On the occasion of the New Year the journal (Afghanistan) on behalf of the Historical Society, extends its congratulations and best wishes to His Majesty the King, Her Majesty the Queen and the people of Afghanistan.

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Cover: Nouh Gunbed, a monument in Balkh, belonging to the Medieval period.

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The Mother of the Dari Language—part two
Word Dividers

By Pohand A.H. Habibi *

In 330 B.C., Alexander of Macedonia arrived in Ariana (Khurasan of the Sassanian and Islamic periods) with his victorious army and was, for the next three years, confronted with considerable opposition by the people of this land. He reached Taxila and the bank of the Jhelum River in 326 B.C., and one year later, in 325 B.C., made for Iran by a route that ran to the south of Afghanistan through present-day Baluchistan.

The arrival of Alexander was an important event, one which had a deep and significant impact on the politics and culture of later-day Afghanistan and all the other countries of Central Asia. For more than ten centuries, until the conquest of the Arabs and of Islam, the effects of the Greek conquest were evident in the literature, art, and culture of this area. The Greek descendants of Alexander established a mighty empire in Ariana and Transoxiana. Thirty-six kings and one queen ruled for a period of two hundred and fifty years, the last of whom, Hermaeus, was overthrown by the Saka tribes from Kabul circa 30 B.C., although the influence of Hellenism was to last in Afghanistan until the seventh century A.D.

Greco-Buddhist, art which spread throughout eastern Afghanistan and Gandahara, constitutes a very important chapter in the history of the art of Central Asia, and at this juncture, remains of Greek architecture are being unearthed in great Greek city at Ai Khanum. However, in the present discourse, we shall confine ourselves to a single subject—Greek script in Afghanistan.

* Translated into English by Habibullah Habibi
Of the coins minted by the Greek kings of Bactria, a great number are preserved in museums in Kabul, London, Paris, the USSR, India, and Pakistan, while there is a considerable number of other such coins in private collections as well. Some of these coins carry legends only in the Greek script, while others have legends in both Greek and Kharoshthi. The Kharoshthi script, which was common from India to China, has been called the Arianian alphabet by H.H. Wilson in his book *Ariana Antiqua* (p. 262).

But the Greek script, which had become popular with the coming into power of the Bactrian Greeks in Afghanistan, Transoxiana, and Western India, was perfected in accordance with and adapted to the needs of the people of this area, with letters and sounds found in the languages common here being incorporated in it. In addition to being used on coins by the Bactrian Greeks, the Sakas, the Kushanids, the Ephthalites, the Kidaras, the Lions of Bamiyan, etc., from the first to the seventh centuries A.D., it was also employed in inscriptions on rocks. From this it can be inferred that besides the Kharoshthi, Brahmi, Sarada, and Pahlavi scripts, the Greek script was also used in court writings.

So far, the following rock inscriptions, written in this script, have been discovered in Afghanistan; they belong to the Kushanid and Ephthalite periods:

1) A twenty-five line inscription on a large, flat rock unearthed at Surkh Kotal of Baghlan from the great temple of Kanishka, which contains one hundred sixty words in the cursive Greek alphabet.

2) Two other copies of the same inscription dug from the walls of a well in this temple. These inscriptions are written in a coarser script than the first one.

3) Two inscriptions large rocks discovered near Qala-i-Achakzai in the Shali Pass of Rozgan, 150 km. north of Kandahar, in the heart of Zawolistan. Three lines of these containing about 50 words are readable, and they seem to have been inscribed by the order of an Ephthalite prince of Zawol.

4) Two inscriptions at Jaghatur, 20 km. northwest of Ghazni, one of which has three lines with 25 words. It is the Buddhist Tri-Ratna, or Three Jewel Formula, written in a Greek script resembling that used during the Ephthalite period.

5) The second Jaghatur inscription consists of six lines and has been written in the same script. It contains twenty-five words and could have been written during the sixth or seventh centuries A.D. Its inscription might be attributable to a Sagasi Shapor (Sagasi Prince), Vim Sha Ulugh.

Research on the relics of, and deciphering of the inscriptions left by the Bactrian Greeks, the Koshanids, and the Ephthalites has been going
on now for nearly a century, but because most of the researchers have not been conversant with the indigenous languages and dialects of Afghanistan, they have made many mistakes in their readings of these writings.

However, the language in which, during the Ephthalite and Kushanid periods, the above-mentioned inscriptions have been written was, without any doubt, an Arian language which we could call the Bactrian or the Tukhari or the Kushanid language of Afghanistan. According to Al-Beiruni in Athar-el-Eaqia (p. 222) and and Al-Bashari Maqdisi in Ahsan-Thaqasim (p. 335), the language spoken by the people inhabiting area between Balkh and Badakhshan was called Thukhari, which had a kinship with the language spoken in Balkh. Thukhari is contemporary with Pahlavi, and at the time when Southern Pahlavi was spoken in the court of Pars and Northern Pahlavi existed in Transoxiana, Khutan, and Thoorfan, Thukhari was spoken in Afghanistan. It is, in fact, considered the mother of the Dari language of Afghanistan. Thukhari, the court language of the Kushanids and Ephthalites, also shows etymological, syntactical, and phoenetical similarities to Paxto.

The Greek script was re-arranged in accordance with the phoenetic needs of the language of Central Asia, insofar as Greek script written from right to left has been found at Taigak of the Solaqtaw mountains in the Alma Ata region (Archiv Orientalni, 1967, p. 35). Moreover, Thukhari possessed sounds which were unknown in Greek, and because Greek letters could not represent these sounds, new letters were invented for them as, for example, the sound \( \text{پ} \) and \( \text{ک} \), both of which are included in the present-day Paxto alphabet. According to Heuen Tsang, the alphabet of this land was composed of twenty-five letters and was written from left to right. Thus we know that around 644 A.D., at the time of Heuen Tsang's visit, Greek script was common in Afghanistan.

In this alphabet, the letter omicron, which has the shape of a small circle and corresponds to the English letter "o", was, at first, used for its own special sound. But later on it came to be used as a word divider or a word terminator on the coins of the Bactrian kings. The word divider made reading easier by separating the words from one another, but because, after the passage of many centuries, its function was forgotten, it has been the cause of much confusion for recent readers of the script who thought that the sound "o" was a part of the original word. Thus, this sound was added to the end of every word, producing aberrant forms.
AFGHANISTAN

As far as is known, the word divider "o" is not found on the coins of the first kings of Bactria such as Theodotus, 256 B.C.; Euthydemus, 190-220 B.C.; Demetrios, 190 B.C.; Eukratides, 181 B.C.; and the words on their coins succeed one another with no separating space. But, on the unique square-shaped coin of Queen Agathokleia (The Servant of God), the word BAZZILIZAZ is followed by an "o" on the left margin of the coin behind the queen. The word EOTRON is inscribed above the queen's head and is likewise followed by an "o", while on the right margin of the coin, facing the queen, is inscribed her name, Agatholeiaz. Thus, it is evident that this sign entered Greek script in Afghanistan in the last century B.C. and became more common after Christ, in the Kushanid period. It is found quite often in the beginning of the Christian era and after it in the inscriptions of the Kushanid and later periods.

When the reading of the legends on Greco-Bactrian coins was first undertaken, many mistakes were made in deciphering the sounds of the Greek letters of the Kushanid period. For example, H.H. Wilson's book, Ariana Antiqua, written in 1840 A.D., is devoted to reading the coins just mentioned. And mistakes were especially made here in deciphering the sounds of two letters, namely, the omicron, the word divider or word terminator which was thought to be the last letter of the words, and the sound "sh", which was mistaken for the Greek rho, and this in spite of the fact that in the Bactrian Greek alphabet, it had the half circle in the middle and not at the top. Thus the word SHA or SHAH, meaning, "king", on the coins was thought to be RAO, a word of Indian origin; "sh" was read as "r", and the word divider "o" was considered part of the word itself. The remaining part of the legend KUSHANSHA and SHANANSHA (Shahanshah) was incorrectly read as RAO NANRAO KANIRKI KORANO (Ariana Antiqua, p. 358). This legend in Thukhari found on Kushanid coins has been inscribed instead of the Greek BACILEYC BACILEWNN. The author of Ariana Antiqua has unconvincingly tried to establish the Indian origin of these words, while the actual words are evidently SHANANSHA KANISHKI KUSHAN.

These mistakes should not be repeated as the Surkh Kotal inscriptions have helped us immensely in deciphering the actual sounds and forms behind the Greek alphabet of the Kushanid period. In addition, a part of the syntax and the transformation of letters and words in Thukhari have also been determined.

When the Surkh Kotal inscription became an object of study for scholars, M. Mariq in The Asiatic Journal of Paris, No. 4, 1958; M.B. Henning in The Bulletin of Oriental Studies of London University, 1960; and Emile Benveniste in the Asiatic Journal, 1961, were the first to pub-
lish their findings. But because all these studies were of a preliminary nature, the authors complained that this inscription was difficult to read because the words had not been spaced, thus making the task of word separation a prime problem.

However, in my studies of the Surkh Kotal, Rozgan, and Jaghatu inscriptions, all of them written in the Greek script, I have determined the existence of a word divider in the form of “о”. For if the word dividers are struck from the ends of the words, the new words obtained are very meaningful. In fact, these very same words are to be found in ancient Dari and Paxto literature. The SHAH equivalent of “Shah” was read SHAO, its word divider having been included, and KIRD, “kard” of Dari, was read as KIRDO, thus mutilating these two terms. Similarly, hundreds of other words have met the same fate in this spree of incorrect reading.

In all the discovered remains of the Greek script of Afghanistan, a small circle is observable at the end of each word. This circle serves as a word divider which should definitely not be considered the last letter of the word it follows. It sometimes also appears in the form of a small square, while word dividers of a different form can be seen in the cuneiform characters of Achaemenian inscriptions. Therefore, in the Surkh Kotal inscription of Baghlai, the small circle should in no way what soever be considered a part of the word, and the words BAGLANG, MANDAR, BAGPCHR, AB, KAND, NOBIXT, FROMAN, BORZMIHR, and NEICAN should not be read in their mutilated forms of BAGOLANGO, MANDARO, BAGOPOHRO, ABO, KANDO, NOBIXTO, FROMANO, BORZOMIHR and NEICANO. Indeed, how is it possible for all the words of a language to end in “о” and for no word not to end in it in several inscriptions containing a total of two hundred words?

Now we shall focus our attention on a number of coins of that period with legends in the Greek script. The symbol “о” was usually used for divider words or terminator words and it can be seen on the coins of Emperor Gondophares who ruled in the first century A.D. (19-49 A.D.). Again, it was sometimes written in the form of a square. However, on a coin belonging to Hermaeus (? B.C.), HERMAIOZ-O is inscribed under the figure of the king and is separated from BAZILEBUZZUTER-O above it by the symbol “о”, as shown.

From a general study of the Greco-Bactrian and Kushanid coins, it can be established that this symbol was seldom used with Greek words proper, but that when the Dari, title SHANANSHA was used instead of the Greek BACILEYOC BACILEWN, the word divider was placed beside it. In fact, the use of the word divider was one of the characteristics of the Greek script of the language of the Kushanid period. For instance:
1) One of the coins carries this legend: KANISHKIKUSHAN SHA-NAN-SHA. It begins at eleven o’clock and the word divider was used in the following manner:

\[ \text{KAMHPKI KOPAMPA-O MAM-O-PA-O} \]

From this it is evident that the title of emperor was composed in three parts, namely, SHA+NAN+SHA.

2) On another coin, at three o’clock, is inscribed:

\[ \text{KAMHPKIBA-O} \]

The word divider, as can be seen, is at the end of the word.

3) An Okshki coin (circa 160 A.D.) carries the following legend beginning at eleven o’clock:

\[ \text{OOKPKI KOPAMPA-O MAM-O-PA-O} \]

4) One of the most convincing proofs of the symbol “o” being a word divider or word terminator is that most of the Kushanid coins carry inscriptions of the names of gods, from which, with the deletion of the omicron, the original Paxto or Dari words are obtained. For instance:

ORLAGI on a coin of Kanishkikushan Sha Nan Sha, from which the “Wardagi” of Paxto has been derived

ATSH on another coin of Kanishkikushan Sha ("Atash" of Dari) MA on a coin of Kanishki ("Mah" of Dari)

ARDOXSH on a coin of Kanishki ("Ardoxsh" was the name of a god?)

MIR on a coin of Kanishki ("Mir" of Paxto and "Mehr" of Dari). Also written as:

\[ \text{MIP-O OR MIIP} \]

WAD on a coin Kanishki ("Bad" of Dari)
FAR on a coin of Okshki ("Far" of Dari)  
WISH in several coins ("Wesh" of Paxto)

All of these words prove that terminal "o" is not an integral part of the word, for these words have preserved their original form even to this day. On the coins of later Sassanian kings discovered at Hadda and Bagram, Greek letters have also been sometimes used. On two of these coins, small in size in the obverse side is pictured the figure of a king with a Sassanian crown, while in their reverse side is a temple. The king faces to the right, and in front of him, starting at two o'clock, SHABOR has been inscribed with no micron at the end. But, Cunningham, in the Journal of Numismatics, 1893, has described a coin which carries the same inscription, but with a terminal "o" (N.S., 1937, p. 30), which he claims was minted in Balkh around 356 A.D. Thus, from the above, it can be inferred that the Sassanians of Persia sometimes did, and at other times did not use this symbol.

A study of the three inscriptions of Baghlan will show that the differences among them are trivial. In the first, the words "Sha" and "Ma" have been inscribed with the word divider placed after the letters:

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 pA_0 and MA_0
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But in the second inscription, the words have been written thus:

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 MA_0 and PAY_0
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In the first instance, the words should be read as "sha" and "Ma" and not as "Shao" and "Mao" because "o" is the word terminator. On the same basis, the words in the second inscription are "Shah" and "Mah" and not "Shaho" and "Maho" as "o" is not the last letter of the words. It seems that at that time, also, these words had two written forms each, just as in Dari literature the word "Shah" is sometimes written as "Sha". In the first and third inscriptions we have:

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 pA_0
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But in the second one, as it was intended to add an epsilon to "Sha" and "Ma", the epsilon was attached and the word divider added after it. This proves that "o" after the words "Sha" and "Ma" was not part of the orl-
ginal word. When it was intended to add the sound “h” or epsilon to the end of words, the word divider was placed after the epsilon and the words were written as:

In addition to the three inscriptions just described, the word divider “o” is also seen in one of the Rozgan inscriptions which is readable:

“The Great Prince Mir Sang Zmik”?
This symbol is also seen in an inscription at Jaghatu of Ghazna, stating the Buddhist Tri-Ratna:

The Sanskrit version of the Tri-Ratna is as follows:
Namo Buddhasya: Reverence to the Buddha
Namo Dharmasya: Reverence to the Dharma
Namo Sanghasya: Reverence to the Sangha

In Sughdi, the Tri-Ratna was written in the following manner, with no “o” at the end of the words PUT, DARMA, and SANK:

“Reverence to the Buddha: reverence to piety; and reverence to society”. It should be noted that, in the Greek script, there are three word dividers between the six words, each word divider dividing the two words of a line.

In another Jaghatu inscription, the words and the word dividers following relationship: BAG (o) SAGASISHAPOR (o) VIM (o) SHA (o) ULUGH. Doubt exists as to the correct reading of the second word. But, according to the rules of the script, four word dividers have placed among the five words, and in Dari it would read, “Bag Sagzishapor Vim Sha Ulugh”.

In the Islamic period, remnants of this word divider are seen in a few copies of the holy Qur’an. It has been used for separating verses from one another and has this very same “o” form. Diacritical marks and vowelization were not used in the old Kufic script. Actually, it was Abu-al-Doueli (d. 96 H.) who used diacritical marks for vowelization, and
it is thought that he may have copied them from the Calidians (History of Islamic Civilization, III, p. 80). Moreover, according to Ibn-i-Khallikan, Hajjaj, the governor of Iraq, employed punctuation to distinguish Arabic similar form (Wafiyyat, I, p. 135). Thus, from the preceding statements, it becomes evident that the Arabs had no need for vowelization and punctuation, but that in order to make the reading of Arabic easier for non-Arabs, they adopted the practices of punctuation and vowelization. For example, Khalil Ibn-i-Ahmad, who died in 170 H., arranged the Arabic letters in Kitabul-Ain in accordance with the Sanskrit alphabet (Islamic Civilization, III, p. 115).

During the reign of Abd-ul-Malik, son of Marwan Umavi, a point was placed at the beginning and end of verses of the holy Qur’an. Later this was changed to three points (Al-Ithqan, II, 171). It appears that the three points were adopted from late Pahlavi script, because in Pahlavi, also, three points were used to separate sentences. In the oldest Pahlavi copy of The Yasna, housed in the Copenhagen Museum and written by Hirbad Mehraban Kaikhsrza, three point have been used to separate sentences.

In order to mark the beginning and end of Quranic verses, a scholar from Afghanistan, Mohammad Bin Thaifoor Sujawandi Ghaznavi, who died in 540 H. and wrote Kitab-ul-Waqt, W-al-Ibtida, and Rumuzul-Qur’an used such a device. “Rumuz” means the symbols just described (Al-Ithqan, I, p. 84). As far as is known, these symbols have not been used in the old Kufic copies of the Qur’an, but they became common in Khorasanian copies after the fourth century Hejera. The present system of the separation of Quranic verses is that of Sujawandi (Encyclopedia of Islam, IV, p. 54), and it is quite probable that Sujawandi adopted the “o” symbol from ancient Kushanid works. Afterwords it became the custom of scribes and painters to add a variety of decorative marks to it and to paint in gold and many other colors.

To be continued
Some International Legal Aspects
of Pushtunistan Dispute

by: Leon B. Poullada

This article has been prepared by a scholar who has done
detailed research on the contemporary history of Afghanistan and this
section of the world. Taking into consideration the scientific value of this
article and the objective approach of the author, we have published it in
our journal. The journal Afghanistan is always happy to publish such arti-
cles which have been prepared on the basis of scientific research. But the
views expressed do not, of course, necessarily represent those of the
journal Afghanistan

Prof. A.H. Habibi President of the Historical Society.

I. Introduction

International law is often looked upon by politicians, statemen,
diplomats, and even ordinary laymen as a body of abstract, inflexible
rules applied in arbitrary fashion to immensely complex situations
loaded with emotional, historical, and social implications which inter-
national law will not or cannot take into account. To a certain extent,
this accounts for the reluctance of political leader and men of affairs to in-
voke the aid of international law in resolving political disputes. (1) But it
is one of the purposes of this paper to suggest that international law can
and should play a far more important, perhaps even decisive role in the
settlement of boundary disputes.

This is a critical area of conflict because so many new nations
have inherited boundaries which were dictated by the vagaries of imper-
ial or colonial policy, a legacy which has already created much contro-
versy between new states. As nationalistic feelings mature, as new
nations become more viable economically, as they acquire a more secure
national identity, and as the emotions generated against “foreign devils”
by anti-colonialism become spent, these new nations will probably turn
their attention more and more to the revision of colonially-imposed

(1) Dillard, H.C.: Some Aspects of Law and Diplomacy-Recueil des Cours,
boundaries. This will bring them into increasing conflict with their neighbors and a new dimension of instability and danger will be added to the already precarious equilibrium of world peace.

It is by no means too soon, therefore, to begin a systematic study of ways and means by which international law could make a significant contribution to resolving conflicts of this nature. If it is to be effective, international law must cease to regard boundary disputes as purely legalistic exercises of adjudication through the application of traditionally-oriented rules. These controversies must be examined with the fullest possible understanding of the historical and socio-political background from which they spring, and only to the extent that the international legal process can adapt its doctrines and procedures to take into account, evaluate, assess, and render its judgments in this broader context, will it become an instrument of peace capable of inspiring faith in its capacity to mete out justice.

It is important to note at this point that disputes arising from colonially-imposed boundaries frequently involve questions of self-determination of minorities. This in turn often results in irredentist claims which arouse nationalistic passions and indignant accusations of violations of sovereignty. Artificial boundaries, self-determination, and irredentism are therefore interrelated areas of conflict which international law must somehow learn to regulate.

The Pushtunistan dispute, which is the subject of this paper, has been chosen as an example of the complexities inherent in this kind of controversy and of the shortcomings of international law in failing to provide an adequate framework for the peaceful and equitable resolution of this type of conflict. The paper will also attempt to suggest a broader framework in which international law could approach problems of this kind, and in order to do this, it will be necessary to dedicate a considerable part of the analysis to an examination of the historical and politico-social factors which surround the controversy.

II. The Nature of the Dispute

The Pushtunistan dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan basically concerns the status of several million Pushtun tribesmen whose mode of life ranges from the completely nomadic to the sedentary and who inhabit a region east and south of the Durand Line. The people themselves are variously referred to as Pushtuns or Pakhtoons because their principal language is Pakhto or Pashto (depending on regional dialect). They are also often known as Pathans, an indicized version sanctified by British usage and popularized in the romantic tales of the Northwest Frontier of India by Kipling. The Pushtuns (as we shall call them for purposes of convenience) are divided into a rather
perplexing number of tribes and sub-tribes but do claim, with reason, a commonality of language, religion, custom, and history. (2)

The Durand Line, as we shall see, is primarily a political boundary, one of the many crazy-quilt jigsaw parcellings perpetrated during the 19th century as a by-product of imperial colonial expansion. (3) The genesis of the problem pre-dates the 1893 Durand Line but the drawing of this line made the problem acute and projected it into the 20th century because of its arbitrary division of the Pushtun tribes between Afghanistan and what was then British India. The ruling dynasties of Afghanistan have been of Pushtun stock and therefore bitterly resented and resisted this amputation. As a result successive Afghan governments took every opportunity presented by fluctuations of power in the Indian sub-continent to assert claims for the autonomy or reunification of their “brethren” across the Durand Line.

Modern inquirers into this vexing controversy are often mystified by the differing nature of Afghan claims. This is sometimes the result of failure to distinguish between the official Afghan government position and the demands advanced by unofficial propagandists, extreme nationalists, and political advocates of a “Greater Afghanistan.” Government control or influence over the communications media in Afghanistan also makes it very difficult to determine when a certain claim is official, officially inspired, or merely the opinion of the writer. Taken as a whole, Afghan claims have ranged from mere expressions of concern for the welfare of the Pushtun tribes with no territorial calims expressed or implied, to vociferous irredentist claims for reunification of all Pushtuns under the Afghan flag and annexation of the territory occupied by them. Indeed these more extreme claims have even included assertion of right over Baluchistan, an area inhabited by non-Pushtun (though ethnically related) tribes. This claim incidentally (or perhaps not so incidentally) would give landlocked Afghanistan access to the Arabian Sea. (4).

On the other hand if we examine meticulously only the official pronouncements of the Afghan government we must note the remarkable consistency with which three basic themes recur. These are:


2) Insistent denial that Afghanistan desires any territorial expansion.

3) Repeated assurances that Afghansitan wants the dispute solved only by peaceful means and that negotiations should take place between Pakistan and the intellectuals and the leaders of the Pushtuns themselves.

The fluctuations in the nature of the Afghan claims become more comprehensible if they are viewed within the political context of the balance of power existing at the times the claims were advanced. Thus, when British imperial power was virtually unchallenged in India, Afghan claims tended to be quiescent or at least muted. I do not mean to suggest that the Afghans ever became reconciled to the fate of their Pushtuns "brothers" living east of the Durand Line. Quite the contrary. Abdur Rahman in the 19th century and Habibullah in the early 20th century continued to exert their influence, subsidize, and extend sympathetic help to the trans-border tribes even at the height of British power in India. King Amanullah, likewise, even on the occasion of signing the 1921 treaty with the British, stated bluntly in his speech to the British representative, Dobbs, that the treaty could "not be one of friendship but only of neighborly relations" so long as Britain oppressed Muslims, in particular the Pushtun tribes whose affinities to Afghanistan were well known. Similarly in 1931, King Nader Shah, newly installed on the throne after a civil war, made it clear in his speech to the Parliament in September of that year that the fate of the Pushtun tribes in what he called the "Free Frontier" (Sarhad-i-Azad) were of special concern to the Afghan government.

In spite of these periodic expressions of continued interest and concern for the Pushtuns east of the Durand Line during the period of firm British rule in India, it does appear that a certain "modus vivendi" had developed between Afghanistan and British India with regard to the Pushtuns. But as the British hold on India loosened, Afghan claims were revived and intensified reaching an extreme form during and after the 1947 partition of the sub-continent when the new nation of Pakistan was passing through periods of internal weakness or strain. Although it is possible to thus understand the variations in the nature and intensity of Afghan claims as tactical moves on the South Asian political chessboard, it is nevertheless true that the fluctuations in the nature of these claims makes it very difficult to examine objectively the international legal validity of the Afghan position.

The Pakistani position in the dispute is a good deal clearer. Pakistan, in effect, claims that the Durand Line is an international boundary; that all inhabitants within the territorial jurisdiction of Pakistan are its exclusive concern; and that in expressing concern over the Pakistani Pushtuns, Afghanistan is not sincere on at least two
counts: first, because the Pushtuns on the Pakistan side are much better off politically and economically than their cousins on the Afghan side; and second, because Afgan claims are merely a cloak for territorial ambitions and desires for an outlet to the sea. Pakistan thus views the status of th Pushtuns on its side of the Durand Line as a matter exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of Pakistan and therefore not a proper subject for international concern. In other words, Pakistan has consistently refused to acknowledge that an international issue exists and has therefore refused to negotiate the matter at the conference table, much less submit it to international adjudication. (5)

III. The Historical Setting of the Dispute

The complexity of the issues involved in the Pushtunistan dispute cannot be appreciated without some understanding of the historical circumstances which produced it. In a sense, the roots of the controversy are deeply imbedded in the soil of South Asian pre-history. The Pushtuns are ancient tribes about whose origin scholars disagree (6), but it seems fairly certain that they already inhabited the eastern highlands and mountains of what is now Afghanistan when Alexander's armies passed through that area to invade India in the 4th century B.C. Pushtun residence in this inhospitable area is therefore of long standing. Throughout history the Pushtuns have been known as fierce, independent, and warlike, masters of guerilla warfare and predatory raids directed at the more "civilized" inhabitants of the plains. History records that the Pushtuns successfully resisted efforts to conquer them by Persians, Greeks, Indians, Kushans, Huns, Mongols, Mughals, Arabs, Turks, Russians, and Britons. It would be difficult to match such a record for intense love of freedom anywhere in the world.

The strategic position of the Pushtuns athwart their mountainous "land of insolence" (7) commanding the principal passes between Central Asia and the rich Gangetic plains of India gave them a control of military and trade routes which enabled them to extract tribute and political concessions from the empires which surrounded them. In modern times this strategic position became of particular importance in the context of the geopolitical expansion of the Russian and British empires during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

(5) Dupree: op. cit. p. 88
Since Peter the Great's reign (1628-1725, A.D.) Russia had coveted a warm water port on the Indian Ocean, and in the 19th century, this ambition brought it into conflict with British imperial positions in Persia and India. For nearly two centuries these two great powers hovered over Afghanistan sparring for position. (8) This paper will not attempt to unravel the international complexities, intrigues, and interminable cloak and dagger adventures which were involved in this "Great Game", as the Victorians dubbed it, but the general outline of its progress is pertinent to the controversy being examined.

By curious coincidence of history, the British decision to change from traders to rulers in India and to extend their the rule to the north was taken at approximately the same time as the Russian decision to expand their empire southeast into Central Asia. The battle of Plassy in which the British eliminated French competition in India and made the East India Company the virtual ruler of eastern India took place at about the same time (1757) that the Russian built Orenburg as a base for their conquest of the Central Asian Khanates. (9)

From that moment the Russian and British empires seemed headed for a collision in Central Asia as they devoured the intervening territory. Only the rising power of Germany drove Russia and England into the accord of St Petersbourg in 1907 and brought about a respite to this imperial struggle. (10)


(16) The British push toward Central Asia, was for the most part, officially justified as necessary to protect borders rather than by any desire to conquer Central Asia or Russia. Russian attitudes towards their expansion can be judged by the following letter from General Skobelev, the great conqueror of Central Asia to Foreign Minister Zinoffiev. In 1877 Skobelev wrote:

"Everyone who has concerned himself with the question of the position of the English in India has declared it to be precarious, and has said that it is solely maintained by force of arms, that the European troops are not more than sufficient to keep the country quiet and that the native soldiers are not to be depended upon at all. Everyone who has concerned himself with the question of the possibility of a Russian invasion of India has declared that it is only necessary to penetrate to a single point upon the Indian frontier in order to bring about a general rising.... The contact of even an insignificant force with the frontier of India might lead to a general insurrection throughout the country and to the collapse of the British Empire."
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Our primary interest, however, is not with the fascinating account of this titanic confrontation of empires in the Asian heartland, but with its effect on Afghanistan and, more specifically, on the Pushtun problem. The warlike Pushtun tribesmen became an important pawn in the "Great Game" because they lay directly in the path of British expansion. If a line is drawn from Calcutta to Orenburg, the starting points respectively of British and Russian moves towards each other, it will be seen that Kabul, Afghanistan's capital, is approximately midway. By 1869 the Russians, having performed the startling engineering feat of extending the Trans—Caspian Railroad across the wastelands from Krasnovodsk to Samarkand and subjected the independent khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand, and reached the Oxus river bordering on northern Afghanistan. The British, too, having absorbed Bihar, Oudh, the Rajput states and having wrested the Punjab from the Sikhs, had crossed the Indus and stood at the Khyber pass, the southern gateway to Afghanistan.

Afghanistan thus found itself caught in a vice between the two great powers. Its only protection was shrewd diplomacy which it used effectively to play Britain and Russia against each other, although it also counted on two great barriers to halt the imperial advance. One was the towering Hindu Kush range in the north, the other was the "prickly hedge" formed by the Pushtun tribes in the south. Encouraged by the Afghan government, the warlike Pushtun tribes became an instrument of Afghan foreign policy and a scourge to British administration in India for nearly a century. Eventually, British and Russian expansion ended in long-range stalemate with the Russians stalled on the Oxus and the British entangled in the "prickly hedge" of Pushtun tribal resistance, for in the end, Britain and Russia found it more profitable to compose their differences and join forces against the Kaiser's Germany. (11) The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, signed at St Petersburg, was a typical high-handed European power settlement made without regard for the interests or sensitivities of the Asian peoples involved. Among other things it provided that: (12)

1) Russia was to keep all land north of the Oxus which had been taken from Afghanistan.

2) Persia was to be divided into two zones of influence, Russian in the north and British in the south.

(11) Thienne, Frederich: Die Grosse Politik der Euroraischen Kabinette. Vol. XXV, No. 8357 comments on German reaction as follows: "When the Kaiser read the Convention he noted on the dispatch: "Yes, taken all round it is aimed at us."

(12) Gooch: British Documents on the Origin of the War (1914-18) Vol. IV, p. 618
3) Afghanistan was to be outside the Russian sphere of influence and Britain was not to occupy or annex any part of it.

Neither the Persians nor the Afghans were invited to the conference and though the Amir of Afghanistan protested vigorously against this agreement which in effect made Afghanistan into a buffer state, his objections were brushed aside.

IV. The politico- Sociological Setting.

The Anglo-Russian detente did not solve the problem of the Pushtun tribes. They had simply turned the tables on the powers who had tried to use them as tools in their quarrels. The tribesmen had become confirmed in a way of life which placed a premium an insolent disregard for the organized processes of foreign governments. Their nuisance value had been held in esteem for so long, their delinquencies either encouraged by subsidies, bought off by bribes or punished by excessive measures so often that they had become social outlaws. They had developed their own ingrown society with their own code of honor, (the Pushtun wali) their interminable blood-feuds, their own standards of impeccable hospitality to strangers and fierce revenge to enemies, as well as their own interanl tribal government. Individual loyalty started with the immediate family and diminished in concentric circles as it spread to the extended family, the clan, the sub-tribe and the principal tribe. Other tribes shared but little in this loyalty, Afghanistan and British India even less except to the extent that they purchased it temporarily for some specific purpose. The Pushtun tribes thus defied Afghans and Britons alike with relative impunity. If pursued too closely, offending tribesmen could always find refuge on the other side (13), although of course the burden of pacification and administration fell far more heavily on the British, who had to overcome the disadvantages of religion and race in addition to the political and cultural problems involved. This special disadvantage vis a vis the Afghan was wryly admitted by Sir Denys Brays who is quoted in a despatch of 21 August 1930 from the British Minister in Kabul to the Foreign Office in London as having said in 1921:

"We must face the fact squarely that the Amir has it in his power to stir up the frontier tribes whenever he likes, and by the expenditure of a few hundred rupees among them and at a cost of a modicum of trouble for himself to land us in expenditure of crores and an infinity of trouble".

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Thus the British in particular were baffled by the tribal problem and though they developed very competent administrators in this field, they never really succeeded in pacifying or winning over the loyalty of the Pushtun tribes. Exasperated and frustrated by this prickly hedge which harassed British administration of northwest India and made British influence in Afghanistan tenuous and perilous, a succession of British governments wrestled with the tribal problem and alternated between “forward” policies which attempted to push British influence into the tribal areas by force and “masterly inactivity” policies which involved withdrawal to more secure positions in the plains. The proud Pushtuns, safely ensconced in their mountains, met the forward policies with ferocious guerrilla warfare and simply smiled with contempt at the periodic withdrawals. (14) In the end the British administration contented itself with a policy of containment and reprisal.

Yet, for all intents and purposes, the tribal areas were quite autonomous. British writ did not run up to Durand Line; it stopped at an administrative frontier just outside the settled areas protected by British military cantonments. (15) Tribal incursions into the administered areas were punished by reprisals, withdrawal of subsidies, and other forms of political and economic sanctions. But in a somewhat indefinite zone which straddled India and Afghanistan and comprised several million inhabitants, the Pushtun tribal customary law held undisputed sway. With some minor modifications this was the situation up to 1947 when the British over the area to the new state of Pakistan.

On the Afghan side, too, tribal policy consisted largely in leaving the tribes to their own devices except for the fact that Afghan rulers, themselves descended from tribal blood lines, maintained an active interest and influence among the tribes through the religious sanctions of Islam, family connections, the payment of subsidies Resettlement of tribal groups north of Hindu Kush and the perennial offer of sanctuary to fugitives who had incurred the wrath of the British for hostile activities in India. (16)

From the above it may be seen that the politico-social organization of the tribes, taken as a whole, fulfilled many of the requirements of a “nation”. They occupied and “governed” a fairly well-defined territory from which they successfully excluded other claims of authority; they

(15) Dupree- op. cit. quoting the Simon Commission: “British India stops at he boundary of the administered areas”.
(16) Fraser-Tytler: op. cit. p. 261
possessed substantial ethnic and linguistic unity, shared the same religion, followed the same customs, had the same family and clan structure, and possessed their own music, dance and art forms. In short, they displayed a remarkable homogeneity of social and political institutions of the type usually regarded as indicia of nationhood.

V. The Legal Questions

The purpose of the above review of the history and the socio-political setting of the Pushtunistan dispute has been to enable us to discuss the legal issues in better perspective. It is in this broader context that we must examine the 1893 Treaty which established the Durand Line. (17) Pakistan's position is that the Durand Line is a valid international boundary; that it was subsequently recognized and confirmed as such by Afghanistan on several formal occasions; that the Durand Line put an end to Afghan claims of sovereignty over the territory or influence over the people east of it; and finally that Pakistan, as a successor state, derived full sovereignty over this area and its peoples. Pakistan tops off its case by insisting that in any event, the question of self-determination for the Pushtuns was foreclosed by the British-supervised plebiscite held in 1947 just before partition in the Northwest Frontier Province in which 99% of the vote was in favor of joining Pakistan. The tribal areas too expressed their assent through special Jirgas (tribal councils). (18)

The Afghan reply to this is that the 1893 colonial treaty was obtained through duress and that therefore the line drawn pursuant to that treaty is invalid; that before and after the signing of the treaty the British recognized a special Afghan interest and influence among the Pushtun tribes east of the Durand Line; that in any case the Durand Line was not conceived as an international boundary by either party but simply as a line demarcating British and Afghan zones of influence; that subsequent ratifications of the 1893 agreement contained reservations preserving Afghanistan's interests east of the Durand Line; that in any case Afghanistan has repudiated all treaties which denied to it the right to exert this influence among all the Pushtuns; that Afghanistan has no territorial claims east of the Durand Line but is simply championing the self-generated drive for self-determination of the Pushtuns; that Afghanistan has a right to this based upon ties of kinship, history, religion, race, and language; and that the 1947 plebiscite did not satisfy the requirement for self-determination because:

(17) Aitchison, S: Treaties: Vol. XIII No. XIII (Afghanistan)
1) It was boycotted by a substantial part of the Pashtuns.
2) It was a unilateral act taken without Afghan consultation or consent.
3) It provided the population with only two choices: join India or join Pakistan, whereas it should also have provided options for joining Afghanistan or independence.
4) The approval of the tribal Jirgas was similarly obtained by offering as choices only a “yes” or “no” ratification of the plebiscite decision to join Pakistan.

Afghanistan further argues that Pakistan was not a successor state to Britain but an entirely new state carved out of British India. Whatever treaty rights existed were therefore extinguished. (19)

These are the main lines of argument over the legal issues. As already noted, the legal arguments have become so interlaced with emotional propaganda from both sides and with the politics of clashing nationalism between the two countries that it is extremely difficult to sort out and form objective judgments about the legal issues. To perform this task properly would take weeks or perhaps months of arduous sifting by a well-staffed international tribunal. In any case it is not the purpose of this paper to pass judgment, but rather to point up the legal issues and explore the constructive role which international law could and should play in controversies of this kind. In doing this, however, it is necessary to examine the arguments to determine whether they raise valid issues of international law as the law now stands, and if they do not, then to determine whether the issues are of a nature which international law should encompass if it is to play a constructive and effective role in resolving conflicts of this kind.

The primary legal issue raised by the parties is the validity of 1893 treaty. Under existing international law, a treaty is in many ways analogous to a contract between individuals. It is a well recognized principle both of domestic and international law that duress can invalidate an agreement. But the law also recognizes that there are degrees of coercion and that it is not enough to merely show that negotiations were conducted under pressure or constraint. The question is whether the compulsions are of such quality and quantity as to substitute the will of one of the negotiators for that of the other, thus destroying the element of free consent which is required for a valid agreement. (20)

There is ample historical evidence to show that in negotiating the 1893 Durand line agreement, Abdur Rahman, the Afghan Amir, was

(19) Pazhwak: op. cit. p. 147 et. seq.
operating under severe pressures from various directions. The British controlled Afghanistan's foreign affairs as a result of the Second Afghan War. The Russians had been nibbling away at his western borders. Revellions were seething within Afghanistan. The British controlled commerce and transit of arms and ammunition into Afghanistan through India and there had been veiled threats of embargo. One of the recurrent "forward" policy drives was pushing new roads and a railroad into the tribal areas up to the Afghan border. The record is fairly clear that the British wanted a demarcation and had put strong pressure on the Amir, including a letter from the Viceroy of India which the Amir had interpreted as an ultimatum. (21)

All this would tend to support the Afghan contention of duress. But there is also substantial historical evidence that the agreement served many of the Amir's own interests as well. He was trying to consolidate Afghanistan into a united nation for the first time in its history and he needed peace on his borders. To have a clearly defined line beyond which the British would not push was therefore of great advantage to Afghanistan at this particular period. In other words, it seems reasonable to deduce from all the surrounding circumstances that though the Amir may have negotiated reluctantly and under various political and economic pressures, the constraints placed upon him were to some extent balanced by perceived advantages buttressing his own volition so that, on balance, it is probable that the duress involved did not amount to a suppression of his will.

A more cogent case perhaps exists for the Afghan contention that a meeting of the minds between the contracting parties did not take place. If this could be established, the law could regard the agreement not as void Ab initio but as voidable. This is an area where the nuances of language become very important and it must be recalled that the key negotiations were conducted in private between the Amir and the British negotiator, Sir Mortimer Durand, Since the Amir knew no English the conversations were in Persian. Sir Mortimer Durand had the reputation of being something of a Persian scholar. Nevertheless any one who has conducted delicate diplomatic negotiations in language other than his


See also-Collin Davies-op. cit. (p. 184) "In fact one is led to the conclusion that Abdur Rahman Khan turned out to be a ram caught in a ticket." (p. 162) "In the light of subsequent events it is difficult to understand the reasons which prompted the Amir to sign this agreement. Perhaps his consent was purchased by the increase of his subsidy......and by the recognition of his right to import munitions of war."
own has learned to his sorrow how slippery the path can be. Moreover the wily Amir had concealed a stenographer behind a curtain who wrote down all that was said for the Amir so his version of the talks is perhaps a bit more authoritative.

But quite apart from the language problem, there are other strong indications that the Amir at least thought he was negotiating about zones of influence, whereas what he signed was a document which could easily be and was in fact eventually interpreted as setting up an international boundary. Furthermore there is substantial evidence from both British and Afghan sources that the British negotiator who was well versed in tribal problems, as well as the Amir, thought they were demarcating a “frontier” in the sense of a zone rather than a “boundary” in the sense of a line marking an abrupt change of sovereignty. (22) If such was in fact the intention of both parties, then there was in fact a meeting of the minds but at some later date administrators in Whitehall, who were less familiar perhaps with the tribal situation and who were conditioned by traditional notions of international boundaries, construed the Durand Agreement as an international territorial settlement rather than as a device for facilitating the administration and pacification of the peoples who inhabited this tribal zone. (23)

(22) In a report from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India dated soon after the agreement was signed (July 10, 1894) the statement is made that “We understand that Her Majesty’s Government concurs in this view......that while we emphatically repudiate all intention of annexing tribal territory, we desire to bring the tribes whom this settlement concerns further within our influence.” (Parliamentary Papers, 1898, Vol. 63)

Collin Daviles, one of the most noted experts on tribal problems, states on page 185 op. cit. “What then is the true frontier of India and what is our best line of defence? The north-west frontier of India is not represented by any particular boundary line: it is a zone or belt of mountainous country of varying width, stretching for a distance of about 1200 miles from the Pamirs to the shores of the Arabian Sea.”

(23) Sir Olaf Caroe, who was the last Governor of the North-West Frontier Province and a strong opponent of the Afghan-Pushtunistan claim, states on page 382 op. cit.: “It is true that the agreement (of 1893) did not describe the line as the boundary of India, but as the frontier of the Amir’s dominions and the line beyond which neither side would exercise interference. This was because the British Government did not intend to absorb the tribes into their administrative system, only to extend their own, and exclude the Amir’s authority from the territory east and south of the line. In the international aspect this was of no account, for the Amir had renounced sovereignty beyond the line.”
The behavior and statements of both the British and Afghans subsequent to the Durand Agreement tend to support this view. It is clear that Abdur Rahman had no intention of surrendering his influence and connections with the trans-Durand Line Pushtuns and all Afghan governments since that time have continued to insist that they do have rights and interests in these tribes. In fact, it is these claims which lie at the heart of the Pushtunistan dispute. The British for their part made it quite clear at first that they had no intention of “annexing” the territory in the tribal areas up to the Durand Line but rather hoped for a more orderly administration of those regions, a position more consistent with hegemony than sovereignty. On the other hand, at various stages in Anglo-Afghan relations up to 1947, the British seem to have recognized a legitimate Afghan interest in the tribal peoples on the British side of the Durand Line, and it was not until 1950 that Mr. Noel Baker, the secretary of state for Commonwealth relations, in a speech before the House of Commons stated categorically:

“It is His Majesty's Government’s view that Pakistan is in international law the inheritor of the rights and duties of the old government of India and of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, in these territories, and that the Durand Line is the international frontier.

It is to be noted, however, that this statement was made three years after the British had handed the area over to the new state of Pakistan and that it was made by the official in charge of the department concerned with relations with Pakistan. In other words it may fairly be inferred by anyone familiar with the ways of diplomacy that it was made at the request of Pakistan as a gesture of political support for this new member of the Commonwealth.

Thus the “meeting of the minds” argument can be made at two levels: either the parties negotiated about two different things - the British about an international boundary and the Afghans about zones of influence -or they negotiated about the same thing - zones of influence - but the British government later interpreted the agreement differently from its own negotiator. To determine whether either of these two situations actually occurred is of course a question of fact to which an appropriate tribunal could give its attention. The only point made here is that the framework of international law should be ample enough to permit examination of questions of this kind in their full historical context rather than looking only to the contents of a document which on its face seems to establish an international boundary and thus forecloses further investigation into the surrounding circumstances under which the document was executed.
We pass next to the question of the effect of subsequent ratification and repudiation of the Durand Agreement, setting aside for the moment the problem of its original validity. The pertinent documents are: (24)

1) The Anglo-Afghan Pact of 1905;
2) The Treaty of Rawalpindi of 1919;
3) The Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921

All three documents contain language in which the Afghans appear to ratify or at least accept the 1893 Durand Line agreement. However, on closer examination this appears less clear-cut. The 1905 pact contains rather vague and general language couched in personal terms by Amir Habibullah to the effect that he “will continue to act towards all agreements entered into by his father (Abdur Rahman) in the same manner as his father had done.” Apart from the hard practical fact that his father had to a large extent disregarded the Durand Line in his dealing with the tribes, we wonder what Habibullah had in mind by this rather vague and imprecise statement of intentions which makes mention of no specific commitment and is utterly silent on the Durand Line as such. It is historically accurate to say that Habibullah was no more fond of the 1893 agreement than his father had been and that the 1905 pact was signed at a time Habibullah’s newly-acquired throne was still somewhat shaky. The British negotiators had refused to make any firm commitments against Russia (the 1907 St. Petersburg detente against Germany was already in the wind) and the disappointed Afghans had whittled down the substance of the agreement to the point where the British seriously considered breaking off negotiations. At the last moment, the widely divergent positions were patched over by an agreement which all understood to amount to little more than a mutual expression of good will. (25) Taken in its surrounding circumstances, the 1905 pact sheds little light on true Afghan attitudes towards the 1893 agreement and its vaguely terms would appear to have low probative value.

The Treaty of Rawalpindi of 1919 is somewhat more explicit in that states: “The Afghan Government accepts the Indo-Afghan Frontier

(24) The texts of these agreements are contained in: Aitchison: Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries, Delhi 1933, vol. XIII, No. XXI (Afghanistan)

The 1919 Treaty—Caroe: op. cit. page 464

The 1921 Treaty—Aitchison: op. cit. vol. XIII, No. XXIV

(25) Fraser-Tytler: op. cit. p. 178
accepted by the late Amir Habibulla." This apparently categorical statement, however, must be qualified by the fact that the 1919 agreement was signed essentially as a temporary armistice agreement at the end of the Third Anglo-Afghan war and it was the express intention of the parties to negotiate a permanent treaty later as was done in 1921. A noted British historical expert in this field has described it thus: "The Anglo-Afghan Treaty of Rawalpindi of 1919 was designed not as a permanent agreement but merely to regulate the immediat relations between the two countries." (26)

Indeed the 1919 treaty was superseded in 1921 by a much more complete and formal engagement. It is also interesting to note two points: first, that the 1919 provision merely relates back to the 1905 commitment by Habibullah which as we have seen is extremely vague and of low probative value, and second, that the specific use of the word "Frontier" (with a capital F) lends additional color to the hypothesis, already suggested, that both the Afghans and the British were still thinking of the Durand Line as demarcating zones of influence in a "Frontier area" rather than as an international boundary in the conventional sense. Some British experts, however, have relied strongly on the language in the 1919 treaty as proof that the Afghans had renounced all interest and influence east of the Durand Line. (27)

The Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 is a good deal more explicit and enlightening. This document was repared and signed with more consideration and reflection by both parties. The treaty is a more comprehensive document dealing with the overall relations between the two countries and it contains specific expressions regarding both the boundary question and the tribal problem. The following extracts are pertinent.

Article 2. "The two high contracting parties mutually accept the Indo-Afghan frontier as accepted by the Afghan Government under Article 5 of the treaty concluded on the 8th August, 1919.

Article 11. The two high contracting parties, being mutually satisfied themselves, each regarding the good will of the other and specially regarding their benevolent intentions towards the tribes residing close to their respective boundaries, hereby undertake each to inform the other in the future of any military operations of major importance which may appear necessary for the maintenance of order among the frontier tribes residing within their respective spheres, before the commencement of such operations." (italics added).

The language used in this treaty is interesting because again it refers the Afghan acceptance of the "frontier" (this time without a capital

(26) Ibid. p. 193
(27) Caroe; op. cit. p. 264
F) to the 1919 committment which was in turn based on the 1905 committment which as we have seen was not a very firm one. The 1921 treaty also refers to mutually of "boundaries" (the use of the plural may or may not be significant). In other words, the treaty seems to recognize the realities of the situation regarding the tribal belt which neither the British nor the Afghans controlled.

To the language of the treaty itself must be added a document of even greater relevance to the problem under examination, namely the supplementary letter from the British representative to the Afghan foreign minister. This letter was intended as an integral part of the agreement and it has been authoritatively asserted that without it the Afghan King would not have signed the 1912 Treaty. This letter states: (28)

"As the conditions of the frontier tribes of the two governments, are of interest to the Government of Afghanistan, I inform you that the British Government entertains feelings of good will towards all the frontier tribes and has every intention of treating them generously provided they abstain from outrages against the inhabitants of India. I hope this letter will cause you satisfaction."

Whatever can be said, then, of Afghan ratification or tacit acceptance of the 1893 Durand Line in the 1905 pact and the 1919 treaty, it seems fair to conclude that by 1921 the British government was prepared to admit Afghanistan's "interest" in the tribal people east and South of the Durand Line. This is inconsistent with later British and Pakistani claims of complete sovereignty right up to the Durand Line and with claim that the Afghans accepted such sovereignty. In the 1921 treaty, taken together with its annexed letter, there is surely at least a recognition of residual Afghan rights. The precise nature and extent of these rights is admittedly quite vague but whatever they are they should be entitled to some standing in international law by virtue of having been recognized in a formal treaty its annex. Indeed, Fraser-Tytler has this to say about the 1921 treaty (p. 262):

"Whether it (the annexed letter) caused satisfaction or not, there is no doubt that the Treaty would not have been signed without some such reference to the actual as opposed to the theoretical situation. At the same time, the admission of Afghan interests in the welfare of the tribes on the Indian side of the Durand Line gave as it were a certain legal basis to Afghan interference across the line. For the next twenty-six years the British Government main objective in frontier policy was to induce the Afghan Government to recognize

(28) Ibid. p. 465
the illegality of action, which they themselves had by implication sanctioned.”

The whole question of the subsequent Afghan ratification of the 1893 treaty can therefore be put thus: If the 1893 treaty was originally valid, it required no further ratification by the Afghan Government. On the other hand, if the 1893 agreement was invalid by reason of duress or misunderstanding, a subsequent clear-cut Afghan approval of the 1893 line as an international boundary might cure the voidability of the 1893 agreement of alternatively raise an estoppel against the Afghans. Estoppel against Afghan assertions of invalidity of the 1893 agreement would have to be based on a finding that the Afghans by a permissive, acquiescent, or delibarte course of conduct created international expectations of validity for the 1893 line and could not therefore later assert the Durand Treaty was invalid. It is difficult to find in Afghan words or actions any such intent to relinquish their continuing interest in the Pashtun tribes east side of the “border. Indeed the Afghans continued, on every suitable occasion, to assert their interest. The internal evidence of the relevant treaties and agreements tends to confirm rather this interest, but these documents were so often cited as evidence of Afghan intent to relinquish their claims that in 1949 the Government took the extraordinary step of convoking the parliament to repudiate all treaties with Britain affecting the status of the Pashtuns. (29) It is difficult to say just what the international legal validity of this repudiated treaties tend to establish rather than deny the validity of Afghan interests in all the Pashtun tribes, but in any case, this action served as a dramatic gesture to emphasize that the Afghans had no intention of permitting their rights, if any, to lapse by default.

It is, of course, abundantly clear that creation of Pakistan added a new dimension to the Pashtunistan dispute. In the course of time, relations with British India had become more or less stabilized and the Afghan claims muted. But following World War II, when it became evident that Britain would soon be leaving India, the Afghans revived their claims. In a series of communications with Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, the Afghan Government insisted that it was entitled to consultation about any change of sovereignty in India which would affect the status of the border tribes. Though Mountbatten's answers were on the whole evasive, there is some evidence that the Afghans were encouraged to believe that they would, in fact, be consulted. (30) This was not done, however, and though Afghanistan protested, the British were by this time facing the awesome problems of disengagement from a partitioned subcontinent torn by civil strife as well as a

(29) Dupree: op. cit. p. 88
(30) Ibid p. 85
particularly difficult political problem in the North-West Frontier province where the Muslim Red Shirt party in power wanted to join Hindu India instead of Muslim Pakistan, so the Afghan protests were politely but firmly pushed into the background.

Before leave the treaty problem, we must briefly consider the legal question of the effects on the treaty of transfer of sovereignty from Britain to Pakistan. An examination of this question must assume that the agreement was valid in the first instance and remained so at the time Britain handed over to Pakistan. The pertinent rule of international law holds that a successor state inherits all the rights, duties and obligations of its predecessor state. (31) Afghanistan’s contention is that because of the unique situation surrounding Britain’s departure from the sub-continent, India was the true successor state, whereas Pakistan was an entirely new state carved out of India. Since an entirely new state has no other state to “inherit” from, it cannot derive the rights normally passing to a successor. The Afghan argument is no doubt ingenious, but though it must be admitted that the creation of Pakistan was a rather unique event, the fact remains that it has been recognized and considered as a successor state by Britain as well as by overwhelming number of members of the world community. Even if before partition there might have been doubt as to the status of the countries resulting from the partition of India, such doubts must now be deemed to be firmly resolved in favor of successor status for Pakistan. (32)

The question of succession does, however, have some bearing on whether the doctrine of rebus sic standibus would apply to the 1893 and subsequent treaties affecting the status of the Pashtun tribes. This doctrine holds that a treaty may be voided if the conditions under which the treaty was made become absolutely altered. It is, of course, debatable whether the creation of Pakistan amounted to so vital a change in the conditions surrounding the drawing of the Durand Line as to render it no longer valid. (33) Moreover, Pakistan could no doubt argue that whatever change occurred was in a direction beneficial to the tribal

(32) Ibid. sec. 83 points out that succession takes place in cases where new states arise through dismemberment, as in Austria-Hungary, and clause in treaties following World War I and the role of the Council complete a work on international law as Oppenheim does not have through dissolution of a Union as in the Norway-Sweden case. On the other hand the United Nations General Assembly took a contrary view when it ruled that Pakistan was a new state and not a co-successor with India. Pakistan had to apply and be voted into the United Nations, whereas India was entitled to automatic membership as a successor to Britain Afghanistan cast the only note against the admission of Pakistan largely because of the Paxtoon problem.

(33) Wilson: *op. cit.* sec. 84
peoples since it placed their administration in the hands of an indigenous Muslim government in which many Pushtuns hold high office (e.g. President Ayub Khan). Since the essence of the 1893 agreement was not territory but administration of people, any change in the situation which improves the administration of the tribal Pushtuns could not form the basis for the application of the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*. This argument would certainly merit the greatest consideration, but would place the burden on Pakistan to prove that its administration of the Pushtun tribes has in fact been a change for the better.

In addition to the legal questions arising from the 1893 boundary itself, the problem of self-determination and the related phenomenon of irredentism pose an additional and rather baffling set of legal issues. Although self-determination became sanctified in international law through the incorporation of Wilson's famous fourteen points in the Treaty of Versailles, (34) there has been a rather surprising dearth of serious studies of this subject by international lawyers.

The great surge of nationalism which followed World War II gave additional impetus to many self-determination movements. To some extent these movements drew legal support from the ringing declarations of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter. Thus Article I of the latter declares it to be one of the purposes of the United Nations: "To develop friendly relations among nations based on the respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination." Similar expressions occur in other portions of the United Nations Charter. (35)

Thus, nearly every member of the international community seems to be in favor of self-determination, but thus far international law does not appear to have formulated adequate norms, concepts, or rules which could provide guidance as to when and under what conditions self-determination is to be considered legitimate. As result, there has been considerable confusion between such concepts as self-determination, autonomy, and independence. On the whole, the matter has been left to political decisions and the post-war trend has been in favor of independence for states which have been under the domination of a foreign power but which already possess some form of national identity. On the other hand, self-determination has been consistently denied to groups or peoples within states. The sentiments of the community, including the new states,

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(34) Oppenheim, op. cit. sec. 340 discusses the protection of minorities clauses in treaties following World War I and the role of the Council of the League of Nations under these treaties, but self-determination was not one of the rights insured to minorities in the treaties.

(35) United Nations Charter Article 1 par. 2 and Article 55
appear to be opposed to further balkanization of the world and to the formation of too many new and unviable political entities where group self-determination is the only rationale for independence or autonomy.

However wise these attitudes may be from the standpoint of global politics, they do seem to condone many apparent injustices and perplexing paradoxes.

Thus the Nagas, the Kashmiris, the Pushtuns, the Kurds, the Katangese the Hiafrans, and many others have been denied self-determination, although, in most of these cases, the number of people involved, the homogeneity, and even the political maturity and the desire for freedom are not in question. On the other hand, a number of small unviable, heterogeneous entities such as Malta, Gambia, Burundi, Swaziland, Mauritius, and others have achieved the status of independence nations.

Afghanistan's championing of self-determination for the Pushtuns east and South of the Durand line has received short shrift in international political and legal forums. Pakistan simply dismisses the self-determination argument by pointing to the 1947 plebiscite in North-West Frontier Province which has already been discussed above. But from the standpoint of international law, the plebiscite solution has not proved altogether satisfactory. For one thing, it does not fully answer the question whether a unilaterally conducted plebiscite in which the claiming state was neither consulted nor gave its consent can be a valid basis for setting an international controversy, and at present international law provides little guidance by which to judge the validity of plebiscites.

Another difficult and only partially answered legal question is to what extent the terms of reference of a plebiscite affect its value as a controversy-quenching instrument. In the 1947 Pushtun plebiscite, only two choices were offered: join Pakistan or join India. Is the Afghan contention valid that to satisfy the minimum requirements of international law a plebiscite must offer the people concerned a full range of choices including independence? On this question, too, there is little legal precedent or guidance.

One such precedent was the United Nations-sponsored and supervised plebiscite to determine the future of British Togoland. (36) A similar plebiscite was also held in the Cameroons. Both were Trust territories administered by Great Britain. In neither was independence offered as a choice. In the Togoland case, the choice was between merging with the Gold Coast, which was about to become independent Gha-

na, or rejoining French Togoland, which, at the time of the plebiscite, seemed destined to remain under French tutelage indefinitely. Thus, the dominant Ewe tribe which was divided between British and French Togoland was forced to choose between French domination or gaining independence with the Gold Coast, but at the price of splitting the Ewe in two. They chose the latter by a very small margin and the result has been another boundary dispute between Ghana and the now independent Togo.

The Cameroons case was somewhat different because the people of this trust territory were given the choice of joining one of two already independent African nations—Nigeria or Cameroon (formerly French Cameroon). They chose to form the present Federal Republic of Cameroon in which the former British Cameroon enjoys a measure of autonomy. But in neither the Togoland nor the Cameroon plebiscites did the United Nations offer independence as a choice to the smaller unit where the plebiscite was held. Is this then the pattern that international law should sanction and institutionalize?

The present state of international law on the subject of self-determination and the allied phenomenon of irredentism appears, on close examination, to be unsatisfactory. There are apparently no adequate legal answers at present to such potentially explosive questions as when a country can lawfully and justifiably sponsor the cause of a kindred minority, which, through political or geographical accident, happens to find itself in a neighbouring country. By what means and to what extent can one country lawfully “interfere” in the affairs of another on behalf of such a minority? To assert that it cannot do so at all, as claimed, for example, by Pakistan in the Pushtun case, usually results in political conflict, propaganda, and even physical violence. In other words, some legitimate and non-hostile redress should be provided for a nation which can put forward a sincere and legitimately convincing case that it has a protective role to play over a kindered minority outside its territorial jurisdiction. At the very least some adequate forum should be provided where the legitimacy of its interest can be tested. The privilege of making speeches or sponsoring resolutions on the subject in the United Nations is not enough. As we have recently seen in the Kashmir case, when territorial disputes are loaded with the explosive issue of self-determination and irredentism, the danger of
open violence is ever imminent and the peace of the world is thereby put in jeopardy. (37)

VI. The Importance of the Pushtunistan Dispute to the International Legal Order.

Although this paper has only skimmed the surface of the historical background and the socio-political complexities of the Pushtunistan dispute, it has hopefully demonstrated that a study of this controversy can be especially rewarding to students of international law because it offers examples of many of the legal issues which can arise in this type of conflict.

It would be useful at this point to summarise these issues:
1) To what extent should international law take into account the broad context of history and social conditions which usually surround boundary disputes?
2) In interpreting boundary agreements, how far should international law go outside the document itself to examine the surrounding circumstances, political and otherwise, on which the agreement is based?
3) What legal rules are to be applied to subsequent conduct by the parties to the agreement to determine whether an agreement is estopped has arisen which would prevent either side from asserting the invalidity of the agreement?
4) What is the legal status of successor states created by partition with regard to boundary agreements?
5) Does the creation of a new state by partition amount to such a vital change in political relationships as to justify invoking the doctrine of rebus sic standibus to existing boundary agreements?
6) What are the legal pre-requisites for self-determination by homogenous groups within the geographic limits of already established independent countries?
7) What, if anything, can a state which claims ethnic, linguistic, or other close and legitimate affinity to a minority in a neighboring

(37) Pakistan's insistence on its right to champion self-determination for the Kashmiris seems somewhat inconsistent with its denial of similar rights to Afghanistan for the Paxtoons. It should be noted, however, that the status of Kashmir as disputed territory may be somewhat different from that of the area inhabited by the Paxtoons east and south of the Durand Line. But this again depends to some extent on the validity of the Durand Line as an international boundary and on whether or not the Afghans have a legitimate and legal interest in the Paxtoons within what is now Pakistan.
do legitimately to advance that minority’s claim to self-determination?

8) What are the legal ground rules for the conduct of self-determination plebiscites? What should be the range of choices offered? What role can lawfully be played by a neighboring state which champions the cause of the minority whose wishes are to be determined by the plebiscite?

9) What is the relative binding effect of plebiscites conducted under United Nations supervision as compared with those in which only the administering power acts as supervisor?

All these and perhaps other legal issues of this kind are involved in the Pushtunistan dispute. That it continues unresolved and that neither party has made a serious effort to submit these issues to the processes of international law is indicative of the lack of confidence in these processes on the part of the political leaders involved. It is the thesis of this paper that this lack of confidence is largely attributable to the failure of international law to provide an adequate framework, both institutional and regulatory, for the resolution of issues of this kind. (38)

It could perhaps be argued that these boundary and self-determination problems are insoluble and had best be left to the normal political maturing processes. But such an argument is based on a failure to appreciate fully the explosive nature of these controversies. These disputes between neighbors, traceable for the most part to boundaries whimsically drawn by farmer colonial powers, poison the atmosphere of the world and are among the principal causes of instability in the international political system. The list of these disputes is too long for full inclusion here, but all one need do is to reflect for a moment on a few of them, such as Kashmir, Arab-Israel, Viet Nam, India-China, Korea, East and West Germany, the Tyrol, Somalia—Ethiopia, Cyprus, Togo-Ghana, etc., etc., to appreciate the danger to world peace represented by these unresolved conflicts.

It can also be stated with some confidence that these disputes have not proved amenable thus far to political solutions. On the contrary, political action has in almost every instance led to Cold War involvement and an expansion of the area of conflict. The Pushtunistan dispute, for example, has not only embittered Afghan-Pakistani rela-

(38) It is interesting, though somewhat disconcerting, to note that as complete a work on international law as Oppenheim does not have index listings for such subjects as "self-determination" or "irredentism". The entire subject of the international law on boundary disputes is treated in one short paragraph (Section 201).
tions during a period when neighborly cooperation could have been of great benefit to these two Muslim nations, but the controversy has also given rise to ominous Cold War problems. This paper, whose focus is on the legal issues, has not dwelt on the political repercussions, but the ramifications of the Pushtunistan dispute are by no means confined to the local setting.

For example, when the United States extended military and economic aid to Pakistan, American-Afghan relations deteriorated. The alliance with the United States stiffened Pakistan’s attitude towards Afghanistan. The latter then turned to USSR for economic and military aid. The USSR also openly backed the Afghan position on the Pushtunistan dispute. With this USSR support, Afghanistan pressed its claims and Pakistan responded by a series of unofficial blockades. Landlocked Afghanistan has traditionally relied on trade routes through the sub-continent for its commerce and with these closed, she turned to USSR for transit facilities and a substantial part of its economy was turned towards the north. Some observers felt that as a result of these moves, Afghanistan had come perilously close to absorption into the Soviet orbit. On several occasions the dispute broke out into open hostility and Pakistani and Afghan diplomatic missions in the two countries were attacked by “spontaneous” mobs. Afghan irregulars penetrated border tribal areas near Bajaur and clashed with Pakistani troops. Propaganda became more and more vitriolic on both sides and finally in 1961 diplomatic relations were severed. (39) A great deal of skillful diplomatic activity has gone into restoring some normality to the relations between the two countries and avoiding a serious Cold War confrontation in Central Asia (a new version of the Great Game?). But the situation remains dangerous though quiescent, just as Kashmir was quiescent for nearly fifteen years.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

The Pushtunistan dispute is important, then, not only for the many issues of international law which it illustrates, but for two other important reasons. First, it is one of those little-publicized conflicts which have been smoldering for many years but which could, like Kashmir, suddenly threaten world peace. Second, as a case history it demonstrates palpably the need for international law to become a broader and more effective adjunct to diplomacy and statecraft.

What new directions could international law take; what new dimensions could it assume which would better enable it to solve dis-

(39) Wilber: op cit. p. 185 et seq. gives a good account of these repercussions.
disputes involving boundaries and self-determination? Some creative thinking and a willingness to abandon stilted legalistic criteria might produce some rewarding results. As an example, conferences on Revision of Boundaries and Problems of Self-determination could be called under United Nations auspices. These conferences would not become embroiled in specific problems but would concentrate on obtaining a consensus, specially among the new nations, on a set of criteria and legal rules to serve as basic guidelines for the adjudication of problems of this kind. The conferences would also provide the necessary framework for the establishment of special tribunals staffed by impartial experts to adjudicate boundary and self-determination disputes.

The new nations in particular should be encouraged to take a very active part in the formulation of these new rules. The rules themselves should be broadly based, unbound by old technicalities and as responsive as possible to historical, social, and political realities. For example, a tribunal organized along these lines could give serious consideration not only to the strict legalities of treaties and sovereign boundaries but also to proposed solutions such as the one now frequently discussed by Pashtun intellectuals in Peshawar and Quetta. Under this proposal, Pashtuns living east and south of the Durand Line would remain the political framework of Pakistan but would enjoy a substantial measure of regional autonomy which would include (1) preservation of their cultural identity, (2) administrative autonomy and economic development, specially for the more backward tribal areas, and (3) greatly expanded cooperation between Afghanistan and Pakistan in the economic and cultural fields. It ought to be mentioned that the application of the third condition is entirely depended on the completion of the first and second conditions.

Solutions of this type, which are not now possible within the legalistic framework of international law, might become possible under such a new approach, and perhaps then many of the new nations who have boundary or minorities problems with their neighbors and who are at present unwilling to resort to international adjudication, might be much more willing to participate in a global effort to correct old injustices particularly if they themselves had an effective part in formulating the rules and had confidence in the integrity of the new tribunals. Perhaps the members of these tribunals should be for the most part citizens of the new states having no conflicts of this kind about their own borders (if any can be found). In any case the object would be to involve the new nations in a cooperative effort, world-wide and constructive, to the expand horizons of international law. Perhaps they might be
unwilling to participate in such a contribution to world law or perhaps the conference method is not the best way to approach the problem, but the fact still remains that here is an area of dangerous potential conflict clamoring for resolution and one into which an expansion of the rule of law is logical and necessary. (40) The peace, economic welfare and political stability of many new countries, and perhaps of the entire world, may well depend on the ability of the international legal system to move quickly, firmly, and creatively towards the establishment of satisfactory rules and machinery for the resolution of border controversies of the type so well illustrated by the Pushtunistan dispute.

(40) J. H. Arzenberger in his book *The Frontiers of International Law* (Stevens, London, 1962) indicates a number of other directions in which expansion of international law could contribute to world order. Of the League of Nations under these treaties, but self-determination was not one of the rights insured to minorities in the treaties.
The Background and the Beginning
Of The Afghan Press System: Part Four

by: Mohammed Kazem Ahang

A GLANCE AT THE CONTENT OF SERAJUL AKHBAR

The first issue of Seraj-ul-Akhbar begins with an introductory article written by the editor of the paper. After expressing thanks to the Amir for establishing the paper, the editor says “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.” He goes on to say, ‘News is the plural of “new” and its opposite is unawareness. And in accordance with the axiom that everything is recognized by its opposite, it is obvious how much difference there is between awareness and unawareness.”

Enumerating the benefits of newspapers in this article, the editor continues, “Newspapers are such a mirror of world events that sitting at home men will get news from all over the world: newspapers are like sharp swords which sever the tongues of those who wish the country ill: newspapers are like polite teachers who persuade us, without undue pressure, to assimilate knowledge and art of high quality; and lastly, newspapers are like gardens of flowers from which one plucks his own fate. To sum up, newspapers serve a beneficial role for each class of society.”

In his writing, besides stressing the importance of the newspaper, the editor clearly expresses his own policy in his newspaper writing. To illustrate his aim, we should understand that he was basing his journalism on four principles which are more or less comparable to current journalistic principles.
According to journalists, a mass medium carries out four important jobs: information, education, entertainment, and urging people to a course of action.

These four fields are found in Tarzi's introductory remarks as well. First of all, he defined the newspaper as a mirror of global events which informs its readership of the news of the world. Secondly, he defined it as an instructor which educates its readers. Thirdly, he thought of the newspaper as a garden in which one found enjoyment and from which one gathered and absorbed that which was found pleasurable. Fourthly, he deemed the newspaper an instrument with which

The first issue of Setraj-ul-Akhbar.
to campaign against national enemies. Tarzi's first three principles are similar to three of the principles of modern journalism. But his fourth principle was but one aspect of the journalistic precept that a newspaper should be used to arouse its readers. In his mind a newspaper crusade was to be turned outward and used against such forces as colonialism. Only slight attention was paid to social reform and domestic affairs. Today newspaper crusades are directed for the most part of such national concerns as starvation, illiteracy, disease, etc. A journalism scholar (1) has termed these great campaigns against national problems.

In this brief introduction, a few words have been presented describing the first editorial written by Mahmud Tarzi in which his principles for journalism are set forth. To further elucidate, we will examine the content of the paper and look for certain distinguishing characteristics in Tarzi's writing. For this purpose, the author had at his disposal the complete collection of Seraj-ul-Akhbar from the library of the Historical Society of Afghanistan.

The first item under examination was the paper's first editorial analyzed above.

The second category, after the editorial, was "domestic news" under which all news of incidences happening in the capital and provinces was published. It is worth mentioning however, that the column inches devoted to domestic news were much fewer than those given to the foreign news. Lack of facilities and the unavailability of experienced personnel may be considered to account for this. To fill the domestic columns, the newspaper had to rely primarily on news items and information distributed by government agencies.

Also within the domestic category, Seraj-ul-Akhbar, on occasion, would publish commentary on attacks made against Afghanistan or aspersions cast against her or the newspaper itself. This sort of commentary or defense might appear anywhere within the news columns, either domestic or foreign. This format while acceptable then would not be permitted today. According to the modern procedure of newspaper writing, there is normally an editorial page which includes all opinion articles, editorials, and letters and articles expressing the views of the newspaper's readership. Hard news items are published on other pages with the objectivity usually required of good news writers.

The third category found in the content of Seraj-ul-Akhbar is "foreign news" under which all foreign news and information were lumped together. Foreign news normally was derived from foreign newspapers. For example, the first issue of Seraj-ul-Akhbar used items from the newspapers Aam (No. 18 September 1911), Wakil (of September 22

(11) Prof. Rod Holmgren, Fulbright Lecture in journalism, Faculty of Letters and Huminites, Kabul, 1966.
1911), and a news item from a Turkish newspaper.

The fourth category in the paper was literature. The first issue carried an article by Mawlavi Abdul Ra'uf, an editor of Seraj-ul-Akhbar and a teacher in the royal faculty. It was also promised that for "entertaining the readers" a short story entitled "Catastrophe of Paris" would be published.

A brief look at the literary style of the paper showed that news items were not arranged according to what was written in the lead. Moreover the lead often was the news, the item merely giving a date and offering other trivial things. As one example let us consider the great fire in Istanbul which begins as follows: "On the 26th of Rajab in the city of Istanbul, during the happy national celebrations in which all
Usmanids were delighting..., a great fire burst out in the center of Istanbul.”

This was the lead of the news item in which the fire is of utmost importance. But it has been put at the end of the lead. However, an inverted form did appear. For example on page nine of the same issue, an item is published about the rebels of Albany as follows: “The rebels of Albany have returned from the Black Mountains to their homes... "Here, I believe again, the “what” is of utmost importance and this is reflected in its coming first in the news item.

Under domestic news, a lead on news of Id al Fitr was examined. This item, published on page four of the first issue, went as follows: On Sunday evening, the last day of Ramazan, the new moon of Shawal al Mukarram was clearly seen by all and with the firing of 31 guns, the next day proclaimed the Id...”

In fact, the most important point in the item is “the next day is Id.” The first part of the news item is but a series of second-hand unimportant information.

But in comparison to previous journalistic styles in Afghanistan, Seraj-ul-Akhbar started in a fresher manner. This we can prove by looking at the first few sentences in the news item—the lead. The lead in fact gave readers the most important news in the item, regardless of the article’s organization. In the news of the Id the first part has been devoted to information on the coming of Id and then information has given about the visitors, ceremonies at Id-gah the speech delivered by the Amir, ceremonies in the royal court and finally there is information on what was eaten and drunk.

As the newspaper published every other week, most of its news items were based on an interpretative style of writing. The news about Ramazan and Id in the first issue and the news of the opening of the Nilab Bridge in the second issue are of this nature.

Taking into account the rate of illiteracy and the level of knowledge among the people in general, the content of the paper seems too complex to be understood by its semi literate readers. Notwithstanding, in comparison to the content of former publications it seems that Seraj-ul-Akhbar was easier to comprehend.

Most of its items, especially domestic ones, begin with an introduction less related to the topic. It might be possible, however, to begin editorial comments with such an introduction, but it is out of character to follow this procedure with the news item. The fifth issue of Seraj-ul-Akhbar on its 5th page carries the weather of Kabul. Since it is news that interest people it is of utmost value but the style of the item with
a detailed introduction does not seem suitable. As a matter of fact, the news was written about the first snowfall in Kabul. But preceding it there was a long paragraph.

At any rate, the style, organization and departmentalization of the items, are seen in other issues as well, but the spirit of change for progress and development is evident in every step of Seraj-ul-Akhbar’s publication life. In fact this development is seen in all aspects of its principles. In order to publish different varieties of subjects and items in the paper, the editor did not ignore even a single aspect of it. Information and entertainment features were all published in the paper for the purpose of giving some variety to its readers.

The paper in its second issue began publishing a short story entitled “Catastrophe of Paris.” The short story was translated by the editor himself and as we have mentioned previously in this article the short story was published to entertain its readers. Starting in this issue, there is also a column giving advice to readers and there is a series of informative articles about the world such as the industrial activities of the city of Manchester and the annual production of iron in the world. The issue carries a column of the latest news from the battle field of the war between Italy and the government of the Usmanid (Ottoman Turkey).

In the third issue, besides the items in the first and second issues, a title was added: “Articles on health and medicine” and its first subject is devoted to the health of the family. In regard to this particular issue, it is worth mentioning that along with domestic and foreign news the rest of the content either is written or translated by the editor of the paper himself.

The fourth and fifth issues carried the same items, but the fifth issue has more domestic news than foreign and for the first time we see a news item communicated by telephone which tells of the arrival of the Amir in Jalalabad. Meanwhile, since it was the beginning of winter, there was also a news item about the Kabul weather and the first snowfall. Because of the increased number of news items the special columns were not carried. Incidentally this issue carries more news items than the previous issues which were derived from a variety of newspapers. However, the special columns are published in the 6th issue again.

In the seventh issue besides the previous columns some new columns are seen such as “famous women of the world” and “industrial articles.” Under “famous women of the world” the editor says that “for the benefit of respected ladies of our own country we are publishing, from time to time, news of the famous ladies of the world in this
newspaper.” He added: “Even if someone criticizes us that if men still do not get full benefit from the paper how could the women... this kind of criticism would not stop us from publishing this column because, no recently emergent nation can be an expert and fully aware.”

At any rate, after discussing the rights of women in social life he writes: “On the basis of this, beginning with this issue I am going to write on the education of women, family training, family life, child training, securing the faith and purity of women and other things which are beneficial for women. Moreover he says “there will be published sayings and doings of famous women of the world...as lesson to our women.” The editor added that he had two objectives in publishing a women’s column: First he wanted the women in Afghanistan to become aware of the status of women living at the same time around the world. And secondly, he wanted to compile and publish out of its reprint a detailed book.

The other headline, industrial subjects, included such as industrial developments. The first article in this connection was about electricity which was prepared with detailed information.

In order to bring about more variation, beginning with the ninth issue, there has been added another special column titled the “Science of history”. The editor in an introduction says that “as there are so many benefits to be derived from history, from now on we will publish some historical subjects in Seraj-ul-Akhbar for the benefit of our readers.” In the same way, beginning with the 12th issue, besides the fact that its pages increased from 12 to 16, the editor has added one more specialized column about military affairs. The editor says that “in spite of the fact that Seraj-ul-Akhbar is not a military paper, on the basis of requests made by our brothers in service, we have started publishing information about the military affairs so that the men in service would benefit from our paper also...”

Subsequent issue of the first year, with illustration given in this article, continued to be published and meanwhile introduced. from time to time, new columns like Japanese exports etc.

During its first year as its editor says “in this domestic and respected paper...everything said was for the benefit of country, everything written was for the defence of the country and it picked up whatever information which it thought would quench its readers thirst.”

A general and brief studying of the subsequent years shows that this paper during its publication years followed a firm policy in
its editorials and content and, from time to time, introduced some innovation for development. Domestic news always preceded other items and it was usually followed by foreign news, a feature, a short story and other informative and entertaining subjects.

From the beginning of the fifth year specialized columns like those of economics, famous women of the world, the Catastrophe of Paris and etc. were not published any more and instead the content of the paper was filled more with hard news items rather than other subjects. Also there were published more photos than ever before. Concerning pictures, the paper besides publishing photos of the royal family has published some scenes of historical remains and pictures of foreign cities such as Paris, London and so on. During the fifth year and the following years the publishing of pictures expanded so that sometimes one could see a full page edited with pictures. The increase in news items and pictures might have been one important reason behind the fact that publishing of specialized columns stopped.

Concerning the column on literature it ought to be mentioned that besides the fact that it was not stopped it took better position than before. Beginning with the fifth year the columns on literature were started from the first page of the paper. In this column were carried poems and qasidas and moreover there were published some Paxto poems also.

From the fifth year on, domestic news, from the view points of subjects and organization improved and became more diverse. There was introduced a method of compartmentalizing of the domestic news. The subjects of domestic news ranged from raining, snowfalls, hallstorms, fires and floods to official news handouts.

Beginning with the seventh issue the name of the editor was changed from Mahmood Tarzi to Afghani. The reason for this change was published in the fifth issue of the sixth year. There he stated that "because my father's pen name was Tarzi and in spite of the fact that he himself has given this pen name to me, I have changed mine to Afghani, out of high respect for my father.

Seraj-ul-Akhbar in its editorial remarks, with regard for the best interest of the country, rejected the slanders, accusations, and derogatory writings of persons, countries and papers—in a reasoned and documented fashion.

By publishing sensational items the paper would incite the nationalistic sentiment of its fellow country men; by publishing advice it would campaign against ignorance and idle talks; and by publishing news it supplied its readers with information and new facts. Thus the
paper spent almost eight years in serving its fellow countrymen—in publishing various articles promoting the national interest and inculcating its readers with new found knowledge.

THE READERS OF SERAJ-UL-AKHBAR:

The editor of the paper in its 24th issue of the second year under “the end of the second year” first expressed joy and pleasure in carrying out this job and then concerning the readers of the newspaper said: “There are some people who read the paper and there are persons who did not read it. It is certain that except for some distinguished persons no one else cares to read it. Any way, if they read it or not, my job is to proceed in getting the paper out.”

The writing of the editor clearly shows that the readers of Seraj-Akhbar were actually a limited group. This of course is obvious in view of the general level of knowledge and understanding at that time which was not high enough for newspaper reading. Education in its modern sense was newly beginning and possibly there were a series of fanatics who would not want to read the paper. So according to what Tarzi said there were only dignitaries (naturally very few in number) who would read the paper.

Besides those who were reading Seraj-ul-Akhbar in Afghanistan—Kabul and the provinces—it was read abroad also. To prove this claim, we are going to mention the advertisement published on the cover of the second year and afterward. It has published first, the subscription rate and specified it for India, Iran, Russian Turkistan, Turkey and Europe and then it says that for the convenience of the subscribers, representatives of the paper were being appointed in Peshawar, Mirza Ghulam Haider, in Mashhad, Abdullah Khan and in Bukhara Haji Ghulam Nabi Khan, the Karakul representative, to handle the job.

Concerning the fact that the paper had readers in Turkey, the letter published on the 15th page of the second year will confirm it. In this letter a reader of the paper had been sent a riddle from Turkey to be published in the paper and thanked the editor of such a beneficial publication in his note. Moreover, because of the relationship existing between Afghanistan and Great Britain probably Seraj-ul-Akhbar, the only newspaper of Afghaniyan, had readers in Britain also. After all, when we read the content of this paper there are news items published with accompanying remarks. The comments and remarks normally accompany those news items which are published about Afghanistan in foreign newspapers. This shows further access to newspaper’s readership abroad such as in Egypt, London, Britan India and etc.
ADVERTISING:
Current newspaper business considers advertising its most important economic backbone and the best supporter of its freedom from censorship. In fact, this is then only way besides subsidies given by government and parties, of course, to cause continuation of a mass medium. As a source of income advertising is counted first and next to it is circulation revenue and other possible sources.

The editor of Seraj-ul-Akhbar, even at that time aware of this fact, from the first issue of his paper started advertising to get merchants and industries to publish their advertisements in the paper. The price, for one to five times was fixed at one Afghani per line. For more than five times it cost the advertisers one half Afghani per line.

Advertising publishing began with the first issue of Seraj-ul-Akhbar, although it was an official advertisement. In the fifth issue of the second year on page 16, for the first time an advertisement was published about a novel and from that time on publishing of advertising continued regularly. One of the ads. was about hiring a teacher for the school of the Hindus in Shor Bazar of Kabul and another ad was about the selling of different kinds of books offered for sale by the superintendent of the school of Hindus. However, the publishing of advertising was not so much as to bring much profit to the paper.

THE WRITERS AND COLLABORATORS OF THE PAPER:

Besides such an expert and knowledgable man as Mahmood Tarzi—only his biography needs a thick book to be written in—who was writing, translating and editing several articles for Seraj-ul-Akhbar, there was a group of other people engaged to write articles and translate news items and other subjects from foreign newspapers for this paper.

One of them was the Civil Eishik Aqasi of the Amir, Mr Ali Ahmad Khan, He usually prepared official news, information and reports about the building projects and social affairs of the country. Mowlawi Abdul Raof, teacher from the royal faculty, was also one of the writers. Moreover, the names of collaborators such as Faiz Mohammad, Abdul Hadi and Abdul Rahman have been seen in the paper also, men who wrote or translated some item for the paper. The paper's headline writer was Mullah Abdul Wali Khan. Sayed Ahmad, Abdul Ghani, Khaliqdad, Abdul Hakim, Yar Mohammad and Sayed Abu-Baker were zincographers of the paper.

So far we have given a brief introduction to the paper itself, which in fact is but a drop in the sea. Concerning Seraj-ul-Akhbar and its collaborators there are a few other topics that as matters of interest
for researchers of the history of Afghanistan are of the utmost importance. To attract the attention of researchers, I am going to count below the topics available for them to research.

The first researchable topic would be a study of Tarzi's life and personality itself—of the man who was not only a journalist but a politician, literary figure and administrator as well. These aspects are found easily in his writings in the newspaper and in his books.

The second topic is the introduction of the writers and collaborators on Seraj-ul-Akhbar and the artists who participated in the publishing of the newspaper.

The third one could be the writing style of Seraj-ul-Akhbar and its critics. And this can be done from two different points of views: (1) from the view points of journalism and (2) from the view point of literature.

The fourth topic could be Tarzi's political crusades in connection with Afghanistan's foreign affairs.

The fifth topic could be about his campaigns concerning domestic affairs of the country.

And lastly, the environment and the condition of its environment can be the sixth topic attracting researchers.

The journal Afghanistan and the Historical Society of Afghanistan will welcome writings and researches on these topics.
The Search for the Fourth Empire

By K. Bulychov

Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, conqueror of many lands, led his army eastward, moving slowly towards India. He stationed Greek garrisons in the capitals of the lands he vanquished and his tired warriors took up residence in the cool, roomy castles of Eastern potentates, becoming Eastern potentates themselves.

Alexander died before he conquered the world. His empire disintegrated, but where the old rulers did not succeed in restoring their power, descendants of Alexander’s lieutenants founded small but viable dynasties in Asia. The Greeks could not drastically change the way of life of the Asian peoples they had subjected but the string of their possessions extending towards Idnia carried Hellenistic ideas and art eastward.

In those days the entire known world was divided among three mighty empires. In the West, Rome dominated the Mediterranean. To the East of it was the Parthian Empire. Beyond the Himalayan Mountains lay Cathy—the Chinese Empire. The vast territory between China and the Parthian Empire, now forming Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India, was divided between numerous warring states, which were gradually being overrun by nomadic tribes—thy Yu-chi, Weuns and Saki. They came from the East, driven from their native soil by the Huns. There was no power in Central Asia that could stem this tide.

When in 1959 Uzbek archaeologists, headed by Galina Pugachenkova, first approached the hills of Khalcyan in the Surhan-Darya Valley, they hardly expected to discover a townsite under these great mounds of sand rubble. However, the excavations soon revealed that
a Graeco-Bactrian townsite was buried there. The castle unearthed on
the site was smaller than other castles excavated in Central Asia but
it contained less treasure—the statues of the central hall.

Few of them had survived in fact. The fragments were collected,
cleaned of dirt, and pieced together. Every day new exciting finds were
made among the ruins. The throne-room had been lined with almost
man-sized painted clay statues. In the centre stood the statue of the
king and queen, to the right of them those of the courtiers and relatives
of the royal couple, to the left there were statues of archers on horse-
back and of warriors in heavy armour.

Yes, it was a Graeco-Bactrian town. The gods hovering above
the royal couple—Nike and Athena—proved that. Also, there were
figures from Greek mythology on the frieze. Yet, a new trend was
easily discernible in the Khalkayan statues. Traditional Graeco-Bactrian
art was somewhat decadent and provincial, somewhat formalistic as re-
gards subjects and attitudes. This Khalkayan statues, however, seemed
alive, restless, even savage. This could be seen in the attitudes of the
horsemen, in the way the horses were arching their necks, and best of all
in the stern features of the king and his companions. This was a new
art, "a triumph of young, ascending power" as Galina Pugachenkova
described it later. But who were the people depicted here?

"When the House of the Yue-chi was overthrown by the Huns,
it moved to Tahya, where it split into five principalities; the Hyumi,
Shuannmi, Gui-shan Khisiye and Dumi. A century or so later the Gui-
shan Prince Kiotsyuki subdued the other four princes and proclaimed
himself the ruler over them, calling himself the Gui-shan".

This excerpt from the "Hou-han-shu" chronicle, dating back to
the year of 80 A.D., means little to the layman, but it was of great
help to historians and archaeologists. It is the first written mention of
the existence of the Kushan State. In the course of several decades the
nomadic Yuechi gradually closed in the Graeco-Bactrian possessions in
Central Asia, capturing territory and towns and establishig Yue-chi dy-
nasties there. But the nomad invaders quickly learned the ways of the
settled people they subjected, they did not destroy these towns, did not
drive out the population, did not demolish monuments and palaces
(behaviour that had few precedents in history).

By the time Kiotsyuki had united all the Yue-chi tribes and
founded the Gui-shan (Kushan) dynasty, the Yue-chi dominated vast
areas in Central Asia, and had begun to subjugate other lands. A century
passed and the Kushan Empire embraced all of present-day Central
Asia, Afghanistan, part of Iran, Western Pakistan and a large part of
AFGHANISTAN

India. Thus, a fourth empire emerged alongside Rome, China and the Parthian Empire.

The great trade artery of the ancient world—the road—passed through the Kushan Kingdom. For the first time in history caravans moved unobstructedly from the Roman possessions to the Chinese Sea. The coins of the Kushan kings, notably of Kanishka, the most famous of them, have been found in various parts of the world—from North Africa to the Russian steppes. It was from these coins that scholars in the mid-19th century first learned about the existence of the Kushan Kingdom. Ancient legends too threw some light on the problem, notably Buddhist ledges. Religious tolerance was one of the features distinguishing the Kushan kings. Theirs was a multinational state and the Kushan kings enshrined the gods of the subjugated people in their pantheon. Kushan coins depict over thirty different deities, from Greek to Indian. Buddhism, however, became the dominant religion in the Kushan Kingdom.

A new school of art flourished in the capital of the Kushans, on the site of the present-day Pakistani town of Peshawar and in many other Kushan towns. This exquisite art, influenced by Buddhism, has become known as the Gandhara school. It absorbed Grecian and Indian traditions but kept its originality and became a unique trend in world art. Its roots, as also those of the Kushan Kingdom, had to be sought in Central Asia, in the places of Yue-chi ascendancy. Until traces of that art were discovered on the territory once occupied by the five Yue-chi principalities the very important link between Graeco-Bactrian art and Gandhara art was missing.

As Pugachenkova examined the photographs of the statues the conviction grew in her that she had seen these faces before: the same large noses, bushy moustaches, arching brows and jutting, stubborn chins. Then she remembered that she had seen them on early Kushan coins bearing the inscription: Heraia--Kushan. Archaeologists had long since reached the conclusion that Heraia was a Kushan ruler, possibly the father or grandfather of Kiotzyuki, the founder of the Kushan Kingdom. When she placed the photographs and Heraia’s coins side by side, all her doubts evaporated. The Khalcayan castle had been the abode either of Heraia himself, or of his fellow-tribesmen, his relatives. If that was so they had found the link between Graeco-Bactrian and Gandhara art, or to be more precise, part of that link, for in Khalcayan they had unearthed work done by Yue-chi just after they had come to Bactria, sculptures that still breathed of the vast steppes, of roaring winds, of ferocious battles.
FOURTH EMPIRE

It was important now to trace the further history of the Kushans, and the further development of their art. Even before Pugachenkova completed her work in Khalcayan, archaeologist Albaum made a momentous discovery. In 1961 he found ruins of Kushan structures in the enormous townsite of Dalverzin-tepe, which was quite close to Khalcayan. In 1962 Pugachenkova's team continued excavations there.

Dalverzin-tepe out to be a Kushan town that had flourished in the first centuries, A.D., when the Kushan rulers had already subjugated India. A Buddhist sanctuary and premises, which the archaeologists called "the hall of kings" were unearthed there. As in Khalcayan, there were portrayals of the nobles and princes. The missing link now complete. Some of these portrayals still bore the familiar features of the Khalcayan rulers—the same prominent noses, moustaches, stubborn chins. But what a metamorphosis these faces had undergone in the century or two that had passed since the days of Khalcayan. It seemed as though the artists had done their best to deprive the king of all individuality, to destroy the traces of the unruly nomadic past—the cheeks had rounded, the smiling lips were soft, and the faces were serene, tranquil and unperturbed. The influence of Buddhism on a fierce people that had conquered a quarter of the known world was reflected in a new school of art. Only a short divided the Dalverzin sculptures from the passive, depersonalised royal statues of the Gandhara school.

In the third or fourth century the Kushan Kingdom encircled by its enemies—the Guptas, Sassanids and Ephtalites—collapsed and vanished into oblivion. All that was left of it were coins and sculptures. Each new sculpture brings us a little closer to the solution of one of the important secrets of history. The culture and art of the Kushans has not perished. It has become part of man's spiritual heritage. When archaeologist Litzinsky discovered the Buddhist monastery of Adjinatepe in Southern Tajikistan and a statue, several meters long, of a sleeping Buddha in it, that sculpture, the frescoes in the monastery and its lay-out, all showed the influence of the Kushans, even though the monastery was founded in the seventh century, a long, long time after the last of the Kushan kings had died.

Many mysteries are still waiting to be unravelled. The past is indissolubly linked with the present and we understand and appreciate the Kushan sculptors and draw inspiration from their work.

Condenced from the journal
Soviet Union
The art treasures, found by Soviet Archeologists in Central Asia tell of the emergence and flowering of the great Kushan Kingdom, which grew up on the ruins of the Graeco-Bactrian state. The silver bowl is a sample of Graeco-Bactrian art.

At first the Kushans were an alliance of Nomadic tribes. The Khalcayan relics—the head of a Prince—date back to that period.

Head of a Kushan Prince found during excavations at Dalverzin-tepe.
The Duty: A Play In Six

Scenes: Part Two

By A.R. Pazhwak. *

Scene Three: At the gate of the same fort.

OLD MAN (alone): Ah my dear son! No more can you march to the battled to capture glory for your unhappy father. The earth has covered your strength and your youth forever. Yet death cannot hide your face from me, though I call your name and you are silent. My gaze penetrates your grave, and I see you looking at me in wonder, telling me without words that death has ravished your hopes, leaving you without a single desire. Ah yes, they told me that a deadly bullet had pierced your chest to rest within your heart, and I too felt its blow. O God! why have you made me so weak and miserable?

The army has moved now.... Indeed, this day is little different from that one when I last kissed your face. The drum and the bugle have still not worn themselves out with that rhythm which once also corrected your steps. It is as if I have not moved this place since that day; I still hear those same sounds.

O God! when will you finish my agonies? ... How very long is this journey of life, made even longer yet for an old man whose cane is broken and whose feet and heart are weak and powerless. It is too tiring for a man whose companion has left him.

The graves where my ancestors rest can be seen from here; even my weak legs can reach there in a few minutes. I myself will go to no other place but that one, although, even now at the end of sixty years. I have not been able to find my way there. They say that life is short and passes quickly, but this can be said only by he who is not weary and has not been wounded by the moments of unhappiness and misery of a long life.

O God! forgive me! It was you who created the deep affection of a father. You have made man such that he destroys his own sense of well-being with complaints which make him more and more unhappy. Is not Zalmai my son? Truly you have given me another companion, an-

* Translated into English by Nurllah Saharee
other cane, so please keep him safe and forgive me. Turn this ungrateful slave into a thankful one, and accept this forehead to worship at your threshold.

Yes, I must go now. I know not how this girl is feeling, although in her eyes I see love and sincerity. Ah, haven't their looks penetrated through the very walls of this fort and thus met each other? Why didn't I let them say good-bye to each other? In case he doesn't return, will the unhappiness of two sincere hearts, the hearts of two lovers, the death of two strongly hopeful youths, leave my soul in peace?...But now he is gone, and only I have felt his glance. Why, I thought his looks would destroy the very walls of the fort, though they had no effect on my cold, old heart.

Ah! how far men are from each other, and yet how near, how similar they are! If Aino's mother ever told her our own story, she must be displeased with me: How beautiful it was that day! What great power youth possesses! Who could have prevented me from saying good-bye to her? Wasn't I prepared to go to the battlefield? I can still feel the warmth of her kiss on my lips. Ah, why did I refuse Zalmai that sweet joy of life?

Yes, farewell is extremely sweet, though difficult and sad. Yet, did any other soldier in the battle have the strength and the power which I gained from that moment?! The memory of that day will truly be in my heart forever...The passing of time cannot destroy the majestic temple of a lover's heart adorned with the beauty of his beloved, which gains in splendour and dignity from pure prayer and noble desires. Now I have gray hair; yet still I carry the memories of youth. From that moment of our parting, I felt that with the passing of each second, I became greater and greater.

Today I see that like a lofty mountain, my head is covered with the cold snows of age. But the hem of my garment is full of those fiery flowers which gain their warmth from love and youth...flowers which rule the enchanting valleys of life where no autumn can ravish the beautiful memories of spring. And all this greatness and splendour that I feel in my heart I attribute to that single day. But fate was such that I did not permit Aino to say farewell to Zalmai.

Ah, it is only the happinesses of youth that can mitigate the despair and pains of old age, although those old men who shed tears of grief in the memory of their past are mere children. Even the death of my young son could not divorce those memories from me....My misfortunes are truly great. ...Now all the voices are silent, and the army has moved to the battlefield where death and honour await them. The attraction of these two forces accelerates their paces...When will I know
THE DUTY

for sure which was stronger—the fear or the hope?

Ah, Zalmai! O God!
(The gate of the fort opens and Aino comes out).
AINO: Dear father, maybe he didn't want to come to say good-
bye. How long are you going to wait? From the tower of the fort I saw
the army move. Everybody has gone.
OLD MAN: My dear child, he has already been here. I saw him
off.
AINO: He came? And is he coming again? Are you waiting for
him?
OLD MAN: No, my child, I said farewell. He has gone now with
the army. He will, no about, return, but only when the battle is over,
when the army returns. Is it that...
AINO: O father, you must forgive me! I wanted to see him just
once.
OLD MAN: Excuse me, my child. He was very anxious to see
you, but I wouldn't let him. (He enters the fort.)
AINO (to herself): Yes, I know you didn't let him. He was very
anxious, but it wasn't God's will. O God! would you intend to ...
OLD MAN (from within the fort): Come in, my daughter, I
want to perform my ablutions.
AINO (while closing the gate): I'm coming father.

CURTAIN

Scene Four: A room inside the fort, after nine months

OLD MAN (in bed): Water! give me some water, my child!
AINO (bringing him a glass of water): Dear father, why are
you so thirsty today. You're drinking so much water.
OLD MAN: My dear daughter, come and sit here in front of me.
Yes, I'm thirsty. A man thinks, as long as he lies, that life is nothing but
thirst, and God alone konws where and by what means it will be quen-
ched.
AINO: Dear father, why do you speak of death? This talk of
yours makes me lonely.
OLD MAN: My daughter, why should I try to deceive you? An-
other path, and one which I must travel, is opening before my eyes. I
have no choice; I must leave you.... I think I'm going to die.... Give me
some more water.
AINO (anxiously): O God! have mercy on me and on him!
Don't leave me alone. I can't stay alone not even in this fort, not even
in this room.
OLD MAN: Dear child, I asked for water...
AINO (pouring him some wtaer): Dear father, who will ease
your daughter’s loneliness with kind, merciful looks? How can you say you’re going to leave me?

OLD MAN: Indeed, there is no one but God, and it is to Him that I shall entrust you. It is he who takes me away from you and it will be he who will look with mercy upon you. Isn’t he more kind to his own creatures than fathers are to theirs? My child, don’t cry...

AINO: Yes, God is great and merciful. He will give you health. He knows that my happiness is only in your living. He will be kind to me.

OLD MAN: Aino, God is always kind, although he sometimes sends us calamities and hardships and we think he wants to trouble us. But man cannot distinguish his good fortune from his bad. All his life he wanders about in search of happiness, yet that happiness is never far from him. It is only that he cannot recognize it. We are born weak and ignorant...If only we could recognize our happiness...There is no other way or means at our disposal but the faith that what God wills is for our good. Our happiness and fortune are in his consent.

AINO: O father, how can I bear my pains alone?

OLD MAN: Don’t complain, my child; don’t cry if you can help it...just listen to me. Nine months have passed, and our army still has not returned. I wish I could see Zalmai just once more....My child, when I said good-bye to him, I told him that you belonged to him, that if he returned alive the door of this fort would be open to him, that my camel would carry his morsel of happiness. You must remember this. I advise you to love and obey him in every instance of your life together. Now you are alone and have no one else to share a part of your heart, so devote all of your heart to his love and know that for a woman, no greater happiness exists than having her heart overwhelmed with love for her husband.

You are the only possession I shall leave, and I entrust you to God. Everything else I entrust to you. Make believe that everyone’s fortune lies in his own hands. God is merciful to all his servants and to all who love and worship him Those who come upon evil days know that their misfortune is a judgment of their behavior and intentions. God will punish them, for they have harmed themselves, just as God will bestow riches and affluence upon those who have made themselves worthy of it. Otherwise, no mischief of man can harm God, nor can his goodness benefit him. I testify with all my heart and soul that God is one. He is kind and merciful. Pray to God to forgive me of my sins....God be with you, my child; farewell. (He dies.)

AINO (screaming): Father! What has happened to you? Why did you stop speaking so soon? Why have you fallen silent? O father, speak! advise me! Father, what is wrong?
O God, please forgive him. His heart, which has been warm with love and affection for these sixty years, which burned with the fire of repentence for even the slightest error, which never held anything but good hopes, has now cold; the eyes which used to weep with supplication are now closed to the world; the body that throbbed with life for sixty full years has become still in a single moment.... He can console me no longer, nor see my loneliness nor pray for my happiness. In his last look he finished everything. Ah indeed, that look fixed in the face of death can perform the tasks of several years in just one moment.

O dear Father, why did you leave me alone?

(She falls weeping at his side.)

CURTAIN

Scene Five: Three months later in a military post headquarters.
ZALMAI: I can’t understand why the great Baba ordered us to camp here for the night! We’re only three miles from the city.
AIDE-DE-CAMP: The great Ahmad Shah knows best, but it’s true, we could have reached the city before bed-time.
ZALMAI: Maybe he didn’t want to parade his victorious army in the dark.
AIDE-DE-CAMP: It couldn’t be anything else.
ZALMAI: But how many are the hearts waiting for those who return victoriously after one year! Waiting and yearning will fill the soldiers’ homes tonight.
AIDE-DE-CAMP: So much the better. It’s more exciting to find them expectant.
ZALMAI: The city knows that we’re returning, but we don’t know in the least what’s happening in the city.
AIDE-DE-CAMP: Everybody is happy and well.
ZALMAI: There must be many sad hearts as well—those who don’t expect the return of their sons, their brothers, their husbands....
AIDE-DE-CAMP: But as yet no one knows of the casualties.
ZALMAI: Then all of the city must be having a difficult night; everyone must be sorrowful, expecting their sons’ venturesome intrepidity to have led them to death.
AIDE-DE-CAMP: Yes, that’s true.
ZALMAI: Tonight hope and fear will play with many hearts. Anyway, go now and check the camps. Inform them of the great Baba’s order and tell them that no one is allowed to leave for the city ahead of the army.
AIDE-DE-CAMP: I obey. (He leaves)
ZALMAI (alone): One whole year...waiting for death, a journey without the consolation of a farewell. Ah, how hard it was! And now we are only three miles apart, while two months ago I was thousands of
miles away from her, with many mountains in between. But tonight when I climbed the hill, I could easily see the fort where my fortune lies. Was it that I saw no one where? Or is it that no one ever really lived there?

How quickly I could travel those three miles to reach her. Why was it necessary to have stayed here? It wouldn't have decreased the glory of our army to have marched into the city today, and by now I could have been there! Just one order from our great commander has delayed the hopes of thousands. Wouldn't he himself rather be in the imperial palace than here in an army camp? Maybe for him this way is better, but what obligation do I have to stay? Law, order, obedience, and duty—these are all to be respected, certainly, but haven't I fulfilled my duties as a soldier? My duty was to fight for victory, to obey, and to welcome death...haven't passed the test?

Wasn't I the first to lead my horse to the river? Didn't I force open the gates of three forts? Did anyone else penetrate into the midst of the enemy as far as I did? Didn't the great Baba kiss my forehead three times?...And now almost two-thirds of the night has passed and I am still here to keep the army in order. There doesn't seem to be any danger. I have performed my duty. What harm will it do to leave for just a few hours when I can return to join the army before it moves?

I must go there first...Ah that old man!! If he still lives, how happy he'll be to see me alive and victorious. Aino will open the gate of the fort, and I'll embrace her... But what is this other voice I hear. these words telling me to respect the law: "Don't go, You have no right to go before the others...thus speaks the voice of the law." No, I'm only dreaming. I must go. There is no reason to stay. Here there is no duty other than a deadly longing and waiting. Instead of sleeping, I wish to see my fiance whom I felt so many months ago. I must start.... Yes, I should waste no time.

Ah, Aino, your smiling eyes draw me. I know your open embrace waits to greet me. Ah, is yours the hand that lies on the latch; are you to be the one to open the gate to me? Yes, my own Aino, do open it, for I am coming, alive and victorious. Frist let me hold you tight in my arms, and only then wake up the old man...Ah, is that you man? It was you who didn't let me take farewell. How strong your hands are to open the door to me. Let me first kiss your hands; then later I'll tell you the story of the fighting.... Frist let me hold her in my arms....Indeed, you were right to say that it is better to meet in happiness and joy than to separate with grief and sadness.

Now, it is I, coming toward you...

(He leaves the camp.)
CURTAIN

Scene six: At the gate of the fort.

Zalmai (knocking of the gate): Why don't they open it? Is no one inside?

(He knocks again, this time a bit harder.) Ah, but the sleep of old men is heavy! Didn't he tell me that this door would be wide open to me if I returned alive and victorious?...I must wait a little....Haven't I returned alive and victorious? Is this not the gate of the same fort? Why don't they open it? (He hurls a stone inside the fort.) Still no answer.... Have they gone somewhere else? (Zalmai throws another stone over the wall, and at that moment hears footsteps approaching the gate from the inside.)

The old man cannot walk so fast, I think, although I don't know who is coming. But they are awakened...Did she expect me at this time of night? Ah, Aino, if that is you, how lucky I am! I'm sure you'll receive me eagerly, and tomorrow the tales of my heroic deeds will please you. O God! with the strength and boldness of youth I opened the gates of three forts: now open for me this gate to my yearning! Here the arms of my beloved will stretch toward me, the embrace of an old man who loved me like his son will open to me!...I see that the aurora has mixed light with the dark; will I be able to the army before dawn?

AINO (from the other side of the gate): Who is there?
ZALMAI: It is I, Zalmai. I know your voice.

AINO: But I don't know yours. Whom do you want? I must go there first....Ah, that old man! If he still lives, how

ZALMAI: Open the door! It's me. Don't you recognize my voice.

Where is your father?

AINO: My father has been dead for three months. How can you claim to be a friend if you don't know of his death?

ZALMAI: Dead?... Ah, what do I hear?... Open the door so that we may mourn together. I am Zalmai.

AINO: Zalmai is to return with the victorious army; he will come with the rhythm of the bugle and of the drum; he marches with the soldiers. Go away; I don't know you!

ZALMAI: I am no one else but Zalmai. Aino, did you forget me so soon?

AINO: How is it that an army whose tales of victory have filled the skies has thus so silently returned, coming without the music of the bugle and of the drums? Is not Zalmai one of the victors?

ZALMAI: I am Zalmai. I have returned alive and victorious. Why don't you open the door? Why don't you recognize me? Don't waste time: Be quick and find me!
AINO: What's wrong? Why are you alone?
ZALMAI: Nothing is wrong. Just open the door. Yes, I'm alone.
AINO: But why did you come alone?
ZALMAI: Because I couldn't stand our separation any longer. I couldn't help it. I wanted to see you and to know by your glance that I was truly great and victorious. I must go back as soon as possible.
AINO: Why do you have to return?
ZALMAI: Because I must enter the city with the army, which means I must be back at camp before daybreak—a three-miles walk.

AINO: The door of this fort shall not open to a man who breaks the law for the sake of a woman.
ZALMAI: Oh, is this your voice that breaks my heart?
AINO: It is. Go back. I cannot see you.
ZALMAI: Please forgive me. Were alive, your father wouldn't do this.

AINO: Do not blame the dead. Go back. Go back and find forgiveness under the law.

(Tears choke her voice as Zalmai turns to leave.)

CURTAIN

The end
History of Former Kafiristan
Part Two
Polytheism Of The Kafirs

by: A.R. Palwal

Polyteism is the belief and worship, of more than one god. Among the Kafirs the number of gods varied from one tribe to another and from one valley to the next. Some writers, cited by Snoy, have noted the gods as follows: Elphinstone speaks of 13 Kafir gods; Capus of 19 gods; Buddrus of 8 gods in Parun; Hiddulph of 19,000 gods;; and Snoy himself adds that from the east Kati alone we know 34 names of gods (Snoy 1962:125). The average figure was around ten, but there were also some dead ancestors of great importance who were usually identified as family-gods and village-gods of the tutelary function. The following are lists of the names of the Kafir's gods. The first two are from Kamdesh recorded by Elphinstone and Robertson. The third one is from Bagramatal and noted down by the writer. (1)

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<td>5. Pursoo (k)</td>
<td>5. Arom (n)</td>
<td>5. Bagisht (e)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Geesh (c)</td>
<td>6. Sanru (o)</td>
<td>6. Sudram (f)</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Paradik: (t)</td>
<td>7. Satram or</td>
<td>7. Disani (g)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seven brothers</td>
<td>Sudaram (f)</td>
<td>8. Kashumay (h)</td>
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<td>8. Purron: (r)</td>
<td>8. Inthr (b)</td>
<td>9. Nirmali (l)</td>
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<td>Seven golden bro</td>
<td>9. Duzhi (p)</td>
<td>10. Sanj (j)</td>
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<td>10. Koomye (h,l,m)</td>
<td>10. Nong (q)</td>
<td>11. Parasi (k)</td>
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<td>11. Dissaunee (g)</td>
<td>11. Parade (r)</td>
<td>12. Kamri (l)</td>
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<td>12. Doohoe (p)</td>
<td>12. Shomde (s)</td>
<td>13. Karmay (4) (m)</td>
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<td>13. Surijoo (j)</td>
<td>13. Saranji or</td>
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<td>14. Nishtee (2) (u)</td>
<td>14. Dizane (g)</td>
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<td>15. Nirmali (i)</td>
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<td>16. Krumai or</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Shumai (3) (h,m)</td>
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(1) The names in the first two lists are in the same order as given by Elphinstone 1819:431, and Robertson 1896:381.

(2) Elphinstone has not recorded the names and information directly from the Kafirs.

(3) The last four deities of Robertson and seven of the writer are goddesses and the rest are gods.

(4) This is not an exhausted list of the names of gods among the Kantoi people of the upper Bashgal.
Every god had almost a separate office and function. Ollufsen has noted that certain gods had certain tasks. For instance, goats and sheep belonged to one god (Sny 1962: 126), and agriculture, creation, warfare, etc., were assigned each to a different god. This division of office will be characterized when we describe each of the prominent gods separately. As it seems, an analogical parallelism was formed between natural and supernatural beings, or, in other words, the Kafir's gods were thought of on the basis of their social pattern as their chiefs in office.

Out of the above mentioned deities I will mention those for whom I have obtained some data. This will be done, for each deity to the extent the material permits. Fortunately the people provide more information for what is important and popular in their life. This fact will be observed in the following pages. For keeping the balance of religious antagonistic duality, I describe, in the same chapter, the evil principle as well.

**Imra, Gish, and Moni** had a separate shrine to themselves but others three, four or even five were placed together in one shrine or idol-house, and they were worshiped all in the same temple (Robertson 1896:394).

**Imra:**
He is the supreme god of the Kafir's pantheon. He is the creator of every thing and especially the originator of the pastrol life.

According to Morgenstierne **Imra** is called Imbro' in Urtsun. **Imra** in Ashkun: **Yumr'a** in Prasungal and **Yamra'i** in Waigal. The latter name is derived from Yamaraja, which stands for the creator and the highest god. The Muslim Kati people use this term, Imra, for the only God called in Arabic **Allah** and by Muslim Aryans **Khuda**. He corresponds to **Mara** of the Prasungal is and to **Dezau** (Creator) of the Kalashes. (Morgenstierne, Some Kati Myths and Hymns: 163), I have transcribed this name as Mara for the Prasungalis which is, most probably, a direct derivation from the name Imra stressed on the last syllable, with the omission of its initial.

The meaning of this name Imra is specifically not known, but **Mare**, if it constitutes any etymological connection, means death in the Kati Language of the upper Bashgal. When we consider the Vedico-Avestan prefix of negation, that is 'a-', i-' then Imra means immortal. He is the source of life. That is Imra who has given life to every body. For regaining health and life he is sacrificed to. In sanskrit **Amara**, and in Avesta Amrta mean immortal.

Imra has several divine aspects other than immortality or being the source of life. His well-known epithets are: **Mnar, Dizele** and **Nirmale**. The first means the Master and owner of every thing, the
second one gives the meaning of Creator, and the last one can be translated as Righteousness or conducing people to the true and right way. Morgenstierne has transcribed Mnar as Mror, mainly with the difference of nasalization. He also writes that among the Kalashes Dezau is the creator (Op. Cit. 163)

Imra was the supreme god of the Kafir’s pantheon. All other supernatural beings were subordinate to him. Imra was the creator of the world and its ruler as well. Sources refered to by Snoy confirm that Imra was the first and mightest of all gods. Imra was often called simply god or “heaven,” where he reigned, according to Capus (Snoy 1962:126). Robertson writes that Imra was the creator of every thing in heaven as well as on earth. His breath gave life to Moni, Gish, Sudaram and all other gods (Ibid.). In other words, all other gods and spirits or the good and evil principles were both created by Imra. (1)

Imra instructed the people how to lead their life successfully. He built an Aray, nadcing arena, as well as an important cult center in Kushtegaigram, a Parun village. According to the information of Robertson, a stone was set by Imra in the junction of the Kati or Kantiwo and Parun rivers. It was here that the gods held their regular meetings (1896: 65).-Mara, the Imra of Parun, taught the people how to make the sculptures of gods. For instructing the cows, he showed the people how to build stables to milk cows and goats, and to churn butter. He gave them some goats and cattle as well.

Imra churned and made butter in a golden goat-skin. From this he created three women who walked off to different valleys. Then he poured water into the skin-sack, churned it again and created a fourth woman who went to Parun (Robertson 1896: 385). These women then populated all the valleys of Kafiristan with the main—Kati, Ashkun, Wai and Paruni—tribes. We also know from Robertson that Imra was symbolized with a churn or butter-skin. In this way, according to Friedrich, Imra created human beings and gave them soul. With a special gown he gave youth, skill and strength to the people (Snoy 1962: 130).

Imra’s connection with the farming was through his seven daughters or the seven women who were created by him for this purpose of cultivating. Because the men had pastoral life and the women had agricultural life, which still prevail in practice, these women then prevented

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(1) We should bear it in mind that mythology is never consistent. Because it views one aspect of a problem and that also irrelevantly, and misses all other relevant aspects. The different events combined in a myth have either no connection in fact or in another form, but in the myth they are merely connected in thought. The same gods, mentioned above claimed by the same people as coming from other sources.
farmers from laziness. These seven women were considered as goddesses by the Kafirs and their names are already given to you at the bottom of the third column. The names are recorded in Bagramatal as deities as well as the daughters of Imra. According to Robertson, they protected the fields and received a goat-sacrifice at each sowing inauguration that the earth become beneficent and they get ample crops (1896:382). The sun was also related to Imra. From a Prasun text, says Snoy, we can even conclude a certain identification of Imra with the Sun. It is Imra who brings the sun and the moon on the sky. He can be considered the regulator of the year. In other words, Imra directs the movement of the sun. In the myths, on the deliberation of the sun, a horse played an important role. He carried a sword or a dagger in his ear with which giants could be defeated (Snoy 1962: 143).

Robertson writes about a horse-race between Imra and his rival, Neither one could beat his opponent for a considerable span of time. Then Imra created innumerable rats which made a great number of holes in the ground and lose the soil. When the devil reached the place his horse stumbled over the holes and consequently Imra won the race (1896:383-4).

Every village had a temple for Imra, but there were also some other temples for him which were far away from any kind of residence. These temples contained a wooden idol of Imra or sometimes he was represented by a block of stone which also was representing him. The main temple for Imra was in Kushtegigam, a central Parun village. Robertson has described it in details, but a concised account of his description is given hereafter.

The temple was certainly the most sacred shrine throughout Kafiristan. It occupied a space between 50 and 60 feet square and its heights was about 20 ft. The temple had a square Portico of its own size located on the east side of the temple. The temple was supported on finely carved pillars. The carving on the pillars were of three kinds. The favourite one was a row of rams' heads one on each sides of he pillar; another was of an animal's head carved at the foot of the pillar and its horns were extended in a criss-crossing manner to the top of the pillar; and its third type was of the basket pattern. Toward the stone alter where sacrifices were made for Imra, there were two niches in the wall of the temple for the idols. In the same east side wall there were seven large doors and having each another small door on the top. The northern five doors in the same eastern wall were permanently closed. But the remaining two doors at the southern part of the wall were opened on certain religious occasions, through which the people entered to the temple for the required retuals. On the northern external side of the temple there
were five colossal wooden figures upholding the roof. Within the temple there were eight idols of Imra. Seven of them were related to the seven east-wall doors and the eighth one was in the middle. The images were about seven feet high, and each represented Imra seated and churning butter in a goat-skin. In the central part of the temple there was a square hearth and on each of its corners there a pillar was set up which reached the roof. The carvings on the pillars and the walls were of the three different styles already mentioned. (Robertson 1896:369-92).

Imra was worshipped with dances and feasts. The immolation of cattle especially of oxen was the noblest form of his adoration. The devoted animals for sacrificers were kept under special care in particular stables before being immolated. Through these immolations, dancers and rituals, Imra was requested for food health, peace and a prosperous year.

According to some traditions, writes Snøy, Imra left the country after he had taught the people how to live. Some supposed he was in heaven. Yet another tradition of the Hashgal Kati Kafirs showed him wandering on earth in the disguise of a beggar (Snøy 1962:144). According to Morgenstierne’s records Imra lives in the clouds and mists (Acta Oientalia XXII:163).

**Indr**

The most ancient god of the Kafirs, known to us from the Vedic literature, was Indr. He was the god of weather, thunder, lightenings, rainfalls and wine, according to the people’s mythology. He was the god of the pastoralist Kafirs or only the god of men, not of the women who were agriculturists.

Indr is known as Indra in the Hindu literatures. In some places he is recognized as war god but in others as the sky-god (Havel: 77). His origin and form are described in the following way:”...a vigorous god begot him; a heroic female brought him up...but his forms are endless, and he can assume any shape at will,” (Dowson 1879:124). In the Vedas there are many hymns addressed to him rather than to any other god. In many parts of the Rig-Veda, Indra had the highest divine function and attributes (Ibid.). Indra-purana says, “Indra is nothing else than the wind, and the wind is nothing else than Indra, (Dubois 1897:555). According to the Kauṭiliya-arth-Sastra, one of the oldest codes of Hindu polity and sociology, which gives the gates’ names of the Aryan town or village, in general, says that the southern gate of the town which symbolized the sun at noon was dedicated to Indra, the Vedic god who ruled the firmament of the day (Havell, W.Y. 27). (1) But later on this midday sun takes the place of Indra who was the patron deity of the Aryan royalty (Op. Cit., 112). An almost similar memorial gateway, as
mentioned above, was observed by Robertson. In Bashgal (1896:17; 21), and also mentioned by Elphinstone (1819:436), but we do not know to whom it was dedicated. According to my Bagramatal information, whenever a very important man died, his family built a square-walled place with a door and there erected a long pole at the top of which an effigy was cut. This was called Kundrik and its erection required many sacrifices and feasts. But the gateway observed by Robertson had two effigy poles and a third effigy was on the top of the door. The remaining three gates of an Aryan town were ascribed to other gods. The eastern gate was dedicated to Brahma, the creator, represented by the rising sun. The western gate was dedicated to Yama, the god of death, represented by the setting sun; and the northern gate was dedicated to Sonapati, or Karthikikeya, the war god. (Havel w-out-year, 27)

Whenever there was thunder and lightening, the Kati Kafirs said, "Indr pachar mishtasel," Indr plays polo. This was believed to be played by Indr in the sky, which people played on the ground. But earthquakes in the ground were also believed by the Kafirs according to the people of Bagramatal to be caused by Indr. For this reason the people have named it after him and call it, "Indrich,"; or "Indrist," (both of the last phonemes are retroflexed) according to Morgenstierne who also adds,"...he was not stated to have any connexion with these natural phenomena," (Acta Orientalia XXII:163).

The Kati people say, on one hand, that Indr had a forest, Indr-Zyul, at Badawan in the upper Hashgal which is still there. But, on the other hand, they say Indr was not there in the Bash valley. Therefore he was not their ancestors' god. This dilemma is explained by the following myths: ...

Inthr made Badawan (Ahmad Diwana) his resting-place, and there created vineyards and pleasant places, but Imra suddenly declared the place was his. Indra resisted to give way, and fight ended, in which he was worsted and was compelled to retreat down the valley a short space, when he created the hill south of Badawañ, and also the Skorigul Valley. But Imra again attacked him and once more drove him away, so that he was compelled to abandon the Bashgul Valley altogether, and fly for refuge to the Tsarogul (Robertson 1896: 388).

However, once Bashgal was the residential area of Indr. Because he had built his vineyard or forest, Indr-Zyul, there. Another myth from Bagramatal says that Indr decided to take the water from Bashgal river to that of the Prasun. For this purpose he put two mountains together in Atati in order to build a dam for reversing the stream of water. So he lead the water in the south-western side valley of Ptsigram to the
Parun valley. On this act of Indr Gish enraged and fought him. Gish overcame and sent Indr away from the valley. Then Gish split up the mountain back with his sword and let the water flow down the Bashgal river, Landey Sin. Consequently every thing normalized in the area.

Other similar myths of Indra's withdrawal from the Bash valley are recorded which will be referred to here about. In those myths Imra who is the Suprem being of the Kantozi's pantheon, is the equivalent rival of Indr, not Gish.

Edelberg writes that Indr made a garden in Wama which was in an area of 150 acres. He built an irrigation channel to the garden. Indr in addition to the vineyard, had brought the sacred juniper cedar from the mountain pastures of Surmia and planted it in Kafiristan. The vines of Indr-Kun extended from fruit-tree to fruit-tree. There was a fixed harvesting date for plucking the grapes. The garden was under the direct protection of the Ura. If anyone broke the prohibition law, he was publicly cast from a vertical cliff down at the edge of the garden (Edelberg 1965:193). This was the severe punishment for the law-breaker probably in thought. But practically such an out-law was fined by the Ura. The most expensive fine was to pay a cattle. The entering of young boys to the garden who were not yet undergone the puberty initiation ceremony, was strictly tabooed. ...

Indr-Kun was a prosperous garden. Every god and every Kafir tribe strived to have it. For this reason, Imra fought Indr as already mentioned. Morgenstierne also points their fight and writes, "Inthr" (=Indr) seems to be chiefly famous because he fought with Imra... (Edelberg 1965:198). Besides, Gish victorious, so he received wine as his tribute from Indr (Morgenstierne, Acta Orientalia XXII:163;177).

People have also ventured to sacrifice their life for obtaining the garden of Indr. According to the legends of the people of Shamagram (Wama), one thousand A (r) chanu invaded Wama to seize Indr-Kun. The Achanu thought that Sanu, the Wamayis, were few and that they would kill them and divide Indr-Kun among themselves. The Achanu occupied Wama and divided Indr-Kun according to their plan. A modest Achanu man did not seek the ownership of any portion of the garden vigorously as did the others. Then some of the Achanu asked him whether he wanted to participate in the division of the garden or not. At this time the modest man pointed out with his right hand to an insignificant striped corner of the garden and said that if that remained unpossessed, he would accept it. At this time an eagle came and sat on the top of the mountain-cliff by the garden. The Tchanu wanted to try their luck in shooting down the eagle from the cliff. They shot one thousand arrows toward the eagle, but by the favor of Indr the eagle remained
safe from all these arrows. In its turn the eagle hit the cliff three times with its wing and rolled down rocks on the Achanu. In this way the eagle killed them all except that modest man. But his right hand with which he had pointed out to that meager portion of the garden was cut off from his body. Today there are 40 families of Achanu in Wama who have descended from that modest man.

The garden of Indr is still there in Wama and it is called with its original name, Indr-Kun. The people of the three hamlets of Wama equally participate in it. Each clan of the hamlets has its own portion. People produce wine from its grapes. All the Kafir men and women drank wine from special silver cups. But mythologically, wine production is attributed to Indr through which he had got much reputation throughout Kafiristan. Indr has made miraculous wine-vates in very big blocks of stones where he brewed his famous wine. Morgenstierne writes about Indr that ‘He loves wine and is worshipped at the grape-harvest festival,’ (Acta Orientalia 163). But the so called Indr’s vates and wine were of course used by the people. Their own brewed intoxicating drinks of several kinds were drunk for religious visions, dancing festivities and other social enjoyments. Edelberg gives a detailed account of the Kafirs wine-drinking customs and its mythology (KUML: 1965).

Family relationships were ascribed to all the Kafirs’ gods, but that of Indr was more organized, or at least so is described by the people of Shamagram, than of the others. He had a young and strong brother by the name of Gish: a daughter Disani: a son Pano and a grandson Bagisht.

**Gish**

His name is also pronounced Giss and Gizz (with retroflex ‘sh,’ and ‘z,’) in the Bash valley. In Wama he is called Gawiss which is quite similar to the Gawashes of Sanskrit. Morgenstierne gives several pronunciations of his name and that of Sanskrit in phonetic alphabet (Acta Orientalia p. 163). Gish was the god of Black-robbed Kafirs and among them he was most worshipped by the youths. In origin, according to Robertson, he was not born of a woman but created by Imra’s word. According to Morgenstierne who also speaks from the point of view of the Kafirs mythology, Gish had lived in his mother’s womb for 18 months and then was born (Snøy 1962:136). On this earth he lived as a brave and strong man. He was in all a warrior of iron nerves (Robertson 1856: 401). Once such a fierce warrior, then Gish was the war-god of the Kafirs. His worship was the most difficult and the most sociable than those of all the other gods together. His worship required at first warfare, individual and collective, and then the immolation of many male goats and oxen at his shrine. Robertson writes that ladles full of sacri-
ficial blood was cast on the temple whose frontal side was turned black with it (Ibid.). In every village of these black Kafirs there was a shrine for Gish and in some, according to Robertson, even two temples stood for him (1911: 632). At the time of war and conquest and especially in Gishes festival his shrine remained open. Many goats and bulls were sacrificed on such calendrical and non-calendrical occasions. Calendrical feasts were obligatory and were performed by the whole community. But the latter were optional and were only made by those individual warriors who wanted to secure a rank in their hierarchical social organization. These two types of warfare will be described in the following chapter.

The main calendrical festival of Gish went for 15 days. It began on the 19th of April and ended on the 4th of May in Kamdeshe according to Robertson. At this festival the shaman took the three rings of tongueless bells, three bells in each ring, from the Gish’s shrine and carried them clanging with each other, about the village. At night he deposited these bells at the house of anyone he chose. The owner of the house considered this as a sign of good-luck and happily sacrificed a he-goat in honor of Gish. Most of the time the shaman was possessed at this festival. Everyday he ordered some men to sacrifice a bull for Gish. During this time drums were beaten by the slaves in the morning, noon and in the evening in his honor. Dances of special manner were performed for the war-god which arose the utmost enthusiasm of the people (Robertson 1896:400-5).

Gish, the war-god, was the symbolic representation of the Kafirs’ youths’ ideal personality type. Robertson says, “to compliment a Kafir and to make his eyes glisten, it is only needful to compare him to Gish; and it is impossible to say a more acceptable thing to a Kafir woman than to call her ‘Gish Istri /shtri/; that is, Gish’s wife”, (1896: 400). Even today, every brave and strong man is entitled as Shur Gish, in the Kantøzi part of the Bashgal. In short, Gish represented a hardy, rigid, strong, jealous, stubborn and brave character. The following Kati myth, recorded in Bagramatal, does not grant him even a bit of wisdom.

Gish was brave and Man was clever. The former had a bull and the latter a cow. Gish was with his bull on Man’s pasture-land. Man’s cow bore two calves one night. In the morning when Gish found this he claimed that one was his and born by his bull and the other one by Man’s cow. Man promptly rejected his claim by saying that a bull does not bear. But Gish insisted on his claim that he must own one of the calves. Here an important step of degradation was taken toward the settlement of the problem. It was their decision to leave the problem of gods to the judgement of human beings. All people told Gish that a bull
does not bear a calf. Both calves belong to Man's cow. Gish seriously rejected this judgement and insisted on his claim. Finally they took another step of degradation. This time the problem of god was offered to the fox, a beast, for settling it up. The fox promised them to be present at a certain time and place in order to discuss that controversial subject. Everybody arrived and was waiting but the fox did not come on time. Finally, she arrived very late. Gish was angry on this and he promptly asked her why she was so late. The fox carefully answered that the lake on her way was on fire and it was just accidentally that she got involved until she extinguished the fire with her fur coat. Gish rejected her plea and said that neither a lake could catch fire nor could it be extinguished with a fur coat. The fox answered him that if his bull could bear a calf, then a lake could catch fire and could be extinguished by a fur coat. At this argument of the fox on behalf of the Man all the people present there laughed on Gish and so was he defeated. . . .

For our understanding the myth reveals several things: 1) It shows that Gish just feigned his ignorance for his own benefit. 2) It instructs the people that how a strong warrior should behave on such occasions. 3) For solving the above mentioned problem it was not taken to the supreme being, Imra, or any other god, but instead to human beings and then to an animal. In this latter case also the man was not successful in settling the problem but an animal as fox was. On behalf of Man and proving his cleverness as well as for the better understanding of the people the human mind has dialectical tendency to put things in two extremes, opposing and contradictory positions. This is the nature of primitive and civilized mytho-philosophy. 4) From view point of logic, conditional type of argument prevails in the myth in question. 5) Finally, the psychological attitude of people toward and the means of defeating a person is to laugh, at least, if not all, in some cases.

As already mentioned Gish, the war-god, fought Indr and was receiving wine from the latter as his tribute. The people of Wama also believed that Gish once quarrelled with his elder brother, Indr. Indr then asked Gish whether he liked apples and apricots of pomegranates and grapes. Gish chose the first two. Indr then told him that the upper part of the valley belonged to him where apples and apricots grew. Gish went to the upper valley, but after the lapse of a few weeks he felt lonely and came down to see his brother. He found that Indr had built a big vineyard, Gish became jealous and started to roll down big rocks from the top of the mountain, spoiling Indr's garden. But his brother, Indr, took advantage of the rolled-down rocks. He made channels to his garden from those stones and he also dug out a wine-vat in a big rock. In the meantime, Indr yelled at Gish to roll down some more rocks
quickly. When Gish observed what was happening, he stopped his act and went back. In this way Gish mistakenly helped his brother in building up the Indr-Kun.

The fight of gods, in the mythology of polytheistic peoples, represent the following aspects of the social phenomena: 1) If these fights are considered as truthful legends, then they go in history back to the stage of their great ancestors and national heroes who still keep their status of veneration even in modern communities. 2) It represents a particular phase of mentality in which super natural beings, whether their deified ancestors or other fictitious creations of their mind, are personified after their social relations. 3) Every tribe and village had their particular god for their special offices. Any fight made between two or more tribes and villages was due to the propitiation and with the will of god. In this respect, peoples’ battle was believed in to be the war between gods. 4) Finally, the expulsion of one god by another, each being representative of some people, shows the direction of invasion and migration. For instance, in the case of Indr we know that he was driven away by Imra from Badewan to Atati and from there to the lower Bashgal from where he was expelled altogether from the whole valley. This show that the new comers came from the north and expelled the previous settlers to the West and South.

**Man**

Robertson has recorded his name as Moni, and Morgenstierne gives different forms of this name in phonetic alphabet (Acta Orientalia XXII: 164). According to English pronunciation, it can be written as Mon. An ‘i’ or better be ‘e,’ vowel is added to the end of the name. This is not an original part of name but it represents the oblique case of Katevari, the Kati language. It is added to other names which end in a consonant as Indr. Gish, etc., as far I can tell, Man was considered as prophet. Morgenstierne writes that he was Imra’s first creation and his vizier (Wazir). He has also recorded that Kshumay was Man’s mother (Ibid.).

In importance Man is placed after Gish and Imra or next to Imra according to Robertson. His shrine was in every village. At all places he was occasionally sacrificed to by pious persons whenever he indicated. Man was worshipped with more respect than enthusiasm, especially in Kamdesh and Bagramatal. In religious dances he was also equally honored with three rounds (Robertson 1896:399).

Most gods in the Kafirs’ pathen were afraid of Man and respected him. He lead all the gods into a battle against the giants. Disani in particular helped him. After fighting the giants, Man brought the world into an order (Snay 1962:158). The demons who were bringing evil to
the world were created by Imra who afterwards regretted this demon creation. For destroying them, Man asked Imra’s permission and got a sword from him with which he killed almost all of the demons (Robertson 1896:161). It is also said that Man destroyed all the demons with his Bagramatal.

Man was very wise and so he was called clever Man. He was vigorously against the evil principle. Once he decided to secure people from the disasters brought about by the demons. With having this decision he armed himself and went out for destroying the village of the demons and killing them all. To get his provision, Man went to a mill where a woman was grinding her grain. He told her about his determination of destroying the village of the demons (Yuss bara dangar), and then put forward his small skin-sack for receiving some flour as his war provision. Whatever the woman put into the small skin-sack of Man, that did not fill lit up. By this the woman recognized that the man was Man. So she told him how to find the demons’ village. She explained to him that the demons’ villagehangs down from the sky in the air and you cannot see it. Because the metal wire with which it hangs up in the air is very thin. This could only be seen when Disani is winnowing. At her winnowing the chop or straw of the threshed grains strike on the thin hairy-wire and produce some sparkles. From seeing these sparkles you can guess the place of the demons” village in the space. Man then waited until the threshing and winnowing occasion of Disani arrived. At this opportunity Man discovered the place of the demons’ village and shot it down with his bow and arrow. So he destroyed their village and killed them all.

I have recorded the myth mentioned above in Bagramatal. Morgenstierne has transcribed the same myth in their language, Katevari, which is more in detail. Two interesting things can be mentioned from his myth. First, the woman in the mill is demons’ wife and her name is Budeli (with retroflex ‘d’). The second thing which can be inferred from his myth is that Bagisht is considered as Man’s younger brother, who is believed to be the son of Disani or Karmay and of Kshumay as well. Besides, the myth tells us that how the warriors could obtain provisions for their war expeditions.

Bagisht

All the Kafirs’ myths agree on Bagisht’s association with water. According to the myth recorded by Robertson, there was big tree in the middle of a lake. When Sataram approached the tree he soon discovered that its trunk was having the goddess Disani in the middle. When Disani was milking goats, a devil observed her. He rushed toward Disani and seized her. After this event Disani wandered into the Pra-sungal. While she was stepping into the swift-flowing water of the river,
gave birth to an infant. The turbulent water became quiet and the child stepped ashore. The people who heared of this were much surprized and ran to the scene. There they found the little child sitting on a stone. Then he left all the spectators and went alone down along the river. On the way he met a man who gave the name Bagisht to him (1896:382-3).

The transcribed myth of Morgenstierne says that there was a demon in the Dorah lake. The demon changed himself into a ram and came out of the water. There he trembled and dripped water on Bagisht's lap. She became pregnant among the fairies. Bagisht turned upward in his mother's womb and he was born. With his birth the world illuminated. His mother first wore him a golden shirt and then a blue shirt. She told him, 'thy city is on the surface of the water. Thou can not live with the gods, thou can't live with men. Thou wast made to move about in the water,' (Acta Orientalia XXII:168).

The shrine for Bagisht was near the water. Generally the sacrifice of cattle rather than of goats was made for him. Biddulph reports that the heads of sacrificed animals, after they were first held on the fire, were thrown into water (Snoy 1962: 143). Robertson mentions the sacrifices of sheep and goats to the god Bagisht. The Kafirs believed that with sacrificing to Bagisht they will become wealthy. Robertson also writes that Bagisht was a popular deity but, 'Like all the other godlings, he is believed to have lived in this world as a man, and to have become deified after his death, "(1896:406). In Kamdesh this god was especially worshipped at the Ashandra and Diran feasts (Snoy 1962:142). Bagisht was believed to be the god of water and so he ruled over the water source. Besides, the possession of wealth and cattle were also ascribed to him for which he was beseeched. For granting wealth and property to the people, Bagisht was also thought of as being the god of plenty.

Disani ...  

Her name is pronounced and recorded in the following types: in Kamdesh D'izari, Urtsun D'izari Prasun Disn't, AshkunDasani; W.J. Disi, Robert son Biddulph Disni, Elphinstone Dissaune, and Disani; Morgenstierne questions its connection with Sanskrit Dhisana (Acta Orientalia XXII:164).

Disani was the most popular goddess through out KaKfiristan. Originally she seems to had been the goddess of the women's world. Because she had an important role in the women affairs and she herself was a woman as well. Her part in women's world includes farming, crops and child conception however, women did not have access to her shrine (Probably this was due to some later change). Disani was also the goddess of goats' procreation and their dairy products. For this reason her feasts and sacrifices had agricultural as well as pastoral nature. Because,
grains especially wheat, and goats, butter and milk were offered to her on proper ceremonial occasions in her shrine.

There were two shrines for Disani in the Kati part of the Bhashgal. A shrine for this goddess was called **Ba-Disanita (n)**. In Bagramatal her shrine was built on the village hillside which was called **Bagrampit**. Robertson writes that Disani usually shared a shrine with other deities, but at Kamdesh she had a pretty little temple all to herself (1896:411).

Disani is worshipped in several ceremonies, but the most important festivals exclusively given in her honor are Dizanedu and Gechi. The latter will be described elsewhere but the former probably was Disani-law. This festival, according to Robertson, occurred on July 9th. Two days, before the festival began, men and boys brought cheeses and ghee from every corral. On the first day the ceremony began by the men of Kamdesh who went to the shrine of Disani and immolated a couple of goats there. For further observances they offered portions of cheese and bread-cakes. Then the men went to the shrine of Gish where they cooked the meat and distributed with cheese, and bread brought by the women from each house. But the women were excluded from the ceremony. Regular religious ceremony was performed by Uta (the ceremonial priest), after which immediately the Pshe (the divining priest) closed the door of the Gish's shrine opened early in the year (Robertson 1896:591).

On the proper occasions women also danced for Disani and other deities. But these were not held in their shrines. Instead, the women danced for the deities in the village dancing arena. Whenever there was a collective raid and the warriors of the village or tribe were away, the women gathered in the dancing arena of their village. There they danced day and night to honor and propitiate the deities and sang their praises. Disani was one of the chief deities the women supplicated for help. The hymn for Disani was, "Send my man home safe and unwounded;" but for Gish they sang, "Send us many goats, and cows, and other plunder," (Robertson 1896:410). Morgenstierne writes that she, Disani, lived on this earth in the shape of a woman wearing a golden garland and came to the dances (Acta Orientalia XXII:164).

In a Prasun myth, according to Budruss, Disani had a son whose name was unknown. He, together with the son of Dewag, fenced the valley and planted vines, apples, olives and nut trees. They also built irrigation channels. But other conservative gods were against their attempt to change the world. These gods decided to send them away from their territory. In this movement the son of Dewag was hidden in a rock, but the son of Disani was tracked down in the valley. There was
Disani coming upward in the valley and the other gods yelled at her, "this one, this one!". She pulled out her dager and murdered him in the twilight. But soon after she realized that her own son was being murdered. On this she raged with the other gods who had told her that he brought disorder to the world and wanted to change it. Therefore, they persecuted him. But what had happened that could not be changed now. "You are our mother," or we are also your children, they said to her, "and do not rage with us any longer." For her satisfaction and releasing her anger, they decided that every year 18 youths shall carry out contests and shall dance in honor of Disani. In the dancing arena, they shall dance around the harp-layer and shall say loudly, "It is my woe, it's my woe!" When all this was decided, Disani withdrew her anger (Snoy 1962:141). In the myth nothing can be seen so clearly as the aspect of personification and the scene of human life. There are no signs of miracles or idial wonderings which are obvious in the following myth from Wama, recorded by Snoy and the writer in Munjan, Badakhshan.

When Disani was five years old, she would walk out in the morning and disappear in the mountain. Her father, Indr (in the mythology of Hashgal, Disani was born out of Imra's right breast, who threw her in a lake where she remained in the trunk of a large tree in the middle of lake (Robertson 1896:381) became anxious of this act and was keeping track of her. Once Indr saw Disani sitting with seven other girls who were playing music for her and keeping her happy. At the moment the girls saw Indr, they disappeared. Indr asked his daughter to disclose who those girls were. First, Disani did not describe their identity but after her father's insistence she admitted that those girls were fairies. In this manner she went every morning to the mountain, disappearing there. She came out of a solid rock to return home in the evening. This deed continued until she was twelve years old. Then she married the war-god, Gish, according to one myth and a devil according to another Elphinstone has also recorded Disani as the wife of Gish (1819:431). According to the previous account as daughter of Indr, she becomes Gish's sister. But another myth from Wama, which will be given at the end of this chapter, ends her life at the matrimony of a devil. As a synthesis of opposite extremes whe Disani was violated by a devil she begot Bagisht, a god, according to a previously described myth, but according to another myth, when she married a demon, Disani begot a noughty and devilish son, Karmutarok.
In their social life, a person born from a slave woman was an out-cast or at least not an equal importance as born from a free upper class woman. Even two brothers from the same father but from different mothers, one from a free born mother and another from a slave mother were not looked upon in the same way. A slave-mother's son might inherit nothing from his father whenever there were his free born brothers (Robertson 1896:104). This shows the significant role of matrilineality in the Kafir social structure, though not being outweighed than the patrilineal descent. However, we do not have any evidence of a person's status born from a free born mother but slave or outcast father. The only evidence, if it is accepted, is the myth mentioned above. According to which Disani begot a son from a devil, and the people neither looked upon his as an outcast nor being from devilish origin. So this son was Bagisht who had been deified, worshipped and sacrificed too. Disani's Karmutarok son, according to another myth, was noughty in his nature. Theoretically it shows that a person has the potentiality of acquiring higher status with his own efforts and deeds. This could be practically observed in their social life when a Bari acquired the rank of Jast Bari and Became an Urir as well (Robertson 1896:101).

**Nirmali**

Nirmali was the goddess of birth and procreation which is an aspect of creation. Nirmali was one of Imra's seven daughters who performed the function of procreation. Nirmali, righteousness, is the epithet of Imra. However, Nirmali was the goddess of women or particularly the goddess of child birth and feminine functions, according to Morgenstierne (Acta Orientalia xxi: 165). She presided over the seclusion house and her idol was erected there.

The name of the seclusion house is recorded by Robertson as "Pshar" or Nirmali house the lying-in hospital, "(1896:496). Morgenstierne has transcribed this name, 'pshor, with the final retroflex 'r', (Acta Orientalia XXI: 165). I have learned that the seclusion house of women is called Zhamay Watka in Wama and Shar-amu or briefly Shar in the Kati part of Bashgal. In wama there was a cave on the opposite side of the river from the village where the women resided during their menstruation and child bearing occasions. So Zhamay means menstruation and impurity or particularly illegitimately pragnant and Watka the cave, e.i., impurity cave. But Shar-amu means impurity-house.

The construction of the seclusion house was different from that of the pshal, corral, as well as from their ordinary living-houses, amu. It was usually located on the other side of the river opposite to the village or far away from the common residential abode. The shar or pshar con-
sisted of one room, but in Prasun according to Robertson, it had two to
three rooms in a row. They were generally in poor conditions, but those
in Prasun were generally well-built (1896:497). In addition to its con-
struction, difference with other houses, there were some other signs for its
distinction. First, Robertson writes that the pshar is "distinguished by
having two or three sheepskins fastened to a pole and stuck on the
roof," (1896:497). Snoy also mentions that the 'seclusion-house,' or Nir-
mali-house,' of the Kafirs was symbolized by 'sheep-skins.' Here, among
the Kalash Kafirs, women could only take care of sheep, but not of
goats (1962: 144). However, Robertson remarks in contrary to his pre-
vious statement and writes, "The unpleasant sheepskins are not employed
to indicate the buildings, their peculiar shape and their isolated position
being quite sufficient for that purpose," (1896: 497). Beside the symbolic
function of the sheepskins and sheep heads, another function, a highly
religious one, was also attached to it. This was the purification of the
menstruation clothes. The woman was purified with a ram's immolation
to Nirmali and her clothes were purified with spreading them together
with the sheepskin on a special pole. This pole was another symbole of
the seclusion house which was called Chamen Kato (with retroflex 'n') in
Bagramatal.

Originally woman was considered impure in the Kafirs' world
of belief, especially in her periodic sufferings. In the first case she was
not allowed to go to shrines and be associated with gods. In the second
case, she was even expelled from the social and economic environment
—the association of men, village, fields and household utensils. In her
monthly menstruation periods, she lived for three days in the seclusion-
house. But a child bearing woman spent twenty days in the Pshar, and
left it on the twenty-first. Robertson says that whenever the birth of
the child was imminent the woman went to the Nirmali house, where
her child was born. She remained there twenty days if her baby was a
girl, or twenty-one days if it was a boy. Then after a ceremonial ablu-
tion, she went home. There she was allowed a further rest of twelve days
before she resumed her ordinary work (1896:596). Elphinstone writes
about the matter in hand that:

"At the birth of a child, it is carried with its mother to a
house built for the purpose without the village; they remain
there for twenty-four days, during which time the mother is
reckoned impure.....At the expiration of the twenty-four days,
both mother and child are bathed, and carried back with dancing
and music to the village, (1819, II: 435)."
According to Robertson the child was born in the Pshar or the seclusion house, as mentioned above. Nowadays among the Kalash who are still Kafirs, the child birth takes place within the seclusion house, Bashali. Concerning the matter in question, Graziosi write, “Before re-entering the village, the bashali inmates must bathe in the river. All births occur in the bashali.....At the moment of childbirth, as Schomberg and Siiger pointed out, an old woman from the village goes to attend the woman in confinement. Before entering the bashali she must undress, leaving her clothes outside the small building, and when her midwifery is accomplished, before re-entering the village she must bathe in the river, even in the depth of winter,” (MAN, 1961:150). But according to Elphinstone the child was born at home in the village and then taken with its mother to the seclusion house. My information from the present people of Bagramatal also corroborate Elphinstone’s writing. The child was born in the village and then they were accompanied by other women from the relatives and neighbours to the seclusion house. In Wama she was sent to Zhamay Watka beforehand. If an unmarried or virgin girl would have got pregnant she was immediately after realizing the fact of adultery expelled to the seclusion house where she spent a year. After the lapse of this time she gave the fine of one ox to the Ura and then was allowed to return to the village. In Bagramatal as a normal case the family or the father of the new born son killed more than two sheep or an ox and gave a Walatsa feast to the village. On the next day of the feast the paturent woman returned to the village with her child. Whatever utensils and food stuff as ghee and bread were taken with her to the seclusion house, she left them there behind. Because, bringing every thing from the Shar-amu was tabood for its impurity. But the woman sacrificed a ram to Imra and Nirmali for purifying herself and her clothes. Then she prayed to the god and goddess of creation and requested their favour as follows:

“O Imra, Nirmali; each with your sufficient share of the sacrifice granted to you, go in divine satisfaction. O Nirmali, Thou our children guard (or guard our children). For her sake, of the menstruating clothes on the pole, Chamen Kato, a ram has been killed”. (1)

Then she gathered her clothes, wore or wrapped them and left with the accompaniment of a few other women for home. It is also said that the ram killed during the time of seclusion was a sacrifice to Nirmali for releasing the woman from the pains of parturition and the

(1) Translation of the text above is incomplete, Prof. Morgenstierne has translate the text fully (Communicated).
forthcoming siccenes. Its practical function was, I think, to provide heavy food for the parturient woman to regain her health and energy.

A mention has been made of the Chamen Kato which was a pole erected at the seclusion house on which the clothes of menstruation and child birth were spread together with the sacrifice ram’s skin to which the skull of the ram was also attached. Chamen from my previous records means the the clothes of menstruation and child birth, but Kato means a pole. In my recent visit to Bagramatal, my informants insisted on the Chamen that this was an evil spirit who slept once a month with every adult woman. From this she got the menstruation and so was she considered impure. In a myth this pole is ascribed to Nirmali which will be mentioned below.

Walatsa was an individual and noncalendrical feast given to the village for expressing the happiness of the child-born family and the return of the woman from the seclusion house to the village. The term Wala-tsa or Vala-tsa (?) means coming up from below. There was another annual and collective feast Mar-vala (with round-retroflex ‘r’) which was given in honor of the dead ancestors and homage was paid to Nirmali at the seclusion house as well. The latter feast is called Mar-nma in Kamdesh according to Robertson who writes after serving family effigies, “The women next repaired to the pshar or Nirmali house, where they feasted and amused themselves with loud laughter,” (1896:587).

Nirmali was the goddess of women, who favored child birth and guarded children. Unmarried girls found a kind of fly-worm, Nirma-gu at the Nirmali house and divinated on it about their future. She put the Nirma-gu on a twig and asked it to show that in which part of the valley will she get married. The Nirma-gu climbed to the top of the twig and then flew away. Then if it went up the valley or down the valley or disclimbed back, it meant, respectively, that the girl will marry in the upper part of the valley; in the lower part of the valley or marry at the same village. Originally Nirmali was asked for this future disclosure and the divination was done before her Idol at the seclusion house.

Nirmali and her position is well and concisely featured in the following myth given by Morgenstierne who has translated it from a Brumotul text.

“Nirmali has the command at the time of birth. Imra has made her a ruler. Having been made a ruler she bestows daughters and sons. Mror spoke to her (or she had spoken to Mror”). She has her seat at heaven with Mror. She is ruling with her pen at the time of birth. A cow and a ram are given her as a sacrifice. (Acta Orientalia XXI: 176)

The pen=pato of the text is possibly the pole=kato already
mentioned. Because they have almost the same form, context and function.

Kshumay, Krumay and Kamri

From Robertson records it seem that Kushumay and Krumay or. Karmay are two names of the same goddess. He writes the names, as Krumay or Shumai", and usually uses its first form. Then other writers, following him, have also mixed them up with each other. To me they were differenciated and even a third one, Kamri, was added on their number.

Kshumay (with retroflex 'sh') a goddess who looked after the fruits and brought life to plants. Morgenstierne writes", The grapes belong to Kshumai, but Indr is active in the wine", (A.O. XXI: 177 Edelberg 1965:199). As Indr was not there in the Bashgal valley, then it was believed that rainfall was at Kshumay's disposal. Because rain was need- ed for farming and gardening which belonged to women and consequently the possessor of rain should have been also a goddess. The descriptions already given before show that the Kafirs differenciated between farming and gardening. Because farming and grain crops belonged to Disani and gardening and fruits belonged to Kshumay. Besides, the begettig of sons was at the command of the former and rainfall of the latter. Snoy states that Kshumay lived in lakes and was responsible for the rain. This made her similar to the god Sudrem, who also was connected with a lake and the regulation of rain (1962:146).

A sacrifice was made for Kshumay at the fruits ripening time. The number of goats immolated for this goddess reached thirty. Elphinstone mentions a sacrifice in honor of the goddess Koomay (Kshumay). This sacrifice and feast was offered to Koomay before her idol which was erected some distance to the south of Kamdesh on a height of difficult access (1819:433). Elphinstone does not mention the date and occasion of the sacrificial feast. According to Morgenstierne, Kshumay was worshipped at the grape-festival at the end of the month Shude (Acta Orientalia XXI: 164). The Shudey month is 60 days from the 20th. of Chungash or 11th. of July to the 20th. Wazhay or the 11th. of September, according to my Bagramatal records.

Krumay resided on the Terich Mer mountain (Ibid.). This was a sacred mountain on which deities and fairies lived. There in Badewan was a shrine made on a sort of modal of Terich Mir mountain to which goats were sacrificed (Robertson 1896:384). According to a myth recorded by Morgenstierne, Krumay is Man's mother. Man was created on Imra's command who afterwards created this world (Acta Orientalia XXI: 186). Snoy says that there are two myths, recorded by Buddrus in Parun, regarding the matter in hand. One tells us that Krumay was
the youngest of seven brothers and seven sisters. The other myth says that she herself had seven daughters and one of them gave birth to Man. In both versions the seven girls were troubled by a giant. Krumay escaped from the giant and sought refuge in a tree in the middle of a lake. The tree was split and she hid there. In the other version of the myth, Krumay went off the tree on a sun-ray sent by Imra. Finally, she gave birth to a son, Man, who then defeated all the giants (Snoy 1962:147).

The myth further emphasizes the secret association of men with women, for whose conceptions the demons were blamed. Another obvious clue to the association of demons with women is that the women are more receptive to epileptic sicknesses than man.

Robertson states that Krumay’s idol was erected at the dancing houses in Prasungal. The only occasion on which she is mentioned is that of the dancing. Imra and Gish were interchangibly honored at first each with three rounds but Krumay was the last to be honored in this each with three rounds but Krumay was the last to be honored in this way. Her dance was comical and the steps were accompanied with light-heartedness. With performing her dance the feast or the ceremony reached its end (Robertson 1896:384, 389, 411, 595, 616, 618).

Kamri had no calendrical observations in Bagramatal or in the upper Bashgal. On some special occasions as sicknesses or having wishes, the man went to Kamri and performed a ceremony. He made a fire, washed his hands, took some cedar branches and placed them over the fire. Then on the branches he put a wheat bread on which he placed some butter for enflaming the fire. In the direction of the smoke which whirling up from the cedar branches, the performer sprinkled some water from a bowl provided him for this purpose. Every time sprinkling up the water with the smoke he said, ‘Such’, which means ‘be pure’. At the beginning of this ceremony a male goat was killed for the goddess Kamri and its head was thrown in the fire and the blood sprinkled on her idol in the shrine, according to the information from Bagramatal.

Paroknaray

Besides the most popular and common gods of the several Kafir tribes, there were some other gods who specifically belonged to one or another tribe. These were mostly tutelary deities or ancestors of great importance as well as deities particular to the tribal traditions. Of such deities, I think, Kamri was one which is already mentioned. Another one is Paroknaray (both of the ‘rs’, are retroflex) the particular goddess of the Pardesayi Kafirs, the people of the western, Alingar valley, Kafiristan. Whenever somebody was met with her anger, he had to call her his “mother”, or “sister”; if not, her reaction was fatal for him as well as for his flocks of goats and cows. Her shrine was on the mountainside
by the road. If a woman passed near this shrine she had to sacrifice a goat for her and perform the ceremonial rites of Diwgan. These rituals were the making of an open fire with branches of the cedar tree. Butter of ghee were added to it and also the hair of the goat’s skull. The head and feet of the sacrificed goat were also thrown in the fire.

When children were sick, a goat’s kid was sacrificed to her; but for a woman a she-goat and for a man a he-goat was sacrificed to Paro-knaray.

**Panaw**

There were seven brother-gods, the Panaw (‘n’, is retroflexed), according to Snoy, who brought death to the enemies (Cf. Snoy 1962: 151). According to Morgenstierne’s translated text, the Panaw lived together with Disani, and they were also associated with the Sun rays or arrows on which they rode. Imra gave them a golden quiver and golden arrows. They could shoot well but they were not warriors. The Panaw or Paneus received a cow as their tribute every year (Acta Orientalia XXI: 174). Elphinstone writes that Paradik were seven brothers who had golden bodies and were created from a golden tree. Besides these there were other seven golden brothers of the same kind whose name was Purron (1819:431). Robertson mentions that there was a sacred tree whose branches were seven families of brothers, each seven in number, while the trunk of the tree was Disani and its roots were Nirmali (1896: 356). Snoy adds that the seven branches of the tree stood for the seven Prasun villages or the seven streets constructed by Disani, or for the seven Panaw brothers who would have then been the symbols of life. On the contrary, they brought death on people through their arrows as well (1962:152).

Panaw, with Wamayi pronunciation, is called Pano in the Kati language of Bagramatal (the ‘n’s in both of the names are retroflexed). This name Panaw is probably connected with the Pawan of Sanskrit; or Kaverty’s Pandu and the Pandu of Mahabharata who was a king (Dubois 1897:360). See Morgenstierne for other pronunciations of the name (Acta Orientalia XXI:165). There in Bagramatal the Pano was not considered either seven golden or seven divine brothers, but a sort of evil spirit who killed people. If there was a blue spot on the corpse of a dead man, then it was understood that the Pano had hit him.

According to the mythology of Wama, Panaw was the son of Indr and the brother of Disani. He had a miraculous hourse. Whenever he needed him, he rode him; but afterwards he turned him into stone in the mountain.

Another Wamayi myth shows that Indr became jealous of his son Panaw’s smartness. The myth says that once Indr was constructing
a bridge to Wama on the river. Panaw carried huge rocks with his father. Then he felt very hungry and thirsty. His father told him to drink some milk out of the bowl which was lying in the shade, but warned him that he must be careful not to destroy its cream. Panaw went and made a hole at the bottom of the bowl through which he drank all the milk. Afterwards his father asked him whether he had broken the cream or not. Panaw confidently said to him that he had not broken the cream. Indr was surprised about this because of its lack of possibility. He went and found out that the cream was not spoiled but the milk was drunk. Indr realized that his son was more clever than he himself. So Indr was afraid of Panaw’s shrewdness and thought it might create some problems for him in the future. He made his mind and then took his son back to the construction work of the bridge and there with the blow of an adze on his neck, he murdered him. Indr, consequently left the construction of the bridge, which was half done, and went away. The people of Wama still feel sorry for not completing the bridge over the river.

**Godlings**

There were several other gods who specially belonged to some village or villages or to some particular clans and served as their tutelary deities. As the number of gods went up, their importance came down and diminished. Their offices overlapped, and they received minor duties. Finally, they reached the level of the dead ancestors. Some of these deities will be briefly mentioned hereafter.

Sudram, Morgnstierne Sudr’em Worthington Jukes also Sudram ‘Sikandar’. Robertson Sudaram, Sataram; and in Prasun Sujum. He was considered the priest (Uta) of the gods. He lived in rivers and lakes. The Dorah Lake (Dro pan (y) ile) is also called ‘Sudrem Sur’. In Sanskrit Sudharman is a name of a son of Manu (Morgenstierne, A.O. XXI: 164). According to Robertson, Sataram was the father of Disani (1896: 411). He was the weathergod and regulated the rainfall (Op. Cit., 409). In Bagramatal, according to the people, the Sudram Sur is a pool between huge mountains. There is a golden tree in the center of this pool. All the wild animals have to drink water from this pool once in their life. If not their body will get itching from which they will get sick and then die. On the contrary, if they drink its water, they do not become sick or they do not die of illness.

Nong and Sudram both appeared in the form of a he-goat. Nong and Shomde are the deities peculiar to Prasungal, according to Robertson (1896:410); Arum was the tutelary deity of the Kam people; Duzhi belonged to Kamlesh (Ibid).

Sanji, from the note of Morgentierne, she ruled over the wheat,
in Ktiwî and Prasun. According to his Brumotul myth, she got a good goat as her sacrifice together with a big plate of flour made into small loves and a bowl of butter. And Sanju is Sanu's daughter (Acta Orientalia XXI: 163; 177). Robertson states that by some it was declared that Saranji was the daughter of Sanru (1896:409). Sanru or Sanu was a Muslim missionary to the Kafirs whose head was cut off by Gish and played polo with it (Morgens. A. O. XXI:163; 187). In Bagramatal, it is said, that she was attended in particular cases. On such an occasion a special kind of bread was baked for her in her shrine. This bread is made from thinly wet fluid flour poured down on a sort of frying-pan. It is called Wu in Katevari and Weshale in Pashto.

Parasi is recorded as Purso by Elphinstone. She was also a goddess as Sanji ('r' and 'n' of the two names are retroflexed). Whenever the Kafirs' shaman divinated on the sacrificial animals for some special purpose, and the bow was expectedly moved on the name of ewe, then they thought the trouble in question was originated by Parasi and for satisfaction an ewe was taken to her shrine and sacrificed there.

Yush, the spirits

The spirits can be generally divided into benevolent and malevolent under super natural beings. Another division between them is that of sex. There were male and female spirits who married with each other. They also had a normal village life with people aged from children to old persons.

Vutr are the fairies. According to a myth recorded by Morgenstirne, the fairies, Wutre, were violent to men and bad-tempered. They are more in number than human beings. The fairies are more beautiful (Act Orientalia XXI:178). If there was or even is a beautiful girl or a handsome youth, the people of Bagramata! will call them, respectively as De-vutrmrjerji and Davutrmerkur. These are their high compliments which mean the princess or daughters of the king of fairies and the prince or son of the fairies' king. Da-vutr are the benevolent spirits whose golden castle was up in the space which was called Davutrsun-gram. The word 'da' means sky, above or space.

Dalu, or Morgenstirne's "Delu" (Kalash Deu) deity, divine being, fairy....(Cf. Acta Orientalia XXI:165), are the benevolent spirits, also according to the Bagramatal information. They were sacrificed to with bread and butter and also a male goat if the shaman would have ordered. The residential abode of the Dalu was up on the tall trees especially the juniperus cedars or on the top of high cliffs and rocks of mountains.

Bit (with long 'i') is the name for giants in the Kati language of Bagramatal or the upper Bashgal. They also lived on the mountains and in the forests and were malevolent to the people.
Yush (with retroflex 'sh') are interpreted by Friedrich as being a kind of ghosts. Snoy disagrees and gives the interpretation of giant to this term (1962:157). Morgenstierne translates Yush into demon and ogre (Comunicated), but to me the people of Bagramatal have generally translated Yush into evil spirits. These were invisible beings, but they had almost human characteristics, even to being noughty and harmful.

Danik was meant by a female evil spirit or the wife of Yush. She gave trouble to mankind and destroyed his property, especially the crops. Her breasts are of colossal size and are long that she puts them on her shoulders and feeds the child on her back. Her toes are to the back side and her heels are to the front. She has got eyes on her face as well as on the back of her head. She is dangerous to man going out at night, unless he has his dagger with him, according to my Bagramatal information the spirits like men had their own livestock and their own land of cultivation. According to Robertson's inference the Yush was read in color. He was harmful to travellers at night, unless they wore daggers. Some ruins in Prasungal were pointed out to Robertson as they were the deserted villages of the Yush. There was on a rock an impression of colossal size in Shtevgram which was recognized by the people as Yush's hand having six fingers. Towers, tunnels and iron bridges were believed to had been built by the Yush. When offerings were made to Disani or to the fairies in order that the fields may yield good crops of wheat and millet, Yush was also propiciated for not destroying the field crops. Yush seemed to be always michievous, never benevolent. According to the myths, Yush usually appeared as a foil to Imra. He was oftenly associated with iron or iron made things (1896:413). It is most probable that the asociation of iron with Yush had affected the social statues of the black-smiths who were considered as the most inferior even within the Bari class.

In the Kafirs mythology, there was intermarriage between gods and spirits as well as between spirits and human beings, besides the married within their own group. The essential point is that Yush were against gods and men. The Yush and the gods always fought against each other and never helped the one another, though marrying and producing offspring. Those were always the evil spirits, known from the mythology, who traped the goddesses. There is nothing regarding the gods marrying the female spirits. Finding out the the social background of the spirits associations with goddesses in mythology is probably relavant to the menstruation fact of women caused by the spirit Chamen.

Illegitimate children and men of exotic characteristics, both physical and behavioral, were mythologically represented either good or evil spirits. Regarding the matter in hand, I describe two myths from Wama.
These and the rest of the information about Wama mentioned elsewhere are recorded by Snøy and the writer from two Wamayi traders in Munjan, Badakhshan 1963. The myths are as follows:

Once a virgin girl was passing through a narrow gorge called Prokain. There an eagle hit her with its wing and she got pregnant. The people would have not listened to her plea and so they expelled her to Zhamay Watka, the cave of place of illegitimately pregnant women. There she gave birth to twin boys and returned home after the lapse of one year. The boys played with their bow and and arrow. When they were at the age of seven years some enemies attacked Wama. The warriors made themselves ready and went out for the war. The two brothers also asked their mother for bows and arrows, and went to the battlefield. Whenever their arrows were passing over the heads of any of their enemies, he was falling dead. In this way they killed 4,000 of the enemies and defeated them. Today, Waymani, the people of a hamlet of Wama descend from those two twin brothers.

The second one is a complex myth in which god, man, giant and demon are involved. This myth explains the Kafirs' way of life as well as their looking at nature. Besides, myths of this type are rather widespread, according to Snøy, from Europe to Tibet (communicated). A similar counterpart of this myth exists in Kandahar whose hero's name is Mar-buchray or Mar-bachury, the son of snack. The latter does not have the super-natural part, or it is representative of tricksters' way of life and their getting along with the people.

Disani, the goddess, married a demon, Karmutarak. Her husband had a big herd of goats and sheep. In the summer he was away with the flock in the mountain pastures. His food was finished and Disani wanted to send him some flour. Nobody liked to carry this to Karmutarak, because the way was blocked by a tiger and a giant. Disani wondered what to do. At this time she heard a voice from her womb which said, "I will carry it, mother!" Disani was frightened to death. Then she asked with a trembling voice, "What a demon is there?" He answered, "I am Karmutak, your son, mother. Show me the thinnest part of your womb that I can come out". The obliged Disani, the bewildered Disani, and the surprised Disani finally pressed herself and said "That is it". Karmutak, who was just seven months old in his mother's womb kicked that part and jumped out. Disani filled a skin-sack flour and told him to be very quiet in the jungle as well as in the mountain, because of the tiger in the jungle and of the giant in the mountain. She told him that if they knew that he was there, he would be killed and eaten by them. He promised, but carried his father's sword with him for caution.

When he reached the jungle, he put his flour-sack aside and
producea a startling sound. The tiger woke up and ran toward him, roaring. Karmutak fought the tiger and killed him. He picked up his sack and went to the mountain. There he yelled at the giant; the giant appeared in the rocks and soon reached him. Karmutak very quickly asked the giant “Wait a minute, what do you want?” The giant said “I am hungry”. Karmutak showed him the sack and said to him, “Here is food, open your mouth”. The giant opened his mouth, but a little too much. Karmutak gave him a blow of the sword on his neck and killed him, too.

Karmutak reached his father’s pasture, but Karmutarok was away with his flock. When he returned in the evening, Karmutarok turned himself into a thorn and hid in the sack. Karmutarok found the sack but he thought that the man who had brought the sack must be gone back home. He made a fire and started to bake bread. When he put his hand into the sack, the thorn pricked into his fingertip. He pulled his hand out and threw the thorn into the fire. Karmutak cried, “Don’t burn me Father! I am your son, Karmutak. Karmutarok picked him up from the fire and said to him, “What a devil you are?” Karmutak told him that he was born that morning and he also gave him the account of his trip between his mother and father.

Karmutak told his father that tomorrow he would take the flock for grazing. Karmutarok agreed, but warned him not to go close to the juniper tree in the area because of the giant who owned it. The next day, Karmutak went with the herd close to the tree. He also claimed and climbed that juniper tree and cut off some branches of it with his axe. Suddenly the giant showed up, and ordered Karmutak to come down. While Karmutak was climbing down, he was intentionally entangling his skirt into the branches and was cutting them off. When Karmutak reached the ground, he told the giant that if he was eager to eat him, enter. When the giant opened his mouth, the axe of Karmutak entered it and knocked him down.

Another time Karmutak asked Karmutarok if he could bake bread. That day his father went to bring some wood for the fire. Karmutak prepared his food and started eating. While he was chewing, he observed that the goats also moved their mouths the way he did and there was nothing before them to eat. So he got angry at them and killed them all. When his father returned, he told his son to take the goats out of the corral. Karmutak picked up a stick and entered the corral. He hit the dead goats and yelled at them, “the goats of my father. get out of here”. There was one lame goat who was by chance alive, which came out of the corral. Karmutak asked his son what was wrong with them that they did not come out. Karmutak answered that they were angry with him. So Karmutarok himself entered the corral and
found all the goats dead. Then, he asked his son why he killed all the goats. Karmutak answered that the goats were mimicking him.

Now the goats were dead and Karmutarok could be nothing. He asked his son to invite the people to eat this meat. Karmutak went to the village and yelled at the people, "Go, enter your houses and don't come out. The enemies are coming, the enemies are coming!" All the people disappeared and he returned to his father and told him that the people did not want to come here. Karmutarok himself went to the village and brought the people with him. While Karmutak's father was away, he found some glue and rubbed it on the stools. The people sat on the stool, and ate the food. At the end when they stood up, the stools were stuck on their backs. Karmutak said to his father, "Look, I told you that they will take away something from us". The people removed the stools from each other's backs but unfortunately their clothes on that part were also torn off with the stools. They went to their village in a very bad shape.

Disani and Karmutarok decided to get rid of this demon Karmutak. They went out on a journey and took him along with them. They chose to spend the night on top of a hill. The plot was to throw Karmutak down into the river. They all were tired and slept soundly. Karmutak got up and moved his mother to his bed. He himself then slept with his father. Late at night Karmutarok woke his bed mate up and threw the other bed fellow down from the hill into the river. Karmutarok was pleased that he got rid of his son. But soon after he was asked by his partner of the plot why he did not like his wife Disani. Karmutarok realized what had happened. The next morning Karmutarok took his father to a garden of apricots. He served him with a lot of apricots and tried to feed him more and more. His father told him that he was full. For proving his word, he showed his stomach to his son. At this moment Karmutak shot him with an arrow and burst his stomach. Then he brought his father to the road and leaned him standing at a pole or stick. A caravan passing by made him fall down. Karmutak claimed that his father was killed by the caravan. Finally, he got a lot of commodities from the caravan people as a fine and returned to his village.
The Conquests of the Kushanids

by Dr. Shahibye Mustamandi *

The conquests of the Kushanids in the second century A.D. are among the events of history still debated by scholars. Although the events are complicated, I will try to clarify and solve some of the problems which surround this period with the help of the documents that are available.

I believe that the extent of the Kingdom of Kujulu Kadfesis and Vima Kadfesis, as suggested by Ghirshman, (1) is too vast. In fact, this kingdom most probably extended only up to the northern, northeastern and eastern regions of Bactria, rather than including the south and southwestern regions. The latter regions, either free or semi-free, were under the Parthian Empire, and the territories of northeastern Iran, like those of Ircania, were free even at the time of Nero. (2) The borders of Arya which were recorded as being as vast as "O-Ik-San-Li" by Ptolemy are, however, confirmable. (3) But there is no available document, similar to Ptolemy's, to confirm that the reams of Arya during the second century A.D. were included in the empire of the Kushanids or came under the Kushanid Empire, as Ghirshman claims. According to what this scholar believes, these borders were demarked during the kingdom of Vima, and extended from Drangiana and Arachosia to the coast of the Indian Ocean. No recent research has clarified this matter, and no document exists by which we can prove that the representative of India to the court of the Roman Emperor, Trajan, was necessarily a Kushanid.

* Translated into English by Mohammed Kazem Ahang

(1) Ghirshman, MDAFA XII, 1946, p. 125 seg. This scholar believes that all dates witnessed in the inscriptions of Kushanids are derived from a special date of Saka, between 56 and 58 during Azes.
(2) Kiessling, s.v. "Hyrcania", PWRE.
(3) Ptol., Geograph, VI, 16. According to Tolome the region of Aria was extended from west to Parapamisas and up to Helmand.
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The word "India", which was mentioned in the book by casios (4) most probably referred to an area on the south coast of the present country of India, that is, the Sind. This region, even during the period of the Achaemenid empire was under the rule of the Indians, and so it is possible that the Indian who was sent to the court of the Roman emperor was sent by the king of this realm, who was asking him for help due to some danger threatening his country. Casios has recorded in his writings the words: "Para Barbarov Allov Te Kai Indrov", which means, "other barbarians, especially Indians". I believe that Casios wanted to show, by this line, the importance of the region. And realistically, from the Roman viewpoint, the southern coast of India was of the greatest importance. According to recent information (5), Trajan, the Roman emperor, after invading the Parthians in 116 A.D., wanted to continue his invasion into India. If this is true, I do not think that this Roman emperor wanted to be a world conqueror like Alexander the Great, but rather that he wanted to protect the important trade route in this area. In fact, this route was the only route feasible for international commercial trade.

Certainly, the conquests of the Kushanids beyond their own realm of Bactria, were first started toward the west and the northwest, the area from which they had first emigrated. At first they were strongly invaded by the Chinese, and afterwards, in the year 91, A.D., the Kushanids concentrated their forces on the borderlines of China.

I believe, by gathering together the widely dispersed notes written about this period, we can shine a clearer light on the history of this nation. First of all, as has been mentioned, the Kushanids did not want to occupy new lands in the sense of conquerors, but they wanted to control the commercial trade routes—especially the route to the west from China and Central Asia. Because it was on this route, Bactria was one of the most important and key areas.

The route from China came toward the south and southwest headed towards India and continued to the sea. The second route, after passing through the Hindu Kush joined Paitawa and then extended southward toward the Caspian Sea and ended in Mesopotamia. In fact, around the first century A.D., both the Kushanids and the Chinese wanted to control these routes. The Bactrians, or as we will call these new lords of the region, the Kushanids, sought to gain control of these trade routes,

(4) Cassius, Dio, Epitome, LXVIII, 15.
(5) Ghirshman, MDAFA, XII, 1946, p. 139; Garzetti, L'impero da Tibberio agli Antonini, pp. 385 seg.
for a historical reason. Euthydemus, the king of Bactria (6) wanted to strengthen the northern borders of his country which were open to attack by the nomads. To implement this idea, he invaded Farghana, on the northern border, which would also bring under his control the trade route, an excellent source of income.

Some scholars believe (7) that the Kushanids reached as far as the present borders of Iran, although this idea is rejected by Chinese sources and notes. But there is no document with which we can prove this claim scientifically. Chinese sources have included the following places in the Kushanid empire: Tahia (Bactria), Ka-Pian (Kapisa and Arachosia), Ko-Fo (Kabul), Tin-To (India). With respect to the reference to India, there is no clarification as to which part of India is meant, and it is difficult to know which area is meant. Chinese documents did not use the name of Dāranjan and its surrounding areas in the southeastern part of that country.

Taking into account the various problems, the date of Kanishka's era is not known certainly. So far, the orientalists and scholars of both east and west, who have been and are now closely involved in finding all these dates have not yet been successful. The date of Kanishka's ascendance to the throne is not known at all. These problems arise from the inscriptions which were discovered in Surkh Kotal—carrying a special date on them. Some scholars believe that this special date belongs to the Sakas date, but some think that Kanishka had a special date which corresponded to the time of his empire—124-144 A.D. (8)

Archeological discoveries of recent years (9) and the results of the excavations of Surkh Kotal where an inscription was discovered, have caused some scholars to consider the beginning of the second and the end of the first century A.D. as the beginning of Kanishka's empire.

An important aspect of the Kanishkan empire, upon which all scholars agree, is that the religion, beliefs, and culture, of Kanishkan were entirely different and new. This characteristic can be proved by the relics found in Hāgram (10). It has been suggested that the findings of Bagram belong to the second and third centuries A.D. These relics, which consist of stucco medallions with Greek features, Chinese lacquer ware, Indian ivory, and glass dishes from Egypt, show that the Kushanids had commercial relations with the faraway countries of the world. This same idea is demonstrated by the coins of the period as well. The coins

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(6) Tarn, Greeks in Bactria, p. 83.
(7) Ghirshman, MDAFA, 1946, map of page 151.
(8) Ibid.
(9) Gullini, Architecture Iranica, 1964, p. 79 Nota (84).
of the Kushanids bear Hellenistic and Roman figures such as Hercules, Hephtaestus, Serapide, Iranian gods such as Mitra, Ardokso and Ato Pertrina; and the Indian gods such as Shiva, Mshania and Buddha. (11)

A comparison of the Kushanid and the Roman religions and the number of their gods shows the great influence which the Roman empire had upon the Kushanid religion. Similarly, it should be noted, the gold coins of the period which were stamped by Vima, were similar to the gold denarii of the Romans. The coins of both kingdoms weighed eight grams. At the same time, the lack of silver coins in the Kushanid period shows that this silver art of the Parthians was not used.

We think of the Kushanids as being the descendants or heirs of the Greco-Bactrian empire because during Kanishka's reign, the Greek alphabet was largely used in writing the Bactrian language.

In the inscription of Surkh Kotal, inscribed in the year 31 of the Kushanid empire, the problem of repairing the temple at Surkh Kotal is mentioned. This repair work may have occurred during the time of Kanishka. (12) However, it should be mentioned that although the dates of the reigns of some of the Kushanid kings are still vague and unclear, it is certainly a fact that Kanishka, a powerful and famous king of the Kushanids, was the first king of the family whose name ended with the word, "ishka".

Kanishka's empire southward was extended from Kashmir to Patly Potra and northward to the realm of Tarim. According to the narratives which remain to us from Kanishka's descendants, he died during a military campaign in the northern part of his empire.

As stated by the Buddhists, Kanishka had become a Buddhist and was one of the important supporters of this belief. It was during the time of this emperor that Buddhism flourished in northern India more than ever before. As we see later, it became popular and developed into the school of Mahayana. During the time of Kanishka and his descendants, Buddhism trained many monks and attracted numerous believers in the south eastern portion of their empire. Meanwhile, Zoroastrianism was nourished and popularized in the northwestern section of this empire. Both Buddhism and Zoroastranism were supported by Kanishka as well as others.

Some scholars believe that Kanishka was not merely a militant and ambitious conqueror, but that he was more of a political and statesman. His empire was surrounded by the Parthians, Chinese and Roman

empires, but was never attacked by any of these empires; and in fact, they never dared do so. As we remember, during the second century A.D., the pressures of the Parthians in the northern area of Kanishka’s empire decreased. The reason for this was the wise policy of Kanishka himself who advanced his empire to its uttermost stage of development. (13)

It is believed that after Kanishka died, the first man to take over the throne was his son, Wasishka, around 123-133 A.D. However, according to some documents discovered through my research, the same year, another son of Kanishka, called Howishka, who was the governor of Kashmir and who had the title of Maharaja, also took over the throne. This fact has been derived from the coins of the era.

According to the inscription discovered in the temple of Zoroaster in Naqsh-i-Rustem, it is recorded that the Kushanids preserved their empire with all its might and power until the third century A.D. (14) It is also mentioned in this inscription that the invasions of Artaxerxes were directed toward the east, especially Khorasan, in which case, the view of the French scholar, Ghirshman, that the empire of the Kushanids was defeated by the Sasanids in 241 A.D. is no acceptable. In fact, in spite of great pressures brought by the Sasanids, the descendants of Kanishka tried to keep and preserve their authority. Certainly, the coins as well as the Buddhist art which flourished at that time in that part of the world, prove our claim in this matter.

The decline of the Kushanid empire is believed to have begun in the second half of the fourth century with the invasion of Shahpoor the Second. This belief derives from the fact that some coins of the Kushanids have been found that were stamped even up until the end of the fourth century A.D. (15) Some scholars attribute these Kushanid coins to the end of the 4th century A.D. (16), although a French scholar places them 60 years earlier. The coins of that time carried names such as Peroze Kushan Shah, Hermuzed Kushan Shah, Kushan Shah and Kushan Shahinshah, which are all Kushanid names, but they were taken over by the Sasanids as their empire was extended to include that of the Kushanid empire. (17)

(15) Ghirshman, MDAFA, XII, 1949, p. 165.
(16) Surel-Schlumberger, MDAFA, XIV, 1953, p. 119 seg.
(17) Ghirshman, MDAFA, XIII, 1948, p. 70.
SISTAN UNDER THE ARABS


Sistan, the ancient historical sphere of Middle Asia with its rich civilization and culture, has recently become the subject of research and study by historians and archaeologists of the east and west. Most of these scholars publish the results of their findings through scientific institutions in the form of books, booklets or articles. It is with pleasure that we would like to introduce one of these works, the book *Sistan Under the Arabs* by the well known British scholar, Clifford E. Bosworth.

Bosworth, who has done considerable research on this part of the world, has written many creative articles each with its own unique value. His works have included *The Ghaznavids* and several articles on Khurasan. *Sistan Under the Arabs*, published in English by the Centre Study E. Scavi Archaeologici in Asia under Professor Guiseppe Tucci, includes the history of Sistan during the two centuries of Islam before the rise of the Saffarids. It consists of five chapters covering the following topics: Sistan before the coming of Islam, the Arab conquest of Sistan, Sistan under the Umayyids, Sistan under the Abbasids, and the collapse of the Abbasid authority in Sistan and the rise of Ya’qub B. Laith.
In covering the history of this realm, Bosworth has used many reliable ancient and more recent sources. In the book he has also included a detailed bibliography and an index which should be of help to readers in their own research.

**THE ARMIES OF THE SAFFARIDS**


Those doing research on the history of Afghanistan will be pleased to hear of the publication of a new pamphlet by C.E. Bosworth entitled, *The Armies of Saffarids*. The pamphlet is written in English and reprinted from the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London.

*The Armies of the Saffarids* consists of ten parts and fully describes the conditions of the Saffarid armies, especially under Ya'qub B. Laith and Amr. Using reliable sources for his research, Bosworth has brought about a profound article on this subject, one which fills in many of the vacancies that have existed in the history of that period. The Historical Society of Afghanistan anticipates translating this article into Dari in the near future and publishing it in its bimonthly magazine, *Aryana*. 
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