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sūra CXI, in which Abū Lahab is attacked, unless that was an early Meccan revelation. The statement in some sources that the divorces took place before the marriages had been consummated, is probably an invention to keep the holy family free from contamination with the family of Abū Lahab. After the divorce, Rukayya was married to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān [q.v.], went with him and other Muslims to Abyssinia, and returned to Mecca before the *Hidjra*. She made the *Hidjra* to Medina with her husband, but died while Muḥammad was absent from Medina on the expedition to Badr [q.v.]. After several miscarriages she had a son, 'Abd Allāh, but a few years after his mother's death a cock pecked his eye and he died.

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**RUKHĀM** [see Suppl.].

**AL-RUKHKHĀ** (A.), a huge, ostrich-like bird (*Aepyornis maximus*), now extinct, probably existing well into historical times as a peculiar species in Madagascar, where it is mentioned by among others Marco Polo. Other aepyornitidae, such as the New Zealand Moa bird, which became extinct only around the 14th century, might have contributed to the genesis of the *rukhh*'s image. Though early Arab seafarers could conceivably have seen the bird face-to-face, Arabic tradition soon turned the *rukhh* into a fabulous creature embellishing it with all kinds of strange details.

While early references to al-Djāhīz cannot be verified, the first mention of the *rukhh* is found in Buzurg b. Shahrīyār's (4th/10th century) *'Adjā'ib al-Hind*. Further references are mostly contained in works belonging to the genre of *'adja'ib* literature, such as Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī's (d. 565/1169-70 [q.v.]) *Tuhfat al-albāb*, al-Dimashqī's (d. 727/1327 [q.v.]) *Nukhbat al-dahr fi 'adja'ib al-barr wa 'l-bahr* and Ibn al-Wardī's (d. 749/1349 [q.v.]) *Kharīdat al-'adja'ib*; later summaries are rendered by al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405 [q.v.]) and al-Ibshīhī (9th/15th century [q.v.]). By way of its mention in the *Travels of Sindbad the sailor*, itself included in the widely-read *Arabian Nights* (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vi, 92-3, vii, 12), the *rukhh* became known and was discussed in Western sources.

According to the fabulous accounts of various Arabic authors, the *rukhh* is capable of carrying an elephant while airborne; each of its wings has 10,000 feathers of an enormous size, and it lays eggs as big as a mountain (cf. G. Thompson, *Motif-index*, B 31.1). These accounts obscured the opportunity to perceive the *rukhh* as a real creature and succeeded in relegating it to the realm of fantasy, similar to the 'Ankā' [q.v.], and closely assimilated with the Sīmurgh [q.v.], with both of which the *rukhh* is in fact sometimes confused. On the other hand, already authors such as al-Ābī (d. 421/1030) in his *Nathr al-durr*, vi, 532, qualify the alleged rejuvenating properties of his feathers (or beak) as a tall tale (*kadhīb*).

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**AL-RUKHKHĀDJ** (in *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minor-sky, 111, 121, *Rukhūd*; in al-Muḥaddasī, 50, 297, *Rukhūd*, perhaps to be read as *Rukhwād*), the name given in early Islamic times to the region of south-eastern Afghanistan around the later city of Kāndahār [q.v.] and occupying the lower basin of the

Arghandāb river (see D. Balland, *Elr* art. *Arghandāb*). The Islamic name preserves that of the classical Arachosia, through which Alexander the Great passed on his Indian expedition in 330 B.C. (see *PW*, ii/1, cols. 367-8 (W. Tomaschek)), which is itself a hellenisation of Old Pers. *Harakhuvatis*, Avestan *Harakhvaiti*. In Syriac it was rendered as *Rokhwad*, a region with a Nestorian Christian community, in the Acts of the Synod held at Ctesiphon in 544 A.D. (see Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 17, 84; C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 9).

The region was first raided by the Arab commander 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura in the caliphate of 'Uthmān, when Sīstān and Bust [q.v.] were first attacked, but the Muslims were for long blocked in securing any permanent foothold beyond Bust by the implacable hostility of the local rulers of southeastern Afghānistān, the Zunbīl, whose winter residence was in the *garm-sir* or hot region of al-Rukhkhādj and their summer one in the cooler *sard-sir* of the region of Zamīndāwar [q.v.] or Bilād al-Dāwar immediately to the north. These Zunbīl remained a hostile force till the second half of the 3rd/9th century, when the Šaffārid Ya'qūb b. al-Layth engaged in warfare with them [see ŠAFFĀRID], and it is only after this that the native dynasty disappears from historical mention and that the Islamic geographers were able to treat al-Rukhkhādj as part of the *Dār al-Islām*. Thus the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 111, describes it as a prosperous and pleasant district. These authors mention as two of its main towns Pandjwāy and Tiginābād; for a discussion of the location of these, see KANDAHĀR at IV, 536b. Administratively, al-Rukhkhādj seems often to have been linked with Sīstān; Ibn Ḥawqāl<sup>2</sup>, 425, tr. 412, gives a global figure for the revenues of these two provinces as 100,000 dīnārs plus 300,000 dirhams. After this time, the name al-Rukhkhādj falls out of use; the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī (wrote in the mid-5th/11th century [q.v.]) seems to be the last author regularly to refer to Rukhūd. Only the site of an Islamic settlement now called Tepe Arukh preserves its name.

Since Arab raiders captured many slaves from the pagan region of al-Rukhkhādj, one occasionally meets the *nisba* al-Rukhkhādjī, e.g. for Hārūn al-Rašīd's *mawlā* Abu 'l-Farādj, who became a very influential secretary and governor for the caliphs of the early 3rd/9th century; see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 82-3; Patricia Crone, *Slaves on horses, the evolution of the Islamic polity*, Cambridge 1980, 190. Whether the vizier of the Būyid *amīr* in Baghdād Mušarrif al-Dawla, Mu'ayyid al-Mulk Abū 'Alī al-Husayn al-Rukhkhādjī (see H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Wiesbaden-Beirut 1969, 244), derived his *nisba* from Afghānistān or from the village near Baghdād of al-Rukhkhādjīyya (cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 38—a settlement of persons transported from al-Rukhkhādj in Afghānistān?), is unclear.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

**RUKHŞA** (A.), literally "permission", dispensation".

1. In law.

190004

# Historic Cities of the Islamic World

edited by  
C. Edmund Bosworth

MADE YAYIMLANDI TAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

29 ARA 2010

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**KANDAHAR**, in Arabic script Qandahâr, a city of southeastern Afghanistan, situated in lat. 31° 27' N, long. 65° 43' E., at an altitude of 1,000 m/3,460 feet. It lies between the Arghandâb and Shorâb Rivers in the warmer, southern climatic zone (*garmsîr*) of Afghanistan. Hence snow rarely lies there for very long, and in modern times the city has been favoured as a winter residence for Kabulis wishing to avoid the rigours of their winter (see J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 141-2; Ibn Battûta, iii, 89, tr. Gibb, iii, 590, likewise recorded in the 8th/14th century that the inhabitants of Ghazna moved to Kandahar for the winter).

Since it is one component of the triangle Kabul-Kandahar-Herat, possession of which gives military control of Afghanistan, and is also at the end of a route via the modern railhead of Chaman to Quetta and northwestern India, Kandahar has been of strategic and commercial importance all through recorded history. Even in the Stone Age, the inhabitants of the nearby settlements of Mundigak and Deh Morasi Ghundai (4th-2nd millennia B.C.) traded with northwestern India, eastern Iran and the Eurasian steppes. In Achaemenid Persian times, the region of Kandahar was possibly to be identified with the Achaemenid satrapy of Harahuvât; in the Persepolis Fortress tablets (ca. 500 B.C.) there is more than one mention of the issue of rations for journeys between Susa and Kandarash (R.T. Hallock, *The evidence of the Persepolis tablets*, in *CHI*, ii, Cambridge 1985).

In Hellenistic times, the region of southeastern Afghanistan was known as Arachosia, and the town of Kandahar itself is probably to be identified with the ἡραχουσία 'Araxouσία of, e.g., Isidore of Charax

(on the problem of the city's ancient name, Alexandria of Arachosia or Alexandropolis, see G. Pugliese Caratelli and G. Garbini, *A bilingual graeco-aramaic edict by Asoka*, Serie Orientale Roma xxix, Rome 1964, 19-22). Then as now, Arachosia was famed for its grapes; the Indian author Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.) speaks of Hārahūtraka as a place whence wine was obtained. However, Greek rule here can only have lasted some 25 years, 330-305 B.C., for in the treaty between Seleucus I and Chandragupta the frontier between the Seleucids and the Mauryas was apparently fixed to the west of Kandahar, on the Helmand. Soon afterwards, Emperor Asoka had a series of rock inscriptions executed on a *tepe* in the old city of Kandahar, including one in Greek and Aramaic discovered in 1958 (see D. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Une bilingue greco-aramaïque d'Asoka*, in *JA*, cxlvi (1958), 1-48), one in Greek in 1963 (see Schlumberger, *Une seconde inscription grecque d'Asoka*, in *CRAIBL* [1964], 126-40) and an Aramaic one also in 1963 (see A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste, *Une inscription indo-aramaïque d'Asoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)*, in *JA*, ccliv [1966], 437-65); these show that Greek and Aramaic were still recognised in Kandahar as administrative languages, the local Iranian tongue presumably being unwritten. It may have been Asoka who introduced Buddhism to the region, though this is unproven. At all events, the faith appeared early, and the old city of Kandahar included a Buddhist monastery and its *stupa*, dated tentatively by G. Fussman to the 4th century A.D.

The name Kandahar itself must be connected with Gandhāra, the ancient Indian kingdom on the upper Indus and Kabul Rivers which became a stronghold of Buddhism, and Arab historians do in fact use the form Qandahār/Qunduhār for Gandhāra proper. It is possible that the name was transferred southwards to Arachosia by some migration of Gandhārans; there are stories, retailed by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, of the Buddha's begging bowl being preserved in Kandahar (at a later date, it was shown in a Muslim shrine outside the city), brought thither by Gandhāran Buddhist refugees.

The actual site of Kandahar has varied at different periods of history. The old city, abandoned since the time of Nādir Shāh, lay 5 km/3 miles to the west-south-west of the modern city, at the foot of a rocky spur called the Qaytāl, the site being now called the *shahr-i kuhna*. Here archaeology has revealed a walled city, clearly dating back to Hellenistic times,

Kandahar

ليستخدمها في بناء السدود وقرش الجحور.

يقطعها بقواطع الحادة القوية، ويقوم بالوقت نفسه بقطع الأغصان؛

أضراراً بالغة بالأشجار ذات القيمة الاقتصادية مثل أشجار الجوز والصنوبر وغيرها من الأشجار إذ

بشير الزائق

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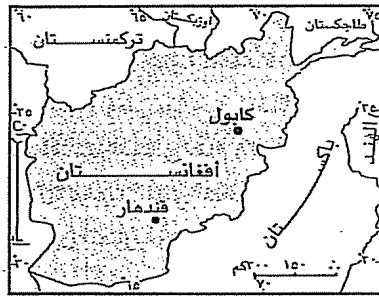
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## قندهار

هو تآكي غازائي بالثورة على حاكم قندهار الفارسي، وقضى على كل انخرس فيها، وفي النصف الأول من القرن الثامن عشر الميلادي تمكن نادر شاه الإفشاري من السيطرة على قندهار ١١٥٠هـ/١٧٣٨م إلى أن اغتاله الفرس عام ١٧٤٧م، حين تمكن أحمد خان الابن الثاني لمحمد خان الدوزائي من اغتصاب الملك والسيطرة على قندهار، حيث أعلن نفسه ملكاً، وتلقب بدوزوران؛ أي درة الدرر، واتخذ قندهار عاصمة له.

تُوِّفِي أحمد خان سنة ١٧٧٣م، فخلفه ابنه تيمور في حكم أفغانستان الذي لم يحظ إلا بالولاء الاسمي من الزعماء الإقطاعيين، وأمضى مدة حكمه في قمع ثوراتهم، وحينما أحس بكره الشعب له في قندهار نقل العاصمة إلى كابل.

واضطربت الأوضاع بعدئذ في كل أفغانستان حتى تمكن البريطانيون من دخول قندهار وتتويج شجاع الملك (١٨٤٠)، ولكن لم يقبل الأفغانيون حكم ملك مفروض عليهم من قبل سلطة أجنبية، فاندلعت الثورات في كل مكان، وقتل شجاع الملك، فتسلم دوست محمد الحكم الذي استطاع في سنوات حكمه أن يستعيد قندهار. وفي عام ١٨٧٨م دخلت الجيوش البريطانية قندهار، واستولت عليها حتى استقلالها سنة ١٩١٩.



ينتمي من جهة أبيه إلى تيمورنك أن ينتزعها من أمراء أرغون مدعياً وراثة امبراطورية تيمورنك، ولكنه عاد إلى كابل (١٥٠٧م) وواجه صراعات داخلية، وهدده من الغرب الشاه اسماعيل الصفوي الذي هاجم خراسان، وسيطر على هرات، وفرض عليها مذهب الشيعة، لكنه اعتقل في هرات، ثم هرب، وقرر إقامة مملكة في السند، وبذل كثيراً من المحاولات حتى دخلها عام ١٥٢٢م، وأسس سلالة جديدة في أفغانستان، وفي ذلك الوقت تراوحت تبعية قندهار بين الفرس والمغول.

وفي سنة ١٥٢٤م تُوِّفِي الشاه اسماعيل الصفوي، ومن بعده باير سنة ١٥٣٠م، وخلف باير ابنه همايون الذي وحد كابل وقندهار والبنجاب تحت حكم أخيه كامران، واستمرت قندهار يتنازعها الفرس والمغول حتى قاد الملك الفارسي عباس الثاني جيشاً هاجم به قندهار، واستولى عليها نهائياً عام ١٦٤٨م. وفي العصر الحديث ازدادت المقاومة الأفغانية ضد الفرس ففي عام ١٧٠٩م نجح ميرويس خان زعيم قبيلة

قندهار Kandahar ولاية في أفغانستان الجنوبية، قريبة من حدود الهند، كثيرة الأنهار، تقع على رافد جنوبي لنهر هلمند، وتتحكم في الطريق الذي يعبر من بولان، ويصلها بمدينة كويتا الباكستانية، وهي السوق الرئيسية لجنوبي أفغانستان، وتعد مركزاً تجارياً مهماً بين الهند وإيران وباكستان وأفغانستان؛ لذا يتنوع سكانها الحاليون بأصولهم العرقية ولغاتهم تنوعاً كبيراً، وينتمون إلى أكثر من عشر مجموعات عرقية رئيسية، أبرزها قبائل الباشتو التي تؤلف ٥٣% من السكان، ويعود استيطانهم إلى عام ١٠٠٠م تقريباً.

كانت قندهار ملتقى الحضارات المجاورة لمنطقتها، سيطر عليها داريوس الأول (٥٢٢ - ٤٨٦ ق.م)، والأخمينيون إلى أن تمكن الإسكندر (٣٣٦ - ٣٢٣ ق.م) من القضاء عليهم والسيطرة على المناطق التي كانت تابعة لهم. وبعد موت الإسكندر (٣٢٣ ق.م) دخلت المنطقة ضمن نفوذ السلوقيين، ثم ضمها سابور الثاني الساساني (٣١٠ - ٣٧٩م) إلى امبراطوريته، ثم فتحها المسلمون.

وبعد الفتوحات الإسلامية لم يرد ذكر لولاية قندهار إلا عرضاً، وقد برز اسمها ثانية في التاريخ خلال الغزو المغولي، حيث استطاع «باير ظهير الدين» مؤسس امبراطورية المغول الذي

درسگاه خانواده، خواند و سپس به علوم ادبی و اسلامی، مانند صرف و نحو و فنون بلاغت و تفسیر و حدیث و فقه و همچنین علوم معقول (ریاضیات و نجوم و منطق و جز آن) پرداخت و برای آموختن دانش، به ویژه معقولات، به هند و ایران سفر کرد و از دانشمندان معروف معاصر در این دو کشور بهره برد. همچنین، بارها به ممالک عربی و حجاز سفر کرد و حج گزارد. در داخل افغانستان نیز، گذشته از قندهار، در شهرهای کابل و هرات و غزنی نیز از دانشمندان همروزگارش بهره برد یا به تبادل دانش با آن‌ها پرداخت. احمد بن اسماعیل یعقوب‌زایی الکوژیایی قندهاری (۶ ربیع‌الثانی ۱۲۳۳ق)، قاضی‌القضات قندهار، از استادان او در علوم عقلی بوده است. حبیب‌الله پیرو طریقت نقشبندی و در این طریقت، مرید ملا فرح‌الدین (۱۱ ذوالقعدة ۱۲۴۱ق) از شاگردان سید فقیرالله حصارکی بود. از دانشمندان همروزگارش، در شهر قندهار، می‌توان از پیرمحمد بن اسماعیل، برادر ملااحمد یعقوب‌زایی الکوژیایی و مؤلف عقیده‌المشایخ و العلما در ۱۲۳۳ق، عبدالحکیم کاکر مؤلف رد حلیمه علی مطاعن احمدیه در ۱۲۳۴ق، قاضی غلام‌محمد هوتکی مؤلف ارشادالحق در ۱۲۶۴ق، محمد نور بن محمد حسن توخی، شاگرد سید فقیرالله حصارکی و مؤلف جامع‌السلوک، ملا عبدالحق بن عبد‌الغفور خروتی ناظم باقوت‌السیر به پشتو و شرح اربعین در حدود ۱۲۵۰ق، ملاکتمه غلجی، خان ملاقاضی عبدالرحمان بن خان ملا قاضی محمدسعید بارکزایی مؤلف نصیحة‌المؤمنین و فضیحة‌الشیاطین و علامه غزنوی محمد اعظم نام برد. در ۱۲۴۱ که سید احمد بریلوی و مولوی اسماعیل دهلوی، برای تبلیغ جهاد با کفار به قندهار و کابل سفر کردند، علامه حبیب‌الله در قندهار با آن دو دیدار کرد و با مولوی اسماعیل به گفت‌وگوی علمی پرداخت. سردار مهردل‌خان قندهاری، متخلص به پیشاوری، مولوی عبدالله غزنوی که در هند آوازه فراوان دارد و خاندان معروف غزنویان امرتسر از نوادگان اویند و مولوی غلام جیلانی پیشاوری از شاگردان نامدار علامه حبیب‌الله هستند. چون علامه حبیب‌الله درگذشت، پیکرش را در گورستان بزرگ شمالی قندهار نزدیک عیدگاه به خاک سپردند. فرزندان و نوادگان او اکثر اهل علم و فضل بودند و در روزگار خود آوازه فراوان داشتند. از جمله آنان می‌توان از پسرش مولوی عبدالرحیم، استاد سردار عبدالله‌جان ولیعهد امیرشیرعلی‌خان، مولوی عبدالرئوف پسر مولوی عبدالرحیم، و دو پسر عبدالرئوف به نام‌های عبدالواسع

محمدعلی آزاد کابلی (۱۲۵۸ - ۱۳۲۳ق)، پاینده محمدخان فرحت پسر اعتمادالدوله عبدالقدوس‌خان، میر غلام حضرت شایق، محمدیعقوب فراهی، حاجی محمد اسماعیل‌خان کوزک هروی، عبدالرسول‌خان رسول، عبدالهادی داوی پریشان، صاحب‌داد کوهستانی و خواجه محمد سالنگی نام برد. گفتنی است که در پیرامون نایب‌السلطنه نصرالله‌خان، انجمن کوچکی از شاعران و ادیبان، مانند عبدالغفور ندیم و قاری عبدالله و محمد انور بسمل، گرد آمده بودند که کار عمده آنان، مطالعه و تفسیر و تصحیح آثار برخی شاعران صوفی، مانند عبدالقادر بیدل، بود و از جمله، توانسته بودند غزلیات بیدل را، از ردیف الف تا دال، در چاپخانه عنایت به چاپ برسانند.

منابع: افغانستان در پنج قرن اخیر، ۱/۴۳۷-۴۸۱؛ افغانستان در مسیر تاریخ، ۶۹۹-۷۵۱؛ افغانستان (مجموعه مقالات)، ۲۷۱-۲۷۵، ۳۰۳-۳۰۴، ۳۱۴-۳۱۵؛ پادشاهان متأخر افغانستان، ۲/۱۹۳-۱۹۶؛ تاریخ ادبیات افغانستان، ۳۴۳، ۳۶۶-۳۸۲؛ تاریخ مختصر افغانستان، ۱۳۲/۱۳۳؛ جنبش مشروطیت افغانستان، عبدالحی حبیبی؛ حکومت موقت هند در کابل، ۶۲-۱۲۲؛ دیوان عبدالغفور ندیم؛ دیوان قاری عبدالله، به اهتمام عبدالحکیم‌خان؛ فهرست کتب چاپی دری افغانستان، ۱۰۴، ۱۰۹-۱۱۰؛ فهرست نسخ خطی آرشیف ملی افغانستان، ۲۹۹-۳۰۰؛ نثر دری افغانستان، ۲۸-۴۰؛

A Brief Political History of Afghanistan, 596- 619; Encyclopaedia of Islam, 3/13.

بزرگر

حبیب‌الله قندهاری (ha.bi.bol.lāh-e.qand.hā.ri)، آخذزاده حبیب‌الله قندهاری موسی خیلی، معروف به حبیب‌آخذزاده و محقق قندهاری، پسر ملا فیض‌الله پسر ملابابر، قندهار ۱۲۱۳- همان‌جا ۱۲۶۵ق، دانشمند دینی و نویسنده افغانستانی. نیای او ملا بابر از ولایت کاکرستان به قندهار کوچید و به جرگه دانشمندان دربار شاه حسین هوتک فرزند میرویس‌خان پیوست. ملا فیض‌الله، پسر ملابابر، در دوره احمدشاه درانی (۱۱۶۰-۱۱۸۷ق) و جانشینان او در ولایت قندهار، به فضل و علم آوازه یافت و با مدرسه علمی و عرفانی سید فقیرالله حصارکی جلال‌آبادی در شکارپور پیوستگی داشت و از پشتیبانی و نواخت شاه‌ولی‌خان بامیزیایی، وزیر احمدشاه درانی برخوردار بود. حبیب‌الله در این خانواده اهل علم، در محله بامیزیایی قندهار چشم به جهان گشود و دروس ابتدایی را نزد پدرش، در

by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳasim in 92/711 (*ibid.*, 121-4), the region of Ḳandābil became an administrative division of al-Sind province and peace reigned, apart from occasional disturbances. In 101/720, the rebel sons of Muḥallab reached Ḳandābil, regarding it as their last refuge, but their trusted ally Wadā' closed the gates and barred their entry into the town; they died fighting outside the walls of Ḳandābil against the superior forces of Hilāl b. Aḥwaz al-Tamīmī, who had pursued them relentlessly [see AL-MUḤALLAB. In 55/754 Ḳandābil was occupied by a group of Arabs, but they were ousted by Hishām b. 'Amr, governor of Sind. Some time in 222/837, another usurper, Muḥammad b. Khalīl, occupied Ḳandābil, but 'Imrān, then governor of Sind, attacked him, conquered Ḳandābil, and transferred the local chiefs involved to Ḳuzdār (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 445). Firmly checking all disturbances, 'Imrān brought lasting peace and prosperity to Ḳandābil. A century later it had developed into the central market-place of the Budha hinterland, where "the Budh' people" sold their produce and obtained all their supplies (Iṣṭakhri, 105-6). Palm trees were planted later, and in the 11th-12th century Ḳandābil was a "big city, prosperous and pleasant, producing large quantities of dates" (*Hudūd al-'ālam*, 123).

Ḳandābil remained an administrative district of Sind, under the rule successively of the Sumarās, the Sammās, the Arghūns and Tūrkḥāns, the Moghuls and the Kalhorā rulers [see SIND]. In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ḳandābil, then known locally as Gandāvā and associated with Sibi province, became the capital of the Lāshārī Baluch confederacy in alliance with the Sammās. In 924/1518, Shāh Beg Arghūn, en route for his conquest of Sind, sent a force to occupy "Gandjābā". It fell to the Moghul Emperor Akbar in 1574, was included in the sub-division (*mahāl*) of Fathpur (*Ta'riḫ-i Sind*, 130, 186, 235-6) and was governed from Bakhkhar. Nadir Shāh, who had subjugated the Kalhorās of Sind, transferred the Kačchi district, including Gandāvā, to Kalāt in 1740 and thereafter (1740-1955) it became part of the khānate of Kalāt, political capital of the Kačchi district and the winter resort of the khāns of Kalāt. The city wall, repaired by Murād (an able officer of the Kalhorās) in the early 18th century, was still intact in the 19th century, but is now dilapidated and in ruins.

*Bibliography*: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, 1866; *Fathnāma-i Sind*, or *Chāh-nāma*, Persian text Hyderabad Daccan 1939; Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, Leiden; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ*, Leiden 1883; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'riḫ*, Cairo ed.; Ibn Khurrahādīb, *Leiden* 1889; Iṣṭakhri, *Cairo* 1961; Ibn Hawqal, *Beirut* 1962; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, Paris; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, Leiden 1877; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, Eng. tr. V. Minorsky, G.M.S., London 1937; Yāqūt, *Mudjam al-Buldān*, Leipzig; Farazdaq, *Diwān*, Munich 1900 and Cairo 1936; Mir Ma'ṣūm, *Ta'riḫ-i Sind*, Pers. text, Poona 1938; *Mudjmal al-Tawāriḫ wa'l-Ḳisas*, Tehran 1318 S; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867; A. W. Hughes, *The country of Baluchistan*, London 1877; M. A. Stein, *Report of archaeological survey work in North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, 1904-5*, in *Baluchistan district gazetteer, Series vi a, Kachchi*, Bombay 1907. (N. A. BALOCH)

**KANDAHĀR**, a city in southeastern Afghānistān (in modern times giving its name to a province) situated in latitude 31°27' N. and longitude

65°43' E. at an altitude of 3,460 ft. (1,000 m.), and lying between the Arghandāb and Shorāb Rivers in the warmer, southern climatic zone (*garmsir*) of Afghānistān. Hence snow rarely lies there for very long, and in modern times the city has been favoured as a winter residence for Kābulis wishing to avoid the rigours of their winter (see J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 141-2; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 89, likewise recorded in the 8th/14th century that the inhabitants of Ghazna moved to Ḳandahār for the winter).

Since it is one component of the triangle Kābul-Ḳandahār-Harāt, possession of which gives military control of Afghānistān, and is also at the end of a route via the modern railhead of Čaman to Quetta and northwestern India, Ḳandahār has been of strategic and commercial importance all through recorded history. Even in the Stone Age, the inhabitants of the nearby settlements of Mundigak and Deh Morasi Ghundai (4th-2nd millenia B.C.) traded with northwestern India, eastern Iran and the Eurasian steppes. In Achaemenid Persian times, the region of Ḳandahār was possibly to be identified with the Achaemenid satrapy of Harahuvāt; in the Persepolis Fortress tablets (c. 500 B.C.) there is more than one mention of the issue of rations for journeys between Susa and Kandarash (R. T. Hallock, *The evidence of the Persepolis tablets* [= ch. from the *Cambridge history of Iran*, ii], Cambridge 1971, 13, 29).

In Hellenistic times, the region of southeastern Afghānistān was known as Arachosia, and the town of Ḳandahār itself is probably to be identified with the *μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας* of, e.g., Isidore of Charax (on the problem of the city's ancient name, Alexandria of Arachosia or Alexandropolis, see G. Pugliese Caratelli and G. Garbini, *A bilingual graeco-aramaic edict by Aśoka*, Serie Orientale Roma xxix, Rome 1964, 19-22). Then as now, Arachosia was famed for its grapes; the Indian author Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.) speaks of Hārahūraka as a place whence wine was obtained. However, Greek rule here can only have lasted some 25 years, 330-305 B.C., for in the treaty between Seleucus I and Chandragupta the frontier between the Seleucids and the Mauryas was apparently fixed to the west of Ḳandahār, on the Helmand. Soon afterwards, Emperor Aśoka had a series of rock inscriptions executed on a *tepe* in the old city of Ḳandahār, including one in Greek and Aramaic discovered in 1958 (see D. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Une bilingue greco-araméenne d'Asoka*, in *JA*, cclxvi (1958), 1-48, and Caratelli and Garbini, *op. cit.*), one in Greek in 1963 (see Schlumberger, *Une seconde inscription grecque d'Asoka*, in *CRAIBL* (1964), 126-40) and an Aramaic one also in 1963 (see A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste, *Une inscription indo-araméenne d'Asoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)*, in *JA*, ccliv (1966), 437-65); these show that Greek and Aramaic were still recognized in Ḳandahār as administrative languages, the local Iranian tongue presumably being unwritten. It may have been Aśoka who introduced Buddhism to the region, though this is unproven. At all events, the faith appeared early, and the old city of Ḳandahār included a Buddhist monastery and its *stupa*, dated tentatively by G. Fussman to the 4th century A.D., see his *Notes sur la topographie de l'ancienne Kandahar*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, xiii (1966), 37-9.

The name Ḳandahār itself must be connected with Gandhāra, the ancient Indian kingdom on the upper Indus and Kābul Rivers which became a stronghold of Buddhism, and Arab historians do in fact use the form Ḳandahār/Ḳunduhār for Gandhāra proper. It is

PAUL BERNARD

UN PROBLÈME DE TOPONYMIE ANTIQUE  
DANS L'ASIE CENTRALE:  
LES NOMS ANCIENS DE QANDAHAR

L'Arachosie figure dans le livre VI de Pline l'Ancien sous la forme de cette notice laconique: "Arachosia cum flumine et oppido ejusdem nominis quod quidam Cufim dixere, a Samiramide conditum. Amnis Erymandus praefluens Parabesten Arachosiorum"<sup>1</sup>: "l'Arachosie avec un fleuve et une place forte du même nom qui, aux dires de certains, s'appelait Cufis et avait été fondée par Sémiramis. Le fleuve Erymandus qui coule au pied de la (Para) Beste des Arachosiens". La seconde phrase a fait depuis longtemps l'objet des corrections qui s'imposent pour la rendre intelligible: au lieu d'"Erymandus" "Etymandrus", nom sous lequel le fleuve Hilmand<sup>2</sup> est connu dans les sources classiques et "Beste", c'est-à-dire Bust<sup>3</sup>, dont les ruines se dressent au confluent de l'Hilmand et de son tributaire principal, l'Arghandab. "para"

<sup>1</sup> VI. 92: texte de l'édition D. Detlefsen. *Die geographischen Bücher II. 242-VI der Naturalis Historia des C. Plinius Major (Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie herausgegeben von W. Sieglin, heft 9)* (Berlin 1904).

<sup>2</sup> Etymandros est la transcription grecque de la forme avestique *Haetumant*.

<sup>3</sup> C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores* I. p. XCIII. Bust est également citée par Isidore de Charax, *Étapes parthes*, 19, sous la forme *Βύστ Πόλις* à corriger en *Βύστ* (W. Tomaschek, dans *P.W.* s.v. *Byst*) ou mieux en *Βύστ*: par la *Tabula Peutingeriana* XII. 3 («Bestia Desolata», l'adjectif «désolée» faisant allusion sans doute aux solitudes désolées au milieu desquelles se dresse la ville); et par l'Anonyme de Ravenne («Bestigia Daselenga»). A l'époque musulmane ancienne Bust joua un rôle de premier plan comme place forte et centre commercial: cf. J. Sourdel dans *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (2<sup>e</sup> ed.) s.v. Bust: J. Marquart. *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr* (Rome 1931), p. 85-88. Muqqadasi lui consacre, à la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle, une notice détaillée (*Description imperii moslemici*, BGA III, p. 304) qui décrit parfaitement la position de la ville: "Les gens de Bust boivent l'eau du Hirmid (l'Hilmand); l'autre fleuve est appelé khardroy (l'actuel Arghandab). Leur confluent est à un farsakh de la ville (c'est-à-dire un parasange, soit 5 km. environ). Sur le Hirmid il y a un point de bateaux près du confluent ».

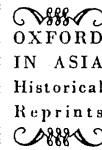
Kandehar

NARRATIVE  
of  
VARIOUS JOURNEYS  
in  
BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN  
and  
THE PANJAB

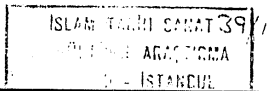
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KARACHI  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
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1974



where I became the guest of Sirafráz Khán, a Rohilla chief of three hundred men, in the service of the Sirdár Meher Dil Khán.

The Sirdár Kohan Dil Khán, alone of the several sirdárs, resided in the fortress; and I had hardly been located there when I was sent for by his son, Máhomed Sídik Khán, a fine intelligent youth. He showed me his stock of curiosities; amongst which was a box of European prints, to be seen through a magnifying glass, and which he seemed to prize highly. After our acquaintance had commenced I was very much with him, being sent for whenever fruits were brought to him, when he strolled about the gardens of Shálímár within the citadel, or when he amused and exercised himself at archery. I was present when he celebrated his first nuptials with a daughter of my first Kándahár friend, Hamaradín Khán; and the next morning he sent for me to partake of some melons. An ákhúnd was also there; and the young khán, hiding his face in the old man's lap, expatiated rather pruriently on the raptures his new state had opened to him. At this time he received from his father the government of Gríshk, a fortress on the Helmand river, and, as he intended to go and reside there, he proposed to me to accompany him.

When I reached Kándahár it was understood that the sirdárs contemplated a march upon Shikárpúr; and that Náib Gúl Máhomed Khán was

to remain in charge of the city during their absence. This man had great influence, and was of the Popal Zai tribe. He had originally been Kám-rán's governor at Kándahár, and surrendered it to the Bárak Zai Sirdárs, who besieged it, when Kám-rán informed him that he did not intend to march to its relief. By his means, therefore, in some measure, the sirdárs acquired the city they have since held, and Gúl Máhomed Khán, distrustful, perhaps, of placing himself in the power of Sháh-záda Kám-rán, remained with them, and appeared to attach himself to them. Courtesy permitted him to hold his title of Náib, and he was considered, next to the sirdárs, the man first in rank at Kándahár. Now that the Shikárpúr expedition was projected, and he was to remain in charge of the city, it is asserted, that he wrote to Kám-rán, offering to make it over to him. His messenger was seized near Gríshk, and the náib, unconscious that his intended treachery had been exposed, attended the darbár as usual, and was made prisoner by Fúr Dil Khán. The caution and fears manifested on this occasion by the sirdárs were very great. The náib was detained throughout the day in the house of Fúr Dil Khán, and by night he was privately removed, in a palanquin, to the citadel, where a part of the house of Kohan Dil Khán was set aside as his prison. The custody of his person was intrusted to Hindústání soldiers, it being apprehended that the sympathy of Afgháns



# AURANGZEB

## Second Siege of Qandhar

A minute's failure wipes out the successes of years. Despite his brilliant campaigns in the Deccan, Rajputana and Bundelkhand, Aurangzeb's name as a military commander was at discount in court circles. Balkh and Qandhar had dimmed the aura that once enveloped his head. He returned to his post in Multan a man wrapped in helpless grief and yearning for a chance to rebuild his reputation. God answers sharp and sudden on some prayers, but he took nearly three years to throw in Aurangzeb's lap a gift with a gauntlet. Shah Jahan's ambition to conquer Qandhar could not be stilled by one reverse. He raised a bigger and better army for the second attempt and, notwithstanding opposition by the Dara Shikoh faction he once again called upon Aurangzeb to take charge of the post of Supreme Commander. It seemed as if the thunder of his silent prayers had demolished doubts in the Emperor's mind about his military skill. The royal *firman* came to him in mid-March 1652, and he quickly gathered all his forces, all his horses and elephants in order to be able to comply with the Emperor's wish that the siege should begin not later than the first week of May. The Imperial Order,

MUNI LAL

*[Handwritten signature]*

*Kandahar*

*(A. Muzaffar)*

53-57

Türkiye Diyanet İşleri	
İslâm Ansiklopedisi	
NOY	3521
Tarih	923
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which bore the imprint of the Emperor's right palm\* noted :

Experience shows that all wickednesses are but little to the wickedness of weather. It is our intention that operations in Qandhar must come to a successful conclusion before the onset of September. Four months should be enough to overpower even the Himalayas. The army under you will possess the necessary armament to be able to finish the job in quick time. Special units of artillery have been mobilised to give sharper teeth to the force. Nobody knows it better than you do that in war it is safer being fierce than meek. The Persians need to be given a lesson in rectitude. The promises and pledges made by them over the last three years are only fit to be written on air. We are convinced that you will accomplish this task within the time-table drawn up. *Khuda Hafiz.*

As if in haste to pluck the Persian beard in their own den, Aurangzeb took the shorter, western route whereas Sadullah Khan led the main army from Kabul *via* the traditional rough road to Qandhar. The two forces joined hands near the outskirts of Qandhar on 2 May, 1652. Imbued with a sense of urgency, Aurangzeb assumed command of the entire army the very next day and, in consultation with senior commanders, drew up a time-bound plan of action.

For seven days the Prince either supervised arrangements or prayed; he knew of no other way to success. The generals worked day and night to give final touches to a scheme of assault prepared by the Supremo himself. Men of fickle and changeable loyalties were discreetly shifted to duties in the camp or in some non-sensitive areas.

The king-pin of the planned assault was Raja Rajrup who was assigned the task of leading his Rajput contingents at night to the top of a hill at the back of the citadel and, from that position, to launch a surprise attack at a gun signal from

\* Only urgent communications, calling for immediate action, bore the imprint of the Emperor's right palm. This was a Shah Jahan innovation.

the main artillery unit. The Rajput attack was to synchronise with a massive diversionary assault by Mughal infantry divisions on the main northern ramparts. The success of the plan depended on the secrecy with which the two-pronged movement was carried out.

As ill-luck would have it, the besieged came to know about the Mughal intentions through a mischance that God often devises to deflate pride. The two thousand braves at the Raja's command sallied forth like drunken devils on hearing the gun signal. The shouts of *Har-Har Mahadev* rent the sky; they also reached the ears of the Persian garrison who lost no time in turning their guns to meet the unforeseen threat. The Rajputs were only ten yards from the ramparts when their frenzied advance was halted by volleys of devastating fire from the top of the citadel. Rajrup retreated after losing nearly half his force in the fray. The Imperialists thus lost a golden chance of breaking through the Persian defence.

Aurangzeb was furious at the indiscretion committed by the Rajputs. "Nothing that is worth knowledge in war can be taught", he snapped at the discomfited Raja. No further part in the campaign was assigned to him and his contingents. To reverence authority and to accept a fact though it may humiliate him was, in the eyes of Rajrup, the final test of a soldier. He made no protest and offered no explanation. He bade his time in the camp with fortitude. Virtue is silent and bravery never boastful.

Notwithstanding heavy, round-the-clock shelling, Aurangzeb ordered the construction of covered pathways, called *sabat* to the foot of the fort. This was a device used by Akbar to capture Chitor eighty-five years ago. For two months the engineers worked like beavers and took every risk to complete the "tunnels" for use of the assault force. The operation Hidden Hand began on 20 June. Aurangzeb's heart expanded in the glow of expectation of a quick victory as nearly seven thousand crack troops reached the vicinity of the fifteen-foot wide moat. Mini-bridges for crossing this last watery hurdle were ready to be flung across when the Persians let loose a rain of heavy shells on the Mughal positions. The sound of

D. ... ..  
Kandahar  
Fodor's

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KANDEHAR

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## THE FACE OF AFGHANISTAN

colony of Greek soldiers was soon absorbed by marriage with the local women, but Hellenism had taken root, as is shown by the inscription of Asoka found in the region, with the precepts of Buddhism written in Greek.

The rulers of the Ghazni and Ghor dynasties built their winter palaces of Lashkargah in the southern plains; both to be seen on the outskirts of modern Bost. But Kandahar is dear to the heart of the Afghans for another reason: it is the birthplace of their homeland. Mir Waiss, the first Afghan to manage a semblance of unity among the tribal chieftains, was but the forerunner of Ahmed Shah Durani, elected by common consent, ruler of the first Afghan federation, in 1747. Ahmed Shah Baba, as he is called affectionately in Kandahar (*baba* means "papa"), had been one of Nadir Shah's favorite lieutenants, and had accompanied him to Delhi. At his commander's death he was only twenty-five, but at the great *Jirgah* or meeting of the Pathan clans, he was deemed most fit to rule. A holy man crowned him with a wreath of wheat ears, the same that figures on the Afghan flag. Kandahar became the capital of a kingdom spreading from Meshed to Delhi and to the Sea of Aral, the center of which was to become modern Afghanistan.

### PRACTICAL INFORMATION FOR KANDAHAR AND BOST



**WHEN TO GO?** The area is cold in winter, very hot in summer; spring is rainy but slightly less so than the region around Kabul; Kandahar, therefore, is at its best between *September* and *November*. However,

the animal fights take place in this town in winter and in spring.



**HOW TO GO.** *By air:* Seasonal flights between Kabul and Kandahar by *Bakhtar Airlines*. *By bus:* From Kabul or Herat, you reach Kandahar by buses of several companies. Departure at 6 a.m., taking 9 hours, fare Afs. 100. Local buses make daily runs between Kandahar, Bost, and Kajakai.



**MOTORING.** Placed about half-way between Herat and Kabul on the southern road, Kandahar is easily reached from one or the other of these towns. Toll-tax between Herat and Kandahar, between Kandahar

and Ghazni, and between Ghazni and Kabul. From Kandahar, you can drive straight to Pakistan through Quetta, by Chaman. It is 62½ miles to the border, on a good asphalt highway that runs beyond to Quetta. Over 62 miles from Kandahar, towards Herat, a very good hard earth road to the left leads to Bost, 29 miles through the desert. A mile or so farther on, another good earth road, to the right, leads to Kajakai: 54 miles. Both these turn-offs are wellmarked with signs in English and Pushtu. By driving to Girishk along the right bank of the Helmand, you can also reach Bost, taking the good path that runs beside the irrigation canal. There are two fords to cross.

Coming from Herat, there are filling-stations in Farah-rod, Delaram, and Girishk. Coming from Kabul, in Ghazni, Mukkur, and Kalat. Filling-stations in Kandahar, leaving town; also in Bost and in Chaman.

## KANDAHAR AND BOST



**WHAT TO SEE?** In Kandahar, not much. The *throne of Babur* (Chilsina) on top of its 42 steps hewn in the rock, beyond the first filling-station coming from Herat. In town, the *tomb of Ahmed Shah*, and next to it the mosque, where is kept the sacred shirt of the Prophet. In the nearby surroundings, you can visit the *tomb of Mir Waiss*, 5 miles on the road to Herat, near the gardens of Kokaran on the banks of the Arghandab; and the *tomb of Baba Sahib*. Farther on, you drive to *Bost* and to *Kajakai*.



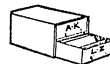
**EXCURSIONS.** To spend a cool afternoon, you can go to the tomb of Baba Sahib and the gardens spread out at the feet of this holy man. To do so, you leave from the square of the monument to Maiwand towards Kabul. At the place where the road turns right at a sharp angle, you take the dirt road to the left. Drive straight along, through the small pass between bristling peaks, across the canal and towards the big building on the slope facing you; you are there.

The outing to Bost can be made in a day. From whichever side you arrive in town, you must first of all find the road leading to the hotel. It is a wide two-lane avenue, tree-shaded at the farther end, giving onto the road you have traveled on. Beyond that road, in a straight line from the avenue of the hotel, a path leads to the ruins. Turn right at once to reach the first group; here, you can barely make out the trail, so just drive by sight. You have to turn back to the beaten path to reach, some 6 miles away, the most interesting group, where you will find a very fine decorated arch, a remarkable example of Ghazni architecture.



**HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS.** In Kandahar: *Manzel Bagh*\*, leaving town towards Kabul; restaurant, swimming pool. *Kandahar*\*, in town, to the right of the road going towards Herat; 43 rooms, restaurant. *Spozmey*\*, opp. Kandahar Hotel. Around the Maiwand Square, a few very simple establishments: the *Maiwand*, the *Pachunistan* and the *Mir Waiss*. You can ask to camp in the courtyard of the Kandahar Hotel. Local restaurants all around the square.

In Bost: *Bost*\*, deserves a special mention; restaurant. You can eat in town. In *Kajakai*: *Kajakai*\*, restaurant, pleasant surroundings. In *Dahla*: *Dahla*\*, restaurant.



**USEFUL ADDRESSES.** In Kandahar, on the road through town, an agency of *Ariana Airlines*; a travel agency, *Shourie*; the Consulates of Pakistan and India; a bank; and, more hidden, a Christian church.

### Discovering Kandahar

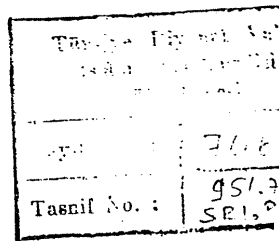
At first sight, Kandahar has nothing to show but rows of new housing, shops and office buildings on either side of the highway. Above the rooftops shine the blue-green domes characteristic of the last fifteen years of building. A few low-priced restaurants above the ground-floor shops surround the town square, in the middle of which stands a small kiosk in granite and glazed tiles,

POLICIES  
OF THE  
GREAT MUGHALS



Kandehar

M. P. SRIVASTAVA M.A., Ph.D.



CHUGH PUBLICATIONS

*Konu 124-129 sayfaları aram*

at a distance of six *kos* from Kandhar was defeated and much booty fell into the hands of the Mughals. Ali Mardan was paid a lakh of rupees by Saeed khan and was enrolled among the grandees of the Empire. We find that after a series of skirmishes and battles with the Persians and their supporters Kandhar along with 60 forts passed under Mughal control.

Ali Mardak was appointed governor of Kashmir and his Mansab was raised to 6000 *zats* and 6000 sawars. Later on, we see that Ali Mardan was further promoted to the rank of 7000 *sawar* and was entrusted with the governorship of the Punjab in addition to Kashmir.

Though in 1638, the Mughal Emperor got possession over Kandhar, but the Persians had never left the idea to recapture it. Shah Abbas II who had come to the throne in 1642, made vigorous efforts to recapture Kandhar which was a valuable possession from the commercial and strategic point of view. As such, steps were taken to store up grain at Farah, Sistan and other important centres and a detachment was sent to Herat to interrupt the communications on that side. When Shahjahan heard this news, he took counsel with his nobles on the subject and they advised him to postpone the campaign until the winter was over. The Emperor accepted their advice and the result was that the forces of Shah occupied the fort on Feb 11, 1649. Daulat khan, Mughal commander, failed to enforce discipline among his men and divided counsel fatally hampered his action. Daulat khan, seeing no other alternative, capitulated on terms. But the real responsibility for the fall of Kandhar rested upon Shahjahan and his ignorant courtiers who were more anxious to protect themselves from snow than to serve the interest of the Empire in a difficult and dangerous crisis.

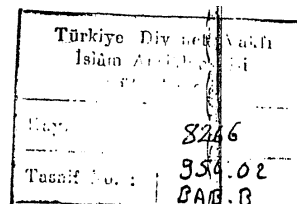
*First siege of Kandhar 1649:* Shahjahan sent a large army consisting of 50,000 troops under the command of Prince Aurangzeb and sa'dullah khan to the relief of the fort. The army largely consisted of the Saiyyads of Barha, Uzbegs, Afghans, and Rajputs.

# BABUR-NAMA

-Kandahar

Translated from the original Turki Text  
of  
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by  
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at Kāhān had in the end of 924 AH. (Nov. 1519 AD.). His son Ḥasan however, with whom he was unreconciled, had been for more than a year in Bābur's company,—a matter not unlikely to stir under-currents of unfriendliness on either side.

His relations with Shāh Ismā'il were deferential, in appearance even vassal-like, as is shewn by Khwānd-amīr's account of his appeal for intervention against Bābur to the Shāh's officers in Harāt. Whether he read the *khutba* for any suzerain is doubtful; his son Ḥasan, it may be said, read it later on for Bābur.

*c. The impelling cause of this siege of Qandahār.*

Precisely what Shāh Beg did to bring Bābur back from the Panj-āb and down upon Qandahār is not found mentioned by any source. It seems likely to have been an affair of subordinates instigated by or for him. Its immediate agents may have been the Nikdiri (Nūkdiri) and Hazāra tribes Bābur punished on his way south. Their location was the western border-land; they may have descended on the Great North Road or have raided for food in that famine year. It seems certain that Shāh Beg made no serious attempt on Kābul; he was too much occupied in Sind to allow him to do so. Some unused source may throw light on the matter incidentally; the offence may have been small in itself and yet sufficient to determine Bābur to remove risk from his rear.<sup>1</sup>

*d. Qandahār.*

The Qandahār of Bābur's sieges was difficult of capture; he had not taken it in 913 AH. (f. 208b) by siege or assault, but by default after one day's fight in the open. The strength of its position can be judged from the following account of its ruins as they were seen in 1879 AD., the military details of which supplement Bellew's description quoted in Appendix J.

The fortifications are of great extent with a treble line of bastioned walls and a high citadel in the centre. The place is in complete ruin and its locality now useful only as a grazing ground. . . . "The town is in three parts, each on a separate

<sup>1</sup> Was the attack made in reprisal for Shāh Beg's further aggression on the Barlās lands and Bābur's hereditary subjects? Had these appealed to the head of their tribe?

eminence, and capable of mutual defence. The mountain had been covered with towers united by curtains, and the one on the culminating point may be called impregnable. It commanded the citadel which stood lower down on the second eminence, and this in turn commanded the town which was on a table-land elevated above the plain. The triple walls surrounding the city were at a considerable distance from it. After exploring the citadel and ruins, we mounted by the gorge to the summit of the hill with the impregnable fort. In this gorge are the ruins of two tanks, some 80 feet square, all destroyed, with the pillars fallen; the work is *pukka* in brick and *chunām* (cement) and each tank had been domed in; they would have held about 400,000 gallons each." (Le Messurier's *Kandahar in 1879 AD.* pp. 223, 245.)

*e. Bābur's sieges of Qandahār.*

The term of five years is found associated with Bābur's sieges of Qandahār, sometimes suggesting a single attempt of five years' duration. This it is easy to show incorrect; its root may be Mir Ma'sūm's erroneous chronology.

The day on which the keys of Qandahār were made over to Bābur is known, from the famous inscription which commemorates the event (Appendix J), as Shawwāl 13th 928 AH. Working backwards from this, it is known that in 927 AH. terms of surrender were made and that Bābur went back to Kābul; he is besieging it in 926 AH.—the year under description; his annals of 925 AH. are complete and contain no siege; the year 924 AH. appears to have had no siege, Shāh Beg was on the Indus and his son was for at least part of it with Bābur; 923 AH. was a year of intended siege, frustrated by Bābur's own illness; of any siege in 922 AH. there is as yet no record known. So that it is certain there was no unremitting beleaguering through five years.

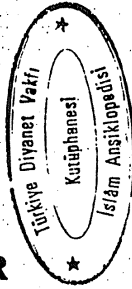
*f. The siege of 926 AH. (1520 AD.).*

When Bābur sat down to lay regular siege to Qandahār, with mining and battering of the walls,<sup>1</sup> famine was desolating the

<sup>1</sup> Le Messurier writes (*l.c.* p. 224) that at Old Qandahār "many stone balls lay about, some with a diameter of 18 inches, others of 4 or 5, chiselled out of limestone.

# THE TŪZUK-I- JAHĀNGĪRĪ

OR  
MEMOIRS OF JAHĀNGĪR



*Kandahar (in brackets)*

Translated by  
ALEXANDER ROGERS  
I.C.S. (Retired)

Edited by  
HENRY BEVERIDGE  
I.C.S. (Retired)

86

*Teresh  
Meb!*

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi	
Yıl : 7541	
Tasnif No. : 954-02	JAH.T



**Munshiram Manoharlal  
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Husain Khān, the governor of Herāt they asked for support from him. He also sent a force. After that they turned to attack Qandahar. Shāh Beg Khān, the governor of that place, seeing that battle has two heads, and that if (which God forbid!) he should be defeated he would lose possession of Qandahar, thought that to confine himself in a fort would be better than to fight. He therefore determined to hold the fort, and sent quick messengers to the Court. It happened that at this time the royal standards had started from Agra in pursuit of Khusrāu, and had arrived at Lahore. Immediately on hearing this news (from Shāh Beg Khān), a large force was sent off of amirs and mansabdars under Mirzā Ghāzi. Before the Mirzā reached Qandahar the news had been carried to the Shāh (of Persia) that the governor of Farāh, with some of the jagirdars of that neighbourhood, had proceeded towards the province of Qandahar. Considering this an improper proceeding, he sent Husain Beg, a well-known man and one of his own intimates to make enquiries. He also sent a farman in their names that they should move away from the vicinity of Qandahar and go to their own places and abodes, because the friendship and amity of his ancestors with the dignified family of Jahāngir Pādshāh were of old standing. That body, before the arrival of Husain Beg and the King's order, not being able to oppose the royal army, considered the opportunity of returning a favourable one. The said Husain Beg censured the men and started off to wait on me, which he had the honour to do at Lahore. He explained that the ill-fated army which had attacked Qandahar had acted without the order of Shāh 'Abbās. God forbid (he said) that in consequence of this any unpleasantness should remain in my mind. In short, after the victorious troops reached Qandahar, they, according to orders, delivered the fort over to Sardār Khān, and Shāh Beg Khān returned to Court with the relieving force.

On the 27th Zi-l-qa'da, 'Abdu-llah Khān, having brought Rām Chand Bandilah into captivity and chains, brought him before me. I ordered them to take the fetters from his legs, and bestowed on him a robe of honour, and handed him over to Rāja Bāso that he might take security and release him and a number of his relations who had been captured with him. This through my clemency and kindness came to pass. He had never imagined such clemency and kindness as I showed to him.

On the 2nd Zi-l-hijja I gave my son Khurram a *tūmān u tūgh*, a flag and drums, and bestowed on him the rank of 8,000 personal and 5,000 horse, and gave an order for a jagir. On the same day, having exalted Pir Khān,<sup>1</sup> son of Daulat Khān Lodi, who had come from Khandesh with the children of Dāniyal, with the title of Salābat Khān and honoured him with the rank of 3,000 personal and 1,500 horse, and presented him with a standard and drums, I promoted him to the distinction of sonship (*farzandī*) beyond his fellows and equals. The ancestors and uncles of Salābat Khān's grandfather had been great and honourable among the tribe of Lodi. An earlier Daulat Khān, uncle of Salābat Khān's grandfather, when Ibrāhīm after his father Sikandar's death, began to behave ill to his father's amirs and destroyed many, became apprehensive, and sent his younger son, Dilāwar Khān, to wait upon H.M. Bābar in Kabul, and suggested to him the acquisition of Hindustan. As Bābar also had this enterprise in mind, he at once proceeded in that direction, and did not turn his rein till he reached the neighbourhood of Lahore. Daulat Khān with his followers obtained the good fortune to wait upon him, and performed loyal service. As he was an old man, adorned with inward and outward excellencies, he did much good service. He (Bābar) generally called him "father," and entrusting to him as

<sup>1</sup> This is the famous Khān Jahān Lodi of Shāh Jahān's reign.



# TO HERAT AND CABUL

A STORY OF  
THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR

BY  
G. A. HENTY

*Candahar*  
*(Kandahar)*  
*83-101*

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"I think you are right, Angus; I would give a good deal myself for a few hours in the fresh mountain air. I do think that you are strong enough to travel quietly. Of course you will have to do so, as I did, in disguise; and indeed this will be much more necessary now than it was a year ago. It is well known that the chiefs at Candahar have been long negotiating with Persia, and have offered to place themselves under the Shah's protection, and that, encouraged and pushed on by Russia, they have meditated an invasion of India. The news of the failure here will no doubt moderate their ardour; but from all that has been learned from Afghans who have come into the town during the siege, there is throughout the whole country a feeling of deep excitement at the prospect of another Moham-medan invasion of India, and a conviction that the whole country would rise and join the Persians were they to advance to Candahar.

"The Afghans consider that Russian influence really means Persian influence, whereas we know that it is just the other way, and that Russia only uses Persia as her cat's-paw. As for the Persians, we know now what they are worth, and that a British division would be sufficient to smash them up. But the Afghans don't know that. They believe that Persia is the Persia of old, and that with her aid they could assuredly drive the British out of India. This being the state of feeling, your chance of getting through, were it discovered that you were British, would be small indeed. You must pass as a Persian who, having long traded with Herat, has learnt the Afghan language. It would be a natural story that, finding that Herat is ruined, and that there can be no trade between it and Persia for a long time, you are travelling south with the intention of fixing yourself at Candahar, and of trading between that town and India

on the one side and Persia on the other. You can account for your not having merchandise with you by saying that owing to the presence of the Persian army, and marauders from Herat, and the general disturbance of the country, it would not have been safe to travel with merchandise."

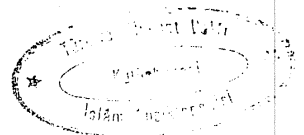
"I will certainly carry out your plan," Angus said. "I don't think there will be any difficulty in getting through. But I do wish that you were coming with me."  
"I hope it will not be very long before I follow you, for I think there will be some stirring work there soon."

Angus was well provided with money. He had received from Mr. McNeill a sum that would not only cover all the expenses of his journey to Herat, but would enable him either to return to Teheran or proceed to India, as circumstances might determine. In addition to this, he had received a year's salary in recognition of the risk he incurred. He had this sum still in his possession. The money he had brought from Tabriz he had left at the embassy, Mr. McNeill promising to send an order for the amount should he write for it from India.

## CHAPTER V

### IN CANDAHAR

ON the 15th of September Angus started, after a tearful farewell from his Armenian friends. Their gratitude to him and Pottinger was unbounded. The presence and influence of their two English guests had preserved them from the rapacity and cruelty of the wuzer; while all other merchants and traders in the town had been mal-



From a photo by Fry of Lubbock.

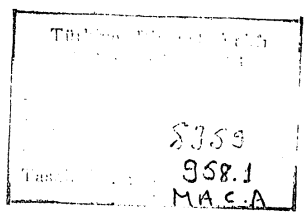
Amir Abdurrahman  
Amir el Kebir

# AFGHANISTAN

## FROM DARIUS TO AMANULLAH

BY  
LT. GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN  
K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.  
COLONEL COMMANDANT THE ROYAL ARTILLERY

*Kandahar*



NISA Traders  
6-BROWN GYMKHANA BUILDING, QUETTA (PAKISTAN)  
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*Konu 198-210 sayfaları arasındadır*

Further, Sir Donald Stewart had allowed General Roberts to take with him the pick of the Kabul force.<sup>1</sup> As a military feat, General Roberts' advance from Kurram to Kabul in the autumn of 1879, with a far smaller force and inadequate transport, over the Shutur Gardan Pass to face a Kabul seething with excitement after the murder of Cavagnari and his escort, has always been awarded the palm.<sup>2</sup>

The two marches were uneventful enough, Sir Donald Stewart reaching Jamrud in peace by October, leaving for some months a garrison at Landi Kotal, and Sir Frederick Roberts Kandahar by 30th September, picking up *en route* the garrison of Kelat-i-Ghilzie, but finding Ayub Khan and his army waiting to receive him close to Kandahar.

Before recounting the defeat of the latter, it is necessary to hark back to that day in July in Southern Afghanistan which had been the cause of all the bother.

### THE BATTLE OF MAIWAND AND THE INVESTMENT OF KANDAHAR

Of all the many fights between Briton and Afghan, the battle of Maiwand stands out as the one British defeat, the one battle lost in open fight, the one real blot on the scutcheon of military fame. Disasters there had been, as that to the frost-bitten Kabul force of aged Elphinstone; contemptible little incidents, such as the failure of the 2nd Light Cavalry at Parwandarra, or England at Haikalzai, and the wave of defeatism which suddenly came on forces for no fair reason; but nine times out of ten all collisions were victorious, and the élan of the soldiery, European or Indian,<sup>3</sup> was greater than the élan of the Afghan. But at Maiwand a force was defeated in the open, a large force, by bad staff work, bad weather, and bad soldiering—bad soldiering, too, on the part of some of the weary soldiery.

<sup>1</sup> If the truth be told, there was not much competition to share the honour. <sup>2</sup> See p. 182. <sup>3</sup> The idea that the Bengal Sepoy of 1841 was inferior is not borne out by facts. Well led even in shako and cross-belts he could tackle the Afghan.

And it came about in this wise. Incidentally, it very nearly upset the British apple-cart at the critical time when sufficient prestige was needed to induce Abdurrahman to accept the amirship on our terms and not his.

Ayub Khan, the exiled brother of Yakub and second son of the Shere Ali, had appeared at Herat from exile in Persia and been welcomed there as an anti-British leader. Before long he had brought an army down to Kandahar to fight the British and the new Wali Shere Ali. The Wali had troops at Girishk, seventy miles out from Kandahar on the Herat road, and reported that Ayub was advancing towards him, and asked for British support. In Kandahar it was known that the Wali's troops were none too staunch, and to support him a force under Brigadier G. R. S. Burrows was despatched, consisting of one British and two Indian infantry battalions, and part of Brigadier Nuttal's cavalry brigade, *i.e.* a battery of horse artillery and a portion of two Indian cavalry regiments.

The total strength of the force was 2600 fighting men, consisting of—

- The 66th Foot. E/B R.H.A.
- 1st Bombay Grenadiers. The Sind Horse.
- Jacob's Rifles. 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry.

By 11th July Burrows had reached the left bank of the Helmand and joined the Wali. Two days later the Wali's infantry, 2000 strong, mutinied and went off, taking with them a smooth-bore field battery. His cavalry behaved rather better, but his force was no longer in being. The mutineers, however, were severely handled by Burrows, the guns were recovered and manned by infantry detachments, superintended by a few gunners from the horse artillery.

Ayub's force was reported to number 4000 regular horse, 4000 to 5000 regular infantry, besides the Wali's troops, and some thirty guns, many of them rifled, and a large body of irregulars.

In view of the changed situation and the defection of the Wali's force, Burrows fell back to Kushk-i-Nakhud, forty-five miles from Kandahar, where several roads from the

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From a photo by Fry of Lucknow.

Amir Abdurrahman  
 Amir el Kebir

nisa traders

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decided to send one also, and selected the veteran General Sir Neville Chamberlain, then Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Madras. Sir Neville was one of the few survivors of the First Afghan War still serving with the active army, a war in which he and his brother had served with much distinction, and he was also a personal friend of the Amir.

Shere Ali, however, was now persuaded on his suicidal course, believed that an affront was intended, and obstinately refused to allow the mission to enter Afghanistan. In fact, Sir Neville's party was courteously but firmly turned back from the Khaibar, which was then in Afghan hands, by a threat of force. This was more than the British and Indian Governments were prepared to swallow. The tension with Russia elsewhere over the war with Turkey was acute, and it was decided to bring the Amir to his senses by force of arms.

So once again the Indo-British forces were to find themselves marching by the old, well-known roads to Kabul and Kandahar, though perhaps Sir Neville Chamberlain was the only man who knew them personally, and he was not to go into the field. Horse, foot, and artillery, guns heavy and guns light—for mountain artillery was now an understood thing—the twenty yoke of the forty-pounder train alongside the jinketty-jink of the pack guns, were to swing up the Khaibar once again.

### KURRAM, ALI MASJID, KANDAHAR

The British were to enter Afghanistan in three directions: General Sir Donald Stewart would march by the ancient ways to Kandahar; General Roberts, the Quartermaster-General in India, was to command a force in the Kurram valley and enter by a new way, that of the Shutur Gardan, a pass first surveyed by the Lumsden mission in 1857; while General Sir Sam Browne was to force the Khaibar and capture the old mountain fortress of Ali Masjid en route to Dakka.

Mindful of Sir John Keane's experience at Ghuzni, heavy guns, drawn by elephants and long yokes of powerful

### KURRAM, ALI MASJID, KANDAHAR 173

bullocks were to go both to Kandahar and into the Khaibar. At this period, however, the army in India was singularly unprepared for war. At the fighting of Ali Masjid, for instance, there were no medical arrangements other than the regimental medical personnel, and field ambulances and hospitals did not exist, though they were, of course, soon improvised and formed. Transport for the army there was actually none, except with the units of the actual frontier force.

The three columns were to enter Afghanistan simultaneously, Sir Michael Biddulph at Quetta leading the advance on that side till joined by Sir Donald Stewart with a division assembling at Multan. The railway communications of 1878 were very different from what they are now. On the northern line railhead was at Jhelum, below Rawalpindi; on the southern line it but reached to the Indus. The forces for Kandahar were therefore destined, as before, to a trying march over the desert of Kach Gandava, and through the Sulaiman mountains to Pishin, but with this advantage, that Quetta was already a cantonment, and therefore an organised milestone on the long road.

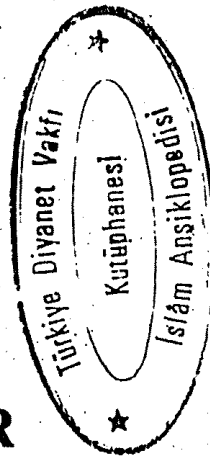
Sir Sam Browne's Khaibar column consisted of 10,000 men with 30 guns, General Roberts had 6500 with 24 guns, and Sir Michael Biddulph would start from Quetta to Kandahar with only 6000 men and 18 guns, with Sir Donald Stewart behind him with as many more.

Reserve divisions were formed at Hassan Abdal on the northern line under General Maude, and at Sukkur on the southern line under General Primrose. The supreme command was to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief in India from the headquarters of Government.

As no answer had been received from the ultimatum sent the Amir, Sir Sam Browne crossed the frontier on 21st November 1878. The General advanced himself direct on Ali Masjid, but had detached two brigades overnight by the northerly passes to come in on the flank of a position held by the Afghans. By noon the main force came under the guns of Ali Masjid, and was engaged all along the line held by the Afghans; but the turning force had not got in.

# THE TŪZUK-I- JAHĀNGĪRĪ

OR  
MEMOIRS OF JAHĀNGĪR



*Kandahar (in Kusatilmay)*  
*D. Khan*

Translated by  
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Edited by  
HENRY BEVERIDGE  
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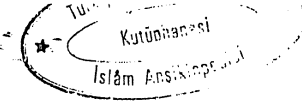
*Tarikh  
Mehi*

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
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**Munshiram Manoharlal  
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governor of Herat, invaded Qandahar. Praise is due to the manliness and courage of Shāh Beg Khān, who planted his foot firmly like a man, and strengthened the fort, and seated himself on the top of the third (?) citadel of the aforesaid fort in such a manner that outsiders could see his entertainments. During the siege he girded not his loins, but with bare head and feet arranged parties of pleasure; yet no day passed that he did not send a force from the fort to meet the foe and did not make manly efforts. This went on as long as he was in the fort. The Qizilbāsh army had invested on three sides. When news of this reached Lahore it was clearly advisable to remain in that neighbourhood. A large force was immediately appointed under the leadership of Mirzā Ghāzī, who was accompanied by a number of men of rank and servants of the Court, such as Qarā Beg and Tukhta Beg, who had been promoted with the titles of Qarā Khān and Sardār Khān. I appointed Mirzā Ghāzī to a mansab of 5,000 personal, and horsemen, and bestowed drums on him. Mirzā Ghāzī was the son of Mirzā Jānī Tarkhān, king of Thathah (Sind), and by the efforts of Abdu-r-Rahīm Khānkhānān that country had been conquered in the reign of the late king. The country of Thathah was included in his jagir, and he held the rank with personality and horsemen of 5,000. After his death his son Mirzā Ghāzī was raised to his rank and service. Their ancestors were among the amirs of Sultān Husain Mirza Bāy-qarā, the ruler of Khurasan, and they were originally descended from the amirs of Timūr (Sāhib-qirānī). Khawāja 'Aqil was appointed bakhshi of this army; 43,000 rupees were given to Qarā Khān for road expenses, and 15,000 to Naqdī Beg and Qilij Beg, who were to accompany Mirzā Ghāzī. I determined to stay at Lahore in order to settle this matter and with the intention of a tour to Kabul. About this time the rank of Hakim Fathu-llah was fixed, original and increased, at 1,000 personality and 300 horse. As Shaikh Husain Jānī had



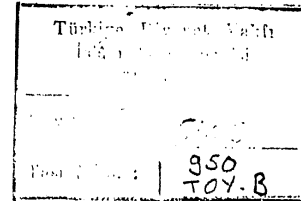
# Between Oxus and Jumna

*DIA 1961 J. TOYNBEE*

by

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Kandehar



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their way over the Hindu Kush into their present haunts south of the mountains? We may guess that the present-day Pashtuns are descended from successive hordes of invaders who, each in turn, adopted the Pashtu language and, with it, the local form of the nomadic way of life. Were the newcomers pushed by pursuers from behind or lured by new pastures opening out in front of them? Certainly, from time to time, the pressure of nomad population—human and animal—in the heart of the Great Eurasian Steppe has pushed weaker hordes outwards into the steppe's fringes and beyond them. But, even without being driven from behind, a nomad horde might be tempted voluntarily to exchange the steppe for the chain of mountain-ringed pastures that links the basin of the Oxus with the basin of the Helmand.

In the course of my present clockwise journey round Afghanistan, I have followed this chain in the reverse direction to the Central Asian nomad migrants' south-eastward trek. After crossing the pastureless gravel desert between Girishk, on the Helmand River, and Dilaram, we travelled, between Dilaram and Farah, through a series of half-a-dozen green amphitheatres, encircled by the southernmost tentacles of the mountains of Ghor. At the beginning of May, these pasture-bowls were full of browsing camels, sheep, and goats, with their human owners—or servants—in attendance. After crossing the open plain of Farah and entangling ourselves in the mountains again, we soon found ourselves traversing the vaster green amphitheatre of Shin Dand (its Persian name, Sabzawar, means 'Green Water-meadows'). Here, in all directions, the mountains recede to the horizon. Their distant blue sky-lines give no hint of the snow-bound highlands lying in ambush to the east of them. Travelling anti-clockwise, in the tracks of the party of migratory Pashtuns that we had encountered a few days earlier between Qandahar and Mukur, a Central Asian nomad horde could find almost continuous inviting pasture for its flocks all the way southward and eastward from the lower valley of the Hari Rud.

This was the road that was followed by the Sakas in the

second century B.C. when, under pressure from the Yüechi, they abandoned their ancestral camping-grounds in the basin of the Jaxartes and the Oxus and set out on a trek that was eventually to carry them, through the Helmand basin, as far south-east as Maharashtra. That morning, on the road from Mukur to Qandahar, I had seen a living replica of a Völkerwanderung that had changed the course of history twenty-one centuries ago.

## 19. Qandahar

A TRAVELLER who enters present-day Qandahar by the road along the Arachosian corridor from Ghazni and Mukur will arrive without having discovered why this famous city stands where it does. A few miles short of the airport, the road sheers away from the right bank of the Tarnak River, which it has been hugging for the greater part of the day. It mounts here on to a broad cultivated plain, and soon it crosses an imposing irrigation canal coming down from the opposite quarter to the Tarnak valley, which has now dropped out of sight. This canal must be fed by some ampler river than the beggarly Tarnak, but no river is now in view on that side either. The horizon on the right is bounded by a low range of mountains with a fantastically jagged crest. In front, one or two isolated mountains, equally low but even more fantastically shaped, jut up out of the plain abruptly. The road is apparently heading for these, but, before it has come within hail of them, the view is cut off by a provoking screen of trees. The road runs into the city along a leafy avenue flanked by gardens, and the traveller has lost all sense of direction by the time when he alights at his lodgings.

To re-orient himself, he must travel on, and out of the city again, along the road leading from Qandahar towards Girishk. On this road, a mile or two beyond the present-day city's edge, he will find himself skirting the foot of one of