Afghanistan

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**Cover:** Mosque of Nouh Kunbad in Balkh, belonging to the Medieval Period.

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## EDITOR

Mohammed Kazem Ahang

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Afghan and Afghanistan

By: Prof. A. H. Habibi
Translated by Khushal Habibi

The word Afghan, which is today the national name of all the peoples of Afghanistan, represents an indivisible unit under all historical, economic and social conditions in the heart of Asia. It is a name with a historical background of one thousand seven hundred years.

Some people think that the name came into being after the establishment of the Afghan empire by Ahmad Shah Abdali in the 18th century. Afgans who are unaware with the history of the country has asked me whether these names have a long historical background or not? In this article I want to shed light on different aspects of this national and historical issue.

As far as my knowledge is concerned, the name Afghan has a long historical background. People called Afghans have lived in this land between the Helmand and the Indus rivers. The details of which are as follows:

Twenty years ago the Archeological delegation belonging to the Chicago Institute for the East, while tracing the Naqsh-i-Rustam of Shiraz found an inscription in the Ka'aba-i-Zardusht, written in two languages, Pahlavi Ashkani (Parth) and Greek. This inscription has been engraved by Shapur the First, the second king of the Sassanid Dynasty, after the defeat and imprisonment of Valerian, the emperor of Rome in 260 A.D., in the battle of Odessa. The inscription is carved on the tablets of the walls of the Ka'aba-i-Zardusht. Since Shapur the First died in 273 A.D., the date of this inscription has been affixed to be between the years 260 and 273 A.D. (The deficient Persian translation of this inscription can be found in the Archeological Recolletions, Vol. IV, after page 181. Printed in Shiraz of the year 1338 Hijera).
The second line of the inscription mentions the name of Pashkabur as the eastern border of Kushan-Khsatr or the land of the Kushans. This word has been compared with Khaspapurus of Greek, Pl-lo-sha-po-lo as mentioned by Hsuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller and Parshapur and Parshawar of the Islamic historians.

In the sixth part of this inscription, among the distinguished men of the Shapur empire, the name of Vindaparn Abgan Rismaud (1) has been mentioned. The inscription has been read for the first time by Sprengling and in 1940 he wrote an article on it in the Semitic Magazine of America. He compared the second word, Abgan to the present name of Afghan.

Furthermore it is said that Shapur the Third, who ruled for 70 years, 309-379 A.D., was given the title of Apakan, and we can conjugate this letter with the mentioned Abgan, which probably has been used as a praise word, symbol of chivalry, rectitude, nobility or the line of decent. Due to these facts some historians like Sir Olaf Caroe believe that some ancestors of the Durrani and Yusufzai tribes were the noble men of the Sasani courts. (The Pathans, Page 80). We can say that the name Vindapharn Afghan Razm Bad means Vindapharn, the Afghan Chieftain of the war who probably was an Afghan general. The name has been twice recorded in the Shah Nama of Firdausi also, who is thought to be the commander of the armies of Peridoun.

(1) Sir Olaf Caroe, the author of the Pathans (Page 79) has written the three words of the inscription from the Greek text as read by Prof. Sprengling (The Semitic Magazine of America 1940) as Gundifer Abgan Rismaud. But the Persian text which has been prepared from the English by Prof. Sprengling (Archeological Recollections Vol. Four, Printed in Shari'az) the three words has been written as Vindapharn Aba-gan Razmi-yad. In the first letter the proper noun, Vindapharn is Pahlavi and Goudifer is Greek. In the second letter Aba-gan stands in place of the Greek Abgan. But the third word is probably razma + pat = razma+wad=razma+pat. Pat=bad=wad=baiz are different spellings of one word and take its source from Pati of Vedic, Sanskrit and Avesta which means the Owner of Lord.

The spelling of råmzi+yad equals råzm+aud of Greek. For example Tabari (Vol. I, Page 663) says: In the reign of Bishtasob Keyani, there were seven great chieftains, one of whom, Mehkabiz ruled over the villages of Gergan. Since the word Razma is ancient Persian and Rasma in Avesta means a battle array and Raja, compared with Raji of Sanskrit (Rada meaning row) which is still used in the Pashto, therefore Rasma-wad or Razmi+yad or Razma+pat-Razma+bad means a cheiftain of war, thus Razmi+yad as compared with Mehkabiz, as Tabri has put it, is also likely to be correct.
"Their commander was Karen Kawgan
And generals Sheroi and Awgan.
(Shah-Nama 1-110)
The mighty soldiers had gathered round the castle,
Armed with golden cudgels and golden helmets,
Their commander was Karen Kawgan,
Led by the valiant general, Awgan".
(Shah-Nama 1-116)

Although the stories of the Shah Nama does not have any historical reliance yet there are some old facts recorded in it. For example in some of its verses the word Karen has been mentioned which was the aristocratic family of the Ashkanian Period, and during 50 A.D. the governor of Ashkanian in Mesopotamia was known by the name of Carenes. (Wes and Ramen by Minorsky 461 Tehran)

The word Awgan of Shah-Nama resembles the Abgan of the Sassanid period. But in ancient narrations he was a general in the armies of Faridoun related to Awa, the son of Samkanam. The German justi, in his book 'The Iranian Names' says: Awa is an Avesta word meaning kind and parton. (Ferhang-i-Shah-Nama, p. 12, 1320 H.) But in Shah-Nama these two persons are heroes of the era of Kikhusro who are mentioned in the great battle with Afrasiab as follows:

When Kais Husro saw the battle of Turks
In which the sun shone no more on earth,
He glaned at Awa and Samkanian
Two pugnacious lions of the battle field.
(Shah Nama, Page 281, Vol. 5).

However, we can conclude from these facts that Awa and Awagan were used in ancient Aryan narrations and Shah Namas, and if we consider the words to be originating from Avesta, as Justi has put it, then they probably mean kind and parton, for the heroes of that era were worthy of such titles. There is a possibility that subsequently the words became the names of tribes or nations. On the other hand if the words Abgan, Apgan and Awgan have been given prominence in ancient stories of the Sassanid period, just as Sprengling and Olaf Caroe believe, we can claim that the noun Afghan was used in the form of Abgan and Apgan in the third century A.D. and was also common in the courts of the rulers of that time. This is the most ancient document tracing the history of the word, and the Awgan of ancient narrations is similar to this word.

Another ancient document is in old texts of India where the word has been written as Avagana which resembles Abgan and Apgan of the Sassanid period.
Varaha Mihira is an Indian astronomer and poet who was born in the later years of the fifth century A.D. in Rajeen of India and about 505 A.D. became a celebrated figure. Pance Siddantika written by Mihira is a summary of five books on astronomy and he has also written another books on astronomy in which he gives descriptions of precious stones and the geography of India. This book is called Bhrita Sanhita and in the 11th, 61st and 16th 31st verses the word Afghan has been mentioned in the form of Avagana. Monsieur A. Foucher, the French scholar in his book The Ancient Way of India and Bactre to Taxila (Page 235-252 Note 17, Paris 1947) says that the word has been mentioned in the middle of the sixth century since Varaha Mihara died in 587 A.D. It is further said that he believed in Greek astronomy and stated that the world was round. Abu Raihan Beiruni, has translated two books of this Indian astronomer into the Arabic, thereby his fame and knowledge has always been given prominence by scholars. On this basis the word Afghan has a historical background of 1400 years in Indian literature and Indian scholars have constantly mentioned it in their works.

Such in the pre-Islamic era the name of Afghan has been mentioned in two documents, to the west in Pars of the Sassanid period and in the east in India. At that time Buddhism was widespread in eastern and southern Afghanistan. Large Buddhist temples existed in the cities of Afghanistan like Balkh, Kunduz, Kapisa, Hadda, Laghman, Ghazni and Kandahar. Since the people of China also preached Buddhism thereby a large number of Chinese pilgrims visited these cities. One of the Chinese pilgrims was Hsuen Tsang who came to Afghanistan in the first half of the seventh century A.D. At that time Islam was appearing in Afghanistan but the Arabs had not yet begun their conquests of Afghanistan. Hsuen Tsang left Liang Chu on the first of August in the year 629 A.D. and arrived at Samarkanč on March 5, on March 20 he was in Kholm, April 20 in Balkh and April 30 in Bamian. He arrived in Kapisa via the snow capped Hindu Kush on May 10, and stayed in the capital of the Kabul-Shahs until the end of summer and later journeyed as follows: On August 15 he arrived at Laghman where he stayed for three days. On August 15 he arrived at Nangarhar where he stayed for two months On November 1, he was in Gandahara, later in the beginning of December he was in Peshowar. In the beginning of January 631 A.D. he travelled along the Indus river and reached Taxila on April 10. Hsuen Tsang spent 12 years in India and returned to Taxila on December 15, 643 A.D and once again saw the following cities of Afghanistan:

On December 15 he crossed the Indus river on elephant back. On March 15, 644 A.D. he arrived at Laghman and stayed at the court of
the King of Laghman for one month. On June 15 he reached Fa-La-Na or Bunun. On June 20 he reached O-Po-Kien. On June 25 he arrived at Tsau-Kue-Tō or Ghazni. On July 1, he reached Aur-Tsa-Pa-Na or Kabul. On June 5, Kapisa, July 20 Andarab, August 1, Tukhara, December 8 Badakhshan, December 12 Pamir and after that he went to Yarkand and Khotan.

The itinerary of Hsuan Tsang in Si-Yu-Ki meaning the memoirs of the land of the East has been translated into the English and printed several times. A part of this book has valuable information on Afghanistan's geographical, religious, political and social events of that time. When Hsuen Tsang reached the province of Fa-La-Na, after staying in India, (Page 265 Vol. 1 of Si-Yu-Ki, English translation) he mentions a place called O-Po-Kien between Banu and Ghazni, north-east of Fa-La-Na and south-east of Ghazni. Before Hsuen Tsang, another Chinese traveller Fa-Hi-Yan has called this land Lo-Ye or Roh. (2)

Many historians especially General Cumingham, the author of the Ancient Geography of India (Page 89) correspond O-Po-Kien to be Awa-gan (Afghan) and further goes on to say that Hsuen Tsang did not consider their language to be Hindi, but he says that it somewhat resembles the languages spoken in India, thus it must have been Pushto. On the other hand since O-Po-Kien has the same syllables as te ancient A-Wa-Gan, therefore we can say that he meant the present Afghan which still lies between the Indus and Ghazni and is the dwelling place of the Afghan tribe of the Afghans, who settled in the provinces of Pak-tia, Urgoon and Ghazni. Hsuen Tsang travelled from Bunun to Ghazni and crossed these mountainous provinces which was the home of O-Po-Kien or the Afghans.

From the pre-Islamic period we have the Sassanid, Indian and Chinese documents in which the name of Afghans have been mentioned. During the Islamic period the name has been consequently used in Arabic and Dari books. The most ancient of these books is Hudood-ul-Alam which was written in 372 H. by an anonymous author. Minorsky, the late historian says that the author of the book was from the family

(2) In the reign of Babur after 900 H. most historians refer to the eastern parts of Afghanistan as far as Hasan Abdal as 'Roh'. Mohammad Kasim Fereshta has noted that its borders stretched from Herat to Hasan Abdal. Similarly the name is used subsequently in the Pashto literature. In fact this name has been used since ancient times in Hindi. In India Afghans have been called Rohila and their dwelling places Rohil Gahand. This name is still used in India. In the southern Multan dialect of Punjab and the Baluchi Roh means the western mountain range of that land which is the Suleiman range. (The Pathans, By Sir Olaf Caroe, London 439).
or related to the court of the Al-Feraighunis of Jouzjan, in this book Afghans have been mentioned several times. Later Mohammed bin Abdul Jabbar Utbi in Tarikh-i-Yemeni mentions the name in the reign of Subukteegen and his family, Ibn-i-Asir has, however, noted it down as Abgan. Similarly other historians in their authentic volumes has noted the name. Some of these are Fakhr-i-Mudabir who mentions it in Adab-ul-Harb Kazi Menhaj Seraj in Tabakat-i Nasseri. Hamdullah Mustufi in Tarekh-i-Guzeda, Mohammad Kasim Fereshta and others have also mentioned the Afghan and Awgan tribes.

We can say that the word Afghanistan is also not a strange word which came into being in the reign of Ahmad Shah. A trustworthy proof of this is Tarikh-i-Herat authored by Saifi Herawi (circa 721 H.) who calls the western lands, as far as the Indus, by the name of Afghanistan. From this it is evident that when Herat was the capital of the Kurts and after the passing of the period of political unity of the Ghaznavids and the Ghorids when the country was being vanquished by the belligerent armies of Genghiz. Afghanistan was a customary name but not to the extent as in the empire of Ahmad Shah Durani.

In the period of the Temurids Maulana Kamaluddin Abdul-Razaq Semarkandi, who was born in 716 H. in Herat and was one of the distinguished scholars, historian and statesman of the court of Herat, in Tarikh-i-Matla Saadain and Majma Bahrain describes Afghanistan’s geography as Saifi has recorded it to be a part of the large Khorasani empire ruled by the Temurids of Herat.

In 932 H. when Babur headed for India with his armies and established the Mughul empire in Delhi we can see in the history books of the Babul Dynasty that the name of Afghanistan has been mentioned according to its formal geographical background. And the people of this land in order to safeguard their independence were always engaged in wars with the tyrannic armies of the Mughul Empire of India and the Safavids of Iran. Until finally, the great Mirwais and Ahmad Shah consolidated and brought unity among the people of Afghanistan and successfully established the Greater Afghanistan. Now we consider the one thousand seven hundred years old name of Afghan and the seven hundred years old name of Afghanistan to be the origin of national unity and significant historical events in our country.

I have fixed these eras from the mentioned documents, but the history of the Pakhtas=Paxtoons=Afghans is even older in this land and dates back to vedic eras of 1400 B.C.
Afghanistan in the Ancient East

By: V. Masson, V. Sarlanidy

Long ago magnificent monuments of antiquity and middle ages had already been discovered in the territory of Afghanistan and the role and place in the history of World culture had been clearly defined by the studies of several generations of scientists. Together with this a chain of new discoveries leads us to the depths of ages and now it seems possible to consider the role and place of the monuments and cultures of Afghanistan in that most ancient period, when there was laid the real foundation of man's civilization. New discoveries indicate more and more to the Near East as a nuclear region of all these most important evidences and processes. After the sites of stone age (1) had come to light and after the studies of cultures of aeneolithic period (2) had begun, their interconnection with this advanced region of the Old world began to appear.

In literature there is a number of summary articles dedicated to the ancient sites of Afghanistan (3). In some of these works there was examined the problem of ancient cultural links. (4) In this article we


4) J. M. Casal, Mundigak as a Link Between Pakistan and Iran in Prehistory, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1957, t. 2;
should like to draw attention to the general directions of the historical process which are outlined on the basis of available data about the place of Afghanistan in the system of cultures of the Near Eastern type. At this time Afghanistan was not only the country, where there was the crossing of ancient cultural links and mutual contacts, but the center of the development of independent and rather high cultures of that time.

The largest history of mankind refers to the greatest period of stone age, which from the point of view of history was the epoch of food-gathering obtained by hunting, fishing and collecting edible vegetable products. There are all the foundations to believe that the territory of Afghanistan was settled by man in a very early period. The most ancient materials of stone age, which we know now belong only to the time of Middle Palaeolithic period or mousterian period. This is a group of objects collected on the river terraces of North Afghanistan and in the cave of Dara-i-Kur in Badakhshan which was excavated by L. Dupree in 1966. From the north of Afghanistan a rather expressive collection was published from the region of Hazar Sum (Samangan) where massive big flakes and artifacts indicate the technic of clactonian type if the terminology of European palaeolithic is used (5).

Much worse is published the mousterian collection from the region Aq Kupruk (6) where there seems to be the traces of tayacien elements. On the contrary in the cave of Dara-i-Kur according to the description of Dupree there is represented the Levallois technique. (7). It is true however, the discovery here of the fragment of human head of modern type together with the tools belonging to the epoch of mousterian makes us consider these materials until the detailed stratific sections will be published. As it is known the materials of Near East and first of all from Syro-Palestinian region indicate to co-existence of groups of people with different technical traditions in mousterian time. Probably a similar phenomenon will be established in due time for the territories of Afghanistan also. In this aspect stratigraphical sequence of the cave Kara Kamar is shown by itself where from the time of middle and upper Palaeolithic there seems to be observed the replacement of the cultures of different traditions (8). although the limited volume of material does not allow to give them more exact characteristics.

5) S. M. Pulgisi, op. cit., pp. 5-6, fig. 2-7;
It is most probable that the palaeolithic inhabitants of Afghanistan like their contemporaries in the Near East were first of all hunters. At any rate in the Upper Palaeolithic layer of Kara Kamar there has been discovered the bones of wild sheep, horses and deers. Relatively low grotto gave the possibility for their inhabitants to obtain such sort of plain animal as a tortoise. Hunters for deer, Bezoar, horses, bovines, jackals and foxes also formed communities and found shelter in the region Aq Kupruk, from where, judging by the material obtained comes the biggest. Upper Palaeolithic complex of Afghanistan.

In this complex, L Dupree distinguished two phases for which it is characteristic the blade industries with microlithic tradition, which increases in the second phase. All these tools: end scrapers, keeled scrapers, baked blades, burins from a rather characteristic Upper Palaeolithic complex (9) and one may hope that the publication of all these materials in the future will allow us to determine their historical cultural links and their place in history. Together with this the absence of tools of geometrical form is very significant.

The existing materials show that by the end of palaeolithic epoch in Afghanistan as well as in a number of other regions of Ancient East there was produced a specific technique of manufacturing tools with thin flint blades A real rise of this technique signifying a great step forward in the development of the tools of labour belongs to the mesolithic period.

In Afghanistan by this time there refer the upper levels of the cave Kara Kamar, the date of which is 8630 B.C. (+720). Unfortunately from these layers occur a small number of flint artifacts, represented by blades and neuclear, including the neuclear of conical form. Judging from everything the material from the cave Darra Kaon in the region of Hazar Sum is abundant. In this cave there are five marked stratigraphical horizons, the third of these being dated 7525 +100 B.C. (10). Here there are burings, scrapers and points but especially typical of the first through third layers are microblades.

It is true that for the present we have no proof that the mesolithic tribes of Afghanistan of the 9th-8th millennia B.C. experienced any substantial changes in the traditional forms of their economy. In both caves there are found in abundance the bones of wild animals—gazelles, wild sheep, foxes, antilopes and birds. All these things show us that the caves were inhabited by hunters.

However, at least in the VI B.C. the inhabitants of caves of North Afghanistan enter a new historical epoch which is connected with the

9) L. Dupree, op. cit., p. 21.

economics of food-production and the spreading of two basic branches of this economy—farming and cattle breeding. The results of the excavations by Dupree in the cave of Gari Mar. (11).

Here in a layer (C-14 dates: 5700+100 B.C.) among other flint tools there were found the sickle-blades which could be connected both with ancient farming and intensive food-gathering. Later on the layer referring to C-14 dates: 5270+100 B.C. there are met the stone celts hoes, rough handmade pottery as well as the bones of domestic sheep and goat.

In Ancient East the process of domestication of small horned cattle can be traced to X-VIII B.C., in Pre Caspian region to VII B.C. and in the mountain regions of West Tadjikistan at least to VI B.C. Sooner this process had policentric character and the spurs of the mountains Hindukush and West Pamir were one of the regions where the ancient hunter step by step began to tame the wild sheep and goat.

At first sight this small step together with transition to the first farmers marked these decisive and cardinal changes in the life of Society, so that very many scholars even consider it possible to speak about neolithic revolution or food-production revolution. The course of this important economic revolution in the territory of Afghanistan is not yet clear. At any rate, already in VI B.C. even, if not in an earlier period there is this transition to new forms of economy of the tribes which lived in South Afghanistan. In any case it is in this region in V-IV B.C. that a number of settled villages were established in which the inhabitants were well acquainted with the manufacture of pottery. It is very possible that the archaic culture of both hunters and stock breeders developed in the north of the country, the same way as in Central Asia the culture of settled tribes of southern Turkmenistan existed side by side with the Gissar culture of western Tadjikistan.

At present the cultures of settled farmers are represented by such sites of South Afghanistan as Said Kaba, Deh Morasi and particularly the village of Mundigak. Although we still know very little about the initial stages of the beginning of the ancient settlements of the farmers of South Afghanistan there is no doubt, that they belonged to the general culture range of the Central and Northern Baluchistan. Judging by the type of sites of Kili Gul Mohammed I, Said Kala and Deh Morasi (13) on this territory there took place the process of transition of local

12) This culture perhaps is represented on Upper layers of the cave Gharj Mar, but until publications the sections of stratification it is reminded not clear.
tribes to the food-production economy. Although we know very little about the earliest stages of this process the appearance of the ceramic complex of "basketmarket" type can be probably considered as the stage which characterizes the transition from the "preceramic" stage up to the local invention of pottery. Together with it there are grounds to think that in Afghanistan there was one of independent centres of the beginning of ancient farming culture. Thus already in the next period there appears a wide spreading of fine painted pottery, the mud brick architecture, glay, wheels and metal objects.

According to the general opinion this picture is connected with the settling of the tribes from the Wset which brought with them more progressive forms of ancient economy. This stage seems to characterize the complex of Mundigak, I, where practically all the vessels are wheel made (14). The parallels noted by many scholars in Sialk, Hissar and Susa I probably prove that the settlement of Mundigak I was originated mainly by those who came from ancient western lands (15). At the same time the problem cannot be considered solved due to the limitation of material, especially Mundigak I layer, the question of determination of which is still demanding further study (16). On the other hand some designs of pottery of Mundigak I find sufficient by convincing analogies in painted ceramics of Kili Gul Mohammad cultures. (17) and the designs of animals on the whole are executed in the style more characteristic for the pottery of Baluchistan (18).

As it seems more definite determination of Mundigak I complex depends first of all on the character of origin and formation of Kili Gul Mohammed culture, but at the same time this does not deny very probable Iranian and Turkmenian parallels. It is Dr. W Fairservis who defined the material of Kili Gul Mohammed as a survival of the late present knowledge. There is an impression that the sites of this period which fill in this gap between KGM I and KGM II may be found on the borderline of Iran and Afghanistan and this shows the earliest stages of the western tribes spreading. In this case the complexes of

17) J. M. Casal, op. cit., fig. 49, 2,5.
18) B. de Cardi supposes that in Mundigak I there is pottery of Togay A, B. de Cardi, Excavations and Reconnaissance in Kalat, of Baluchistan, Pakistan Archaeology, 2, 1965, Karachi, pp. 113-114.
Mundigak I and Deh Morasi II types may reflect the further stage of setting the fertile regions in the South Afghanistan.

The next period (Mundigak II, Deh Morasi) is represented by limited pottery material, however, the stone seals, the terracotas figurines of animals and the supposed shrine of Deh Morasi eloquently show the further development of the culture of the native tribes.

But of a special interest is the Mundigak III period because of the widespreading of new Quetta type pottery, the massive metallic tools, the female figurines, the tombs with collective burials. All these innovations are connected with appearance of the tribes with other traditions in the South of Afghanistan.

The Quetta culture for the first time was examined and determined by S. Piggott (20) as linked with South Iran, but there are different points of view about origin of this culture.

The first extended publications of the Quetta culture material (21) showed their close links with Geoksysr complex from South-Eastern Turkmenistan (22). The similarity can be traced not only in basic designs on pottery ornaments and amulets, but in female figurines as well so that the opinion was expressed that the Quetta culture had originated under strong influence of the post-geoksysr complex (23).

This was proved later by a new and very significant materials of the complex of the Mundigak III and Deh Morasi II. Besides the designs on the pottery (24) which in some cases were exactly identical to the designs of painted ceramics from South Turkmenia there are parallels in anthropomorphic plastics (25), copper pins (26), and mirrors (27). The remarkable nearness is marked in the type of the chamber for the collective burial in Mundigak III and South Turkmenia (28). If one takes

24) J. M. Casal, op. cit.,...Pl. XXX, A.
25) J. M. Casal, op. cit.,...Pl. XLI, 6; XLII, 13, 18.
26) J. M. Casal, op. cit.,...fig. 140, 19, 20.
27) J. M. Casal, op. cit.,...fig. 139, 17.
28) V. E. Sareyndi, Ancient...Remain of South-East Turkmanistan, p. 50.
into account that this custom of burials is very rare in the Near East then it becomes clear that such correspondence is not accidental. In short all those parallels show definite links between post-geoksysr, complex and Quetta culture. (29) However until the latest times the idea of the origin of the Quetta culture from the post-geoksysr complex to some extent was contradicted by the chronological limits. Thus the Damb Sadaat II complex was dated on C-14 between 2250—1850 B.C. (30) and post-geoksysr complex by 2490+180 B.C. At the same time on Dales the some of early established radiocarbon dates according to the Suess effect must be older on the 200 years (31). In this case the beginning of Quetta culture and the end of post-geoksysr complex belong to one and the same period-middle of III B.C. If all these dates are correct we receive sufficiently strong criterions for the reconstruction of former


30) W. Fairservis, Excavations in Quetta Valley....p. 356. Though radiocarbon dates of Mundigak require further investigations the Mundigak III layer can be dated as 2253+240 B. C. Casal, op. cit.,....p. 258. According to the data of Chicago laboratory the Mundigak, III layer is dated as 2625+300

historic processes which took place on these adjacent territories. Indeed the complex of Dam Sadaat I is correspondent to Amri (the beginning of III B.C.) but sharply different from Dam Sadaat II (Quetta culture). On their turn the above-mentioned analogies between Quetta culture and post-geoksyrr complex are so demonstrative that it would be natural to suppose historical and cultural links between them. At the same time the geoksyrr complex appeared in South-East Turkmenia on the boundary of IV-III B.C. so that by the time when the Quetta culture appeared in South Afghanistan and Baluchistan the geoksyrr complex had already existed for a long time in Turkmenia about half thousand years).

On the other hand the Quetta culture does not find straight parallels in the material of South Iran 32). Instead in the middle of III B.C. as the result of the migration of ancient delta of river Tedjen, Geoksyrr oasis was completely neglected and the inhabitants had migrated to other places. In this respect there are foundations to assume that part of

immigration might go down up to stream of river Tedjen—Geri Rud further to the South and penetrated to the territories of Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

This assumption is not contradicted by the chronological frame-

32) B. de Cardi, Excavations and Reconnaissance in Kalat...p. 115.
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works by corresponding materials and the fact the frontier territories between Iran and Afghanistan are not examined well it does not give us opportunity to state our suggestion firmly enough.

However on the basis of the present knowledge there appears most likely the genetic link of the Quetta culture with the post-geoksȳr complex from South Turkmenia. Judging by the material of Mundigak III the immigrants in the beginning firmly kept their old traditions that is particularly well seen from the examples of the collective tombs and painted pottery.

In this connection there remains to be added that although the Quetta culture is not linked directly with South-Western Iran (33), (these parallels seem to have the forms of survival the geoksȳr complex shows the most significant analogies namely in the material of “buff ware zone” (34) so that in a general form the supposition by S. Piggott about the south origin of the Quetta culture though the Geoksȳr complex may be considered right (35).

Together with it in the strata of Mundigak III there appeared different replies (the designs of pipal on the pottery, the clay figurines of humped bulls) inspired by the Harrappa culture of Indus River. Judging by the material of Mundigak IV it may be supposed, that the epoch of the bronze age was the time of the greatest prosperity of the ancient cultures of South Afghanistan. By this time the old villages increase into very large places and temples and walls of defense are built: the links with neighbouring regions extend. Although the pottery of Quetta type continue there is available indisputable influence from the Indus basin (the zoomorphic and fitomorphic motives) and the forms of vessels resemble the Iranian forms. (36) The broad foreign links marked at that time may indirectly testify the general rise of the native culture. In this connection especially obvious are the stone and bronze seals which find the direct parallels in Hissar II. (37) So are to a greater degree the seals in South Turkmenia of the period of Namazg ̣ IV. The stone seals from South Turkmenia have analogous designs on the face side with two holes in the centre, for suspending and the most characteristic feature is, that they are made in dotted technique as are all the stone seals from Mundigak (38) The same degree are similar to the metallic stamp seals between

34) V. E. Sareayndi, Ancient Remains of Enwesta p. 48.
38) V. E. Sareayndi, Excavation in Khalpos Tape and Altȳn Tape Archaeological Discovery of 1966, Moscow, 1927, p. 335.
these two regions, which are cast in partition technique (39). Especially interesting is one zoomorphic stamp seal from region of Kandahar, the date of which is still uncertain, although Dr. Dupree presumably refers it to the Kushanids period (40). Together with this its characteristic technique of casting shows that it may belong to stamp seals of Mundigak types. Judging the bump in the back it might be a stamp in the shape of bumped bull resembling to some extent analogical images of civilization of the Indus river and a similar stamp from Altyn Tepe (South Turkmenia). (41).

The question—in which direction the influence of sfragistic had been spreading is still very uncertain. For the present new findings of the seals of this type in the ancient villages of Sochri Sohte gave us the same reason for the distinguishing one great region including South Afghanistan, West Iran and South Turkmenistan.

At the same time some images on seals from South Turkmenia for instance the thricefollic animals) have most characteristic parallels with

39) J. M. Casal, op. cit., . . . . t. XLV.
seals from Indus River (42). Seals shows that the influence of this region on the South-Western of Central Asia in any case didn’t escape the intermediate regions of the modern Afghanistan. The similarities in metallic artifacts are not, however, limited only by that of the seals, but traced on ornaments as well. In this connection one rare type of pins with bi-spiral heads twisted inside, founded in Mundigak II layer and and from Hach treasure in Fergana (Uzbekistan) (43) is rather significant.

The close likeness is expressed in treatment of the pins from Mundigak IV and Shor Tepe (South Turkmenia): they both have under head-pins the rombical thickening. Besides that for the final period of Mundigak IV there are vessles of the same shape which are found in pottery of Namazga V in South Turkmenia. (44).

All the above mentioned analogies of South Afghanistan with neighbouring regions are not accounted only for the usual cultural contacts, which are organically inherent in the society developed to urban civilization. On the contrary to the high developed settled culture of South Afghanistan in the Northern part of this country of the bronze epoch we know at present only rock shelters (Aq Kupruk) inhabitants of which were acquainted with painted pottery, metallic artidacts and most stylized arthropomorphic plastics. (45). All these achievements in economy however, are most characteristic of the farmers society and not connected with nomadic life, as is assumed by Dr. Dupree and perhaps are borrowed from the most advaned centres of Ancient East.

The time of Mundigak IV signifies the highest flourishing stage of culture of the settled farmers of South Afghanistan. In general these ruins remained from urban civilization of the second order. These are formed in the second half of III—beginning II B.C. in the periphery of "Civilizations of the Great Rivers". In South Turkmenistan it was civilization of Alyyn Tepe, in Northern-Eastern Iran the culture of Hissar and Tureng Tepe. Afghanistan the early urban culture of which displays close relations with ancient Indian civilization of Harappa acquires its due place in this system after excavations of Mundigak I. but together with this possession there are evident features manifest of region of gliptics. The early urban culture of Mundigak which is similar to some other civilization proves to be the Civilization of the complicated fate: in II millenium B.C. there are signs of definite decline. Thus in period

44) J. M. Casal, op. cit.,........fig. 96, 449-453.
of Mundigak V the territories of villages except the central massive, were neglected. The definite break of traditions is remarkable and in pottery fabrics vessels with simple, black painting, mainly hand-made, had been spreading indeed there successions with ceramics of Mundigak IV (46).  

Time of Mundigak VI is already a long period of decline and desolation because the constructions from mud-brick are not found and the whole mount is occupied only by ash layers. There are relatively few painted pottery in these layers. Together with pottery with black painted on black background ceramics with designs on orange background had also spreading.

It is significant that the early urban culture of Mundigak IV had been suffering the period of decline almost at the same time as Harappa, Altyntep and Hissar III had. (47) It could be connected with some external pressure J. M. Casal was inclined to compare hand made ceramic of Mundigak V with that of Ferghana sites of Tchust culture. Actually in some cases just formal parallels could be traced, but for Tchust culture can't be dated earlier than the end of II mil. B.C., and this is much later than the already known dates of Mundigak V. It is rather interesting to note the remarkable coincidence of the painted ceramics of Mundigak VI and Murghab complex of Jaz-tepe I dated the first of a third of the 1st mil. B.C. (48).

So, there is an impression that Mundigak V and VI complexes like South Turkmenian complexes of Namazga VI and Jaz-tepe I reflect the fact that settled farmers traditions had become rough because of infiltration of some external element. At the same time these very traditions, mud brick architecture and craftsmanship did not disappear completely and this new development of culture is marked in X-VII B.C., when temple buildings on platform appear as the result of excavations on Nadi-Ali settlement show (49).

Probably at least in the second half of the II mil. B.C. settled farmers culture had been also spreading to the territory of the Northern

46) J. M. Casal, op. cit., p. 84.
47) It is rather interesting to note the finding of byconical bead with circular ornament in Mundigak in nivau superior (J. M. Casal, op. cit., t. II, fig. 138, 37), which was identical to the findings of the same kind in Namazga VI, Hisser III C and Djukara complexes. W. M. Masson, Ancient Agricultural Culture of Margian, M. E. USSR, No. 73, Moscow-Leningrad, 1959 pp. 26-29.
48) J. M. Casal, op. cit., t. II, fig. 122,653-654; W: M; Masson, Ancient Agricultural........
Afghanistan, the latest Bactria. This is proved by the findings of wheel made pottery in the tombs of stock breeding ribes on the right bank of Amu-Daria and also by the excavations held by Soviet archaeologists on the Sapaltans sites near Termez where pottery of Namazga VI type and mud brick buildings were found.

All these sites are especially interesting from the point of view that this period was most probably marked by the process of tribe settling of Indo-Iranian language group, the contemporary Afghan language belonging to it. It is most probable that Indian language tribes headed the settling and the Iranian language tribes followed them. In this connection it would be natural to compare the facts noticed in the sites of II-beginning of the I mil. B.C. with the complicated process of settling of large groups of new population. However one should bear in mind that this difficult problem will not get a unique archaeological solution. As assimilation was one of the main stages of ethnogenesis problem it would be natural to expect complex of cultures which reflect different stages of mixing new external elements and local traditions. To some extent the process of changing of settled farmers traditions can be traced to the example of Mundigak. At the same time the excavations of Soviet archaeologists on the right bank of Amu-Daria showed that in the second half of the II and beginning of the I mil. B.C. there appeared tombs remained after some groups of stock breeding tribes (50). In some cases their burial order (cremation, burial in stone chambers) is much the same as the one in svata tombs (51). Probably we are dealing with archaeological traces of spreading of different Indian and Iranian language tribes, the culture of which reflect different stage of absorbing local traditions. At any rate on the side this very process of great migrations and movings was an important stage of ethnogenesis of Afghanistan people and on the other side it finishes the period of prehistoric archaeology. Avesta, Bactria and Zoroaster are at the entrance to the written history of Afghanistan.

History of Former Kafiristan
Part Four

KAFIRS' CULT OF THE DEAD

by: A. R. Palwal

Under this title I discuss the main aspects of the dead's world from the viewpoint of the living people. These aspects are the ancestors cult, the hero cult, ancestral names, world of the dead, and the ceremony of death. In fact, these aspects are overlapping each other, and it seems to be forming a single whole, broadly speaking. But as anthropologists have emphasize for different ethnic groups one or another of the subdivisions, then, as a result, the separation or division of the dead's world has come to effect. This does not mean that we should more strictly or further distinctly keep away ancestor worship from the hero cult than from polytheism. The former two were merely two complementary aspects of the same phenomenon, but the latter is a later aspect and an evolved form of the former. Though R. F. Spencer makes distinction between the various forms of ancestor cult, but his definition, which I quote here, is of a general type. "Ancestor worship may be defined as a set of attitudes, beliefs, and practices associated with the treatment as deified of a wide range of deceased persons in a community—particularly the dead within a kinship grouping, however this may be circumscribed", (Gould and Kolb 1964: 25). By ancestors we understand all those mythical and actual; remote and immediate; tribal and family aged dead personalities. Mainly ancestors include headmen, and heroes as well as religious functionaries, or those persons in whom the people find their sentimental values and psychological satisfaction even if they are mad men. According to Linton, those ancestors who have founded new joint families and lineages receive special consideration in the ancestor cult. But those men who have not seceded and founded a new joint family are only worshipped by their sons and grandsons, and then their names are soon forgotten (1936:191). The different forms of ancestors worship, pointed out above, depend on the people's attitude formed by their cultural environment.
Natives worship or sacrifice and pray to ancestors for providing them with rainfalls, fine weather, better crops, good luck in hunting, plenty of food and prosperity; keeping away existence, their family and clan perpetuation; harming their enemies and the violators of other rights; or interceding between the worshippers and their higher deities (Conf. Tylor 1871 ii. 299-307; Frazer 1920:82-88; and Linton 1955:430).

After having a general idea of ancestor worship, I describe the ancestor cult of the Kafirs. Here it is not meant that the Kafirs cult of the dead was a pure and absolute form of religion as it is there in Africa. By now we know about the Kafirs' polytheistic pantheon as being the core object of their worship. However, the cult of the dead is the basic and complementary ingredient of polytheism. In the latter form of religion, the deities of specific functions are usually distributed on the basis of social groupings or localities. Whenever, one of the groups did not have access to the deity enshrined in the area of another group at the unfavourable time of feud, it turned to the shrine of an ancestor on proper occasion. As one of several leading paths, the continuation of this situation ended with the deification of the ancestor. All the people claim to be the descendents of this ancestor to whom they collectively adhere to.

Native people who live together in a single hamlet valley, who speak a common language, and who have developed similar sentiments in the course of history, usually believe in their common origin. What we call myths were believed by them to be without doubt true accounts and definite facts of their forefathers' lives. Although it would seem difficult to keep all of the important dead ancestors and their miraculous achievements in memory; however, it was not so difficult, relatively speaking for the Kafirs. They made their ancestors' effigies and erected them in places they haunted. They knew whom they venerated or worshipped, and were acquainted with them since their childhood. These ancestral effigies were made in an artistic style to show their ranks and achievements acquired by them in their lifetime. Besides, there were a number of orators who were expert in describing their heroism and life-history.

These ancestral images were thought of by some visitors of Kafirstan as being their gods. For instance, Biddulph noted that the Kafirs' pantheon comprised 18,000 gods (Snoy 1962:125). Elphinstone has pointed out that the Kafirs believed in one god, but they also worshipped numerous idols which, they said, represented men from previous times who interceded with god in favor of their worshippers (Elphinstone 1819:431). Snoy makes a remark that the characterization of tribe-gods as gods who originated as great ancestors is justified for many Kafir
gods, but that not all gods can be described like this (1962:126). There might have been some differences in the manner and degree of worshipping gods and ancestors. However, Elphinstone mentions that ancestors were "worshipped as much as any other of the gods", (Edelberg 1960:275; & Elphinstone II 1819:431).

In fact, the rites of worshipping either deities or ancestors were more or less different from each other. To emphasize it further, even the ceremonies for one and the same god but at different occasions were not similar. The sacrificial animal, the material of offering, the purpose involved, etc., varied in the ceremonies. To the deities numerous animals were sacrificed, but few took place for the ancestors. The people appealed to both at the time of either danger, warfare, sickness and other calamity or of success and prosperity. But gods were worshipped in the higher level of these events and ancestors in the lower. Prayers were directed to all; offerings were made to both; dances were performed for either one; and wine was drunk for their conciliation as well. The only significant and prominent difference between gods and ancestors lay in their social status rather than in their religious position: The gods were universal among the people of a valley or some even among all the people of Kafiristan. The people of a valley, though being from different clan and/or villages, still gave homage to the common gods. All the Kafirs believed collectively in several deities if not all of those which existed among them. But ancestors were in the first place family patrons or tutelary deities of different households. Later they had taken this place at the lineage level. More remote ancestors were, then, sub deities, and finally, the remotest ancestor was a deity of the village or tribe. After all these stages, an ancestor reached the level of universality and obtained the position of god. In this respect all the Kafirs gods were personified in their mythology and anthromorphized in their idolatry. For instance, Wakil Gharzay writes, By Imra they understood a man extraordinarily huge, strong and owner of absolute power," (1960:20). About the mainlness of Gish, Disani, Bagisht and others see Chapter III. Elphinstone remarks about an effigy on top of a pole and says, "nor was this the only instance of men deified..." (1819:431).

I mentioned above that the deities had universality over the ancestors. Now we can reverse this statement and say that the ancestors had universality over the deities. This fact proves true in the lower level. I mean that in addition to men, women had access to ancestors but not to gods. Women were believed to be unclean and inferior before gods. On their proper occasion of menstruation and childbirth they were considered impure for the ancestors and even destructive to the well being of other living men in the village. For this reason their ex-
istence was tabooed and they were expelled from the village to a nether-most dwelling, the seclusion house, on the river bank. Most probably for this reason of the impurity of the women and the Bari, the shrines for gods were either in the upper part of villages or further up on the mountain side. But the ancestral images could be found in the near by area of villages. In short, women adhered to their ancestors in particular and men did so up to an extent. In addition to individual access to the ancestors, there were communal calendrical ceremonies held for the dead forefathers as well.

**Ancestor Worship:**

"There was no ancestor worship in Nooristan (Kafiristan)", answered my informant, when I put the question directly to him. This attitude is not formed today. It existed even in the time of the Kafirs themselves. Robertson gives the following comprehensive account about the matter in question:

There are distinct traces of ancestor-worship in Kafiristan, although it is strenuously denied by the people. The effigies erected to the memory of the dead are sometimes sacrificed to, and have their pedestals sprinkled over with blood by descendants suffering from sickness. Long fragments of stone are set on end in many places. These, no doubt, are partly intended as a kind of cenotaph, but a goat is always killed when they are erected (1896:414).

Two types of stones were erected for the dead. A monolith was erected by the poor families. For they could not afford, economically, to erect an effigy for the symbolic representation of their dead. Another type was the erection of some two small size stones on which they performed some rites for the dead. This will be described afterwards.

Regarding the worship we know from the chapter on polytheism that there were certain festivals for worshipping different deities each on the proper calendrical occasion. This worship and the calendrical occasions were in onnection with economical and social activities. For instance, they were associated with agricultural and pastoral rites of passage, as well as with the time of warfare, the election of their chiefs, and so forth. For the purpose of warding off or the elimination of epidemic diseases of men, animals and fields, the Kafirs performed ceremonies for the persuasive support of their deities and deceased ancestors. Elphinstone has mentioned a calendrical ceremony that, "once a year a feast is given in memory of the deceased, and some food is exposed for his names, which are invoked to come and partake", (1819: 436). According to my Bagramatal data of 1968, each family backed
some seven kilo or three quarters of this amount of wheat-bread and
took it out with wine and erected some two stones before their house-
doors. Then they cut the bread into small pieces and put it before the
stones or dropped it down on their top. After this they poured a bowl
of water in the pieces of bread and washed it off. There they drank
wine and took home the remaining bread where they ate it. This was
a collective ceremony and was mainly comprised of women, but men
also took part in it. If some one was sick the same ceremony was per-
formed either individually or with the accompaniment of his family
members.

A similar ceremony by the name of Marnma is recorded by Ro-
bertson which I quote here:

The Marnma festival took place in Kamdesh on March 8,
...On the evening of the 7th, the women cooked rice/an im-
ported item/and bread, and then, early in the morning, tak-
ing a small quantity of the prepared food with ghee and
wine, placed the whole before the family effigies. The faces
of the images were also smeared with ghee. After a short in-
trval the food on the ground was destroyed and flooded away
by a gush of water from a goatskin. The women next repaired
to the pshar or Nimrali house, where they feasted and amus-
shed themselves with loud laughter. They then started for
their respective homes singing. The men and women chaffed
one another indelicately on the road, the former offering the
latter neck ornaments or other small articles to be danced
for. Later on, near each house, a small portion of prepared
food was placed on the ground in the name of each deceased
relative that could be remembered, and was in its turn swa-
mped away by a gush of water. The food which remained
over was then feasted on, and I was assured that joy and
contentment reigned in every household, the atmosphere of
which no doubt recked with the appalling remarks which ap-
pear to be inseparable from Kafir gaiety and festivity (1896:
587-8).

In 1968 I recorded the previously mentioned portion and in 1964
I had recorded another portion, both times in Bagramatal, of the same
ceremony. It is, most probably, the same ceremony which I cited from
Robertson. If these three portions are put together, then one will get
relatively an improved form of the rite. The 1964 form of the ceremony
is called by the name of Mar-vala, and will be described at the end of
the following chapter.
Besides, I have recorded another ceremony in Bagramatal which was called Atunawist. The name verbally means up-bringing, elevating or revival. The informant further explained to me that as ancestors were cut out of the community, therefore they were forgotten or memories faded. But in their festive rites which were held in the Autumn, the names, achievements and life-history of the ancestors were recited by the orators. In this way the memory of the people was refreshed about them or they were revived. In the informant's words, they were brought back to the living people.

After the Marwna festival in March, came the Duban festival which began on the 19th of this month. The last two days, “The 28th and 29th were devoted to feasting, dancing and chanting in honour of the illustrious dead.” (Robertson 1896:588)

Among the Kalasha, Morgenstierne has participated in a spring festival, Joshi, for the dead. About this he makes the following remark:

The purpose of this ceremony was to drive away the ancestral spirits and demons who had hovered near the village during the three days of the festival, but whose presence was not wanted in ordinary times. Then they must retire to their appointed places, the graves and demonaltars in the dark groves on the hillside (1932:38).

Akbar Shurmach, who himself is a Nooristani, has made a statement, amalgamated with others' Islamized thinking, about his forefathers' rites for conciliating their ancestors. He writes that they (the forefathers) believed in the coming of their dead's ghost to their door in the evening and expecting to be remembered and prayed for. For doing so and appeasing their ancestor's ghost, they gave as charity to the neighbours whatever they had in their cooking pot at this time. If some body ignored them, it meant that he had annoyed the ghost of the dead. (Aryana, Periodical, Vol. 8, Nr. 3, 1959:38).

The Hero Cult:

Usually chiefs, priests and other wisemen become influential ancestors when they were dead. National or tribal dead heroes are also included in the class of ancestors. Their difference is more explicit when they are alive rather than when they are dead. Kafirs' heroes were those strong and brave warriors who had fought for their people or religion and had defeated their enemies. There, in Kafiristan, heroism had the aspect of warfare as well as that of material consumption. Both of these enterprises gained social prestige for the hero which was displayed through his rank, titles and emblems (see the preceding chapter). Besides, when being dead, his image was sculptured and memorial monuments were erected in his honour.
As mentioned above, the effigy of a dead hero made of wood was erected after the lapse of one year on the roadside, in the village in front of the houses or even in the house of his descendants. The ceremony for erecting an effigy was similar to that of the mortuary. It was also lavish and extended for days. About the ceremony Robertson makes the following statement, “The intervals in the dancing were filled up by an extemporaneous address to the wooden image by an individual specially for that duty. He extolled the liberality of the deceased, his bravery, and his god deeds, as well as the virtues of his ancestors”, (1896: 223). This image was then representing the dead hero with all his prestige, ranks and insignia which were procured by him through his warfare, banquets and social duties in his life.

A mentioned has been made elsewhere that there were poor families in Kafiristan which could not afford, economically, the erection of wooden effigies for the symbolic representation of their dead, or they were not allowed by the local law, custom and tradition to do so. However, they could erect a monolith for the purpose involved. Robertson has described the erection of this ordinary memorial in the following way.

Another form of memorial to the dead is a kind of menhir. It is about three feet high, and specimens are to be seen all over the country. There is but little ceremony in erecting them. A goat is sacrificed, some of the blood is thrown on to the stone, and that is all (1896:648).

Elphinstone has described a memorial pole erected by the hero himself in his life time, and representing him while being dead. In Elphinstone’s words the runs as follows:

In the public apartment of the village of Caumdesh was a high wooden pillar, on which sat a figure, with a spear in one hand and a staff in the other. This idol represented the father of one of the great men of the village, who had erected it himself in his life-time, having purchased the privilege by giving several feasts to the whole village (1819:431).

We also know of another monument erected by the hero himself in his life-time. On this one which is described under the Batur rank in chapter IV., the hero counted his homicides.

Another type of memorial, which is similar to the one just cited, was to cut an image on the top of a pole. This was erected, according to Robertson, after the death of the hero. He further emphasises that this memorial post was exclusively erected to the remembrance of their deceased warriors (see also Batur, chapter 4).
Kundrik was a different kind of memorial erected also for deceased heroes. Besides an effigy on top of it, there was a small square construction with a door in it (see Indr, chapter III).

By now we know, from chapter four, that there were a number of emblems which represented the social status of a Kafir. These emblems adorned the hero while alive, and decorated his sculpture after being dead. In addition to these emblems, the socio-religious status of the dead was distinctly marked with the commemorating rites for the memorials erected in his honor.

Besides the memorials mentioned above, "there is another way of securing posthumous reputation", writes Elphinstone, "by the erection of a gate near the way side. It is but a simple structure, consisting of four beams and a few yards of masonry, and is of no use; but it is called after the name of the founder, and the enjoyment of this honour must be purchased by many feasts to the village", (1819:436). About the same gate, Robertson provides us with the following information:

... The preceding chapter is an introduction for getting acquainted with the hero cult of the Black Kafirs. Also from chapter three we know that Gish was an ideal image of heroism. Moreover, Gish himself was a deified hero (Conf. Robertson 1896:401). Under his strong religious and heroic place among the Black Kafirs, heroism with all its different aspects for the living and the dead warriors prevailed among the Kati, Kam, Wustrat, Kushtuz and Madugal people.

In addition to sacrifices, oration and dances the Kafirs worshipped and praised their deities and hero ancestors through singing their special type of songs. These are three-line hymns which are still sung by three men who sit close together in a triangular shape, facing the center. The three singers put their hands on their ears, close their eyes and then sing the verses in a special voice and manner which is similar to the Sparee Badeli of Pashto. These Kafir hymns are short epic verses which describe the heroism of their ancestors. Morgendtiterne and I have recorded a number of these hymns from Bagramatal, Kambeagram and Kulum. The hymns from the last place were given to us in Mehtar Lam, the capital of Laghman by several western Nooristani chiefs, the Malik. Below I mention a few of the hymns as an example:

A very elaborate monument is a gateway standing by itself in a more or less isolated position—that is to say, away from houses. It consists of two square masonry pillars between five and six feet high, connected together by a wooden door frame. The wood work is embellished with carving. From each pillar springs a squared pole surmounted by a small effigy, represented as seated in a chair or on a horse, and furnished
with weapons carved in the ordinary way. The poles are notched horizontally, for the reason that it corresponds to the homicides the man has committed in his lifetime. Between the two effigies a figure of a mannikin is often placed on the top of the doorway, playing some musical instrument to amuse the dead hero. Such monuments can only have been erected after the expenditure of much labour. They are very effective in appearance (1896:651).

With whom would we sit and talk to,
The brave son of hero Angda Malik (Mali kson of Angda)
Oh, Gish! you sent along with the Chiri (1) (ambushers).
nizhetee kumeezee valamma
shur Angda Malik dibi gana
giizza tu chiri saree karalla
I search for my husband, but I can't see him;
O, children of the Kam, my husband was the arrow-head of the Chiri raiders),
The one marked (decorated) with a shield was my husband, and I don't see him.
To whom did you leave your brother and go away;
Our town (Kambram), is an iron curtain before the enemies;
The light of the kings' (Mir) forehead, you went to the comfortable place, the heaven. (2)
O, hero! you died before your time (you did not die on occasion);
You were the man who intentionally went twelve times and killed enemies,
The calamity fell on you at the entrance of the secret, Sarat valley.
I do not give my hair-lock (I do not leave my religion),
O, Kolya! Barmuk son of Gumara is my maternal uncle,
O, Kolya! you have golden and silken hair-lock. (1)
The sun arose from the high mountain,
Our Aspit village! do not be sorrowful in wonder,
The man of twelve mi (2), the grandson of Atel (you, our) necklace fell down from us.

Ancestral Names:

Whenever the cult of the dead prevails in a community, its people believe either in the dead ancestors rebirth or in their supernatural connection with the new born child who, through divination gets the name of the ancestor believed to be associated with him (conf. Tylor 1871:90 & c.). Frazer adds, regarding the matter in hand, to the natives' concept
of names and writes:

By raising the dead they meant bestowing the name of the departed upon some one else, who thus became to all intents and purposes a reincarnation of the deceased, since on the principles of savage philosophy the name is a vital part, if not the soul, of the man (1920:298).

Rasmussen has reached the same conclusion. He says, that as all persons who bear the same name, they do have the same source of life. They also inherit the mental and physical qualities of all those people who once in a remote past bore these names (Jensen 1951:32).

I have not procured specific data for explaining why the Kafirs gave ancestral names to their descendents. However, I have noted three different but consequential methods of naming children. Robertson has recorded one method and that is the preliminary one of the three I know. Robertson writes:

The naming of children is peculiar. The instant an infant is born it is given to the mother to suckle, while an old woman runs rapidly over the names of the baby's ancestors or ancestresses, as the case may be, and stops the instant the infant begins to feed. The name on the reciter's lips when that event occurs becomes the name by which the child will then be known during its life (1896:596 & See also Elphinstone 1819:435, for the same rite).

In addition to the method cited above, I have recorded two others in Baghramatal. Whenever the first method of naming proved false, the second method was then applied. When the child did not receive his own proper name, it became restless, cried continuously and did not suckle its mother's breast. In such a case, the elders removed its firstly given name and renamed it on the basis of the following method. They made much fire in the hearth and let it burn until the ground became very hot. Then they removed the ashes and cleaned the bottom of the hearth on which they put a grain of wheat. Simultaneous to this the orator began reciting ancestor names of the child. Any name which coincided with the burning and jumping of the grain, that was the name of the infant.

Wakil Gharzay of Nooristan writes about this second method. An old woman was taking a few wheat grains and giving each an ancestral name. Then she was dropping one after another, with a pause in between, into the fire. When one of the grains produced a bursting sound, the related name of that grain was given to the child (1960:40). There is quite a similar way of naming children in Munjan, which can be interpreted that diffusion and the borrowing of cultural traits existed between the to neighbouring communities.
If the second method also failed and the child did not receive its proper name, then the final method was resorted to. On this occasion they invited the diviner (shaman) who manipulated his bow for the discovery of the fact. Keeping the bow properly in his hands, he then recited ancestor names of the baby. Whenever the bow made the required movements simultaneously with the spelling out of an ancestral name, then this name was decided for the child. This renaming of the child, according to my informant, was nothing more than just a belief of the people. But mentioning of an ancestral name and its association with infant's suckling of his mother's breast was not merely a chance-happening, from the point of view of the Kafirs, as it seems to us. From the three succeeding methods it can be inferred that the natives believed in an inherent connection between the person and his ancestral name or the ancestor himself whose name or soul he inherited.

Most of the people, men and women, knew their genealogy up to a degree. Professor Morgenstierne and I have recorded from one of our informants eighteen and from another forty three ancestral names. The first one started from himself and went 17 generations backward, but the second informant began from his first ancestor and came forward to himself. In the list of the latter, six of he beginning ancestral names are Arabic and he claimed Arab origin as well. Nine of the ancestral names, from 10th to the 18th generation, in the list of the first informant are identical in form and sequence to those of he second informant, from 22nd to the 30th generation. Morgenstierne has a record of fifty-four names of ancestors from his previous studies. About the list which he has noted down rom a priest, he makes the following remark:

The first part of it was clearly mythical, and his memory of it was partly confused. But for the last thirty generations the order of the names was he same on the several occasions I questioned him. From the 13th generation from below his pedigree agreed with that of the chief of the Kunisht Katis up to the 24th generation, or so far as this latter ran (1932: 40).

In a myth, from Bagramatal, it is pointed out that whenever an orator recited their pedigree, he began from the foremost ancestors, Mara-Tangyal, and then came forth to the man in whose honor the ceremony was performed or to his own contemporary generation. In another myth, from the same source, it is explained that there were three head-ancestors of the people whose names are Mara-Tangyal and Shub. The descendents of each of them emigrated from Katabagram and settled in three different valleys of Nooristan (Kafiristan). Maradare, the descendents or the tribe of Mara immigrated to Bashgal, the Landay Sind
valley; Tangayadare resided in Kulum; and Shabdare occupied Ramgal and settled there. But in relating their related genealogy none of the above three names appears.

The object of the people and of the religion as well, was not simply to know ancestors' names and their sequence. But in addition to this the life-history of each of the ancestors was required. Every extended family, clan or every village had at least one expert in declaiming ancestors' names, life-stories and their achievements. Speeches on this subject were given to the people in the ceremonies of conquest, mortuary and other annual rites. The orators who recited ancestral pedigree and their heroic accounts had supernatural potency and support from the ancestors. Regarding the oratory there is a myth of origin which I have noted down in Bagaramatal and am about to recount below.

World of the Dead:

Among the rite of passage, death is the most striking one which marks the end of a real and the beginning of ideological world. Death is the collapsing of life or the grave event in the human destiny. It is considered to be the source of many psychological phenomena including religion itself. The fear of death and the position of man in the afterlife or in the eternal world has strongly influenced the socio-economic life of man in this world. All religions are centered, explicitly, on the well-being of mankind in the next world where hell and heaven are created for their evil and good deeds. Originally and functionally, speaking according to the religious logic, this world is a preface in which to prepare (and to behave well in our social setup), for the eternal life in the forth coming ever lasting world. About the worldly viewpoint of the Kafirs, Robertson provides us with the following information:

In the Kafir theology there appears to be both a heaven and a hell. It divides the universe into Urdesh, the world above, the abode of the gods; Michdesh, the earth; and Yurdesh, the nether world. Both the heaven and the hell for mortals, is in Yurdesh, which is reached through a great pit, at the mouth of which a custodian named Maramalik, specially created by Imra for the purpose, is always seated. He permits no one in Yurdesh to return to the upper world (1896: 380).

Though the Kafirs did not bury their dead, they still believed in the nether world or in an underground place where the dead resided. There the dead carried on a life similar to that of the people in this world. The following myth represents the idea of the Kafirs about the life of their dead in the nether world.
Once a man by the name of Kanshit Turuk the brother of Kanshit Nasruck and the son of Kanshit was taken away by some spirits. They led him down to Miraduk, the nether world, by the means of a long ladder. There he saw that all the dead ancestors were sitting in their armchairs and were leaning on their fighting axes, Kashe. Their chief, Mira Malik, asked him to declaim all the life-history of the dead ancestors to the people in the feasts of merit and other annual rites. Turuk found himself unable to undertake this job successfully, and consequently declined. The chief of the dead sent him back. The punishment for his refusal was that he would not have any son in his family but only daughters. Instead of Kanshit Turuk, another man, named Karink, was then taken to Mira-Duk. The same request was made to him by the Mira Malik, to relate all the honorable accounts of the dead ancestors from Mara-Tangyal to the last dead hero. Karink accepted the request but wondered how he could know all the accounts which he had never heard. The chief of the dead promised Karink that every thing will be disclosed to him about the dead heroes up to Mara and Tangyal, their earliest grand ancestors. Karink willingly agreed to this and was taken up back from Mira-Duck. On the next day of Karink's coming back to the living world, he gathered all the people and lectured them all on the life histories of the ancestors from Mara-Tankyal, the first two brothers, to the last dead parents.

Sacrifice of goats, offering of food and the libation of wine was made to the dead ancestors. The most important sacrifice was the immolation of horses, which took place at the entrance of the nether world (from where a very strong wind was blowing out, according to the Bagramatalis. For instance, near the greatly popular temple of Kushtegiram of Prasungal, there was a hole in the ground believed by the Kafirs to be a door to the nether world. On this door or the entrance to the nether world the Kafirs sacrificed a horse once every a few years. "The officiating priest", writes Robertson, "moves backwards, not daring to look behind him, and cautiously removes a few of the stones which encircle the orifice. Then taking some of the horse's blood, he throws it backwards over his shoulder, and after replacing the stones, quickly moves away", (1896:339).

At the eastern neighbouring parts of Nooristan, that is in the Kumbar Valley, there are still numerous graves which have a couple of horse-heads cut in wood as well as obscurely in stone and are eretats at the head and foot of the dead. Babur writes about this area that the people of Chaghan Saray are Muslims. As they are located at the entrance of Kafirstan and are in contact with the Kafirs, they also have Kafir customs and perform their acts (1929:85). Robertson has also mentioned
that horses' head were cut on top of pillars in the dancing houses of Kamdesh (1896:494); and together with gods and goddesses, men on horseback were grotesquely carved on numerous pillars at the house of the Shtevgrom priest (Ibid. p. 491).

The evidences, referred to above, maintain that there was an association between the horses and the dead ancestors, I have no specific data to disclose the aim of the sacrifice that whether the horses were immolated for the purpose that the dead could ride on them in the nether world or they were simply sacrifices as those of oxen and goats in order to propitiate the ancestors? The first idea is most probably near to fact. Because, the images of many ancestors were sculptured in the form of astridig a horse or even a couple of horses. Robertson says that the “Kafirs repeatedly assured me that women's images were never placed on horses: but I have myself seen an outrageous figure of a woman seated astride a couple of horses”, (Op. cit., p. 646). From this it can be inferred that the immolation of horses was for the purpose of riding them in the world of the dead.

One other problem we still have to attach is the existence of ancestor worship in Prasungal or among the white Kafirs. Roberston has reported, on the one hand, that, "In Presungal there are no effigies erected to the deceased relations, as is so popular a custom with the Sian-Posh Kafirs, and it is almost certain that the same thing is true in Wai-gul. In Presungal there was no evidence of ancestor-worship", (1896:415). On the other hand, Robertson has also reported the immolation of horses on the entrance of the of nether world. As this hole was near the temple for Imra, then the sacrifice is also taken for granted to have been for Imra. This might have been but the description and evidences do not say so. I do not know that Imra was sculptured on horseback. However, two solutions can be suggested for the problem in question. One is that the rite of sacrificing horses was a survival from their ancestor-worship which existed among the Prasungali Kafirs sometimes in the past. Another solution is that ancestor worship existed among the Prasungalis even at the time Robertson visited them, but there was no hero cult among these white Kafirs. The lack of the latter has misled Robertson to justify for the unexistence of the ancestor worship among the Paruni people. It is true that there was no hero cult in Prasungal, for sure. Because, they did not fight with their neighbouring enemies; they neither had the feasts of merit not had they social ranks; and they neither sculptured their dead nor erected memorial monuments for their achievements as those of the Black Kafirs. These do not mean that the Prasungalis did not have ancestor worship altogether. Those mentioned aspects are mainly associated with the hero cult, not with the ancestor cult, to be specific.
To return back to the world of the dead, we will see who could approach it and who could not. Before the dead reached Yurdesh, he was carried to a secluded place without the village and apart from the fields. The place was, called Shanita (n) or Shanta in Bagramatal, which was not exactly either graveyard or cemetery. It was just an open ground or a natural cave where Shani (Afghani: Tabut), coffins or the wooden boxes, embedding the body of the dead, were deposited.

Robertson says that the coffin boxes were generally not decorated or carved. He had seen one in Purstam, Bashgal, ornamented with a gaudy turban-cloth and two flags, one white and the other red, fixed to the end of long poles. In Bagramatal there were wooden canopies built over the coffins, a plan which he had not seen anywhere else (1896:643). In this respect, Edelberg remarks about the Kafirs' Shanitan and says,..."over the greater part of Afghanistan burial places are underground, but precisely in Kafiristan the dead were laid in four-legged coffins of cedar-wood which were set up in cemeteries outside the towns, and to this day 'houses' of cedar are built above the burial places of prominent people in Wama and the Waigal valley", (1965:195-6).

According to my Bagramatal data, religious functionaries were not allowed to approach the Shanitan at anytime. Other men could only on certain occasions visit the coffin—ground. Anyone who violated this taboo fell sick, because the Shanitan was a place dangerous to man. Women could go to the place of the dead at anytime they had a reason to do so. If her son, brother or any other relation was terribly sick, she turned around his bed-frame for three times and then immediately left for the Shanitan. There she lay down and fell asleep beside her other dead relations among the coffin-boxes. By doing so the women wished, "she would rather die instead of her dear one." By the sleeping act she symbolized the acceptance of her death, and expected to dream what was going to happen. If the woman had a favorable dream, then she went home and offered bread and ghee ascharity in order to appease the dead (Bagramatal 1968).

Robertson reports from Kamdesh that the Shanitan was considered to be impure, and neither the Kam priest nor Dabilal might even walk on the road leading to this place (1896:643). Shanitan was dangerous and harmful to criminals and law-breakers. Muhammad Abdullah Azar writes about the cases of theft, adultery and any other case for which there was no obvious evidence. In such a case, the violated person immediately reported the case to the fourteen elected magistrates, the Ura. As there was no proof of the accusation, the Ura took the suspected person to the village graveyard, shaved his beard and asked him to swear an oath in the following way: "O men, if I have done this deed, may god punish me for it. And if I have not committed this deed, may
God most high punish him who has done it”, (Morgenstierne 1933:198). Further on he writes, “If a woman's husband is a very distinguished person, and he wants to show special disrespect towards the adulterer, then he takes him round to seven villages, and in seven graveyards he is made to swear the same oath which he has sworn in the graveyard of the first village”, (Ibid. p. 198).

In such cases of theft, adultery, etc., I was informed in Bagamata that the accused person took a sheep to the Shanitan and killed it there”. Its intestine were taken out and were held up by two other persons on the path at the entrance of the coffin grounds. Then he (the suspected man) was asked to swear an oath that, “If I have committed the wrong, I shall die”. After saying so, he walked below the intestine, which was held above his head, towards the Shanitan. In case of truth or if the man had really done the wrong, he would had become sick and consequently die.

The Ceremony of Death:

In a community where the ceremony of death is very elaborate, as that of the Kafirs, there it puts weight on the side of reverence and even worship of the dead. Material distribution in the form of ceremonial offerings, continues until his sources and even those of borrowing are exhausted. In fact, the stronger is veneration of the dead, the more elaborate is the ceremony of death which are associated with the stronger family relationship. It shows that social ties are very tight, which means that extended family and clan or tribal integration fully prevail. These all are for the reason of social security and clan perpetuation.

Among the Kafirs the simplicity and elaboration of the ceremony of death depended on who was dead. The death ceremony for a poor man, a slave or a Bari was very simple. He was just put, with some bread and wearing his local ordinary overcoat, in the wooden coffin and transferred to their separate Shanitan. The coffin-ground for the poor people as well as for the slaves and especially the Bari was apart from the upper class people. It was located in the neighbourhood of the Shanitan but in a low place. The bereaved family from the common people sacrificed a male goat in the rite of erecting a memorial stone for the dead, a year after the death had occurred.

The death ceremony for the children was also simple. Robertson says that children, before they were initiated, were merely taken to the cemetery without any kind of formalities. The clothes to be worn by a dead girl (and boy) were sewn by men (1896:630). Dead children were just carried in a blanket with a string of mourning women to the place where they were deposited (Britannica 1911:632). According to the infor-
mation given to me in Bagramatal, the infants were not laid in a rather big clay pot for cooking, Ktyu (Pashto: Kataw), and then were deposited by the Nirmali-house or Shar-amu (maternity-house, and Psh-aresta means conceiving). The child was placed in the clay pot in the position of the fetus in the womb, but with the head upwards. Wakil Gharzay writes that the children were put in the cooking pots made of stone (1960:34). My informant added that children were considered innocent and so they transcended and went to heaven, Besht (Afghani: Bahisht).

From the previous notes and especially those of the preceding chapter, we know that women of the higher class also took part side by side with men in the material expenses of their feasts of merit. Those they were rich contributed to the dancing and other religious festivals of the village women. Whenever she was dead, her death ceremony was conducted in accordance with the wealth of her family and the social status she had procured in her life. The wealth of her family and her social status were two different matters. On the basis of the family wealth her death ceremony could be prolonged for days till they served food to the villagers and other funeral participants from other places. In accord to the social status, the woman secured the privilege of wearing certain ornaments and luxury clothing items. These things were either worn or put with her corpse in order to proclaim her position in the community.

As there were several ranks for men the rites of death also varied considerably in relation with their social position. Robertson has provided us with his observations of several death ceremonies performed for—a woman from a wealthy family; for two warriors killed in their raiding expedition; and a hero. The following is a condensed and modified account of the dead of the upper class just referred to.

Firing of guns announced and accompanied the death and funeral of a famous hero, Basti, from Bazgal. The ceremony of funeral was conducted at the tribal headquarters, Kamdeesh. The heads of the two young warriors, Nilira and Sunra, severed from their bodies were brought to Kambagram by some friendly Kafirs from another tribe. The villagers went out of the village to meet the dead on the way to the tribal headquarters. Women declared heir affiliation with deafening cries.

When placed on the bed-frame the head was covered with bright-colored clothes. The face or the eyebrows, closed lids, and grey cheeks of the dead were exposed to view. The corpse was dressed in fine clothes, with feathered sticks thrust into the folds of the headdress—which for the hero was a large turban; for the two warriors it was bright-colored cloth, such as turbans or pieces of silk; and for the woman it was a
kind of crown of springs of juniper-cedar. Out of each red leather boot of the hero protruded one of the feathered stick ornaments; a cowrie-shelled scarf was laid over the breast, and one or two men deposited their shields on the bed of the hero as they passed by. For the woman, the blinker silver ornaments were placed one on each side of her head; on her feet were dancing-shoes fringed at the top with markhor/ibex/hair; and a second similar pair of dancing shoes was put at the foot of her bed; Festoons of wheat hanging from her bed-frame proclaimed to all that the deceased during her life had given freely of her substance.

Performing the ceremony for the two lads, their funerals were brought to the dancing-platform. There the Jast were seated all round on benches; the women sat on the ground; Female relatives of the deceased sat on the edges of the bed and kept bending forward, slowly shaking their heads from side to side, and apostrophizing the dead face exposed to view; Each woman had a ragged garment over her ordinary dress and allowed her hair to escape from its cotton cap and fall down her back; the men over their woolen robes wore a goatskining as a mourning vestment. At the woman's funeral at the dancing-platform, nearly all the notables of the town assembled on the adjacent house-tops; the chief mourner woman stood along with other women on the left side of the deceased and held the bed-frame with both hand, which was supported on each corner by a slave; underneath the bed several women of the house were seated weeping and wailing; none of the women wore their horned head-dress or other ornaments.

Some four drums and couple of reed-pipes were played by Bari. The music marked the time for dancing, which was performed in three concentric circular rows. The throng of women moved slowly and circled and round the bier side ways, stepping to the music, and twirling their hands shoulder-high. With outspread fingers they incessantly turned the palm first towards themselves then towards the corpse, a gesture supposed to indicate "the person is gone from us". Beyond the circle of women were a few men closely related to the dead. They also edged round side ways, and made a similar gesture to that of the women, except the hands were twisted at the level of the brows, and the action was much more energetic. Out side these men a few couples danced round in the usual stamping way for the dead woman. But for the hero the couterment circle comprised the bulk of the dancers, who moved briskly in pairs or singly; several carried matchlocks, one carried a quiver of arrows another a spear and many had shields. All the Jaits, who took part in this circle of the dance went singly as did the shield bearers also; They kept waving their shields above them in a semicircular sweep and turned half round. The remainder danced in pairs in the usual way.

In the intervals of the music the bed was placed on the ground, and
some one of the spectatorr, an orator, declaimed praising the virtues of the deceased, his or her lavish feasts, and extolling the dead's family and kindered. Meanwhile the chief mourner woman addressed the dead woman in accents of shrill praise and lament, often without paying the slightest heed to the formal speeches given by the orators. When the oration ended, the music and the dancing began. During the ceremony, wine and refreshments were handed round to the whole company.

After the primary stage of the rites, the dead was carried off. The women accompanied the funeral as far as the Shanitan, but most of the men and all the last took leave of the ghastly relics in a field just short of the final resting place of the dead. The form of parting soulitation was the motion of wafting a kiss, the head and lips only, not the hands, being used or the gesture.

When the corpse was placed in the coffin the clothes, all the silk vestments, in which the dead was dressed were left with it. Women were buried wearing their serpentine silver earrings and other ornaments. Besides clothes and ornaments, small wooden vessels, containing bread broken up in ghee, were placed in the boxes for the use of the dead.

After the dead body was laid in the coffin a symbolic straw figure which represented the dead warrior was well dressed or gorgeously attired, wore turban, and was girdled with belt and dagger. It received just as a share of the women's attentions as the corpse had. When the grass figure of the hero was being carried on the bed to the dancing-place a regular fusillade of matchlocks was maintained; It was dressed in the same way as the corpse itself was; Its bed-frame was raised by four men of importance, not the slaves. The ceremony for the symbolic straw figure continued in the usual way. The relations of the dead distributed wine and food, while the customary weeping, oratory, music and dancing went on.

For two or three days the straw figure was kept on the bed for its sake the ceremony continued. Everyday one ox and many animals were slaughtered. The straw figure of one of the warriors, Sura, was kept for another day's ceremon, for he belonged to a great and wealthy family, and there was to be more feasting on his account, in order to keep up the position of the family; All night along the wailing over his straw representative continued, and early in the morning of the next day, an old woman was declaiming his geneology with untiring persistance, while a crowd of women and many men, seated on the benches, listened to her words in rapt attention; when she was at lose, she repeated her last line over and over again until a fresh idea or a new way of expressing an old idea, formed itself in her brain, but she seemed to have considerable power of ringing the changes on the names of all the boy's ancestors on both sides. Each fresh arrival, man or woman, went through the form
of kissing the straw figure before selecting his or her seat. It seemed to be proper etiquette for the men to drop their walking-clubs while performing this rite soon after Mid-day the straw figure of the hero was carried, to the cemetary under a great deal of gun firing. There the grass figure was burned as usual in front of the coffin, but its clothing and ornaments were taken back to the house.

On the death of a wife, the husband, after feasting the village, went into seclusion and remained in his own house for some thirty days. This was also done by a wife for a dead husband. Mourning garments were worn for a long time, possibly until the effigy was erected. Among the Kam all relations worn them, but among the Katirs it seemed sufficient for the eldest son, the head of the family, to assume them, even for the death of a father. After death, the room in which the person died was purified by pouring in water through the smoke-hole by means of a wooden trough of a particular pattern. It was then sufficiently purified for every one except the religious functionaries, who would not enter the apartment until an effigy had been erected to the deceased.

One year after the death of a Kafir of adult age an effigy had to be erected to his memory. This was both a duty and a privilege, and consequently had to be paid for by feasting the community. For three days there would be incessant dancing from morning to night, with intervals for feasting, at the village dancing-house, the gromma, in connection with the erection of two wooden effigies to deceased persons—one to a man the other to a woman. The dances to the effigies were of the usual kind in which the movements of the hands symbolized the words "As this dead persons is, so also shall I become". An additional rite to the ceremony of death was the procession of flags. When the effigy of a woman was brought into the dancing-ring, preceded by two men waving flags, one white and the other red, each being about two feet square. The white flag had a small worked center about the site of half-a-crown. Men relatives of the dead wore bright color clothes and all the bravery they possessed. They put on gorgeous long robes and white turbans and carried dancing axes. The women wore their horned headresses (For the full account read Robertson 1896:215-225 and 630-651). The rest of the ceremony for erecting the effigy was more or less the same as that of the dead and its straw figure.

The following is a similar and in some places a complementary account of the ceremony of death which the informants from Bagramatal briefly related to me in 1965 and 68.

Ulphangatista was the ceremony of death, whenever an important man died, his family and the villagers went to the Aray, the dancing arena. There they built a four-post structure, Ul pang (Pashto: Palang), for him and placed his corpse on top of it. Before doing so, his head was
shaved, the viscera were removed from his belly and his body was washed clean. Tasseled boots, Kedzutsa, and a turban of about two yards in size were worn by the dead. If he was very rich then his family put on to him, besides his new clothes, up to seven splendid robes.

The corpse lay for one day on the Ul pang in Bagramatal, and around it the people danced Ruta, which was the dance of sorrow. In this dance they moved their hands in many special moods expressing homage and grief. With the dance the Bari, handicraft men, played Shpa, a kind of pipe or flute, and Muni, a type of drum which was broad on the sides and narrow in the middle.

The next day the corpse was removed from the Ul pang, and carried to the coffin ground where it was placed in a special wooden box, Shani. Besides his clothes, the relatives deposited two necessary materials in the coffin with him. First, weapons—a bow, Duru; a quiver, Shtar, full of arrows, Kani; a dagger, Tchuri; and an axe Kashe or Kushi Vuza (decorated axe); and second, some food—wheat-bread mixed with ghee, cheese, wine and water; were put with him in the coffin. All the different weapons were not put with every dead man in the coffin. Each weapon symbolized the social status of the dead. For instance, a quiver was placed in the coffin only with a man who had secured the ranking position of Leymach. Some thirty arrows were also placed in the quiver before depositing it in the coffin. (A leymach carried a quiver in the dancing and adorned himself with it in other ceremonies as well. At the battle he took out two arrow at once from his quiver. While holding one with his mouth, shot the other at his enemies). The coffin was not buried, but deposited on the surface of the ground in a secluded place.

The corpse was then replaced by a temporary effigy which was called Kezmats. This effigy was made out of the stems of millet, Ktsa. Then they continued their rituals in the presence of this effigy. The effigy was then representing the dead man. For twenty days (three to nine days, recorded in 1968) it lay on the Ul pang. People from all over the Bash Valley came for ceremonial rituals. When they arrived at the village, they first went to the Aray and danced Ruta around the Ul pang with the effigy on top of it. In all dances, the women relatives of the dead danced in the first circle, the men relatives in the second circle and all other people danced around them. After the dancing, a man orator who was called Dabelal, and a woman named Nam-shu-valali, recited the genealogy of the dead person and gave speeches of about his splendour and achievements in his life-time.

On the first day, the dead person's family offered fourteen live oxen to the people in the village (probably to the fourteen Ura; their numbers coincide). The supreme chief received one ox every day, so long as the Kezmats was lying on the Ul pang. This ox was sacrificed to Imra on
the same day. All the people present there were served food and wine
by the dead person's family. In the mornings, for the breakfast, cheese,
butter and bread were served which lasted till the early afternoon; but
for supper there was the cooked meat and soup of the immolated ani-
mals and bread. Supper was served to the people until almost midnight.
(As there was the shortage of utensils, for cooking as well as distrib-
ing the food, the people could not eat at the same time. In small groups,
they ate in turn).

The offering of the fourteen oxen to the village on the first day and
one ox everyday to the Uramuvnayi, Ura's house master and their chief,
Urjish. till the Kezmats remained on the Ulpang was a fine. Every-body
who introduced a new custom or a technique, or eliminated an old one.
was fined in such a way.

When Easti, the leader of the Kam people of the lower Bashgal,
died, the people danced around him in the Aray. But his sons claimed
that as their father was a sacred and superior man, and they did not
want the dust of the dancers' feet to fall on him. For this reason, they
built an Ulpang, a high wooden stage, and placed him upon it. Then they
danced around the Ulpang, while the corpse was lying on top of it.

The Kati people of the upper Bashgal, who were participating in
the ceremony, observed the change. There were seven brothers among
the Katis. When the Kati people returned to their village, the seven
brothers went, the next morning, to the shrine for Imra and sacrificed
an ox for him. (It was a religious rule that whenever somebody had a
wish and went to Imra-ta, he immolated an ox). Since their own father
was old and might die, they wished to hold a ceremony of mortuary
which would be similar to the one of the Kamb (eg) ram people. The
following night their father died of a heart attack. The next day the
seven brothers held a ceremony similar to that of the Kam people for
Basti. But the Kati tribesmen and their chiefs objected to it. Because
they had brought a new custom to the community. The people told the
seven brothers that if they wanted to perform the new mortuary rites,
then they had to give fourteen oxen to the people on the first day and
one ox to the supreme chief every day until they removed the Kezmats
of their father from the Ulpang. Since then, it was a rule that anybody
who wanted to put their dead and his Kezmats on the Ulpang had to
give fourteen cows to the tribesmen and one to the Uramuvnayi each
day. At the end of the ceremony the Kezmats was carried to the Shani-
tan. There it was deposited below the coffin of the dead.

After the lapse of one year, a wooden image was erected as a me-
morial for the dead person. They went through most of the rituals per-
formed at the ceremony of mortuary, but with some difference. The
music and the dances were full of joy and the participants were attired
in their magnificent clothes. The women who wore an ordinary cap, puch, in their workaday life, used horned head-dresses called Singwaja on this and other occasions of happiness.

The death ceremony of the hero Basti had taken place in 1890 and was observed by Robertson, which I have enterwoven in the concisely reformed description cited above. Most probably the Basti mentioned in the account from Bagramatal was the same hero. But in the ceremony for Basti in Kamdesh, the bed-frame on which his corpse laid was similar to those of the two young raiders and the woman. Robertson has not noticed anykind of peculiarity of the bed frame for him in comparison to those of the others. Then what now about the Bagramatal account? Was that an old myth of origin of the rite, but retimed and referred anew? In spite of this reference of origin for the Ulpangatista, there still was difference between Bagramatal and Kamdesh, regarding the rites of mortuary. Besides those differences pointed out by Robertson, cited before, another difference is in the bed for the dead. From the related descriptions it can be inferred that the corpse of the deceased, in Bagramatal, was laid on a wooden stage standing high up from the ground in the center of the dancing arena; But in Kambram (Kambragram), the dead body was placed on a bed-frame which was held up shoulder high by slaves. Besides the Ulpang, there was another wooden stage in the dancing arena of Bramatal (Bagramatal), called Kana. On this stage the heroes and the chiefs danced above others. There on the Kana they displayed and distributed war booty among the warriors as well.

The following mortuary rites are given by two informants from shamal gram (Wama) to the writer in Munjan. Whenever a person was near death in Wama, the Kafirs played for him a kind of harp, Waj, a stringed musical instrument, until he was dead. Then the viscera were removed and his body was completely cleaned. The corpse was kept for three days.

Expensive clothes were put on to the dead body; a sash was laid on his shoulder; and socks woven from silk were placed on his feet. During these three days, on several occasions, the people lifted up the bed-frame on which the corpse was laid. They held this frame on their shoulders while the others danced around it. Women danced in the first row or circle and the men behind them. A religious man payed compliments to his courage, generosity, and personality. He described his life-history and his contributions to the Kafirs' religion and society. After the lapse of these three days, the Kafirs' placed his corpse in a wooden coffin together with different kinds of food, clothes and arms. Then they deposited the coffin in a cave. There were three types of cave in Wama. In one of the caves they placed the coffins of poor people; in the second
one the coffins of their women were set; and in the third cave the coffins of their ranked men were deposited.

Motamedi writes that the box for the dead body was called Be by the Parunis. After it was deposited in the field, two persons stayed near the box till the evening. Then they gave offerings for twelve days. They were not allowed to give the sacrificial food and meat, which were considered clean, to the women. The Be, coffin, was used for several members of the family, but the coffin for the women was separate (1957:15). Robertson has also mentioned it, that several dead bodies were put in the same receptacle, but only a very "big" man had a coffin all to himself.

At the Shanitan many coffins are decayed by age, and their contents were exposed to view. He adds that the boxes were never renewed (1896:641). This carelessness about the corpse and its coffin was probably due to their replacement by the dead man's effigy. It was then the effigy which generally received more attention of the people than the corpse of the deceased in the Shani. Because, the effigy was closely associated with the idols of their deities. This association was probably to their similarities in form, structure and material. The study of these aspects will be the subject of our next chapter.

(To be continued)
Ushass

By N. Torwayana

Translated into English by Nurullah Sahree

She was offered to the Buddha of Kanishka's temple to be presented to the threshold of that cold and silent statue. When the blue heavens of Kapisa was filled with noisy cranes, and the land of Ashawa was adorned with firey tulips, crows were gathered at the foot of Mount Pahlawan, opposite the grand Kanishka's Monastery.

A big carriage, decorated with blossoms and pulled by eight white bulls, was slowly driving near to the great temple.

Musicians were playing the song of Naga, king of the water-snakes whose territory lies at the bank of the River Nilab.

Buddhist Monks wearing Saffron colored robes, full of wrinkles lined in front of the temple; the white haired sheikh of monks appeared among them.

A big crowd was silent and patiently waiting against the temple steps, and except for the eyes watching the flowered carriage moving, slowly toward them not any movement could be seen in these stiff and solemn figures. Behind the carriage were the musicians playing their pipes; sounds of the drums could also be heard. A number of people in regular lines followed the rose covered carriage after the musician. Among them were seen an old man and an old woman, pale faced and tear shedding eyes. Among the wreaths of the spring flowers was standing a fair maiden with dark hairs, black eyes, ruby lips but pale in the face.

It looked as if a beautiful bird was kept in a cage of flowers, or a shining star embraced by silver clouds under the blueish light of a spring moon.

The end of the day was nearing. The cloudy sky was getting darker and darker. The ebony dishevelled hair of the fethered maiden was scattered upon her shoulders; her astonished eyes expressed her embarrassment.
Never before had they offered a bride prettier than this one, and never before had they sacrificed a maiden as fair and charming as her. She was tied with chains of flowers. They were to sacrifice her to a cold and silent statue in whose chest had never beaten a heart and in whose eyes never beaten a heart and in whose eyes never glittered a light.

That black, hard-hearted figure dominated in the great hall of the temple filling its dark, quiet air with his grace and imposing grandeur. Since long years had he fixed his dark eyes to the door without a moment of interruption. Was this awesome figure waiting for her for centuries that was so solemnly established like a mountain and so persistant like the sky? Centuries had elapsed but he had not closed his eyes and kept his silence.

May be his body trembled for once and at least once his hard heart beat in his silent chest that day!

With the movement of the carriage, under the gaze of Kapisa inhabitants arrived Ushass, worried with her thoughts of a horrible destiny which made her tremble with fear. Her arms were naked and her body wrapped in a garment of white silk. She didn't have any other ornamentation and her mother hadn't added any extra decoration to her beautiful nature. Ushas was a symbole of beauty and a collection of all the elegance. Her beauty had the splendour of the moon and stars, beyond the reproach of a waiting-maid. No hand was needed to add a curl to her curly hair or to bring a change in the rosey color of her face. She was so dominated in the world of beauty, charm and youth as was the great Buddha of the Kanishka temple in the world of soberness, dignity and solitude.

Ushass was a beauty queen at the spring of her life, while that silent figure was a margrave of the fort of silent and mortality. She was a light like the splendour of the moon which shines through the windows of the splendid castles of the rich or through an aperture into the huts of the miserables to light their dark corners, but she would illuminate the dark angles of the people's hearts. while that cold figure calm thousands of the happy hearts, would quench thousands of the tumultuous, refractory flames of hopes and desires.

On that day they were to sacrifice life at the foot of death, beauty in the presence of grandeur, the sound at the threshold of silence, and the light in the corner of dark.

They were going to conceal Ushass, a citizen of Kapisa, in the darkness of the monastery, under the shade of that granite Buddha.

They were going to imprison that free, beautiful bird inside the black, stone house of the Buddhist Pious.
On that day the burning flames of love were to be quenched and wrapped with ashes. Why don't they wrap the splendour of the moon with dark clouds? Why didn't they rob the brilliancy of the twinkling stars in the sky in the middle of night? Why wouldn't they break the knot of the pleiades? And why wouldn't they prevent the sun to shine upon the foamy tides of Shotol?

On that day they were going to make a toy out of a hopeful heart for the frozen, depressed hearts of the hermits of the Kanishka's temple. They were going to devote the twisting hair of a pretty maid to the monks of Kohistan, wearing sacred threads on her heads.

Many anxious eyes were looking at her with love and praise, but no hand possessed the power to rescue her. No one had the authority to prevent her from being burned among the course walls, under the shadow of tall pillars of the temple. No body could help to prevent her from being deprived of her happy and youthful life. The rose covered carriage brought her at the foot of the temple's steps.

The chief monk started to recite and others joined him. The trembling voice of that old man, who was a devoted worshipper in the temple and a devotee of the black Buddha from his youth, had an amazing effect. The crowded people all joined him accompanied by the flutes of the shepherds. Their song was a praise of Ushass, a song which was sung for thousands of years around Parou-Pamizad in front of the angels of beauty and bride of dawn.

Ushass was the only precious gift of Vedi who had dazzled the eyes of Hindukush since the ancient times, manifesting like a fairy in the lustrous heavens.

Against the beauty and splendour of Ushass Andra had lagged behind and Suria had thrown her diamond spear in the limit of the sky.

Asweens were the tireless riders to escort her on her way, and Varouna, the night watch of the boundless sky was entirely absorbed by seeing her.

Ushass, that beautiful bride of the mountains who had appeared on the earth after thousands of years was brought up in the skirts of the vineyards of Istalif.

Her mother with bent statue held her arm. The dim evening light had given a dawn-like elegance to the altar. The torches were brought closer to give a fiery appearance to that beautiful offer.

It was not known whether she was trembling or was it the tremulous flames that showed her quivering.

The leader of the monks came down with slow steps and extended his trembling and wrinkled hand to hold the embellished finger tips of the bride of mountain's idol temple. Youth and old were brought together
and her weeping parents kissed the forehead of Ushass which was shining like the true dawn in that dark environment and said good-bye.

The bride of the black Buddha was taken up the stairs slowly and tediously and led her to the plateform where the monks stood. It was sunset when she climbed upon the steps like a bright moon. Ushass was in the middle while the monks stood in lines beside her. The city of Kapisa was appeared in the front. The clamour of the river was audible and the cry of water could be heard. With a sad gaze Ushass said farewell to the great city of Kapisa, to the valleys and gorges of Kohistan, to the environment of Istalif and its attractive vineyards.

Ushass was ready to say farewell with youth and happiness, with the praising looks of the heart ravishing youths, with the splendour of life.

How much she wished to see the free world once more! and how much she longed for a glance at the blue horizon of Kapisa before entering the stone dungeon of the Black Buddha's temple!

Night came. The chief of the temple took her hand to lead her inside the temple. A heavy rough iron door was shut with a harsh sound. A dark but splendid and awful hall appeared in front of her. The big Black Buddha was standing at the supreme end of the hall. The Buddhist monks, each with a torch in his hand, were standing at the foot of the walls, praising and blessing for Ushass. This was the first time that the brightness of dawn was glittering in the darkness of the idol-temple, and the star of beauty was twinkling in that corner of silence and seclusion.

With dispersed hair, she was standing in front of the Black Buddha who was wildly looking at the devotees. For the first time he noticed that the pious were not looking at him. All the eyes were focussed at Ushass; the silent hearts started beating in the cold chests of the monks and pious.

This was the first time that the Black Buddha overshadowed by the charming beauty of her cheerfulness. It was the same respected, sober statue in front of whom the great Kanishka, the Master of the Kayani crown, the hero of the world had bowed and submitted.

It was the same cold, silent figure against whom all famous speakers of Bakhdi and of Kapisa were silent. This was the same fearful Buddha for whom the grand kettle drum in the emperor's castle would thunder every dusk and dawn causing the hearts of old and young to tremble with awe.

Caravans of the worshippers arrive there from east and west, from Khotan and Khita every day to worship him, and trains of admirers come there every evening from the vicinities of Ganga and Jamna.

Today he is defeated against the appearance of a dancer whose beauty and charm has ever shadowed his dignity, has placed him in the dark.
Ushass was a sacrifice presented to the threshold of Buddha, but still she wanted to beat his grandeur with the charm of her beauty and the attraction of her eyes.

The old monk who had shed tears at the foot of that cold statue could tolerate no more.

His trembling voice came out of his dry throat: "O! lord, today your worshippers present to your grandeur the most beautiful maiden. Please accept her! so that she may light the torches of this temple in the evening, and at dawn she may sing the songs of the paradise before you. For your praise should be done with a voice that tames the iron claws of the eagle and steps the flow running waters:

O'lord, please grant her!"

"In mid-nights, when people are fast asleep, and noises of the city calm down, she may play vocal and instrumental music in front of you, and when the blades of fire start dancing, she may twist like the blue smokes of fire place in the temple, and may strut elegantly like the offended deers of Hamoon and Zabullistan. Please accept her!"

Uashass the dancer of Kapisa, the daughter of Sina, Ushass, the singer of mountains, the damsel of Suria, Ushass, that spring flower, who was in the cruel hands of the world was captured for the purpose of sensual desires of man. She was burning like a torch in the ring of the wine bribbers. In the gathering of the singer and musicians she would sing to the tone of the flutes. She had amazed even the archers of the citadel, and had penetrated into the hearts of most powerful commanders.

Men and women had become restless, and flames were burning in the hearts of all. She was ruling in the town with her beauty; her charm and belovedness dominated upon world. We have deprived her of her life so that she may adorn your castle, and may sacrifice her youth and may sacrifice her youth and beauty at the foot of your grandeur. Please accept her, O' lord! and do not mind smallness ".

Permit her to make her hair white at your foot, and to bend her body at the door of their temple. Let her eyes lose their sight and her face wrinkle with age. Let her last breath fly away quietly like a tamed bird”.

After a moment the old man called in a louder voice, "O' Lord, please accept her". He had hardly finished his words when he pushed Ushass toward the figure of Buddha, and she fell down with surprise at the foot of the statue.

The hall was silent with the only sound of slow groanings and wailing of Ushass. Her attractive body was slowly jerking on the floor.

A fearfull shadow was moving across the temple’s wall. Trembling torches were making the Buddha’s shadow waver against the wall. Bud-
dha's face was glittering like a lustrous steel. Seated on the floor, Ushass was looking at him.

The old Buddha had a coarse neck and thick arms. Was he watching the doorway or was he gazing at her? His lips rested upon each other without any smile. His chest was not moving up and down.

Ushass got up and gazed at him for a moment, then started moving toward the solemn figure until she reached in front of him. She climbed up the two steps of the platform; she went nearer and brought her head close to his lips.

He was without a breath and his eyes lacked luster.

Ushass stretched her hand and touched his arm. His body was cold. No warmth was ever felt all over his body. He was nothing more than a lifeless figure. He was only a work of art made of a black stone, a stone still revealing the marks of the sculptor's chisels.

The skillful sculptor had long ago made this work of art. But no body knows him, and all praise and celebrate his work. The artist's work was by no means an attractive, pretty statue to charm the onlookers. No soul was blown into him in order to say something to influence the people. He had no power to dominate and rule upon the wondering people. He is only a lifeless figure. Then why do they worship him? Why do they celebrate him?

Many a life that has been sacrificed at his foot for centuries. Thousands of men give their lives in the silent shade of this monstrous rock, leave the open fields of the plains, and forget the joy and happiness of life. They devote their lives to praise this cold piece of rock; they don't see the glorious manifestation of the dusk and dawn; they quit the idea of watching the foamy waves of the rivers, or to look at the reflection of moon dancing in the water. They don't recognize the dawn from the twilight. They won't look at the colorful, sweet smiling flowers in the land of Hindukush mountain, nor do they listen to the sound cascades. They are not able to notice the signs of beauty and virtue in the land of Yama. The indurance and the affliction of life, and the love and affliction are considered by them as the world's constrousness, and resemble the man's flames of hopes and wishes as poisonous snakes.

The voices created for the sake of exiting a soul are to be devoted to praise a lifeless figure, and the beautiful figure created for the manifestation of beauty is forced to isolation and darkness. Why do they worship him?

They want to imprison her with a world of hopes and happiness of life, her smallness. Let her make her hair white at your foot, and to bend her body at the door of this temple. Let her eyes lose their sight and her face wrinkle with age! Let her lost breath fly away quietly like a tamed bird and sit on the notches of the castle of the worthy ones". 
Indeed, they want her not to leave this dark temple until her face is wrinkled and her body is bent!
They want to imprison her with a world of hopes and happiness of life, to forget her youth and gaiety.

O' Kapisa,
The city of the lustful, exited people,
O' green hamlets,
O' blue and silver waters,
And you, great violet mountains!
I must see you all; I must pick up tulips from your purple skirts in the spring.
I must join with the lustful maiden of the pleasant valleys in this mountainous country.

O' brave youth of Pakteya, the Pakts are proud of you. Your arrow shines in the darkness of the battle field like a shooting star in the heart of night; your sword glitters in the blackness of the battle field like thunder in the spring.

Mounted on a black horse you look like Mars mounting upon the black horse of heavens; and upon your vehicle you make a ride resembling Andra on his golden carriage.

O' Arshak, O' great wrestler!
I fear that the pretty girls beyond the Sindh might attract you with their charming eyes.

Arshak, O' Arshak, I'm yours, so don't let me for a black, silent stone figure!"

Tears choked her. She walked back slowly and leaned against a stone pillar.
Many torches were lit during the night; warriers were gathered together with their glitering swords and spears in their hands. It was a little after midnight.

Musicians were playing music, the laughther of the army officers had filled the grand hall of the Kapisi palace. All dancers finished their turns. Now it was her turn. She must dance, but never before had she appeared before a party like this one. She had a blue dress on, and a light blue ribbon around her head. Small, silver stars were fixed on her dress. The time was passing; the sound of the music filled the hall, the heads were heavy.

She was playing the music and singing. Cries of exultation and applause were heard. Hundreds of eyes watched her eagerly, but only two lifeless eyes had attracted her attention. A young warrior with tanned color was gazing at her from a corner. His dark hair was under the helmet striking out only in the temples. His penetrating eyes were
not moving like his whole body as if he was a lifeless statue. His eyes were only anxiously watching.

Never before her heart had thus beat in the chest of Ushass, and never before had a gaze lit such a fire in her heart. She could hardly continue her singing, but she was not able to turn away her looks from his eyes. That pair of eyes attracted her like amber but there was an obstacle from the crowded. She wished to fly, to catch his hand and take the way to the planes. She wished to leave Kapisa, to cross the deserts and mountains, to reach in lonely place where there should be no one but he and she.

The victorious old man whose hair were white like the summit of Hindukush mountain, and who was considered to be the invincible and unconquerable master of battles, had lost his control.

His lifeless eyes would glance at her every now and then. They wanted her. He wanted to renew, to restart his lost life and to gain the most precious pearl of Kapisa. The old wanderer of the deserts, gain the conquerer of the world, the warrior whose body was marked with signs of wounds from battles, amongst the famous honoured ones wished to compensate his life-long pains and afflictions by gaining that beautiful dancer of Kapisa. She was to be given to him. The chief of the city guards was whispering with the governor of the capital’s castle.

It was to the consent of the leader and emperor; all Kapisa chiefs were indebted to the warrior’s adventures and sacrifices.

The astonished young fellow began moving like a huge white horse having broken the bonds he moved towards the scene of the dancers to place a bunch of red flowers at her foot. For she was singing:

'Tis the spring season,
Red tulips are grown up from the moist soil,
And purples have given a charming color to mountains.
The maidens are this year prettier than last year,
O' warrier, hurry, hurry on with your dusty hairs,
Before they blow the farewell flute, haste and hurry,
Or else you will be sorrowfully wandering in the deserts’.

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Red flowers were scattered on the floor before her. Her tongue was no longer able to say a word. She seemed to be fixed at the ground. Two warm looks were exchanged from either side. The hall was filled with silence.

The chief of the army got up. He was powerful and never defeated by the enemy. Never before had any one ravished a sweetheart from his hand. He pulled his bow to send an arrow towards the youth. The young
warrior too was quick and ready with an arrow in his bow. Ushass had hardly finished her scream with a move to make her body a screen to save the youth, when an arrow flung into the air to sit right into chest of the old chief. The old warrior dropped on the floor with a bleeding heart. Crys and clamours filled the hall. The body was carried out and the young warrior was imprisoned.

Messengers took the way to Bakhdi to inform the emperor of this event. The old army chief was counting his last minutes of life in the agony of death. It was after midnight. Other chietains sat around him to see him die. Two big torcher were burning above his bed. He opened his eyes to say his last words in a faint voice.

"Don't hand him over to the executioner", he said, "And don't kill him for the revenge of my death. I was the first to attack, and more over, the dancer belonged to him." He continued, "I didn't have the right to take his bride. I had forgotten to realize that the old is not as worthy as the you. I wasn't the young man but the seduction and madness of his love that killed me. Just free the young warrior before my soul leave my body and send him to the battlefield. Because he is brave and his arrow sits right in the chest of the enemy. He will probably give his life in the end of the day".

His body wasn't yet buried in Kapisa, when Arshak the young warrior was despatched toward the east with the first group of soldiers. He was called before the court of the judges.

Did he have any other crime but youth and beauty? Did the judges have a heart in their chests? Were they dominated by justice even for a while?

No, they were not! For they ordered him to seclusion and desertion so that to be forsaken by all and to forget the whole world. All the memories paraded before his eyes and the night in the temple showed its dark scourage like his bad luck. The black Buddha was again watching the world of silence and forgetfulness with his open eyes and sober appearance. The stone walls of the temple secluded him from the moving, lively world.

The chief of monks led Ushass to her chamber. It was a small one having a bed in one corner and an earthen jug in the other corner. Its window opened into a small yard. Her chamber was in the upper floor.

The unceasing, monotonous murmer of the monks praying their prayers reached to her ears. She was not able to sleep. A small earthen lamp spreaded a dim light in the chamber. Her eyes were watching around in the darkness of the night. The ceiling was covered with small
square tiles. Her heart was beating irregularly and the figure of the young archer, Archak appeared before her. She would sometime remember the vineyards of Istalif and its surrounding houses. Her father was a gardner and an expert in growing vines. May be, her father has now left his leasure, wandering among the vine yards to rild the pain and sorrow of daughter. Her mother is watching and through the window of the chamber. Under the dim light of the stars tears glitter on her wrinkled face.

The sky was full of bright stars casting a faint light upon the world. Though the clusters of grapes have not yet appeared upon the vines to shine like the stars in the sky, yet the drops of dew were glittering upon the vines. All the world was shining. No dark mists of pain, and no darkness of night can silence the splendidour and brightness of the world. Only this dark corner has no other brightness but the flames of the smoky torchers. The blazes of fire are burning in the temple, but their flames are grievous and drenched in sorrow.

Ushass was refractory and disobedient. She must fight against darkness and ignorance. She must not let dejection and depression to overcome her. She must keep her youth, and must remain eternal with the power of her beauty. She must not surrender to the monks; she was not to be imprisoned in that stone fort. For if she surrendered, beauty and joy, love and affection, happiness and light would all be victims of ugliness and pain, of fanaticism and rancour, and of silence and darkness.

She was free like pigeons of the deserts, and used to climb upon the tops of the mountains. She must fly. She must not remain in the cage-like a broken winged bird; she must get out of their temple of the heart—broken devotees to see the beauty of the nature and reality of the universe. She should prefer an instance of life in the open, bright world to a thousand years long life in this dark corner; she would prefer a moment of freedom to a thousand years of captivity.

Has man ever imprisoned a ray of light that they want to imprison her. Has man ever kept a voice or a sigh inside the chest?

No! No power in the world can harness the light. Not even the strongest of hands can dominate on sighs and wailings. Ushass is a light shining in the explendour of dawn; she is a voice coming out of the throat of the mountains; she is a sigh flown out of the heart of the vineyards. She can not be kept a captive. She is the symbole of the greatest and prettiest manifestation of virtue. No one can conceal the virtue! However silent the virtue may be its voice can be heard, and no veil can hide the manifestation of beauty.
The free world was calling Ushass towards itself. She heard the summons of the world and the murmur of the stars. She suddenly jumped out of her bed and went towards that voice.

There was a small door in a corner of the room. Suddenly opened the door and climbed up the stairs. The cold breeze of the night touched her face when she reached the roof of the temple.

The star-studded firmament of the sky appeared before her eyes. Darkness was still dominated and there was no sign of the dawn. The lights of Kapisa were off but the outline of the city could be seen. Streaks of the past year snow were seen on the summit of mountains.

The roaring of the river was dominant upon all other voices. The voice of the nightingale pearcing the dark air reached her from afar. The water of the river looked dark with white foames which even the darkness couldn't hide them. The wall of the temple faced towards the river with its rushing stream passing hurriedly by it. The foamy waves were rushing toward the east, and after passing through twisted valleys reached the land where Arshak was fighting against the enemy.

Uashass didn't have any other place to go, and she knew no better guide than the river. The stream of Nilab would take her to Arshak. Ushass was murmuring:

The river is a clear course,
Its course will never change.
The stream will not stop blowing,
And would take her straight to her beloved.

The dawn had not yet broken, and the bride of the day had not yet shown her face when Ushass let herself off to the roaming tides of Nilab. The flow of water would take her to the land of Undus to free her from the captivity of the monks.

At the day break the worshippers found Buddha alone in the stone hall of the temple where like ever before was looking silently towards the entrance of the temple.
The Mother of the Dari Language

by: Prof. A. H. Habibi

Translated into English by: Mohammad Kazem Ahang

Feminine Gender and Masculine Gender:
In the Baghlan inscription feminine and masculine genders are absent. In this regard it is most probably like that of Dari, since there were not separate signs for the feminine and masculine genders in the Kushanid language. This of course is different from Paxto language, since Paxto has the genders. Consequently we can say that Paxto might not be extracted from the Kushanid language and contrarily it seems that Dari is the direct descendent of the Kushanid language. Like the Kushanid language feminine and masculine genders are absent in Dari also.

Historical Consequences:
A) The first founder of Bagling (Baghlan) was Big Shah Kanishka, Namwar Bahrawar, whose two titles were Shah-i Buzurg and Khuda Shah which were originally Name Berg (famous) and Bahrawar (fortunate). The writer of the inscription called him, “the great king and the founder of Baghlan”.

B) The fortress and the palace of Bagling was called Maliz=Mhadizh (the great fortress). It was believed that Kanishka built the palace in urgency. And the same building was called Minder (Temple).

C) As it will be described under word number 35, the specific name of the temple was Naushad=Naushali.

D) After Kanishka's death the water of this temple was dried out and thus the fire worshippers left the palace also.
E) In the spring of 31 years of Kanishka period, around 160 A.D., when the late "Paghpoor Loyak Buser bin Shizo Gurg", under the Kushanid empire was ruling as a king in this empire, a person named Nukunzok was sent to Bagling (Baghlan). Nukunzok was an important personality of the time and he had the rank of Kinarangi, of the Mairige family. He was ordered by the king and his prime minister, Khudi and Ioman Naubakht, to go to Bagling. In the kingdom he was in charge of organizing the affairs of water and irrigation. He was sent to Baghlan for the purpose of repairing the temple of Baghlan. Arriving there he dug a well and built it with bricks. More over an extensive area was annexed with the temple and this was rebuilt. Since water was again found in the temple, Noushad, it was rehhabatated by the fire worshippers.

F) As confirmed by Surkh Kotal excavators, this great building, in later periods. burned and was extensively damaged. During the excavation it was discovered that the central hall, corrodore and even the porches of the building were all plastered with ashes. The mission stated that signs of burning were witnessed in both temples—the original one and the subordinated one. The incident must have taken place, purposefully, during the invasion of Shahpooor the Second around 240 A.D.

G) The well that the inscription informs us about was discovered during an excavation and still existed with its greatness. At the same time the remains of the stream, about which the inscription informs us, was discovered in the area.

H) For the repair work of the Noushad temple and the great fortress, besides Nukunzok, there were a number of other persons who were called by the orientalists as the repair mission (or the repair committee). The names of these persons are at the end of the inscription, even with the signs of the signature of two of them as follows:

1) Burze Mehr (Buzer Jamhîr)
2) Kuzgashki poor
3) Mira Main
4) Amir Man Buruz Mehr Poor (Amir Man son of Buzer Mehr)

1) The inscription bears some names, titles of the royalties and the government officers as follows:

1) Big (the great king)
2) Khudi (Khuday=Shah=Khidew)
3) Big Bohre (Baghpoor=Faghfoor=King's son)
4) Loix (Loyak), a family name.
5) Krel Kang (Kinarang), a military family title.
6) Marig (a family name)
7) Istil gansigien=stre Gansigien?=president of gansigien:
8) Firistarab (in charge of water supplyng=Mirab)
9) Ioman=Imin (most probably the prime minister).
    More detail about these words is given when they are analyzed later.

J) It became clear, by reading the inscription, that the mother of current Dari language in Afghanistan existed as early as the beginning of the A.D. periods. It also shows that Dari was not born of Pahlavi but during its long life changed from its mother—that was the Kushanid language—into the present condition. Meanwhile it is worth mentioning that Paxto might have been spoken, at that time, in different mountains of Afghanistan since the influence of both languages, Paxto and the Kushanid, were too obvious on each other in some words of the Surkh Kotal inscription.

**Three Copies of the Inscription:**

Surprisingly when the excavation of the Surkh Kotal was going on, in the Noushad temple and the fire place, a big one piece stone inscription and several small pieces were discovered. Putting together the pieces of stones two other copies of the inscription were found—with the same purpose, alphabet and peculiarities.

1) The inscription in one stone, the first copy as I named it, was in good condition, clean and with better writing style. Two other copies might have been inscribed the same time, or before or latter.

2) The second copy consisted of 21 pieces of stone, each with different length and width. Some pieces were slightly damaged but with the help of the first copy it can be read. This copy has 27 lines with the signature signs at the end. Calligraphy of this copy was similar to that of the first copy. Its gracefullness, comes after the first copy. The width of these pieces are from 270-294 millimetres but the length of the longest piece is not more than 405 millimeters.

3) The third copy of the inscription consists of 32 pieces of stones, with different length and width. There are more obvious damages in the pieces of this issue than the second one. Its writing style is not good either. For example, first portion of each line started with bigger letters, in the middle the letters are smaller, and at the end of lines they are in medium size. The signature signs, seen in the first and the second copies, are not in the third one. All in all, it is not as complete as the first and the second ones. Each pieces of this copy has 295 millimeter width while their longest one is 490 millimeters long. Altogether it has 27 lines.

As was mentioned these three copies of an inscription were discovered in Baghlan temple in Surkh Kotal. But why three copies were inscribed from one text and why their writing styles and inscriptions were different from one to the other? And why some of them were written
well and with ripeness and some careless? Are all questions that for the moment are difficult to answer. It is most probably that the first copy, as I named it, was written under close supervision of the repair mission and done with utmost care. Also it might have been written by skilled calligraphists. But the two other copies might have been written by less skilled calligraphists or primary writers who were careless in inscribing them.

More or less, a similar example could be the inscription of Ahmad Shah the great tomb. The fact is this when the tomb was being built an inscription too was prepared in a very beautiful Nastaliq style of writing. Later when the tomb was going to be reaped its inscription was repainted resulting in the lose of some of its beauty and graciousness. It now looks quite different from its original artistic work.

For better or worse, the reading of the Baghlan inscription points out the following to us:

Because of differences in calligraphy and inscription existing among the different copies of the inscription we can no doubt say it was not inscribed by one person at the same time.

I am going to publish them as analyzed by prof. E. Benveniste so the differences can be seen easily. Analyzing the inscription, I have several times referred to the differences existing in this regard also.

It is noteworthy that the pieces of the second and third copies of the inscription were found in the wall of the well, which was mentioned in the inscription. In fact the pieces were used as building material in the well. This will lead us to two different estimations. First, during later periods when they were repairing the temple considered the stones as usual stones and thus used them in the well as building material. Secondly, it is possible when Nukunzok repairing the temple he wanted to fix the inscription also. He may have ordered inscriptions of the two copies first to examine and later since they were written in bad styles he used them in the well. Meantime he may have ordered the writing of the bigger piece in good calligraphy and gracious style. In my analysis I have called this piece, on one piece stone, as the first copy. Since they have written it with all care and correctness its outcome was good so the second and third copies were with no use as document so they were used in repairing the well. However, after 1800 years we have all three copies of the inscription. It is good opportunity here to give full description and analysis of each words of the inscription from the view points of history, philology and grammar, etc.

ANALYSIS OF THE WORDS:

Eid: In old Persian and Avesta “Ida” means here. Similarly, “Aita” in the old Persian means “this” (1) In Herawi dialect of Dari language
the same word existed as “Aiz”=Aid which is used in Tabaqat-i- Sufia repeatedly and it means “is” i.e.

Ou pashine-kasy aiz=Ou peshine kasay ast (pp. 6, 11, 15)
Khana-i haq Aiz=Khana-i haq ast (p. 283)
Shiekh sham aiz=Shiekh sham ast (p. 154) (2)

“Aftan” in the Pahlavi language was used as the infinitive meant “to be” and “Ait” was its singular for the third person meant “is”. (Arda-shir Babakan p. 64)

J. Kent, prof. of Indo-European languages at Pennsylvania University says that a suffix for the singular third person in Indo-European language was as “Eti”; in Avesta as “Iti”; in Sanskrit as “Ati” and in old Persian as “Atiy”. (3)

“Eid” of the Kushanid language which meant as “is” or “here” or “this is” can be considered the same as “Eid” in the Herawi dialect of Dari. Almost the same thing could be found in the Kandahari... Paxto that is “Ai day” and means “this is”. In the Baghlan inscription there are several words with the same characteristic as “Eid” i.e. said (number 7) Kaid (number 50 and 60) asid (number 25) and pid (number 68 and 90). The “d” at the end of each of these words used after “I” in case of change brought in the second word leave silent. Thus today in Dari and Paxto “sid” existed as chi=chee affirmative connector—kid is, like ka and ki affirmative connector; Asid is like Asi=Hassay=like this, in Paxto. This way ‘Eid” of the Kushanid language with silent “D” must becoming “El” in Paxto. Hi=Ai both are used as near demonstrative case i.e. Ai—khwa=Hi-khwa (means this way). In Dari it is as “Aie taraf” (this way) and it is the abbreviation of “Aien taref”. “Eie” in Dari used as abbreviation i.e. “eider” (ei+der) means here; (eidoon (ei+doon) means like this, eira (ei+ra) means this one; Azeira (az+eirt) or Zira means because.

In Pahlavi too “ei” is of special particle. “Ar-Ei” and “Chi Rai” both in Pahlavi meant “for this”. To clear it out we have to mention that “Ein and Ra”, though from the view point of meaning are the same as “Eira”, are originally separate from each other. In fact in Dari the words “Eira”=Eirak=Azirak=Azira are all of the same root. Naser Khusrow says:

Niko Samar show Eirak,
Mardom ba juz samar nist.
or

1) Kent, Old Persian, USA. pp. 164-174
2) Tabaqat-i Sufia, p. 579 and the following pages.
3) Old Persian, pp. 75 and 200.
Nayaram kiyaram buwad jahil eira,
Kira jahil yarast, yarast marsh. (4)

2) Maliz: This word is composed of two parts—Ma+liz=Maha+dazh (great fortress). It was used seven times in the Surkh Kotal inscription with the same letters i.e. in number 16, 23, 44, 79, 95, 112 and 126. It was read by Henning as Madiz. He believed that this word wa originated from the old Iranian word Diza, meant fortress. In fact, temporarily, Henning suggested the meaning of the Akropole of the Greek for this word which meant fortress.

As far as I am concerned, the first portion of the word, Ma, is equal to Maha in Sanskrit which means great. Its examples are seen in the words Machin (great China), Maha Biharat (great Biharat), Mahakula or Maha Khul=of great dynasty and Maharaja (great king). Farrukhi a famous Dari poet says:

Zi Chin-u Machin, ta Rome-u Russ ta Saqlab,
Hama wilayet-i khan ast-u zir ta'at khan. (5)

Asadi Toosi another Dari poet has used the word Maharaja as follows:

Shah-i bood dar Hind Mihraj nam,
Buzurgi ba herajy gusturda kam. (6)

In fact the word is the same as Meh, in Pahlavi, Mathiyah in the old Persian; Masao in Avesta and Misher in Paxto. It means in all mentioned languages great and greater. (7) And this is why Abu Raihan Beiruni translated the Mahchin into Arabic as Assinul-Uzma (the great China). (8) The portion, Maha or Ma, exists in Afghanistan as name of place i.e. Mashour, a place south of the old city of Kandahar. Ma+Shour meant ‘great city’ which is gussed similar on the base of Bagh+shour, a place north of Herat, meant “King’s city”. (9)

Concerning the second portion of the word, that is Liz, Henning believes it is the Diza of the old Persian which in Sanskrit is Dehi (fortress) and Avesta Uzdaeza (means pile upon each other) and in Pahlavi it was Diz. (10)

4) Bahar, Sabk Shinasi, Vol. 1, p. 406
5) Farrukhi's collection of poems p. 251
6) Karshasb Nama, p. 63
7) Footnotes of Burhan-i Qat'a p. 2056
8) Al-Hind, p. 166.
9) Hududdul Alam, p. 58
10) Footnotes of Burhan-i Qat'a p. 850. We have to mention here that Diz-Liz is seen frequently with the names of the Afghan cities i.e. Gardiz, Shaliz etc. The word “Firdous” in Avesta used two times as pairi-Daoza (Venedad Fargard 3, vers
Changing of “L” in the words of the Kushanid language into “d” in the Dari language was quite common as far as seen in the Baghlan inscription i.e. in the words numbers 35, 119, and 64. Thus Kushanid “liz” has changed into Diz (meaning fortress).

Manu Chihri says:

Nigah Dashtan dost ra zi kaid-i zaman,
Hazar qala-i sangin-u sad bazar dizi. (11)

The above illustration concerning the two portion of the word Maliz, gave us a complete idea about the meaning of them. Now if we put them together i.e. Maha=diz=Madiz will come out of them, which means the great fortress. This shows that the temple of Surkh Kotal had a great fortress as well. (12).

3) M: This letter is considered to have been a connective possessive letter and it was used repeatedly in the Baghlan inscription i.e. numbers 15, 121. It was seen too in another inscription of Surkh Kotal in the writing of Palamad.

Currently “me” as a singula and “mu” for plural are used in Paxto for the same purpose—that is possessive connector or possessive pronoun after possessive. In Dari too it is used together with the possessive such as Kitabam (my book).

In the Kushanid language “m” as a possessive connector was used between possessive and possessed i.e. Madiz-M-Kanishko means Kanishka’s fortress. It should be mentioned, however, that the word Kanishka in number 4 is used as Kanishko and in number 11 as Kanishki. Of course, changing of “a” at the end of the word Kanishka occurred according to grammatical case in the Kushanid language. Kanishka’s name on his coins are inscribed as follows:

18 Fargard 5, vers 49). With the same meaning we can find words in different languages such as in Greek, Paradeisos, in Akari Pardsu; in Ebri, Pardes. In Arabic this word through Arami and Suryani, existed as Firdous which means Garden. Meanwhile, the word in French is Paradis, in English Paradise in Dari Falitz is of the same nature and root.

11) Manu Chihri, Collection of poems, p. 139.

12) Here we can mention of “Dis” as home and country in this regard.

But in this case “s” will change into “z”. Similarly, in the word Dia the same “s” has changed into “h” i.e. Dah+des. Thus, possibly, there is a relation between diz=dis=d’ah. This can be seen clearly in the words Gard:z=Ghardiz=Ghordiz means a fortress on the mountain. The word Gardis itself exists in the book Zain-ul-Akhbar Gardizi.
Sha-o nan-o—sha—o—Kanishki—Kushan. It means: "emperor Kanishka of the Kushanid. Similarly, on another coin was inscribed as: Sha-o-Kanishka. (13)

Thus while the modified, king, was used before the name Kanishka, it was changed into Kanishki and contrary, when the modified was used before its modifier as in number 4, the word became Kanishka. This change in the Kushanid language, in fact, is the same as in Paxto.

4) Kanishka: This was discussed in detail under number 3.

5) Anind: This word previously was read together with the word divider, "o" as anindo. It was believed that the word was originated from the "wan" (conquering and invading) and "d". Schulumberger relates it to the conqueror goddess.

Actually this modifier is Anind which was with the names of Buddhist and Brahmanist personalities in Afghanistan and India. Hsuan Tsang, in his memories used the word Anind with several Buddhist names: (14): Similarly, Farnushi mentions a king, contemporary to that of Sultan Mahmud period, as Ninda and Nindaeyan as his dynasty:

Darin kiran firod amad-u kirana bikard,
Zi makr kardan Ninda-i Raiman-i malkar. (15).

Again he says:

Khilaf tu kardast Nindaeyan ra,
Bi-aram-u bi-khwab—u bi—khur. (16).

From what Gardizi says it becomes clear that when Sultan of Ghazna, Mahmud, 396 H., was going to invade Multan on his way, most probably, to the lands of Abasin, a king by the name of Anindpal bin Jipa, was ruling the area. Arriving in his land, Sultan Mahmud ousted him from the throne of kingdom and he retreated to Kashmir. (17)

In any rate, the name Anindpal has the same origin as Anind. The Dari and Paxto literary documents show that Anind has an old origin or rather say deeply rooted in the languages of Afghanistan. In Paxto it means: cheer, happiness, enjoyment and pride. i.e. Khushal Khan says:

Hosheyeasame thikha dirty andishmi-dey,
Chit malang de muss Allah-hagha anind ka. (18)

Similarly, Abdul Qadir Khan Khatak says:

Munzhta thi nahaq alaem wae’ee-pandomma.

14) Memories of Hsuan Tsang, pp. 8, 12, 13, 14, 17, 99, 193.
15) Collection of His poems—p. 52.
17) Zainul Akhbar, p. 53.
18) Collection of his poems, p. 4.
Pukhpul aqil her sarry ka anindoona. (19)

As expressed in the following poem of Hafiz, in Dari, too anind means enjoyment of a beauty:

Shahid an mist ki mo i wa miyan i darad,
Banda i talat i tari hash ki an i darad. (20).

Thus if we join “an” with a suffix “ind”, we can find “anind” out of it which means enjoyment, pleasure and happiness. Of course, this would be adjustable to such words as Girzand, Zaland etc. in Paxto. So there is no reason why should not consider the word anind as a domestic word of Afghanistan since it has close ancient and deep root in the languages of Afghanistan.

20) Footnotes of Burhan-i-Qa’a, p. 64.
19) Collection of his poems, p. 98.
Recent Excavation of 
Hadda Tapa-i Shotur 
1345-1347 (1966-1968)

by Dr. Shahibye Mustamandi

Translated into English by
Mohammed Kazem Ahang

A Historical Introduction:

This article, from the view point of history and archaeology, deals with the area of eastern Afghanistan—that is Jalalabad (Hadda) and the Gandahara. (1) However, studying the whole political issues, economic problems and military affairs we have to take into consideration the whole area included in Ancient Afghanistan, from the eastern Iranian sphere to India and, from the Oxus river up north to the Persian Gulf in the south.

Meanwhile, from the point of view of history we will be studying a period between the second century B.C. to the 6th century A.D.,—that was from the downfall of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom to the beginning of Islam. During that period, second century B.C.–6th century A.D., the schools of art, which are of our main interest here, were in great progress.

1) As Rapsan says (C. H. I., p. 81) Gandahar is the only place which its name, from the Veda’s time until now, has not changed.

The word Gandahara for the first time was used in Rigveda. In the ancient writings of Buddhism, in Purana and in Veda the word Gandahar, meanwhile meant region.

The oldest historical document in which the word Gandahara mentioned was the inscription of Darius the First in Bi-Stoon. Similarly, it was mentioned in the inscription of Persepoli and Suse. Herodotus, 90-94, notes that this area was a Satrap of the Achemenian. However, Alexander’s historians have not mentioned anything about this region (Arian, Anabas’s, Paris, 1877).

Chinese travellers who have been in the region, from 5-7 century A.D., called it as Chin-to-Lo or Chien-T’o-Wei. (Beal, Buddhist Records, 1906).
For twenty years after the conquerings of Alexander the Great, until 305 B.C. when Seleucus gave it up to Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan empire, a part of the Acheminian empire up to Gandahara was under Greeks. This part, afterward came under Asoka, 237-72 B.C. As we know Asoka became a Buddhist or rather say accepted the buddhist belief. During his reign, in spite of the fact that all over Gandahara Buddhist was accepted as a belief, but its art was colored with a Hellenistic characteristic which it kept for long time. From different stone inscriptions and the Asoka column itself one fact becomes clear that after the death of this Mauryan emperor, Asoka, his great empire scattered away, 184 B.C. (2) Thenceord Gandahara came under the rule of several kings. However, from the beginning of the second century B.C. king of Bactria, Demetrious, extended his land toward the south and east. As Tarn says (3) the extension of the reign of Bactria occurred

3) W. W. Tarn, Greeks in Bactria, 1951 pp. 92, seg.
after the Manesia War and before the peace of Apamea that was in 188-199 B.C. (4) In any rate, Demetrios with the help of his generals extended his empire up to Petna and Gung in India. And southward it was extended to Bary Gaza (today's Broach) in the Arabian Gulf. (5). Near the old Texila, close to Sirkap he established a new city and bestowed India and Gandhara to Apollodoto to be ruled by him (6).

4) The time of Demetrio's ascendent to the throne is a matter of dispute among the historians. It is considered to be related to the death of Eutidmo, this is why some scholars believe that Eutidmo was died after 189 B.C., during Magnesia's war. But Tarn in his book (Indo-Greeks, 1957, p. 22) suggests that no document is available for the death of this king and consequently he says that this king was died around 200 B.C.


6) Marshall, J., Taxila, Oxford, 1951. Meanwhile from Ramayana, VIII, 101. VV. 10-16, we know that Taxila and Pushkalavati was built by Bharata, son of Kaikayi and the younger brother of Rama. These two cities were given to two brothers Takså and Taksasila and Puskala and Puskalavati.
In 1969 B.C., Euromatide was ordered by Antioco (7), to conquer the eastern parts of the empire. In 166 B.C. Euromatide arrived in Gandahara and he acquired the major parts of the eastern sphere. However, when Euromatide went to Bactria to invade Mitridate I, Manandro, who inherited this area from Apolloctado, took a chance and recovered the Gandahara from Euromatide. (8) But after Manandro's death Eliocle king of Bakhtbar extended his domain to Gandahara and ousted Stratone, descendent of Manandro.

During the time of Mitridate the first, as Sakas authority was increasing in the west, (9) Gandahara was preserved by the descendent of Euromatide.

Tarn believes that the Sakas were either allied with Mitridate or they were in pension in his army. (10) In regard to Tarn's belief, (11) Mitridate wanted to keep Bactria as a Greek region. He never wanted to leave the Sakas to own Bactria. At that time the Sakas had at their hand Darangiana and Araciosa. The historian believe that Mitridate's empire was extended eastward up to India but the Sakas were ruling Helmand and the whole southeastern parts of the Achemenian empire and the Empire of Greco-Bactrian.

During the time of the descendent of the first Mitridate, besides the invasion of the Seleucides in west, the Sakas stared conquering Bactria and Parthas.

However, Artaban the second, 129-120 B.C., succeeded in expelling them out toward the east. Guistine, in this regard, says (12) that Artaban in fighting against the Tukharians, who were going to enter Bactria, was killed. It is most probable that the eastern invaders, the nomads, were Yue-Chih Chan or the Kushanids, who were coming to occu-

7) Tarn, Greeks in Bactria, 1951, p. 183.
8) Among the coins of Greco-Bactrian, Menander's coins were too many and they were used in a vast geographical area. Meanwhile, Menander was the main cause of "Milindapanha." For this purpose see: Rhys Davdis, questions of king Milinda, 1890 and Narain, Indo-Greeks, 1957, p. 74.
9) Sakas were nomadic people from the Central Asia to whom this was given by the Bactrians. (Herodotus, VII, 64, Plinio, VI, 50). However, these nomad people were called by different names and the word Saka itself is not clear enough how and why it was used for these people. (H. W. Bailey, Languages of the Sakas: B. Spuler Ed., Handhucher Orientalistik, 1, 4, Iranistika, Leida 1958 p. 133; A. J. Van, Windekens, "les noms Des Saces Etdes Scythes", Beitrag zuR Namen Forschong, 1, 1949, pp. 98-102; O. Szemerenyi, "Iranica", Z. D. M. G., 1951, p. 212.
10) Tarn, Greeks in Bactria, p. 199 Seg.
11) Ibid.
12) Guistion, XLII, 214.
py the eastern parts of Partha. The Yue Chihs, once, several years before, were ousted by the Sakas from their land. Latter they too were ousted from their land by Huing-Nu (13) who were most probably the descendents of the Hans. The Yue Chihs, after wandering around for a long time at last, in 128 B.C., came to Bactria and Soghdiana to settle there. (14).

In any rate, until the time of Mitridate son of Artabane the second, who ascended to the throne of kingdom in 124-123 B.C., no important event happened in this corner of the world. As soon as, Mitridate ascended to the throne for the second time war started against the Sakas in


14) According to some scholars this nation, in the second half of the second century B.C., settled around the Oxus river. And it was here that they acquired the native culture of the region and mixed it with their own. At that time a Chinese envoy, Chang Ch'ien, 128 B.C., came to this area and met the people.
which he succeeded. However, Saka’s story is too complicated and unsolved in which case I will end my words about them only with expressing Tran’s views (15). He says that the year 155 B.C., the same time as Mithridate the first was ruling over Bactria. (16) During that time the Sakas were settled in Iran and the southeastern parts. It is obvious that Tarn’s view, concerning the date of Saka’s settlements, is corresponding to the date of copper coins, discovered in Taxila, which were stamped in the year 77 B.C. The coins carry the name of Saka’s king, Maues, who was called the great king. Taxila, Gandahara and a part of Paropamisus were under rule of Maues, the leader of the Sakas of Sindh. In fact in the year 75 B.C. he proclaimed himself as the king of kings, or emperor. As he became an important king of the time his ascendance to the throne can be accepted as the starting point of the Sakas in India—that was the year 80-85 B.C. During the reign of that famous king, which lasted

16, Tarn, op. cit, p. 329 Seg.
somewhat longer, if we accept his death as 58 B.C., the Sakas were the important power in Punjab and the northern parts of India. After Mauces died, the Greeks took hold of the western and southern India again. In the mean time, Kapisa came under rule of Aminta, who was most probably belonged to the family of Eutidemide. Afterward, his son, Hermates, took Kapisa and ruled the region of Kabul, Paropamisus and possibly extended his rule over the northern parts of Paropamisus also. In the south, in the Bucefala region, a city which was built by Alexander the Great near Jhelum, came under rule of a person named Eutidemide Jppostrato.

For years these spheres, including Texila and Gandahara, where Greek art was reaching to its high altitude, were in entire peace. The reason for this peace was the fact that during that time, first century B.C. until 30 B.C., Parthas were in war with the Roman empire in the west. More over they were involved with the internal revolts at home.

In the first century A.D. the first Kushan king, Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises, extended their land to the north and northeastern parts of Bactria. Girshman believes that Gandahara and Taxila were occupied by the Vima Kadphises. (7) Girshman document in this regard is the inscription of Panjisor in which the phrase, "during the empire of the great Kushani king", was mentioned. The inscription belongs to the year 122 of the Sakas date. Girshman and Tarn both (18) believe that the mentioned year was corresponded to 65-62 A.D. during the kingdom of Azes. Counting the historical events of the Mauces kingdom we reach to the year 40 A.D. during which the conquerings of Kujula Kadphises took place. At that time as the Kushanids were ousted by the Chinese power from east, they came to south and southwest and ousted Sakas and Parthas. (19) During the 2nd century A.D., these invasions corresponds to the reign of Kanishka the great—emperor of Kushan.

The empire of the Kushans, with coming of Kanishka in power, extended eastward to Kashmir, southward to Pataliputra and Petra; northward to the Tarm region upto Kashghar and Yarkand. In other words the Kushanid established a great empire extending westward to Marga (Merv) eastward to Khotan, northward to Aral river. Sogdiana and Khwarazm and southward from southern Afghanistan to India. It is worth mentioning, however that some parts of the empire were either autonomous or semi-autonomous.

Just like Asoka, Kanishka became a Buddhist believer and built several Buddhist monuments. His ascendence date to the throne is ac-

18, Tarn, op. cit., 1951 p. 344
19) Gillini, op. cit., p. 54.
tually a big problem and still is a matter of unsolved dispute (2). However, the power of Parthas, during the second century, A.D., declined in the east and this resulted in benefits to the Kushanids. In the period between the Kushanids time and the time of Vasudeva the first, the whole Sakistan came under Kushanids authority. Consequently we can generalize that: most of the Kushanids conquerings took place during the last part of the second century A.D. in which time the Parthas power was declining and the Sasanids were to take power.

In the third century A.D. the Kushanid had established authority over Gandhāra. However, before discovering of the inscription in Zoroaster's Ka'ba and Naqsh-i-Rustam (21) Girshman believed (22) that in 241 A.D. the lands of the Kushanids, including Gandahara, came under the Sasanids. But the discovery rejected Girshman's view. In fact the Kushanids declination started from the end of the fourth century A.D. during which Shahpoor the second started invading the Kushanids. This is why the coins of the fourth century A.D. belongs to both Kushanids and Sasanids. (23) Girshman specifying this time 60 years latter. (24) After Shahpoor the second Kushanid empire became so weak that their land such as Sindh and the areas around the Indian sea (25) went under Sasanids. This view will be supported by the coins of Sasanids—Kushanids which were discovered in the excavations of Gandahar and Punjab. (26) It is true that during that time the Hanhtaletes and the Chivnitis started their invasions. First they (27) have lived in Merv and latter on they went toward the south to follow the path of the Sakas and Yue Chihs and there they started their preimitive life.


21) This inscription was written in Greek, Parthy and Medio Per Sane languages. The recent publication about it is: A., Marica, “Res Gestae Divi Saporis”, Syria, XXXV, 1958, pp. 295-360.

22) Ghirshman, op. cit, p. 165.

23) Curiel-Schlumberger, MDAFA, XIV, 1953 p. 129 Seg.

24) Ghirshman, op. cit, p. 70.


27) To differentiat these two nations is too difficult However, one thing is obvious about them that they were originally from Central Asia. See (Ghirshman, MDAFA, XIII, 1948: R. N. Fraye, La Persia, Pre-Islamica, Milano, 1963, pp. 289-292.
Curren information about the Haphtaletes and Chivnitis was given by Ammiano Marcellino. (28) In 336 A.D. when Shahpoor the second, allied together with the Chivnitis and the Gilanis, for the second time, started war against the Roman empire, took part in the war of Amida in 358. At the end of the fourth century A.D. and the beginning of the fifth century A.D. they went to Soghdiana and then to Bactria and Khurasan. Even, afterward, when they went to Herat, Balkh and Bada-kshan the Gandahar was still not destroyed by the Haphtaletes. In 520 A.D. when Sung Yun passing through these lands writes: "from the time that the Meta—Haphtaletes—were destroying Gandahara two generations have passed," Meanwhile, he mentions some Buddhist temples which were not still damaged and instead were worshipping places of the Buddhists.

28) Ammiano Marcellino, XIX, 1, 7.
The Background and the Beginning of
the Afghan Press System: Part Six
the Pioneers

by Mohammed Kazem Ahang

Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani, Mîrza Abdul Ali and Mawlavi Abdur Raoof:

Previous parts in this series were all devoted to the history and introduction of the newspapers and periodicals published at the end of the 19th century and two decades of the 20th century. There were people who were publishing these papers and we want to introduce these people also. However, it is worth mentioning that among these people are some who have been introduced in detail already. But there are a few whom we are going to say something about as they deserve it.

During the 70s, 80s and 90s of the 19th century some steps were taken up in the world of printing and press in Afghanistan. It was at this time that Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani started his campaign on some reforms in the country. (1).

Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani, as a scholar, writer and the pioneer of liberalistic movements in the east, was expressing his views in lectures and through writings to his country-men. Of course, his views were so impressive that foreign interventionists and domestic reactionaries would not tolerate him. So they had ousted him from his own land. Nevertheless, as a pioneer liberalist, everywhere he went he continued his campaigns to publicize his ideas. Sayed stayed some time in India, and Iran and continued his campaign. Then he took his campaign to Egypt and Turkey. Expressing his views on Pan-Islamism and freedom of the East everywhere he was faced with difficulties. However, he was spreading the ideas of liberty and independence among the people of the East. Sayed, to introduce his views even into the heart of the colonialists, established his paper named Al-Urwaf-ul-Wuthqa—which was published in France.

1) About the life of Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani see: Azghar Mehdavi & Erij Afshar, A collection of unpublished documents about Sayyed Jamaluddin known to Afghani, University of Tehran, Iran, 1342, Mohammad Amin Khugyani, The life of Sayed Jamaluddin Afghan, Part 1, General Printing House of Kabul, 1318 Murtaza Muddarresi, Chahar dehi, Life and the social and political philosophy of Sayed Jamaluddin Afghan, Eqbal Ltd., Tehran, 1334; etc.
Even though Sayed himself was ousted from Afghanistan, his ideas on reforms in different fields of life was left in the country. It is said that to put in practice the ideas of Afghani, Amir Sher Ali Khan started with some practical works, among which was publishing of a paper called Shums-u-Nahar (2).

Shums-u-Nahar was published by Mirza Abdul Ali who worked as copy and printing supervisor of the paper. Meanwhile, as I understand it there was not an editor for the paper. So Mirza Abdul Ali might have worked as a general director of the organization of Shums-u-Nahar. On the other hand as the letters to the editor were received in the office of the paper, addressed to Mirza Abdul Ali, this is another clue to show that he was generally in charge of all works. Unfortunately we have not been able to gather more information about him. However, from the content of his paper one thing is clear; he was nationalist and opposed to foreign exploitation. He was unhappy with the backwardness of his country and its inhabitants. The fact that the cotton of his country was taken to Farangistan (Britain) and cloth made from it was brought back, was of great consideration to Mirza Abdul Ali because, he felt, they buy our cotton sheep and sell on us the woven clothes expensively. He said that the reason for this was the fact the people were not skilled and they did not know how to make the cloth. As such conditions required, Mirza Abdul Ali prepared human interest informations, official news and some information about the province of the country. (3).

I have been informed of another person from the time of Shums-Nahar 1290-1295 H. (1873-1877) A.D.-). He was Qazi Abdul Qadir Peshawari who is considered by some writers as the editor of the paper. But Mr. Benawa (4) denies the existence of an editor for the paper. Meanwhile Mr. Kuhgady (5) notes that Qazi Abdul Qadir Peshawari was working just as a royal military secretary. At any rate, since he was translating articles from foreign newspapers to be published in Shums-u-Nahar we mention him briefly here.

It is quite obvious that journalism started in Afghanistan with Mahmood Tarzi, father of journalism in Afghanistan, since he published his paper continuously for many years and afterward, though the paper stopped publication, it was substituted by another official paper. All in all, Mahmood Tarzi was the beginning of a publishing period which lasts until now. However, before writing something about Mahmood Tarzi

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3) Ibid.
we want to introduce another scholarly minded man who was also one of the pioneers. He was Maulawi Abdul Raoof Kandahari son of Abdur Rahim and the grand son of Muhaqiq Kandahari, Habibullah known as Habe Akhund Zada.

Maulawi Abdur Raoof was born on Monday 5th of Safar, 1268 ( ) in Kandahar. He studied under his father to learn popular knowledge and education. Prof. A. H. Habibi notes: "he was a preserver of the whole content of the Holy Qu'ran, a narrator of hadith, a skilled religious jurisprudence and a popular teacher of his time". After his father's death, 1298 H. (1919), he was ousted from the country, but around 1300 H. (1921) returned to Afghanistan. He went to the court of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan in Kabul and was appointed as Mullah of the royal court and teacher of the royal faculty. (6)

Maulawi Abdur Raoof was skilled in three languages, Dari, Paxto and Arabic and he wrote poems and prose in these languages. Paxto periodicals which came to the court of Amir were translated by him. Since he was working as the first rank teacher in the royal faculty he gave exams to the persons who were going to be appointed as judges in the provinces of Afghanistan. He was not only a close associate of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan but he kept this position in the court of Amir Habibullah as well. Both Amirs respected him as a teacher and a scholar. Moreover he was the person to give views about the religious jurisprudence.

Maulawi Abdur Raoof, besides being a religious scholar, put himself in another adventure also—that was his journalistic career which is of our interest here. In 1323 H. (1906 A. D.) he started a paper called Seraj-ul-Akhbar-i Afghanistan. Though he was able to publish only one issue of the paper still this issue confirms some reformistic views of the time. Its content shows that the country was in a position to be bring in some reforms. Of course, in order to publicize reforms everywhere we need a vehicle by which views can be popularized. This is why the society of Seraj-ul-Akhbari Afghanistan started the paper on which Maulawi Abdur Raoof was working as editor. (7)

As the modern views were entirely new in the country publishing of a paper of this type was most difficult. In other words, as the publication of Shums-u-Nahar was stopped as the result of foreign intervention the editor of Seraj-ul-Akhbar-i Afghanistan had to be careful.

5) Kuhgady, Ngor Mohammad, Historical documents and notes, Aryana, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1322 H.
7) For further information see Aryana, Vol. 26, No. 4 pp. 77-84 and Afghanistan, Vol. 21, No. 2,
This is why Maulawi Abdur Raoof started his work in a way not to oppose the conditions and spirits of the time. In order to do so he related his news writing with some verses from the Holy Qur'an and the sayings of Prophet Mohammad and wanted to prove whatever he did was right and beneficial.

It seems that Maulawi Abdur Raoof knew that domestic news was more important than the foreign news and foreign information, because first he would put domestic news in the paper and the rest of the content was devoted to foreign news and feature articles. Though his newspaper career expired too soon no doubt he left a great effect and impression on the journalists in the future.

All in all, Maulawi Abdur Raoof had a great role in the world of science. Similarly, as he was starting a journalistic initiation in Afghanistan no doubt the journalist will express respect to him as well.

**Mahmood Tarzi—the father of Journalism in Afghanistan:**

“It is clear that nowadays newspapers are like the tongues of societies and nations. Except for primitive and wild societies there are no civilizations which are without newspapers.” The late Mahmood Tarzi started his newspaper writing in Seraj-ul-Akhbar under “introduction” in which the above mentioned sentences were seen. Thereby we can assume how deep and meaningful, Mahmood Tarzi was starting his newspaper business.

His family relation goes back to a national leader of Kandahar, Haji Jamal Khan, 1709-1805 A.D. Sardar Payanda Mohammad Khan son of Haji Jamal Khan had 22 sons among which one named Sardar Rahimdel Khan of Kandahar, 1832-1896, was the grand father of Mahmood Tarzi. Tarzi’s mother was the daughter of Prince Mahmood Khan, of the Sadozai clan.

Tarzi’s father, Sardar Ghulam Mohammed Khan, who died in 1901, was one of the brilliant scholars and poets of Afghanistan. Due to some controversy existing between Amir Abdur Rahman Khan and Ghulam Mohammed Tarzi the later was ousted from Afghanistan. From 1881-1883 he lived in Karachi with his family and afterward, because of his traditional controversy with the British, he refused to go to London and instead went to Baghdad. In Baghdad, after six months, the family met Sultan Abdul Hamid and Sultan invited them to go to Constantanople. They accepted the invitation and afterwards they went to Damascus. Ghulam Mohammed Tariz spent the remaining 18 years of his life in Damascus.

Sardar Ghulam Mohammed Tarzi died in 1901. Though during his stay in Damascus Amir Abdur Rahman Khan invited him to come back to Afghanistan, Tarzi said: “Why should I come to my earthly country Afghanistan while I am here where doomsday will take place”.

Similarly, Amir Abdur Rahman Khan died in 1901. Mahmood Tarzi, in order to congratulate Amir Habibullah on his ascension to the throne of the kingdom and pray for his father’s death came to Kabul in 1902. It was from this time that the star of Mahmood Tarzi rose. Amir Habibullah was so greatly impressed by his ideas on reform and by his scholarly knowledge that he invited him to come back to Afghanistan. Tarzi accepted the invitation and in 1903, after 22 years departure from Afghanistan, he, with 35 members of his family came to Kabul.

Prof. Dupree (10) says that Tarzi was born in a time of unrest and consequently he lived all his life that way. (11) In fact, Mahmood Tarzi was born in Ghazni when, in a time of unrest, his family went to Kandahar. This was exactly 16 years before their departure for abroad. As he was born in Ghazna, in order to keep respect for the great Sultan of Ghazna, Mahmood, they gave him the name Mahmood. (12).

Besides studying contemporary education of the time, Mahmood Tarzi started learning Dari and Arabic literature and languages. He liked poetry and philosophy. It is said that he was able to read and write Paxto also. Tarzi could read and write fluently in Turkish and French.

If we take a look back to his life in Damascus we will find that Tarzi was not living there just as a guest but he was working in a secretarial job in the province of Serya. In fact he was rarely involved with the family and instead he took advantage of the intellectual environment of Damascus. He was usually discussing his dreams and ideals with young and intellectual Turkish people. He was impressed by Sayyed Jamaluddin Aghani whom he met there. (13).

Tarzi’s first book, which was the tour of three pieces of the earth, was published in 19 of Aorab, 1291 in Enayat Printing House in Kabul (14). From his literary works altogether 7 were published: his trans-

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10) Dupree, Louis, Prof. of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, American Museum of Natural History etc.

11) Dupree, Louis, American University Field Staff, Vol. 8, No. 1; 1964.

12) This was told to me by Mohammad Siddiq Tarzi son of Mohammad Zaman Tarzi, brother of Mahmood Tarzi.

13) Dupree, American Field Staff.

14) At that time there were three printing houses in Kabul i.e. A lithography printing house, the second one was that of Seraj-ul-Akbar printing house and the third one was Enayat printing house.
lations are 4 and besides these there were published several articles by him in Seraj-ul-Akhbar. (15).

The fact is this, that when we are talking about the literary works of Mahmood Tarzi, the first thing to come to our eyes is Seraj-ul-Akhbar. Actually this paper is the first paper which continued publication for a relatively long time and it was followed by another paper and consequently no stop occurred from that time. This is why we may call it the pioneer of the Afghan regular publications. No doubt each book of Tarzi in its kind is unique and important, but Seraj-ul-Akhbar comes first. Seraj-ul-Akhbar, in effect is the reflector of the most adventurous portion of the Afghan History, and life of the people of Afghanistan.

Realizing that his ideas and purposes will be fulfilled when being in close relation with the Amir and his sons, Mahmood Tarzi established this relationship with Amir Habibullah Khan and two princes of the time, Sardar Enayatullah Khan and Sardar Amanullah Khan. He even married his two daughters to the two above mentioned princes.

Mahmood Tarzi, was first appointed as head of the translating office where his first job was the translating of Jules Vernes short story from Turkish into Dari. This was done for the Amir who was reading this and other stories. Meanwhile, he was one of the confident advisors of the Amir also. However, he did not stay working just in the above mentioned job but started another adventure which was the publishing of Seraj-ul-Akhbar. (16) Seraj-ul-Akhbar, as an important vehicle against European colonialism, started its political campaign.

Meanwhile to create a sense of urgency for change, the paper started its campaigns. No doubt the campaigns rendered by this paper for the independence of Afghanistan, from European colonialism, was not pleasant for the colonialists. This was why its sale was banned in British India from time to time, through British official authority. Indian nationalists would have often quoted Tarzi's publications to embarrass the British official.

Mahmood Tarzi not only, as a nationalist, was looking for the independence of his own country, but the existence of western colonialists in the East bothered him as well. For the first time the sentence: “Asia should be for Asians”, appeared in his paper. (17). The sentence was a headline under which he said the foreigners should not come and rule Asian lands while they do not deserve them, because these lands have their own owners and they should rule them. We see this idea later expressed by some other Asian nationalists in Indonesia, etc.

15) Dupree, American Field Staff.
16) For further information see: Aryana, Vol. 26, Nos. 5 and 6.
It was the first time that Mahmood Tarzi proclaimed the independence of Afghanistan in an article entitled “Hay-o Alal Falah” (get up for your survival). In fact this article was printed in the paper but the result of a plot brought by the colonial power this issue was not published.

At any rate, to implement the wishes of the Afghan nationalists Tarzi used every possible ways and means in his paper. In fact, among other ways, one was his campaigning that furnished the way for the independence of this country. For helping to secure the independence of Afghanistan, Mahmood Tarzi was appointed as minister of foreign affairs. When he was asked why he was leaving the job of publishing Seraj-ul-Akhbar, he said: “I have achieved my goal”. This was the time that the Afghan independence from British control was nearly attained.

If Tarzi's job as a journalist on the one hand was a fine and honest job for the enlightenment of the people on the other hand it was a dangerous adventure. He was preparing his readers with news and entertainment, meanwhile he was opposing the greatest power of the time, Great Britain, and directly and indirectly he was criticising the deeds of domestic authorities. This is why his newspaper writing has been called a dangerous adventure.

Journalism was his profession and nothing was as important to him as journalism. Mr. Habibullah Tarzi, in this regard says that once the paper Bidar of Kandahar (18) published an article about the politics of Afghanistan and Britain. As his job required, H. Tarzi wrote a letter to the editor of this paper telling him not to publish such articles without permission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The editor of the paper, H. Tarzi says, answered him in a very strong tone. He wrote another strong letter to the editor and wanted it to be signed by the minister. The minister who was Mahmood Tarzi said to him “you want me to sign this letter”. H. Tarzi said, yes, because the editor of the paper insulted the ministry. Mahmood Tarzi said: “To me this position, this ministry, this huge building etc. are not worth a single berry in front of my profession—that is journalism. I am also a journalist and would never write such a strong letter against my colleague. Freedom of writing is not limited to the false and truth of writing but freedom is what you want write and leave the judgement for the readers”.

Tarzi's job as a journalist ended in 1918 when Seraj-ul-Akhbar ceased publication. It was at this time that King Amanullah ascended to the throne of the kingdom. And Mahmood Tarzi, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, started working actively with him. As Minister of Foreign Affairs he sent

18) This paper called Tulu-i-Afghan of Kandahar Mr. Tarzi mistakenly called it Bidar of Kandahar. Bidar is a paper published in Mazar-i-Sharif.
a mission to the USA, Russia and Europe “to present Afghanistan’s case for independent action in the sphere of foreign affairs”. (19) Tarzi’s second important job as minister of foreign affairs was his negotiations for the next stage with British mission in Mansoree, India, after which the negotiations took place in Kabul. For better or worse, “after 11 months of haggling the Afghans and British signed a treaty normalizing their relation”. (20)

Mahmood Tarzi, who was getting tired of the tiresome jobs of the ministry of foreign affairs and negotiations with the British mission, was asked in 1922 to go as minister to France, Tarzi started working hard for further cultural relations with France, with the result that a number of cultural relations were signed.

However, when he was in France the situation in Afghanistan was not normal and its climate clouded. A revolt broke out led by a person called, Mullah-Lang, in southern Afghanistan in 1924 Mahmood Tarzi, was asked again to take up the job of foreign affairs ministry. But Tarzi’s suggestions were not heard this time. and thus he resigned, though this was not accepted officially until 1227. At any rate, Mahmood Tarzi went for treatment to Switzerland, and returned at the same time that King Amanullah started his tour of Europe. This tour, in fact, was the starting point of the King’s bad fate which is quite obvious in the history of Afghanistan.

In fact, when the King returned home from his tour of Europe he started his reform programme. But in this regards Tarzi recommended Ata Turk’s advices who believed that first of all there should be an increase in the military power and then other innovations could be started. In foreign relations Tarzi recommended a balance between West and North, but King Amanullah who was a nationalist and anti-British refused to accept British aids. This and several other reasons, such as the revolt of the Shinwary and upsurge of Bachi Saqou caused the downfall of the kingdom and ousted both the King and Tarziz from their homeland. At this time Mahmood Tarzi went to Turkey and spent the remainder of his life in political and poetic writings.

To conclude Tarzi’s deeds and actions we can say that he, for the first time, established a cabinet system in Afghanistan. Furthermore, he strove for recognition of the country on an international level. Tarzi, as a pioneer reformist in social and administrative matters, suggested the party system and parliamentary elections.

Tarzi died on November 22, 1933 in Turkey. As he requested he was buried in Machqa Turkey, near the tomb of Ayub Ansari.

19) Dupree, American Field Staff Vol. 8, No. 1, 1964.
20) Ibid.
De Delphes A L’oxus.
Inscriptions Goecques Nouvelles
De la Bactriane

Par M. Louis Robert

Editor's note:

With great pleasure we have recently obtained access to a publication called “De Delphes A L’oxus Inscription Grecques Nouvelles De La Bactrian”. Because of its usefulness, in regards to the history of Afghanistan The Historical Society of Afghanistan decided to reproduce it in the journal Afghanistan. Unfortunately due to lack of international phonetics in the printing house we could not print it and so we thought we might try for its reproduction through the offset process. This way, of course, we can preserve its peculiarities as well as publish it.

It is our duty to extend our thanks and best wishes to the author of the publication, Mr. M. Louis Robert, for his elaborate research in connection with this. We would like to thank the “Academie De Inscription and Belles-Letters” for publishing it. Meanwhile we would like to thank Dr. Shahibye Mustamandi head of the Afghan Archaeological Institute, for putting at our disposal his personal copy of this publication for reproduction.

Its first part published in the following pages and its second part will appear in the following number of this journal.
DE DELPHES A L'OXUS.
INSCRIPTIONS GRECQUES NOUVELLES DE LA BACTRIANE,
PAR M. LOUIS ROBERT, MEMBRE DE L'ACADÉMIE.

L'Académie eut la primeur, en janvier 1965, de la nouvelle concernant la découverte d'une ville grecque sur le fleuve Oxus1. Sur les fouilles entreprises par la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, elle a entendu les rapports de M. Daniel Schlumberger, puis de M. Paul Bernard, et ils ont été publiés dans les Comptes Rendus. C'est pour moi un grand plaisir que de vous lire les feuilles où sont exposés les résultats de ces travaux d'une grande nouveauté et d'une grande portée. En dernier lieu, je vous ai lu le 21 juin de cette année le rapport de M. Paul Bernard sur la troisième campagne de fouilles, qui est déjà imprimé dans les Comptes Rendus. En 1950, un historien, C. Bradford Welles, inscrirait ces réflexions dans un compte rendu de l'ouvrage, subtil et systématique, de W. W. Tarn

sur les Grecs dans la Bactriane et l’Inde: « Rowland peut encore remarquer (en 1949) que la civilisation hellénistique de la Bactriane reste un mirage. Seulement la fouille et la découverte d’un Doura iranien avec inscriptions et parchemins est propre maintenant à percer l’obscurité d’une manière quelque peu véridique, et les travaux de Foucher et de D. Schlumberger à Balkh (Bactres), comme ceux de R. Ghirshman (Bégraz), montrent combien cela est difficile. W. W. Tarn, auparavant, était pessimiste : « Tandis que la lumière sur le régime grec dans l’Inde a crû doucement, il n’est pas vraisemblable que, pour de nombreuses années encore, beaucoup de matériel nouveau soit disponible pour la Bactriane », et il comptait sur l’examen critique, auquel il procédait, de la documentation existante.

La fouille d’un site grec « avec des inscriptions ». Celles-ci sont en effet des documents privilégiés et irremplaçables pour l’intelligence historique. La deuxième campagne de fouilles, en 1966, eut la chance d’exhumer deux inscriptions, qui ne sont pas très longues, mais qui, gravées sur pierre, sont de premier intérêt. Je les ai signalées ici et analysées très brièvement le 16 décembre 1966 et M. Paul Bernard en a parlé aussi dans son deuxième rapport. Je vous en avais promis la présentation et la publication ; la voici, avec quelque retard sur mes prévisions et promesses comme il arrive facilement.

Cette publication est faite d’après les photographies et les estampages envoyés par M. Paul Bernard, puisque je ne connais malheureusement pas le site, pas plus que ceux de l’Iran dont je dois publier les inscriptions grecques dans un Corpus. Mais le déchiffrement ne prête à aucun doute sur aucune lettre et concorde avec celui que Paul Bernard fit immédiatement sur les pierres (tous les détails sur les pierres et leurs dimensions sont dus à Paul Bernard).

La première inscription est gravée sur un pilier quadrangulaire de calcaire blanc, haut de 89 cm., large de 48 cm. 5, épais de 43 cm. 5. Les faces latérales et surtout la face postérieure sont grossièrement travaillées. Le lit d’attente ne porte aucune trace de mortaise. Voici

la photographie, agrandie ici d’après un cliché de Paul Bernard (fig. 1). On lit :

\[ \text{Τριβαλλός} \\
\text{καὶ Στράτων} \\
\text{Στράτωνος} \\
\text{Ἑρμῆς, Ἡρακλεῖ.} \]

Fig. 1. — Dédiace aux dieux du gymnase.

Hermès et Héraclès sont, comme l’atteste une foule d’inscriptions, les dieux grecs adorés dans tout gymnase et dont la mention suffit à identifier un gymnase. Le bloc fut trouvé en place dans une petite niche qui s’ouvre dans un mur en briques crues. Paul Bernard a aussitôt identifié l’édifice à un gymnase. Après le sondage qui avait fourni cette inscription, le déblaiement a dégagé un édifice dont le plan est en effet celui d’un gymnase. Paul Bernard en a traité dans le deuxième et le troisième rapport. Je rappelle que cet

édifice est dans la partie nord-ouest de la Ville Basse, en bordure de l'Oxus.

La dédicace est faite par deux frères, fils d'un Stratton. Le cadet porte le même nom que le père. L'aîné a un nom rare, mais très normal, Triballo, qui est le nom d'une tribu de la Thrace septentrionale, au nord de l'Hémus. Comme anthroponyme, ce nom est attesté pour un esclave à Athènes, dans la « liste de matelots » IG, 11², 1951, col. 1, l. 23 ; il s'agit exactement, comme l'a montré Alfred Körte, de la liste des esclaves enrôlés dans la flotte athénienne et morts à la bataille des Arginuses. C'est aussi un esclave que fait connaître l'épitaphe du 1er siècle à Athènes IG, 11², 12822 : Τρῆπαλλός χρηστός. Mais une inscription nous fait descendre à une autre époque et nous introduit dans un autre milieu. En Égypte, à la haute époque ptolémaïque, un graffite sur la jambe d'un des colosses d'Abou-Simbel émane d'un ʾΕμυλλος Τρῆπαλλος. Il faut bien penser que, pour un homme libre, un anthroponyme tiré d'un ethnique ne manifeste point l'origine, mais une relation quelconque avec la ville ou le pays désigné par cet ethnique, voyage, commerce, etc. J'ai souvent insisté là-dessus. Un Κόλχος esclave doit venir de la Colchide ; mais un Κόλχος citoyen d'Olbia, de Panticapée, de Byzance ou de Cos indique que sa famille avait ou avait eu des relations d'affaires jusqu'en ce pays du fond de la Mer Noire. Un Λιβως n'est pas un homme originaire de l'Afrique. Les très nombreux Σκυθοί ne sont pas d'origine scythe, mais leur famille a eu quelque rapport avec le pays des Scythes. Les Triballes, soumis par Philippe et Alexandre, avaient fourni un contingent à l'armée du conquérant. Dans ce cas, il n'est pas exclu que notre Triballo en Bactriane, comme le père de celui d'Abou-Simbel, ait été le descendant d'un soldat ou d'un officier de ce peuple ; l'ancêtre (car,

8. H. Berve, Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage (1926), I, 139 ; E. Polachek ; PW s.v. Triballi (1937), 2398. Le seul texte est Diodore, 17, 17, 4 : Ὄδρης υἱὸς τῆς Τρῆπαλλοι καὶ Ἡλώμοιος συνηλικοῦσαν ἐπιγραφή.
en Bactriane, le nom n'a pas dû surgir dans la famille de Straton seulement à l'époque de cette inscription) a pu être un officier, de quelque nationalité que ce soit, par exemple un Macédonien, ayant commandé un corps de Tribales, ou ayant été en relation avec ces soldats ou ce peuple, et par exemple lors des campagnes contre eux. En tout cas, cet anthroponyme doit avoir un rapport, à l'origine, avant qu'il se perpétue par tradition dans une famille, avec une carrière militaire. Il n'est pas aventureux d'en tirer un indice sur le caractère militaire d'une partie des colons de notre ville de la Bactriane. D'autre part, il est piquant et instructif que le nom de Triballos et des Tribales nous amène à trois extrémités différentes et contrastées du monde hellénistique, à la limite dernière du monde grec de cette époque : les Tribales sont proches du Danube ; Triballos fils de Straton a vécu dans l'Asie Centrale, sur l'Oxus, en bordure du Turkestan et en vue de l'Hindoukouch, du Caucase Indien ; Hermolaos fils de Triballos inscrivait le souvenir de son passage sur le Nil aux frontières du Soudan. Ce sont les armées conquérantes qui avaient ainsi véhiculé ce nom, à la suite d'Alexandre. Tel peut être le pouvoir d'évocation historique qui repose dans un nom.

L'écriture de notre inscription est profonde, large et aérée. Les lettres sont hautes de 2 cm ; les larges interlignes ont 3 cm. Les points de comparaison sont l'acte d'affranchissement provenant de l'Hyrkanie, daté d'entre 281 et 260, les deux inscriptions d'Aśoka à Kandahar vers 250 et, plus tard, les deux exemplaires en Médie de l'édition d'Antiochos III en 193, tous deux strictement contemporains et si différents dans leur écriture. Notre inscription est courte ; ainsi il n'y a pas de pi, lettre assez caractéristique. Chacun pourra se faire une opinion grâce à la photographie publiée ici. Je daterais cette inscription vers le milieu du IIIe siècle, pas trop tôt. On ne saurait dire, me semble-t-il, si elle se place encore sous le régime séleucide ou déjà quand le royaume de Bactriane est installé.

Le caractère grec de la ville était aussitôt marqué par l'existence d'un gymnase, siège de l'éducation hellénique, à la fois gymnastique


3. Hellenica, XI-XII, chap. vii, avec la planche V.


5. Mes remarques là-dessus Comptes Rendus 1957, 293 ; l'exemplaire de Nehavend Hellenica, VII, chap. i, planches I-IV.
et intellectuelle. A la date de l'inscription déja, les Grecs de notre ville de Bactriane avaient les edifices et les institutions necessaires pour vivre ' a la grecque ', pour avoir ' l'éducation et le genre de vie hellénique ', τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἅγωγὴν καὶ διαίταν. Tels sont les mots qu'emploie Diodore, xvi, 7, en racontant la rebellion, à la mort d'Alexandre, des Grecs « installés par Alexandre dans les Hautes-Satrapies », οὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄνω καλομεμέναις στρατείαις κατοικισθέντες Ἑλλήνες ὑπὸ Ἀλέξανδρου. Un autre passage, xix, 99, 5, les appelle « les Grecs établis dans la Bactriane et la Sogdiane », οἱ κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανὴν καὶ Σωγδιανὴν κατοικισθέντες Ἑλλήνες. Ils regrettent le genre de vie hellénique et ils se sentaient rejetés aux régions les plus éloignées du royaume. Tels avaient été les pénibles commencements de ces établissements. Il y eut une autre organisation lorsqu'on envoya de nouveaux colons, sous les Diadoques ou plutôt sous Séleucos Ier. On fit un établissement durable et c'est alors qu'a dû avoir lieu la première construction du gymnase. C'est un salut de la vie grecque qui fut adressé aux fouilleurs lorsque, le 9 novembre 1966, ils ont dégagé la dédicace à Hermès et Héraclès, à l'endroit où un contremaître avait signalé une pierre travaillée (le pilier hermaïque), qu'il avait remarquée la veille en se promenant. Le hasard a révélé aussitôt ce gymnase ; un gymnase ne pouvait manquer. J'écrivais au sujet de Kandahar, l'Alexandrie d'Arachosie : « On peut être sûr qu'il y avait en Arachosie, comme à Babylone, un gymnase avec des éphèbes, lieu de réunion pour les fêtes et les conférences et les conversations ».

La seconde inscription — la première qui fut découverte, le 22 octobre 1966 — est ainsi décrite.

« Base parallélépipédique en calcaire blanc. Largeur : 65 cm. ; hauteur : 28 cm. ; profondeur, 46 cm. 5. Au lit d'attente, une mortaise rectangulaire : 26 cm. x 20 ; profondeur, 15 cm. La face antérieure est parfaitement dressée. Quelques défauts de la pierre ont obligé le graveur à déplacer certaines lettres. Les faces latérales sont aussi très bien dressées, avec traces d'un ciseau à dents qui a servi à égaliser le travail préparatoire à la grosse pointe ; de ce travail à la pointe subsistent quelques coups trop appuyés que le ciseau à dents n'a pas fait disparaitre. La face arrière est également dressée soigneusement. Les quatre arêtes antérieures et latérales du lit d'attente sont chanfreinées. On remarque

2. Πολιοντες μὲν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἅγωγὴν καὶ διαϊταν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐχειναις τῆς βασιλείας ἐφαρμοσμένοι. Sur les chefs qu'ils se choisissent et sur leur nombre, voir ci-après. Le terme de Βασιλείας le plus souvent n'implique pas seulement la distance depuis le centre, mais il a une nuance péjorative ; cf. Rev. Ét. Anc. 1966, 304-305.

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une forte usure de la pierre à la face antérieure sur une surface de 10 à 15 cm. Le bas de la pierre est recouvert d’une croûte calcaire produite par l’altération du marbre.

Cette base a été trouvée dans le pronaos de l’hérôon aux sarcophages. Elle porte deux inscriptions, en une écriture différente : la principale — je veux dire celle qui a un rapport essentiel avec la base — est une épigramme de deux distiques ; à droite, une série de cinq maximes.

L’épigramme doit se transcrire ainsi :

'Ανδρῶν τοι σοφά ταύτα παλαιοτέρων ἀνάκειται.
ρήματα ἄριγνωτων Πυθοῦ ἐν ἠγαθεῖ.
ἔνθεν ταύτα[α] Κλέαρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράφας
εἰσάτο τηλαυγῆ Κίνεου ἐν τεμένει.

Je traduirais ainsi, en gardant au maximum l’ordre des mots :

« Ces sages paroles des hommes d’autrefois sont consacrées, dits des hommes célèbres, dans la sainte Pythô.
Là les a prises Cléarque, en les copiant soigneusement, pour les dresser, brillant au loin, dans le téménos de Kinéas ».

Considérons d’abord les expressions de ces quatre vers bien agencés, leur contenu et leurs intentions. Sans que le poète dise « les maximes des Sages », les deux premiers mots l’expriment élegamment par le génitif ἄνδρῶν et l’adjectif au nominatif σοφά. Puis vient le génitif παλαιοτέρων, qui donne le cachet et le prestige de la vénérable antiquité. Au début du pentamètre seulement, en rejet, viendra le mot ρήματα, puis encore, — par une combinaison inverse de celle du début de l’hexamètre, ἄνδρῶν σοφά, ρήματα ἄριγνωτων, — l’adjectif qui indique la célébrité des Sages antiques. Ainsi les maximes des Sages sont dites ρήματα. C’est le terme même qui paraît dans deux passages du Corpus platonicien. D’abord dans l’Hipparque, 229 Α, avec aussi l’adjectif σοφός ce qui rappelle de près notre épigramme.

L’auteur du dialogue parle là des maximes qu’Hipparque avait composées, τῆς σοφίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἡν τ’ ἐμαθε καὶ ἡν αὐτὸς ἐξηγήσεν, ἐκλεξάμενος ἐν ἠγαθεῖ σοφώτατα εἶναι et qu’il avait fait graver comme ἐπιδείγματα τῆς σοφίας ἕνα πρῶτον μὲν τά ἐν Δελφοῖς γράμματα τά σοφά ταύτα μὴ θαυμάζοιν οἱ πολίται αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ τά Ἐπιδάρχον βήματα μᾶλλον σοφά ἢγούντο. Dans le Protagoras, 343 Α-Β, Platon parle aussi de ces maximes des Sept Sages, βήματα βραχέα

2. Le travail ancien de F. Schultz, Philologus, 24 (1866), Die Sprüche der delphischen Säule, donne, p. 194, n. 2, les renvois aux diverses expressions désignant ces maximes, ἀκοφθέγματα, γράμματα, etc.
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αξιομνημόνευτα ἐκάστῳ εἰρημένα, ceux-ci les ont consacrées dans le
temple de Delphes, comme prémices de leur sagesses, οὕτοι κοινῆ ἐξυπεράντες ἀπαρχὴν τῆς σοφίας1 ἀνέθεαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι εἰς τὸ γένος τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, γράφαντες ταῦτα, ἔστὶν πάντες ὑμνοῦσι, γνώτι παντόν καὶ μηδὲν ἄχαν. Telle était, continue Platon, la manière des ancêtres de la philosophie, ὁ τρόπος τῶν παλαιῶν τῆς ψιλοφοσίας, « une certaine brachylogie laconienne »; dans la suite reparaît trois fois le
mot ἐξής.

Le verbe ἀναλείπησαι, pour les maximes à Delphes, se retrouve dans un texte², mais dépourvu en lui-même d'autorité, un scholiaste au Phalaris de Lucien³. Il est normal ici. L'épithète Πυθοὺ ἐν ἡγαθέω est d'une noble banalité, pleine de respect. Depuis l'Odyssée, 8, 80, Πυθοὶ ἐν ἡγαθέω est la tournure solennelle pour nommer Delphes à travers Hésiode, les hymnes, la lyrique et les épigrammes⁴. La mention de Delphes éclatait à la fin du pentamètre, rapprochant tout à coup de l'Oxus le nom vénéré de Delphes. Au début du second distique, les mots ἐθνίν ταῦτα insistent énergiquement sur l'origine delphique de cette copie des maximes, le temple de Delphes qui est à cinq mille kilomètres de là à vol d'oiseau⁵.

La transcription que fit Cléarque (ἀναγράφεις), il la qualifie — car c'est évidemment Cléarque lui-même qui composa l'épigramme qu'il a dédiée avec sa copie des maximes — par l'adverbe ἐπιφράζεις. Je l'ai traduit par 'soigneusement '; cela comporte aussi une nuance de sagesse et d'intelligence; Hesychius explique ἐπιφραζέστερον par συνεπώτερον. L'adverbe paraît plusieurs fois dans un poème du 11e siècle, les Argonautes d'Apollonios de Rhodes. Une aura philosophique n'en est pas absente puisqu'il est attesté auparavant dans Parménide⁶. On verra plus loin la portée de cet adverbe.

4. Ηναὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῶν ἀπονήματα ἡ καὶ αὐτὰ Πυθοὶ ἀνέκτοι ταῦτα. On rattache cela à Démétrios de Phalère; cf. Barkowski, PW s.v. Sieben Weise (1923), 2244.
Οδyssee qui a inspiré le ἐφφαίδεος d'Apollonios (chez les deux pour un discours).
Disons aussitôt que Cléarque a voulu marquer le caractère scrupuleux de sa transcription et donc la stricte authenticité des maximes delphiques qu'il a fait graver.

L'adjectif τηλαυγής convient bien dans un texte poétique. Il a ici une double fonction. Il s'applique à la gravure des maximes sur la stèle dont la partie inférieure était encastrée dans la mortaise de la base. Ce pilier attirait l'attention de loin; aussitôt on devait s'approcher de lui pour lire l'inscription. D'autre part, l'adjectif implique un éclat, une lumière, une blancheur, une splendeur; telle est l'étymologie et tels sont les contextes presque toujours. Il s'agit alors de la valeur morale des maximes gravées sur le pilier. Cléarque les a dressées là pour qu'elles brillent au loin, pour que leur éclat se répande; c'est, chez ce Grec aux confins, prosélitisme moral en faveur de cette sorte de code de l'antique et toujours vivante sagesse hellénique.

Je donne, fig. 2, une photographie de cette base et, fig. 3, une photographie de l'estampage de l'épigramme. Cette gravure de l'épigramme est assurément de la haute époque hellénistique. J'ai indiqué plus haut quels étaient les éléments de comparaison dans la région. Je ne développe pas ici l'analyse de la forme de chaque lettre comme je l'ai fait naguère pour les inscriptions d'Assoka; cela aura mieux sa place lorsque je publierai les photographies de toutes les inscriptions de l'Iran dans le « Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum ». Notons seulement que pour cette épigramme, comme il arrive et comme l'a bien marqué à plusieurs reprises Adolf Wilhelm, on a choisi un type d'écriture rappelant les manuscrits et que des rapprochements sont à faire avec les papyrus. Ma conclusion est que ce texte doit être du début du IIIe siècle, bien avant les inscriptions d'Assoka et sensiblement avant l'acte d'affranchissement d'Hyrkanie.

Sur la partie droite de la base sont gravées ces cinq maximes :

Παῖς ὁν κόσμιος γίνου,
hattan ἐγκράτης,
μέσος δίκαιος,
4 πρεσβύτης εὐβουλος,
tελευτῶν άλυτος.

2. Hauteur des lettres : 1 cm.; interlignes de 15 à 16 mm.
On peut traduire : « Était enfant deviens bien élevé; jeune homme, maître de toi-même; au milieu de la vie, juste; vieillard, de bon conseil; à ta mort, sans chagrin ».

Il s’agit donc des qualités propres aux divers âges de la vie. Cette série est déjà connue, comme on le verra. Il n’y a point ici à la commenter dans l’ensemble de la sagesse et de la gnomonologie helléniques. Je noterai seulement que nos maximes se coulent dans une division quadripartite de la vie qui est fréquente, mais qui n’est pas la seule. La jeunesse, ἡ βηζη, étant considérée comme l’âge des passions, la maîtrise de soi, ἔγκρατεια, est l’idéal proposé à cet âge. Cela est normal et banal; les jeunes gens sont ἀκρατεῖς, dit Aristote. Mais c’est une rencontre piquante que de lire cette règle de l’ἐγκράτεια sur notre pierre de l’Oxus et de retrouver, juste une génération plus tard, le même mot et le même idéal sur les deux pierres d’Alexandrie d’Arachosie dans la version grecque rédigée à la cour du pieux Asoka pour ses sujets hellénochones : éloge de l’ἐγκράτεια avec ἡ ὀσβεια dans toutes les sectes, ἐγκράτεια générale et ἐγκράτεια de la langue, — constatation satisfaisante que l’ἀκρατεία des ἀκρατεῖς a disparu ou diminué. L’ἐγκράτεια apparaît fortement à la fois comme une vertu hellénique et une vertu bouddhique. Delphes et Asoka la prônent également.

Les manuscrits nous ont conservé d’assez nombreuses rédactions de maximes des Sept Sages. Il est facile de s’en informer dans le commentaire qu’a donné Herrmann Diels dans la Sylloge*, tome III, pages 392-397, pour le no 1268. Ce dernier texte était gravé sur la pierre et provient de la ville de Milétopolis en Mysie. Copié et

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3. Rhétorique, II, 12, sur νέος dans les chapitres sur les caractères selon les âges de la vie : καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιθυμῶν μάλιστα ἀναλυθηκειν εἰς ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ ἀρκατεῖς ταύτης.
5. Barkowski, PW s.v. Sieben Weise (1923), 2255, n’a pas connu l’édition de la Sylloge avec le commentaire original et très développé de Diels. « Ebenfalls Stob. 190 f. hat uns die Schrift des Sosiades Σουδάν τῶν ἐπὶ φυλήν ὡσκῆσαι übermittelt. Ihr gehört vielleicht [cela est certain] ein Fragment einer Inschrift von Kyzikos an [l’inscription n’est pas de Cyzique ; B. a été trompé par le titre : Inscriptions de la région de Cyzique »,
publié d’abord par F. W. HaIluck, J. Hell. Stud. 1907, 62, n. 3, il fut republié d’après la pierre par G. Mendel dans son catalogue du Musée de Brousse1. Ce dernier éditeur avait pu profiter des observations pertinentes de O. Hense, qui avait aussitôt mis ce texte dans « la tradition parallèle », ignorée du premier éditeur2. H. Diels et O. Hense ont placé cette inscription en tête de toute la tradition de ces maximes. En effet, d’après l’écriture, on a daté ce texte de la haute époque hellénistique, vers 300 a.-t-on dit3. Comme il est regrettable qu’il n’ait paru qu’un fac-similé, je donne ici, fig. 4, la photographie de l’estampage que je pris au musée de Brousse il y a environ sept lustres. On admet que ce texte, dont le début et la fin ont disparu, était exposé au gymnase de Milétoupolis4.

En lisant les diverses séries mentionnées par H. Diels, on constate que la seule à contenir nos maximes, à la fin précisément, est la série conservée par Stobée sous le titre Σωσίαδος τῶν ἐπτά σοφῶν ὑποθέκαι5. Il y a là 147 maximes. Le début est : "Ἐπὶ θεῷ, Ἡμῶν πείσου, Θεοῦς σέβου. On lit à la fin : Πάντας ὤν κόσμιος Ἰσθι, ἥμιν ἅγια ἡγίατε, μέσιος δικαίος, πρεσβυτέρος εὐλογος6. Ce Sosiadès est inconnu par ailleurs. Il est à considérer comme ' l'éditeur ' de ces maximes, l'auteur d'une des versions qui circulaient7. O. Hense avait relevé le rapport extrêmement étroit entre la série des maximes de Milétopolis et celle de Stobée. Ici où là il manquait à Milétoupolis

das Hasluck in JHS 28, 1907, 62 f. veröffentlicht hat, wozu Hense in B. Ph. Woch. 27, 1907, 765 ff. zu vergleichen ist [cette étude est capitale, l'éditeur n’ayant pratiquement rien dit et n’ayant pas au que l’on commissait par les manuscrits des listes de ce genre].


3. Hasluck, loc. cit.: « The date of this curious collection of aphorisms seems from the orthography and lettering to be about 300 B. C. » (d’où Hense) ; Mendel : « semble être du IIIème siècle » (d’où Diels, IIIème siècle).

4. Là-dessus voir ci-après.


Fig. 4. — Inscription de Milétoupolis avec maximes.
une des maximes de Sosiades ou la pierre en faisait connaître de nouvelles. En plusieurs cas le monument de pierre permettait d’améliorer une maxime chez Stobée1.

Dans ces conditions, nous pouvons placer les cinq maximes de l’inscription de la Bactriane dans leur ensemble. Il est clair que la

Fig. 7 — Estampage de l’inscription des maximes.

série des maximes déliques était gravée sur la stèle que supportait la base retrouvée dans la fouille. Les cinq maximes, étant les maximes finales de la rédaction, ne sont pas une addition. Elles sont la fin de l’ensemble. Tout le reste n’a pu loger sur la stèle. Il est facile de comprendre que le lapicide n’ait pu adapter avec une parfaite rigueur le contenu de ce long texte à la surface disponible sur la pierre. Il a donc gravé la fin sur la base sur la surface encore libre à droite. L’écriture2 n’est point à placer à une date postérieure à celle de l’épigramme. Ce n’est pas la chronologie qui est différente dans ces deux inscriptions ; c’est le style. Le style lapidaire de l’épigramme rappelle les papyrus, comme je l’ai dit ; celui des maximes est plus monumental ; rien, dans la forme de chaque lettre ni dans

1. Toute cette étude chez Hense (avec aussi l’édition Mendel) et dans l’édition de Diels. C’est chez Hense que sont comparés les groupes de la série de Milétoupolis avec ceux de Stobée et que sont recensées les omissions. Voir aussi la note précédente.

2. Hauteur des lettres : 13 à 15 mm. ; interlignes, 1 cm. Voir la figure 2, à droite.

Je donne ici, fig. 5, une photographie de l’estampage.
l'impression d'ensemble, n'engage à lui chercher une date plus
tardive, si peu que ce soit ; et même, le \textit{sigma} a une forme plus
ancienne.

En définitive, bien que la stèle elle-même ait disparu et que,
semble-t-il, il n'y ait pas d'espoir de la retrouver dans la suite des
 fouilles, nous savons ce qu'elle contenait : environ 140 maximes,
dont la série nous est connue, à quelques variantes et omissions près,
par Sosisadès dans Stobée et par la pierre de Milétoupolis.

Un petit fragment d'inscription a été trouvé à 1 mètre de la base.
Il est ainsi décrit.

- Angle inférieur gauche, d'une stèle probablement. Hauteur max. 15 cm.;
  largeur, max. 15 cm. Profondeur 14 cm. 5. Profondeur à la moulure : 17 cm.
  Le lit de pose, au bord de la cassure droite, garde la trace d'un tenon arraché.
  La présence de ce tenon, l'épaisseur du lit de pose rendent vraisemblable l'appar-
  tenance de ce fragment de stèle à la base aux maximes. Si la mortaise de cette
  base est plus large que le tenon, c'est parce que celui-ci était scellé par une
  coulée de plomb. Ce fragment a été trouvé à 1 mètre de la base. Celle-ci était
  tout près de l'extrémité de l'ante gauche du pronao de l'héron de Kinéas,
  la face inscrite tournée contre l'ante. Il est donc certain qu'elle a été déplacée,
  mais à mon avis il n'y a guère de raison de douter que son lieu d'origine soit le
  téménos mentionné par l'inscription.

Je donne ici (fig. 6), une photographie de l'estampage de cette
petite inscription, gravée au bas de la stèle juste au-dessus de la
moulure. Le texte est complet à gauche ; il commence après une
marge de 3 cm. Six lettres seulement sont conservées entières ou
mutilées. On lit : \textit{φιλόσοφος}. Le \textit{phi} a la même forme que dans le vers 3
de l'épigramme. Le \textit{sigma} est à branches divergentes comme dans
les maximes gravées sur la base. Au-dessus de cette ligne, je reconnais
au début les restes à peu près complets d'un \textit{epsilon} ; il ne peut
s'agir d'une autre lettre.

Si l'on suppose que c'est l'angle inférieur gauche de la stèle
encastree dans la mortaise, il suffira de lire la série des maximes de
Sosisadès dans Stobée pour y trouver, comme 48\textsuperscript{e} maxime, celle-ci :
\textit{φιλόσοφος γίνου.} C'est la nôtre. La précédente est : \textit{Εὐλογεῖ τάντας} ;
cela s'accorde exactement avec l'\textit{epsilon} à la ligne au-dessus.

La 48\textsuperscript{e} maxime, ou à peu près\textsuperscript{1}, étant au bas de la stèle, il est
assuré que le texte était gravé en colonnes\textsuperscript{2}. Nous pouvons même
être certains qu'il y avait trois colonnes pour les 140 à 150 maximes.
On peut ainsi calculer approximativement les dimensions de la stèle.
La dernière ligne avec l'interligne supérieur mesurant 15 mm. en

\textsuperscript{1} La liste de Sosisadès comporte des additions ou des omissions par rapport à celle
de Milétoupolis.

\textsuperscript{2} Si confuse que soit la disposition sur la stèle de Milétoupolis, il y a le principe de la
division en colonnes.
hauteur, une colonne de 45 maximes donnerait déjà une hauteur d’environ 68 cm. Il faut y ajouter les 12 cm. environ de hauteur des moulures sous l’inscription. Au sommet de la stèle, il y avait sans doute un titre en prose — que n’exclut nullement l’épigramme gravée sur la base — et aussi un couronnement, soit rectiligne soit en fronton. Avec les 28 cm. de hauteur de la base, le monument dépassait largement un mètre. Quant à la largeur, on peut faire deux calculs. Les sept lettres conservées occupent une surface de 5 cm. ; la restitution de la maxime demande encore 5 cm. ; la marge à gauche est de 3 cm. ; trois colonnes portent donc la largeur à un minimum de 39 cm. D’autre part, la mortaise a une largeur de 26 cm.1 ; la largeur de la stèle à gauche du tenon est de 15 cm. ; le tenon étant évidemment au milieu de la stèle, on ajoutera la même dimension à droite ; cela portera à 56 cm. sur une base de 65 cm. Les deux procédés de calcul concordent suffisamment. En effet, la largeur des colonnes ne peut être estimée qu’approximativement ; cela dépend de leur gravure plus ou moins ‘ aérée ’. D’autre part, au-dessous de la surface gravée, le bas de la stèle était sensiblement plus large2, selon le croquis de P. Bernard.

Le pilier aux maximes était dressé Κινέας εν τεμενεῖ dans le sanctuaire de Kinéas. C’est l’héroon aux sarcophages et il ne me paraît point douteux que Kinéas ait été le fondateur, l’οἰκονόμος de notre

1. Pour la mortaise, voir ci-après, avec la photographie fig. 7.
2. C’est au bas de la stèle qu’était prise la mesure de la largeur maxima, non à la dernière ligne gravée.
ville sur l'Oxus, enterrer, à l'intérieur même de la ville, sur l'agora\textsuperscript{1}. Un homme de ce nom n'est point connu parmi les compagnons d'Alexandre\textsuperscript{2}. Ce peut être un hasard de notre documentation, ou bien Kinéas n'avait pas été nommé par les historiens, ayant développé son action dans un coin reculé de l'Empire. Bien plutôt, il est d'une génération postérieure à Alexandre, déjà à l'époque pour laquelle les sources ont presque toutes disparu pour nous. Cependant, on peut, je crois, fixer son origine avec une grande probabilité si l'on étudie l'anthroponymie grecque d'un point de vue historique et géographique.

Le nom Kinéas ne peut être considéré comme vraiment rare. D'autre part, il n'est pas épichorique, lié à une seule région. On doit faire cependant certaines constatations lorsqu'on a cherché à en grouper les exemples en dépouillant bien des volumes\textsuperscript{3}. Je dirai que le nom se rencontre dans trois régions.

Le premier domaine est l'Attique. C'est un Kineas d'Anaphylotos, au 1\textsuperscript{er} siècle, qui représente ce nom dans le répertoire de F. Bechtel, p. 237. Pape et Benseler connaissaient déjà trois Kinéas athéniens, dont un de Lamprai. J. Kirchner dans sa Prosopographia Attica, en 1901, recense ces deux Athéniens d'après les inscriptions, trois d'après des textes littéraires et un 'kales' sur un vase à figures noires. F. Stähelin, en 1921, en ajoutait quatre\textsuperscript{4}, dont deux sous l'Empire. On y joindra encore un Kineas de Kydathénai\textsuperscript{5} et un Klesitekos Kineos Laemphratos\textsuperscript{6}. On a ainsi un groupe consistant.

A l'ionienne Athènes je rattaché les ionniennes Cyclades : Délos avec un Kineas 'Agorallo, un pioptanotinos Kineos', Paros avec Klesitekos Kineos\textsuperscript{7}, Ioulis de Kéos avec un K[i]nêas\textsuperscript{9}.

On a cité un Spartiate d'après une épitaphe \textit{IG}, v 1, 808\textsuperscript{10}. Il serait tout à fait isolé ; car le nom ne semble pas apparaître dans le Péloponèse, pas plus que dans la Grèce Centrale et Occidentale.

2. Cf. H. Berve, loc. cit., tome II.
3. J'ai dépouillé de nombreux index de recueils et j'ai surveillé ce nom dans mes lectures, mais malheureusement depuis trop peu de temps, depuis la découverte de cette inscription. D'autre part, F. Stähelin dans la \textit{Realenzyklopädie}, en 1921, a pu réunir, s.v., Kinéas, 21 exemples de ce nom. Pratiquement ma liste s'ajoute à la sienne que les témoignages publiés depuis lors. D'autre part, F. Stähelin a donné, comme il était normal, une liste prosopographique, sans considérations sur l'onomastique et sur l'extension de ce nom.
Mais le nom n'apparaît là qu'à la suite d'une correction à la seule copie connue, qui remonte à Cyriaque d'Anconé au xv	extsuperscript{e} siècle. D'autre part, la provenance a été rectifiée. P. Wolters a montré que cette épithaphe, comme la suivante n. 809, avait été copiée à Nauplie	extsuperscript{1}. La copie de Cyriaque donne, avant le nom Πόλλις, les lettres KIMEAΣ. On restera plus près de la copie en interprétant le μυ comme un double lambda, ce qui donnerait : Κυλλέας. Ce nom entre dans la famille de noms Κυλής, Κυλός, Κυλλων, Κυλλων, Κυλλατος, Κυλλό, Κυλλαρον	extsuperscript{3}.

Un second groupe consistant apparaît en Égypte. La liste de F. Stähelin en donne deux témoignages : d'après Polybe, 28, 19, 1, un Kinéas faisait partie du synédron de Ptolémée Évergète II en 169, et d'après un papyrus de Giessen, en 173, un corps de troupes porte le nom de Kinéas (n. 21-22). Cet « officier éponyme » est connu par diverses mentions dans quatre papyrus, ο δεινα των Κινέων τῆς δευτέρας ἰσταταρχίας	extsuperscript{4}. On l'identifie heureusement avec le Kinéas qui, de 177-176 à 170-169, fut prêtre de Cléopâtre et de Ptolémée, comme nous en informent les papyrus démotiques : Gyn's fils de Tusthus ; sa fille, une Bérénice, fut prêtresse d'Arsinoé Philopator en 170-169 : Brnyg' fille de Gyn	extsuperscript{4}. D'autre part, d'après deux papyrus de Hibe, en 263-262 le prêtre d'Alexandre était un Kinéas fils d'Alkétas	extsuperscript{5}.

Pour ces grands dignitaires en Égypte, comme pour tous les soldats et comme pour tant de Grecs en Égypte, quand il ne s'agit pas d'un nom banal et sans aucune couleur — ce qui est d'ailleurs moins fréquent qu'on ne le croit —, il faut se demander quelle était l'origine du nom dans l'Égypte grecque et d'où étaient originaires les familles qui l'ont introduit dans le pays. On a affaire, à plus ou moins longue distance, à des immigrés, et très souvent à des militaires immigrés. Des recherches de ce genre ne sont ordinairement pas faites par les éditeurs ou les commentateurs de papyrus. Par ailleurs, certaines ont déjà été faites	extsuperscript{6} ; bien d'autres sont à faire. Plus la date est ancienne, plus le cas peut être intéressant ; ainsi pour le prêtre d'Alexandre en 263, tout comme pour le fondateur héroïsé de la ville grecque de l'Oxus. Pour le dit prêtre d'Alexandre on

3. La série est groupée dans W. Peremans et E. Vant' Dack, Prosopographia Ptolemaica, II, L'armée de terre et la police (1952), n. 1926. Parmi les soldats de ce corps, on connaît un Thrace, un Thessalien, un Macédonien et un Athénien.
5. Ibid., p. 24, n° 23.
n’a fait aucun commentaire sur lui. Pour son homonyme plus jeune d’un siècle, on a suggéré une origine juive à cause du nom de son père, Δωρίθης. Kinéas, dit-on, ne révèle pas l’origine.

Le Kinéas assurément le plus illustre, c’est le fameux ministre et conseiller du roi Pyrrhos. C’était un Thessalien. D’autres Thessaliens de ce nom sont connus par des textes : un chef des Thessaliens en 511 (Hérodote, v, 63), qui était de la ville de Kondaia, partisan de Philippe de Macédoine chez Démosthène et Théopompe. F. Stähelin y a joint deux témoignages épigraphiques : à l’époque archaïque à Pheraï, au 1er siècle à Phalanna, et aussi, n. 6, un homme « aus Herakleia Trachinia, Vater des Lykophron, Sylloge, 494, 25 ». De fait, dans cette liste de proxénès d’Histée d’Eubée, le Λυκόφρων Κινέος Ἡρακλεώτης est un citoyen de la ville de l’Oita.

Je ne peux actuellement rechercher s’il n’y a pas d’autre Kinéas dans les inscriptions de ce pays publiées depuis le Corpus d’Otto Kern ou parmi les Thessaliens nommés dans les inscriptions du monde grec, notamment à Delphes. Je relèverai seulement un fait des plus caractéristiques. La liste des théorodoques de Delphes nous emmène à travers tout le monde grec, depuis Massalia et la Sicile jusqu’à la côte de Syrie et à la Cyrénaïque. J’ai récemment mis une fois de plus en évidence son intérêt pour l’onomastique locale à propos du nom cyrénéen Karnis, qui se rencontre dans cette liste une seule fois, précisément pour la Cyrénaïque. Or, à son tour le nom Kinéas ne s’y lit qu’une seule fois, et il s’agit d’un Thessalien : Kinéas, fils de Krateus (nom intéressant lui aussi), est le théorodoque de Delphes dans la ville thessaliennne de Kieron.

Nous comprenons alors d’où sont venues les familles des Kinéas connus en Égypte à l’époque ptolémaïque : non pas d’Athènes, mais


3. Ibid., n. 1. L’origine thessalienne est assurée. Pour le nom de la ville, F. Stähelin a accepté, pour dioka K vontov, la correction de Kip, Thessalische Studien (1910), 139, K vontov, au lieu des précédents F vontov ou K vontov.

4. Ibid., n. 2. Ces trois Thessaliens étaient naturellement cités dans Pape et Benseler.

5. Pherai : IG, IX 2, 426. Phalanna, ibid., 1227, comme adjectif patronymique pour une femme, l. 6 : [K]estra Kve[as].


de Thessalie. On a remarqué le grand nombre des Thessaliens, comme des Macédoniens, qui ont servi comme soldats et officiers en Égypte dans l'armée lagide. D'après l'onomastique nous y avons ajouté le Kebbas qui fut le père d'un prêtre d'Alexandre en 257-256. Précisément une inscription inédite d'Alexandrie nomme comme vainqueur dans un concours des Basileia à la course du stade dans deux catégories un Κινέας Αλκέτω Θεσσαλός. D'abord ce texte nous fait connaître un nouveau Kinéas de la Thessalie. De plus, il nous révèle de façon claire et indiscutable l'origine du prêtre d'Alexandre en 263 ; c'est le même personnage, et cela montre bien la classe sociale de ces vainqueurs aux Basileia d'Alexandrie. Prêtres du culte royal ou éponymes de corps de troupes, les Kinéas dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque sont des Thessaliens d'origine. Si le nom Dositheos peut être porté facilement par des Juifs hellénisés, ainsi à Cyrène, il serait facile de montrer que ce nom est porté aussi par des Grecs dans des régions variées et à des dates où il ne peut s'agir que de purs Hellènes. C'est précisément parce que c'est un bon nom grec que des Juifs l'adoptent et parce qu'il leur convient à eux aussi ; c'est la même situation par exemple que pour 'Ιασω, Jason.

On sait quelle était la réputation sans égale des cavaliers thessaliens. La Thessalie avait fourni un gros contingent à l'armée d'Alexandre qui conquit l'Asie. Certains des officiers thessaliens nous sont connus nommément. Ainsi Médeios de Larisa, fils d'Oxythémis, fit campagne avec Alexandre jusque dans l'Inde, jusqu'à l'Hysaspis ; il continua sa carrière sous les Diadoques. Kyrisilos de Pharsale (son nom est épichorique en Thessalie) participa aussi à la grande expédition. Si je rappelle ces deux personnages, c'est parce que leur présence nous est attestée en Arménie et en Médie en un passage très intéressant de Strabon en son livre XI. Strabon est d'ailleurs le seul à nous faire connaître Kyrisilos. Il ouvre son chapitre sur les origines (ἐξ Ζηριστολογία) de l'Arménie en invoquant les recherches de Kyrisilos de Pharsale et de Médios de Larisa, qui

4. L'inscription date de l'an 18 de Ptolémée Soté. Kinéas était à ce moment un jeune homme, ἐγερμος. Cela concorde parfaitement avec l'âge que devait avoir Kinéas lorsqu'il obtint l'honneur du sacerdoce d'Alexandre, en pleine maturité.
8. Il a été reconnu comme le bénéficiaire d'une proxénie de la ville de Gonnoi par B. Helly et Chr. Habicht indépendamment (études inédites).
avaient fait campagne avec Alexandre ». Ce sont leurs observations et leurs théories qu’il résume en détail dans la suite : l’éponyme de l’Arménie était un Arménos, originaire de la ville d’Armenion en Thessalie « entre Phères et Larisa sur le lac Boïbé » ; ses compagnons s’établirent et en Arménie et en dehors des frontières de ce pays ; le costume arménien était un costume thessalien, et cela est expliqué en détail ; il y a le même amour de la cavalerie chez les Thessaliens et chez les Arméniens, comme aussi chez les Médes ; l’expédition de Jason est attestée là par des monuments appelés ‘Iasonia’ ; le fleuve Araxe tire son nom du fleuve Pénéios, qui était ainsi désigné (suivent des considérations géologiques sur le fleuve) ; des Aïnianes s’établirent aussi dans ces régions. De l’étude aussi de la Médée, les deux Thessaliens conclueraient en conjecturant qu’il y avait une parenté des Médes et des Arméniens avec les Thessaliens et avec les descendants de Jason et de Médée.

Ces deux pages de Strabon montrent clairement l’activité et la tournure d’esprit des deux officiers thessaliens, leur curiosité et leur esprit d’observation. Leur théorie historique s’appuie sur des rapprochements entre toponymes (beaucoup de rapprochements toponymiques affirmés aujourd’hui dans de savants ouvrages ne sont pas mieux fondés que les leurs) et, à la mode grecque, ils tirent des toponymes des « éponymes » humains ; — rapprochements entre traits de la civilisation matérielle : le costume, l’art hippique. Ils n’abordaient point ces barbares et leur étude avec mépris. Au contraire, leur premier souci était de trouver des rapprochements ;

1. XI, 530-531 : οἱ περὶ Κυρσίλου τῶν Φαρσαίλων καὶ Μήδων τὸν Δαμασίλον, ἀνήμες ἐπιστατικοὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.
2. La même théorie, à propos du Caucase, à peu près dans les mêmes termes, XI, 503 C : Ἀλέξανδρου μετὰ Ἀρμενίων τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς Χάλκεος όρμησαν ἐμπρόσθεν τῆς Κασπίας ἀποκλάτοσι καὶ τῆς Ἀλβανίας ἀπαλάτειν καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μήδιας οἷς κυριαρχεῖ η Ἴσαον καὶ ἄλλα ὑπόρημα πλοῖον· τὸν δὲ Ἀρμενίων εὐφῶς τῶν περὶ τῆς Βασίλειας κράτους ἐπέβη Φαθαλ καὶ Λαύρᾶς, τοὺς σύν αὐτῷ οἱ οἰκίσκοι τῆς Ἀκλειστῆς καὶ τῆς Ἐκφερης ἴππας καὶ Ἀλδαβνής, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπαύγουνοι κατανείλατε. Les garans ne sont pas nommés ici, mais plus loin où il y a des phrases presque identiques. De même, dans C. 526, au sujet de la Médée : sont des souvenirs de Jason τὸ Ἴσαον ἥδη τιμωμένα σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων (ὅτι δὲ καὶ δρος μέγα ὑπὸ τῶν Κασπίαν πυλῶν ἐν ἀμφίτροι καλούμενοι Ἴσαον); des souvenirs de Médée de l’époque et de la Médée qui édifie et de la Médée qui édifie τῆς τῆς χάρας... Ομολογεῖ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Ἴσαον καὶ τὸ τῆς χάρας ἄνομα καὶ ἄλλα πλοῖα περὶ ὧν ἐρμούμεν. Ensocore 1, 45-46, τὰ Ἴσαον πολλαχοὶ καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μήδιας καὶ τῶν πλησιόν οὕτως τοιαύτα διελέβοντο. Le chapitre Die Ἴσαον dans J. Markwart, Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Quellen (Vienne, 1930), 531-545, traite surtout de naissances ou naissances dans Strabon 531 et de légendes tardives sur Alexandre. Dans un mémoire posthume, Rev. Ét. Arméniennes, NS, 3 (1966), La province de Farsakaht, pp. 280-288, il a traité des Arméniens et de la localisation du lieu qui avait prétendu à ce rapprochement (la page sur Anissa de Cappadoce, 287, n’a pas de rapport avec le sujet et, pleine d’erreurs, est à rayser ; cf. Noms Indigènes dans l’Asie Mineure gréco-romaine, 457-523).
Because of the changes brought in the meaning of the Paxto words by stress it is considered to be very important. Besides articles written previously about the stress in Paxto language, a new booklet has recently been published in English in which the problem is stated more than ever before.

The booklet is written by a well-known Czechoslovak scholar Mr. Jiri Becke who is a student of the late prof. Jan Rypka. Mr. Becke's excellent information and knowledge about the languages of Afghanistan, especially Paxto and Dari, makes the booklet most reliable. He visited time and again Afghanistan.

In spite of the fact that several articles are written about the language and grammar of Paxto, in the local languages of Afghanistan, nevertheless the booklet, "A Study in Paxto Stress", is a thorough study and a new research. The very important of the booklet is in the fact that it is written in a foreign language.

Mr. Becke, in writing the booklet, has used principles of the linguistics and the Paxto stress in detail.

It consists of the following sections:

History and state of research in Paxto stress, stress in Iranian languages, the characteristic of the Paxto stress; stress-individual feature of the word; the word—five function of the word; formative F4 notion of stress in Paxto; stress and segmental phonemes and conclusion.

The journal Afghanistan, on behalf of the Historical Society of Afghanistan, wants to express its thanks to the author for his valuable work in this connection. More over we want to express our appreciation to the Academia of Prague for publishing the booklet. Certainly the booklet, from the view point of linguistic and research in the languages of Afghanistan, is important.