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KAI-KE-NAN: THE GATEWAY OF ISLAM IN THE SUBCONTINENT

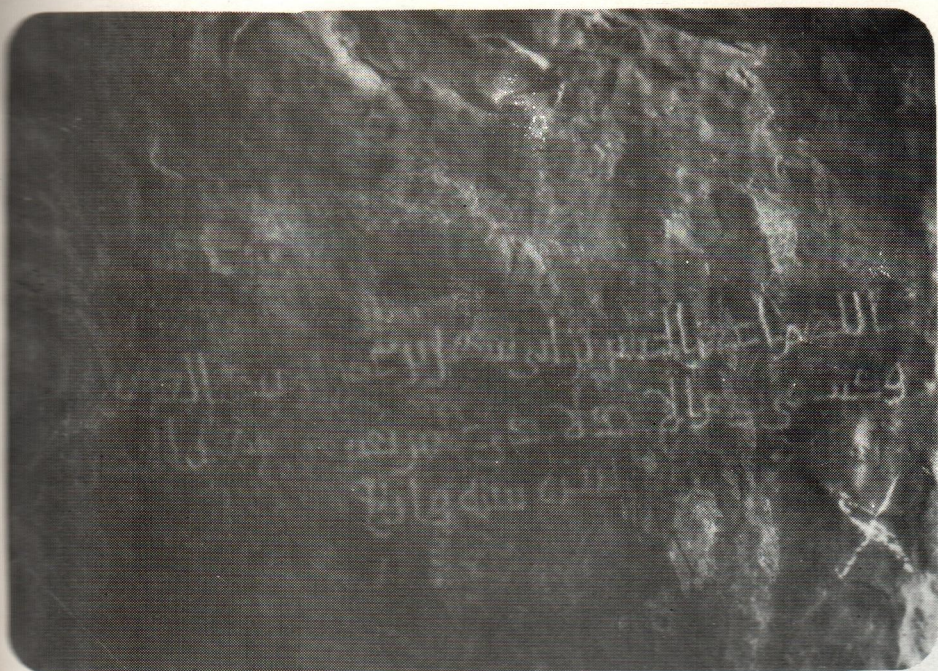
"Kai-Ke-Nan" is very often mentioned in the early Islamic history of the Subcontinent, which has been pointed out by different writers by various names such as "Kai-Ke-Nan", "Kiz-Ka-Nan", "Kabar-Ka-Nan", "Karid-Ka-Nan" and etc. A close study of the subject reveals that this name was used for a town, mountain range and also for an ancient province.

As regards the exploratory Islamic expeditions to the Subcontinent, these were undertaken as early as the Caliphate of Hazrat Usman. The first expedition in 15 Hijra (636 A.D.)¹ landed at Thana (a place near Bombay) and Debal, after having accomplished the mission of gaining information it withdrew. Likewise after capturing most of Western Iran, the Muslim armies made limited inroads into Mekran to assess the reaction there and then moved northwards. But in 38 Hijra (658 A.D.) during the Caliphate of Hazrat Ali having subdued Helmand Valley, the Muslim armies for the first time made a concerted move towards frontiers of the Subcontinent and captured Kai-Ke-Nan.² Later on, a series of operations were launched from this direction till the North Western frontier was brought under complete and proper control and this process continued upto the Caliphate of Hazrat Muawia. Abul Fazal Baihaki in his history has made the last mention of Kai-Ke-Nan as being one of the eight Provinces of the Ghaznavides.³ Later with the passage of time Kai-Ke-Nan was forgotten, and no body could describe its exact location. According to some Western writers, Kai-Ke-Nan is present day Nal or Kalat while the others stretch it to further east as far as Kahan or near Takhte-Suleman.⁴ For us, the place and the area has a special significance as in the Subcontinent it was the gateway of Islam from where it moved southwards; besides, it is an abode of many *Ashābs*, which is a especial privilege of Baluchistan. As regards historical places and facts in Baluchistan, unfortunately no serious attempt has been made to locate or establish them on scientific lines; hitherto it has been more of specula-

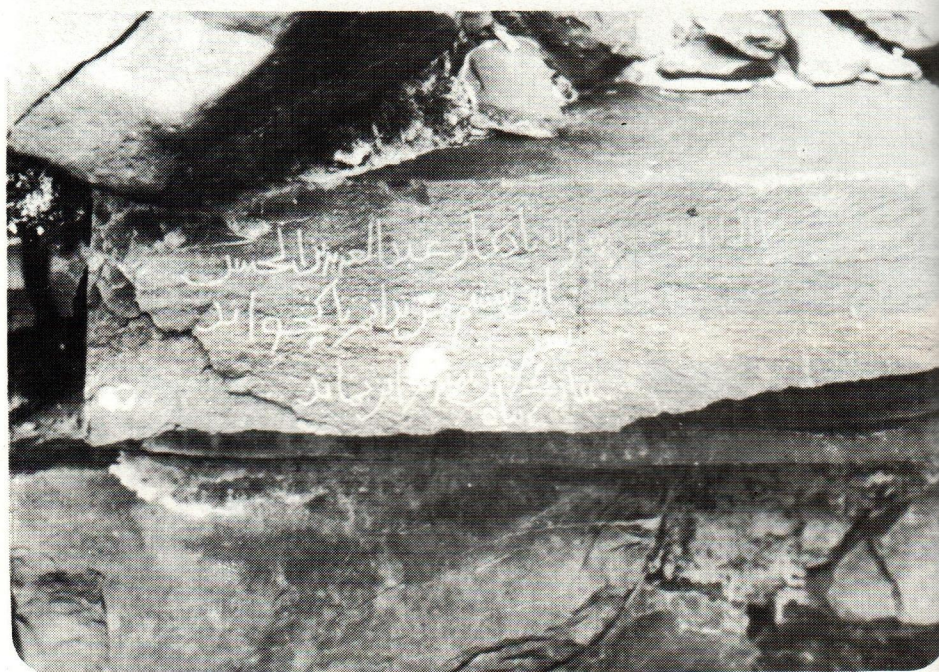
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tion and conjecture. Writers like Raverty, Cunningham and Sir Mortimer Wheeler who carried out detailed research work in other Provinces, when they refer to Baluchistan in their works glaring mistakes of facts and locations are noticed. They are not to be blamed as they did not have enough first hand knowledge of seeing the area themselves.

There is no controversy in the history about the fact that the Muslim armies entered the Subcontinent from North-west and captured Kai-Ke-Nan, after having subdued Kirman and Helmand Valley. Before pointing out the exact location of "Kai-Ke-Nan", it is necessary to briefly describe the geography of Baluchistan.

The Iranian plateau is spread up between the two important valleys i.e. of Sind and Tigris. Around this plateau are high mountains, and Baluchistan forms its eastern wing. In the North-west, the Kirman ranges enter Baluchistan and join the Mekran ranges. These ranges are parallel to each other and in the East, near Kalat and Khuzdar, they join the Suleman mountains which head more towards north. In Iran, to the East of Kirman ranges, is Dasht-e-Loot and further away is the famous Helmand valley known to Arabs as Sijistan. Presently, this valley is divided between Iran and Afghanistan. It has enjoyed a unique importance throughout pre-historic and historic era. To the north of this Valley is Khurasan adjacent to Russian Turkistan. The high mountain ranges of these areas in the East join the Chinese Turkistan.

To the South of Helmand basin is Chaghai which is the North Western District of Baluchistan. In a way this area is an extension of Helmand basin. In the South of Chaghai district is the mountain range of Ras-Koh which extends East to West, and in the East it joins the Suleman ranges. Most of the Chaghai District is plain interspersed with mountains which are not very high. In the South and including Ras-Koh, is the Kheran District which is plain till it joins the Mekran range. In the past, without overcoming Ras-Koh, it was not possible to enter North-West Baluchistan as it was considered a formidable obstacle.

Throughout the pre-history and history, Helmand basin remained an important area, being a crossroad to all the ancient highways leading to important geographical divisions. As the basin has no outlet, the rain water remains in the area forming big lakes known as "Hamoons". Comparatively the basin is green and there is enough food and forage. The climate of the area is more or less similar to our North Western districts of Baluchistan. The rain fall ranges between three to nine inches and the climate is severe and dry. Wherever the water is available people

live in limited permanent settlements; even now, here, most of the population is migratory who move about with their flocks of sheep and goats in search of pastures.

As most of Helmand basin and Chaghai District is plain, the movement in the area is easy, but including Ras-Koh and South of it the terrain of Baluchistan is difficult. There are mountains with narrow passes and defiles; dry areas are quite common with little or no water resources. If the rains are good then the pastures are available in plenty. The area is sparsely populated, for miles no human being is likely to be encountered. Presently the environments are rapidly improving due to spread of electricity and exploitation of underground water resources, but here we are more concerned with the past. In the old days Baluchistan did serve as a passage but to a limited extent, as the countryside was hostile with meagre food and water resources. From the West and North West towards the Indus basin, migrations did take place through Baluchistan. Most of the migrants due to difficult and severe conditions prevailing in the area did not stay and just passed through, but some elected to remain here. Those who stayed back, primarily for security reasons formed their own tribal groups in isolated areas and became herdsman. Gradually they merged with the local population adopting the local traditions. In the past when the Iranian civilization was flourishing, it made its inroads in Baluchistan as well. This area remained under their influence but not in subjugation. Occasionally, the Iranian troops entered the area but after their withdrawal Baluchistan enjoyed the independent status of its tribal rule. From the Indus valley as well, few ventures to occupy the area were undertaken but they also met the same fate. In CHACH NAMA such expeditions are mentioned, which will be discussed later.⁵

To further augment the views mentioned above, a few examples from history are necessary. The famous tribal migrations from Central Asia had started some centuries before the birth of Christ. The Huns who were basically Turks moved towards China and pushed the U-chis down to South.⁶ Sakas in Khurasan were also affected and migrated to Arachosia and Drangiana and further to the south as far as Baluchistan. Due to this migration these areas were later known as SAKA-ISTAN. With the passage of time the southern portion of the area is still known as SEISTAN. During 123 B.C. they had an empire in which Punjab was also included, but it did not last long.⁷ The independent status of Northern Baluchistan continued and here as before the tribal rule prevailed. The migrations into Baluchistan were not restricted from North and Northwest only; as a matter of fact from the West and especially

through the coast a continuous move of tribes from Arabistan prevailed. From South, the migration was limited for obvious reason that the Indus Valley was more fertile and there the living conditions were easy. Thus, our Baluchistan remained a passage of migrants who during different periods passed through but some of them did stay and tried to maintain their separate tribal entity. With the passage of time, and further aided by the geographical conditions, a unique tribal society developed which maintained and guarded its independent status.

The religions, throughout the centuries also played an important role in maintaining a separate entity of North West Baluchistan. With the migration of various tribes of different origin and their admixture in the areas now known as Iran, Western Afghanistan and our Northern Baluchistan, many subreligions and faiths developed but Zohrashterism prevailed as supreme. About thousand years before the Christ Zohrashterism originated, followed by Buddhism five hundred years later. In the areas mentioned above for centuries no other religion excepting the Zohrashterism could make any inroads.⁸ In the beginning Helmand basin and Northern part of Baluchistan was the cradle of Zohrashterism; very soon under the patronage of the Sassanian Empire, it flourished throughout Iran and across its border.⁹ The archaeological evidence proves this fact beyond any doubt as the remains of no other religions are found in Iran or Northern Baluchistan.

In 531 A.D. during the regime of Nowsherwan the Just, which is considered golden period of Iran, the empire was divided into four satrapies.¹⁰ The most important being Kirman and Khurasan which most probably also included Chaghai, Kharan, Kalat and Mekran districts of Baluchistan. The old remains and legends in these areas support this fact.¹¹ Although these districts were considered under the Sassanian rule but the people were more or less independent basically governed by their own tribal heads and chiefs.¹²

Just before the Arab invasion the decline of the Sassanian empire had already begun and each governor or the local commander had become independent and considered the area as his personal domain. During this period, Seistan was being ruled by Rutbeel who lost his life while facing the Muslim armies. In 643 A.D. while the Muslim armies were on the move towards the East, the famous Chinese traveller Hieun-Tsang passed through Hindu-kush and its adjoining areas. According to the traveller, West of Sind there was a country known as LANG-KI-LO as per his description; Kirman and Mekran appears to be the part of the territory.¹³ To the North East of it, there was another state known as

KI-KIAGNA¹⁴ which was later on described by Arab Historians as Kai-Ke-Nan, Kai-Kanan or Kiz-ke-Nan. It appears that the North Eastern part of Baluchistan including Chaghai, Kharan and Kalat districts formed a part of this state. According to Hieun Tsang, the area was divided into tribal territories and was ruled by various Chiefs unlike other States where the rule of a king prevailed. To the immediate north of Ki-Kiagna, there was another large country known as TSAO-LI or TSAO-KO-TA,¹⁵ the Arab historian later named it as Zabul or Zabulistan. The whole of the Helmand basin was included in this State. Tsao-Li, according to Hieun Tsang was a powerful state, but the people did not adhere to one cohesive religion; basically they were schismatics. Majority of the inhabitants were nomads who did not stick to one area.

While reviewing the history of the area, another important book worth mentioning is *Fath Nama* commonly known as *Chach Nama*, which is written by an Arab and is considered most authentic. The book begins with the rule of Sahares son of Sahasi who ruled Sind from 622 A.D. to 662 A.D. According to the book the Kingdom of the Raja extended "In the East upto Kashmir, Mekran to the West, in the South upto the sea including port Debal and towards the North upto the mountains of Kurd known as Kai-Ke-Nan".¹⁶ As regards the description of northern boundary or the state, *Tarikh-e-Masoomi* adds that the North mountain of Kai-Ke-Nan and Suleman were located". The reference of Suleman range points out that Kalat and probably Quetta Districts were included in the territory. Further mention of Kai-Ke-Nan mountain in addition of Suleman range, beyond doubt is the present "Ras-Koh", which extends West to East and ultimately joins Suleman range. Ras-Koh is located between Kharan and Chaghai Districts, therefore it could be assumed that this territory also formed a part of the state referred to above. As regards Hieun Tsang's description of the two States in the north i.e. Tsao-li (Zabulistan of Arabs) and Ki-Kiagna (Kai-Ke-Nan of Arabs), Ras-Koh i.e. the Kai-Ke-Nan mountain formed the natural geographic boundary between the two states. It may further be pointed out that even to day on the maps the highest peak of Ras-Koh is referred as "Koh-e-Kambran" the affinity of the name with "Kai-Ke-Nan" is there.¹⁷

Fath Nama (*Chach Nama*) also describes the death of the Raja, who was killed in a battle with the army of a King of Iran. According to the book, the Persian armies advanced from Nimroze (Seistan) and Kirman towards the border, and the Raja through Mekran reached the battle field and lost his life. For a short duration his son Rai-Sahisi

took the throne but after his death his Brahman Minister Chach usurped the kingdom. The Governors of the state in protest declared independence, but Chach with his army conducted operations to bring order, and was successful. It is further described that he visited Mekran and Northern Baluchistan. The people did not resist, but did not like him either. In other words the area was under the suzerainty of the Raja but remained more or less independent. Chach did not visit Kai-Ke-Nan, therefore it is obvious that the area was not under his control. According to Chach Nama the people of this area practised Buddhism, but this fact is contrary to archeological evidence. Here one should remember that wherever idols in any form were worshipped, the Arabs attributed the religion with Buddhism.

In brief, as regards the advance of Muslim armies towards the Subcontinent, a study of Arab historians reveal, that they first conquered Kirman and then moved into Mekran; after having captured "TEES", they headed to the North along the present border of Iran and Baluchistan, and reached Zarang, an important town of Helmand Valley. During the Caliphate of Hazrat Umar they consolidated their conquest of Helmand basin, Khorasan and the area upto the Oxus river. In 38 Hijra (658 A.D.), during the Caliphate of Hazrat Ali the Muslim armies moved south and captured Kai-Ke-Nan, a part of the Subcontinent.¹⁸

Before the capture of Kai-Ke-Nan, Mekran was conquered. According to some later historians, "TEES" or "KISH" has been identified as "Kech" of Mekran which is near Turbat. This is incorrect. In fact "TEES" is "Diz" a small town situated in the area of Diz Prome on the border of Iran and Mekran. According to Biladuri, the famous Arab historian, "from Ispahan, Abu Musa al-Ash'ari sent Abdullah-bin-Budel Bin-Werquan to capture Khurasan; he arrived at Kirman and further advanced to "TABSEEN", where two forts are located known as "TEES" and "KAREN". These forts are so nicely located that they act as a door from the direction of Khurasan. Tabseen is an area of oasis with a warm climate. Abdullah-bin-Budel captured the area along with rich spoil. Later a delegation of the area visited Caliph Hazrat Umar and they agreed to pay a sum of sixty thousand or seventy five thousands for peace which was agreed to.¹⁹

I have personally visited Diz many a times. The description of the area given by Billaduri tallies exactly even to this date. The place is warm and surrounded with oasis. All the routes from North and North West converge here and no further advance to south is possible without passing through Diz. Besides, there are the ruins of two ancient forts

called by the locals as "JAREN-KALAT". In Baluchi "JAREN" means two, and fort is called "KALAT". The potsherds spread in the area are of ancient and Arab origin.

Regarding conquest of Mekran many other references in history have been made. For instance in *Tarikh Guzeeda* it is mentioned that the ruler of Sind tried in vain to ward off the Muslim attack. According to Hassin bin Muhammad bin Sherazi, at the time of the Muslim invasion Zumbel was the ruler of Mekran, and Sind was a part of his kingdom. He was also killed during the combat. Although Tabari has described these battles and in *Habib-us-Sair* references have been made of these battles, but these are of later period.²⁰

It is important to note that it is not easy to locate the ancient places and also to assess the old environments, unless along with the study of the history, the area is physically traversed and an analysis is carried out of all relevant factors. It may be pointed out that pre-history, history, geography, archaeology and anthropology etc. are closely related. In order to locate the old places it is necessary to traverse the ancient routes, which to a certain extent in Baluchistan can be verified by locals, as people still during various seasons migrate along these tracks.

With reference to above discussion, it is established that the Muslim armies after having made in-road in Mekran moved North and conquered the area of Helmand Basin and of Khorasan upto the river Oxus. Then they moved southwards to Kai-Ke-Nan where subsequently many expeditions were launched till it was finally subjugated. Before drawing the final conclusion as to the exact location of Kai-Ke-Nan it is necessary to analyse the relevant references made in history regarding this town.

According to *Chach Nama*, in 38 Hijra (658 A.D.) during the Caliphate of Hazrat Ali, Taghir-Bin-Dair was appointed Governor to the frontier of the Subcontinent, and selected troops and Commanders of renowned fame were placed under his command. These troops after passing through Bharaj assaulted the mountains of Kai-Ke-Nan. In fact Bharaj is, Bharj, and its ruins are located in Helmand valley not far from Chaghai border. Here, in the mountains passes, about twenty thousand infidels had assembled to check the advance of Muslim troops. The battle was quite severe and evenly poised; in desperation the Muslims in one voice raised "TAKBIR" i.e. "Allah-o-Akbar". It is said that in the narrow passes the voice resounded so severely that the enemy could not bear the shock and was so unnerved that most of them fled away barring the few who came forward and embraced Islam. It is said that even to day during the same season, the voice of "Allah-o-Akbar" resounds in

the mountain passes. This was the very battle during which Haris bin Murra proved his ability as a brave and sagacious commander. After the conquest, the Muslim troops received the sad news of martyrdom of Caliph Hazrat Ali, therefore they returned to Mekran where they came to know that Hazrat Muawia had become the new Caliph.²¹

About the same expedition Billaduri has mentioned, "In the end of 38 or the beginning of 39 Hijra, Haris bin Murra, with permission of Caliph Hazrat Ali led a successful expedition, on the frontiers of Hind, and captured booty and slaves in abundance. In 42 H. at Kai-Ke-Nan, Harris bin Murra along with most of his companions became martyrs, a few escaped and reached Mekran".²²

Although the details mentioned above in the two accounts differ, they have mentioned the same place i.e. Kai-Ke-Nan, and the following facts regarding its location are established:—

- (i) From the direction of Helmand Valley which was a part of Khorasan the Muslim troops moved to Kai-Ke-Nan. According to Billaduri, Kai-Ke-Nan was located on the border of Khorasan and was part of Sind. Here we should remember that most of the Arab writers considered all the territories South of Iran, belonging to Sind, though we have proved earlier that this area was more or less independent.
- (ii) Kai-Ke-Nan was a mountainous area with narrow passes.
- (iii) From Kai-Ke-Nan the Muslim troops moved to Mekran; therefore it is logical to assume that these two territories were inter-related and also direct routes existed to join them.
- (iv) After this expedition the stay of the Muslim troops at Kai-Ke-Nan was short.

Having mentioned the above expedition Billaduri has made further the following references regarding Kai-Ke-Nan in the different chapters of his book *Futuh-ul-Buldan* which have been corroborated by other writers as well:

—"In about 44 H. during the Caliphate of Hazrat Muawia, Muhab bin Abi Sufra advanced through the border of Hind (Kai-Ke-Nan) and reached BANNA and Al-Hor (Lahore) which are located between Kabul and Multan, where they were martyred. While passing through Kai-Ke-Nan, their move was checked by eighteen Turk riders, the tails of their horses were cropped".²³

- “In 46 H. Abdullah bin Sawwar was holding the charge of the frontier. He presented the Caliph with horses from Kai-Ke-Nan. As he returned to Kai-Ke-Nan, he was martyred by the Turks”.²⁴
- “During the Caliphate of Amir Muawia, Sinan bin Salma advanced towards Hind and having pacified Mekran, stayed there for two years. After him Rashid Al-Jadidi who belonged to Azd tribe took the charge. He reached Mekran, from there he advanced to Kai-Ke-Nan and subdued the area. He later died while conducting operations against Meds”.²⁵
- “When Abul-Ashas succeeded the charge of frontier of Hind, he also advanced to Boo-Kenan and Kai-Ke-Nan and further consolidated the hold”.²⁶
- “Kusdar had also revolted after being conquered by Sinan; therefore Ash’as also second time subdued the area”.²⁷
- “Abul-Ashas was succeeded by Ibne Harri Albahili who by the grace of Allah brought complete peace in the area”.²⁸

In view of the above the following facts are brought to light:—

- (1) The area of Kai-Ke-Nan remained disturbed for quite some time. The tribes in the area were of Turkish origin as we have explained earlier.
- (2) Kai-Ke-Nan was invaded from Mekran side as well; therefore, the routes existed from that directions too. The later Muslim operations conducted in the area also bring out the fact that from Kai-Ke-Nan the routes also led towards Khusdar, and the two places had close connections.

After having discussed the history it is important to go through the relevant extracts of Arab Geographers pertaining to Kai-Ke-Nan. Ibne Haukal states, “Around Kasdar there are many villages. Muin bin Ahmed is the Wali of the area but Khutba is read in the name of Caliph. The Wali stays at Kaba-Ke-Nan (Kai-Ke-Nan) which is a cheap place and is famous for grapes, pomegranate and other delicious fruits but dates are not grown here”.²⁹

Another important geographer nearly of the same period is Idreesi who mentions: “The area of Al-Rasikh is divided into two districts i.e. Al-Khrooj and Kir-Ka-Yan (Kai-Ke-Nan). The inhabitants are schematics by religion. They along with Persian also speak another dialect akin to it. They wear long cloaks with long sleeves and also put waist-coats similar to Iranian and Iraki dress, which have golden borders”.³⁰

After having analysed the above facts, I made my way to Chaghai and traversed the routes entering the district from Helmand basin. Near the Afghan border there is an area known as "AMOORI" which in local dialect means water reservoir. Here under ground water level is quite high, the wells are common and there is an old KAREZ, but the area around is comparatively dry. The ancient routes from different directions converge here and lead to Dalbandian which is located at the foot of Ras-Koh range.

The area of Amoori is also known as "LASHKAR-RAH" i.e. Army highway, as in the past the troops frequently passed through this route. Presently this area belong to Hasenzei-Rind tribe who are mostly nomads and move about with their flocks in search of pastures, but now at certain places where water is available they are settling down to cultivate the fields as well. Killi Gul Muhammad is one of such settlements, where Sirdar Gul Muhammad resides. I was intrigued to find Rind tribe here, as their main abode is supposed to be around Sibi. Sirdar Gul Muhammad explained that his ancestors were against settling down around "Lashkar-Rah" (Army-Highway) as since ages the armies from North and North-west leading towards Mekran, Sind and Punjab passed through the area but they had no option as due to tribal feuds they had to leave Sibi some centuries back.

In vicinity of Killi Gul Muhammad there are many ancient ruins known in Baluchi as "Dums". An important one is known as "Juzi-Ziarat" which is spread up in few miles area. Here along with ancient potsherds early Arab pottery pieces are also found in large number. Nearby is an old Arab graveyard known as AL-E-ARAB. The graves are pretty old so-much-so that the writings are erased.

As regards historical relics of the area, the community burial places are common, these are domed shaped tombs, where the dead bodies of the adults were kept, while the bones of the children were wrapped in some sort of cloth and were placed inside the wall. At certain places the tombs are double storeyed and the corps were preserved with some pungent preservent, but now they have been badly disturbed. Around Amoori these tombs are made of mud but most of them have fallen down. I have personally seen these tombs in Kharan, Mekran and coastal areas of Lasbella. At Ladghast, Punjgoor and Pali Kalat they are made of bricks and are still in better condition. The outer walls of the tombs have been decorated by baked tiles, with different figures of rising sun, palm of a hand and of mysterious types of huge animals. It may be pointed out here that these figures are commonly found on the outer walls of

fire temples of Sassanian period in Iran.³¹ It is therefore logical to believe that this civilization had direct relationship with the Sassanians, and also during the advent of Islam here this culture was flourishing. I have also noticed Islamic tombs in this area of similar construction with graves inside and same types of tiles outside, but with no figures of animals instead. Arab style of decoration has been resorted to.

Another relic of the past and of Sassanian period are "Gabar-Bunds", which are common in our North Eastern Baluchistan. Literal meaning of "Gabar-Bund" is "Fire Believer's-Dam". They are constructed of huge stones to retain waters in the fields to promote Agriculture. These bunds are ingeniously constructed and are spread in miles along the foot of the hills to utilize rain water. It may be pointed out according to Zohrashtrians promotion of livestock and Agriculture was considered sacred. It may be mentioned that these structures are quite common in Bukhara, Merv and south of Samarkand.

The community graves and Gabar bunds depict the culture and type of society which existed before the advent of Muslim period in the area. It is difficult to say that Zohrashterism was flourishing in the area at that time but it can safely be assumed that this civilization had strong links with Helmand basin which was under the rule of Sassanians.

After Amoori, while heading southwards, next important town is Dalbandin which is situated at the foot of Ras-Koh range. In addition to routes from Helmand basin, the tracks from western Afghanistan also converge over here. During ancient period troops arriving at Dalbandin from different routes before crossing Ras-Koh, a hilly terrain, used to halt here. The horse-shoes were repaired and other necessary arrangements for mountain warfare were made. As a matter of fact the old name of Dalbandin is "Nalbandin" i.e. the place where the horse shoes are repaired.

In order to cross Ras-Koh from Dalbandin there are many narrow passes but two are important which were in use since ages. The first one links Dalbandin with "Kalishnan", a pre-historic town within the mountain and from there a track leads to Kharan and further to Khuzdar. Even in pre-historic period Khuzdar was connected with Sind and Punjab through Mulla Pass and also one could reach Sind delta via Lasbella. The second pass is from Dalbandin to Gumbadi, which is also a pre-historic town but now it is in ruins. From Gumbadi an ancient route leads straight to Mekran. Both the passes are narrow surrounded by high cliffs; a loud shout in the area resounds for quite some time. Inside

the Ras-Koh range wherever water is available, grape vines and pomegranate orchards are found. According to Arab geographers date trees were not grown here, but now they are common, may be they were introduced later.

While traversing the first pass along the narrow passage even today it is difficult to move on horse or camel back, it is easier to move on foot. All along the route on hard cliffs, Arabic writing is profusedly found. Most of the writing, with the passage of time and severe climatic conditions, is not clearly legible. These writings very often begin from the top of a cliff where it is difficult to reach and continue right up to the bottom. Along with these Arabic writings, there are carvings of animal figures and probably of some other language which may be of pre-Islamic period.

Thus passing through narrow passes after travelling fifteen miles, one reaches Kalishnan. Presently it is a small village on the side of a perennial stream. The valley is comparatively wide, dotted with many other villages. For miles along the valley there are pre-historic Guberbunds and ancient ruins, both of Islamic and pre-Islamic period. It is obvious that this area was important both in historic and pre-historic era.

The stream is full of huge boulders with carved markings of pre-Islamic period. The carving mostly depicts animals of different kinds including mythical ones. It may be mentioned here that these figures were also made on Sassanian flags which were carried during battles.³² At one place it is depicted that men are standing in one line as if to stop the passage of an enemy. Most probably this is the site where ancient battles were decided. Along the stream further north in a closed valley, the names of Arabs are carved in hundreds, there is writing in other languages also. It shows that the Muslim army consisted of troops other than Arabs who also left their marks as well.

The village Kalishnan is surrounded by high hills, with old historic and pre-historic ruins around it. As the valley is conjested with Gubar bunds in miles, it shows that agriculture here for a long time was flourishing; even now the orchards of pomegranate and grapes are quite common. Down south, as one enters the plains towards Kharan, the area is a natural vast pasture. It is also very fertile where, depending on rains, a bumper crop is harvested even now. For travelling towards Kharan, Khuzdar and further to Punjab and Sind one has to cross this plain. As is evident that Kalishnan is located on an important pre-historic highway and the area around was fertile being a natural fortress surrounded by hills, it

was selected as a capital of the area. All the evidence proves beyond doubt that Kalishnan is Kiz-Ke-Nan of the Arab historians.

The second pass of Ras-Koh which leads through Gumbadi is equally important, as it is the part of ancient highway to Mekran. At Gumbadi the ruins of a pre-historic and of an Arab town are spread in a radius of more than a mile. On a nearby cliff names in Arabic are carved profusely. It is difficult to read the old carving which have been erased due to rains and winds, but from 400 Hijra onwards the writings are legible. The Arab town was well laid out with water channel passing through the built up area. There are few mosques in depleted conditions but the stone walls have not been disturbed. On the stones the names of important persons who offered their prayers are engraved. All the carving is in Arabic except one which is in Persian. At one stone محمد احمد الخليف is carved, but the date is not mentioned. On the other stones at the mosque, the dates vary from fourth to fifth century Hijra. Ibn Haukal who passed through the area in the fourth century, Hijra mentions:³² "Kusdar is a city with dependent towns and villages. The Governor is Muin-Bin-Ahmed, but the Khutba is read in the name of Khalifa only, and the place of his residence is at the city of Kaba-Ka-Nan (Kai-Ke-Nan)". This particular engraving may be in remembrance of Muin bin Ahmed but the variation of name and designation is there. The valleys around Gumbadi are full of Gabar bunds which is a sign of agricultural prosperity of the area in the past. Further south of the town, there is an old fort which is tactically well sited.

It is quite certain that at the time of Muslim occupation of Gumbadi, Zorashtrian civilization was flourishing here. On the rocks, palm of a hand with five figures are profusedly carved, which is a sign of peace according to the religion. On the Community burials as well, as described earlier, this sign is found on the baked tiles. It may be pointed out here that according to Baluch tribes, this is a sign of possession. At Gumbadi, near a mosque, there is a typical round shaped fire temple, in ruins. I have also picked up a figurine along with the potsherds of earlier era which is typical of Zohrashtrian period. The figurine is of a woman with wings. These figurines were made of a woman, man or a bull. According to Zohrashtrian belief good people after death turn into angel and protect the living ones from evil. In all the ruins of pre-historic towns like Gumbadi, round shaped pillars of stones are quite common. These pillars were used for "Mujlis" that is meeting places. Another important carving on a rock is of a man with fire torch in one hand and

a round figure in the other. This is a typical figure of lord Zohrashter with fire and universe.

Since the remains of Zohrashtrian civilization are so well preserved here, it may be pointed out that the Avestan Tuiryas belonged to the North Western Baluchistan known by Arab geographers as Turan.³³ According to the latest research carried out in this respect the old theory that the Avestan Tuiryas belonged to the lower Oxus region is no more valid. It is established that Tuiryas represented in some ways an ethnic or tribal reality that was distinct from Airyas.³⁴ They had close connection with the important warrior heroes of Zohrashtrian period. In Sassanian time, they were considered enemys of Iranian power.³⁵ It leads to point out that Brahvi speaking tribe of this area are Turias of Avestin period. Of course the centuries of migration from different direction into the area, like the Baluch who came from Arbistan, brought in the admixture but to a great extent they maintain their separate entity.

In the past, as the boundaries of the countries varied and also the communications improved the importance of towns and routes were also affected. Along with these factors the changes in geography also played an important role. As the Muslim empire further extended in the Subcontinent, better and safer routes to the south were adopted, and Kai-Ke-Nan lost its importance and was forgotten in history.

NOTES

1. Ahmed bin Yahya bin Jabir Beladuri, *FUTUH-UL-BULDAN* (Translation Syed Abul Khair Maudoodi, Nafees Academy Karachi, p. 612.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 613.
3. Sir H. M. Elliot, *The History of India*, Islamic Book Service, p. 382.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
5. Al-Kufi, *Fateh Nama Sind* or *Chach Nama* (Translation—Akhtar Rizvi), Hyderabad Sind, 1963, p. 42.
6. Professor Arther Christan Sen—*L' Iran Sous LES SASSANIDES*. (Translation —Dr. Mohammad Iqbal), Delhi 1941, p. 26.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 42 to 49.
9. Gherado-Gnoli, *Zoroasters' Time and Homeland*, Naples 1980, pp. 2, 11.
10. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Macmillan & Co., 1921, p. 461.
11. *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series*, Bombay, 1907, Vol. VII, pp. 33, 34. Vol. VII—A, p. 29.
12. Richard N Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, Weidenfold and Nicholson. 1977, pp. 14, 52.
13. R. C. Majumdar, *Al-Makka*, 1974, p. 7.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
16. *Chach Nama*, p. 16.
17. *Beladuri*, pp. 567, 579.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 613.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 579.
20. Sir H. M. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 417.
21. *Chach Nama*, pp. 99, 100.
22. *Beladuri*, p. 613.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 613.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 614.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 615.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 616.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, p. 617.
29. Sir H. M. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 38.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
31. Prof. Arther Christen Sen, pp. 210, 218.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
33. Gherado Gnoli, p. 118.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 119.