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THE ORBIT OF AFGHAN STUDIES
A Lecture given at the Society’s Inaugural Meeting
H. W. Bailey

The intense interest in the Afghanistan of today, which has led to the foundation of the Society for Afghan Studies and to the establishment of a British Institute in Kabul with a Director and a view to extensive research, can be traced to at least four factors. There is first the adjacency to the Indian sub-continent with which Britain has had so long a connexion, with Paštun or Pathán on either side of the Pakistan frontier, with all its complexities of modern diplomacy and the rapid development of communication in this second half of the twentieth century, that is, then, an interest of traveller or of student of politics in a newly accessible country. The second factor can be seen in the history of the land for the past 2500 years (and even earlier of the dark name before the Achaemenians Persians advanced to the Hindūs land) which was earlier widely familiar to Classical scholars and with which even now in spite of the more restricted knowledge of the Classics many are acquainted. The third factor is the great present-day interest in archaeology, often linked with the discovery of ancient works of art, forgotten but when found nowadays highly valued. The fourth factor is the more recent art, of book illumination, of carpet-weaving or of ceramics, and the fascination of local literatures, here in Afghanistan, either in the Persian, Fārsī, language, or, from the time of the now nationally appreciated writer Khūshāl Khān Khūtak of the time of Aurang-zeb, Emperor of Hindūstān (1659-1707), in the Paštō language.

Of the first factor I have little to say here. Travellers love to see new sights, delight in mountains and little explored lands; the student of politics watches with interest developments in modern states; botanists too have been busy, some recently visiting Wakhān. We have a recent study (in 1965) of the nomenclature of the mushroom. It is only in Afghanistan and Balūchistān that the ancient name of the sacred hauma-plant is still used in the names dāma and házān. The presence of grapes in the Afghan mountains was known in ancient India and wine from grapes from various regions such as Kāpilāyana and Haraḥuraka is listed in the ancient political book, the Sanskrit Arthasastrā of Kautilya in the chapter on intoxicant beverages. The new periodical Studia Iranica I, 1972, has given pages 89-102 to a study of the personal and family names in northern Afghanistan, and a study of wheat in Afghanistan fills pages 103-126.

History however touches most of us seriously. For the very early period we have the Greek texts and the ancient traditions of the book sacred to the followers of the patigamabara-, paryumbar, ‘message-bearer’, or in the terms of a different civilization ‘prophet’, Zarāb-uṣṭra, Zoroaster, that is, the book usually now called Avesta, by an ancient word earlier in Zoroastrian Pahlavī books, Apastāka, meaning either the ‘Book of Commandments’ or the ‘Book of Praise’. Traces of this ancient tradition can be seen in the Ormūrī retention of the word ābhisṭa- for ‘reading’, and in the Sogdian wakītam-au, Turfan Middle Persian wakīst-āw, and Fārsī bihist for the sense near to ‘paradise’.

The Greek sources are familiar in Europe. For 400 years they have been intensively investigated. Herodotus and his predecessors in the 6th and 5th centuries before our era, and the geographers Strabo and Ptolemaios in the first and second centuries of our era abound in references to Asia as far as India and China. The Hellenistic historians told of the explorations of Alexandros of Makedon and his successors the Greek kings of Baktria. By the Greek impingement upon India these Greeks, as Yavana, received mention in some old Indian books. A great merit of these Greek texts was to assure a sound chronology for this period.

The Avesta is an indigenous book produced over some centuries. The oldest part, the Gāthās, seventeen poems in artistic verse of the time of the paryumbar ‘message-bearer’ Zarāb-uṣṭra, is not yet precisely located. But other parts of the Avesta know the river Dāityā which the Zoroastrian tradition held to be the Oxus, now the Amū-dārīyā. In the famous poem to the divine Miθra the poet delimits the Aryan-saṇā ‘the dwelling of the Aryan people’ his own people. In his poem he sang of the land Aryan-saṇā, of the eastern mountain Harā behind which the sun rose, then of the lands with four recognizable names Margu, Haraiva, Sughda and Hvārizma-, the modern Merv, Herat, Sogdiana (Sūyrd) with the capital Samarkand, and Khwārīzam, east of the Caspian Sea. In another prose text, the famous first chapter of the Vidēv-dāt or Vendidd, there is a list of sixteen lands, of which the first is the Aryan-vāja, ‘the wide expanse of the Aryan folk’, a memory of which in a Manichean Sogdian book as Aryan vēstu. The Avesta names also the people Sārīnīa-, whom the Greeks called Sarmatai, remembered in the name Salīn in Persian epic poetry, whose name was given to the Vla Sarmatarum passing through Rheims in early France and is found in the Ribchester inscription of the 3rd century AD, left by some of the 5500 Sarmatae whom the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Sarmaticus sent to Britain in the 2nd century.
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Also the name of the people Daha- is in the Avesta, whom the Greeks called Daai, Daai, known later in the name of the land called Dihistän east of the Caspian Sea, and the name of the people called Hyaona-, who are represented with their king Arjâtaspa as hostile to Zarad-üstra and his patron king Vištâspa.

The ancient inscriptions of the Achaemenian king Dâraya-vahût, Dareâis, Dareis (522-486 BC) also record people and lands to the east of Parsa (Persis) his own homeland. Here are Harâva, Bâxtriś, Suguda, (H)uvârazmiś, Zrânka, Hara(h)uvâtî, Gotâguś, Maźiyâ, Gandâra, Hindûš, Sakâ.

Of these Arya peoples before, in the 2nd century BC, the northern Arya came south into these lands, possibly the two groups of Parâči-speakers and Ormurî-speakers represent small remnants. But after the time of Alexandros of Makedon, who died in 323 BC, the Greek writers report that the kingdom of his successors in Baktria was invaded from the north.

Now the ancient Persian inscriptions divide the Saka peoples into four groups. There were the Sakâ para-draya 'beyond the Black Sea', the Sakâ tigraxaudâ 'with tall hats', the Sakâ haumavargâ 'the ritualists of the hauma-libations', and the Sakâ para Sugdam 'the Saka beyond Sogdiana' on the Iaxartes river, the modern Syr-dârî. The Greek historian Herodotos stated that these Saka were the people the Greeks called Skthai, our Scythians. The Persian texts place these Saka peoples in the north from the Danube around the Caspian Sea as far as the Iaxartes. It is not stated that they spoke one form of the Arya language, but when we trace these Saka peoples later in their new homes we find a largely similar language in the texts of 1500 years later in the Tarim river region of Central Asia, in the languages spoken in the Pamir mountains of Afghanistan and in the remnants of the languages of the Sarmatai, Alani, Sakai, and Arians still spoken in the Caucasus. I propose to assume this group of Arya languages to be closely related and will use the name 'North Aryâna' for it to avoid the terms which have become ambiguous over the years. Although we can thus unify them linguistically with evidence from ancient Achaemenian and later Aryâna texts, from Greek references, Chinese records and Indian inscriptions and books, yet as the Saka come in the 2nd century before our era within sight of the Greek historians they bear separate ethnic names. Their own traditions were not recorded in their own words and the historian must gather up small fragments of information of various value from many disparate sources.

Another ancient part of Afghanistan, Kamboja-, is known as an Aryâna-speaking kingdom, but only in Old Indian books, from about 300 before our era. In the later Asoka inscriptions they were associated with the Yavana Greeks. The location of Kamboja is unsettled. In Tibetan books they identified Kamboja with Thoggar, Tokhârâstân, but the connection with Yavana in Asoka inscriptions has suggested rather the Ghzana and Kandahâr territory. Recently in the volume dedicated to the memory of V. Minorsky I put together references to Kamboja with an attempt to trace the name in other parts of the Aryâna world. The Buddhist missionary fervour of the Emperor Asoka, who died in year 232 BC led to the translation of his edicts into Aramaic, a literary language of the Achaemenian empire, and into Greek, of which partial copies in inscriptions were recently found near Kandahar. They have, like all such discoveries, illuminated some of the many dark places in early history. From the Greek translation of the word prashâna by diatrâbi 'discussion' it seems clear that the word meant 'those who discuss the Buddhist religion', and thus is an Aryâna word from fraś- 'to question, to study', to place beside other Aryâna words in these north-west Asoka inscriptions. It is then connected with Khotan Saka pharsu- 'questioning' in the title pharsavatâ: 'questioner, judge', and with Pâsto wrâša 'speech'.

The Greek intermezzo has naturally attracted great attention from Classical scholars in Europe. There was the fantastic personality of Alexandros of Makedon. The followers of Zarad-üstra, the Zardusti, never forgave him in their traditions. They had, they declared, suffered much from his destruction, even of their sacred book, and the quenching of sacred fires. He remained for them the gufasrak Skandar 'accursed Alexander', and dufl-farr 'evil fortune'. But the royal tradition in Persia adapted his legend and absorbed him into the Aryâna tradition so that his name remained famous as Iskandar, and was often bestowed upon sons. He shares largely in the pictures of illuminated manuscripts, not only in Persia, but in Armenian and in Greek manuscripts. The story however was that of the romantic Alexandros, not the hero of authentic history.

A Greek city on the Oxus (Ai Khanum) has since 1963 been in course of excavation, as M. Paul Bernard's reports have made known to us; I have of course nothing to add on that topic. But one must not leave unmentioned the splendid portrait coins of the Greek rulers of Baktria. We would so gladly have had such portraiture on the later Kūšān coins. Here I am more concerned with Aryâna problems of Afghanistan, and particularly the northern Saka peoples.

The name Sakasthana-, in various written sources, books and inscriptions, has survived in the east of Persia in the name Seistăn, earlier in Arabic writers Sîjestân, in Greek Segistanê, Armenian Sakastan, and old Indian Sakasthâna-. In a religious book of the Jains, the Story of the Sage Kâlaka, we can read of how the Saka, here called Saga, were supposed to have entered India from the West. A Juina illuminated manuscript of the 15th century shows their concept of a Saka chieftain. To the Romans the Saga were a people placed far to the east on their maps.
In its wide Achaemenian use the term ‘Saka’ may be held to include the Kušāns, although they do not seem to have used the name of themselves. The most famous of this stock was the Emperor Kuṇiśka. Two conferences both held in London, one in 1913 and the other in 1960, failed to secure agreement on the year of his accession to the empire. Various dates have been proposed. H. Hārtel in the *Indologistentagung* (1971, p. 22) felt able to claim that the stratification at the Sonkha excavation at Mathurā precluded a date for Kuṇiśka later than the first century of our era.

Our scanty documentation from the Kuśān period must not let us assume that the name Kuṇiśka was isolated and imperial only. For, though we have the name as *Kānāṣka* of the Buddhist legends in the languages of Kucha and Karashar, the Tokhara, we find there also the feminine name *Kānaṣka*.

Nor should we forget that the name *Vima* is not known only of Kuṇiśka’s predecessor, OOHOH in Greek script on his coins, and as *Vima* in Kharaśṭhī script, but is found also in the name of the *kalyanamitra- ‘spiritual friend’ Vima* in a document from the kingdom of Gustana, Khotan, of perhaps about 500 of our era. The *kalyanamitrās* were the mainstays in the founding of religious colleges in Khotan, just as the Colleges of Cambridge were founded on similar advice by royal Founders.

Among the problems of the Kuśāns is the important one of their titles. It is fairly clear now that in an Aryāna context the title of Kuju-la Kāphsa or Kadhphises on his coins in Kharaśṭhī script, written *yavuga* and *yavu ga*- is an older Aryāna word *yavuka- or *ydvuka- meaning ‘gatherer of troops’ or ‘troop-leader’. The uncertainty as to the first syllable lies in the Kharaśṭhī and Greek scripts which fail to distinguish short a from long ā. The base is the familiar Aryāna and Old Indian *yau*: *yu* and *yu* ‘to bring together’, in the Avestan *yavayeiti*, *yāta*- and Old Indian *yu*- ‘companion’, *yaitā- ‘group’. It was taken up according to the Chinese Annals by the U-sun, Üe-tshi and K’anggan peoples. The Greek on the Kuśān coins was in the genitive singular ZAOOY. Here the initial γ was replaced by the fuscative ᾱ, as happened regularly also in Khotan Saka. Later the title became a title of the officials in Krōrāna about 300 of our era in the form *yapgu* and *yapgu*. The Chinese used it of the rulers in the Oxus region. The Turks in the 8th century Orkhon inscriptions had *yapgya*, and frequently later as in the Mahrānāmya, *ya/3ya*, *yabu*, *yāβu*, *āβu*, *āβu*, *āβu*, *āβu*, *āβu*.

These secondary forms have changed the order of the sounds *uka- to -gu*. The word has been traced once in Zoroastrian Pahlavi *ywb xk’n*, *ya/3ya xākān*, but is too late to assure a short a in the first syllable. In meaning *yavuga* can be compared to the Greek *otparrγγος*, *strategos ‘troop-commander’, a favourite title of kings. A similar royal title was in Khotan Saka *hinyaṣa-*, Krōrāna *hinyaḥa*, from *hānā ‘troop’, and as- ‘to conduct’.

The dialectology of the Saka languages at present be only a little known. The difficulty of understanding the long clearly written Surkh Kotal inscription is due to this cause. The whole enceinte is called in the inscription MANIZO, indicating *māliča-, in which one would at once see the *mā- from older *hānā-, like that attested in Parāeti of Pačurin *mawor ‘garden wall’ from *hānā-varta- (personal communication, 1967, G. Morgenstierne); and possibly the *mā- in Khotan Saka *mācān-gā- the name for a measure of quantity.

But here a title of interest is. This is the title KAPALPARITA-, *kara-tranga- (found with final -o and -e), for which the 4th century Byzantine Greek form is *κωναράγγης, khanaṟaγγēs in Prokopios, writing of the wars of Justinianus against the Persians (1, 5, 4), glossed by the Greek *stratēgos ‘troop-leader’. The Greater Bundahishn (125, 1-3) reported the removal of a sacred fire from Khvārzam to the region of the Kanārāng (kanarangakān dēh), for which the Shorter Bundahishn gave Kāvulastān. The Arabic historians wrote *knr*, *knri, knr*, and in the poem of Fakhru ‘ldin Gurgānī Vēs u Rāmēn the daughter of the Kanārāng is a guest of the Shāhinhshā Maubad of Marv. The title occurs also in the old preface to the Shāhinhshā.

With the meaning Greek *stratēgos ‘troop-commander’ the analysis is evident: *kara- ‘troop’, connected with New Persian kār ‘fighting’, Zoroastrian Pahlavi kārīk ‘fighter, kārēčār ‘battlefield’, Old Persian kāra- ‘army’, with a derivative of the base dār- ‘to hold, control’, like the New Persian sipah-dār ‘captain’. The variation of initial k- and palatalized č is a constant feature, as in Sogdian čarkās, Ossetic čargas for ‘vulture’ beside New Persian kargas, Avestan *kačkāsa-. This kara- is thus also important for the adjective *carīka- preserved in the Turkish čārık, čārī, Mongol čārīg ‘army’, and as a loan-word in New Persian čārīk, familiar in English as the second component in the term ‘Turkish Janissaries’. The Avestan čyia- is glossed by kirēčār ‘fighter’.

A military title in Khotan Saka candarma- (found only once in the accusative singular candarno) is of especial importance here. It can be traced to an older *cara-daranaka - ‘controller of a troop’ by normal changes. It was replaced in Buddhist texts which sought to ‘civilize’ the foreign word by putting a common Indian word in its place. They put candra- before the name of Kaniṣka, where the Chinese had put candan. In both candra- and candan can be seen the later spelling of Khotan Saka candarna- ‘commander'. But the Buddhist reinterpretated it as the Indian word candra- ‘moon’, whence the Tibetan translator made zla-ba ‘moon’. One is reminded of Patanjali’s interpretation, during the period when the Śaka were a dominant people, of the Indian compound sāka-pārthiva- ‘kings of the Śaka’ by ‘kings who eat vegetables (śāka-)’. The Buddhists may have wished to connect Kaniṣka with the Candra-garba or the Candra-.
van-śa- 'Moon race' of ancient India, as they had claimed for the kings of Khotan descent from the Emperor Asoka.

These two words candarno and karalrange compared together make it possible to trace them both to earlier forms. The one is *kara-daranaka- and the other *kara-daranaka-, both meaning 'troop-commander' like the Greek strategos.

This same candaranaj- can be seen also in the name of the Saka king Sandanās of Ariakē, in the name on the coin CANDANOY BAITO, rendered in the Brāhmī legend by Candana-śeva, and in the name Candana (and Candana-k-) of the police official in the Sanskrit drama Mrc-chhakatika, beside the other names of policemen Sakara- and Āryaka-.

The Buddhist expansion reached Ikakria and there flourished for some centuries. It is natural therefore that inscriptions in the Kharoṣṭhī script should be found in the Buddhist centres. The two sects of the Mahāsāṅghika and the Sarvāstivāda have left inscriptions in that script. In an issue of June 1969 of the Historical Society of Afghanistan, Kābul, a report was published of the discovery of a triple inscription in the Dašt-i-Nāwar, south-west of Kābul, in three scripts, the Greek, the Kharoṣṭhī and a third sort probably a Kharoṣṭhī variety. A publication with photographs is expected shortly from Paris. The inscription contains a date.

A problem of extreme complexity is presented in the name of the northern part of Afghanistan in the early centuries of our era which before the 10th century was called Tokhārāstān. The Greeks reported the name of a people Tócharoi, Tāčaroi with other manuscript variants, who invaded the Greek kingdom of Baktria in the second half of the 2nd century before our era. This name has provoked lively discussion in Europe for over a century. This was accentuated when the new documents from Central Asia were examined. For here the name in various forms appeared in several new texts. In one Khotan Saka text Baktria was stated to be Tathvārā-sthāna, Tokhārāstān.

It is impossible here to set out all the intricacies of the problem. Perhaps I may find time later to put the materials together. But I will indicate where I think the solution of the problems begins.

In Ptolemaios the geographer, writing about 150 of our era, the name Thogara, Thogara, derived from a traveller's report of some twenty years before, is stated to be where the Chinese put their region Kan, the Kan-rost, Thogara, Kan-rost, was the base and centre of the Gharas (Gara) people. The initial was fricative γ- (gh), not occlusive g, which has importance for the Chinese rendering of the name. This city Thogara of the Gara people is almost certainly named from to- 'great' and their own name Gara. As an Arjana word, gara- is an adjective to the word gāri- 'mountain', hence they are the Gara 'hill-men'. Such a designation is familiar elsewhere as in the Old Persian Akausafiyā, later Kofst, Arabicized quafls, or the name mā'aradāl 'hill-men' which the Caucasian Avars called themselves. It is also familiar in the New Persian varčah, ṭařeṣah 'of the mountains' of the Pamirs, and in the region Gharkistān 'mountain land'.

But there is more. The Chinese records assert that in the 2nd century before our era the region south of the Oxus was invaded. The people who were invaded the Chinese called (in modern pronunciation 2000 years later) 'great Hia'. The earlier pronunciation of this syllable Hia (K 136) was 1400 years ago ya, and 1000 years before that g'ū. So far the Chinese evidence allows reconstruction. But that it had some final consonant is established by other evidence. The syllable is written in Khotan Saka script ḡara, as well as simply ḡa, and in Tibetan script ḡa'ū, that is, *wa' with laryngal final sound. Elsewhere also Khotan Saka *r- varies with Tibetan *̥- laryngal. With this reading ḡara in the name Great Hia we have the older pronunciation *Γa-ra- or (unvoiced) xara-. This can hardly be other than a second Chinese spelling of the adjective xara- 'of the mountains'.

The people of Kan-rost, Thogara, where the Gara lived, were called by the Chinese (in modern pronunciation) Če-tši, but 2000 years ago there was fairly clear evidence that the name was a transcription of an Arjana *varčik 'mountain men' with the frequent suffix -čik of ethnic names, as in sāčik 'of Saka', New Persian sāčē.

For the dialect spoken in Tokhārāstān about 1000 of our era we have a few traces in Al-Bairūnī's work, but they are not decisive for its linguistic relationship.

A title of wide extension among the Arjana peoples was that of Old Persian xāyahtiy-, New Persian Šāh 'ruler', with a variety of meanings. The basic concept was 'possession' in the verb xāya- 'to possess', whence 'to dominate'. The adjective xāyav- survives in the Pamirs in Sugthī sāy 'rich man', baγen 'the ruling Khans', and Wākhi šāl 'rich, fat'.

The west Arjana languages used šāh. The Kusān language has PAO, PAIY, with the genitive plural PAONANO. The singular may be traced in stem to either *SAHA- or to *SWAR-, but the plural allows only a base *ŠWAN-. With this Khotan Saka šara-, šava agrees, without inflectional changes. It is however a subordinate title, since in Khotan Saka mau-, was used for 'king'. This feature is itself important for the Če-tši title šie from older šie (K 865, 3) with originally final g, that is, a way to write an Arjana šāh (the -h shown by the -g). This šie was also a subordinate title, in Chinese fu-wang 'viceroy', recorded for the Če-tši in the year AD 90.

We have an abundance of Arjana names. Many of the personal names have obvious meanings, such as Dāraya-wahust 'holding the good' whether interpreted realistically of the good things of this world or mystically of the good in religion; or the name Mithratātes 'given or created by Mithra'. But the shorter ethnic names are very different. Is Dahā-
the ethnic name, identical with Khotan Saka daha- 'man', as contrasted with 'woman', and its cognates? Then the Daha-were called or called themselves 'men' par excellence; but is likely that daha- 'man' was already an epithet indicating some such meaning as 'bold' or 'violent'.

The name Saka- at once suggests sak- 'be able, strong, skilled', as in the oldest Indian Rigvedic su-śaka- 'excellently skilled'. The name Kuśa- at once recalls the base kaus- or kaus- 'to be skilled', in Old Indian coksa- and its cognates. The name Ḡafūlān occurs first in the mid 6th century AD in the encyclopedia of Varāha-Mihira, the Brhat-samhitā. It has several variants. Its next dated occurrence is in the Persian Hudūd al-ʿalam (AD 982) in the form avyān. There are various older words which would result in such a word as avyān at that late date in the language. It could be, for instance, a compound of two nouns, or it could contain a preverb abi-, apa- or upa-, with a word gāna- which in turn could be analysed as gā-na- or gān-a. If it was first *abi-gāna-, did it refer to the lively exuberant men, cognate with Greek eu'derf- and Old Indian āhanā-, or were they rather 'fighters'? There is no way to decide.

The Hyaona- name, cited already, occurs in the Avesta of the enemies of Zarathuṣṭra-'s friends. The word as an adjective meant 'possessor', hence a suitable name for rulers. The identical corresponding Old Indian word was syonī- in the Rigvedic and other Vedic texts. For such an ethnic name one can compare the Vedic bhoja- 'enjoying', then 'prince', and then an ethnic name Bhoja-.

As opponents of Višṭāspa the Hyaona- were located near the Oxus lands. But possibly three hundred or so years later a people called by the Chinese Hiuṅ-nu (older xiwong-nu) appear in Chinese Annals. They were driven westwards. A Sogdian letter of 312 of our era mentions the xwng *huna-; a Khotan Saka poem of about 500 of our era declared that the Huna- people had desolated the Khotan land, as the Chinese reported of the Hiuṅ-nu. The Greeks knew of Ounnoi who attacked Ḫyōn in the time of the Sasanian king Peroz (457-484); then around 500 of our era the Hūna-, Hūna- invaded India. Toramāṇa- and his son Mihirakula- conquered north-west India in 500-520. The name Toramāṇa- seems to have survived as a name Tormān in the ancestry of the modern Khatak family in Afghanistan, while the name Mihirakula- is from *miṭra-kṛta- 'made by Mithra', with Saka dialectal -kula-, as the Sasanian royal name Yazd-kart was *yazata-kṛta- 'made by the yazata-', Izad, 'worshipped beings'. The same adjective yadygyrd was used by the Manicheans in the phrase frh yadygyrd 'fortune created by the yazds'. Both Toramāṇa- and Mihira-kula- are fully Aryāna names.

Just as therefore there seems reason to suspect that part of the Gara- people migrated to the east to Kān-ṭou, Thogara, and later returned under pressure from easterly neighbours in greater part, some withdrew into the Köke-nagur (Kokonor) region, so the Hyaona- of the west seem to have partly migrated to the east and in turn been driven back by similar pressure to Persia.

The name of Kābul is known in the Greek geographer Ptolemaios as Kaboura, Kāpoupo. The Chinese recorded the name as Kau-fu from older kā-b'ju, later as Ka-pu-lo in the T'ang Annals, older kā-pu-4ā. The Zoroastrian Pahlavi wrote k'pwl, k'wl, that is, *kabhula-. But the Later Han Annals of the Chinese replaced the earlier Kau-fu with Tu-mi, older tuo-miet (of which the tuo was used also to render the to- of Tokhara). Here we can safely recognise an Aryāna compound *tāu-mīta- 'great city' as an epithet of a capital city, just as likewise Chinese ta-tu 'great city' was used to refer later to the Mongol capital Khan-balīq 'the city of the ruler', the still later Peking 'capital of the north'. The Khotan Saka had parmihā- for 'region' and 'town' from *pari-mīta-, and Tarmita (in Tibetan) for modern Tirmiz is clearly the compound *tara-mīta- 'crossing place' on the Oxus River.

The Saka name of the Sakas was glorified in Aryāna literary tradition. We shall all think at once of the greatest hero of the Sakas, the heroic Rauta-staxma- 'mighty in bodily strength', in Zoroastrian books, and the Rustam of later sources, who is called Rustam i sasąż, in Armenian rōstom sagerk, that is, Rustām of the Sakas, and who in the epic rules in the region of Zābūl, around modern Ghazna. In the long legend of the ancient Aryāna royal house in the Book of Kings, the Shāhnāmāt of Firdūsī (who died about 1020 of our era), which he had taken from early traditional stories, Rustam is the long-lived champion, living according to the poet 400 years, from Sakastān and Zābulistān. Many illuminated manuscripts of this epic poem exist and in them Rustam is often depicted. I have in my possession one such manuscript written in 1604 of our era in Samarkand by a scribe of Bokhārā containing pictures in a later Timurid style.

Early Saka peoples had no occasion to write books or documents. But once some of them had settled into small states as in Kāšyār, Yarkand, Tumšuq or Khotan, they took to writing. On the adoption of Buddhism they became fluent scribes. From Khotan itself there is a large remnant preserved from their literature, from Tumšuq a little, but from Kāšyār and Yarkand nothing. Of one manuscript from Khotan one folio only numbered 611 has survived from a huge book.

Khotan is thus the only ancient Saka state which we can know intimately from its own writings. We even know the number of the religious colleges called vihāras, in Persian bhār, large, medium and small, where learning was promoted and poetry written. These were often founded by kings or queens of Khotan. One royal name, Vijita...
Sambhava, has been found inserted for blessing (rakṣa) in the text of a Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript. Similar colleges are reported by Hsüan Tsang in Afghanistan, and a famous one at Balkh. The word retained its cachet also in Persian poetry as when the beloved lady is called the bihār andar bihār ‘the shrine within the shrine’.

This Khotan Saka literature shows that the Saka people had attained great learning. It was no easy task to try to render Buddhist philosophy of the Mahāyāna school into the Khotan Saka language, but they built up the necessary vocabulary. Indeed in translating the two senses of the important philosophical term dhārma- ‘doctrine’ and ‘philosophical element’ the Saka translator was more precise than the Tibetans who used only one word.

Similar Sanskrit works have been found in fragments in a college near Tirmiz and near Bāmiyān. The Saka Khotan language was highly inflected and they can hardly have failed to notice the similarities with the Sanskrit they were translating. Such words as mātā-, pīta-, brātār ‘mother, father, brother’, paṃja ‘five’ were identical or nearly so with the Sanskrit words.

The Saka literature and documents of Khotan are surprisingly abundant for a language abandoned by its speakers from about 1026 of our era when Buddhism ceased to be dominant. There are many brief official documents and longer reports from envoys (pa sa, hada) to the Khotan Court down to about AD 950. But the bulk of the texts is religious.

These texts are exceedingly important for the recovery of the Saka language. Hence its relevance to the history of Afghanistan. The coin legends and proper names in the Indian inscriptions of the Kuśāṇ period show striking resemblance to the languages of the Saka of Khotan. A simple case is that of the word horaka- ‘donator’ in the Indian inscriptions representing the Buddhist technical term dānapati- ‘patron of donations’, to which Khotan Saka haurāka-corresponds.

The Greek writer Kte̱sias in the time of the second Artaxerxes (404-358) stated that the Saka had a royal residence at Rōxanakē, and this is likely to be the name preserved in Rōsnān of the Pamirs, where a language of the Sūghnāni group is now spoken. I note that the writer of the article ‘Afghan’ in the second edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Georg Morgenstierne, considered that Paśto may belong to the Saka languages.

Khotan Saka studies are then very relevant to the study of Afghanistan. It is good therefore to know that most of the extant texts are now in print, and only those preserved in Leningrad await publication. The analysis of the second Saka language of Tumshuq is less advanced and much in the pieces so far published still lacks full interpretation.

Through Afghanistan into the ken of the Brāhmanas of India came people from Śaka-dvīpa, the land of the Sakas to the north, who worshipped a god Mihira, and others who reverenced Jarāṣāstra. They had priests called in Sanskrit Maga-, a modification of the more ancient title Magu- which passed through Greek and Latin to us as Magus, translated ‘wise men’ in the gospel story of Matthew. Filtered through Babylonia it took the Chaldean connotation of magic, although the Greeks were aware of the cult of the Magoi which they called ‘service of the gods’. These Maga-priests from Śaka-dvīpa were accepted by the Indians who recognised an assimilated group of Mga-brāhmanas. One of them became the famous encyclopedist Varāhā-Mihira.

This god Mihira is the MIPO of the Kuśāṇ coins. In a Mathurā inscription occurs the name Vaka-Mihira, that is, the word baga- ‘distributor’ used as an epithet of divinity, and the name Mihira. The older name was Mihrā in Aryā languages. It is first found in about 1400 BC, 3400 years ago, in a Mesopotamian treaty. It is important in the Indian Mitra- of the Vedas. The cult came into Rome especially into the Roman army, and so spread to the remotest provinces. Mithraic shrines existed in Britain, as here in London. Even now his name is revered in the ritual of the Zarudūšt followers of Zarōaster in Iran under the name of Mihr. His autumn festival was named by the Greeks as Mṓpōkva, and is still a familiar word Mihragan or Mihrāgān in the Persian language. The Armenians in their old calendar had a month Mehekān as a name of February, and it is recorded also in an older form Mihrākan in the Caucasian Georgian language.

The name Jarāṣāstra in the Maga books is at once to be recognised as the Zaraθ-ustra of the Avesta, the name which the Parthians handed down as Zarāhušt and the Persians as Zaradušt, the Armenians as Zaradāšt. The Greeks made the name into Zaroustrēs, and later Zathraustes and Zarates, and even wrote a book under his name which has recently been found in a Coptic translation in Egypt. The name of the supreme god of the Avesta and of the Old Persian inscriptions Ahura Mazdā or Mazdā Ahura has undergone a great change in the Khotan Saka urmaysde, genitive urmaysdānā, Chorasmian rēmazd, Sangātī dīrmōzd, and Īšašmī ṛēmaux, in all of which the meaning is the sun in the sky.

The Avesta knew of cults other than their own which they traced to Zaraθ-ustra. In one of the poems, Yašt 14.55 the sacrificial practices of a hostile group are listed with disapproval. It included throwing a fuel on the fire called namākārā, a name surviving for the shrub viburnum lantana in the Ossetic word nimāt’k’u in the Caucasus.

In another text, the Ḥaḍīct Nask and the Vītrasp Yašt the ritual chanting of the hostile cult priest is called varaxōbra-, a word which can be traced in the Saka epithet hauma-varga- ‘the celebrators of the hauma-ritual libation’.
The hostility of other ritualists are condemned in the earliest texts of the Gāthās. They are called karapan-, a word probably meaning 'chanters'.

In a Buddhist monument in Gilgit opened in 1933 a large number of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts were found. Here there is a colophon, a scribal finale, full of proper names of an unfamiliar type. The Aryāna title sāhi 'king' occurs. Some of the names are Indo-Aryan, others Aryāna, but of an unknown dialect. The word phana occurs in several names and can be equated with the older Aryāna farnah used of the 'fortune' of an ordinary man and of the 'fortunate glory' of a king. The Digorians used the form fann and later farn, the older form survives in Ossetic in the Digorion dialect farn. In three names the first component ler- is found. This is known in other Aryāna as dāraya- 'to hold', so that the ler- is equivalent to Old Persian dāraya- in Dāraya-vahūs, Dareios. So we have Lera-nihelamati 'one who maintains reverence'. The second component is the same as the Khotan Saka nihlamāna- 'reverence'. In the list however many names are not yet interpreted.

So far I have lingered over the more ancient periods. There is also much in a more recent phase.

In a lecture at the International Congress of Iranian Art in October in 1972, M. Melikian-Chirvani endeavoured to draw the lines of transmission of Buddhist imagery into the later Islamic poetry of Persia. He called especial attention to the presence of the bihār, balūr, the Buddhist colleges, and the Sogdian form of the Buddhist Sanskrit word vihāra-, namely bārūr, Persianized as farūr. He signalized the frequent reference to but, originally the Buddha, and then the Buddhist image as a symbol for beauty.

Now we hear much of the Buddhist interlude in Afghanistan in the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Huan Tsang in 641-2 of our era. The Buddhist vihāras were centres of learning. They wrote religious books but also took interest in medicine, derived from India. Fragments of medical texts in Sanskrit have been found in Afghanistan. In Khotan Saka language too there is a considerable collection of medical texts. From Huan Tsang's record it has been possible to trace his road through Afghanistan from the Oxus River to the Indus River. He described the various small kingdoms on his route, reported local legends, and described the splendid temple to Mihira in Mūlasthāna, modern Multan. Further knowledge is, then, 400 years later, to be found in the writings of Al-Bairūnī.

Of one district, Zabul, we have unusually interesting information on the cult of a god called Zūn in Arabic texts and Sūna- in Chinese, a Sanskritized spelling, in Huan Tsang. The temple was a famous place of pilgrimage.

For the coming of Islam to Afghanistan there are copious Arabic sources. The Mongols of Chingiz Khan and their allies the Turks of Islamic Turkestan soon fill the annals. The Memoirs of Babur, who died in 1530, have been highly acclaimed for the vivid realism of the narrative. It is with Khusāhil Khan Khātak (1613-1689) that we meet greatness in Pašto literature. I remember as a student at the University of Western Australia in Perth in the early twenties coming upon C. E. Biddulph's book Afghan Poetry, containing selections from Khātak's poems and eagerly copying out some of them for my own use. Now he is highly esteemed as a national poet. Two English books make some of his poems available. E. Howell and O. Caroe, The Poems of Khushal Khan Khattak (1963) with text and translation, and D. N. Mackenzie, Poems from the Divan of Khushal Khan Khattak (1965). Aurang-zâb was the Mughal Emperor of Hindustan at that time. He became Khushāhil's enemy and is not spared by the poet's satire. But the poet could write of happier things than imprisonment. His ode to springtime beginning Čah mausim mi da gulūno gulzār ši / narm narm toramšīšī paļ marmzār Šī 'when the season comes to me of the garden of flowers, so gently falls the rain on the meadow', is quite charming. From his time the Pašto language has flourished beside the Fārsi, Persian, language in Afghanistan.

The eastern land Margu, Marv, which the poet of the Miśra song in the Avesta placed beside Haraiva in Aryašayana was the inspiration also for the poet in the Fārsi language Fakhrū l-dīn Gurgānī. He celebrated Marv, the capital of his hero in the epic Vēs u Rāmēn, with an outburst of enthusiasm:

\[ xvaśā margv niśast i bahrīyārān xvaśā margv zamīn i sād-xvaśān \]
\[ xvaśa margv bi-tābistān u naiśān xvaśa marvā bi-pāyēz u zamīstān \]
\[ kas-e k'o būd dar marv i dīlārāy ēgūnāh zīstān dānād digar fāy \]

Delightful Marv, the seat of princes, delightful Marv, land of happy men, delightful Marv in summer and springtime, delightful Marv, in autumn and winter, how could one, who has been in heart-rejoicing Marv, live elsewhere?

This poem of the 12th century is the royal tale of the Lord of Marv, Maubad and the lovers Vēs and Rāmēn. The poet stated that he had the tale from Pahlavi and it has a Mazdean flavour before Islam. It is decorated with all the skill of rhetoric. Largely it is concerned with Marv and Khvārāsān with the western Māh, the Media of our books. The names of Vēs and Rāmēn, Kām, are likely to be significant for the story. There is in the Avesta a family called Vēsaka-, the Vēsah of the Shāhniāmah, but we know also a Parthian loan-word in Armenian vēs 'arrogant, proud' which fits her character in the story. For Kām also one would think both of the divine Izad 'worshipped being' Rāman- of the Avesta and also of the many words containing rām- in the sense of 'joy, delight'. An English rendering of the poem was
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published in 1972 by George Morrison. The poem was early translated into the Caucasian Georgian language, the *Vis-ramiani*, which we can read in Oliver Wardrop's translation.

Linguistic studies will no doubt be of secondary interest in the British Institute in Kabul, for the field is so rich for archaeology. But they have an importance of their own. The Aryāna languages of Afghanistan have now for a decade been intensively studied with a view to a Linguistic Atlas of the country. At the International Congress of Orientalists in Canberra, Australia, in 1971, a resolution in final plenary session was passed urging that the languages of Nūristān also should be intensively studied with the same intent. These Nūristānī languages of Aškun, Waigali, Prasun and Kati, belong to the Aryāna-Indian branch of the basic language which we call Indo-European, but they differ from both the Aryāna of Persia and from Indian in significant features. A few scholars only have endeavoured to record this branch of Indo-European, before the whole is submerged with the spread of central control which can be developed so rapidly and so all-embracingly in this modern technological age. The names of two scholars stand out, the older Georg Morgenstierne and the younger Georg Buddrus.

With all this interest in history and literature let us not forget that objects of art are now gathering in the Museums. The Greek style can be seen in the Bodhisattva and Buddha heads and the Buddhist ivories. The pictures in manuscripts of the Islamic period are treasured in private hands as in the public libraries. In my own possession I have a manuscript of the *Maṭljnavī* of Jalālu l-din Rūmī with tażībāt, painted chapter headings, with much gold leaf and dark red and dark blue colours like a woven carpet, written and painted in Herāt in 1612 of our era.

These are some of the interests which come within the orbit of modern Afghan studies.

Postscript November 1978

The Dašt-i-Nāwar inscription (page 4) was published by G. Fussman, Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême-orient 61, 1974, 1-66 with 33 plates.
EXCAVATIONS AT KANDAHAR, 1974

First Interim Report

David Whitehouse

PRELIMINARY NOTE

In 1974, following a provisional agreement with the Afghan Government for archaeological exploration in the province of Kandahar, the British Institute in Kabul, established in 1973, began a preliminary survey followed by excavation on the site of 'Old Kandahar' (Shahr-i-Kuhna), the abandoned site W. of the modern city. The survey and excavation were carried out in that year by the first Director of the Institute, Dr. D. Whitehouse. Dr. Whitehouse was succeeded as Director after a year by Dr. A. McNicoll who, in 1975, after having concluded negotiations with the Afghan authorities for a formal archaeological agreement covering the same province, made fresh trial excavations on the site. Dr. McNicoll also resigned from the Directorship of the Institute after a year, and the Committee asked Dr. Svend Helms to assume responsibility for the Excavation as from 1976, and to formulate a provisional programme of excavation covering approximately five years.

The reports on the preliminary work of the 1974 and 1975 seasons, by Dr. Whitehouse and Dr. McNicoll respectively, appear in this, the opening number of the Society's journal. Dr. Helm's provisional report on the 1976 season will appear in Vol. 2, and subsequent reports will be published annually. It is envisaged that a definitive report on the excavation of the site will follow in due course.

The Management Committee wishes to place on record here its indebtedness to Dr. Whitehouse and Dr. McNicoll for their valuable work, both in surveying and opening-up the site itself and also in securing the basic practical needs of the excavation (in particular its excavation house) and establishing good relations with the local residents and the labour-force on the excavation, thus enabling excavations to proceed smoothly in the future. Their own particular debts to Afghan archaeologists and officials are expressed in their respective reports.

P. M. Fraser

SUMMARY

The remains of Old Kandahar, which was abandoned in 1738, occupy a well-watered position near the crossing of the Arghandab, at the junction of two important routes. It has long been supposed that the Old City, Shahr-i Kuhna, stands on the site of a Hellenistic settlement, Alexandria (or Alexandropolis) in Arachosia, itself the successor of an Achaemenian city. The first conjecture received dramatic support with the discovery of three Asokan inscriptions, in 1957 and 1963. The excavation described here was intended to explore the archaeological potential of the Old City and in particular to search for the Hellenistic settlement. To these ends we investigated, inter alia, the east wall of Shahr-i Kuhna, thereby testing the hypothesis that the visible structures might conceal the Hellenistic city wall.

This is an account of the Society's first excavation, an exploratory dig at Shahr-i Kuhna, the Old City of Kandahar (Figs. 1, 2). The excavation, which lasted for five weeks in May and June 1974, was intended to answer two questions: was the site suitable for a long-term investigation and, more specifically, was Fussman (1966) correct when he suggested that the main enclosure of Shahr-i Kuhna overlies the Hellenistic city of Alexandria (or Alexandropolis) in Arachosia?

That we were able to suggest answers to these questions owes much to the generosity of the Government of Afghanistan, which permitted us to excavate without the formal agreement normally required for such a project. In particular, the Society is indebted to H.E. the Minister of Information and Culture, Prof. Abdur Rahin Newin. We are equally grateful to the Director General of Archaeology and Antiquities, Dr. Zamarialai Tarzi, for his encouragement and advice, and for allowing us to use earth-moving machinery in an ancient monument. The Governor of Kandahar, Mr. Mohammad Ayub Aziz, gave us every assistance, as did the local representative of the Ministry of Information and Culture, Mr. Atai.
During the excavation we stayed at the rest house of the United States Aid Mission to Afghanistan, through the courtesy of the Director, Mr. Vincent Brown.

The excavation could not have taken place without the participation of Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Swiny, Miss Sarah Jennings and Mr. A. Taufik. Mr. and Mrs. Swiny undertook day-to-day supervision of the site. Miss Jennings was responsible for the finds and shouldered the heavy burden of pottery drawing. Mr. Taufik accompanied us to Kandahar on behalf of the Afghan Institute of Archaeology and provided valuable assistance, both on and off the site.

![Map of South-east Afghanistan](image)

Figure 1. South-east Afghanistan, showing the positions of Kandahar and other sites mentioned in the text.

**THE EAST WALL**

Our major effort at Kandahar was to test Fussman's hypothesis that enclosure A (Fig. 2) stood on the site of the Hellenistic city by cutting a trench through its defences. We decided to attack the east wall because (1) it was well-preserved and (2) it had remained an outer wall after the construction of the smaller enclosures. For these reasons we hoped to learn something of the history of Shahr-i Kuhna, from its origin to the destruction by Nadir Shah.

Today, the east wall appears as an eroding earthwork, at least 10 m high, containing brick and pakhsa structures of several periods. Outside the wall is a reed-filled moat, 90 m across. The defences, therefore, are formidable. In the time available, it would have been impossible to section the east wall without the aid of machinery. We therefore sought and were granted permission from the Director General of Archaeology and Antiquities to use earth-moving equipment to cut through the wall. Using a drag-line with a 15 m jib (the only equipment available within a radius of at least 200 km), we cut a trench up to 4 m wide. The drag-line thus destroyed some 4 m of the walls of Enclosure A — 0.25% of their surviving length. In return for this small sacrifice, we were able to examine a complete section of the wall, cutting back the original trench by hand. Thus, despite the initial use of a machine, we cut in effect a narrow hand-dug section through the defences and recovered a large collection of securely-stratified finds.

Outside the wall, we used workmen to extend the section down to the edge of the existing moat. Although the water-table has risen at Kandahar, making observation at the bottom of the trench difficult, we concluded that throughout the history of the defences the area between the wall and the moat had been a berm, some 20 m wide.
In the wall itself, we recorded five phases of construction:

V. Rebuilding, of which little survives.
IV. Solid mud brick wall at least 10.4 m wide.
III. Mud brick casemate reproducing the plan of Period II.
II. Pakhsa casemate 9.3 m thick.
I. Clay rampart 14.6 m wide.

The paragraphs which follow describe the superimposed structures (Plates II and III; Figs. 3 and 4). The dates of the walls are discussed on pp. 32–34.

![Figure 2. Shahr-i Kuhna. After Fussman (1966: plans I and II).](image)

**Period I. The clay rampart**

Although it is the earliest construction in the east wall, the clay bank does not represent the earliest occupation of the site. Layers of clay containing charcoal and sherds appeared to underlie the base of the bank, but even in June the high water-table prevented us from investigating them and it is probable that virgin soil cannot be reached without the aid of a pump. However, minimal as it is, the evidence nevertheless suggests that the pre-rampart phase was perhaps of short duration. The few sherds retrieved from water-logged deposits are identical with those from occupation debris associated with the bank, and so may be close to them in date. The bank itself was made of fairly clean clay — upcast from a ditch newly-dug in undisturbed earth. Moreover, to judge from the area exposed, the bank was built on level ground and not above an earlier defence. These observations are consistent with the view that the clay bank formed
Excavations at Kandahar, 1974

the defences either of a recent settlement which had been undefended previously, or of an older settlement which had only recently expanded beyond the perimeter of its earlier walls.

The rampart was a substantial structure. The total width apparently was 14.6 m, of which we excavated 10.2 m. The construction comprised a clay bank with a revetment at the back; in front of the bank was a berm and, presumably, a ditch. The bank was of dump construction and consisted of stiff buff to brown clay (layers 19a and 19b). This contained only a small quantity of occupation debris: ash, potsherds and a few pebbles, perhaps the ammunition for slings. The revetment at the rear of the bank was of two, or possibly three periods.

In period Ia, the revetment was a wall of pakhsa (an iron-hard mixture of gravel and clay), 1.4 m thick, built directly on the ground (layer 101). After 0.35 m of debris (layer 42) had accumulated behind the wall, it was demolished, leaving a stump 1.2 m high. The pakhsa wall was replaced in period Ib by a revetment of clay and stone (layer 20). This was just over 2 m thick; it had a core of clay and rubble and the exposed surface had a rubble face. The facing stones, each of which was 0.15–0.25 m across, were laid in rough courses and bonded with clay. The revetment was 1.45 m high and was capped with rubble. The clay and rubble wall survived intact because it was overlain by a revetment of clay, either an addition of (the otherwise non-existent) period Ic or, more probably, an integral part of period Ib. This third revetment abutted on to the sloping face of the bank. It was 1.4 m wide at the base and consisted of brown clayey soil (layer 83) 'laced' at intervals of 0.1 m with bands of yellow clay, 0.07–0.1 m thick. The clay bands did not appear to be bricks; many were curved and ran through the entire thickness of the wall. No joints were visible.

Figure 3. Shahr-i Kuhna. Section through the east wall of Enclosure A.

Between 0.7 and 0.8 m of earth (layers 34, 38, 39, 40, 90 and 91) accumulated behind the rampart between the construction of the clay and rubble wall and the end of period I; the total depth of deposit in period I is 1.05–1.15 m. In the course of period I the area immediately behind the bank became built-up: in the narrow trench we recorded two walls and a gravel floor. The larger wall had a pakhsa footing (layer 102), 1.4 m wide, overlain by clay. The second wall, built of clay (layer 89), was 0.55 m wide. It was still standing to a height of 1.5 m when the rampart was demolished to form the foundation of period II.

**Period II.** The pakhsa casemate

The defences of period I were replaced by an imposing pakhsa wall. The rampart was reduced in height and the resulting spoil (layers 12, 27, 35, 67 and 88) was piled against the back to form a broad embankment, 2 m high, with a level surface 12 m wide. The spoil engulfed a standing wall (layer 89) and we found nothing to suggest a break in occupation between Periods I and II. The pakhsa wall was carefully placed on the remains of the rampart, presumably because it provided a firm foundation; a service road was built on the unconsolidated clay at the rear. At the end of Period II the casemate was partly demolished. The interior was filled with gravel derived from the upper part of the pakhsa walls and the truncated structure served as the base of the new defences of Period III.

To judge from the small area exposed, the pakhsa wall was a casemate containing a range of rectangular rooms separated by walls 2 m thick and linked by narrow passages (Fig. 4). The casemate was 9.3 m wide at the base. The front wall was 2.3 m thick and the wall at the back 1.6 m thick. Both faces were battered and at the highest surviving
David Whitehouse

point, 5·6 m above the floor, the total width of the wall was only 8·6 m. Inside the casemate, we excavated one room completely (Room 2) and examined parts of two others (Rooms 1 and 3), but without reaching the floor level. With the exception of the lintels, which were sometimes of mud brick, the casemate was built entirely of *pakhsa*. The outer faces of the walls were plastered with mud.

Room 2 was roughly rectangular, measuring 5·4 m by 2·8–3·0 m. The passages to Rooms 1 and 3 were 0·8–1·0 m wide and 2·0 m high. Room 2 contained two features: an embrasure with a lookout hole in the front wall and a flight of steps giving access to a passage in the thickness of the wall at the back. The embrasure was 0·7 m wide and 1·9 m high. It penetrated to within 0·25 m of the face of the wall and had a small spy hole at eye level, affording a view over the berm and the ditch. The embrasure was roofed with rectangular slabs of mud. Before the end of Period II, but after 0·6 m of debris had accumulated on the floor, the embrasure was filled with *pakhsa* and lumps of clay. The steps were built against the south side of the room and rose from floor level beside the entrance to Room 1 to a height of 1·0 m, at which they entered the passage. The passage then climbed through the thickness of the partition and entered the rear wall of the casemate at a height of nearly 2·5 m above the floor. The steps became considerably worn and by the time the casemate was demolished they were little more than a ramp.

Room 1 contained a modest opening through the defences, giving access to the berm. We excavated one side of the room, revealing the north jambs of openings through the front and rear walls, and made an exploratory sounding to locate the south jamb of the opening at the front of the casemate. The front opening was 1·85 m wide and, if the
floors of Room 1 and 2 were at the same level, 3·1 m high. Like the passages between rooms, the openings in the wall had flat lintels. If the front opening was placed symmetrically in Room 1, the latter was 2·8 m wide — the same width as Room 2.

In Room 3 we simply cleared the passage and located the east wall.

Behind the casemate was a series of superimposed clay road surfaces (layers 68–71), up to 0·9 m thick. Presumably this was an intervallum road providing access to the wall, through openings such as that in Room 1.

The pakhsa defences remained in use for a considerable time. Up to 1·0 m of debris accumulated on the floor of Room 2, where the steps had been almost completely destroyed by wear.

**Period III. The second casemate**

The partial demolition of the pakhsa wall and the filling of the casemate with gravel provided the builders of Period III with a solid embankment 8·5 m high. The precise form of this embankment was not clear. At the front of the defences, a mass of gravel (layers 21, 65 and 76), indistinguishable from the gravel in Rooms 1–3, may have been deposited during the demolition of the casemate of Period II. If this were the case, the embankment of Period III had a glacis 10 m wide and 8 m high. However, the gravel also resembled layer 7, which accumulated after the construction of Period III and we cannot exclude the possibility that layers 7, 21, 65 and 76 were all deposited prior to the construction of Period IV. At the back of the defences, another dump of gravel (layer 60) overlay the road of Period II. It was sealed by layer 98e, a new road surface which evidently provided access to the casemate of Period III. We found nothing to suggest a break in occupation between Periods II and III.

The casemate of Period III was a close copy of the pakhsa wall. Indeed, it is likely that the builders reproduced the earlier scheme in every major respect. They worked, however, not with pakhsa, but with unbaked bricks measuring 70 x 40 x 10 cm, which were bonded with mud up to 10 cm thick. We were unable to measure the thickness of the partitions, which were pierced with passages, as in Period II. Again as in Period II, a narrow passage ran through the thickness of the rear wall.

**Period IV. The solid brick wall**

In Period IV the second casemate was demolished, leaving only the bottom 1·95–2·3 m intact. The interior was filled with kulukh, a mass of clay lumps in a stiff, clayey matrix. This foundation, however, was inadequate for the new defences. The embankment behind the wall, which in Periods II and III and supported an intervallum road, was made up with gravel and clay (layers 98a–d, etc.), so that the surface was now flush with that of the demolished wall. Presumably, layer 98 had a substantial revetment, but all trace of such a structure (if it existed) had been removed in the Islamic period (see below).

The defences of Period IV consisted of a solid brick wall, at least 10·4 m thick. The section (Fig. 3) was cut at a point where only the front of the denuded wall survived; 5 m farther south, it was preserved to a greater width and this, too, is recorded in our drawing. The wall survived to a height of 3·8 m. It was built of unbaked bricks measuring 43 x 45 cm square and 12–15 cm thick.

At the front of the Period IV defences, on the glacis, was a revetment or free-standing wall at least 2 m thick, again made of bricks measuring about 45 x 45 x 12 cm (layer 22). The wall had been built on the gravel slope without a foundation and so had slumped considerably.

**Period V**

Erosion and the slighting of the defences in 1738 had removed virtually everything constructed after Period IV. All that survived was the base of a wall which replaced the Period IV revetment. This rested on the remains of wash which accumulated after the construction of Period IV. The wash was partly removed by the builders of Period V. It was overlain by the wall. This had a foundation of boulders set in clay (layer 23), overlain by a layer of pakhsa, 0·8 m thick, which in turn supported a mud brick wall. The bricks were of several sizes, but the majority measured 30 x 30 x 6 cm.

All structures in the area immediately inside the east wall were removed in the Islamic period (this is the area labelled 'depression' in Fig. 2). The reason for this energetic clearance operation is unknown. However, in the drawn section, layers 33 (a pit), 58, 61, 101 and all subsequent deposits belonged to the post-medieval Islamic period and yielded pottery which cannot be earlier than the fifteenth century. For the archaeologist, a valuable byproduct of the post-medieval clearance is to make large areas of the settlement of Period I available for investigation with minimal excavation of later deposits.
In the absence of coins and distinctive small objects, the pottery provides our only evidence for the dates of the various phases of construction in the east wall. Unfortunately, many of the types are either new to archaeology or have yet to be closely dated. It is essential, therefore, to present a full account of the pottery associated with each period so that the provisional chronology (see p. 32) may be revised in the light of any new discoveries. Following the example of Wheeler (1962) I shall describe three types which seem particularly significant, before publishing in detail the stratified sherds.

(i) Significant types

1. ‘Grit’ ware jars and bowls

Grit ware was first described and named by Dupree (1958, with a technical discussion by F. R. Matson) in his report on Shamshir Ghar, which is only 15 km from Kandahar. Vessels were formed by hand and have a coarse fabric with numerous calcereous inclusions up to 3 mm across. Although fired at a relatively low temperature and usually fragile when wet, dry sherds are often fairly hard. The colour varies from orange-brown, through red to greyish brown, often with a grey surface. The surfaces are slightly spalled. A small proportion of the Grit ware from Kandahar (less than 3%) has a red or cream slip. Ornament is uncommon and consists of painted stripes (less than 1%), thumb impressions and applied cordons. The most common form is a jar (Fig. 5, no. 1); other types include large storage vessels, bowls and platters (Figs. 8-10).

In several respects, however, the Kandahar Grit ware differs from the pottery found at Shamshir Ghar, where Dupree reported that sherds were usually slipped, horizontal red stripes appeared on most rims and 6% of the total collection had painted ornament. Furthermore, the Kandahar material contains none of the coarse, extremely friable red-brown pottery, sometimes with geometric painted decoration, found at Shamshir Ghar and in surface collections from Shahr-i Safa, Sang Hissar and other sites in the Kandahar region, apparently associated with RPBW (see below, p. 16) and/or Islamic glazed or moulded pottery. At Kandahar, Grit ware is characteristic of Periods I–III; by Period IV, when RPBW was current, it was either rare or had gone out of use completely.

Indeed, the best parallels for the common forms made in Grit ware at Kandahar came from Mundigak, 38 km to the north-west (Casal 1961). To take just two examples, the characteristic Kandahar jar (Fig. 9, no. 1) is matched by Casal: Fig. 121, no. 647, while the Grit ware bowls (e.g. Fig. 8, no. 93) may be compared with Casal: Fig. 117, no. 614. The parallels at Mundigak belong to Periods VI and VII 1–2, but not VII 3. However, carinated bowls appeared at Mundigak in Period VII 1 (Casal: Fig. 124, no. 675), but are completely lacking in Periods I and II at Kandahar. It appears, therefore, that the Grit ware jars and bowls found in Kandahar I and II are broadly contemporary with Mundigak VI, probably in the period c. 1000–500 BC. The Grit ware of Shamshir Ghar represents a continuation of the tradition, apparently into the first millennium AD, although it was rare in Kandahar IV. The friable ware from Shamshir Ghar, Shahr-i Safa and Sang Hissar was never common at Kandahar and may be a non-industrial product made by rural communities.

2. Black gloss pottery (Pl. IVa and Fig. 5)

We were fortunate to find five small sherds with a glossy black surface, the quality of which suggested that they were neither Graeco-Bactrian ‘Grey-black’ pottery (Gardin in Bernard 1973: 127) nor ‘NBP’ ware from India and Pakistan (Ahmad 1966) — both of which I have seen — but Greek products imported from the west. Thus, none of the fragments can be scratched with a razor blade, the simple test which distinguishes Greek sherds from NBP (Wheeler 1962: 41). Four sherds were found in the revetment of Period IV (layer 22), while the fifth came from the adjacent wall of Period V (layer 23), the substance of which evidently was derived from the earlier revetment. Sherds 1 and 3 had been burnt. Although clearly out of context, the fragments support the view that Kandahar was indeed a Hellenistic settlement (p. 33).

1. Layer 22. Cup. Fine grey-pink ware with rich black gloss on both surfaces. Fig. 5, no. 2.
2. Layer 23. Chip from rim of cup. Fine light pink ware with remains of black gloss on both surfaces. Fig. 5, no. 3.
3. Red pattern burnished ware (Pl. IVb and Figs. 16–18)

Red pattern burnished ware (RPBW) is among the most distinctive and widely distributed types of pottery found on sites of the historical period in Afghanistan (Kalb 1973: Abb. 3). It has been described by Dupree (1958: 202), Gardin (1957; 1963) and others. Let it suffice here to repeat that RPBW is carefully made; it has a fine red fabric, sometimes covered with an orange, red or red-brown slip. At Kandahar, the fabric contains small white inclusions—a feature of several wares from the site, which may indicate local manufacture. Burnt or misfired examples are grey. The pots were burnished when leather-hard and the burnished lines appear darker and brighter than the background. The burnishing usually consists of a tightly coiled spiral, made while rotating the vessel on a wheel. Bowls have a spiral on the inside (e.g. Pl. IVb): jars and beakers are decorated on the outside, where the spiral has the appearance of numerous parallel lines. The burnishing may include a few naturalistic motifs, such as leaves, and, rarely, stamped ornament occurs.

Figure 5. The East wall. "Grit" ware jar and black gloss pottery (1:3)

The date of RPBW is crucial to our appraisal of Period IV (p. 34). It seems useful, therefore, to sum up the information available to us, much of which has come to light in the last few years. RPBW is often described as 'Kushan' and, like the Red polished ware of north-west India, has been supposed to imitate Italian Arretine ware, although the similarities between them do not extend beyond the colour and the glossy finish. The position, however, is more complicated than this. The earliest RPBW from Bala Hissar at Balkh was thought to be pre-Kushan (Gardin 1957: 88) and at Shaikhan Dheri, nearCharsada in Pakistan, 'polished', but not pattern burnished, red wares occurred first in phase C, the so-called 'Greek' period, which was dated by thirteen coins to the years c. 150–50 BC (Dani 1965–6). The earliest sherds (including Dani's Fig. 14, no. 9 and Fig. 17, no. 23) belonged to Period Vb, associated with one punch-marked coin and a coin of Lysias. Other examples (including Dani's Fig. 14, nos. 7 and 11–12 and Fig. 15, nos. 2–3) came from Period Va, with coins of Philoxenos, Heliocles, Antalciades and Telephos. The date of this material is confirmed at Charsada itself, where Wheeler (1962: 95–99) found similar forms in Well E, associated with a tetradrachm of Menander (c. 155–130 BC). Dani's Fig. 14, no. 12 and Fig. 15, nos. 2–3, for example, closely resemble Wheeler's Fig. 46, nos. 480–1, 487 and 488. More recently, at Ai Khanum, Gardin (in Bernard 1973: 81) describes bowls, cups and jars as having a polished red slip and on p. 186 listed these forms among the types found in the latest stratified deposits (Period IV), datable to the years c. 150–100 BC (ibid: 109–11).

It was not only plain burnished red wares that came into use in the second century BC—nearly a century before the earliest Arretine ware. Gardin (in Bernard 1973: Pl. 115a and Pl. 116f) published two pattern burnished sherds from Ai Khanum: a dish and a bowl, each burnished on the inside with zigzag. Furthermore, at Kandahar we found RPBW version of at least two common pre-Kushan forms: the 'tulip bowl' (Fig. 18, no. 290), a type dated at Charsada to the third and second centuries BC (Wheeler 1962: 40) and at Taxila-Bhir to the second and first centuries BC (Sharif 1969: 19 and Fig. 20, no. 11), and the Hellenistic 'bol à poisson' local copies of which occurred in second century BC contexts at Ai Khanum and Charsada (Gardin in Bernard 1973: 186; Wheeler 1962: Fig. 46, nos. 415–6 and Fig. 48, nos. 508). Furthermore, the small flange-rim bowl (cp. Fig. 18, no. 288), commonly
David Whitehouse

found at Kandahar, recalls bowls of the 'Greek' period at Shaikhan Dheri (Dani 1965–6: Fig. 17, nos. 1–7). Finally, the stamped 'Fir Tree' motifs occasionally found on RPBW at Kandahar might be derived from the stamped palmettes on red- and black-slipped dishes at Ai Khanum (Gardin in Bernard 1973: 169–70). It is probable, therefore, that the origin of RPBW is not simply 'pre-Kushan', but is rooted in the 'Hellenistic' pottery of Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan. Indeed, it appears that the origins of RPBW should be sought in the second century BC, when pattern burnishing, 'fish bowls' and stamped palmettes were in use at Ai Khanum, 'tulip bowls' at Charsada and Taxila-Bhir and flange-rim bowls at Shaikan Dheri.

We turn now to the end of RPBW. The most important published information comes from Balkh and Qala-i Bist. At Balkh, Gardin (1957: 88) divided RPBW into three periods: pre-Kushan, Kushan and Sasanian, and concluded that it had gone out of use by the ninth or tenth century AD. At Qala-i Bist, RPBW was found in pre-Ghaznavid levels and here again Gardin (1963) reported that it had gone out of use by the ninth or tenth century. A key site for determining more precisely when RPBW ceased to be made is Tepe Sardar at Ghazni, where the principal monuments belong to the seventh and eighth centuries (Taddei 1968: 120). Although work is still in progress, Prof. Taddei kindly provided me with the following information: RPBW occurs at Tepe Sardar, but only in very small quantities. Without doubt, it had gone out of use by the period of the main occupation. This indicates that RPBW ceased to be made within a few decades of c. 700.

In short, the present evidence shows that RPBW was made between the second century BC and the late seventh or early eighth century AD. While the starting date is fairly clear, the terminal date awaits revision when the results of excavations on sites of the first millennium AD (e.g. Surkh Kotal and Kunar Masjid) become available.
Excavations at Kandahar, 1974

(ii) Catalogue

Fig. 6. The East Wall. Period I. Bowls (1:6)

58. Layer 10. Hard salmon pink ware with red to grey slip, now peeling.
60. Layer 10. Orange ware with buff-pink slip, now peeling.
63. Layer 83. Pink ware with buff slip.
64. Layer 10. Hard pink ware with grey to chestnut surfaces and possible magenta band on rim.
65. Layer 27. Hard pink ware with brownish terracotta surfaces, apparently slipped.
66. Layer 40. Pink ware with buff surfaces.
70. Layer 83. Hard grey ware with grey surfaces. Magenta band on rim.
71. Layer 90. Large bowl. Gritty grey-pink ware with pink to grey surfaces.
72. Layer 91. Hard pinkish ware with chocolate surfaces and possible magenta band on rim.
Figure 7. The East wall. Period I (1:6)

Fig. 7. The East Wall. Period I

76. Layer 83. Bowl. Pink ware with brown slipped surfaces, now peeling.
78. Layer 27. Large bowl. Fairly hard grey ware.
79. Layer 35. Large bowl. Pink ware.
82. Layer 67. As no. 81.
84. Layer 90. Bowl or cup. Grey-pink ware with slightly glossy light brown surfaces.
86. Layer 67. Bowl or cup. Pink ware.
91. Layer 89. Bowl. Pink ware.
Excavations at Kandahar, 1974

Figure 8. The East wall. Period I (1:6)

Fig. 8. The East Wall. Period I

Fig. 9. The East Wall. Period I. Jars

106. Layer 10. Reddish grit ware with chestnut slip, now peeling.
108. Layer 88. Red, slightly micaceous grit ware with buff outer surface, apparently slipped.
109. Layer 27. Reddish grit ware with grey to red surfaces, considerably abraded.
110. Layer 88. Grey to pink grit ware, slightly micaceous, with grey-brown surfaces.
111. Layer 10. Coarse grit ware with black surfaces, possibly slipped.
118. Layer 50. Reddish grit ware, slightly micaceous, with buff to terracotta surfaces.
120. Layer 50. Cf. grit ware, but with smoother fabric. Pink ware with cream outer surface and chocolate inside.
124. Layer 27. Pink grit ware with greyish surfaces.
Excavations at Kandahar, 1974

Figure 10. The East wall. Period I. Jars (1:6)

125. Layer 42. Buff-brown grit ware.
127. Layer 10. Reddish grit ware with buff-brown outer surface and impressed decoration.
130. Brown grit ware with chocolate to grey slipped surfaces.
131. Layer 67. Reddish grit ware with grey to brown slipped surfaces.
132. Layer 10 or 12. Grey to brown grit ware with stabbed decoration.
133. Layer 89. Reddish grit ware, slightly micaceous. Cream slip on outside and impressed decoration.
138. Layer 88. Pinkish grit ware with grey to pink surfaces.
139. Layer 90. Grey-pink grit ware with traces of buff-brown slip.
Fig. 11. The East Wall. Period I

140. Layer 10 or 15. Jar. Pink ware with reddish surfaces, apparently slipped.
142. Layer 90. Jar. Light red ware with terracotta slipped surface on outside.
150. Layer 89. Jar. Light red ware with glossy chocolate slip on outside and top of interior. Traces of painted vertical stripes, probably magenta.
158. Layer 89. Fragment of jar. Light red ware with reddish slip on outside, now peeling. Faint magenta and white decoration.
159. Layer 83. Fragment of jar. Pink ware with brick red surfaces and purple decoration.
161. Layer 10 or 12. Light red ware with grey to red slipped surfaces, now peeling. Drab magenta paint.
Excavations at Kandahar, 1974

Figure 12. The East wall. Period II. (1:6)

**Fig. 12. The East Wall. Period II**

162. Layer 100. Bowl. Red ware with traces of red slip.
163. Layer 100. Bowl. Sandy pink ware with buff-brown slip on outside.
164. Layer 36. Bowl. Rather sandy pink ware with abraded grey to pink surfaces.
165. Layer 64. Bowl. Light red ware with numerous tiny white inclusions. Terracotta to grey slipped surfaces.
166. Layer 100. Bowl. Grey-pink ware with grey to chocolate surfaces, painted in grey-brown and white.
167. Layer 64. Bowl. Orange-pink ware with abraded reddish slip.
169. Layer 100. Bowl. Light red ware with red to grey surfaces. Painted in magenta and white.
170. Layer 36. Large jar. Reddish grit ware with grey-red outer surface, now peeling.
175. Layer 64. Jar. Reddish grit ware with brownish outer surface.
177. Layer 64. Fragment of jar. Light red ware with magenta and white decoration.
Figure 13. The East wall. Period II. Bowls (1:6)

181. Layer 95. Light red to grey ware with drab reddish slip, now peeling.
183. Layer 86. Grey-pink ware with buff-pink outer surface; inside is grey-brown. Painted in purple-brown.
184. Layer 86. Light orange-red ware with darker red slip, now peeling on outside. Diameter uncertain.
185. Cf. 'tulip bowl'. Hard buff-pink ware with roughly burnished surfaces, red inside and red to buff on exterior. Painted in cream and purple or red, the latter now barely visible. Unique.
186. Layer 86. Grey ware with buff to grey surfaces.
188. Layer 86. Light red ware.
191. Layer 94. Light red ware with reddish slip, now peeling.
193. Layer 86. Hard grey-pink ware with grey core.
195. Layer 86. Harsh grey ware with darker grey surfaces, evidently slipped.
196. Layer 84. Light grey ware with dull grey surfaces.
Fig. 14. The East wall. Period II

(i) Occupation and demolition of the casemate

197. Layer 94. Jar. Pink ware with grey inner surface; outside abraded.
200. Layer 86. Jar with groove at maximum diameter. Pink to grey ware.
201. Layer 86. Jar. Light red ware with tan surfaces.

(ii) Accumulation in ditch

209. Layer 93. Foot ring. Pale buff ware with cream surfaces. The only example of a foot ring and of this fabric from Period II. Undoubtedly from Layer 93; presumably imported.
212. Layer 93. Fragment of large jar with thumbed cordon. Grit ware.
Figure 15. The East wall. Backfilling of the Period III casemate (1:6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Layer</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Layer 46. Bowl.</td>
<td>Light red ware with dull red slip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>Layer 46. Jar.</td>
<td>Light red ware.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 16. The East wall. Period IV. The main wall (Layer 4) (1:6)

Fig. 16. The East Wall. Period IV — The main wall (Layer 4)

228. Fragment from shallow bowl, perhaps a 'tulip bowl' RPBW. Light red ware, burnished on outside.
229. Bowl. RPBW. Orange-red ware with burnished lines on outside.
230. Bowl. Fine grey ware, cp. RPBW, with burnished decoration on outside.
231. 'Tulip bowl'. RPBW. Pink ware with burnished spiral on inside.
234. Dish, perhaps imitating a 'fish bowl'. Coarse RPBW. Harsh grey-pink ware with dull brown to buff surfaces.
236. Bowl with flange rim. Red ware with thin red slip.
237. Bowl. Light red ware with red slip.
238. Fragment of jug or jar. Sandy orange-pink ware with cream surface and combed ornament.
239. As no. 185. Pink ware with combed ornament.
240. Jug or jar. Pink ware with chocolate slip, peeling on outside.
241. Jug or jar. Ware and slip as above.
244. Jug or jar. Soft, slightly micaceous red-grey ware with dull grey to pink surfaces.
246. Jar. Dull red ware with a little mica.
247. Jug or jar. Soft buff-brown ware with numerous calcareous inclusions.
250. Bowl. Orange ware with reddish slip. Clearly residual; cf. Figs. 6, 7 and 12, from Periods I and II.
253. Bowl. Ware as above.
255. Large jar. Hard, coarse grey-pink ware with many inclusions and spalled black to brown surfaces.
Figure 17. The East wall. Period IV. The brick revetment (layers 11 and 22) (1:6)

Fig. 17. The East Wall. Period IV – The brick revetment (Layers 11 and 22)

256. Layer 22. Bowl. Light red ware with cream to pink surfaces.
257. Layer 22. Bowl. Light red ware with cream to red surfaces.
259. Layer 22. Cup or bowl. Light red ware with red slip.
262. Layer 22. Bowl. Light red ware with red to buff surfaces.
266. Layer 11. Ring base. Red ware with cream slip on outside and underneath.
267. Layer 11. Cup or jar. RPBW with horizontal burnished lines on outside.
276. Layer 44. Bowl. Red ware, slightly micaceous, with orange surfaces.
279. Layer 41. Cup or jar. Abraded pink ware, perhaps originally slipped.
284. Layer 44. Jar. Light red ware with pink slipped outer surface.
287. Layer 41. Jar. Fairly coarse red ware with terracotta surfaces.
290. Layer 44. Bowl, cf. ‘tulip bowl’. Grey ware with grey to red surfaces and traces of burnish on inside.
293. Layer 41. Bowl. Probably abraded RPBW.
294. Layer 41. Fragment. RPBW. Pink ware with horizontal burnish and stabbed decoration on outside.
295. Layer 41. Bowl. Pinkish ware with burnished decoration on inside, cp. RPBW.
297. Layer 44. Bowl. RPBW. With burnished spiral on inside.
298. Layer 41. Dish. RPBW.
300. Layer 41. Fragment. Pink ware with buff-pink outer surface and combed ornament.

Figure 18. The East wall. Early accumulation in the ditch during Period V (1:6)
Fig. 19. The East Wall – Earlier accumulation in ditch during Period V (Layers 41 and 44)

308. Layer 44. Bowl. Hard grey-pink ware with smooth grey to brown surfaces.
DISCUSSION

Having described the excavated structures and the pottery associated with them, it remains to discuss the chronology of the site and in particular that of the East Wall. Our evidence for the date of Periods I–V in the East Wall is as follows:

Period I

The chronology of Period I depends primarily on a comparison of the pottery with material from Mundigak, 38 km to the north-west (Casal 1961). Period I yielded 1909 securely-stratified sherds, the nature and occurrence of which are shown in Table 1. A comprehensive selection of the material appears in Figs. 6–11. It is abundantly clear that the pottery of Kandahar I compares well with that of Mundigak VI. Thus, among the bowls, vessels with an inturned rim from Kandahar I (Fig. 6, nos. 59–61 and 63–64) match Casal’s Fig. 116, no. 605 from Mundigak VI; our Fig. 6, nos. 70–1 and Fig. 7, nos. 73–76 resemble not only Casal’s Fig. 106, no. 523 from Mundigak V, but also his Fig. 116, no. 608 from Period VI; and Fig. 7, nos. 88–91 may be compared with Casal’s Fig. 117, no. 614, again from Mundigak VI. Moreover, while our Fig. 8, nos. 92 and 94–5 recall Casal’s Fig. 106, no. 529 from Mundigak V, the larger jars of Kandahar I have excellent parallels in Mundigak VI (our Fig. 9, nos. 113–118 and Fig. 10, nos. 127–8 match not only Casal’s Fig. 108, no. 544, which is Mundigak V, but also Fig. 120, no. 640, which is Period VI; the decoration of our Fig. 10, no. 137 also compares well with Casal’s no. 640). The small jars from Kandahar I, Fig. 11, are paralleled not by the rather angular vessels of Mundigak V (e.g. Casal: Fig. 113) but by Casal’s Fig. 123, nos. 658–65 (especially nos. 660–1), which come from Mundigak VI. Finally, the most elaborate painted pottery from Kandahar I is bichrome, using magenta and white – another feature of Mundigak VI (Casal 1961: 158–63).

We conclude, therefore, that the clay rampart of Period I is roughly contemporary with Mundigak VI. This is the earliest Iron Age occupation at Mundigak (Casal 1961: 92), presumably in the first half of the first millennium BC. It is of particular interest that, whereas Period VI is a phase of non-urban, perhaps even semi-nomadic occupation at Mundigak (Casal 1961: 91), Kandahar I has a large earthwork and permanent, perhaps dense habitation. Accordingly, we suggest that at the beginning of Period I Kandahar replaced Mundigak as the principal settlement of the region, occupying a key position at the crossing of the Arghandab.

Table 1. The pottery of Period I

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<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grit:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>body sherds</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>impressed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with corden</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>1083</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Grey-red:             |       |       |       |       |
| fine                  | 85    | 42    | 32    | 159   |
| medium                | 249   | 252   | 101   | 602   |
| course                | 18    | 5     | 0     | 23    |
| painted               | 12    | 5     | 2     | 19    |
| with cream slip       | 3     | 13    | 6     | 22    |
| with chocolate slip   | 1     | 0     | 0     | 1     |
| Total                 | 826   | 612   | 471   | 1909  |
Period II

Period II of the East Wall is marked by a profound architectural change. Instead of a dump-construction clay bank, we find an imposing casemate wall made of pakhsa plastered with mud. However, we observed no evidence of abandonment and assumed that Period II succeeded I without a break. The pottery of Period II, which is listed in Table 2 and illustrated in Figs. 12, 14, displays both continuity from Kandahar I and several innovations. As in Period I, many of the bowls (e.g. Fig.12, no.168; Fig.13, nos.190, 192 and 194–5) may be compared with bowls from Mundigak VI (Casal 1961: Fig.116, nos.605 and 608), while the small jars (Fig.14, nos.197–202) are paralleled by Casal’s Fig.123, nos.658–61. Among the new forms, however, are bowls (e.g. Fig.14, no.213) which match vessels in Mundigak VII (Casal 1961: Fig.124, no.679) and forms which are without parallel in either Mundigak VI or VII: Fig.12, no.162; Fig.13, nos.183 and 185; and Fig.14, nos.209 and 211.

Table 2. The pottery of Period II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>Grit: body sherds</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>61</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>with cream slip</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Soft orange-pink: plain</td>
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<td>160</td>
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The coincidence of a new style of construction and new pottery types suggests a cultural change. The survival of wares common in Period I indicates, on the other hand, a strong element of continuity. It indicates, too, that the change occurred not long after the end of Mundigak VI. It is possible, as the introduction of carinated bowls (e.g. no.162) and of vessels with a ring base (no.209) may imply that Period II was built under Achaemenian influence towards the end of the sixth century BC. Indeed, in any future work on the site, it will be important to explore the hypothesis that the pakhsa wall of Period II defended the capital of Achaemenian Harakuwatis, a city named in the Persepolis fortification tablets.

Period III

This yielded only a small sample of pottery (Fig.15), much of which seemed to be residual. The date, therefore, is uncertain. Obviously, however, Period III is later than Period II (which may be Achaemenian and is certainly not too far removed in date from the end of Mundigak VI) and earlier than Period IV, which is thought to be Kushan. Among the residual sherds from Periods IV and V were five sherds of black gloss pottery (Pl. IVa, Fig. 5 and p. 15). Furthermore, the Asokan inscriptions from Kandahar indicate that the site was occupied in the mid-third century BC. Granted, therefore, the existence of a Hellenistic settlement in the immediate vicinity and the conclusion that Enclosure A was occupied continuously between Period I and IV, we conjecture that the casemate of Period III may be ‘Greek’.
Period IV

We have two sources of information about the date of Period IV: the size of the bricks and the pottery included in them. The large unbaked bricks, which measured 43–45 cm square by 10–13 cm thick, are roughly comparable with those used in the Buddhist monastery of the Kaital ridge, which measure 42 x 42 x 9 cm (Fussman 1966: 38). If Fussman was correct in attributing the monastery to the fourth century AD, then the defences of Period IV might be of the same general date. At Balkh, similar bricks were used in the east wall of Period IA, which Le Berre and Schlumberger (1964: 88) attributed to the Kushans, perhaps about the time of Kanishka. Brick sizes, however, are by no means infallible as a guide to chronology as at Ai Khanum almost identical bricks, measuring 43–45 cm square by 12–15 cm thick, were in use during the period c. 330–100 BC (Bernard 1973: 7). Indeed, perhaps, the only thing we may claim with confidence is that bricks as large as those of Period IV at Kandahar probably were not used after c. 1000 AD (Schlumberger 1964: 88).

Turning to the pottery of Period IV, our evidence consists of sherds included in the fabric of the two walls (layers 4 and 98 in the main wall; layers 11, 18 and 22 in the revetment) and in the debris which accumulated in the ditch before it was recut in Period V (layers 8 and 62). The two walls yielded a large sample of sherds. These included only one glazed fragment — cream ware with a decayed alkaline glaze, perhaps originally green — recovered from the eroded, possibly disturbed, revetment (layer 11). We found no unglazed moulded ware, such as occurred in quantity at Lashkari Bazar (Gardin 1963). Its absence supports the evidence of the brick sizes that Period IV was built before c. 1000 AD.

The crucial material, however, is the Red Pattern Burnished ware (see p. 16). This pottery, including Fig. 16, nos.228–235, represented 12% of the complete sample. The material which accumulated in the ditch before Period V included a single fragment of RPBW and two pieces of related grey ware: glazed and moulded pottery was completely lacking. It seems likely, therefore, that the massive defences were constructed during the currency of RPBW, between approximately 100 BC and 700 AD. The occurrence of 'tulip' bowls and imitation 'bols a poisson' might suggest a date fairly early in this period, although the sherds in question (like the black gloss pottery from layer 22) could well be residual. Provisionally, however, I suggest that Period IV is 'Kushan'.

Period V

The date of Period V is uncertain. The structures were poorly preserved, for only the re-cut glacis front and the revetment survived. The pottery from the revetment (layer 23) was almost entirely residual, with one black gloss fragment and several pieces of RPBW. The earliest debris on the berm which accumulated during Period V does, however, contain later Islamic glazed pottery. It is more than likely, therefore, that Period V represents a refurbishing of the massive, but decayed 'Kushan' defences in the Islamic period.
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Gardin, J-C., 1957, Céramique de Bactres. MDAFA, XV, Paris.
Schoff, W., 1914, Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax. Philadelphia.
Plate I. The Old City from the air. After Fussman (1966: Pl. V)
Plate II. The trench through the East wall, looking west.
Plate IIIa. The East wall. The revetment of the Period I rempart. The rampart is on the left. The lower ranging pole stands against layer 67.

Plate IIIb. The East wall. Periods II, III and IV.
EXCAVATIONS AT KANDAHAR, 1975

Second Interim Report

Anthony McNicoll

INTRODUCTION

Following the conclusion of the 1974 excavations at Shahr-i Kuhna, Kandahar, by Dr. D. B. Whitehouse (report above, pp. 10–39), the Committee of the British Institute of Afghan Studies instructed me as Director of the Institute to negotiate with the Afghan Government for an archaeological agreement permitting further British excavations at Shahr-i Kuhna. The Agreement was signed in April, 1975 by the writer on behalf of the British Institute and by Dr. Z. Tarzi, Director-General of the Institute of Archaeology, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan. To him and to his minister, H.E. Prof. A. Nevin, Minister of Information and Culture, go my sincere thanks. In this context the aid and advice of H.E. Mr. John Drinkall, former British Ambassador to Afghanistan, are also gratefully acknowledged.

The excavations at Shahr-i Kuhna began on 28 April and ended on 29 June. The labour force on site, drawn mainly from the villages nearby, generally numbered about eighty, including a team of six skilled workers from the Italian excavations at Ghazni. As in 1974, a police guard on site was kindly provided by the Governor of Kandahar Province.

The staff consisted of Lady Wheeler, assisted by Messrs. John Thorne and Richard KcKane (ceramics, recording and conservation), Ms Diana Barbara and Mr. Alberr Shomali (draughtsmen), Mr. Warwick Ball (photographer and site supervisor), Miss Frances West and Messrs. Stephen Collier and Christopher Wolsey (site supervisors), Mr. Garry Martin (architect), and the writer. The Afghan Institute of Archaeology was represented by Messrs. Sayid Akbar Sekanderpur and Bashir Ahmad Nasiri, who also acted as site supervisors. Valuable logistic support was provided in Kabul by Ms Diana Colvin, Assistant Director of the British Institute.

Accompanying this brief report are the products of several people’s labours. The contour plan (Fig. I) is the work of Mr. Martin. The pottery profiles, site plans and sections (Figs. 2–12) were prepared from the field drawings by Ms Tamara Winikoff; Mr. Collier and Miss West worked on the phasing and organisation of the Kushan ceramics; Drs. David W. Mac Dowall and Yolande Crowe have contributed notes on the coins and the Islamic pottery respectively, and Mr. Garry Martin has written about the glazed tiles.

EXCAVATIONS

The aims of the 1975 excavation can be stated simply:

1. The problem of the location of Alexandria, the metropolis of the Arachosians, otherwise Alexandropolis (Schoff, 1914, 9) has intrigued many scholars. The 1974 excavations produced further circumstantial evidence for the location of this Greek city of Old Kandahar. One of our aims was to seek for more material bearing on this problem.

2. An important goal was to define areas which might repay extensive examination in future years.

In the hope of obtaining the most complete chronological sequence possible, excavations were carried out on high ground along the spine running north-south through the south enclosure (sites D, E and F; A, B and C were excavated in 1974). The emphasis here was on vertical rather than horizontal excavation. Groundwater was reached in two of these areas (D and F). Another two sites, G and H, were chosen to investigate features in the south-west of the ruin-field. Virgin soil was reached in G.

The excavations were carried out with pick, shovel and trowel, and the soil removed in zambils, shallow trays approximately 0.50 x 1.00 m carried on poles by two men. Except for the contents of the well in site D, sieves were
Excavations at Kandahar, 1975

OLD KANDAHAR

Fig. 1. Shahr-i Kohna 1975: Plan
not used: trench recovery only was the rule. Recovery of micro-data was therefore limited and the following report deals only with artifactual material in the traditional sense.

In this account the history of the site as indicated by the 1975 excavations is outlined, and some of the pottery and small finds from each of the major periods are illustrated. Pottery parallels are cited in Tables 1–8 from the following sources: Ai Khanoum: Bernard et al, 1973; Bactres/Balkh: Gardin, 1957; Begram: Ghirshman, 1946; Chārsada: Wheeler, 1962; Dahan-i Ghulaman: Scerrato, 1966; Mundigak: Casal, 1961; Persepolis: Schmidt, 1957; Setq-Ābād: Ghirshman, 1948; Shamshir Ghar: Duprec, 1958; Susa: Ghirshman, 1954; Taxila: Marshall, 1951; Yaz-Depe: Masson, 1959. Citation is by site rather than author. Perhaps rashly I have given each period an historical name. The cautious reader may imagine these names in inverted commas, if he will.

_Achaemenid: 6th–4th centuries BC_

Nowhere did the 1975 excavations reach deposits which could be said to be earlier than Dr. Whitehouse's 2nd period at the East Wall (above, p.14), or Casal's (1961) Mundigak VII deposits, although ceramic forms of Whitehouse's 1st period, Casal's Mundigak VI, were found. The ceramic and stratigraphical evidence indicates that our earliest deposits reached in 1975 date to the period of Achaemenid control of Arachosia; our pottery has Achaemenid period parallels, either exact or approximate, at Dahan-i Ghulaman and Susa in Iran, and at Yaz-Depe in the Turkmen SSR, and the deposits in which this pottery was found preceded Mauryan/Greek deposits with no trace of a break.

Architecturally only site H produced interesting remains of this period (Fig. 2). Here we found massive _pakhsa_ (coursed _pāšē_) walls enclosing small mud-plastered rooms c. 2·50 m x 2·50 m, connected by false arched doors c. 1·00 m.
wide. The sizes of the rooms and walls, which survived to as much as 3·00 m in height, suggest that they formed a sort of undercrofting or basement of a building too large to be a simple private house. As the building deteriorated gradually after its abandonment, and as finds here were limited to comparatively few pot-sherds, I would suggest that it went out of use peacefully at the end of the Achaemenid period or slightly later. This appears to be a building of some importance, and it is to be hoped that its total excavation may shed more light on Dr. Whitehouse’s hypothesis that Kandahar was the capital of the Achaemenian satrapy Hurukawatis.

At sites F and D little meaningful architecture was found — a possible pisé wall in the former, and in the latter a platform of packed mud on stone; although it is only partly uncovered, it calls to mind the platform found by Casal at Mundigak (VII, 2). The similarity may be illusory. A possible function for such a platform at Kandahar (if platform it be) might be to raise its occupants above marshy surroundings.

**Achaemenid period pottery: c. 600—300 BC**

All the Achaemenid pottery appears to have been made on a fast wheel as is all the succeeding pottery except the Šaka. Amongst the open shapes, bowls of all sizes with flat bases and pronounced carinations predominate (Fig. 5 and Table 1, nos. 1—7; cf. Whitehouse, p. 16). This shape’s popularity seems to wane in the 3rd century; in 1975 only occasional examples were found in the Mauryan/Greek deposits. Also common are the less sharply carinated bowls (Fig. 5 and Table 1, nos. 8—10). The double ridged type is also found.

The bowls are usually made of a well-levigated clay, self-slipped inside and out. The surface is usually polished. Radial burnish inside is fairly common (e.g. Fig. 5 and Table 1, no. 12). Probably late in the period the first spiral burnish commences (Dupree’s RSP-BW — Shamshir Ghar, p.202; see also Whitehouse, p. 17—18).

Closed shapes: Small fine ware jars (pastes akin to the bowls); medium sized jars (for water? Fig. 6 and Table 2, nos. 3—6), and large storage jars (not illustrated), usually of coarser ware.

**Mauryan/Greek: 3rd—2nd centuries BC**

No evidence of the Alexander period was recovered in 1975, but stratified remains possibly relating to a Mauryan and a Bactrian Greek and/or an Indo-Greek presence within the city were brought to light. From within a wall at site F (Fig. 4, no. 5) came a coin of the negama type (Pl. IV, no. 7), thought by Allan (1936: cxxvi; 215, no. 8; Pl. xxxi, no. 5) to have been minted at Taxila and dated by him to around 200 BC — about the time when the Mauryan dynasty’s grip on Arachosia was presumably broken by the Bactrian Greeks. In the floor deposits relating to this wall we found a coin of Euthydemus 1 (suggested dates 235—200 BC; Pl. IV, no. 5), and another of Eucratides I (suggested dates 171—155 BC; Pl. IV, no. 6), (Lahiri, 1965, 128—9, 132; Narain, 1962, 185) neatly spanning and supporting the late 3rd/early 2nd century dates proposed by Allan for the negama coin.

These Greek and ‘Taxilan’ coins might be explained simply as a convenience for Kandahar’s 3rd/2nd century inhabitants, had not we found in the contemporary deposits pottery of both Greek and Indian appearance, with parallels, exact or approximate, at Ai Khanoum in Afghanistan and Charsada in Pakistan.1 The pottery is local rather than imported (Tables 3—4), and is found in association with types continuing from the Achaemenid period, indicating that the potters were producing for a clientele both local and immigrant. A notable development is the increase in red streak pattern-burnished ware (see illustrations Figs. 7—8), perhaps developing out of and superseding the radial burnished ware (Fig.5 and Table 1, no.12).

The architecture of the Mauryan/Greek period is slight. The massive building in site H was probably abandoned at this time, suggesting a contraction in the occupation area in the following period. At site D we found only a drain which at present, like Mt Everest’s South Col, appears to lead from nowhere to nowhere. Immediately succeeding it, and possibly belonging to this period, was a row of oven-like structures, probably cut into the ground in the manner of the Middle Eastern tando or tanmor, a sort of bread oven (Fig.3). Site F also produced a line of stones, possibly part of a drain. Are these drains manifestations of civic hygiene imported from east or west, or were they a local phenomenon?

At site F the underlying slope of the ground towards the west becomes clear for the first time. The rubble Mauryan/Greek walls once surmounted by pisé were in part terrace walls and in part freestanding (Fig.4). Such terracing is a feature of the site subsequently. Wall 7 is the exterior wall of a house or shop; west of it was a back-yard with a shallow well 1.50m deep, a large stone structure as yet unexplained, and the drain aforementioned. (Pl. 1, no.1).

East of wall 7 was a well-tamped clay floor on which were found a weighing pan (Pl. III, no.4) and weights
Fig. 3. Site D, area 1, N. section
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The well is lined with stones down to the level of the present-day groundwater; we may therefore conclude that groundwater now is as then. The well was finally used as a rubbish dump and latrine; a useful collection of yellow-green stained pottery from it displays a range of profiles of the Mauryan/Greek period. Among the other small finds of this period from site F is a headless terracotta statuette of a woman. She is completely different in execution and spirit from the other quaint mannikin and animal statuettes found in contemporary and later deposits, and is another indication of Hellenistic Greek influence (Pl. II, no. 1). A bone medallion (lid of a very small box?), 3-6 cm in diameter and 0.7 cm high is also worthy of mention (Pl. IV, no. 12).

As might be expected, the 1975 excavations pose as many questions about the nature and extent of the Greek presence as they answer. It appears possible that here, more than at, say, Ai Khanum, the Greek occupation represented a mere accretion on the pre-existing settlement, a colony implanted in a flourishing Achaemenid/native city. We might expect then to find at Kandahar a Greek quarter or compound, similar to the old US Aid Compound on the edge of the modern city. In the meantime we must content ourselves with the statement that the 1975 excavations produced evidence for Greek economic and cultural influence at Kandahar, and further strengthened the hypothesis that Alexandria of the Arachosians/Alexandropolis was located at Shahr-i Kuhna.

Mauryan/Greek period pottery: c. 300–100 BC

The pottery of this period shows several influences:
1. A continuing uninterrupted local tradition, including types which may have been introduced by the Achaemenids (e.g. Fig. 7 and Table 3, nos. 12–23; Fig. 8 and Table 4, no. 11–14).
2. Greek (e.g. Fig. 7 and Table 3, nos. 1–3; 8–11).
3. Indian (e.g. Fig. 7 and Table 3, nos. 4–7).

Open shapes include bowls, dishes ('fish plates') and cups (all these forms with flat bottoms, ring bases and rounded bottoms); closed shapes include small bottles, and jars of various sizes. There are some new wares in addition to those of the preceding period; most notable is the increase of brick-red ware sherds.

Saka: c. 100 BC

Following the Mauryan/Greek period comes the first notable break in the occupation of the site. This break is clearest at site F; over the walls and occupation of the Greek period lay a stone and melted pisé tumble. Here, along with the mass of comparatively sophisticated local pottery, was found the occasional sherd of coarse gritty ware, crudely made on a slow wheel or without a wheel, with appliqué or crudely impressed designs. Similar pottery was found at D, E and H. It is likely, on analogy with material recovered in the Soviet Union from Central Asia to the Black Sea and at Balkh in Afghanistan, that these few sherds are the sole recognisable material trace of the Sakas, the Scythic tribe whose name finally attached itself to the area south-east of Kandahar — Sakastane, the modern Seistan.

The number of sherds of this kind is small, so their attribution to the Sakas must be tentative.

Parthian: 1st century BC

About the beginning of the 1st century BC, the Parthian king Mithridates II overran Sakastane and Arachosia ('White India'), (Dupree, 1958, 276). The evidence for a Parthian presence at Kandahar remains extremely slight; possibly some of the ceramic forms of site D1.26 (e.g. Fig. 10 and Table 6, no. 21) have their origin in the lands west of Kandahar. None of the characteristic Parthian glazed ware was recovered in 1975. The Parthian pottery (if there is any) is here published with the early Kushan pottery (Fig. 10 and Table 6).

Kushan: 1st 3rd centuries AD

Following the Parthians, the Kushans controlled the Kandahar region. At Shahr-i Kuhna our excavations revealed copious evidence for Kushan occupation — pottery, architecture and ‘small finds’. In the architectural category the monastery and stupa overlooking Old Kandahar from a rocky pinnacle of Qaitul have long been thought to be Kushan. They are constructed in the typical Kushan fashion — partly of diaper masonry, partly using the characteristic Kushan mud-bricks. Fussman (1966, 39) reckoned that the monastery complex dates to the 4th century AD; there is no compelling reason to reject this suggestion.

In 1975 we found several substantial walls built of the Kushan mud-bricks — large sundried bricks about 40–43 cm.² and 10–13 cm thick — superimposed on socles of well-laid coursed stone rubble bound with mud mortar.
At site D the Kushan architecture appears fairly grandiose. It consists of a pair of horseshoe towers flanking an entrance — what it leads to is so far unrevealed. The western tower had been severely damaged by the construction of a late medieval well (Pl. I, no. 2). A wall of similar construction was found in the deep sounding at site D; from its south extremity (as so far revealed) a return at right angles probably joined the west side of the west tower.

At site F (Fig.4), after the collapse of the Mauryan/Greek complex, a deep deposit (F(V) 281.4/F(W) 261.7), probably including some levelling off, was overlaid by new terracing on the same alignment. Initially the principal feature of this was a 3 m wide stone and pisé wall (Fig.4, wall 44). Up to this ran about ten floors. This wall was in time superseded by another retaining wall (no. 43) with at least three floors; it was also built, rather uncharacteristically for this period, of pisé. This in turn was superseded by a 4 m wide wall of two phases, relating to four floors (walls 22A–25). In the first phase the wall was built of a combination of full-size and halved mud-bricks; the wall of the second phase was built of broken mud-bricks irregular in shape, amongst which was a coin probably of the mysterious Nāpā Malkā (7th century?). Thus at site F the terrace system appears to extend in time from the 1st to the 7th century without any major break. Pottery from these floors is illustrated in Fig. 11 and Table 7.

Turning to the pottery of the Kushan period we notice immediately the increasing proportion of red streak pattern-burnished ware (RSP-BW) against other wares. Eventually we hope to work out a typology for RSP-BW for its full duration from the 3rd century BC to the 7th or 8th AD.

Among the notable Kushan period small finds is a carnelian intaglio gem 8 mm high, depicting the goddess Athene (Pl. IV, no. 13). It is western in style; whether of local or foreign manufacture is uncertain.

To my mind the find of the 1975 season was a broken soapstone mould, measuring 5.7 x 8.2 cm (max.), meticulously and deeply carved on both faces, and with a shallow design of lotuses along one side (Pl. IV, nos. 1–4). It was probably a jeweller's mould used for hammering out repoussé gold ornaments. The main composition is carved in a stippled style; perhaps a very fine drill was used. The surviving portion of the major composition on one side consists of an elephant gardan t standing on a lotus; the head of the elephant is below the lotus, and was presumably attached in some fashion to the body. On the lower right-hand corner is a minute shallow carving discussed below. It is apparently unconnected with the main composition. On the other side an elephant regardant is walking right, supporting upon its back a lotus. The lotus in turn supports a winged lion, which looks bemused, as well it might.

The dating of the mould presents problems. It was found in the fill outside the Kushan terrace wall no. 44 of site F, and would thus be dated loosely on stratigraphical grounds between the 1st and 3rd century. Stylistically several elements have parallels elsewhere. The bead-and-reel motif is common in Gandharan art from the 1st century BC. The winged lion, lotuses and elephants are comparable in spirit with those on the East Gate of the Sanchi stupa (1st century BC). Even more striking is the similarity of this tiny figure with a copper seal found by Marshall at Taxila in stratum II. Here again we see our ascetic, clearly as a canting device, for the Karoshthi inscription reads ‘Brahmadattasa’ — ‘of Brahmadatta’. Our mould is evidently the product of Brahmadatta's hand or of his atelier. Marshall (1960, Pl. 42; 1951, I, 170–71; II, 680, no. 24; III, Pl. 208, no. 50) dates both the relief and the seal to the 1st century AD.

However, the experts who were kind enough to examine this little mould suggest, with many a caveat, that the designs overall may point to a date late in the Kushan period.

From the Kushan deposits came various other small finds. The bone pin R. no. 123 topped by a fist comes from F(W) 261.6 (Pl. II, no. 5 centre). Other similar but fragmentary pins came from F(W) 281.4 (R. no. 244, Pl. II, no. 5 bottom) and D 12.3 (R. no. 379, Pl. II, no. 5 top). An exact parallel was found at Begram; it dates to the 2nd or 3rd century AD (Ghirshman, 1946, 64; B.G. 104, P. XXXVII). Another Kushan period find of worked bone is the spoon R. no. 152 from F(W) 261.6, length 14.7 cm (Pl. III, No. 1).

Early Kushan pottery: c. 100 BC – 300 AD

In this and the succeeding period ‘red streak pattern-burnished ware’ (RSP-BW) reaches its height. It is now found on vessels of all types, but principally bowls, dishes and jars.

The deposits of the Kushan and Kushano-Sassanian periods produced vast amounts of ceramics, both utensils and figurines: the excellence of much of the pottery and its decoration — burnished, appliqué and stamped — suggest a delight in the medium, and a widespread technical and artistic competence in its manufacture.
Anthony McNicoll

Kushano-Sassanian: 4th–7th centuries AD

This category may include late Kushan and Ephthalite material in addition to Fig. 12, no. 1. As yet the distinctions between the Kushan, Kushano-Sassanian and Ephthalite ceramics are undefined, as the periods appear to form a continuum (above, p. 47). Numismatically there is clear evidence of Ephthalite domination: at site H four silver Sassanian type coins were found in association with a like number of cadavers, and in two cases the coins were actually found in the mouths (Pl. IV, nos. 8–11). The skeletons were aligned east-west in stone-lined graves. The location of the burials within the Kushan city walls suggests a contraction of the city in the Ephthalite period (Pl. I, no. 3).

Kushan, Kushano-Sassanian and Ephthalite pottery: c. 300–700 AD

None of the decorated pottery such as was found by Leshnik (1967) at Qala Ahangaran was found at Kandahar in 1975. Amongst the fine wares the burnished tradition of the preceding periods continues.

Islamic: 7th–18th centuries

The vast quantity of Islamic material recovered in 1975 belongs in the main to the last period of Shahr-i Kohna's glory, the 16th to 18th centuries, and bears witness to the entrepreneurial skills of the inhabitants as merchants and middlemen in a difficult time. A few pieces of earlier Islamic pottery have been identified, e.g. glazed hatched sgraffiato sherds, probably dating to the Ghaznavid period (11th–12th centuries) were found in a pit in F(Z).

The architecture of this final period is slight, considering the wealth of finds. For this the robbing of the site in modern times is largely responsible — soil for top-dressing fields and bricks for building new houses are constantly being dug up. At site D elements of what may have been a bath-house were found — a cistern, a well, an octagonal basin, a drain and fragmentary walls.

Major finds were made in two areas used as rubbish dumps — the well in site D, and a pit in site G. From the former came ceramic, glass, bone, and bronze objects; the latter produced hundreds of fragments of blue-and-white and lustre-painted glazed sherds, which Mr. Thorne was able to mend into some twenty more-or-less complete bowls and plates (e.g. Fig. 12, no. 7).

From the well (site D, area 15; the deposits are 1 m spits) came the following:

(a) Imported Chinese porcelain. These may possibly be Persian white glazed ware (Lane, 1957, 109–110); however, Dr. Crowe and Prof. Dupree favour a Chinese origin. Date: second half of the 17th century.

(b) Fragmentary blue-and-white glazed plates, including one inscribed 'The work of Khwaju Mohammad' and 'made for Agha Ramadhan' (Pl. II, no. 4; Pl. V, no. 5). Perhaps from the Herat atelier of Khwaju Mohammad in the 17th century.

(c) Bone objects, including the mysterious objects R. No. 188 (carved from a rib bone, Pl. II, no. 6) and 206 (perhaps a thumbstool, Pl. IV, no. 14).

(d) Thousands of glass fragments, mostly of decanters such as Fig. 12, no. 9 and Pl. II, no. 3.

(e) Two bronze ewers, R. No. 308 and 184 (Pl. II, no. 2).

(f) Five coins. These appear to be of the Kandahar autonomous variety of the 17th century.

Shahr-i Kohna was sacked by Nadir Shah in 1738. The contents of the well in site D may be interpreted as evidence of the city's final agony. The site was never reoccupied.

CERAMIC FINDS DATING TO THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

Yolande Crowe

The 1975 ceramic finds dating to the Islamic period add much to the understanding of Safawid pottery. Although the glazed shards range from 6th/12th century sgraffiato to 12th/18th century marble wares including a few Il-khanid and Timurid examples, the most important series consists of the four related groups of cobalt-blue underglaze painted bowls and small dishes, fired on the base ring, with a brown rim. Local manufacture is a possibility suggested by the
clumsy control of the cobalt. The first group is made up of four bowls and one dish, the inside of which consists of a concentric aster pattern (Pl. V, no. 1) deriving from that of an aster dish in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Kurdian, 1975; Crowe, 1976), with a central Armenian monogram belonging to Aga Nazar who died in Isfahan in 1636 AD. The second group of seven bowls and one dish is decorated with a diaper pattern (Pl. V, no. 2). Two bowls with a stylised chrysanthemum (Pl. V, no. 3) motif make up the third group; one other bowl with a more sophisticated chrysanthemum decoration and better glaze, follows the same shape. In the fourth and final group of three bowls, an eight-pointed circular motif fills the bottom of the vessel (Pl. V, no. 4). Bowls average, in width 19 cms, and in height 8 cms.

Dishes come in two sizes: 21 and 10 cms in width; a further small dish has a plantain leaf for inside decoration. The decoration outside all three dishes is characteristic of the early seventeenth century AD: a loose schematic garland.

Two important fragments belong to the second series of blue and white Safavid wares of good quality: first a base fragment with a duck painted in reserve: (Pl. IV, no. 4; Pl. V, no. 5) the inside of the base ring has two lines of writing:

Az jihat-i Aga Ramazan
Amal-i Khvaja Muhammad

second, a sherd with a painted bee has a date on the outside which reads 1034 or 1624 AD. A third series of finds belongs to the dark grey underglaze painted wares. The double-recessed base and spur marks, some pseudo-Chinese seal marks, the high quality of the painting and the body, have often been attributed to Kirman. Pseudo-Buddhist symbols, large leaves and even the sketch of an elephant (Pl. V, no. 6), decorated the inside of what must have been rather large dishes and bowls. Unglazed fragments include two round lids with stamped decoration and a broken ewer with a high foot.

Chinese finds consist of a small white porcelain box with a moulded flower spray on the lid, five white bowls, shards of seventh century AD blue and white and small cups with light brown coloured glaze. The white box could probably have come from Te-hua in the Chinese province of Fukien (Pl. V, no. 7).

**GLAZED TILES**

_Garry Martin_

Seventy-six fragments of glazed tiles were collected mostly from surface finds during the survey of the city of Kandahar.

The majority are polychrome tiles executed in the _cuerda seca_ technique. The designs are mainly stylized plant and floral motifs with occasional geometric designs framing plant motifs (Pl. V, no. 8). They include palmettes, serrated sickle shaped leaves, arabesque and tendril designs supporting calyxes and flower rosettes. The designs are outlined in black and infilled with yellow, green, blue and brown set against backgrounds of white, yellow or blue.

As well as floral designs a pair of dolphins and a mischievous hare coursing through a bed of bell-shaped flowers (tulips?), are seen on two of the tiles.

The floral motifs and border panel designs are similar to those found on 17th century Safavid carpets. The design motifs, colours and glazing technique are similar to 17th century _cuerda seca_ tiles from Persia now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. This suggests a date of the second half of the 17th century for the polychrome tiles which would coincide with the later Safavid occupation of the city of Kandahar after 1648.

Other tiles found were blue underglaze painted with similar floral decoration, green tiles with a raised decoration of inter-twining stems and buds, and a fragment of a raised inscription on a turquoise glazed tile.

**COIN FINDS**

_David W. Mac Dowall_

The excavations produced a small but interesting series of coins from the pre-Islamic periods. The most notable find is a _negama_ copper coin (Allan, 1936, 215, no. 8). This rare group supplied the half denomination of the much
more common elephant and lion square copper coins of late Mauryan date. These were formerly attributed to Taxila, but they are well represented in finds from Bagram and Mir Zakah near Gardez and can therefore be regarded as the late copper currency of the north-west Mauryan provinces. The Seleucids are represented by a copper coin of Antiochus III (cf. Newell 1938, 209, no. 596) with Apollo seated left of an omphalos and a clear legend (AN) TIOXOY, an issue that is attributed by Newell to c. 215–209 BC. This is the period when the Seleucid king campaigned in the east to recover the territories lost to the Bactrians and Mauryans. He besieged Euthydemus in Bactra (208–206 BC), crossed the Hindu Kush, renewed his treaty with Sophagasenus King of the Indians (i.e. a Mauryan king), levying a tribute of elephants before he marched back through Arachosia and Drangiana. To the same period belongs the copper coin of Seleucid fabric of the Bactrian king Euthydemus I (Whitehead 1914, 12, no. 6). There is a square copper coin of Eucratides (Whitehead 1914, 24, no. 108) of the common type that was struck in quantity and provided the standard copper currency of Eucratides at Ai Khanum in the north and at Bagram and Mir Zakah in the south of the Hindu Kush. Six square copper coins fused together into a single lump have the same Indo-Greek format, but their surface is corroded and illegible.

A copper coin in poor condition seems from its distinctive snood to belong to the later Indo-Parthian king Pacores who ruled in Seistan. There is a large copper coin of the Sassanian king Shapur I, very worn but recognisable (cf. Gobl, 1968, Pl. II, no. 31). There are six further specimens of this coinage among the local finds in the Kandahar Museum, and several examples of this copper coinage in the British Museum come from collections found in Afghanistan, suggesting that we may have here an eastern Sassanian copper currency modelled on the later Kushan copper tetradrachm.

The late Sassanian coins from the cemetery are silver drachms of Kobad I (Gobl, 1968, Pl. XI, no. 189–190) current in the 6th century AD. Sassanian silver circulated widely in Afghanistan and was copied by the Ephthalites and Turki Shahis. Two of these coins were found in the mouths of the cadavers, continuing the Greek practice of providing the deceased with Charon’s obol — the ferryman’s fee due when crossing the river of the underworld (Bivar 1970, 156–158). Sassanian silver drachms are reported from several Iranian funerary deposits — at Seleucia, Nasirabad near Farsa, Haftavan Tepe and Shahri-Qumis in Iran, and from Astana in the Tarim Basin: and the last two examples are coins of Hormizd IV from the later 6th century AD.

NOTES

1 No further black-glazed sherds [Whitehouse, above p. 16] were found in the 1975 excavations. The 1974 specimens have been identified by various experts as Hellenistic ware from the Mediterranean basin; others, notably members of the Indian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan, see them as Northern Black Polished Ware, on which see Parittattva [the Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society] 5 (1971–2), 29–38. The resolution of this difference of opinion may lie in the spectrographic analysis of the sherds in question.

2 Some of the bowls from the pit look Achaemenid; the filling-in of the well must therefore have taken place early in the Mauryan/Greek period. Nos. 875 and 852 [Table IV, nos. 11–12] have fairly close parallels at Dahani-i Ghulaman, which Scerrato [1966] dates to the time of Nad-i Ali I. This date is a little early for our bowls. Bactres/Balkh [Gardin, 1957, 45] and thus Kobadian seem to offer a nearer chronological fit with this type of bowl. See also Schmidt [1957, 96] for a late Achaemenid date for this form at Persepolis.

3 For the characteristics and distribution of RSP-BW see Dupree [1958, 202]. On the evidence of the 1975 stratigraphy this ware was first manufactured at Kandahar in the 3rd or perhaps in the 4th century BC. It supersedes the radial burnish decoration, with a chronological overlap.

4 Comparable intaglios in jacinth were found in 1st century AD deposits at Taxila [Marshall, 1951: II, 650; III, Pl. 207, 10 a–i and especially f.]. Ghirshman [1946, 64] attributes a similar carnelian intaglio depicting Dionysus [B.G. 423, Pl. XXXVII] to a local Kapisa craftsman.

5 The ascetic ... finds an excellent equivalent in the Gandhāra sculpture, in a style which personally I would consider fairly early Gandhāra. The ‘bead and reel’ motif is puzzling. The lotus motif occurs as early as Barhut, but I suspect can be found as late as the second century AD. Whether or not this is so is rather crucial. As for the ‘plastik’ of the elephants and winged lion I would certainly tend to put them rather towards the end of your period than the beginning, but frankly I think it is almost impossible to date this piece within less than three centuries on stylistic grounds.” Dr. J. G. Harle, personal communication.

6 Compare the alignment of the grave at Setq-Abad: Ghirshman, 1948, Fig. 1. For Arab-Ephthalite coins see Walker, 1941: no precise parallel to our coins is illustrated.

7 Lane [1957, 100] prefers to see the glazed ware bearing the name of Khwaju [Hajji] Mohammed as productions of Āgha Malik of Yazd and his sons, who were active in the early 18th century.
Bibliography


Anthony McNicoll

![Figure 5](image)

Table: Achaemenid period pottery: c. 600–300 BC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Cat. No.</th>
<th>Site, area, deposit</th>
<th>Ware, comments</th>
<th>Parallels</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1142</td>
<td>D 1.32</td>
<td>Red-brown paste, purple-brown slip i. and o. (i = inside; o = outside)</td>
<td>General type: <em>Susa</em>, G.S. 1219 h, pl. XXXVII, and <em>Yaz-Depe</em>, pl. XXXIX, no. 24, etc. <em>Yaz-Depe</em>, pl. XLI, no. 17, <em>Persepolis</em>, pl. 72, 1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1125</td>
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<td>H(Z) 501.6</td>
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<td><em>Ibid</em>, pl. XLI, no. 20</td>
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<td>1223</td>
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<td>Pale grey paste, self slip i. and o.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1283</td>
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<td>1326</td>
<td>H(Z) 501.6</td>
<td>Tan paste, brown slip i. and o., burnished</td>
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Parallels

General type: *Susa*, G.S. 1219 h, pl. XXXVII, and *Yaz-Depe*, pl. XXXIX, no. 24, etc. *Yaz-Depe*, pl. XLI, no. 17, *Persepolis*, pl. 72, 1

*Yaz-Depe*, pl. XXXVIII, no. 5

*Ibid*, pl. XLI, no. 20

General type: *Ibid*, pl. XXXIX, no. 19
Excavations at Kandahar, 1975

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Fig. 6. Achaemenid period pottery: c. 600–300 BC
**Fig. 7. Mauryan/Greek period pottery: c. 300–100 BC**

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<td><em>Chārṣada, fig. 26, no. 203</em> (reddish buff ware)</td>
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Excavations at Kandahar, 1975

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**Fig. 8. Mauryan/Greek period pottery: c. 300–100 BC**

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<td>941</td>
<td>D 1.30</td>
<td>Coarse red ware, red slip i. and o., burnished on lip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1215</td>
<td>F(W) 261.9D</td>
<td>Red fine ware, burnished i. (RSP-BW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>D 1.28</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5</td>
<td>Sandy biscuit ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5A</td>
<td>Pale tan paste</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware, burnished i. (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Persepolis, pl. 74, 3; Dahan-i Ghulaman, figs 52 and 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5A</td>
<td>Red fine ware, probably burnished i. (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Ibid, figs 52 and 58; perhaps Bactres, pl. VII, no 23a (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5A</td>
<td>Red fine ware, probably burnished i. (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Dahan-i Ghulaman, figs 52 and 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5</td>
<td>Red fine ware, dark red slip i. and o., burnishing i. (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Perhaps Ai Khanoum, o2 – s3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>859</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5A</td>
<td>Red fine ware, burnished i. (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Charsada, fig 23, no. 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware, brown slip i. and o.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5</td>
<td>Sandy biscuit ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5</td>
<td>Fine black ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>D 1.30</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware, red slip i. and o.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1104</td>
<td>D 1.30</td>
<td>Buff ware, black slip i. and o.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5</td>
<td>Sandy biscuit ware, slipped i. and o.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5</td>
<td>Sandy biscuit ware, slipped i. and o.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5A</td>
<td>Gritty sandy biscuit ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 9. Saka pottery: c. 100 BC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Cat. No.</th>
<th>Site, area, deposit</th>
<th>Description, comments</th>
<th>Parallels</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1230B</td>
<td>F(W) 261.6</td>
<td>Red coarse ware</td>
<td>Bactres, p. 50, fig. 23 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>F(Z) 201.2</td>
<td>Red coarse ware</td>
<td>(&quot;céramique grise&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>E 110.7</td>
<td>Red coarse ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>F(Y) 222.2</td>
<td>Red coarse ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>F(Z) 202.18</td>
<td>Red coarse ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>F(W) 261.6</td>
<td>Red coarse ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>F(W) 261.7</td>
<td>Red coarse ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>F(W) 261.8A</td>
<td>Red coarse ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps Bactres, p. 50, fig 23e
Excavations at Kandahar, 1975

![Fig. 10. Early Kushan pottery: c. 100 BC–AD 300](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Cat. No.</th>
<th>Size, area, deposit</th>
<th>Description, comments</th>
<th>Parallels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>F(V) 281.4</td>
<td>Orange coarse ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>F(W) 261.7</td>
<td>Red fine ware, dark red slip i. and o., burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>F(W) 261.7</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware, brown slip i. and o., burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>F(V) 281.4</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware, brown slip i. and o., burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>F(W) 261.7</td>
<td>Red fine ware, burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>F(W) 261.7</td>
<td>Pale tan, self slip i. and o., burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Shamshir Ghar, p. 211, fig. 32m, no. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>F(W) 261.7</td>
<td>Fine black ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>F(W) 261.7</td>
<td>Fine black ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>D 1.26</td>
<td>Coarse red painted ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1095</td>
<td>D 1.26</td>
<td>Coarse red painted ware</td>
<td>Chārsada, fig. 48, no. 511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1088</td>
<td>D 1.26</td>
<td>Sandy biscuit ware</td>
<td>Chārsada, fig. 50, no. 546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>F(W) 261.7</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>D 1.26</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware, burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Chārsada, fig. 48, no. 511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>F(V) 281.4</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware, burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Chārsada, fig. 50, no. 546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1087</td>
<td>D 1.26</td>
<td>Red fine ware, burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Possibly Chārsada fig. 49, no. 520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>D 1.26</td>
<td>Red fine ware, burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>D 1.26</td>
<td>Pale tan paste</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>F(V) 281.4</td>
<td>Red fine ware, burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>D 1.26</td>
<td>Red medium fine ware, burnished (RSP-BW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>D 1.25</td>
<td>Red fine ware, perhaps imitating metal work</td>
<td>cf. silver chalice, Ghirshman, Parthians and Sassanians, p. 101, pl. 114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Anthony McNicoll

Fig. 11. Kushano-Sassanian pottery: AD 300–700

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Cat. No.</th>
<th>Site, area, deposit</th>
<th>Description, comments</th>
<th>Parallels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>B35</td>
<td>F(Y) 221.11</td>
<td>This and all following sherds are RSP-BW</td>
<td>General type: <em>Shamshir Ghar</em>, p. 229, fig. 54, d,j (<em>red i. and o. sub-ware</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>B123</td>
<td>F(Y) 221.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>B58</td>
<td>F(Y) 221.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>B24</td>
<td>F(Y) 223.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>B179</td>
<td>F(X) 241.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>B180</td>
<td>F(X) 241.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>B5</td>
<td>F(Y) 221.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>B75</td>
<td>F(X) 202.19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>B50</td>
<td>F(Y) 221.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>B42</td>
<td>F(X) 241.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>B181</td>
<td>F(X) 241.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>B26</td>
<td>F(Y) 223.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>B8</td>
<td>F(X) 241.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>B67</td>
<td>F(X) 241.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>B177</td>
<td>F(X) 241.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>F(Y) 221.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>B168</td>
<td>F(X) 241.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>F(Z) 202.18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>B90</td>
<td>F(Y) 221.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Excavations at Kandahar, 1975

Fig. 12. Kushan and Ephthalite pottery, Islamic pottery and glass

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Cat. No.</th>
<th>Site, area, deposit</th>
<th>Description, comments</th>
<th>Parallels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>R. no. 40</td>
<td>D, unstratified</td>
<td>Fine red ware</td>
<td>Setq Ābād, fig. 2, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Medium fine red ware,</td>
<td>Perhaps best related to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>burnished o. (RSP-BW)</td>
<td>Bāgram, B.G.465, pl. XV,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no. 6; pl. XLI; stamp:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bactres, p. 21, fig. 5, no. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Medium fine red ware</td>
<td>Ibid, p. 21, fig. 5, no. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>F(W) 261.7</td>
<td>Medium fine red ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>F(V) 281.4</td>
<td>Medium fine red ware,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>B175</td>
<td></td>
<td>Medium fine red ware,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>burnished o. (RSP-BW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>R. no. 444</td>
<td>G 402.2/3</td>
<td>Very fine whitish ware,</td>
<td>JRA S (1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>G 402.4</td>
<td>Blue and white glaze</td>
<td>pp. 54-56, pl. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>R.no.404</td>
<td>D 15.7</td>
<td>Buff medium fine ware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Moulded, Possibly Ghaznavid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Glass, appliqué trails.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>
### PLATES

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pl. No.</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 1</td>
<td>F(V-W)</td>
<td>Mauryan/Greek deposits, looking west.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>D Area 12</td>
<td>Kushan period towers and Islamic period well, looking south.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>H Grave XVI</td>
<td>Coin (Reg. No. 297) <em>in situ.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Pl. No.</th>
<th>Reg. No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II 1</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>Terracotta figurine. Height: c. 11.5 cm.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.9E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>Bronze jug (before cleaning). Height: c. 34 cm.</td>
<td>D 15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>Glass decanter. Height: c. 27.5 cm.</td>
<td>D 15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>Blue and white glazed plate. Top and bottom.</td>
<td>D 15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
<td>Bone pin. Length: 11.4 cm.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>Fragment of a bone pin. Length: 7.7 cm.</td>
<td>F(V) 281.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>Bone object. Length: 16 cm., width: 1.9 cm., thickness: 0.6 cm.</td>
<td>D 12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 1</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>Bone spoon. Length: 14.7 cm.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>100-2</td>
<td>Bronze studs, plates and cloth thread fragments.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Various dimensions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>Granite stone weights. Weights: 375 gm., 225 gm.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.9J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>Bronze weighing pan. Diameter: 7.6 cm.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 1</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>Soapstone mould. Length: 8.2 cm., width: 5.7 cm. Obverse</td>
<td>F(W) 261.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>Soapstone mould. Reverse</td>
<td>F(W) 261.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>Soapstone mould. Side</td>
<td>F(W) 261.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>Soapstone mould. Detail: Brahmin ascetic in hut.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>Bronze coin of Euthydemus I. Diameter: 2 cm.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.9D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>Bronze coin of Eucratides I. Dimensions: 2 x 2 cm.</td>
<td>F(V) 281.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>Bronze <em>negama</em> coin. Dimensions: 1.75 x 1.75 cm.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.9C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>Silver Sassanian coin from Grave V. Diameter: 3.0 cm.</td>
<td>H(Z) 501.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>Silver Sassanian coin from Grave XVI. Diameter: 3.0 cm.</td>
<td>H(Z) 501.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>Silver Sassanian coin from Grave XV. Diameter: 3.0 cm.</td>
<td>H(Z) 501.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>Silver Sassanian coin from Grave XVII. Diameter: 3.0 cm.</td>
<td>H(Z) 501.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>Bone medallion. Diameter: 3.6 cm., height 0.7 cm.</td>
<td>F(V) 281.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>Carnelian intaglio seal. Height: 0.8 cm.</td>
<td>F(W) 261.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>Bone object (thumb-stool?). Height: 5.0 cm., width: 3.8 cm.</td>
<td>D 15.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plate II
Plate III
Plate IV
PRE-ISLAMIC COINS IN KANDAHAR MUSEUM

D. W. Mac Dowall and M. Ibrahim

In July, 1972, we visited Kandahar to study the pre-Islamic coins in the collection of the Kandahar Museum. We are particularly grateful for the generous assistance given to us by the Afghan Ministry of Information and Culture, the Director of the Kabul Museum and the local officials in Kandahar, who made our study possible.

We record in this catalogue the coins that we were able to examine during our visit. The collection in the Museum is said to have been formed from coins found in Kandahar and its locality. The coins themselves seem to substantiate this, as many of them are worn and as a group they reflect the range of coins that are commonly encountered in the bazaar at Kandahar. The collection consequently provides important evidence for the pre-Islamic currency of Arachosia, showing, as one might expect, an intermediate position between the currency of Begram and Mir Zakah in the east and that of Seistan to the west. In all we have listed 163 coins in the following categories:

Cat. no.  | A | R | E
--- | --- | --- | ---
1-3 Mauryan | - | 1 | 2
4-8 Indo-Greek | - | 3 | 2
9-14 Parthian | - | 6 | -
15-20 Indo-Scythian | - | 3 | 3
21-32 Indo-Parthian | - | - | 12
33-128 Kushan | - | - | 96
129-143 Later Kushan | - | - | 15
144-156 Sasanian | - | 4 | 9
157-163 Medieval | 1 | 6 | -

1 23 139

Most of the coins are of types known from published catalogues. There are, however, some quite rare types of which the catalogue contains several examples — such as the copper coins of Arda Mitra and of the early Sasanian kings Ardashir and Shapur I; and there are 51 Kushan coins of a type not previously published, copying the known obverse and reverse types of Huvishka but clearly intended to serve as a small fractional denomination — the copper drachm that was not produced by the official mints of Huvishka.

The Mauryan Period (Cat. 1-3)

The coinage of the Mauryan period is represented by three coins of types that seem to have circulated in the north-west provinces of the Mauryan empire. We now know from the series of inscriptions discovered in the Laghman Valley and at Kandahar that south eastern Afghanistan formed part of the Mauryan empire in the time of Ashoka. We also know that the so-called Indian punch marked silver was the silver currency of the empire. Moreover, the square copper coins that are classified by Allan as uninscribed Class 1 and 2 of the local coinage of the city of Taxila are regularly found in the former Mauryan provinces in Afghanistan at Begram and Mir Zakah, as here at Kandahar. We therefore regard these square copper coins not simply as the coinage of Taxila, but as the coinage of the north-western provinces of the Mauryan empire — the prototypes that were subsequently copied by the square copper issues of the Indo-Greek kings Agathocles and Pantaleon.

Indo-Greek and Parthian Rulers (Cat. 4-32)

The Indo-Greek rulers are represented by silver drachms struck on the Indian weight standard by Apollodotus and Menander, the early kings to whom Pompeius Trogus (Prologus XLI) attributes the conquest of India: and by a square bilingual Greek and Kharoshthi copper coin of Eucratides. The 1953 Indian Archaeological Mission (Ramachandran and Sharma 1953) found a square copper coin of Agathocles in Kandahar and reported that the coins
of Panta leo, Eucratides and Menander were common. There can be little doubt that the square copper coins of these
rulers provided the copper coinage at Kandahar as at Begram and Mir Zakah.

Subsequently, throughout the first century BC and for most of the first century AD the silver coinage at
Kandahar, as in Seistan, seems to have consisted of Attic standard Parthian drachms or copies of them. The Kandahar
Museum has drachms of Mithradates II (123-88 BC), Phraates IV (38-2 BC) and Gotarzes II (c. AD 38-51). Particularly
interesting is the countermarked local imitation of a Parthian drachm from the mid-first century AD (Cat. 14).
Several examples of these countermarked coins have been published in recent years by Simonetta (1958, 154-172),
Sellwood (1971, Type 91/11) and Mitchiner (1976, 412) but the only published examples with a known provenance
are the five examples discovered together in excavations at Begram (Chisholm 1946, 95). Simonetta suggests that
they may be derived from a prototype in the regular drachms of Orodes II (57-37 BC) but they are much closer to
the Parthian drachms of Artabanus II (AD 11-38) as Mitchiner suggests, or those of Vardanes (c. AD 40-45) as
Sellwood suggests. Their significance lies in their chronology in the mid-first century AD, when there was a sharp
extension of Kushan power, and in their provenance from Begram and Kandahar, localities that came under Kushan
control in that period.

The Indian Mission reported finding five square Indo-Parthian coins - presumably coins of Vonones with
Spalathores or Spalagadanes, continuing the square bilingual copper denomination of the Indo-Greeks.

From the Indo-Scythians the Kandahar Museum has two silver and three billon drachms of Aizes II of the Zeus
Nikephorus type, attributed to Taxila by Jenkins (1955, 1-26) but found also in large numbers at Mir Zakah (Curiel
and Schlumberger, 1953) though conspicuous by their absence from Begram (Masson 1836, 547). There is also one
example of the associated bull and lion copper coinage of Aizes II. From the first century AD the later Indo-Parthian
dynasty is well represented by the Nike type copper tetradrachms of Gondophares and Pacores. Particularly notable are
the six copper coins of the so-called 'Arda Mitra' type, which seem to represent the latest stage of the Indo-Parthian
copper coinage of Seistan at the beginning of the reign of the Sasanian king Ardashir I early in the second century AD
(MacDowall 1965, 137-148).

The Kushan Dynasty (Cat. 33-128)

There is one copper drachm of the barbarous Heliodocles type normally found in Bactria and two copper coins of
the Su Hermaeus type that is common at Begram and Mir Zakah. The main series begins with the copper coins of
Kujula Kadphises (6) and the nameless king (10). There are only three copper tetradrachms of Vima Kadphises, but 12
of Kanishka, seven of Huvishka and four of Vasu-deva I. During the second century AD the Kushans certainly ruled at
Begram, at Ghazni and in the Indus valley; while the later Indo-Parthian kings such as Pacores and his successors to the
time of Arda Mitra ruled in Seistan, where there is no evidence for any Kushan occupation. The copper currency at
Kandahar draws on both series. The city was obviously not far from the political border between the two powers, and
we must bear in mind the possibility that it may have changed hands more than once during this period.

The Local Copies of Huvishka (Cat. 74-124)

Particularly interesting are the 51 small copper coins copying the obverse and reverse types of Huvishka, some-
times in a barbarous and rather crude way. One suspects that many of these coins may belong to a single find, but there
is no evidence on this point. The regular copper coinage of Huvishka is known in only one denomination — the copper
tetradrachm. In his earlier issue with an unbarred tamgha, this denomination follows the weight standard of Kanishka
at 16-17 gm; but in his later issues with the barred tamgha the copper tetradrachm is struck to a reduced weight of
11-13 gm. From various parts of the Kushan empire we find local imitations of the reduced copper tetradrachm; but
these copies at Kandahar weigh between 2 and 4 gm and are very much lighter than the reduced tetradrachm, and they
must have been intended to provide the small change, i.e. copper drachms at about one quarter of the weight of the
tetradrachm that the official mints of Huvishka had failed to supply. Lack of small change may have been a particular
problem at Kandahar where the museum collection contains none of the fractional denominations of Soter Megas,
Vima Kadphises and Kanishka that we find at Begram and other Kushan sites.

It is surprising that there should be only one of these copies with the elephant rider obverse, compared with
some 20 of the couch-lounger and 20 of the king squatting obverse, when the elephant rider is the most common
obverse type of Huvishka's tetradrachms at Kandahar.

The explanation may possibly lie in the weight standard to which the copy drachms were struck (see Appendix,
Table 1). The sole example of the elephant rider type at 4.1 gm may have been intended to be a quarter of the 16 gm
tetradrachm, whereas the 2-4 gm range of the squatting king may represent one quarter of the reduced tetradrachm
and the 2–3 gm range of the couch-lounger may correspond to a later stage in the reduction of the copper tetradrachm. If this is correct it would of course be a type sequence operative only in the local production of the Kandahar copyers.

The Later Kushan and Sasanian Period (Cat. 120–156)

From the third to the sixth century AD the silver currency at Kandahar seems to have been provided by Sasanian silver, as in Seistan, at Begram and at other localities in Afghanistan (Curiel and Schlumberger 1953, 124–126). The Kandahar Museum has silver drachms of Shapur II, Vahran IV and Khusr I. Much more significant are the nine copper Sasanian coins of Ardesher (AD 224–241) and Shapur I (AD 241–272) – a series that is also found in Seistan (Rapson 1904, 679–680) and seems to have constituted an eastern Sasanian copper coinage struck to the weight standard of the reduced copper tetradrachms of Huvishka and Vasudeva I. The presence of a significant number of these coins at Kandahar from the time of Shapur I suggests that the city may well have passed to Sasanian control at this juncture.

It is much more difficult to interpret the later Kushan coinage in the Kandahar collection. Of the three principal series found at Begram in approximately equal numbers, there are at Kandahar eleven coins of the Shiva and bull type with a dumply fabric against two of the enthroned Ardochsho type and two of the fire altar series derived from Shapur II’s coinage in the Indus valley. If these proportions are substantiated by the evidence of further finds we may in due course be able to draw further deductions about the subsequent political control of Arachosia.

The Overall Currency Pattern at Kandahar

Although there are relatively few silver coins in the collection we can readily see the various series that constituted the normal silver currency of Kandahar – punch marked silver under the Mauryans, Indo-Greek bilingual drachms of the Indian standard in the second century BC, Parthian drachms of the Attic standard in the first century BC, Indian drachms of Azes II for a short period at the beginning of the first century AD until Azes II currency became sharply debased, then from the third century AD Sasanian silver drachms and eventually the Indo-Sasanian silver denomination derived from the Sasanian drachm.

The succession of copper denominations is more complex. The square Mauryan copper coins were succeeded by the square coppers first of the Indo-Greek and eventually of the Indo-Parthian kings associated with Vonones. But after the silver denomination in the Kabul valley became debased into copper under the successors of Hermaeus, the standard copper denomination in Kandahar was the round bilingual copper tetradrachm of Indian standard c. 8 gm in weight – at first of Su Hermaeus, then of Kujula and Gondophares (see Appendix. Table 2). This coincided well with the weight of the middle Kushan copper denomination of c. 8 gm so that the copper Nike coins at 8 gm could well serve as the half denomination of the Kushan copper tetradrachm on the Attic standard at 16 gm. Finally, with the rise of the Sasanians we find the relatively rare Sasanian copper unit replacing the reduced Kushan tetradrachms (see Appendix, Table 3) – though no doubt the later Kushan copper coins, with which it was metrologically related, and the copper coins of Arda Mitra continued to circulate with it to provide the small change for the Sasanian silver.

The weights of many of the copper coins in the Kandahar collection, that are plotted in the frequency table in the Appendix, are significantly lower than the weights of many fine specimens of similar types in the major published collections; but this recording of weights enables us to see what coins may in fact have circulated side by side. No doubt new coins would be issued with the types and titles of the current rulers but one suspects that the worn coins of earlier rulers would continue to be accepted as small change, so long as they conformed to the basic pattern of the current denominations; and the whole range of such coins would constitute the copper currency of the locality.

References in Catalogue

Paruck F. D. J. Paruck, Sasanian Coins, Bombay, 1924.
Other References


Masson, C., 1836, Third Memoir on the ancient coins discovered at the site called Béghram in the Kohistan of Kabul, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1836, 537-547.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAURYAN</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>gm</th>
<th>mm</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 AR</td>
<td>Indian punch marked coin, almost worn smooth.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 AE</td>
<td>Blank.</td>
<td>Chatiya and symbols in incuse.</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 AE</td>
<td>Elephant r.</td>
<td>Lion 1. in incuse.</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>21</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDO-GREEK</th>
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<th>Reverse</th>
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<tr>
<td>4 AR</td>
<td>Elephant r. below, K</td>
<td>Humped bull r. below, A</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 AR</td>
<td>Elephant r. below, rh</td>
<td>Humped bull r. below, rh</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 AE</td>
<td>Apollo stg. facing</td>
<td>Tripod, within square of dots.</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 AE</td>
<td>Bust helmeted r.</td>
<td>Legends in Greek and Kharoshthi.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 AR</td>
<td>Bust of king 1. thrusting with spear.</td>
<td>Pallas 1. holding aegis and</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>18</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTHIAN</th>
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<th>Reverse</th>
<th>gm</th>
<th>mm</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 AR</td>
<td>Head of king 1. with tall tiara.</td>
<td>Archer std. r. v. worn.</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 AR</td>
<td>Head of king 1.</td>
<td>Archer std. r. v. worn.</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 AR</td>
<td>Head of king 1.</td>
<td>Archer std. r. pitted.</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 AR</td>
<td>Head of king 1.</td>
<td>Archer std. r.</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 AR</td>
<td>Head of king 1.</td>
<td>Archer std. r.</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>18.5</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANCIENT COPY COUNTERMARKED</th>
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<td>14* AR</td>
<td>Head 1. with hair in snood.</td>
<td>Archer std. r.</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>18.5</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDO-SCYTHIAN</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
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<tr>
<td>15 AR</td>
<td>King on horseback, r. w. whip.</td>
<td>Zeus Nikephorus</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 A</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 AR</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 AE</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 AE</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 AE</td>
<td>Humped bull r.</td>
<td>Lion r.</td>
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<td>21 AE</td>
<td>Bust of king r.</td>
<td>Nike r. holding wreath and palm.</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 AE</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 AE</td>
<td>Bust of king 1.</td>
<td>Nike r. holding wreath and palm.</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 AE</td>
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<td>25 AE</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
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<td>mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>ORTHAGNES or GONDOPHARES II (1)</td>
<td>Niké r. holding wreath and palm.</td>
<td>PMC 58 ff. or 72 ff.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARDA MITRA (6)</td>
<td>Fire altar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bust of king I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Traces of fire altar.</td>
<td>v. corroded.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUSHAN</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>IMITATIONS OF HELIOCLES (1)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Barbarous head of Heliocles r.</td>
<td>Horse walking 1.</td>
<td>PMC 141</td>
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<td>IMITATIONS OF HERMAEUS (2)</td>
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<td>Bust of Su Hermaeus r.</td>
<td>Zeus enthroned.</td>
<td>PMC 682 ff.</td>
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<td>KUJULA KADPHISES (6)</td>
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<td>Bust r., EPMAIOY</td>
<td>Hercules stg.</td>
<td>PMC 1 ff.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>NAMELESS KING Soter Megas (10)</td>
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<td>Radiate bust r. holding sceptre.</td>
<td>King on horseback r. w. ankus.</td>
<td>PMC 100 ff.</td>
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<td>VIMA KADPHISES Copper Tetradrachms (3)</td>
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<td>King stg. 1. at altar.</td>
<td>Shiva and bull.</td>
<td>PMC 36</td>
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<td>KANISHKA</td>
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<td>King stg. 1. at altar.</td>
<td>Athsho</td>
<td>PMC 92</td>
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<td>PMC 76</td>
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<tr>
<td>HUVISHKA</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Heavy weight standard copper tetradrachms (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>King riding elephant r.</td>
<td>Mao</td>
<td>PMC 140</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King reclining on couch.</td>
<td>Mao</td>
<td>PMC 178</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Reduced weight standard copper tetradrachms (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King riding elephant r.</td>
<td>Crude standing Shiva.</td>
<td>PMC 151</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King reclining on couch</td>
<td>Deity stg. 1. ? Mioro</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deity stg. 1. ? Mioro</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
<td>gm</td>
<td>mm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 74*  
King riding on elephant r.  
Stg. figure Mao. | 4.1  
19 |
| 75*  
King reclining on couch.  
Stg. figure Mao. | 1.4  
18.5 |
| 76  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.9  
20 |
| 77  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.5  
20 |
| 78  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.0  
19 |
| 79  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 3.1  
19 |
| 80  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.2  
19 |
| 81  
Stg. figure Mioro. | 2.8  
19 |
| 82  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.9  
19 |
| 83  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.5  
20 |
| 84  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.5  
18.5 |
| 85  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.6  
19.5 |
| 86  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.8  
19.5 |
| 87  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.5  
18.5 |
| 88  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.0  
18.5 |
| 89  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.9  
21.5 |
| 90  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 4.5  
21 |
| 91*  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.2  
19 |
| 92  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.5  
19.5 |
| 93  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.35  
19.5 |
| 94  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.3  
18 |
| 95*  
King squatting.  
Stg. figure Mao. | 3.7  
21 |
| 96  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 4.4  
21 |
| 97*  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.1  
19 |
| 98  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 4.1  
20 |
| 99  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.3  
19 |
| 100*  
Mioro. | 4.1  
20.5 |
| 101  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 3.2  
20 |
| 102  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.5  
19.5 |
| 103  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.65  
18 |
| 104  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.7  
19 |
| 105  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.2  
18.5 |
| 106  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.5  
20 |
| 107  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 4.8  
24 |
| 108  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.7  
19 |
| 109  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.6  
19.5 |
| 110  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.4  
20 |
| 111  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.5  
21.5 |
| 112  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 3.5  
21 |
| 113  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.8  
20.5 |
| 114  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.0  
18.5 |
| 115  
Type not clear.  
Stg. figure Mioro.  
"uncertain.  
"  | 2.8  
18.5 |
| 116  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.6  
18.5 |
| 117  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.0  
18 |
| 118  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.8  
17 |
| 119  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.0  
21 |
| 120  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 4.2  
23 |
| 121  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.9  
19.5 |
| 122  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.1  
19.5 |
| 123  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 1.9  
21 |
| 124  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 2.8  
23 |
| 125  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 9.5  
26 |
| 126  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 9.2  
25 |
| 127*  
King sig. at altar.  
Shiva and bull.  
P MC 216 | 7.2  
25 |
| 128  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 7.4  
23.5 |

**LATER KUSHAN AND KUSHANO-SASANIAN**

(a) Shiva and bull series – dumper fabric (11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>gm</th>
<th>mm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 129*  
King sig. at altar.  
Shiva and bull.  
"cut from larger flan.  
"  | 8.3  
23 |
| 130  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 8.3  
22 |
| 131  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 5.6  
20 |
| 132  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 8.5  
22 |
| 133  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 5.2  
20 |
| 134  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 4.6  
20.5 |
| 135  
"  
"  
"  
"  
"  | 6.2  
20.5 |

**VASU DEVA – spread flan (4)**

(a) issue without trident above altar.

(b) issue with trident above altar.

**cf. PMC 216**

**Shiva and bull.**

**PMC 216**
### Pre-Islamic Coins in Kandahar Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>gm</th>
<th>mm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>136 AØ</td>
<td>King stg. at altar.</td>
<td>Shiva and bull. thinner, worn</td>
<td>cf. PMC 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Enthroned Ardochsho series (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140* AØ</td>
<td>King stg. at altar.</td>
<td>Enthroned goddess.</td>
<td>PMC 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Dumpy altar Kushano-Sasanian series (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142 AØ</td>
<td>Head of king r. 4 merlon crown.</td>
<td>Dumpy fire altar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143 AØ</td>
<td>Head of king r. laminated crown.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SASANIAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>gm</th>
<th>mm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>144* AØ</td>
<td>Head of king r., bust of Shapur 1.</td>
<td>Fire altar, pendants at side.</td>
<td>Göbl VII/2 Paruck 90.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145* AØ</td>
<td>Head of king r. 4 merlon crown.</td>
<td>Fire altar w. 2 attendants</td>
<td>Göbl II/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148* AØ</td>
<td>Head of king r. 4 merlon crown.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149 AØ</td>
<td>Uncertain – possibly SHAPUR I (4)</td>
<td>Fire altar v. worn.</td>
<td>similar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151 AØ</td>
<td>Head r. 4 merlon crown.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152 AØ</td>
<td>Head l. 4 merlon crown.</td>
<td>Uncertain. &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153 AØ</td>
<td>Head r. 4 merlon crown.</td>
<td>Fire altar, 2 attendants.</td>
<td>Göbl Ia/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Göbl Ia/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155 AØ</td>
<td>Head r. distinctive crown.</td>
<td>Fire altar.</td>
<td>Göbl I/1 to 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156 AØ</td>
<td>Head r. winged crown.</td>
<td>Fire altar w. 2 attendants.</td>
<td>Göbl II/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SHAHI OF KABUL 8th–10th century AD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>gm</th>
<th>mm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>159 AØ</td>
<td>Recumbent bull 1. Śrī Spalapati Deva.</td>
<td>King riding horse r.</td>
<td>Mac D Type 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Above, symbol not clear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161 AØ</td>
<td>Recumbent bull 1. Śrī Samanta Deva.</td>
<td>King riding horse r.</td>
<td>Mac D Type 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162 AØ</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Above, symbol not clear.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TOMARS OF AJMIR AND DELHI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>gm</th>
<th>mm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>163 N</td>
<td>Śrī Mat (Ku) mara pala deva.</td>
<td>Stylised figure of seated goddess.</td>
<td>IMC 259, 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX: TABLE OF WEIGHTS

#### Table 1. Weights of the Later Indo-Parthian Series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GM.</th>
<th>Su Hermaeus and Kujula (Cat. 34-41)</th>
<th>Gondophares to Pacores (Cat. 21-26)</th>
<th>Arda Mitra (Cat. 27-32)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 2. Weights of the Huvishka Copies (Cat. 74–114)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GM.</th>
<th>Elephant Rider (Cat. 74)</th>
<th>Squatting (Cat. 75–94)</th>
<th>Couch Lounger (Cat. 95–114)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>xxxxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxxxxx</td>
<td>xxxxxxxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxxxxx</td>
<td>xxxxxxxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 3. Weights of the Kushan and Sasanian Coppers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GM.</th>
<th>GREAT KUSHANS (Cat. 42–68)</th>
<th>SASANIAN (Cat. 69–73, 125–128)</th>
<th>LATER KUSHAN (Cat. 129–141)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>xxxxx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>xxxxxx</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plate I
Pre-Islamic Coins in Kandahar Museum

Plate II
It is only in the last decade that the Hindu Kush Mountains have been adequately mapped. Prior to 1960 few expeditions had ever penetrated into the more remote areas; most merely crossed the range through well-travelled passes en route to other parts of Afghanistan, following the traditional caravan routes of previous centuries.

Since earliest times one of the most isolated regions in the Hindu Kush has been the extremely mountainous area between the Alingar River on the west and the Kunar River on the east that was known as Kafiristan. The Arabic word kāfir means 'infidel' and was applied to those highland peoples who had held out against the tide of Islam and successive Muslim invaders.

The earliest published reference to Kafiristan that is known to me appears in volume one of Samuel Purchas' book Purchas His Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and Places... etc. which appeared in London in 1626. This contains a brief description of The Long and Dangerous Journey from Lahore, A City of the Great Mogol, to China, by Benedictus Goes. The Jesuit left Lahore on the 6th of January, 1603 and travelled with a caravan to Attock and Peshawar. Somewhere between Peshawar and Kabul he met 'a certain Hermit' who told him of a city called Capferstam some considerable distance away whose inhabitants dealt severely with all Muslims, but permitted others to enter their territory. The hermit had apparently been there and had tasted their wine. This 'Capherstam' has been identified with Kafiristan.

For nearly 190 years this brief reference comprised all that was known in Europe of Kafiristan. Then in 1815 Mountstuart Elphinstone published his now famous Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary and India, comprising a view of the Afghan Nation and a History of the Dooranee Monarchy. To this he appended an account of 'Caffiristan' based on the report of a 'Moolah Nujeeb' whom Elphinstone had sent into the Hindu Kush in 1809. Armed with nothing more than a 'long list of queries' the Mulla not only entered Kafiristan, but he seems to have got at least as far as Kandesh in the Bashgal Valley. His report, surprisingly accurate in the light of subsequent research, was translated and edited by a Mr Irvine for inclusion in Elphinstone's book. For more than 80 years this was the definitive report on Kafiristan. European explorers had yet to set foot in the country.

There is now some uncertainty regarding the identity of the first European to successfully penetrate the Kafiristan region. There is, for example, a vague reference in the Memoirs of Alexander Gardner (1898) (a book that is remarkably vague with regard to places and dates) to the fact that two Europeans had lived in the country sometime about the year 1770 and had either died in captivity or had been murdered. Alexander Gardner himself is supposed to have travelled in Kafiristan on more than one occasion between 1825 and 1830, but it is impossible to trace the course of his wanderings from the accounts that are available and much doubt has been cast on the authenticity of all Gardner's stories. Grey and Garrett (1929) think that he was an impostor. Nor is the confusion and uncertainty surrounding his exploits dispelled by reading what Gardner himself wrote.

As far as unambiguous records go, the first European to reach the borders of Kafiristan; to meet and converse with numerous Kafirs (they were from Waigal Valley) and to describe his experiences, was Dr William Griffith, M.D. (1847), who reached Chagha Serai and walked on to the very edge of Kafiristan, all the while coolly collecting plants and making detailed notes on bird life. The year: 1840. More than 40 years were to pass before another European would stand on that frontier.

In April, 1883 William Watts McNair of the Indian Survey Department crossed what was then the British frontier just beyond Nowshera, ascended the Malakand Pass and proceeded into Swat. He then pushed on to Dir and crossed the Lowari Pass into Chitral. From there he travelled, on 23 May, 1883, to the Kalash Kafir Valley of Rumbur and, a day or two later, to the Bumboret Valley. He accurately gives the names of some Kalash villages (1884), though he makes no attempt to provide a list of settlements in these valleys, which seems curious in the light of his training and the fact that he was a professional with the Indian Survey Department. But in any case one can follow him easily nearly every step of the way — until he reaches the mountainous boundary between the Kalash Kafir territories and those of Kafiristan. At this point he suddenly becomes vague, and though he speaks of 'Ludhe villages' (Lutdeh, I understand), means 'great village' in Khowar and is applied by Chitralis to Bargramatal in the upper Bashgal Valley), he does not describe or name the village or villages he visited. In short, his hitherto detailed report breaks off at this point and he
Nuristan: Mountain Communities in the Hindu Kush

gives no information concerning his movements. Both Sir William Lockhart and Sir George Scott Robertson were of the opinion that McNair went no further than the Kalash Kafir Valleys of Chitral (e.g., see Robertson's letter to The Times, 24 December, 1896).

Whatever doubts may surround earlier claims, there is no doubt whatever about the Lockhart Expedition. In September 1885 Sir William Lockhart and Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, accompanied by Surgeon G. M. J. Giles and Captain E. G. Barrow crossed the Zidig (Azetik) Pass and marched down the Bashgal Valley of NE Kafiristan as far as Bagramatal with an escort of 17 non-commissioned officers and men of the 24th Punjab Infantry, plus three non-commissioned officers of Bengal Cavalry and Infantry. This was the first expedition into Kafiristan; a military reconnaissance so secret that although a full report was written and printed, no account was ever published and only two or three copies of the report are now known to exist (Lockhart and Woodthorpe, 1889).

The most famous journeys in Kafiristan however were to be made in 1889-91 by Sir George Scott Robertson, M.D. whose book The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush (1896) remains the best account ever written of the people and the area. Travelling alone, Robertson made his way from Chitral into the lower Bashgal Valley to Kamdesh, where he established his base camp. He spent altogether more than a year in Kafiristan, travelling as far as Kushteki in the Parun Valley. He was the first, the last and the most accurate observer of the pre-Muslim culture.

In retrospect one wonders how the pre-Muslim culture managed to survive as long as it did. By the 9th century AD the tide of Islam had swept across the Iranian plateau and north into Central Asia. By the 10th century one of the few areas between the Indus and the Mediterranean to hold out against the spread of Islam was to be found in these narrow valleys of the Hindu Kush and for this reason the region was known to Muslims as a Kafiristan - 'land of infidels'. More than one ruler of the lands between the Oxus and the Indus had contemplated a conquest of Kafiristan, Amir Timur among them. The problems facing a would-be invader were formidable. Most of the villages were sited at approximately 6,000 feet above sea level and were approached only through miles of deep, narrow, rocky valleys, every yard of which was scattered with boulders and evergreen oak and thus offered ample cover to the defenders who were, moreover, fighting on home ground (Plates I-II). A handful of determined men on the heights could, by dislodging boulders, keep an entire company of men well occupied for a day. From early November until late March freezing temperatures at night and deep snow in the passes made things still more difficult from a military point of view (Plate III). For several centuries the people of Kafiristan were secure against all attack behind the natural defences of the Hindu Kush. In time two factors combined to reduce the effectiveness of these defences and to make the Kafirs vulnerable to outside attack. The first was the political problem created for the Government of India by Russia's southward expansion into Central Asia and involving a certain nervousness on the part of Delhi and Whitehall at the prospect of sharing a border with Russia in Asia.

The second factor followed from the first, for the solution to Russian expansion was seen by some in Government to lie in the establishment of a strong, independent Afghanistan as a buffer state. This could be achieved only if the right man occupied the throne of Kabul. In 1880 this man - Abdur Rahman Khan - made his appearance, took the throne, and was more or less enthusiastically supported by the Government of India with an annual subsidy of rupees and quantities of the latest breech-loading rifles. The conquest of Kafiristan was now only a matter of time, for the generous subsidy of rupees and the rifles made it possible for Abdur Rahman to maintain a reasonably equipped standing army without imposing burdensome taxation on the people of Afghanistan. Once his boundaries with Iran, Russia and India had been demarcated he set about expanding his political control over the hitherto independent tribes within those boundaries, i.e., he sent his armies against them.

The first shots in this war against the Kafirs were fired by Afghan troops in August of 1895 and although the Amir Abdur Rahman Khan anticipated a speedy victory, the last shots were not exchanged until the Spring of 1899. The invasion of Kafiristan forms, in itself, a considerable chapter in Afghan history. We need only mention here that by 1900, as far as we know, all the Kafirs had been converted to Islam and Kafiristan had become Nuristan - 'the land of light'.


Waigal Valley and its tributary valleys are steep, narrow V-shaped gorges (Plate IV), the slopes of which are covered with boulders and evergreen oak (quercus balut). The Waigal River rises high in the Hindu Kush and flows south, receiving numerous tributary streams from lateral valleys to the east and west before joining the Pech River...
which, in turn, flows into the Kunar or Chitrail River at Chagha Serai. Waigal Valley is approximately 40 km. long and contains nine villages of Waigal or wai-alu speakers – a total of perhaps 10,000 people altogether.

The term Kalashum is used by the inhabitants of Waigal Valley to refer collectively to all nine villages and the territory they control. The villages themselves are compact permanent settlements located approximately 6,000 feet above sea level (Plate V). Villages are separated from one another by lateral spurs which branch out from high ridges so that the average walking time from one village to the next is 4-6 hours. None of the villages can be reached by horse, nor can donkeys or mules be used as pack animals as the foot trails connecting one settlement with another are too narrow, steep and rocky.

At village altitude the climate in Nuristan is one characterized by a long warm summer with little rain, followed by a short autumn with frosty nights. Snow begins to fall on the higher slopes and mountain peaks in late October or early November and the mountain passes are closed from November to March. There is little wind at any season and below 6,000 feet snow melts rapidly on south-facing slopes. A mild winter will bring an early spring in mid-February, but more commonly it comes in March and the streams and rivers become rushing torrents and there are occasional avalanches. The conditions imposed by a combination of latitude and altitude are such that from approximately 4,500 to 5,500 feet above sea level wheat is usually grown; above 5,500 feet millet and maize, while above 6,500 feet barley is commonly grown. Wheat is the preferred grain. Nuristani villages are too high to permit the growing of rice.

The villages (average size: approximately 180 households) are supported by an economy which combines the production of grain on irrigated hill terraces and a system of transhumant animal husbandry (mainly goats (Plate VI), but also include some cattle and a few sheep). These two different aspects of village economics coincide with the division of labour in Kalashum society, the women being responsible for grain production, including the preparation of terraces, planting, manuring, irrigation, weeding and harvesting, while the men care for all livestock and make dairy products. Each extended family is self-sufficient, owning houses, arable land, livestock and grazing rights in common. In Waigal Valley there are no shops, markets, or organized systems of exchange. Afghan currency, while not unknown, plays no part in the daily lives of the people. Economic values are expressed in terms of goats or cattle (ten goats equal one cow) or cheeses (two cheeses equal one goat).

In theory every citizen of Afghanistan is subject to the laws of the country and the guilt or innocence of an individual is to be determined by the Afghan Courts. In practice, in a few extremely isolated parts of the country, there are villages that are far from the Governor's office, the courts, and police station. In such areas the majority of disputes that would normally be settled by the courts are taken care of by less formal but no less effective local institutions. This is true in Waigal Valley where, largely because of its isolated location, nearly eighty years of Afghan rule has had scarcely any effect on local political institutions.

The people of the Kalashum trace descent through males, a system of unilineal descent reckoning which provides the basic framework for the formation of economic and political groups and is the foundation of the indigenous system of social control and dispute settlement. Political affiliation, particularly the degree of obligation to give support, is usually determined on the basis of the genealogical relationship between those involved. Normally one supports a fellow member of one's lineage and this may result in two lineages being in opposition over a particular case.

Each village in Waigal Valley is politically autonomous, though the Kalashum system admits no rulers, chiefs or head men who occupy positions of power and authority. Instead, at the village level, social control is maintained within the framework of the lineage system by two institutions: the mala-wfai and the dil-wfai. The former is a group of men chosen each spring by village elders and given, for one year, the authority to deal with certain problems arising from the various economic activities of villagers. The mala-wfai also have supervisory or regulatory responsibilities in that they coordinate agricultural activities such as the maintenance of the irrigation system, harvest of vegetables and fruits, and the movement of livestock from one pasture to the next as the season advances.

Village laws (deeli Sura) are handed down orally from generation to generation, but may be modified by elders in the light of experience and altered circumstances. Elders have influence rather than authority (though in special cases some degree of authority may be temporarily granted to them by senior members of a lineage involved in a dispute) and disputes are settled by mediation rather than by formal court hearings followed by the pronouncement of legally enforceable judgments. Each village has its own elders who are regarded as being influential, not merely because of their age, but because they are wise, experienced, skilled in debate, have a reputation for impartiality, and are renowned givers of feasts. The most outstanding men of this category are well-known throughout the political community – the nine villages of the Kalashum – and such men may be asked to mediate in inter-village disputes.

When a dispute arises the men who mediate are called dil-wfai. There is no group of dil-wfai existing independently of disputes. The number of men who may act as mediators in a dispute varies from one or two to perhaps 20 or 30, depending upon the magnitude of the breach, the length of time the dispute has continued, and the level of
segmentation at which the breach occurred. Mediators are usually chosen by the plaintiff or his close agnates, though they may also be invited to participate by the defendant or his agnates. Mediators receive no fee. The advantage to them lies in the opportunity to occupy for a time the political limelight, together with the chance of enhancing their reputations by successfully bringing about a rapid and peaceful settlement to the dispute. Litigation is a favourite topic of conversation and a clever mediator's name is frequently mentioned by villagers in glowing accounts of famous cases.

An examination of the manner in which Kalashum society is organized to deal with socially disruptive situations focuses on the role of the mediator in dispute settlement, but an examination of the processes involved in restoring social order reveals the equally important activities of litigants' senior agnates who invariably act in an advisory capacity and, unlike the mediators, are in a position of authority vis-à-vis plaintiff or defendant, as the case may be.

The segmentary nature of Kalashum clans and lineages, the extension of the segmentary principle to include villages and territorial rights, and the political obligations of membership provide the individual with security for himself and his property. Kalashum dispute settlement procedures are designed to minimize the number of people involved. The political segments based on agnatic descent are seen by elders as potential blocs which, however much weakened by internal dissension, must always present to other blocs an appearance of unity. Success in re-establishing peaceful relations between opposing groups depends largely upon whether or not mediators can correctly estimate the kind of settlement that is most likely to gain the acceptance of both sides. Then, by urging one side to give and the other to accept, they may succeed in bringing about peaceful relations. Mediators can propose, not dispose.

A theme of Kalashum society is competition, though it is achieved by intra-group cooperation. Many disputes requiring mediation are symptoms of rivalry rather than causes of hostility and dispute settlement often involves competitive feasting between rivals who use the series of occasions to further their own ends.

Kalashum society is rigidly stratified into social classes with the atrožan constituting the politically significant and numerically dominant group. Within this group, in pre-Muslim times, status could be achieved and rank acquired by engaging in such socially esteemed activities as raiding, where rank was determined by the number of men killed, or by feast-giving where rank was determined by the number of named and hierarchically ordered public feasts that had been given. Raiding is largely a thing of the past, though feast-giving still lingers on in some villages. Rank alone, however, was and is insufficient to gain a man political influence (Plates VII-VIII).

The atrožan majority comprise a free land-owning and livestock herding class in Kalashum society. A socially lower class is that of barī. They are craftsmen, mainly blacksmiths, jewelers, woodcarvers, and builders. Prior to 1896 they were bought and sold by atrožan. Their houses are separate from those of atrožan and there are strict rules against intermarriage. The barī are not allowed to own goats, they have no rights in pastures, no voice in government, and are barred from competition for rank.

A still lower class is that of fewala, a second group of craftsmen who produce baskets, clay pots, and leather goods. Though the distinction is based on birth rather than occupation. Some barī, for example, make leather goods and clay pots. In general, the barī are what we might call skilled craftsmen while the fewala are regarded as unskilled. An atrožan may describe a shoddy piece of work by remarking that it looks as if it has been made by a fewala. The same negative social and political sanctions apply to both barī and fewala. It is apparently only recently that barī men have begun to allow their daughters to marry fewala.

The Kalashum system of patrilineal descent reckoning is segmentary in nature and provides a structure which is at the same time a charter for cooperation and a diagram of inter-group competition and political opposition. It is a structure which can be examined socially, economically and politically at various levels ranging from the compound family through six generations to the major lineage segment. A combination of factors bear upon the relationship between the size of a lineage and its viability. If a lineage has decreased to the point where it is too small to function adequately in village affairs (particularly in matters of feast-giving and the taking of vengeance) it may be incorporated into another lineage by adoption. This change is marked by a 'joining together feast' (eken-tay-dū) and the resulting lineage is known thereafter by the name of the lineage which absorbed the smaller group.

At marriage both bridewealth and dowry are exchanged and this involves quite substantial amounts of livestock, goods and foodstuffs. Among atrožan bridewealth is approximately 220-250 goats, but it may range from a low of 160 to a high of 260. Dowry given by atrožan is approximately one ton of grain and as much as half a ton of cheese. Barī and fewala give half as much as atrožan.

According to informants the now widespread occurrence of arranged childhood betrothal became common only after the conversion to Islam. The usual practise today is for the heads of two families to plan a marriage between their children at a time when the children may be infants. The agreement is confirmed when the father of the boy gives the father of the girl some or all of the bridewealth. This creates a binding agreement and when the children are of age the marriage takes place.
Arranged childhood betrothal and subsequent marriage are regarded by elders as the primary cause of a high incidence of runaway wives. Two factors which act to maintain the high rate are the ever-available assistance offered by sympathetic women who seem to be eager to be involved in marital intrigue, and cultural attitudes of both young men and women which romanticize extra-marital affairs and elopement even though such cases are often terminated by homicide. An unhappily married young woman may be encouraged by other women to run away with another man and public opinion then forces the husband to pursue and kill them, or at least to make the attempt. If he fails to try to settle the matter in this way, public opinion will brand him a coward.

Competitive to a high degree, the atrörän of Waigal Valley have developed their economy far beyond the dictates of ordinary subsistence requirements in order to use the surplus for social rather than economic purposes. There is still to be found today in some villages the remnants of an elaborate hierarchy of ranks possessing scarcity value and open to competition. The attainment of these ranks or, more commonly today, the giving of public feasts, is an important means of expressing rivalry between individuals and groups within a village and is the way to achieve social and political prominence. Prior to 1896 the system was more formal, with each rank position being named and associated with特殊 symbols and prerogatives. Ranks had to be achieved in strict order, starting with the lowest, and they became increasingly difficult to achieve as the requirements for each became increasingly difficult to fulfill.

In the pre-Muslim period there was a second type of competition for prestige involving a parallel set of hierarchically ordered and named ranks, each with its own symbols and prerogatives. Achievement of these ranks did not depend upon the economic resources of a group of agnates but rather upon the raiding activities of individuals where success was measured in terms of the number of enemies killed.

Rank attainment is not an end; it is a means to an end, a way of demonstrating to the community that here is a man worthy of their esteem. In this sense rank attainment is a political campaign.

Together the nine villages of Waigal Valley constitute a political community. The political field concept can be used to examine the relations which each village, independent of the others, establishes outside the political community. The village thus occupies a focal point within two overlapping political areas: one – the political community – where the competition is for scarce social and political resources (prestige, status, influence) and is expressed by feast-giving, and the other – the alliance – where the competition is for scarce economic resources (goats, pastures, forests) and is expressed by raiding. Together these two spheres constitute the political field of a village. The political community is characterized by a high degree of stability; the political alliance is subject to abrupt changes.

Even though Kalashum villages are politically autonomous, the political organization at the village level provides a structure that is congruent with those in other villages and this makes it possible for the autonomous village to temporarily become an active part of a larger political unit. When the internal or external threat that occasioned the coalition has been removed the village returns to its usual autonomous state. This segmentary system provides the building blocks with which a larger and more effective political unit may be built.

There seems to be a limit to the size of political units that can be held together by this organizing principle. Its optimum level of segmentation appears to be the village, where strength of agnatic ties and common interests and rights in territory are strongest. Permanent villages sharing common territorial boundaries can settle differences by mediation – either through the efforts of their own mediators or those from a third, suitably neutral, village. Where the two villages are of different political communities the leading elders act as mediators. On a still larger scale of political activity, the villages of one political community can unite against the threat of aggression by another. But this seems to be working at the limits of this type of political organization.

Theoretically, under this principle of combining ever larger units in opposition to other similar units, the next stage would be the amalgamation, however temporary, of two political communities in opposition to a threat posed by a similar force. In practice, the units become unwieldy, communications are poor, the immediate interests of the components (villages) tend to assert themselves over the less urgent demands of the coalition and the political conglomerate fragments. The point has been reached where the interests which seek to hold it together are weaker than the conflicting interests of its component units.

Kalashum political organization is above all oriented toward dealing with injuries to individuals which in turn result in the alignment of opposing groups. It is equipped to deal with political stress applied to a particular point – any point in the social structure. I suggest that, without modification, it is unable to deal with political phenomena which, by their very nature, do not focus on individuals and therefore do not cause a response in which opposing groups of approximately equivalent strength become politically active. This type of political phenomena is new in the experience of Waigali elders and its appearance has caused a new form of political activity to emerge: factions.

Political factions made their appearance in Waigal Valley in the summer of 1968. Within a year the people of the valley were sharply divided. Villages, clans, lineages and families were split on the issues raised by faction leaders. By
the Autumn of 1969 the leader of the faction that seemed certain of winning had been shot to death by the leader of the less successful side (who was in turn killed by the brother of the dead man) and factions had ceased to exist in the valley, partly because no one had sufficient prestige or courage to step forward and replace the dead leaders. The issues raised by these events have yet to be settled and the outcome is by no means certain.*

The immediate problems have been caused by the suggestion that a motor road might be constructed to link Kalashum villages with the rest of Afghanistan. It seems clear that if such a road is built, the inhabitants of Waigal Valley are now on the brink of a period of change with consequences as far-reaching as those of 1896-1900.

References and Further Reading


* This paper was written and accepted for publication in 1973.
Plate 1: View of the Basigal River from Kamlesh, September 1960.
Plate II. Bridge across the Alingar River on the western fringe of Nuristan. December 1960.
Plate VI. Bari woman weaving goat-hair rug on a verandah in Kandesh. October 1960.
Plate VII. Hajji Mohammed Afzal Khan, grand old man of Kamdesh. September 1960.
Plate VIII. Kadirai, famed leopard hunter of Nisheigrom. August 1969.
CONSOLIDATED REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, 1972-1977

The Foundation of the Society

The Society for Afghan Studies was established by the British Academy in June 1972. The sixty-eight persons who had signed the resolutions circulated by the Secretary of the Academy for the formation of the Society became its first Ordinary Members. The President of the British Academy nominated as the first Officers and Council of the Society the following:

President: Sir Harold Bailey
Chairman: *Mr. P. M. Fraser
Secretary: *Dr. D. W. Mac Dowall
Treasurer: *Sir Gordon Whitteridge

Mr. D. F. Allen
Mr. D. E. Barrett
Dr. A. D. H. Bivar
*Mr. J. Boardman
Professor W. B. Fisher
*Professor C. von Führer-Haimendorf

*Dr. I. Gershevitch
*Mr. B. Gray
*Sir Max Mallowan
Dr. C. B. M. McBurney
Mr. B. W. Robinson

Members of the Management Committee are designated with an asterisk.

Establishment of the Institute in Kabul

As a result of Dr. Mac Dowall's visit to Afghanistan in October-November 1971, a note verbale was exchanged between the British and Afghan Governments authorising the establishment of a British Institute of Afghan Studies in Kabul to promote study and research in the history, antiquities, archaeology, ethnography, languages, literature, art, culture, customs and natural history of Afghanistan. Dr. Mac Dowall spent a further period in Afghanistan from May to August 1972 during which he completed negotiations with the Afghan authorities, made practical arrangements to set up the British Institute and established the draft text of an agreement for archaeological exploration with the Directorate General of Archaeology. In July 1972 a house was rented in Jamal Maina in the Karte Shar area of Kabul near the University -- an older style Kabul house standing in a courtyard garden.

The Institute in Kabul

Mr. Stuart Swiny, who had joined the Secretary in Kabul during August 1972, was left in charge of the new Institute as its Acting Assistant Director. When Dr. David Whitehouse took up his post as the first Director of the Institute in January 1974, Mr. Swiny was appointed Assistant Director. In May 1974 Dr. Whitehouse and Mr. Swiny were allowed by the Afghan authorities to carry out a preliminary exploration at Old Kandahar to form some idea of the potential of the site. Their excavations, which included the cutting of the section through the defences at Shahr-i-Kuhna, disclosing a series of five major phases of construction from Achaemenid to Islamic times, are described in Dr. Whitehouse's paper in this volume. When Dr. Whitehouse left Kabul to become Director of the British School at Rome, he was succeeded as Director by Dr. Anthony McNicol in September 1974; and Mr. Swiny, who has returned to London, was replaced as Assistant Director by Miss Diana Colvin in January 1975.

Dr. McNicol finally concluded the agreement for archaeological exploration at Kandahar early in 1975 and conducted a season of excavations there between April and June. Five further locations in the old city were excavated, revealing a sequence of occupation broadly contemporary with that of the defences. These excavations are described in Dr. McNicol's article in this volume. When Dr. McNicol left Kabul to take up a University post in Sydney, Australia, the Society appointed Mr. Ralph Pinder-Wilson to be Director of the Institute from November 1976 and Dr. Svend
Helms to be Research Fellow of the Institute responsible for directing the excavations at Kandahar. These excavations will be described by Dr. Helms in later volumes of Afghan Studies. In his first season from October to December 1976 Dr. Helms investigated the Stupa and Vihara on the ridge above the old city. Much of the decoration of the Stupa was uncovered, and traces of painted wall plaster and a stucco lotus frieze round an upper ambulatory were found. Excavations at the citadel, the largest man-made structure on the site, revealed the base of a rounded tower and a series of impressive outworks with pottery and architectural details which suggest that the citadel may have been first built during the Achaemenid period. Trenches in the north-west quarter of Shahr-i-Kuhna produced significant evidence about the scope and structure of the ancient fortifications. Two superimposed systems, uncovered in the east and traced round the site on the north and south, indicated that Kandahar was a very large town from the Achaemenid period onwards, retaining its form until late Islamic times.

Under the terms of the agreement for archaeological exploration, the Institute undertook to restore the Minar-i Chakari and the Buddhist Stupa and Vihara at Guldara. The Minar is an impressive Kushan monument standing on the old road from Shewaki to Guldara across the mountains, on a saddle visible from parts of Kabul. The Minar had become seriously undercut at its base on the south side, and further damaged in a recent earth tremor. Under the supervision of Mr. G.K. Rao, formerly of the Indian Archaeological Service, the Institute carried out repairs in September/October 1975 and April/July 1976. A reinforced cement ring beam was provided at the bottom of the Minar, the modern platform was reconstructed in sound masonry, the face of the Minar was pointed and the monument generally was made watertight. During the early summer of 1977, Mr. Rao began conservation work for the Institute at the Stupa of Guldara which stands on a bluff overlooking the Logar valley about 34 km from Kabul.

Since its establishment the Institute has arranged a regular lecture programme that has been much appreciated by Afghan colleagues and members of the Society resident in Kabul. The hostel has given hospitality to many visiting scholars and students for both long and short periods. In June 1977 the Institute moved into new premises in the second compound of the British Embassy in Karte Parwan where there is ample space for the library, offices, hostel facilities for visiting scholars and a residence for the Director. Mr. J.L. Lee was appointed Fellow of the Kabul Institute for 1977/78 and plans to study Folk Religion in Northern Afghanistan.

London Meetings

Since its foundation in 1972 the Society has held an annual programme of lectures. These have been:

1972-73  
Sir Harold Bailey: The Orbit of Afghan Studies  
Dr. Schuyler Jones: Nuristan

1973-74:  
Mr. P.L. Carter: Life and Landscape in Afghanistan  
Mr. Nurullah Sahra'i: Languages of Afghanistan  
Mr. P.M. Fraser: Alexander in the East  
Dr. D.W. Mac Dowall: Buddhist Stupas in Eastern Afghanistan

1974-75:  
Professor W.B. Fisher: Present Economic Trends in Afghanistan  
Dr. D.B. Whitehouse: Preliminary Excavations at Kandahar 1974  
Prof. G. Morgenstierne: The Linguistic Stratification of Afghanistan

1975-76:  
Dr. A. McNicoll: Excavations at Kandahar 1975  
Mr. P.M. Fraser: The World of Ashoka  
Dr. A.D.H. Bivar: Some Muslim Sites of Afghanistan discussed by al-Biruni  
Mr. A. Hutt: Minarets of Afghanistan

1976-77  
Prof. T.F. Hewer: Plant Collecting in Afghanistan  
Dr. D.W. Mac Dowall: Graeco-Bactrian and early Kushan rulers of Bagram  
Dr. S. Helms: Excavations at Kandahar 1976  
Dr. R. Tapper: Golden Tent-Pegs – A story of nomad settlement in Northern Afghanistan
Acknowledgements

The Society wishes to record its appreciation for the help received throughout the period covered by this consolidated report, from the Government of Afghanistan and its officials, especially those in the Ministry of Information and Culture and the Directorate of Archaeology. It records with particular gratitude the financial grants made each year by the British Government and the specific grants towards the cost of excavations at Kandahar made by the Trustees of the Stein Arnold Fund and the Trustees of the British Museum. The staff of the British Academy have given the Society and its officers invaluable help and guidance during these years. It is therefore with particular regret that we have to record the sudden deaths of two Secretaries of the Academy, Mr. Derek Allen and Dr. Neville Williams, both of whom served on the Council of the Society as the Academy’s designated representatives.

We add, in final proof and with great regret, a record of the deaths during mid-1978 of Sir Max Mallowan, a member of the Society’s Council and Management Committee, and of Dame Kathleen Kenyon and Professor Georg Morgenstierne, two of our most distinguished members.

David W. Mac Dowall
Honorary Secretary.
## Income and Expenditure Account for the Period from
1st January, 1974 to 30th June, 1975

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<td>Office Expenses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Audit</td>
<td>81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interviews for Appointments</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1054</strong></td>
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| Total Excess of Income Over Expenditure | 24372 |

### Fixed Assets—

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Motor Vehicles</td>
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<td>Library at cost</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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### Current Assets—

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<tr>
<td>Kabul</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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### Less Current Liabilities—

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Sundry Creditors</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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### Net Assets—

<table>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>46066</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Auditor's Report

We have examined the Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1975, and we have received all the information and explanations we have required. Included in the accounts are figures relating to local activities in Kabul which have been audited locally and have only been examined by ourselves to the extent of transfers between Head Office and Kabul.

Subject to this comment, the foregoing accounts and Balance Sheet in our opinion show a correct view of the activities for the period and the position at 30th June, 1975.

HERBERT GITTENS AND COATES, Chartered Accountants.

8, The Green, Richmond, Surrey, 29th October, 1975.
THE SOCIETY FOR AFGHAN STUDIES

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1976</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£</td>
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<tr>
<td>Treasury Grants</td>
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<td>Sundry Receipts</td>
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<td>Interest on Investments</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4624</td>
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<td>Assistant Director</td>
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<td>Local Staff</td>
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<td>Travelling Abroad</td>
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<td>Research Surveys and Excavations</td>
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<td>Kabul Office Expenses—</td>
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<td>1064 Rent</td>
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<td>194 Maintenance</td>
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<td>410 Heat and Light</td>
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<td>33 Insurance</td>
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<td>981 Motor Expenses</td>
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<td>34 Local Travel</td>
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<td>185 Office Expenses</td>
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<td>156 Sundry Expenses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Depreciation—</td>
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<td>262 Motor Vehicles</td>
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<td>644 Furniture and Equipment</td>
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<td>4557</td>
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<td>London Office Expenses—</td>
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<td>289 Meeting and Lectures</td>
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<td>89 Interviews for Appointments</td>
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<td>973</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21453</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>£24372</strong></td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE £17111

Less Transfers to Reserve Funds—

| 10000 Excavation | --- | 1500 |
| Vehicle Purchase | --- | ---  |
| General Reserve  | 2000 | 15445 |
| Monument Restoration | 1000 | ---  |
| Publications     | --- | 1000 |
| **£13000**         | --- | ---  |

We have examined the Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1976, and we have received all the information and explanations we have required.

Included in the accounts are figures relating to local activities in Kabul which have been audited locally and have only been examined by ourselves to the extent of transfer between Head Office and Kabul.

Subject to this comment, the foregoing accounts and Balance Sheet in our opinion show a correct view of the activities for the period and the position at 30th June, 1976.

H. R. E. G. R. T. T. E. R. S.
10th November, 1976.

THE SOCIETY FOR AFGHAN STUDIES

BALANCE SHEET as at 30th June, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1976</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kabul Monument Restoration</td>
<td>4177</td>
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<td>3111 Fixed Assets (Note 1)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>£3288</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>£10000</strong></td>
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<td><strong>£46066</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£59066</strong></td>
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<td><strong>£7655</strong></td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>£39894</strong></td>
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</table>

Notes to the Accounts for the Year Ended 30th June, 1976

1. **Fixed Assets.**
   - Cost/Balance at 1/7/75 — £1400 3201 3000 4984
   - Additions during Year — 1400 1044 1064 1305 2581
   - Depreciation—
     - Balance at 1/7/75 — £612 1261 197 1293 1873
     - Provided during Year — 197 534 73 1115 2604
   - Net Book Value 1/7/75 — £788 1800 1040 3083 2311
   - Net Book Value 30/6/76 — £591 1602 1064 3257

2. **Capital and Reserves.**
   - General Reserve — £14566
   - Exchange Equalisation Reserve (Note 3) — £4372

3. **Exchange Equalisation Reserve.**
   - This fund has been set up to deal with profits on exchange.
### The Society for Afghan Studies

#### Income and Expenditure: Account for the Year Ended 30th June, 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>£</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>£</th>
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<td>394</td>
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<td>Receipts from Kabul</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>640</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stein Arnold Grant for excavations</td>
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<td>Interest on investments</td>
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<td><strong>London Office Expenses—</strong></td>
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<td><strong>£10456 BALANCE TRANSFERRED TO GENERAL FUND</strong></td>
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SOCIETY FOR AFGHAN STUDIES

LIST OF MEMBERS AT 30 JUNE 1977

The Founding Member

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

Ordinary Members

1977 ABRAHAMS-CURIEL, Mrs. C., Flat 1, 2 Hyde Park Gardens, London W2 2LT.
1972 ALLCHIN, B., Ph.D., Westgate House, Barrington, Cambridge.
1975 ALLEN, N. G., M.A., 32 Stafford Street, Edinburgh 3.
1976 ATIFI, Miss S., Portmore Lodge, Balfour Road, Weybridge, Surrey.
1972 AVERY, P. W., M.A., King's College, Cambridge CB2 2OJ.
1973 BAGLEY, F. R. C., M.A., 5 The Manor Close, Shincliffe, Durham DH1 2NS.
1973 BAGLEY, Mrs. F. R. C., 5 The Manor Close, Shincliffe, Durham DH1 2NS.
1973 BAILY, Dr. J. S., The Queen's University of Belfast, Department of Social Anthropology, Belfast BT7 1NN.
1975 BAKER, D. B., 67 Cheam Road, Ewell, Surrey.
1975 BAKER, P. H. B., 67 Cheam Road, Ewell, Surrey.
1976 BAXTER, Mrs. L. H., Brooke House, Ardingly, Sussex.
1976 BAYANI, Miss M., 24 St. John's Road, Golders Green, London N.W.11.
1976 BAYANI, Miss S., Crosby Hall, Cheyne Walk, London SW3 5A2.
1974 BLURTON, T. R., Flat 7, 81 Belgrave Road, London SW1 V 2BG.
1973 BOWEN, Major J. C. E., Ingoldsby House, 22 High Street, Petersfield, Hants.
1976 BOYCE, Prof. J. A., 266 Rye Bank Road, Manchester M21 1LY.
1977 BRENDA, Miss B. M. C., 59 Arlington Road, London N.W.1.
1973 BRETT-HOLT, Mrs. J. F., B.Sc.(Econ.), Brindle Way, Banstead Road, Ewell, Surrey.
1975 BROOME, M. R., B.Sc.(Eng.), 30 Warren Road, Woodley, Reading, Berks.
1977 BURCHARD, Miss C., Flauenserstr. 9, 78 Freiburg, West Germany.
1973 BURKETT, Miss Mary E., B.A., Demarend, Helm Road, Bowness on Windermere, Cumbria.
1974 BURTON-PAGE, J., 9 West End Avenue, Pinner, Middx. HA5 1BH.
BURTON-PAGE, Mrs. J., 9 West End Avenue, Pinner, Middx. HA5 1BH.
CARTER, P. L., C.M.G., Holgate, Balcombe, Sussex RH17 6LL. Hon. Vice-President.
CHARLTON, R. W. H., 22 Victoria Square, Clifton, Bristol 8.
COATES, I., 14 Woodchurch Road, London NW6 3PN.
COLVIN, Miss Diana, 42 Townshend Court, Allitsen Road, London N.W.8.
COLVIN, Mrs. Moira R. A., 42 Townshend Court, Allitsen Road, London N.W.8.
COOK, Prof. J. M., F.B.A., F.S.A., 4 Edgecumbe Road, Bristol BS6 7AX.
COOPER, J. R. S., P.O. Box 11 – 1182, 46 Shahpur Ali Reza Ave., Tehran, Iran.
COOPER, Mrs. J. R. S., P.O. Box 11 – 1182, 46 Shahpur Ali Reza Ave., Tehran, Iran.
COULSON, Mrs. W. A., O.B.E., 4 The Little Boltons, London SW10 9LP.
CRAIG, Mrs. B. D., M.A., Somerville College, Oxford OX2 6HD.
CROWDEN, J. P., The Old Plough, Chivery, St. Leonards, Tring, Herts.
CROWE, Mrs. Yolande, Ph.D., 18 Markham Street, London SW3 3NP.
CULLEN, G. F. H., 8 Gordon Way, Dovercourt, Essex.
DARKE, H. S. G., M.A., Faculty of Oriental Studies, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge.
DE CARDI, Miss Beatrice, 1A Donso Place, Victoria Road, London W.8.
DE LA MARE, Sir Arthur, The Birches, Onslow Road, Walton on Thames, Surrey KT12 5BB.
DE LA MARE, Lady, The Birches, Onslow Road, Walton on Thames, Surrey KT12 5BB.
DOR, Dr. R., Residence Les Alouettes, Pavilion 25, 63800 Cournon, France.
DOR, Mrs. R., Residence Les Alouettes, Pavilion 25, 63800 Cournon, France.
DOWNING, H. J., Foreign & Commonwealth Office (Cape Town), King Charles Street, London S.W.1.
DOWNING, Mrs. H. J., Foreign & Commonwealth Office (Cape Town), King Charles Street, London S.W.1.
DROWER, Miss M. S., Department of Ancient History, University College, Gower Street, London W.C.1.
DUPREE, Prof. L., American Universities Field Staff, P.O. Box 150, Hannover, New Hampshire 03755, U.S.A.
DUPREE, Mrs. L., American Universities Field Staff, P.O. Box 150, Hannover, New Hampshire 03755, U.S.A.
ELFENBEIN, Dr. J. H., 8 Hamlea Close, London S.E.12.
ELFENBEIN, Mrs. J. H., 8 Hamlea Close, London S.E.12.
EVERETT, Miss E. M., M.A., 36 Canford Road, London SW11 6PD.
FARAH, Mrs. K. S., British Embassy, Kabul, Afghanistan.
FEHÉRVÁRI, Géza, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., 58 Woodlands, Harrow, Middx. HA2 6EW.
FISCHER, Prof. Dr. Klaus, 53 Königswinter 41, Heisterbacherrott Im Kottsiefen 10, W. Germany.
FISHER, Prof. W. B., Department of Geography, Science Laboratories, South Road, Durham.
FITSIMONS, Miss M., Royal Society for Asian Affairs, 42 Devonshire Street, London W.1.
FLEMMING, D., Corpus Christi College, Oxford OX1 4JF.
FLOWERDAY, F. G., 42 Granville Road, Finchley, London N.12.
FLOWERDAY, Mrs. F. G., 42 Granville Road, Finchley, London N.12.
FRASER, P. M., All Souls' College, Oxford. Chairman.
FÜRER HAIMENDORF, Prof. C. Von, School of Oriental & African Studies, Malet Street, London W.C.1.
FURSE, Admiral J. P. W., Hegg Hill, Smarden, Nr. Ashford, Kent TM27 8NX.
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