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ERATTUM

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EDITOR

Mohammad Kazem Ahang

Address:

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of Afghanistan Academy,
Ghiyasoddin Waat. Kabul.
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The Mother of the Dari Language Part 8

By Prof. A. H. Habibi

Translated from the Dari
By M. Kazem Ahang and J. Dempsey

The editor apologizes here for having previously omitted the following three pieces (numbers 18, 22, 23), after which we continue with word 35.

18) TAAD-YE

Henning recognizes this word, which is repeated in numbers 78 and 81, as consisting of the taad of numbers 32/37, to which has been attached the third person singular pronoun which is also (y)-e in Pashto. This word, then, would be taa-ye in Pashto (special Kandahar usage similar to Persian), taad-e in Koshani, and taa-az-i:n=taa-ke (=until that) in Persian, and Henning's analysis seems correct.

22) ASI:D

In number one it was explained that after "i" in our modern language, final "d" of this type of words is silent and unpronounced. So, if we leave off the "d", asi remains, as we have in modern Pashto (hasil= thus, in this way). Asa was also in Old Persian with the meaning of "then" (the time when) (1). So Koshani asl:d is a form of asi=hasil (thus). In number 8 slid also was changed into declarative si=(chil, "what"), so that by the same principle asl:d should become asi.

(1) Old Persian 165.
23) MAALI:Z (=MAHAADEZH)

For the explanation: see number 2.

35) NAWSHAALM-NAWSHAAD

Orientalists have kept silent and not said a thing about this word. Henning alone has recorded its meaning as "seat". But I recognize its origin to be in nawshaal for the following reasons:

1. This is the word Nawshaad of Persian literature because its "l" stands for "d", as in the words maale:z (=mohaadezh) and baglang (=baghdang=baghlaan). And this change of "d" to "l" exists in these inscriptions and in all the Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Hindostaani das and Persian dah=Pashto las, Persian sad=Pashto sal. From this, it appears that in this case the language of these inscriptions corresponded to Pashto, and the "d" is of Persian Nawshaad and dez were "l" in that language.

The word nawshaal is probably composed of naw+shaal, i.e. the new shaal, the syntax being like Pashto with the principle of attributive adjective preceding the noun it qualifies.

However, shaal is probably the same word that we have remaining in Persian as a suffix in yakh-shaal (ice-box) and Siyaah-shaal (underground-prison), and in Pashto in the word darshal or darshaal (threshold), and it has the meaning of spatial capacity. This word is also preserved in its original form of shaal in the place-name Afghaan-shaal (2), which in the time of Soltaan Mahmud was a place in the vicinity of Saboktegi:n's grave in Ghazni. Here was located an old palace of Mahmu:d's and the Messenger's Field (the reception-field for messengers and ambassadors). In the Bayhaqi History it is repeatedly mentioned (3), and in some of the copies it has also been recorded in the form of Afghaan-shaali. For a period of a thousand years we have known of the shaal in the locality of modern Kuwayta (4) in the province of Pshin southwest of Kandahar. And besides this, there existed other localities also with the name of shaal (5), and the present-day shaal of Kunar (a province in eastern part of Afghanistan) is also one of them which remains.

This ancient nawshaal of Koshani, which is similar to Pashto, later became nawshaad in Persian, i.e. "new-place" and "new resting-place", on the analogy of ancient nawbahaar (nawwahaara-new temple); Nawshaal

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2) Babur also has Afghaan-shaal in his autobiography p. 87, saying: Saja:-wand is among the places in Lo:gar...and its people are Afghaan-shaal”.
4) Ahsan-ut-tagha: sim 298,
5) Nuzhat-ul-qulu: b, 64, 94.
was the name of this very temple in Baghlaan, and perhaps they later built a **nawshaad** modeled upon it also in Balkh and other places, to which reference is made later in our explanation.

2. What was **nawshaad**? and where was it?—The Persian poets, especially the early ones, have some mention of **nawshaad**, and from the context of their words it appears that it was the name of a locality or town in which beauties were in great number. Farrukhi says in an encomium to Soltan Mohammad ebn-i Mahmud:

Thy house has become the qebla (the direction towards which a Muslem faces when he prays) for the people, like the house of Nawshaad earlier.

Similarly in an encomium to Soltan Mahmud:

He has stamped out a thousand idol-temples mightier than the Pyramids, he has emptied two hundred cities, lovlier than Nawshaad.

Similarly:

Gardens which are like the idol-house of Nawshaad,
Become like a desert until autumn-time.

Elsewhere Farrukhi has thus mentioned the **Bahaar of Nawshaad**

(temple of Nawshaad):

Be thou at rest and in happiness, since from marvelous Turks
Thy palace is like a fire-shrine and the bahaar of Nawshaad.

In **Rawshnaai-Naama**, related to Nasser Khusraw:

Thou art in Farkhar and thy beloved in Nawshaad,
Go there, why have shouting and crying?

Mas'udi- Sa'd Salmaan says:

Oh great Shah, choose amusement and do thy work of a shah.
Call for a cup of wine from that idol of Nawshaad.

Amir Mu'izz, in praise of Soltan Malik Shah:

Let there be new and newer joy for you in all places,
From the many kinds of idols may thy assemblage be like Nawshaad.

Similarly:

The garden became decorated like the idol-temple of Mushkuy,
The plains became lit-up like the idol-temple of Nawshaad.

Again he said:

The idol which has connection with Nawshaad,
Every hour holds my heart with "**naw shaad**" (new happiness),
Like a play-thing of the house of Nawshaad.
Its face keeps my neighbourhood and quarter.

Kama'l Isma'il says:

Light of the Faith, the gifted Shah, about whom the pen-tip
At all times puts forth a play-thing of Nawshaad for me.
Ami:r Khusraw of Balkh, later of Dehli has:

The holy-man is giving sermons, but the poor drunk's thoughts
Go towards the play-things of Nawshaad.

From these additional examples which have been quoted, and in particular from those which are the sayings of the earliest of the poets, they talk about the qibla of Nawshaad, the idol-temple of Nawshaad, and the idols of Nawshaad, etc. and it appears certain that these poets conceived of Nawshaad as one of the sanctuaries or idol-temples and that they counted that place, quite like Nawbahaar of Balkh, among the important religious and idolatory centers. And later dictionary writers, taking their cue from this same type of usage, deduced that Nawshaad was something arousing beauty, and recorded that with this meaning in their dictionaries.

However in the Arab geography books and Masa:lik-i Mama:lik which was printed in nine volumes in Leyden, and in the Aasa:r-ul-bila:d of Qazwini and Nuzhat-ul-qulu:b and Taari:kh-Guzi:da and Lubaad ul lu-baad and Raahat-us-sudur and Jawaami-ul-hikaayat and Futu:h ul bul-dan of Bila:dhari and Tabari, and Lughat-i Shahma:ma by Abd-ul Qa:der Baghdadi and Fehrest-i Lughat-i Shahna:ma by Wulf Alma:ni there is no record or notice of this word. Only in the following books is a recording of this word found:

In the Al-ka:milu history of Ibn Athi:r, on the events of the year 257 H, in reference to the advance of Ya'qu:b Layth towards Fars and Balkh he says: "He went toward Balkh and Tokharistan, and then he reached Balkh and descended to the outskirts and wrecked Nawshaad. This was the building which Daau:d ibn-Abbaas ibn-Maaban jur (sic) built outside of Balkh, Then Ya'qu:b went from Balkh towards Kabul and took possession of it....etc."

In the Egyptian printing of Ibn-ul-Athi:r this word Nawshaad is with an undotted "d", and in the Leyden printing it is with a dotted "d" (=dh). In the Ansaab of Sam'aani is written (p. 571 a): "An-nusaari with 'zamma' for 'n' and fatha' for 's', between them 'w', then 'alif' and at the end of it 'r', this connection with Nu:shaar (sic) and it is a village in Balkh; It has been said Nu:saari was a castle in Balkh which the Ami:r Daau:d bin-ul-'Abbaas built, and it has been said that when Ya'qu:b bin-ul-Layth arrived in Balkh, Daau:d bin-ul'Abbaas retreated to Samarqand. But when Ya'qu:b withdrew, Daau:d came back to his homeland, and found his castle—that was Nu:sa:r—ruined. Then he wrote the following poem, and from grief his heart broke and he died after seventeen days:
Oh, how? Daa:ud—Hast thou seen the like of this?
As no one can see stars at the break of day,
That which was Nu:sha:r is a wasteland,
Around it the voices of owls cry out”.

Garde:zi has the same story in Zayn-ul-Akhba:r (p. 11) as follows:
“In the year two hundred and fifty-six Ya’qu:b took Bamyan and ruined
Nawshaad of Balkh: He ruined all the buildings which Daa:ud bin-ul’Ab-
ba:s bin-u Ha:shim bin-u Mahju:r (6) had made, and from there he returned
and came to Kabul”.

As has been noted, then, firstly, Nawshaad (which they also spelled
as Nu:shaar or Nu:saar) was in the outskirts of Balkh; secondly, that it
was counted among the buildings of Daa:ud ibn ’Abbaas ibn Haashim ibn
Maaynju:r (or Maahju:r); thirdly, that Ya’qu:b of Layth destroyed it,
there remaining no doubt that these three historians are all three of them
speaking about the same place; finally, the spellings of the names of those
localities contradict each other, due to the errors of scribes, i.e. Ibn Athi:r
and Garde:zi have written it Nawshaad (and Nawshaadh), and Sam’aani
once or twice has written nu:shaar and once or twice nu:shaar. The congrui-
ty of Ibn Athi:r with Garde:zi without doubt gives preference to nawshaad,
and nawshaad also appears in the rimes of poems where “d” is the riming-
letter, and must be more correct. Although Yaaqu:t followed Sam’aani
and recorded it nu:shaar, saying that it is a settlement, or fortress in
Balkh, it is evident, then, that Sam’aani is culpable in the original distor-
tion of “r”, not Yaaqu:t. And from the puns that the poets have produced
between Nawshaad and shaadi (happiness), both “sh” and “d” of the word
are strengthened.

(6) As was seen above, in the history of Ibn-u Athi:r this name is Ma:ban-
ju:r. In Zayn-ul-Akhba:r, the printing of Sa’i:d Nafi:si (p. 112), it is
printed as Ba:yanju:r. But in the original of the manuscript it was
are the Commanders of Tukistan. In Kita:b-ul-Bulda:n, by Ya’qu:bi,
who died around 292 H., the House (aal) of Ha:shim bin Ba:yanju:r is
mentioned (p. 53.) Since among the Commanders of Khurasan, the
House of Si:mju:r-Dewa:ti is also well-known with the historians, it is
then probable that Mahju:r and Si:mju:r are of the same category. In
the conversation of Persian speakers of Ghazni, ju:r is used with the
meaning of “fore-arm”. So si:mju:r would be “(having) silvery-elbow”
and maahju:r “(having) lunar-elbow”. However, this is a guess and is
not certain.
Afghanistan

In the book Fazaayel of Balkh, which the preacher Shaykh-ul-Islaam Safi-ud-Din Abu Bakr 'Abd-ullah ibn 'Omar ibn Muhammad ibn Dauud wrote in Arabic in the year 610 H. and which an anonymous person translated into Persian in 676 H., the manuscript of the Persian translation being preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Nawshaad is mentioned, and has a brand-new meaning there, i.e. that Dauud ibn “Abbaas was occupied for twenty years in the construction of Nawshaad, and he says that the date of its erection in the province of Balkh was Zi-ul-qaida (11th month) of 233 H. (7).”

Marquart of Germany in I:raan Shahr (p. 293-301) and Barthold of Russia in his book Turkistan (p. 77-78) have also referred to the name Nawshaad, and some of the above-mentioned sources have been noted. Following Sayyani, Barthold erroneously calls Nawshaad Nusuar (8). In addition to the poets mentioned, in Wais and Raam:in of Fakhir-ud-Din Gurgaani (around 446 H.) an account of Nawshaad appears in this form:

“Once again he broke into speech,
He spoke words like the tableaux of Nawshaad,
Cypress and box-tree would be like your height,
If the tableaux of Nawshaad be like both of them” (9)

Ferdawsi too has mentioned Nawshaad and says that Nosili:rawaan built the city of Zayb-i Khusrav and kept Roman captives in jail there.

“No:shi:rawaan commanded a city (to be built),
Inside of it was a palace and running water,
Elders of enlightened mind and happy ones
Gave it the name of Zayb-i Khusrav.
The captives whom he captured from those cities
Their hands and feet were wounded from heavy fetters,
He commanded that they take away the fetters,
And in that city they laid out Nawshaad.”

From Ferdawsi’s usage it is clear that he treated Nawshaad as a feature of the city Zayb-i Khusrav, and he intended with it almost those same ideas of the other poets.

3. It seems that Nawshaad was not a special temple. Instead, in numerous instances there existed graceful temples from ancient times with this name. From amongst all those, there most probably was also in existence a temple in the outskirts of the royal Ko:shanid city of Bagra:m to the north of Kabul. In the time of Kanishka:, Chinese hostages would

(8) Footnotes of Burhaan-i Qaati, 2200, based on the writing of the emin-ent Qarwi:ni-Paadga:r 4:9.
(9) Masnawi of Ways and Raam:in, 105-118.
live in the summertime in this temple. Its location is presumed to be in the ruins of Pu:za-i Shuturak in Ko:h-i Pahlawa:n, Bagram (10).

Hsiian Tsang made note of this temple and lodging for Chinese hostages and princes of China with the name sha-lo-kia (kia=house) in July 644 (A.D.) as he was going from Kabul and Kapisa to China and passing by this place (11). There is reason that we should recognize the initial components of the word sha-lo as the same root Nawshaal.

4. In Kandahar, the Panjab, and Kashmir, a name for avenues, gardens, and splendid palaces is in use, two places with the name of Shaaimair being present in Kandahar, and the Sha:limair gardens of Lahore and Kashmir, which are among the architectural remnants of the Indian Moghuls.

I do not know what the source of these words is. However, in their first part there also appears the marks and signs of that same shaal.

From the study of the preceding documents it appears that Ko:shani shaal, the Nawshaal of Persian literature, the Afghaan-shaal of Bayhaqi, the Arabic nu-shaadd, the Chinese sha-lo-kia, and the shaal (l) maar of Kandahar and India drink from one source.

In the Ko:shani language Nawshaal meant "new-place" and "new-temple". At the beginning of the Islamic era up to the Moghol departure, Nawshaal was applied to graceful temples and idol-shrines and to the places where such graceful idols were. Nawshaal of the Ko:shani language and Nawshaal of Persian literature were, then, among the place-names of Afghanistan, and there existed temples and idol-shrines and idolatry-spots with this name in every age and era in Balkh, Tukharistan, and Kabul. According to past documents Da:ud bin 'Abba:s made the last Nawshaal in 233 H. in Balkh, and Ya'qu:b of the Saffarids destroyed it in 256 H. Farrukhi has mentioned this same place in Balkh together with Nawbabaha:ar:

By Nawshaal Gate it would go, or by Nawbabha:ar Garden.
How pleasant is the blooming Nawbabha:ar of Balkh's Nawshaal.
Especially now that spring has come into Balkh. (12)

5. We have a name in the Pashto language which is Nu:rsha:li.
There lived a poet with this same name at the end of the 19th century in the Abas:si:m Valley, some of whose Pashto poems Darmesteter heard here and recorded (13).

(13) Da Pashtun khawaahaaro bahaar, Paris.
Afghanistan

If we analyse this word, it is nu:r + shaali. As we know, nu:r is this same Imar (Pashto=“sun”) and sha:li is a place. As a whole this name gives the meaning of “sun-place”, that same ancient shaal being preserved and remaining alive in the second part of it.

7. In Persian too the root shaal, with the meaning of location and place, is present. Aw-shaal with initial fatha is “pond”, “water-holder”, and “the place where water stands in mountains” (14), which is the same shaal=chaal, the root of that same ancient word remaining preserved in this word.

However, in all three copies of the inscription at the end of the word Nawsha:d there is preserved an “m” with no vowel before it, and it would be read nawshaalm, as it should be the same connector—“m” of number 3. But this point is not clear to me why this appended-possessive “m” has not been separated by the word divider “O” as on other occasions in the inscription; it is connected to the word like modern Persian. Perhaps this juxtaposition is a sign of iza:fat (possessive appendage) and ownership based on grammatical principles of the Koshani language of which have no knowledge now. In the third copy in this place and in number 109, this word is ni:shaalm.

(14) Burhaan-i Qaati’ p. 186.
Afghanistan’s Armed Forces and Amir Abdul-Rahman’s Military Reform Part 2

From their salaries accruing in the treasury every other month or—more often—once a quarter or half year, foot-soldiers and officers had to buy their uniforms and support themselves. Cavalry-men had as well to supply means for the subsistence of their horses and for the maintenance of a “mitar” (a groom, or a porter) at the ratio of each 6-7 persons to each “mitar” (60)

Besides, by an agreement, each 3-4 soldiers grouped together for the purpose of purchasing a pack-horse (a “yaaboo”) to transport their goods and provisions (61). Above all, a cavalry-man was obliged to have a horse of his own, its cost being equal to 20 tumans at that time (62). In case horses were supplied by the government, their cost was deducted from their owners' salaries.

In the infantry and artillery, pack-horses and “mitars” were maintained at the government expenses.

In war conditions the lower ranks of the Afghan Army were provided for with certain rations by the treasury. But in times of peace the cost of provisions by them from the government stores was subtracted out of their pay. The government supplied their hats, belts and bandoleers as well, but the rest of their outfit was to be acquired by themselves from their salaries. That was the reason of the diversity and variegation of the army uniforms. Afghan soldiers having no constant uniforms to wear, each of them was dressed to his own taste or means; that was responsible for their uniforms' diversity. Some of them were dressed in British military or railway companies' old uniforms, others had home-manufactured baazaar-styled uniforms of varied colors.

60). Ts. G. A. Uz. SSR, Fund 1, list 34, case 648; f. 45.
62). Ts. G. A. Uz.SSR, Fund 2, list 2, case 45, f. 166.
Some had cloth trousers, others had cotton ones, and a certain number had the Afghan “mambons” (63). It was only at the time of war that the lower ranks were given government jackets and trousers of the style of their units’ uniforms.

The Amir’s guardsmen wore beautiful uniforms of their particular style. Martin made these notes: “The Amir’s foot and horse body-guards make a well-equipped body of men, and the Amir himself looks to the guardsmen maintaining their weapons and outfits in complete order”. (64)

The foot-guardsmen wore uniforms of red cloth bordered with white on the rims, with white or yellow collars. The uniforms were decorated with yellow or red shoulder-straps and copper buttons bearing the English State Emblem. The trousers were of white or brown color. Guardsmen wore shoes with markedly turned-up points. Leathern helmets lined with felt or thick cloth and bearing a copper-made English Emblem at the front made their head-dress and completed their uniform (65). B. L. Tageyev writes: “Some regiments of the guards substitute for their uniform’s head-dress a white turban which suits an Afghan incomparably more than the ugly uniform helmet” (66). The horse-guards were considered to be among superior arms. B. L. Tageyev writes that the most handsome Afghans and best horses were selected for those guards” (67).

There are very few data available on the salaries received by privates and officers of the irregular forces. In his book entitled “The Amir Abdur Rahman” Wheeler writes that a private foot-soldier of the irregular forces was paid no more than 5-6 Rupees (68). L. K. Artamonov, too, gives some data as to the rate of the salaries received by privates and officers of the irregular forces. According to his data, a “sepaahi” received 14 kraans a month from the treasury, a “dah-baashi”—20 kraans, a “sad-baashi”—40 kraans, a “sartib”—100 kraans and a “sergenk”—240 kraans (69). However L. K. Artamonov’s data leave us uncertain as to how much an infantryman and a cavalry-man received and whether there was any difference between their salaries’ rates.

In addition to their salaries for maintaining themselves, soldiers and officers of the irregular forces received government weapons, outfits and sets of non-uniformed clothes free of charge. Cavalry-men, the same as in the regular forces, were to have their own horses and provide for their subsistence at their own cost.

Soldiers of the Afghan army had such low rates of salaries that they could hardly make both ends meet. As a witness observes, Afghan "soldiers live in poverty and have to p*<k up livelihood by perquisites, often committing violence upon the population" (70).

Soldiers' straitened circumstances were aggravated by systematic abuses practised in the payment of their salaries by commanders of various army subdivisions. L. K. Artamonov writes: "There is great misfeasance practised in the payment of salaries and other kinds of allowances, which is sometimes followed by soldiers' outbursts against senior chiefs" (71).

The troops were drilled in accordance with the Anglo-Indian army's Articles of War translated into Pashto and Dari. Yet, "words of command were uttered in Pashto, but never in Dari (Kabuli-M. B.)" (72). The infantry's drill included marching (73), musketry manual and shooting, and the cavalry's consisted of cold steel manual, skillful riding and marksmanship. In the artillery they chiefly studied material parts of guns and firing.

Apart from the drill, the regular forces were posted on duty in garrisons, being at the same time employed in the construction of fortresses, roads, in suppressing uprisings and revolts, and sometimes assisting government officials in collecting taxes and enlisting conscripts.

70) Ts. G. A. Uz.SSR, Fund 1, list 34, case 813, f. 46. In his "Memoirs" Amir Abdur-Rahman described Afghan soldiers' condition under Amir Sher Ali, stating that the main reason of their frequent search for perquisites and compulsion to rob the population lay in a constant series of stoppages in the payment of their salaries. ("Memoire" of Abdur-Rahman Khan..., v. II, p. 72) Although under Amir Abdur-Rahman there were no stoppages in the paying of soldiers' salaries, yet, as things were, they preserved their former way of life, their standard of living remaining very low.


72). Ibid.

73), J. A. Gray, At the Court of the Amir..., p. 50. According to a testimony of the Russian subject Ambartsum Massesov who saw a battalion of the regular forces in Mazar-i-Sharif being drilled in 1896, their marching "was accompanied by drums, tubes and songs". (Ts. G. A. Uz.SSR, Fund 1, list 34, case 811, f. 37).
The irregular forces were exempt from drills.

Military discipline in the Army was kept up on penalty of heavy fines, imprisonment and even death. In spite of the strictest measures being taken, it was still loose. According to reports of 1898 from Afghanistan, in spite of all the severe measures being taken, discipline in the Afghan army “is rather loose and cases of soldiers’ disobedience to their chiefs and even violence upon them are the general order of things” (74). A witness tells us the following story. In the city baazaar of Mazaar-i-Sharif “a soldier pushed an officer, and the latter swore at him indelicately. The soldier told him he mustn’t use bad language, and the officer gave him a blow. A scuffle broke out between them. The soldier knocked the officer down, the latter began to call other soldiers for help. They felled the said soldier to the ground and began to beat him. Both the officer and the soldier were badly wounded with a sabre, so that the latter was taken away; he couldn’t walk. The chief rebuked the officer for that” (75).

Breaches of discipline in most cases resulted from discord between separate army subdivisions that were usually recruited, as it was mentioned above, on national and tribal lines. Thus, in 1899, “not long before the arrival of the British mission (of Durand-M.B.) in Kabul, there occurred some collisions between soldiers and of the Herat and Gazdarpā regiments, and the assistant of the garrison chief, Malik Dusan Khan, who had intervened in the strife, was killed. The assassins fled, but they were caught by the Amir’s eldest son Habibullah Khan, and 11 men were at once fusilladed from cannons. After that all the soldiers of the Kabul garrison were compelled to take an oath on Koran that they would maintain order” (76).

In spite of the looseness of the army discipline, Afghan soldiers possessed high fighting capacities. They showed wonderful firmness, courage in fighting and incredible endurance in overcoming any difficulties of war situations. Aged soldiers made no exception to this rule. Jewett, an American engineer, while characterizing a group of the Afghan conscripts that he had seen, writes that among them there had been a few whitebearded old men who, in spite of their age, were a hardly lot capable of long marches, and a few loaves of bread fastened in their belts.

74). Ts. G. A. Uz.SSR, Fund 2, list 2, case 8, f. 3; vide also: M. Martin, 8 Years under the Absolute Amir..., p. 177.

75). Ts. G.A. Uz.SSR, Fund 1, list 34, case 608, f. 44.

76). Ts. G.A. Uz. SSR, Fund 1, list 34, case 722, f 41.
could suffice them for their several days' rations; if they were given water, they needed nothing else (77).

The main regular army units, and among them the guards, too, were usually quartered in Kabul and its environs. Some of the regular army regiments reinforced with irregular units were dislocated in the centres of the provinces ("Wilaayats"). Strong garrisons were concentrated on the north and north-east frontiers of the state. This fact is particularly corroborated by certain data obtained by the Russian political agency in Bukhara in 1891 (78). According to reports received by the Russian authorities in 1894, by an agreement with the British, and with their substantial support, Amir Abdur-Rahman expected to increase his troops' strength up to 200 thousand men (79).

National components of the Afghan armed forces were diverse. Both in the regular and the irregular troops various nationalities served, like the Pashtuns, Hazaras, Siyaahposhs, Kizilbashc, Turkmans, etc. However, national minorities were not represented in all the regular arms, and the Uzbeks were not considered fit for military service at all. Thus, F. Martin notes that all the soldiers in the army were Pashtuns, with the exception of the "safar-miner" and "kotwall" (police) detachments ironically called "pan-pedr" (people having five fathers) by representatives of other arms (80).

Various sources show that Martin's statement to that effect did not reflect the real state of things.

According to the evidence of a witness, in 1898 the Kabul garrison included a regular pultan of the same of "Islam bateti" (under the command of "karnel" Wani Khan) which numbered 1200 men, all recruited from the Siyaahposhs (of former Kafiristan). As the witness stated, that pultan daily studied the Paxto language and the Muslim law for 3 hours a day (81).

Soldiers of the Afghan nationality were sometimes included within pultans mainly recruited from the Siyaahposh's. For instance, in 1900, when the Amir's "firman" about new enlistment to be next in turn was announced, it was contemplated to form a pultan from the Siyaahposh's, but "with some addition of nomad (Afghan-M.B.) tribesmen" (82). Amir

78). Ts. G. A. Uz. SSR, Fund 1, list 34, case 866, f. 4.
79). Idem, cases 772, f. 67.
80). F. Martin, 8 Years under the Absolute Amir..., p. 173.
81). Information relating to the countries..., No. VI, September, 1898, p. 29.
82). Information relating to the countries..., No. XXV, February, 1901, p. 30.
Abdur-Rahman intended to enlist some 12 thousand Siyahpoosh's altogether (83).

The infantry including subdivisions formed of various ethnic groups, the artillery was wholly composed of national minorities. This is confirmed by the data given to that effect by a Hazaara elder who had emigrated to the Russian territory from Afghanistan (85).

There is, certainly, little exactness in the data given by L. K. Artamonov who writes that "all the tribes, except the Uzbeks and nearly all the Taajiks, were enlisted for military service. The two latter tribes were used for transport and non-combatant service" (85). To make sure of such inexactitude, suffice it to say that in the late 90s the Kabul garrison included two regular army pultans formed of Uzbek conscripts that were named "Mazaar-i-Jadidnavi" and "Mazaar-i- Kungari-Turki".

A witness, while describing characteristic features of the pultan "Mazaar-i-Jadidnavi", took these particular notes: "The men are tall, young and stately, making the best pultan on the point of service in the ranks, their rifles are breech-loading ones. On the point of uniforms they differ from the rest due to their violet caps with black peaks and Pizar shoes" (87).

According to a testimony of a traveller who visited Afghanistan in the early 90s, the Afghan regular army embodied 2.5 thousand Uzbeks, natives of Kokand, Andijan, Samarkand, Tashkent and other Central Asian regions (88).

Among soldiers of the Afghan regular army there were natives of India as well. D. N. Logofet writes: "A great many Muslims from among the Sepoy and Bengalee regiments, on having served their terms in those troops, join the ranks of the Afghan army, becoming its most welcome component, to enlist which various measures were taken in due time by the late Amir Abdur-Rahmaan (89).

84). Ts. G. A. Uz. Fund 2, list 2, case 45, f. 166.
85). Ibid. case 40, f. 73.
87). Information relating to the countries..., No. VI, September, 1898, p. 18-19.
Amir Abdur Rahman's Military Reform

Similar to other non-Pashtun, the Uzbeks seem to have been called up for the first time to serve in the regular troops in the 90s. As late as in reports pertaining to the 80s it was still pointed out that the Uzbeks were not recruited for military service in the regular troops. A report received in 1885 from Afghanistan was to this effect: "The Uzbeks are not recruited for military service. At the time of war those who wish to fight for Islam are called up and form the militia, or else they are attached to the "dagdaga" (horse-militia-M.B.), but they are never included in the regular troops" (90).

It is noteworthy that, while non-Pashtuns were admitted for service in the regular troops, still, they mostly made private soldiers and only partly supplemented the body of junior officers. According to a witness's description of the Afghan regular troops dislocated in Northern Afghanistan, "the officers are all Afghans; the corporals are mostly Pashtuns, but there are some Hazaaras among them, too, the privates are partly Pashtuns, partly Hazaaras from near Kabul" (91).

For once, representatives of national minorities sometimes held rather high and influential posts in the army. For instance, the chief of the Kerki garrison reported on August 12, 1890: "The person now considered to be the nearest to Abdur-Rahman (the Afghan Amir. —M.B.) is Colonel Said Nasir Khan, the Uzbek commander of a thousand "risaala" (92).

The ethnic variegation of the Afghan army was quite natural, for it was impossible to produce a considerable increase in the numerical strength of the Afghan armed forces without altering some traditional principles of recruitment. Amir Abdur-Rahman was in a measure compelled to start enlisting conscripts from among Jamshids, Hazaaras and representatives of other non-Pashtuns who had not been enlisted formerly for military service at all. This is confirmed by some information obtained in 1893-1894 by the Turkestan Russian authorities from which it is clear that, in addition to Pashtuns, the Afghan Amir tried "to encourage service in the infantry likewise on the part of the Chaar-Almak, Hazaara, Firozkooh, Taimani and Jamshid tribes which had never been enlisted before" (93).

90). Ts. G. A. Uz. SSR, Fund, 1, list 34, case 608, f. 44.
91). Idem.
92). Ts. G. A. Uz. SSR, Fund 3, list 2, case 18, f. 5.
However, the existing system of enrolling troops on the basis of voluntary enlistment (95) and casting lots in the aforementioned three main cantons considerably diminished intensiveness and limited possibilities of enlistment, entailing great pecuniary expenses, too. That made Amir Abdur-Rahman propose the introduction of a kind of compulsory military service on the basis of enrolling “one from eight” (“hasht nafari”) (96).

In accordance with the new system, the country’s male population capable of carrying arms was divided into groups of 8 men each who were all subject, each in his turn, to recruitment (97). For all that, means of existence for each man to go soldiering, as well as his family (if he had one), were to be provided for by the rest seven members of the group. It was only conscripts’ equipment that was provided for at the government expense.

In this way, as the Russian Consul-General in Khorasan Vlasov observed, “without incurring government expenses Amir Abdur-Rahman gets the opportunity of doubling his army in the first year of carrying his new law into effect. Of creating a reserve of 40 to 50 thousand men by the beginning of the next year and, gradually increasing it still more and more, of marking the whole male population of the state go through military service in no more than 7 years, that is making it fit for the defence of the country” (98).

As it may be seen from Amir Abdur-Rahman’s “firman”, he himself explained his enforcement of the new system of recruitment by his striving to fortifying the country in the face of possible aggression against it on the part of the more powerful foreign countries. He emphasised this in the following way: “I have been working for 15 years and have taken various measures in order that I should be able to keep the standard of Islam if for 4 days, namely: I have produced several hundreds of thousands of guns and rifles and stored up all the munitions necessary,—now,

95). Amir Abdur-Rahman pushed through reorganising his army with the help of a certain Mamed Hasan Khan-Sardar “who had long been in exile in India where he obtained good information of the requirements of modern military art”. (Ts. G.A. Uz. SSR, Fund 1, list 34, case 772, f. 67).
97). Ts. G.A. Uz. SSR, Fund 2, list 2, case 8, f. 2. According to Mirza Sirodjidin, conscripts were usually enrolled from among village folk in proportion: 1 per 8-10 men. Townspeople could serve in the army at their will. (Mirza Sirodjidin, Tuhaf ahle Bukhoro, f. 168); Faiz Muhammad Khan Katib, Siraj-ut-Tawarikh vol. III, f. 1217.
98). Ts. Uz. SSR, Fund, 1, list 34, case 813, f. 75.
Muslims. it is your turn to help me, and you, following the example of the Ottoman Empire's subjects who have many a time girded up their royal loins and defeated their enemies, be as quick and furnish each 7 men (99) one soldier whose means of living the other seven men shall undertake supplying and whose outfit and weapons shall be supplied by me, your patron, in order that, by preparing an army 200-300 thousand men-strong, we could be in a position to bewilder the unfaithful in their designs and afterwards do our work in peace and serve God, and praise Him” (100).

For the purpose of carrying out his plan of raising the troops in accordance with the new system of recruitment, Amir Abdur-Rahman sent about small detachments led by officers who were directed “to make a census of the country's male population of the age from 12 to 50” (101).

Growing wants of the ever increasing Afghan army, as well as the necessity of supplying it with modern armament, induced Amir Abdur-Rahman to start building munition factories. Amir Abdur-Rahman writes: “I knew that had I not the same weapons and ammunition as the other states used, I would not be able to keep up the integrity of my government and defend my country from foreign encroachments” (102).

In 1886 the Afghan Amir invited the Kashmirian Munshi Abdul Subhal and the Frenchman Gerome to his country and proposed their supervising the construction of munition factories (103). He assigned large sums of money in order that Gerome might purchase all the necessary machines and materials.

The British government of India, however, preferring to see their own expert-agent at the Afghan court, made the French engineer understand that “England would not stand such open enmity (of his.—M.B.), and Gerome (who was a pure adventurer) chose to clear out on having taken the extra sum left about him on paying the cost of government orders and assigned to him for the hiring of mechanics” (104).

But Amir Abdur-Rahman was not a man to be discouraged with this failure. Acting on Munshi Abdul Subhal's advice, he invited the English engineer Pyne, an official of a Calcutta firm, to enter his service.

99). It seems as if it were meant 8 men.
100). Ts. G. A. Uz. SSR, Fund 1, list 34, case 813, f. 75.
Pyne who arrived in Kabul in May of 1888 with the approval of the Anglo-Indian government brought “a one-hundred HP steam-engine with him, as well as full equipment for a mint and for the manufacture of breech-loading rifles” (105). Similarly to his predecessor Jerome, Pyne was given a free hand by the Amir and more than once went to India and England for making additional orders and purchases of materials and machines, as well as for the hiring of skilled workers. Thanks to him, Amir Abdur-Rahman had an interview with the directors of the aforementioned Anglo-Afghan (Calcutta) commercial firm. The Russian political agent in Bukhara Lessar reported that “they had come to Kabul in the middle of June (of 1890-M.B.) and stayed there for two months; they were very well received, obtained considerable orders and were appointed commercial agents of the Amir in India and Europe. They were commissioned to invite a geologist and a chemist from England, too” (106).

In 1889 they completed construction of the first munition factory—“machine-khana”—that had ever been built in Afghanistan. According to a testimony of the members of Durand’s British mission that visited Kabul in 1893, the “machine-khana” produced modern guns of the Gochkis type three and six feet long. It produced some other types of guns, too, as well as various types of rifles and ammunition for them. In 1893-1894 the producing capacity of the small arms shop of the “machine-khana” was equal to 10 thousand cartridges a day, 3 guns and a few scores of rifles a month (107). But according to official British statistics and Pyne’s own reports, the same shop produced 20 thousand cartridges and 15 rifles a day and 2 guns a week (108).

As the Russian political agent in Bukhara asserted, Pyne’s statements as to the producing capacity of the Kabul workshops had been greatly exaggerated. He reported on March 14, 1892: “On the contrary, from more unbiased sources it has become known that in three years they have produced only 120000 rifles, and by January of 1891 the cartridge-making shop had produced only a few hundreds of cartridge-cases and a few thousand of percussion caps, and they expected it to be put in full order by 1892. but even now the process of striking coins is slow, and cartridge-cases...are produced in limited quantities” (109).

Apart from the workshops producing weapons and ammunition, the “machine-khana” included some shops producing wooden, leathern, tex-

105). Ibid.
108). Ibid, Fund 2, list 2, case 8, f. 2; Information relating to the countries..
tile and other goods. Gray described them in this way: "One body of men is doing leather work-copying English and Russian boots of various kinds; making saddles, bridles, belts, and cartridge pouches, portmanteaux, and mule trunks. There are workers in wood-from those who manage the steam saws to those who produce beautiful carved work for cabinets and chairs. There are workers in brass, making vases, candelabra, lamps, and many other things both useful and ornamental. There is another department where they produce tin ware-pots, pans, and cans. The most artistic are perhaps the workers in silver. They make for the Amir....very beautiful things: cups, beakers, beautifully embossed tea-pots, daggers and sword handles, and scabbards" (110).

In the "machine-khaana" there were likewise shops producing soap and candles, and a mint (111). Amir Abdur-Rahman writes: "Workshops of the "machine-khaana" were enlarged year by year, and a number of new ones were built whenever it was required by the circumstances" (112).

There was little difference between the produce of the said Afghan shops and that of European factories. Mirza Sirodjeedin writes in this connection: "I could not tell coaches made in Kabul from those made in France. In Kabul itself they make English leather, London morocco, shoes, sunshades. ammunition boots, caps and French hats, ornament and English equipment" (113).

According to various sources, that complex factory, being universal in its way, numbered some 1.1 to 1.5 thousand workers (114).

Amir Abdur-Rahman seemed to plan building several arsenals. It is evident from the order given by him to build an arsenal in the small town of Gurian. In 1900 there came this report from Afghanistan: "The Amir has ordered to build an arsenal in Gurian. This arsenal will be supervised by a European. Machines in the arsenal will be driven by water which will be brought by means of a conduit from the Heri-Rud River. The other day one hundred camels have arrived with parts of machines and various implements from Kabul" (115).

Several gun-powder workshops were built in Mazar-i-Sharif and Maimana (116).

110). J.A. Gray, At the Court of the Amir, p. 110.
113). Mirzaa Sirodjeedin, Tuhaf ahle Bukhoro, f. 171.
114). Ts.G.A. Uz.S.S.R., Fund 1, list 34, case 772, f.44; vide also: Information relating to the countries..., No. VIII, December, 1899, p. 15.
115). Information relating to thhe countries..., No. XX, July-August, 1900, p. 36.
The factories that had been built and several gun-powder workshops gave the Afghan army a good chance of being supplied with war materials. But dependence of those enterprises on wood-fuel (while the most advanced countries’ industry had been already fully based on a more profitable kind of those times’ fuel-coal), as well as full dependence of the country on the import of machines and frames from abroad, greatly raised the net cost of their produce. Emphasising this, the American engineer Jewett employed by Abdur-Rahman writes that everything that was being manufactured in the workshops (of the government.—M.B) undoubtedly cost the government three-four times more than it might have cost had it been acquired in the world market. Overhead expenses were too great. Fuel burnt in boiler shops cost at least one hundred-and-thirty thousand dollars a year. It was a tremendous figure for a poor country where total revenue sum coming mainly in kind did not probably go beyond four million dollars, taken apart from the British subsidy equal to six hundred thousand dollars (117).

While building munition factories, Amir Abdur-Rahman did not give up the idea of importing foreign arms, for with his own arms only he could not be sure of providing fully for a mighty army he was dreaming of. It is no surprise, therefore, that information obtained from Afghanistan in the 90s contained reports of the country's mass import of arms and ammunition. In a report from Afghanistan for 1894 it was said in particular: “Recently the Afghan import of arms and ammunition from India has considerably increased, the guns and rifles imported being mainly of improved modern types” (118).

It is to be remembered that Amir Abdur-Rahman was acquiring the greater part of his arms at the cost of the British subsidy the annual sum of which given to him amounted to 1.2 million and since 1893—to 1.8 million Rupees. Besides that, the English, looking forward to the use of the Afghan armed forces for carrying out their aggressive designs upon Central Asia and the Middle East, regularly sent big consignments of arms and ammunition to Afghanistan free of charge. According to Faiz Muhammad Khan's report, during an interview between Amir Abdur-Rahman and Viceroy of India Lord Dufferin 1885 at Rawalpindi the latter declared that the English party was making Afghanistan a present of 5 thousand rifles of the Bahawalpoor type.

118). Ts.G.A. Uz.S.S.R., Fund 1, list 34; case 772, f. 68; vide also: Fund 1, list 34, case 667, f. 152.
As that same author states further, total amount of arms bought by Amir Abdur-Rahman abroad and presented to him by the British in 1885, was equal to 55 thousand rifles and 10 artillery batteries ("gawi" and "fili") (119).

Along with the reorganisation and strengthening of his army, Amir Abdur-Rahman, who attached great strategical and economical importance to the country’s road-network, energetically set himself to the re-construction of old roads and construction of new ones. The old roads connecting Kabul with Badakhshan, the left bank of the Amu-Darya river, Kandahar and Herat were considerably improved. A new road-network tied together the valley of Kunar and Jalalabad with Kafiristan (Nuristan). They pushed forward the construction of the so-called Jalalabad-Asmar road that ran through what was then called Kafiristan up to Faizabad, where caravan roads from Bukhara, the Pamirs and Kashghar met. Yet, it was completed only in 1904, that is after Amir Abdur-Rahman’s death (120).

It is of no small interest that the English who entertained the hope of turning Afghanistan into a place d’armes for attacking Central Asia helped building roads in regions bordering on Russia. Thus, the report "about the state of things in Afghanistan during January-October, 1894" stated that the Afghan government had issued an order directing the people to start reconstructing old roads and building new ones in Charvilayat. For all that, the order dwelt on the British government paying all the expenses of the road-network construction (121).

While attaching great importance to the reorganisation and strengthening of the army and the roads construction, Amir Abdur-Rahman, unlike his predecessors, paid little heed to reconstructing old fortresses and building new ones. Hamilton writes that whilst he (Amir Abdur-Rahman, —M.B.) improved the lines of communication and reorganised the army, he built few fortresses, fully relying on those built before. As a result, except the forts of Kabul, Dih-Dadi, Mazar-i-Sharif and Spin-Buldaq, the two latter ones having been raised by him to command the roads to Balkh and Kandahar, in Afghanistan there were no fortresses adequate to the requirements of the time. The existing fortresses were not so strong as to hold out bombardment. Most of them were only devised for giving room to garrisons and were only noteworthy for their archaeological aspects (122).

120). Ts.G.A. Uz.S.S.R., Fund 1, list 34, case 813, f. 34; vide also: A. Hamilton, Afghanistan, p. 185-186.
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In order to be able to avoid any transport difficulties in the army, Amir Abdur-Rahman created an army park of transport drivers (123). According to Hamilton’s statement, it numbered 50 thousand mules and horses (124).

Amir Abdur-Rahman paid similar heed to the creation of depots for storing up food and provisions, weapons and ammunition. Depots of such kind were created by him in various cities, forts and strong points (125). In the city of Herat, for instance, there was a storehouse (gudam) containing, according to witnesses’ evidence, such stores of provisions as to suffice for 10 years’ maintenance of the garrison of the city (126). There was an equally big provisions store-house and ammunition depot in the small town of Shadian (near the city of Mazar-i-Sharif). That storehouse contained over 100 thousand batmans of wheat which was yearly renewed in autumn (127).

Amir Abdur-Rahman’s large-scale measures of that kind enabled Afghanistan to raise a strong army that could be equipped with all things necessary for lasting military operations in case of emergency. Amir Abdur-Rahman writes: “In case of need there will be, indeed, full armament, as well as cartridges, shells and other munitions for an army 300,000 men-strong. There are, similarly, forage and provisions storehouses and money reserves; so are the means of conveyance ready for immediate motion” (128).

Amir Abdur-Rahman’s military reform made the Afghan army more efficient, so that it was capable of opposing its might to that of the armies of the most advanced countries. Characterizing the state of Afghanistan’s armed forces at the end of 19th century, the Anglo-Indian paper “The Pioneer Mail” had full ground to state that, even as things were at the time, the fighting capacities of the regular army and tribal militia’s units were great, and, in case of any guerrilla war, the latter might seriously stem the advance of enemy troops (129).

125). Ts. G. A., Uz. S.S.R.: Fund 1 list 34, case 635, f. 25; Fund 2, list 2, case 8, f. 2; Information relating to the countries..., No. XXV, 1901, p. 11.
126). Ts. G. A. Uz. S.S.R., Fund, 1, list 34, case 813, f. 46.
129). Information relating to the countries..., No. XX, August, 1900, p. 38.

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The above review of Afghanistan's armed forces at the end of 19th century enables us to draw some conclusions to the following effect:

Amir Abdur-Rahman's military reform considerably strengthened Afghanistan's armed forces. The Afghan army was given well-shaped structure, and it became more efficient. In Amir Abdur-Rahman's 25-year rule it was mainly rearmed with modern infantry arms, and its artillery-park was replenished with modern samples of guns. The numerical strength of the regular army was almost doubled mainly because of the enforcement of the aforementioned new recruitment system.

The strengthening of the regular army and the increase in its numerical strength reflected the Amir's increased power and the success of the centralization policy he was pursuing.

With the help of the army Amir Abdur-Rahman crushed down the opposition of major feudal lords and brought about political consolidation of the nation. Afghanistan's defensive capacity was likewise increased due to the presence of such a strong army.

In spite of the increase in the numerical strength and efficiency of the Afghan army, it was still backward, as compared with the armed forces of the most advanced European countries. That was accounted for by the standard of Afghanistan's development, prevalence of natural economy and primitive structure of its artisans' corporations remaining its main characteristics for the time being. Engels writes: "Nothing is there just so dependent on condition of economy, as army and navy. Armament, formation, structure, tactics and strategies are directly dependent on the existing standard of the development of production and means of communication" (130).

A L'ETUDE DES MONUMENTS TIMOURIDES D'AFGHANISTAN

Professor G. A. Pougatchenkova

Les monuments architecturaux de l'Afghanistan de l'époque florissante des Timourides jouissent depuis longtemps d'une renommée bien méritée. Cependant, aux côtés des édifices décrits dans les ouvrages scientifiques et populaires, tels par exemple l'ensemble auprès du tombeau d'Abdallah Ansari, les minarets et le mausolée de Gauhar=Shad de l'ensemble de Musalla et les minarets de la médressée du Sultan-Hussein Baikara à Herat, un nombre de monuments du XVe siècle est demeuré jusqu'à présent presque entièrement exclus des recherches historiques et architecturales. Toutefois il ne s'agit pas du tout, malgré l'échelle plus réduite ou un décor moins somptueux que ceux des œuvres de l'architecture timouride précitée, de constructions architecturales secondaires, mais de celles qu'on aurait grand intérêt à mieux connaître en tant qu'œuvres peu ordinaires de l'architecture du XVe siècle, représentant des chaînons distinctifs de son évolution.


Il s'agit d'une salle dont le plan est octogonal, qui comporte aux axes principaux de profondes niches rectangulaires, et aux axes diagonaux des niches en semi-octogones. L'intérieur des voûtes en briques des niches est garni à son tour de voûtes décoratives en granit, de trois versions différentes. Elle constitue un système de voûtes d'un réseau de pendentifs et d'arêtes s'entrecroisant (vues en plan ils se projettent en formant des figures étoilées), qui forme une transition vers un plafonnier presque horizontal; les angles étant garnis de stalactites sculptées.

Le toit de la salle proprement-dite est formé par une double enveloppe de coupole en briques. La transition de l'octogone à la coupe en ellipsoïde rabassée de la coupole intérieure est formé par un système à quatre étages de pendentifs et d'arcs nervurés entrecroisés. C'est tout d'abord une succession de gros réseaux de pendentifs et d'enveloppes de voûtes partant du polygone à seize cotés, les angles garnis de stalactites et des petites fenêtres aménagées aux axes diagonal de la salle. Au dessus ce sont deux rangées de réseaux de pendentifs s'aménisant progressivement. Ensuite une couronne de stalactites et la coupe de la coupole. Les projections horizontales de la couverture sont obtenues sans peine.
en plan en partant des rayons et étoilest à seize branches s’entrecroisant. L’art de l’architecte consistait à les transposer avec maîtrise dans l’espace par un ensemble de formes curvilignes.

Le dôme sphéroconique extérieur se dresse au-dessus de l’octogone soutenu par un tambour symétrique élancé. Son sommet est en appareil à deux rangées et demie de briques au talon, et il va se réduisant au centre à l’épaisseur d’une seule brique. La rigidité de l’ensemble et les jonctions entre le dôme extérieur et la coupole intérieure sont assurées à l’intérieur du tambour par huit soutiens en briques. Ces soutiens sont armées aux différents niveaux par des poutrelles qui formaient des éléments de l’échafaudage à la construction du tambour et du dôme, et qui furent ensuite sciées au ras des appareils de maçonnerie, à l’exception des deux poutres supérieures croisées servant par surcroît à des buts antisismiques.

La coupole est garnie de briques glaçurées bleu-bleu, tandis qu’en bas elle est entourée sur le pourtour d’un dessin blanc “madokhîl” sur fond bleu qui comporte à l’assise une rangée de stalactites en majoliques de quatre couleurs différentes. Les revêtements du tambour sont en briques poncées recouvertes de briquettes bleu-bleu, bleues et blanches vitrifiées, formant une inscription koufique monumentale. Plus de la moitié de celle-ci a disparu mais par chance, du côté ouest, la date de l’Hégire y demeure, formée par des caractères pas trop grands de chiffres et lettres arabes géométrisés: — “En l’an 844”, c’est à dire 1440/I de notre ère. La date que nous avions située à la première visite du monument, en juxtaposant les données stylistiques et historiques, aux années 30 du XVe s. (mais pas avant 1432) a donc reçu sa confirmation irréfutable.
Les bas des murs sont garnis à l'intérieur de panneaux qui dans le mausolée principal sont en carreaux de kashis décorés, de couleurs bleue turquoise et bleu-lapis avec sur l'émail de la peinture murale or; dans le petit mausolée et la mosquée ils sont en petits cubes de terre cuite contournés de bandes de kashis. Au-dessus vient un crépi de gantch blanc portant dans le mausolée des peintures murales. Une bande d'inscriptions en écriture suls (lettres blanches sur fond bleu) passe à la base des pendentifs, sur les stalactites qui remplissent les niches sont peintes en bleu sur fond blanc de légères dessins de fleurs et des paysages miniatures avec arbres et arbustes, tandis que dans le décor des réseaux de pendentifs, sous les coupoles, on trouve des éléments élégants du genre vignettes, rencontrés dans des manuscrits timourides.

Un détail intéressant a pu être décelé sur la face nord de l'octogone. Son socle est formé en bas par des dalles de pierres surmontées d'appareils de maçonnerie en briques. Et c'est ici, dans l'axe principal du bâtiment qu'on a trouvé une échancrure rectangulaire s'enfonçant en profondeur. Il s'agit-là sans aucun doute d'un conduit de ventilation qui aboutit apparemment dans une crypte. Des conduits identiques sont déjà connus, par exemple dans les mausolées timourides de Samarcande: le Gour-Emir et l'Ishrat-khané Ainsi le mausolée de Kohsan possède sa propre crypte dont les fouilles archéologiques apporteront sans conteste des données nouvelles à l'histoire de ce remarquable monument.

Les formes architecturales et les détails du mausolée de Gauhar-Shad pris chacun séparément trouvent de nombreuses analogies dans l'art architectural oriental timouride de la première moitié du XVe siècle. Le mausolée-rotonde octogonal de l'époque d'Ulugh-Beg s'inscrit dans l'ensemble de Shahi-Zindé de Samarcande. Les proportions de la coupole et du tambour entouré d'une inscription en gros caractères kufiques rapproche le mausolée de Kohsan de celui de Kazy-Zadé Roumi de Shahi-Zindé (aux environs de 1467) et du makbarat des descendants d'Ulugh Beg à Shahr-é-Sabz (1437/38). Les deux monuments précités, ainsi que les mausolées de Bibi-Khanum et de Tuman-Aka de Samarcande (tous les deux de 1405) ont conservé des traces de paysages en peintures murales bleues sur fond blanc, analogues à ceux qui décorent les stalactites du mausolée de Gauhar-Shad. Toutes les décorations en carreaux du monument de Kohsan ont également été exécutées conformément aux traditions du carrelage décoratif, des écoles de Herat et de Samarcande du XVe siècle.

Cependant le mausolée de Gauhar-Shad de Kohsan pris dans son ensemble est inédit et unique en son genre. Et c'est justement cet art de rénover en partant d'un ensemble de formes traditionnelles qui constitue la source créatrice placant le mausolée de Kohsan au rang des œuvres les plus originales de l'architecture timouride.
Masjd-i-Hauz-i-Karboz de Herat: Une petite mosquée de quartier Masjd-i-Hauz-i-Karboz dans la banlieue de Herat n’aurait pas attiré l’attention par son aspect extérieur. Elle est dissimulée derrière une haute enceinte. Une courette l’entoure, avec un bassin-hauz (qui est à l’origine du nom du monument) vers lequel est orienté son aïwan à cinq travées d’ares sur colonnes massives avec un mihrab à l’ouest. Cet aïwan, tout comme le mur d’enceinte, l’appareil de maçonnerie en briques du hauz et le pavé de la courette, sont d’origine récente. Mais la partie close d’hiver de la mosquée date du XVe s.

Sa section initiale était constituée par un local s’allongeant dans l’axe nord-sud, réparti par des arcs de renforcement en enfilade, en trois compartiments communiquant entre eux. Ils sont couverts de coupole elliptiques bombées sur arcs et réseaux de pendentifs assurant la transition vers une étoile à douze branches de support de la coupole du compartiment, et vers une étoile à huit branches des sections latérales. Un splendide mihrab en mosaïques avec inscriptions coraniques en caractères suls,
portant des décorations végétales et géométriques, ainsi que des vases garnis de bouquets de fleurs, s'est conservé sur le mur ouest. Sur le mur opposé on trouve un panneau rectangulaire en mosaïques portant la date de la construction,—l'année 845 de l'Hégire, soit 1441/42, époque du gouvernement de Shah Rokh.

Les murs et les couvertures de la mosquée avaient été crépis au gantch de tons chauds qui a presque totalement disparu. C'est seulement dans le soffite de l'un des deux arcs de renforcement que l'on aperçoit des vestiges de l'ancienne décoration—un "guirikh" en relief exécuté par le procédé "kyrma", c'est à dire en double couche de gantch avec dessins découps dans la couche extérieure. Le "kyrma" est également connu dans certains autres monuments du milieu du XVe siècle, la médressée Guiassiyé de Hargidr (1444), la mosquée d'Anaou (1456), bien qu'il ne soit largement répandu que depuis le XVIe s. à Mawar al-Nahr (khanakah Faïzabad de Boukhara et mausolée Langar-ata de Langar)

Au cours de reconstructions ultérieures la mosquée d'hiver fut allongée vers le nord, d'une nouvelle travée à coupole recouverte de voûte "balkhi" et crépie de gantch blanc.

La Masджidi-Hauzi-Karboz est un rare exemple des mosquées de guzar (de quartier) de villes timourides existant encore de nos jours. On ne connaît pour l'instant en Afghanistan parmi les constructions d'âge voisinant le sien, qu'une mosquée de guzara, celle de Chehel-Sutun de Ziarat-goh près de Herat, qui fut construite aux environs de 1510. Elle comprend également unaïwan d'été et une section d'hiver, mais elle en diffère quelque
peu quant à son plan, du genre des constructions de soutien des coupoles, portant sur des murs et des piles, ainsi que par le caractère du décor. L'enfilade à trois sections de la mosquéeMasdjid-I-Hauzi-Karboz présente des analogies avec certaines mosquées d'offices funèbres de Samarcande, à côté du mausolée de Tuman-Aka (1405), et auprès de la ziarat-khanéh de Kussam ibn-Abbas (milieu du XVe s.) à Shahi-Zindé. Mais là ces mosquées ne constituent que des éléments d'un vaste ensemble architectural. Masdjid-I-Hauzi-Karboz représente une construction d'une composition à part, un édifice du culte de dimensions réduites, de proportions, formes architecturales et décorations très élégantes destiné à l'origine au service quotidien de la communauté du guzar.

**Mausolée Sheikh zádé Abdallah de Herat:** Au nord de Herat, face à un parc moderne, avec minaret et le mausolée Gauhar-Shad, au fond d'une ruelle s'élève le mausolée Sheikhzadé Abdallah. Il renferme le tombeau de cette personne respectable décédée en l'an 134 de l'Hégire, soit en 751/52. A en juger par ses particularités architecturales, le monument date du XVe siècle.

La composition de ce monument est particulièrement originale. Il s'étend d'est en ouest et il est accentué par un portail dont partent des ailes latérales. Dans l'aile gauche est ménagée une mosquée allongée, avec saillies des arcs de renforcement et mihrab au mur de l'est; l'aile de droite contient des locaux annexes et l'escalier menant sur le toit. L'entrée centrale communique avec la salle principale où derrière une barrière s'élève un grand cénotaphe. La salle est octogonale. Aux axes principaux se trou-
vent des niches rectangulaires et aux diagonaux des niches semi-octogonales à l’est, et des sections à espaces ouverts à l’ouest, formant une sorte de faisceau de trois niches semi-octogonales. Un passage séparé par une grille, inaccessible au visiteur, mène de la salle dans un local rectangulaire.

C’est la salle principale qui présente le plus d’intérêt quant à sa conception. Son octogone est recouvert par huit arcs de renforcement dont part tout un système d’arcs plein cintre entrecroisés, et deux rangées de pendentifs formés entre les arcs, dont la configuration rappelle les pétales d’une énorme fleur. Ils assurent la transition vers un socle en étoile à 32
branches d'une coupole bombée et lancéolée légèrement effilée au sommet, la coupole porte extérieurement sur un tambour dodécagonal.

L'entrée du mausolée est accentuée par un portail. Le chanfrein à 45° des ailes latérales adjacentes et les loggias semi-octogonales qui y sont ménagées forment la composition de la façade principale, développée dans l'espace et non plane comme on en voit habituellement. Il y a sur dans l'espace et non plane comme on en voit habituellement. Il y a sur les faces latérales, dans l'axe de la salle, une voûte profonde dans le pignonchoïdes semi-octogonales en plan.

Pour le décor architectural des façades on a recouru à de la brique taillée jointoyée; au portail et dans les tympans, les voûtes et les niches—a' des mosaiques de kash is. L'effet majeur était obtenu par la décoration initiale de la voûte du portail (à moitié recouverte d'une sculpture de mauvais goût en vignettes, plus récente) qui comprend de la mosaique d'ornements floraux et végétaux formant soit des panneaux entiers, soit des insertions dans des figures géométriques.

L'intérieur de la salle principale a été décoré d'un panneau en mosaiques surmonté jusqu'au sommet de la coupole par une riche peinture murale. L'un et l'autre ont malheureusement été cachés au cours des restaurations récentes, par des arabesques de mauvais goût peintes avec de la peinture à l'huile.

Le caractère du revêtement en briques non taillées jointoyées et le style des mosaiques qui se rapproche le plus du décor de la médressée d'Ulugh Beg à Samarcande (1417-1420) d'une part, la conception intérieure de la salle sous la coupole, apparentée à celle de la couverture du mausolée Gauhar-Shad de Kohsan (1440/41) d'autre part, permettent de situer l'origine du monument de Herat entre les années 20 et 40 du XVe siècle. On procédait à ce moment-là à Herat à d'importants travaux de construction portant sur l'embellissement de la capitale. La piété poussé de Shah-Rokh s'y reflétait par l'édification de la restauration d'une nombre considérable de bâtiments du culte islamique. Le monument du lieu d'inhumation de Shaikhzade Abdallah en faisait manifestement partie. C'est probablement lui qui figure chez Kwandémir dans la liste récapitulative des bâtiments de Herat du XVe siècle sous le titre de “bâtiment auprès du lieu d'inhumation de l'émir Abdullah”.

trouve également des restaurations toutes récentes de la décoration. Le portail et la coupole extérieure de l'édifice sont dans un état de décrépi-tude avancée.

La mosquée Abu-Nasr Parsa a déjà trouvée sa place dans les ouvrages scientifiques et cependant ses caractéristiques architecturales et constructives y sont à peine traitées.

L'édifice contient une salle carrée pourvue de trois entrées aux axes. Extérieurement la mosquée est en octogone. Elle est orientée à kiblèh,
un grand portail est ménagé sur la façade nord-est. Aux axes principaux de l'octogone il y a des niches rectangulaires profondes, aux tranches il ya des niches semi-octogonales, et aux jointures—des faces des colonnettes arrondies encastrées. Des escaliers à vis sont ménagés aux angles. Il y a également une crypte souterraine en forme de croix où l'on peut accéder par des marches qui partent de la niche sud-est. A en juger par ce qui subsiste des murs et par des photos anciennes, il y avait des annexes de constructions plus récentes attenant à la mosquée sur la droite et sur la gauche.

Le matériau de construction est de la brique cuite de 27 x 27 x 5 cm liée au mortier de gantch. La couverture de la salle principale porte sur un ensemble de quatre arcs de renforcement et des réseaux de pendentifs soutenant une couronne de pendentifs maillés, percée de seize fenêtres au-dessus desquelles s'élève le sommet bombardé de la coupole intérieure. La coupole extérieure, d'un profil fortement lanciolé, décorée de 48 “gaufres” arrondies, est posée sur un tambour cylindrique avec corniche en stalactites. Des soutiens radiales sont ménagées à l'intérieur du tambour. La crypte est recouverte d'une couple à peine bombardée, portant sur quatre arcs et réseaux de pendentifs intermédiaires; au cours de l'une des révisions, un vilain pilier massif a été construit à son centre.

La façade principale de la mosquée resort nettement grâce à la symétrie biaxiale de son plan. Elle est soulignée par un portail élevé qui remplirait en même temps le rôle d'un énorme mihrab formant l'encadrement monumental de la soufa avec pierres tombales. Le portail est très élancé, à voûte ogivale, encadré d'une inscription koufique, surplombé d'une arcature-revaq (actuellement effondrée); les angles sont garnis de colonnes.

La façade principale le tambour et les couples sont richement décorés de carreaux, de mosaïques en briques d’un fin dessin géométrique et de mosaïques sculptées de kashis de caractère floral, végétal et épiigraphique. Les carreaux sont excellents quant à leur coloris et à la finesse de leurs ramages, mais le procédé particulier de leur fixation est largement responsable de la chute de surfaces importantes des revêtements. En effet on y avait fixé à la maçonnerie brute, sur une épaisse couche de crépi de gantch, des demi-briques posées aussi bien sur champ que sur plat, formant une sorte de grille; à celles-ci on avait scellé au mortier de gantch, soit des carrés taillés dans assemblages de briques, soit des surfaces recouvertes d’arabesques de mosaïques de kashis. Dans le revêtement du tambour et de la coupole on trouve bon nombre de majoliques grossières provenant de travaux de réparation.

L’intérieur de la mosquée est très élancé et clair. Les panneaux et la mihrab sont revêtus de mosaïques, le tout surmonté de crépi de gantch blanc. Seules les arêtes des arcs et des pendentifs en gantch au-dessus des couples, sont contournés au rouge-foncé ou au noir, tandis qu’au niveau de la couple, les pendentifs-stalactites et les jointures radiales du som-
met du dôme sont recouverts d’ornements légers en cartouches façonnées par des motifs végétaux. Les fenêtres sont garnies de grilles en ramous cellulaires, des pandjaras.


C’est dix ans plus tard qu’il nous a été donné d’examiner plus en détails ce monument architectural en état de décrépitude avancé, mais très intéressant.

Le bâtiment est porté par une fondation en maçonnerie de grosses pierres non taillées atteignant un mètre et demi aux parties découverts du côté sud. Les murs et les massifs d’angles sont garnis extérieurement d’un revêtement de briques cuites (de 22-23 x 22-23 x 4, 5 cm et 25-26 x 25—26 x 5 cm) liées au mortier d’argile et remplies intérieurement de briques cassées et d’argile. Les voûtes et la coupole sont également liées au mortier d’argile. C’est là l’une des raisons du mauvais état du monument, car dans la zone de secousses sismiques fréquentes, le mortier de terre glaise s’avère insuffisamment plastique. L’autre raison est liée à l’intervention de l’homme: les autochtones se souviennent encore du temps où l’on récupérait les briques pour des besoins personnels, ce qui a réduit les maçonneries en tas informe de briques cassées. Néanmoins ce qui subsiste a permis de reconstituer la composition initiale du mausolée.

Le mausolée est orienté aux quatre points cardinaux. Le plan en est parfaitement symétrique, mais apparemment l’entrée principale avait été orientée au sud où passait la route. Le mausolée comprend une salle en croix, mais de l’extérieur il est octogonal. Il y avait à chacun de ses principaux axes un aïwan à voûte profonde en ogive et des contre-murs décorés d’arceaux muraux allongés des cadres rectangulaire tandis que sur les faces diagonales de l’octogone des niches semi-octogonales avaient été ménagées. La couverture est constituée par une couple bombée de quatre
briques d'épaisseur au talon, qui va en s'amincissant au sommet à une seule brique. À l'extérieur il y a un tambour octogonal de hauteur réduite dont la transition depuis l'octogone principal est assurée par une couche de maçonnerie d'un mètre d'épaisseur en blocs de pierre brute.

La couple porte à l'intérieur sur un ensemble de quatre arcs de renforcement et réseau des pendentifs formant en projection horizontale un entre-lacement de polygones à 24 angles.
Les façades extérieures du mausolée sont crépies au gantch de couleurs chaudes légèrement jaunâtres. Le bas panneau intérieur est peint en rouge sombre. Des panneaux rectangulaires renfoncés qui portent encore des traces d’ornements bleus sur fond blanc y sont ménagés. Aux murs, sur les voûtes et la couple on voit encore des restants de peintures murales étonnamment belles sur fond blanc à la peinture bleue et par endroits rouge, ainsi que des dorures; quelquefois les ornements sont à marge, les arabesques blanches demeurant sur fond bleu. Cette peinture est d’un style ornemental raffiné. Aux murs, aux soffites des arcs et des pendentifs prédominent des motifs végétaux stylisés, la couple est coupée par des arêtes décoratives en huit secteurs convergant au sommet en étoile dans laquelle s’inscrit une couronne simptueuse et les espaces entre les arêtes sont garnis de cartouches ovées.

La date d’édification du mausolée peut être fixée d’après son style architectural et celui de son décor pictural, au dernier tiers du XVe siècle. Son plan est analogue à celui de la mosquée Abu-Nasr Parsa où l’on a également eu recours à réseau des pendentifs mais d’une autre configuration. Les motifs des ornements floraux rappellent dans le monument de Ghazni, la peinture murale ornementale d’Aq-Serail de Samarcande (troisième moitié du XVe s.). Les briques cuites sont de deux dimensions identiques à celles du mausolée Momo-Sharifon liées au mortier d’argile, elles ont été également utilisées dans un autre monument de Ghazni, le Tombeau d’Ulugh Beg et d’Abd-ar-Rezak, édifié à la limite des XVe et XVe ss.

Les habitants de Ghazni appellent le mausolée qui vient d’être décrit tantôt Shah-Shahid (Le Shah Martyr), tantôt Momo-Sharifon ("La Noble Grand-Mère"). Cette dernière désignation est apparemment rapport avec l’épitaphe gravée sur l’une des pierres tombales au-dessus du mausolée où le nom d’une femme est inscrit. Il est évident que le bâtiment est un véritable mausolée érigé à l’intention des plus nobles représentantes de la maison des Timourides locaux. Ghazni faisait partie, de 1460/61 jusqu’à 1501/2, du fief d’Ulugh Beg, fils d’Abou-Saïd et c’est à cette époque que le mausolée avait pu être édifié à l’intention des femmes de son harem, de ses sœurs et de ses filles, comme en 1469 la femme d’Abou-Saïd, Habiba Sultan-Béguem, a édifié à Samarcande le tombeau destiné aux femmes et aux enfants de la maison locale des Timourides (appelé mausolée d’Ishrat=Khaneh. Ainsi parmi les deux noms populaires, il serait plus exact d’appliquer celui de Momo-Sharifon.

Le plan du mausolée est similaire, comme on l’a déjà souligné, à celui de la mosquée Abu-Nasr Parsa de Balkh, mais sa composition volumique et spatiale est tout autre. Et c’est ce qui constitue l’un des traits distinctifs de l’architecture du Moyen-Orient où les architectes se basaient és-
sentiellement sur les projections horizontales du plan, mais en répartissant de manières différentes les formes verticales, en variant les rapports des hauteurs et en modifiant respectivement la composition des volumes et des masses. Ils atteignaient ainsi des solutions inédites même lorsqu’au départ les schémas des plans étaient identiques.

l'Hégire=1621/22. Pourtant, à l'angle sud-ouest de la Khanekah il y une pierre tombale et une stèle en marbre jaunâtre couvertes de gravures ornementales et épigraphiques merveilleuses, qui mentionnent "l'impecable et équitable vizir Hadj Djela=ed=Din Muzaffar..." et où est donnée la date son décès à muharrem en l'an 889 de l'Hégire=1484. Ainsi la Khanekah avait été construite avant cette date puisque l'inhumation avait eu lieu à côté de l'édifice qui existait déjà à l'époque.
La Khanekah est orientée aux quatre points cardinaux (ses dimensions sont de 16,70 x 14,60 m), la façade principale est celle du sud. Elle possède une vaste salle centrale carrée (de 6,83 x 6,83 m) qui était jadis recouverte d’une couple. Aux axes de la salle il y a quatre baies et quatre aîwans en voûte au centre des façades; des deux côtés des aîwans, des loggias à étage. Aux angles de l’étage inférieur sont ménagées des houdjras rectangulaires, et à l’angle sud-ouest il y a également un escalier. Le plan de l’étage supérieur est absolument inédit. Ici, des couloirs étroits flanqués de baies des fenêtres dans les pignons des aîwans suivent tout le pourtour de la salle tandis qu’à chaque angle du bâtiment se trouve une houdjra en pentagone régulier avec sorties sur les loggias.

Les Khanekah est construite en briques cuites (de 26 x 26 x 5 cm). Les appareils de maçonnerie sont liés au mortier de l’argile de très bonne qualité, parfaitement durci par le temps, et les appareils des voûtes sont liés au gantch. L’extérieur et les intérieurs sont revêtus des mêmes briques, mais soigneusement taillées (aux cotes de 24-25 x 24-25 x 4, 5 cm) entre lesquelles les joints sont soit creux, soit incrustés de bandes de kashis bleues et bleu-clair. Les tymans des aîwans sont formés par des mosaïques de kashis qui ne subsistent qu’en petits fragments.

Dans ce bâtiment de formes réduites les voûtes de recouvrement sont variées. Celles des aîwans sont en accolades en appareil de briques radia-
les. Les arcs des loggias sont plus élancés, les niches de l’étage inférieur sont recouvertes de conques, tandis que celles de l’étage supérieur le sont de semicoupoles portées par un système de réseaux de pendentifs. La coupole de la salle principale s’est effondrée; il n’en reste que des arcs muraux et des voûtes d’angles jointives, et entre les deux, des saillies de nervures en brique et des réseaux de pendentifs. Dans les houjras de l’étage inférieur on a recouru à des voûtes jointives “les Balkhi”. Les houjras pentagonales de l’étage supérieur étaient apparemment recouvertes de petites coupole n’existent plus aujourd’hui. Au-dessus des couloirs il y a de petites voûtes “en tronccon” et au-dessus des marches de l’escalier c’est une voûte “rampante.”

La khanekah de Sard=Sadr=Din Armani complète nos idées sur la typologie des édifices de ce genre du XVe siècle. Parmi les rares bâtiments qui existent de nos jours on compte la khanekah à une seule coupole auprès du mausolée d’Abdi-Darun de Samarcande (première moitié du XVe s.); la khanekah à une seule coupole et à deux portails auprès du mausolée de Hakimi at-Tarmizi de Termez (début du XVe s.); la Zarinigar khanekah de l’ensemble auprès du tombeau d’Abdallah=Ansari de Herat (1499) de forme allongée, avec dans l’axe principal un vaste vestibule carrée, une salle de réunion carrée, un ensemble de trois pièces et des escaliers incorporés aux massifs des murs.

La khanekah de Sadr=Din ne s’apparente à ces monuments que par la salle principale à coupole—la souma’a, destinée aux rencontres, aux entretiens et aux autres rites de soufi. Pour le reste elle représente un autre type de composition d’un édifice à quatre aïwans avec une haute salle à coupole au centre et deux étages de houjras d’angles. L’architectonique de toutes ces façades est déterminée par la juxtaposition des vastes voûtes des aïwans et des loggias-niches à étage. Une solution est également appliquée dans une khanekah du XV e s. située à 25 km au sud-ouest de Herat, au cimetière proche de Ziaratgoh, connu sous le nom de Mullokalian. A en juger par de vieilles photographies, une autre khanekah du XV e siècle auprès du mausolée d’Abou-Said de Meana (au Turkménistan du Sud) presque inexistante de nos jours, lui est également analogue.

Des compositions de ce genre, aussi bien quant au plan qu’au volume et à l’espace, ont également été appliquées dans l’édification de mausolées, comme par exemple dans les deux tombeaux des khans, celui du timouride Yunus-Khan (fin du XV e s.) et du cheibanide Soyunidj-Khan à Tachkent (1531/32).

La khanekah de Sadr=Din Armani diffère des bâtiments précités par les plans totalement inédits de l’étage supérieur, des couloirs périphériques, des houjras et des et loggias. Ces édifice de dimensions relativement réduites et modeste quant à la décoration, construit dans le cime-
tière rural d’un des “bouluks” de Herat, témoigne des recherches incessantes dont toute l’architecture du Khurasan du XVe s. est empreinte.

Kush Rabat Sur l’antique voie qui menait autrefois de Herat à Mery, là où de nos jours la belle route asphaltée de Kouchka à Herat serpente également, grimpant entre les d’hiver, deux édifices à demi en ruines ap-

pelés Houch-Rabat. On explique ce nom par le microclimat exceptionnel de l’endroit (Houch” le bon) mais en réalité, comme l’a établi L. Gohonbek, cela nousait précédemment comme Kouch-Rabat (“Rabat de Faucon”), en rapport avec l’activité de bâtisseur du chef de la “koushkhanéh timouride, le tout-puissant émir Shoudja ad Din Muhammed, de la tribue des Barlas; Dans le document de vaf qu’il a légué héritage au tombeau d’Abdallah Ansari, parmi d’autres dons est également mentionné Kouch-Rabat, qui fut donc bâti au cours du dernier tiers du XVe siècle, entre l’an-
née de la première élévation de cet émir (1472) et la date de l’établisse-
ment du vaf (1500).

Les bâtiments ne datent pas de la même époque, mais l’un d’entre eux sans conteste du XVe siècle. Il est dans un état de décrépitude avancée, endroits les sections initiales n’y existent plus, certaines parties ont été reconstruites récemment, toutefois il a dans l’ensemble conservé son ori-
gine timouride.

Kouch-Rabat est rectangulaire (91 x 72 m), son axe longitudinal est orienté presque au nord (avec une faible déviation de près de 15° vers l’
est), la façade principale donne sur la route. Le matériau de construction
Monuments Timourides D'Afghanistan

-est de l'excellente brique cuite de couleur cerise (25,6-26 x x 25,6-26 x 5,5 cm) faites avec des argiles rouges locales; la maçonnerie est liée au mortier de gantch avec abondante addition de sable de rivière à gros grâins. Dans certains locaux on trouve des restants de crêpis de gantch provenant surtout des réparations.

Kouch-Rabat a une cour rectangulaire s'allongeant à travers le bâtiment. L'entrée initiale (actuellement murée) qui se trouvait au centre de la façade menait dans un vaste vestibule-tchahar-tak. De là on accédait à droite dans une galerie qui contournait en L les ailes nord-ouest et nord du bâtiment, mais qui était isolée de la cour, tandis que par la passage central et l'aiwan on atteignait la cour. Dans l'axe de la cour, du côté opposé, s'élève également un aiwan et derrière lui une mosquée à coupole. La totalité de l'aile sud et des ailes sud est et ouest contenait des houdjras allongées avec accès du côté de la cour; des vestiges d'arcs transversaux le long de leurs murs extérieurs permettent de supposer qu'il y avait une galerie ouverte formée par les murs et des colonnes devant les houdjras. Dans les murs extérieurs des houdjras sont ménagées des ouvertures en fentes s'élargissant vers l'intérieur, qui servaient aussi bien à l'éclairage et à la ventilation du local, qu'éventuellement d'embrasure de tir.

Les houdjras sont recouvertes de voûtes en ogive tronconiquées. Une vaste pièce fortement enfumée attire l'attention dans l'aile sud-ouest; c'est apparemment un réfectoire commun ou un salon-mehmankhan. Là-dedans, par l'aménagement de quatre niches droites aux axes principaux et de quatre niches semi-octogonales aux axes diagonaux, la transition à l'octogone est d'abord assurée, et ensuite, au moyen de huit réseaux de pendentifs, à la coupe légèrement bombée de la couple. La couverture de la mosquée est originale. Au-dessus d'un carré (de 7, 85 x 7, 85 m) s'élèvent un réseau de pendentifs, des panneaux de voûtes et des nervures en relief formant au sommet l'étoile à huit branches d'une coupole de dimensions réduites. L'intérieur est allongé à la verticale et il se distingue par un effet acoustique particulier, car le son y est renforcé et devient retentissant.

La galerie du pourtour nord-est de la cour est couverte d'arcs de renforcement soutenus par des colonnes accolées au mur et couverte d'une suite de coupoles dont chacune porte sur une paire d'arcs cités, sur les sections transversales d'arcs en pendentifs, et sur quatre réseaux de pendentifs. Une ouverture est ménagée au centre des couple pour l'éclairage et la ventilation. Les toits des galeries et des houdjras sont presque plats, ce qui permettait de les utiliser à la saison chaude et pour les besoins de la défense, car les rabats servaient souvent, non seulement d'abris pour les caravanes, mais aussi de casernement de troupes. Cela explique également qu'on ait introduit
dans les éléments architecturaux certains traits particuliers purement empreints à des fortifications, tels des tours. A Kouch-Rabat les angles sont flanqués de tours rondes (de 4,30 à 4,60m de diamètre), les murs sont coupés en leur milieu de demi-tours et l'entrée est accentuée de saillies de tours carrées.

L'architecture de Kouch-Rabat est monumentale et simple. Elle répond à la destination fonctionnelle du bâtiment lui-même. Les jonctions architecturales ne font ressortir que la façade principale de l'est dont les ailes sont coupées en arcs en ogive muraux encadrés. La facture de briques rouges, avec introduction modérée de décorations également en briques prédomine en tout. Tels sont les appareils de maçonnerie en arêtes de poisson dans les remplissages des aiwans de la cour et les appareils de maçonnerie façonnés dans le fini des saillies en tours carrées de l'entrée principale.

Du côté sud, en s'écartant quelque peu de la ligne rouge du Kouch-Rabat timouride, un autre rabat lui est presque contigu, mais il ne nous a pas été donné d'étudier son plan. Il est en briques d'autres dimensions (26-27 x 12-27 x 6-6, 5 cm) liées au mortier de gantch avec faible addition de sable. Le bâtiment est rectangulaire, couvert d'un grand nombre de petites coupole de dimensions identiques, portées par des arcs de renforcement reliant des colonnes rectangulaires massives et par des pendentifs triangulaires qui divergent entre elles en éventail, trois par trois. Une telle conception est exceptionnellement rare dans l'architecture de l'Orient asiatique. En tant qu'analogies peu nombreuses on peut citer la Karatai-Médressé à Konia (1251/52) et la mosquée Tuba Khan à Apchéron (1482), mais ici les maçonneries sont en pierre et non en briques. Dans le “dikhilz” du mausolée d'Abdallah Ansari de Herat, on voit pendentifs jumelés, toutefois, la peinture murale qui recouvre le dikhilz étant
Monuments Timourides D'Afghanistan

d'origine plus récente, il ne paraît pas exclus que cette construction soit due elle aussi à l'une des réparations.

En ce qui concerne Kouch-Rabat, édifié par Madj=ed= Din=Mouammed, certains de ses travaux en appellent aux traditions de constructions prémongole. Tels sont les appareils de maçonnerie en arêtes de poisson qu'on appliquait avec virtuosité aux Xie-XIIe siècles, mais en comparaison desquels ceux de Kouch-Rabat sont déjà simplifiés et plus secs. De tels appareils étaient quelquefois utilisés également dans l'architecture timouride—dans la khanekah du XVe siècle auprès du mausolée Hakimi at-Tarmez et dans la médressée édifiée à Merv par Ali Shir Navoi. Le système à nervures et pendentifs de la coupole de la mosquée de Kouch-Rabat remonte aux procédés architecturaux du XIIe s. Il s'apparente à celui des coupoles du mausolée Sandjar de Merv, et du bâtiment principal de la mosquée d'offices funèbres à Turbeti—Sheikh—Djam. Mais le restant des couvertures en voûtes de Kouch-Rabat, surtout dans la galerie et dans la mikhman-khan appartiennent aux conceptions élaborées au XVe siècle. Les traits nouveaux apparaissent le plus clairement dans le plan de ce monument—dans son tracé axial-transversal, dans le procédé d'emplacement des groupes de travail, d'habitation et publics, différents de ceux des caravansérails plus anciens connus jusque là. Kouch-Rabat représente sous cet aspect une solution inédite parfaitement rationnelle de construction locale traditionnelle d'ouvrages de génie civil moyenâgeux.


Une variété de constructions en voûtes et en couples dont le développ e-ment basé sur de nouvelles idées techniques, constituant en général le trait dominant de l'architecture timouride y apparaît. Ils complètent les notions sur le répertoire d'une extrême richesse d'un décor architectural qui ici, fournit souvent de nouvelles versions de revêtements en carreaux et de peintures murales autres que celles précédemment connues.

Ces monuments méritent d'occuper une place d'importance dans l'his- toire de l'architecture de l'Afghanistan.
The Background and the Beginning of the Afghan Press System: Part ten

By Mohammad Kazem Ahang.

Setaara-i-Afghan:

Among the papers in the provinces of Afghanistan one was named Setaara-i-Afghan (1) which was published in Parwan. The paper, appeared for the first time in 1920 (1299) in Jabalosseraj of Kohistan, Parwan. Its chief editor and copy editor was Mr. Mir Gholam Mohammad-al-Hosaini. (2)

The first issue of the paper, had an editorial entitled “Introductory Article,” in which the editor of the paper explained his newspaper writing as follows:

This servant of the nation, on the basis of the king’s valuable ideologies and on the basis of the fact that I consider the service of the people to be my national duty, so I have started publishing the paper - Setaara-i- Afghan. I am pleased to say that the place where this paper is publishing is the beautiful and pleasant area of Kohistan, whose delicious and sweet fruits are sold throughout all India and Afghanistan and whose delightful gardens and wonderful scenery with its fragrant breezes arouse the happiness and wonder of visitors. It is a place whose inhabitants are honest, brave, good nationalists who like their king very much. These are the values among the people of this area with which all visitors become familiar. I decided to publish this paper, to a degree,

1) Thirty issues of the paper exist in the library of Kabul University.
2) Now known as Ghobaar
Giving regard to the people's local dialect. In the the content of my paper I would prefer simplicity rather than ambiguity and complexity. By this, I hope that the people of this area would understand and use its content usefully. I do not want to trouble myself putting incomprehensible words after each other while forgetting the national dialect.

The above quotes, besides showing the writing policy of the editor, show some peculiarities of the area and its people, e.g., braveness of its people, abundance of fruits etc.

In the view of the editor of Setaara-i Afghan the most important factor in newspaper writing is the way and method of its writing style, that it be simple and similar to the people's language. He has clearly said that complex articles far from the dialect of the people of this area, would not get published in the paper.

The editor of Setaara-i Afghan has expressed his idea in the same article as follows:

Akhbaar (news) is the plural of Khabar (information) and is the opposite of being uninformed. Awareness purifies the mind and when the mind becomes purified then a human becomes truly human.

He suggested that newspaper reading would make people aware of religion, good and evil. Further-more newspaper reading would show them how to organize their lives within a society. All in all, newspaper reading is the same habit as eating and drinking, and "nowadays one fourth of the world is being conquered by the newspaper." And this was why the editor of Setaara-i Afghan said that he started publishing this paper.

The content of Setaara-i Afghan was comprised of feature articles, news, literature, scientific articles, governmental advertisements etc. Its content, from the view points of Afghan nationalism, development of the country, fortification of belief and thought, consisted of useful articles and information. In different issues of this paper articles such as "What was the concord of Islam?" "Home", "Bravery", "Agriculture" etc. were seen.

Beginning with number 12 a series of informative articles, entitled "scientific debates" on different topics appeared in the paper. The first article in this series had as its subject the bank note, the cause of its advent, its use, and other aspects of the bank note.
The columns on home news and foreign news were published in all issues of the paper. For example, the first issue of the paper carried a news item about the transfer of the government offices from Chaar-i-kaar to Jabalosseraj. Another news item was on the transfer of the military officer of Jabalosseraj. And a third news item was about the appointment of the Iranian Ambassador to the court of Kabul. This last news item was acquired from the paper *Ettefaq-i Islam*, which was published in Heraat, i.e.:

“The Iranian government has appointed His Excellency, Mr. Majdol-Molk as ambassador of Iran to the Court of Kabul, Afghanistan. He will come to Afghanistan through Mashhad.”

*Setaara-i Afghan’s* domestic news was gathered not only by its own reporters but also acquired from the papers of other provinces. *Amaan-i Afghan, Ettefaq-i Islam, Ettehad-i Mashriqi, Afghan* and other papers of the country were all being consulted for news. It should be realized, however, that all papers of that time were acquiring news and information from each other.

Regarding foreign news, *Setaara-i Afghan* consulted papers such as *Zamindaiwar, Pioneer, Wakil, Dehli-News, Peshawar Civil and Military Gazette* etc.

Concerning entertainments, *Setaara-i Afghan* had a headline entitled:

“Have you heard?” Under this headline the item in No. 15 of the paper was as follows:

Have you heard?
That each year 48 million persons will be born and 38 million 660 thousand persons will die.
That the most literate nation in the world is Germany among whom 98 per cent are literate. And the most illiterate nation is Iran among whom 12 per cent are literate.
But, it is not known what the percentage of literacy is in our own country.

In the entertainment category we can mention the literature column also. This column carried some poems as well as pieces which would surely interest the readers.

*Setaara-i Afghan*, first, was published in the Jabalosseraj Printing Press and later on in Chaar-i Kaar Printing Press in Lythography process.
According to the editor of the paper the two above mentioned printing presses were the same, except that at the beginning it was published in Jabalosseraaj and its name was Jabalosseraaj press. When its office was shifted to Chaar-i Kaar its name became Chaar-i Kaar press.

The paper, at the beginning, had three columns with each column 13½ inches deep and 3 inches wide. The format of the paper in general was 15 X 11 inches.

Being published by the lithography process, its calligraphy was done by a person named Gholaam Seddiq.

The nameplate of the paper carries the following item: In the middle is the name of the paper written in the Nasta‘iliq style of writing. Under the name is published this couplet.

Until the sign of Sun and Moon be in the Heavens' height,  
May Setaara-i Afghan be forever bright.

Following this couplet appeared the phrase, “religious, moral and scientific paper.” On the right hand side of the paper’s name is first the place of its office, name of the editor and copy editor, secondly, this sentence: “scientific and literary articles are being accepted and published.” On the left hand side, the rate of the paper was seen as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yearly</th>
<th>Half Yearly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Area Rupees 3, Paya 4</td>
<td>R. 2, P. 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provinces R. 4</td>
<td>R. 2, P. 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Countries R. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One Issue in the Northern Area: P. 3.

The first issue of Setaara-i Afghan is recorded as follows:

“No. 1, Wednesday 9 of Qaws, 1299 Hejra Shamsi: Vol. 1, 19 of Rab‘ol-Awwal 1339 Hejra Qamari.”

Setaara-i Afghan continued publication for almost one year and then stopped publication in the middle of the year 1300 H. Its editor, Mr. Mi:r Gholaam Mohammad Ghobaar, who is fortunately alive now, said in an interview that the papers at that time were published by the government. And the job of publishing Setaara-i Afghan was given to him by the gov-
government, that "those people of Afghanistan have bravery and the spirit of making Holy War, and this spirit should be kept and strengthened through publications and propagations, so that the people could resist against the British who were our opponents."

The editor of Setaara-i Afghan said that according to the government view, the sentiment of bravery and making Holy War existed most among the people of this area. He added that in the first six months, the paper continued publication in accordance with its goal. And it was published in the simple language of the people. Afterwards when it was felt that most of the people of the area were illiterate and could not use the content of the paper, it was decided to direct the content of the paper toward literates and office workers, changing the purpose of the paper, so that criticism was also being published. The new policy of the paper was tolerated by the government, but at last it was banned and publication stopped.

As the editor of the paper says, the circulation of the paper was more than a thousand. Its readers, at the beginning, were the leaders of the villages, white collars-workers and local governors. However, when criticism started in the paper, it was sold in Kabul, the capital, also.
Sai and Sakai

By: B. N. Mukherjee,

56 Jatin Road Calcutta-29

The Ch'ien Han-shu records, in course of the description of the Wu-sun territory, that "it was originally the country of the Sai. When the Great Yueh-chih went to west (from their homeland between Tun-huang and chi'-lien) and drove away the Sai-wang, the Sai-wang went southward and crossed Hsien-tu, and the Great Yueh-chih occupied their country". (1) Another passage of the same treaties also states that the Yueh-chih, defeated by the Hsiung-nu, "had gone to the west and attacked the Sai-wang (Sai king). The Sai-wang went to a distant (region) and the Yueh-chih occupied their country" (2)

The Ch'ien-Han-shu also indicates that the the Great Yueh-chih were driven out of the Sai country by a Wu-sun chief and that thereafter they migrated to the west and subdued Ta-hsia. (3) A different section of this text summarily describe the Yueh-chih activities by stating that "when the Hsiung-nu defeated the Great Yueh-chih, the Yueh-chih went to the west and became rulers of Ta-hsia, whereas the Sai king went southward and became ruler of Chi-pin. The Sai race was divided and dispersed; and everywhere they formed several kingdoms. The kingdoms to the north-west of Su-le such as Hsiu-hsuan and Yuan-tu all belong to the original Sai race". (4)

1. Ch'ien Han-shu (T'ung-wen shu-chu edition) (cited below as (CHS), ch. 96B, p. lb.
2. Ibid., ch. 64, p. 4a.
3. Ibid., ch. 96B, p. lb; ch. 64, p. 4a.
4. Ibid., ch. 96A, p. 10b.
A comparative study of these passages clearly indicates that as a result of the Yueh-chih invasion of the Sai country, and not of Ta-hsia, the Sai-wang went to south, crossed Hsien-tu and moed into Chi-pin. (5) It has been convincingly demonstrated by M. A. Stein that Hsien-tu or the Hanging Passage was situated from below Darei to Mirabat, "some eight miles above the side valley of Kanda belonging to the Swat". (6) It appears from the Ch'ien Han-shu's notice on Chi-pin that it could be reached by a traveller from the direction of China by crossing Hsien-tu. (7) This suggests that Chi-pin, as described by the Ch'ien Han-shu, included at least a part of the extreme north-western region of the Indiar subcontinent. (8)

The Sai people also moved to the territories to north west of Su-le or the modern Kashgarh area. (9) The Sai race was indeed divided and dispersed as a result of the Yueh-chih invasion of their country. The term Sai itself, known to have been pronounced in Archaic Chinese as Sak, (10) has already been identified with the name of the Sakas. (11) Their country, later occupied by the Wu-sun, can be located in the region of Lake Issyk-kul and near the Naryn river. (12) We have shown elsewhere, following the evidence of the Ch'ien Han-shu, that the Wu-sun conquered the Sai country from the Yueh-chih sometime around

5. This inference rejects the theory that the Sai-Wang went to Chi-pin from Ta-hsia E. J. Rapson, The Cambridge History of India, vol. I, Cambridge, 1922, p. 566-567). This theory is based on a wrong interpretation of a statement of Ma-Tuan-lin, which has really telescoped events of different periods and regions in one sentence.


7. CHS, ch. 96A; Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. X, pp 34, 37, 38 and 41.

8. For arguments suggesting that the name Chi-pin, probably pronounced as *Kappir, was philologically related to *Kaspira (Kasvira Kasmira, and that Chi-pin, referred to in the Ch'ien Han-shu and the Hou Han-shu, was a political unit including a part of the Indian subcontinent, see B. N. Mukherjee, An Agrrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 192-193, n. 25.


160 B.C. (13). So the Sai-wang or the Saka king was driven out of that area by the Yueh-chih in or before that year.

13. Afghanistan, 1969, vol. XXII, ft. I, p. 73, f. n. 27. Recently E. G. Pulleyblank has pointed out that there are serious discrepancies between the accounts of the Wu sun furnished by the Shih-chi and the Ch'ien Han-shu, though both the treaties claim to have based their statements on the report of Chang Ch'ien submitted to the Chinese emperor. The Shih-chi version does not refer to the attack of the Wu-sun on the Yueh-chih in the Old Sai country. Pulleyblank has suggested that the whole story of this Wu-sun invasion, as narrated in the Chien Han-shu, "is an imaginative reconstruction without any genuine historical basis, introduced partly for dramatic effect... partly to account for the ethnic distribution in the Wu-sun territory in the first century B.C. when it came under the direct Chinese observation (Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1970, vol. XXXIII, p. 159). It should, however, be remembered that Chang Ch'ien's report is lost and is known only from quotations in later treatises. Neither the Shih-chi nor the Ch'ien Han-shu can be given the credit of preserving the whole text of his report. So we cannot altogether discount the possibility that the author, (or authors) of the Ch'ien Han-shu drew information from parts of Chang Ch'ien's report not utilised by the Shi-chi. Moreover, had there been no Wu-sun migration to the Yueh-chih territory in the old Sai country, how the Chinese observed, as we are told in another section of the Chien Han-shu, the presence of the Yueh-chih and the Sai elements among the Wu-sun people settled in the old Sai country (CHS, ch. 96B, p. 1b)? It should also be pointed out that the statements of Chang Ch'ien regarding the southern migration of the Sai king after he was ousted from his country by the Yueh-chih and about the migration of the Yueh-chih from the Sai country to Ta-hsia after the Wu-sun invasion of the old Sai country, as incorporated in the Ch'ien Han-shu, are perfectly intelligible to student of the early history of the regions now in Afghanistan and West Pakistan. These racial movements caused a Saka inroad into Chi-pin (including parts of the north-western area of the Indian subcontinent) and later prompted the Yueh-chih invasion of Ta-hsia (in Eastern Bactria).

These considerations suggest that the story put into Chang Ch'ien's mouth in the Chien Han-shu may have been substantially derived from Chang Ch'ien's account though some unnecessary details might have been introduced into it either by the author or authors of the Ch'ien Han-shu or by his or their informant (s).

According to the Ch'ien Han-shu's version of Chang Ch'ien's story, the ruler of the Wu-sun who had been brought by a Hsiung-nu king went to the west and attacked the Yueh-chih in the old Sai country when the same Hsiung-nu monarch was still living. E. G. Pulleyblank thinks that the Shih-chi version
The movement of these Sakas is perhaps indicated by Ptolemy’s description of the land of the Sakai. (14) The stem of the term Sakai is obviously related to or rather identifiable with the name Saka (=Saka). The Komaroi, one of the tribes of the Sakai, are placed by Ptolemy along the Iaxartes. (15) This tribe has already been identified with the Hsiu-mi, who formed one of the branches of the Yueh-chih people. (16) The name Hsiu-mi probably pronounced as Xyog-miet in Archaic Chinese and as Xyau-myet in Ancient Chinese, (17) may perhaps be philologically related to the stem of the inflected form Komar oj. (18). This means that Ptolemy’s information on the Sakai should be dated after the advent of the Hsiu-mi=Komaroi in the Sai or the Saka country. In fact, if the Naryn to the south of Lake Issyk-kul is considered as an extension of a part of the Iaxartes or the Syr Darya, which it really is, then the Komaroi on the Iaxartes may be located in the region of the Lake Issyk-kul or in the territory of the old Sai country.

However, the land of the Sakai, as described by Ptolemy, also incorporated other areas. The Byltai, one of the tribes of the Sakai, are placed along the Imaos, i.e. the Himalayas. (20). Their habitat has been very convincingly located in Baltistan of modern Kashmir. (21)

The land of the Sakai is also described as contiguous to that of the Sogdiano1. (22) and the mountainous district of the Komedai, belonging of the story indicates that the departure of the Wu-sun to the west took place after the death of the Hsiung-nu king in question. We, however, like to draw attention of scholars to a statement of Chang Ch’ien, as known from the Shih-chi (ch. 123, H-19-20). It records that the Hsiung-nu ruler in question ordered the ruler the Wu-sun “to defend for ever the Western Regions”. This statement may contain an allusion to the Wu-sun migration to the West where was the old Sai country at a time when the same Hsiung-nu monarch was alive.

This Hsiung-nu ruler, who had the title of Lao-shang shan-yu, reigned from c. 173 B.C. to 160 B.C. Hence the Wu-sun attacked the Yueh-chih in the Old Sai country in or before c. 160 B.C.

14. Ptolemy, Geographike Huphekesis, VI, 13, 1f.
15. Ibid., VI, 13, 3.
18. See also above n. 16.
20. S. N Majumdar-Sastri, McCrindle’s Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy, Calcutta, 1927, p. 285.
to the Sakai, is apparently indicated as lying close to the Sogdian country. (23). The parts towards the valley of the Komedai are located after (to the east of) the mountains district. (14).

The territory of the Komedai, probably referred to as Chu-mi-to by Hsuan-tsang and as Kumedh by some early Moslem writers, (25) comprised at least parts of the Alai range. (26) The valley of the Komedai has been placed in the valley of the upper Kakhsh-ab from the zone of the alpine tract of Kara-tegin to the grazing grounds of the Alai plateau, not far to the east of the Taun-murun Pass. (27)

The limits of the territory dominated by the Sakai were thus extended to the north-western extremities of the Indian subcontinent, and to certain regions situated near ancient Sogdiana and now included in northern Tadzhikistan and southern Kirgizia in the direction of to the east as well as north-east of Kashgar. (28) This inference strikingly confirms the Chinese evidence of the activities of the Sai or Saka people in Chi-pin including at least a part of North-western India and in territories to the north-east of Sul-le or the Kashgar area.

The date of Ptolemy's information on the Sakai should be placed sometime after the Sai king had migrated to Chi-pin as a result of the Yueh-chih invasion and occupation of the old Sai country.

23. Ibid., VI, 13, 2.
24. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
1956, pl. 51.
Ghar-i-mordeh gusfand

(CAVE OF THE DEAD SHEEP): A NEW MOUSTERIAN LOCALITY IN NORTH AFGHANISTAN

... Abstract. The Middle Paleolithic of Central Asia is little known and less understood. Several sites have been excavated in Soviet Central Asia, but few have been adequately presented. Recent excavations in north Afghanistan may throw new light on the problem because of the size of the rock shelter involved and its relative geologic dating.

During a survey of caves and rock shelters near Gurziwan, Afghanistan (at approximately 35 40'N; 65°15'E), in August 1969, Louis Dupree, Nancy Hatch Dupree, and Sadeq Farsi (representative of the Institute of Archeology, Ministry of Information and Culture, Royal Government of Afghanistan), sank three sondages (all 2 by 3 m) at Ghar-i-Mordeh Gusfand, a huge limestone rock shelter, with an interior surface area of approximately 300 by 100 m. The height at the entrance overhang is about 50 m above the surface. The location of the shelter is indicated in Fig. 1.

The shelter was formed by internal rock falls, apparently initiated in the southern part of the shelter where jointing is more strongly developed. The shelter expanded in a northern direction as larger, less jointed blocks fell. The limestone roof is thick-bedded (about 2 m) and separated by shaley-limestone units that are 15 to 45 cm thick and that exhibit well-developed cleavages. The extent of the shelter, its height above present drainage, and thickness of the fill are roughly comparable with other shelters in northern Afghanistan for which radiocarbon dates are available. Such a comparison indicates that the shelter and its associated deposits may be 40,000 or more years old.
Although the sun enters the shelter for only an hour or two in August, modern nomads shun the area because of a local legend. About 100 years ago, a massive roof fall in the cave is said to have killed several hundred sheep (hence the name we have given the shelter) and a shepherd. Another shepherd managed to escape to tell the tale.

Sondages 1 and 3, near the centerrear of the rock shelter, yielded only pottery of the historic and protohistoric period (see 1-3). Loess deposits were encountered above 2.5 m, where rock falls finally forced the termination of excavations in both sondages at a depth of about 3 m.

Sondage 2, near the south-center of the shelter, presented a totally different stratigraphic sequence down to a depth of 5 m, where the workmen could go no deeper because the size of the test pit decreased to 50 by 50 cm. The excavators exposed a series of differentiated cave gravels, which showed evidence of periodic extensive erosion and truncation. No distinct loess levels or major rock falls occurred in sondage 2.

For millennia, loess from Central Asia has been deposited by winds on the northern plains and foothills of Afghanistan. The absence of a thick loess over-burden in sondage 2 in the Cave of the Dead Sheep is almost unique among cave sites in northern Afghanistan (1, 4). The geographic location of the shelter may help explain this phenomenon. The shelter is located 9 km north of Gurziwan, well above the perennial river Rud-i-Chashmah-i Khwab, at the southern end of a narrow gorge. The shelter faces west, and thus the shamaal (local name for the north wind that transports the loess) whips past the entrance, occasionally swirling in the low point of the back-center, where it deposits some loess by settling, but leaving the cave gravels on either end relatively free from wind-blown deposits.

Sondage 2 yielded an interesting series of siliceous limestone cores, flakes, and flake tools, which occurred in two distinct strata: between 2.00 and 2.60 m, and between 3.50 and 4.00 m. Two bones occurred in association with the upper phase. One, an unidentifiable long bone implement, was pointed, with four longitudinal man-made grooves leading to a jagged, pointed end (Fig. 2, No. 33). The second bone was a small, fragmentary sheep or goat mandible.

The implements in both strata varied little typologically, and duplicates can be found in the siliceous limestone industries at such Soviet Central Asian sites as Teshik Tash (5), Aman-Kutan (6), and Kyzylkum 1 (7), among others. In 1959 and 1962, Dupree examined much of the Russian material and visited Aman-Kutan with the excavator, David Lev. The similarities between the Russian specimens, particularly those from Teshik Tash, are very striking.
Similarities to the Darra-i-Kur Mousterian (3) in Badakhshan, excavated by Dupree in 1966, do exist, but the Darra-i-Kur implements are made of an impure, blackish flint, a type unknown in the region south of Maimana.

A comparison of the specimens found at Ghaar-i- Mordeh Gusfand (Gurziwan) with the specimens shown in Movious' excellent critique of the Teshik Tash assemblage (5) is given in Table 1.

Most of the artifacts have nonfaceted striking platforms. Since siliceous limestone lacks the excellent concoidal fracturing propensities of flint, bulbs of percussion, bulbar scars, and concentric ripples, though present, are not well developed. Two of the Levallois cores (Fig. 2, Nos. 1 and 2) lack well-defined faceted platforms, but all three (Fig. 2, Nos. — 3) exhibit evidence that preparatory flakes were struck around the perimeters of the cores.

Massive implements included hand-ax types (Fig. 2, Nos. 5 and 6) and cleavers (Fig. 2, No. 7). Both illustrated hand axes are bifacially flaked; the cleaver has a sinuous working edge. The single possible limace (Fig. 2, No. 16) is important to the assemblage, for it constitutes a diagnostic type in the Mousterian.

The four Levallois points (Fig. 2, Nos. 24-27) have characteristic triangular shapes with triangular flake scars on the dorsal side. Also present were several naturally backed flake knives (Fig. 2, Nos 14, 17, 20, and 21),
a type often found in Middle Eastern Mousterian sites. One burin on a snapped truncation (Fig. 2, No. 31) was found. Also, only one definitely retouched specimen occurred in sondage 2—an oblique scraper on the transverse edge of a flake (Fig. 2, No. 23). The retouch was steep, and the flakes removed were relatively large. The rest of the specimens consisted mainly of unretouched, irregularly shaped flakes with single-faceted striking platforms (Fig. 2, Nos. 8-13, 18, 19, and 32), a few flake-blades (Fig. 2, No. 22), and points (Fig. 2, Nos. 28-30).

No hearths were found in the sondages, but literally thousands of square meters of cave deposits remain to be excavated. Both hearths and flint implements are likely to occur after careful excavation of Ghar-i-Mordeh Gusfand and other sites in the region.

LOUIS DUPREE
Department of Anthropology,
History, New York 10024
American Museum of Natural History

LAURENCE H. LATTMAN

Department of Geology, Pennsylvania State University, University Park 16802

RICHARD S. DAVIS

Department of Anthropology,
Columbia University, New York 10027

References and Notes:


2. ——, Science 146, 638 (1964).

4. Several Middle Paleolithic sites in Soviet Central Asia, such as Teshik Tash, had only superficial surface deposits. The loess may have moved past or from the area and down into Afghanistan. (See H. L. Movius, Bull. Amer. Sch. Prehistoric Res 17, 11 (1953). Also, the "Aurignacoid" site of Kara Kamar had a relatively thin surface layer, but the cultural strata consisted entirely of loess. See C. S. Coon, The Seven Caves (Knopf, New York, 1957).


8. Supported by National Science Foundation grant GS-2459, administered by the American Museum of Natural History. We thank those connected with the following Afghan institutions for their support of the research: Cultural Relations Office, Ministry of Information and Culture; Culture Relations Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Directorate-General, Institute of Archaeology. Many other individuals, in and out of the Afghan government, who are too numerous to mention, also assisted our research, and they are all thanked collectively.

A Partially Annotated Bibliography of Afghan Linguistics

By Don L. F. Nilsen
Fazel Nur and
Sajida Kamal


This is an easy-to-read book designed to teach some common useful Dari expressions.


This book is being used in the second semester of Intermediate Composition (for Junior English Majors), and will be used in the second semester of Advanced Composition (for Senior English Majors) at Kabul University. The book is organized according to expository technique, and contains the following sections: process, classification, comparison and contrast, description, definition, chronology, space, humor, bibliography, biography, illustration, deduction and induction, narration, problem and solution, question and answer, cause and effect, argument and persuasion, etc.


This book is being used in the first semester of Intermediate Composition (for Junior English Majors in the Faculty of Education) at Kabul University.

This book is being used in the first semester of Introduction to Composition (for Sophomore English Majors in the Faculty of Education) at Kabul University.


This book is being used in the first part of the second semester of Introduction to Composition (for Sophomore English Majors in the Faculty of Education) at Kabul University.


This book is being used in the second part of the second semester of Introduction to Composition (for Sophomore English Majors in the Faculty of Education) at Kabul University.


This book tells the techniques for the development of reading skills.


This book is used in the Sophomore reading class for English majors in the Faculty of Education at Kabul University. The twenty chapters of the book are as follows: 1. introduction to reading comprehension, 2. the reading process: the five step method, 3. preparing to read, 4. the best reading conditions, 5. eye movement, 6. reading faster, 7. using context clues, 8. analyzing words, 9. the dictionary, 10. concentration, 11. finding topic sentences, 12. summarization, 13. inference 14. cermations and implications, 15. fact and opinion, 16-17. concept formation, 18. relating reading to your life, 19. taking notes, and 20. skimming.

This is a supplementary English reader to be used with ALE 1 or 2.

**Esperanto:**


**The Ghalkhah Languages (Sariloli, Shighni, and Wakhi):**


There are many languages spoken in Afghanistan, some of which are considered Indo-Aryan and some are considered Indo-Iranian by linguistic scholars. To make a discretion as to which of these languages are Indo-Aryan and which are Indo-Iranian is difficult. The reason for such difficulty is that anyone of these languages, when studied deeply, has shown elements and words, Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian, shared by both branches.


See also Georg Morgenstierne’s “Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan.”

Shaw, R.B. *On the Ghalkhah Languages* (Wakhi and Sarikoli), Calcutta, 1876, 140 pp.

The author discusses the relation between the languages immediately north of the watershed of the Hindu Kush (Ghalchah) and those immediately south (Dardu). He also gives, for comparative purposes, some Kalasha words. This work also appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol 45, pt. 1, Calcutta. 1876, pp. 139-278.


Afghanistan

The Herati Languages:

Mauri:


Mongolian and Chinese:


Kabul University Department of Publications.


Irfan (1342).

Uzbeki:


The Kafir Languages (Arnya, Bashgali, Kalasha, Kambojasi, Kati, Khajuna, Kohistani, Kom, Lghmani, Phalura, Waigali, etc).


On pp. 332-333 Kafir words and phrases with their English equivalents are given.


“A more thorough study than its title suggests, this contains information on the grammar and provides a vocabulary and sentences in the language now known as Kati, Appendix 1, pp. 165-184, comprises a useful bibliography of works relating to Kafiristan.

Appendix IV, pp. 189-192 is a bibliography of works relating to “The Bolor country.”

“The Kambojas were a north-western tribe, always mentioned in Sanskrit literature in connexion with Yavanas, Sakas, and the like.” This is followed by a short technical note based on data provided by Muir’s ‘Sanskrit Texts’ and the conclusion: ” the Kambojas, a barbarous tribe of north-western India, either spoke Sanskrit with an infusion of Iranian words, to which they gave Indian inflexions, or else spoke a language partly Indo-Aryan and partly Iranian.” See no. 255 for a reference linking the Kambojas with the Kafirs.”


“An enumeration and geographical positioning of, among others, the languages of Kafiristan as known up to 1900, by the Director of the Linguistic Survey of India.


Grierson’s reply to Sten Konow (see no. 160) in which he says: “My one great regret in regard to Dr. Konow’s article is that he has confined himself to Bashgali, and has not discussed the other languages of the same group. If he had done so, I am convinced that he would have largely modified some of his statements, and perhaps would not have been so definite in classing Bashgali as Iranian.” Dr. Grierson concludes by stating his belief “that the ancestors of these tribes of the North-West Frontier once spoke a language akin to the Paisaci of the Indian grammarians.”


“Grierson concludes that the languages of Laghman, Kafiristan, and the Indus Kohistan. Chitral, Gilgit and Kashmir—which he groups together under the name of Modern Paisaca—“Form a third independent branch of the great Aryan family, and that they are neither Iranian nor Indian, but something between both. They seem to have left the parent stem after the Indo-Aryan languages but before all the typical Iranian characteristics, which we meet in the Avesta, had become developed.”

“Torwali is one of a number of languages generally grouped together under the name of ‘Kohistani,’ as being spoken in the Panjokora, Swat, and Indus Kohistan lying to the north of Peshawar and Hazara districts of British India...Torwali...is in entire agreement with the other Kohistani languages and...like them, it also shows traces of a relationship with the Kafir languages...Indeed, if the account given in the second folktake /pp. 117-124/ is to be accepted, the Torwali country itself was once inhabited by Kafirs that were conquered by Torwals coming from Badakhshan. Such a legend must, however, be treated with reserve, for the word ‘Kafir’ is very loosely employed in Dardistan, and may well mean anyone who is not a Moslem, instead of referring to the group of tribes in western Dardistan known by that name.”


“A thorough and scholarly review of Col. Davidson’s book “together with a discussion of the Kafirs and Kafir languages draws on data provided by Robertson, Bellow, Leitner, Holdich, etc.”

See also Lt. R. Leech
See also G. W. Leitner


“See pp. 133-146 for “Dialogues, &c, in Khajuna, compared with Kalash (the language of a menial tribe of Kafirs subject to Chitral) and with Arnyia (the language of Chitral).”


“A report on the author’s second expedition (1929) to Asia. The chief linguistic object of this second expedition, was to study the Iranian and ‘Dardic’ languages in and around the isolated hillstate of Chitral... One important object was to study the decaying paganism of the Kafir tribes in Chitral, the only existing remnants of ancient Aryan religion not affected by literary traditions. In one of the two tribes in question only a few grown up men were still pagans, and nobody but one old priest remembered much of the ancient traditions. The work is divided into six main parts: Balochistan; Peshawar and the North West Frontier Province; Peshawar to Chitral; Work in Chitral; Tours in Chitral; and Languages of Chitral. The last section contains data on the Indo-Aryan and Kafir Group of Languages (Khowar, Kalasha, Palula, Dameli, Gawar Bati, Gujuri, Kati, Waigeli, and Prasun).”


“The linguist and authority on Kafir languages provides translations of traditional Kati tales and songs obtained by him in the field in 1929. He refers to Kafir beliefs as “a most interesting type of Aryan religion, and provides comparative data on various deities as cited by earlier writers.”

See also Georg Morgenstierne’s Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan.”

See also Georg Morgentstierne’s Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India.


This book discusses Wai (gal)-ala, which “is a Kafir language spoken in the south-easteran part of Nuristan.” Pages 147-197 discusses the phonemic system, (both synchronically and diachronically), and the morphology (including the noun system, the pronoun system, and the verb system). Pages 197-219 contain texts, and pages 219-323 contain a list of mythological names and place names.


"This article is primarily concerned with Paktu, but, relying on Trumpp, the author refers to "insulated tribes in the Hindu Kush/speaking/dialects of distinct Indian rather than Iranian origin...the language of the Siah-Push Kafirs of Kafiristan...is a genuine Indian dialect."


"An extract from a letter written by Maj. Tanner to Gen. Walker, Surveyor-General of India, regarding the inhabitants of southern Kafiristan and their language."


"The author reached the southern frings of Kafiristan where he interviewed two 'Chungunis' from a 'valley north-west of Pechi.' He states that these people are of "a powerful clan /of/ 6,000 fighting men...They are half Kafir themselves..."
Is It Pand Naama-i Donyaa Wa Din or Taj-o-t-Tawaarkh? (1)
The Mestery which is at Last Revealed

By Mohammad Seddiq Tarzi and Mohammad Kazem Ahang (2)

The book which was considered for many years to be named Taaj-o-t-Tawarikh (in English, The Life of Abdur Rahman) known to have been written by the Amir Abdur Rahman, 1880-1901 A.D. (1297-1318 H.S.) himself, is not actually Taaj-o-t Tawarikh but instead its first volume is exactly the same book which was written by the Amir and called Pand Naama-i Donyaa wa Din published in the Royal Press of Kabul.

To prove the above thesis, we will first of all present a series of views of various writers on this subject and afterward the results of comparisons of these two books, which are in fact the same.

Unfortunately, the changing of the name of this book left the researchers in a quandary of suspicion and uncertainty. Since it was believed that Taaj-o-t-Tawaarikh was written by the Amir himself, everybody was concerned about the original work. (3) But it was not possible to find any such copy because it was not written under this name—Taj-o-t-Tawaarikh, but instead under the name of Pand Naama-i Donyaa wa Din. This was why some persons thought that Taj-o-t-Tawaarikh originally was not written in Dari but instead in English and later on it was translated into Dari in Mashad.

1) A—Pand Naama-i Donyaa wa Din is a book written by Amir Abdur Rahman Khan and lithographed in the Royal Printing Press of Kabul.

B—Taj-o-t-Tawarik is not but a copy of Pand Nama. Its English version names “The Life of Abdur Rahman”. But when translated back into Dari named as Taj-o-t-Tawarikh.

2) Translated into English by Mohammad Kazem Ahang.

3) The inscribed copy of Amir.
It is our great pleasure to have at our disposal the hand-written copy of Pand Naama-i Donyaa wa Din (4); also its printed copy (5) with missing pages at the beginning and end; and the first volume of Taj-o-t-Tawarikh. (6) Further more, the scholarly views of some researchers are also available, from which we have found many more facts about this book.

The English publisher of Taj-o-t-Tawarikh, John Murry, says that the pages of this book were brought into London by Miss Hamilton Dr. of the royal court. And later on it was turned into English by Soltan Mohammad known as Mir Monshi or Sar Monshi—the secretary of the Amir.

The publisher says that the book was a collection of the Amir's words and sayings on different occasions by Soltan Mohammad. During the time when it was printed neither Soltan Mohammad nor any other person was present who knew Dari and could take care of its editing in parts of the names, terms etc. And so he says due to this fact, he would not feel responsible for whatever was printed wrongly. (7)

Soltan Mohammad Mir Monshi himself says that the Amir deemed necessary "to leave a useful instruction and guide for his successors and the people of Afghanistan. Meanwhile, he wanted to tell about his works along with such instruction. And I take pride in this opportunity to write this instruction and guide in the form of a book and to present it to English speakers".

He adds that one portion of this book was written by the Amir himself and Soltan Mohammad copied it down from its original (8) and this copy is reserved in the oriental department of the British Museum study room. But, he says that the rest of the book was written by himself, Soltan Mohammad and was dictated to him by the Amir in person.

Further more, Soltan Mohammad says that he did not make any other change in the book except in the titles of the book's contents in which case the titles put in by the Amir are not the ones chosen by Soltan Mohammad.

In the introduction written by its translator (Gholam Mortaza, assistant of the British General consulate in Khurasan of Iran) from English into Dari, it has been mentioned that the book "in some way was taken to London by one of the special secretaries of the Amir and was printed and published in English". He adds that since the Dari speakers were not

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4) It still exists in the Kabul Public Library, inscription section.
5) Belonging to the personal collection of Mr. Seddiq Tarzi.
6) Published in Mashad. Published in Bombay, and published in Lahore.
7) The Life of Abdur Rahman, "Introduction (by John Murry) Volume I,
8) Reserved in the Kabul Public Library.
able to read its English version therefore he started its translation with the help of the first secretary of the British general countolate in Mashad, Mirza Abdullah Khan. It was published in 1319 H.Q. in Mashad by the lythography process.

*Taj-oT-Tawarikh* has been translated into Russian also and its translator into Russian is Kroleaf. Mr. Kroleaf, in his remarks, first of all analyzed Afghanistan’s strategic position in Asia and analyzed her relation with Russia and Britain. In his analysis he deems the author of the book not merely a key person in the relations of Russia and Britain, but he also believes that “this author had his eye on the politics and fate of Asia. In fact the destiny of the Indian Sub-Continent is in his hands and he is a key person to all the facts”. Mr. Korleaf, further more says that the instruction and guidance of Amir in this book was very useful to his successors. The remarks by Korleaf are actually broad and detailed (9) and here we have just put them in brief.

Besides the mentioned commentators whose remarks are published as an introduction to the different versions of this book, here we will present the views of the late Mollah Faiz Mohammad Hazara. (10) When writing about Gholam Mortaza Khan, Mr. Fiz Mohammad Hazara says: “...And this is the same Gholam Mortaza Khan who has translated the book authored by Munshi Mohammad of India. The latter has spent a period of time at the court of His Highness (Amir) (11) as secretary. There he had a position and he was a confident of the Amir. Nevertheless, at last, without any permission or order (as it is said, treason is afraid) he left the court and left his wife whom he had married from amongst the Kabul women, and went to his original place. And he translated into English the book named Pand Naamai- Donya wa Din by His Royal Majesty. (12) This book which was written by the His Royal Majesty consisted of the events from his youth up to when he moved from Khawqand and entered Badakhshan. It was published in the Kabul Printing Press”.

Meanwhile he adds “one volume contains contracts from Afghanistan, along with events heard from a number of people of Afghanistan, and in addition whatever he himself had recorded in the closeness of the court from the servants of the court. He put them all together as the second volume of the book (Taj-oT-Tawarikh) and made a lot of money out of it. These two volumes (in English) were translated into Dari by the above

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12) *Seraj-oT-Tawarikh* p. 656.
mentioned Munshi (Mortaza Khan) and were named Taj-oT-Tawarikh (The Crown of Histories)."

From the above quote we can come to the conclusions that:

First, Munshi Soltan Mohammad had left the court of Kabul without any order or permission of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan. This shows that he might have been fulfilling a job in the court of Kabul for the benefit of Britain and when the job was fulfilled he left the court without any permission. And also, it might be that he would have become subject to punishment by the Amir. So in order to escape punishment he left without order or permission.

Secondly, the book which was written by the Amir himself, named Pand Nama-i Donyaa wa Din, was translated by Soltan Mohammad into English and contrary to the trustworthiness of the writing profession he even changed its name. (13) In spite of this if he would have mentioned the original name and then said that he had changed it, it would not have been so confusing.

Thirdly, while the second volume of the book was not that of the Amir, Soltan Mohammad propagated it as if it had been dictated by the Amir to him. And fourthly, there is a contradiction in the words of Soltan Mohammad also. Once he say: "This honour was given me to put this writing in the form of a book and to present it to my English readers". "Once again he says that one portion of the book was written by the Amir himself.

In regard to the above, first we know that the first volume of the book, i.e., was in the form of a book, Pand Nama-i Donyaa wa Din. And secondly, the sentence: "One portion of this writing was done by the Amir himself" is not clear enough. It should have been explained which portion.

Fifthly, according to Mullah Faiz Mohammad (14) the second volume of Taj-oT-Tawarikh was composed of information acquired from the contracts, hear-say, and his own (Sultan Mohammad's information by his connection with the royal court.

Now, it is very important to understand what information and which facts are correctly recorded and which were wrongly recorded. However, Mr. M. Hasan Kakar (15) professor in the Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Kabul University, said that there are several misquotes and mistakes in the second volume also. Coming to the first volume, it is worth

13) First "The Life of Abdur Rahman Khan" secondly in Dari "Taj-oT-Tawarikh."
14) Seraj-oT-Tawarikh... Vol. III p. 656
15) Hasan Kakar is an expert in the History of Afghanistan 19th and 20th century, especially the reign of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan.
saying that: first of all, as it was mentioned previously in this writing, its calligraphic copy which was written by the Amir himself exists in the Kabul Public Library. Secondly, when the calligraphed copy was compared with the printed copy, they were exactly the same. And, in fact, the printed copy was produced off the face of the calligraphed one. And thirdly, in order to compare the first volume of Taj-oT-Tawarikh with that of Pand Nama-i Donyaa wa Din (both of which are the same) we will present the following. This comparison is done first so that the reader may understand the identity of the two, and secondly, so that it is evident, what the differences are in how the facts are recorded.

Amir Abdur Rahman Khan in regard to his life in Mazar-i-Sharif says that he was appointed by his father as general of the armed forces of the Northern Provinces. In this connection he speaks of the carelessness of the officers of Amir Sher Ali Khan and continues to say that he would not let his own officers be that way. Here, in order to fortify his words, he cites a poem: (16)

(Dari) Baa badaan kamtar neshin tarsam ke bad khoyat kunand,

(English) Do not get involved with bad people because I am afraid they would spoil you.

In Taj-oT-Tawarikh it was different:

(Dari) Zinhaar az qarine bad zinhaar,

Wa qinaa rabbana azaabannaar.

(English) Beware not to get close to bad people,

May our Lord keep us from the suffering of Hell.

Though, in regard to their meaning the two poems are the same, yet the one in Taj-oT-Tawarikh in regard to the original is not the same words at all.

Right after poems a sentence in Taj-oT-Tawarikh is recorded as follows: “I hope that with God’s mercies my nation would make use of my speeches and take steps toward development” (18).

16) Pand Nama,... p5-8
18) Ibid
The same thing in Pand Nama is as follows:

"But if God be willing, I hope to see a day that my words would affect them (the military and its officers: Tarzi and Ahang) and I hope they work as the law requires". (19)

We have to mention here that the above sentences are said in connection with military organization in the Northern Provinces, at the time when Abdur Rahman Khan was a general. The phrase "my nation" in the Taj-ul-Tawarikh sentence is certainly incorrect, because Abdur Rahman Khan at that time was not an Amir to call upon people as "my nation", but he was just a general in one part of country.

Amir Abdur Rahman Khan mentions the name of a series of places in Bukhara when he made a trip there. (20) The same names in Taj-ul-Tawarikh, except one place, were all recorded wrongly. (21)

By the same token Pand Nama-i Donya va Din writes: "In early sunrise I asked for the presence of soldiers and gave them the job of watching out to a distance of eight Kroh 22) around the area where we were concentrated", (23).

The same thing in Taj-ul-Tawarikh is as follows: "The other day on sunrise I looked over the soldiers and appointed a thousand men as scouts over a distance of 3 Farsakh (Kroh) where they should take care of the supplies of the army". (24).

In comparing the above two sentences, we will find out that first, two thousand in Pand Nama, the original copy, was changed into one thousand in Taj-ul-Tawarikh, the second copy, with a different title. Secondly, the distance in Pand Naama was recorded as 8 Farskh but in Taaj...it is 3 Farsakh. Thirdly, the meaning of the two sentences are almost entirely different.

Similarly, Pand Nama.... writes: "On the third day news was heard that in a place called Chashma-i Sher. ten Kroh away from where our soldiers were, eight thousand army men are hidden.... upon hearing this news I have sent four thousand cavalry along with two artillery... in the result of a clash, the army of the opponents ran away. However, my army men caught and injured two hundred of the people of Qadaghan (Qataghan) and the rest of them ran away. (25).

19) Pand Nama p. 8.
20) Ibid
21) Taj-ul-Tawarikh p. 72-73.
22) Distance measure—8000 yards.
23) Pand Nama. p. 10
25) Pand Nama p. 10
The same incident in Taj-ot-Tawarikh is written as follows: "After three days it was heard that a thousand cavalry 26) were concentrated in a place called Chashma-i Sherpusht. Hearing this news, I immediately ordered sending four thousand cavalry and an artillery. (27) In the result of clash, the cavalry of Qataghan retreated and two thousand of them were captured". (28)

From the comparison of the two above sentences we see that, first, the number of artillery in Pand Nama (the original copy) was recorded two. while in Taj... it is one. Secondly the number of captured men is entirely different i.e. Pand Nama recorded it as 200 but Taj as 2000. Thirdly, the number of the enemy men in Pand Naama was recorded as 8000 men. while in Taj... (Lahore) it is one thousand and Taj... (Mashad) it is 20,000. Fourthly, Chashma-i Sher is a famous place in Mazar-i Sharif but in Taj (Laore) it is recorded as Chashma-i Sherpusht.

In respect to the recording of names see the following: Pand Nama"... And I sent Sardar Abdullah Khan with 600 cavalry of Rustaq (29) and I started going the next day. It was one Manzel (30) to Rustaq and I arrived in Rustaq. (31).

Taj...: "And the above mentioned person was sent along with Sadar Abdullah Khan and 600 cavalry to Talikhan". (32)

In the above quote from Taj..., First, the relatively well known Taluqan has been changed to Talikhan. Secondly, the word "Rustaq" has been deleted entirely.

For better or worse, from the comparison of 40 pages Pand Nama-i Donyaa wa Din with 73 pages of Taj-ot-Tawarikh. Vol. I, and meanwhile quoting sentences of the original copy (Pand Naama...) and the second copy (Taj....) we can come to the following conclusions:

1. The first volume of Taj-ot- Tawarikh is exactly the same old Pand Naama-i Donyaa wa Din which was written by the Amir Abdur Rahman Khan himself.

2. In spite of the fact that Taj... is exactly the same PandNama..., there are several mistakes in the content of Taj... when compared with that of Pand Nama.

26) Taj... Lahore p. 14 (in Taj printed in Mashad p. 15 it is recorded as 20,000 men)

27) Taj... Mashad... it is two artillery.


29) Name of a place in former Qataghan. Now it is in Takhar province.

30) A measure for distance equal to six Farsakh.

31) Pand Nama... p. 1333.

32) Taj... Lahore p. 140
However, it is rather hard to say now whether the mistakes are done on purpose or just as errors. Of course, to find out this fact more and deeper study is needed.

Meanwhile, the changing of facts, numbers and names in the content, on the part of the translator (Mir Muns'ī) will be understandable when deeper study is done. However, we believe that:

a) John Murry asks pardon and exoneration for mistakes due to lack of a person knowing Dari to watch the printing of Taj-ot-Tawarikh. If we accept his pardon as a reasonable and logical excuse, then we may accept a number of mistakes because of this. But his request for pardon is not acceptable, because if he did not know Dari and could not find any body to proof-read it, to make sure it was printed correctly, then why did he print it?

b) Munshi Sultan Mohammad himself says that it was copied down from the original. Therefore it is possible that this was recorded wrongly.

c) When translating the book, it is possible that Munshi Sultan Mohammad might have made several mistakes. He may not have been familiar with the names or he may not been as capable in conveying the meaning.

d) It is most probable, when the book was translated from English into Dari, that some words and expressions might have been mis-interpreted, causing mistakes:

e) Publishing of the book by different publishers and in various printing presses might count as another reason for the mistakes in book.

f) And finally, changing of words and expressions of the book might be due to certain political interests and personal benefits also.

Taking into consideration the above analysis, we come to the conclusion that the first volume of the book so called Taj-ot-Tawarikh, which has been thought of up to now, by researchers, as being written by Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, does not have this title. But from the results of the personal interest of a smart secretary of the court of Amir, is name was changed. Its original copy is exactly what is called Pand Nama-i Donya' wa Din. which was published in the Royal Printing Press of Kabul... Its hand-written copy exists in the Kabul Public Library.

We respectfully recommend to researchers that from now on if they would like to carry on research in this regard they ought to see either the hand-written copy or its printed version—Pand Nama-e Donya' wa Din.
Concerning the second volume of Taj-ot-Tawarikh, we believe it was not written by the Amir as was the first volume. It may contain some facts correctly, but no doubt bombasting, exaggeration, and wrong expressions inclined to the benefit of one side may also be present. (33) And so we do not believe the second volume can be trustworthy either, because when the first volume existed as hand-written, and just in copying it down there are several mistakes, so how can one be sure about the hearsay and word of mouth? Meanwhile, since the second volume contains mostly the informations and events belonging to the politics and administration of Afghanistan, no doubt, when published in English in Britain, the interest of the British government was taken into consideration.

Therefore, Munshi Sultan Mohammad's work is an object of doubt and hesitation in the English version of the so-called Taj-ot-Tawarikh. Consequently we can not rely on its Dari version, (published in Mashhad, Bombay and Lahore), or its Paxto version as the fourth edition of Paxtaney Taarikh (34), or its Russian version, or nay other versions translated from the English.

33) Since we have not been able to find any reliable document in this regard, we are not inclined to say things positively
34) Qaazi Ataullah Khan, Paxtaney Taarikh Vol. IV, Peshawar.
The Shahis of Kabul and Gandahara

By David W. Macdowall

Editor's Note:

The following 20 pages are a reproduction of the first part of an article, "THE SHAHIS OF KABUL AND GANDAHARA", written by Prof. David W. Macdowall of Great Britain. Professor Macdowall has written the article on the basis of coins of that period. He is one of the rare professionals in this field whose depth and thoroughness in his regard can clearly be realized from the content of his article.

The journal 'Afghanistan' is always looking forward to acquiring such scholarly articles about the history and culture of Afghanistan to publish. In order to reproduce this article, first, we wanted to reprint it by regular typesetting process, but lack of international phonetics on one hand and difficulty for reproduction of special signs on the other hand did not permit us to do so. This is why we have decided to reproduce the article in the offset process.

We would like to thank Professor Macdowall for letting us have a reprinted copy of his article by the "Numismatic Chronicle".
THE SHAHIS OF KABUL AND GANDHARA

By DAVID W. MACDOWALL

[see Plates XVII-XIX]

The silver and billon coins of the Bull and Horseman type constitute a well known series in the medieval coinage of north-west India, and have been correctly attributed to this general context and period since the researches of Todd,\(^2\) Wilson,\(^3\) and Prinsep\(^4\) in the last century. Before that time they had been rather a puzzle and the subject of fanciful attributions like that of Smiley,\(^5\) who suggested that they were 'struck in Egypt before the reign of the Ptolemies. Between the ox's horns is the lunar crescent and within that a globe. These symbols clearly refer the ox to Egypt. There is every reason to believe that the letters on this medal are Persian, and that the person represented is Aryandes, governor of Egypt under Darius . . . who caused the governor to be put to death for coining money in his own name.'

Although the evidence of finds has conclusively settled their attribution to Afghanistan and north-west India in the medieval period, little progress has been made with the detailed arrangement and precise attribution of the coinage. For example, in the Indian Museum Catalogue, Vincent Smith\(^6\) follows Cunningham\(^7\) and connects them with the 'Hindu Shahiya dynasty founded by Kallar, the Brahman

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\(^1\) This article is based on a paper read at the Royal Numismatic Society's meeting on 17 January 1962. I am indebted to the curators of the public collections and owners of the private collections quoted in this article for allowing me to study their coins. I should like to record my special thanks to the late Dr. John Walker for his help and encouragement, to Count Quaross for invaluable help about finds of Shāhi coins in Afghanistan, to Dr. Bivar for discussions on the historical circumstances revealed in the Tarikh-i Sislan, to Mr. Lowick for his suggestion that the legend on some coins of Spalapati can be read as literate Brahmi, to Professor F. C. Thompson and Miss P. McQuilkin for undertaking the spectrographic analysis reproduced in Appendix B, to Mr. K. Howes for determining the specific gravities quoted in Appendix C, to Mrs. Ulla S. Linder Weiln for reference to the finds of Shahi coins in central and northern Europe, and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce the coins illustrated. Dr. Bivar has kindly read through my manuscript and made a number of suggestions which I have incorporated in the text.

The principal accounts of this series are those of Cunningham, Coins of Mediaeval India 55-67, and Vincent Smith IMC i, 243 ff.

\(^2\) Rajasthan i, 698 recording coins from Nandolaye.

\(^3\) H. W. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua 428 ff.

\(^4\) Prinsep, Essays on Indian Antiquities, edited by E. Thomas, i, 299 ff.

\(^5\) Smiley, Scriptural Geography (Philadelphia, 1835), 151.

\(^6\) IMC i, 243 ff.

\(^7\) Cunningham, Coins of Mediaeval India 55 ff.
of striking a higher proportion of coins with the lower silver content; and this could be established only by analysing an extremely large number of coins. But within this second group, six major issues can be distinguished by objective criteria. Four of these have the legend Śrī Sāmanta Deva and some other distinguishing feature:

(i) With bhi left of the horseman and to the right, a relic of the plume symbol above the horse’s head—coins of this issue are very common.

(ii) Similar to (i) but with a visarga at the end of the legend.

(iii) Similar to (i) but with a ʿṣ ta to the right of the horseman.

(iv) Similar to (i) but with a conch-shell symbol to the right of the horseman.

The other two issues are distinguished by their obverse legends Śrī Khudavayaka and Śrī Bhīma Deva.

Most of the silver coins of the Bull and Horseman type after Spalapati are struck to a weight standard of 3·2 gm. and show a distribution between 3·1 and 3·3 gm. in a frequency table. But coins of Khudavayaka with the Arabic word ʿadl instead of the stylized device above the horse’s head are struck to a close weight standard of 2·9 gm., and when plotted in a frequency table show a heavy concentration between 2·8 and 3·0 gm. The weight standard to which they are struck is therefore closely controlled but deliberately different from the Shāhi coins. It is very significantly the weight standard of the Arabic dirham of the reformed currency first introduced by ‘Abd al-Malik c. 2·78 gm. This double Arabic connection—the use of the dirham’s weight standard and of ʿadl—strongly supports the suggestion that these may well be coins of Yaʿqūb, the Muslim conqueror of Kābul. But however we attribute them, they must be placed apart from the main Bull and Horseman series as an intrusion with strong Arabic links. The only other issue in this second group that departs from the 3·2 gm. standard is the issue of Sāmanta Deva with the conch-shell-type symbol. But the variation in weight standard of this variety is not the deliberate change to an alternative pre-existent

2 A convenient summary of events described in the *Tarīkh-i Sistān* is given in Olaf Carol’s *The Pathans* 105 ff. Yaʿqūb captured the city of Kābul A.D. 870 (A.H. 256) and sent presents to the caliph at Baghdad; but five years later in A.D. 875 (A.H. 262), he marched against the caliph, and reached within a few miles of Baghdad before he was defeated—to die in Ahwaz in A.D. 879 (A.H. 266), and the Shāhīs seem to have recaptured Kābul soon afterwards.
standard of some other series that we witness in the coins of Khudavayaka. Its coins in fact cover a broad band between 2.8 and 3.3 gm. and some examples are even lower than this. The lighter coins are generally those with the simpler form of the symbol. In this process of type degeneration and slide in weight standard we can with some confidence postulate the beginnings of the sharp decline in the real value of the denomination that ended in the abrupt change to billon.

The occurrence of this same conch-shell-type symbol on an extremely rare issue with Śrī Bhīma Deva suggests that Bhīma coins also belong to this general context towards the end of the Sāmanta silver group. And the fact that all the rare silver coins of Bhīma are struck to a close weight standard of 3.2 gm. suggests that the Bhīma issues came before the degeneration began in the conch-shell symbol issue of Sāmanta. This context for the issues with Bhīma—late in the sequence of the Sāmanta issues—is strikingly confirmed by the independent evidence of type development that can be traced in the copper coinage (discussed below).

Once we recognize this evidence of metrology that the issue of Sāmanta with the conch symbol is the latest issue in the second group, we can also see the way in which the use of symbols develops through successive issues. The plume, which was already becoming detached from the horse’s head in issue IX of Spalapati, continued to be a plume-type symbol for some time, but later on is changed and eventually replaced completely by a distinct and different symbol. Concurrently the remains of the Arabic type legend are simplified progressively until they become the plain version of the conch issue. The closest links to issue IX of Spalapati are to be found in the visarga issue of Sāmanta [Pl. XVII. 19]. These coins have the plume detached, but only just detached from the horse’s head, the process that first begins in issue VIII and issue IX of Spalapati; and the visarga issue of Sāmanta alone among issues of the second group has the characteristic form of the misunderstood Arabic legend ژ, that mirrors closely the form employed on issue IX of Spalapati [Pl. XVII. 18].

We can thus reconstruct the general chronological development of the silver coinage of the second group. First comes the visarga issue of Sāmanta which is close to issue IX of Spalapati. Then comes the intrusive issue of Khudavayaka, associated with the first issue by its use of the visarga. Later come the extensive issues of Sāmanta without
the visarga, but with a symbol above the horse’s head that still retains basic elements derived from the horse’s plume—a coinage that is once more struck to the earlier Shāhi weight standard. The issue with ta [Pl. XVIII. 27] resembles closely one subdivision of this major issue [Pl. XVIII. 26] and seems to follow it. Then towards the end of the sequence comes the issue of Bhīma, followed by the issue of Sāmanta with conch-shell symbol—an issue that saw a slide in the weight standard of the denomination and marks the final stage of the silver coinage before the denomination degenerated into billon.

By far the largest number of the silver coins of Sāmanta Deva belong to the issue with bhī to the left of the horseman and a relic of the plume to the right. Within this issue two major subdivisions can be detected:

(a) with a neat, fairly flat treatment and a close border of dots—and range of different forms of the plume symbol. [Pl. XVIII. 24 to 26.]

(b) with a broader plan, coarser fabric, and grosser treatment. [Pl. XVIII. 22 to 23.]

Coins in each of these subdivisions show the same point of concentration in a frequency table at 3.2 gm. with weights between 3.1 and 3.3 gm., and they seem to include coins with both the higher and lower percentage of silver. Both subdivisions seem to be related but distinct. But as both forms of treatment can be traced in other issues—both the coarse deep treatment with a more spread flan, and the smaller neater but flatter rendering with slightly smaller dies are equally found on issues of Bhīma [Pl. XVIII. 28 and 29] and on the conch-shell issue of Sāmanta [Pl. XVIII. 30 and 31]—we have perhaps some suggestion of two mints continuing production through several issues. Further research and a more detailed analysis of the coins found in different localities is needed to throw more light on this interesting question. But the context of this innovation should not be overlooked. It occurs in the coinage immediately after the intrusive issues of Khudavayaka. Such a development after the loss of Kābul in 870 would not be entirely unexpected.

The third major group—the coins in billon with the legend Śrī Sāmanta Deva—has a silver content of 25 to 30 per cent. This is a sharp reduction from the 61 to 70 per cent of the second group and there is no indication of any progressive debasement that would bridge the gap. These billon coins seem to fall into two principal
series one with broader flans that resemble in a general way many of the later issues of good silver [Pl. XVIII. 33] and another with smaller flans and thicker fabric [Pl. XVIII. 33 bis]—the dumpier coins that were copied in so many subsequent issues of Bull and Horseman billon [Pl. XVIII. A, B] which lie beyond the sphere of this paper. The former series of billon is struck to a weight standard between 3-1 and 3-3 gm. which had been the weight range of the major part of Sāmanta Deva’s coinage in good silver. The latter series is struck with less precision to a wider standard from 3-2 to 3-6 gm., and seems to be later in date.

The associated copper coins of this dynasty have the obverse legends:

Śrī Spalapati Deva
Śrī Vakka Deva
Śrī Sāmanta Deva
Śrī Bhīma Deva

Three of these four legends are also found on the silver coins, but the fourth, Śrī Vakka Deva, is only known from the copper denomination. Copper coins with the legend Śrī Spalapati Deva have the same Bull and Horseman types as the silver. Those with Śrī Vakka Deva, Śrī Sāmanta Deva, and Śrī Bhīma Deva have the distinctive types of the lion and elephant. There are no copper coins of Spalapati with the Lion and Elephant type, and I have not been able to substantiate a genuine copper denomination of Sāmanta with the Bull and Horseman type used on his silver. The coins of Sāmanta with the Bull and Horseman type described as being in copper by Cunningham, Marshall, and others are actually coins with a distinctly dumpy fabric in base billon which should properly be placed at the end of the silver coinage—the base successors of the silver denomination.

The copper issues proper constitute a complementary denomination that provides the small change for the Bull and Horseman silver; and, like the silver, they suffer a progressive reduction in weight which enables us to establish their chronological sequence. The order of the principal groups of copper coins seems to be first the Bull and Horseman coppers of Spalapati, then the Lion and Elephant coppers of Vakka, and finally the Lion and Elephant coppers of Sāmanta.

1 Cf. Cunningham’s Coins of Mediaeval India.
2 Marshall, Taxila ii, 794.
Plotted in a frequency table coins of Spalapati fall between 2.5 and 3.75 gm., those of Vakka between 2.0 and 3.5 gm., and those of Sāmanta between 2.0 and 2.75 gm. with a heavy point of concentration at 2.25 gm. The copper coins of Vakka and Sāmanta can be analysed further into a series of issues that can be set in chronological sequence by the same method. In a frequency table each issue is seen to be struck at a slightly lower weight standard than its predecessor, and in several cases this sequence is confirmed by the progressive development of privy marks.

The copper coins of Spalapati with the Bull and Horseman type come first [Pl. XIX. 34] and are very close in detailed treatment to the earlier silver coins of Spalapati with the same types. Both bull and horseman are drawn in spirited style and the coins all show traces of a banner trailing from the staff of the standard that the horseman holds, as on issues I and II—the earliest silver coins struck in the name of Spalapati.

The second major group in the copper denomination consists of the coins of Śrī Vakka Deva with the new Lion and Elephant types. Successive issues of Vakka can be distinguished by a series of privy marks. The earliest issue seems to be the one in a bold spirited style [Pl. XIX. 35]. The second issue can be recognized by the distinctive way in which it treats the rear leg of the lion [Pl. XIX. 36]. The third issue has न beneath the lion [Pl. XIX. 37]; the fourth and fifth issues have ा or ट beneath the lion [Pl. XIX. 38 and 39]; and the sixth issue has औ, beneath the lion, and a quatrefoil rosette above [Pl. XIX. 40]. This rosette in a similar form is also found on the first issue of copper coins of Sāmanta [Pl. XIX. 41], which seems to have been the issue that followed the sixth issue with the legend Śrī Vakka Deva. The first two of these letters are already known from silver coins of issue V of Spalapati, thus offering additional evidence to that drawn from metrology that the copper coins of the Lion and Elephant type with the legend Śrī Vakka Deva were contemporary with the second stage of the silver of the Bull and Horseman type with the legend Śrī Spalapati Deva, and provided the small change for that silver.

It is not difficult to suggest a reason why the types of the copper denomination should have been changed in this way. The original copper coins of the Bull and Horseman types of Spalapati have the same types, legend, style, and weight standard as the silver denomination. It must have been comparatively easy to silver these copper
coins and pass them off as the silver denomination. The introduction of a distinctive obverse and reverse type would make such deception much more difficult.

The third major group in the copper denomination, the Lion and Elephant coins with the legend Śrī Sāmanta Deva can also be analysed into their successive issues, by noting minor modifications in the type which are matched by slight but regular and progressive reductions in weight standard. The first issue has the quatrefoil rosette of the last issue of Vakka, and a dot in the bend of the tail of the lion. The second issue has the same dot in the bend of the tail; but instead of the quatrefoil rosette above the lion, has a rosette of five dots. The third issue has the same rosette of five dots, but has a dot beneath the lion instead of in the bend of its tail.

The rare copper coins with the legend Śrī Bhīma Deva [Pl. XIX. 44] are known to me from three worn specimens in London, Oxford, and Paris. These coins have a rosette of dots as in the third copper issue of Sāmanta—not the full quatrefoil rosette of the first issue—and this places them after the three main issues of Sāmanta’s coppers. There are also some rare coppers of Sāmanta that have no marks and no rosette, struck to a lower weight standard than the third copper issue of Sāmanta and with a less spirited treatment of type than the other Sāmanta issues or the Bhīma coppers. These seem to constitute a final copper issue with Śrī Sāmanta Deva parallel to the last silver issue with Śrī Sāmanta Deva and the conch-shell symbol.

The other rarities or supposed rarities of this dynasty are generally known from single specimens. Cunningham1 described a supposedly unique coin of Venka Deva restored:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Obv. Humped bull} & \text{Śrī Ve} \\
\text{Rev. Horseman} & \text{[Pl. XIX. B]}
\end{array}
\]

This coin is now in the British Museum. Cunningham suggested that as these were the types of Spalapati’s coins, this example should be assigned to the second reign of Venka Deva. Cunningham’s suggestion is based on his view that the issues with Śrī Vakka Deva precede those with Śrī Spalapati Deva, whereas we now have good evidence to place the coppers of Spalapati first. The coin he described weighs only 1.19 gm., its types are far smaller than the normal denomination, and it must be regarded as a fractional denomination, one-half or one-third. Its horseman is in the spirited style of Spalapati’s silver

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1 Cunningham, op. cit.
and copper, and seems to have the standard trailing from the lance of the earlier silver and normal copper issues of Spalapati. The humped bull is similar to that on Spalapati’s silver and copper, but on a smaller scale. But the dotted border on its obverse and reverse is very irregular. The dots are large and badly spaced and in this respect are very different from the normal copper coins of both Spalapati and Vakka. The letters of its legend are badly formed and it is by no means clear that it is Śrī Ve. In fact legend, border of dots, and general treatment resemble closely that of a contemporary copy of the copper coins of Spalapati in the British Museum; and this supposedly unique coin of Śrī Vakka Deva restored seems to be a contemporary unofficial copy to serve as a fraction of the main copper denomination.

A supposedly unique copper coin of Padama was described by Bayley from his own cabinet:

Obv. Elephant to left, rude execution
Legend ?Śrī Padama? Pakama? Vakama?

Rev. Lion to right, spirited execution
Wt. 33 gr. (= 2·14 gm.)

Its present whereabouts are unknown, but the coin illustrated in Bayley’s line engraving can be read as Śrī Vaka De: and as the cross-stroke of the ka is at the edge of the flan at the top and the last letter of the legend is off flan at the side, the legend could well be the normal Śrī Vakka Deva. The coin in any case has the T, underneath the lion of the fifth and last issue of Vakka and falls in the correct weight range for that issue. There is therefore no good reason to regard Bayley’s coin as anything other than a normal copper coin of Vakka issue (vi).

This detailed numismatic analysis, which establishes the chronological sequence of the principal issues of the Bull and Horseman silver coins and their associated copper denominations, throws considerable light on the chronological range of the series and enables us to relate a number of external synchronisms with recognized stages in the sequence.

The types of Bull and Horseman series seem to have been influenced strongly by earlier coinages. The horseman had been a recurrent device of the Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians. It was not used by the Kushano-Sassanians, but it was introduced again in

1 NC 1882, 128 ff.
2 Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum i, pl. vii, viii.
3 Ibid. i, pl. xii, xiii, xv, etc.
the silver coinage of the kings of Zābul. The earliest horseman of the Bull and Horseman silver resemble the Zābul [Pl. XVIII. c] horseman quite closely—not only in type but also in treatment and fabric. The Indian humped bull had also been used widely on the earlier Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coinages, but the recumbent humped bull of the Bull and Horseman silver perhaps owes less to these early examples than to the recumbent humped bull on the copper coins struck in the name of Mihirakula.

Moreover both the silver and copper denominations of Spalapati follow closely the denominations of their prototypes, and were clearly intended to be the successors in the Kābul valley and north-west Punjab of the monetary system of the Chionite Ephthalites in those localities. The earliest silver issues of Spalapati were struck to the same standard 3·4 to 3·5 gm. as the silver coins of the kings of Zābul; and the earliest copper issues of Spalapati were struck to the same standard 3·0 to 3·5 gm. as the Bull type copper coins of Mihirakula.

The earliest silver Bull and Horseman coins, the first issue with the legend Śrī Spalapati Deva, have a legend in cursive Bactrian script—a form of writing derived from debased cursive Greek—which reproduces the Śāradā legend on the obverse. In subsequent issues the Bactrian is misunderstood and rapidly becomes a decorative formalized design in much the same way as the Greek legend on the earliest coins of the Western Satraps had been misunderstood in subsequent issues but retained as a decorative border. This cursive script had been used on the later Kushan, Kushano-Sassanian, and Chionite Ephthalite coinages and its use on the earliest Bull and Horseman silver seems to have been derived from these earlier coinages, and in particular from the Horseman coinage of the kings of Zābul.

As the earliest issue of silver coins of Spalapati is so closely related to the Horseman coins of Zābul in size, fabric, weight standard, and the use of cursive Bactrian as well as in the use of the horseman, the date of the Zābul coins is clearly of prime importance in establishing the commencement of the Shāhi silver coinage of Spalapati. Ghirshman attributes these coins of the king of kings of Zābul to the end of the fifth and first half of the sixth century A.D.—to the dynasty of

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1 Ghirshman, op. cit. 37 f.
2 Ibid., pl. x, xii, xiv.
3 BMCl Andhras &c. cxcli f.
4 Ibid. 39.
5 Whitehead, op. cit., pl. iii, iv, vi, vii.
6 Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians, pl. viii, 2.
7 Ghirshman, op. cit. 37 f. and 61 ff.
Toramāna and Mihirakula. The beginning of the coinage of the Shāhīs with the first issue of Spalapati would therefore belong to the middle of the sixth century A.D. after the defeat of the Hūnas by Yaśodharman’s confederacy c. A.D. 528 and the death of Mihirakula subsequent to his treacherous attack on the kingdom of Gandhāra c. A.D. 542. But this chronology for the Shāhī coinage poses very serious problems. Such a major continuing coinage as that of Spalapati must have been issued by the dominant power in the Kābul, Kapiśa, Western Gandhāra region. The close control of its silver quality and weight standard through so many successive issues equally shows that it must have been the product of a sound economy and stable political power, and throughout all the issues with Spalapati there is no indication of any explicit change of sovereignty. During the early seventh century A.D. the dominant power was Kapiśa. The position in A.D. 630 is described by Hiuen Tsiang. The king of Kapiśa, a Kshatriya by caste, being brave and determined has brought into subjection the neighbouring countries, some ten of which he rules. The picture is amplified by the descriptions of the next states Hiuen Tsiang visits. Lan Po (Lamghan) is described as having lately become tributary to Kapiśa. Na-kie-lo-ho (Nagarahāra) has no chief ruler—the commandant and his subordinates coming from Kapiśa. In Kien-t’o-lo (Gandhāra) the royal family was extinct and the kingdom was governed by deputies from Kapiśa. Eastern Gandhāra had recently become tributary to Kashmir. But Kapiśa did not remain the principal power. By A.D. 710/11 the king of Zābulistān also ruled over Kapiśa, whose crown had been given to a member of his family; and Marquart has shown that the kingdom of Zābulistān consisted at this time of Kapiśa, Kābul, and Zābulistān proper. In al-Bīrūnī, on the other hand, the powerful rulers in this region before the Brahman kings who preceded the Muslim conquest were neither the kings of Kapiśa nor those of Zābulistān, but the Hindu Shāhīs of Kābul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin; al-Bīrūnī complains that the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, but says explicitly that rule remained among the Shahiya of Kābul and his descendants for generations, the number of which is said to be about sixty. As Hiuen Tsiang describes Kābul as being governed by a Turkı king, successive Turki kings must

1 Vincent Smith, The Early History of India 337 ff.
2 Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World i, 54 ff.
3 Marquart, Eranaksh 289 ff.
4 al-Bīrūnī’s India ii, 10.
5 Beal, op. cit.
have retained their throne through various changes of suzerainty, being tributary to Kapiša and Zābulistān before they became the principal power themselves. The later stages of the Bull and Horseman silver are certainly the issues of the Hindu Shāhīs of Kābul and the Brahman kings that succeeded them. It is conceivable, I suppose, that in origin the earliest issues of Spalapati could have been the coinage of the powerful king of Kapiša, that was subsequently taken over by the kings of Zābulistān and then by the Shāhīs of Kābul. But there is no trace of any such changes in the series. It is also possible, I suppose, that the series might have been introduced by the Turki Shāhīs when they were still tributary to Kapiša and Zābulistān. But it is far more likely that the Bull and Horseman series was introduced after the kings of Kābul had become the principal power in the area during the eighth century A.D. Intrinsic probability is heavily reinforced in this instance by the evidence of the Bactrian legend on the earliest issue of Spalapati and the way in which it is so rapidly misunderstood. At the time of Hiuen Tsiang’s visit early in the seventh century, the twenty-five letter Bactrian alphabet (the twenty-four letters of the normal Greek alphabet plus san) were used in Tokharistan, Bamiyan, Kapiša, and probably in Zābulistān, i.e. from the Oxus to the frontiers of Seistan. The puzzling feature about the use of Bactrian script on the Shāhī coins is not so much its initial adoption—that is adequately explained by the Zābul Horseman coinage from which the Bull and Horseman issues seem to be closely derived. The puzzle is rather how the Bactrian legend can be misunderstood so rapidly. It would be impossible to explain this rapid corruption of the legend if the coinage belonged to the early seventh century—the time of Hiuen Tsiang when Bactrian was the normal alphabet of these countries. On the other hand, the rapid corruption would be readily understandable if it were the archaistic survival of earlier usage—and that would probably be the position in the mid eighth century A.D. when the kingdom of Kābul became the principal power instead of Zābulistān; and a date later in the eighth or early in the ninth century would also fit much better the epoch for the use of Šāradā script. The only argument for a seventh-century beginning for the Bull and Horseman series is its close link with the Zābul Horseman coins. What then is the evidence for Ghirshman’s date at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century for the Zābul Horseman coins?  

1 Ghirshman, op. cit. 64 f.
minister who supplanted his master Lagatürmān, the last king of the ancient Turkī (or Kushān) dynasty of Kābul. But he comments that ‘the arrangement of these various kings in proper order is extremely difficult and in fact impossible at present’. The basic difficulty is that the names in al-Bīrūnī’s list of Hindu Shāhis after the Turkī Shāhi Lagatürmān: ¹

Kallar
Sāmand
Kamalū—Rai of Hindustān at time of ’Amru Lais (A.D. 878–90)
Bhīm—ruling in period A.D. 950–8
Jāipāl
Ānandapāla
Tarojanapāla, killed A.D. 1021
Bhimapāla, killed A.D. 1026

do not correspond very closely with the names most commonly found on the Bull and Horseman coinage. Śrī Spalapati Deva and Śrī Vakka Deva of the coins do not have even a remote equivalent in al-Bīrūnī’s list. Cunningham has identified Śrī Sāmanta Deva of the coins with Sāmand, and Śrī Bhīma Deva with Bhīm, but the identifications have been questioned: and even if we were able to accept them with confidence we should still be left with a large number of coins not attributable to any of al-Bīrūnī’s kings, and several kings in al-Bīrūnī’s list who are left completely coinless.

The obverse legends on the coins and some additional letters on the reverse are in Sāradā script which Vogel has shown to be derived from Brāhmī through Western Gupta and Kuṭīla script. Kuṭīla, of which Sāradā is shown to be the immediate descendant, continued up to the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century A.D. which thus becomes the epoch of Sāradā.²

On the distribution of Bull and Horseman silver there is little to add to the impressions recorded by E. Thomas,³ which have proved remarkably accurate:

Spalapati—found in considerable numbers in Afghanistan but comparatively less abundant in the Punjab and north India.
Sāmanta—common in and around Kābul and even more plentiful in the Punjab and north-west Hindustan.
Bhīma—found in Kabulistan but seldom if ever in India.

¹ al-Bīrūnī’s India, edited by E. Sachau ii, 13.
² Vogel Antiquities of Chamba State / Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 36.
³ JRAS 1848, 181.
It is merely that this and one other issue of coins of Zābulistān bear the titles ŠA/HONAŠA/ZABVΛΛ, i.e. king of kings—a title not otherwise used by the kings of Zābulistān; and that they also have legends in Brahmi which proves the extension of their possessions towards the east and justifies the appearance of their new title.1 Ghirshman connects this with Mihirakula and Toramāṇa and sees in the abandonment of the Sassanian type the defeat of Peroz and the release of the Chionite Ephthalites from their Persian vassalage. But Ghirshman’s analysis of the subsequent fortunes of the south Chionites of Zābulistān has established the dynasty’s continuing existence down to the time of the Saffarid Ya’qūb b. al-Laith2 shortly before A.D. 870 (A.H. 256). And the circumstances at the beginning of the eighth century offer another equally possible occasion for the assumption of the grander title of ‘king of kings’ and for the employment of Brahmi—when the king of Zābulistān acquired the crown of Kapiša by marriage, ruled Kapiša and Kābul as well as Zābulistān, and presumably became heir to the extensive hegemony of the prince of Kapiša. The height of Chionite power must indeed have been in the time of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula: but the assumption of more grandiose titulature after the height of Chionite power had passed would merely be a repetition of the process we can trace on the Arachosian coinage of the later Indo-Parthians. At the height of its power Gondophares the Great ruled an extensive kingdom from Seistan to the East Punjāb but on his Arachosian coinage is merely styled βασιλεύς αυτοτορφ, whereas Orthaghes and the later kings who had lost the east and west Punjāb are styled βασιλεύς βασιλεύω μεγας.3 Such a late date for the Zābul Horseman coinage, at the time of the re-emergence of Chionite power at the beginning of the eighth century, would mean that its successor—the earliest Bull and Horseman silver of Spalapati—belonged to the power that succeeded Zābulistān in Kābul and Kapiša, i.e. the Turki kingdom of Kābul after it had secured the hegemony that Kapiša had once enjoyed.

The date for the end of Group II—the point at which the silver denomination suddenly collapsed and was replaced by the billon coinage of Group III—can be fixed with some precision in the second half of the tenth century. The billon coinage of Sāmanta Deva was copied extensively by the dynasties of Ajmūr, Delhi, and Narwar. The earliest known example of these derivative coinages is the billon of Sallakshaṇa Pāla Deva, one of the Tomar kings of Delhi and Kanauj

1 Ghirshman, op. cit. 38.
2 Ibid. 114.
3 Cf. NC 1965, 142.
The additional evidence of subsequently recorded finds enables us to quantify some of these impressions, but involves no change in these general conclusions. Although this coinage as a whole is common in bazaars in Afghanistan and the Punjab, comparatively few finds have in fact been systematically noted. Few finds of copper as distinct from billon coins are recorded; but it is perhaps worth noting that the copper coins of Spalapati are rare at Taxila, but those of Vakka are as common as those of Samanta.

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The distinction between the distribution of the silver of Spalapati and that of Sāmanta is clearly important, and it is no doubt significant that it broadly corresponds with the affinities of the two legends. Cunningham points out that Spalapati is a sanskritized version of a Persian title for commander-in-chief (śpāda means 'army' in old

1 Prinsep, op. cit. 300.
2 This collection was made at Kābul, and reflects finds made in the locality.
3 Lists of Coins and Medals of Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar, 7 ff.
4 J. Marshall, Taxila ii, 794.
5 Coin in possession of Mr. Thomas, dug up during ploughing near Rawalpindi, 1908.
6 Lucknow Provincial Museum Coin Lists xxi, xxii, xxiii.
7 A. W. Botham, Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam 33 ff.
8 Catalogue of the Existing Collection of Coins in the Nagpur Museum 1.
Persian); and that Sāmanta has the same significance in Sanskrit. In the reverse field of some coins of both Spalapati and Sāmanta are figures that have been read as dates by Bayley and Vincent Smith. 802, 812, 813, 814, 815, and 817 'in numerals of a form intermediate between those of the medieval Indian mints and the modern Arabic forms'. Vincent Smith argues that if the same dates occur on the coins of both Spalapati and Sāmanta, this supports the suggestion that both those titles may have been used by one king, the Kallar of Alberūnī and the Lallīya of the Kashmir chronicle, and suggests the hypothesis that coins with the Persian title were struck at mints situated in the territory west of the Indus which was formerly included in the Persian empire whereas those with the Sanskrit title were issued in the Punjāb.

At first sight this seems an extremely attractive explanation of the different geographical distribution of the two groups. But the interpretation of the figures as dates has now been rendered untenable by Ghirshman's ³ discovery that there is a legend CPI СПАЛАПАТИ in a cursive script that he calls Tokharian and can now be recognized as Bactrian in this position on some coins of Spalapati. As soon as we realize this we can see that the figures which have been interpreted as numerals are in fact merely the corrupt remains of this cursive legend copied and progressively misunderstood by successive moneysers. A large number of coins can be arranged in sequence to show the progressive deterioration. It is particularly significant that anything resembling the cursive Bactrian legend closely is invariably found on a coin of Spalapati, whereas the latest stages when the denomination sinks into billon invariably have the legend Śrī Sāmanta Deva. This in fact provides the key to the chronological sequence of the principal groupings of the coinage.

The Bull and Horseman silver and billon coins are all of approximately the same size and weight and were clearly intended to pass as the same denomination. But during the course of the series there was a progressive deterioration in the real silver content similar to the decline in the quality of the Roman imperial denarius. ⁴ A careful analysis of the detailed treatment of the types reveals a number of

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1 Remarks on Certain Dates Occurring on the Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kabul', NC 1882, 128.

² IMC i, 245.

³ R. Ghirshman, Les Chîmites—Hephthalites 40, note 1. I think it is equally possible to read CPI СПАЛАПАТИ which would be the same as the obverse legend—rather than the CPI СПАЛАВАА that Ghirshman suggests.

⁴ Cf. M. Grant, Roman Imperial Money 245.
progressive changes that correspond broadly with changes in the real value of the denomination. There is a progressive stylization of both bull and horseman, in which features of the types were misunderstood and then copied again with further misunderstandings.

The three major groupings of the primary Bull and Horseman coins of Kābul and Gandhāra are:

I. Silver coins with Śrī Spalapati Deva struck between 3.1 and 3.5 gm. with a remarkably uniform content of 70 per cent. gold and silver,¹ with the types in good style, and a reverse legend in cursive script which is faithfully copied but progressively misunderstood.

II. Silver coins with Śrī Sāmanta Deva—struck to a slightly lower weight standard between 2.9 and 3.3 gm. with good metal but more variety in purity ranging from 61 to 70 per cent. gold and silver. The reverse legend merely survives now as a stylized design, and other features of the types have been copied and progressively misunderstood.

III. Billon coins with Śrī Sāmanta Deva struck to a good weight standard but now merely billon with a gold and silver content of 25 to 30 per cent. There is a further sharp deterioration and progressive stylization of design.

The comparatively rare coins with the legends Śrī Khudavayaka and Śrī Bhima Deva seem to belong to the second of these three major groupings. They are struck in reasonably good silver but their metal has the wider variations in percentage of gold-silver of group II, and this is the indication of context that the types themselves would suggest. The extensive series of billon coins struck by other medieval Indian dynasties in imitation of the Bull and Horseman series seem to constitute later phases of the coinage of group III.

Within each of these three major groupings, further stages can also be distinguished and a number of these can also be set in their relative chronological context.

In the first major group—the silver coins with the legend Śrī Spalapati Deva, there are three principal forms of reverse legend:

(a) One in a cursive script [Pl. XVII. 1] similar to that on the coins of the kings of Zabul²—clearly Bactrian script.

¹ For the analyses of silver coins of the Shāhis see Appendix B.
² Ghirshman, op. cit. 37 f.
(b) A legend in characters that seem to be Brahmi [Pl. XVII. 4]
and is similar to that on the Ephthalite coins of Khinggila.¹

(c) A simplified form of legend which resembles an Arabic 811
[Pl. XVII. 12] similar to that found on the silver Shāhi coins
with Śrī Sāmanta Deva [Pl. XVII. 22 ff.].

An attractive hypothesis would be that the coinage belonged to
three distinct mints and that the issues were contemporary but
designed in the first instance for different eparchies of the kingdom
of the Shāhis. But it can, I think, be demonstrated that the three
distinct forms of reverse legend cannot in fact be contemporary. The
quality of silver in the coins of Spalapati is remarkably constant.
Seven of the eight coins analysed have a gold and silver content
within 1 of 70 per cent. But each of the three categories distinguished
by their form of reverse legend has a different point of concentration
when plotted in a frequency table and was clearly being struck to a
different weight standard. Coins with the legend in cursive Bactrian
or corrupted Bactrian have a point of concentration at 3.4 to 3.5 gm.²
Coins with the Brahmi type legend have a point of concentration
between 3.3 and 3.4 gm. And coins with the Arabic type legend have
a point of concentration between 3.0 and 3.2 gm., which is very close
to the weight range of the coins of Sāmanta that also have the Arabic
type legend. It seems clear that there was a gradual and progressive
reduction in weight of the standard silver denomination. This is a
process well known from other coin series in antiquity—probably to
ensure that the weight of newly minted coins was not materially
higher than the average weight of worn coins of earlier issues still
remaining in circulation. Pliny³ explicitly mentions the progressive
reduction in the weight of the Roman aureus in first century A.D., and
the process he describes is reflected in the weights of well-preserved
aurei of successive emperors.⁴ There is a comparable and progressive
reduction in the weight standard of the copper tetradrachms of the
Kushān dynasty,⁵ in the copper denomination of the coinage of
Ancient Nepal,⁶ and in the Arachosian copper denomination of the
later Indo-Parthians.⁷ As the silver content of the coins of Spalapati

¹ Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians (1962 reprint from NC 1893/4), 110 and Pl.
VII, 11.
² See Tables of Weights in Appendix A.
³ Pliny, Naturalis Historia xxxiii, 3 (13).
⁴ Plotted in a frequency table in JNSI 1960, 74 Table IIa.
⁵ JNSI 1960, 63 ff.
⁶ JNSI 1959, 39 ff.
is so remarkably constant, the gradual reduction in the weight standard gives a clear key to the succession of the principal issues. And this is amply confirmed, when it is recognized that this sequence coincides with the progressive misunderstanding and stylization of letter forms, and the progressive deterioration of the type.

Closer examination of the reverse legends reveals the curious fact that the Arabic type legend is in fact misunderstood and degenerate rendering of the Brahmi type legend—the Brahmi va detached from the other letters and made an adjunct of the horse’s plume. The next two characters below the horse’s head have been simplified into a line and squiggle, and the rest of the characters have been turned into AII. This throws serious doubt on whether the legend was in fact ever Arabic, although in its final form it certainly resembles Arabic numerals very closely. The Brahmi type legend is indeed in characters that can be read more significantly as Shahi Deva and were probably intended deliberately to be this. But the Brahmi legend also seems to have been derived by copying and misunderstanding the cursive Bactrian legend. This is betrayed by the cursive forms of letters on a coin like that shown in Pl. XVII. 3. The legend is cursive but no longer makes sense. While the engraver copies the forms of his immediate prototype and retains their cursive flavour, he makes the letters that he does not understand into something that he does understand—something resembling Brahmi characters with which he is more familiar. His successor in turn makes the Brahmi characters more distinct and clear on a coin like that in Pl. XVII. 4. The progress can be traced in the letters of the reverse legend above the horse’s head. The cursive sigma rho of ην becomes η in Pl. XVII. 2 and 3 and η, a more familiar Brahmi va (on its side), in Pl. XVII. 4. Eventually this Brahmi letter, separated from the rest of the legend, becomes an appendage to the horse’s plume in Pl. XVII. 7 to 10.

There is a similar and progressive change in the treatment of the coin type. On coins with the cursive Bactrian legend both bull and horseman are rendered in a lively three-dimensional way. The head, though necessarily small, reflects some attempt to show the face and the head-dress of the horseman. The neck, foreleg, and rump of the horse is carefully rounded and raised in a plastic treatment. On coins with the Brahmi type legend, some of this treatment is retained, but we see traces of the progressive change which results ultimately in the flat stylized two-dimensional treatment that characterizes coins with the Arabic type legend.
These progressive changes in the character of the silver coinage of Spalapati can be traced through all the nine principal issues of the coinage that can be distinguished by their use of a characteristic symbol or letter in the reverse field behind the horseman's head. These issues are in fact merely subdivisions of the categories that are defined by the use of different 'scripts' for their reverse legend; and like these primary subdivisions, the nine issues also constitute a successive chronological sequence, each successive issue being struck to a slightly lower weight standard and betraying traces of progressive development and type deterioration.

Issue I, distinguished by the use of a thick bushy banner from the horseman's standard, is earliest in the sequence. The cursive legend can be read on some specimens, starting from one o'clock, as a legend in Bactrian script reproducing the legend of the obverse, in the script that is found on the northern group of Ephthalite coins and on some of the coins of the kings of Zâbul. The plastic three-dimensional treatment of both bull and horse resembles the realism of the coins of the kings of Zâbul. [Pl. XVII. 1.]

Issue II is distinguished by the four or five streamers used to show the banner of the horseman's standard. The reverse legend retains a cursive continuous appearance, and reflects the loops and vertical strokes of the Bactrian script in issue I but one or two of its components have now begun to reflect Brahmi letter forms. [Pl. XVII. 2.]

Issue III is distinguished by the letter Ы (which is probably an initial ọ rather than gra) in the reverse field behind the horseman's head. Its reverse legend is still cursive but it retains much less of the Bactrian character of issue I. Brahmi letter-forms are rather more evident. [Pl. XVII. 3.]

Issue IV has a bow and arrow form of decoration on the standard behind the horseman. The earlier cursive script has now been transformed into distinct and separate characters which constitute a literate Brahmi legend Shâhi Deva, read outwardly from 5 o'clock. [Pl. XVII. 4, 5, 6.]

Issue V is distinguished by its modification of this decoration on the horseman's standard. The loop to the right of the standard becomes a dot, and instead of the bow and arrow form to the left there

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1 Cf. Chhabra, Antiquities of Chamba State ii. Initial ọ does not occur in the Śāradā inscriptions published by Vogel, but it does occur in this form in the late Śāradā material published by Chhabra.
is a single continuous cross-piece with two lines above. This seems to have been a conscious development from the bow and arrow form of issue IV and occasional hybrid coins illustrate the process of transition (see Pl. XVII. 6). This issue has a number of varieties that are marked by a series of letters below the horse—but examples of these varieties are too infrequent for any attempt to be made to set them in sequence; and the majority of coins in the issue either have no letter or at least no letter visible on the coin as it survives. During this issue the rump and forepart of the horse are accentuated. The centre part of the animal becomes more attenuated. The Brahmi letter व is more separated from the rest of the reverse legend by the horse’s head. [Pl. XVII. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.]

Issue VI has घ ka in the reverse field behind the horseman’s head. Most of the coins in this issue have no other distinguishing feature, but one variety has three dots below the front paw of the horse. There is now virtually nothing left of the reverse Brahmi legend. The letter at 1 o’clock has become a cross and is now part of the horse’s plume. The lower part of the legend has now become a squiggle and अ, that makes it look like an Arabic numeral. [Pl. XVII. 12, 13.]

Issue VII has छ left of the horseman’s head. The reverse legend is further simplified to a straighter squiggle in front of the horse before the अ. The centre part of the horse’s body is very attenuated and the rendering of the types is now very stylized and two-dimensional. [Pl. XVII. 14.]

Issue VIII has ज probably अ of the horseman’s head. [Pl. XVII. 15.]

Issue IX has ज and an additional symbol below the horse. [Pl. XVII. 16, 17, 18.]

In the second major group—the silver coins with the legend श्री Sāmanta Deva and the allied issues with श्री Bhīma Deva and श्री Khudavayaka—the same slight but progressive reduction in real silver content may possibly have continued. But it is much more difficult to use this category of evidence to suggest any clear chronological sequence. There is a wider variation in the purity of silver used with a gold and silver content that ranges from 61 to 70 per cent; and there is no significant difference in weight standard between most of the principal varieties. If the slight but progressive reduction continued, it must have been achieved by the more subtle and recherché device
A Short History of Afghanistan—Vol II

Habibi, Abdul Hai, A Short History of Afghanistan, Vol. II, Historical
And Literary Society of Afghanistan Academy, Government Printing Press,
Kabul, Afghanistan, 1970, 201 Pages,

The book after a brief introduction starts with the fourth chapter of the
series. This chapter contains information about the advent of Changiz Khan
and ends with the last Changizid King.

The fifth chapter consists of the most interesting period of the history of
this land—that is the Timurid of Herat, the governors of Kunar and Yosofzai,
the Indian Timurids, Arghonids, Ozbek and Safavids.

The chapter on Roshanid movements in the history of thought and innova-
tion of this land is interesting. The leader of this movement was the fam-
ous Bayazid Roshan who fought for the independence of the Afghan land
against foreign invasion of any kind. He fought but was not successful in
his campaign, yet his campaigns were not useless since after him several
more of these campaigns took place in the land of the Paxtoons.

By the same token the author discusses the movements of Abdulids, am-
ong whom Ahmad Shah the Great is known in regard to his invasions of In-
dia and Iran. The Hotakids did not lag behind either in their campaigns for
national integrity. Mirwais Khan Hotak, the leader of these movements,
fought the Gorgin and freed the nation.
Afghanistan

The last chapter of this book is devoted to the history of the Mohammad Zai clan of Afghanistan. Here mention has been made of the Barikzais, and Mohammad Zais among Amir Dost Mohammad Khan was the first founder of the Mohammad Zai clan. Then further details have been presented about the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan, Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, and Amir Habibullah Khan. Although this book is very short, from the view point of a chronology of the history of Afghanistan and events which have occurred in this country it is a useful source of quick information.


The booklet on the History of Mazar-i-Sharif is an ancient manuscript which was written by Abdul Ghafoor Lari Herawi. As is mentioned in the introduction by Mayel-i Herawi, Abdul Ghafoor Lari was living during the time of Jami the famous poet and sufi of the 9th century Islam.

As the annotator himself says, the content of this booklet may not prepare clearcut ideas about the history of this part of Afghanistan, however, there are points which give some information.

The booklet consists of a very long introduction by the annotator and the content of the calligraphed copy which is interpreted by foot-notes. The first and the last pages of the inscribed copy are blocked and published as in the original of the booklet.

For better or worse, if the booklet is not perfect, it is at least a publication which has been added to the books and publications for the compilation of information on Balkh and Mazar-i-Sharif.
Results of New Excavation in Tapa-i-Sardar

This year the excavation campaign carried out by the Italian Archaeological Mission has been closed with more than rewarding results.

The excavations since 1967 have steadily progressed at Tapa Sardar, a hill close to Ghazni, where one of the most important Buddhist shrines of Afghanistan has been found.

Though the documents regarding the pre-Islamic Ghazni are scarce and often contradictory, we know for certain that it was one of the major centres of a kingdom, that of Zabol, the importance of which, between the 6th

Fragment of a polychrome wall painting from the later period.
century A.D. and the Islamic conquest, was not at all negligible.

Therefore the excavations at Tapa Sardar seem to be very precious to understand the character of the last phase of Buddhism in the old Arachosia. That is the reason why more and more the particular effort, scientific as well as financial, of the Italian institute for the Middle and Far East (IMEO) is brought to bear. Prof. G. Tucci, president of the Institute, has called the writer to direct the work of the Mission.

A terra-cota head of a princely figure from the earlier period of Tapa Sardar.

The result of past years are well known: the finding of the great central stupa, the smaller stupas in baked clay all around it, and the series of chapels decorated with sculptures and reliefs, also in unbaked clay. These sculptures form one of the most important decorative complexes of Buddhist plastic art of Afghanistan, like Hadda and Fondukistan.

But, if one compares the last two, Tapa Sardar has the advantage to show a clear stratigraphy to which the sculptural material can be related in a direct way. In fact the earliest archaeological strata have yielded a great amount of material both in fire-baked and unbaked clay, which will give us a chronological succession of the styles, based at last on objective and non controversial data.

What is surprising is that in the oldest finds the artistic qua-

A monkey performing meditation from unbaked clay decoration the later period.
This year the artistic panorama at Tapa Sardar has been enlarged, and we could say completed, thanks to the finding of a number of fragments of wall paintings; some of quite large dimensions. The colours are vivid, though supported on a plaster made of mud and straw.

This of course creates a lot of difficulties in recuperating the precious fragments fallen down when the walls of mud bricks collapsed. But the technicians of the Mission have now perfected a technique, which gives very good results, not only in detaching the paintings but in their consolidation once off the building’s rubble.

The paintings like the sculptures open new perspectives in the study of the artistic evolution of this region.

Though Ghazni is placed on the road which connected Iran to Kabul and the Indus through Herat and Kandahar as it is still today, it shows to be part of the Central Asian cultural area. Much more than the paintings at Bamian, more indianised or iranianised, the new finds at Tapa Sardar seem to refer to the great schools of Central Asia, showing, against former thoughts, that the Ghazni region enjoyed not only from Iran, but also from India. A fact which leads certainly to consider with more attention the historical development of the country.

At last, the excavation campaign of this year has brought to light a fair amount of fragments of ceramic, some of them with inscriptions in Kharoshthi and Brahmi writing: one fragment shows an inscription in graeco-bactrian letters.

It is already since a few years ago that fragments of manuscripts were found. We hope to be able to take them temporarily to Italy to restore and study them, as one of the best institutes for treatment of books, capable of salvage the delicate fragments from utter destruction, is in Rome. Only after restoration it will be possible to study the manuscripts.

If on the one hand, the Italian Mission has brought to light, a group of buildings, most of them well preserved up to the vaults and rich in sculptures and paintings, which open a new page in the history of architecture as the visual arts of Afghanistan. On the other hand soon it will be possible, considering the documentary material found at Tapa Sardar, to allow us to have a deeper insight into a period up to now not well known, but surprisingly fertile of the history of the country.

Maurizio Taddei