja Abdul Rahman to Badakshan, Sadat Khan to Termiz, Asadullah to Zamindawar and Zulfiqar Khan to Kabul and himself went to Lahore by way of Peshawar. But Abdul Aziz Khan, son of Nazar Mohammad Khan, the governor of Turan, attacked Balkh in 1647 and his raids reached the fortresses of Hindu Kush. Because of this threat Shah Jahan made his third trip to Kabul and Prince Aurangzeb and his forces advanced as far as the northern regions of the Hindu Kush, Balkh, Andkhai and Maimana in order to repel the threat posed by the Uzbeks. As it was difficult to protect northern Hindu Kush therefore Shah Jahan let Nazar Mohammad Khan take charge of Balkh and himself returned back to India in August of 1647.

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The Safavids did not relent Kandahar and first they sent a letter to take control of the city to Shah Jahan in 1648 and after that Shah Abas the Second left Asfahan with a strong army and five cannons. He attacked Kandahar and captured the city with a force of 50,000 men. The Delhi court sent Prince Aurangzeb together with a force of 70,000 men from Lahore and Kabul to Kandahar but after bloody battles the Safavid king was victorious in taking over the city and left Mehrab Khan there with 10,000 cavalry and himself went to Herat. In June 1649 Prince Aurangzeb besieged Mehrab and Shah Jahan himself made his fourth trip to Kabul but was unsuccessful in taking over Kandahar so he issued orders to Aurangzeb to end the four month siege of Kandahar and go to Lahore. Two years later Shah Jahan made his fifth trip to Kabul and sent Prince Aurangzeb with 50,000 cavalry and infantry, 20 heavy fort piercing cannons, 20 medium cannons and 10 war elephants and dispatched Sadullah Khan with an additional force to support Aurangzeb. This large force surrounded Kandahar once again but was not able to achieve any result in two months and returned back to Kabul and Lahore without any success in September 1651. The following year Shah Jahan sent another strong army under the command of Prince Dara Shukoh to take over Kandahar. This force included 150,000 cavalry and infantry, 45 large and small cannons, 170 war elephants and 30,000 cannon rounds. Mehrab Khan, the strong-willed governor of Kandahar, managed to keep the Kandahar fort intact and resisted for five months. For the third time Shah Jahan returned back to India in failure without capturing Kandahar and only Kabul and Ghazni remained in his domain and he left Bahadur Khan Afghan to protect these regions. Kandahar, Seistan and Herat remained under the control of the Safavids and the norther provinces from Maimana to Andkhai, Balkh, Takharistan and the northern Hindu Kush were under the helm of the Turanian rulers who were the descendants of Nazar Mohammad Khan. In 1657 Shah Jahan was imprisoned by his son Aurangzeb who ascended the Delhi throne. Aurangzeb appointed Mahabat Khan as governor of Kabul, Shamsheer Khan as governor of Ghazni and Sayed Khan as the military commander for the Afghan mountains and Peshawar.

The Alamgir period was the most volatile time in Afghanistan and the regions between the Attock and Kabul were the battle ground between the forces of the Delhi throne and the Afghans. First the Yusufzai, living north of Peshawar, under the leadership of Baku, Mullah Chalak and Sultan Mahmud Gadoon, attacked Pakhali. In 1666 Alamgir sent Kamil Khan, the commander of the Attock force, to quell the freedom fighters. But in 1668 Aimal Khan Mohmand (who minted coins under the name of Aimal Shah), with the assistance of Khushal Khan Khatat, the warrior Pashtun poet, fought several battles with Alamgir who had to stay in Hasan Abdal for three years to counter the Pashtun insurgency. At this time Prince Mohammad Azam was in Kabul and Aghar Khan fought several bloody battles with the Afghans. Eventually after the five battles of Tahtar, Doababa, Newshehra, Gandab and Khapas and the loss of life of nearly 100,000 people on both sides, Alamgir was unsuccessful in capitulating the Afghan movement. As Alamgir became tired of this prolonged war he left for Delhi in 1670. Aimal Khan fought a ferocious and bloody battle with Aghar Khan in Laghman until Aghar Khan was killed by the Afghan forces in 1690. At this time Prince Mohammad Muazam Bahadur Shah, during the later years of the rule of Alamgir, was governor in Kabul and Peshawar and killed Purdil Khan, the famous leader of the Afghan frontier

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tribesmen, in 1702 who with his army was moving on Kabul from Khost in fear that he would start a rebellion and block the Kabul to Peshawar road.

After the death of Alamgir which took place in 1706 Muazam went from Kabul to Lahore and became the king. During the last years of the Timurids of Delhi Naser Khan was governor of Kabul and Peshawar, and Baqir Khan was governor of Ghazni. The Hotak kings had control of Kandahar as far as Pshain, Mastang and Derajat until Nader Shah Afshar brought down the Al-Babur kingdom in 1738 after reigning for 240. The 250 years of Indian Timurid period in Afghanistan passed in continuous bloodshed and turmoil and Afghanistan was at the crossroads of three major empires: the Delhi empire, the Safavids of Iran and the Turani kings of Trans Oxiana. It did not benefit from the civilization, industry and arts of these empires. As a result of resistance by the native forces who were fighting for their independence against the foreign forces, the country underwent two and half centuries of destruction and no signs of civilization of the Indian Timurids are evident in Afghanistan with the exception of war, violence and bloodshed.

The destruction caused by foreigners in Afghanistan, during these two and a half centuries, was extremely harrowing. After the Genghis and Timur raids the Timurids of Herat rebuilt the country but the civilization and industry they set up was destroyed during this period of constant conflict. However this period is a testament of nationalism and solicitation of independence by the Afghan nation. During this period Afghans fought against three major powers of Asia and did not allow foreigners to rule them with placidity and tranquility.

During this time the Timurid rulers of Delhi were minting coins in Kabul, the Safavid kings were minting coins in Herat and Seistan and the Turani kings were minting coins in Balkh and Badakshan. Since the Afghan tribes were under threat from three directions the spirit of resistance and autonomy developed among them and Pashto literature reached its zenith during this time. The leaders of the independence movement such as Pir Roshan, Khushal Khan and others wrote valuable books in Pashto which are pivotal representations of the literature of this period resulting in hatred toward the Timurid kings of India among the people.

The civil and military structure of the Timurids of Delhi in Afghanistan was similar to that of the Ludi and Suri kings of India and they extended the civil groundwork laid by Sher Shah. They divided Afghanistan into four regions. The Kabul region from the time of Babur until the conquest of Nader Shah Afshar was under the Delhi rule. Kandahar changed hands and sometimes it was under the influence of Delhi while at other times it was under the Safavids. The third region, Badakshan, was under contention between the Timurids of Delhi or their paternal relatives and the fourth region, Balkh, was at times under the influence of the Timurids kings of Delhi while at other times it was ruled by the Turani kings. According to Babur the Kabul region had 20 districts and its revenue was two million shahrukhi which was equal to 1,228,000 dams (Indian coin introduced by Sher Shah Suri circa 1540). According to Abu-Fazl this region spread from the Pamirs, Gilgit, Swat and Bunir to Kandahar and Zabulistan. During Akbar's reign the region was governed by the governors of Kabul and Kandahar. Kabul had 22 districts and had 80,507,465 dams in cash and its taxes totaled to 137,178 dams. Kabul had a force of 28,187 cavalry and 212,700 infantry and its cash revenue was 12,758,410 dams.

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Kandahar had 24 districts, 8114 tumans and 29,600 dinars in cash, 45,775 sheep, 45 Baluchi horses, 3,752,977 kharwars of grain (one kharwar=80 kilograms), 420 muns of rice (one mun=7 kilograms), two kharwars of flour, 20 muns cooking oil, and a force of 13,875 cavalry and 27,260 infantry.

Abdul Majid Lahori states that during the reign of Shah Jahan the kingdom had 22 regions of which four composed Afghanistan with the following revenue: Kabul 16 million dams, Kandahar 6 million dams, Balkh 8 million dams and Badakshan 4 million dams (five dams were equivalent to 2 annas).

According to Abu-al-Fazl each region was divided into several divisions, cities, fortresses and police precincts and the *subadar* (regional administrator) was the civil and military administrator with an expenditure budget of up to 12 million dams. Under the orders of the *subadar* a *komaki* (temporary military commander), *ta'eenat* (permanent military commander), *foujdar* (deputy to the high military commander), *tahanadar* and *kotwal* (protectors of the fort), were responsible for maintaining peace and order of important public places, roads and the military fortresses. Sometimes a region was assigned to a prince or an administrator as a *bailiwick* who was known as the *teuldar*. Every district and city had a financial officer and a judge, responsible for legal affairs. The army had a separate military judge. There were officials who were responsible for salaries and supplies to the military and the events chronologist provided intelligence with agents scattered throughout the domain. Sometimes important officials of the Delhi court were sent as temporary superintendents to different regions to supervise the affairs of the nation.

The division of labor among the military was as follows: The 10,000 (division commander) who had 700 horses, 200 elephants, 200 load carrying animals and 320 vehicles under his command and received up to 60,000 rupees salary monthly. This hierarchy was divided from 10,000th to the decurion which included 66 ranks and each rank under the 5000th was divided into three categories such as the first, second and third 5000th.

Among the edifices of the Delhi Timurid period are the vault of Chilzena (40 steps) at Sarpoza mountain, west of Kandahar. According to its inscription work was started by Mirza Kamran, Mirza Askari and Mirza Handaal in 1523 and completed in 1546. After this in 1595 a military commander of the Akbar court, Mir Masum, ordered the writing of the inscription which was etched by skilled stone workers by the name of Homayun and Akbar in four years. The other inscription is at the shrine of Sayed Hussain Zanjirpa, the nephew of Baba Hussain Abdal Kandahari, which was also prepared by Mir Masum in 1592. Another structure is the shrine and inscription of Sayed Abdul Jalil bin Sultan Khalil bin Sultan Mohammad who died in 1450 in Khakrez, 40 miles north of Kandahar, and was famous as Shah Maqsud. It was built by Mir Buzurg, son of Sayed Masum, in 1645. The other inscription is near the shrine of Sayed Mohammad, famous as Sayed Sher Qalandar, son of Amir Ansari. According to Tarekh-e Masumi he died in December 1526 and Mir Masum inscribed the inscription in Sperwan mountain of Kandahar in 1596 and built a structure over it. The Char Bagh (garden) of Kandahar, according to Abu-al-Fazl, was built by Babur.

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According to Abdul Majid the gardens of Shahrara, Char Bagh, Jelowkhana, Aurta Bagh, Surat Bagh, Mahtab Bagh, and Bagh-e Ahukhana in Kabul were built by Babur which have been mentioned by Jahangir in his memoirs. Similarly Bagh-e Paghman (built by Ulug Beg and Babur), Takht-e Babur, which was built under the orders of Babur in 1508, and was completed by Jahangir in 1607 in the southern part of Kabul, the Charchata of Kabul (the famous bazaar built by Ali Mardan Khan), the Shor Bazaar mosque (built by Aurangzeb), Bagh-e Ali Mardan, Bagh-e Safa (in Behsud of Jalalabad built by Babur), Bagh-e Wafa (built by Babur in 1501), Shahbaz fort (according to Abu-al-Fazl it was built by Akbar in 1589), Bagh-e Istalif, the marble mosque of Mazar-e Sharif of Babur's shrine, and the Nemla gardens (located in eastern Kabul and built in 1646) are among the structures built by Shah Jahan.

The citadel of Kabul, which existed from former times, was according to Tazk-e Jahangiri (memoirs of Jahangir) repaired by Mirza Kamran and the buildings of the citadel were built in June 1606 on the orders of Jahangir. The citadel of Kandahar which was ruined in 1738 by Nader Shah existed from former times. According to Abdul Hamid, Shah Jahan repaired it at the cost of 800,000 rupees. The Parwan fort, located north of Kabul (in present day Jabul Seraj) was built by Homayun in 1548. It was the central headquarter of his army.

During the era of the Delhi Timurid kings there were mints in Kabul, Balkh and Badakshan. According to Abu-al-Fazl, during the Akbari period, Kabul was one of the four regions where the golden Akbari coin was minted. In each of the four regions silver and copper coins were minted by the Timurid kings of Delhi or the Safavids. In Jahangir's period copper coins were minted in Kandahar which were in the shape of a solar tower. In his 14th year as ruler Jahangir minted a silver rupee in Kandahar with the words 'from Jahangir Akbar Shah the Kandahar coin became desirable.'

Famous scholars during the Delhi Timurid era in Afghanistan were: Abtari Badakshi (poet), Ibrahim Baytani (who completed Makhzan-e Afghani), Malik Abu-al-Fath Seistani (poet), Atashi Kandahari (poet who died in 1565), Shaikh Ahmad Mujadad Kabuli (Indian gnostic, 1563-1624), Arzani (Pashto poet circa 1543), Ashraf Khan Hijri (Pashto poet, son of Khushal Khan Khatak), Mir A'ejaz Herawi (poet and devotee), Salim Afghan Ludi (poet), Afzal Khan Khatak (deceased 1769 author of the Pashto Tarekh-e Murasa'), Mullah Alif Hotak (organizer of Pashto Bahr-al-Iman 1610), Imamuddin Mutizai (author of Tarekh-e Afghan 1657), Amani Kabuli (poet), Amani Afghani (poet circa 1666), Amir (Pashto poet 1614), Anwari Herawi (poet), Baba-e Balkhi (poet circa 1543), Babojan (Pashto poet circa 1640), Khwaja Baqiullah Kabuli (gnostic and author of Selselat-al-Akher 1563-1603), Sheikh Bayazid Afghan (famous ascetic during the Akbari period), Bayazid Roshan (leader and Pashto writer), Bai Khan (Pashto poet circa 1688), Shaikh Bostan Baretch (Pashtun poet and gnostic deceased 1593), Banayee Kabuli (poet during the Homayun period), Bo-al-Ajab Kabuli (poet during the Akbari period), Jahangir Herawi (composer of Mazhar-al-Asar deceased 1539), Ghaznavi (poet deceased in 1565 in Peshawar), Tayeb Herawi (poet 1669), Tash Mohamad Konduzi (author of Hujat-al-Awrang Shahiya 1688), Torabi Balkhi (poet), Khushal Khan Khatak (famous Pashto poet and warrior), Sultan Kandahari (poet during the Akbari period), Sabet Badakshi (poet), Sabet Baretch (Pashtun gnostic), Sani Khan Herawi (poet during the Akbari period), Jahangir Herawi (composer of Mazhar-al-Asar deceased 1539), Habibi Kabuli

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(composer of Yusuf wa Zuleikha 1679), Qazi Nezam Badakshi (judge during the Babur period), Hesamuddin Badakshi (judge during the Babur and Homayun period), Halima (Pashto poetess and daughter of Khushal Khan Khatak), Malik Hamza Seistani (poet 1672), Hamid Mashukhel Mohmand (Pashto poet 1688), Hamid Gul (Pashto poet), Khalgul Khalil (Pashto poet), Khani Kabuli (poet 1577), Kherad Begi Kabuli (poet deceased 1567), Khwand Mir (author of Habib-al-Sayr, Khulasat-al-Akhbar and Dastur-al-Wuzara' etc. deceased 1534), Khwaja Zada Kabuli (poet during the Akbar period), Khwaja Hasan Herawi (poet deceased 1571), Khwaja Mohammad Bangash (Pashto poet during the Alamgir period), Dayee Kashmi (poet deceased 1585), Darweza Nangarhari (Pashto writer and famous propagandist), Dawlat Lawani (Pashto poet circa 1648), Rabia Kandahari (poetess during the Babur period), Dost Mohammad Kakar (Pashto poet and author of Gharghasht Nama 1519), Daberi Kabuli (poet during the Shah Jahan period), Rabi' Balkhi (poet 1669), Rahman Baba (Pashto poet and famous gnostic of Peshawar), Rownaqi Badakshi (poet deceased 1556), Zayer Badakshi (poet deceased 1656) Sagari Herawi (poet circa 1543), Sarwari Kabuli (poet during the Alamgir period), Zargoona Kandahari (Pashto poetess who translated Bostan-e Saadi in 1497 from Persian to Pashto), Sekandar Khan (Pashto poet and son of Khushal Khan Khatak), Sultan Kandahari (poet during the Akbar period), Sultan Ali Ubhi Herawi (poet circa 1543), Sultan Mohammad Khandan (calligrapher and poet from Kabul circa 1688), Susani Kabuli (poet and amir during Jahangir's period), Sayed Ahmad Khatak (writer during Akbar's period), Saif Khan Khosti Katagani (officer during Shah Jahan's period and writer of raag pan in music deceased 1683), Mullah Shah Badakshi (writer of *tafsir* (interpretation of Koran) and poet deceased 1659), Shuja Seistani (poet), Shukhi Herawi (poet), Shaida Balkhi (scholar during Babur's period), Amir Sher Ali Khan Ludi (author of Tazkera-e Murat-al-Kheyal 1650), Sher Mohammad Hotak Kandahari (1681-1761 compiler of Israt-al-Arefeen in Pashto), Sher Mohammad Nangarhari (Pashto poet 1688), Sadeq Kandahari (poet during Homayun's period), Sabuhi Badakshi (poet deceased 1565), Sabuhi Kabuli (poet of Akbar's court), Sadr Khan Khatak (Pashto poet and son of Khushal Khan Khatak), Haji Aref Kandahari (historian and poet at Biram Khan's court and author of Mutla' and Maqta' dar Tarekh 1578), Aref Kabuli (poet 1591), Mullah Alam Gulbahari (poet during Akbar's period compiler of Selselat-al-Jers and author of Dalalat-al-Aql, Bahar-al-Wujood, Awalem-al-Asar and Fawateh-al-Welaya, deceased 1584), Abas Sarwani (author of Tarekh-e Sher Shahi), Abdul Salam Peshawari (grandson of Derwaza and Pashto author), Abdul Rahman Bakhtiyar (gnostic circa 1494), Abdul Aziz Herawi (scholar during Babur's period), Abdul Rahman Ramzi Badakshi (author Rad-al-Shia' wa Isbat-e Naboot), Mir Abdullah, son of Mir Na'man, (Naqshbandi shaikh and poet), Abdul Ali Taloqani (author of Insha 1650), Abdullah Neyazi (gnostic during Akbar's period deceased 1591, student of Skaikh Salim Cheshti and Sayed Mohammad Junpuri), Abdullah (Pashto poet around 1591), Abdul Rahman Mankerawi of Hazara district (author of Hasina during Akbar's period), Abdul Rahim Mankerawi (author of Rad-ul-Bada' during Akbar's period), Abdul Wahab Mankerawi (composer of Kasr-al-Daqayeq during Akbar's period), Abdul Rasul bin Sayed Ali (author of Majma'-al-Lughat wa al-Isma in 1706), Abdul Qader Khatak (Pashto poet and son of Khushal Khatak),

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Abdul Samad Badakshi (poet circa 1543), Abdul Rahim Hotak Kandahari (Pashto poet), Abdul Rashid son of Sultan Hussain (composer of Rashid-al-Bayan in 1688), Abdul Razaq Kabuli (scholar during Shah Jahan's period who wrote footnotes on Sharh-e Tajrid and Mahakemat), Ezat Herawi (poet and military officer in the court of Alamgir deceased 1669), Eshqi Kabuli (divisional headman and poet during Akbar's period deceased 1582), Ali Khan (Pashto poet), Sayed Ali Konduzi son of Qanbar famous as Pir Baba (famous gnostic), Omar Kheshaki (scholar during Akbar's period and follower of Pir Roshan), Essa Peshawari student of Akhund Panjo (author of the book on virtues of the house), Essa Meshwanai (Pashto poet 1494), Essa Akhundzada Kakar (Pashto poet circa 1640), Mir Kalan Ghaznavi (Amir and poet during Akbar's period), Ghulam Mohammad son of Sher Khan Gigyani (composer of Ma'raj Nama and Saif-al-Mulook in Pashto 1703), Ghoyor Kabuli (poet and attendant of Prince Mohammad Hakim), Fakhri Herawi (poet and author during Homayun's period), Fasih Herawi (poet), Fasiha Herawi (poetess), Fayaz Peshawari (composer of the story of Bahram and Gul Andam in Pashto), Fayaz Herawi (poet 1688), Feroza Kabuli (poetess and distinguished personality of the Homayun court), Qasem Kandahari (scholar during Akbar's period), Skaikh Qasem Suleimani Peshawari (gnostic and author of Tazkerat-al-Awlia Afghan during Akbar's period), Qasem Kahi Kabuli (poet during Akbar's period), Qasem Shinwari (author of Fawayed-e Shariat in Pashto in 1559), Qalandar (Pashto poet), Kazem Khan Shaيدا (Pashto poet from the family of Khushal Khan Khatak), Kashefi Badakshi (poet 1632), Mirza Kamel son of Ahmad Bakshi (author of Bahr-al-Zaman deceased 1718), Gadayi Kabuli (poet during Homayun's period), Layeq Balkhi (poet at Imam Tuli Khan's court, the king of Turan), La'li Badakshi son of Shah Quli (poet and attendant of Akbar's court), Shaikh Muti Kasi (gnostic during Akbar's period deceased 1601), Mir Mohammad Zahed Herawi son of Qasi Aslam (scholar and events writer during Shah Jahan's period 1653, writer of footnotes of Sharh-e Mawaqif, Sharh-e Tahzeeb of Alama Dawani, Tasawar wa Tasdiq of Qutbuddin Razi, Sharh-e Alhiyakul wa Zawid Salasa), Qazi Mohammad Aslam Herawi (judge in Kabul and India during Jahangir's and Imam Shah's Jahani's period, deceased in Lahore in 1650), Shaikh Mohammad Amin Badakshi (gnostic and author of Qatarat in the Zaroriya treatise, deceased in Kashmir 1686), Mohammad Yusuf Kabuli, son of Shah Beg Khan (poet deceased 1572), Skaikh Mohammad Alekozai Kandahari (Pashto poet and scholar circa 1605), Mohammad Saleh Fareghi (poet during Homayun's period), Mohammad Taqi Taloqani Ghafil (poet deceased 1640), Mullah Mohammad Herawi (scholar during Akbar's period 1574), Mohammad Hashim Kandahari (poet at Biram Khan's court), Mohammad Fazil Badakshi (scholar and military judge during Jahangir's period), Mohammad Amin Foushanji son of Qanbar Ali (poet and amir of Shaibani's court), Mohammad Taher Ansari Herawi (poet circa 1591), Mohammad bin Ibrahim (historian during Sultan Ibrahim Ludi's period and author of Tarekh-e Ibrahim Shahi), Ali Mohammad Mukhlis Roshani (Pashto poet 1543), Mullah Mast Zamand (author of Sulook-al-Ghazat in Pashto circa 1640), Mustafid Jagdalaki (poet at Abdul Aziz Khan court, king of Bukhara circa 1591), Masud bin Abdullah Peshawari (Pashto poet and composer of the story of Adam Khan and Durkhani circa 1591), Mustafa Khan Badakshi (scholar and amir at Alamgair's court and author of Emarat-al-Kalam dar Estkraj Ayat-e Koran), Mustafa bin Nur Mohammad bin Abdul Karim bin Darweza (Pashto writer circa 1700), Muzafaruddin Badakshi (poet circa 1579), Mir Masum Nami bin

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Sayed Safayee from the lineage of Baba Hasan Abdal buried in Kandahar (author of Tarakh-e Masumi and Tubnami, poet and military commander during Akbar's period, composer of Ma'dan-al-Afkar, Hasan wa Naaz, Akbar Nama and Pari Surat), Maghzi Herawi (poet deceased 1574), Ma'jaz Kabuli (poet during Alamgir's period), Mufid Balkhi (poet at the court of Abdul Aziz, the chief of Bukhara circa 1640), Maqsud Herawi (calligrapher at Homayun's court), Taj Mohammad Mamnun (poet deceased 1737), Qasem Mowji Badakshi (amir and poet at Homayun's court and composer of Yusuf wa Zuleikha, Laili wa Majnun, deceased 1571), Mehri Herawi (poetess at the court of Queen Nur Jahan), Mir Kalan Herawi (famous scholar and teacher of Jahangir, deceased 1575), Mirak Balkhi, pen-name Fekri (scholar and poet, deceased in Asfahan 1650), Mirak Herawi (scholar and teacher of Dara Shukoh and head during the Alamgir's period, deceased 1660), Mir Dost Kabuli (calligrapher during Akbari's period), Mirza Khan Ansari Roshani (Pashto poet), Mir Elahi Badakshi (poet and judge of Kolab circa 1543), Mir Ali Herawi (famous calligrapher deceased 1575), Nazem Hewrawi (poet circa 1659), Mir Nasiruddin Herawi (scholar of Alamgir's court), Qazi Nezam Ghazi Khan Badakshi (scholar and amir at the court of Prince Mohammad Hakim and Akbar and author of the treatise, Esbat-e Kalam wa Bayan-e Iman, and editor and footnotes on Sharh-e Aqayed and treatises on mysticism, deceased 1584), Khwaja Nezamuddin Ahmad Herawi son of Mohammad Muqim (historian at Akbar's court and author of Tabaqat-e Akbari, deceased 1594), Nazmi Balkhi (poet circa 1688), Nematullah Herawi son of Raknuddin Terahi (author of the treatise Zekr wa Fekr and treatises on mysticism circa 1591), Nebbakhta daughter of Shaikhullah Dadmamuzi, north of Peshawar (mother of Shaikh Qasem Sulaimani and author of Ershad-al-Fuqura in 1561), Waseb Kandahari (poet deceased in Asfghan 1640), Wasil (Pashto poet circa 1494), Wasil Kabuli (poet deceased 1560), Waqei Herawi (poet and attendant of Akbar), Walaei Qataghani (poet and constable of Kashmir during Shah Jahan's period, deceased 1663), Weda'i Herawi (poet during Akbar's period), Wafaye Herawi (poet deceased in Asfahan 1640), Waqufi Herawi (scholar and poet during Akbar's period), Waisi Herawi (poet and calligrapher circa 1575), Hedayat Badakshi (composer of Khusrao and Shirin, deceased 1640), Hemat Khan (poet and amir at Shah Janan's court, deceased 1681), Hemat Seistani son of Malik Hamza (poet during Shah Jahan's period), Yari Herawi (poet circa 1543), Yahya Zabzwari (poet deceased 1625), Yaktai Balkhi (poet at the court of Quli Khan of Bukhara), Yagana Balkhi (poet at the court of Imam Quli Khan of Bukhara) and Yunus Khabiri (poet).

During the era of the Baburid kings India had come under one political administration. At the same time the Safavid kingdom had reached its zenith in Iran and the Osmanid Caliphate had spread from Turkey through the Arab countries as far as Africa and in Trans Oxiana the Shaibanid kings were in power (1500-1598). These four Islamic kingdoms controlled the region from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of Italy and Gibraltar and ruled over a large part of Asia, Europe and Africa. England, Russia, Holland, Portugal and Spain had also established political and trade links with India, Iran and the Osmanid kingdom. As a result the trade of Indian goods developed with Trans Oxiana by way of Peshawar, Kabul, Bukhara or Kandahar, Herat, Bukhara and Meshad. The rise in revenue of the treasury during the period of Shah Jahan from the regions of Kabul, Kandahar, Balkh and Badakshan shows that trade, agricultural and industry had further developed as the Indian, Iranian and Osmanid empires played

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a crucial role in the development of industry, trade and sciences. Skilled workers from Trans Oxiana, Iran and Khorasan went to India and Indian workers visited these countries to perform skilled jobs. Scholars and learned people went from one country to the other and traders moved delicate goods produced in the Osmanid kingdom, Iran and Trans Oxiana to India by way of Khorasan and took Indian goods, perfumes and pharmaceuticals to Khorasan, Trans Oxiana, Iran and the Osmanid kingdom. Because of this rich caravans passed through Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and Amretsar, Peshawar, Multan, Shikarpur, Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Bukhara, Khujand and Meshad which served as trading centers.

The Baburid kings in Afghanistan:

1. Babur 1504–1530.*
2. Homayun bin Babur 1530–1555.*
3. Kamran bin Babur circa 1552.*
4. Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar bin Homayun 1555–1605.*
5. Mohammad Hakim bin Homayun circa 1582.*
6. Jahangir bin Akbar 1605–1627.
7. Shah Jahan bin Jahangir 1627–1665.*
8. Aurangzeb Alamgir bin Shah Jahan 1657–1706.*
9. Mua'zam Shah bin Alamgir 1706–1712.*

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Part Six

The Roshanids

As you read in previous discussions the period of Suri dynasty of Ghor, who were Pashtuns, and maintained the Afghan glory passed with unprecedented fame and the kingdom ruled the land from the western borders of Khorasan to the banks of the Ganges river. Despite the horrific raids of Genghis which caused great destruction in the land but Afghans did not forget their past honor and once again built the Ludi, Suri and Ghalji kingdoms in India. But the constant hordes by the followers of Genghis and Timur did not allow the territory of Afghanistan and Khorasan to unite politically. Babur who was from the same lineage once again repeated the wave of destruction which his ancestors had embarked upon earlier.

During these centuries the Pashtuns were in quest of retaining their past glory and throughout these four centuries distinguished leaders rose in the mountains of Afghanistan who fought against the injustices of mighty empires in order to maintain their independence. As mentioned earlier these national leaders raised the banner of freedom through their historic struggle.

One distinguished independence seeking Pashtun personality, who wanted the Afghans to once again retain their glory, was Bayazid famous as Roshan (meaning bright) whom the colonial powers called 'the dark saint'. This anti-colonial and freedom loving fighter was the son of Qazi Abdullah and grandson of Mohammad. He was also known as Serajuddin and Meya Miskin Roshan. He was from the Ansari family and the Omarr Pashtun tribe and was born in 1525 in Jalandahar of Punjab. His mother was Biban, daughter of Mohammad Amin. The Ansari family first lived in Kandahar and later in Kanikoram of Waziristan. Mohammad Amin, father of Biban, was the brother of Abdullah's grandfather and this family was known for its erudition and virtues.

Mohammad Ansari, the starter of the Roshan family had 12 sons among whom Abdullah was a dignified personality and a judge. According to Akhund Darweza the Omarr and Ansari are tribes from Waziristan and Miya Roshan was from the Ansari tribe.

An Ansari family lived in Jalandahar who considered themselves to be the descendants of Meya Roshan. They have a book in their possession by the name of Tazkerat-al-Ansar (Memoirs of the Ansar) in which Bayazid's ancestry is traced 17 generations to Abu Ayub-al-Ansari, one of the disciples of Prophet Mohammad. They say that Bayazid was born in Jalandahar and his gathering place still exists near the shrine of Sheikh Mohammad Ghaus. Perhaps through this lineage they may have found the Ansari name through this historical attribution. An Ansari clan does not exist among in the Omarr tribe therefore it can be said that the Ansari were part and parcel of the Pashtuns living in the area where Pashtuns and were respected by the people.

In his childhood Bayazid took lessons from his father, Mullah Payenda and Mullah Suleiman Kalanjari and when he matured his father wanted to send him to Multan to become the disciple of Shaikh Babauddin Zekria. However Bayzid did not consider growth and learning to be related to inheritance so

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he devoted himself to his paternal cousin, Khwaja Ismail bin Khudadad bin Mohammad. He spent his life in austerity and piety and did not follow in his father's footsteps who was a corrupt judge.

This was a time when Bayazid resorted to devotion and meditation and in his own words he dreamed about Prophet Elias and it was after this that he reached the echelon of esteem and prevented his father and his stepbrother, Shaikh Yaqub, from engaging in corruption. Because of this he was, from an early age, at odds with his family.

From his youth he started traveling and engaged in the purification of his soul. He paid visits to Kandahar, India, Trans Oxiana and Samarkand where he met scholars and experts and learned Arabic and religious sciences. He studied literature, philosophy and mysticism and started traveling the world. During these trips he engaged in the trading of horses. On several occasions he bought well bred horses in Samarkand and sold them in India. These trips started in 1540 when he was 15 years old and continued until 1553.

His personality matured during these years and according to historians he became a learned scholar. Akhund Darweza, who was his rival, also states that he was a learned and philosophical person. The writer of Dabestan-e Mazahib (school of religions) writes that he managed to overpower most of the scholars at the court of Mirza Mohammad Hakim in Kabul. It was for this reason that Mirza treated him with respect and Mirza, Qazi Khan, the judge of Kabul, Hakim Khan and Mirza Ataleeq all started believing in him.

During his travels Bayazid discovered the oppressed state in which Pashtuns were living all over Pashtunkhwa. Bearing in mind the past grandeur of the Ludi and Suri kingdoms, he started contemplating to unite the agitated and confused Pashtuns around him and create a government which would be their own and to once again focus them toward sovereignty and independence.

This political undertaking of Bayazid was, without doubt, in contrast to the cruelty and oppression conducted by the Timurid statesmen of India who were in authority in Afghanistan since it instigated every sensitive Afghan to be on the defensive.

We have two records in our possession pertaining to this issue. First during the governorship of Biram Khan Bayazid paid a visit to Kandahar around 1553 and took merchandise there for trading. According to his own statement the caravan drivers were oppressed by the governor and during the proceedings he was also taken to court. He writes: "At that time there was a headman by the name of Biram Khan who oppressed the caravan drivers... the legatees gathered and I was also sent with them...I declared that God Almighty will ask the rulers and kings about justice and no one shall be mistreated and not a sliver of property shall be taken away. Biram Khan agreed and said he will inquire about the injustice but he did not keep his promise..."

This statement which was written by Bayazid himself shows that he was disturbed by the cruelty of alien rulers and administrators over his people and invited the oppressors to justice. This noble cause which surfaces among all zealous individuals, as a result of despotism by alien rulers, in the end became the primary reason for the Roshanid movement. It is described in Tazkerat-al-Ansar (Memoirs of Ansar) in these words: "The cruelty and injustice of the Moghul rulers over Afghans reached its climax to the

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extent that one day one of the oppressor tied an Afghan woman's hairs to the mill's grinding stone, as the stone turned the woman was also dragged along with the circular movement who cried in pain..." Bayazid was outraged by this act of cruelty and considered the fight against oppression his national duty and in a state of intense spirituality he pleaded to Prophet Mohammad and asked him for permission to defend his downtrodden people and to end such oppression. After attaining such a spiritual permission he started a brave movement in the Afghan mountains against the oppressors . A saint of Jalandar at the time, Shaikh Ghaus-al-Keram, stated: "A fire has once again started in this mountainous land, may it lead to righteousness."

Bayazid embarked on bringing justice and fairness to the land and to wipe away the ignoble vestiges of oppression from it.

This story may not be totally based on facts but we can make one conclusion from it in that the main cause of the Roshanid movement was to repulse the oppression of alien rulers over the Afghan nation who at that time were burning in the fire of cruelty of Mughal rulers of Delhi. Such injustice always results in the rise of national heroes against oppression.

From these statements we can conjecture the political philosophy and ideology of Bayazid Roshan. He was a man of composed character which is hard to find among those who seek political freedom. Beside being a warrior he was also a saint, a man of piety and an austere ascetic. These aspects of his character can be described in the following analysis:

After the gruesome plundering by Genghis and Timur (Tamerlane) a feeling of sequestration and flight from life and negativeness pervaded with the negative effect of resorting to bloodshed and historical tribulation developed among nations from Egypt to India. Since people had got fed up from the miserable state of their life they resorted to mysticism and spirituality and took refuge in convents from the battlefield and the constant plundering. These events resulted in the spread of spirituality and throughout Central Asia people turned to mysticism as a refuge from oppression. Even after 1494, from the convent of Safiuddin in Ardabeel, a magnificent kingdom arose which later ruled over Iran and parts of Afghanistan and important personalities of the court were known as Sufis. The descendants of Timur in Bukhara and Herat also came under this spiritual influence and the effects of the Naqshbandi movement in their court was so immense that even a brutal ruler such as Timur was influenced by Mawlana Jami who had sway in the Herat court and a formidable minister, Amir Ali Sher Nawayee, has written poetry in his praise and the deft minister, Mahmud Gawan, sent letters of petition to him from India.

During this time Pashtunkhwa, which was sandwiched between India, Iran and Trans Oxiana, was immensely effected by this spiritual movement to the extent that a person, famous as Pir Baba, had influence over the regions of Attock and Kabul and was the protector of the people and their property.

This incisive personality was named Sayed Ali son of Qanbar Ali son of Sayed Ahmad son of Nour son of Sayed Yusuf Nour son of Mohammad Nour. Mohammad was a descendant of Tamerlane and his relatives has access to the Timurid court. His father traveled from Termez to Kunduz and from there went to India with Hodayun bin Babur. In Manekpur Sayed Ali sought grace from Shaikh Salar Rumi and from there went to the mountainous regions of Afghanistan.

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Sayed Ali was born in 1594 and in 1654 moved from India to the area between the Attock and Khyber. Since he had blood ties with Timur's family and during that time the people of the area were under constant torment by the Timurid empire of Delhi therefor the coming of Sayed Ali to the area was not devoid of a sinister objective. Upon his arrival he married the daughter of a Malikzai chief, a clan of the Yusufzai, and together with the spreading of spirituality he was also driving forth his political motives. Through religion and spirituality he was trying to defame and fail the opponents of the Delhi court and influence the people to obey the Delhi court.

Sayed Ali managed to entice hot blooded followers and for 30 years he was a "king" in Pashtunkhwa without a crown or a throne and was receiving moral and material support from the Delhi court. His political and spiritual center was Pacha Kelay in the Bunir mountains where he died in 1583. Sayed Ali and his followers spent their entire energy to ensure that Bayazid fails in his endeavors and accused him by means of propaganda, sermons, speeches and the writing of books to be a follower of atheism and cynicism.

During the time of Bayazid's birth mysticism, spiritualism and discipleship heavily prevailed over society. Even though Bayazid was a freedom seeker and had the personality of a warrior he was forced to present his beliefs in accordance to the norms of society to be successful and counter the forces which his opponents used against him. It was for this reason that he resorted to mysticism and spiritualism to convey his political message to the people and to be able to bring back the Afghan kingdom into power. In the process he created an ideology which was a mixture of spiritualism and materialism.

Until now we talked briefly about the birth of the Roshanid movement and the mode of thinking of this great leader and his philosophy. Now we will discuss other characteristics of this noble person.

In his youth Bayazid married Shamsia Ludi in Jalandahar with whom he sired famous children. According to the author of Dabistan Bayazid's fame had spread all over the land by 1542 and he had become a powerful figure. Afghans accepted his request and came to his aid.

In the beginning Bayazid first sought to influence politicians and the court with his ideas and expressed his advice through a small pamphlet by the name of Serat-al-Tawhid (Bridge of Unity). He found devoted followers who until the very end of his life supported him. Among them are three brothers who were writers and poets of the Pashto language, Arzani (author of Pashto divan), Mullah Mohammad Omar and Mullah Ali Mohammad (author of Pashto divan). Beside Mullah Payanda, Mullah Daulat Akozai Dawlat Luwani and Mirza Ansari (both of whom are writers of a Pashto divan) were his companions.

Bayazid declared a jihad against foreign oppressors and cast fear over governors of the Delhi throne in Kabul and Peshawar. Therefore the authorities and their supporters used people such as Sayed Ali (Pir Baba) and Akhund Darweza Nangarhari (author of Tazkerat-al-Ibrar in Dari and Makhzan-e Islam in Pashto) against him. At this time his center of operation was in the residence of Mullah Daulat Mohmand in Ashnaghar, north of Peshawar. In 1562 Mohsen Khan, the constable of Kabul, with the aid of Sayed Ali and Akhund Darweza, sent a force to capture him and he was subdued by Mohsen's force, taken to Kabul and imprisoned in a dungeon. These events continued to take place until 1572.

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Bayazid remained a prisoner in Kabul for a short time since the rulers of Kabul were influenced by his endowment and his powerful argumentation and reasoning to the extent they released him with dignity. Upon his release from prison he went to Nangarhar where he once again started his freedom campaign with the aid of his friends. He established his political center in the mountains of Terah and from there raised the banner of the 'Afghan government.'

Around 1582 the brave Afridi, Aurakzai and Utman Khel tribes joined him but since a large number of the people of the area had supported the enemy Roshan did not accept their allegiance and told them: "since you are inclined toward the Mughals therefore you cannot be in the midst of Afghans" but the people surrendered to him. Bayazid killed the main perpetrators and drove away another 1300 people from Terah and in this way cleared the area from the influence of foreigners. However enemy soldiers attacked Chowri of Terah. The followers of Bayazid did not have weapons and defended themselves with sharp pointed reeds which grew in the mountains of the area and managed to drive away the enemy. This battle ended in favor of the followers of Bayazid.

Darweza states: Bayazid managed to totally rout out the followers of foreigners from Terah and prosecuted 220 persons while others fled to Nangarhar in fear of persecution. After this Bayazid started consolidating his national forces and reminded the mountainous people of the past might of the Afghans.

Thousands of brave warriors of the mountainous regions joined him and declared a jihad against the rulers of Delhi. Under the leadership of Bayazid they left Terah for Nangarhar and went to Buro. Mohsen, the governor of Kabul, who was monitoring this movement, awaited their arrival in Jalalabad with a large force and the opposing sides faced each other in Toragha of Shinwar. A fierce battle took place in which the brave fighters of the mountains, who were fighting with batons and reeds, were facing an enemy which was armed with modern weapons of steel and gun powder. Bayazid was also fighting side by side with his compatriots, was killed in the ensuing battle and as a result the battle of Toragha ended with the victory of the aggressors. His death took place in 1580 when he was 56 years old and his grave is at an unknown location, possibly situated in Waziristan.

During his lifetime Bayazid laid the foundation of the freedom movement against foreigners and instilled the people with the idea of setting up their own Afghan government. Beside his political and military writings he also engaged in writing literature. He was able to read and write in four languages: Pashto, Arabic, Persian and Hindi. He is considered to be founder of the school of rhythmical Pashto prose. He wrote his book, *Khair-al-Bayan*, in this style which is semi-poetic and it also contains portions in Persian, Arabic and Hindi. Other books written by him are: *Serat-al-Tawhid* (1570), in which he provides a biography of his life and his quest for becoming a full-fledged spiritual leader and his advice, *Ketab-e Halnama*, which is about his life. The author of *Dabistan* mentions this book, *Maqsood-al-Momeneen* written in Arabic, is a treatise on morality and spiritualism. Beside these four books he also introduced Pashto calligraphy which includes letters peculiar to the language.

Bayazid died in failure but the disposition he left behind in Pashtunkhwa instigated many others and liberation movements such as those by Mirwais in Kandahar, Khushal Khan and Aimal's impetus in Khyber and Khatak and the establishment of the Ahmad Shah monarchy. Darweza, a staunch opponent

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of Pir Roshan, describes his ideals and those of his descendants as: “they said they will form a large army and will retake India, they made a public call to gather the Pashtuns around them and said that the riches of Akbar’s court will belong to them.”

Bayazid left behind two vestiges. His literary work which was followed by a number of Pashtun writers such as Darweza, Babojan, Hussain, Qasem and others who followed his semi-poetical style of writing prose. The second is his military and political vestige as his descendants continued the struggle for independence for a century in the mountains of Pashtunkhwa.

Bayazid was a believer of the Hanifi faith of Islam and a follower of Sufism and had an inclination toward intuition in Sufism but in a state of intoxication he would turn to existentialism. He had established eight stages in mysticism for his disciples: Sharia, rule of life, reality, cognition, grace, alliance, unity and occupancy. Each stage has its own tradition and convention.

His political program was based on several foundations. First the freedom of Afghans under the following plan:

First: Creating the sense of hatred toward the cruelty of foreigners, non-cooperation with the agents of the government, militarism and sacrifice in the path of independence.

Second: Establishment of an Afghan government with administrative, financial and war branches.

Third: Reclamation of the Afghan kingdom and reestablishing the glory of the Ghorid, Khalji, Ludi and Suri empires in India.

This was the nature of the establisher of the Roshanid movement. Now we will see what followed after his death and which direction his national movement took?

The torch of freedom and independence which Bayazid started in the mountains of Pashtunkhwa did not die with his death. His 14 year old son, Jalaluddin, followed in his spiritual and political footsteps. Historians of the Delhi court such as Abu-al-Fazl, Khafi Khan and Badwani have written his name as Jalala and state that king Akbar referred to him by this name. The writer of Dabistan notes that Jalaluddin ruled with independence and was a just and firm person.

In 1581 when Akbar went from Kabul to India Jalaluddin had been recognized as the leader of the Pashtun tribes. Akbar invited him to pay a visit to the court but Jalaluddin, being aware of the deception of the court, went and took refuge in the mountains of Terah. Since Pashtun tribes were fed up with the atrocity of Sayed Hamid Bukhari, the commissioner of Peshawar, they gathered around Jalaluddin and killed the cruel administrator. At this time the national Afghan force under Jalaluddin numbered 20,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. Jalaluddin Akbar, who was one of the greatest emperor of India, took immediate steps to eliminate Jalaluddin and in 1586 he sent a large force under Kunurman Singh and Khwaja Shamsuddin Khafi to kill him. Since the Mohmand, Ghoryakhel and Yusufzai tribes, living around Peshawar, joined him fearsome battles took place in the mountains of Khyber and Akbar’s forces failed to gain an upper hand against Jalaluddin. As a result Akbar sent additional forces with Zain Khan Koka and the uproar heated up further.

The campaign continued until the next year but since Akbar’s forces were unable to gain any prominence Akbar admonished them and in 1587 sent fresh troops so they may attack Jalaluddin’s men

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by way of Bangash. Kunman Singh was directed to attack from Bagram. However Jalaluddin attacked them with a force of 1000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry. In the ensuing battle 1500 of his men were killed and Akbar forces also suffered heavy losses.

After this battle Jalaluddin managed to extend his sphere of influence from Terah to Ashnagar, north of Peshawar and the brave Yusufzai also joined him. With the help of these tribes he spread his independence movement to Swat and Bajawar in 1588, engaged with Akbar's forces, and then returned back to Terah.

Akbar's court was tired of fighting with such a formidable adversary and sent Sadeq Khan, with a large force to Terah, to attack Jalaluddin's forces at its center. Sadeq was successful in defeating the Afridi and Urukzai tribes and captured Mullah Ibrahim, a leader of Jalaluddin's force, but Jalaluddin retreated by way of Kani Kuram (Waziristan) and the Akbar forces remained engaged with the Yusufzai.

Jalaluddin stayed away from the battlefield for four years and it is said he paid a visit to Turan. But in 1591 he once again gathered the Afghan forces. Akbar's court assigned experienced commanders such as Jafar Beg, Asif Khan and Qasem Khan Kabuli to subdue him and after a series of intense battles some family members of Jalaluddin, including his brother, Wahdat Ali, were arrested by Asif Khan.

Unable to defeat Jalaluddin in the battlefield the Delhi court resorted to deceit and bribing, started discontent among the Pashtuns and some of the tribal leaders were instigated to oppose Jalaluddin. Among them was Malik Hamza Akozai in Sarkawi who fought against him but Jalaluddin managed to defeat him and drove him back to the environs of Mini. Akbar's forces supported Hamza with a large contingent who collectively attacked Jalaluddin. In this battle the people of Delazak killed Jalaluddin's brothers, Shaikh Omar and Khairuddin, in Tora Bela and the Mohmand killed his other brother, Nouruddin. Jalaluddin who suffered grave casualties returned to the mountains of Terah.

As a commander of the mountainous regions, Jalaluddin, embarked upon equipping his forces and managed to gather a large number of tribes around him by 1592. Emperor Akbar sent his most experienced commanders such as Zain Khan Koka and Shaikh Faizi. After this Raja Beril and Sayed Khan came with a force of 10,000 cavalry. Jalaluddin put up a fierce fight and according to historians of the Delhi court 40 to 50 thousand soldiers of the court were killed in the ensuing battles and the most decisive pillar of Akbar's empire, Raja Beril, was also killed in the fighting and Zain Khan Koka together with other commanders fled toward Attock.

When the news of this disaster reached Akbar, Raja Todarmal, was sent to aid Qasem Khan Kabuli to clear the road but only with great difficulty they managed to take Zain Khan to Kabul.

For a number of years the Delhi forces managed to protect the Kabul to Peshawar road with the aid of Qasem Khan Kabuli. In 1595 Jalaluddin once again attacked Akbar's army who sent Qalech Khan to counter the attack. After several battles this person retreated to Kabul and Jalaluddin was victorious in spreading his influence over all of the mountainous regions of Pashtunkhwa from Khyber to Terah and the southern regions of Kabul as far as Ghazni. He managed to take charge of Ghazni in 1598 from the alien forces and governed the place for two years. In 1600 Akbar's men fought against Jalaluddin in Ghazni for seven days employing a number of native people against him. Jalaluddin was injured in the

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battlefield by a person by the name of Shadam. After this he went to the Rabat mountain and Sharif Khan Atka, the governor of the Delhi court, sent Murad Beg to pursue Jalaluddin. This brave injured national leader, who fought against foreign forces for the freedom of his people, was killed and his head was sent to Delhi. Earlier his other brother, Kamaluddin, had also died in Akbar's prison.

Contrary to the expectations of Akbar's court the struggle for freedom did not die with the demise of Jalaluddin. His nephew, Ahdad bin Omar Shaikh bin Bayazid, who was Jalaluddin's son-in-law, raised the banner of freedom and continued the struggle of freedom like his ancestors. According to the author of Dabistan Ahdad was a just and firm person. The Afghan tribes gathered around him and in 1611 they managed to defeat Ma'zul Malik Bakshi, the governor appointed by Jahangir, and they attacked the city of Kabul. In this battle a companion of Ahdad, by the name of Baraki, was killed. The Delhi forces, with the aid of Nad Ali Maidani and Qalech Khan fought against the Afghan forces and Ahdad was forced to retreat.

Four years later Ahdad gathered a fresh force in Charkh, south of Kabul, and in 1615 Jahangir sent a large contingent to counter him. Jahangir himself writes about these events as follows: "Ahdad Afghan, who for a long time has been engaged in rebellious activity in the mountains of Kabul has united a large number of Afghans around him. From the time of my distinguished father (Akbar), who from his 10th year of his ascension was responsible for organizing the army suffered defeats and distress..." (Tazk-e Jahangir). The Charkh battlefield was stained with the blood of the opposing armies and a fierce battle took place resulting in the success of Jahangir's forces. About 3000 companions of Ahdad were killed in the fighting but Ahdad himself went to Kandahar and his forces fell into the hands of the enemy.

In 1619 Ahdad once again prepared his forces for a battle against Jahangir's army and Amanullah son of Mahabat Khan, who was an important courtier of the Delhi court, fought against him. Ahdad's forces suffered massive losses and he took refuge in his mountainous homeland.

Ahdad's last battle against the Delhi army took place in 1625 in Terah. Zafar Khan, son of Khwaja Abu-al-Hasan, Jahangir's governor in Kabul, stormed Nawaghar (Awaghar), the national center of Ahdad's administration, with a large force and Ahdad was besieged there. When the oppressors attacked Ahdad's fortification at night Ahdad fought bravely and sacrificed himself for the national cause. He was beheaded by the Delhi forces and his skull was sent to Jahangir by Iftikhar Khan, son of Ahmad Beg, as a token of pride. Jahangir prostrated and prayed to God and made the announcement for a celebration.

In the Roshan family Ahdad was a brave and esteemed personality after Jalaluddin. Samsam-al-Dawla writes: "his bravery is akin to that of Rustam and Afrasiyab and he fought fierce battles against the forces of the empire during the reign of Jahangir..." (Ma'sir-al-Amra).

In describing his personality, the writer of Dabistan states: "Ahdad was just and firm person... and fought for the rights of the people and kept the booty of jihad in the treasury and would give it to the freedom fighters..."

After Ahdad, his son Abdul Qader, who was born to Alayee, Jalaluddin's daughter, took over the seat of his father and governed in Terah for two years. In 1627 Shah Jahan sent Zafar Khan, governor of Kabul, to combat Abdul Qadir. However Abdul Qader was victorious over Zafar Khan and captured a

large number of his followers and killed them. Only Zafar Khan's wife, Ayela, survived the battle which took place in the Khermana valley of Terah.

Following this Abdul Qader, together with Karimdad and Mohammad Zaman, his cousins, led the national forces of Terah and in 1629 they participated in the movement of Kamaluddin Afghan, who was fighting the Delhi forces in Yulam Guzar, seven miles from Peshawar. In 1634 Sayed Khan, the superintendent of Kabul captured Abdul Qader and sent him to India. Similarly Allah Dad, son of Jalaluddin, who was accompanying Jalaluddin and was leading the Afghan forces was sent to Delhi and Karimdad, Jalaluddin's other son was killed on the orders of Shah Jahan in 1637.

In this way the independence movement, conducted by the family of Bayazid Roshan, came to an end after one century of struggle but the eternal memory of this family, which sought freedom, sovereignty and fought against cruelty and oppression, will remain alive in the national history of the country.

Celebrated Roshanid personalities:

1. Bayazid Pir Roshan son of Abdullah Aurmar (Ansari) circa 1542–1580.
2. Jalaluddin son of Bayazid Roshan 1580–1600.
3. Ahdad bin Omar Sheikh bin Bayazid 1600–1625.
4. Abdul Qader son of Ahdad 1625–1634.

References: Tazkerat-al-Abrar wa al-Ashrar of Akhund Darweza, Handwritten Diwan of Daulat, Pashto poet, Muntakhab-al-Tawarekh of Badayuni, Makhzan-e Islam of Akhund Darweza, Maasir-al-Amra, Muntakhab-al-Lubab, Padshah Nama, Tazk-e Jahangiri, Amal-e Saleh, Iqbal Nama, Dabestan-e Mazhib, Akbar Nama, Tabaqat-e Akbari, Tarekh-e Hind of Dolafoz, India's Language Survey Vol. 1, Fereshta, Hayat-e Afghani, Mujala-e Ma'rif Vol. 19, Serat-al-Tawhid, Tarekh-e Murasa', Indian Antiquity, Tarekh-e Adabiyat-e Pashto Vol. 2, Afghanistan dar asr Temurian-e Hind, Khair-ul-Bayan handwritten manuscript.

The Tukhi (1553–1785)

Tukhi is a Pashtun tribe who live in Zabul, the delta of the Tarnak river, Arghandab and the mountains of Kalat as far as Moqur. During the time of the Timurid empire of Delhi and the Safavids a Tukhi family maintained their power along with the two empires. In 1554 Shah Mohammad Kalati, who was from this group of people, ruled in Kandahar and Hodayun had left the administration of the province to him. After Mohammad, a person by the name of Malakhi, who was from the same family, was the ruler of Kalat during the time of Aurangzeb. He was given the title of Sultan Malakhi by Aurangzeb's court and in the decree which was issued on 15 May 1682 in his name by the court he was recognized as the chief of all the Ghalji tribes. His sphere of influence thus reached the borders of the Safavid kingdom and the frontiers of the Alamgir kingdom of India. Ruins of his old fortress exist until this time between Shah Joy and Kalat.

During this time fierce battles took place between the Safavids and the Ghalji tribes resulting in the death of Jabar Khan Suleimankhel (buried in Khak-e Jabar between Kabul and Jalalabad). In one of

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these battles, Malakhi made a pact with the head of the Abdali tribes, Khudadad Sultan, and declared the Garmab valley and the Jaldak area of Kandahar as the border of his sphere of influence. He was killed in the battle of Darwazagi, which took place between Andzurgai and Surkh Sang around 1688. His son, Haji Adel, replaced him. He and his son, Bayi Khan, ruled over Kalat and its territories and the fortress of Kalat and Jakhtaran, along the bank of the Tarnak river, was their center until Bayi Khan was killed and Shah Alam, son of Ali Khan, Malakhi's nephew and his son, Khushal Khan, also ruled for a while. The last local rulers of this family, Ashraf Khan and Alahyar Khan, are the sons of Khushal Khan. During the time of His Majesty Ahmad Shah Abdali, Ashraf Khan was the governor of Kalat as far as Ghazni. He accompanied the king during his first march on India. At the time of the reign of Timur Shah Abdali, Amu Khan son of Ashraf Khan, managed to become the chief of the Ghalji people and the descendants of this family were in power until the time of Amir Abdul Rahman. Famous Tukhi leaders were:

1. Shah Mohammad Kalati circa 1553.
2. Sultan Malakhi circa 1679.
3. Haji Adel son of Malakhi circa 1689.
4. Bayi Jan son of Adel circa 1703.
5. Shah Alam son of Ali Khan circa 1737.
6. Ashraf and Allayar sons of Shah Alam circa 1747.
7. Amu Khan son of Ashraf Khan circa 1786.

References: Pata Khazana, Sulat-e Afghani, Hayat-e Afghani, Khurshaid Jahan, Aryana Vol. 2, Tarekh-e Sultani, personal communications with Tukhis.

The Abdali (1049–1732)

The Abdali is a famous family in the history of Afghanistan and India and their name is related to Aptal or the Hepthalites, a Caucasian Aryan tribe, dating to the year 400. This tribe managed to form a strong government in Bactria and Takharistan. According to Encyclopedia Britannica historians have written the name of this family as Abdalwi also and the different forms of the name, Haptal (Awdal), Abdal, Heytal and Yaftal, have been recorded in the annals of history.

These Aryan Hepthalites have been called White Huns by Europeans. The root of the word Hun=Han remains among Afghans as Khan. The conversion of the letter (ha) to (khe) was permissible in philology such as the conversion of Huwarazam to Khwarazam. These people ruled in the heart of Asia before Islam. They got in conflict with the Sassanids of Persia and Arab historians have written their name as Hayatala. Their descendants ruled in Zabulistan until the advent of Islam and their inscriptions are present in Uruzgan, north of Kandahar. The names of some of the kings are in Pashto such as Mir Kola (mir=Imar=sun) and kola (kahol=family). Their stature and high browed noses, as depicted in coins, resemble the Pashtuns and it possible that after these white Aryan tribes came to Afghanistan who amalgamated with the old Pakhats (Pashtuns) of this land.

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The first famous personality, during the time of the Islamic period, is Abdal=Awdal, son of Tarin son of Sharkhabun son of Saraban, the grandfather of Afghan tribes who lived near the Suleiman mountain with his family. In Pashto literature his name has been recorded in old manuscripts as Awdal=Adbal who in 1048 united the Pashtun tribes around him. From his blood line, Malik Suleiman, famous as Zerak son of Essa, moved the Pashun tribes from Suleiman mountain to Kandahar and toward the end of his life he appointed Malik Barak, his son, as his successor in a large meeting and after Barak, Malik Popal son of Zerak, spread his influence as far as Shal and Zhobe (present day Baluchistan). He died at the age of 89 after ruling for 65 years. After this his son, Malik Habib, and later Malik Bami, son of Habib, were the leaders of the tribes of Kandahar and they maintained friendly ties with Sultan Sekandar Ludi (1451–1494). The Sultan also recognized the leadership of Malik Habib.

After him Bahlol, son of Kani son of Bami and Malik Saleh, son of Ma'ruf son of Bahlol, were capable administrators and Saleh had a good relationship with the court of Sher Shah Suri (1540–1553) and sent his emissaries to India. After him Malik Sado, brother of Saleh, who is the forefather of the Sadozai family, was declared the leader of Kandahar by a large tribal jirgah (council). He was born on 29 September 1558 and chose Arghasan of Kandahar as his center of administration. He managed to vanquish his rival, Haji Zelah Khan. Mohammad, the chief of the Barakzai (the first forefather of the Mohammadzai) was his contemporary. According to Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani and other historians he had been officially recognized as chief by the court of Shah Abas Safavi (around 1621). When Sado reached the age of 75 he appointed his son, Khwaja Khezr Khan, in a large national gathering as his successor among his five sons. The others being Mowdud (Maghdud) Khan, Za'faran Khan, Kamran Khan and Bahadur Khan. His four brothers were contemporaries of Shah Jahan who with the help of the four brothers managed to take control of Kandahar and they were recognized as the chiefs of Kandahar by the Delhi court. They had a friendly relationship with the Delhi court and in 1640 Malik Maghdud Khan and Kamran Khan paid a visit to Delhi and were greeted by Shah Jahan with respect. In 1643 Malik Maghdud challenged Yahya, the governor of Kabul, and was killed. Kamran was a learned person and wrote *Keleed-e Kamrani* in Pashto in 1628. According to Griffin, Khezr Khan died in 1626 and after him his sons, Khudadad Sultan (famous as Khudaki) and Sher Khan, served as governors of Kandahar.

Khudadad maintained a cordial relationship with his neighboring tribes and came to an understanding with Sultan Malakhi during the national gatherings. He signed a pact of friendship with him and declared Pul-e Sangi and Garmab, 50 miles east of Kandahar, as the border between the two sides. As a result Zhob and Bori, as far as the foothills of the Suleiman mountain, came under his control. In 1693 his brother, Sher Khan, engaged in war with the Safavid governor of Kandahar and annihilated the Safi forces in Band-e Kozhak. He also prevailed over Shah Hussain son of Maghdud Khan and exiled him to Multan who was provided an estate by Alamgir in Sialkot and Rangpur. According to Griffin he accompanied Alamgir in the battle of Dakan as commander of a force of 7000 men. His brother, Allahdad was commander of a cavalry force. Hussain Khan died in Rangpur in 1655. Shuja Khan, during the time of King Ahmad Shah, Sharif Khan during the time of Timur Shah and Muzafar Khan, who were serving as the governors of Multan, are descendants of Hussain Khan.

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The center of the Sadazoi brothers was Shahr-e Safa, located 30 miles east of Kandahar, and they had been recognized by the Safavid court with the title of Mirza. The Delhi court had bestowed the title of Shahzada (prince) to Sher Khan. The elders of the Abdali tribe from Kandahar to Farah, such as Badal Khan Bamizai and Mir Alekozai, obeyed him. After Sher Khan, his son, Sarmast Khan and grandson Daulat Khan son of Sarmast, succeeded him and served as governors of Kandahar. Hayat Sultan, son of Sultan Khudad, surrendered the governorship of Kandahar to Daulat Khan and left for Multan with his brother, Lashkar Khan, and 6000 Abdali families. Daulat Khan fought fierce battles with Zaman Khan, the Safavid governor of Kandahar, and spread the influence of his independence as far as Ghazni and the Suleiman mountain. During this time the Safavid and Timurids of Delhi were at odds over the dominance of the city of Kandahar and as mentioned earlier, Shah Jahan and Alamgir, sent large forces to Kandahar.

Daulat Khan, who was the powerbroker during this time, was expanding his influence and both sides needed his help and a letter sent by Shah Abas II, the Safavid king, in the early part of 1649, considers him the constable of the Kandahar fort. According to Abas Nama the king promised him a large track of land which was an unprecedented undertaking in both Iran and India at the time.

As Kamran's sphere of influence spread he managed to rule for 50 years with success and had restricted the authority of the Safavid *beglarbegi* (governor) just to the city of Kandahar. As a result, in 1694, Shah Hussain Safavi recalled Zaman Khan and appointed Gargin Khan Garji, a Christian, to Kandahar as the *beglarbegi* with the title of Shah Nawaz Khan. This cruel administrator, whose actions brought down the Safavid government, attacked Daulat Khan's residence in the middle of the night in Shahr-e Safa and killed him and his son Nazar Mohammad (circa 1703). The Abdali tribes were agitated about the death of their leader and appointed his son, Rustam Khan, as their leader. Rustam was a wise man and conducted the affairs of chief with the help of Sarwar Khan Bamazai and Kata Khan Akozai. His younger brother, Zaman Khan, was kept hostage in Kerman by the Safavid government. As a result Rustam Khan could not directly oppose the Safavids but with the help of the Baluchi people he vanquished the Safavid force south of Kandahar. Rustam died four years later and the Abdali tribes were left without leadership and dispersed. The leadership of the tribes fell upon Haji Mirwais Khan, the founder of the Hotak family. The Abdali elders left for Herat and continued their leadership around 1707. As mentioned earlier, Hayat Sultan Abdali was in Multan during the time of Daulat Khan. In 1711 when Kaikhusrao Khan and his Safavid army of 25,000 men was defeated by Mirwais Khan in Kandahar, Abdullah Khan, son of Hayat Sultan together with his son, Asadullah Khan, left Multan and attacked Abas Quli Khan Shamlo, the Safavid *beglarbegi* of Herat. The Abdali tribesmen and the people of Herat surrounded the Safavid force at Koh-e Doshakh of Ghorian, west of Herat. They took Asfazar prisoner and killed, Jafar Khan, the new Safavid governor of Herat. This Afghan force captured Herat on 2 September 1717 and annexed Ghorian, Kosan, Bala Murghab, Badghis and all of Herat as part of their territory. When Fateh Ali Khan Turkman came with a large army from Isfahan to face the Afghan forces they faced a total defeat in Kosa and a national government was announced in Herat. Asadullah was killed in 1719 in Delaram in a battle against the forces of Shah Mahmud Hotak. Since Abdullah Khan was

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disturbed by the death of his son, on the advice of Abdul Ghani Khan, the chief of the Alekozai tribe, he relegated the position of leadership of the people of Herat to Zaman Khan, son of Daulat Khan, who was an active and wise leader. He united the Abdalis with the national forces of Herat and killed the Safavid administrators together with Jafar Khan, the *beglarbegi* of Herat. The Safavid court sent Safi Quli Khan Turkman together with a large force from Meshad to Herat but the people of Herat, under the leadership of Zaman Khan, managed to annihilate the Safavid force at Kafir Qala and for the next two and half years Zaman Khan governed with success and died in 1722.

After the death of Zaman Khan, Mohammad Khan son of Abdullah Khan, came from Shorawak of Kandahar and took over the governorship of Herat. He went as far as Meshad and laid siege on that city for a period of four months (circa 1723) spreading his influence in Khorasan and captured the Sangan fort, situated west of Ghorian. However the Abdalis abdicated him and instead invited the elder son of Zaman Khan to Shorawak of Kandahar and proclaimed him their leader in 1724. In order to ease the tension they called a national jirga (council) which gave the governorship of Bakherz and Badghis to Zulfiqar and appointed Rahman Khan, son of Abdullah Khan, as governor of Farah and in 1725 the people of Herat called on Allahyar Khan, son of Abdullah Khan, in Multan to take charge of Herat.

Allahyar Khan and Zulfiqar Khan were brave men and fought fierce battles against the forces of Nader Shah Afshar. In 1727 Nader Shah took over Meshad and sent a force of 8000 men to the Sangan fort. The leaders of Herat gathered their forces to face Nader Shah and in 1728 Allahyar Khan faced off the Nader's army in Turbat-e Jam. Nader sent a letter seeking peace with Allahyar which was rejected and the fighting ensued in Kafir Qala resulting in an injury to Nader's leg. The Herati forces retreated and went to Herat. Allahyar once again went out to face Nader's army in Rubat-e Paryan, two parasangs from Herat, and was backed by Zulfiqar. Nader Shah was forced to make peace with them and recognized their leadership in Herat and returned to Meshed on 31 May 1729 after two months of continuous fighting.

A year later the people of Herat, under the leadership of Abdul Ghani Alekozai, sent Allahyar to Marwachaq and returned the governorship of Herat to Zulfiqar (20 April 1730). Zulfiqar started building an army and laid siege on the city of Meshed with 8000 men. He continued fighting until 28 July 1730 and after that returned to Herat. Nader Shah once again made preparations to take over Herat and besieged the city in March 1731. Since Shah Husain Hotak sent reinforcements to help the beleaguered people of Herat Zulfiqar fought bravely and did not allow the enemy to take over the city until Allahyar once again came from Marwachaq and entered Herat on 21 August 1731. Zulfiqar let him take charge of the military affairs and himself left with his younger brother, Ahmad Khan (Ahmad Shah Abdali), for Kandahar. It was this division which led to the weakening of the Afghan national forces. Allahyar continued to fight Nader Shah defended Herat for another year but eventually left the city and went to Multan and Nader managed to capture Herat thus ending the era of the Abdalis in Herat (February 26 1732). After these events Ahmad Shah Abdali established the Afghan kingdom in Kandahar in 1747 and Herat remained a part of the Afghan nation.

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Areas of governorship of the Abdalis of Herat: The city of Herat and its surroundings, Obeh, Shahfalan, Kosoya, Ghorian, Purian, Jam, Langar, Khwaf, Bakhezr, Zuzan until the environs of Meshad, the banks of the Helmand river to the south as far as Maiwand, Farah, Seistan, Badghis and the Murghab river to the north.

The Abdalids of Kandahar.

1. Malik Awdal=Abdal son of Tirin circa 1049.
2. Malik Suleiman Zerk son of Essa circa 1349.
3. Malik Barak son of Zerk circa 1359.
4. Malik Popal son of Zerk circa 1381.
5. Malik Habib son of Popal circa 1398.
6. Malik Bami son of Habib circa 1446.
7. Malik Bahlol son of Kani son of Bami circa 1485.
8. Malik Saleh son of Maruf son of Bahlol circa 1543.
9. Malik Sado bin Maruf bin Bahlol, born in 1587 and died in 1622.
10. Khezr Khan son of Sado, died 1627.
11. Malik Maghdud bin Sado and Kamran bin Sado circa 1640.
12. Khudadad Sultan and Sher Khan sons of Khezr Khan circa 1660.
13. Sarmast Khan son of Sher Khan circa 1699.
14. Daulat Khan son of Sarmast Khan circa 1703.
15. Rustam Khan son of Daulat Khan circa 1707.

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16. Hayat Sultan son of Khudadad Sultan circa 1711.
17. Abdullah Khan son of Hayat Sultan circa 1718.
18. Zaman Khan son of Daulat Khan 1720–1723.
19. Mohammad Khan son of Abdullah Khan circa 1724.
20. Zulfiqar Khan son of Zaman Khan 1724–1732.
21. Allahyar Khan son of Abdullah Khan 1726–1732.
22. Rahman Khan son of Abdullah Khan 1726–1732.

References: Encyclopedia Britannica, Ariana Journal Vol. 3, Pata Khazana, Makhzan-e Afghani (handwritten), Tarekh-e Sultani by Sultan Mohammad Khales Kandahari, Bombay 1298, Tazkerat-al-Muluk as referenced by Raverty, Loy Ahmad Shah Baba, Ayeen-e Akbari, Tarekh-e Ahmadi (handwritten), Khurshaid-e Jahan, Tutmat-al-Bayan, Tarekh-e Nader Shah, Rowzat-al-Safay-e Naseri Vol. 5, Jahan Kusha-e Naderi, Amal-e Saleh Vol. 2, Taj-al-Tawarekhe Vol. 2, Tarekh-e Iran Inquiry by Sykes, Khulasat-al-Insab (handwritten), Mujala-e Kabul Vol. 2, Nader Nama (handwritten), Pashtana Shua'ra Vol. 1, Salnama-e Kabul 1945, Sulat-e Afghani, Majma'-al-Tawarekhe, Mashaher-e Abdalian, Abas Nama, Tarekh-e Ruasa-e Punjab, Showkat-e Afghani, Ahmad Shah Baba by Mir Ghulam Mohammad Ghubar.

The Hotaks (1708–1737)

In the discussion of the Pashtun families it was mentioned that among the three Pashtun brothers one was Bitnai or Bit Neka whose daughter, Mato, gave birth to a son by the name of Ghalji = Ghalzai who was the great grandfather of the Ghalji tribes of Afghanistan.

This name, without doubt, is Gharzai meaning a person from the mountains as most of the names of places and people in Afghanistan take root from the Pashto word *ghar* meaning a mountain. The words Ghor, Gharcha, Gharj, Ghalj and Khalj all take root from the same source which is a common practice in the name of places in Central Asia.

Thomas Cheke writes that the word (*gar*) meaning a mountain takes root from the old Bactrian Dari language and Gharcha was the name of an Aryan habitation of the mountainous province of the great Amuya and therefore Gharcha, Khalj, Ghalj, Ghalji and Gharch mean born in the mountains.

The word *ghar*, meaning a mountain, used in present day Pashto, has been written as *giri* in Avesta and it is also present in Khorda Avesta. In Sanskrit *gir* and *giri* mean a mountain and even the Arabs have transformed the old title of *garshah* (chief of the mountains) and written it as the Arabized *jarshah* (Tarekh-e Tabristan, p. 56–183).

In Pashto *gharcha* and *ghacheny* mean a person from the mountains and the names Gharcha and Ghalcha=Ghalji take source from this word and the Ghalchian live in the valleys of Rud-e Zarafshan and Pamirs.

Arab geographers have also mentioned this issue in that *ghar* was used in the historical names of Gharshastan and Gharjistan. Yaqut, quoting Al-Bashari, writes that *ghar* means a mountain and Khorasani historians who heard this name from the natives have written Gharjistan in its original form as Gharistan. *Ghar* means a mountain and *stan* (place). Menhaj Seraj, who was a native of this land, has written the word as Gharistan instead of Gharjistan (its Arabic form) and Gharshistan. In the handwritten text of Tabakat-e Naseri the word has been repeatedly written as Gharistan.

At any rate Ghalzi = Ghalji is an old name meaning a mountain dweller is the forefather of the Afghan Ghalji tribes. He had three sons and their names also resemble ancient Aryan names:

Turan-Tular-Bular: We know that Tor is an old Aryan name which has been mentioned in Avesta also and this name still exists among the Pashtuns as Tur, Turani, Turak and Turi. The name Bolar or Belour is also an ancient name and has been applied to the people of Nuristan as far as Gilgit. According to Bartold some of the black garmented tribes of the area still call themselves as Belour. This word has been mentioned in Chinese texts until the 18th century. Mohammad Haider Doghalt, who was alive around 1525, and governed over these lands, named the area extending from the Kashmir to Kabul valleys and northward as far as Yarkand and Kashghar Belour and Belouristan. Before him historians of the Ghorid period, Menhaj Seraj and Mohammad Afi, consider Belour to be a part of the Sheghnan, Takharistan and Darwaz mountains. Bellew states that Bolar or Belour are the natural distortions of the word Bakhtar (Bactria). At any rate the words and names Ghalji-Turan-Tular and Bolar all have ancient Aryan roots and shows that the Ghaljis have strong ties to the Aryan race.

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Hotak was the forefather of the Hotak tribe (a Ghalji tribe that live in Kalat near Kandahar) whose Pashto poem has been included in Pata Khazana. According to genealogists he was the son of Baro and grandson of Tular. Malikyar, Yusuf, Daulat and Arab were his four sons. Shalem Khan, father of the founder of the Hotak kingdom, Mirwais Khan, can be traced back eight generations to the forefather of the Hotak tribe as such: Shalem son of Karam, son of Mand, son of Omar, son of Jalaluddin, son of Qutb, son of Ishaq, son of Hussain son of Malikyar son of Hotak.

The Hotak family were local rulers in the region along the banks of the Tarnak and Arghandab rivers and fought battles with the armies of Genghis Khan but we do not have a complete history of their lineage. Before Mirwais Khan the Ghalji tribes, from Jaldak to Kandahar and Ghazni, were led by Sultan Malukhi Tukhi, who was mentioned earlier.

Shalem Khan, father of Mirwais Khan, who was a nobleman of the time married Nazo, daughter of Sultan Malukhi who gave birth to four son: Haji Mir Khan, Abdul Aziz, Abdul Qader and Yahya Khan.

Mirwais Khan spread his influence from Ghazni to Kandahar among the Tukhi and Abdali tribes who ruled over this area which was under the influence of the rival kingdoms of Delhi and Asfahan. Amidst this tension he created an independent sultanate in Kandahar. According to Sayed Jamaluddin and Sultan Mohammad Khalis he had a dignified temperament and was a pious individual. His mother was from the Tukhi tribe and since he married the daughter of Jafar Khan, the grandson of Kamran Khan Abdali, therefore both the Tukhi and Abdali tribes cooperated with him and his own family had influence among the Hotak tribesmen for centuries.

Because of his virtue he was given the title of Baba (grandfather) by the Abdali and Ghalji tribes and when Gurgin Khan, the Christian Safavid governor, came to Kandahar and conducted cruel acts against its people Mirwais visited Asfahan four times and pleaded his case to Shah Hussain Safavi and studied the affairs of the Safavid court personally. Redie Khan, a contemporary of Mirwais in Mahmud Nama, his book of verse, which was written for Mirwais Khan's son, writes that the Safavid king told Mirwais that he himself is fearful of Gurgin and his orders are disregarded.

When Mirwais became disappointed from the Safavid court he went on pilgrimage to the house of God (Mecca) and received the judgement to kill Gurgin and conduct war against him. He also managed to influence the Safavid court against Gurgin. Haji Mirwais then returned to Kandahar, gathered a large national jirga in Kokran, six miles west of Kandahar, along the banks of the Arghandab river and informed them about his dealings with the Safavid court, the decree of the Hijaz scholars and sought a commitment from them.

The second jirga which took place 20 miles east of Kandahar in Manja included leaders from Kandahar such as Saidal Khan Nasir, Babo Jan Babei, Bahadur Khan, Pir Mohammad Miyaji Hotak, Yusuf Khan Hotak, Aziz Khan Nourzai, Gul Khan Babar, Nour Khan Baretch, Nasro Khan Alekozai, Yahya Khan, Mirwais's brother, Mohammad Khan, his nephew, and Yunus Khan Kakar. At this meeting the commitment to declare independence was signed and the participants pledged their support by swearing on the Holy Koran.

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With the help of all the tribes from Kandahar Mirwais Khan managed to kill Gurgin Khan and all his soldiers thus gaining control of Kandahar city. Alexander Mirza, Gurgin's nephew, together with the corpse of the cruel governor and the women and children of the family fled to Herat.

Later historians have provided different dates as to when this movement for freedom took place. For example, Sher Mohammad, writes that the incident took place in May of 1708, while Sultan Mohammad states that it took place in May of 1709 while Nawab Samsam says that it took place in the year 1708. The historian, Khafi Khan, states that Mohammad Azam Shah, the ruler of the Delhi court, was informed of Gurgin's death in the year 1707. Colonel Melson, in History of Afghanistan, has provided the year as 1709 and Mirza Mohammad Khalil Safavi alludes that the struggle against Gurgin took place in 1710.

However, the account provided in Pata Khazana (Hidden Treasure) is most reliable, since the author of the book was alive at the time and he quotes his father that the freedom movement ended on 20 February 1708 with the death of Gurgin and his whole army.

The geographical location of Kandahar was of importance to the monarchies of India and Iran and the movement of independence led by Mirwais Khan disturbed the Timurid court of India and considered an independent Afghanistan as a threat. The Timurid rulers in India were haunted by the might and glory of the Ghorid, Khalji and Ludi empires. Samsan-al-Dawla and Khafi Khan writes: "When the news of the announcement of independence by the Afghans reached the Delhi Timurid court, they were ostensibly forced to recognize the independence movement to a certain extent but they communicated and came to an understanding with the Asfahan court." According to Khafi Khan the act was considered harmful to both governments and both countries should take immediate steps to remedy the situation (Muntakhab-al-Lubab).

Haji Mirwais Khan, who was well aware of the danger he faced, realizing his country was sandwiched between the two empires, called in a third jirga of the country's elders and leaders and after explaining the political conundrum of the Afghan nation and the forces of the two empires said: "If you agree and assist me we will be able to raise the banner of independence forever and will not allow slavery to be imposed on us again. We have no links with those who accept the slavery of aliens and they cannot live amongst us." After hearing the speech of their leader the participants of the national jirga decided they will fight to the end for their independence (Tutmat-al-Bayan).

The news of Gurgin's death and the annihilation of his force was conveyed by the remaining Gurgin soldiers who were stationed in Peshin to ward the threat of the Tirin tribesmen and fled to Pars when Mirwai's forces reached Peshin. Mirwais also wrote a letter to the Safavid king and according to the author of the Battle of the Afghans and Pars, Mirwais wrote that the king should take heed of the situation and not send additional forces to Kandahar since all Afghans are ready to strike them a blow and if they are forced they may surrender the whole of Kandahar to the Delhi empire. Therefore the Safavid king should cognize the political situation of the nation. He also sent a letter to the Delhi court in which he brought up the unity of faith between the two sides and allured if the Delhi court would help him he would entice some of the Safavid dependencies against them.

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The Safavid court, however, tried to intimidate Mirwais Khan and sent a messenger to Kandahar, who according to Melson, was named Jani Khan. According to Sir John Malcom and Sayed Jamaluddin Afghan he was named Mohammad Jami Khan. The ambassador had a message from the Safavid court that the king of Iran pardons the death of Gurgin but Mirwais has to obey his orders and let the Safavid army be in charge of Kandahar. Moreover the messenger reminded Mirwais about the might of the Safavid court and his demise. Mirwais, who was a man of courage and calm nerves replied: "You may be thinking that wisdom can be attained in pomp only and there is no trace of it in our mountainous land. If your king could have taken charge by force then there would have been no need for such idle talk..." (Sir John Malcom).

Mirwais issued the order that the crafty Safavid messenger be put in prison and according to Melson he had two motives for this move. The first was to cause a delay in replying to the Safavid court so that its preparation to send a force may be delayed and second that the independence movement of the Afghans cannot be deranged and the threats of the Safavid court cannot scare him or the Afghan nation.

Since the sending of the first messenger did not dissuade Mirwais Khan from his unwavering determination of independence the Safavid courtiers made use of another measure and sent Mohammad Khan Baluch, the governor of Herat, who was an old friend of Mirwais and his companion during the pilgrimage, as a messenger so he may persuade Mirwais through friendship and in this way silence the freedom movement. However the national leader told the messenger: "Be thankful to God that our friendship prevents me from hurting you or else you would have been treated like the others. The inhabitants of this mountainous land should not be subjected to slavery again. The brave lions have broken the chains of serfdom and will not accept subjugation again."

As a result of his friendship Mirwais treated Mohammad Khan with respect and made it clear to the Safavid court that he and his nation will not forgo their independence. Because of the inviolable determination of Mirwais Khan the Safavid court ordered the governor of Herat, who had replaced Mohammad Khan in 1710 to attack Kandahar. With a force of 5000 cavalry Mirwais repulsed the attack and struck a heavy blow upon the enemy.

In the coming 18 months Mirwais and his forces were attacked by the Asfahan army four times without success and during the fourth attack a force of 500 Afghan fighters repulsed a Safavid force of 5000 men under the command of Mohammad Khan, the governor of Tabriz. Nearly 1000 enemy forces were killed or injured in the battle. The governor and his three sons also fell into the hands of the Afghan freedom fighters.

These defeats and repeated failures prompted the Asfahan court to attack with a large force which was led by Khusrao Khan or Kaikhusrao Khan Gurji, nephew of the dead Gurgin, who was the governor of Gurjistan and a deft personality of the court. The Asfahan court was of the opinion that Khusrao may be able to strike a fateful blow as he was revenging the death of his uncle and would conduct a vicious attack. Khusrao came forward and set up camp in Farah. He was accompanied by the leaders of Khorasan, the governor of Herat and Ali Quli Khan, and the governor of Kerman.

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Mirwais sent Daud Khan Hotak, father of the writer of Pata Khazana, to Farah to command the Afghan force. The two armies engaged in battle and the Safavids were able to make progress. Mirwais awaited the arrival of the enemy along the banks of the Helmand near Grishk with a small force. According to Mirza Mohammad Khalil, the Khusrao force was composed of 50,000 men, equipped with cannons among whom were 1200 Georgians who had been specially sent to revenge the death of Gurgin. The Afghan force was much smaller and therefore retreated and the Khusrao army was able to besiege Kandahar in 1712.

The people of Kandahar defended the citadel with deftness and warded off every attack of the Safavid force. Mirwais also regathered his force and engaged the Baluch and Tirin tribes to defend the nation. He attacked Khusrao's army and cut off their supply route. Khusrao, who had lost half of his army in the battles, tried to retreat back to Pars but Mirwais attacked him with a force of 16,000 men and according to Melson only 500 to 700 enemy soldiers out of a force of 25,000 managed to survive the onslaught.

Khusrao Khan was killed in the battle over the citadel of Kandahar and according to Majma-al-Tawarekh, written in 1712, the Safavid court sent another large force on 8 November 1711, under the command of Mohammad Rustam Khan, in direction of Kandahar. The national forces who were united in their resolve for freedom defeated the enemy and in order to avoid the fate of previous Safavid commanders, Rustam retreated back to Pars in 1714.

Following this Mohammad Zaman Korchi Bashi was sent again with a large force to Kandahar. According to Mirza Khalil he died near Bastam from travel sickness. At this time the people of Herat were had also risen against the Safavid subjugation under the leadership of the Abdalid leaders and it was not possible for the Safavids to send further forces to Kandahar. Thus Mirwais consolidated his power and was recognized as the national leader and gained the title of Baba (grandfather of the nation).

He managed to maintain friendly ties with the Delhi court and in order to expand the friendly ties he sent his brother, Haji Amko, as ambassador to the court of Farukh Sair, the Timurid king. The Delhi court officially recognized Mirwais's status as the national leader and bestowed upon him the title of Haji Amir Khan and sent a sword and an elephant as a gift. This move assured Mirwais about the political motives of the empire to the east.

Mirwais' sphere of influence spread from Farah, Sabzwar and Seistan to Peshin and the foothills of the Suleiman mountains and to the north as far as Ghazni. He was the leader of the Abdali and Ghalji tribes and the Baluchi people also aided and befriended him. He did not accept the title of a king and in a jirga of the people of the tribes of Kandahar who wanted to bestow the title of king on him he addressed them with the following lines:

I did not serve you to become a king
And boast about the throne.
Kingship and lordship I condone
Proud am I of my national service.
I am content being called father of the nation

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As I do not seek gold and riches.
All I want is to serve the nation
And look after its people as my children,
Being a monarch is not in my creed
I want to serve you indeed.

Mirwais was a scholar, a thoughtful diplomat and was cognizant of the political situation of the neighboring countries. He was familiar with the Safavid court and their mode of governing. He served as leader for eight years as the grandfather of the nation and kept the people happy and was always ready to serve them as a kind father. He is still referred to as Baba in Kandahar. People visit his shrine like that of a saint and are of the belief that visiting his shrine will cure them of ailments. It is said that this national leader had a tall stature, was strong, had a gray beard and was bald. He wore a white shirt and trouser and carried a shawl which was used by the local people to sit on when they meet during a national jirga or gathering to resolve national issues through consensus, brotherhood and friendship.

Toward the end of his endeavor to gain independence Mirwais once again ignited the spirit of nationalism and their long lost Afghan empire and reminded them of emancipation and self-determination. He left this world with his austere memory on 24 December 1715. He was buried in the village of Kokaran, west of Kandahar. The people wrote the following lines on his gravestone.

Magnanimous leader your grave shall be
The meeting place of brave men of the day.

At the time of his death Mirwais left behind two sons, Mahmud who was 18 years old and Hussain who was 14 years old.

According to Melson, John Malcom and Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani, his brother, Abdullah, took over the reigns of power. But according to contemporary books such as Jahankusha-e Naderi, Majma'-al-Tawarekh, Pata Khazana, Rowzat-al-Safa Naseri, Islamic Encyclopedia and authors such as Sultan Mohammad and Sher Mohammad his name was Abdul Aziz. Unlike his brother this person did not have the same fortitude and just after taking over power he called a national jirga and proposed allegiance to the Safavids. The national council did not heed to his suggestion but Abdul Aziz sent an emissary to Asfahan and accepted abidance to the Safavid court with the following terms:

First: exemptions of taxes and expenses which were levied during the time of Gurgin.

Second: The not coming of the Safavid forces to Kandahar.

Third: Continuation of the monarchy among Abdul Aziz descendants.

When the people learned of these inappropriate demands of Abdul Aziz 40,000 patriots rallied behind Mahmud, the elder son of Mirwais, to send Abdul Aziz to the gallows. But according to Pata Khazana he died after falling from the roof of the Kandahar royal palace in 1716, known as Narenj Palace. Melson writes that this incident took place in March 1716.

At any rate this traitor met his fate at the hands of the people of Kandahar who did not allow their independence to be jeopardized for which they had made endless sacrifices and thousands of youth had lost their lives. After the death of Abdul Aziz, the people declared Mahmud as king who ruled as the king

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of Kandahar until 1721. Being an ambitious person he started to expand his domain and in 1721 attacked Kerman and after reaching a settlement with Lutf Ali, the governor of the province, he returned to Kandahar. He did not stay still and the following year prepared an army and attacked Asfahan, the capital of the Safavid empire, and laid siege around the city. After encircling the city for eight months Shah Husain, the last Safavid king, relented and left his kingdom to Mahmud and the triumphant Afghan army on 25 October 1722.

During his reign as king, Shah Mahmud, after the conquest of Asfahan, with the help of his commanders, Saidal Khan Naser, Pir Mohammad Miyaji, Mohammad Khan and Abdullah Khan Baluch, conducted several forays until his murder on 25 April 1725 in Asfahan at the age of 27. This version of his death is reported by Sultan Mohammad and Sher Mohammad and has been noted in Rowzat-al-Safa-e Naseri. Sayed Jamaluddin and Melson provides 1725 as the year of his death.

After the assassination of Shah Mahmud, Shah Ashraf, son of Abdul Aziz, who was the nephew of Mirwais, ascended the throne in Asfahan and due to his tactfulness he administered the nation properly and appointed Saidal Khan Naser as commander of the Afghan army and conducted conquests in all directions. Important events of his period are the conquests of Ahmad Pasha, the governor of Baghdad which took place during the third year of his ascension to the throne. These forays started on 3 April 1727 and continued to the end of the year. Shah Ashraf and his army routed the Turks but did not allow the Afghan fighters to pursue the enemy as he did not want bloodshed between the two sides. As a result, due to the political tack of Shah Ashraf, the matter was settled peacefully after nine months of negotiations. During the fifth year of his reign (1729), the Osmanid caliph, Sultan Ahmad Khan Salis, sent Rashid Pasha as ambassador to Ashraf's court in Asfahan and the Afghan court sent Mohammad Ali Khan Baluch, as their representative to the Osmanid court, resulting in the establishment of cordial relations between the two sides.

After this Shah Ashraf warded off the aggression of Russian forces in Iran from the north but he faced an internal rival, Nader Shah Afshar. Unable to receive reinforcements from Kandahar, which was the center of the Hotak rulers, Ashraf Khan faced several defeats at the hands of his rival and after ruling for five years and seven months he left Asfahan and went to the Malikhan fort of Garamser, located by the Helmand river. From there he took refuge in Zard Koh of Shorabak and was killed there by a person named Ibrahim son of Abdullah Khan Baluch, in 1729.

After Shah Mahmud's conquest of Asfahan in 1723, Kandahar, the epicenter of the Hotak kingdom, was run by his younger brother, Shah Husain son of Mirwais. He was a just and learned king and reigned in peace. According to Pata Khazana, which was written in his court, his sphere of influence spread from Herat, Farah, Sabzwar to Ghazni and Gomal and during his time the environs of Shal (Quetta), Peshin as far as Dera Ismail Khan and Ghazi Khan were conquered. The region of Multan also came under the threat of Afghan forces advancing as far as that city, thus spreading the influence of the Hotak kingdom from the banks of the Dajla to Multan including present day Baluchistan. Shah Mahmud and Ashraf ruled in the west and Hussain in the east. Shah Hussain's peaceful reign lasted until 1736 and it was during the month of November of the same year that Nader Shah Afshar, in order to occupy

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Afghan territory, attacked Afghanistan since the remaining Afghan forces in Pars and Gurjistan had splintered.

Nader Shah crossed Seistan on 2 February 1737 and arrived at the Greshk fort, along the banks of the Helmand on 17 February. After empowering that area he crossed the Helmand on the 21st and laid siege on the Kandahar fort, which was the capital of the Hotak kingdom, in June 1737.

Shah Hussain and the famous commander, Saidal Khan Naser, bravely defended the city over a year and did not allow Nader Shah, with his mighty force, to take over the city. It was during April that Shah Hussain was unable to continue the defense of the city anymore. Earlier the brave commander, Saidal Khan and Mohammad, son of Shah Hussain, had fallen victim to Nader Shah and upon the orders of the atrocious Nader he was blinded at the Kalat fort.

As a result Shah Hussain surrendered to Nader Shah thus ending the reign of the Hotak kingdom and the whole of Afghanistan fell into Nader's hands. According to Sultan Mohammad, Shah Hussain, after ruling for 15 years, was sent to Mazendaran and died there on 13 December 1736 as a result of the cruelty of Nader Shah.

The 30 year Hotak period is of great importance in light of local events and the independence movement. It was during this time that the basis of a local and national government was laid in Kandahar and later Ahmad Shah Baba founded the Afghan kingdom on this very same foundation which introduced the bravery of the Afghan nation to the world. Mirwais was a beloved person and was raised in an atmosphere of Afghan nationalism and erudition. His mother, Nazo, daughter of Sultan Mulukhi, was a learned woman and poetess. Pata Khazana provides a sample of her poetry and that of Zainab, daughter of Mirwais.

Famous men of literature and sword during the Hotaki period are: Saidal Khan Naser, the esteemed commander of Afghan forces, Bahadur Khan, Pir Mohammad Meyaji and Daud Khan were commanders of the forces and literary figures of the time. During this time Mohammad Hotak, secretary of the court of Shah Husain wrote Pata Khazana (The Hidden Treasure) which provides a biography of past and present poets of the time. Mullah Baz Toukhi and Mullah Yar Mohammad Hotak, author of Arkan-e Khamsa, Mohammad Yunus Tukhi, Mullah Akbar author of Jama'-al-Farayez in Pashto and Mullah Za'faran Tukhi (according to Sultan Mohammad Taraki and Amir Abdul Rahman Tukhi) the vizier of Shah Hussain, and author of Guldasta-e Za'farani, and Allahyar Afradi, poet and author of Pashto divan, Reidi Khan, the compiler of Mahmud Nama in Pashto (which provides a description of the conquests of Mahmud Hotak), Mullah Adel, author of Mahasen-al-Selawat in Pashto, Mullah Nour Mohammad author of Nafa' Muslimeen in Pashto are among the poets and writers of this period. Shah Hussain used to conduct literary sessions in Narenj Palace, remnants of which are still present in Kandahar city. He fostered scholars and orators. Miyan Abdul Hakim Kakar (famous as Nana Saheb, buried in Chatyali of Baluchistan) was a spiritual personality of the court who was considered the axis of the Naqshbandi faith.

The Hotaks:

1. Mirwais Khan son of Shalim Khan 708-1715.
2. Abdul Aziz son of Shalim Khan 1715-1717.

3. Shah Mahmud bin Mirwais 1717–1725.*
4. Shah Ashraf bin Abdul Aziz 1725–1730.*
5. Shah Husain bin Mirwais 1723–1738.*

References: Makhzan-e Afghani, Tazkerat-al-Ibrar, Jugrafiya-e Tarikh-e Iran, Ma'jam-al-Baladan, Tabakat-e Naseri, Hayat-e Afghani, Maasir-al-Amra, Muntakhab-al-Lubab Vol. 2, History of Afghanistan by Melson, Tutmat-al-Bayan, Sir John Malcolm, Pata Khazana, Ruzat-al-Safa Naseri, Tarekh-e Afghanistan by Ali Quli Mirza, Tarekh-e Nezami Iran Vol. 1, History of Iran by Sir Percy Sykes, Nader Nama (handwritten), Sayr-al-Mutakhereen, Majma'-al-Tawarekhe, Mirwais Baba, Tarekh-e Kerman, Khurshaid-e Jahan, Tarekh-e Sultani, Sulat-e Afghani, The Fall of the Safavid and the Control of Pars by Afghans by Lokhart 1958, Tazkera-e Ahwal-e Mohammad Ali Khazin, Badaya'-al-Waqaya'.

The Sadozai (1749–1842)

As mentioned earlier, Nader Shah son of Imam Quli Afshar (accession 1735), put an end to the Hotaki empire in Iran and destroyed the Abdalid government in Herat and with the capture of Kandahar he brought an end to the Hotaki kingdom.

During the time of his capture of Kandahar, Nader Shah, established a city by the name of Nader Abad in the southern marshy environs of the city where in 1737 he minted a coin in his name and after the capture of Kandahar he totally destroyed the old city which remains in a state of ruins up to this day. During the same year Nader captured the northern provinces of Afghanistan from Badakshan to Balkh and Maimana and the environs of the Oxus river with the help of his son, Reza Quli. After the capture of Kandahar he followed in the footsteps of Sultan Mahmud and Babur Shah by dealing with Afghan chiefs with moderateness. He recognized Abdul Ghani Khan Alekozai as the chief of the Abdali tribes of Herat, declared Pir Mohammad Khan Herawi as governor of Baluch and Kharan, Haji Ismail Alekozai as head of the Asfazar government of Herat and Ashraf Khan Ghaljai as governor of Kalat. He amalgamated nearly 40,000 brave Afghan soldiers under the command of Nour Mohammad Khan Ghaljai, known as Mir Afghan, into his army. As a result of his political astuteness he had complete trust in the Afghan troops. He released and caressed Zulfiqar Khan and Ahmad Khan, sons of Zaman Khan Abdali, who were prisoners in Kandahar under the orders of Shah Hussain Hotaki and housed them in Mazenderan and provided them a salary in 1738.

Eventually Nader Shah marched in direction of Kabul after capturing Kalat-e Ghilzai. At this time the governor of Kabul was Naser Khan, an appointee of the Delhi throne. He was a strong administrator and liked by the people but since he was not provided help by the Delhi rulers he did not have the necessary force to defend Kabul. Despite this, with the help of Sharza Khan and other tribal leaders, he defended Kabul. During this time Rahim Dad Khan Kotwal was besieged in Kabul until Nader managed to destroy and capture the Kabul fort in 1738 and his son managed to take over Bamian and Zohak and the foothills of the Hindu Kush. Abas Khan and Sadullah Khan, tribal chiefs between Kabul and Peshawar, were also overwhelmed by Nader. But Naser Khan prepared the Afghan tribes living between Kabul and Peshawar to fight against Nader and engaged in battle with the forces of Prince Nasrullah, son of Nader, but he was

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injured in the fighting and taken prisoner. However, Nader Shah appointed him as governor of Kabul and Peshawar and himself marched on to Peshawar, Lahore and Delhi with fresh Iranian and Afghan forces in 1739.

After plundering and destroying Delhi Nader returned to Peshawar with a bounty of 87.5 million English pounds, jewelry and the Shah Jahan crown. After crossing the Indus river at Attock he engaged with the Yusufzai tribes and passed through the Khyber valley in haste to clear the Kabul area. Following this he went to the Kuram valley, Bangash, Derajat and Sind by way of a southern route and captured all the lands lying west of the Indus river and returned back to Kandahar and Herat in 1740 by way of Bolan valley. He celebrated the victory of his conquests in Meshad after occupying all the lands of Trans Oxiana, Khwarazm as far as the Indus river and Dajla and Seyhoun. In 1741 he summoned Ahmad Khan Abdali from Mazenderan and appointed him as commander of the Abdali forces. For the next six years Ahmad Khan accompanied Nader Shah in his conquests and learned the art of politics. He showed gallantry in the battles of Daghestan and Iran and Nader paid special attention to him and declared him his successor.

After numerous conquests Nader lost his temperament, engaged in ruthless killings and bloodshed to the extent that the courtiers started fearing him. On 19 June 1747 Mohammad Khan Qajar, Musa Afshar, Khwaja Beg and Saleh Qartalawi, with the consent of 70 other courtiers, conspired to kill him.

Nader Afshar was an astute, brave and bloodthirsty individual. He engaged in a mixed policy of anger and blandishment in Afghanistan. He uprooted the national Abdali chiefs of Herat after which he brought down the Hotaki rulers of Kandahar and killed the leaders of both tribes who were fighting for their independence. In sharp contrast to these killings he established cordial ties with other tribal leaders, caressed them and recruited a large number of Afghan youth in his army under the orders of Afghan commanders.

Despite his destruction of Herat and Kandahar among the noble deeds which Nader Shah accomplished was the nurturing of a person such as Ahmad Khan Abdali who reestablished the Afghan empire in Kandahar.

At any rate after Nader Shah's death, Ahmad Khan Abdali and Nour Mohammad Khan Mir Afghan, with the help of Pashtun and Uzbek soldiers, prevented the Nader empire to be pillaged by revolting soldiers. As a token of this service the family of Nader Shah gave the Koh-e Nur diamond to Ahmad Shah, which had been passed on by the Afghan Ludi kings to Babur and had fallen into the hands of Nader during his pillage of the Delhi throne. All the Afghan forces left for Herat and during the month of August 1747 they arrived at Kandahar. Following this the Afghan chiefs gathered in the shrine of Sher-e Surkh and held a national jirga. Famous tribal leaders such as Nour Mohammad Khan Mir Afghan, the head of the Ghalji, Mohabat Khan, head of the Popalzai, Musa Khan, head of the Sakzai, Nasrullah Kahn, head of the Nourzai and Haji Jamal Khan, head of the Barakzai participated in the council.

The national jirga held eight heated sessions and the tribal leaders were unable to accept the rule of one tribe over the other. Nour Mohammad Khan Mir Afghan, based on his seniority, experience and influence over all the Ghalji tribes was a prime candidate but due to his fury he was not chosen as the

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national leader. The participants of the jirga were also not pleased with the stern character of Haji Jamal, as it was feared he would impose a dictatorial rule if he were selected. The participants were looking for a person of mild character who would be able to work with the democratic forum of the jirga and not rule over them with acerbity while at the same time not come from a strong tribe.

During the ninth session of this historical jirga the attention of all the participants was focused on Ahmad Khan Abdali, who at the time was 25 years old. He was an experienced and humble person and was from the small Sadozai tribe. The tribal chiefs were confident that this young man could not rule over them with force and despotism. It was for these reasons that he was chosen as the king and with his selection they once again brought back the lost glory of the Afghan nation.

At this moment a dervish, who lived in the Sher-e Surkh shrine, went to a nearby field, gathered some wheat stalks and shaped them in the form of a wreath and laid them as a symbol of royalty on the head of the young king. This incident took place in October of 1747.

Ahmad Shah Abdali, son of Zaman Khan, the governor of Herat, was from the Abdali Sadozai tribe and his mother, Zarghuna, was from the Alekozai tribe. He was born either in Multan or Herat in the year 1722. Despite his young age, during his period as emperor, he served the country with esteem and people gave him the title of Baba.

His seal, which is in the form of a peacock, is inscribed with the words: in the name of God, the conqueror, Ahmad Shah, pearl of pearls. Even though the name Durani had been rarely used in history but after this it replaced the word Abdali and all the Abdalis now call themselves Durrani.

Ahmad Shah established administrative, military, finance and civil institutions in Afghanistan and appointed ministers. Bagi Khan Bamazai, the chief minister, famous as Shah Wali Khan, was his prime minister who in 1760 laid the foundation of present day Kandahar city with the name of Ahmad Shahi and in 1753 built the citadel of Kabul. The city of Tashkurghan, in northern Hindukush, and the city of Haidarabad in Sind were established in 1769. He minted coins in Kandahar, Meshad, Delhi, Ruhil, Kuhand, Peshawar, Tata, Dera Ghazi Khan, Kashmir, Kabul, Multan and Herat. Gold and silver coins introduced during his time carried the official emblem of the Ahmad Shah government which was two swords, a cluster of wheat stalks and a star. Some of the coins contained this couplet:

The almighty Lord ordered Ahmad the king
Mint coins in gold and silver from month to month.

On the average Ahmad Shah maintained an army of a hundred thousand and the revenue of his nation, which stretched from Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, the Oxus river, Meshad to the Arabian Sea, totaled 31 million rupees. This figure does not include the wealth accumulated from the bounty of war and other riches which were attained from the battles of India. During his reign Ahmad Shah Baba conducted the following war journeys.

1. Toward the end of 1747 Ghazni, Kabul and Peshawar were conquered and defeated Naser Khan (the former Timurid and Naderi governor) in Kabul and Peshawar. Abdul Samad Khan Mohmandzai, a tribal chief from Ashnagar, joined the army of Ahmad Shah. Sardar Jahan Khan, commander of Ahmad Shah's forces, chased Naser Khan to Attock and Ahmad Shah himself returned to Kandahar.

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2. In 1748 Ahmad Shah, accompanied by an army of 30,000 cavalry and infantry, left Kandahar and by way of Kabul and Peshawar went to Attock and Jehlum. Shah Nawaz Khan, the governor of Lahore, by means of minister Qamaruddin Khan, asked for assistance from Delhi and faced off Ahmad Shah's army along the banks of the Chenab river but fled the scene of war. Ahmad Shah took control of Lahore. His army then defeated the Delhi forces of Mohammad Shah and entered Sahrand (Sar-e Hind) on 12 March 1748.

Since Qamaruddin Khan was killed in the battle of Malupur on 21 March 1748 therefore Mohammad Shah Koragani, the king of Delhi, let Mir Mino Moeen-al-Mulk, take charge of Lahore. Ahmad Shah reached an agreement with the Delhi government, established the Indus river as the border between the two countries and returned by way of Peshawar and Kabul to Kandahar.

3. In 1749 Ahmad Shah went by way of Kabul and Peshawar to Lahore and made peace with Mir Mino, the governor of Lahore. He let Mir Mino collect the taxes of Sialkot, Gujrat, Aurangabad, Punjab and Amratsar so they may be deposited yearly to the royal court of Ahmad Shah. On his return journey to Kandahar, he killed the tribal chiefs, Nour Mohammad Khan, Mir Afghan Ghalji, Gado Khan and Mohabat Khan Popalzai, who were scheming a plot against him.

4. In 1749 he went to Herat and after a siege of four months took control of the city from Amir Alam Khan and sent a unit of 5000 cavalry to Turbat-e Jam, under the command of Sardar Jahan Khan Popalzai. He let Darwesh Ali Khan Hazara take charge of Herat and himself left for Meshed. After a siege of four months he let Shahrukh Mirza, the grandson of Nader Shah, take charge of the city and himself went to Neshapur. But since Abas Quli Khan Bayat, the governor of Neshapur, resisted and winter had settled in, Ahmad Shah returned to Kandahar by way of Herat.

5. The Baluchistan trip. At the time when Ahmad Shah ascended the throne, Mir Mohammad Khan, the elder son of Mir Abdullah Khan and chief of the Brahwi, had been appointed as governor of Kalat by Nader Shah. But the Baluch people were in favor of his younger brother, Mir Nasir Khan, and had petitioned Ahmad Shah about this matter. Therefore after the Khorasan trip in 1750 Ahmad Shah directly went from Kandahar to the Baluchi Kalat. At this time Mir Nasir Khan was in Kalhora in Khudaabad of Sind with Miya Nour Mohammad Kalhora and his mother, Bibi Maryam, was in Kandahar and both were asking for royal help.

After visiting Mastang Ahmad Shah left for Kalat. Mir Mohabat Khan managed to subdue Haji Rahim Khan Babey together with Kalamullah and sent them to Ahmad Shah. For the time being Ahmad Shah let Mir Mohabat Khan as chief of Kalat and himself returned to Kandahar. The chief sent his sister, Bibi Mir Gowhar, by means of Akhund Mohammad Hayat, to Ghazni to be married to Ahmad Shah.

In order to resolve the consternation over the chief of the Baluch, after the passing of a few months, Ahmad Shah summoned the prominent Baluch chiefs to Kandahar. Mir Nasir Khan was there together with his mother. Eventually Ahmad Shah detained Mir Mohabat Khan by means of Tahmasap Khan and sent Mir Nasir Khan as chief of Kalat in 1751. However, Mir Nasir Khan rebelled and some of the Baluch tribes complained to Ahmad Shah in Kandahar. Upon hearing this news he immediately left for Kalat and laid siege over the city for 12 days but did not issue orders for fighting and bloodshed until Nasir Khan

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was brought to the royal presence by Akhund Mohammad Hayat and was pardoned who later participated in the conquests of Ahmad Shah.

6. In 1751 Ahmad Shah attacked Neshapur by way of Herat and penetrated the Neshapur fort with the use of heavy cannons. He captured the place and let Abas Quli Khan Bayat, who had surrendered, take charge of it.

Ahmad Shah cleared the environs of Khorasan and made peace with Shahrukh Mirza, the governor of Meshad, under the condition that coins are to be minted and the sermon held under his name and to surrender the provinces of Jam, Bakherz, Turbat, Khawaf and Tarshez to him. After this Shahrukh changed the writing on his coin as follows:

As a result of the graciousness of Ahmad the king
Shah Rukh embraced lordship of the royal throne.

Ahmad Shah left Meshad for Herat and sent minister Shah Wali Khan to Merv, Maimana, Andkhoi, Balkh, Bamiyan and Badakshan who annexed all these northern provinces to the Afghan nation.

7. In order to clear the Punjab area he made a trip as far as Lahore in 1751. Mir Mino resisted for a period of four months but then surrendered and Ahmad Shah accepted him as the governor of the region. During this time Aqasi Abdullah Khan was relegated the duty to conquer Kashmir and Khwaja Abdullah Khan Kochak was appointed as governor and Sakjatoon Hindu as the finance officer of Kashmir. He sent Qalandar Khan Afghan as ambassador to the Delhi court. Ahmad Shah Koragani agreed that Punjab, Sind and Kashmir be a part of the nation of Ahmad Shah. After arranging the governmental affairs of Punjab, Multan and Kashmir he crossed the Indus river and returned to Kandahar by way of Banu and Kabul.

8. In the beginning of 1754 Ahmad Shah paid a visit to Sind. In the middle of the year he went to Herat and after clearing parts of Khorasan laid siege on Meshad. Shah Rukh Mirza, grandson of Nader Shah, surrendered and Ahmad Shah appointed Nour Mohammad Khan Afghan to replace the blind Shah Rukh and annexed Jam, Bakhezr, Khaf, Turbat, and Tarshez to Herat and sent Shah Pesand Khan to capture Shahrud and Sabzawar.

After this Ahmad Shah besieged Abas Quli Khan Bayat in Neshapur, forced him to surrender and then appointed him as governor of Neshapur. He sent some families of this clan to Ghazni and Kabul then returned to Kandahar in 1755.

9. Mir Mino died in 1754 and Ahmad Shah appointed his son, Mir Momen, as governor of Lahore. Since he was a child he administered with the help of his mother, Mughlani Begum. During this time tension developed between the leaders and Mughlani Begum and Khwaja Abdullah Khan bin Nawab Abdul Samad Khan imprisoned Begum and requested Ahmad Shah to be appointed as governor of Lahore. Bur Ahmad Shah sent Aman Khan Popalzai, brother of commander Jahan Khan, to remedy the situation in Lahore who was not able to do much good and Adena Beg, with the help of the Delhi army, captured Lahore in 1756 and paid three million rupees to the Delhi court. At the same time Sakjatoon Hindu rebelled in Kashmir and killed Khwaja Kochak, the Afghan administrator, and was declared governor of Kashmir by the Delhi court. Ahmad Shah went from Kandahar to Lahore and after clearing

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those areas he sent Nouruddin Khan Bamizai to Kashmir who arrested Sakjyoon and once again established Kashmir as a domain of the Afghan monarchy.

From Lahore Ahmad Shah went to Delhi and Nawab Najib-ul-Dawla bin Isalat Khan Yusufzai joined him in Karnal and entered Delhi on 27 January 1756. He appointed Alamgir II as the king of Delhi and asked for the hand in marriage of the daughter of Prince Azizuddin, brother of Alamgir II, for his son Timur. He assigned Nezam-ul-Dawla, son of Qamaruddin Khan, to take charge of the administrative affairs of Delhi and appointed Nawab Najib-ul-Dawla, as commander of the troops in India. After clearing the surrounding areas of Delhi and subduing the rebels he appointed Abdul Samad Khan Ashnagari Mohmandzai as governor of Sar-e Hind, Sarferaz Khan as governor of Doaba of Sutlej and Biyah and Shuja Khan Abdali as governor of Multan and Prince Timur as governor of Lahore, Sind as far as Tata. He then assigned commander Jahan Khan to ward off the Sikhs and sent Beland Khan Sadozai as governor of Kashmir. Toward the end of 1756 he returned back to Kandahar.

10. The capture of Panipat. After returning from India in 1756 conspiracies started brewing in Punjab. Ghaziuddin bin Feroz Jang and Adena Beg rebelled and the Sikhs became powerful in Punjab. From the south the massive forces of Marhata were threatening Delhi and took over Punjab. Prince Timur and commander Jahan Khan were unable to stop the attrition. During this time the Moslem leaders of India and the heads of the Delhi court requested Ahmad Shah to rescue the Islamic monarchy of Delhi. The Imam of India, Shah Waliullah Dehlawi, also wrote letters to Ahmad Shah inviting him to come to India.

As a result Ahmad Shah left Kandahar for Kalat of Baluchistan and managed to befriend Nasir Khan, who had rebelled, by means of persuasion to surrender. Ahmad Shah, accompanied by an army of 30,000 men from Kandahar and 10,000 Baluch, commanded by Nasir Khan and Mir Abdul Karim, brother Mir Abdul Nabi, the chief of Sarawan and Jahlawan Baluch tribes. He passed the Bolan valley in 1759 and arrived at the banks of the Indus river near Peshawar and from there headed for Lahore and then went to Saranpur. Famous Afghan leaders of India such as commander Najib-ul-Dawla, Sadullah Khan, Ruhila, Hafez-ul-Mulk Rahmat Khan, and his son, Enayat Khan, Dundi Khan and Qutb Khan joined him with 10,000 men and the whole army, which was rallying behind Ahmad Shah, numbered 60,000 men. After fighting several battles with Indian and Sikh forces the decisive battle took place in Panipat, where Ahmad Shah faced a large army of Marhatans and Indians. During this battle 200,000 enemy soldiers were killed and on 12 January 1761 a decisive victory was achieved. The bounty from this war was 50,000 horses, 200,000 cattle, 500 elephants and several thousand camels. Moreover 22,000 enemy soldiers were taken as prisoners. With the exception of one person, by the name of Ibrahim, all the rest were pardoned.

After the major victory of Panipat and the deliverance of the Moslems of India from domination by the Marhata Ahmad Shah appointed Shah Alam, son of Alamgir II, as king in Delhi and Mirza Jawan Bakht, his son, as the crown prince. Nawab Shuja-ul-Dawla was bestowed the title of son of Khan, Rustam Hindu as prime minister, and Nawab Najib-ul-Dawla Afghan as commander of the forces. Ahmad Shah assigned Zain Khan Mohmand as governor of Punjab and himself returned to Kandahar. It was during

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this same year (1761) that the foundation of present day Kandahar city was laid and he sent Prince Timur to Herat as governor.

11. The routing of the Sikhs: After the victory of Panipat when Ahmad Shah returned to Kandahar Jaisa Singh started a rebellion in Punjab. Chehrat Singh, grandfather of Ranjit and Elajat were also participants in the rebellion. The Sikhs besieged the deputy governor of Punjab, Zain Khan. In order to quell the rebellion Ahmad Shah left for Lahore, traveled 135 miles in 24 hours and met the 200,000 strong Sikh force in Ruhi. In the historic battle which took place on 4 February 1762 nearly 20,000 Sikhs were killed and defeated. He appointed Amir Singh as governor of Patyala and Sare Hind and returned victoriously to Lahore on 2 March 1762. He sent Nouruddin Khan Bamizai to Kashmir, captured Sakjajoun, the finance officer, and once again conquered Kashmir.

Ahmad Shah stayed in Punjab until 1764 in order to manage the affairs of the area and then went to Ghazni and the Gomal valley by way of Multan and Dera Ismail Khan but became sick during this trip due to excessive heat.

12. The Bukhara trip: In 1767 minister Shah Wali Khan was sent to Balkh and Badakshan with 6000 cavalry. Since Shah Muradbi, the governor of Bukhara was instigating rebels in northern Afghanistan Ahmad Shah himself went by way of Herat to the north and cleansed Maimana, Andkhoi, Balkh and Sheberghan. At this time the king of Bukhara had gathered a force in Qarshi, north of the Oxus river. Ahmad Shah did not see it fit to fight the Moslem army of Bukhara, made peace with the king of Bukhara and established the Oxus river as the border between the two countries. During this trip minister Shah Wali Khan moved the cloak of prophet Mohammad from Faizabad of Jouzjan to Kandahar which remains in that city until now.

13. The Khorasan trip: Earlier Ahmad Shah had appointed Shahrukh Mirza, the grandson of Nader Shah, as king of Khorasan who was submissive to the court of Ahmad Shah. Around 1769 Nasrullah Mirza, the young son of Shahrukh and Ali Mardan Khan, the governor of Tun and Thebs, were contemplating disobedience and had made contacts with Karim Khan Zend, the king of Pars. Therefore Ahmad Shah left Kandahar toward the end of 1769 for Herat and Meshad. During this trip Nasir Khan, the Baluchi king, who was subservient to the court of Ahmad Shah accomplished important feats with his army of 20,000 during the Khorasan campaign and defeated Ali Mardan in the Tarshez citadel. As a token of his service Ahmad Shah awarded him the Dajel and Herand lands of Dera Ghazi Khan and the bounty which the Baluch army had plundered.

After a short siege of Meshad Ahmad Shah received Nasrullah Mirza and married Gowhar Shad, the daughter of Shah Ruk, to prince Timur, bestowed the title of khan upon Nasrullah Mirza and pronounced Shah Rukh as king of Khorasan and himself returned to Kandahar on 1 June 1770 by way of Herat.

Ahmad Shah and Sind: Since Nader Shah Afshar was killed in 1747 and Ahmad Shah Abdali was chosen as king of Afghanistan in Kandahar Miya Nour Mohammad Kalhora was governor of Sind and governed under the orders of Nader Shah. In 1748 when Ahmad Shah went on a trip to India he recognized the authority of Miya Nour Mohammad Kalhora in Sind and bestowed upon him the title of Shah Nawaz Khan who in return agreed to pay taxes to the Kandahar court.

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Since Miya Nour Mohammad was lax in payment of taxes Ahmad Shah sent him a decree asking him to pay the taxes which were described by Khaif Sindi in these words in a couplet:

If you shall pay your dues in time
You will be spared from my wrath.

When the decree arrived at the Sind court Miya Nour Mohammad sent a number of gifts, including expensive clothes, satin, gilliflower, musk, aloes-wood and ambergris together with a three person delegation headed by Bahayee Khan Kalhora to the Kandahar court with this message:

I respectfully convey my regards
To the great Afghan king,
I am your humble servant
Who obeys your orders.
It is you who has provided excellence
I call upon your royal patronage.

With the arrival of the delegation to Ahmad Shah's court relations between the two kingdoms improved and Shaikh Mohammad Mahfoz Sarkosh bin Shaikh Mohammad Murid Qanungo was appointed as ambassador by the Sind court to Kandahar and Kabul who stayed in Kabul until 1754.

Despite this taxes did not arrive to Kandahar from Sind. As a result Ahmad Shah prepared an army under the leadership of commander Sardar Jahan Khan to go to India. Rumors of the arrival of the commander to Sind spread in 1753 and toward the end of the year it became clear that the king was also on his way to Sind.

On 1 November 1753 Ahmad Shah reached Mohammad Abad and the Sind court sent Diwan Gadomal with a delegation to him in haste to announce Miya Nour Mohammad's submission and in this way avert his further advance.

Gadomal reached the royal army at Pul-e Sakhar but was unable to meet the king for three days and when the royal party arrived at Nowshera Gadomal was presented to Ahmad Shah. It is said that the king was extremely angry but Gadomal, being a wise and crafty ambassador, used deceitful wit to calm down the anger of the king. He was aware of Ahmad Shah's belief in saints and came up with several sacks of soil and other gifts. When Ahmad Shah asked him what was in the sacks he replied the best gift of Sind i.e. the soil on which the saints of Sind have walked over.

Ahmad Shah cherished this souvenir, his anger subsided and he embarked on treating the people of Sind with kindness and lenity. But Miya Nour Mohammad had left Sind and went east to Jaisalmir and died from diphtheria complications on 9 December 1753.

The memoirs of Makhadem Kahra contains the decree of Ahmad Shah which was written on 8 November 1753 which indicates that the king traveled to Sind at the beginning of the same year which is corroborated by other historians and in the middle of the year Ahmad Shah paid a visit to Khorasan after his trip to Sind.

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After the death of Miya Nour Mohammad, his son Mohammad Muradyab Khan, became the ruler, sent an emissary to Ahmad Shah and agreed to pay taxes. Ahmad Shah recognized him as the governor of Sind and gave him the title of Sarbeland Khan.

Since the city of Shekarpur was the subject of contention between the governors of Kalhora and the Daudputra Baluchi tribes therefore Ahmad Shah included it in the Sibi province and appointed an Afghan governor to the place. This resulted in the flow of Afghan merchandize as far as Trans Oxiana and Khorasan by way of Shekarpur and the city became an important trading center. Beside this Ahmad Shah appointed Ismail Khan Pati as his court's representative to Sind. Ismail came to Mohammad Abad and sent several agents under the supervision of Sayed Shah Mohammad to Tata and other areas. Among them Saleh Khan went to Tata and replaced the former governor, Gul Mohammad Khan Khorasani, and started gathering taxes.

At this time Ahmad Shah's ambassador, Mohammad Beg Shamlo, also came to Tata, appointed Aqa Mohammad Saleh as governor of Tata and took the elders of the city to the king. Since tension had developed between the followers of Ismail and Shamlo, Qazi Mohammad Mahfuz, was appointed as the governor of Tata.

During this time Mohammad Muradyab Khan was recognized as the amir of Sind by Ahmad Shah and he was given the title of Sarbeland Khan. On the other hand Diwan Gadomal, ambassador of the late Miya Nour Mohammad, was active in the royal court and managed to create a close relationship of the leaders of the Kalhora family with the royal court and Ahmad Shah recognized them officially. Mohammad Atar Khan, the younger brother of Mohammad Muradyab Khan, was held hostage at the royal court. As a result of this compromise Mohammad Muradyab agreed to pay more than the assigned tax to the court of Ahmad Shah.

After these events the leaders of Sind met their new amir, Mohammad Muradyab Khan, in Amarkot. He was taken to the center of the government on 12 December 1753 and Shaikh Zafarullah was appointed as governor of Tata. At this time Diwan Gadoman reached Amarkot with Ahmad Shah's decree and rich garments. He presented them to the new amir and in the plaza near Nasrpur Mohammad Muradyab's accession was celebrated. The foundation of a new city by the name of Muradabad was laid in September of 1757.

Mohammad Muradyab Khan ruled successfully for three years but some of the leaders started to oppose him. He was detained at his own headquarters and the following day they appointed his brother, Miya Ghulam Shah, as the amir. He started to console the leaders and people of Sind. According to Fatehnama, Muradyab Khan was a man of pleasure and spent his time engaged in leisure and entertainment and the people mistrusted him. As a result Mir Bahram Khan, together with other leaders, displaced him as amir but Yar Mohammad Khan, brother of Muradyab Khan, who was in Khuda Abad, and Maqsuda Faqir bin Bahar Shah, a local leader, remained opposed to the displacement.

Since the internal situation of Sind was chaotic, Atar Khan, another brother of Amiran, who was being kept hostage at the royal court petitioned his case to Ahmad Shah with the help of other courtiers. Ahmad Shah issued a decree and recognized Atar Khan as amir of Sind. After hearing this news, Ahmad Yar

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Khan gathered an army in Sind but when the leaders of Ayan heard about the issuance of a decree in the name of Atar Khan they treaded with caution. When Miya Ghulam Shah realized he did not have any other choice he left with his army on 8 November 1757 toward Registan of Sind. At this time the letters of Atar Khan reached Maqsuda Faqir as a result of which Mohammad Muradyab Khan was released from captivity and he went to see the newly appointed amir, Atar Khan, with a number of other leaders. Miya Ghulam Shah together with Raja Laikahi and other supporting leaders remained aloof.

When Atar Khan realized that Sind had been left vacated he immediately went there without hesitation. Hearing about this move Yar Khan retreated to Nowshehra and in December of 1757 Mohammad Muradyab Khan also joined him.

The leaders of Ayan and the two brothers thought that Atar Khan would recognize their seniority and would consider them as leaders of Sind but Atar Khan was shrewder and more ambitious than them and issued orders for the arrests of the brothers before meeting them and they were deported to Khuda Abad.

From this time onward resentment of the people and the leaders started toward Atar Khan. He tried to pay taxes to the court of Ahmad Shah and put pressure on the people but failed to influence anyone and within a short time the people wanted to get rid of him as the leader.

Miya Ghulam Shah, who was in Adipur, went to Bahawalpur and left his son, Miya Sarferaz Khan there. He himself went to Sind and faced off Atar Khan in Rohari toward the end of June 1758. After a few battles Atar Khan and his brother Ahmad Yar Khan were defeated. They fled and Miya Ghulam Shah was victorious who went to Seiwistan with the leaders of Sarai on 7 June 1758.

After a short period of time Mohammad Muradyab Khan died and Miya Ghulam Shah managed to obtain the consent of the leaders and people and ruled with success. Atar Khan and Ahmad Yar left Sind for Kalat and took refuge with Nasir, the chief of Kalat, and sent messages through Gadomal, representative of Sind in Kandahar, to Ahmad Shah who sent a force to help them. Ahmad Yar Khan stayed in the royal court while Atar Khan together with Atayee Khan, commander of the royal army, once again attacked Sind. According to the author of Fatehnama a decree was sent by Ahmad Shah to the Daud Putra tribe so they may help Atar Khan. As a result the large army of Daud Putra, under the command of Bahadur Khan, joined the forces of Atar Khan.

In December 1759 Miya Ghulam Shah gathered his forces and the two sides clashed in Chakchikan resulting in intense fighting. Mir Bahadur Khan Talpur, who was fighting in favor of Ghulam Shah, was killed in the battlefield and Atar Khan agreed to a peaceful settlement. As a result of the peace agreement Sind was divided into three parts. One part was given to Miya Ghulam Shah and the two other parts were given to Atar Khan and his brother.

The two brothers also started to quarrel and in May 1759 Ahmad Yar attacked Atar Khan and drove him away from Nowshehra and captured all of Sind. In 1762, with the help of Gadomal, a decree was issued by Ahmad Shah, declaring Ghulam Shah as ruler and bestowed upon him the title of Shah Wardi Khan. Two years later, after the conquest of Kacha, he was also given the title of Samsam-al-Dawla by Ahmad Shah. Two other decrees were also issued by Ahmad Shah on 27 October and 6 November 1763 in his name. In 1767 Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan were handed over to him by Ahmad

Shah. In 1768 he established the Haidarabad citadel in the former Neyroon Kot where he became affluent until his death in August of 1772.

According to Abdul Hamid Jokiya one day while praising himself, Ghulam Shah said that all his commanders should be on the alert as he will conquer Kandahar. As he was boasting he was struck by paralysis and was not able to speak and soon died thereafter.

After Miya Ghulam Shah's death, the leaders of Sind appointed his son, Mohammad Sarferaz, as regent. Two months later Ahmad Shah Abdali died in Kandahar and Miya Sarferaz Khan sent Mir Bahram Khan Talpar to present his condolences and abidance to the new king of Afghanistan, Timur Shah bin Ahmad Shah. The court in Kandahar issued a decree honoring Sarferaz as leader of Sind and he was given the title of Khudayar Khan.

Ahmad Shah's Death and his Dispositions

Toward the end of his life Ahmad Shah had been weakened by his tireless forays and he was taken from Kandahar city to the Toba Kozhak mountain, which was at a higher elevation with pleasant climate. He died there on 6 October 1772 as a result of leprosy. His prime minister, Shah Wali Khan and Yaqut Khan Khwaja, brought his body to Kandahar city and buried him in a location he had chosen for his grave. At the time of his death he was 51 years old and had reigned for 26 years. The tomb over the grave of this magnanimous king was built on the orders of Timur Shah in 1776. Mirza Hadi Khan, the secretary of the court, wrote two lines which reveal the date of the building of the dome.

Ahmad Shah was a pious scholar and a follower of the Hanafi faith. His divan of poetry was published in Kabul in 1937 by Abdul Hai Habibi. It includes 2500 verses on love, sufism, heroism and morality. Sufism is well defined in his poetry and some of his verses deal with morality and nationalism. He is a follower of two gnostics of the period, Shah Faqirullah Hesaraki Jalalabadi, buried in Shekarpur and Miya Mohammad Omar Peshawari (deceased 1776). Some of the words he used in morphology and mysticism remain in use. Mullah Mohammad Ghaus Qasi of Peshawar provides an explanation of these terms in *Sha'rha-al-Sharh* in the Persian language.

In politics Ahmad Shah was a follower of moderation, friendship and Islamic brotherhood. He ensued a venue of peace and understanding with contemporary rulers in Delhi, Bukhara, Khorasan, Baluchistan and Sind and despite his military strength he pardoned the leaders after defeating them in battle and let them rule again. Some were marveled by his magnanimity. According to Shah Waliullah Dehlawi this policy of Ahmad Shah Abdali was not in par with the politics of the time.

Despite his conquests, Ahmad Shah prevented the killing of Moslems and used justice and fairness in his policies. He treated people as his children and it is for this reason Afghans call him *baba* (grandfather). Only two other people, Mirwais and Rahman Baba have been bestowed this title.

It is clear that Ahmad Shah was a fighter and conqueror but from all his military ventures it is clear that he was not a marauder, destructor of property or a despot ruler. If he could resolve an issue through peace and understanding he abstained from fighting with Moslems.

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Ahmad Shah was the establisher of present day Afghanistan and once again revived the might of the Afghan people. He established a unified nation and has an exalted place in the history of the country. In praise of Ahmad Shah Alama Iqbal Sialkoti notes:

Due to his extreme kindness

He let the incapable rule.

It is for this reason that some writers are critical of him as to why did he let such unfit take charge of the Delhi court? But if we are to read the letters of Shah Waliullah Dehlawi and other Moslem rulers of India it is clear that Ahmad Shah did not go to India to loot and conquer the place but his only objective was to salvage the Moslems of the place who had asked him for help. Unlike other Afghan rulers, such as the Ghalji, Suri and Ludi emperors, he did not want to be obliterated in India. Moreover he did not want the noble cause of jihad to be linked with the conquest of Delhi. He followed the same policy in other neighboring countries of Afghanistan such as Bukhara, Khorasan, Sind and Baluchistan.

Ahmad Shah was always cognizant of the natural boundaries of Afghanistan and when he brought the control of the eastern regions of Punjab and Kashmir under his administration it was merely to protect his country. He knew that the source of the power of his kingdom was Afghanistan and its people and had he moved the center of his power to Delhi with the victory of Panipat and the conquest of Delhi it was possible that his nation and its people would have been devoid of the pomp of their central government and his family would have witnessed the destruction of other Afghan families in Delhi which were completely effaced.

As it is clear from the verses of his divan Ahmad Shah had intense feelings of love toward his people while at the same time he was an enlightened sufi and did not want to see the Moslem rulers of India and other neighboring leaders to be annihilated and at the same time did not want his central national power base to be diffused. Hence his policy was to maintain friendly relations with his neighbors, treat them with royal dignity and he refrained from becoming a despot ruler.

After Ahmad Shah

After the death of Ahmad Shah Baba among his eight sons his youngest son, Prince Suleiman, was declared king with the assistance of Shah Wali Khan, the prime minister. However his elder son, Timur, who during the life of his father was governor of Lahore and Multan, had minted coins there and at the time of his father's death was governor of Herat, immediately left for Kandahar where he deposed Suleiman and killed Shah Wali Khan. After a short while he transferred the capital from Kandahar to Kabul and appointed Qazi Faizullah Daulatshahi as prime minister and Sardar Payenda Khan bin Haji Jamal Khan Mohammadzai as leader of the Durani tribes giving him the title of Sarferaz Khan. Timur spent his reign with success and fought off rebels. Since the people of Khorasan rose against Shah Rukh Mirza, the Naderi prince three times, Timur provided him help every time. During the third attempt Ahmad Khan Nourzai suppressed the rebels with force. In 1774 Abdul Khaleq Khan Sadozai rose against Timur who was able to defeat Sadozai and then blinded him. In 1779 the elders of Peshawar and Khyber, such as Faizullah Khan Khalil and Arsallah Khan Mohmand managed to besiege Timur in the citadel of

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Peshawar but he managed to defeat the opposition and killed all of them. Since the Sikh forces had raided the city of Multan, Timur managed to take control of the city in 1781. Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur rebelled in Sind but Madad Khan, the military commander of Timur Shah, suppressed the Talpur tribes and Mir Fateh Ali Khan, who was appointed as governor of the region in 1786. Two years later Azad Khan rose in Kashmir but Timur managed to crush the rebellion in 1788.

Since the Bukhara rulers were friendly and submissive to the Sadozai government therefore Ahmad Shah recognized their friendship. However Shah Murad Masum Mungheiyati occupied Merv. As a result Timur went there with 100,000 men by way of Aqcha and Konduz and in the end made a peaceful settlement with Shah Murad and recognized the Oxus river as the border between the two countries in 1789. He then divided the country among his sons by giving Kandahar to Hodayun, Herat to Mahmud, Peshawar to Abas, Kabul to Zaman, Ghazni to Shuja and Kashmir to Kuhandil. Timur died on 17 May 1793 after ruling for 22 years and managed to keep intact the country which his father had created. He left behind 24 sons among them Zaman Shah, whose mother was a Yusufzai, became the king of the Kabul throne with the help of Sardar Payenda Mohammad Khan Mohamadzai and imprisoned his brothers in the Kabul citadel. His brother, Hodayun, came from Kandahar to face off the new king but was defeated in Kalat and fled to Baluchistan.

Zaman Shah found himself embroiled in civil warfare inside the country and foreign rivals took advantage of the turmoil among the brothers. The Munghaiati rulers of Bukhara in the north, the rulers of Sind in the south, to the west Aqa Mohammad Qajar, and the Sikh forces to the east threatened the borders of the country. As a result Zaman Shah went to Peshawar in 1793 to ward off the Sikh threat in Punjab. But upon arrival in Peshawar, Hodayun, with the help of the chief of Sind, came by way of Bolan and captured Kandahar. Hence Zaman Shah was not able to march on to Punjab he immediately went to Kandahar, detained Hodayun and blinded him. He then headed by way of the Bolan valley to Talpur to quell the Sind rulers. With the takeover of Sind Ali Talpur made peace with Zaman Shah by paying 300,000 gold coins. He then headed for Herat to face off his other brother, Mahmud, who had rebelled in Herat, defeated him in Farah and as a result of mediation by Mahmud's mother, he reappointed him as governor of Herat. After that he managed to take control of Balkh from the Uzbek kings. In 1795 Zaman Shah crossed the Indus at Attock with his army and defeated the Sikh forces in Hasan Abdal and with the help of 30,000 men he took back Lahore. Since his brother, Mahmud, was constantly rebelling in Herat he returned back to Kabul and Kandahar. Mahmud fled Herat for Iran and Zaman Shah appointed his son, Qaisar, as governor of Herat in 1797.

Zaman Shah was a brave and authoritative person and built a large army in Kabul to attack India to once again revive the might of Ahmad Shah and help the Moslems of India in their fight against the marauding British forces. During this time Napoleon had reached Egypt who sent a message to the court of Zaman Shah to stop the aggressive British forces in India and establish a cordial relationship with the king of France. As a result Zaman Shah rose against the colonial English forces in India and left for Peshawar with a large army to free India from British colonialism. In Lahore he held several meetings with Ranjit Singh and persuaded him into submission and started building his army to attack Delhi.

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The English politicians in India, who had not faced such a threat, realized they would not be able to face Zaman Shah's forces, used political means to thwart the threat. Lord Welsley, the governor general of India, sent an emissary, Captain John Malcolm, to the court of Iran and signed the 10 January 1801 agreement with Iran. As a result of this agreement the king of Iran complied that the Iranian forces would attack Afghanistan if the king of Afghanistan would attack British India. And if the Afghan king were to attack Iran or if the French forces would attack Iran or interfere in the Iranian shores the British forces will come to the aid of Iran. Beside this agreement pertaining to war and defense, John Malcolm had earlier encouraged Fateh Alishah, the successor to Aqa Mohammad Qajar, to attack Khorasan and Herat so that Zaman Shah is threatened from the rear so he may refrain from attacking India (1799). It was possible that Zaman Shah's march to India may have started a revolution in India and once again revived the conquests of Ahmad Shah.

This political move by Malcolm was successful in Iran and when the Qajari army, at the instigation of the British, attacked Khorasan, Zaman Shah was forced to go to Herat by way of Peshawar and Kandahar. When Fateh Alishah realized he had achieved his goal, which was the withdrawal of the Afghan forces from India by Zaman Shah, he withdrew his forces from Khorasan.

Zaman Shah did not abandon his goal of conquering India and gathered a large army of Afghans and engaged in further reinforcing his army in Peshawar. The colonial British rulers in India this time took advantage of the rivalry between the royal brothers with the establishment of internal discord to get rid of this threat forever. This time the attention of British politicians was directed toward Prince Mahmud, who was an exile in Iran together with Sardar Fateh Khan Barakzai. Since Sardar Payenda Khan, father of Fateh Khan, had been killed on the orders of Zaman Shah, he was also considered an opponent of the Afghan king.

It must be mentioned that at the time Fateh Khan was a strong and influential personality among the Durrani tribes from Farah to Kandahar. He had numerous active brothers and the power base of his family was only second to the royal family in Afghanistan. The shrewd British politicians in the Iranian court recognized Mahmud as a rival of Zaman Shah who had been deported in a disorderly manner and had taken refuge in Iran. With the help of the Iranian court, Mahmud accompanied by Sardar Fateh Khan, entered Afghanistan by way of Seistan and Farah and managed to capture Seistan, Farah and Kandahar with the help of the Durrani and Barakzai tribes who live in the area. After reinforcing their men they marched on Kabul under the command of Sardar Fateh Khan. Zaman Shah who was preparing his forces in Peshawar for the attack on India came to Kabul after hearing this news. The armies of the two brothers met in Tazi between Ghazni and Moqor and as a result Zaman Shah was defeated, captured and blinded. With this incident the British managed to rid themselves of a major rival while at the same time they lit the fire of civil war in Afghanistan. Following these events no one thought about the conquest of India. This is the consequence of internal discord which has always resulted in ruining and weakening Afghan society. Eventually Mahmud ascended the throne in Kabul in 1800 and appointed Sardar Fateh Khan Mohammadzai as his prime minister. This was a time when Afghanistan fell into the hands of the brothers of Fateh Khan and Mahmud was only a king by name.

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Shuja-al-Malik, who was Shah Zaman brother from the same mother and was watching these events from a distance in Peshawar set up an army and came out to depose Mahmud. Mahmud's force of 3000 men faced his brother's forces at Ashpan and drove him back to the mountains of Khyber (1801). However internal battles kept Mahmud busy and a year later major battles took place with the Ghalji tribesmen, Shuja and the Afridi tribesmen in Peshawar. In the northern provinces he fought the Uzbek rulers who raided from the far side of the Oxus and the Qajari rulers of Iran took control of Meshad and overthrew the Naderi governors of Khorasan and Meshad, who had been appointed by Afghan rulers. Similarly the Baluchi amirs also raised their voice for independence. Despite all these pressures, Mahmud who was a philanderer, did not make any attempts to remedy the situation and had left the affairs of running the country to Wazir Fateh Khan and his brothers until the people rose against him and Sher Mohammad Khan, son of Shah Wali Khan, invited Shuja-al-Malik to come to Kabul and serve as king. Shuja came to Kabul in 1803 from Peshawar and took over the reigns of power and deposed Shah Mahmud.

Since Wazir Fateh Khan and Prince Kamran, son of Mahmud, were in Kandahar therefore Shuja sent Prince Qaisar bin Shah Zaman to defend Kandahar who managed to take over control of the city without a fight and drove Kamran to Farah. Wazir Fateh Khan surrendered to Shah Shuja and was under detention at his ancestral fort of Adey Nawa-e Brakzai, south of Grishk. Despite this he did not refrain from getting involved in politics. In 1804, while Shah Shuja gathered a force of 30,000 men in Peshawar, and wanted to purge Kashmir, Punjab and Sind prince Qaisar rose against his uncle in Kandahar but Shah Shuja reprehended his nephew and appointed him as governor of Kandahar and marched on to Sind to combat the rebellious leaders of Talpur. After receiving 320 thousand rupees he established peace with them. However the internal situation had gone awry and the ignorant nephews of the king, Kamran and Qaisar, were constantly creating problems. Since Shah Shuja was busy with the war in Kashmir and Peshawar and did not have the time to combat internal opponents, the situation in Afghanistan turned into a crisis. During this time the aggressive British forces had taken control of India as far as Ludhiana. Since they were afraid of the emerging influence of France in the court of Iran and wanted to quell their European rival in their conquest of India, so they may take charge of the Indian sub-continent single handed. As a result the British government in India sent a diplomatic mission composed of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sterchi to Peshawar who met Shuja on 5 March 1809 and put fear into him about an attack of Afghanistan by Iran resulting in the first agreement between Shah Shuja and British India which was approved by Lord Minto, the governor general of India. This was a defense agreement since the first two articles of the agreement state if France and Iran attack Afghan territory the British Indian government will provide aid to Kabul and will not allow for aggression to take place against Afghanistan. The third article deals with friendship between the two sides and that the Afghan king should not allow any Frenchmen in the country and the two sides will not interfere in the affairs of the other and will always respect each other.

This agreement did not help Shah Shuja as he was detested by the people. Shah Mahmud, with the help of Wazir Fateh Khan, engaged him in warfare and sedition for two years until he was finally defeated

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and left for India to take refuge under the British government there (1814). As it will be mentioned in the chapter on the Mohammadzai, Shah Shuja came to power with the help of the British for the second time. He was kept in India by the Indian British government so they could use him at a future time.

When Shah Mahmud became the king for a second time, the affairs of running the government were under Wazir Fateh Khan. This brave personality subdued Baluchistan, Sind and Kashmir and was ruling the country for Shah Mahmud and had let the affairs of Afghanistan be run by his brothers. When Ranjit Singh took over the Attock fort Fateh Khan defeated him in a fierce battle which took place in the Hazara district and handed over Kashmir to his brother, Sardar Mohammad Azim in 1814.

At this juncture Herat was in the hands of Haji Ferozuddin, brother of Mahmud, and in 1816 Ali Shah Qajar decided to capture the place. As a result Fateh Khan, together with the Kabul army, went to Herat. First he detained Haji Ferozuddin and sent him to Kabul. Next he killed 10,000 Qajari soldiers in the Kohsan battle, which took place west of Herat, and drove the Qajari army from Herat and got busy with administering the affairs of Herat. However, a sinister event took place in that Sardar Dost Mohammad Khan, brother of Fateh Khan, entered the residence of Haji Ferozuddin and took jewelery, gems and an elaborate belt embedded with jewels, which according to Sherazi, author of History of Ahmad Shah Durrani, was worth 50,000 tumans and went to Kashmir. This incidence was very disturbing for Shah Mahmud and Kamran resulting in a spite with the family of Wazir Fateh Khan. It was such ill-feeling which resulted in the tragic death of Wazir Fateh Khan and the initiation of animosity between the Sadozai and Barakzai families.

Shah Mahmud sent his ignorant son, Kamran, to Herat who arrested Wazir Fateh Khan and blinded him in 1817. This act of Prince Kamran was considered as a solace toward the evil move made by Dost Mohammad as the Sadozai family were of the belief that all the sedition was due to Wazir Fateh Khan. However the blind Wazir had active and powerful brothers. When they learned about the blinding of their brother disturbances started all over the nation from Kashmir to Herat and anger took over. Sardar Dost Mohammad returned from Kashmir and took over Kabul and drove Shah Mahmud to Ghazni.

Kamran, together with 12,000 soldiers, went to Ghazni to help his dethroned father while Sardar Mohammad Azim Khan came from Kashmir to aid Sardar Dost Mohammad Khan. The battle between the two opposing sides took place between Kabul and Ghazni resulting in the defeat of Mahmud and Kamran and during this time the blind Wazir Fateh Khan was killed and dismembered in Sayed Abad of Wardak in revenge (1818). The father and son returned to Herat where a dispute developed between Mahmud and Haji Ferozuddin as to who should administer Herat. Kamran was victorious and killed both of them in 1829 and he continued to rule over Herat until 1842.

During this time as sedition had spread all over the country the Qajari government sent 30,000 soldiers in 1832, with the instigation of the Czarist government of Russia, to capture Herat but the British stopped the Qajari government from such an invasion and since the people of Herat were faithful to their country of Afghanistan, the Qajari soldiers were not allowed to take over the land and as a result Herat stayed a part of the country.

Note: Further discussion of the Sadozai family will be covered in the chapter on the Mohammadzai.

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The Sadozai kings:

1. Ahmad Shah Baba Abdali bin Zaman Khan 1747–1772.*
2. Suleiman bin Ahmad Shah 1172.
3. Timur Shah bin Ahmad Shah 1772–1793.*
4. Zaman Shah bin Timur Shah 1793–1801.*
5. Shah Mahmud bin Timur Shah 1801–1830.*
6. Shah Shuja bin Timur Shah 1804–1842.*
7. Ferozuddin bin Timur Shah, Herat 1815.
8. Kamran son of Shah Mahmud, Herat 1819–1830.

References: Hayat-e Afghani, Seraj-al-Tawarekh, Tohfah-al-Habib, Tarekh-e Sultani, Khorshaid Jahan, Sayr-al-Mutaakhereen, Sir John's Malcolm History, Taj-al-Tawarekh, Ahmad Shah Baba, Loy Ahmad Shah Baba, Majmal-al-Tawarekh ba'd Naderia, Feroughi's Tarekh-e Iran, Abad Iqbal's Tarekh-e Omuni Abas Iqbal, Jahan Kushay-e Naderi, Dairat-al-Ma'rif Islami, Sulat-e Afghani, Tarekh-e Ahmadi (handwritten manuscript), Tutmat-al-Bayan, Nader Nama (handwritten manuscript), Khulasat-al-Nesab (handwritten manuscript), Rahnumay-e Afghanistan, Majma-al-Tawarekhe, Reyaz-al-Muhiba, Khasayl-e al-Saadat, Maktubat-e Seyasi Shah Waliullah, Mabtubat-e Shah Faqirullah, Zafar Nama-e Ranjit, Hayat-e Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Tarekh-e Nexami-e Iran, Tarekh-e Pashtun, Showkat-e Afghani, Tarekh-e Peshawar, Jareda-e Shams-al-Nehar-e Kabul, Jareda-e Seraj-al-Akhbar-e Afghaniya, Melson's History of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Baba by Ganda Singh in English, Tarekh-e Ahmad Shah Durrani by Sayed Hussain Sherazi, Emad-al-Sa'da by Sayed Ghulam Ali Khan, The Raja's of Punjab by Griffen, Tarekh-e Baluchistan, Khazana-e A'mera, Tarekh-e Sind by Mawlana Mehr, History of Sind in English, Gazetter of Sind, History of Kalhora in English, Tohfa-al-Keram.

Part Seven

The Mohammadzai (1802–1920)

The Mohammadzai is a branch of Barakzai tribe of Kandahar. Mohammad Neka (grandfather), the originator of the tribe, was a contemporary of Malik Sado, the leader of the Abdali tribes of Kandahar and lived around 1591 in Arghasan, southeast of Kandahar. Mohammad bin Omar was a descendant of Daud and Barak, which is a branch of the Abdali tribe related to Sarrban. The mausoleum of Mohammad Neka is in Arghasan of Kandahar. The progeny of Mohammad were leaders among the Barkazai tribes in the Kandahar area and their center was in Nawa-e Barakzai, along the banks of the Helmand river, south of Greshk. Their fort exists at this location until this day and it was the ancestral home of this family.

As mentioned earlier the head of this tribe, Haji Jamal Khan bin Haji Yusuf bin Yaro bin Mohammad participated in the Sher-e Surkh jirga which was held to name the new king. Later he was advisor at the court of Ahmad Shah. He died in 1770 and was buried south of Kandahar near Zakir village. After his death, his son Sardar Payenda Khan, became the leader of the Barakzai tribes from Arghasan to Nawa-e Barakzai of Helmand and held important positions in the court of Timur Shah. He was instrumental in defeating Azad Khan Kashmir, the rebellion started by Abdul Khaleq Sadozai and the defection of Prince Abas, son of Timur to Lalpura. He served Timur Shah well and as a result was bestowed the title of Sarferaz Khan (triumphant). However, after the death of Timur Shah, Zaman Shah appointed Rahmatullah Khan Sadozai, giving him the title of Wafadar Khan (faithful) in his place, and Sardar Payenda Khan fled to the Aday fort on the bank of the Helmand river. Since people often visited him Shah Zaman killed him together with some of his associates in Kandahar (7 February 1800). Sardar Payenda Khan left behind 20 active and powerful sons and after the death of their father they spread in Afghanistan. Sardar Fateh Khan, who was the eldest son of Payenda Khan, went to Iran to take refuge under Shah Mahmud, brother of Zaman Shah. As mentioned in the chapter on the Sadozai, Zaman Shah had gathered a force of 100,000 men, to march on India and political representatives of the British government engaged in conspiracy to nullify this force since they were afraid that Napoleon, through diplomacy and contacts with Zaman Shah, may take advantage of the situation. Hence through the Qajari government of Iran they instigated and empowered Shah Mahmud and sent him to Afghanistan against Zaman Shah. Sardar Fateh Khan, by way of Seistan and Farah, returned to the country and as commander of the Mahmud forces attacked Kandahar. Shah Zaman was defeated in the battle of Tazi and was blinded on the orders of Mahmud thus Kabul was seized. Shah Zaman's vizier, Rahmatullah Khan Sadozai, was also killed.

When Shah Mahmud ascended the throne of Kabul he appointed Sardar Fateh Khan as his courtier, with the title of Shahdost (friend of the king), and let him and his brothers take charge of all the country in 1801. The sons of Sardar Payenda Khan Mohammadzai from then on became rulers of Afghanistan and Fateh Khan, who was in total charge of the country, appointed his brothers as governors of different

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provinces. He kept Sardar Dost Mohammad Khan with himself in the center (Kabul). He appointed Mohammad Azim Khan and after him Abdul Jabar Khan as governors of Kashmir, Yar Mohammad Khan and Sultan Mohammad Khan were appointed as governors of Peshawar as far as Attock. Sind and Shekarpur were relegated to Rahamdil Khan, Ghazni to Sherdil Khan, Bamian to Kohandil Khan, Kandahar and its adjoining territory, from Kalat to Bolan valley and Farah, to Mehrdil Khan and Purdil Khan, and Derajat to the border of Punjab and the highlands of Peshawar to Nawab Abdul Samad Khan and his son Nawab Zaman Khan. As a result of the ensuing tussles the country turned into a battlefield of bloodshed. In the end Wazir Fateh Khan was blinded in Herat by Atta Mohammad Khan, the vizier of Prince Kamran in 1818. This move prompted the Barakzai brothers to take revenge and unprecedented anarchy pursued resulting in the end of the rule of the Sadozi family. A feud also brewed up between the brothers of Wazir Fateh Khan over the kingship until Sardar Dost Mohammad Khan proclaimed himself as king in the Eidgah Mosque of Kabul and the sermon was read in his name as the Amir of Kabul in 1838.

Eventually the Amir appointed his sons to different parts of the country under his rule. Taking advantage of internal weakness and discord in the country the forces of Ranjit Singh took control of Punjab as far as Peshawar. After the battle of Balakot, Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan was weakened with the death of mujaheddin who were commanded by Sayed Ahmad Baryalwi and Mawlawi Ismail Dehlawi and the death of Sardar Yar Mohammad Khan, his brother, in Peshawar district. It was feared that Ranjit's forces would attack Khyber. Because of this Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, in a letter to Lord Bentik, the governor general of India, asked for help in restoration of Peshawar and by way of Basul, together with an army of 60,000 men, left for Peshawar but Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan managed to disperse the Amir's army which returned back to Jalalabad in failure by way of Khyber. As a result Ashangar as far as Kohat and Tal fell into the hands of Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan, brother of the Amir (1838).

In order to defeat Ranjit, Amir Dost Mohammad sent letters to the British, Iranian and Russian governments. Lord Aucklund, the viceroy of British India in 1836–37, sent a delegation from the British Indian government composed of Alexander Burns, Major Leach, and Lieutenant Wood. This was the first political and economic delegation sent by the British to Kabul. At the same time a representative of the Russian government, Vitkievitch,¹ also arrived in Kabul who was encouraging the court and the governors of Kandahar against British expansionism in Sind and Punjab. Amir Dost Mohammad Khan consulted with the British under the condition that if the British would provide 2000 rifles and return the land west of the Indus river he would forever remain a friend and collaborator of the British.

The British government, in order to protect India, and to prevent a possible attack by Russia had Shah Shuja in mind who had been removed from power and was living in exile in India. As a result Lord Aucklund on 1 October 1838 started the First Afghan–Anglo war and embarked on disarming and eliminating Dost Mohammad Khan.

1. Vitkievitch arrived in Kabul in 1838. He was sent unofficially by the the Russian envoy in Iran. Ariana Vol. 2, Number 1.

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In order to gain back his lost status as king, Shah Shuja, was ready to accept any kind of inferior status and on 12 March 1838 he signed his first agreement which contained 14 articles with Ranjit Singh, despite the fact the deposed king did not have any legal or official status. According to the agreement he relented all of Kashmir, Punjab, the area of Attock and Peshawar as far as Khyber and Sind to Ranjit. According to articles 11,13 and 14 the two sides agreed to help each other militarily during times of danger. The agreement also contained some features on trade between the two sides. Since the accord was between Shuja-ul-Mulk and Ranjit and did not benefit Britain, the British Indian government did not accept it. Following this the Lahore Agreement was drafted between Shuja-ul-Mulk, Ranjit Singh and the British governor general on 26 June 1838 and signed in Simla on 25 July of the same year. This is the same year when the Russian envoy, Vitkievitch, arrived in Kabul. Shuja-ul-Mulk did not have any authority to represent his nation and at the time was considered an exile without any legal rights.

At any rate the Lahore Agreement, which contained 18 articles, was signed by W.H. Macnaughton who was representing Lord Auckland, the governor general of British India. In return for a promise to be seated back to power as king, Shah Shuja agreed to relent all the lands of Khyber and the Bolan valley and agreed to give 200,000 rupees and 5000 soldiers to Ranjit after he was enthroned. He also agreed he would not have any relationship with any government which was against the British and Maharaja Ranjit, would recognize his nephew as the governor of Herat and would not interfere in Herat's affairs.

Article 18 of the agreement deals with a military pact stating that if any signatory i.e., the English, Ranjit or Shuja comes under attack the others would provide military aid in case of danger.

After the signing of this atypical agreement, which took place between two governments and an exile individual, the British soldiers, commanded by Sir John Keen, brought Shah Shuja to Kandahar in February of 1839 and by way of Sind and Bolan attacked Kandahar and took control of the city on 20 April 1839. The brothers of the Amir fled to Iran and Shah Shuja sat on the throne of Kandahar on 7 May 1839. In Kandahar Macnaughton received a guarantee from Shah Shuja, that the British military, together with one political representative will be allowed to stay in Afghanistan. Hence the British army, accompanied by Shah Shuja, attacked Kabul by way of Ghazni and at the same time Captain Wood, together with Prince Timur, son of Shuja, attacked by way of Khyber and Jalalabad and on 17 August 1839 Shah Shuja was declared king in Kabul. Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, accompanied by his sons, went to Bokhara where he was put in jail by the king of Bokhara. As a result of capturing Kabul Lord Auckland was bestowed the title of Earl by the British court in 1839.

With the departure of the Amir and other government officials the Afghan nation declared jihad against the British and a year later Amir Dost Mohammad Khan accompanied by his son, Mohammad Afzal Khan, left Bokhara and crossed the Oxus river but was defeated by the British army in Aibak and he went to Tashkurghan on 28 September 1840. After that the Amir surrendered to the British and was sent to Calcutta in November of the same year.

The patriotic mujaheddin, under the leadership of Masjedi Khan and Sultan Mohammad Nejrabi and others, declared a war against the foreign infiltrators north of Kabul. Abdullah Khan Achekzai, Aminullah Khan Logari and others, with the help of the people living around Kabul, rose against Shah Shuja and the

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British during the fall of 1842. Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan, son of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, joined the others from the north and put pressure on the British. As a result of the fighting Sir W. Macnaughton was killed by Sardar Akbar Khan on 23 December 1841 and Alexander Burns was killed by the mujaheddin on 3 April 1842. As the British army retreated from Kabul to Jalalabad in winter of the same year all of them were killed by the freedom fighters.

The British suffered heavy casualties during this war and lost 30,000 of their men and spent 21 million Indian rupees on the war. In the end they were not even able to provide security to themselves and only one person, Dr. William Brydon, managed to reach Jalalabad alive. Hence Amir Dost Mohammad Khan was brought back from India and with the help of his son, Wazir Akbar Khan, he was once again declared king in Kabul. His brothers returned from Iran and became the governors. Kandahar and Herat remained under the control of Yar Mohammad Khan Alekozai and Prince Kamran.

During his second term as king, Amir Dost Mohammad Khan did not appoint leaders of the First Afghan-Anglo war, who had made sacrifices in defending the nation, to high positions such as Nayeb Aminullah Khan Logari, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan Sarkar and Mohammad Shah Khan Babakerkhel, Nawab Mohammad Zaman Khan and his son Shuja-ul-Dawla Khan, Mohammad Osman Khan, Nawab Jabar Khan and Masjadi Khan etc. Instead he brought the whole country under the repossession of his sons. As a result his nephew and son-in-law, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, who had got tired of the despotism, went to Kandahar and attacked Kabul with 5000 Kandahari soldiers. The Amir managed to defeat him in Moqor. Sultan Ahmad Khan fled to Iran and the esteemed son of the Amir, Wazir Akbar Khan, passed away in Mazar-e Sharif in 1846.

But Sardar Mohammad Akram Khan, another son of the Amir managed to subdue Aishan Awraq, the chief of Balkh, Aishan Sudur, the chief of Aqcha, Mir Hakim Khan, governor of Sheberghan, Mir Baba Beg, the chief of Aibak, Ghazanfar Khan, commander of Andkhai, Ganj Ali, the elder of Khulm, Mahmud Khan, the judge of Sar-e Pul, and Shah Murad, the border chief of Kataghan, in the north of the country. He went as far as the Oxus river and secured the northern boundary of the country (1838). Only Kandahar and Herat remained out of control of the Amir's domain. After a few years the chiefs of Kandahar, brothers of the Amir, Kuhandil, Purdil and Mehrdil died and Rahmandil survived who ran into conflict with his nephews. On 25 March 1855 the Amir sent Sardar Ghulam Haidar, the crown prince, to Jamrud to meet Sir John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of Punjab, and the Peshawar Agreement of 30 March 1855 was signed with the British government of British India, which contained three articles. This agreement dealt with friendship between the two countries and non-interference by either side in the affairs of the other. Article three read that either country will consider a friend of the other side their friend and an enemy of the other side their enemy.

With the signing of the agreement the Amir was assured about the eastern parts of the country and at the same time managed to get the agreement of the British-Indian government in capturing Kandahar. He then sent an army to Kandahar, captured it and left his son, Ghulam Haidar Khan, in charge of the place. This move resulted in Kandahar coming directly under the influence of the Kabul emirate.

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However in Herat the remnants of the Sadozai family were eliminated by Yar Mohammad Alekozai, vizier of Kamran and Yar Mohammad, the governor of the region, died in 1850 and his ignorant son, Sayed Mohammad Khan, replaced him. He minted his coin under the name of Nasiruddin Shah Qajar. The people of Herat were displeased with this move and killed him and declared Prince Yusuf, the grandson of Haji Ferozuddin, who was from the Yusufzai lineage, as the king of Herat in October 1855, until Nasiruddin Shah sent an army to Herat and captured that city a year later.

Afghan leaders considered Herat an integral part of Afghanistan and did not want an alien interfere in its affairs. Hence Amir Dost Mohammad Khan embarked on efforts to annex Herat directly to the nation. During this time the English invited Amir Dost Mohammad Khan to Jamrud and through Sir John Lawrence the Peshawar Agreement of 26 January 1857 was signed. This agreement, which contained 12 articles, was signed on behalf of John Vicount, the governor general of British India, by John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of Punjab, and Lieutenant Colonel H. Lee Edwards, the commissioner of Peshawar with the Amir.

The agreement states: "Since the king of Iran violated his pledge, took control of Herat and interfered in the affairs of Afghanistan, therefore the British government of India will aid Amir Dost Mohammad Khan so he may be able to protect his land from Qajari expansionism. And as long as the war continues with the Qajari government he will be provided one hundred thousand rupees monthly with the condition that the Amir will maintain a good standing army of 18,000 men together with his cavalry and artillery unit. He should maintain 13,000 trained and properly equipped men. British representatives, together with Indian troops, will be stationed in Kabul, Kandahar or Balkh or wherever fighting breaks out with the Qajari forces, so that the provided money can be spent under their supervision on military matters but they will not interfere in the internal matters of the country and will only gather information about military events."

The Amir sent his representative to Peshawar and beside the monthly money he was receiving he was given 500,000 rupees in cash. In return the Amir was not allowed to directly or indirectly hold political consultations with any other government. In Tal the Amir was also given 4000 rifles as a result of this agreement. In addition the British government exerted political pressure on the Qajari government to vacate Herat as soon as possible. In November of 1857 the British sent an armada by way of the Arabian Sea to Boshahar, captured that city and made its pullout a condition for the Qajari force to leave Herat.

What was going on behind the curtain or in the political circles regarding Herat in India, London, Tehran and Kabul is clear from the text of the agreement and the British naval move. The people of Afghanistan and Herat also did not accept the bondage of the Qajari government. National movements took place in different places and devoted men took action for their freedom to drive away the invading force. As a result the Qajari army abandoned Herat on 27 July 1857 and went to Meshad. At this time Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, nephew of the Amir, came to Herat and he was declared the governor of the area. The brave people of Herat thus managed to keep Herat free from the hegemony of others.

This Sardar was one of the national leader during the war with the British. For this reason his presence was not acceptable to the British government in India. With his arrival to Herat the people gathered around him and a political movement was started. The British government sent a political

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delegation, headed by Major Taylor, from Baghdad to Herat. Following this the Russian government sent a delegation, headed by Khanikov, to Sardar's court. Sultan Ahmad made the British delegation leave Herat in failure in 1858 and ruled independently over Herat.

Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, who felt that the people of Herat were inclined to join the center, prepared a force and attacked Herat on 16 August 1861 and besieged his nephew and son-in-law in Herat. The siege continued for 18 months and Sultan Ahmad passed away and his son, Shahnawaz Khan, continued to resist for another two months after which he fell into the hands of the Amir (5 June 1862). The Amir also died a few days later from asthma symptoms at the age of 77 and was buried in Herat at the Khwaja Abdullah Ansari shrine at Gazargah on 18 June 1862. The annexation of Herat to the central government of Afghanistan was the most valuable undertaking by the Amir during his last years of life.

Amir Dost Mohammad was the first Amir from the Mohammadzai family and was famous as the "great Amir". Coins minted in his name carry these two lines:

Gold and silver greet the sun and the moon

It is time for Payenda Khan's coin to be minted.

He was an ambitious, quiet and pleasure seeking person but was a brave and thoughtful individual and married 14 wives, had hundreds of concubines and 52 sons. After his death 29 of his sons engaged in a vicious civil war in the country.

During his first term when he took control of Kabul he held a council meeting with his brothers and inked an agreement in November 1826, a copy of which is present in the Kabul museum, resulting in the division of the country among the brothers. The president of the jirga was Nawab Abdul Samad Khan, who was the eldest of all the brothers and the following decisions were made:

1. Nawab Abdul Samad Khan will receive Kohat and Hango and related lands, which used to be called Bangash.
2. Sardar Yar Mohammad Khan, Sultan Mohammad Khan, Pir Mohammad Khan and Sayed Mohammad Khan will receive Peshawar, Ashangar and its related lands together with 100,000 rupees from the revenue of Kabul which were given out by Amir Dost Mohammad Khan.
3. Nawab Abdul Jabar Khan will receive the Ghaljai area of Hesarak, to the east of Kabul.
4. Amir Dost Mohammad Khan and Amir Mohammad Khan, his blood brother, will receive Kabul, Kohdaman, Logar and its related lands.
5. Nawab Mohammad Zaman Khan and his blood brothers (sons of Nawab Asad Khan bin Payenda Khan) the lands east of Kabul, Laghman and Jalalabad as far as Khyber and its related lands.
6. Sardar Habibullah Khan and Sardar Mohammad Akram Khan (sons of Sardar Mohammad Azim Khan the dead brother of the Amir) will receive Logar, Budkhak, Charkh, Maidan and Ghorband.
7. The chiefs of Kandahar, five brothers (Purdil, Kuhandil, Sherdil, Rahamdil and Mehrdil) will receive Kandahar from Shahjoi to Farah.

These individuals administered the seven regions of the country and Nawab Asad Khan was in control of Derajat while Rahamdil was governor of the Bolan valley as far as Shekarpur.

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This was the result of the actions of the Barakzai brothers who divided the country after the Sadozai became weak and destroyed the strong central government established by Ahmad Shah Durrani. As a result of this move the powerful country was weakened and partitioned.

According to Mohan Lal, whose information is based on Sayed Hussain, the finance officer of Kabul, officer Metha and other officers who were officials during the time of the Amir, the total revenue during the first term of the Amir was 2,509,238 Kabuli rupees which was collected from Kabul and the area north of Kabul, Ghorband, Maidan, Wardak, Ghazni, Behsud, Bamian, Zurmat, Gardez, Hazara, Kuram, Khost, Jalalabad and Laghman.

After the annexation of Kandahar and the end of the rule of the Kandahari chieftains the revenue collected from Farah, Kandahar and Shahjoi was also diverted to Kabul and according to Faiz Mohammad Hazara, the Amir gave 1.5 million rupees of the revenue to the chiefs of Kandahar, who were his nephews, as salary. But the annual salaries of the governors of Peshawar and Ashnagar and its adjoining areas was 692,000 rupees of the time. Moreover the revenue from finances from foodstuffs and other miscellaneous items was approximately 62,000 rupees. The total revenue from this region was 754,000 rupees.

If we are to add the revenue from other parts of the country such as the northern provinces of Qathagan, Bangash, Laghman and Derajat about 5 million rupees to the total from Kabul, Kandahar and Peshawar the total revenue of the emirate of the Barakzai brothers (Amir Dost Mohammad Khan and his brothers) was 10 million rupees.

During this time trade between India and Bukhara was taking place through Afghanistan and trade caravans travelled from Amritsar and Sakepur to Kabul, Kandahar, Bukhara and Meshed and in particular Kashmiri shawls and other delicate items were traded. According to a trade report of 1862 the total volume of trade between Afghanistan and India was 939,117 pounds and the customs tax was 2.5 percent. Nomads also traded goods worth 1.3 million rupees. Famous merchants of Kabul were Mullah Rahim Shah, Ghulam Qadir and Gopaldas Shekarpuri. Mullah Jalal Achekzai and Mullah Naso were prominent merchants from Kandahar. The revenue of Kabul customs from taxes was about 400,000 rupees. The finance ministers of Kabul were Sayed Hussain Khan, Abdul Razaq Khan and Mirza Abdul Sami Khan. Mirza Mohammad Hussain Khan was the head secretary of the government, Shahghasi Sherdil Khan Barakzai was the interior and court minister, Ghulam Mohammad Khan Popalzai was the military adviser, Qazi Abdul Rahman Khanolom Barakzai the minister of justice and the chief justice, Mir Haji bin Mir Wa'iz was the adviser on religious affairs and Feramarz Khan Nuristani was head of the military and commander of the court.

The army of the Amir was commanded and trained by the Englishman Campall (who had converted to Islam during the first Afghan-Anglo war and was named Sher Mohammad) and the American Dr. Harlan, who had come to Kabul from the court of Ranjit Singh, and the Indian, Nayeb Abdul Samad. During the Amir's first term the army numbered 12,000 cavalry and 3,500 infantry armed with rifles, 50 large cannons, and 250 cannons pulled by mules. The salary of the mounted soldiers was 120 rupees

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annually and that of the infantry was 84 rupees. During the later stages of the emirate of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan the military structure was as follows:

1. Kabul: two infantry regiments with 18 plain cannons, two heavy cannons, one mortar and one hornet.
2. Balkh: three infantry and two cavalry regiments with 16 field cannons.
3. Bamian: one infantry regiment with two mountain cannons.
4. Kohistan: one infantry regiment with two field cannons and two mountain cannons.
5. Farah: one infantry regiment and four field cannons.
6. Greshk: One infantry regiments and four field cannons.
7. Ghazni: One infantry regiment and four field cannons.
8. Aqcha: One infantry regiment and two field cannons.
9. Qalat-e Ghilzai: One infantry regiment and three mountain cannons and one field cannon.
10. Kandahar: Three infantry and one cavalry regiments, two heavy cannons, two mountain cannons and 12 field cannons.
11. Zamindawar: One infantry regiment, four field cannons.

The area under control of the Amir had 11 military centers. Each regiment was made up of 800 personnel and 600 persons could participate in daily exercises. Each cavalry unit contained 300 persons and the total military was composed of:

16 infantry regiments with a total of 12,800 men

Three cavalry regiments with a total of 900 men

There were 67 field cannons, 4 mountain cannons, 4 heavy cannons, and one mortar. The total number of soldiers was 13,700 with 81 cannons. In addition the number of non-commissioned soldiers was: Kabul 31,000, Kandahar 18,000, Herat 22,000 and Balkh 29,000 (Afghanistan, published in London 1906). Internal security was maintained by the commissioner and the police force and Sharia courts handled the legal matters. The judges were appointed by the chief justice with endorsement of the Amir. The first term of the Amir was composed of a joint administration and the country was governed jointly by his brothers as declared in the mentioned agreement. Each brother ruled his region independently but during the second term of the Amir the government was centralized, the influence of the brothers faded and administration of the country was divided among sons of the Amir and they governed under the orders of the Amir. They took a part of the revenue of their region for their expense and sent the rest to the treasury in Kabul. They were not allowed to make unilateral decisions without their father's permission. The following were governors of various regions:

Sardar Sher Ali Khan: Koram Bangash, the area south of Peshawar.

Sardar Mohammad Afzal Khan: Zurmat, south of Kabul which was later annexed to Kabul.

Crown Prince Ghulam Haider Khan: Ghazni and Kandahar and later became governor of Jalalabad. In his place Sardar Shamuddin, the blood nephew of the Amir, who was governor in Kohistan was appointed in Ghazni.

Sardar Mohammad Azam Khan: Logar, south of Kabul.

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Sardar Mohammad Amin Khan: Kohistan, north of Kabul. ‘

Sardar Mohammad Sharif Khan: Bamian, northwest of Kabul and later in Farah and Kalat.

Sardar Mohammad Akram Khan: Laghman and Jalalabad, the region east of Kabul.

After the death of the Amir, Sardar Sher Ali Khan declared himself as Amir in Herat and minted a coin with the following lines:

See the beauty of the Payenda government

The accomplisher for Dost Mohammad, Amir Sher Ali

Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani was among the important personalities who was present during the coronation of Amir Sher Ali in Herat and provided the new king with programs for internal reforms and implementation of civility. However, during the first five years of his reign, the Amir was engaged in fighting with his bothers and civil war until 1866 and did not find any time for reforms. As a result Sayed Jamaluddin left the country and started inspiring youth in other Asian and European countries and launched the movement of Islamic unity against European colonization.

In 1863 the Mohmand tribes, led by Sultan Mohammad Khan bin Sa'dat Khan, rose against the British. Amir Sher Ali Khan sent his son, Mohammad Ali Khan, together with Mohammad Rafiq Khan Ludin, his minister, to the Mohmands to maintain ties with the tribes. But the British failed to recognize his emirate officially and held his brother, Mohammad Azam Khan, in Peshawar to oppose the Amir. After this, Mohammad Afzal Khan, another brother of the Amir, also rebelled and faced the Amir's men in Bajgah valley of the Hindu Kush. But he surrendered, was imprisoned and his son, Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan, left for Bukhara.

Following this the Amir fought with another brother, Mohammad Amin Khan, in Kajbaz of Tarnak in Kalat. In this battle his brother, Mohammad Amin and his son, Mohammad Ali, were killed (1865). A year later Abdul Rahman Khan returned from Bukhara and with the help of Mohammad Azam Khan attacked Kabul. He captured the city and declared Amir Mohammad Afzal Khan, the elder brother of Amir Sher Ali, as king (1866) but Amir Sher Ali left for Kandahar. A year later Amir Mohammad Afzal Khan died during a period of civil strife in 1867 and his other brother, Amir Mohammad Azam Khan, became the king in Kabul. His nephew, Abdul Rahman, attacked the northern provinces as far as the Oxus river and annexed them to Kabul.

Kandahar and Herat remained in the hands of Amir Sher Ali Khan where he gathered fresh forces and attacked Kabul by way of Kandahar and took control of the capital. Amir Mohammad Azam Khan and Abdul Rahman both went to Iran. Azam Khan died there. General Kofman, the Russian governor of Turkistan, received Abdul Rahman and let him stay in Tashkent and Samarkand.

For a second time Amir Sher Ali Khan was recognized as the king of all of Afghanistan (1868). This time the Amir prepared a proper army in Kabul, opened schools and for the first time in the country started printing a newspaper by the name of Shams-al-Nihar. He opened a printing press in Kabul where some books were published including the Military Rules, which was translated into Pashto and Persian from English.

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The Amir appointed Sayed Nour Mohammad Shah Kandahari as his prime minister and formed the first council of ministers in which Esmatullah Khan was the minister of interior, Arsalla Khan was minister of foreign affairs, Habibullah Khan Wardak, minister of finance, Hussain Ali Khan, commander of the armed forces, Ahmad Ali Khan, minister of treasury and Mohammad Hasan Khan was the chief secretary of the court. This cabinet was formed from tribes living in Afghanistan without any ethnic or linguistic discrimination and did not include anyone from the royal family. This shows that the Amir made prudent political moves and kept equality among the citizens of the nation.

Among the moves made by the Amir one is the formation of an orderly army equipped with modern weapons. Even though this army did not benefit the Amir in time of danger but it is worthwhile to mention its existence. This army was formed in eight military bases in Kabul, Jalalabad, Sherabad, Kandahar, Kuram, Herat, Maimana and Balkh and contained the following personnel:

62 infantry regiments composed of 600 men each with a total of 37,200 men.

16 cavalry regiments composed of 600 men each with a total of 9,600 men.

5190 personnel who took care of the elephant, mule and bullock cannon units.

The total number of armed men during 1872 was 51,990. Beside this there were 8,000 infantry and 16,000 cavalry non-commissioned soldiers. The number of English and Afghan rifles totaled 40,825, and 329 English and Afghan cannons. The British government in India, until March of 1877, had provided 29,000 rifles to the Amir (Afghanistan by Hamilton).

Factories were built in Kabul and Herat in which heavy cannons were produced and a factory to build rifles also existed. Some of the cannons produced by the factory are present until the present time.

Finding that the political situation in the country was relatively calm the British government in India, through a letter written on 2 November 1868, officially recognized the government of Sher Ali Khan and sent 12,000 rifles and 600,000 rupees. In order to further expand the relationship the Amir, in 1869, paid a visit to Imbala at the invitation of the Viceroy of British India. As a result of the political meetings which took place Lord Mayo, the governor general of British India, did not accept all the demands of the Amir and declared non-interference in the affairs of Afghanistan and gave the Amir a gift of 12,000 rifles and 300,000 rupees. When the Amir returned to Kabul he announced his younger son, Abdullah, as the crown prince, while his elder son, Mohammad Yaqub Khan, left Kabul and started a rebellion in Herat but the Amir declared him as governor of Herat and in this way prevented the sedition.

The Amir also paid attention to resolve some political issues and started working on the establishment of the northern border with the Czarist government of Russia. To solve the issue of distribution of the water of Helmand river he agreed to mediation by the British representatives, and sent Sayed Nour Mohammad Shah, the prime minister, to Tehran and the same prime minister later participated in the Simla conference of 1873 and the Peshawar 30 January conference with the British government of India. However the two sides did not come to an agreement but the diplomatic initiatives continued. It was during this time that the Russian government attacked Khewa and took over that area on 12 May 1873 resulting in endangering India.

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Since the discussions of prime minister Mohammad Nour Shah did not reach a conclusion at the Peshawar conference and he became sick during the conference and died. This was the time when the British government in India used its “forward policy” along the borders of Afghanistan and considered aggression as the only means of protecting India. The Russian government had sent an ambassador, General Stoletoff,² to Kabul. The arrival of the ambassador made the politicians in India very nervous until the Second Anglo–Afghan war was started resulting in aggression toward Afghanistan.

The fully equipped British soldiers started their assault on 20 November 1878 by way of Khyber, Koram and Bolan and were making progress. The Amir left Kabul and with the help of Russia he went to Mazar–e Sharif where he died from gout on 21 February 1879. After his death a deplorable state of affairs prevailed. The people were left without a leader while the enemy was getting ever closer. Some of the leaders released Prince Yaqub Khan, after eight years of imprisonment, and declared him king in March 1879.

The British army captured Afghanistan with a horrendous force and took the inexperienced prince to the British military headquarters in Gundumak. This is the location between Kabul and Jalalabad where the Afghan freedom fighters had completely annihilated the foreign aggressors during the first Anglo–Afghan war. The ignorant prince was dragged to the same location and forced to sign the sinister Gundumak treaty, on 26 May 1879, which resulted in the splitting of the country.

The Gundumak treaty was signed at a time when total chaos prevailed in the country and Prince Yakub Khan was living in Kabul under the protection of others and had not been considered as the king of all of Afghanistan. After a few months he fled the country for India and was placed under the protection of the British Indian government. Hence this treaty did not have any legal basis. According to the agreement, Khyber, Khuram and Pseen were separated from Afghanistan and became possessions of British India and Sir Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari (1841–1879)³, who was a participant in the signing of the Gundamak agreement, was appointed as the British envoy and took up residence in Bala Hisar of Kabul in July 1879. A few months later a general resurrection started and the freedom fighters took upon themselves to kill the British. The soldiers stationed in Bala Hisar also rebelled and joined the mujaheddin. Their first move was to kill the British envoy together with all his support staff in Bala Hisar (3 September 1879).

2. The reception of this delegation, led by Stoletoff, appeared in November issue of 1878 of the journal Golos, printed in St. Petesburg, a translation of which was published in the first issue of the second year of Ariana Journal. General Steletoff was accompanied by 22 Kazaks, four servants, and 15 Kirghiz. The party left Samarkand on 14 June and met the Amir on 11 August 1878 at the Bala Hisar Royal Palace.

3. Son of General Adolf who joined the army of the East India Company in 1857. He gained fame in India and surrounding areas and until 1877 was the governor of Kohat and Peshawar. He was a member of the delegation, led by Sir Chamberlain, which was going to Kabul. Afghan officials at Ali Masjid prevented this political delegation from leaving (Indian Biography 76).

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The second Anglo–Afghan war continued with ferocity and the Afghan freedom fighters fought bravely against General Chamberlin⁴, who had attacked with a large British force from Khyber. General Roberts⁵ came by way of Khuram and General J. Stewart⁶ attacked by way of the Bolan valley. The British deployed about 50,000 men during this operation who were fully equipped. The freedom fighters fought bravely and leaders of the mujaheddin, such as Mohammad Jan Khan Wardak, Mullah Mushk Alam Andarr, Sahebjan Taraki, Sardar Ayub Khan, Mohammad Osman Khan Safi, fought against the forces of aggression. One incident which totally dismayed the enemy was the decisive battle of Maiwand. During this battle the national forces from Herat and Kandahar, under the leadership of Sardar Mohammad Ayub Khan bin Amir Sher Ali Khan, and General Taj Mohammad Suleimankhel and the decree issued by Mawlawi Abdul Rahim Kandahari to conduct a jihad, gathered in Maiwand. Sardar Ayub Khan came with his men to Greshk from Herat and Farah. The British force, under the command of General Burrows, met the Afghan warriors at the battlefield of Maiwand. A fierce battle took place and it ended in the victory of the freedom fighters on 24 July 1880. The remaining British force took refuge in the citadel of Kandahar and it took General Roberts 22 days to reach Kandahar (9 to 31 August 1880). On 1 September Sardar Ayub Khan's force came under attack. He returned to Herat and from there took refuge in Iran. He then started supporting the Indian British government and lived in Rawalpindi and Lahore until his death on 17 April 1914. The grave of this freedom fighter is located in the southern part of Peshawar in the Sayed Habib cemetery.

Prince Yaqub Khan also left Kabul, together with his family, on 19 November 1897. Since the British were unable to directly rule the country they brought in Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan bin Amir Mohammad Afzal Khan, who was an exile in Tashkent. Abdul Rahman left in haste and went to Charikar and got in consultation with Sir Lepel Henry Griffin,⁷ the political representative of British India government and announced the establishment of his emirate as soon as he reached Charikar.

4. Born in 1856, he was the son of Charles Chamberlin. From 1873 joined the British army in India and was involved in the Anglo–Afghan war with Sir Roberts from 1878 to 1880. After that he was a military officer in schools and Kashmir. In 1890 he was appointed as commander of Khyber and later became the private secretary of Lord Roberts in North Africa. In 1900 he was inspector general of the Ireland border forces (Indian Biography 77).

5. Field Marshal Roberts was born in 1832 and joined the Punjab force in 1852. He served in important military and administrative positions in India and Africa. In 1878 he was appointed as the commander of the Kuram force and after a year he became the commander of the English forces in Kabul. After the battle of Maiwand he was the commander of the Kandahar force and after that was sent to South Africa and was the commander-in-chief in 1901 (Indian Biography 361).

6. He was the son of Robert Stewart (born 1842, died 1900). He was a prominent English general during the second Anglo–Afghan war.

7. Born in 1840. In 1860 he was appointed as the high secretary of Punjab province and in 1870 he became the political representative to Afghanistan. He held important positions in India after 1880. Among his works the Chiefs of Punjab (1863) and The Rajas of Punjab (1870) are famous (Indian Biography 180).

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The British politicians accepted Abdul Rahman Khan who was a person with an iron fist and promised him help in case he allowed them to be in charge of the foreign affairs of the country. The Amir accepted their wish and entered Kabul on 22 August 1879 to ascend the throne.

According to his own biography Amir Abdul Rahman had gained administrative experience from boyhood and had experienced the ups and downs of life and had become a shrewd person. He recognized the character of the Afghan people and understood well how softly or harshly to deal with tribal leaders in order to preserve his kingdom and was cognizant he had to deal with astuteness with the British Indian government to benefit himself.

The Amir took control of Kabul and in a short while made the city secure after which he went to Kandahar. Before his arrival to the city, General Roberts, together with a force of 10,000 men, had driven Sardar Mohammad Ayub Khan bin Amir Sher Ali Khan from the city and exiled him to Iran. When the Amir arrived in Kandahar the British soldiers submitted the city to him. General Roberts left Afghanistan by way of Kandahar and the Bolan valley and General Stewart left by way of Jalalabad and Khyber and with their departure the second Anglo–Afghan war also ended.

The Amir killed his opponents in Kandahar, managed to subdue the region and then started paying attention to the cleansing of other areas of the country. In a short period of time he killed all his opponents, imprisoned them or sent them to other countries.

The British government of India also strengthened the Amir and in 1880 provided him 500,000 rupees in cash, several cannons and several thousand rifles and every year provided him 18,000 pounds. In a short time the Amir consolidated his power and was the dominant figure all over Afghanistan. He subdued Kandahar and Herat in 1881 and managed to take charge of Badakshan and Sheghnan in 1884. He dislodged Ali Mardan from Wakhan and in his place appointed Ghafar Khan Tatar as his governor there. After that he captured the northern provinces as far as Maimana and Andkhai in 1885 and handed them to his cousin, Mohammad Eshaq Khan, who rebelled in 1888. The Amir immediately went to Mazar–e Sharif and drove Eshaq Khan to Trans Oxiana and took control of all the northern provinces.

During his reign the Ghalji tribes, from Ghazni to Kalat, revolted but the Amir suppressed them harshly and after that he also repressed the people of the Hazarajat in central Afghanistan in 1893.

The mountainous region of Belouristan, situated north of Konar, where the white and black garmented people lived, were not under the domain of the Afghan government. Under the orders of the Amir they were attacked in 1895 by Commander Charkhi. The people of this region were subjugated, converted to Islam and the region was named Nuristan (land of light).

The Amir was a brave person and an astute administrator. No one matched his level of bloodshed and killings but he was a judicious and thoughtful person, was cognizant of world affairs and was semi-literate also. He wrote a book in Persian by the name of Pand Nama (Book of Advice) and Taj–al–Tawarekh (Crown of History) was written under his supervision and orders. He established a strong army under trustworthy commanders such as Haider Khan Charkhi, Faramaz Khan and Ghulam Haidar Khan (Landai). He set up a strong intelligence ring in the country, appointed effective officials in every place

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and opened post offices in the provinces. He reestablished Sharia courts, appointed religious scholars to teach at the royal madrassa (school) of Kabul, reestablished the press and opened a rifle manufacturing plant in Kabul. He regulated finance offices in the provinces, established travel papers for traveling inside the country and dealt harshly with thieves and unruly individuals resulting in the establishment of security, expanded of trade and industry and brought the country came under direction of the center.

In foreign policy the Amir was a wise and gentle diplomat. He dealt mildly with the British government, always favored friendship, cordiality and accepted material and moral aid. After calming down the country during the early years of his emirate he gained the title of Light of the Nation and Religion in 1896. The sermon was read and coins minted in his name. After killing all the rebellious rivals or removing them from power he went to meet Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of British India, in Rawalpindi with utmost confidence and managed to further increase ties of friendship in 1885. After a few years he sent his young son, Sardar Nasrullah, to London to the court of the queen in April 1895.

Important political events which took place during the time of the Amir

1. In 1885 the Czarist government of Russian attacked Panjdeh, north of Herat. Even though General Ghausuddin fought bravely to defend the place, Panjdeh fell into the hands of the Russians. In Taj-ul-Tawarekh, the Amir states the following: In July of 1884, General Lemsdon, the head of the British commission and General Zeltai, the head of the Russian commission, were appointed to establish the borders but before they could start work Panjdeh was occupied by the Russians.

After this another commission was established, led by Sir Joseph West Ridgeway, the second secretary of the British Foreign Office, whose members were Colonel Holdich, Colonel Yates and Qazi Aslam Khan. The commission which was enlisted to establish the northern border of Afghanistan completed its task in October 1886. The Amir presented them gold tokens and thanked them for their service. The agreement was finally signed in July of 1887 in St. Petersburg and Panjdeh was officially separated from Afghanistan.

The border included points from the mouth of Zulfiqar to Khwaja Salar. The Amir requested the British Indian government to delineate it as far as the Pamir mountains but this request of the Amir was not carried out. Later, in 1893, Colonel Yates solved the remaining issues of the border and in this way the Amir managed to govern Afghanistan between the two empires.

2. Another action taken by the Amir, without the request or confirmation from the national jirga, for which he is held responsible was the signing of the Durand border agreement according to which the eastern and southern borders of the country were delineated with the British Indian government. The Amir states that he requested Lord Duffein and Lord Salisbury, the viceroys of British India, to send the foreign secretary of British India as head of a delegation to assign the border but his indisposition and the rebellion by Sardar Eshaq Khan delayed the matter. Lord Lindson assigned Lord Roberts to carry out this task. Since Lord Roberts had a bad reputation in Afghanistan and it was possible that the people would protest against him the Amir delayed his arrival. Finally toward the end of September 1893 Sir Morteimer

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Durand⁸, the foreign secretary of British Raj, arrived in Kabul at the head of the border commission. Members of this commission were Colonel Ellis, Captain McMohan, Mr. Clark and Mr. Donald and several Indian officials. Political negotiations started in Kabul with the Amir as a result of which the ill-fated agreement was signed. This agreement includes seven articles delineating the border from Baluchistan to the Wakhan as a result of which Chaman, Pshoon, Chagaii, Waziristan, Beland Khel, Kurram, Parachinar, Afridi, Bajawar, Swat, Bunir, Dir, Chilas and Chitral, which were an integral part of Afghanistan, were separated from the country and made a part of British India. In return the Amir was to be given 1.8 million rupees instead of 1.2 million annually. The Amir was also promised weapons.

The Durand agreement thus confirmed the illegal Gundumak treaty which was signed by Prince Yaqub Khan during a time of anarchy, distress, the threat of foreign invasion and extreme pressure and the prince had not been recognized as a legitimate ruler of the country by the people. Therefore the agreement did not have any legal basis. Amir Abdul Rahman Khan signed the agreement without the consent of the representatives of the people nor were they invited to provide their input as to whether they accept or reject it.

At any rate the Durand Commission left Kabul on 14 November 1893. During the early stages of his rule Amir Abdul Rahman had 58,740 soldiers in his army but after the firm establishment of his empire in Kabul, Herat, Kandahar, Balkh, Jalalabad, Asmar, the banks of the Oxus river and the border with Iran the number of regular soldiers and non-commissioned men was:

80 infantry regiments with 800 men per regiment with a total of 56,000 personnel

40 cavalry regiments with 400 men per regiment with a total of 16,000 personnel

100 artillery batteries with 100 men per battery with a total of 10,000 personnel

Four royal infantry regiments with 1000 men per regiment with a total of 4,000 personnel

Three royal cavalry regiments with 800 men per regiment with a total of 2,400 personnel

Police force totaling 20,000 personnel

Non-commissioned soldiers totaling 10,000 personnel

The total number of the armed forces was 148,400 personnel as a result of which the Amir was able to provide unprecedented security in the country and managed to suppress unruly individuals.

During Amir Abdul Rahman's reign minting, bullet making, rifles making, iron works, cannon building, distilling, tanning, shoe making, soap making, sewing, printing and bookbinding factories were built in Kabul. Military, civil, judicial, medical, commerce, postal service, and religious establishments were built in the country. Several palaces and the royal palace of Kabul were built and the Amir managed to bring the whole of Afghanistan under one central administration which was a praise worthy move.

Amir Abdul Rahman died from gout complications in Kabul after ruling for 21 years on 2 October 1901. He left behind a secure country to his sons. People were afraid of hearing his name and did not

8. Born on 14 February 1850 he was the son of Major General Sir H.M. Durand and joined the service of Bengal in 1873 and in 1879 he was the political secretary for Roberts in Kabul. From 1884 to 1894 he was foreign secretary of the British Indian government after which he became the British ambassador in Tehran, Madrid and Washington D.C. (Indian Biography 128).

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believe he had actually died. After his death his eldest son, Amir Habibullah Khan, ascended the throne on 6 October 1901, with the title of Light of the Nation and Religion. In 1904 he sent his eldest son, Enayatullah Khan, to meet Lord Curzon, the viceroy of British India, and later Louis Willian, the foreign secretary of India, came to Kabul and signed the 21 March 1905 agreement with the Amir.

During the 18 years kingship of Amir Habibullah Khan except one rebellion which took place in the south under the leadership of Jandad Ahmadzai, no other incident took place since his father had cleansed the country from rebels and as a result the Amir spent his years in peace. In 1907 he paid a visit to Kandahar, Herat, Maimana and Balkh and in January 1907 went to India at the invitation of Lord Minto, the deputy viceroy, and returned on 7 March by way of Peshawar and Jamrud.

Despite a period of peace and security the Amir did not accomplish any noteworthy tasks. Among his small accomplishments to modernize the country he opened the Habibia school, a military school, and some elementary schools in Kabul. He also published a newspaper by the name of Seraj-al-Akhbar-e Afghanistan and established two printing presses in Kabul and built several palaces, gardens and roads. He declared neutrality during the First World War of 1916.

Unlike his father his internal policy was gentle and lenient. He did not bother people and had a close relationship with religious figures. He did not bring any changes to the administration, running of the offices or the financial system as required by the changing of time and ran the country under the old system which his father had established.

Amir Habibullah Khan was killed on 18 February 1919 in the Galgosh hunting grounds of Laghman with a shot from a pistol.

His brother, Nasrullah Khan, declared himself king in Jalalabad but in order to maintain independence and integrity of the nation the people of Afghanistan engaged in a bold move and the freedom loving masses declared the second son of the Amir, Sardar Amanullah Khan, as king of the country on 1 March 1919 and the war of independence started.⁹

Social and Intellectual Status

The movement started by Ahmad Shah and the establishment of a free Afghanistan in 1747, after the fall of the Hotaki kings and the end of the temporary rule of Nader Afshar, which lasted for 10 years, is a repeat of incidents which took place earlier in country's history. The social and economic situation in the country, in light of the movements set forth by Roshan, Khushal and Mirwais, necessitated that a free and powerful Afghan nation is created.

The people of Afghanistan, after the fall of the Timurid government in Herat, and in light of the attacks of the Safavids and the Babur family, spent a long time in hardship, acrimony and civil strife and were devoid of a central national government until the Hotaki from Kandahar and the Abdali from Herat drove away and put an end to the foreign domain of Iranian Safavids. The Roshanids, Khushal Khan Khatak,

9. Incidents which took place after the declaration of the war of independence and the establishment of the new order in Afghanistan require another volume and this book ends here.

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Aimal Khan Mohmand, Sher Khan Tarin and others weakened the influence of Babur's empire and freed their country from foreign domination.

During this time of turmoil the people were engaged in a difficult and hideous struggle so there was no time to foster sciences, literature and culture. But despite the hardships we see that the court of Shah Hussain in Kandahar was a center of nurturing literature and scholars. Mohammad Hotak, who was secretary of the court, wrote the Hidden Treasure, which is the only book which shows the literary and intellectual status of the people around 1727.

From the standpoint of thought the court of Ahmad Shah also seems to be an enlightened one since Ahmad Shah himself was a poet and was fond of sufism. He has written a collection of poetry in Pashto and among members of his family Timur Shah has a collection of Dari and Pashto verse also. Shah Shuja has a collection of Dari poetry. Prince Abdul Razaq bin Shah Zaman, whose pen name was Dari, Prince Nader bin Shah Shuja' and several other princes were poets of good taste.

Ahmad Shah nurtured scholarly families in various cities whose descendants later accomplished major literary, thought and political achievements such as the family of Khanolom, who were Barakzai from Kandahar. Members of this family were chief justices and ministers of justice until the time of the war of independence. Some member of the family have written scholarly works or with their encouragement others authors have produced important books such as Mullah Mohammad Sa'yed Barakzai, who was the chief justice during the time of Shah Mahmud Sadozai, and his son, Khan Mullah Qazi Abdul Qader Suleimankhel, during the time of Amir Sher Ali Khan, wrote the Al-Defa'ia journal with the encouragement of Khan Mullah Abdul Salam bin Mohammad Sa'yed.

The family of Mullah Ismail Alekozai lived during the time of Ahmad Shah in Kandahar. His son, Mullah Ahmad was a teacher and a judge of Ahmad Shah city and author of Bayan-al-Wafiya Letawayef Alsofia, Ta'leem-al-Sulook and explorational journals. He died on 12 February 1818. Mullah Ahmad's brother, whose name was Pir Mohammad, was also a famous scholar of the time in Kandahar who wrote Aqedat-al-Mashayekh wa al-Oluma' in Arabic.

Qazi Ghulam Mohammad Hotak was also a famous scholar from Kandahar and a judge of the city who wrote Ershad-al-Haq in Arabic in 1848. His son, Abdul Ahad, was an acquaintance of Sayed Jamaluddin in Kandahar. Mohammad Nour bin Mohammad Hasan Toukhi was a student of Miya Faqirullah Jalalabadi, author of Jama'-al-Sulook in Arabic around 1815.

The scholarly family of Mullah Babar Mousakhel lived in Kandahar from the time of the Hotak kings. His son Mawlawi Faizullah was a teacher of Shah Wali Khan's family, the noble minister of the court of Ahmad Shah, who wrote a teaching text of logic. After him Mawlawi Habibullah bin Faizullah, famous as the Kandahari scholar, lived during the later part of the Sadozai period in Kandahar (1798-1847). He is the author of 23 books in Arabic, Dari and Pashto and wrote treatises in mathematics, logic, the doctrine of religious jurisprudence and other Islamic sciences of the day. After him his son, Mawlawi Abdul Rahim, his grandson Mawlawi Abdul Rauf, Mawlawi Abdul Wase'h, and Mawlawi Abdulrab, the sons of Mawlawi Abdul Rauf, were scholars of this family who made befitting contributions to education and judicial laws.

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The scholarly Saljoki family is related to Mullah Mohammad who is buried in Roz Abad. His son, Mullah Mirza was brought to Herat by Ahmad Shah and put in charge of running the Pai Hesar Madrassa. Several scholars and writers are linked to this family. Among them are Mullah Abdul Ahad Khalifa and Mullah Mohammad Omar bin Mohammad Ayub bin Nouruddin bin Mullah Mirza, author of several books one of which is on the rules of religious jurisprudence written around 1844. Other scholarly personalities of this family are Mullah Mohammad Rafiq Saljoki bin Mohammad Sediq, author of the journal on syntax, Mahmud Musharaf and Khalifa Mohammad Hussain, who was a famous calligrapher.

Another famous scholarly and politically motivated family, which gained fame in Peshawar, is related to Akhund Turkuman bin Taj Khan, originally from Ghwara Margha of Kandahar, who migrated to Amazai, a valley situated north of Peshawar. His son, Mullah Mohammad Ghaus was the student of Haji Mohammad Sayed Wa'ez, who was appointed as the judge of Peshawar by Ahmad Shah, who is an annotator of the book of logic and wrote *Sharh-al-Sharh*, (Description of Islamic Law) in Dari which provides an explanation of gnosticism of Ahmad Shah. His grandson, Qazi Abdul Karim bin Dadullah bin Mohammad Ghaus wrote a book with the title of *Nesab-al-Tawheed* (Quorum of Unification). Qazi Mohammad Hussain bin Qazi Akbar Shah bin Mohammad Ghaus, famous as the Khan-e Oluma, was teacher of Sardar Payenda Khan's family and minister of Shah Shuja', who signed the Tripartite Agreement of Lahore in 1838, on behalf of the king. Similarly Qazi Tela Mohammad son of Qazi Hassan was a scholar who has written two books of poetry in Dari and Arabic and authored *Jawaher-e Naghr*, *Sulwat-al-Taqreer fe Tarjuma-al-Tahrer*, *Nufhat-al-Maslak*, *Taslia-al-Uqool*, *Sulwat-al-Kaeeb* and *Qasida Baiya*. Qazi Abdul Qader bin Fazl Qader bin Qazi Hasan, was military secretary at the court of Amir Sher Ali Khan who translated the book on Military Rules from English to Persian and Pashto which was printed at the *Shams-al-Nihar* press in Kabul.

The family of clerks from Barnabad of Herat was also a scholastic group among whom Mirza Arshad Khalf Khwaja Mohammad Salah, known as Faaiz, was a secretary of the Abdalid kings of Herat. He is the author of a *divan* (a book of poetry) *Abr-e Gahar* (during the middle 11th Islamic century). Mirza Abu Talib, whose family name was Maael, the nephew of Arshad, is author of a *divan* in Dari, and Mirza Reza bin Mohammad Kazem is author of a collection of poetry and the *Tazkera-e Barnabad*. He was secretary at the court of Shah Mahmud and Wazir Fateh Khan in Herat. During the Sadozai period Mirza Mohammad Hadi, with the family name of Herawi was secretary to Prince Timur in Herat. Mullah Abdullah Rozi and Malik Sanjar, chiefs of Ghor and Aba Sahl and Mullah Meskin (poets of the Hazara dialect) were his contemporaries in Herat.

At the time of the Sadozai the Mujadiddi family had total spiritual fame and the family was endowed with well-versed poets and scholars. They were proponents of spreading the Naqshbandi way of life all over Central Asia from Khorasan as far as India and Trans Oxiana to the border of China. They fostered a brand of Khorasani Islamic culture which was based on Sharia and mysticism. They used mysticism to the benefit of the people and to reform morality. Since proponents of Naqshbandi way of life had links with Afghan royalty they were heavily involved in politics, culture and the transformation of society.

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The roots of this Faruqi family can be traced to Shahabuddin Farakhshah who is buried in the Farakhshah valley in Panjsher. Imam Rafiuddin from this family went from Kabul to India and Shaikh Ahmad Mujadad Alif bin Mawlana Abdul Ahad is among his grandchildren. He is said to be the 28th descendent from Hazrat Omar Faruq. He was born on 25 May 1564 in Sar-e Hind and learned the Naqshabandi way of life from Khwaja Mohammad Baqi Kabuli (deceased 1604). He had spiritual fame in India and Afghanistan (deceased 9 December 1624 at the age of 63 in Sar-e Hind).

At the time of the Sadozai, Shah Ghulam Muhaiddin Mujadidi bin Ghulam Sadeq, the sixth generation grandchild of Hazrat Mujadad and his son Shah Nezamuddin, with the pen name Nezam, was a poet, had spiritual influence in Shekarpur and was owner of a large estate of agricultural land.

Another brother of Ghulan Sadeq, named Shah Ghulam Mohammad (deceased in 1764 in Peshawar), is the grandfather of the Mujadidi family in Kandahar. The children of another brother, Shah Ezat, were in Yarkand. Safiullah, with the pen name Safi, is author of a divan and four other books (1743–1797). He is buried in the Yemen graveyard and his children lived in Kabul and Nangarhar. Among them are Shah Abdul Baqi, with the pen name of Baqi (deceased 1870), has written a divan in Dari and he is the grandfather of the Hazrats of Shor Bazaar of Kabul. His son, Ghulam Omar, with the pen name of Omar (around 1873, and his son, Naseruddin, with the pen name of Janan, and Fazl Mohammad, with the pen name of Fazli, were poets with their own books of poetry. Shah Fazlullah bin Shah Ghulam Nabi, the grandchild of Shah Ghulam Mohammad (1770–1822), is the author of Umdat-al-Maqamaat and has a poetry book in Dari. They were famous spiritual leaders during the time of Timur Shah and Shah Zaman. Mohammad Hasan bin Abdul Rahman, the third generation grandson of Shah Fazlullah, is the author of Ensab-al-Nejab and Anis-al-Mureideen. Mir Ahmad, with the pen name Azhar (1791–1852), spiritual leader in Peshawar and Badakshan, is author of Haft Majlis, Arbaeen, Sabeel-al-Reshad, Manaqebat-al-Tahereen, a book of poetry and Shash Masnavi and several other books.

The family of Wakil-al-Dawla Abdullah Khan son of Ali Khan Popalzai Kandahari (deceased 1786) were administrators, military officers and authors. Among them Abdullah was a Dari poet and his son Mohammad Alam Khan, with the pen name Alam, also recited poetry in Dari (deceased 1876). Mir Hotak Khan, with the pen name of Afghan, son of Zaman Khan (deceased 1803) is among the well-versed Dari poets and his brother, Allah Yar Khan Rasekh, also recited poetry and another brother, Mawlavi Mohammad Ibrahim, was a scholar of the time. This family was heavily involved in culture, literature and arts.

The family of Shaikh Ahmad Ansari bin Abdul Ghafar is another spiritual and literary family who was a sufi and literary figure and his work, by the name of Ma'dan-e Wahdat, is in 34 volumes. His divan is named Shor-e Eshq. He died in Deh Yayha of Kabul in 1810 and his son Mir Zuhooruddin Zuhoor has written a divan and medical books. His other son, Mir Imamuddin, with the pen name Darwesh, was a Dari and Pashto poet. He authored the Life and Works of Haji Pay-e Munar. Mir Qutbuddin, with the pen name Faregh, was a Dari poet and wrote the prose entitled Samarkand. Mir Hesamuddin Ahmad, Mir

Najmuddin Ahmad, Mir Nezamuddin Ahmad, Mir Fakhruddin and Mir Namusuddin are the sons of the poet Sa'duddin. Similarly Mir Saifuddin Azizi bin Mir Muqamuddin (circa 1865) were Dari poets.

Other poets and writers of this period

Sayed Abdul Hasan with the pen name, Unwan, was born in Jurm of Badakshan in 1711 and died in 1791; Abdul Arez Badakshi (deceased 1808); Mirza Mohammad Wasil Farughi, a contemporary of Shah Zaman; Amir Sajan Quli Khan Darwazi (circa 1815); Lal Mohammad Ajiz bin Pir Mohammad, with the pen name Abdul Shafi, was a Dari poet who died in 1822 was a physician at the court of Timur Shah; Mir Esmatullah bin Abdullah, with pen name Keshwari, from Dehdadi of Balkh, deceased in 1841, is author of a divan; Junaidullah Hazeq bin Sufi Islam Herawi, deceased in 1843 in Kandahar, is the author of divan and the prose Yusuf and Zuleikha; Shahab Tarshezi Herawi, author of a divan during the time of Timur Shah; Mir Mohammad Nabi Ahqar Badakshi, deceased in Rustaq in 1852, author of Hadaye-q-al-Haqayeq, the journal of Qawafi, Hasht Behesht, a treatise on philosophy and religion, the story of Laili and Majnun and the story of the death of Hazrat Imam Hussain; Mirza Ahmad Khan Mustufi Kabuli, deceased 1863, author of a divan; Mirza Mohammad Mohsen Dabeer bin Mirza Ali Khan (1812–1865), secretary to the Mohammadzai kings; Mirza Abdul Wasa'e bin Lal Mohammad Khan Ajez Kabuli (1793–1866), author of a divan and court physician; Mir Sa'duddin bin Sa'dullah of Tangi-e Sayedan, author of a divan (circa 1785); Farhat Herawi, author of a divan; Wali Tawayef Kabuli bin Mohammad Ali (circa 1871), Dari poet; Damullah Abdul Qayum bin Mohammad Nabi Khulmi, Sufi poet, born in 1849, author of divan and Tanbiya-al-Maraee, Qiyamat Nama, Majma'-al-Asha'r Dari and Turkish and Darat-al-Shehzad; Mohammad Ghulam Ghulami son of Mullah Timur, reciter of Jang Nama on the first Afghan-Anglo War; Mir Hafizji from the family of Mir Wa'ez (circa 1840), who has a Dari divan; Mir Mujtabi bin Murtaza Kabuli, pen name Ulfat (born 1809), writer of a divan; Damullah Abdullah bin Murad Mohammad Badakshi who prepared his divan in 1881; Mirza Mahmud Salek Balahisari (circa 1844), author of a divan; Sharar Kabuli, chief minister of Fateh Khan and author of divan; Gul Mohammad Afghan, author of a divan in Bokhara; Mawlana Mohammad Osman bin Mohammad Ali Padkhwabi Logari, author of Ajayaeb-al-Akhbar, Gulshan Asrar, Bazm Tarab, Nuzhat-al-Mushtaq, Gulcheen Basatain, and Mashreq-e Anwar etc. around 1883; Qurtab bin Nazar Ali, pen name Kateb, author of Al-Waqaya, Mafateh-al-Ejaz and a divan of poetry; Sayed Jafar bin Abdul Samad Rustaqi, author of Gulshan-e Eshq, Chaman Eshq and a divan of poetry, deceased 1873; Burhanuddin Laghar bin Mir Yusuf Ali Badakshi author of Jam-e Jam, Rowzat Nur, and divan of poetry around 1874; Mir Mahmud Shah bin Mir Ahmad Shah Badakshi, author of a divan, deceased 1878; Nematullah Muhawi Maimanawi, author of a divan; Ahmad Quli bin Sekandar Herawi, author of Tazkera-e Shua'ra Atash Feshan, circa 1873; Mohammad Rasul Shahid Marmali Balkhi, author of a divan around 1853; Aisha daughter of Yaqub Ali Barakzai, author of a divan during the time of Timur Shah; Mahjuba daughter of Sekandar Khan Herawi poetess around 1848, author of a divan; Mastura-e Ghori daughter of Sayed Mohammad Azim, resident of Purchaman of Ghor circa 1829, author of a divan; Maryam daughter of Sayed Abdullah Karukhi Herawi, author of a divan (1841–1890); Sayed Mohsin bin Mir Hussain, with the pen name

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Shamil Balahisari Kabuli, (1822–1887) author of two divans; Mirza Mohammad Nabi Wasil bin Mohammad Hashim, pen name Dabeer–al–Malik (1828–1891), head secretary for Amir Sher Ali Khan and Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, author of a divan; Shamsuddin Shahin bin Mohammad Aman Darwazi, author of *Badaya'e–al–Sanaya'e*, *Laili and Majnun* and *Tohfa–e Dostan*; Ahmad Ali Shah Kandahari, deceased 1893 and author of a divan; Sayed Mir Mishwanei Herawi (1863–1915), author of a serene divan, artist and calligrapher; Sayed Fakhruddin Majnun Shah Kabuli (1826–1887), author of *Bostan–e Kheyal*; Rahmat Badakshi bin Mirza Ismail (circa 1883), author of five divans in Dari; Sahibzada Ashrat Kandahari (circa 1883); Abdul Ghafur Nadim Kabuli (1879–1916), author of Dari divan; Nadim Balkhi bin Rahmatullah (1838–1917), reciter of divans; Mohammad Ibrahim Hairat Kabuli (1834–1919), author of divan, five books of limerick and *Tohfa–e Shahanshahi*; Sayed Ahmad bin Shahabuddin, famous as *Adib–e Peshawari* (1844–1930), author of a serene divan, Arabic elegies and *Qasir Nama*.

Pashto Poets

Abdul Rahim Hotak, author of a divan; Abdul Hamid Mohmand (1688–1737) prolific poet and author of a divan of *Daro Marjan*, *Shah wa Gada*, the story of *Neirang–e Eshq*, and *Shar'at–al–Islam* in 15,000 verses (1735); Pir Mohammad Kakar who completed his divan in 1782 and wrote a concise Pashto grammar book with the title of *Ma'rifat–al–Afghani* in 1772; Shamsuddin Kakar Kandahari, author of a divan completed in 1822, *Seraj–al–Mauti* and other prose books; Shah Hussain Hotak; Masud bin Abdullah, author of *Dastan–e Adam Khan wa Darkhud* circa 1785; Mullah Pir Mohammad Hotak bin Sarwar, author of *Afzal–al–Tarayeq* around 1729; Mohammad Hotak bin Daud Khan Kandahari, author of *Pata Khazana* and *Khulasat–al–Fasaha* circa 1729; Abdul Rashid bin Hussain author of *Rashid–al–Bayan* in 1755; Mullah Nour Mohammad Kandahari author of *Mahmud Nama* pertaining to the life of Shah Mahmud Hotak around 1727; Sher Mohammad Hotak 1681–1761, author of *Esrar–al–Arafa'in* and *Tajwid–e Afghani*; Akhund Gada, author of *Nafa'–al–Muslayen* and a divan circa 1747; Mohamadi Sahebzada Peshawari, author of a divan in 1776; Hafez Marghazi, author of *Shahnama–e Ahmad Shahi* in 1772; Mohammad Muzafar bin Isma'el, translator of *Tarakh–e A'sam Kufi* circa 1714; Nawabullah Yar Khan bin Hafez Rahmat Khan Baretch author of *A'jayeb–al–Lughat* in Pashto circa 1813; Abdul Karim Kakar Kandahari author of *Zain–al–A'lam* in 1818, *Aza'in–al–Alam* in Arabic; Hafez–al–Puri, author of a divan in 1785; Qasem Ali Afridi, author of several books; Abdul Azim Suwati (1753–1837), author of a divan, Mullah Hasan Tanokani Kandahari, author of a divan, deceased 1829; Rahmat Dawi Kandahari, author of *Laili wa Majnun* and a divan circa 1795; Miya Na'im Mutizai, author of divan 1815; Moeinuddin Peshawari, author of *Wameq wa A'uzra* in 1840; Abdul Rasul Kandahari, author of a divan, *Safarnama* and *Azad Nama* (1873); Mullah Juma Barakzai Kandahari, author of divan, deceased 1843; Zaiz Khan Runakhel, author of *Jangnama–e Herat* around 1834; Murad Ali Kamawi bin Abdul Rahman, author of *Tafser–e Yasir* in 1865; Dost Mohammad Khatak Kandahari, author of *Badr–e Munir*, *Bahr–al–Olum* and *Akhlaq–e Ahmadi* in 1873; Ma'zullah Mohmand, author of a divan in 1785; Mirza Henan Kandahari, Sediq Akhundzada and Gul Mohammad Helmandi, authors of divans.

Pashto Poetess

Nazo Tukhi daughter of Sultan Mulukhi, mother of Haji Mirwais Khan Hotak (born 1651), Zeinab Hotak daughter of Mirwais Khan (deceased 1715), Spina Herawi, circa 1839.

Famous scholars of the time are: Mawlawi Mohammad A'zam, resident of Shalgar of Ghazni; Mawlawi Abdullah Ghaznavi, Mullah Abdul Haq, keeper of Kherqa Sharifa of Kandahar; Sufi Mohammad Rasul Sakzai, deceased 1871 in Kandahar; Mullah Mushk Alam Andar Ghaznavi; Mullah Iskandar (judge of Amir Sher Ali Khan's military); Mullah Mahmud and Mullah Abdullah, judges of Anardarah; Mullah Abdul Fatah and Mullah Abu al-Hasan, Herati scholars circa 1854; Mohammad Hussain bin Madah Alekozai Kandahari, author of Sharha-e Enkeshafya on the footnotes of Tasawir wa Tasdeeq, of Mirza Herawi; Masud Gul bin Qazi Abdul Rahman Peshawari, author of Ajayeb-al-Akhbar in 1811; Abdul Halim Kakar Kandahari, author of Rad-e Halimiya Ela Matayen-e Ahmadiya in 1819; Mullah Abdul Haq bin Abdul Ghafur Kharoti, author of Yaqoot-al-Sayr in Pashto, and Sharh-e Arba'ain; Mullah Qutb Tukhi, clarifier of several literature books in Kandahar; Mawlana Abdul Latif, head of scholars at the court of Timur Shah, (deceased 1878); Sa'dullah Kharoti, author of footnotes of Jalaleain and footnotes on Mawlawi Abdul Ghafur (deceased 1795).

As we see intellectual work did not come to a standstill during this time and scholars were present in every nook and corner. But if we are to analyze this period critically we cannot say that it was a period of intense scholarly development but it was a period of plagiarism and we see less learned works from this period.

Dari literature was also in a state of decline during this period and we do not see any outstanding work taking place. Hazrat Nouruddin Abdul Rahman Jami was the last of the outstanding poets of Dari. However, Pashto literature made major advances during this time and well-versed poets such as Pir Mohammad Kandahari, Hamid Mohmand and other came to the fore. Hamid and Kazem Khan Khatak, with the pen name of Sheida, added the flavor of Indian literature into Pashto.

During the time of the Sadozai there were Dari poets who followed the style of Hefez and Jami and those of poets from Khorasan and Iraq but after 1835 we see a trend in Dari literature in which the poets follow the style of Indian poets such as the poetic work of Abdul Qadir Bedil. Sardar Mehrdil Khan, with the pen name of Mashreqi, son of Sardar Payenda Khan, was the first poet to follow this trend wholeheartedly. After him Sardar Mohammad Khan Tarzi and his son, Mohammad Amin Andaleeb, followed this trend too. On the other hand other poets from this family such as Haroon Khan, brother of Sardar Payenda Khan, Sardar Ghulam Haider Khan, Sardar Ahmad Khan, sons of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, were all Dari poets. Sardar Shahnawaz Khan bin Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan Sarkar, Khushal Khan bin Mashriqi, Sardar Mohammad Hasan Khan Seyah bin Timur Quli Khan, brother of Wazir Fateh Khan (circa 1883), Sardar Mohammad Aziz bin Sardar Shamsullin Khan (circa 1893), Sardar Abas Khan bin Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan, poet and author of Gul-e Abasi, Jawahir-e Khamsa, Anasur-e A'rba'a and Tafsir-e Kalamullah (1837-1925), recited Dari poetry but there are little vestiges of the Indian style of poetry in their works.

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From the time of Ahmad Shah Baba until the end of Abdul Rahman Khan's reign (around 1903) Dari poetry remained under the influence of old poets, especially the Indian style of poetry writing. The poets, during these two centuries, followed the styles of old poets. But after the first and second Afghan-Anglo wars, when the effects of modern civilization from Europe, India and the north reached Afghanistan, it also impacted the style of poetry and after 1903 we see the effects of a new way of thinking in literature of the country.

Even though the poets preferred using the old style of poetic writing but the effects of a new way of thinking permeated into our national literature. We see that Mawlawi Mohammad Sarwar Wasif Kandahari wrote an ode encouraging people to adopt and follow the new civilization and the changing pattern of the world order. For the first time a newspaper, under the name of Shams-al-Nehar, was published in Afghanistan during the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan in 1873 in Bala Hesar of Kabul. Following this in 1905 the first issue of Seraj-al-Akhbar of Afganistan, was published by a gathering of scholars with Mawlawi Abdul Rauf Khan Kandahari as its editor. It was at this time that the publication of textbooks, opening of schools, the press and the translation and printing of new works of science and literature took place. The founder of this movement was Mahmud Tarzi bin Sardar Ghulam Mohammad Khan Tarzi Kandahari who was born in 1867 in Ghazni and died on 22 November 1933 in Istanbul. He restarted the publication of Seraj-al-Akhbar in 1911. Only one issue of this newspaper had been published in 1905. The newspaper was published bi-weekly for 8 years. It was the motivator for the enlightenment of people and the instigator for Afghans to seek independence. It started a new movement in the writing of prose and poetry in Dari language. He translated or published 20 books from Turkish to Dari and he is the first person to instill the new order of thought and literature in the world of writing and book publishing.

It was during this time that other poets and writers of Pashto and Dari languages embraced the new order in Afghan literature. Authors such as Abdul Ali Mustaghni (1876-1934), Qari Abdullah (1871-1943), Abdul Ghafoor Nadim, Abdul Hadi Dawi, Mawlawi Saleh Mohammad Hotak, Mawlawi Ghulam Mohauddin Afghani, Mawlawi Abdulrab Kandahari and others, who were following classical styles of writing, started embracing the new order of the world which was ushered in by the 20th century.

In the middle of the 19th century British colonialism, which was accompanied by new principles of civilization and industrialization, took hold of all of India as far as the banks of the Indus river and influenced the eastern borders of the country. The first Anglo-Afghan war which was started with the invasion by the Indus Army in 1839 ended with the defeat of the invading forces after five years and victory of the Afghan national forces. After that goods were transported by means of Indian railway and the ports of Karachi and Bombay were used to transport goods into Afghanistan. The changes which took place to the west in Iran and to the north in Czarist Russia also impacted the political, social and administrative order in Afghanistan.

One of the proponents of this change was Sayed Jamaluddin bin Sayed Safdar Konari (1838-1898), who started his movement against imperialism, colonialism and superstitions from Afghanistan and was able to commence a new reformist movement in India, Iran, Ottoman Turkey and Egypt and gained worldwide fame for his endeavors. He can be considered the first person to start the dawn of a new and

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awakening period in Afghanistan and eastern countries. However the conspiracy of colonial forces and the civil war between Afghan princes and lack of a central government did not allow the movement to take its natural course until Amir Sher Ali Khan, during his second term, managed to form the first Afghan cabinet with Sayed Nour Mohammad Shah Kandahari as the prime minister. The publication of Shams-al-Nihar started and an organized army and a modern administrative setup was established. He also followed a free policy in politics. But the start of the second Anglo-Afghan war (1878-1880) thwarted this effort and as a result of despotism the period of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan (1880-1902) passed with stagnation of thought. It was not until 1905 that the Seraj-al-Akhbar association was started in Kabul and set the pace for a new form of thinking. The Habibia school was opened in Kabul at this time which ushered the teaching of scientific subjects for the first time in the country.

Despite internal and foreign obstacles this movement, which was started with the publication of Seraj-al-Akhbar in 1911 by Mahmud Tarzi, continued enforce and the first Afghan political party, under the name of Akhwan-e Afghan (Afghan Brothers), was established in Kabul whose objective was to initiate constitutionality, independence and internal reforms but members of this movement were killed or imprisoned in 1907. However the party and the newspaper were once again revived by Mahmud Tarzi in 1911. The movement continued with its efforts to organize and educate Afghan intelligentsia. As a result of the endeavors of this movement the pace was set for the Afghan nation to seek its political independence sparking the war of independence in 1919. The enlightened people of the country sought to establish a new administrative order, expand education by building schools, expansion of the media and the introduction of a free Afghanistan to the world. These efforts continue to this day.

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