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The Mother of the Dari Language

Part three

by: Prof. A. H. Habibi *

The last line, number 25, of the Baghlan Inscription at the end of word numbers 154 and 155 carries two special signs. These are illustrated both in their turn under the numbers they are shown in the booklet.

Grammatical Condition of the Kushanid Language:

When analysing the words of this inscription, there will be shown some words ending with consonant letters or vowel sounds, which have changed their forms. Thus language of Kushan in this respect, is similar to those of Paxto and Sanskrit languages. This characteristic is obviously seen in the Dari language also. In Paxto language there are some active letters like: La, Ta Par, by which the vowels at the end, and even in the middle of the words get changed. For example, Kor (hourse) with the letter “La” changes into Kora ie. “La Kora”; the word Khahole (family) when used with “Ta” changes into “Khola”. In Peshawar the word Cinema when used along with “Ta” changes into Cinemay. Some times these changes will occur, in grammatical constructions. without even active letters. For example, Sarray raghy (man came), with the vowel “A” along with “rr”; Sarri vuwayel with “I” along with “rr”; in case of exclamation we say Aa Sarraia!

Kanishka’s name in the inscription of Surkh Kotal in the word number 4 was inscribed as Kanishko but in the word number 11 it was inscribed as Kanishki. His coins too some times carry his name as Ka-

* Translated into English by Mohd Kazem Ahang
nishi Shk Shah but in some of them it is Kanishki Kushan Shah Nan Shah. By the same token, the name of his son in one of his coins was written as Awishki Kushon Shah Nan Shah. This shows that the word Kanishka ending with “A” was written in two ways: first, Kanishko and secondly Kanishki. Similarly, name of the head of the repair mission under word number 47 is inscribed Nokonzok—in grammatical subjective case for the verb agadoan (settled). The same name under word number 143, in a modified case, was inscribed as Nokonzik in which case the “O” before “k” changed into “i”. This way we can say that the word number 140, Kozgashki, too originally was Kozgashka and while it is used as predicate of the Pohr the letter “a” at its end has changed into “i”. However, this change may have occurred only with some words ending with special letters because we have seen in the inscription some words like Ab (water), Maliz (fortress) and Sad written repeatedly but always in the same manner without any change. Thus it is clear enough that the law of changing was not common to all words but to some special words in specific cases.

Concerning “a” at the end of the Kushanid names, Kanishka, Awishka, Kozgashka, it ought to be mentioned that they might be similar to Paxto names ending in “K” such as Khairak, Khatak, Hotak, Barak, Shaitak, Athak, Zmarak, etc. The “k” at the end of these words which exists both in Paxto and Dari is used for greatness and praise. Though presently it is without any vowel sounds, in the past it had the sound of vowel “a”. Indian sources write these names with the slight sound of the vowel “a”. The History of Kashmir, Kalhana, 1148 A.D., describes the names, Kanishka, Howishka and Jouishka, while “a” at the end of all names pronounces slightly. In Kashmir there are three places called Kanishka Poora, Howishka Poora and Jouishka Poora. Moreover this history also mentions other names ending with “ka” like Janaka, Asoka Jalauka, Cothica, Rajanaka etc. Such names are changed even now in accordance with grammatical rules of Paxto, i.e.

- Kanishka Wa’i (present subjective)
- Kanishka vuwayel (past subjective)
- Da Kanishko Shahi (predicate for plural)

In these case the Kushani language has similarity with the Paxto language, which is not seen in the present Dari language.

**Possessive and Modifier:**

A) Possessive in the Kushan language was shown with a special sign “M” preceded and succeeded by word divider, “O”, connecting the two principle nouns i.e. the word number 2, Maliz, which has
been used as possessive to the word Kanishka has been written as: Maliz O—M—O Kanishko. This rule is similar to the one being used in Dari when the possessed followed by the possessive. Meanwhile in the Kushan language in possessive case the word Kanishka was changed into Kanishko. This is similar to the phrase, Asasko O—M—O Sad, formed by word numbers 115 and 116 and can be called a possessive form. But since the origin of the Asasko is not known so we, in this particular case, can not say for certain whether “M” is a part of the word itself or is a possessive sign.

B) Another style of possessive sign which has been repeatedly noticed in this inscription is with the letter “i”. This is similar to “Kasra-i-Izafa” in Dari. For this possessive sign has been given a special place in the Kushan language i.e. possessed followed by word divider succeeded by possessiv sign “i” and the possessive-noun like Lrohominan-i-Eir (holy deity of the fire). The same is written in Dari as “Parastinda-i-Atash.” At the same time possessive “i” has also been used as bin (son) between words 57 and 58 i.e. Bosar-i-Shizogarg (Bosar son of Shizogarg).

C) Somtimes a possessive composition has been used without any sign—a practice which is also common in Dari like Kozgahki Pohr=Kozgashki poor; Borzmehr Pohr=Borzmeh porr which in the current form would be Brozmehr Zada (son of Brozmehr). Again we have the compound Khodi Froman formed out words 145 and 146 meaning King’s Firman. This can be composed in this very form in Dari as also in the form of Firman-i-Khoda.

D) Descriptive compositions in the Kushanid languagge are generally in the same form as Paxto-where the description is preceded by the adjective i.e. in number 134 and 135 the composition of the words Masht Khirgoman meaning Khirman-i-Buzurg (great fourcourt) and the word Ioman Noubakht meaning Naubakht-i-Imin.

Adjective as a qualification comes after description such as word numbers 4 and 5, Kanishko Anind (Kanishko the auspicious) or Kanishki Namoberg (Kanishka the famous).

Possessive and Honor Kaf (k) and gaf (g):

The two letters were discussed earlier under grammatical condition of the Kushan language and will be discussed under number 11 in the following sections. As we have been earlier the nouns ending in “k” are quite numerous in the Kushanid language. Likewise, as stated earlier we have seen words in Paxto also. It ought to mentioned that in
some cases in the Kushanid language letter “k” is written like “g”. It seems that its sound might have been something between “k” and “g”. As it would be explained in number 11 they are sometimes pronounces as “k” and sometimes as “g”. The Arabic pronunciation of such words shows that they might have heard the letter “g” but not being able to pronounce it correctly, they changed it into “j” i.e. the word “karnamag” was changed into “karnamaj” and the word “Barnamag” changed into “Barnmaj”.

The letter “g” has sometimes been used in this inscription as possessive and honor as noticed in the words number 24, Ababg; 46 Khoaedeg, 69, Eyog, 119, Albarg and 125, Harohg. I think the letter after “i” must have changed into “KH” in the Islamic period i.e. Loyak of number 56 into Loix.

**Quiescents at the Beginning of the Words:**

There are no quiescents at the beginning of the Dari words today. But like other Arian languages it is permissible in the Paxto language as in the words Story, Lmar, Wrrarr etc. In this regard Paxto is akin to Kushanid language. In fact the inscription of Surkh Kotal carries words with silent letters at the beginning like in number 25 and 31 in the past tense but if they were to be changed into present tense the silent letter would change into “AC” as in number 40. By the same token the word from no in number 146 was silent.

**Changing of the Kushanid Letters When Transformed into Dari and Paxto:**

Some word in the Kushanid language ending with “D” which was preceded by vowels like “A, O” and “I”, when transformed into Paxto or Dari the letter “D” was changed into light “H” and was sometimes omitted altogether, i.e.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kushanid</th>
<th>Dari</th>
<th>Paxto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ot or Od</td>
<td>has transformed into W</td>
<td>AW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pid</td>
<td>“”</td>
<td>BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kid</td>
<td>“”</td>
<td>KA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cad</td>
<td>“”</td>
<td>Chah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tad</td>
<td>“”</td>
<td>TA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kald</td>
<td>“”</td>
<td>KEY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, this rule was not permissible in the verbs like the word “stad”. And even today it is “Istad” carrying “D” at its end preceded by letter “A”. Some words of Kushanid language with minor changes in are still extant in Dari i.e.

- Akhsht (Kushanid) = Khisht (Dari) Kishta (Paxto)
- Kird (Kushanid) = Kard (Dari)
Parwarda (Kushanid) = Parwarda (Dari) = Parwarawa (Paxto)
Pohre (Kushanid) = Poor (Dari) = Boor (Paxto)
Firoman (Kushanid) = Farman (Dari)
Noubikht (Kushanid) = Noubakht (Dari)
Khirman (Kushanid) = Kharman (Dari)

The same way, there are some words with “L” in the Kushanid language which in Dari the “L” has changed into “D” i.e.:
Maliz (meaning fortress in Kushanid) = Madizh (with the same meaning in Dari)
Noushal (new place in Kushanid) = Noushad (with the same meaning in Dari)
Xal = Shad = Shad (in Paxto)
In some cases “L” at the Kushanid language has changed into “R” in Dari and Paxto i.e.:
Alow (Kushanid) = Arwa (Dari and Paxto); Also Rawan in Dari has the same meaning.
While in other cases a Kushanid word ending with ‘A’ is used in Dari and Paxto after added “A” a “H” i.e.:
It is noteworthy that the word Mah and Shah are used in the same text.

(to be continued)
History of Former Kafiristan

Part Three

War, Wealth and Social Status

by: A.R. Palwal

Among the native communities, which have not come under the influence of secular societies and are not acculturated, most or even all social and economical activities are partially religious. This partiality is relative. Those events which play rather a greater role than some other events in life of the individual and his society, are regarded with much religious care. Here I consider the economic, social and physical phenomena of man in the context of religion. With this I do not mean that religion has brought forth the former three aspects of man's life into existence, but the fact is rather vice versa. Functionally, regarding native communities, religion is an intermediary means between man and his environment. In this case the nature of a middle class or linking object is that it affects both of the side classes or objects, i.e. the lower one on which it is based and the upper one which is holded up by it in order. Thus the intermediary means finds two vents for the release of the applied pressure. This is what religion has in itself, and so influences its basic source, the economy of man and his social order as well. As the economic and social aspects of life are corelevant with those of the religious life, then I specifically deal with the partly religious, physical, economical and social aspects of life which existed among the Kafirs.

Puberty Initiation:

Physical growth or age has rather a striking role in the social organization of native peoples. Because, age is positively corelated with man's working capacity as well as his empirical knowledge. Man's different stages of physical growth are marked by religious ceremonies. Before puberty initiation, the Kafir boys were kept aside from most of the religious centers as well as from social and economical obligations at large. Whenever they reached their age of puberty, then ceremoniously they entered the manly life of the Kafirs. The boys were initiated between 12 to 16 years of age. However, some were initiated even before or

* Present Nooristan
after this time. This, on the one hand, depended on the physical structure of the boys; and, on the other hand, on the economic and social conditions of the initiatee’s family. Their puberty initiation or trousers-wearing ceremony, which is called Vitamchil (Vit means trousers and amchil is wearing) in Bagramatal, was associated with the annual festival of Giche, and the ceremony of Sanowkun. The former one was communal in which every boy of the proper age could participate, but the latter one could be afforded only by the rich individuals. According to my data from Bagramatal, whenever the sons of poor families reached the age of twelve they postponed their initiation ceremony for one to three years, but the rich families held it at the earliest time. The reason given for this is that the former were incapable economically, but the latter could afford the expenses of the rite. This is true up to an extent, but a family which was poor three years before the proper occasion might be consequently poor three years later too. Besides, the children of the poor families were initiated with the expenses of the rich and so the former were associated with the children of the latter. This association probably was based on the mater-slave and patron-client relationship or those of the lineage and clan ones. The probable reason for holding the ceremony of initiation earlier or later might have been the advantage and disadvantage of the rich and poor families respectively. The privileges of the children of the rich families were to participate in the social life; partake at the religious and other ceremonies as well as at the honorary hierarchy. The disadvantage of the poor families was to serve their community by undertaking the hardest work of cleaning the roads from snow in the winter, guarding their fields etc. About the puberty initiation, Robertson gives the following information from Kamdesh:

Among Kafirs there is no particular ceremony for a girl on reaching the age of puberty. For boys there are particular formalities which must be observed before they are permitted to wear the virile garment—loose trousers. The usual custom is for boys to be taken to Dizan’s shrine at the Giche festival arrayed in these emblems of manhood; a sacrifice is made and there is a feast, lavish or penurious according to the wealth of the parents. The sons of poor people are often allowed to associate themselves with the ceremonies carried out by the youths of richer families. The boys who take part in the Sanowkun of a Kaneash are exempted from further observances; but it is probable that, even in such cases, an offering is also made to Dizane at the proper time. I have seen boys under twelve smeared with blood at the Sanow-
kun, boys who certainly had not reached the age of puberty. Outside Kafiristan, on a visit to Chitral, for instance, boys may wear trousers, but must not do so in their own country until the proper observances have been complied with (1896: 599-600).

In 1968 I have noted down the following information that in the upper part of the Bashgal, girls, before their first menstruation, went bare-headed with their hair hanging down. Whenever a girl menstruated for the first time she ordinarily as other women went to Shar-Amu, seclusion house, and returned after three days (see Nirmali at the previous chapter). Thenceforth the girl wore a cap under which she gathered her hair, or collected them on the back of her neck. After this occasion she was not any more a Juk, girl, but Jukur, a woman.

The boy before the Vitamchil ceremony was called Mura in the Kati language of Bagramatal, and Machkur afterwards. At the ceremony his forehead and legs were smeared with the blood of the sacrificed animal by the acting priest, Uta. With putting on the trousers, he became a man or Mlatar. The latter is the most common word from Paxto used nowadays in the area which conventionallyy means a fighting man, but verbally the one whose waist is tightened. Its equivalent in Katevari, in the sense of fighting man is Sani or Churi, but from the viewpoint of age, he is called machkur. The first one, Sani verbally means army; the second one, Churi, means ambusher or raider; and the third one, Machkur, means a youth. Instead of these three terms the Vitamchil, trousers' wearer, introduces the general idea as does the Paxto term Mlatar.

Warfare:

Except the Prasungalis, most of the other Kafirs had two types of warfare. One was tribal, in which their valley or country was invaded by their national enemies, the Pchen Vnayi, or they made an invasion with a small army, Sani; and the second one was always offensive, which was made by two or several fighting men going as Churi, (1) ambassadors, to the land of their foemen.

Collective warfare was a tribal (2) affair. It took place either to revenge their life and regain their property lost in the previous attack

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1 In Hindi the word Churi means theft; in Katevari it means a secret attack; and in Paxto and Dari Chur means when an inorganized crowd of people take away one's property or even his beard by force for punishing him, while committed a socio-religious sin.

2 Here the tribe is a traditionally integrated community which has common culture and geographically inhabit a certain territory. See another footnote elsewhere in this chapter.
made on them by their enemies; or they made the initiative and attacked their neighbours. In their collective warfare, which had religious motivation but originally organized for plunder, there was not much difference between invading a tribe's Muslim or Kafir neighbours. Any of the neighbouring communities was equally exposed to the invasion of another tribe. Robertson writes of such a collective, **Sani**, attack made by the Kati Kafirs of the Upper Bushgal, as follows:

The headmen collected together to consider the question of war). It was eventually decided that it was undesirable, on every ground, to raid either the territory of the Amir of Kabul or that of the Mehtar of Chitral, while there were many objections to attacking the fierce Kam people. It was also known that in a certain valley belonging to the Wai tribe there was abundance of flocks and herds, so it was ultimately decided that the raid should be made there...there was no single male remaining in the Kaitir district over twelve years of age, except the Pshur, and such as were too old or too ill to undertake the journey...

......In their progress through the Presungul Valley the Kaitirs had managed to come to loggerheads with the Presun tribe, and had slain two or three of them. So when the warriors returned immense spoil, but lamenting many killed and wounded, they found themselves involved in war with the Wai and with the Presun Kafirs as well (1896:335).

Sani were more than ten warriors. Their army was made on the clan and village basis. For instance, nowadays, the number of Mlatars in the following villages is 180 in Bazgal; 300 in Pitigal; 200 in Sarat and 800 in Bagramatal. In Wama the number of the Sani was forty-five warriors made the ordinary Sani. They were equally divided on its three hamlets. At the time of war fifteen of them were put in the offence and the remaining thirty warriors in the defense. The first group of **Sani** went to the battle-field; the second group of thirty warriors was again split into two groups of fifteen **Sani**. One group guarded the passes, bridges, and trails in the mountains. The next group protected the village and farms. These three groups shifted their positions in turn. Those in the battlefield came to the vicinities of their village, those around the village moved to the passes and tracks, and from there to the battlefield. All of these arrangements were made by a chief in the council of the Uhrs under the guidance of Gish, the war-god, represented by Pshe in a trance. Robertson writes about the role of Pshe in the making of war:
It appeared that during a sacrifice to Gish, the Katir Pshur had announced that great Gish was offended at the paucity of his offerings, and had instructed him to order the people to “attack”. After he had delivered himself of this sacred mandate, the inspiration of the Pshur suddenly ceased (1896:334).

Below the village level, warriors were arranged on the basis of clan organization. In this respect I again cite a paragraph from Robertson who mentions that, “Probably in Kamdesh the Garakdari and the Bilezhedari number about 300 fighting men each, while the Utahdari, the Demidari, the Sukdari, and the Wadari, have only about 120 men. The Lanandari contains probably no more than a dozen or fifteen warriors altogether”, (Ibid. p. 86). These warriors were organized and directed by the chief of their own clan.

There were a number of reasons for making war with the neighbouring communities. The occult but the most stimulus cause of war-making was economic for looting others and getting some booty. It can be also said that warfare is just a human instinct stronger in some people than others, but called bravery and courage or heroism in the literary language. War arose under the conditions of stealing a tribe’s goats and their products or murdering some people from that tribe. According to Robertson, the slaying of a tribesman did not cause a war in all cases. One way of avoiding it was to hand over a man from the offending tribe to the injured one to kill him in revenge. But the sign and correct announcement of war was the sending of arrow-heads or bullets to the hostile tribe, especially to the Muslim communities. (The Ency. Brit. 1911:633); and the Kafirs among themselves merely raided one another (see 1896:564). The happening of war under most of the other causes could be avoided, but not the one ordered by Gish, the war:god, as mentioned above. Another cause of war eruption was to enslave other people for work and business, or on the Muslim side, to make converts as well. The believers of many religious find divine satisfaction or even an eternal victory in others’ conversion to their present religion, although once their own forefathers resisted it. For instance, the people of Munjan, from northern Hindu-Kush invaded the Kafirs just for taking one boy and one girl slaves, Lane, whom they handed over as tribute to the next feudal lord in their neighbourhood, Jurm, who in his turn passed them to another one stronger than him. In the attack, if the Munjis were the winners of the battle, then they kidnapped as many youngsters as they could. But the battle also required, for the sake of a few slaves, many deaths, other casualties and
provoked a revenging feud as well. If the Munjis failed to win the battle or to get the slaves, then they had to buy them from the Kafirs. The price of either a boy or a girl was fifteen goats. In such cases the Kafirs sold the children of the lower class, slave population, on the Muru people of Murugul, Munjan, as called by the Katis of Bashgal.

However, the Kafirs were fierce, and warfare was their profession. Being so and living in the inaccessible valleys of Hindu-Kush, they protected their religion and culture from the direct influence of aliens for about three thousand years. “As war, and not peace,” writes Robertson, “may be said to be the normal condition of Kafirstan,” (1896:567). At the time of war every male who could carry bow and arrows went with the army leaving the women, children, priests, old and handicapped men. In the absence of the warriors, the women of the village abandoned their field work and gathered in the Aray, dancing arena, where they praised their gods and danced day and night to Gish, Imra, Disani and other deities.

Whenever the warriors returned from a successful raid, they sang a song in which they declared, “Behold supernatural and human beings! We are the conquerors.” When people in the village heared such verses, all of them—men, women, and children—ran forth to welcome them. Women carried some wheat in bowls and sprinkled it over the warriors. Then all of them together went their way toward the Aray. There the supreme chief, other chiefs or Ura, and clan leaders sat down on the Kana, a big wooden stage in the Aray with the rest of the warriors and villagers around them. Here they divided the booty of the war.

Afterwards, a lavish and cheerful feast was arranged. A priest read the genealogy and golden life-history of their important ancestors. A big fire was made in the center of the Aray, around which they danced. Uta placed the branches of the sacred cedar, brought for this purpose, on the fire and then threw a lot of butter on the branches with which the flames roared up. Before that, a man with clean washed hands and arms brought some water in a bowl which was kept completely untouched. Uta, a priest, took this water and poured it over the cedar branches in the fire. With this the ashes of the fire flew around and a heavy smoke whirled up. The people cheered, knowing that the libation now reached to the gods, to all the ancestors, and to themselves.

Besides the collective warfare of the Kafirs’ Sani, there was a second type of war made by a small number of fighting men called Churi in the Kati language of the upper Bashgal. They always had an offensive front. The number of such fighting men, Churi, was usually
smaller than ten. Robertson, during the time of his staying in Kafiristan, has met Churi raiding groups with the following number of warriors: two; four and six each one time; ten warriors two times, and three warriors three times (The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush). A great number of warriors could leave the village together and when reaching the territory of their enemies then divided into small groups. In ambushing and slaughtering Muslims or other tribal enemies, their purpose was, on one hand, to worship and propitiate their gods and ancestors who had fought the Muslims and were each others revenging enemies a long time ago. On the other hand, as a core motive, they secured social rank, honor and privilege not available to those people who stayed at home.

Azar (renamed Muhammed Abdullah after he wilfully accepted Islam when serving in the British army), who himself was a Kafir, has written a rather detailed account of their hero-cult. This is translated from Hindi into English by G. Morggenstierne and partly published under the title: A Kafir on Kafirs Laws and Customs, 1933. Whenever a man wanted to become a hero, according to Azar, he made himself ready and announced his intention. It took place at the Gish-Namuch (1) festival which was celebrated at the beginning of spring. All through the festival there were dances performed for Gish, the war-god. In the last three years of the festival the warrior who went as Churi wore a simple dress and put on the arms with which he intended to fight his enemies. On his arrival the dancing stopped. He walked into the dancing arena and performed three dances together with other people, in the name of Gish. Before all the people, as witnesses of his intention, he addressed the war-god and recited the following commitment: “I promise to go, and I am prepared to go to a foreign country and with these my good arms I, shall bring death to the enemies of my religion, and return home.” After this ceremony he left directly for the foreign country. If there were some other warriors who wanted to serve their religion in this manner, they also performed the same rites (Op. Cit.p. 198).

Once a Churi had left his country then he could not come back unless he had killed an enemy and brought his trophy with him as evidence. It was necessary for him to bring the bloodstained dress covering the wound of his victim (Ibid.). On the contrary, Robertson has observed, but among the Kashtan Kafirs, some two or three parties of raiders returned with failure to their country (1896:1336,570). Probably this diversity was either due to the cultural difference of the Kati and Kashtan Kafirs, or to the ideal and actual difference of what ought to be and what really happened.
The time allowed a raider, Churi, according to Azar, to slay the enemy of his religion, was one year. If he did not succeed in the first year, he had to stay out of his country for the second, as well as for the third year. During this period of three years he was not allowed to return to his territory while still having failed. After the lapse of these three years of successive failures, he was permitted to go back, but the people looked down upon him as well as upon his women and children. (Morgenstierne 1933:203) whenever the raider succeeded in his purpose and returned to his country, in the vicinity of his village he praised Gish to whom he had made the vow, reciting: “I come back, having done my duty.” When people in the village heared him, they went out together with the priest, Debilol, and welcomed him. From there he was then accompanied by music to the village Aray where they again performed three dances in honor of Gish as at the beginning. Afterwards the raider placed the trophy of his triumph at the shrine of the war-god. At this time the women of his family came and scattered some grain of wheat over him. When the dance and music were finished and the ceremony was over, he walked home. His relatives were now happy and proud of him. They provided him with many invitations. After a few days a public statement was made by him that he would give a feast for the whole valley or community whenever he would see fit. This took place in the same or in the following year. (Ibid, pp. 197-8)

Robertson writes that whenever the Kafirs murdered their enemies, they stripped off as much of their clothes as possible and cut off their ears as trophies. On their arrival at the precincts of their villages, they sang a song of triumph or produced a peculiar shout which signified their success. There they remained until their relatives and friends went and accompanied them to the village. If they arrived at night, they had to stay out of their village till morning, and then during the day they were ceremoniously brought to the village. There the raiders were dressed in all the fineries their relatives possessed. Then with the women of their families they went to the dancing house and all danced to the glory of Gish, the war god. In the intervals of the dance the women showered wheat grains over the braves from their small wicker baskets which each woman carried, The dancing was only performed when small bands returned successfully, but there was no dancing if one of them was killed. For a large raiding party or a small army when it returned victorious, family affair and few outside men took the trouble to attend it. The Gish observances were more fully carried out in Kandesh than in Bagramatal where was no or little dressing of the raiders (Roberson 1896: 122-3;570-3).
When the raid was made by several Churis, they sent one of them as a vanguard, Chara, according to the people of Bagramatal, to the village where they intended to murder some human beings whether they were women and children or grown up men. However, the killing of priests, chiefs and youths or fighting men was given more importance. The murderers of the people named above gained greater popularity and respect among the Kafirs. When the raiders returned successful to their village women took some special pots called Pulyuktu in katevari and filled them up with wheat. The throwing of wheat grains over the warriors was called Gumboyo in Bagramatal.

The Churis attacked their enemies either during the day or at night. During the day time they attacked those people who either worked in their fields away from the villages, or they hid by a track and ambushed them while travelling to other villages or back home from their fields work. At night they entered the villages. In Munjan, I was told that they went up to the roof of a house and aimed their arrows through the smoke hole at the people inside, or crept into the room and murdered the sleeping people with their daggers. Then the Kafir Churis carried away a trophy from the victims as their evidences. The Munjis say that the number of the Kafir ambushers was from two to five men. But, according to the Bagramatali informants, a strong and self-confident warrior went alone and did not want the help of others accompanying him.

I have simply described the Kafirs technic and types of warfare. About the tragic events of killing and other bloody features of the Kafirs life Robertson gives rather detailed information.

Social Ranks:
Beside the normative practice of homicides, the Kafirs had the custom of giving lavish feasts as well. Many animals and wield products were consumed in their individual and communal banquets, which will be described later on. All these human and animal sacrifices as well as other material outlays of the Kafirs were not solely aimed at their supernatural well-being in the after life, which will be described in the following chapter, or at the propitiation of their deities. Besides, these ventures made them people of distinguished personality and granted them different privileges in their society. Every effort they put forth raised them to a new social rank in the Kafir's leadership and hierarchical organization. There were several ranks which will be described hereafter but not in their exact order, particular context, or original function, for lacking the required data. There are four ranks at most of which we know the order. Our first hand reliable source is Robertson, but he has recorded only two ranks and those are also rather ambiguous.
Here I will describe, first the three ranks from Wama after my own notes; second, the ranks from Bagramatal after Azar and the writer; and third, the two ranks from Kamdesh after Robertson.

**Social Ranks in Wama:**

1. **Yali:** Whenever somebody wanted to acquire the rank and title of *Yali*, he invited his village people, rich and poor, and feasted them for four days. Each day he killed twenty goats and four oxen. Besides, cheese, ghee, bread and wine were also served to them. Everyone who could afford the expenses of such a banquet could perform it and become a *Yali*.

2. **Malada:** A candidate for the *Malada* rank, besides his own village people, gave any elaborate banquet to three other tribes. The people invited to this ceremony were the *Tsuwani* of *Tsugel* (=Kordar), a side valley; the *Pardesayi* people of *Ashkunu*; and the people of *Prasungal*. In addition to these tribes the people from the surrounding villages of Wama were also called on. Each of the four tribes invited to the banquet made its own flag. The flag was a symbolic cross decorated like a human figure. A capsize silver cup was inverted on top of the vertical pole of the cross for a head, and a shirt was worn on the cross as well. The flag or the symbol was well-decorated and the posts were also carved (probably it was visitors who had been such cross symbols and then claimed that the Kafirs were Christians as mentioned in the first chapter). The men from each tribe went separately to the dancing arena and danced there with their symbolic flags.

Only those women who were close relatives of the host or the man who had achieved the rank could come to the performance. Other women gathered and danced on the roof of some other chief's house, who then gave them an ox as a gift and was proud of it.

To all of these people the host served six meals in the three-days ceremony. Every tribe, in this ceremony, received forty goats with fat and bread every day. Whenever they were about to leave, their host offered an ox to each of the four symbolic flags. After doing this he was then recognized as *Malada*. His privilege was to participate in the council of the local chiefs who gathered for the discussion of their life-problems and made decisions.

3. **Batur:** When a man killed a Muslim and gave a feast to all the above mentioned tribes (1) eight different times, then he became a *Batur*. When he killed his first victim for this rank, he gave a banquet only one time, in which he killed twenty goats and four oxen. After

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(1) By tribe I mean those people who claire to be the descendents of the same ancestor territorially integrated, Speaking the Same dialects and having in-group feelings.
this first feast he erected a post in front of his house and made a hole in it. Every time he murdered an enemy, he gave a feast and made a hole in the post. In this way he killed eight Muslims, gave eight banquet, and pierced eight holes in the post before all the people. After the eighth one he was formally accepted as a Batur.

Elphinstone speaks of the same procedure with reference to the Bashgali Kafirs' hero-cult and writes, "those who have killed many Muslims may erect a high pole before their doors, in which are holes to receive a pin for every Mussulman the owner has killed, and a ring for every one he has wounded." (Elphinstone 1819:440; Edelberg 1960:280). But Robertson says that such posts were erected for the commemoration of the dead. He writes:

A very common way of commemorating the dead is by the erection of small effigies on the end of the poles, which are supported on a pedestal some three feet high and two square. The poles are also squared, and bear on their front surface a number of homicides the man committed in his lifetime. Such memorials seem to be exclusively erected to the memory of warriors, and I cannot remember seeing them anywhere except in the lower part of the Bashgal Valley, in the Dungul Valley, and in the Kalash village of Utzin, (1896:648).

The quotations above show that there were two types of poles, one representing the heroism of the living and another of the dead. The former was erected in front of the owner's house and the latter was on the roadside while approaching the village. The memorial post for the dead had symbolic image on its top which is not reported for that of the living symbolic has described a sculpture at the end of a pole (Edelberg 1960:279), which is similar to the one mentioned by Robertson and to the Kundrik of Bagramatal. What Robertson says about its limitation to certain areas is probably due to the cultural difference of the Kafirs. However, my Wamayi material corroborates Elphinstone's report about the pole erected for living heroes, but my data from Bagramatal on Kundrik, (described in chapter III, under Inder), accord to what Robertson has related.

Besides all the difference related above, both types of the poles had the same function, i.e., they glorified the heroic deeds of the Kafir warriors exclusively, and represented the number of the homicides committed by the heroes. These were symbolized either with the means of holes in the poles as in Wama, which according to Elphinstone received a pin for every victim, or according to Robertson the poles were notched for the representation of the homicides (1896:21 & 648). After
all. **Batur** was the rank for great warriors, and the post were erected for their honour.

To view this term, **Batur**, morphologically and semantically, one finds it in close connection with some similar forms in the neighboring languages and dialects. For instance, **Badyur** is a Kati name; **Baderi** means brave fighters in Paruni (Edelberg 1968:15); **Bahadur** in Dari and **Batur** in Paxto mean a brave warrior, valiant or a hero, and the same is, according to Doerfer, Mongolian **Bautr**. For detailed information see Doerfer, *Turkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1962-1967. As we can see there is both form and meaning connection between the words mentioned above, but if the relations are actual then this linguistic phenomenon shows either cultural contact or the force of historical invasions especially that of Tamerlane.

According to my Wamayi informants, there were no other ranks than the three already described. This statement can be considered that other ranks were not known to them. But the informants also said that a hero who once had achieved one, two or all the there ranks could repeat the required ceremonies for any of the ranks again and again. This of course added to his prestige in the community. The doubling of ranks is reported by Robertson as well as Azar which will be stated below.

**The Social Hierarchy of the Katis:**

From the Katis of the upper Bashgal I have noted down a number of ranks with their names and symbols, but I was not able to find out their order. In this respect I follow Muhammad Abdullah Azar who, once a Kafir, has described them sequentially. But the names he has mentioned are of the insignia, not of the proper ranks. However, they were connected with each other, i.e., the insignia symbolized the ranks, and the ranks in its turn represented the achieved honor and prestige. The ranks in question are as follows:

**Ara:** This was an introductory or primary stage to entering the upper class of rich men. According to my Bagramatal data, **Ara** was the title given to a man who claimed that he could show a flock of four hundred goats. The next day, some people especially the responsible **Ura**, elected chiefs, walked with him to the corral of his goats. There he brought out one goat after another and the observers counted them. At the end the group of men returned back to the village and announced that the man owned four hundred goats or more. After that he invited the people of his village for a dinner which was prepared by his and his wife expenses. Finally the Uras, who were the chiefs in social relations, officially offered him the title of **Ara**. The term **Ara** means owner, mas-
ter or rich man. The privilege of this primary rank was that its owner’s wife and other female family members could use baskets and their shoulder strings woven from goat hair. Ordinarily, these items were woven out of some plant fibers.

**Leymach:** Whenever the Churis, raiders, successfully returned from their raiding ventures, to the people they displayed the trophy, or in their language Lawa (=booty), secured from the murdered people. After the chiefs, other headmen and the rest of the people had observed the trophy, then the Churi was expected to undertake the provision of a banquet for the rank in question.

In the feast he served cooked food, dairy products and wine to all the people of his village present in the party and to his relatives arrived for the occasion from other villages. The feasting affair was undertaken at the candidate’s house but other rites were held at the village center.

During the ceremony the candidate danced on the wooden stage. **Kana,** in the center of the dancing arena. According to Azar, “When the dance is finished, a turban-cloth is given to him as a token, to be worn round the neck like a sash. And on his head two peacock feathers, each of them up to an ell in length, are fast tended to the turban cloth. They are called Mol. And this is the first rank of heroism which is given to him, (“Morgenstierne 1933:201). Elphinstone writes, “In the solemn dances on the festival of Nummniaut, each man wears a sort of turban, in which is stuck a long feather for every Mussulman he has killed,” (1819:440). According to my information from Bagramatal the number of golden bird feathers which were of golden bird in correlation with the number of the homicides the man had committed. When the number of the feathers of that of the homicides exceeded six then his whole crown was made out of the golden-bird feathers. This was also called **Mal** or **Mol,** which he wore during ceremonies for dancing.

The privileges of this rank were material and ideal. The warrior received the title of Leymach. He put on the special crown with the golden feathers in it. Besides, when animals were sacrificed and the raw meat was distributed to the warriors, the share of the Leymach was greater than the rest of the fighting men. In addition to this he had the right of using a special chair outside his house, but others were fined for doing so.

**Aramuch:** Azar writes, “If he Leymach wishes to attain the heroism of the second degree, then **Stry** is the name given, and as a token of that, a chain which reaches to the waist, is put on his head. And it may be of some metal, gold, or silver.” (Morgenstern 1933:202).
Beside the homicides, whenever a man had the capacity of the rite for the rank he announced his intention. As a first step he killed thirty goats and distributed the meat uncooked. This meat was given to every Maltar or every one above twelve years old. Then in the winter he gave food to all the village for seven days. He fed the people of his village again for five days in Giche. The honorary privileges of this rank were also extended to the offspring of the Aramuch. His son was called Arakur and his daughter Araj. The latter had the privilege of a chain or girdle, the one end at the back and the other one at front. The chain hung down and made a semi-circle on her thigh. In Bagramatal, this emblem was called Sturi. Other girls or women, except the daughters of Aramuch, did not have the right to use it.

**Paramach:** I have only recorded the name and the related insignia of this rank. In 1964 I was given the same insignia for the rank Leymach but in 1963 for the Paramach rank. I did not succeed to get further information about the way how it was secured and about the entailed prestige and privileges. From the other ranks we also can understand that all the pertaining information is fragmentary. ...

About this rank Azar writes, “The name of the third” degree is Shtrgt and its token is like that of the first one. But the sash is of great value(?), and gold and silver flowers and ornaments are embroidered (?) upon it,” (Morgenstierne 1933:202).

In Bagramatal I have recorded the name of the emblem as Shtam Shtargit. It was a long stirp of cloth embroidered with silk, and cowry-shells were sewn to it as well. The hero put this sash on his right shoulder and passed it under his left arm, whenever preparing for dancing. If he obtained the corresponding rank for the second time, then he wore another sash on his left shoulder. The sash was woven out of wool and its color was red like that of the women’s girdle. There was another circular emblem of thick cloth which was also embroidered and cowry-shelled (Shtame=cowry), as well as adorned with some other ornaments. It was called Pti-Shtam, and was only worn on the back. Elphinstone writes about a similar emblem that, “some put on black fillets ornamented with cowry shells, one for every Mussulman whom the wearer had killed,” (1819:439).

**Shurmach:** This title was given to a brave fighting man who had committed a number of homicides and feasted the people. Azar writes, “The name of the fourth rank is Gegie Kshtu. Its token is a chain, one inch thick, strung with bells, which is thrown round his neck, “(Morgenstierne 1933:202). I have recorded from Bagramatal that Gagney Kshtyu was a number of small bells attached to the bracelet in the first stage and then after completing all the ceremonies also to the
belts around the hero’s waist. Elphinstone mentions, “the number of bells he wears round his waist on that occasion (at the festival of Numminaut) is regulated,” according to the homicides he has committed (1819:440). However the bells were hung around the wrist and around the waist of a Kafir hero. Such bells were tied to the hand stick also.

After describing the fourth rank, Muhammed Abdullah Azar makes the point that, “Apart from these, there are no other degrees of heroism. He may perform (the same deed) as often as he chooses, but only the tokens of heroism and the ornaments of his head are added to,” (Morgenstierne 1933:203). However, as I have mentioned before, Azar has not given us the names for the ranks, merely of the emblems symbolizing the ranks. In addition to those mentioned emblems, the ranked men of honor could use chairs, ba, of special structure, whereas the common people used stools in their houses.

**Sunvnay-Ara:** The candidate for this rank promised to kill enemies and give feast to the whole village. Then his ears were pierced and some special wood pieces were put in the holes, whenever he performed the required rites then ceremoniously he wore a golden ring. Afterwards, he was called **Sunvnay-Ara** which means the master of the golden ring. But if he failed to fulfill the requirements for the rank, then he was called **Brum Karo. Karo** means ear and Brum is the type of wood which was put in his pierced ear. This kind of wood is used for closing the hole in a skin-sack of butter-milk or water. Such a **Brum Karo**, man even though having a lot of property, was considered of no importance.

Only the **Sunvnay-Ara** had the right to wear a special sort of boots which had a kind of silken embroidery on each side. On the upper parts of the boots a piece of ibex-hair in the form of tassels hung down. He wore these boots while dancing on the **Kana**, the wooden stage in the Aray. The name of these boots was **Kadz Vutsa**, and they were only the privilege of the **Sunvnay-Ara**.

**Sunashista:** The man who wanted to master this rank killed thirty goats at the **Bagisht-ta**, the shrine for Hagisht, the god of wealth. Then he feasted his villagers for nine days. The meat was carried away uncooked. Then in the autumn he feasted all his villagers, male and female, nine days for lunch and supper. Once again in the period of Giche he gave a similar banquet for nine days to the same people. After these rites three golden rings were put into the holes which were pierced before in the upper part of the ear. Hereafter the man was called **Sunashista**.
Robertson writes about the matter in hand: "There is one particular crownless hat furnished with a short tail. It is exclusively worn by men who, after much feast-giving are on the point of assuming the earrings, which proclaim the fact that they have become Jast, or headmen," (1896: 523). He also points out that, "Rank is usually indicated by the ear ornaments worn by the men, and not by dress." (Ibid. p. 505) (1).

**Mimach:** Before obtaining the rank of Sunashista, a man was supposed to go through the rites of becoming Mimach. For attaining the latter rank a man went throught a series named Mi. For this purpose purpose he went to Mi-sa, a secluded place above the village in the mountains. In Misa, the candidate shaved his beard even if he was a white-bearded man. He stayed there one month during which time he was not allowed to come down. For thirty days he killed thirty goats and distributed the raw meat to every one above twelve years of age. His friends went up there so that he would not feel lonely. Previously prepared food was sent to him which he ate with his friends. For twenty days at the Mi-sa he feasted all the headmen of the village. He gave a feast every day for seven days in Gache and five days in Ke divisions of time. Finally, he prepared a lavish feast for all the people in the valley in the autumn of the second year. Then his ear was pierced and he wore one golden ring, which made him Mimach.

**Shtitsurinam:** This title was given to the man who had given 18 Mi banquets. There were some rich people who had given 30-40 Mi's to all the people in different times. But Jana Pazil, the grandfather of my informant and interpreter, had give 20 Mi's—Vatsa Mi—continuously or from one Autumn to the next Autumn. In other words, he had provided his villagers with food for a complete year. There were people in their legendary history who had set a record of giving forty Mi’s, but at different times. The reputation of Jana was established when he made a complete round of twenty continuous Mi’s which was a record. Meat was not served at all of these feasts, but cheese, butter and other dairy products were also offered. On special occasions a certain amount was given to everyone to eate, and then twice that amount was given extra for each to carry away with him. On similar occasions thirty goats were killed for one feast. Shtitsurinam was a high rank which not every body could achieve.

**Majga:** The man who gave one cow to every Miatar, was called Majga. After he was dead, at the funeral his life-history was told, and at other ceremonial recitations his name was also mentioned.

1. He presented six cows to the villages, and was then permitted to wear the bright color garments he longed for "(op. cit p. 505). The previous citation, from him also shows that dress had significant role in indicating social ranks.
Majsamajgum: This was the rank given to a women who offered a sack of about twenty-five kilos of millet to each of the warriors in the Autumn, Latter on she offered an equal amount of wheat to the same Mlatars. After this was done, one of her privileges was that she could take out her chair, Ba, and sit on it in the sunshine or anywhere else. Other people did not have this right to use their stools outside their houses. The man and his wife, Majsamajgumashali the wheat distributer, both had the right of using their chairs out of door. This shows that the woman of this title was the rank-mate of Leymach who also could use his chair out of door. Economically, woman was the participant of man in such honorary feasts. Field crops all belonged to women. In this rank man and woman were both Maj-sa-maj-gum-ashal-i which means the master or man of leather-bag wheat distribution.

Uta: From the written sources we know that this was a religious rank or status. From the written sources we also know that this position was hereditary. Besides, there was the Utadare clan. This means that men from other clans could not receive the office. If they could then there would have not been the Utadare clan. But the problem arises, that from among quite a number of people of that clan who had the right of becoming an Uta? The close relatives of Uta, such as his son, or brother? According to Robertson, when Uta was absent, his brother acted in his stead. Even though he had a place among the chiefs and headmen in the council, according to the same sources, he still underwent expensive rites to achieve the conventional social ranks. But why?

According to my Hagramatal data, from 1964 as well as 1968, Uta sacrificed sixty goats to Disani for holding the office of priesthood. This sacrificial ceremony entailed the privilege of a little freedom from their strict regulations in the socio-economic life. An Uta had the privilege of driving his flock to the summer pastures three days later than the other people. He also could bring the flock three days earlier than the others. The other people had to take their herds up to the mountain pastures on a fixed day and also to bring them down no later or earlier than the definite time. If anybody deviated from the rules, Uta or the chiefs in council, fined him and killed some five or six of his goats. But Uta or his shepherd and flock were free from this restriction for three days, Uta was of the religious men and he had responsibilities of their ceremonial rites. From Robertson's and the author's account it is clear that an Uta should had been a rich, learned or experienced in their traditional lore, and active man as well. More will be said about him when I speak of the Kafir's shamanism.

Damana: When I was trying to get the different ranks, I also sought their stratigraphic order. In this respect I was given Leymach
as the first rank; **Majga** (Mach-ga=man of cows) as the second rank; and **Damana** was the third one. This last was the title achieved by men and women after giving about four kilos of wheat to each **Mlatar**, a potential warrior, of the feast giver's village.

Next time, when asking about the rites the passage especially those of child birth, I was described Damana as being some ceremonial rites which are as follows: When a son was born to **Uta**, the ceremonial priest, then he gave some forty-five kilos of wheat to everyone of the **Uras** in office. This was the first feast of **Damana**. In the second **Damana** feast, **Uta**, killed one ox. This was at the **Valatsa** ceremony when the woman and her child returned from the **Shar-amu**, seclusion, house, after the lapse of twenty-one days. At the third **Damana** feast he killed one to three oxen or goats instead. When the final **Damana** was reached, he invited all the villagers and feasted them. Then **Uta** in addition to the food, presented a little more than three kilos of **ghee** to all the Mlatars, every male over twelve years of age. In each of these **Damanas** or **Damen**, dances were performed and wine was served.

Though I have checked my data of 1964 again in 1968 which mostly proved to be the same. But I am still suspicious if I have not been given two names denoting almost the same rank, but described independently as being separate ranks, as the **Urjisht** and **Uramuvnayi** for example. The former means the suprem chief of the fourteen elected **Uras**, and the latter means the master of the house where the **Uras** gathered and held their council.

Now we know the names of a few ranks, emblems and rites, but the relevant information or the data concerned are quite meager. In this respect, on the one hand, we have numerous ranks but little information about them from the Kantozi people; on the other hand, Robertson has described two ranks, and given detailed information on the Kam Kafirs. In order to shed some light on both pieces of information and balancing our knowledge and view point on the matter, I concisely describe what is reported by Robertson.

**Social Ranks of the Kam people:**

We know of two ranks, namely the **Jast** and the **Mir**. But having acquaintance with the Kafirs' social organisation, administration and their ambitions, one can infer that there might have been a greater number of ranks than the two recorded by Robertson. He mentions that in Kamdesh many people had the rank of Jast.

**Sunajina:** The first rank to a Kafir in Kamdesh was to become a headman or Jast. There were many people who had this rank. Either the term Jast was probably an informal lumping together of several
ranks of respect, I think, or Robertson’s informants did so for eliminating the trouble of explaining every rank to the foreigner. This might be a probable reason especially in considering the difficulty of communication.

The term Jast or Jasht of the Kam people is pronounced as Jisht or Jisst (the last two phonemes are retroflexed) by the Kati people. It Just means elder or senior. For instance, Jisht Bra means senior Ura or the suprem chief, etc. I am of the opinion that the term Jast was not the proper title of the this rank throughout his works, but once he does make the following point. "The feast-givers are known as Kaneash, while those who have already completed their virtuous work are known as ‘Sunajina,” (1869: 460). The probable reason, according to which the Sunajina was called Jast, is that. “Each member of the Jasht is a clan representative,” (Jones 1967. 29); or in Robertson’s words, "Each of the clans (quoted before) has one chief man. or more, to represent it. These representatives are generally, ...tribal headmen or Jasht,” (1896: 86). This made the usage of the term, Jast, possible to stand for Sunajina, in order to accord with their seniority and office. For strengthening this idea, I quote Robertson:

Little boys can become Jast, that is to say, they can go through the prescribed ceremonies, attain the earrings, and probably be given a place in the dance also, but they will not be considered as other than boys while they are boys. They act sometimes as acolytes, and hold water for the priest during certain special ceremonies and feasts, at which none but the Jast and the priest may be present (1896:449).

It can be noted in the statement above that boys could become Sunajina, but not headmen or Jast, because of their status and inefficient role in the representation of their clan in the council of social relations. Hereafter I present the information condensed from Robertson, and substitute the term Sunajina for the Jast.

It took nearly three years for a person in Kamdesh to become Sunajina; and about two years in the upper Bashgal. During this time he gave twenty-one feasts—ten to the exiting Sunajinas of the tribe, and eleven to the community at large. From taking the first step towards fulfilling the requirements of becoming Sunajina, the person was a candidate for the rank and was called Kaneash. Every Kaneash man, while giving the required feasts, had a woman participant. In most of the cases, she was not his wife but a woman from another family in order to split the spendings of the banquet. In achieving the rank of Sunajina, they utterly ruined themselves and spent their property to
the last goat, the last cheese, the last of pound of ghee and still were proud of it. The feasts given to the Sunajina and headmen of the tribe were called Mezhom. In every Mezhom feast seven goats and one bull was killed for each day's entertainment of the tribal Jasts. In a feast to the common people, fifteen big male goats and five bulls were killed. All these sacrificial animals were examined with jealous eyes by the spectators whether coming up to the prescribed standard of excellence or not. In case of offering cattle of poor condition or male goats of inferior size, the feast-giver was immediately heavily fined. The initiatory sacrifices of bulls and male goats were made to Gishi at the chief shrine for him. Other sacrifices were made at the Kaneash's house and were served to the people on several house tops. An rows were dipped into the flowing blood of goats at their initiatory immolation, and then at the end of the ceremony, they were promiscuously fired away. In some of the feasts, raw meat was distributed and carried away to home, but loaves of bread, cheese, salt and wine were consumed at the feast-giver's home by all those present. One of the feasts which the Kaneash had to go through was called Sanowkun. It was held in his house and two big goats were immolated. He wore a turban ornamented with cowrie shells and red glass beads. In the frontal folds of the turban a twig of juniper-cedar was stuck. (The number of the twigs corresponded, as that of the Mal feathers, to the number of homicides committed by the candidate.) His ears were covered with a number of earnings of different sizes. He wore a massive white metal necklace, brass bracelets, a silk robe and ordinary dancing boots ending with a fringe of ibex hair. The next day the Kaneash ceremoniously changed his turban for a broad-brimmed crownless hat, in front of which a spring of juniper-cedar was thrust. The changing of the head-dress was called Shara'ute. Then he grew a miniature field of wheat in his living room. The only agricultural work ever done by a Kafir man. Women could not take part at most of the ceremonies occasions except those who had already gone through similar rites. Such women also participated at the ceremonies, undertaking certain work or required rites. The female partner of Kaneash made sacrifices and feasted the visitors on the day following his. She did not have to grow a miniature wheat field, At the Munzilo festival in August, the ceremony-mates the man and the woman Kaneash danced together and then they danced with the mates of other Kaneash interchangeably. Before this festival begins, the Kaneash brought an immense amount of cheese which was offered to the people for carrying it away with them. At the Duban festival, from 19th, to the
20th. of March, the Sunajinas and the Kaneash put on their Sultanzari over-garments and lead the elaborate ceremonies. They danced in honor of Gish, Disani, Imra, Kr.unay and other deities. Whenever becoming Sunajina, he wore, as a to’en of this rank, coroneted silver earrings through the upper part of his ear. Whatever gorgeous dress he could procure for religious ceremonies and dances, he did so. The token of this rank for the women was to wear boots with ibex hair hanging down from the upper fringes. Henceforth, it was her privilege to take part in the special dances. The man who achieved the rank Sunajina was proud and dignified. He was usually accompanied by one or several men. If his orders were not obeyed or he was offended, the offender was severely punished, his house was burnt down and his property was looted. (For the full account see Robertson 1896;105 185; 282;439; 449-72: 523-5: & 627).

Mir: The second socio-economic rank of the Kam Kafirs is recorded Mir. This does not seem to be a Kati word, but rather a borrowed one which has an Arabic origin. Robertson has noted down this term as in the meaning of king. But its used form which signifies the kingly position is Amir, as the Amir of Kabul, for instance. In the Kafirs’ neighboring Muslim communities, its Mir form is used as in the meaning of chief, as in the following compound words: Mir-aw, Mir-akkur, Mirbash, Mir-Ghazab, and Mir-Shaw which respectively mean the chief of water, the chief of people who feed horses, the chief of attendants, the master of wrath or executioner, and the chief of guards at night. In other words, Mir is a form of Amir which usually become the prefix of compound names. Besides, Sayads, the descendants of Prophet Muhammad on the female line, are also called Mir, Shah and Pacha in different parts of Afghanistan. All the three terms mean king verbally, but conventionally they mean Sayad and not the king, monarch.

The informations from Bagvamatal insisted on the fact that there was no rank to be called Mir. Only the autocrats of the neighboring communities were called, by this name. However, in Kamdesh there were three or even four chiefs who were called Mir, according to Robertson. Due to the number of Mirs in Kamdesh we can conclude that the term did not convey the meaning of monarch or autocrat, but rather of chief. Its usage in the lower Bashgal was probably the result of their social contact with the neighboring communities which was rather more extensive than that of the Kantozis of the upper Bashgal.

To achieve this rank, according to Robertson, a person should have been Jast, first of all. Then he gave great feasts to the people at the three annual festivals of Nilu. With the completion of these ceremonies
a person was promoted to the rank of Mir. All the Mirs at Kamdeh were greybeards in 1890-91. Robertson adds to this, “I do not know if there was any age qualification for the position, but possibly it was one of the many unwritten laws of the Kafirs, that it would be presumptuous for any middle-aged man to seek the distinction,” (1896:473). If age or any other prerequisite were not the criterion, I think, then a person who went twice or several times through the elaborate ceremonies of Sunajina. Robertson points out, “The men of the very highest importance in Kamdeh in 1890-91 were all Mirs,” (1896:473). The Mirs ruled their community in a more or less absolute way. Besides, they used their power tactfully, and always knew the bent of public opinion (Ibid. p. 334). The tangible privilege of the Mir was to sit on a national four-legged small stool outside his house or on his verandah. Other People could also sit on stools, planks or benches, but inside a house. Sitting on a chair was the unique position reserved for the Mir. Women who had achieved this rank also took advantage of the privilege and sat on stools in the open. They contributed to the collective feasts of women on certain occasions. The female Mir was honored and respected by her own sex. There were three women Mirs in Bagamatal and the chief of them was Kan Jannah’s wife. She was carried from one place to another as a ‘flying angel’ on the shoulders of a young woman (See Robertson, The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush, 1896: 207; 434;472-3; & 622).

All of these ranks were not just secular titles ascribed to some people in exchange for their festive food. The men got a highly social and religious position in their hierarchical society and they were treated with great respect. They got social credit and the people entrusted them for setting their mutual problems. They were then elected as chiefs and administrators in the Kafirs national parliament. These ranked and elected magistrates were responsible for prevailing justice in the environment. They were usually called on for moral and economic assistance. Their highly ranked personalities were praised after death, and their images and memorials were erected on the road-side. Even after they served as patrons, especially for women and children.
The Background and the Beginning of the Afghan Press System: Part Five

By: Mohammad Kazem Ahang

Seraj-Atfal:

The first issue, volume 8th, of Seraj-ul-Akhbar was published along with another illuminated lamp called Seraj-i Atfal—Youth’s Guidance for the enlightenment of the youth of this country. I will here try to clarify the purpose of starting this paper as well as give a brief account of the contents of it. But before doing so it would be proper if some information is given about the system of education of that time.

Some details about the existence of primary, secondary and the teacher’s training school have been published in the first issue of the 8th year of Seraj-ul-Akhbar. In this article it is being added that under the department of education, at that time, a compilation office was working for preparing teaching material according to the established programme. Primary education, according to Amir’s decree, was compulsory. There were seven schools conducting the education of young boys, and five schools were under construction for this purpose. Training and educating of teachers even at the time was considered important, this is why a teacher training school was organized.

It is worth mentioning that the purpose of education was twofold. Firstly, education was meant to prepare students for the civil services, secondly, to enable them to go abroad for higher studies, and coming back to fill the places in which foreigners were working.

From the explanation of Seraj-ul-Akhbar it becomes clear that a student was supposed to study ten years to be qualified for the civil services or for going abroad for higher education. The newspaper says: “Ten years’ education should be given according to the methods being followed in foreign countries so that the work of the students not wasted.” (1)

1) Seraj-ul-Akhbar, Vol. 8, no. 1 pp 3-7
Secondary education was furnished for the youth in Habibia school (now Habibia College), the only secondary school in Afghanistan at that time.

The explanation given above shows that education in Afghanistan was begun at primary level and it mostly confounded to primary education, except that there was only one secondary school for higher education in the country.

At that time Mahmud Tarzi, publishing the newspaper Seraj-ul-Akhbar for the enlightenment of the people of Afghanistan in general, was aware of the value of communication of ideas. While he was publishing Seraj-ul-Akhbar for the enlightenment of the adults, the publishing of Seraj-i-Atfal was meant for education and enlightenment of the youth. He says: “Seraj-ul-Akhbar at the end of each year was Presenting a gift this year have been replaced by a permanent one—Seraj-i Atfal,” he adds.

Seraj-i Atfal, like school publications of today in the world, was founded for the advancement of the knowledge of the youth and the students of that time. It is well-known that school education needs material as help for the students, and today there are many ways in which we can help school education such as through books, magazines, newspapers, broadcasting communication and showing films etc. At that time Seraj-i Atfal was used, more or less for this purpose in Afghanistan.

As the editor of Seraj-i Atfal says the paper was publishing information about religion, moral, science, art etc in simple language comprehensible to the youth and students. (2)

All in all, Seraj-iAtfal was established in Mezan 15, 1297 (October 8, 1918) in Kabul. Though it was published as a supplement of Seraj-ul-Akhbar, yet it was a separate paper that could be bought and subscribed for separately.

The name of the paper was printed in the center of the top while on its right side it carried these two sentences: “the pages of this paper are open to the religious, moral and scientific articles of the writers” and “unpublished articles will not be returned.” The name of the publisher and editor of the paper, along with this sentence: “except politics everything is publishable..” and the address of the paper was

2) Ibid Vol. 7, no. 24, p 3
printed on the left corner at the top. The format of this four-page paper was 12 x 8½ inches and it had two columns each with three inches width and 10 inches depth. It was printed in the Royal Printing House of Kabul.

The publisher and editor of Seraj-i Atfal wrote his editorial under the headline “expressing thanks”. He expressed his gratitude for living in such a happy time and being able to make use of science and knowledge. He then in his article prayed to God to help in the progress of the nation. Another article entitled” introduction” explained in detail the purpose of the paper. The writer in this article says that “Seraj-i Atfal informs you about the new trends in science and art in the world. This paper will enlighten your mind with material of educational value and by publishing beneficial anecdotes Seraj-i Atfal will also help you in study at school and will instruct you with simple and sweet words of the Dari language.” he adds. From his words we can derive that the main purpose of the paper was educating, training and entertainings the youth.

The third article in the paper was about religion which was Published in all issues of the paper. Under this topic the principles of Islam religion have been explained in a simple manner to be understood by the student and youth.

Different issues of this paper sometimes carried poems relating to the good deeds. Sometimes an entertainment column under the heading “artistic games” was published in which scientific problems were discussed in simple language. The paper, from time to time, has carried sometimes of humour which were also of an educative nature.

For example when the editor wanted to publish some information about the roundness of the earth and its motion, instead of treating it directly he treated it as a drama among a number of students. One of the students says that while the earth is in motion how is it that the people on it are not moving? Here another student brings a ball and demonstrates the problem practically. He puts an ant on the ball and then rolls it on. This way while the ball was moving the ant was calmly running on the ball. Here he says: “our position on the earth is the same as the position of the ant on this ball. Just as the ant has not fallen off or is not moving away the men are not moving either. (3)

In all, therefore, we can say that this biweekly paper was publishing subjects on religion, morals and education and for entertainment of

3) Seraj-i Atfal Vol. 1, no 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,
the students, Its language was simple and understandable to most of its editor asks pardon for not publishing any article on politics. He says education.

Before concluding this article I have to clarify somewhat the word politics. This word has been used in the first editorial and in the sentence on the nameplate of Seraj-i Atfal. I believe the editor, in using this word, actually meant “news”. Firstly, no news item was published in this paper and secondly when we study the first few issues of Anis, its editor asks pardon for not publishing any article on politics. He says the reason for this inadequacy was no telegraphic communication with foreign countries. In this case it is obvious that the editor meant by politics news from foreign countries. But in the case of Seraj-i Atfal since there is no news item in the paper, neither foreign nor domestic, so it might convey this meaning.

In this part of the series I am going to conclude the article by saying that Seraj-ul-Akhbar, after publishing its eighth issue stopped its publication and its editor was appointed head of the foreign affairs’ office (later Ministry of foreign affairs). And Seraj-ul-Akhbar was substituted by Aman-i Afghan (later we will discuss it in detail) whose editor was Abdul Hadi. (4) Though the publication of Seraj-ul-Akhbar stopped yet Seraj-i Atfal continued along with Aman-i Afghan for a few more issues. It was published by Abdul Hadi Davi also. Mr. Davi in an interview said that Seraj-i Atfal most probably stopped after the 16th issue. He added that during his editorship no change was brought in except that the standard of its language went up, because it was not only read by the youth but their parents as well.

4) President of Loya Jarga (President of the Senate) with the pen name “Davi”
Russo-Afgha Trade Relation in the 80s and 90s of the 90th Century

By: M. A. Babakodzhayev

After the abolition of seridom, relatively impetuous development of Russian industries, particularly textile ones, caused everincreasing interest of Russia's business circles in Eastern countries, notably Afghanistan, regarded as a new market and source of raw materials.

The incorporation of Central Asia within Russia and the building of communications to the Afghan frontier opened new possibilities for expanding Russo-Afghan trade through safeguarding the trade-routes, as well as facilitating and reducing the cost of goods transportation. Trade development was encouraged by Russia's treaties concluded in 1868 with Kokand and 1868 and 1873 with Bukhara. By those treaties, Russian subjects were offered certain privileges in trade.

The world economic crisis of the 80s resulted in an abrupt reduction of prices of Russian commodities. But in Central Asia they were on the increase. This circumstance gave some additional impulse to the expansion of Russo-Afghan trade, "...the cheapness of Russian textile goods has...that advantage and importance, says the Russian representative in Bukhara Charykov, that due to it Russian goods are being supreaped from Bukhara, as if it were some centre, to innermost parts of Asia those yet unreached by Russian merchants themselves, and particularly to Northern Afghanistan, and even Kabul (1). Russian commodities imported to Afghanistan and other Asian countries were not only cheap,—they were of good quality.

Political consolidation of Afghanistan, too, had favourable effect on the expansion of Russo-Afghan trade.

At the same time, the exchange of goods between both countries depended in many ways on Afghanistan's international position and the policy of the Afghan Amir Abdur-Rahman (1860-1901). By mutual agreement of 1880 between the abovementioned Amir and the British arrived at during the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1879-1880), Afghan foreign po-

put under British control. Dependence of Afghan foreign policy on British imperialism which involved the impending danger of Afghanistan turning into a British dependency and the efforts made by Amir Abdur-Rahman to restore Afghanistan's political independence and weaken her economic dependence on British furnish some explanation of the nature of Russo-Afghan trade during the last two decades of the 19th century.

Notwithstanding the absence of formal trade agreements between Russia and Afghanistan during the said period, trade still managed to develop steadily. The volume of direct trade connection between Russia and Afghanistan had greatly increased.

In the 80s and 90s most important items of Afghan export to Russia were, as of old, various oilseeds (sesame, flax), silk cocoons, felt goods, carpets, hides and skins of domestic and wild animals, sheep, rice, wheat, barley, and suchlike products of agriculture.

Due to Russian textile industries' increasing requirements of raw material Russia became chief importer of Afghan cotton which up to the last half of the 80s of the 19th century had been worked into cloth in Afghanistan herself (2). The volume of Afghan cotton exported to Russia in 1890 amounted to 320 Puds, and in 1900-to 48 thousand Puds. Along with cotton, substantial proportion in the Afghan export total to Russia belonged to karakuli lambskins which up to that period had been mostly transported via Iran to Europe. Yearly export of Afghan karakuli lambskins to Russia totalled at an average 100 thousand—150 thousand skins (3).

During the 80s and 90s Afghanistan started exporting wool and fruits to Russia.

At the end of the 19th century still greater importance among Russian exports to Afghanistan was acquired by cottons, silkware, and woollen goods, matches, sugar, kerosene oil, candles, glassware, and cast-iron goods (kumgans and pots), procelain, and Delft-ware, paper, thread, medical goods, tin, lead, wrought iron, steel, copper, leather, as well as various articles made out of them. Russian articles imported to Afghanistan were registered as above 100 items (4).

Bukhara, Tashkent and other Central Asian cities played a signi-


3) Ibid, p. 73, 129.

ficant role in the development of Russo-Afghan trade relations. A peculiar place among them was occupied by Bukhara which had long since served as chief intermediary in trade with countries of the East, notably Afghanistan. The main trade-route from Russia to Afghanistan ran via Bukhara, Karshi, where it forked into two lines—towards Kelif and Kerki. After the accession of Abdur-Rahman who laid some restrictions on trade with Russia along the Afghan frontier and since bringing the Transcaspian Railway into service (1888), the significance of the Bakhara-Afghanistan-trade routs was shared by the route from Merv to Iran in the directions of Serakhs-Meshed-Herat and Serakhs-Turbete-Haideri-Herat.

During the period under discussion for the population of North-Western and Northern Afghanistan, including Badakhshan and the Pamirs regions, Russian articles acquired primary importance. They even began taking priority to the exclusion of British goods from the markets. This is particularly proved by reports of the chief of the Kerki garrison of November the 15th of 1888 and the Russian Consular-General in Kashghar Petrovsky of 1891, as well as by personal evidence of the Bukharans Tair-Bai Yusupov and Tash Nazar Sadyq Oghly who went to Afghanistan in the 90s (5).

English sources, too, confirm wide popularity of Russian commodities in Afghanistan. One of the members of the English Boundary Commission for the North-West Afghan delimitation, Yate, having traversed the greater part of the Afghan territory during the years 1884-1885, wrote that in Kalai-Nau, of the Herat province, nearly every article was imported: piece-goods from Russia, and a number of articles of silk, cotton, wool and felt from Meshed, Panjdeh and Bukhara. Further, the same author marks the presence of a great number of Russian articles in Northern Afghanistan and particularly in Maimana. In the market of that town, he writes, printed cotton goods are mostly Russian. Silk-ware are brought from Bukhara. Russian leather is commonly made into shoes and boots (6). The English Gray having visited Afghanistan in the 90s noted that Russian and Central Asian articles were in great demand in Kabul, too (7).

Russia's official circles while being in readiness to safeguard the interests of Russian bourgeoisie made all efforts to encourage the development of Russo-Afghan trade. "Encouraging the development of our

5) Ts. G.A. Uz.S.S.R., Fund 1 list 34, case 686, f. 288; case 717, ff. 164-165; case 751, f. 26; case 792, f. 15.
6) A.C. Yate, Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission, Edinburgh and London, 1887, pp. 195, 289.
7) J.A. Gray, At the Cuort of the Amir, London 1895, pp. 70, 73, 75, 79.
trade relations with the Afghan Kharāte, the Russian Foreign Minister wrote to the War Minister on October 25, 1899, must be, as before, a special preoccupation of our boundary authorities... It is only by possible facilitating trade connections of Afghanistan with Russia and those of Russian subjects with Afghan ones that we may hope to make friends little-by-little with so... ill-disposed to foreigners a country as we find Afghanistan” (8). Russian’s interest in developing trade with Afghanistan was confirmed in a way by this fact. In 1889, as a result of bankruptcy of a leading Bukhara firm which had been purchasing Afghan karakulī lambkins, the Amir Abdur-Rahman suffered loss to the amount of 1 million tengas. However, with the help of Russian and Bukharan authorities he soon managed to make up the whole sum, (9)

It is interesting to note that Afghan authorities while frequently ignoring Afghanistan’s political dependence on Britain, on their part, too, endeavoured to favour the development of trade with Russia, “Trade relations between Bukhara and Afghanistan are being con-too, endeavoured to favour the development of trade with Russia. political representative in Bukhara reported in December of 1888, the governor of Herat informed the chief of the Merv district that Russian trading subjects of Muslim creed are, too, free to enter the Afghan ter-ritory” (10).

Afghanistan’s intention to develop trade with Russia was in a similar way convincingly evidenced by the attempts on the Afghan part during the years 1899-1900 at starting negotiations with Russia’s business circles for a mutual trade-agreement without consulting Britain. According to the Superintendant of the Bukhara custom-house Kovalev, the Afghan commercial agent who had been negotiating that question with him had clearly hinted that the Amir wouldn’t mind having a trade-agreement with Russia, but lest Britain should be affected beforehand he would prefer unofficial overtures first” (11). However those cautious attempts on the part of the Afghan Amir at negotiating with Russia’s official circles for Russo-Afghan trade-agreement had no response at that time on the part of the Tsarist government. Kovalev received strict instructions from St. Petersburg to abstain by all means from concluding further negotiations with Afghan representatives save sanctioned by the imperial government.

The reason for that was, firstly, in the unwillingness of the Tsarist government to start negotiations with the Afghan government

9). Kovalev, Afghanistan..., p. 73.
10) Ts.G.A. Uz.S.S.R., Fund 1, list 34, case 701, f. 21.
11). Kovalev, Afghanistan, Chapter 17.
for fear of possible complications with England and, secondly, in their regarding the open move on the part of dependent Afghanistan to start formal negotiations with the other part without obtaining either the consent or the sanction of the part of the British themselves.

Meanwhile, the Afghan authorities' intention to maintain and expand Russo-Afghan trade was accounted for by the fact that Afghanistan while being an economically underdeveloped country was greatly dependent on Russia as a market for such Afghan exports as karakuli lambkins, raw cotton, wool, hides and skins of various animals, lapis-lazuli, fruits, etc.,—the more so that goods transportation to Russia from Northern and North-Western parts of Afghanistan, as main producer of those items, was somewhat easier and cheaper than similar transportation of them to British India. With the gain from disposing of Afghan articles in the Russian territory merchants used to acquire Russian ones. Since about 1887, on having monopolized karakuli lambkins and other items of export the Amir Abdur-Rahman instituted the office of a special agent in Bukhara who was to be preoccupied with carrying out business operations on the instructions of the Amir's government. Besides that, a report of November 24, 1888, showed that among constant residents of Bukhara there were Afghan merchants, too, who occupied 12 caravanerais of the 38 spacious Bukhara ones. (12) Many of the Afghan merchants were such as used to come regularly to Bukhara. At times their numerical number rose to 40 souls, each possessing the capital of 5 thousand to 20 thousand rubles or even more. (13)

It is necessary to note that, whereas during the period of the incorporation of Central Asia within Russia Russo-Afghan trade was carried on through Central Asian, Afghan, or—at times—Indian merchants, since the period directly following the incorporation of the region (1885), some alterations were to arise. Dealings transacted by Russian merchants with Afghans in Russia, or even Central Asia, could no longer satisfy them. They strove to transfer their commercial activity into the Afghan territory. That was caused by their desire to expand Russo-Afghan and exclude intermediaries out of its sphere. Among Russian merchants and trading Russian subjects who went or took steps to go, to Afghanistan during the years 1885-1890 alone, the Americañs Ter-Sarkisov,

12). Ts. G.A. Uz.S.S.R., Fund 3, list 2, case 9; case 59. f. 16; case 17, f. 92; Fund 1, list 34, case 691, ff. 71-72; case 701, f. 21; Fund 3, list 2, case 10, f. 251.

13). B.I. Iskandarov, Eastern Bukhara and the Pamirs during the period of the incorporation of Central Asia within Russia (Vostochnaya Bukhara i Pamir V period prisov-yedineiya Sredney Azii k Rossi) Dushanbe, 1960, b. 203.
Ambartsum Massesov (14), and a group of merchants led by Zasypkin may be mentioned.

Russian subjects from among Muslims carried on their business practices clear of obstruction and even had movable and immovable property in Afghanistan. It was only necessary to have a foreign passport to prove its owner to be merchant of Russian citizenship. Even in case of death of a Russian subject of Muslim creed in the Afghan territory the question of his inheritance would be decided according to rules of the Muslim law-proceedings (the Shari'a). This is proved by the fact described in a report of Russian authorities in Turkestan of March 18, 1886, about relatives rights to the property of a certain Mulla Babadjan, a Russian subject, a merchant, and a resident of the town Ura-Tyube, who died in the city of Mazar-e-Sharif.

In his report of July 27, 1888, Russia’s political agent in Bukhara said that a similar decision had been taken on a case of inheritance of another trading Russian subject who had died in Kabul. (15)

As for Afghanistan's subjects trading in Russia, it won't be out of place to mention that Afghan merchants in the Russian territory were hospitably treated and offered all possible help. Their rights like those of all other Eastern merchants were guaranteed by law.

In the 90s the structure and volume of Russo-Afghan trade changed in comparison with the previous decade. With the import duties have been raised on foreign articles by the Amir Abdur-Rahman in the early 90s, on one hand, and Bukhara having been included within the Russian custom-territory in 1894, on the other, transit of Anglo-Indian goods via Afghanistan to Russia considerably shrank. We can judge from the Peshawar Chamber of Commerce, in 1889/90 the value of exports from Peshawar to Kabul was appraised of rupees (5,686,000 metallic rubles), but in 1890/90 this sum was already more than twice lower, equalling 43.5 lacs of rupees (2,566,000 metallic rubles). (16) In so far as Anglo-Indian imports to Afghanistan abruptly shrank, their proportion concealed in the Afghan export total to Russia fell, accordingly. Since that time, articles of Afghan origin began to grow prevalent in the Afghan export to Russia, as it will be seen from the following Table (1) (17).

15) Ibid, Fund 1, list 34, case 686, f. 48.
17) Ibid, case 767-a, ff. 6,8, 11-14; Fund 3, list 2, case 29, ff. 15-17, 39,47, 57-63.
Afghanistan

Table 1
Afghan Export to Russia through the Kelif Ferry (in rubles).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin of Items</th>
<th>1892</th>
<th>1893</th>
<th>1894</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-Indian</td>
<td>910568</td>
<td>1845312</td>
<td>706344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan</td>
<td>963771</td>
<td>901571</td>
<td>861398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1874339</td>
<td>2746883</td>
<td>1567742</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As it is shown however, by Table 1, in 1893 the proportion of Anglo-Indian goods concealed in the Afghan export total to Russia was twice as much as the amount of Afghan ones, and was much more than in 1892 and 1894. This was accounted for by the fact that since 1892 (markedly the end of that year) and during 1893 the commodity circulation between both countries along the Central Asian frontier considerably rose due to a number of Anglo-Indian goods having been brought to Russia, particularly indigo, tea, and muslins. In the opinion of the chief of the political agency in Bukhara, this was caused by the news of the coming inclusion of Bukhara within the Russian custom-territory.

Nevertheless, in consequence of the existence of extremely hard custom-duties and various imports on Anglo-Indian goods, their transit to Central Asia via Afghanistan shrank and nearly came to a stop when Russian custom-houses had been established along the Afghan frontier. Nothing was being brought then from India to Central Asia but tea, indigo, and a few British muslins and fabrics, and those, too, mostly via Iran to which country they were transported by sea.

The abrupt reduction of the commodity circulation between India and Russia via Afghanistan compelled a number of leading Peshawar merchants who had been busy with wholesale dealings in Indian articles (mostly Indian and Chinese tea) in Bukhara to stop their business practices in the Bukhara Khanate. That to a degree affected Russian export to Afghanistan and India. According to Kovalev, the Peshawar merchants’ activity had that side to its credit that while selling Indian articles in Bukhara they purchased Russian ones which were destined partly for sale in Afghanistan and partly for re-export to India (18).

Still in the 90s Afghan import from Russia continued to be substantial. An idea of that can be gained from the following data shown in table 2. (19)

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18). Kovalev, Afghanistan..., Chapter 17.
19). Ts. G.A. U.S.S.R., Fund 1, list 34, case 769-a, ff. 4, 10; Fund 3, list 3, list 2, case 29, ff. 13, 54-56.
Table 2
Afghan Import from Russia through the Kelif Ferry (in rubles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Half year</th>
<th>1892</th>
<th>1893</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>1894</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>1023522</td>
<td>6971p2</td>
<td></td>
<td>550715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>741805</td>
<td>no data</td>
<td></td>
<td>319297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>870012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total for the whole year 1765327

Besides that many goods of Russian origin found their way to Afghanistan via the Iranian province of Khorasan. According to a report of the chief of the Transcaspian region of 1898, the value of Russian exports to Afghanistan via Iran in 1893 alone amounted to 845900 rubles, and in 1895 to 154500 rubles (20). Such penetration of Russian goods to Afghanistan via Khorasan was due to the advantages gained by merchants on this route so far as they were offered acknowledgement-receipts which entitled them to receiving back the value of a custom-duty levied from the goods.

On Russia's custom-territory having absorbed the Central Asian frontier line together with its Bukhara-Afghan section across which, according to the information of the Russian business and official circles' representative assembly of 1895, a great number of Russian commodities found their way to Northern Afghanistan, prospects for developing immediate Russo-Afghan trade connections widened."...In the cities bordering on Afghanistan custom-houses were established and agencies of a number of leading Russian firms opened, and Afghan merchants received permission for unimpeded import of goods to the Central Asian territory. The volume of carrying-trade over the Amu-Darya considerably increased. The Russian custom-houses and trade agencies of a number of leading Russian firms opened, and Afghan merchants received permission for unimpeded import of goods to the Central Asian territory. The volume of carrying-trade over the Amu-Darya considerably increased. The Russian custom-houses and trade agencies developed into centres of dealings with Afghan merchants" (21). We can judge about the increase of the value of Russo-Afghan trade by the following data shown in Table 3 (Anglo-Indian goods not being taken into account (22).

Table 3
The Commodity Circulation between Russia and Afghanistan (in rubles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Russian Export to Afghanistan</th>
<th>Russian Import from Afghanistan</th>
<th>Commodity Circulation Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>702304</td>
<td>842302</td>
<td>1544606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>906571</td>
<td>2093366</td>
<td>2999937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>479278</td>
<td>1576751</td>
<td>2056029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>727637</td>
<td>2208974</td>
<td>2936611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>981836</td>
<td>1594606</td>
<td>2576442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>898604</td>
<td>2116070</td>
<td>3014674</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above data (23), however, don't fully represent the value of the trade between Russia and Afghanistan, for the Russian frontier posts and custom-houses don't register, or impose any duties on, commodities listed, for instance, as "vital necessities of the Central Asian population", as well as on cattle and certain household utensils (24).

In 1895 the value of cattle alone driven to Central Asia from Afghanistan was appraised at about 1 million rubles (25). From the comparison of the values of the Russo-Afghan commodity circulation total for 1895-1900, as shown by those incomplete statistical data of the Russian custom-houses, we can see its double growth in value—from 1.5 million to 3 million rubles.

Such growth of the Russo-Afghan commodity circulation total in value, as it is to be seen from a letter of the Russian Foreign Minister to the War Minister Kuropatkin of October 25. 1895, was due to the relaxation of some prohibitive duties on trade with Russia by the Afghan Amir. Above all, events connected with the fight of the Afghan tribes of the North-West frontier province of India

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23) Long absence of regular and systematic registration of Russian exports and imports crossing the Afghan frontier by the Russian custom-houses led to the situation where a great amount of goods involved in Russo-Afghan trade was not being taken into account. According to Kovalev's computations, the sum total of yearly Russian export to Afghanistan not to be taken into account by the custom-houses amounted to about 600 thousand rubles. Besides that Russian goods entering Afghanistan via other countries were not being taken into account, either.

24) A.V.P.R., Fund "The Central Asian registration bureau", case 239 b. f. 133, 161.

against British colonizers, as well as Anglo-Afghan complications arising now and then, had unfavourable effect on Afghan marketing in India. Intermissions in trade with India, in their own turn, greatly affected financial condition of economically underdeveloped Afghanista.

At this juncture, development and expansion of trade with Russia acquired additional importance for Afghanistan. With this consideration in view, according to a report of the Russian Consular-General in Khorasan to the Russian envoy in Iran of November the 13th of 1899, the Amir Abdur-Rahman charged the Governor of Herat with the task of selecting a group of reliable merchants to go regularly to "the Nizhny-Novgorod fair on a mission of purchasing goods" (26).

Still the attempts made by Russian authorities in negotiating with the Afghan part at making some arrangements with them for unrestricted goods transportation across the Russo-Afghan frontier were unsuccessful in the event."...All our efforts, the chief of the Transcaspian region wrote in a letter to the Turkestan Governor-General Ivanov, to modify the present course of trade with Afghanistan conforming to the line of Ashabad-Meshed (Turket)-Herat into the line of Ashabad-Kushka-Herat have been unsuccessful mostly for the reason of certain stubbornness of the Afghan Amir who will not admit direct trade relations between both countries' subjects..." (27). There were, still, some other factors, too, involving a substantial obstacle to the desirable development of direct trade relations between Russia and Afghanistan.

(26) Ts. G.A. Uz.S.S.R., Fund 3, list 2, case 59, f. 5; Fund 2, list 2, case 56, f. 2.

The Khatak Tribe

By: Arif Osmanov *

Khushal Khan, 1613-1691, a great classical poet and learned thinker of Paxtoon, is considered the hero of the Khatak as well as of all the Afghans.

To furnish some information about the family of the Khtaks, the big and famous clan of the Paxtoons, I want to first bring about something on the Paxtoons in general.

The famous poet, philosopher and learned man of the East-Dr, Mohd. Iqbal—has mentioned about the Afghan nation in his verse like this:

Asia is an idol made of water and mud;
And the Afghan Nation is the heart of that idol, (1).

It is fact that Allama Iqbal has studied the Afghan Nation very deeply and recognized them well. This couplet of Iqbal is not an exaggerated form of poetry but it is a fact. Because in the 19th century, the Paxtoon have proved to the world their bravery, gallantry, heroism and self-sacrifice, and have attracted their attention. For one century they had been fighting against the British and on each occasion they came out victors while the enemy defeated. In fact the Afghans are the first in the East to have achieved freedom.

In 1919, the Afghan Nation secured freedom. At that time, all the Eastern peoples were looking towards the freed and conqueror Afghan Nation with pride and astonishment. This and several other historical events prove, explicitly, that what Allama Iqbal said in his couplet was not an exaggeration but a fact. This article, however, will deal, spicifically, with those Paxtoons who live in Paxtoonistan—the Khatak clan also live there.

According to the census of 1951 the population of Paxtoons in Paxtoonistan is more than 7,000,000. The Paxtoons are making 7% of the population of the East Pakistan and 18% of the West Pakistan and the

* Translated into English by Amin

1) This couplet has been quoted from the article-Paxtana Da Allama Iqbal Pa Nazar Ki, Abdullah Bakhtani, Kabul, 1335.
The Khatak Tribe...

area of Paxtoonistan is 106 square kilometres. (2) The soil of Paxtoon-
istan is inhabited by 80-90% Paxtoons and one percent of the people of
Baluchistan are also Paxtoon. The Paxtoons also live in the great cities
of Pakistan and India (ie Karachi, Dacca, Quetta, Culcutta, Delhi, Jam-
shedpur etc). They even living in Ceylon.

More than 150,000 Paxtoons are living in Karachi, the capital of
Pakistan. The Paxtoon Nation has many tribes (3) ie:

- Yousafzai 700,000
- Wazir 500,000
- Afridi 300,000
- Mohmand 250,000
- Khatak 200,000
- Bahaurri 150,000
- Orakzai 150,000
- Utman Khel 100,000
- Bangash 35,000
- Turi 30,000

According to the above list Khatak tribe has the fifth position,
from the view point of population, among the Paxtoon tribes.

The famous Russian scholar, E.A. Snegerev, has divided the
Paxtoon in four major parts. One of these four parts is Karirni or Kar-
rhani. The Karrhani part has more than 228 sections (khels) ie. Afridi,
Orakzai, Utman Khel, Wazir, Khatak and other big tribes are attached
to the Karrhani group. (4)

Mr. Benawa, a contemporary scholar and writer of Afghanistan,
says: "one of the important tribes of Paxtoonistan is the tribe of Khatak.
This tribe, he adds, is famous among the Paxtoons for chivalry, genero-
sity and hardwork, Khushal Khan, the father of Paxto, was from this
tribe. The Khatak live in the realms of Peshawar and Kohat—with up-
right posture, handsome faces and strong limbs." (5)

The old and the original habitat of the Khatak was the moun-
tains of Shawal which is situated on the West of Sulaiman ranges. The
Khatak tribe, due to the changes of the time historical and social phen-
omena, now reside in the suburbs of Peshawar and Kohat. The Shawal
mountains are now inhabited by the Wazir tribe.

2) Narodi Yujnoy Azii. izdatelstvo An SSSR, Moskva, 1963, p 732 (Races
of Southern Asia, Publication of the Academy of Sciences USSR Mos-
cow, 1963, p 732)
3) Ibid, p. 731
4) Snegerev, E.A. Afghanistan, Moskow, 1921.
5) Benawa, Abdur Raouf, Paxtoonistan, Kabul 1951, p. 228
The land of the Khatak is 100 miles long and 50 miles wide, stretching up to the Kabul river in the north and up to the Abasin in the east. On the west of Khatak, live the tribes of Khalil, Mohmand, Afridi, Orakzai and Bangash and on the south are Banu, Daman and Kohani.

The land of the Khatak has been divided into two parts—one is the southern and the other is northern. The southern part is occupied by great mountains whereas the northern part contains open fields and meadows. There are plenty valuable mines in the northern part. This part is inhabited by Saghar and Barak sections in the villages of Malgeen, Lachi, Teri, Latambar and Kark. Salt is mine in abundance at Teri and Malgeen. They have cultivable land where they produce wild olives, maize etc. The place of Bahadur Khel in Khatak area is very famous for its salt. The salt of Bahadur Khel is white and qualitatively good and it exported to foreign countries. According to experts, the salt mines of Bahadur Khel are 1000 feet high and up to 50 miles wide. (6)

The basic occupation of the people is the bussiness of Salt. Mr. Benewa, quoting Sir William Barton’s, The Northwestern Race of India, London, 1933, shows that the Khatak tribes had a fighting strength of more than 32,000 in the end of 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century. Of this strength, 12,000 lived in the suburbs of Peshawar and 20,000 in the outskirt of Kohat. (7)

The Khatak people are humourous, brave and of poetic nature. They have their own Atan (dance) which called “De Khatako Nesaa” or “Atan” (Khatak’s dance). The Khataks Atan has three characteristics: first, it is composed of music, second poetry and third the Atan itself, coming in the state of excitement, the young dancers attract the spectators as much as even 70-year old white beared men would join them in their dance.

A famous scholar of Peshawar, Dr. Anwar-ul-Haq has written a long scientific article in 1949 about the Khatak, published in the Journal Insaf. It shows that the Khatak live together with their neighboring tribes i.e. Bangash etc. since old days. There were some other tribes also. But the place was called after the name of Khatak because they were more in population. (8)

The writer, with the help of Azizullah Amer Khel, last year got hold of an important and interesting book entitled “The Turay Au Da Qalam Khawand” (the holder of the sword and the pen), published in Peshawar in 1949. This book contains an interesting article on ethnogra-

6) Ibid, p. 231
7) Ibid, p. 230
8) Dr. Anwar-ul-Haq The Khatak, Insaf, No. 7, Peshawar, 1949
phy regarding the Khataks, compiled by Dr. Anwar-ul-Haq. Dr. Anwar-ul-Haq writes that the population of Khatak in Peshawar area ranged up to 65,000 according to the census of 1931. It can be estimated on that account that in those days the total population of the Khataks would be reaching 200,000. (9) The *Races of Southern Asia*, Moscow, 1963, already quoted, also shows the population of the Khatak round about 200,000. Therefore we are satisfied with accepting that figure of population which has been shown by two sources.

Dr. Anwar-ul-Haq narrates about the basic occupation of the Khatak as following:

There is no doubt that the major part of the Khatak is destitute and poverty stricken and lead their life through the buissines of coal, wood, Ber throns, Salt and hides. Nevertheless, the Khataks are brave, hospitable estatic and poetic. The Khataks have a proverb: "The Khatak would not become old if he were not thinking for others."

This proverb proves that they are kind to other, merciful, philanthropist and virtuous people. (10)

Here I would remind of a saying of F. Engels who had long ago written an interesting booklet about the Afghans. He says that the Afghans are brave, bold, steadfast and hospitable people. (11)

Dr. Anwar-ul-Haq, also, gives interesting information about the ancient chieftains of the Khataks:

The Khatak people gathered at the time of their first leader, Mohammed Alias Malik Akoro and became very powerfull in the land of the Paxtoons. In those days the famous emperor of Magul dynasty, Akbar was ruling, 1556-1605. Under the decree of Akbar Shah, the Khatak tribe gathered between Attock and Nowshera to lead a settlement life. Malik Akore led his tribe for about 40 years. At last he fell a martyr in a battle. After him, his elder son, Yahya Khan, led the tribe for 61 years who also fell a martyr in a battle. Yahya Khan was succeeded by his son Shahbaz Khan as the chieftain and led the tribe for 21 years.

Mr. Benawa reproduced the rule of the progeny of Malik Akore in another way. He writes that Malik Akore led his tribe for 50 years,

10) Ibid, p. 60
11) *Consolidation of the works of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels*, Vol. V. second Part, Moscow, 1933 pp. 532-33
Afghanistan

Yahya Khan for 20 years and Shahbaz Khan for 21 years. I can not differentiate which of the two statements, that of Mr. Anwar-ul-Haq or of Mr. Benawa, is correct because I do not possess any more knowledge in this regard,

Shahbaz Khan also received wounds in a furious battle and died 1050 Hegra. He was succeeded by a poet and the brave son, Khushal Khan, pride of the Afghan nation, as the chieftain of the tribe. In this lineament, the progeny of Malik Akore some down, consecutively, to Afzal Khan (grandson of Khushal Khan).

Only Khushal Khan of the family of Malik Akore, study of whose life has it singular taste attracts us. Because he was, at the same time, leader of the nation, a learned man and philosopher, poet and thinker. His philosophical thoughts, which are full of social and literary interests, are very much useful for the advancement of the Afghan society. His thoughts are appealing for future also.

I intend to produce before the readers in my following articles, some information regarding the social and literary achievements of Khushal Khan.
Danish Scholars About Afghanistan

With an Annotated bibliography

BY LENNART EDELBerg

The first words written in Danish about Afghanistan are the following: "To lay the foundations of a new dominion and to consolidate its position is not one man's task, unless he possesses three important qualities, namely caution when laying the groundwork, audacity when completing the work, and wisdom when maintaining it; but as such qualities are seldom to be found in one person, three separate human beings are needed, each of whom is endowed with one of these qualities, in order to establish a new and lasting empire; thus the first must possess an extreme cunning, the second a blind daring, and the third a particular wisdom and art of ruling". Whereupon the author proceeds to show us that the three Afghan rulers Mir Weis, Mir Mahmud and Shah Ashraff formed precisely such a successful trinity. (Ludvig Holberg: Myrr - Weis and Myrr - Maghmud. The stories and achievements, compared in the manner of Plutarch, of several great heroes and illustrious men, particularly Oriental and Indian. Copenhagen 1739).

In 1709 - when Mir Weis had proclaimed the independence of the Afghans from Persia-and in the following years Ludvig Holberg, who was a meticulous scholar, was studying at the Copenhagen University. In 1714 he was made a professor, and was occupied with all kinds of humanistic subjects, chiefly history.

But for the Danish people he stands as their foremost playwright. From 1723 and onwards he wrote a lot of comedies, touching subjects of human interest; the poor Danish peasants, who were made fools of by their squires; the conceited scholar who cannot talk to his own village-people; the young Dane, who wants to imitate foreign speech and behaviour; and the peevish greybeard, who is opposed to every change,
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and who will always make the good old times stand out. Holberg's comedies are so vivid and full of humour that they are loved and played even to-day.

But in those days the respectable citizens of Copenhagen were shocked at the products of the flippant professor, and together with the King the pious Danes succeeded in closing the little theatre, where his comedies were performed. In his old age, though, Holberg had the satisfaction of seeing the theatre opened again, and he is commonly considered the Father of the Danish theatrical tradition.

The above-mentioned essays on Mir Weis, Mir Mahmud and Shah Asmraff are, as I have mentioned earlier, the first Danish articles about Afghanistan. The articles comprise approximately fifty pages and were published in 1739. Those were still the times, when industrialism had not thrown the world off its balance, and when, on the whole the peoples all over the world were equally rich and equally poor. Holberg's Danish peasant "Jeppe paa Bjergt" does not plough differently from China's or India's peasants. Discriminating comments on other nations were almost unknown. It is rather suggestive to see how, more than 200 years ago, a Dane, like Holberg, is interested in universal history. Later - in the 19th and 20th centuries - world history in the school teaching of most European countries was confined to mean only: the history of the European countries, and thus, unfortunately and generally speaking, is the state of things even to-day.

Was Holberg unique in this respect and for his time? The answer is no! His extraordinary intelligence and his immense knowledge was no doubt outstanding, but his straightforward interest in all countries was common amongst well-bred people in those days. This is, in fact, the background for an expedition, planned on a large scale, which the Danish King sent out to the Eastern countries a few years after Holberg's death. Owing to malaria and dysentery most of the participants died in the beginning of their mission, but 200 years ago the last surviving member of the expedition, Carsten Niebuhr, was walking among the ruins of Persepolis, carefully delineating - and he was the first to do that - the long cuneiform inscriptions on the different monuments. Thus he delivered to the philologists the Babylonian, Assyrian and especially the Old-Iranian inscriptions that were to throw light on Archaemenid Persia.

Thus Carsten Niebuhr started off Danish Scientific work in Asia. In the 19th century other distinguished Danes, like Rasmus Rask - who founded the comparative philology-and N.L. Westergaard travelled far and dangerously, and by extraordinary personal effort succeeded in saving
old Avesta-texts from destruction. These texts are in course of publication. The editors are Arthur Christensen (who died in 1945) and Kaj Barr.

Arthur Christensen has taken a great and well-known share in the study of the Iranian languages, and he has also translated Firdausi's Shahnama into Danish. All Afghans—but only a few Danes—know that these royal anthems have largely been written in Ghazni in Afghanistan.
Not until 1947, however, did Danish research start on different subjects in Afghanistan herself. In 1947 Henning Haslund-Christensen and his "3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia" were extremely hospitably and kindly received in Kabul. In the years that followed his staff concentrated on zoological, botanical, geographical and ethnographical problems everywhere in this big country. Haslund-Christensen, himself, died on the 12th of September, 1948, and was buried in Kabul.

Below has been collocated a bibliography on the articles and publications, following the expedition in 1947 and the "Henning Haslund-Christensen Memorial Expedition" in 1953 to 1955, where particularly, Klaus Ferdinand, the ethnographer, greatly contributed to describe unknown ethnographical conditions. With his studies of the Mongolian hezaraeans one can say that Klaus Ferdinand has continued the line from Haslund's two first expedition's to Central Asia (Inner Mongolia) just before the Second World War. Some other items have been added too. It is my sincere hope that the co-operation between Afghanistan and Denmark, beginning in 1947, may continue in the future, and in the spirit of the open-mindedness and the lively interest that characterized Ludvig Holberg.

LENNART EDELBERG

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(A detailed description, with illustrations, of the Kafir harp discovered in Nuristan by Lennart Edelberg in 1948).


(The author, who was a botanical specialist with the 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia, points out Afghanistan as a land of big interest for ethnographical studies).
1952: **Træk af Landbrug og Livsform hos Bjergstammer i Hindukush.** Næsgaardsbogen, Nykbing F.

(A short description of the agriculture and way of life in Nuristan with proofs of Nuristani poetry and calendar systems).


1956: **Fra Kafirhytte til Ildtempel.** Næsgaardsbogen, Nykbing F.

(The description from 1952 continued on basis of experiences as a member of the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan 1953-54 - the Henning Haslund-Christensen Memorial Expedition).


(The rich illustrated article must **not** be read without having at hand: Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E. Van: **An Ancient Hindu Temple in Eastern Afghanistan.** Oriental Art, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1959. She says: "Mr. Edelberg has rendered a great service to historians of Indian art by drawing attention to some ancient fragments which have been incorporated in tombs in the cemetery of Chigha Serai in the Kunar valley.". But she points out that the fragments are Brahmanical, not Buddhistic).


(A memorial to the Danish Explorer, Henning Haslund-Christensen, who died in Kabul in 1948. The article provides a comprehensive résumé of Danish scientific work in Asia. Many color and black and white pictures from Afghanistan).


("May the old etymology of Imra as Yamaraja and, thereby, his linguistic relationship with the Iranian Yima, Jamshed be accepted or not - the connection of that personage with course of the year, with a statue of
Afghanistan

his own, and a building (functioning as a sun observatory) is attested in sources independent from one another”.


(The rich illustrated catalogue is a thorough study of all known wooden anthropomorphic sculptures from Afghan Kafiristan).

— , —, 1961: Furer i Asiens ældgamle ansigt. Copenhagen (One of the six chapters in the little book about cultural traits of Asia deals about Nuristan).


(Description of the peculiar plough of Nuristan with a drawing by Babamorad Feraghi).


(The authors have in collaboration made a description of the wooden statue found in Nuristan 1963 and saved for the Kabul Museum by A.A. Motamedi. The statue represents the goddess Disnī and her temple is described as well as a hymn used in the cult of the goddess).


(The Nomads of Afghanistan).


(Survey of the problems of nomadism with examples from Afghanistan).

an appendix on the calendar system of the Hazara).

(The assertion is made that Duranni tent gradually merges into a Balluch tent type, which in the final resort must probably be viewed in connexion with a barrel - vaulted hut).


— — , 1959 d: *Ris Træk af dens dyrkning og behandling i østafghanistan* (Rice. Aspects of Cultivation and Treatment in East Afghanistan). KUML, Aarhus. (The author shows that the treatment of the ma'in rice rests on old Indian tradition (cf. the parboiled rice in that area). An attempt is made to trace the history of the stamp - mill)


(An analysis of the appearance of the Ghilzai nomads into Central Afghanistan and their trading activities there, as a result of which the nomads often become land - owners. The big nomad markets in Central Afghanistan are described).

(The first thorough study of the technical construction of the colossal windmills near Herat, and an attempt to clear up their history. These mills are the oldest of the World!).

(Besides being a criticism of the book of Schurmann a great deal of new information especially on types of
Black Tents and circular Yurts is given).


(This important article calls attention to the question whether nomadism under certain circumstances is the most proper way to make an area productive from the economic view of the country).

Ferdinand, Klaus, 1967: Ætteliniestabilitet blandt nomader i øst - Afghanistan (duplicate), Moesgaard/University of Aarhus.

(Stability of kinship among the nomads in East Afghanistan).


(Samples collected during the 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia have been investigated for diatoms. The 201 figures are all drawings from the Afghan material of diatoms).


(Impression of travel as a member of the 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia).

—, —, 1950-1956 has arranged the publication of 34 articles on zoological organisms collected in Afghanistan during 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia in: Videnskabelige Meddelelser fra Dansk Naturhistorisk Forening b d. 112-bd, 129 (to be continued).


(Annotated above).

Humlum, Johannes, 1949: Kushk-i-Nakhud, Map of the Oasis District of Pirzada in Afghanistan, Scale: 1; 2100. Geografisk Institut University of Aanhus


(Account of a journes as a member of the 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia).


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—, —, 1949: *Om ægteskab og bryllup i Afghanistan*. Geografisk Tidsskrift bd. 49. Copenhagen (About marriage and wedding in Afghanistan).

**Koie, M. & K.H. Rechinger**, 1954 - 1965: *Symbololae Afghanicae I - VI*. Enumeration and Descriptions of the Plants Collected by L. Edelberg and M. Koie on “The 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia” and by W. Koelz, H.F. Neubauer, O.H. Volk and others in Afghanistan. The Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Biol. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk. 8, No. 1, 2; -9, No. 3; -10, No. 3; -13, No. 4; -14, No. 4 (to be continued). Copenhagen. (The fundamental work about the flora of Afghanistan).

**Lange, Morten**, 1953: *Some Gasteromycetes from Afghanistan*. Botanisk Tidsskrift. Copenhagen. (Enumeration of fungi collected by L. Edelberg and M. Koie in Afghanistan).
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—, —, 1957: *Far Afghanistan æsel til blækhat i Kbenhaven.* Naturens Verden, Copenhagen.
(The author describes shortly how dung collected in Afghanistan when put under moist conditions produces Afghan fungi).

(The author was a member of the 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia 1947-49 and his book treats the material collected all over Afghanistan. 389 species are enumerated and for each of them a short information is given concerning its status).


—, —, 1954 b: *Jars built without a Wheel in the Hazarajat of Central Afghanistan.* MAN (March 1954), art. 73, London.

(Anthropological measurements from Chahar Aimaq, Ghilzai, Duranni, Seistan, Turk, and Uzbek are treated
The History of Andarab District, Northern Afghanistan

500 B.C.-1925 A.D.

by J.P. Singh Uberoi

That Andarab (Ariaspa) held the capital of the Greek colonies there can be as little doubt as that Haibak and its neighbourhood formed the great Buddhist centre between Balkh and Kabul. Again, who is going to make friends with the Amir of Afghanistan and try his luck? Sir Thomas Holdich the gates of India (London, 1910.) p. 511.

In 1959-61 unaware of the eminent Englishman's enthusiastic recommendation, I in fact tried my luck in Andarab at sociological and ethnological investigation. What Holdrich had in mind, however, was archaeological discovery almost synonymous in his day with a polite form of plunder of other people's ancient past, and stimulated in this case probably by the belief that the finest examples of ancient Greek portraiture were to be found, not within Europe at all, but on the Bactrian coins of Balkh and Tukhar, Holding regretted that the fortunate archaeologist of Andarab must be a foreigner, "for no Englishman would be permitted by his own government to pass that way at present." (1) England's policy was to let Afghanistan alone just then. It appears never to have occurred to Holdich, or for that matter to many others, that the riches of Asian archaeology were for the Asians. One may rejoice that the independent and anti-imperialist traditions of the Afghans will incidentally enable them to make their own discoveries for themselves.

I did not conduct excavations in Andarab although initially, owing to my local journeys, I was known in the vicinity as "that Hindu who searches for treasure", but went there to record custom and social life. (2) I made a promise to Andarabi friends before parting two years later that I would collect and collate whatever was available on the

history of the district and publish it. My object in presenting it here is to show that, however imperfect or defective the story, local history can claim its own place besides national history. A small stage can perhaps project as interesting a picture of the currents of central Asian history as a wide one. The particular advantages of local history, for example, combining the historical periods and the interests of several scholarly disciplines are well-known but little regarded.

The written record of men of many Asian civilizations, ancient Chinese, medieval Arab, Persian, Indian and Turkish and modern Afghan, all notice Andarab at one time and another, and historical events that occurred there were not without significance for the wide world. Indeed the connecting thread appears to be broken only during the period of modern European colonialism. The district was known to Indians of the past, for example, from the Farhang-i Anandraj, that great and still unsurpassed lexicon of the seventeenth century. It defines Andarab as the name of a borough (shahr) of Badakhshan province, between Hindustan and Ghaznin, situated near the pass of the Hindu Kush. It quotes a literary reference to the place from Firdausi:

Zi Ghazni Suyi Andarab amadam
Zi a sayish andar shitab amadam

And, also the Geographical reference form the Riyaz as-Siyahat, which defines Andarab as situated in the mountains to the north of Kabul at a distance of six stages. (3)

Andarab district is a high valley in the elbow of two mountain ranges, the central massif of the Hindu Kush and the Shashan range, which meet in the Khawak pass (11, 640 ft). Andarab and its neighbours can be grouped into the region of the central Hindu-Kush or, if the term Hindu Kush itself be differently defined, the western Hindu Kush. The districts in question are situated to the north and south of an imaginary line stretching from the Khawak pass to the Shibar pass (9,800 ft): Kohistan, Koh-Daman, Panjshir, Ghorband, Bamian, Kamard and Saighan, Doshi, Khinjan, Andarab, Narin, Khost-o-Fering. This highland region is in its turn a small part of the great mountainous chain that forms the “great divide” between central Asia and southern Asia. In general the more readily accessible passes across the long frontier and watershed are contained in this part. The central Hindu-Kush is an ancient route of conquest, travel and trade.

The old caravan route which still is in continuous use crosses by the Khawak pass at the head of Andarab and Panjshir. The modern

3. Muhammad Padshah Shad, Farhang-i Anandraj, ed. Muhammad Dabir Siyaqi, 7 vols (Teheran, 1335), 1, 454.
motorable road connecting Kabul with Northern Afghanistan used to go by the Shobar pass. The even newer highway opened recently crosses by a tunnel excavated below the Salang pass at the head of the Khinjan valley, the most direct route.

The people of the central Hindu Kush possess a common habitat and culture and a similar historical background. In most districts there are no large estates and the people form an independent peasantry and yeomanry relying mainly on irrigated cereal cultivation and dry-farming, but many of whom are also part-pastoralists local transhumance. There is considerable commercial activity associated with centrally situated grain markets and bazaars. The people of most districts are orthodox Muslims (Sunni) and devoted to their religion. The common language is Dari, Afghan Persian. Like all highlanders everywhere, the people differ generally in temperament and character from their plains cousins, who occasionally liked to give them the reputation of rough frontiersmen and caterans.

Each district, physiographically marked off from its neighbours, forms a separate and district social and economic community and unit of administration. In past political history consequently each district possessed a considerable degree of autonomy. Similarly, at a higher level, the central division between north and south tended to overrule the smaller divisions. The geopolitical connexions of the northern districts lie with the cities of the Oxus plain, situated on the left bank of the river between Balkh (the ancient Bactra) and Badakhshan. They were generally subject to the authority of the capital of that region, usually Qunduz. The southern districts, on the other hand, often tended to follow and influence the political fortunes of the Kabul valley. Finally, the widest political integration and interrelation of central Hindu Kush districts occurred when the northern authority and the southern authority were one and the same, as happened after the rise of the Afghan kingdom.*

The three levels of geopolitical segmentation, district, sub-region and region, should be borne in mind when we follow the vicissitudes of central Hindu Kush history.

Prior to the latest reorganization of Afghan provinces, the five northern districts, including Andarab, formed upland parts of Qataghan province, bordering the Oxus river, while the five southern districts together constituted Parwan province. The remaining, southernmost district, Koh-Daman, was a part of Kabul province.

* The same condition was existed from the ancient Times under all local governments of Afghanistan. (Historical Society of Afghanistan)
In ancient times Andarab formed a part of the Persian satrapy of Bactria. In the reign of Darius the Great (521-485 B.C.) it very likely received a share of the Greek settlers deported to Bactria by that Achaemenian king. Holdich, as we have noted, goes so far as to suggest that Andarab (Ariaspa) held the capital of these colonies. (4) In any case, Andarab’s contact with the Bactrian Greeks must have been long and intimate both before and after the conquest of Alexander of Macedon, who crossed into Andarab by the Khawak pass in 328 B.C. (5) This gives us the first definite date of Andarabi history.

Alexander did not take the direct rout from Andarab to Tashkurgan, but bore north again, reaching Drapsaka, and turned Bessus’ position. Because fled across the Oxus; the Bactrians submitted, and Alexander occupied Tashkurgan and Zariaspa-Bactra without resistance, and made the veteran Artabazus satrap of Bactria. (6)

As is well-known, about 135 B.C. under Helocles the Bactrian part of the Greek kingdom was overrun by “barbarians”, Saka Parthian and others. We await the archaeological finds that can illumine the Greek period, as also the Kushan that followed it in the first century A.D. I merely mention that a small group that lives in the hamlet of Ahingar near Deh Salah in Andarab is still called Saka. The linguistic usage indicates it as an ethnic term, I could not obtain an explanation of it.

The faith of Buddhism seems to have spread to the Hindu Kush in the time of Asoka (273-237 B.C.), but we know little of its early period except that the Bactrian Pali characters were written from right to left.

Much later it was the call of Buddhism combined with Chinese diligence that gave us in July 644 A.D. our first recorded description of Andarab written by Hsuan-tsang, the pilgrim. (I quote the translation of Samuel Beal, 1881.)

Going on for three days more, we descend the (Khawak) pass and come to ‘An-ta-lo-po (Andarab). This is the old land of the Tu-ho-lo (Tukhara) country. It is about 3000 li round; the capital is 14 or 15 li round. They have no chief ruler; it is dependent on the Turks (Tuh-kiueh). Mountains and hills follow in chains, with valleys interest-

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5. Henry Yule, “Geography of the valley of the Oxus”. In John Wood, Journey to the source of the river Oxus (London, 1872), pp. xxii-xxv.
ing them. The arable land is very contracted. The climate is very severe. The wind and the snow are intensely cold and violent; yet the country is regularly cultivated and productive; it is suitable also for flowers and fruits. The men are naturally Fierce and violent. The common people are unrestrained in their ways, and know neither wrong nor right. They do not care about learning, and give themselves only to the worship of spirits (devalayas, Devatemple). Few of them believe in the religion (dharma) of Buddha. There are three sanghamas and come tens of priests (monks). They follow the teaching of the Mahasanghika (Ta-chong-pu) school. There is one stupa built by Asoka-raja. (7)

'An-ta-lo-po was restored as Antarava by Julien, and identified with Andarab. (8) According to Watters, in some records of the file of Hsüan-tsang the Chinese characters represent an original like Antarbhava, (9) which is a Sanskrit term. The standard li of the T'ang period was 0.348 miles, but Watters thinks that the li in these mountainous regions should be regarded as only 1/8th or 1/10th of a mile(10) The capital of Andarab, 14 or 15 li round, was thus 1.5 miles or more in circumference. I suggest that it was probably located at Kishanabad among other reasons is the fact that the suffix—abad was bestowed only on a considerable town.

The Tu-ho-lo- of Hsüan tsang are the Tokhari who are mentioned among the peoples who overthrew the Graeco-Bactrian empire. (11) The province of Tukharistan took its name from them. In the Buddhist period and also in the Muslim period Tukharistan in the wider sense included all the highlands dependent on Balkh, on either side of the upper Oxus river. (12) The frontiers of Tukharistan in the narrower sense were defined by Istakhri (c. 921 A.D.), the geographer. It extended from the lands east of Balkh to the west of Badakhshan, south of the Amu Darya (Oxus) and north of the main ridge of the Hindu-Kush. (13)

10. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
Afghanistan

It therefore corresponded accurately with the modern Tukhar, Kundoz and Baghlan provinces.

The original kingdom of the Buddhist Sahi rulers of Kabul included Tukharistan, Ghor, Bust, Ghaznin, Kabul, Laghman, Kafristan, (present Nooristan) Roh and the Panjab districts of Attock, Rawalpindi and Jhelum. After subjugating Khorasan the Arabs attacked Kabul in 664 A.D., but were checked. After a century of struggle in 740 A.D. the contest in Tukharistan was decided in favour of the Arabs. (14) The three provinces of Tukharistan, Ghor and Bust were absorbed in the Arab dominions under the caliphs Harun al-Rashid (763-509) and al-Mamun, and became more or less Islamicized, while the rest remained under the Ratnapal or Katorman dynasty of Buddhist Sahis until the time of its last king, Kank. This territory then passed into the possession of Lalliya (870-892), first of the Hindu Sahis. (15) According to the Jam ai ut-tawarikh,

And Kank...was the last of the Katoman kings... After his death, Samand, from among the Brahmans, became King, and after him Kumlowa, and after him Bhim, etc.

Gulshan Rai says that according to the Rajatarangani, the Sanskrit history, this Kumlowa displaces Samand or Samanata in 902 A.D. (17)

Is there any connexion between this Samand, during whose time it appears a very large number of coins were struck in his name bearing Brahmanic designs of the bull and horseman type, 18 and the place named Samandan at the head of the Andarab valley?

The Hudud al-Alam, a Persian geography of the tenth century A.D., describes Andarab as “a borough amid mountains”. “It is a place with much cultivation, (producing) much grain. It possesses two rivers. Here dirhams are struck from the silver extracted from the mines of Panjshir and Jariyana. Its king is called Shahr-Salir.” (19)

According to Vasmer's showing on the basis of numismatic data, in the later part of the ninth century and in the beginning of the tenth Andarab was chiefly held by the Abu-Da'udids of Balkh, (20)

14. Ibid.
16. Jam ai ut-tawarikh, ed. by James Prinsep (Lonson, 1858), 1,316.
17. Gulshan Rai, op. cit., p. 120.
18. Ibid., p. 121
20. Ibid., p. 341.
21. Ibid., p. 341.
were themselves vassal princes dependent upon the Samanids (892-999 A.D.) According to Codrington, coins were struck in Andarab successively by the Abbasids, Samanids and Ghaznavids in roughly the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries respectively. (21)

The Arab geographers of the tenth century reckoned Andarab as “the third town in Tukharistan”; it ranked after Taluqan, the provincial capital, and Warwaliz (Qunduz). (22) It was described as “having fine markets, being situated among valleys clothed by verdant forests...and having many silver mines in their recesses. (23)”

The province of Tukharistan appears later in the twelfth century as a part of the kingdom of the Ghorids (24).

Andarab must then have been connected with that branch of the Ghorids whose capital was in the Bamian valley. (25) As the name of a province or region Tukharistan seems to have dropped out of use at the time of the Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century. (26) It survives locally in the name of a school in Baghlan.

The fortunes of Andarab under the Mongols are not definitely known. Mirkhwand, a printed copy of whose Rauzat as-Safa I saw in the possession of an Andarabi, says that in 1221 A.D. Chingiz Khan himself passed from Taluqan through Andarab, “the siege of which lasted a full month”, but this is apparently not the received view. (27) It might have been his Mongol army only. There still exist in Andarab the ruins of a fortress near the village of Kishanabad, called by the inhabitants Kafir Qala or fort of unbelievers, which one informant said dated from Chingiz Khan’s visitation.

A century later in 1333 A.D. Battuta, the Arab traveller, journeyed through Andarab and was accorded the extreme hospitality reserved for a man who had come from the land of the Prophet. He wrote
that "in former times there was a town here whose traces have disappeared. (28)

Timur the lame we know certainly passed through Andarab in 1398 on his way to India. He was influenced by the complaints he received there of the raids and exactions of Kator and Siah Posh Kafirs to lead the memorable punitive expedition to Kafiristan (present Nooristan) before proceeding south. (29) Prince Shah Rukh remained in Andarab for the duration.

The political region of Andarab's affiliation, i.e. old Tukharids, until the rise of the Uzbek khanates on the Oxus river in the sixteenth century. (30)

Meanwhile, to the south, the Mughal empire of India, whose frontiers rested upon the Hindu Kush, was being consolidated. Events that transpired in Andarab played an important role in this. I relate the most important of them in full.

In his efforts to secure the unsettled frontier Humayun, the second Mughal emperor, was several times in Andarab and fought two engagements there at Tirgaran in 1546 against Sulaiman Mirza, prince of Badakhshan, and at Ab Darra in 1547 against the forces of his own brother, Kamran. (31) In 1550 Humayun spent forty days at Andarab, reorganizing his army. (32)

"This, however, was not all. Tired of the constant desertions to which he had been subjected, and apprehensive of a renewal of the dangers to which he had been exposed by the unreliability of the great Amirs he attempted at Andarab to bind his men more securely to him by administering an oath of allegiance to each body of troops in the from which should subject them most effectually to the heaviest religious sanction in the case of any breach of the obligation.

This had an interesting sequel. When the oath was proposed, Haji Muhammad Khan suggested that in order to complete the tie between master and men, the Emperor

29. Malfuzat-i Timuri. In Elliot and Dawson, History of India (London, 1871), III.
32. Ibid., pp. 299, 303n, 304n.
might well take an oath in the following form: "The what ever we, his well-wishers, recommend with a view to his interest, and deem indispensable to that purpose, he will consent to and perform." Hindal, fiery as ever, strongly objected to the proposal, derogatory to the King's dignity (saying that masters never took such oaths to their servants and slaves) (33), but to Humayun, who was always urbane and sincere, it seemed no bad thing and he readily agreed.

This definite recognition of the reciprocity of obligation between ruler and subject is a thing of rare occurrence in Eastern history......There is no doubt that this compact between Humayun and his great Amirs...marks a new era in the history of the reign. The Emperor henceforth found himself in a position which was at once stronger and less independent; he could rely upon the support of his nobles, but he had bound himself to respect their opinion in matters of importance. The resulting combination was to prove sufficiently formidable to attempt the expulsion of the Afghans. (34),"

The sociological importance of this singular event is evident, and ought to be celebrated. That it is not celebrated by historians of central Asia merely shows that as such they are more interested in the diffusion of ideas than in the creation or institutionalization thereof. The reciprocal oath introduced a new concept or, what is equally important, gave formal systematic expression to a concept that was until then only implicit and customary. The creation of a new political idea and form is something besides which the sincerity or insincerity of Haji Muhammad Khan, whose personal motives were perhaps rightly suspected by Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's historian, and who defected in any case, is of no account. It is unfortunate that too many historians concentrate on the latter individual aspect and wholly neglected the institutional aspect.

It is true that the new political idea made manifest in Andarab in 1550 was never institutionalized as a tradition. This should constitute another sociological problem for investigation by an historian, as rewarding as the problem of the search for parallels and contrasts.

33. Ibid., p. 301n.
34. Ibid., pp. 301-2.
The particular importance of Andarab in relation to Humayun remains. The new Humayun, who recovered the throne of Delhi in 1555, was not the old Humayun, expelled from India by Sher Shah Suri the Afghan in 1540. In the interval he had settled affairs with Kamran and central Asia, with the Amirs and also with himself. The solemn compact made and sworn in the central Hindu Kush was perhaps the turning point for his life and reign.

In the course (presumably) of these local contacts an Andarabi by the name of Ali Quli Khan was taken up by Humayun. He was entrusted with the governorship of Kabul when Humayun went to Kandahar. He later accompanied the emperor to India, and served also under his son, Akbar the Great. The A-in-i Akbari numbers Ali Quli Khan Andarabi (d. 1592) among the nobles of the empire, and records that he was styled as a "Commandar of one thousand". (35) Ali Quli Khan may be regarded as the most illustrious son of Andarab.

For almost two hundred years, c. 1550-1750, the northern provinces that Humayun had recovered remained virtually independent. The Mughal frontier rested on the central ridge of the Hindu Kush, and left "Andarab of Badakhshan" and other districts to the north to be controlled by the Uzbeks. (36) The region was briefly overrun in Shah Jahan's reign (1627-1658) by an army sent under Murad and Aurangzeb, an expedition memorialized by the old bridge at Pul-i Khumri. But eventually Shah Jahan conferred the northern country on Nazar Muhammad Khan of Balkh and so terminated the political connexion of India with central Asia proper.

There were two travellers through the central Hindu Kush during the early part of this period, of whom we have records. The first was Sidi Ali Reis, the Turkish admiral, armed with official credentials returning home from India.

"Early in the month of Rejeb we came to the city township/borough( of Andarab and journeyed from there through Badakhshan to Talikan where I had an interview with Suleiman Shah and his son Ibrahim Mirza. (37)

The second was Benedict Goës, a Jesuit who left Agra in 1602 and seeking a way to China eventually crossed the Hindu Kush by the Parwan pass. I have not been able to obtain his record.

38. Percy Sykes, op. cit., 1, 357.
    Henry Yule, op. cit., p. XLI.
As is well-known, the provinces lying north of the Hindu Kush, namely Balkh, Qunduz and Badakhshan, were won and incorporated (*) into the national kingdom of Afghanistan in 1750. (38) But their reduction to order within the new state, the last chapter in our story, was not completed for another hundred years or more.

It is known from contemporary accounts that in the early nineteenth century Kunduz was the capital of an important principality of the Qataghan and that Andarab district was a tributary of it (39) Khalidad Khan of Kunduz had a revenue of about £ 30,000 and could raise 15,000 men. (40)

"Khost and Inderaub are small mountainous, but fertile countries, on the northern face of Hindoo Coosh. They are inhabited by Taujiks, and are now annexed to Koon-dooz. (41)"

The unity of Afghanistan in general and the political integration of Andarab district in particular owe a great deal to the work and vision of Abdur Rahman Amir. (1880-1901).

"This necessitated breaking down the feudal and tribal system, and substituting one grand community under one law and under one rule. (42) Abdur Rahman complained that every priest, mullah, and chief of every tribe and village considered himself an independent king...... The Mirs of Turkestan, the Mirs of Hazara, the chiefs of Ghilzai were all stronger than their Amirs, and, so long as they were rulers, the King could not do justice in the country......So the first thing I had to do was to put an end to these numberless robbers, thieves, false prophets, and trumpery kings. I must confess that it was not a very easy task, and it took fifteen years of fighting before they finally submitted to my rule or left the country, either by being exiled or by departing to the next world. (43)"

(*) During the history of this country these provinces were won and incorporated with the Afghan national governments. (Historical Society Afghanistan).

41. Ibid., pp. 464-5.
43. Ibid., I, 217-218.
Twenty years before coming to the throne Abdur Rahman put down in 1859 the rebellion in Andarab.

The people of Andarab and Khost, being persuaded by Mir Atalik and the Mirs of Badakhshan to rebel, attacked their Governor, to whose assistance I sent 4,000 soldiers from Khanabad under the command of Sirdar Mahomed Omar and others. My grandfather dispatched Sirdar Mahomed Sharif Khan from Kabul, with two battalions and 1,000 militia infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and six guns. The two armies united at a place called Buzdara (a defile on the northern border of Andarab), where they fought, and severely punished the rebels, who lost 2,000 men, killed and wounded, in the field. After this victory the two forces returned to Khanabad and Kabul leaving 500 men with the Governor at Andarab, (44)

Abdur Rahman does not record the exact date of the battle of Buz Darra, but it must be 1859. (45) His picture of the conjunction, united victory and retirement of the two forces from north and south illustrates perfectly the geopolitical position of the central Hindu Kush, and its essential rhythm.

Our main source for late nineteenth century and early twentieth century events and conditions is the Rahnuma-i Qataghan va Badakhshan, an important gazetteer compiled by Burhanuddin Kushkaki during the northern tour of General Mohammed Nadir Shah, later King of Afghanistan. (46) It was published in 1925, and immediately translated into Russian. (47) We may conveniently adopt this as the terminant date of recorded Andarabi history.

Its description of Andarab praises the courageous qualities of the people, and says that if a new and secure location be needed for the capital of the kingdom of Afghanistan there is none better suited than Andarab. (48) It lists Sultan Ali Khan Qizilbash as the first Afghan hakim of Andarab, appointed during the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan. (49) This could mean that the first civilian hakim was appointed soon after the 1859 pacification. We can then be sure that, after that date, the history of Andarab marches in step with that of Afghanistan as a whole.

44. Ibid., I, 14-15.
45. See Henry Yule, op. it, xli.
46. Burhanuddin Kushkaki, Rahnuma-i Qataghan va Badakhshan (Kabul, 1925). Andarab district is dealt with on pp. 44-56.
47. Ed. by A.A. Semenov (Tashkent, 1926).
49. Ibid., p. 51.
There were still zigzags of course but the integral direction was established.

It will be necessary to have recourse to family and genealogical history to fill in the picture and bring it up to date. For example, I was told that the power in Andarab during Amir Abdur Rahman's time was one Mirza Gharib, "a great landowner". He was evidently a partisan of Ishak Khan's northern rebellion in 1888, and when that collapsed he fled across the Oxus to escape the Amir's wrath. Abdur Rahman subsequently bestowed Mirza Gharib's estate on one Malik Safed Nooristani, who had been a malik of Nooristan when it was pagan (Kafiristan) and had sided with Abdur Rahman in its conquest and conversion in 1896. Malik Safed, who did not live in Andarab, was later assassinated. His Andarab grant is now (1960) partitioned among the four surviving sons of his younger brother. One of them is a retired General living in Kabul; another is Commandant in Baghlan. The four brothers inherited 40 acres each, situated near Deh Salah and Sangburan, but some of this was later sold locally. And so one.

On the other hand, the field of antiquarian discovery (e.g. who was Kishan if Kishanabad is named after him?) is equally wide. I must leave its further exploration to other and more able hands.

Here we have traced the outline history of Andarab to show that, as reflected in the life and experience of a small Hindu Kush district, the mountainous frontier between central and southern Asia not only divided but also always interconnected the two parts into one whole. By a peculiar frontier logic like a revolving door, the high wall was also a corridor. Its equal functions were to separate, attract and exchange. I think it is certain that the "remote mountain fastnesses" of Afghanistan were the illusory creation of colonialism.
Ta-Hsia and the Problem Concerning the Advent of Nomadic Peoples in Greek Bactria

by: B.N. Mukherjee

According to the Shih-chih of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and the Ch'ien Han-shu of Pan Ku, Chang Ch'ien was sent by the Han emperor (Wut'i) on a mission to the Yüeh-chih country in the period of Chien-Yüeh (140-134 B.C.) (1) More than ten years latter the envoy reached the country of the Yüen-chih, and then went to Tahsia. He stayed in the latter region for a year, and then commenced his return journey to China. On his way he lost more than one year. (2) Ta-hisa of Chang Ch'ien's report was under Yüeh-chih. (3) According to the Ch'ien Han-shu, Ta-hsia was divided into (or among) five hsi-hou (yabgus), which (or who) belonged (shu) to the Ta Yüeh-chih. The Yabgus concerned are stated to have been those of Hsiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hsi-tun and Kao-fu (4) The Hou Han-shu replaced Kao-fu by Tu-mi and expressly stated that the Ch'ien Han-shu was wrong in taking Kao-fu as being one of the five hsi-hou. (5)

J. Marquart correctly identified Hsiu-mi with Wakhan and Shuang-mi with Chitral. (6) However, his identification of Hsi-tun with Parwan and the Panjshir and of Kuei-shuang with the country north of

1. (Ssu-ma T'an and) Ssu-ma Ch'ien. Shih-chi (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition) (cited hereafter as SC), ch. 123 pp. 1-3; Pan-ku, Ch'ien Han-shu (T'ung-wen shu-chu edition) cited hereafter as CHS), ch. 61, pp. 1-6; Journal of the American Oriental Society, (cited below as JAOS), 1917, vol XXXVII, p. 93. According to the calculations made by A. Wylie, the years from 140 to 135 B.C. should have fallen in the Chien-yüen period (Journal of the Anthropological Institute (cited below as JAI), 1881, vol. X, p. 66).
3. SC, ch. 123, p. 5
4. CHS, ch. 96 A, p. 14
5. Fan Yeh, Hou Han-shu (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition) (cited below as HHS), ch. 118, p. 9.
Gandhara or Gandhara itself, (7) are not supported by definite data. The Pei-shih, which was completed in A.D. 659 and which covered the period ranging from A.D. 386 to 618, (8) expressly equated Hsi-tun with the kingdom of Fu-ti-sha. (9) The Ancient Chinese pronunciation of the name Fu-ti-sha is known to have been Piet-d'iek-sa. (10) This information and the probability of the location of Fu-ti-sha not far from Hsiu-mi or Wakhan and Shuang-mi or Chitrāl (11) remind us of the region of Badakhsha (n) or Badakhshan (n), noted as Po-to-cha’ng-na by Hsüan-tsang. (12) These considerations lead us to accept the equation Hsi-tun = Fu-ti-sha = Badakhshan. (13)

The Pei-shih also stated that the capital of Ch’ien-tun’ known earlier as Kuei-shuang, lay to the west of Che-süh-mo-sun, previously called Shuang-mi, and indicated that the former (i.e. Ch’ien-tun = Kuei-shuang) was also to the east of the capital of Fu-ti-sha (=Hsi-tun). (14) Thus Kuei-shuang should have been somewhere between Badakhshan and Chitrāl.

Tu-mi cannot be located with certainty. However, as the author (or authors) of the Ch’ien Han shu appears (or appear) to have confused To-mi with Kao-fu, and as the territories concerned seem to have situated to the north of Kabul, the region in question may have been somewhere immediately to the north of Kao-fu or the Kabul region (i.e., in Kafiristan?).

Thus Ta-hsia included Wakhan, Badakhshan, Chitrāl Kafiristan * (?) and also apparently the regions lying between them. And since the Hou Han-shu expressly states that the Yüeh-chih “divided their country (i.e., Ta-hsia into five hsi-hou (Yabgus) (15) meaning that the whole country was parcelled out between five hsi-hou or five yabgus, Ta-hsia could not possibly have included any territory outside those enumerated here.

7. Ibid., pp. 245-246
9. Li Yen-nien (or Li Yen-shou?), Pei-shih, (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition) (cited below as Pei-shi), ch. 97, p. 11.
13. Toung Pao, (cited below as TP), 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 187, f.n. 2
14. Pei-shih ch. p. 11; Wei Shou, Wei-shu (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition (cited (below as wei-sha), chi 102 pp. 8, 9 and 12
15. HHS, ch. 118, p. 9.

It is Nooristan now.

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This inference strikes at the very root of the oft-repeated theory that Ta-hsia was the same as Bactria. (16) No doubt, Ta-hsia may have embraced, among others, the eastern parts of Bactria, as it is understood from the Geographike Huphegesis of Ptolemy, (17) and from this point of view the Yüeh-chih could be called Bactrians from the time they began to live in the Ta-hsia, region of Bactria. Nevertheless, Bactria proper, i.e., the region around Bactria, was not under the Yüeh-chih till the time of Chi's-chiu-chüeh or Kujula Kâdhphises. According to the Hou Han-shu, this monarch destroyed P'u-ta. (18) P'uta, considered to have been pronounced in Anciênt Chinese as Buok-d'at (tat in Canton dialect), (19) reminds one of Bactra, the name of a town of Bactria. (20)

It is interesting to note that Wei-shu refers to the five hsi-hou (into which or among whom Ch'iên Han-shu divides Ta-hsia) and also speaks of the country of Po-chih, indentifiable with the region of Balkh, (21) as distinct from the territories assigned to the above five Yabbus. This evidence also suggests that the region around Balk or Bactra was not within old Ta-hsia, Again as Chapter 96A of the Ch'iên Han-shu states that “to the east of An-hsi is the country of the Ta Yüeh-chih (22) and as the same treaties indicates that the portions of the Ta Yüeh-chih country to the south of the Kuei (i.e., the Oxus) comprised Ta-hsia only, (23) the region of Bactra lying almost immediately to the west of Ta-hsia could well have been under the influence of An-hsi.


17. Ptolemy, Geographike Huphegesis, (cited below as Ptolemy) S. N. Majumdar Sastri (editor), McCrindle’s Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 269f.


This identification of Ta-hsia helps us to understand properly the implication of a well-known statement of Strabo. He wrote that "the best known of the (Scythian) nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tokharoi and Sakarauloi, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Laxartes river that adjoins that of the Sakai and the Sogdianoi and was occupied by the Sakai" (24) (italics ours). It is clear from the context of Strabo's statement that these peoples were assumed to have been Scythian. Strabo claims that these nomads were responsible for the end of the Greek rule in Bactria. He, however, does not categorically state whether they invaded that territory jointly or separately.

The Tokhario or Tocharai have already been connected with the Yüeh-chih of Chinese sources. (25) According to Chang Ch'ien's information, datable to c. 130-129 B.C., (26) the Yüeh-chih subjugated Ta-hsia by that date. (27) The name Ta-hsia denoted, as noted above, modern

24. Strabo, Geographikon, (cited below as Strabo), XZ, 8, 2. We cannot agree with the view of J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw that Strabo's passage in question indicates that the invasions of the nomadic peoples "weakened" (and did not conquer) the Greeks of Bactria (The "Scythias" Period, p. 35). Strabo quite definitely states that these peoples "took away" (and so conquered) Bactriana from the Greeks.

25. JAOS, 1941, vol. LXI, pp. 344-345; Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1936, VII, pp. 884 f; Zeitschrift der Duutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1937, vol. XCI, pp. 235 f; B.N. Mukherjee, The Kushana Genealogy, - (Studies in Kushana Genealogy and Chronology, vol. I), (Calcutta, 1967), pp. 24-26; etc. whether the Tokharoi and the Yüeh-chih are to be regarded as Scythians or not is a moot point. However, there, is nothing wrong in suggesting that since these peoples came from a region associated by classical scholars with the Scythians, they could have been described in early sources as Scythians, even without having racial connection with them.

26. See below n. 27.

27. It is clear from the Ch'ien-Hun-shu that the Yüeh-chih left their home between Tun-huang and Ch'lien (in Kansu) in the time of the Hsiung-nu king bearing the title of Lao-shang shan-yu (CHS, ch. 96A, p. 14); and that they were driven out of the country of the Sai by a chief of the Wu-sun when the same Hsiung-nu monarch was still ruling. (ibid, ch. 61, JAI, 1881, vol. X, p. 69). The name of the Hsiung-nu ruler in question is known to have been Chi-chu (SC, ch. 110, p. 10). He ruled from 174 to 160 B.C. (E. Zurcher, op. cit., p. 3). Since the departure of the Yüeh-chih from Kansu, their migration to conquest of and rule in the Sai country, and the defeat at the hands of the Chief of the Wu-sun happened within a short period of fourteen years (174-160 B.C.), the last incident must have taken place not much before, if not in, the year 160 B.C. So Yüeh-chih, who were driven out of the Sai country as a result of the Wu-sun occupation of this territory, must have conquered Ta-hsia in or rather after c. 160 B.C.
Wakhan, Bdakshan, Chitral, Kafiristan (?) and the region lying between those territories. We have already observed that Ta-hsia may have embraced the eastern part of Bactria as described by Ptolemy (28).

The other Scythian tribes mentioned by Strabo, viz., Asioi, the Pasianoi, and the Sakaraoloi, may have invaded jointly or separately Western Bactria around the city of Bactra. (29) Such an inference receives support from the Prologus XLI of the Historiae Philipp'caei of Trogus, which states “how the kingdom and government were constituted among the Bactrians by their king Diodotus; (and) afterwards, during whose (i.e., the Bactrians?) rule, the Scythian peoples, the Sraueae and the Asiani, occupied (or overcame) (the city of) Bactra (or

We have already shown that Chang Ch'ien, who was sent by the Han emperor on a mission to the Yueh-chih dominions in the period of Chien-yuen (140-134 B.C.), reached Ta-hsia more than ten years after the commencement of his journey, and that he stayed there for a year before beginning his return journey to China, (see above the first paragraph of the present article). Thus the date of his arrival in Ta-hsia and that of his departure from there cannot be placed earlier than respectively (c. 140 B.C. - 10 years =) c. 130 B.C. and (c. 130 B.C. - 1 year =) c. 129 B.C.

It has been noted above that the envoy lost one year in course of his return journey to China. In the chapter 116 of the Ch'ien Han-shu the date of his return to China is fixed in the first year of the Yuen So, i.e., c. 128 B.C. (CHS, ch. 116; B. Watson, The Records of the Grand Historian of China by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, vol. II (London and New York, 1961) p. 293; H.H. Dubs, The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku, (Baltimore, 1944), vol. II, p. 45). It also appears from the data furnished by Chapter 61 of the same treaties and Chapter 123 of the Shih-chi that Chang Ch'ien was back in China well before 123 B.C. (CHS, ch. 61; SC, ch. 123; JAI, 188), vol. X, p. 18; JAOS, 1917, vol. XXXVII, p. 99. Hence the latest date for Chang Ch'ien's departure from Ta-hsia cannot be placed after (c. 128 B.C.+1 year=) c. 129 B.C. This means that he did not reach Ta-hsia, whether he stayed for one year, later than, (c. 129 B.C.+1 year=) c. 130 B.C.

Thus the description of the country of Ta-hsia, as given in Chang Ch'ien's report to the Han emperor after returning to China, cannot be applicable to any year earlier or later than c. 130-129 B.C. This suggests that the Yueh-chih authority over Ta-hsia, as indicated by Chang Ch'ien, should have commenced in before c. 130-129 B.C.

These data suggest that the Yueh-chih conquered Ta-hsia sometime between c. 160 B.C. and c. 130-129 B.C.

29. See below n. 35.
the Bactrans) and Sogdiana (or the Sogdians)” (30) (Italics ours). Since at least the name of the Asiosi (Asi + oí [(inflexion)]) can be identified with that of the Asiani [(Asi + an (suffix) + (inflexion)] (31) both Strabo and Trogus could have referred to one and the same invasion or to one and the same series of invasions.

Certain sources indicate that the Scythian movements in the Parthian territory began by c. 130 B.C. (32) As Western Bactria lay almost between Parthia and Eastern Bactria or Ta-hsia, occupied by the Yüeh-chih-Tokharians by c. 130-129 B.C., there should be no objection to any theory suggesting the Scythian invasion or invasions of

31. The Sakaraului or Sacarauli are sometimes identified with the Saraucae. See W. W. Tran, The Greeks in Bactria and India (and edition) (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 284 and 291 f; F. Duebner, Justini Historiae Philippicae, p. 368, f. n. etc.
32. Justin states on the authority of Trogus, that Phraates (II) invited the Scythians to assist him against Antiochus (VII) (Justin, XL II, 1), that the Scythian contingents arrived too late to be of any help (ibid.), and that Antiochus (VII) was victorious in three successive battles and occupied Babylonia (ibid. XXXVIII, 10). A cuneiform text indicates that Babylonia was under Antiochus (VII) on 22 Aiaru in the year 182 (i.e., June 2, 130 B.C.) (George A. Reisner, Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln Griechischer Zeit (Berlin, 1896), text no. 25: N. Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia (Chicago, 1938) (cited below as Parthia) p. 32, f. n. 18) This indicates that Scythian movements within Parthia may have started by that time.

Antiochus (VII) was defeated and killed in or after the winter following his occupation of Babylonia in c. 130 B.C. (Justin, XXXVIII, 10). Phraates (II) now planned to invade Syria. However, "the movements of the Scythians diverted him from this expedition." The Scythians (‘began to avage the borders of Parthia" Ibid., XLII, 1), obviously the eastern borders. Thus it appears that the Scythians had begun to cause havoc by c. 130 or c. 129 B.C. Phraates (II) himself was killed in fighting against them (Ibid). The definitely known date of Artabanus II, the successor Phraates II, is the year 188 (i.e., 124-123 B.C.). Hence Phraates II perished sometime in or before 1124-123 B.C. The date is generally placed in c. 128 B.C. (R. H. McDowell, Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris (Ann Arbor, 1935), pp. 183 and 202; S.A. Cook et, al (editors) Cambridge Ancient History (cited below as CAH), vol. IX, p. 581).

For W.W. Tarn’s theory that the Scythians crossed the fornties of Parthia by 130 B.C. as indicated by the absence of Phraates II from “the seat of war” (=Babylonia) against Antiochus VII in 130 B.C., see CAH, vol. IX, pp. 581-582.
Western Bactria about the same time. (33) The absence of any reference to P'u-t'iao (denoting Bactria or at least its western area) (34) in Chang Ch-ion's report, which describes at length An-hsi (Parthia) and Ta-hsia (Eastern Bactria), suggests that by the date of his information, i.e., 130-29 B.C. the (Hellenic) kingdom of Western Bactria had been virtually eclipsed and the area concerned was in turmoil.

The above study betrays the weakness of the theories of several scholars, which question the credibility of Strabo's evidence regarding the Scythian invasion of Greek Bactria. (35) The above arguments also reconcile the apparently contradictory statements of the Greek and Chinese sources on the movements of nomadic people into a region now included in Afghanistan.

33. Artabanus II was killed in a fight against the Thograians (or Tokharians) (Justin, XLII, 2). This may indicate a Tokharian incursion in to Eastern Parthia and not a Tokharian occupation of a part or the whole of that region. However, if the Tokharians entered Eastern Parthia on this occasion from across the Oxus and via Ta-hsia and Western Bactria, which was quite possible, then it must be assumed that effective Greek rule in the last mentioned area, or at least in the major part of it, had already come to an end by the time of the death of Artabanus II, placed generally in c. 124-123 B.C. (R.H. McDowell, op. cit., p. 183: Parthia, p. 38).

34. The name P'u-t'iao, considered to have been pronounced in Ancient Chinese as b'uok-t'ieu (A. Herrmann, Op. cit., p. 101, no. 2007), indicates Bactria and not, as A. Herrmann thinks, the town of Bactra (ibid., p. 24; see also TP, 1906, s. II, vol VII, p. 514). P'u-t'iao=Bactria apparently included, inter alia, the area around Bactra.

35. Some scholars do not believe that there was any Scythian invasions of Bactria during the rule of the Greeks. W.W. Tarn, following Herrmann (G. Vissowa (editor), Pauly's Realencyclopadie der Classischen Altertums- wissenschaft, vol. I, A,2, cols. 1788-9), observes that in the whole section where the passage referring to the nomadic conquests of Bactria occurs, Strabo actually talks of events of 7th century B.C. However, Tarn does not deny the possibility of the activities of the Asii, Tochari, Pasinai and Sacarauli in the time of the Bactrian Greeks. He wants to place the invasions of the latter two peoples outside Bactria proper, and to connect the second tribe and (at least once) also the first with the Yüeh-chih. Tarn, like several other scholars, takes Ta-hsia, the invasion of which by the Yüeh-chih is spoken of in the Chinese sources as denoting Bactria. He points out that neither the Yüeh-chin, nor its component units- the Asii (whom he connects with the Yüeh-chih) and the Tochari-can be proved to be Sakas. It is also remarkable that the Chinese sources also do not speak of any /Saka invasion of Ta-Asia (=Bactria). These considerations suggest, according to Tarn, that the theory of /Saka invasion of Greek Bactria is a myth. (W.W. Tarn, op. cit., pp. 283-299; but also see p. 533).

A. K. Narain also thinks that Strabo confused between a nomadic
invasion of Bactria in pre-Achaemenid times and the conquest of the same land from the Greeks. Strabo, Narain observes, wrongly coupled the Tochari, whom he included among the nomads and did not mention as Scythian, with the Scythian conquerors of Bactria. (A. K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks, (Oxford, 1957), pp. 130-133; Bharati No. II, p. 60).

The above arguments, however, do not bear scrutiny. Occasional digressions from the subjects of discussion are not uncommon in the writings of the classical authors. Strabo mentions Chaerone as a place under the Parthian rule (XV, 2, 11) in the midst of his description of Alexander's itinerary in the country of the Paropomisadae and the neighbouring lands (XV, 2, 10-11). Similarly, Justin refers to the foundation of the Parthian empire (II, 3) in the course of his discussion of the history of the Scythians in and before the time of Darius I (II, 1-5). We cannot infer from these testimonies that neither Strabo nor Justin was aware of the chronology of the rise of the Parthian empire. For both Strabo (XV, 3, 24) and Justin (XI, 9; XLI. 4) certainly knew that this had taken place not only long after the Achaemenids, but also after Alexander. Hence, occasional digressions in these writings cannot minimise the value of the statements concened, even though we may criticise the style of the authors in question.

What seems to have promoted Tarn and Narain to express doubts about the value of Strabo's evidence is their belief that Ta-hsia was the same as Bactria. However, the fact is that Ta-hsia at best included only the eastern part of Bactria. If this was so, invasion of the Scythian people like the Sukaranlooi or Sakarauloi or Sacarauli the Pasanoi or Pasiani and the sent state of our knowledge we must refer all of the invasions in question Asioi or Asii (the Asii need not be connected with the Yüeh-chih (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1945. p. 1 f; 1947, pp. 150-151) - in the western part of Bactria and the advent of the Tokharoi or Tochari (to be connected with the Yüeh-chih) in Eastern Bactria might have happened almost simultaneously and during the rule of the Bactrian Greeks.

Thus there is nothing wrong in the hypothesis regarding the Scythian invasions of Greek Bactria. However, as noted above (n. 25), Scythian affiliation of the Tochari (and the Yüeh-chih) is a moot point. No doubt, Strabo, contrary to the supposition of Narain, mentions Tochari as one of the Scythian nomads (XV, 8, 2). But the Yüeh-chih, who should be connected with the Tochari (see above n. 25), are not referred to as Sakas or Scythians in Chinese texts. Hence if the non-mention in the Chinese sources of the Yüeh-chih invasion of Ta-hsia as a Scythian incursion is of any significance, then Strabo may be considered to have been wrong in assuming the Tokharians as Scythians. We have already suggested (n. 25) that to the classical authors the Tokharians might have appeared as Scythians on account of their migrations into Bactria through the lands associated with the Scythian. Although subject to this criticism, Strabo's statement is not prima facie untrustworthy. At least there is no reason to believe that he coalesced the events of the 7th century B.C. with this of the time of the Greek rule in Bactria. In the present state of our knowledge we must refer all of the invasions in question to the latter period.
Kushanids’ Art

by: Dr. Shahibye Mustamandi *

In the article under “Greco-Bactrian “Art” (1) I have explained, in detail, the art of Greco-Bactrian. It was mentioned too how in the result of intermingling of these two arts, Greek and Bactrian, a new style emerged which was called Greco-Bactrian. Meanwhile it was stated how this new art spreaded throughout this semi-nomadic land, Bactria, and even stretched out to foreign spheres. And it was illustrated, how different provinces of this land, with utmost difficulties, have imitated the new art and mixed it with the native art of their own as their interest and tradition required. Thus we can say that the land of Bactrian not only affected by political and cultural influences of the Greeks but their art as well in the result which the artists of Bactria brought in a revolution throughout this land. The new art and the artistic sense was evident, during Greco-Bactrian and the Kushanids, in this sphere. All in all, the artistic revolution in Bactria was secured under two different elements—the native and the ones brought in by foreigners.

First, Bactrian and latter on the Kushanids gave a spiritual qualification and a decorative feature to the senseless and symmetrical figures of the Greeks. And meanwhile the artists of Bactria spreaded the art of Hellenism, brought in to this land by Greek conquerors as their national pride, throughout their land. In spite of the fact that Hellenic art was too simple, may be for the reason of common understanding, nevertheless it was considered to be the most complete artistic pheno-

* Translated into English

by M. K. Ahang

tion, due to lack of reliable document, these problems are not solved yet. And secondly, because of the complexity existed in this regard one can not decide easily what is right or wrong. However, with the help of discovery made in Surkh Kotal and the excavation made in Kalchayan palace (2) we can express view that the Kushanids, during their empire, brought about a special art including elements from Bactrian, Iranian and Indian arts. In other words they have created a new school which was called Kushanids' art.

Regarding the effect of the Greek culture in Bactria it would be enough to say that, when Alexander the Great invaded Bactria the Alphabet of Greek brought along with this invasion to this land. During the latter periods the Kushanids not only kept the alphabet for their writing but they added one more letter with since lacked it. (3) The similarities existed between coins of the Kushanids and the coins of the Greco-Indian kings show that the Kushanids had an interest to political and cultural aspects of the regions they would conquered. The resemblance furtherly shows another meaning as well that is the Kushanid in order to be considered separate from the Parthas and other nomadic clans like those of Sakas they stamped in similar coins to those of Indian. No doubt Bactria, as a nurturing place for the culture and art of the Greeks, caused furnishing a developed Hellenic art for the Kushanids as well. And certainly we can say that Kushanid's art was treated as a new and creative art of the time. Naturally, there are sings of their nomadic life in their art but its new and special feature was the result of the effects of western art, In fact this was the main reason behind the view of the French scholar, D. Schlumberger, (4) who included the art of this period to the Greco-Iranian line. The vivid example of this art was witnessed in the remains of the Kalchayan Palace. Among the remains of this palace, along with eastern elements, there are existed some pure Hellenistic elements as well i.e. Spout. Among the statues of this palace there are some eastern goddesses such as Anahita and Mithra; and too there are some western goddesses like Nike and the bearded god of Eracle. But regarding, statuary in the remains of the Kalchayan Palace the figures and faces of soldiers and the heads and shoulders of the Kushanid princes are related entirely to the eastern style. (Picture 1 and 2)

The influence of the eastern and western arts are clearly evident on the Kushan coins because they carry pictures of goddesses from different religions and this again is the result of liberal mindedness of the Kushanids. However, since Kalchayan Palace does not carry further information about the different aspects of the Kushanids’ life, Surkh Kotal itself can be considered the most important and reliable historical remain by which we know about the art, politics and religions of the Kushanids.

In the Kalchayan remains, like those of the Surkh Kotal, two main influences are evident: first, the influence of Greco-Bactrian art is obvious on the Kushanids art and culture, secondly, statuary of the kings and the trend of making huge statues are clearly seen. (pictures 3 and 4) Beautiful statues with figurine structures of the Kushanids, princes discovered in the temples of Khwarazm, Surkh Kotal and Mathura (5) (picture 5) show an artistic interest which no doubt is the continuation

of the Kushanid art, and Kalchayan linked them all to each other (6). In the whole they are all related to that of Greco-Bactrian art. We have to mention, however, that the passage of time since the very beginning of the Kushanids' immigration to the regions around the Oxus river, had great effect on their culture and art. There was a good opportunity, while they were living in peace, for the Kushanids to acquire new culture and art—existed previously in Bactria. During the time, with semi nomadic life, they stayed in Farghana, Sughdiana, Khwarazm and eastern spheres of Bactria the Kushanids came in close contact with a new culture and life that was based on eastern elements. In spite of the fact that the Kushanids had simple, primary and nomadic art of their own nevertheless the new condition obliged them to mix their art and culture with that of the new sphere—Bactria. The influences of Acheminian, Shitteris, Mesopotemian and specially the Greeks were being put already on art and culture of Bactria and they were all changed according to

6) Pougatchenkova, G., "Sculpture... Khalchayan", Iskusstvao, 1964
the requirement of time and place. The Kushanids, thus, amalgamated a culture not only influenced by the above mentioned cultures, but the local ones and their own as well. The example of this art has discovered, in the result of archaeological excavations, in different parts of this area. Thus the Kaushanids not only accepted the culture and arts of the areas they have conquered but they put their own cultural influences on them as well. For example, pottary was made, at the end of the first century B.C., in Kohi Kilgan Qala by hand replaced by pottaries made by some sort of wheel. This actually is a vivid document shows that the art and culture of Khwarazm changed its style to an eastern style with some inclination toward semi-nomadic senses and tastes. This was the resut of the Kushanids contact with those of the Khwarazm people since the Kushanids stayed almost two centuries around the area both sides of the Oxus river. (7) By the same token, the paintings and statuary of Toprak Qala, as the Russian scholar, Solstov, believes, are clearly the reflection of the Kushanid art as it is evident in Gandaharan art also. (8)

7) Mongait, A. Acheologie en USSR, Moscow, 1959, pp 263-265  
8) Tolstov, S.P. II paese egli antichi canali, Molano, 1961 pp. 44-45
The Kushanids during the time of Kujala Kadfises immigrated to the southern part of the Oxus river and subsequently, on southern lands up to India, they established an empire—one of the greatest empires in Asia. Regarding administration, politics, art, culture and custom, being in different lands, the Kushanids were different with their ancestor—You Chih.

Concerning religion and belief, the Kushanids were broad-minded and this fact is evident throughout their empire. The remains of Surkh Kotal and Begram are the best examples show the exchanges of ideas and thoughts between the Kushanid empire and its surroundings.

![Picture (4)]

world. The relics in Begram are in fact the greatest evidences by which one can understand the relationship of the Kushanid art with its contemporaries.

Reaching to this point, we have to clarify what our purpose is of the Kushanid taste and interest?

We do not know for certain what the preprimitive art and culture of these nomad people were. However, it is obvious that the Kushanids
were utmostly acceptance of art and culture of other people. Thus arriving to each land, they not only spread over their own culture and art but acquired the art culture of that area also and changed it, for the best possible way, according to their own way of interest. It seems that in spite of transferring their own culture from the Gobi desert they were aware of the fact that the cultures of the conquered lands were more better than that of their own. And this was why they would acquired them. In order not to resemble with the nomads, lived previously in the area, they acquired the art and culture of the new land and mixed it with their own. According to some scholars, the Kushanids were not that prejudest not to accept the culture of the lands they conquered. And instead, they were trying for further nurturing of the native art and culture. This way they had strengthened their art and culture. We can see the example to this claim in the buildings of the Surkh Kotal and the buildings of Acheminian. Meanwhile, continuation of the Hellenic rooted in Bactria is evident during the Kushanid time which was mixed with the Kushan nomadic art and preimitive culture.
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COVER: Head of Buddha (or Buddhisatva), made of schist, discovered by the mission of the Afghan Archaeological Institute in Kham-i Zargar, Kapisa.

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