

The Hidden Treasure

(*Paṭa Khazana*)

A Biography of Pashtoon Poets

by

Mohammad Hothek

Edited, annotated and translated into Persian by

Abdul Hay Habibi

(1944)

Translated from the Pashto and Persian

by

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Preface

The Hidden Treasure (*Pata Khazana*) hands down to posterity Pashto poetry of a thousand years and illustrates the work of eloquent Pashto poets and poetesses. A hand-written manuscript, transcribed in 1886, was discovered by the late Professor Abdul Hay Habibi in 1944. He edited, annotated and translated it into Persian and it was published in Kabul by the Pashto Academy of Afghanistan. This relic of immense value provides a rare insight into the obscure history of ancient Pashto literature. It sheds light on classic Pashto poetry and introduces us to eminent men and women of letters whose work has been lost through the centuries.

My intention to translate *Pata Khazana* into English is to avail its inspiring poetry to scholars interested in the subject to enable them to visualize the evolution of the Pashto language through the annals of history. It also provides a source in English to those who are interested in the culture and language of the Pashtoons but are unable to read about it. In order to provide the reader with a fair idea of the conceptual spirit of the original poems, the thoughts and ideas of the poets have been preserved as far as rhythmic translation permitted. No attempt has been made to edit the work so that it may not be tainted with the exuberance of translation. Thus in some instances the translation appears inelegant, but to faithfully adhere to the original and not to impose my individuality on the work, that was unavoidable. Great care has been taken to faithfully interpret the thoughts and expressions of the poets as far as the exigencies of translation permitted.

The 1944 edition of the book contains detailed footnotes and annotations. All the annotations have been translated. The shorter footnotes relevant to the English text are presented with the annotations. In the original text, comments on the prose and poetry

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are presented at the end of the book. Here they follow the introduction, together with Professor Habibi's remarks on the skeptics of *Pata Khazana* which appeared as a commentary in the fourth edition of the book, published in 1977 by the Faculty of Letters and Humanities of Kabul University.

In the course of translating the book I came across an Italian translation of *Pata Khazana*. In the bibliography of *Il Tesoro Nascosto Degli Afghani*, it was noted that a version of the book had been translated into English in 1979 and published by the International Center for Pashto Studies, Academy of Science of Afghanistan. In the preface of the book it is not stated from which edition of *Pata Khazana* the translation was done. The annotations, introduction and notes on the prose and poetry, as they appeared in the first edition, are not included. These are essential for scholars in understanding the background, etymology and historical context of the subject.

To clarify the doubts raised by various skeptics, Professor Habibi's annotations, notes and commentary have been included here together with the translation of the full text of *Pata Khazana*. In my rendering of the poetry I have tried to follow the exact pattern of rhyming of the Pashto verse. I do not claim to be a versifier, but to distance myself from a literal translation, in which the imaginative configuration and spirit of the poems is often lost, I have tried to present the poetry as a semblance of English verse.

I am neither a poet or a scholar of the Pashto language. However, my admiration for this collection of our national heritage encouraged me to translate this renowned book. It is a labor of love for me and I leave it to the reader to decide how well I have succeeded in this self-imposed task.

Khushal Habibi,
East Lansing, Michigan

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The following transliteration has been adopted for the Pashto alphabet:

ا	a	ا	d	ف	f	ئ	ey
آ	ã	ر	r	ق	q	زير	à
ب	b	ڏ	rr	ک	k	زير	é
پ	p	ڙ	z	ڱ	g	پيش	u
ت	t	ڙ	zh	ڃ	l	зорکي	ê
ٿ	ٿ	ڙ	z	ڙ	m	و	û
ٿ	ڦ	س	s	ن	n	و	o
ج	j	ش	sh	ٻ	ñ	ه	h
چ	ch	بن	s	و	w		
ح	h	ص	s	ه	h		
خ	kh	ض	z	ي	y		
ڇ	dz	ط	t	ء	hamza		
ڙ	ts	ڻ	z	ي	↑		
د	d	ع	à	ي	ë		
ڌ	z	غ	gh	ي	ay		

Introduction

Among the important relics our national literature which I have submitted to my countrymen I am forwarding a book, which without any doubt is a testament of our national heritage and an eloquent work of literature in the Pashto language.

This magnificent book entitled *Paṭa Khazana* (The Hidden Treasure), was written in Qandahar in 1141-1142 H. (1728-29 A.D.) by Mohammad bin Daud bin Qader Khan Hothek under the patronage of the young emperor Shah Hussain Hothek who was keenly interested in the promotion of culture and of Pashto literature. The author of the book was a distinguished literary personality of the court. He was an outstanding scholar of the Pashto language and dedicated this work to Pashto poets. The book is composed of three parts. The first treasure is dedicated to the life and work of past poets, from 100 H. (718 A.D.) to one thousand Hejira. The second treasure concerns with contemporary poets and the third treasure refers to poetesses of the Pashto language followed by a conclusion. In the end of the book the author talks about his life and literary works. Fortunately, the learned author had a gifted style and a strong base for his work. Throughout the book, the author gives references to published material, words of other people and tradition.

In the spring of 1944, I obtained a copy of this book, which contains the history of the Pashto literature, and provides a profile of 50 poets dating from 100 to 1100 H. (718 to 1688 A.D.). Once I realized its importance I presented it to other personalities in the Afghan literary circles. They were all overwhelmed by the finding and its significance as a relic of national heritage. Most distinguished among them was Sardar Mohammad Nāim, the Minister of Education who takes a keen interest in national literature. He and other literary personalities urged the publication of the book.

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Recognizing the strength of public interest for the book, I began to edit, annotate and translate it into Persian and am now presenting it to all the enlightened people of our country who are deeply interested in our literature. I am happy and honored that as a continuation of my published work in Pashto literature an occupation of many years, I finally succeeded in discovering this treasure and after editing and researching, to present it as a historical document. For the reader to understand the text better, every page of the original Pashto is presented with Persian translation on the opposite page. Where changes have occurred in the spelling of words, the actual word, as found in the manuscript is described in the footnotes together with the change and its meaning. The Persian translation of both the prose and poetry is literary so that the originality of the text is safeguarded. If it is tedious reading I hope that the reader will forgive me for this.

In the footnotes I explain the meaning of some of the rare and difficult to understand words and present them together with their syntax and roots. Reference is also made to names of certain locations and places mentioned in the manuscript which have either changed or are not well-known. The end of the book contains a detailed explanation of rare words, places and people which are mentioned in the text. A complete index of people's names, places and sources is also included.

While researching rare words a large volume of reference material was used. The pages and exact citation of the reference material is presented for ease of access. With regard to the finding of the original manuscript and its importance I have a lot to say that does not fit in this short introduction. The style of the poetry and the prose is discussed in the following sections.

Kabul, Khwabgah, Hamal 1322 H. (March 1944).

Abdul Hay Habibi

The Book's Prose

In the notes and annotations of the book attention is drawn to the qualitative significance of some words and historical background. These explanations enables the readers to appreciate the significance of the book from the point of literature and history and to recognize its benefits. Here, I would like to dwell with the prose style of the author and to clarify the importance of the book from the point of view of literary prose. To clarify the issue, it would be fruitful to glance shortly at the history of Pashto prose first, and later discuss its historical significance.

Pashto prose before 1000 H. (1592 A.D.)

The oldest document available in Pashto prose is the few pages of *Tazkerat-al-Awlia* (Memoirs of Saints) of Sulaiman Maku, written in 612 H. (1215 A.D.) during the time of the Mongol raids. This document represents the oldest Pashto prose available to us. I found these pages five years ago. Before that, all those who studied the Pashto language, told me that the half-poetic prose of Akhund Darweza and his likes was the oldest sample of Pashto prose. After discovering the lost pages of Sulaiman Maku, which I have printed in volume one of *Pashtana Shuàra* (Pashtoon Poets), it became clear that Pashto prose was firmly established even before Akhund Darweza and Pir Roshan.

The style of Sulaiman Maku, who wrote in Arghasan of Qandahar, is different from present day prose. However, it shows that before the rhythmical prose of *Khair-al-Bayan* (Blessed Discourse) and *Makhzan-al-Islam* (Islamic Treasure) our language had

a fluent and interesting style of writing, which was closer to speech and distant from the artificial style of writing of later days.

During the time of the Mongols an overly adorned and unattractive style of prose became popular in Persian. This style of writing prose was devoid of the excellencies of the fluid composition of the past. In the rhythmic prose the lucidity of past composition was lost. It did not have the elegance of the works of Baihaqi, Minhaj Seraj or Sàdi and complex phrases and twisted sentences were introduced to Persian prose resulting in loss of fluency. This style of writing continued until the time when *Dura-e Nadera* (Rare Pearls) was written by Mohammad Mahdi Astarabadi.

This destructive movement also affected Pashto prose and authors started imitating the Persian writers of the Mongol period. After 900 H. (1495 A.D.) Pir Roshan wrote *Khair-al-Bayan* in this crude style using rhythmical prose with liberty. Toward the end of the book he has rhymed his sentences. Akhund Darweza also followed this style in *Makhzan-al-Islam*. This mode of writing was prevalent for a period of 300 years.

The first person who realized its fallacy was Khushal Khan Khatak, the father of the Pashto language. He adopted the classic style of Pashto prose in his works. His sons and family followed in his footsteps as is evident in their works such as the *Gulistan* (The Flower Garden) in Pashto and *Tarekh-e Murasà* (Bejewelled History), written in the fluid style of the past.

Forty years after the death of Khushal Khan an illustrious writer lived in Qandahar who wrote Pashto prose in a fluid and simple style; thus he was able to revive the classic style of his ancestors. This writer was Mohammad bin Daud Khan Hotek, the author of *Pata Khazana*. After this revival, his style is clearly reflected in the works of authors who followed him; and it can be said that it has been used by Pashto authors for the past three and a half centuries after 1000 H. (1592 A.D.) Mohammad Hotek is thus considered the master of the present style of Pashto prose.

Khushal Khan Khaṭak did try to deviate from the unattractive rendering of *Khair-al-Bayan* but did not succeed in eliminating the obstacles altogether and in fact he slightly became under its influence. However, the famous author of Pata Khazana, successfully managed to free Pashto prose from the shackles of rhythmic prose. This literary victory

is attributed to his writing genius, despite the fact that that style was common in Pashto literary circles of the time.

The characteristics of Mohammad's writing

Mohammad Hothek, the author of *Paṭa Khazana* transformed Pashto prose in a simple style and, as far as he could manage, substituted the common form of speech for the artificial and convoluted prose of his predecessors.

In the construction of sentences, Sulaiman Maku appears to be under the influence of Arabic prose. Khushal Khan, Abdul Qadir Khan and Afzal Khan all were influenced by Persian prose, but Mohammad Hothek managed to stay away from such influences. When we read his prose it looks as though a Pashtoon is talking to us. He explains the issues in a simple manner and his penmanship is free from the influence of others.

It cannot be said that the work of Mohammad is not completely free of defects, but in comparison to other authors his style of prose is clear and lucid, its meaning is understandable, the prose is easy to follow and void of any complexity of past authors. A worthy author is one who does not follow others in order to express himself. Khushal Khan has said: "*One who breaks his own pot will be in need of others.*" From the prose of *Paṭa Khazana* it is clear that Mohammad Hothek wrote clearly and simply. Sulaiman Maku's style of writing is good and close to speech, but in ease and elegance it is not on par with that of Mohammad Hothek, though it is much better than the complex style of *Khair-al-Bayan*. The first sentences with which Sulaiman Maku starts his book reveals that he is not following rhythmic prose and the wording is not artificial. However, his style deviates from that of speech and a semblance of the effects of Arabic prose is seen in it.

Khair-al-Bayan was written three centuries after Sulaiman wrote his book. Although the book is meant to be in prose, in reality it is not, as some of the sentences are poetic in form, and towards the end of the book the sentences rhyme.

The style of writing of *Khair-al-Bayan* developed around 900H. (1495 A.D.), was accepted and followed by others for several centuries. Akhund Darweza who lived

around 1000 H. (1592 A.D.) disliked the way *Khair-al-Bayan* was written. Despite that he was not able to free his penmanship from the accepted style.

As mentioned earlier the first author to break away from this unacceptable style was Khushal Khan. He laid the foundation of the simple form of writing devoid of rhythmic prose. However, the influence of Persian can be detected in his writing. His prose resembles that of Sulaiman Maku and there are no traces of *Khair-al-Bayan* in it. After Khushal Khan, his sons follow his style in *Gulistan*, in *Tarekh-e Murasà* and in the Pashto translation of *Kalela and Damna* by Afzal Khan.

The style created by Mohammad is excellent in composition and lucid in expression of thought. It holds an esteemed place in contemporary Pashto prose and that of the past. He can be considered the inventor of the contemporary style of Pashto prose. After him Pir Mohammad Kakarh and Mohammad Khaṭak, who wrote during the time of Ahmad Shah Baba and the Mohammadzay era respectively, followed his example. Later Ahmad Jan of Peshawar followed the same style of writing passing it on to the present times.

From the comparison of Pashto literature of the past, it is clear that Mohammad Hothek simplified Pashto prose extensively. In my view the characteristics of his prose are:

1. Mohammed is the first person who managed not to follow the style in vogue.
2. He managed to write prose closer to speech than previous authors.
3. He was able to express himself in a simple manner and did not use difficult vocabulary and knotted sentences.
4. His sentences are short and stand out; and he managed to express his thoughts lucidly.
5. His use of alternate words and structuring of sentences are not disagreeable.
6. The influence of other languages is minimal in his style of writing. The prose of Sulaiman Maku is influenced by Arabic syntax, but the effect of Persian prose is barely evident in Mohammad Hothek's writing.

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The work of Mohammad Hothek was different from that of his predecessors, and shows that the prose of Mohammad Hothek traces back to the classic style of Pashto prose that was predominant before the unattractive style of *Khair-al-Bayan*. Khushal Khan Khaṭak was the first writer who returned to the style of our ancestors and hoisted the banner of correctness, and his descendants carried his torch forward. Mohammad Hothek set us free from the vicissitudes of rhythmic prose. Around 1300 H. (1883 A.D.) Maulavi Ahmad Jan wrote his glorious prose that remains a precious offering to contemporary writers of the Pashto language.

The Book's Poetry

The first book which contains the rich treasure of Pashto poetry is the few pages of *Tazkerat-al-Awlia* of Sulaiman Maku described in the first part of volume one of *Pashtana Shuàra*. Prior to the publication of volume one of the book in 1320 H. (1942 A.D.), it was believed that writing in the Pashto language was only 300-400 years old and that the oldest document of the literature of the language dates to around 1000 to 900 H. (1592-1495 A.D.). It was shown in *Pashtana Shuàra* that some of the ancient records of Pashto literature date back to the time of the Ghaznavid period 300-400 H. (913-1010 A.D.) The poems of Bit Nikah, Ismail, Malikyar, Taimani, Kutb Bakhtyar and others are related to the time of the Ghaznavid and Ghorid dynasties.

Paṭa Khazana, which in reality is a treasure of the jewels of our national language, removed a considerable number of obscurities that engulfed the literature of the language. It proved that this ancient language had eloquent poets during the early part of the Islamic period, and that it was a language of kings some of whom wrote poetry in it.

The most outstanding document illuminating the history of Pashto poetry is the martial poem by Jahan Pahlavan Amir Krorr Suri. From the viewpoint of vigor and style, pure Pashto words, meter and rhyme, it is a magnificent example of our literature. The characteristics of this poem can be summarized as follows:

1. It is an ancient document that proves that Pashto literature existed around 130 H. (752 A.D.). It shows that the language was refined during the first century of the Islamic era to the extent that magnificent martial poetry was written in it. From this it can be deduced that it was not a new language. It was probably at least five

centuries old at the time of Amir Krorr and had a profound literary background to reach such eminence.

2. This poem proves that the language of some of the people of Ghor at the beginning of Islamic era was Pashto and that the Pashto spoken at the time was pure and free from foreign influence.

The rare words used in this poem are our ancestral legacy. Some of them have fallen out of use due to the influence of other languages *wyârrene*³² ویارنه (pride), *atál*³³ اتل (champion), *mán*³⁴ من (will), *mértsamén*⁶ میرخمن (enemy), *zhobláh* (battle), *yuném* (I am going), *yárgħalam*³⁵ (I attack), *hásk*²⁴ (sky), *nménédz* (respect), *pëzhandoy*³⁶ (famous), *dusan*⁶ (foe), *pálan*³⁷ (infantry), *zárrēn*³⁸ (brave), *mákhsûr*³⁹ (honor), *lwárráwej*⁴⁰ (elevate), *lowr*⁴¹ (kindness), *bamém*⁴² (foster), *wádána*⁴³ (nourish), *dérédz*⁴⁴ (pulpit), *stâywál*⁴⁵ (eulogizer). These words used by Amir Krorr were common before the literary invasion of the time.

3. In meter and rhyme this poem is also unique and is a treasure of our literature revealing the mature state of our ancient literature and culture.

4. From the viewpoint of message, we see that the writer speaks of valor exaltingly. He describes his battles and conquests with pride and on the other hand shows love and kindness toward his subjects.

Later works mentioned in this book are poems by Abu Mohammad Hashim ibn Zaid al-Sarwanay born in 223 H. (838 A.D.), followed by the poems of Amir Reza and Amir Nasr Ludi written around 350-400 H. (961-1010 A.D.). Khrasboon and Ismail lived around 400 H. (1010 A.D.) and Shaikh Asàd Suri was their contemporary 425 H. (1034 A.D.). After that Shaikh Taiman wrote poetry during the time of the Ghorids who lived during the era of Alàuddin Hussain around 550 H. (1155 A.D.) and Skarandoi was a contemporary of Sultan Shahabuddin Muàzuddin around 580 H. (1185 A.D.) Their works represent the literary triumphs of that era.

After this era, Shaikh Mathi lived around 623 H. (1126 A.D.), Baba Hothek around 660 H. (1162 A.D.) and Malikyar around 749 H. (1348 A.D.) and their important works

have been documented in *Paṭa Khazana*. Then came Sultan Bahlol and a poet of his court, Neyazay, around 890 H. (1485 A.D.), followed by Esa Meshwañay 900 H. (1495 A.D.), Zarghoon Khan and Dost Mohammad 912 H. (1506 A.D.) and Shaikh Bostan Barheitsh 990 H. (1582 A.D.) Later we know other poets, who have been mentioned in the first volume of *Pashtana Shuāra* such as Mirza Khan, Darweza, Khushal Khan and others. The poets mentioned chronologically are ones who have been referred to in *Paṭa Khazana*. According to other documents there are other poets who lived during this time described in the first volume of *Pashtana Shuāra*

Since we are only concerned with those poets mentioned in *Paṭa Khazana*, others to whom reference has been made in *Pashtana Shuāra* will not be dealt with in this treatise. Now, I would like to scrutinize and analyze, under different titles, these ancient poems from the point of view of their historical significance.

The influence of environment

It has been proved that the effect of environment, i.e. time and place, is universal and is a characteristic of nature; an element which is always under such influence is poetry.

The poet is drawn by the power of creation to express his feelings and talk about his environment and picture it in his lyrics. The poet of the mountainous regions extols the ruggedness of the mountains and that of the plains describes the beauty of the green lowlands. If we glance closely at the literature of surrounding nations we will often come across such descriptions.

This characteristic is also evident in the poems cited in *Paṭa Khazana* and can be described as follows:

I. Those poems that were written in a particular kind of native environment are close in form to one another with regard to the usage of pure words, meter and rhyme. A good example is the poem of Jahan Pahlavan Suri that does not resemble later works in its meaning. Its words are purely Pashto, its meter and rhyming are

particularly Pashto in character, and it is not tainted by the influence of other languages of the region.

The poems of Amir Reza and Nasr Ludi were written away from the environment of Ghor, but the influence of Persian and Arabic had not affected their language, thus they are also pure Pashto. But the poem of Hashim Sarwanay, even though it was written well before the time of the Ludis, has Arabic influence in it. This is because the writer was a student of Arabic, spent a large part of his life in Arab countries, studied Arabic literature, and translated Arabic poetry into Pashto. Despite this it is an important work of Pashto literature because the use of words from other languages was not customary at that time.

II. Later around 300 H. (913 A.D.), at the beginning of the Ghaznavid period, the time of the growth of Persian, Persian literature was fostered from the court of the Samanids and the Ghaznids. Subsequently, the Ghurid kings were also attracted by this trend. Thus from 300 to 400 H. (913-1010 A.D.) we see two kinds of poetry in the book:

Those poems which were written in mountainous regions, away from urban civilizations and royal courts, are not tainted by foreign influence. In adornment, style and use of words, meter and rhyme they show the typical pure Pashto flavor and are not cast in a foreign mold. Examples are the works of Khrašboon, Ismail and Shaikh Mathi, which are pure in form.

The poems written and recited in royal courts and near centers of civilizations form another category. Since these places were under the influence of Persian literature and the style of prosody of the Ghaznavid court had reached the Ghurid court, therefore we see that Pashto poetry written in the form of the odes of Farukhi, Asjadi, Menochheri and others. The poems of the Ghurid court not only rival Persian literature in excellence but are even superior for example the odes of Shaikh Asàd Suri and Skarandoi. In style and meter their poems resemble Persian odes of the Ghaznavid period, but in the use of words, thought and imagination they have particularities of the environment embedded in them and are therefore considered majestic works of Pashto literature. The use of Persian and Arabic words is seen in

these works, but the Pashto element is so strong that they cannot be excluded from the most important works of Pashto literature.

Poems that were written after 600 H. (1204 A.D.), such as the supplications of Shaikh Mathi, the poem of valor of Baba Hothek and the love song of Malikyar show the influence of other languages. With regard to eloquence, solidity and simplicity these are examples of first class Pashto literature, but we know that at this time Persian had spread from the banks of the Tigris to the Ganges and had infiltrated the courts of the Mongol kings. Thus we see a large number of Persian and Arabic words in these poems but their subject matter is purely nationalistic.

Valor and Pride

Poems in this book, written before the eleventh century Hejira, can be divided into several types. With respect to meaning and thought they have the following characteristics:

They have a strong flare of national valor and pride. The ballad of Jahan Pahlavan Suri is a good example of such composition and the poem of Baba Hothek rekindles the feelings of national defense.

Bravery and valor have been looked upon with pride for ages in our nation. The gallantry of youths has been praised in poems and Afghan maidens have always taken pride in the bravery of youth as seen in this national *لندی landey*:*

*My lover was injured on the chest
I walk proudly among the maidens of the village.*

And when the man shows cowardice in battle she regrets kissing him the night before:

*You ran away from the gleaming sword,
I regret letting you kiss me yesterday evening.*

In the elegy of Asàd Suri such national flavor is clearly visible as he describes his sadness over the death of Mohammad Suri, but since the king died upholding his honor, he praises him profusely:

* Two lined Pashto poetry which contains 8 syllables in the first line and 13 in the second line.

*A brave warrior you were and so you did die,
Upholding honor, you did not lie.
With your departure the Suri are sad today
But they will, your name with pride say.*

The encomium of Skarandoi is also laden with such thoughts which is a characteristic ballad of valor in Pashto poetry.

Description of Scenery

A good poet is capable of imagining the details of scenery in his poetry. This characteristic is evident in the odes of prominent Persian poets of the Ghaznavid court who have been able to creatively show their genius of imagination in their famous works.

After reading the odes of Asàd Suri and Skarandoi in this book, it is clear that Pashtoon poets were also masters of this art. They have been able to portray the beauty of their mountainous land prominently. They not only show such talent in odes of joy and pleasure but have also successfully portrayed it at times of sadness and bereavement. One is capable of understanding the situation of the time clearly by reading such odes. For example after the defeat and death of Mohammad Suri the harsh scene of the circumstances has been described as such by Asàd Suri:

*See the mountains are all crying,
In bereavement the waterfalls are drying,
The verdant greenery of the mountains is gone
Nor do the partridges sing among the herds of mouflon.
See the tulips blossom no more in the valleys
Nor does the bami smile in the alleys.
From Gharj, come not the caravans of musk,
Nor do the caravans of Shar reach Ghor at dusk.
With warm tears the spring clouds unfurls
And April may not rain down its pearls,*

*Because Mohammad the cloak of death has donned
And all Ghor is grieving in his memory fond.
In Sur's surroundings dark is the skyline
And on these lands the sun does not shine.
Where young maidens laughed and danced,
Where virgins tiptoed and pranced.
Silent is Ghor, bereft of their king
Like hell, burns there every thing.*

Similarly Skarandoi, in his encomium of the Ghorid Sultan, has portrayed lucidly scenes of nature and the battle march and conquest of brave Ghorid soldiers, thus manifesting the art of poetic imagination of the highest caliber.

Love and the fondness of beauty

Poets are devoted to nature and it can be said that a major element leading to the writing of poetry is the love of natural beauty. Their love for the wonders of nature is so great that they ultimately perceive its source, and such perception leads to the recognition of God as the creator of all the wonders of nature. Therefore, they envision eternal beauty in everything they see as is evident from this line: *Whatever I look at, I envision your presence.*

The passion for love and fondness of beauty (love of God) are translated into the language of mysticism. In scientific terms this attraction may be compared to gravitational force. The two forces disseminate from the same source and their function is the same i.e. attraction. In this book the best example of love and fondness of beauty is the poem of Shaikh Mathi which can be considered a masterpiece of perception.

Social Feelings

The deep social feelings of the Afghans are also represented in the book. In reality love for society stems from family attachment. Sociologists also consider the family as the nucleus of social life. Among ancient Aryans the family was the center of glory and was considered the source of social virtues. Thus attachment to the family acted as the basis for love of society. A supplication of Rig-Veda says: God is the giver of life and is the king of kings. He is the bestower of beautiful families. O God we are also your subjects, let us not die without progeny.

In classic poems of the Pashtoons these feelings of the Aryans are visible with force. An old lyric of Shaikh Bit Nikah clearly manifests the strong bonds of our ancestors with the family in these words:

*Here at the base of the mountains
Our tents are pitched wide and odd,
May these households grow in numbers
O great God, O great God.*

The poems of Khrasboon and Ismail profoundly represent family ties, their closeness and social bondage. Deep social feelings are also represented in the poem of Shaikh Reza that he sent to Nasr bin Hamid Ludi, expressing his displeasure at the shame which the Ludi family had to endure because of Nasr's deeds. He says:

*The Ludi have their dignity lost
For centuries kept at a high cost.*

In his reply Nasr also stresses social bonds and talks with pride about his relation with the people, he states:

*I am a Ludi, my customs I keep
My ties with the Hamid family are deep...
Do not listen to them (my enemies)
From the Ludis do I stem.*

Sociologists say that the feelings of love toward the nation and society stem from the love for parents, family and society and culminate in love for the nation.

As mentioned earlier, poetry reflects the feelings of the poet like a mirror. The poet relates his sentiments in whatever circumstances he finds himself. The poet who has deep feelings of love for his country and resorts to writing poetry during times of tragedy finds that national sentiments imbue his lyrics even at such difficult times.

Wailing and lamentation are two important products of eastern literature and such lyrics have an important place in our literature and language. When poets find themselves in pain they speak of their sorrow in their lyrics. But at such times they seldom forget their love for the country. Eastern elegies are profound but rarely does one find feelings as those expressed by the late Khushal Khan:

*I wish he had died young in honor of the Pashtoon name
But to be laid in grave in a coffin with shame.*

This elegy was written by Khushal after the death of his son, Nezam. It is clear that despite his sadness at the loss of his son the feelings of national pride overwhelmed the great poet as he wrote these lines.

Deep emotions of nationalism are also embedded in the elegies of Shaikh Asàd Suri at the death of Mohammad Suri and of Zeinab, written after the death of her brother Shah Mahmud. The Afghan poetess was deeply moved at the loss of her brother. She laments not only for her brother but for the nation left without leadership.

The novelty of imagination and fluency

The merit of poetry lies in its abstract and concrete values. The abstract adorns the poem with hidden beauty from the point of view of novelty of thought and imagination. The material side of the poem comprises of eloquence that helps in the selection of words and the interpretation of meaning. When exalted thoughts are molded into words they become awe-inspiring and have an eternal effect on the reader. The elegance of poetry lies in its simplicity of meaning. When noble thoughts are expressed in unambiguous words they adorn the lyrics with eternal beauty and are most interesting to read.

The poems in this book show that our ancestors wrote with an astute sense of imagination. Their style was simple, fluid and eloquent and they were able to interpret

complex issues clearly. Love, bravery and social episodes have all been expressed fluently by all the poets whose work appears in the book.

The poems of Shaikh Mathi, Khrasboon, Ismail and Malikyar, the odes of Asàd and Skarandoi and the lyrics of Zarghoon are masterpieces of fluency and eloquence in the annals of Pashto poetry. As an example I present the quatrain of Nazo, mother of Haji Mirwais Khan, to see how lucidly she has expressed her deep feelings:

*At dawn the narcissus petals were wet
Like tears, flowed each crystalline droplet,
"Why do you cry thus, O pretty flower? " I asked:
"My life is just a fleeting smile", replied the floret.*

Imagination is the common inheritance of poets and philosophers. It is for this reason that insinuation is considered an established principle of the world of poetry. Here we see how the eminent Nazo thoughtfully molded two abstract ideas 250 years ago, and a philosopher of this era, Àlamah Iqbal did the same in these words:

*The clouds of spring lamented
That life is a constant cry,
The swift lightning flashed and said:
You are mistaken, it is an instant sigh.*

The late Iqbal tried to translate two contradictory philosophies and two important human thoughts; first the philosophy of pessimism of the German philosopher, Schopenhauer, who considered lamentation as the halo of life and second the thought which is related to Nietzsche, whose philosophy was based on the enthusiastic love of life. In her quatrain the contemplative poetess describes both thoughts; in that the short smile is the cause of continuous crying. She has taken her lessons from mother nature while the philosopher is a product of schooling. The clarity of thought, lucidity and firmness of words have been clearly manifested by this poetess of utmost genius.

This was a short glance at the poetry of the *Pata Khazana*. Further elaboration would require the writing of a book, therefore I terminate this treatise at this juncture.

Abdul Hay Habibi

Kabul, Chahar Bagh, 10 Mizan 1322 (October, 1944).

Professor Habibi's Remarks on the Skeptics of *Paṭa Khazana*

The following is a commentary which appeared in the fourth edition of *Paṭa Khazana* published in 1977 by the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Kabul University.

As is evident from the first edition of this book 1323 H. (1944 A.D.), I obtained the hand-written manuscript with the help of the late Abdul Ali Khanozay, a Kâkarh at Psheen in 1943. First I translated it into Persian, provided explanatory notes and annotations and published it in 1944 through the Pashto Academy. In 1961 five thousand copies of the original edition were republished by the Publications and Translations Department. Due to the great demand for the book, the third edition was published in 1976 by the Pashto Development Board of the Ministry of Information and Culture. This edition contained a complete facsimile of the original hand-written manuscript.

Since its publication 33 years ago different opinions have been expressed about this book and certain people have cast their doubts upon it. Some have said that I have composed the book while others have claimed that it was forged by Mohammad Hotek to please his monarch, Shah Hussain, son of Haji Mirwais Khan. Such claims have been heard over the years, but unfortunately, the critics have not compiled any detailed or scholastic analysis of the work so that they may be studied, and if found refutable, commented upon scholastically.

Scholars in the field have not discussed this book in detail so far. What has been written has been brief and expressions of doubts. No scholastic or positive criticism

from the viewpoint of linguistics or etymology has been provided so that the authenticity or forgery of words may be evaluated and the facts clarified.

The writings of Professor Morgenstierne

When I met the famous Norwegian philologist, Professor Morgenstierne, in Kabul in 1946 I asked him his views regarding the book. Earlier I had sent him a copy of the book. He answered that his study of Pashto had not reached a level where he could comment on the literature and poetry and their evolution. However, in the second edition of the English version of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* he has written an article on the Pashto language where he says:

"Pashto is in its origin and structure an Iranian language, although it has borrowed freely from Indo-Aryan. It shares all the common Iranian sound-changes. It sides with other Eastern Ir. languages... In its origin it is probably a "Saka" dialect, introduced from the North, but it is not possible to define its relationship more closely..."

Until recently no Pashto literary work older than the 17th century had been published. But in the *Almanach de Kabul*, 1940-1 (*Da Kabul Salnama*) Abd al-Hay Habibi published fragments of the *Tadhkirat-i Awliya* by Sulayman Maku, containing poems said to go back to the 11th century. In 1944 he published in Kabul the *Peta Khazana* by Muhammad Hotak, which is professed to be written in Kandahar (finished 1729), and to be an anthology of Pashto poets from the 8th century down to the time of the compiler. But these works raise a number of grave linguistic and historical problems, and the question of their authenticity cannot be finally settled until the manuscripts are made available for philological investigation. Even if the authenticity of the *Khazna* is admitted, however, Muhammad Hotak's dating of the oldest poems may be doubted. According to Raverty, Shaykh Mali in 1417 wrote a history of the Yusufzays, but nothing more is known about this work." (*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 220, 1960).

Now I would like to conduct a critical analysis of Morgenstierne's assertions:

First: The fact that he considers Pashto to be related to the Saka languages is not surprising at all. There is no doubt that Pashto has close affiliation with Aryan languages, because these languages belong to the Indo-European family. Even now

remnants of old Aryan words are used in Pashto such as *ãryanavijah* (in present day Pashto *avijah* means a domicile) or *ãrya warsha*; *warsho* (pasture) is a living Pashto word. Similarly hundreds of other common Vedic, Avestan, Medic and old Persian words are seen in the language. Under the name of Saak, a tribe exists among the Pashtoons until this day. With regard to Morgenstierne's statement that the language is affiliated with eastern Iranian languages there is ample evidence to consider it a Bactrian language. It is a link between the Indian (eastern) and Iranian (western) languages. With respect to the structure of sentences, and etymology it has close resemblance to the eastern Indian languages such as Vedic, Sanskrit and Prakrit. Similarly it shares common words and sounds with Iranian and even Aryan-European languages.

In Pashto the sounds (پ te, پ dal, پ rhae, پ noon) are common with Indian languages while in the (خ tse, خ dze, پ sen) it is close to the western Aryan languages such as Slavic and German. On this basis calling it an Eastern-Iranian language is a matter of concern. Afghan culture manifests many newly acquired western and eastern elements. The Surkh Kotal inscriptions show that during the second century, the Bactrian-Koshanid language had old elements of both Pashto and Persian. *ãb*, *naubakht* and *shakhalesi* are three Persian words while *bag*, *loy* and *malwakht* are three living Pashto words seen in the Surkh Kotal inscriptions. Similarly, *pohar (por)*, *bad yen (baden)*, *aweg yak*, *bo*, *roz mehr*, *farman* and *norla* are close to Pahlavi. Just as Professor Toynbee has said that Afghanistan was at the crossroads of ancient civilizations, it can be said that Pashto served as a link between the eastern, western and northern Aryan languages. The words *daz*, *dazhdhi* which meant a fortress has been written as *layz* in the Surkh Kotal inscription. In the northern and Sughd languages *deza* was used as a suffix in names such as Chakar Deza, a famous graveyard in Samarkand, or Shahlez, the name of a place in Ghazni or *warw alez* which has been changed to *walwaloj* in Arabic.

Like other cultural elements, the Bactrian-Koshanid language stood at the crossroads of eastern, western and northern civilizations, a trait which is seen in Pashto today.

Second: If the distinguished scholar would glance at the history of the literature of eastern languages and evaluate their structure and style of writing, it will be clear that new research on languages and the finding of new historical material is underway in these languages. In particular, numerous such findings have been made in Persian literature.

Another issue is that one cannot just rely on the findings of past European scholars alone. When Raverty (1825-1906), Darmesteter (1849-1894) and Dorn (1805-1881) started their research on the language one hundred years ago, their work was based on a few well-known literary and religious books. Such as the *Makhzan* of Akhund Darweza, *Fawayed-al-Shariat* of Akhund Qasim and the divans of Rahman Baba and Khushal Khan Khaṭak. Other works were less famous at the time, but now we have at our disposal a great deal of new material.

The distinguished scholar cites Raverty and states that Shaikh Mali wrote a history of the Yusufzay in 821 H. (1418 A.D.). The fact is that this book was not a historical treatise, but a book on tribal legend and even today the Yusufzay call it the *dawtar* or *daftar* of Shaikh Mali. It contains rules for distribution of land and water rights. This social system continued among the mountainous people of Swat until the colonial British system known as *band wa bast* was imposed on them in 1869. Feudal lords had tried to abolish this system for a long time to enable them to take personal possession of the land. Therefore the *Dawtar* of Shaikh Mali was destroyed. Even in the time of Khushal Khan the *dawtar* was kept hidden in Swat as Khushal Khan says:

In Swat there are two things, hidden or revealed,

They are the Makhzan of Darweza or Daftar of Shaikh Mali.

Unfortunately this book has not been found, but it is so revered among the mountain people of Swat and the Yusufzay that they refer to it as the beginning of the historical era. When the Swat and Multan elders refer to an event they say it happened so many years before or after the *dawtar*.

The distinguished scholar has said that *Pata Khazana* should be evaluated linguistically and historically. This is true but who should do such an evaluation? Such an evaluation will be meaningful if it is done by someone whose mother tongue is Pashto, knows modern philology and is familiar with etymology. And he or she is totally

familiar with the history of Afghanistan and the Pashtoons and is well-informed in the developments of Central Asian languages.

In his writing the distinguished orientalist thinks that the oldest Pashto literary document, according to Raverty, is Shaikh Mali's (History of Yusufzai?). Since Mohammad Hothek writes about Pashto works prior to the ninth century thus doubt can be cast on the authenticity of his book! The fact is that we can show several such examples in the history of literature of other languages whereby history of literature has been compiled from known sources. When new material has been found it cannot be disregarded by saying that the material has not been mentioned in such and such a book. If Shaikh Mali's *dawtar* is found and there is no mention of the old references cited by Mohammad Hothek it cannot be reasoned that Mohammad Hothek has forged *Paṭa Khazana*.

What is evident is that until a century ago, the oldest biography of Persian poets was Daulat Shah Samarkandi's *Tazkerat-al-Shuāra* {written in 892 H. (1487 A.D.)}. Daulat Shah in the introduction of his book writes: "No scholar has written about the history, work and life of Persian poets." Thus our information regarding Persian literature was confined to what Daulat Shah had written in his biographical account. In some instances he cites references but in many other cases he has failed to cite any references at all. Toward the end of the book he discusses the biography of only seven contemporary poets. In 1846, Nathaniel Blend, in the London Asiatic Society Magazine, introduced us to another biography of the Persian language. The *Lubab-al-Albab* of Àwfi. Only two hand-written manuscripts of this work exist. One is in the possession of Mr. Blend and the other is preserved in the Berlin Imperial Library. Mr. Blend's version was later published by the late orientalist Edward Brown and the late Qazweni. Thus with its publication our knowledge of Persian literature was enhanced. We do not reject the material provided by Àwfi merely because it has not been mentioned by Daulat Shah despite the fact that the Àwfi manuscripts are of very recent origin.

The divans of most Persian poets have been lost or do not exist, but based on the information provided by Àwfi and Daulat Shah, we accept their works if they match the principles of Persian literature and corroborate with historical events. No doubt has been cast on such works. The fact that the honorable orientalist states that *Paṭa*

Khazana raises grave philological and historical problems is far from a just statement. He talks about problems but does not state what the problems are? Nor does he explain the problems? Beside creating confusion such a statement has no academic value.

After *Lubab-al-Albab* and a few other Arabic references, *Tarkh-e Seistan* is only the other book which cites Persian verse or prose. Neither is the name of the author or the name of the book known. Its style of writing corresponds to the styles of writing prevalent from the 5th century Hejira and continues to 725 H. (1325 A.D.). Based on this it can be said that the book has not been written by one person nor does it follow one style of writing.

This book had not been recognized previously. Even the author of *Ahya-al-Mulook*, Shah Hussain, who was one of the Safavid princes and wrote his book in 1028 H. (1619 A.D.) did not know of its existence. The book was printed from an unknown hand-written manuscript in the former newspaper of Iran {Issues 474 to 562, 1299-1302 H. (1882-1885 A.D.)}. Other copies were made after it appeared in the newspaper. Finally the late poet laureate, Bahar, published it in Tehran in 1936.

This book has added a great deal of information on the history of Persian literature. Among them is the ballad of the Karkoy fire temple of Seistan, the encomium of Mohammad bin Waseef Sagarzi and the poems of Mohammad bin Mukhalid are accepted as examples of old Persian literature based on the style of writing and their relevance to historical events, despite the fact that neither Awfi nor Daulat Shah mention anything about these writers. It must be added that only one copy of *Tarekh-e Seistan* exists. Despite this no one has doubted the poets mentioned in the book or said that the author of the book had forged it. Nor has anything been stated as to what kind of problems the book presents with regard to philology or historical events.

A closer look at *Lubab*, the biographical account by Daulat Shah, *Tarekh-e Seistan*, other biographical works and old sources, reveal a great deal of problems which cannot be accepted in view of philological and historical facts. For example look at this couplet of the famous encomium written by Marwazi {circa 210 H. (826 A.D.)} for the Caliph Mamoon:

aye rasaneda ba dawlat farq khwd tha farq din

ای رسانیده بدولت فرق خود تا فرق دین

gustaraneda ba jowd wa fazl dar àalam ba din

گسترانیده بجود و فضل در عالم بدین

O ruler, you who can distinguish thyself and religion

You are the forgiver and giver in this world. (*Lubab*, p. 20).

This encomium is written in a new style and is tainted with forgery. In the same book, which is considered one of the most renowned and ancient biographies in Persian, a poem appears which is said to be written by Sultan Mahmud. It is an elegy for a slave woman named Gulistan. The language of the poem does not at all resemble the style of Persian verse during the era of the Ghaznavids:

<i>Ta tho aye mah zer-e khak shudie</i>	تا تو ای ماه زیر خاک شدی
<i>khak ra bar sephar fazl ãmad</i>	خاک را بر سپهر فضل آمد
<i>del juzà kard, guftam aye del sabr</i>	دل جزع کرد، گفتم ایدل صبر
<i>ayn qaza az khuday-e àdl amad</i>	این قضا از خدای عدل آمد
<i>ãdam az khak bood wa khaki shud</i>	آدم از خاک بود و خاکی شد
<i>har khe zawzad baz asal ãmad</i>	هر که زوزاد باز اصل آمد

O moon faced when you were buried

Your grave's soil brought kindness all around.

When my heart grieved, I said be calm, O heart

For this is the work of the just God.

From dust we come and to dust we go

For he who wails is the righteous. (*Lubab*, p. 25).

That a mighty emperor such as Sultan Mahmud would recite an elegy for a slave girl in these words is difficult to believe. In the book a hemistich is also said to have been written by Sultan Mahmud: *zi beem-e tegh-e jahangir-e qalà kushay*, (from the fear of arrow, world conqueror and vanquisher of fortresses) (*Lubab*, p. 26). The same hemistich appears in a hand-written manuscript preserved in the National Assembly Library of Iran and in *Tarekh-e Guzedah* (p. 457). In these documents it is said that the line has been written by Mohammad bin Malikshah Saljouqi.

We do not have any manuscripts close to the Awfi period; the available manuscripts were written later and their date of writing is not known. On the other hand, the author of *Bazm Ara*, Ali bin Mohammad Hussaini, copied all the material of *Lubab-al-Albab* in his book without citing the references or the name of the author. Does not the question arise as to who is the creator of this book?

Despite the fact that some of the poems in *Lubab-al-Albab* have come under criticism, the prose and poetry seen in the later manuscripts, preserved in London and Manchester, is reproduced in *Bazm Ara* around 1000 H. (1592 A.D.). Does not this create doubts and problems.

Despite these doubts, *Lubab-al-Albab*, Daulat Shah, Azar and Hedayat maintain their celebrated status, and these books are considered important sources of the history of Persian literature. A weakness in one part of the book or skepticism about one topic of the book does not taint the authenticity of the whole book. Those of us whose mother tongue is Pashto, and who are students of the history of the evolution of our language, having read and evaluated *Pata Khazana* word by word have not come across any problem that may contradict philological or historical facts. Were there such a problem to arise we would have dealt with it in the annotations of the book. It is regrettable that the distinguished orientalist does not explain what the philological or historical anomalies are but creates confusion by alluding to some vague skepticism. A scholar should not act in this manner.

Formerly, there did not exist a biography of poets in Pashto, and if one did exist, it probably has been lost like *Munaqeb-al-Shuara* of Khatoni which has been mentioned by Haji Khalifa and Daulat Shah. In 1942 I published the first volume of *Pashtana Shuara* through the Pashto Academy. Included in this book was material which I had gathered until that time. For example I had found six pages of the lost *Tazkerat-al-Awlia* in the mosque of a village along the banks of Helmand river. These pages were photographed and presented in the book together with my comments. This finding negated what Raverty had said regarding the history of Pashto literature e.g. he had

dated it back to the 17th century only.¹ The finding showed that Pashto literature dated back at least to the 12th century A.D. But when other old manuscripts such as the *Keramat* of Sultan Sakhi Sarwar, circa 577 H. (1182 A.D.), who was the establisher of the Sultania sect of Punjab, *Paṭa Khazana* and *Makhzan-e Afghani* of Nàmatullah Herawi, 1018 H. (1609 A.D.) were discovered, it was deemed necessary to revise the information in *Pashtana Shuāra*. All the new material was presented in the second volume of *Tarekh-e Adabiyat*, which was published in 1964 by the Pashto Academy. If more material is found it will be added to it. However, such material should not be doubted by the distinguished orientalist and other scholars like him because the history of literature is continually being updated with the discovery of new material. At the present time there is a great deal of new material at hand regarding the history of Persian literature than what had been included in Brown's history of Persian literature. The new material has been added to that book, and some of the older material deleted from it, for example, the attribution of *Tarjuman-al-Balaghah* of Mohammad bin Omar Radwayani to Farukhi and the attribution of the Yusuf and Zuleikha poem to Firdausi.

It is surprising that a scholar of such caliber, a hundred years after Raverty cited Shaikh Mali's lost *Dawtar* (Register), incorrectly calls it the history of the Yusufzai and considers it as the first literary book in Pashto. This work has not been found nor does the distinguished orientalist sheds light on it. It is surprising and difficult to grasp that based on a lost book he casts doubt on the known material of *Paṭa Khazana*.

In *Paṭa Khazana* we come across words which are not used in Pashto today, but every native student of the language can easily recognize them and with the help of philology and etymology arrive at their Pashto origin. Words similar in form exist in the Avestan and Vedic literature.

It is deplorable to note that those who have doubts talk of problems but do not provide any details so one may understand what these philological and historical problems are and what is their scholastic merit to discredit a celebrated, useful and rare book?

¹ Translator's note: With regard to the Daftar of Shaikh Mali, Raverty in the Introductory Remarks of A Dictionary of the Puk'hto, Pus'hto writes: "This is the earliest work I have been able to discover; but, of course, it must not for a moment be inferred that previous to this there was no Pushto literature... That the Pushto is a very ancient tongue cannot be doubted."

Afghanistan: by Louis Dupree and Wilber's skepticism

Under the title of *Afghanistan* a book was published in 760 pages by the Princeton University Press, New Jersey in 1973 authored by Dr. Louis Dupree. The reading of this book (with reservations) is beneficial to gain information about the country.

The author is an archaeologist and has published several papers in his field which have proved useful in understanding the ancient history of Afghanistan. The statistics provided in the book are categorically incorrect. Beside there are other errors in the book. For example on page 185 he considers *koranai* (family) as a Pashto word and in another column gives its meaning as *khanawada* in Persian. In a following line he considers *koranai* to be a Persian word and gives its meaning in Pashto as *kahol*. In fact *koranai* and *kahol* are both old Pashto words and their Persian equivalents are *doodman*, *khanadan* and *khanawada*.

On page 75 he has recorded the word *par-darya*, called *mawara-un-nahr* in Arabic, as *pay-i-darya*. *Par* is an ancient Aryan root. The people of Afghanistan still use the word *par-darya*. In page 80 he states that Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil was born in Patna in 1644 and died in Delhi in 1720. He is considered to be a teacher of Persian at the Moghul court of Delhi. However, in page 92 he considers the same Mirza Abdul Qadir to be among the contemporary poets of the time such as Betab, Qari and Mustaghni.

On page 82 he considers Sardar Ghulam Mohammad Khan Tarzi, a politically exiled poet and epigrapher and conceives him a master of the *shekestah* form of writing. The *shekestah* form of artistic calligraphy originated after the 9th century Hejira. Dupree translates this word as broken-line poetry. This is totally incorrect and the word has no relation to poetry. He further adds that in a period when family names were almost unheard of in Afghanistan, he called himself 'Tarzi', stylist. This is also incorrect and shows total non-familiarity with the issue.

Tarzi was the poetic pseudonym of Ghulam Mohammad Khan. For hundreds of years poets have used pseudonyms in Afghanistan such as Farukhi, Dakiki, Jami, Mashreqi, Tarzi's uncle, and Andaleeb, Mashriqi's son. These were not family names but like Mustaghni, Qari and Betab they were poetic pseudonyms. It is necessary that

family names and poetic pseudonyms are differentiated. The fact that Tarzi's eldest son adopted his fathers pseudonym as a family name is an issue of modern day and age. Following western traditions, people started to adopt family names.

There are numerous mistakes in the historical material of the book. For example on page 312 he talks about the spread of Islam in Afghanistan and states that the first major Arab raid took place through Qandahar in 80-81 H. (699-700 A.D.). The fact is that the Arab raids took place through Seistan, Helmand, Bost and Rukhaj. Kabul was conquered by Ibn Samra in 36 H. (657 A.D.) (*Tarekh-e Seistan*, p. 85; *Futuh-al-Baldan*, p. 488). Similarly there are numerous other errors in the book with which we may not concern ourselves. On page 75 he mentions the names of past Persian literary figures such as Mahmud Warraq and Hanzala Badghisi, without any comment or reservations, and provides translations of examples of their poetry. But in relation to Pashto he writes:

"Pashto as a literature tends to get short shrift even in Afghanistan. In his excellent survey of Islamic Literature, (1963), Najib Ullah (Afghan scholar and diplomat, whose last name was Toraviana) almost completely neglected Pashto..."

"The authenticity of the *Puteh-Khazaneh*, published in Qandahar in 1749 (correction: finished in 1729) and claiming to contain several eighth- and ninth-century poems, has been recently questioned (Wilber, 1967, 412).² No matter, for Pashto literature does not come into its own until the seventeenth century, but then seems to move along at a relatively uninspired pace until the twentieth century." (*Afghanistan*, p. 83).

This short commentary by Dupree does not rest on any reasoning or detail. Apart from creating confusion, it seems to have no other purpose. The fact that he cites Wilber, who neither knew Pashto nor had studied the history of the language is not befitting of a scholar. I have not met Wilber but have read his articles. They are of a general nature and have a political tone that is not a subject of discussion here.

² Translator's note: In the bibliography of the book Wilber, D.N., 1967 appears as "Language and Society: The Case of Iran," *Behavior Science Notes* 2(1):22-30, 1967. In this article Pata Khazána or Pashto literature have not been discussed. Regarding Pata Khazána, Wilber writes in his book, *Afghanistan* 1962, p. 108-109: "The Puteh Khazaneh, published at Qandahar in 1729, includes Pushtu poems of the eighth and ninth centuries. Amir Kror, called Jahan Pahlavan, a ruler of Ghur in the second half of the eighth century, is said to have composed poems in Pushtu, and in the ninth century Shaykh Reza Ludi wrote poetry and Abul Mahmud Hashem wrote prose, both also in Pushto..." It seems that Dupree has not only made an error in citing Wilber but is raising an issue which the author has not even commented on.

In that the late Najibullah does not allude to Pashto language or its literature does not mean that the language does not have an old literature and history. It is possible that in what he was asked to write, the history of Pashto was not the subject of discussion.

I remember the time when the late Najibullah participated in the meetings which were held to discuss the annotations and translation of the poetry of *Pata Khazana* prior to its publication. He voiced no objections regarding the poetry or the annotations. Sometimes when he would hear the translation of the old Pashto poetry he would get so overwhelmed that tears would roll down his cheeks. It is possible that the editorial policy of the publisher prevented him from writing anything about Pashto literature. Moreover, if in some books, published in Afghanistan, nothing has been mentioned about the history of Pashto this does not have any bearing on the validity of *Pata Khazana*. The late Najibullah was not familiar with Pashto literature so how could he have commented on the extensive literature of the language. Dupree criticizes Shaikh Sàdi, for including the couplet in his book on morality.

If the king says the day is night.

Say here are the moon and the Pleiades.

He accuses him of justifying untruth. If such criticism is valid, it is the opinion of one person and does not lessen the literary value of *Gulistan*.

The skepticism of Dr. Ali Akbar Jàfari

Several articles appear in the 1968 issues of the literary journal, *Sukhan*, regarding Pashto authored by Jàfari. Issue 17(4) of this journal contains a discussion of Pashto literature. It refers to my articles and books and considers *Tazkerat-al-Awlia* of Sulaiman Maku and *Pata Khazana* among the earlier works of Pashto.

In the beginning Jàfari admits that he is not familiar with the subject matter to voice an opinion (*Sukhan* p. 335), but later it appears that he has come under the influence of Professor Morgenstierne's writing in The Encyclopaedia of Islam and quotes his skepticism. Once again no explanation is provided and without giving any examples or analysis he writes: "By looking at some Indian words, whose pronunciation is not older

than a few centuries, it appears they have been unknowingly adopted into their language by Pashtoon conquerors who invaded India". He seems to be baffled by this issue and believes there are three reasons:

1. In Persian, story writers insert their poetry where they feel fit or use the poetry of others to praise heroes such as Rustam, Afrasiab, Alexander, the daughter of the Chinese Kublai Khan, Amir Hamza, etc. It is possible that Pashtoon story writers did the same and in his references Mohammad Hothek came across such poems... To what extent Mohammad Hothek examined the validity of such works we do not know.
2. From old days to the time of Mohammad Hothek these poems have been recited by people to one another and have been converted (made new).
3. The calligraphers have changed the poems according to the style of the time. But despite the new tone which is seen in these poems they also retain their old style (*Sukhan*, p. 337).

These ambiguous statements do not make mention of any Indian words or new words nor is there an example provided of the new style that may have raised his doubts concerning poems with a new tone which also retain their old style.

With regard to Indian words, it is clear that Pashto has similarities with the old Vedic and Sanskrit languages. A large number of old Vedic and Sanskrit words are in use in Pashto today or have been used in the Middle or old Pashto literature. This is because the Aryans went to northern India from this land (Afghanistan) and during their migration took with them elements of their language. Moreover, due to the exchange of goods and the movement of people over the eras a large number of Hindi words have been introduced into Pashto and vice versa. These issues have been discussed in detail in the History of Pashto Literature, (vol, 1 1947, second edition 1976). In old Pashto poetry, or in documents prior to the Mongols {around 600 H. (1204 A.D.)}, I have not come across words, whose pronunciation is not older than just a few centuries, as hypothesized by Jafari. Since he does not provide any example nor have I come across such words in the old literature, therefore I cannot add anything further to this argument.

It would have been fruitful had the critic provided some examples of the issues he has raised. In his first argument Jàafari considers *Pata Khazana* (the biography of Pashto poets) to be similar to prose texts of Persian fables. This is an incorrect comparison because he has mixed the writing of a biography with that of fictitious works. *Pata Khazana* is a biography of poets such as the biographical account of Daulat Shah, *Lubab-al-Albab*, *Majmà-al-Fusaha* and other such works. In a great many instances they refer to lost books, while sometimes they do not reveal their sources, a criticism which can be equally applied to a great number of biographies of eastern languages. Mohammad Hothek provides a reference for the poem of Amir Krorr e.g. *Larghoni Pashtana* of Shaikh Kaṭa, who had taken his material from *Tarekh-e Suri* in Balishtan of Ghor {around 750 H. (1349 A.D.)}. Therefore it is incorrect to compare the contents of *Pata Khazana* with the fictitious works of Persian tales.

The other issue which he has raised is how does he substantiate his claim that some of the poems have 'new elements and yet maintain their 'old form'. In reality the difference between old and new poetry in *Pata Khazana* is distinct, although he sees the two styles to be admixed. Is there a logical possibility for such a blend to have taken place or is the logic of the writer shaky?

Changes brought about by scribes in old texts are real. In the eastern languages no two copies of a text are alike. If we look at the celebrated *Shahnama* of Firdausi, which has been copied several hundred times after the conquests of the Mongols, it is difficult to find two versions that match each other exactly. Unfortunately, we do not have an old hand-written version of *Pata Khazana* nor are the references mentioned therein in our possession to allow us to make a comparison and see how much text has changed with the passage of time.

Prior to the advent of the Mongol era, Pashto poets had maintained the originality of their language and style of writing. Their works contain a large number of words which are pure from the point of view of etymology, but are not used in the language now.

With regard to Indian words, that Jàafari has mentioned, it can be said that these are those ancient common words of the western and eastern Aryan languages between which Pashto serves as a link. The use of such words has been going on for centuries. For example in the encomium of *Skarandoi boodtoon* has been used. This word has a

common root with the *budd* of Hindi. Its usage had started before the advent of Islam in Pashto and cannot be related to the conquests of Sultan Mahmud.

Al Biruni states in *Al Hind* (vol. 1, p. 163) that there are three elements of the mind: intellect, religion and ignorance, the first of which is called *budh* which brings forth a state of rest and peace of mind. This word later found usage in other Aryan languages such as *mobadd* (protector of faith), *sebah jamà budd* (commander) etc.

According to Al Biruni, the name of Buddah is derived from *budd* which has been recorded in the same form in the book *Shapoorgan* of Mani. In Arabic *budd* means an idol. Abu-al-Àla Màri in the book Conversion of the World writes:

<i>wa al qalb min ahwaya àabed</i>	و القلب من اهوائه عابد
<i>ma yàbad alkafer budda</i>	ما يعبد الكافر به
And the heart of the adorer desires	
An idol in the infidel's temple.	

This analysis and the historical use of the word shows that *büdtün* (temple) of Pashto was a compound place noun in use in the Ghurid era (11-12th centuries A.D.). Such a combination cannot be considered a new element in the language. There are several hundred such Hindi, Turkish, Pahlavi and Avestan words that were used in old Pashto literature. They were in use prior to Islam and can not be considered new elements, as Jàfari has stated, but are old words.

At any rate, old works of Pashto which predate the Mongol era should be evaluated with respect to etymology, the evolution of the language, and correspondence to historical events. This can be done by a person who is knowledgeable in these fields and who is able to substantiate the claims with examples. Brief allusions should be avoided so that it may not result in confusion.

Native Skeptics

Another issue which needs to be discussed here is what has been said by some people in Afghanistan, or in some instances what they have written about *Pata Khazana*. These people have voiced their personal opinions about the book, but what they have said is not based on facts. Here I do not want to take the position of a total

defender of the book but would like to scientifically analyze what I have heard. If someone should criticize the work in a scholarly manner in the future, without showing bigotry, he or she should be heard, but if the critique is questionable, then it should be researched and evaluated thoroughly.

One of the writers holds the view that the first poem of Pashto should have strong historical backing and documentation. Without it researchers cannot rely on its authenticity.

It should be mentioned that when studying *Pata Khazana*, or the biographies of poets in other languages, the use of the terms 'first poem' or oldest prose or poetry is not correct. It is not proper to state that a certain poem is the first one. Poetry is not revealed suddenly from heaven but goes through constant transformation and improvement. Compilers of Persian biographies, who have attributed the oldest Persian poem to Bahram Gor, Mohammad bin Waseef Seistani, Abas Marwazi or Abu Hafs bin Ahwas Sughdi have erred in doing so. It should be said that the first known poem recognized in a certain language has been written by such and such poet. Based on *Pata Khazana* we consider the poem of Amir Krorr as the first known poetic work of the Pashto language. As I have mentioned in the annotations of the book, the literature of the language evolved well before the writing of Amir Krorr's poem and during the eighth century A.D. it had reached a highly refined stage. My view regarding this matter is similar to what scholars have said about old Persian texts.

All of what has been written about ancient poetry in biographies of poets cannot be taken for granted because in these books one comes across non-scholarly issues which should be rejected on a scientific basis. Modern research is based on an evaluation of facts based on philology, etymology, poetics and stylistics. Mohammad 's claim regarding the *qasidah* of Marwazi in *Lubab-al-Albab* is untenable, but the book contains a great deal of material which has been accepted as genuine.

All aspects of research on poetry (whether new or old), should conform with the standards of philology and poetics. It is the duty of scholars of poetics to differentiate good from bad and genuine from non-genuine. By collating all the ancient poems of Pashto in order of their antiquity, we can say that the poem of Amir Krorr is the oldest one known to us. It is possible that in the future older works may be discovered.

The writer states: "Mohammad Hothek's view, in the 12th century Hejira regarding the poem of Amir Krorr is not convincing, and when a researcher of the day comes across such an issue it should not convince him". The respected writer should be asked what he means by researchers of the day? If he is referring to reviewers or researches of the history of literature, then such scholars would not out rightly reject the book.

In *Lubab-al-Albab*, Daulat Shah's biography of poets and other such works in Persian and Arabic and other eastern languages there are thousands of poems that have been accepted as genuine by scholars on the basis of a singular citation. The works of Brown, Hamayee, Safa, Sàeed Nafisi, Dr. Shafaq and others are full of such narratives. If such people are not considered scholars then who is a scholar?

Today the divan of Hanzala Badghisi does not exist but according to the *Chahar Maqala* of Nizami Samarkandi (p. 69), this divan was in possession of Ahmad bin Abdullah Khajestani {died 262 H. (876 A.D.)} who used to read it. Only one verse of this ancient Persian poet has been cited in *Lubab-al-Albab* and *Chahar Maqala*, although their style is dubious. Àwfi states that he had seen the Arabic and Persian divan of Abu-al-Fatha (*Lubab*, p. 62). Beside a few couplets we do not have in our hand any other part of the divan of this famous poet from Bost. His complete Arabic divan was published by Ibrahim bin Ali Tarabusi in 1294 H. (1877 A.D.) and Dr. Amir Mahmud Anwar completed the work containing 1350 couplets in Tehran from several handwritten manuscripts (*Maqalat wa Barasiha*, vol. 13-16, p. 345). Many ancient divans have been lost. If we reject the aforementioned arguments, then there will be no material left for present day scholars to work with. In this manner half the works on the history of Persian literature would have to be discarded because the material in works such as *Lubab-al-Albab* has been collected by the writer of the biography. If we do not rely on such works then today's researcher will have very little material to work on because the originals of the old works (including the celebrated *Shahnama*) do not exist today and we only have copies in our possession. If some doubt the authenticity of Mohammad Hothek's work then one could cast doubts on the works of others such as Àwfi, Daulat Shah, Azar and Hedayat. It may be stated that Àwfi and Daulat Shah lived before Mohammad Hothek but Azar was his contemporary and Hedayat lived after him.

He further writes: "The opinion of a writer such as Mohammad Hothek..." It is difficult to understand why he is not convinced by the opinion of Mohammad Hothek? The truth is that the works of Àwfi, Daulat Shah, Azar and Hedayat are also under discussion by scholars. Mohammad Hothek's celebrity in and familiarity with Pashto literature far exceeds that of Àwfi and Hedayat in Persian. He has made far less mistakes in the writing of *Pata Khazana* than has Daulat Shah and Hedayat in their works. The command of language which Àwfi, Daulat Shah, and Nezami Samarkandi had in Persian, Mohammad Hothek has shown in Pashto. By profession, Mohammad Hothek was secretary of the Hothek court in Qandahar. He has shown eloquence in his style of writing and like Arab historians has extensively cited both written works and the narrations he had heard. A number of the works he refers to are present at this time such as the *Makhzan* of Nàmatullah Herawi, the works of Khushal Khan and *Nafà-al-Muslimeen* of Noor Mohammad Ghaljay.

The lost books which Mohammad Hothek saw and has cited cannot be considered dubious. There is no evidence of forgery in the narrations provided by Mohammad Hothek with respect to poetics or the presentation of historical events. They resemble the narrations that Daulat Shah cites from *Munaqebat-al-Shuàra* of Abu Tahir Khatuni. This book is lost but we accept the narrations of Daulat Shah until another source is found which is contrary to Khatuni.

There are other celebrated historical works such as *Tarekh-e Baihaqi* and *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri* which quote narrations from lost texts. For example the *Maqamat* of Abu Nasr Mushkan, secretary of the Ghaznavid court, in ten volumes that does not exist now. What Baihaqi has narrated from this book is considered valid and we trust what Baihaqi has said (although the original version of Baihaqi's book is not available today). The history of Mahmud Warraq, *Musamara-e Khwarazm* and *Maqamat-e Mahmudi* are all lost documents on which Baihaqi relies and provides them as references for his book. Minhaj Seraj also quotes from lost books such as *Takamilat-al-Latayef*, *Tarekh-e Mujdool*, *Ahdas-al-Zaman*, *Muntakhab-e Tarekh-e Nasiri*, *Nasab Nama-e Ghoriyan* and *Tarekh-e Naabi*. We accept Minhaj Seraj's citations from these books even though neither the versions written during the time of Jouzjani and Baihaqi nor any later manuscripts are available.

If these Persian biographies and historical works are accepted there is no reason whatsoever why Mohammad Hothek's biographical account is not acceptable. If it is claimed that Mohammad Hothek was referring to old texts during the 12th century Hijra then the same formula should be applicable to *Ātaskkada* of Azar and *Majmā-al-Fusaha* of Hidayat because they were written during the 12th and 13th centuries Hijra.

Historians do not use such reasoning. Therefore, these books should be treated equally without any doubt or bigotry especially where the writer refers to a certain source or provides a narration and does not add anything himself. Mohammad Hothek follows these rules strictly. With respect to the poem of Amir Krorh he cites *Larghoni Pashtana* of Shaikh Kaṭa Mathizay Ghoryakhel bin Shaikh Yusuf bin Shaikh Mathi {around 750 H. (1349 A.D.)}. Shaikh Kaṭa had copied his material from *Tarekh-e Suri* of Mohammad bin Ali Bosti. This shows that Mohammad Hothek's citation is well-documented. If we accept the citations of Minhaj Seraj and Baihaqi, taken from now lost sources, then there is no reason why Mohammad Hothek's citations should not be acceptable.

We know that the citations provided by Mohammad Hothek from *Makhzan-e Afghani*, the divan of Rahman Baba, the divan of Abdul Qadir Khan and the work of Khushal Khan are correct and valid, therefore, we should not have any doubt in accepting his citations from books that are lost. As stated earlier such citations and narrations are seen in other biographies and we also come across cases where the authors present material they have collected. There are many such volumes in use in the history of literature. Prior to the finding of the complete manuscript of *Lubab-al-Albab*, Hedayat's latest version was accepted in which he had relied on *Arafat-al-Āshuqeen*. When in 1903-1906 *Lubab-al-Albab* was published by Brown, according to the late Saeed Nafisi, Hedayat had taken a great deal of the material of *Lubab* from *Arafat*, but had insinuated he had actually seen *Lubab* himself (refer to the introduction of *Lubab-al-Albab* by Saeed Nafisi, 1947). How is it possible that the material presented in *Lubab-al-Albab*, Daulat Shah and other biographical accounts, is acceptable to scholars, even though they do not cite their references, while Mohammad Hothek's work is not. If the validity of *Pata Khazana* is doubtful then others have the right to look with uncertainty at the works of Awfi, Daulat Shah and their likes. Leaving bigotry aside let

us evaluate the following narration of Daulat Shah: Abu Tahir Khatuni has said that during the era of Azd-al-Daula Dailami, the Shereen palace, which is near Khaneqin, had not been totally destroyed. In the inscription of that palace this couplet, written in old Persian style, was found:

<i>hazh bara ba kaihan anosha bazi</i>	هز برا به کیهان اوشه بدی
<i>jahan badedar tusha bazi</i>	جهان بدیدار توشه بدی
Great monarch you secured endless fortune,	
The world despises your splendor.	

What kind of a verse is this? Is not the *Manaqeb-al-Shuàra* of Khatooni lost. Can we rely only on Daulat Shah's statement? Mohammad Hothek's reference to *Larghoni Pashtana* has similar import. There are many instances in biographical anthologies in which the author is the sole narrator. If such narrations are removed from the literature of Pashto, Persian and other languages, a large number of poets and old writings will have to be forgotten, and the 'present day researcher' will be left empty-handed.

He further writes: "It has not been explicitly stated in history what language was spoken by the people of this era (8th century A.D.) or later and what was their form of writing? Some scattered documents, however, show that different ethnic groups of the country wrote their national and local languages, more or less, in their own form of writing without any foreign influence. During the beginning of the second Islamic century the language of the people of the central and mountainous regions was free from Arabic influence. This was because Arab influence had not taken hold, or was in the early stages of development.

"The antiquity of Pashto and Persian literature can be proved from Vedic and Avestan ballads and the writings of Greek and Arab historians. The question here deals with the national language and its present day form of writing, and the time of its origin. As stated earlier, Arab influence in the central part of the country during the second century was minimal. Even if there was some influence, it was not much so as to greatly influence language, religion, style of writing and dialect. Furthermore, *Tarekh-e Baihaqi*, *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri*, *Futuh-al-Baldan*, *Shahnama-e Tabari* and the works of neutral historians and scholars are documents which allow us to form an opinion.

"These documents and other reliable sources state that Islam's influence had not spread to Ghor until the 4th century Hijira. Based on this, Arabic had not influenced the language or writing of the people of Ghor. If samples of the writing of the language are found they will certainly not be in Arabic. The style of writing can be visualized from the excavated inscriptions. In my opinion the Arabic script, as in the case of Persian, was adopted by Pashto when these regions came under the influence of Moslem administrators.

"If Islam was introduced to Ghor by the Ghaznavids, then how is it possible that the Arabic language found its way into the area two centuries before the Ghaznavids? Is it possible that Arabic had so much influence in the area that Amir Krorh was able to write his poem in Arabic script with such eloquence and leave it to us as a souvenir of his age. If this unexpected influence spread so quickly in Ghor, then their inscriptions should also have been written in Arabic."

The first part of this statement belies historical facts and events. The issue of script has been extensively treated in the writings of Indian, Arab and Greek writers and clarified by inscriptions, coins and Avestan, Pahlavi and Chinese sources. That the Avestan script was used in former Aryana is evident from the book of Avesta itself. The Avestan influence is seen in Balkh, Seistan and the Helmand valley up to Rakhd. Most of Avestan rulers and events pertain to Afghanistan. That a religion and a book are produced in this country and that a religious book is written in a particular script does not mean that the script was popular in this country as history does not show this clearly.

From the hundreds of Greek inscriptions and coins which have been found in Afghanistan and are preserved in the museums of the world, one cannot come to the conclusion that from the time of Alexander's conquests (230 B.C.) until the 8th and 9th centuries Greek script was in use in Afghanistan.

The religious tablets found in Mansehra and Shahbaz Garhay, related to the Mauryan king, Ashoka (273-232 B.C.), were written in Kharoshti and Prakrit scripts. The Daronta tablets have been written in Aramaic, and the Qandahar's old city inscriptions are in Greek and Aramaic scripts. Is it not possible to say that during the second and third centuries B.C. that Greek, Aramic and Kharoshti script were used in Afghanistan

up to the banks of the Indus river by the people? Or is it possible that they wrote religious sermons in some other form of writing other than the script of the people?

The tablets of the early Koshanid period are in the Takhari language written in Greek script. The Uruzgan and Jaghato tablets are similar and date back to the 5th century A.D. Later inscriptions and coins, belonging to the 6th and 7th centuries are in Sarada, Brahman, Greek and Pahlavi scripts. In later years all these scripts were replaced by Kufic and Arabic scripts. Thus the statement by the writer, "local languages, without the influence of other languages, were written, more or less, in a special script...", is incorrect.

The Aramaic script was introduced by the Achamenids, the Greek script by Alexander and Greek rulers, the Pahlavi script came from Fars by means of the Sassanids, and Sarada from Wagri, and Brahmi came from India. Only the Kharoshti script is believed to have originated in the area between the Helmand and Indus rivers. Wilson also considers it as the Aryana script (*Aryana Antiqua*). Therefore, one cannot say that historical documentation is not clear. Are these not historical documents? If the writer considers compiled volumes historical documents, I refer him to the two volumes of History of Afghanistan by Kohzad, my Short History of Afghanistan and the History of Afghanistan after Islam.

It will become clear that the issue of language is similar to that of culture and Afghanistan has been considered at the crossroads of different cultures. Then how is it possible to say that local languages had not come under the influence of other languages? With the coming of the Hephthalites and the Koshanids many Turanian words were introduced into our language. In Pashto, Turkish words such as *olas, jerga, aegh, toura* and hundreds of others, are in common usage and have become an integral part of the language. All the words of the 25 line Surkh Kotal inscription are of ancient Aryan origin, and as mentioned earlier, the deep cultural influence of east and west is seen in it.

The word *mandar*, used in the inscription is originally a Sanskrit word which means a palace, temple, resting place etc. This vividly shows the effect of Indian culture and language. The month of *Neisan* is a Babylonian month, also in use in Syriac and Jewish calendars. In Akhadian the word is written as *neisun*, in Aramaic as *neis* and in Arabic as

neisan. This word has found its way from Babylon to Aryana via the Scythian, Median and Achaemenid civilizations and became established in the civilization of the Koshanid era.

When it is evident that Afghanistan has served as the central hub of different civilizations and cultures then how is it possible to say that our language has remained aloof from the influence of other languages (as the writer of an article has put it)?

The assertion that the effects of Arabic language and culture had not reached Ghor during the 4th century H. is incorrect. Also Islam was not introduced to Ghor by the Ghaznavids during the 4th century H. The historical facts are different. Islam was introduced into the regions of Ghor during the first Islamic century and the influence of Arabic spread at that time.

Minhaj Seraj states that Malik Shansab bin Kharnak, the Ghorid king, embraced Islam through Hazrat Ali, the fourth Caliph in 36 H. (657 A.D.) (*Tabaqathh-e Nasiri*, vol. 1, p. 320), and considers Amir Polad a contemporary of Abu Muslim Marwazi, circa 130 H. (748 A.D.) (vol. 1, p. 324).

The Arabic and Islamic influence did not reach the inner valleys of Ghor until 107 H. (726 A.D.), when the Arab conqueror, Asàd bin Abdullah attacked Gharistan and that region's ruler, Namroon. Later he also attacked the mountain dwellings of Ghor, who hid their possessions in a cave in one of the mountains. Asàd made coffins in which he hid his soldiers. The coffins were sent to the cave. Thus his soldiers were able to take out the possessions (*Tabari*, vol. 5, p. 328). As far as we know from historical documents, people living in the far reaches of the mountainous valleys of Ghor had not pledged allegiance to Islam until 253 H. (867 A.D.) (*Tabaqathh-e Nasiri*, vol. 1, p. 318).

In the circumstances that the rulers of Ghor were traveling to the courts of Hazrat Àli and Haroon al Rashid and Amir Polad participated in the conquests of Abu Muslim, it is clear that Arab civilization and religion had spread to some parts of Ghor. The rulers of Ghor maintained their local power until the time of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Masàud. The possibility exists that in the far reaches of the mountainous regions of Ghor some people did not embrace Islam for a long time. The influence of Arab culture and language on the cities of Ghor is evident. The statement that Islam's influence had not reached Ghor until the 4th century Hejira, and that until the era of Timur, Islam had not

completely penetrated Ghor is incorrect. One has only to look at Tabari and *Tabaqath-e Nasiri* to clarify this matter. The statements of the skeptics do not correspond with historical facts.

How is it possible that the rulers of Ghor, who had access to the Arab courts, participated in Arab conquests, fought in alliance with Abu Muslim's armies, where Arabic poetry was recited and Arabic was the language of the court, were so distant from the cultural setting that they did not know a word of Arabic?

The writer of the article has mixed the issue of script with that of language. He states: "It is far from possible that in 130 H., during the early stages of Islam, a man by the name of Amir Krorh wrote his poem in Arabic script."

It must be mentioned that in *Paṭa Khazana* there is no allusion to the script of the poem. If for the sake of argument let us accept that the rulers of Ghor, despite being involved with Abu Muslim Marwazi, did not know how to write Arabic, the possibility exists that they wrote their language in Greek, Kharoshthi or Pahlavi script. With the spread of the Islamic influence, during the first and second centuries Hijra, in the area they could have adopted the Arabic script. The ancient relics of Persian language such as the hymns of the Karkoy temple, the poem of Bahram Gor, *manam ān sher galah*, and the inscription of the Qasr-e Shireen, were most likely written in Avestan or Pahlavi script. When these poems found their way into Persian works they were transcribed in the Arabic script. Based on this, it is important that the issue of the use of script should not be mixed with that of language.

In the epic poem of Amir Krorh, the names of certain places such as Zaranj, Jurm, Gharj and Hariwa-al-Rud, have been Arabicized without any doubt. In geographical works of the time the names appear in similar fashion. During that time Arabic was the literary language of the court. In the Arabic writings of the people of Khorasan the Arabicized forms have been used. The fact that the rulers of Ghor had affinities with the citizens of Khorasan and the Khorasanian courts, the Arabicization of four Ghurid names in the poem, does not mean that the poem is forged. We see that the Taherid rulers of Poshang of Herat, who were not that far away from Ghor, recited poetry in Arabic only 50 years later.

After the dominance of the Arabs, during the first century Hijra, the names of a large number of cities were Arabicized and the native people also used the Arabicized forms. For example Sagistan became Sajistan, and Zarang became Zaranj. These forms were used in all Persian and Arabic documents. If in the ancient works their original form was written, the scribes converted them to the Arabic form. For example the word *chol*, meaning desert or empty space, is commonly used in Pashto and Persian. In a copy of *Tarekh-e Seistan* its Arabicized form appears as *jol*. Similarly *rakjh* which is an Arabicized form of the *rakhot* in Pahlavi and *rakz* in Persian, has been written in the Arabic form in all books. All these changes took place during the early conquests of the Arabs and the spread of Arab influence. The word *jurm* was also coined by the incoming Arabs. It stems from *garm*, (with reference to a land of hot climate) Arabicized as *jurm*, the plural of which is written as *juroom*. The word, *sard* (cold), has been Arabicized with the use of the letter *swad* instead of the letter *seen*, the plural of which was written as *suood*, referring to cold mountainous areas. These terms came into use during the middle part of the first Islamic century, gained prevalence in Khorasan and found their way into Persian and Pashto literature. It is pertinent to say that the Arabs did not have such usage in their language.

He continues to write: "It is impossible to imagine that the people of Ghor, despite not accepting Islam, adopted the Arabic script?"

The issue of the acceptance of Islam by the people of Ghor was treated earlier, but to say that the people of Ghor had no contacts with Islam at that time is negated by historical facts. According to Ibn Asir (*Asad-al-Ghaba*, vol. 4, p. 239) and Hafiz ibn Hajar Aqalaniani (*Alasaba*, vol. 5, p. 268), Kais (Arabicized as Qais), one of the forefathers of the Pashtoons from the Sulaiman mountain, had met with the Holy Prophet. They refer to *Ketab-al-Kabir* as a source which deals with the classes of the people of Balkh (*Fazayal-e Balkh*, p. 317). It is not possible to disregard such authentic and noteworthy books.

Arabic script reached Afghanistan and Ghor during the first two Islamic centuries and had extended one thousand miles toward the east. The Touchi tablet of Waziristan, preserved in the Peshawar museum, has been inscribed with two scripts, namely Sanskrit and Arabic. The Arabic is written in the Kufic style of calligraphy. This

inscription is dated 243 H. (858 A.D.). It reinforces the statement that a hundred years after the time of Amir Krorr, Arabic script had found its way into the mountains of Waziristan.

Now let us discuss his statement: "Amir Krorr's language is mixed." Beside the four Arabicized names of places, there is not a single word in the epic poem of Amir Krorr that is not pure Pashto. There are certain words with which Pashtoons are not familiar now. These words have been recognized through etymological analysis. Is it possible to call the language of such a poem mixed? If someone thinks it is mixed, then the question arises with what language? Can someone show a single word of another language in this poem? If there are words which have similarities with other languages, it is not with Arabic but with Persian. This is a natural phenomenon because in Ghor both languages were spoken and their linguistic closeness is possible. The language of Amir Krorr's poem is not mixed and this is clear to students of language.

He continues to write: "According to Habibi, if the language of the people of Ghor was Pashto after Islam, then prior to Amir Krorr or after him some documents should have been found in it."

Here it is important to mention that I have not stated that prior to Islam the language of the people of Ghor was Pashto. I have said that the language was so refined during the first century of Islamic era that magnificent epic thoughts could be expressed in it. From this it can be deduced that it was not a new and undeveloped language.

To show that the language of some people of Ghor was Pashto I present a passage from *Tarekh-e Baihaqi*. When Prince Masàud bin Sultan Mahmud attacked the Juros region of Ghor in Jamadi-al-Awal of the year 411 H. (1021 A.D.), Baihaqi writes: A learned messenger was sent there with a Ghori man...so he may act as translator (p. 125). This shows that the language of the Ghori people was something other than Persian as the emissary of Sultan Masàud certainly knew Persian and did not need a translator. So what language did the people of Ghor speak to require a translator. Since the clues of any other language have not been found in Ghor, then the probability is high that the language they spoke was Pashto. With regard to his statement that prior or later documents should have been present, suffice it to say that if we look for documents predating every literary work, then we assume that every written work

should be preceded by a former piece of work. Such an argument is negated by logic and common sense. In *Pata Khazana* itself later works from the courts of Ghor are presented. If the skeptics believe that the prior work of every piece of Pashto literature should have a work prior to it, then the question arises where are such works of Persian and Arabic literature? If we consider a Persian poem as old, then should we ask what was it preceded by or what has happened to the older poem? If we are unable to find such a document then is it logical to reject the work?

He continues to write: "This Amir Krorh is a vague personality because not a single Arab or non-Arab historian has mentioned anything about him. It is far from possible that historians should not mention such a mighty and brave king. According to his own poem, Herat and Jurm were under his sway and he was even known in Rome."

It should be reminded here that the poem in question is a piece of epic poetry. In such poems poets say whatever they like and not all of it is true. In epic poems, the poet uses his utmost imagination to boast and exaggerate and to show a great deal of pride. When a poet says that he is recognized in Rome this does not mean that we should look for his name in Roman history. And if we are unable to find it then that does not mean that the poet did not exist. There is no doubt that Amir Krorr has resorted to poetic exaggeration. It is possible that he was recognized in Herat and Jurm but was certainly not known in Rome given the limited mode of transportation of the time. Poetic exaggeration is common in literature as shown in the following lines:

*A lord, a world conquering king
The kings of all the world are his subjects.
Sometimes you see his signs in India
Sometimes they read his decree in Rome.*

(Jamaluddin Mohammad Nasir, *Lubab*, p. 107)

Truly, the monarch praised in these lines was neither known in India nor did anyone read his decree in Rome. Such exaggerations cannot be accepted as historical facts. When the Arab poet of the court of Yàqoub Lais Safari wrote a *qasidah* as an epic poem he sent it to the caliph of Baghdad. Let us evaluate four lines of the poem to check its historical validity:

*Ana ibn al-akaram min nasl jam
 wa haiz ars mulook al-àjm
 maà àlam al-kabian al-lazi
 ba artaji an aswad al-lamam*

I am son of the worthy, from the Jam race
 Inheritor from the Alajam sovereigns.
 Holder of the Al Kabian banner
 With which I will become master of nations.

انا ابن الاكارم من نسل جم
 و حائز ارث ملوك العجم
 مع علم الكابيان الذي
 به ارجى ان اسود الامم

Was Yàqoub in reality of Jam lineage and did he possess the flag of Kawayans? The fact is that, during the Sassanid period, this flag fell into the hands of Arab conquerors in the battle of Qadisia, 14 H. (636 A.D.), and was distributed as booty. Four centuries after Amir Krorr, Sultan Àlauddin Hussain, recited these lines after destroying Ghazni:

*The world knows I am the Sultan of the world,
 The light of the Abbasid dynasty.
 When I sit on the royal throne,
 The world and sky are one and alike.
 Like Alexander, I will conquer the whole world,
 And appoint a ruler in every city. (Tabakath-e Nasiri)*

Are all these lines realistic and was he the emperor of the world? Was it possible for him to conquer the world like Alexander? We know that later he was captured by Khwarazm Shah. When Yàqoob Lais claims he is a descendent of Jam and when Hussain boasts to be the sultan of the world, we know that they are using poetic hyperbole. The boasting of Amir Krorr, who was a local king, is in the same token, and he could not have been an international celebrity at the time. The skeptic continues to write: "Tabaqathh-e Nasiri only speaks about Amir Polad (whom Mohammad Hotheq citing, Shaikh Kata, introduces as the father of Amir Krorr) and does not mention Amir Krorr. Moreover, in Tabaqathh-e Nasiri, it has been written that after the death of Amir Polad, the throne was ascended by his nephews. Pata Khazana writes that after Amir Polad, Amir Krorr became the king. These statements are contradictory."

The silence of Minhaj Seraj regarding Amir Krorr does not negate his existence because historical narratives are taken from different sources. Every historian discusses

a particular subject according to his sources of reference and what he hears about the topic. It is possible that what is written in one book is stated in another or that the other source may not contain the same information. Minhaj Seraj himself admits that at the time when he was writing *Tabaqath* he was away from his country in Delhi and did not have access to the sources he had left behind in Ghor. The information provided in *Tabaqath* and by Mohammad Hothek are complementary. *Tabaqath* discusses issues that we do not find in other books. While certain authors may have not treated an issue this does not mean that the information provided should not be considered correct. With regard to historical events the two books do not contradict each other. There were several rulers in different parts of Ghor governing simultaneously. It is possible that Amir Krorr ruled a certain region at the same time when Amir Folad's nephews were kings in other regions. *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri* clearly states that the members of this family were kings in Mandesh, Khaisar, Bamiyan, Takhar, Gailan and Kajran.

He continues to state: "It must be remembered that the science of Arabic prosody (*urood*) was founded at the beginning of the second century Hejira. The poem of Amir Krorh, though having nationalistic and local flavor conforms to the rules of Arabic prosody. How is it possible for someone in a far off land, away from Arab influence, to write poetry in accordance with the rules of Arabic prosody, when those rules were compiled only a few years earlier? Except that we consider such closeness to Arabic meter purely on the basis of chance."

This statement completely contradicts scientific thinking. Meter has a long history in Arabic verse and existed during the era of *jahiliyat* (ignorance) well before the time of Khalil bin Ahmad (circa 175 H.). Khalil compiled and classified meter in Arabic; he did not invent it. In Arabic literature we come across numerous poems which were written well before the time of Khalil but conform to Khalil's rules of prosody. These *qasidahs* were written before Khalil and even before the advent of Islam. Even if we assume that Amir Krorr's poem is based on Arabic meter, it is not correct to say that it is an occurrence by pure chance. In fact Amir Krorr's poem does not conform to Khalil's prosodic system whatsoever.

Personally, I am not aware of any such meter in Khalil bin Ahmad's rules of prosody where the first and second hemistich are four times the length of the third and fourth

ones. If the respected skeptic is able to show such a pattern in the rules of Arabic metric prosody, it will be to good purpose. It is true that some Pashto poetry has been written with Arabic metric prosody in mind but this does not apply to compiled or non compiled Pashto poetry. Every Pashto poem cannot be made to fit the rules of Arabic prosody. Meter in Pashto poetry differs from meter in Arabic and this can be recognized on the basis of the use of accent, sound and other Aryan metric characteristics.

He states: "It should be remembered that prose was written before poetry. When we come across a poem written in such an eloquent style in 130 H. (748 A.D.) then there should be ample evidence of other works of prose and poetry in the language. At this juncture we will wait for such works to appear."

It is true that prose may have been written before poetry, but incidentally, the ancient documents of some languages of the world are in verse only. Examples are the Veda, Avesta, Eliad and others. On the other hand if we are unable to find works of prose this does not mean that the discovered verse is not acceptable. With this logic Persian poetic works of the first, second and third century Hejira should be discarded, because we have not found any work in prose belonging to this period.

We do not understand what is meant by 'pure poetry'? If the skeptics are able to show one foreign word in the poem of Amir Krorh then we would admit that the poem is not pure. By comparing this poem with ancient pieces of Persian poetry, recorded in *Tarekh-e Seistan*, we can tell which one is pure. In a verse from Mohammad bin Waseyf five out of ten words are Arabic. He wrote this poem in 296 H. (909 A.D.). Another couplet written 60 years after the era of Amir Krorh and cited in *Lubab* (p. 20) contains seven Arabic words from a total of 11. The skeptics do not have to wait for other pure Pashto poems to appear. They have at their disposal *Pata Khazana* which contains several pure Pashto poems. Such waiting applies to other languages.

After their sickening tirades (which are not based on scientific facts), these honorable writers come forward with their real motive and reveal their skepticism regarding *Pata Khazana* in the following words: "With the encouragement of the ruler of the time, Mohammad Hothek decided to include in his book such an unknown poem by an unknown person from unknown sources. The references mentioned in *Pata Khazana*

have not been found anywhere, therefore Mohammad Hothek's statements cannot be believed in their entirety."

From the above it is clear that these skeptics consider the poems to have been forged by Mohammad Hothek with the encouragement of Shah Hussain. In answer to this we shall state that it is possible for one person to forge poetry related to one era and one style of writing. In *Pata Khazana*, however, we come across different styles of poetry written in different periods. Is it possible that Mohammad Hothek forged all of the poems? Is it possible for one person to write poetry of different intellectual trends, philosophies and tastes with varying dialects? Is it possible to write the epic poem of Amir Krorr with its special meter and use of words, and then be able to fabricate poems in the style of the poets of Ghaznavid courts such as Shaikh Asàd and Skarandoi? Furthermore is it possible for one person to fabricate tens of poems in tens of different styles and meters in tens of different dialects? And, at the same time be so well familiar with historical events that not a single poem shows any variance with historical events. If this is not conjecturing on absurdity then Hothek certainly was a genius.

If we look at biographical anthologies with such skepticism and disapproval then *Lubab* and other old works fall in the same category. If someone says that the poems presented in *Lubab* and other works are forgeries because these books have not provided references, or if the references cited are lost, and that Awfi and others have forged them for unknown reasons; would it not be appropriate to call such a person malevolent and a bigot. We do not have doubts and reservations with respect to Persian and Arabic books and narrations. Is it not unjust to expound such reservations and skepticism when it comes to Mohammad Hothek?

Let us assume, for arguments sake, that Mohammad Hothek (as he has been accused) forged the ancient poem in the name of Amir Krorh for the satisfaction of the king. Why did he not forge it in the name of Amir Polad or his father Amir Kharnak, who were known personalities, and their exploits recorded in *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri*. In this case no one could have accused him or cast doubt on the historical events. Mohammad Hothek did not indulge in such fabrication because he had access to an old document. He refers to it on an accepted and scientific basis and cited what he saw in that book. Mohammad Hothek understood the responsibility of a writer or compiler of a

biographical anthology to narrate what he saw or heard and to cite his references. If we continue to doubt biographical anthologies in this manner, then these words will ring true:

Na tho mani, na owe, nae fakr razi نه تو مانی نه او، نی فخر رازی

Neither you will be left, nor him, or Fakhr Razi.

Here, I must add that the original calligraphed manuscript of *Pata Khazana* is preserved in the Calligraphy Library of the Ministry of Information and Culture and available for public viewing. In 1976 it was photographed and published.

Translator's note: *Il Tesoro Nascosto Degli Afghani*, Lucia S. Loi, Bologna, il Cavaliere azzurro, 1987 is a study of *Pata Khazana*. According to her reviewer C.J. Brunner, she provides a lexicographic analysis of 216 words which were listed as rare words by A. H. Habibi in the 1944 edition of the book. The words are analyzed and most are shown to be usages represented in 19th and 20th century Pashto dictionaries. Some problems of interpretation are resolved by using Platt's dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English. Brunner, in his review notes: "Habibi's mystifications, deliberate or not, are removed and with them the only prop of Hothek's dating and of the 1729 dating of *Pata Khazana*."

The list provided by Habibi has no 'mystifications', unless one is looking at it with a biased perspective. It is clear to Pashto speakers that some of the words are not in use in the language anymore. Over the years the Pashto Academy of Afghanistan and Pashto writers have started to reintroduce the words into the language as suggested by Habibi in his annotations. The commentary and annotations of the book clarify the issue of usage of such words. Pashto has common bonds with Indo-Iranian languages and the roots of a large number of old Pashto words can be traced in eastern languages which are out of use such as Sanskrit, Avesta, and Pahlavi and ones that are in use at the present time i.e. Hindi and Persian. The fact that certain words which appear in *Pata Khazana*, are not in use today, but are found in 19th and 20th century dictionaries does not prove that they are not rare or that the work is a pastiche of authentic old poetry in a fictional framework. To understand and analyze the subject, a thorough examination of the origin of the words, their etymology, structural relationships, Pashto poetics and the cultural and social setting of the Pashtoons at the time needs to be undertaken. This examination should provide a definitive critical study of the book based on philological considerations of linguistics and historical facts. To appreciate and understand the depth of *Pata Khazana* one has to have the ability to engage into another culture.

*In the name of God, the Compassionate,
the Merciful*

Praise be to God who elevated man with the power of speech and thus differentiated him from other animals and revealed to him the holy Koran. This infallible word of God is most esteemed among all other written works. Praise be to God, there is none more exalted than Him. He is the Lord who has bestowed man with the power of speech.

Blessed be the Prophet (Peace be upon Him) who showed us the right and virtuous path.

Verse

*The leader of universe, may I be devoted to him
Most exalted in the universe, I am devoted to him.*

May God's blessing be on his children and companions, illuminating in the sky like stars. Were it not for them we would not have found the right and truthful path and would have perished in ignorance.

Verse

*The Prophets are like stars in the sky
Illuminating the earth where we stand
They have enlightened our dark lives
May their soul find peace in the promised land.*

In particular may the blessing of God be on Prophet Mohammad and his four companions, children and grand children.

Let it be known that speech is a special gift of mankind. It is something that God has only bestowed on man. In every era the Almighty God has created eloquent poets and

orators who have been considered the disciples of the Lord. They have written heart-rendering verse through the ages.

I am Mohammad Hothek, a Pashtoon, who lives in Qandahar. It has been for a long time that I have been interested in poetry and have spent a great deal of my free time devoted to its reading. It has been a long time since I have wanted to complete a biography of Pashto poets but have been unable to do so due to the prevailing circumstances. This is because Qandahar has been under the heel of tyranny. Sometimes the Mongols raided it and at other times it was oppressed by Gurgin.

Now that the clement God has released us from cruelty we have managed to breath the air of freedom. The oppressors have been driven away from Qandahar by Haji Mir Khan, God's mercy be on him, and the Pashtoons have been freed from their cruelty. With my worries abated I have decided to complete this work. When His Majesty Shah Hussain Hothek, light of Pashtoonkhwa, leader of Moslems, the vanquisher of the infidels and the preserver of the faith, learned of my intentions he summoned me to his court and encouraged me to fulfill this task.

Verse

*Shah Hussain Hothek the Pashtoon king
Who is the greatest emperor of them all,
He is the brave and nimble son of Haji Mir*
God let not this star among us fall.*

Our king, Shah Hussain, venerated by the Shalemkhel, may God prolong his reign, is a good orator and a lover of poetry. He summoned me to his court, encouraged me and showed kindness so I may fulfill my desire to write a biography of Pashto poets. Thus I strived to finish the book with urgency and to complete a biography of Pashtoon poets.

* Haji Mirwais Khan, the national leader who liberated Qandahar in 1707, was also known as Haji Mir and Haji Mir Khan.

The Hidden Treasure

Let it be known that I have been gathering information on Pashtoon poets for the past 30 years. While traveling in Pashtoonkhwa I heard interesting stories about these poets and am now able to write about them at the request of our king, shadow of God. The name of this book is *Paṭa Khazana* (The Hidden Treasure). I selected this title because a great deal of the information presented here has been hidden and remained obscure over the years. May all Moslems be pardoned by the Almighty and may our king live long. I started writing this book on Friday, the 16 of Jamadi-al-Thani 1141 Hijera (1728 A.D.).

This book contains three treasures:

The First Treasure: The work of past poets.

The Second Treasure: The work of contemporary poets who are alive.

The Third Treasure: The work of Pashto poetesses whose poetry is known to us.

The First Treasure

Poets of the past whose work is known to us

BABA^{*} HOTHEK

Eminent shaikh, pivot of the sagacious and one who has reached God, God's mercy be on him

He was a famous saint whose miracles are well known. It is said that his father Baro, God's mercy be on him, was the son of Tular who was the son of Baba Ghaljay, God's mercy be on him, a chief of the Pashtoons at his time. Hothek was born in the year 661 H. (1263 A.D.) in Atghar.¹ When he became a man, he devoted his life to prayers. He was the chief of his tribe at Atghar and Syoray.²

It has been narrated: At that time the Mongols raided the banks of the Arghandab river several times and ravaged Atghar, Awlan³ and Kalat. Baba Hothek gathered his tribesmen to fight the marauding Mongols near Sur Ghar⁴ (Sur mountain). In this battle the Mongols were defeated and the Pashtoon warriors killed a great number of them. My father, Daud Khan, narrated to me that: So much Mongol blood was spilled on Sur Mountain that it glowed under the sun. The Pashtoons were few and weak and when a number of them were killed, Baba Hothek sang this sonnet loudly and pierced the oncoming Mongol soldiers with his arrows. When the Pashtoons heard his song they fought with vigor covering Sur Ghar⁴ with the blood of the Mongols, who were all killed. I have taken down this song from my father, may God's compassion be upon him.

^{*} Title of respect for an elderly man

Verses

*The Sur mountain is on fire
O, People let not disgrace be your desire.
The Mongols have taken our home and village
Ghazni and Kabul are under their pillage.*

*Brave men rise, this is your chance,
The Mongols are trying to quickly advance,
Pillaging Pashtoonkhwa⁵ with many a lance.
The Mongols have taken our home and village.*

*Brave warriors of Margha come fight
For the cause of Pashtoonkhwa outright,
With sharpened swords and arrows until light.
The Mongols have taken our home and village.*

*Young men cast arrows in the battlefield,
With swift blows of the sword make them yield,
Use your breasts as a shield.
The Mongols have taken our home and village.*

*The blood of young warriors is aflow,
The earth and mountains are aglow,
See them running, the frightened foe.⁶
The Mongols have taken our home and village.*

*There is a battle on the mountain, O Pashtoons hurry,
Sur Ghar with Mongol blood is covered, scurry
Strike boldly, kill the foe without worry.
The Mongols have taken our home and village.*

*Young men, in honor do not hesitate to die,
Make the foes with your arrows lie,
Protect Pashtoonkhwa's land and honor high.
The Mongols have taken our home and village.*

It is said that Baba Hothek fought many battles with the Mongols and drove them beyond Arghandab. The Pashtoon warriors from Margha⁷ and Atghar always attacked them and drove them into the mountains. Baba Hothek died at the age of 79 in 740 H. (1339 A.D.).

SHAIKH MALIKYAR

Discoverer of mysteries

He was the eldest son of Baba Hothek and after his father's death became chief of the tribe. It is said that Malikyar was a brave and strong warrior and was capable of challenging ten men at a time. At the time of Baba Hothek's death Malikyar was 25 years of age. He gathered a large number of his relatives near Syoray, dug underground canals and engaged his people in agriculture. When the Mongols became aware of this they attacked Syoray. Malikyar fought several battles with the Mongols as a result of which a large number of Pashtoon homes were destroyed. The Pashtoons left for Margha, Zhobe and Waza Khwa.⁸ There they regrouped and returned back to Syoray to attack the Mongols and liberate their homeland.

It is said that in 749 H. (1348 A.D.) the Tarnak river was overflowing its banks during the spring rains and for a period of one month no one was able to ford it. When Malikyar Baba came to the bank of the river he recited this song:

Malikyar Baba's song

*The Tarnak is flowing, full to its brim, and as it flows
My heart yearns for its beloved, its pretty rose.
O river, O river Tarnak, may God dry your deepest vein,
So I may attain love's solace without such tormenting pain.
Like a torrent, a deluge of separation entwined
You bring forth tears in sadness confined.
A fire that burns within my heart and my restless blood,
I wish may erupt and dry this tormenting flood.
Pay heed to my call, O bright moon, shining above,
See how the Tarnak has estranged my ladylove.
The murky water has separated Malikyar from the embrace
Of his beloved sweetheart, bring forth her enchanting grace.*

It is said that after reciting this poem a log came floating on the water and got stuck among the reeds on two sides of the river, creating a bridge. Malikyar crossed the river over the log and thus was able to attain his wish.

It is said that one day Malikyar was visiting his uncle Toukhay and saw his cousin Noor Baba⁹, sharpening arrows. Malikyar asked him: "Cousin, what are you doing." The cousin replied: "I will be your follower and helper in battles with the Mongols." Malikyar prayed for his success in his battle against the enemy. It is said that Nour Baba⁹ always fought valiantly and no one remembers his defeat in any battle.

It is said that one day the Mongols attacked Syoray and there were no men in Malikyar's fortress. When Noor Baba heard of the attack, he immediately arrived at the fortress and fought the Mongols single handily. He drove them away from the fortress and killed a number of them. It is believed that Noor's bravery was due to the grace of Malikyar's prayer.

SHAIKH KHRASBOON SARRBANAY

Accepted by the divine, eternal helper,
God's mercy be on him

He was the grandson of Abdul Rashid Pashtoon Baba and lived in Kesay¹⁰ mountain. The Almighty God had bestowed him with miraculous deeds and he spent his time in prayers. It is said that while his father was still alive he left Kesay and went to Ghwarha Margha.¹¹ Sometimes he would visit Ghundan¹² mountain where he worshipped God. Once a year he visited his sage uncle Baitanay. After the death of Baitanay he visited his shrine on a regular basis.

Khrasboon Baba grew up with Shaikh Ismail, who had been adopted by Baitnay Nika. When Khrasboon was leaving Kesay for Ghundan, Ismail was deeply moved by his departure and wept a great deal.

It is said that one day Khrasboon and Ismail were sitting in the presence of Sarrban and Baitnay Nika in their house in Kesay. Khrasboon was asked by his father and uncle to embark on his journey. Upon hearing that Khrasboon was to leave Ismail Baba recited this *nâra** aloud:

Nâra

*The time of separation has come not knowing,
From Kesay mountain Khrasboon is agoing.
O brother Khrasboon as you leave tomorrow,
Behold my weary heart's sorrow.
As you depart for Margha, that barren land
What means such parting, I do not understand?
For God's sake, Khrasboon, my friend
Don't forget your kin to the very end.
My heart is aflutter, as I see you depart,
Your separation like a fire, burns my heart.*

* A kind of Pas'hto poetry which is recited in stories in a loud voice.

It is said that Khrašboon Baba relived as such.

Khrasboon's quatrains:

*In my home I hear separation's sound,
What befalls us in future, I cannot resound;
With red eyes I leave my brethren behind,
Tears flow from my eyes, to travel I am bound.*

*O Ismail, your lamentation has afflicted my heart,
As fate forces Khrasboon from you apart.
Forget you I will not, till eternity,
Though sorrow's blade pierce my heart as I depart.*

*Going am I, a long journey have I ahead,
The wayfarer's provisions I carry including bread,
But I will recall Ismail's memories forever
Though the world may shatter, as on my path I tread.*

It has been narrated that Khrašboon left and resided in Margha where he died in 411 H. (1020 A.D.). His children (Kand and Zamand)¹³ stayed in Ghwarra Margha. The children of Kasay¹⁴ returned to Kesay and Psheen.¹⁵ The children of Kand and Zamand dispersed and brought Nangarhar, Khybar and Peshawar under their control.

SHAIKH MATHI GHORYAKHEL SARHBANAY

One who has reached God, repository of divine glory, God's mercy be on him

Shaikh Mathi was the son of Abas, who was the son of Omar, who was the son of Khalil, who was the son of Ghorya, who was the son of Kand, who was the son of Khrašboon, who was a son of Hazrat Sarhbani. My father told me that Khrašboon died

in Margha and his children were scattered in Arghasan,¹⁶ Margha and Psheen. Some of them went to Zhobe¹⁷ and the mountain of Kozhak.¹⁸ Imran and Hasan, the brothers of Shaikh Mathi lived on the mountain named the Khwaja Imran Ghar. Bebe Khala, their sister, lived in Psheen where she is buried. Another brother of Mathi is buried in Garmam.

It has been narrated that Shaikh Mathi,¹⁹ may he be blessed, was born in the year 623 H. (1226 A.D.) and died at the age of 65 near the Tarnak river. His shrine is on the hill of Kalat. It is said that there was no water on the hill. The Pashtoon pilgrims who visited his shrine took water with them from the Tranak river. One day as Shaikh Mohammad Zahr,²⁰ the eldest son of Mathi, was sitting in the shrine saw water rush forth near Shaikh Mathi's grave that later turned into a spring and flows until this day. They say that Shaikh Mathi was an ascetic and a devout worshipper and a lover of God. His children²¹ settled in Peshawar and Badanay and a number of them were scholars. Shaikh Zahr narrates from Shaikh Imran that Shaikh Mathi was a distinguished scholar and religious leader. In Ghundan he wrote a book called *Dé Khuday Mīnā* (Love of God) which includes his heart rendering poetry. I had heard this poem from my father and record it here:

Poem

*Among the high mountains and the desert's blight,
At early dawn or in the middle of the night.
From the groan of reeds and the songbirds in flight,
Or the lamentation of the bereaved forthright.
There is a soothing sound from up above
A reflection of your²² kindness and love.*

*If the flower is abloom
Or is smiling in its plume,
If Tarnak is muddy in the flume
It is due to your wisdom, I presume.
All this beauty do you bestow*

The Hidden Treasure

On the rich and the poor equally though.

As the sun shines dazzling in space,

As the moon enchant^s the night in its golden embrace,

As the lofty mountain stands in delightful grace,

Mirrored in tranquility is the river's face.

All this is a part of your elegance ²³

A small sample of your prudence.

As the mighty mountains turn green

Enchanting life in their delightful sheen,

Fluttering butterflies here and there and in between

Bewilder the eyes in this beauteous scene.

O God Almighty, you are above all,

Giving beauty to creatures big and small.

O Savior, graceful is your style,

Manifested in nature's serene profile

Through the ages file by file

A small fragment of your prowess erstwhile.

It is a radiance of your grace

A show of charm in the right place.

For your love my heart yearns with desire,

With your love it is afire,

Your love does it aspire

Without it, it will expire.

Seeing such beauty makes it elated

Without it, to death it will be fated.

*See the mountains are full of love's sound,
With your charm they are abound
Big, small, jagged or round
Your grace they all have found.
I attest that from the day of my birth
I have witnessed your charm on earth.*

*There was no sky ²⁴ nor earth, but an abyss dark,
Where darkness prevailed, in nonentity there wasn't a spark,
Neither Satan nor Adam on their mission did embark,
But only your beauty left its mark.
As it came forth, it brightened lands untold
And took mankind in its embracing hold.*

*When in this world appear did I
A pretty face I did espy.
Lovelorn with your grace, lonely will I die.
As with my brethren I have broken my tie.
I cry, for separation is not bland
I am a wayfarer, another is my land.*

*O people why is Mathi crying?
His call is heard in lands outlying.
What does he want? What is he implying?
He wants to go home before dying.
As a bulbul separated from the flower
Misses the fragrance of the garden every hour.*

It has been said that his book *Dê Khuday Mîna* was kept at his shrine. Visitors read it and wept. When the Mongols invaded the land they took it away and since then its whereabouts are unknown.

AMIR KRORR JAHAN PAHLAVAN SON OF AMIR POLAD SURI GHORI

Shaikh Kata Mathizay Ghoryakhel, who had reached celestial heights, in his book *Larghoni Pashtana* (Past Pashtoons) cites from *Tarekh-e Suri* (History of Suri), which he had come upon in Balishtan²⁵ that: Amir Krorh was the son of Amir Polad ²⁶ who became the governor of Mandesh²⁷ in Ghor where he was known as Jahan Pahlavan. He is said to have conquered the fortresses of Ghor, Balishtan, Kheisar²⁸ Tamran²⁹ and Barkoshak³⁰ and assisted the Caliphate.

Amir Krorr was a valiant fighter and challenged several people at a time. It is for this reason that he was known as Krorr, meaning hard and strong. During the summer he stayed in Zamindawar where he had a palace resembling his citadel in Mandesh. In Zamindawar he spent his time hunting and in leisure. It has been stated in *Tarekh-e Suri*³¹ that these chieftains reigned over Ghor, Balishtan and Bost for several centuries. They are the descendants of Sur whose lineage goes back to the Sahak. Amir Polad heeded the call of Abu-al-Abas Safah against the Bani Umia. Mohammad Ibn Ali Albasti in *Tarekh-e Suri* writes that in the call to war by the Abbasids Amir Krorr scored many victories. Therefore, he wrote this poem known as *wyârháná*³² (glorification). Shaikh Kata, God's mercy be on him, has recorded this poem from *Tarekh-e Suri*.

Boasting of Amir Krorh Jahan Pahlavan

*I am a lion, in this world there is none more powerful,
In India, Sind, Takhar or Kabul,
Nor is there any in the plains of Zabul.
There is none mightier than me.*

*The arrows of my strong will, like lightning fall
On the fleeing enemy I boldly recall:
Defeated in battle they have been all.
There is none mightier than me.*

The Hidden Treasure

*The skies above, round my victories revolve
Under the thunder of my horse's hooves mountains dissolve,
Conquer will I countless lands as battles evolve.
There is none mightier than me.*

*Under the lightening of my sword Jurm and Herat lie
Gharj, Bamiyan and Takhar recant my battle cry;
My name is known under the Roman sky,
There is none mightier than me.*

*My arrows fall on Merv, the enemy fears me
On the banks of Haryaw-al-Rud infantrymen quickly flee;
Brave warriors tremble when me they see.
There is none mightier than me.*

*Conquer did I Zaranj and respect to my sword accord,
And the house of Sur the honor of kingship award
But my kin I do reward.
There is none mightier than me.*

*To my subjects I show grace and remain kind
To their happiness and welfare I am not blind,
For their prosperity, time I find.
There is none mightier than me.*

*In the mighty mountains, respected is my command,
The world is mine, my name is famous through the land
For days, nights, months and years; understand
There is none mightier than me.*

Shaikh Kaṭa relates from *Tarekh-e Suri* that Amir Krorr was a just man, who was a good speaker and often wrote poetry. He died in 154 H. (771 A.D.) in the battle of Poshanj.⁴⁶ After his death his son, Amir Naser, took control of the territories of Ghor, Sur, Bost and Zamindawar.

SHAIKH ASÀD SURI

God's mercy be on him

Shaikh Kaṭa in *Larghoni Pashtána* citing *Tarekh-e Suri* writes that Asàd Suri lived in Ghor and was well-known in the court of the Suris. Shaikh Asàd was the son of Mohammad who died in Baghnein⁴⁷ in 425 H. (1034 A.D.) Shaikh Asàd, God's mercy be on him, wrote good poetry. It is said that Sultan Mahmud Ghazi engaged Amir Mohammad Suri,⁴⁸ God's mercy be on him, in Ghor and was successful in surrounding him in Ahangaran.⁴⁹ At this time Shaikh Asàd was also in the fortress of Ahangaran. When Sultan Mahmud, God's mercy be on him, captured Amir Mohammad Suri he took him to Ghazni. But Amir Mohammad Suri, who was an extremely brave, just and firm ruler, died due to the opprobrium of imprisonment. Shaikh Asàd who was a friend of Amir Mohammad Suri was deeply moved by his death and wrote this elegy.

Ode

*What can I complain about heaven's power
That wilts the smiling spring flower,
Every tulip that blooms in the desert plain
Is stripped of its petals and left to wane.
Many a cheeks has his slap blue turned,
And countless piteous heads under the soil spurned.
Kings lose their crown and lie dead,*

*And the blood of the weak is shed.
Afraid is the lion from his might,
Every oppressor fears his fearsome sight.
His arrows pierce the warrior's shield
Brave men run⁵⁰ from him in fear and yield.
See the powerful deprived of their strength,
Oh, how the heavens prevail at length;
See the mighty subdued with one blow
Deprived of their armor and glow.
O heaven the cloak of cruelty you have worn
That not a flower stalk is without a thorn.
On the afflicted mercy you do not show,
And grief on the bereaved you sow.
From your cruelty my heart is afflicted,
Many lovers, from love's nest you have evicted,
From your transgression the clouds cry
Your inauspiciousness make springs go dry.
Your limitless cruelty has no end,
And the poor you do not befriend.
To no one you are kind
A cruel course you always find;
Nor true lovers do you entwine
But the cruel you enshrine.
See the injured cry in pain
And the afflicted call in vain.
Many a hearts you have seen stop beating,
And you deceive the witty while they are cheating.
The pampered you kill with a lightening flash,
And rip holy garments of the saints in a dash.
Great kings do you dethrone,
And from your vengeance the lords groan.*

*Your arrows have pierced our hearts again,
And thousands have been injured in vain.
Affliction on the people of Sur befell,
When Mohammad, our king, elsewhere did dwell.
First he was imprisoned by the foe
And then put on death's row.
With his fortitude Ahangaran lived in peace,
And his justice was known as far as Greece.
When a captive of Mahmud's army he became
And sent expeditiously to Ghazna to defame.
As imprisonment to the brave is like death,
To heaven did transpire his breath.
As dark soil obliterated his shrine,
He resembled a lion with chains around its spine.
From grievance the Ghorids wore garments black
Darkness befell in every cirque and crack.
See the mountains are all crying,
In bereavement the waterfalls are drying,
The verdant greenery of the mountains is gone
Nor do the partridges sing among the herds of mouflon.
See the tulips blossom no more in the valleys
Nor does the bami⁵¹ smile in the alleys.
From Gharj⁵² come not the caravans of musk,
Nor do the caravans of Shar⁵³ reach Ghor at dusk.
With warm tears the spring clouds unfurls
And April may not rain down its pearls.
Because Mohammad, the cloak of death has donned
And all Ghor is grieving in his memory fond.
In Sur's surroundings dark is the skyline
And on these lands, the sun does not shine,
Where young maidens laughed and danced,*

*Where virgins tiptoed and pranced.
Silent is Ghor, bereaved of their king
Like hell, burns there every thing.
O heaven, curse on you for taking Mohammad away
And not letting this lion, among us stay,
O stone hearted heavens, why are you still intact,
O mountains of Ghor, why don't you contract,
O earth why with trembling do not you crumble
Turn upside down so that these words are lost in the rumble.
A chivalrous lion among us is dead,
All Suris are in agony, and tears they shed.
Mohammad, on Ghor you illuminated light,
Your justice was inviolate and right;
A brave warrior you were and so you did die,
Upholding dignity, you did not lie.
With your departure the Suri are sad today
Remember will they, your name with pride and say:
O king, may heaven be your resting place
And forever be with you God's grace.*

SKARANDOI

God's mercy be on him

Let this be known he was from Ghor: In his book, *Larghoni Pashtana*, Shaikh Kaṭa Mathizay, God's mercy be on him, citing *Tarekh-e Suri* writes that Skarandoi was a native of Ghor and sometimes lived in Bost and Ghazni. His father's name was Ahmad, who was the commissioner of Feroz Koh⁵⁴ in Ghor. Skarandoi was a courtier of Sultan Mohammad Saam Shansabani,⁵⁵ *shahab-al-dunya wa din* (star of the world and

religion), where he was well respected. When the Sultan attacked India Škarandoi accompanied his troops. It is said that Škarandoi wrote poetry, known as *bolēla*,⁵⁶ eulogizing Sultan Mohammad Saam and Sultan Ghiasuddin Ghori. Mohammad Ibn Ali says that he saw a thick volume of his odes in Bost. This encomium in praise of Mohammad Saam is taken from that book.

Encomium

*Spring with flowers has bedecked the land
Red tulips are scattered on the mountains grand,
The hills and slopes with green pastures are adorned
And emerald mantles have the mountains downed.
The hand of the April enchantress deserves a kiss
Adorning the gardens with her pearls with bliss,
See how the tulip at the poppy smiles,
In verdant gardens young men and maidens dance in files.
Like a bride with red gems on the forehead
The wild tulip is adorned with jewels red.
Blessings bring the spring clouds when it rains,
Returning greenery to the desolate plains.
The white flowers in green fields are scattered
Like shining stars in the sky spattered.
The resplendent snow melts and flows
Like tears: a forlorn lover knows.
The clear streams are aflow
Splashing water against rocks in a majestic show.
Everywhere fragrant flowers thrive
As if caravans of musk from Tartary arrive
Messiah's breath brought back the dead from death
The spring like Messiah acts with his breath
From the dead earth, beautiful flowers emerge*

*Dry plains and mountains toward paradisal verdure surge.
You think that sweet music the musician makes
When at dawn the nightingale with song to the garden takes.
In the garden when the songbirds sing
As if poets verses forth do bring.^{57, 58}
See the flowers in their prime
And the smiling buds sublime.
Spring has given the poppy⁵⁹ a red hue,
Embrace each other in the season new.
Like mirrors look the mountain lines
When the sun on the fallen snow shines,
The turbulent river is frothing with a chime
Like a mighty elephant in youth's prime.⁶⁰
See the bulbul praise the flower's beauty all the time,
In glory of the Sultan will I write many a poems in rhyme.
His empire is large where the sun is always seen
Under his patronage, the verdant meadows are green,
The fields are productive, good crops they yield
From Qusdar⁶¹ to Debal⁶² is his battle field.
Not an enemy can face his might
Nor a shield face him outright
He sent battalions to India wave by wave
Conquering new lands in a rave.⁶³
Today he crossed the Indus, launching a raid,
From his might the lion is afraid.
The rivers to him capitulate outright
Carrying Ghori boatmen forthright.
The Attock⁶⁴ greets him every year
Spreading soft sand on its rocky tier.
When the youth of Pashtoonkhwa to India go*

*Pretty maidens joyously dance in a row.
See the mountains in their green attire
And the desert shining like a sapphire.
As the sun rises from the east at dawn,
Toward the western horizon it moves on and on,
Whether it is morning, noon or afternoon⁶⁵
At sunset it vanishes behind the same dune.
Shahab's armies will continue their quest,
And these youth will keep marching abreast.
A lion faces its enemy with pride
Until it has driven it astride.
In India they will raise their victorious flag
Or their lives will be taken if they drag,
As they forge ahead, many idols⁶⁶ they will smash
Shedding blood in their path, when they clash.
O Shahabuddin keep the glory alive,
Let the banners fly on the mosques as you strive;⁶⁷
So that your sword may illuminate that land
And nullify idol worshipping on a scale grand.
May God Almighty be your guide
We will always help you as you stride.*

ABU MOHAMMED HASHIM IBN ZAID AL SARWANAY ALBASTI

Exalted in eloquence, God's mercy be on him

Shaikh Kata, God's mercy be on him, in his book *Larghoni Pashtana* writes: Abu Mohammad Hashim was born in Sarwan⁶⁸ of Helmand in the year 223 H. (838 A.D.). First he studied under the scholars of Bost and later went to Iraq where he spent a number of years learning from Iraqi scholars. He was a student of Ibn Khalad who was famous as Abi-al-Àina,⁶⁹ under whom he studied Arabic literature. In 294 H. (907 A.D.) he returned from Iraq to his homeland and died in Bost three years later. It is said that he wrote poetry in Arabic, Persian and Pashto. When his mentor, Ibn Khalad, became blind he served him and heard a great deal of Arabic poetry from him. He has translated a large number of his mentor's poems from Arabic to Pashto. Ibn Khalad who was an eloquent poet wrote a poem in praise of the dirham, which was translated by Abu Mohammad as follows:

*The tongue speaks well when its owner
Possesses gold and dirham and is not a loner;
Many listeners will come to hear him talk,
See the rich how proudly do they walk.
When they loose their wealth they are afflicted
And with wrong doing they are convicted.
When a wealthy man lies, people say:
He is telling the truth, and him they obey.
But when a poor man tells the truth,
He is accused of transgression and called uncouth.
Yes, money makes people famous and rich,
And puts them in a glamorous niche.
Money talks, when one wants to speak
And buys arms, to havoc wreak.*

They say Abu Mohammad wrote a book called *Dê Saloo Wazmah* (The Desert Breeze) in Pashto elucidating the rules of Arabic prosody.

SHAIKH TAIMAN

Divine gnostic, leader of the devotees,
God's mercy be on him

My father, may he be blessed by God, relates from the book *Bostan-al-Awlia* (Garden of Saints), written by the great scholar Bostan Barreitsh⁷⁰ in 956 H. (1545 A.D.) that Shaikh Taiman was the son of Shaikh Kâkarh. He went and settled in the highlands (*bara khwâ*)⁷¹ of Ghor, therefore people do not consider his children to be related to the Kâkarh tribe, but in reality they stem from the Kâkarrs. Taiman was a holy and prudent man. It is said that Baba Kâkarr was alive when Taiman came from Ghor and met him in Zhobe. He then left and resided in Kajran⁷² and later died during the reign of Àlauddin Hussain Saam.⁷³ This poem of Baba Taiman was recited to me by my father as he had read it in *Bostan-al-Awlia*

Poem

*At dawn when the sun's rays started to shine
Sadness befell on this house of mine,
Loneliness and separation engulfed me trine.
Suddenly there was a sound, echoing loneliness will prevail.*

*My lovelorn heart is afflicted and bereaved,
I cry and lament, what trouble I have perceived,*

My tears enrich the fields, see what I have achieved.

In deep sorrow, from sickness I wail.

*I will live not, for she will not come
Nor will my dark night be enlightened some;
She will not reconcile, I feel glum.* ⁷⁴

Detachment transcends, my heart is assail.

*For God's sake, forget me not
O pretty sweetheart, wherever you trot,
Leaving your homeland for a far away spot.
In fire I burn, as you bid me vale.*

SHAIKH BOSTAN BARREITSH

Discoverer of knowledge, may his grave be blessed

My father, compassion of God be upon him, narrates from past scholars that Shaikh Bostan⁷⁵ was from the Barheitsh tribe and lived in Shorawak. His father, Mohammad Akram, God's mercy be on him, was a sage. He left Shorawak and lived in a hut along the banks of the Helmand river to commune with the Creator. After acquiring a great deal of knowledge from his father, Shaikh Bostan went to India where he traveled from one place to another admiring the works of God. When he returned in 998 H. (1589 A.D.) he wrote *Bostan-al-Awlia*. My father, God's mercy be on him, had seen this book in the home of Hasan Khan Barheitsh, who lived in Shorawak. The life, work and miracles of a number of Pashtoon saints have been described in the book. It also contains Pashto poetry from other poets and Shaikh Bostan. I heard this *bêdêla*⁷⁶ (poem) from my father, God's compassion be on him.

Poetry known as bêdêla

*Tear drops fall off my face, throw a glance at me
Come look perchance at me.*

*As the passion of your love burns my lamenting heart,
This is not the time to depart.*

*My heart melts under your coquettish charm,
I feel humbled without harm.*

*Tear drops fall off my face, throw a glance at me
Come look perchance at me.*

*Throw a glance at me, see how afflicted I am,
With love addicted I am.*

*My heart is bleeding, I am covered in blood
See how I burn in this flood.*

*Tear drops fall off my face, throw a glance at me
Come look perchance at me.*

*From the pangs of love, I constantly cry all the time
I have lost rhythm and rhyme.*

*Bewilderment afflicts me, I cannot sit calm in one place,
As I crave for your grace.*

*Tear drops fall off my face, throw a glance at me
Come look perchance at me.*

*Oh God! You know well how the lovelorn feel
Those whom You help and heal.*

*With dignity Bostan will win this game,
Keep him away from shame.*

*Tear drops fall off my face, throw a glance at me
Come look perchance at me.*

SHAIKH REZA LUDI ⁷⁷

Leader of the eloquent, God's mercy be on him

Let it be understood: Kamran Khan son of Sado Khan wrote *Keleed Kamrani*,⁷⁸ greetings and praise be on the writer, in the city of Share Safa⁷⁹ in 1038 H. (1628 A.D.). In his book Kamran quotes from *Al-Aàlam-al-Looziài fi Akhbar-al-Ludi*, which was written in 686 H. (1287 A.D.) by Shaikh Ahmad son of Saeed-al-Ludi. He notes that Shaikh Reza Ludi was the nephew of Shaikh Hamid. When Shaikh Hamid became the governor of Multan he sent his nephew to Pashtoonkhwa to invite its people to embrace Islam. Shaikh Reza spent two years in the mountains of Kesay and converted a large number of people to Islam.

It is said that Nasr, son of Shaikh Hamid, met with the infidels and learned the beliefs of the Ismaili sect from them, becoming an apostate. When Shaikh Hamid died, Nasr took his place and started to spread apostasy. Shaikh Reza, God's mercy be on him, who was a pious Moslem, sent the following *párrékey*⁸⁰ to his nephew.

Párraekey

*On the wrong path you have gone
Nullifying our religion on and on;
With such difficulty we enlightened it
But in disgrace you quit.

Why did you accept it first
When you intended to convert,
From our religion you are an outcast⁸¹
Which your forefathers fought to last.
The Ludi's have their dignity lost
For centuries kept at a high cost.
O Nasr, one of us your are not*

*What the likes of you have sought,
Of your religion we need not a fragment
Until the day of judgment.*

Shaikh Ahmad Ludi writes that Nasr Ludi replied to Shaikh Reza, God's compassion be on him, with these words:

*I am accused of being an atheist
Which I defiantly contest,
It is a false accusation
That has no foundation.
From Islam I did not turn my face
But from my accusers I keep apace.
My religion is the same
With which to this world I came.
Islam I boldly defend
Though my accusers, I may offend.
I am a Ludi, my customs I keep
My ties with the Hamid dynasty are deep,
My enemies are the ones who say
That I have abandoned my religion today,
They are only telling lies
Others they habitually despise;
No one will listen to them
From the Ludis do I stem.*

May the benevolent God forgive all those who have passed away.

SHAIKH ESA MESHWAÑAY ⁸²

Accepted by the divine, God's mercy be on him

It has been narrated: Khwaja Nàmatullah Nourzay in *Makhzan-e Afghani*, which was written during the time of emperor Jahangir, states that Shaikh Esa was from the Meshwañi tribe and lived in Damla during the reign of Sher Shah. It is said that people told Sher Shah that Esa drank wine. Sher Shah ordered some men to investigate Esa's drinking habits. When the people came to his house they found him with a goblet and glass from which he was drinking. The king's men asked him what he was drinking? The Shaikh replied. "Come and join me." When the men poured the liquid from the goblet they found that it was milk. They informed the king about the incident. Nàmatullah has written that Shaikh Esa was a saint who wrote poetry in Pashto, Persian and Hindi on the unity of God. This is one of his Pashto poem.

*First you accept me
Then you disavow,
Sometimes I am the lord
Later a destitute though.*

*You are all mighty
You rule the world entire,
Sometimes you enlighten me
Then put me on fire.*

*Esa is confused and bewildered,
He knows not why this change,
Sometimes I am a friend
Then you declare me strange.*

SULTAN BAHLOL LUDI

Exalted sultan, God's mercy be on him

In *Makhzan-e Afghani* Nàmatullah, God's mercy be on him, writes: Malik Bahlol was the son of Malik Kala and ruled over Hindustan. The Ludi dynasty ruled in India for a long time. After the death of Islam Khan, Malik Bahlol gained power in India and after several battles he was declared king of Delhi and coins minted in his name. He controlled Panipat, Lahore, Hansi, Hisar and Nagor up to Multan and fought fierce battles with the Hindu rajas. He was a just king who ruled over India for thirty eight years and died in 894 H. (1489 A.D.). The year of his death is recorded in this verse:

*In the year eight hundred and ninety four he left the world
The great Bahlol, majestic conqueror of the world.*

Sultan Bahlol, God's compassion be on him, died of fever in the hamlet of Jalali. Mohammad Rasoul Hothek of Kalat has written in his divan that during the monsoon period Khalil Khan Neyazay recited the following quatrain in front of the monarch:

Quatrain

*The gray skies roar and cry from above,
The cuckoo⁸³ is lamenting, awoved from love.
These rain drops are pearls, an offering from heaven,
Our savior do they greet, with the calmness of a dove.*

When Sultan Bahlol heard the quatrain he replied:

Sultan Bahlol's quatrain

*This country with generosity I will turn emerald green,
The clouds of justice above will help me keep it clean.
See my crown embedded with pearls of justice,
I will beautify this world, like never before seen.*

KHUSHAL KHAN BEG

Resident of heaven, God's mercy be on him

In his collection of poetry Mohammad Rasoul Hothek writes: Khushal Khan Beg was the son of Shahbaz Khan Khaṭak and was born in the village of Akora in 1022 H. (1613 A.D.). He was a brave and valiant warrior. Khushal Beg was a prisoner of the Moghuls for several years, after which he fought several battles with them. He was a bitter enemy of emperor Aurangzeb until his death and spent most of his life fighting against the Moghuls.

Khushal Khan Beg was the chief of the Khaṭak tribe. He had many sons who were all poets. Khushal Beg has an outstanding divan and has written lyrics and odes. It is said that when Khushal Beg was a prisoner at the fortress of Rantanbour,⁸⁴ the Khaṭak Afghans went and set him free. Aurangzeb did not have any knowledge of his escape. When Khushal reached his homeland he fought several battles with the Moghuls. Khushal Beg's village is called Akora and is occupied by Khaṭaks. He was the most lucid poet among the Khaṭaks and a profound scholar. It has been narrated: Khushal Beg translated the guidelines of Islamic jurisprudence, *Hidayat*, into Pashto and was the author of several other books. He died in 1100 H.(1688 A.D.). In his anthology Mohammad Rasoul Hothek includes poetry from Khushal Khan, resident of heaven, which I am including in this book.

Lyric

*From too much staring
My eyes are ready to burst,
I hear that you are coming
For good or the worst.*

*But now that you have gone
Leaving me apart,
Perhaps this love I have for you
Will rest in your heart.*

*Your sight brings freshness
To the lovely flowers,
Like a field which comes to life
After the spring showers.*

*I do not know what magic spell,
O sorcerer inflicts me;
Although my feet bear me away
My heart is trapped by thee.*

*I live in endless longing
For that bright and happy day,
When I may kiss your rosy chin
And by your side stay.*

*Separation from love
Constantly burns me in hell,
As though my soul departs
From my body's shell.*

*O fate, I beg for your help
In my vain quest,
So I may clasp my love again
By my throbbing chest.*

*With confidence Khushal
Greets all his friends,
For he will see them once again
Before the world ends.*

Another lyric

*If it is a mosque or a temple of fame
Its purpose is the same,
Both are made so one can find,
The heart's contentment of some kind.*

*I am looking for that place
Where birds have found their grace;
Khushal is happy and feels fine
When he is blessed by power divine.*

Quatrains

*The greedy or the coward you shall seek not
Because their friendship is not worth a lot,
And they will leave you when hardship prevails;
But worse than them is the craver of the pot.*

*A wise man listens to what others have to say,
I have advice if I can keep you at bay.*

*In need of others shall be the one,
Who recklessly breaks his pot of clay.*

ZARGHOON KHAN NOURZAY

Resident of paradise

It has been narrated: Dost Mohammad Kâkarh writes in *Gharghashth Nama* (Book of Gharghashth) that Zarghoon Khan was a Nourzay from Nouzad. He went to Herat in the year 891 H. (1486 A.D.), from there he visited Iraq and Khorasan and showed bravery in the battles of the Uzbeks. When Shaibani Khan reached Seistan, Zarghoon Khan fought against him inflicting heavy casualties on the Uzbek forces. Dost Mohammad Kâkarh writes: I visited Herat in 912 H. (1506 A.D.) and saw the divan of Zarghoon Khan's lyrics and poems, in three hundred pages, with Mullah Ayub Taimani. He continues to say that later in life Zarghoon Khan was very weak and died in Derawat⁸⁵ in 921 H. (1515 A.D.). The following poem known as *Maçnavi of Saki Nama* (Cup-bearers book) appears in *Gharghashth Nama*.

Cup-bearer's poem

*Cup-bearer give me one cup more
Let me learn the estrangement lore,
Throw water on this flame
Put out the fire of love's game.
It is spring the flowers are burning
The hyacinth is twisting and turning,
See the bulbuls sing their song
In the garden all day long.
The hermit comes out of his cell*

*To buy wine, not fearing hell,
Intoxicated here are all
Worshipping flowers big and small.
See the mountains are on fire
Red tulips are their attire,
The whole world is green and red
The tulips are fluttering in the flowerbed.
All people are enchanted,
To each other friendship granted.
Spring is the time to entwine
And drink a glass or two of wine.
Wake up cup-bearer it is spring
Life is short, come and sing,
For tomorrow we will be gone
To the world of yon.
Fill this glass with red wine
Sing and dance and dine.
For once I am a man free
My heart is full of glee.
Cup-bearer wake up it is time
To hear the jar and glass chime,
It is time to pour more wine
And be merry with thine.
Those who hold an empty glass
Are condemned enmasse,
The intoxicated roam the dales
They play happily in the vales,
Holding hands in joy
With each other without ploy.
Like true lovers entwined
The grace of flowers do they find.*

*The unhappy are not here,
Nor the heartbroken shed a tear.
Cup-bearer, I love you
How your silence shall I construe,
Give me a glass of contentment
Without rejection or resentment.
Fill my heart with desire,
With love's torch set a fire
Of friendship and affection
And devoid of defection.
Let there be love untold
Replacing darkness with gold.
Let fraud leave thy heart
And sincerity take its part.
Cup-bearer, your beauty do I seek
In spring season every week,
If your love would not be here
Spring would be a season of despair.
The flowers will not look fine
Without love and without wine,
Nor will anyone be dancing
Singing merrily or prancing.
Empty will be the cup of desire,
Gone will be the urge to love and aspire.
Wake up cup-bearer, it is spring
The tavern is waiting for you to bring,
Once again the old wine
Our cheeks to incarnadine.
Come and grant your grace
And with love fill this place.
Fill the cup with red wine*

*Give it to friends divine.
When in the tavern wine flows
There is music in the rows,
Forget the world of woes
Make merry, for life goes.
There is separation ahead
Toward oblivion we have to tread.*

DOST MOHAMMAD KAKARR

Destined for the Almighty's blessing, God's mercy be on him

He was the son of Baberr Khan and visited the shrine of Kâkarr Baba in 912 H. (1506 A.D.) in Herat. When he returned back to Zhobe in 926 H. (1522 A.D.) he wrote a book in poetry called *Gharghasth Nama*. I have seen this book. It is in *maçnavî** and contains stories of Gharghasth Baba, may his grave be blessed, and quotes from righteous men. My father had found this book in Toba⁸⁶ and in our family the children and youth read it as a text book.

Dost Mohammad writes: My father, Baberh Khan, had also compiled a book of poetry called *Tazkera-e Gharghasth* (Diary of Gharghasth). When he died I was not at home. The book was lost and was possibly destroyed by someone. When I returned home, I was not so much shaken at the death of my father, but at the loss of his book. Since I had heard parts of the book, read it several times, and remembered parts of it by heart, with the grace of God, I started to write the stories and happenings in poetry. May God praise my father's endeavors. This narrative is from *Gharghasth Nama*.

* Poetry composed of distichs corresponding in measure, each consisting of a pair of rhymes, and besides which the distichs have distinct poetical endings.

A narrative from Gharghaṣṭh Nama

*From good folks I hear
A story very clear,
Nour Mohammad Kâkarr relates
That God's blessing never abates.
Kâkarr Baba was a saint
Who to God's prayer was well acquaint,
He was constantly praying
And the Almighty's name saying.
Many a night he prayed
And in tears stayed,
Little did he eat
Prayers were his treat.
When in prayer he knelt
Day and night in prayers he dwelt,
He was with the divine
To little food did he incline.
God's name did he call,
In the morning and at nightfall.
One night he was in prayer bent
For his sins to repent.
When his eyes closed to sleep
As for many nights he was in prayer deep.
He met Gharghaṣṭh in his dream
Who was relating this good theme:
O Kâkarr my son
You are a pious one,
You have followed my call
And dwell the divine hall,
You praise God day and night*

*And pray to Him alright,
Leaving other tasks behind
To prayers alone do you bind.
Go do jihad and know
This to him you owe.
A single jihad day
Will bring fortitude to stay.
As in battle you pray and fast
It will help the jihad last.
Its a requirement smidgen
Of faith and religion.
You have abandoned both
Go take jihad's oath.
Pick the sword and go
Put a mighty show,
Go spread light all around
And on this path be bound,
Fulfill your duty in a spin
And wash away your sin.
When Kâkarr woke from his sleep
On jihad's path did he leap,
His armor he wore
And rode west to battles galore.
Toward Herat he went then
And joined Sultan Ghiasuddin's⁸⁷ men,
In jihad he bravely fought
With the Sultan's lot.
In one battle did he die
The martyr's cry did he cry.
Thus ended his holy toil
And he was buried in Herat's soil. ⁸⁸*

*This is the life of the brave
In God's way they go to the grave.*

ABDUL RAHMAN BABA

Beloved by the divine, God's mercy be on him

In his note-book Mohammad Rasoul Hothek, may he be blessed, writes that Abdul Rahman Baba was from the Mohmand tribe and lived in Peshawar. His father's name was Abdul Satar, who lived in Bahadur Kelai (village). Abdul Rahman Baba was born in 1042 H. (1632 A.D.) and was a student of Mullah Mohammad Yusufzai from whom he learned theology and mysticism. Later he went to Kohat⁸⁹ and continued with his studies becoming a good scholar. He left the material world in his youth and spent most of his time in the mountains. Sometimes he visited India and was occupied in prayers, staying away from mundane deeds. He was a scholar of divinity and wrote an immense amount of poetry in praise and love of God and gained the title of Rahman Baba among the Pashtoons. He died in 1118 H (1706 A.D.). People often visit his shrine in Peshawar and read his poetry. The divan of Rahman Baba's lyrics and odes is available in large numbers.

Mohammad Hothek, may God forgive his sins, states: Shah Hussain, shadow of God, sent scribes to Peshawar to copy Abdul Rahman Baba's divan, God's mercy be on him. They brought the numerous volumes to Qandahar where men of letters and the pious inscribed many more copies. The book is in wide circulation now and is read by ascetics and people devoted to the love of God. His verses are held in such esteem that they are used for auguries. Women also take great interest in reading it. God has blessed his words; they are soothing to the hearts of the poor and needy.

My father narrated: The cruelty and oppression of Gurgin Khan was so extensive that the people were willing to sacrifice their lives to end his tyranny. They went to their

God blessed leader, Haji Mir Khan Hotek Shalemkhel in Kokaran,⁹⁰ and asked him for his advice. They all agreed that they would do anything which he recommended. He conferred with the Pashtoon leaders for a day and night and they all came to the conclusion that they should put an end to Gurgin's tyranny. In the end Haji Mir Khan said let us also seek Abdul Rahman Baba's advice. When they opened his divan they came upon the following quatrain:

*Like an epistle I speak in silence,
My silence is more profound than my cry.
Roaming in love's world forlorn, I have not found peace,
An ocean is needed to bear my desert's vengeance.*

When they read these lines Haji Mir told his people: "The tyranny of the cruel will be terminated, but now it will be to our advantage to remain silent. We should all work in silence to end this violence. When the appropriate time arrives I will then call you. We shall unite and drive the tyrants from our homeland."

It is said: One month later Haji Mir Khan, heaven be his residence, summoned the chiefs and leaders of the nation in Manja.⁹¹ They all swore upon the Holy Koran that they will drive away Gurgin from Qandahar. At this time Haji Mir Khan read these lines from Rahman Baba's divan:

Verse

*The sun whose face I could not see
Has come out once again,
God moved away the clouds
And the misty rain.*

*I found my rival mocking me
By locking love's door,
My sweetheart was unperturbed by this
And opened it once more.*

*Oh Rahman to her forbearance
You must pay heed,
Once deprived of love's contentment,
Love's case you cannot plead.*

It has been narrated: The sky was cloudy on that day; when Haji Mir Khan read these lines the clouds broke and the sun started to shine. The people considered this omen of help from God. After that Haji Mir Khan, heaven be his residence, told the people: "God's grace and mercy is with us. It is time to unsheathe our swords and free ourselves from the enemy's oppression." On the 29th of Moharam 1119 H. (1707 A.D.) the people gathered and entered Qandahar under the leadership of Haji Mir Khan and vanquished the enemy.

The writer of this book, may God forgive his sins, copies this lyric from the eminent Rahman Baba:

Lyric

*I do not know the world alas
Or why I am insane?
I left my home and culture
Abandoning them in vain.*

*I do not know the sorcerer
Who plays these tricks on me,
Lovelorn I live in solitude
Subjected to her glee.*

*These coquettish eyes and eyebrows
Which I have come to worship,
How they have belittled me
In my sincere friendship.*

*The tumult of sedition
I found I cannot bear,
How I got seduced by dark eyes?
Of the pretty and the fair.*

*Rahman was unaware of love's path
Or where did it lead,
He found himself humbled
And left alone to bleed.*

SHAIKH MOHAMMAD SALEH

Pious shaikh, God's mercy be on him

The author of this book, Mohammad, says: Mullah Allah Yar Alekozay in *Tuhfa-e Saleh* (Gift of Saleh) writes that Shaikh Mohammad Saleh was from the Alekozay tribe and lived in Jaldak.⁹² He was a hermit and a scholar who spent his time in study and directed people to God's path. It is said that Shah Beg Khan⁹³ the commissioner of Qandahar, summoned Shaikh Mohammad Saleh and asked him to go to Kabul to teach. Shaikh Mohammed Saleh wrote back: "I do not covet fame. I do not want to go after the world but would like the world to come to me. If you respect me, leave me where I am and do not make me a traveller seeking the world." When Shah Beg received this note he replied: "My intention was also to respect you and not to disgrace you."

Mohammad writes: Mullah Allah Yar dedicated a book to his saint, entitled *Tuhfa-e Saleh*, in which the life and works of Shaikh Saleh have been described. Included in it are the Shaikh's poems in one of which he addresses Shah Beg Khan.

Lyric of Shaikh Mohammad Saleh

*My love's grace I see
Every hour of the day,
To useless grace of others
I shall say: nay.*

*When suddenly my love
Came in the dark of night,
My heart was illumined
Like the sun with its hidden light.*

*If someone on this earth
Worldly goods proffer,
In the market of the hearts
Love's merchandise I will offer.*

*One glance of my love
Is not to be sold,
For all the wealth of the world
And the mountains of gold.*

*O men! If I am placed
On Sulaiman's throne,
In the end what matters
Are the seeds of good deeds that I have sown.*

*Without love I know my happiness
I cannot augment,
Though Saleh may look happy
His heart is full of lament.*

Another lyric, God's mercy be upon him

*One whose heart is afflicted
By his lover's glance,
Is unlikely to be cured
By the doctor's lance.*

*If your body is healthy
But your heart is ill,
For such an ailment the hakim
Has no cure at will.*

*But God who is benevolent
With his love can cure all,
And comfort lovers afflicted
With ailments big and small.*

*O people please listen
How am I immune,
To the words of the counselors
And their pious tune.*

*Counsel needs a heart
But mine does not exist,
It has been robbed by a fair maiden
Whose beauty I cannot resist.*

*If like Saleh one can live
With a bleeding heart,
There is no wealth better,
Let not the secret impart.*

ALI SARWAR

Accepted leader of the eloquent, may his grave be blessed

It has been mentioned in *Tuhfa-e Saleh*: Shaikh Ali Sarwar⁹⁴ was from the Shahokhel tribe and lived in Multan. He had many miracles which the people often observed. Nàmatullah writes in *Makhzan-e Afghani*: The Shaikh showed great miracles and people became his followers. It has been stated in *Tuhfa-e Saleh* that the Shaikh preached his followers, and answered their questions on mysticism.

One day he was asked what is the meaning of: "You face death and resurrection every minute but the Prophet Mohammad said the world endures just an hour? How are death and resurrection continuous. If they are, then there shall be several lives after death and that is the creed of those who believe in metempsychosis? " The learned and divine saint answered: "The essence is fixed but the body transforms. It is death and resurrection of the body not the essence. When particles assimilate they are replaced by adjoining ones. It is such revival which proves impermanence of the world and corroborates the words of Prophet Mohammad when he said the world endures just an hour."

Tuhfa-e Saleh contains the poetry of the learned sage, Ali Sarwar Ludi, a lyric of which is presented here:

Poem of the gnostic saint

*I drank from the cup of love
In the worldly state,
In Ayaz's eyes I see
Justice innate.*

*Without her embracing glances
In sadness do I live,
Though I cannot see her
Forbearance God will give.*

*I will raise my head in death
From the earthen wall,
If suddenly I hear
My lover's sweet call.*

*If my rival may behead me
With a sharpened sword,
I will again go to her
Uninvited to her ward.*

*We were always united
And deeply in love,
May God on the slanderer
Shower stones from above.*

*Separation from true friends
Is difficult for those,
Who secretly love each other
In the garden of the rose.*

*O Sarwar, see these slanderers
They are all around,
May God take their senses
And silence their useless sound.*

The Second Treasure

The works of contemporary poets

MULLAH BAZ TOUKHAY

Sharer of secrets

Mullah* Baz Toukhay lives in Atghar; he is an eloquent poet and a master of meter. He writes lyrics and quatrains, and is a friend of poets and my confidant. When he visits Qandahar he makes our meetings lively and my friends like his company. Mullah Baz has studied the elements of the sciences and is a master of Islamic jurisprudence. Sometimes he studies logic and has a number of students. In his youth he visited India to study from scholars there.

A witty anecdote: One day when Mullah Baz came to visit me from Kalat I slaughtered a chicken in his honor and prepared food. When the food was brought Mullah Baz recited this verse:

*The owner of many sheep
Offers Baz a chicken inept;
Though Baz is a hunter of big game
The white lamb he will accept.*

I immediately slaughtered the lamb in his honor. This is one of his *bêdêla*:

* A title meaning preacher bestowed on learned religious scholars.

Bêdêla

*Come my love, come close to me
Come stay by my heart,
Don't hurt my wounded soul
By tearing me apart.*

*Come my love, come close to me
Do not say you will depart,
It is your sadness that afflicts
My bleeding heart.*

*Though I want to escape
Your love holds me still,
I have no other recourse
But stay here I will.*

*Come my love, come close to me
Be my heart's salvation;
I have left all worldly deeds
Devoted to your temptation.*

*My life has taken a strange turn
Because of my devotion,
I have no other recourse
But suppress my emotion.*

*Come my love, come close to me
Let me hold you by my heart;
Bring me forth the collyrium
So I may darken your eyes sweetheart.*

*As I see your charming face
I don't have any other desire,
Without your sweet embrace
Heavenly beauty I don't aspire.*

*Come my love, come close to me
So in love we can confide,
And in deep thoughts of love
Put all other sorrows aside.*

*Baz was free as a bird
Why did you imprison him in a cage?
Let him soar once again
Forever free from this rage.*

SHAH HUSSAIN

Most noble among contemporaries, shadow of God, may the shadow of his reign never
disappear over the Moslems

His Majesty Shah Hussain, shadow of God, is a Shalem Khel Hotheik. He is the son of Haji Mir Khan, resident of heaven, who became the ruler at a young age and the Pashtoons are peaceful under his patronage. The king, bestower of asylum to the world, was born on 23 of Rabi-al-Awal in 1114 H. (1702 A.D.) in Syoray of Kalat. When Haji Mir Khan was on his journey to the Holy Mecca and Asfahan, the king, shadow of God, was young. As a child he studied under the learned Mullah Yar Mohammad Hotheik and until age twelve had studied theology, Koranic interpretation, logic and the science of eloquence. He learned administrative matters from his father. When Haji Mir Khan, resident of paradise, died in Qandahar on 28 Zulhajja 1128 H. (1716 A.D.), our king,

shadow of God, lived with his elder brother Shah Mahmud Khan. After the death of Haji Mir Khan, his brother Mir Abdulaziz became the governor of Qandahar. He was an ill-fated ruler and died in 1129 H. (1717 A.D.) after accidentally falling during the night from the Narenj palace. After the death of his uncle, Mir Mahmud was proclaimed the king. He lead his armies in the direction of Seistan and Kerman and proclaimed his brother the king in Qandahar before embarking on the conquest of Asfahan in 1135 H. (1723 A.D.). Shah Hussain, shadow of God, became the ruler of Qandahar, Farah and the lands up to Ghazni. All the elders, tribal leaders and chieftains of Ghalji tribe accepted Shah Hussain as their supreme ruler and minted a coin in his name.

Shah Hussain, may God prolong his reign, is a valiant and intelligent king who reaches his people and listens to their pleas. He has brought cruelty to an end and the people live in peace. Scholars are welcome in his court. The learned scholar, Mullah Yar Mohammad, who is the mentor of the king, is a distinguished scholar who has written a book on theology entitled *Masayel Arkan-e Khamsa* (Issues of Five Pillars). Another famous scholar of the court is Mullah Mohammad Yunus Toukhay, the preacher of the grand mosque of Qandahar, who is the son of Mullah Mohammad Akbar. He teaches sciences and has written a book in Pashto entitled *Jamà Farayez* (Comprehensive Laws). Another distinguished scholar is Mullah Zàfarán Tarakay, who is close to the king and is the teacher of his son Mohammad. Mullah Zàfarán is a scholar of medicine and mathematics and has authored a book on medicine and mathematics called *Guldasta-e Zàfarani* (Bouquet of Zàfarán). I have seen and studied this book.

Shah Hussain, shadow of God, is a valiant warrior. He is serious in his conquests and all the Ghalji tribes up to Ghazni have accepted his writ. Among the Abdalis he is the ruler up to Seistan and Herat. Shah Hussain's troops conquered Shaal⁹⁵ and Zhobe⁹⁶ under the command of Bahadur Khan in 1138 H. (1725 A.D.) In 1139 H. (1726 A.D.), the king, shadow of God, conquered Derajat up to Gomal under his own command. His orders are obeyed in all these lands and coins have been minted in his name.

The king, bestower of asylum to the world, visits the library in Narenj palace once a week where he holds court. Scholars and poets gather there. I, Mohammad Hotek, the

writer of this book, also attend these meetings and write down the poems and distichs of the king. His divan has been compiled. He recites his poems in Pashto and at times in Persian also. He reads his poetry to Mullah Yar Mohammad, the eminent scholar, so that it may be corrected, but there are few mistakes in his verse. Most of the scholars agree that his speech is eloquent and are interested in hearing it.

Mohammad, the author of this books states: One day while the king, shadow of God, was holding court with his scholars, the news arrived that a messenger has brought a message from a far away land. Mullah Zàfaràn⁹⁷ went out and when he returned he brought the good news of the conquest of Zhobe and Shaal and recited the following lines:

Verse

*See the spectacle of King Hussain's fortune
Whose armies have conquered Zhobe and Shaal,
One who brings these tidings to the court
Should be rewarded with a golden shawl.*

The generous king immediately gave him a golden shawl and gave shawls to all others present in the meeting and honored them with magnanimity. Mohammad, the author of this book, states that the king has written different kinds of poetry but here I present one of his lyrics so that the book of kings of the verse may contain the verse of the king.

Shah Hussain's lyric, may his reign be prolonged

*Separation has bestowed sadness
On this wretched heart of mine,
And in darkness has distanced
My soul from thine.*

*My tears flow unabated
I have lost sound and sight,
I feel caught in the whirlpool
Of love's rage and might.*

*When I felt the noose
Of separation all around,
I knew that in this world
In disgrace I would be bound.*

*In the company of my love
I am unhappy too,
Because I think of tomorrow
When I will be estranged from you.*

*When the arrow of your love
Pierced my lonely heart,
I was subjected to your coquetry
From which I cannot depart.*

*People say that I am
Lovelorn and lovesick,
See Hussain you gained fame
By being an ascetic.*

MOHAMMAD YUNUS KHAN

The eloquent poet

My cousin, Rahmat Hothek, narrates: I met the eloquent poet, Mohammad Yunus Khan, in the year 1130 H. (1718 A.D.) when I was visiting Peshawar and heard his poetry. Mohammad Yunus was 31 years old and is from the Musa Khel⁹⁸ tribe. His father Mohammad Khan had come from Kesay mountain with the Baberhs and lived in Khybar. Mohammad Yunus has studied the sciences and he was the student of Rahman Baba when the eminent poet was alive. He has a divan and is famous in Khybar. He is a hospitable and kind man and travellers stay at his house in Khybar. When a poet or scholar visits him, he treats him with hospitality. Rahmat Hothek narrates: Mohammad Yunus asked me to stay in his house and often told me: "Spend one more night then leave." I stayed with him for a month; he recited serene poetry. These two lyrics are from his divan which Rahmat had brought with him and I present them here. May God keep Mohammad Yunus alive.

Lyric

*In pursuance of love
You have to risk your life,
Attachment you will not achieve
Without a lengthy strife.*

*The splendor of nature
To perfection has things driven,
To the sun and moon
Beauty it has given.*

*If my own affection
Were not my guide,
Who would reveal the beauty
Of love by my side.*

*The scent of your tresses
As it spreads in the dusk,
Makes one forget the fragrance
Of ambergris and musk.*

*In passion of reunion
I weep blood in pain,
Who has attained contentment
Without failing first in vain.*

*No one can find love
In the confines of his house,
One has to leave the world
And in solitude carouse.*

*Separation brings forth bitterness
To those who are aware,
Of the sweetness of union
And are faced with despair.*

*Yunus, leave the game of life
To God up above,
As no amount of wisdom
Will bring you your love.*

Another lyric, may God prolong his life

*My love is my sight
She is a special kind,
Without the power of love
You are but blind.*

*He who plants the tree of love
In this distraught world,
Should also be responsible
When separation's pain is unfurled.*

*Too much sorcery of love
Each night and each day,
Will even drive the insane lover
From his parents away.*

*The cruelty you perpetuate
Has reached a fearful pitch,
For word of your pulchritude
Has entrapped the poor and rich.*

*The curse of love's misfortune
Which you have brought with you,
Has burdened the poor lover
Of which he nothing knew.*

*Immune is the one
From winds and gales,
Who walks in the verdure
Of your love's dales.*

*Without the passion of love
And the courage to be brave,
You may as well consider yourself
A recluse in the grave.*

*Yunus became disgraced when
From love he did not refrain,
It is for this same reason
From love he will abstain.*

A riddle by Yunus

*Tso ché nîm láb yay námak akhésty nádey
Dê yunus námáky ism pûr háram shî*

Unless one's lips have tasted salt
Yunu's good name is prohibited to him.

MOHAMMAD GUL MASÀUD⁹⁹

Master of contemporary poets

It has been narrated: When Rahmat Hothek was visiting Peshawar he met Mohammad Gul of the Masàud tribe, son of Mohammad Daud. He is a well-versed poet, who always recites his lyrics. I present a *bêdêla* which was dictated to Rahmat, my cousin.

Bêdêla

*At midnight when you left me in strait's dire,
My body was on fire.
You knew not that separation left me in love's mire,
My body was on fire.
O pretty sweetheart you left me yearning,*

See how I am burning.

Estrangement has afflicted my body and soul,

In fire I do roll.

May you perish in your charm, I am burning,

My life is churning.

My wretched rival I certainly blame,

See I am aflame.

For God's sake come, Mohammad Gul is lamenting,

His grief he is venting.

The agony of your love has turned me into a reed,

In fire do I live indeed.

ABDUL QADIR KHAN KHATAK

Pride of the time

He is the son of Khushal Khan. Nawab Mohammad Andarh narrates: After the death of his father, Abdul Qadir Khan came to Kabul in 1113 H. (1701 A.D.) to negotiate the passage of caravans through Bangas¹⁰⁰ for the Khaṭaks. It is said that Abdul Qadir Khan was a brave and industrious chief, and the Khaṭak leaders obeyed him. He was born on 22 Jamadi-al-Thani in the year 1061 H. (1651 A.D.). As I am writing this book, I do not know whether this chief is dead or alive? I reckon he may be dead because no one has brought me any news about him. If he is dead, may God bless him. It is said that Abdul Qadir Khan spent a number of years in India where he joined the Naqshbandi movement. He was a devout and holy man, just in administrative matters and afraid of God. He has compiled a divan and wrote the story of Yusuf and Zuleikha in verse in 1112 H. (1700 A.D.). He wrote a book of counsel in Pashto and translated *Gulistan* of Shaikh Muslehuddin Sàdi into Pashto from Persian. In 1115 H. (1703 A.D.)

he wrote another book in prose called *Hadeqa-e Khaṭak* (The Khaṭak Garden). I saw this book in the possession of Bahadur Khan in 1140 H. (1728 A.D.) autographed by the author. Bahadur Khan, forever be his glory, states: I saw this book with a Khaṭak in Dera.¹⁰¹

It has been narrated: Abdul Qadir Khan had attained the position of regent in the Naqshbandi movement, and deputized for his saint and directed the disciples. He had been ordained with the title of regent by Shaikh Rahmani Sàdi Lahori.¹⁰² He has written a large amount of prose. Nawab Mohammad Andarh brought one hundred of his lyrics from Kabul. Here I present examples his work from *Hadeqa-e Khaṭak*.

Lyric

*I wish all other woes
Would leave my heart,
So that my loves memory
Forever to it sadness impart.*

*The dew stopped forming when it found
The company of the flower,
And the bulbul thus deprived
Loudly laments that hour.*

*I saw with happiness the candle
Slowly fade away in vain,
The faintly burning light which
Told a tale of pain.*

*The wanton lover is unaware
Of the pain of love,
Spread by his beloved
With the calmness of a dove.*

*The light cannot be hidden
Behind the lamp's shade,
I saw her face behind the veil
As she was trying to evade.*

*In bereavement the moth
Has its wings on fire,
And in the heat of light
The candle dissolves in a mire.*

*Abdul Qadir wails all night
Tossing and turning around,
While you sleep in your bed
Motionless and sound.*

Another lyric

*You need not be proud
Of the royal throne,
But think of the day
When its fall becomes known.*

*Be aware of the curse
Which you may bring upon,
The innocent that are here today
But tomorrow will be gone.*

*Those whose trade is cruelty
And the torture of others,
Are cursed till eternity,
Stay away from them brothers.*

*You who wear gold-threaded garments
Still your fortune despise,
Are you unaware of death
And the white shroud that's its prize.*

*The day of judgment
Will ultimately arrive,
No one can escape it
No matter how much one does strive.*

*O Abdul Qadir a heart
Without feelings and quest,
Is not worth keeping
In the cage of the chest.*

Quatrain

*It was autumn and I saw alive
A few weeping bulbuls in misery thrive;
"This is what you deserve", I said:
"How could you without flowers survive."*

BAHADUR KHAN

Chief of the powerful, may God prolong his life

He is famous in Qandahar for his bravery and is the commander of the forces of our king, the shadow of God. He conquered the fortresses of Shaal and Zhobe and occupied Deras and is capable of occupying any region. Since the beginning of his

career he has been successful. Everyone knows him in Qandahar and the poor and needy benefit from his generosity. Our king, Shah Hussain, bestower of asylum to the world, addresses him brother and the people call him *Amir-al-Umra* (Amir of the Amirs). He is a learned person and a well-versed poet. He fosters scholars and poets and they are always present in his gatherings. He is unique in his bond of friendship and generous to scholars. Whenever he returns from a journey, he invites scholars and poets and is kind to them. May God give him a long life.

The author of this book Mohammad Hothek, may God forgive his sins, states: The exalted Khan gave me a *bêdêla* from his collection of poetry to include it in this book so that the book may not be devoid of his work and every one who reads it may pray for him. This is the *bêdêla*:

Bêdêla

*Separation prevails, my tears fall at dawn,
Akin the dew on the lawn.

In sorrow my blood flows in vain,
See how I bleed in pain.

See my love, my teardrops fall like rain,
See how they flood your lane.

Comes my love dancing to the flower bed,
With hands blood red.

At dawn when the bulbuls start singing their song,
The flowers bloom all day long.

Enchanting dark eyes entice the poor captive,
With collyrium they look deceptive.

My injured heart bleeds all the time,
Like the thawing rime.

O pretty maiden, don't dance and in the garden hover,
Lest you disgrace your lover.

My heart is love-lorn, I wish you do not laugh,*

And stop to chaff.

*I am like a moth, and you a candle, burn me not
End this cruel plot.*

*In your love, I am sad and insane,
Grief and sorrow are my bane.*

MULLAH MOHAMMAD SEDIQ POPALZAY

True poet

This young poet who is 23 years old is the son of Yar Mohammad Popalzay and lives in Arghasan. He studied grammar with Mullah Nour Mohammad Barheitsh and knows theology and logic. When he comes to Qandahar the author of the book sees and talks to him. He is an affectionate person and is deeply in love with God. He cries and laments after his love. He is soft-hearted and his eyes are full of tears. He has been so deeply affected by love of God that he has become a recluse. He recites painful lyrics and when he sits in a gathering of friends they weep when they hear his painful lyrics. His deep love has reached a climax. He recites poems instantaneously and soothes his pain that way.

One day he was in the house of the author of the book and I asked him how he felt. He started to weep as he revealed the pain he was going through and recited this *bêdêla* instantaneously.

Bêdêla

*Like the bulbuls desiring flowers
Without which their life is bleak,
The company of their love
True lovers always seek.*

*To seek love's company
I cry and sigh,
In a pool of blood
All the time do I lie.*

*In the company of my love
I have no other desire,
For one who is in love
Love does he aspire.*

*I sacrifice my life
In your devotion,
Your love always stirs up
Many a restless emotion.*

*I cry all the time
Oh sweetheart dear,
My restless heart
Wants you to be near.*

*If you condemn me to death
Or spare my life,
I carry the burden of your love
In both peace and strife.*

*When you chose to be a guest
In the midst of my heart,
Stay there you will forever
And from it never depart.*

MULLAH PIR MOHAMMAD MIYAJI

Selected by the divine

Mullah Pir Mohammed¹⁰³ is the son of Mullah Sarwar, whose sins are forgiven, and a student of Miya Fakirullah Sahib. He learned from his father and accompanied Haji Mir Khan, resident of heaven, in his battles. When Shah Mahmud, brother of our king, shadow of God, may his reign be prolonged, went to Asfahan he summoned Mullah Pir Mohammad to Asfahan to benefit from his auspicious speech. He invites people to join the sect of The Great Imam. It has been narrated that Miyaji holds discussions with Shiite scholars and convinces them with his arguments. Ottoman scholars in Asfahan also respect him and have given him the title of *Pir-e Afghan* (Afghan Saint). Miyaji Sahib has written a book on ethics entitled *Afzal-al-Tarayeq* (The Learned Ways). The book contains a discussion of ethics and beliefs. He has written another book which is called *Al-qarayed-fi-rad-al-Rawafez*. In *Afzal-al-Tarayeq* he has narrated this poem which I include in the book as his souvenir.

Narrative

*Shaikh Mathi of Khalili tribe
Was a saint, his feats I describe,
As he went on his way
God's forgiveness he sought all day,
To God did he always pray
Idle for a moment he did not stay.
On his way he once found
Many stones scattered around,
Many a nights did he return
To clear the stones and yearn.
A farmer who watered his field
And to idleness did not yield,*

*Saw in the darkness of the night
Shaikh Mathi busy forthright.
He did not care to rest
And all night was in his quest.
One night the farmer came
And called Shaikh Mathi by his name:
"Oh chosen one, what do you do?
The object of this toil is who?
You are lord of the good
And a model of sainthood.
The soil at your door is gold,
Collyrium for the eyes, behold.
Many a nights you do not sleep
And in restlessness you weep,
Clearing stones from the way
What fortune is in this clay?"
Shaikh Mathi who was blessed
With these words, he stressed:
"He who serves in God's way
For an hour or a day,
Does the best deed of all
Among creatures big and small."*

ALLAHYAR AFREDAY

Eloquent poet

Abdulaziz Kâkarh narrates: This poet lives in Bori¹⁰⁴ and is 40 years old. He has a divan and his poetry is as sweet as honey. Abdulaziz Kâkarh gave me this lyric so I may include it in the book.

Lyric

*I am bound by grief
Which I cannot escape,
I shed tears of separation
With my heart's wound agape.*

*May you fall in love
So you can feel my pain,
Love is like a fruitless tree
All my efforts are in vain.*

*I lie like an urchin
By the side of your door,
As I die here in pain
You abandon me once more.*

*As I burn with love
In this everlasting fire,
I see not a clue
Of your love and desire.*

*You may treat me kindly or cruelly
I will lie at love's gate,
Nothing else do I desire
But your love's estate.*

*Allahyar is at your door
Waiting for a glance,
No matter how much you reject him
He will wait for his last chance.*

BABOJAN BABEI¹⁰⁵

Chief of the time

He is the son of Karam Khan Babei and lives in Atghar. When Haji Mir Khan, resident of heaven, was defeating Gurgin's army of oppression, he gathered his men and by way of Mashora¹⁰⁶ laid siege to Qandahar. When Gurgin Khan was killed he was appointed the governor of Kalat.

The author of the book writes: When Shah Mahmud, the brother of Shah Hussain, the present king, marched toward Asfahan in 1134 H. (1723 A.D.), Babojan gathered 3,000 warriors from the Hothek, Toukhay, Taraki and Aka Khel tribes to accompany Shah Mahmud's army to Asfahan. Babojan fought so bravely that even Rustam's bravery was forgotten. Babojan was the student and disciple of Miyaji. In 1129 H. (1717 A.D.) he wrote the story of Shaha and Gulān¹⁰⁷ into Pashto lyrics. His book is entitled *Kesas-al-Ashoqeen* (Stories of Lovers). He praises love in his book and says:

Love poem

*Love's power is innate
Its victory is great,
With its fire unfurled
It burns over the world.

The loveless heart is a dread
Without love it is dead,
Love does not have one mood
It is gracious and sometimes rude.

Pashtoons often chant and say,
A famous proverb every day:
'Without love the head is hollow'
The right path it cannot follow.

A loveless heart I do not demand
Not every heart is worthy of love's hand,
The torment and grief of love
Is hidden in a velvet glove.

True love is worthy of the pure
A blessing of God that shall endure.*

REDEI KHAN MOHMAND

Eloquent poet of the time

Reidi Khan is the son of Ghiasuddin Khan and grandson of Masàud Khan Mohmand. The village of Mohmand¹⁰⁸ is named after them. Ghias Khan was a companion and friend of Haji Mir Khan, resident of heaven. Reidi Khan is an active person, and an intimate friend. He is respected by the king, shadow of God, and is rich and powerful. He is kind to his friends and is a companion of the author of the book. He is a well-

versed poet and has studied the science of eloquence. He is knowledgeable in theology, interpretation of the Koran and grammar and resolves the difficulties of his students in these fields.

In 1136 H. (1724 A.D.) Reidi Khan went to Asfahan and held discussions with Shah Mahmud. Later he returned to Qandahar and wrote a book on the battles of Haji Mir Khan and Shah Mahmud. This book contains 14,000 couplets and is called *Mahmud Nama* (Book of Mahmud). When he read it in the presence of the king, shadow of God, he was awarded one thousand golden coins. He is so generous that within a few days he offered all the gold to his friends and acquaintances. Reidi Khan's poetry contains lyrics, quatrains and odes. *Mahmud Nama* is so liked by people that Pashtoons read it in their gatherings. The story of Gurgin's death and the conquest of Asfahan are included in it.

Mohammad, the author of this books says: I asked Reidi Khan that I wanted to include a large portion of *Mahmud Nama* in this book. Reidi Khan sent me a part of his divan in which he relates the story of Gurgin Khan's death. With the grace of God Almighty, I include it here.

A poem from *Mahmud Nama*:

The death of Gurgin Khan and the encomium in honor of Haji Mir Khan
I will tell you a good story
Of Gurgin Khan's death and vainglory.
When Mir Khan in Asfahan was astay,
Toward Kàba did he pray.
He told the King about the Pashtoon's plight
Their misfortune and Gurgin's cruelty outright.
The king answered he could not
Stop the cruelty of the despot.
By dismissal he would not leave
Or let the people of Qandahar to grieve.
Gurgin is like a hungry wolf in a flock

*That kills every member of the stock.
I do not know what to do with this man
Without religion of the Armenian clan,
He does not follow the Islamic code
The teachings of Jesus or the Christain mode.
I am afraid God's anger will prevail
And the kingdom in its endeavors will fail.*
*Mir Khan replied: Shah Hussain see,
From this tyrant the people cannot flee;
This werewolf among us is astray
Opressing the people in every way.
This is the fourth time that I come
Complaining to you about this scum;
If the king does not perceive
And ask his governor to leave,
There will be cruelty all around
And raze this kingdom to the ground.*

An infidel king will stay, but a cruel one will not

*An infidel can always rule
If he is just and not cruel,
But a tyrant cannot ascend a throne
The Lord's kindness to everyone is known.
God gives the caliphate to those who are
Kind of heart in their darbar,
O Sultan listen carefully to this
Oppress not the helpless.
The fate of the unjust is doomed
In fire they all will be consumed.
The cry of the oppressed has such power*

*That it will burn the tyrant's tower.
The oppressor will become mute
His followers will be destitute,
The tyrant should pity himself and ensure
That he makes not the world and himself poor.
O Sultan always be aware,
Don't put your throne in a snare.
This is what Mir Khan made clear
But the king would not hear,
He left Gurgin in Qandahar to stay
Subjecting the people to his cruel way
He left the werewolf among them free
To torture the people with glee.
Mir Khan went to Hejaz to see
The holy Mecca where he could plea.*

Mir Khan's plea to the Holy Prophet

*He went away and one night he did cry
To the Prophet that the Pashtoons will die,
Your followers are subjected to oppression
Listen to their cries in succession,
The Pashtoons sacrificed themselves for you
Note their plea clear and true.
From endless cruelty set them free
Send Gurgin to his death to the sea.
In your name the Pashtoons pray
From your teachings they won't stray
For the cause of Islam we all die
And for your soul's peace we do cry.
Don't forget us O benevolent savior*

Enlightening the world with virtuous behavior.
I shed tears at your sacred door
See my people swept into the fire's core,
Save us from this fearful strife
Spare us from the tyrant's knife.
Your love and kindness are well known
And your fortitude in every heart sown.
Without your guidance the Pashtoons will perish
And peace they will not cherish.
O Prophet, I have come to your grave's side
Take my plea to God and be my guide,
So He may bestow kindness on all
And save Pashtoons from cruelty's call.
Shorten this tyrant's reign
Save us from this shameful stain.
Blessed be your Islamic law
Keep us away from the tyrant's jaw
Such is my desire at your door
I need your kindness and nothing more.
With respect I submit my plea,
You who are the savior from cruelty.
Only to you Pashtoons tell woes of their life
Seeking deliverance in death and strife.
Save our nation from torment,
Let the tyrant forever repent.
Raise your head and see our grief
And the oppression of the cruel chief,
Who is not ashamed of you
Nor Jesus who spoke words true.
I have told you my story O gracious guide
Help us in our just stride.

Mir Khan's dream in the holy city of Medina and the news of freedom from oppression

*As Mir Khan made his plea
The chains of cruelty broke free.
Mir Khan dreamt about Sediqe Akbar,
Accompanied by Farooq Omar.
They told him not to worry anymore,
Your people are free, do not lament at this door,
Go tell your people they are free
The oppressor's tyranny they won't see.
God will help the Pashtoons in their strife
In dignity they will spend their life,
God will bestow grace on them
So they may uproot cruelty's stem.
Devoted to God they will be evermore
Forever forgotten will be the tyrant's lore.
God's words they will to heart take
And for Him their lives they will forsake,
As long as they maintain Islam's name
Throughout the world they will gain fame.*

Good tidings and decree of the Saints

*Mir Khan heard the good tidings in his sleep
And was moved by it deep,
He looked for the holy shrine's saints
And forwarded them his complaints.
He told them of Gurgin's cruel spree
And from them sought a decree.
They all made the judgment same*

And to one conclusion came:

To end the tyranny once and for all

On all Moslems big and small.

When next year Mir Khan came home

He found his people under the tyrant's dome,

He contemplated to save his nation

From oppression and subjugation.

He gathered leaders of all clans

And told them about his dream and plans;

The Arab saints and what they decreed

To fight for freedom they all agreed.

When Gurgin saw that Mir Khan

Was inciting his brethren, the nation Afghan,

With cruelty he was disposed to the poor

And turned himself into a werewolf for sure.

He imprisoned the leaders of the tribes

And sought informers by giving them bribes.

Mir Khan's plan, people's oath on the holy Koran and Gurgin's death

Mir Khan planned and conferred to resist

The cruelty which in Qandahar did persist,

He gathered his people and they swore

By the Koran to end the tyranny evermore.

Saidal Nasir and Babojan Babei came

To join Bahadur Khan and other men of fame,

Miyaji also came to his aid,

Yusuf¹⁰⁹ brought the Hotheks from Syoray for the raid,

Aziz Nourzay of Delaram came to join

Gul Khan Baberr and Nour Khan Barreitsh, the lion.

Nasro Alekozay from Jaldak came

To join the martial game.

Yahya Khan¹¹⁰ and his son Mohammad Khan were there

And swore that Gurgin, they would not spare.

Yunus Kâkerr attacked the wicked foe,

Many were killed before they could run and go.

Gurgin was finally slain

And the motherland was free again.

Haji Mir took Qandahar with his will

And gathered his people fighting still.

He told them that the tyrant is dead

But the Pashtoons have an arduous task ahead,

The King's army may be ready to raid

We have to set a strong blockade,

Asfahan has a large fighting force

To be dispatched our way in due course,

They will all Pashtoons annihilate

And the Afghan's honor and dignity dissipate.

The enemy is strong, let us fight as one force

United we shall proceed on freedom's course.

In Qandahar he gathered all the warriors bold

And the tribal leaders who were told:

Of the danger which lay ahead

And if they fought not they will be dead.

Twenty thousand brave men gathered in town,

Mir Khan addressed them at sundown.

A pious, white-bearded man he was

He explained the urgency of the cause.

This great statesman as he spoke,

Rekindling national pride among the men folk.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and seven

Qandahar was freed with a sign from heaven.

*Tyranny spreads havoc all around
And its consequences are totally unsound,
Tyranny's fire burns the world
In their own fire, the tyrants are hurled,
The tyrant digs his own grave
Of bad deeds he is a slave.*

MULLAH MOHAMMAD ADIL BARREITSH

Learned scholar

This preacher is from the Barreitsh tribe. He is an exalted scholar who lives in Shorawak and is a teacher. His father, Mullah Mohammad Fazel, was also a good scholar and wrote *Rawza-e Rabani* (Divine Garden). Mullah Mohammad Adil has written a book in poetry which is called *Mahasen-al-Salawat* (Benefits of Prayer), which deals with prayers, its reward and the punishment of the unenlightened. I present some couplets from that book so he may be remembered.

Verse

*Sinful are the ones who do not care
And are indolent in prayer,
Those who intentionally do not pray
They are infidels, this I can say,
The ones who say we pray, but do not know how
Animals they are like sheep and cow.
Knowledge should be everyone's quest
Without it you cannot rest,
If deliberately you pray not*

*In hell you are bound to rot.
In God's court I seek refuge
From the overbearing stooge.
May I join all those
Who God's religion chose.*

MOHAMMAD TAHIR JAMARYAÑEI

The clever poet

He is the son of Mohammad Ali Jamaryañei and is a merchant by profession. He brings his wares from Skaapur¹¹¹ and often visits that place. He has a good sense of humor. Mostly, he writes humorous poetry, but occasionally he has a serious poem. He lived in Mastung¹¹² with his father where he studied theology under learned men. He is a friend of the author. His shop is a meeting place of men of letters. He is jovial with his friends. Mohammad Hothek, the author of this book says: One day a friend of his, named Mohammad Omar Khan of the Luñ tribe, came to his shop. He is friendly with poets due to his poetic nature, and composes poetry himself.

When Mohammad Omar Khan and Mohammad Tahir meet they joke and tell each other humorous stories. Mohammad Omar said: "I have been a friend of Mohammad Tahir for ten years but have not benefited from his company." Instantaneously he recited these humerous couplets:

Couplets

*They say that conversation,
Affects each other's imagination.
For years you have talked wonky
It did not turn me into a donkey.*

Mohammad Tahir who has a sharp sense of humor replied:

Answering couplets

*Conversation does affects one a lot
Don't refuse what it has begot;
Formerly you were that beast
Turned into a human being at least.*

Mohammad Omar Khan in jest asked Mohammad Tahir that his name was Tahir (pure) but not *mutahar* (purified). Mohammad Omar recited this couplet:

*To me I am Tahir
But to you I am mutahir (purifier).*

MULLAH MOHAMMAD AYAZ NEYAZAY

Pure of mind and knower of secrets

He is an anchorite, a leader in asceticism and the disciple of Miya Abdul Hakim,¹¹³ may he be blessed by God. Although a resident of the city of Qandahar he is not home for months and wanders in the country side. He visits saints and prays in quite corners. It is said that Mullah Mohammad Ayaz is awake at night roaming the hills and dales. He is known to weep in front of his saint and says: "I cannot bear elegance and perfection and therefore I have to run away." Mullah Mohammad Ayaz has a good voice and when he sometimes recites his poetry people shed tears. His style of poetry is firm and sagacious. It is said that as he roams in the wilderness wild animals do not attack him. His student, Mullah Abdul Halim, states: My mentor did not come home for several

months. I started to look for him in the mountains. I came upon a pack of wolves that were fighting with each other. Upon seeing the wolves I concealed myself behind rocks. When the wolves left I went to the spot and saw my mentor soundly asleep. The wolves did not pay any attention to him or attack him. He was not even awoken by the commotion of the wolves. When I woke him up and told him about the incident, he replied: "A heart which is blessed with the love of God, cannot be destroyed by wild creatures. True humanity is so exalted that animality cannot affect it. Just as the material conscience distances itself from virtuous conscience and perishes, the creatures of the animal world cannot fight civility and run away from its splendor." Mullah Mohammad Ayaz is the author of a divan, and I present some of his quatrains here:

Quatrains

*They say a heart which has wisdom
Makes you worthy in every kingdom,
One who lacks compassion and knowledge
Does not bring you any stardom.*

*Love is like a loose foundation
Do not erect on it this house of aggravation.
If your heart is enlightened with God's love
You will be happy in the desert's isolation.*

*Keeping others happy is a pious deed
Do not oppress those in dire need,
Run not God's home with tyranny
For the pure hearted sow only piety's seed.*

*One who grieves for himself is not composed,
And to God's love he is not disposed.
You can either worship yourself or your love,
In truth: to self-pity you need not be exposed.*

MULLAH MOHAMMAD HAFIZ BARAKZAY

Eminent preacher

This scholar is the son of Mohammad Akbar Barakzay. He lives in Ksheta Khwa¹¹⁴ of Qandahar and has studied general sciences. He is a master of theology and conducts the sermon during the Friday prayers and is famous by the name of Waàez. Sometimes during the sermon he recites his poetry also which is in the form of advice. He has written a book called *Tuhfa-e Waàez* (Gift of the Sermon) which deals with asceticism and piety.

Mohammad Hafiz Waàez is famous for being righteous and cites God's injunctions before the king and elders dauntlessly. He is a follower of Miya Nour Mohammad¹¹⁵ and teaches theology in Qandahar to his students who greatly benefit from his words. I present this poem of religious advice from *Tuhfa-e Waàez* so all Moslems may read it.

Bêdêla of holy advice

*O unfortunate do not be proud
If you seek paradise aloud.
O unfortunate we are guests in this world,
We live elsewhere, there we will be hurled.*

*Good and bad will be remembered
When we all will be tried,
Save yourself from hells fire
If you seek not to be fried.*

*O unfortunate do not cheat
It is not a good deed,
Those whose habit is to cheat
In life will not succeed.*

*Rejected will be on judgment's day
All what they have done.
In shame they will live
And happiness they will shun.*

*O unfortunate be wise
Leave greed aside,
When eulogizing God
Practice patience beside.*

*Be devoted to your religion
Tell the truth and pray.
In submission to God
You will seek the right way.*

*O unfortunate stay away
From the illegitimate task,
Let not God's curse
Be your masquerading mask.*

*If you heart desires
A beautiful houri,
Then stay away from
Hells wrath and fury.*

NASRUDDIN KHAN ANDARR

Nasruddin Khan is the son of Mohammad Zaman who came to Qandahar during the majestic reign of Shah Hussain from Ghazni. He started serving Bahadur Khan with a clear conscience and joined the ranks of the courtiers of the king, shadow of God. Since he is a brave man, he gained the respect of the king and Bahadur Khan in a short time. Nasruddin Khan Andarr writes good poems and is considered a top poet of the time. In his divan, he calls himself Nasr. No doubt that he possesses good skills of composition and is respected among friends. I present a poem by him in the book so he may be remembered.

Nasruddin Khan's *bêdêla*

*See the life of the poor loner
Spending day and night in tears,
Though his lips may be shut
In silence he conveys his fears.*

*The poor lover in life
Has only one desire,
To see his lover's pretty face
Without having to conspire.*

*It is his sweetheart's union
That makes him happy forever,
Nothing else does he seek
Nor desires other whatsoever.*

*God started this fire
In the hearts of lovers true,
Sadness and desperation
In their life they accrue.*

*While others are happy
And sleep soundly in the night,
The lovelorn spend the dark hours
In anguish and fright.*

*On the hearts of lovers
God has etched a scar,
In search of a pretty face
They look wide and far.*

*They cry all the time
And rant and wail,
In the ocean of restlessness
True lovers always sail.*

*The lover's heart is broken
It is a pain he cannot surpass,
It is impossible to mend
Like the pieces of a broken glass.*

*The lover lives in hope
Of reunion one day,
Without love's desire
He is sick and wastes away.*

*Reunion for true lovers
Is the most happy event,
Only Nasr is vexed
And sadness he cannot prevent.*

*The fire of separation
Is burning him inside,
He has no relief
From this fateful tide.*

MULLAH NOUR MOHAMMAD GHALJAY

Selected by God

He is a Ghaljay and belongs to the Toukhay clan of Ghalji tribe. He is the son of Mullah Yar Mohammad and lives in Panjwayee.¹¹⁶ He studied Sharià and teaches it. He is 80 years of age and was the teacher of Haji Mir Khan's daughters and children for five years. Nour Mohammad has written a book called *Nafàe Musleemeen* (Of Things Beneficial to Moslems) which describes the rules of Shariàh (Islamic law). It is dedicated to His Majesty Shah Hussain and is considered an important document of theology and ethics. At present he teaches *Mishkath-e Shareef*, *Bokhari-e Shareef*, *Hedaya Kanz* and *Tariqa-e Mohammadia* and other current texts. The following is a sample of his poetry:

Poetry of advice

*If you are a believer of faith
Always lament and cry,
Repent and ask for forgiveness
Be aware and in hell do not die.
Dear one, be alert at dawn.*

*Let me tell you a few words¹¹⁷
Be alert at dawn and pray,
Whether you will go to heaven or hell:
When in the grave there you lay.
Dear one, be alert at dawn.*

*In the company of true Moslems
Stay awake in the morning hour,
Pity thyself and be truthful,
Be humble and refrain from power.
Dear one, be alert at dawn.*

*Do not lie and betray others
Or you will lose faith in the end.
You will gain by staying humble,
In prayers, with the pious blend.
Dear one, be alert at dawn.*

*Obey God's sacred rules
Be good natured and cherish true deeds.
Stay calm and do not indulge
Life is short, sow truth's seeds.
Dear one, be alert at dawn.*

*Be in hope of kindness
As its door is always open wide.
Kindness descends from heaven
And God's forgiveness at dawn beside.
Dear one, be alert at dawn.*

ABDUL LATIF ATSEKZAY

Witty poet and orator of the holy Koran

This poet is exalted among lovers of poetry. He is from Bostan¹¹⁸ and is the son of Ghulam Mohammad. He came to Qandahar and lives in Mashor. He studied sciences from his childhood and learned the Koran by heart. He is an outstanding poet capable of writing humorous poetry. He writes tales and stories in poetry in which he advises people. He is capable of humorous advice and people enjoy his style. The writer of this book sometimes meets him and listens to his poems. His sense of humor is outstanding and people enjoy his company. He is forty years old, but despite his mature age, acts like a young man. He is capable of instantaneous recitation of poetry. The writer includes his story of the camel and the hare in the book so it may not be devoid of humor.

The fable of the camel and the hare

*Listen friends, I will tell you a story
Of the camel and the hare,
Its a story with a tantalizing flair.
Once a hare and a camel
Formed a bond without trammel,*

*They were friends very close
And each other they chose.
Said the camel to the hare:
Oh my friend you are rare,
We have formed a happy pair
And everything we will share.
All the time they talked
And together they walked,
Not a moment did they spare
Everything they would share.
In the camel's large home
The hare would happily roam,
From morning till night
They told stories with delight.
The hare was the camel's guest
Their friendship no one did contest,
Always close were they
And their friendship did not sway.
The camel treated his guest well,
In his house the hare did dwell.
Excuses he did not make
His friendship he did not forsake.
One day the happy hare
Invited the camel to his lair,
He gathered all his friends around
A joyous gathering the camel found.
As the camel came to the den
He found it smaller than a hen,
It would not fit his head
Not to speak of his body instead.
A little grass was the treat*

*For all the friends to eat,
Whatever more the hares brought
To the camel it was food naught.
Hungry he returned home,
Inside the den he could not roam,
There was no place for him to stay
The hares felt shameful as he went away.
They all sat around,
Responsible, the host they found.
They agreed: When someone you cannot fend,
Then you should not be his friend.
When a camel and a hare
Wants a common to share,
A large field the hare should sow
With many plants row by row.
When you want to be a friend
You should know that in the end,
There will be difficulty in sight
If you do not match in size and height.
If you want to do things right
Then listen to my plight:
In water before you leap
Know ahead if its shallow or deep.*

SAIDAL KHAN NASER¹¹⁹

Champion of the time, commander-in-chief,
bravest of the era

Alif Khan Naser narrated to Mohammad Hothek: Saidal Khan, the son of Abdal Khan, is from the Naser Barhizay tribe. His father lived in Daela which is near Waza Khwa. When Sultan Mullkhay Toukhay¹²⁰ gained independence and ruled the lands from Ghazni to Jaldak the Barhizay came with Abdal Khan to Atghar and settled there. With the assistance of Adil Khan Toukhay, Abdal Khan and Adil Khan fought against the *Beglar Begi*¹²¹ of Qandahar, who was appointed by the Safavid king, and did not allow him to spread his domain to Kalat. Saidal Khan who was the son of a valiant father, grew up to be a brave man. At the time when Haji Mir Khan killed Gurgin Khan, the *Beglar Begi* of Qandahar, Saidal Khan was the commander-in-chief of the Pashtoon forces. He had studied general sciences such as theology, interpretation of the Koran, grammer and composition and Persian books.

When Mir Khan was alive and the Safavid forces came to inflict revenge on the people of Qandahar, Saidal Khan was appointed the commander of the Pashtoons by their leader. He fought large Safavid forces several times and was victorious in every battle. The word of his bravery soon spread, and after the death of Haji Mir Khan, he was appointed the commander of Shah Mahmud's forces. He attacked Asfahan and was victorious in all the battles against the Safavids, occupying the city.

It is said that when Saidal Khan was not engaged in battle and was free from the confusion of warfare he wrote love poetry. Now that he is involved in administering Asfahan he does not have the time to write poetry. His days are spent in fierce battles that would even frighten Rustum. I include this poem from Saidal Khan so that the book may not be devoid of this great warrior's letter.

Bêdêla by Saidal Khan, resident of heaven

*My true love is so dear
She is precious far and near,
Others I do not want to see
Her world is full of glee.

The two tresses of her hair
Has set me in a snare,
With jewels on her forehead
In the garden I see her softly tread.

In fire do I burn
In this garden do I yearn.

If love's game you want to try
Day and night you have to cry,
If your lover is cold hearted
From her sight you will be parted.

My gaping wounded heart
Is the target of her dart.

The lovelorn climbs mountains high
Throughout the night without a sigh,
From his homeland to the desert hot
Waiting, what affliction is his lot.

Loves contentment he cannot find
In the dales he leaves behind.

To every one in sight
I cry day and night,
From separation's pain I cannot rest
Come my love do not put my faith to test.
Come throw me a glance
Give my love a second chance.*

*Like the drops of dew
I cry desperately for you,
Tear drops flow on my face
As I lament for your grace.
It is known that I am mad
Love's affliction has made me sad.
In the garden of the rose
From my eyes water flows,
The bulbul's pity my bruised heart
But you laugh as you depart.
Lovesick I am pale
I am Saidal, this is my tale.*

The Third Treasure

Known works of poetesses

NAZO TOUKHAY

The chaste one

It has been narrated: Nazo was the daughter of Sultan Mulkhay Toukhay and was born in 1061 H. (1651 A.D.) near Thazi.¹²² During that time Sultan Mulkhay governed the tribes from Ghazni to Jaldak. He was an independent ruler and did not have an opponent or rival. In childhood Nazo studied from Pashtoon women and elderly scholars. She grew to be a famous and courageous woman. Men were awed by her bravery and kindness.

Trusted narrators say: Sultan Mulkhay died in a battle near Sur Ghar (Sur mountain) and Haji Adil, the brother of Nazo, went to the battlefield to avenge his father's death. He left Nazo to take care of the household and fortress. Nazo girth a sword around her waist and defended the fortress along with the men of the house against the marauders.

My father narrated that Nazo Ana was well known for her generosity and hospitality and always helped the poor and wayfarers. In winter when the caravans would arrive they stayed at Nazo's fortress and she took care of hundreds of guests. She fed them and those who were in need of clothing were given clothes. The word of her generosity spread from Khybar to Kosan.¹²³ Nazo was married to Shalem Khan Hothek, the son of Karam Khan. They were from the Shalemkhel clan, the present rulers of Qandahar and Asfahan. Nazo had four sons, the eldest of whom was Haji Mir Khan and the others were Abdulaziz Khan, Yahya Khan and Abdul Qadir Khan.

The author's father narrated to me: Nazo was a pious woman and took good care of her children. When Haji Mir Khan, resident of heaven, was born she dreamt that Shaikh

Bitanay, God's mercy be on him, was telling her: "Take good care of your son, he will grow into a famous man and will undertake good deeds. He will visit the Holy Mecca and will father monarchs who will enlighten the faith." Nazo raised Haji Mir Khan in a religious atmosphere and by the age of seven had taught him the essential duties of religion. She advised him that according to Shaikh Bitanay, may he be blessed, he had an important task ahead in life. "When you grow up pray to God and be at his service. God brought you to this world to accomplish great deeds and people will have peace under your helm," she said.

It has been narrated: Haji Mir Khan, resident of heaven, always said that his mother had willed great tasks to him and he had to fulfill them. When in 1119 H. (1707 A.D.) he liberated his nation, he knelt in prayers to God and said: "This was the task that my mother had bestowed upon me. It was a service for your slaves which I managed to fulfill." My father has told me, that beside being a generous and pious woman, Nazo also recited poetry in praise of God. She had a divan of two thousand verses. Her style was eloquent and better than men. I heard this quatrain from my father which I consider to be exemplary.

Quatrain

*At dawn the narcissus petals were wet,
Like tears, flowed each crystalline droplet.
Why do you cry thus, O pretty flower? I asked:
"My life is just a fleeting smile", replied the floret.*

May Almighty God bless all those that have passed until the day of judgement.

HALIMA, THE HAFIZA*

Precious pearl of chastity

She is the daughter of the eminent chief, Khushal Khan Khaṭak, resident of heaven, and the full sister of Abdul Qadir Khan. My father narrated: When I went to Banu she was alive. During the lifetime of her father she studied the general sciences and then became the disciple of Shaikh Sàdi Lahori, God's compassion be upon him, and swore allegiance in the name of the saint on the hand of her brother, Abdul Qadir Khan, who was also a regent of the Shaikh.

It has been narrated: Bebe[☒] Halima is a learned woman who lives in chastity and has not married. She prays and teaches other women in the house of her brother, Abdul Qadir Khan, and knows the Koran by heart. My father has told me that Bebe Halima writes poetry in Pashto and is a prominent poetess of her time and her peers like her lyrics. She has studied all books of mystic thought and is capable of explaining the difficulties of *Maçnavie Sharif* (Holy Maçnavi) and *Maktobat-e Hazrat Imam Rabani* (Notes of Hazrat Imam Rabani). In her poetry worldly love is not seen but all her lyrics are based on the elements of Divine truth and she praises Divine love. My father recited one of her poems which I include in the *Khazana*. May the grace of God be upon her.

Lyric

*The mere thought of my love
Made me overwhelmingly elated,
I do not know if my happiness
To Mumtaz or Nour-Jahan¹²⁴ can be related.*

* Female of hafiz, one who has memorized the Koran.
☒ Title of respect for a woman.

*When I was honored with Your love
On that auspicious day,
I praised the compassionate Lord
In more than one way.*

*When the worldly love of Ayaz
My heart managed to disown,
I felt prouder than I would have
Sitting on Mahmud's throne.*

*To everyone I look
I picture His face,
I am overwhelmed with joy
By His charming grace.*

*All other thoughts
Have left my weary mind,
Friends and the foe alike
To me are one kind.*

*The slanderer's deception
Has reached a fearful pitch,
Be aware O Halima
Your love it may bewitch.*

BEBE NAEKBAKHTA¹²⁵

The perfect gnostic

This chaste and learned woman is the daughter of Shaikh Allahdad of the Mamozaï tribe. Her father and grandfather were religious leaders of the tribe in Ashnagar.¹²⁶ My father narrated: Shaikh Imamuddin Khalil Ghoryakhel writes in his book *Awliya-e Afghan* (Afghan Saints) that Shaikh Allahdad was a great saint, and his daughter Naekbakhta, who was a virtuous women, studied theology and spent her life praying to God. In 951 H. (1544 A.D.) she married Shaikh Qadam, may his grave be blessed, son of Khwaja Mohammad Zahed Khalil Mathizay. In 956 H. (1549 A.D.) she gave birth to Shaikh Miya Qasim Afghan, helper of the time and axis of the era, in Badani.¹²⁷ This Shaikh became famous in India and Pashtoonkhwa for his piety.

It has been narrated that Shaikh Imamuddin also descended this line. In *Awliya-e Afghan* he writes: Bebe Naekbakhta was a devotee of God and a gnostic. She has written a book called *Ershad-al-Fuqara* (Guide of the Indigent) in which she gives advice, which is useful to the needy and servants of God. She completed the book in 969 H. (1562 A.D.) and my father had seen it in Banu during his journey to that place. My father had recited the following poems from that book which he remembered. I copy them here so that *Khazana* may contain the work of this gracious woman.

Poem of advice

*God bless you O believer
Be truthful in and out,
Pray only with sincerity
In faith do not have doubt.*

*Be content with what you have
Do not boast of your pride,
You will cry day and night
If like a prisoner you have to hide.*

*The soul's prison is a place
For the unbelievers who do not pray,
O God from such curse
Keep me far and away.*

*Obey God's orders
Leave all other tasks aside,
From this world we are to go
With sincerity do stride.*

*As your strength prevails
Worship God all the time,
Stay away from sin
Aim for an ideal sublime.*

*All the world will be your foe
If you are not afraid
Of the day of judgment
And its fateful tirade.*

*Leave this world aside
If you have any wisdom,
Go and seek eternity
In God's sacred kingdom.*

Another poem of advice, God's mercy be on her

*Always seek God's love
And serve in his way,
Stay away from sin
From virtue do not sway.*

*Live with sincerity
Leave evil and know,
On evil deeds all around
Let your tears flow.*

*O benevolent God
Forgive my ill deed,
I seek your kindness
In time of greed.*

*Do not forget God's sanctity
Have fear from his rage,
Take the virtuous path
At life's every stage.*

BEBE ZAINAB

Venerable poetess of noble descent, may God lengthen her life

Bebe Zainab is the daughter of Haji Mir Khan, resident of heaven who learnt the lessons of purity and virtue in childhood. She has studied the Koran, Islamic jurisprudence and famous books in Persian. Her science teacher is Mullah Nour Mohammad Ghajji who has been the educator of the royal household for a long time.

It has been narrated: Bebe Zainab is an intelligent and knowledgeable woman and advises the king, His Majesty Shah Hussain, and helps him in solving administrative problems. The king listens to her advice and acts accordingly. This royal gem of purity also recites eloquent poetry and is respected by her peers. She enjoys reading the

divans of other poets. She spends her time praying, reading the Koran and teaching the womenfolk of the royal household.

It is said that when the news of the death of Shah Mahmud, resident of haven, reached Qandahar, the royal family was deeply shocked and saddened, and the women of the household cried and lamented. When Bebe Zainab heard the news of her brother's fate she was deeply moved and soothed her grief by reading the Koran and wrote an elegy in memory of her deceased brother which I am including in the book. May God keep all the family of the king, shadow of God, in peace and harmony.

Elegy in memory of Shah Mahmoud, resident of heaven

*I heard a call that my brother
Has left this world for another.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*My grieving heart was suddenly
Obsessed with a deep fear,
When I came to realize
That Shah Mahmud was nowhere near.*

*The bright world so suddenly
Brought darkness to my eyes,
The wound of separation
Deep in my heart lies.*

*Due to this ominous tragedy
I hear the Hothek's mourning call,
The crown of their kingdom
Is on the verge to fall.*

*When it was learned that Shah Mahmud
Died as his enemy he subdued.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*A youthful warrior he was
Who fought bravely with his sword,
In the struggle for freedom
Death was his last reward.*

*He left the enemy bludgeoned
With fear it was fraught,
Dauntlessly he ravaged them
And like a lion fought.*

*He who fights for freedom and truth
With remorse death meets him in youth.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*O Mahmud, it is not just your sister
That cries in such pain,
All the people of Qandahar
Are also lamenting in vain.*

*All your relatives are mourning
Your brother, the King is acry,
The infantry and the mounted men
In agony would like to die.*

*All Pashtoons who had vowed
To fight with you are crying loud.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*With Shah Mahmud's death
Our crown fell apart,
Asfahan was spared from destruction
As he was laid to rest with a sad heart.*

*With his death the Pashtoon's sun
Became hazy and dark,
It is the enemy's turn now
To leave a taunting mark.*

*Now that the king is gone
The Pashtoons are to poverty drawn.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*The Pashtoon army is scattered
All around the land,
As our king went to the grave
There was no one to take command.*

*The Asfahan throne and crown
Have been left behind,
The enemy is celebrating his death
In his death great joy they find.*

*They all so merrily sing:
The Pashtoon's are left without a king.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*O heavens, what injustice
Have you brought on us,
The symbol of unity,
Among the Pashtoons is gone thus.*

*The enemy is joyful
At our wretched plight,
With Shah Mahmud in grave
See them laugh with delight.*

*Torment has descended on our home
In pain the people aimlessly roam.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*O Hotheks cry, Shah Mahmud
Where has he gone?
Without a leader in battle
Who will lead the Pashtoons thereon?*

*There is no leader to see
From Asfahan to Farah and yon,
The king who brought us glory
Where has he suddenly gone?*

*See the glory of the Pashtoon nation
Has vanished without incarnation.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*O Mahmud you were so young
Why did you leave me to weep?
The royal throne and crown
You did not care to keep.*

*Asfahan no more falls
Into your kingdom's sphere.
Raise your head brother
See that the foe is here.*

*The enemy has spread around
On aggression it is bound.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*I hear the sound of sadness
And lament all over the land,
With Shah Mahmud's death
At stake is the Pashtoon homeland.*

*All those happy souls
Are in agony confined,
As the wind brings the clamor
Of lamentation of all kind.*

*Both the young and the old
Disbelieve what they have been told.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

*O brother, may you rest
In the garden of bliss,
Stay in peace in heaven
Away from earth's malice.*

*On the day of judgment
May your soul be in joy,
With the grace of God
May eternal life you enjoy.*

*May the kindness of the Lord
Be forever your reward.
The whole of Qandahar wept in vain
When they heard Shah Mahmud was slain.*

ZARGHOONA

Eminent poetess

Zarghoona was the daughter of Mullah Din Mohammad Kâkerh who lived in Panjwayee. She studied sciences under her father, learned the rules of eloquence and read poetry. She was married to Sàdullah Khan Nourzay and raised brave sons who were well-versed in the sciences and the arts. My father narrated: Zarghoona translated the *Bostan* (Garden) of Shaikh Muslihuddin Sàdi, God's mercy be on him, into Pashto

poetry and gave it the title of *Bostan-e Pashto*. This book was completed in 903 H. (1498 A.D.) and included all the sage's advice and scholarly persuasions in Pashto.

She also recited poetry and lyrics and became famous among other poets who often read her works. They read *Bostan-e Pashto* to benefit from the advice presented in the lyrics. It is said that Zarghoona was a talented woman and a good calligraphist and scribes learned different styles of writing from her. My father told me: I saw *Bostan-e Pashto* in 1102 H. (1691 A.D.) Her hand writing put the beauty of pearls to shame. This poem is from her book which my father, God's mercy be on him, remembered and I am including it in *Khazana*.

A narrative from *Bostan*

*A story I have heard
Sweeter than honey is its every word.
One morning on Eid day
Bayazid was on his way,
He had come out from a bath
And was walking on the path.
Someone threw down some ash
Unknowingly from a stash,
His face and head were soiled
And his clothes were spoiled.
Bayazid thanked God with grace
And said as he cleaned his face:
"I am worthy of this fire
May it burn my attire,
Ash I do not despise
Nor will I complain in guise."
Wise men seek to be humble
With pride they do not rumble,
Those who proudly yelp*

*Cannot look at God for help.
By boasting, honor you won't attain
From pride you should abstain,
With humility you will earn fame
Pride will destroy you in shame.*

RABIĀ

The chaste one

I do not know the life of this poetess. What we know of her is that she was from Qandahar and lived at the time of emperor Mohammad Babur. It is said that she wrote numerous poems and had compiled a divan. My friend, Mohammad Tahir Jamaryañei¹²⁸ read to me one of her quatrains which I include in *Khazana*.

Quatrain

*He brought man to the world's mire
And put his inner body on fire,
By creating hell on earth called separation
To endure, if you divine love desire.*

End of the Book

About the life of the author of this book, the writer of these words, Mohammad Hothek states: I am Mohammad Hothek, son of Daud Khan, who was the son of Qadir Khan of the Hothek tribe. Our ancestral home is Margha and my grandfather came to live in Syoray. After that fate brought him to the village of Kokaran near Qandahar, where he was a farmer.

Qader Khan died in 1058 H. (1648 A.D.) at the ripe age of 76 years and was buried in Kokaran. My father was born in 1029 H. (1620 A.D.) in the same village and studied the sciences in his youth. He was considered a scholar of his time. He left Qandahar for a long period of time and traveled in the mountains of Kesay, Zhobe, Deras¹²⁹ Peshawar and other places. When Haji Mir Khan was fighting against Gurgin Khan my father accompanied the great leader in his battles. It is because of this that I know the royal family from a long time; and I respect them. When the Safavid army came to Qandahar in 1120 H. (1708 A.D.) my father was despatched by Haji Mir Khan, resident of paradise, to Farah, Seistan, Gulistan¹³⁰ and other areas to seek the help of the Pashtoons against the enemy. He managed to enlist the Nourzay, Barakzay and Eshaqzay tribes and attacked Khusrao Khan.¹³¹ In these battles my father was commander of Haji Mir Khan's forces. He passed away in 1136 H. (1724 A.D.), after the death of Haji Mir Khan, resident of heaven, and was buried beside his father in Kokaran. He had a firm character and sometimes recited poetry. I include two of his quatrains which represent a unique example of homonymy and eloquence.

Quatrain

*When the fire of love is lit in one's heart
His house burns and tears him apart.
The fire of love will not set you free,
Once lovelorn, from torment you cannot depart.*

Another quatrain, God's mercy be on him

*When you see how the lover's blood flows
Whether young or old no one knows,
When you see that the old are afflicted too
They are entrapped in love by your love's woes.*

Now that I have informed you about the life of my father I will write a few words about myself to inform the readers of *Khazana*. I came to this mortal world, meaning I was born on 13 Rajab-al-Murajab 1084 H. (1673 A.D.) in Kokaran. When I reached learning age my father started teaching me and until the age of eighteen I studied the tenets of religion, theology, interpretation of the Koran and the sciences of eloquence such as rhyme, meter, composition and meaning of words. After the death of my father I came to Qandahar upon the request of the king, shadow of God, may God prolong his reign. I live happily under his influence and have been exalted by the generosity of this majestic family. I spend my life reading and writing books and I do not have the desire for other worldly delights and am happy with my work. So far in my life, I have written several books one of which is this *Khazana*. My other books are on the art of eloquence which is titled *Khulasat-al-Fasahat* (Summary of Eloquence), in which I have summarized the art of eloquence in the Pashto language for Pashtoon students. Another deals with medicine and therapy which is called *Khulasat-al-Tib* (Summary of Medicine). In 1139 H. (1726 A.D.) when I presented this book to the king he gave me one hundred gold coins as reward as he has always been generous to me. Other court figures are also kind to me, especially His Excellency Bahadur Khan, who is gracious to the poor. May God prolong his life.

I have a divan which has been collected into a book and contains lyrics, odes and quatrains. When I am in a poetic mood I write poems which are liked by my peers. Since it is not good to praise oneself, and learned people refrain from boasting, I wrote about myself for the sole reason so that the readers may pray for me and remember me in their prayers. I present a lyric of mine as an example so that it may remain as a keepsake. My other poems are in my divan and those interested can read them there.

Lyric of the writer, may God forgive his sins

*Cup bearer fill my cup with red wine
Set me free from this sorrow benign.
Without wine, spring has no flavor,
With good tidings of spring let me savor.
Life is short, let me in happiness entwine,
I seek ecstasy, give me a jug of wine.
In the darkness of separation my heart is blue
In this obscurity light a fire anew.
Life's failure has made my life bitter
Let me taste bitter, sweet-bitter to me glitter.
There is no joy nor anyone drinking with glee
Pour me wine, so that I always cheerful be.
Give my cold heart the warmth of love
Let Mohammad burn in this fire from above.*

The book has come to an end with the help of God. O Almighty have mercy on the writer of this book, its readers and all those who are righteous. May peace be upon the Prophet Mohammad, his family and followers. This book came to an end on Friday, 24 Shawal 1142 H. (1729 A.D.) in Qandahar and its writer, Mohammad Hothek has achieved contentment. Praise be to God.

This book was transcribed on 10 Rabi-al-Awal 1265 H. (1849 A.D.) by Nour Mohammed Kharotay exclusively for Sardar Mehrdil Khan.

*He who reads, I long for his prayer,
For I am a sinful servant.*

The Hidden Treasure

This book was transcribed by Mohammad Abas of the Kasay tribe in the city of Quetta of Baluchistan exclusively for His Excellency Haji Mohammad Akbar of the Hothek tribe in 1303 H. (1886 A.D.). It was transcribed in great haste.

Annotations

Literary and historical

1. *Atghár* This word is derived from *ata* (eight) and *ghár* (mountain), meaning eight mountains. It is an area located southeast of Kalat. Moqur is its district center and domicile of the Toukhi tribes.
2. *Soréy* or *Syoréy*: Meaning shade. It is an area south of Kalat and is the original domicile of the Hotheks.
3. *Awlan*: Located south of Shahjoi in Qandahar province. It has many ancient relics.
4. *Sûr Ghár*: Meaning red mountain. It is located south of Shahjoi and Awlan.
5. *Paktika* or *Pashtoonkhwa*: This historical province of our country has repeatedly been mentioned in ancient books and old poetry. Its old spelling is *Pastankha*. Later it was written as *Pastankhwa* and now *Pashtoonkhwa*. Kohzad in his book, *Aryana*, explains the word, a summary of which is presented here: *Pakth*, *Pasth* or *Bakhth* have the same root. They belong to the oldest Vedic tribes of Aryan-Bactrian origin. During their migration they divided into two groups. One group stayed in Bakhdi and the other branch, mentioned together with other tribes, in the battle of Ten Kings migrated to the southern part of the Hindu Kush range and settled in the foothills of Spinghar. Herodotus mentions the Pakthi, Pakthees or Pakthuis tribe and their land as Pakthika or Pakthya. In the root of these words, *bakhd* or *bakhdi* has been preserved. The Greek transliteration of these words clearly show that the writer was referring to the Pasht tribe and to their land called *Pashthikha* (*Aryana*, p. 94).

As far as we know, Veda is the oldest document in which the name Pakhath has been mentioned. One repeatedly finds the word in this book. Rig Veda, which forms the most important historical part of Veda, refers to an important battle which took place among ten rulers along the banks of the Ravi river in the Punjab. Ten Aryan tribes participated in this battle under the leadership of their kings one of whom was the Pakhath tribe (*Cambridge History of India*). This shows that among the Aryan tribes which came to southern Hindukush, Pakhath was a brave and

eminent tribe. They were famous around 1400 to 1200 B.C. Herodotus, the father of historians 484-425 B.C., refers to them and calls their land Pak-thi-eka (*History of Herodotus*, vol. 1, p. 260-308, vol. 2, p. 157-161; *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 1 p. 150).

Ptolmey, the famous geographer, while discussing Arakozi, refers to Paktheen or the land of the Pakthis (*Aryana*, p. 95). This historical name of a part of our country is still extant as *Pashtoonkhwa* in the Pashto language. Without doubt it is the Pak-thi-eka of Herodotus. This word has been used in ancient texts and after 500 H. (1107 A.D.) it has been frequently noted in Pashto literature. For example, in this book *Skarandoi*, a poet at the court of Sultan Mazzuddin Mohammad Saam, who invaded India after 571 H. (1123 A.D.), wrote a poem in eulogy of the king in which he states:

<i>Pashtoonkha skalay zalmi ché zghély hind tē no aghléh péghlé kândi atañoona</i> When the youth of Pashtoonkhwa go to India Young and pretty maidens dance joyously.	پښتونخا بشکلی زلمی چه زغلي هند ته نو آغلې پېغلي کاندي اتلونه
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Similarly Sulaiman Maku, the author of *Tazkerat-al-Awalia*, circa 612 H. (1215 A.D.) notes Paštankha without the use of the letter wow (*Pashtana Shuàra*, vol. 1, p. 64-70). In *Paṭa Khazana* the word occurs in the poem of Baba Hotek and the preface of the book.

After the early period, we find the word repeatedly in *Makhzan-al-Islam* of Akhund Darweza Nangarhari who lived around 1000 H. (1592 A.D.) and died in the year 1054 H. (1644 A.D.) (*Tazkera-e Àulama-e Hind*, p. 59). The father of the Pashto language, Khushal Khan Khatak, says:

<i>har ché sa dē pashtoonkhwa day hâl yá dâ day</i>	هر چه شه د پښتونخوا دی حال ئي دا دی
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Whatever good is from Pashtoonkhwa, this is its state.

His Majesty King Ahmad Shah Baba states:

<i>dē dehli tákht hërawama ché râ yad krhám, zma dē skuly pashtoonkhwa dē ghroo saronah</i> I am oblivious of the throne of Delhi	د دھلي تخت هبرومه چه را ياد کرم زما د بشکلی پښتونخوا د غرو سرونه
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While pondering my beautiful Pashhoonkhwa's towering peaks.

From these historical and literary sources, it is clear that this name has been used over the centuries from the oldest times to the present day; and it is the same Pak-thi-eka of Herodotus.

Kohzad in *Aryana*, considers the geographical boundaries of this historical region as the extensions of the Sulaiman and Spinghar mountains and the valleys which are watered by their streams. He adds that Bellew considers the northern boundaries of this region as the highlands of Swat, Panjkora and the southern banks of the Logar and Kabul rivers. Its southern boundary consists of the land of Kâkarhistan, Pseen, Shaal and the Bori valley which adjoins the Indus. The Indus river forms its eastern boundary, while to the west it extends to the farthest points of the Sulaiman range (*Aryana*, p. 96).

As we know geographical boundaries change with time. During a certain period a region expands while at other times it wanes. It is possible that Pashhoonkhwa contracted during the time of Herodotus and enlarged later. For example Ptolmey notes Pak-thi-eka within the borders of the Arakozi province. Thus it is possible that the borders of the ancient province of Pak-thi-eka reached up to Argandab and Arghasan at one time.

The historical name Pak-thi-eka or Pakthika, is formed from two components. The first part is the Vedic Pakthi or Pakthkuis of Herodotus. The second part is composed of *khwâ*, which is in usage at the present time, meaning land or side in Pashto. In the past it was spelled as *kha* without the letter *wow*. This is clear in all past books such as *Tazkera-e Sulaiman Maku*, *Makhzan-e Afghani* and this book. Some Pastoon tribes still pronounce it as such.

In the past it was common to transpose the letter *khe* with *kaf*. As *kha* was transposed with the letter *kaf*, it was written as *ka*. Thus the Pakthika mentioned by Herodotus 2,500 years ago is without doubt the Pastoonkhwa of today, which is the name of a historical province of our dear country.

6. *Mërts, dus  n: M  yrt  s* whose plural is *m  yrt  sy* means enemy. The word is not used in common language now. It is clear from this book that in the past two words were

used for enemy. One was *mérts* and the other *dusén*. Baba Hothek in his poem of chivalry says:

mértsy zgheli aw térhéze میرخی ز غلی او ترهیرو

See them running the frightened foe.

In the epic poem of Amir Krorh Suri it has been used as such:

gháshy dê mán mē dzî bresna pur mértsámênu bandie.

غشی د من می خی برینبنا پر میرخمنو باندی

The arrows of my strong will like lightening fall on the enemy.

Skarandoi in his encomium says:

nê yay tsok makh tê drî dê mértsámênu نه ئې خوک مخ ته دری د میرخمنو

Not an enemy can face his might.

In the Middle period of Pashto literature this word was also used. For example Khushal Khan says:

ché dê stîrgo yay taqwa séra mértsay dê چه د ستړګو ئې نقوا سره میرخی ده

pê na haqah mî niwalé parsayay dê په ناحقه می نیولې پارسائی ده

Her eyes have enmity with piety,

Needlessly do I adhere to piety.

Afzal Khan Khatak writes in his history:

يو مدت چه تېر شو بیا د یوسفزیو د دلاز اکو سره میرخی شوه

yaw mûdat ché tîr shû biya dê yusufzaû dê dálazako séra mértsî shwa

After the passing of some time, enmity was established between the Delazak and the Yusufzay (*Tarekh-e Murasâ*).

From these literary references it is seen that from ancient times to a few centuries ago *mérts* (enemy), *mértsâ* (plural) and *mértsî* (enmity) were used. Similarly *mértsman* (enemy) and *mértsmani* (hostility) were also in use. On the other hand *dusén* (enemy), *dusna* (plural) and *dusn  y* (hostility) were its synonyms. Sulaiman Maku says:

p  r dus  n yay yarghal k  wa پر دینن ئې یر غل و کاوه

sarah wamrhorhal yay dusna سره و مرورل ئې دیننه

They attacked the enemy and vanquished the foes (*Pastana Shu  ra*, vol. 1).

After that Malikyar, who was a contemporary of Sultan Muàzuddin Ghori, writes:

turey têrê krhêy توری تیری کړئ

dusêن mo prê krhêy دښن مو پرې کړئ

Sharpen the swords; kill the foe. (*Pashtana Shuàra*, vol. 1, p. 56).

In this book it has also been used several times by old poets. For example Baba Hothek says:

zalmo pûr nang dzanonah mrha krhêy

dusêن pê ghashyoo mû pëya krhêy دښن په عشيو مو پېه کړئ

Young men face death boldly,

Strike the enemy with your arrows.

In the poem of Amir Ludi it has been used as follows: *zma* زما دښنه هسي تورا کړي *dusna hasî tûrâ krhî*, my enemy accuse me thus; or *tûrany dusêن ché wayî*, the accusing enemy says; or *dê dusno wynawë mághza*, do not listen to the enemy.

The word *dusêن* and its plural *dusna* were in use until the Middle period as Abdul Qadir Khan writes in his divan (p. 79):

khû àaréf dê cha pê sow shûkér guzar day خو عارف د چا په بنو شکر گزار دئ

nê pê bado dê dusêna larî géla نه په بدو د دښنه لري ګله

The learned is thankful for good deeds,

And does not complain about the wrong-doing of the enemies.

If we go back to the ancient Aryan times, we see that the root of the word *dusêن* is present in the literature. For example, in the Urmazd Yesht of little Avesta we see *dashmino*, the original form of the word *dushman* of Persian. *Dash* in that language meant bad and was used as a prefix of many words (*Dictionary of Little Avesta*, p. 490). In a later language, which was similar to Pahlavi, *dashmir* meant the opposite or enemy (*Dasateer-e Åsmani*, p. 245).

If we glance at the Vedic era we can find the root of this word in *das* and *dasyo*, which in Avesta and Veda meant ugly, black and enemy. Non-Aryan tribes were referred to by these names. The word has also been recorded in the Darius Inscription (*Vedic India*, p. 69-218). Geiger states that *dano*, *das* and *dasyo* means

rival and foe and they were those tribes which the Aryans clashed with during their migration from the north to south. These tribes, not being Aryan in origin, were addressed by such names (*West Aryan Civilization*, p. 103).

These historical records show that the roots of all these words are *dash* or *das* which during the Aryan times meant bad. *Das, dasyo, dash, dashmino, dushman and dusēn* all belong to the same family. The *dusēn* of Pashto comes from *das* to which the letter (*noon*) of the relative case has been added at the end, a common practice in Pashto. Thus the close relationship of Pashto to the ancient languages of the Aryans is evident.

7. *Márgħá*: This was the name of a vast stretch of land south of Qandahar which started from Arghasan and continued up to the Sulaiman mountain and the central part of Baluchistan. Arghasan, southern Kalat, the foothills of Kožhak mountain, and a part of Kâkarhistan were included in Margha.
8. *Waza Khwā*: A high plateau in the Ghalji territory, located southeast of Ghazni and extending to the Sulaiman mountains.
9. *Noor Baba*: Baba Hothek whose life and poetry has been mentioned in this book had a brother by the name of Toukhay. Toukhay had four sons, one of whom was named Noor (*Hayat*, p. 257). Noor Baba, who has been recorded in this book, is a famous Afghan personality. In *Makhzan-e Afghani*, Noor Baba has been described as the son of Baro bin (son of) Touran (*Makhzan-e Afghani Qalami* p. 320). But according to this book and local belief Noor is the son of Toukhay bin Baro.
10. *Kesay*: Pashtoons refer to the Sulaiman mountain as the Kesay Ghar (mountain).
11. *Għwarha Margħa*: Margħa is also known as Ghwarha Margħa.
12. *Għundan*: This mountain is located between Kalat and Shahjoi, south-east of the town of Kalat, south of the Tarnak river.
13. *Kand and Zamand*: They are the sons of Khrašboon bin Sarħban. Kasay is their brother (*Makhzan-e Afghani Qalami*, p. 300; *Tazkerat-al-Abarar*, p. 86). It has been mentioned in this book that their progeny spread in Nangarhar, Khybar and Peshawar. Other historians say that they lived in Ghwarha Margħa, Arghasan and Qandahar and migrated through the Kabul and Gomal valleys to Nangarhar and Peshawar. The last part of the migration is said to have taken place during the

period of Mirza Ulug Beg, the grandson of Temur-e Lang (Tamerlane) 812-853 H. (1409-1449 A.D.) (*Tarekh-e Murasà Afzal Khan Khatak*, p. 6; *Hayat*, p. 177). This indicates that the migration took place after 700 H. (1301 A.D.)

14. *Kasay*: A clan by this name lives in Quetta. The name is probably derived from Kesay mountain which is the name of the Sulaiman mountain in Pashto. The person named as Kasay in this book is the son of Khrasboon bin Sarhban. According to historians he had 12 sons (*Hayat*, p. 229; *Makhzan-e Afghani Qalami*, p. 352; *Khurshaid*, p. 200). Historical books only give the names of these people, but in this book reference has been made to their lives and poetry. It is said that the progeny of Kasay left their native home at Margha and went to the Sulaiman mountain. In Chaghcharan of Herat there is a place known as Kesay up to this day, which is the district capital of the area and may be related to this name.
15. *Pseen*: An area in present day Baluchistan. It is located at the base of Sulaiman and Kozhak mountains and is the domicile of the *Atsek*, *Thareen* and *Kâkarr* tribes.
16. *Arghasan*: An area southeast of Qandahar. It is the ancient domicile of the *Kâkarr* tribe or the historical Arakozay.
17. *Zhobe*: An area located in the eastern foothills of Sulaiman mountains occupied by the *Kâkarr* tribes.
18. *Kozhak*: A famous mountain which starts at *Shorawak*, south of Qandahar, extends southeast to Arghasan and south of Syoray and Kalat to the southern extensions of Moqur and Waza Khwa.
19. *Shaikh Mathi*: He is a famous Afghan literary personality. His life and an example of his poetry is presented in this book. From other sources we have the following: Shaikh Mathi was bin Abas bin Omar bin Khalil (*Makhzan-e Afghani Qalami*, p. 302; *Divan-e Miya Naim Mathizay Khalil*, p. 222). Prior to Khalil, several historical sources agree on the names of his ancestors i.e. Nàmatullah (*Makhzan*, p. 302), Darweza (*Tazkera*, p. 87), *Hayat* (p. 159), *Khurshaid* (p. 192) and this book. After Khalil, Hayat Khan and Khurshaid Jahan delete Omar and Abas and consider Mathi to be the son of Khalil (*Khurshaid*, p. 198; *Hayat*, p. 219). The descendants of Shaikh Mathi, who live in the Nakodak village of Qandahar, and whom I personally interviewed, say that Nàmatullah and the author of this book correctly indicate their lineage.

Afzal Khan Khaṭak says: The Ghoryakhel left Arghasan and Qandahar and through the Kabul valley arrived in the vales of Peshawar, displaced the Delazaks from those areas and took over the lands (*Tarekh-e Murasà*, p. 10-12; *Khurshaid*, p. 198). Khalil was a chief of the Ghorya clan and Shaikh Mathi was born several generations later. This great scholar and poet, according to this book died along the banks of the Tarnak river in 688 H. (1289 A.D.). His shrine still exists on the Kalat hill (in the present day Kalat district), northeast of Qandahar. People call him Kalat Baba. He left behind a legacy of scholarship to his family. His erudition and spiritual fame have been well known in the country. Several centuries later, Nàmatullah Herawi considers him among the great Afghan scholars and states: He was a follower of righteousness and explorer of the divine and a champion of faith and religion. The Afghans consider him a holy figure (*Makhzan-e Afghani Qalami*, p. 254). In short it can be said that Shaikh Mathi was a pious scholar and a distinguished poet.

20. *Shaikh Mohammad Zahr*: Nàmatullah Herawi in *Makhzan-e Afghani* (p. 152, hand-written manuscript) refers to this learned personality as Shaikh Yusuf Zahr Bin. He was the eldest son of Shaikh Mathi.
21. *Shaikh Mathi's family*: As mentioned earlier, Shaikh Mathi's descendants were among the most famous learned Afghans. After the death of Shaikh Mathi they spread in all directions and their spiritual influence increased.

Nàmatullah Herawi gives a detailed account of this family in his *Makhzan*. Among Afghan writers the family came to be known as Mathizay (progeny of Mathi). Besides what has been written in this book about this family, the following is a summary on the lives of members of this family from other sources.

Mathi's brothers: According to the contents of this book, Shaikh Mathi had three brothers (p. 23); Imran, Hasan and Pir-e Germaan and a sister by the name of Bibi Khala. This statement is corroborated by the epilogue of *Diwan-e Miya Nàim Mathizay*. The Khwaja Imran mountain of Thoba, southeast of Qandahar, which is the domicile of the Atskzay tribe, also known as Kozhak in Pashto, is named after Imran.

Hasan, who is considered to be a brother of Mathi in this book, according to Nàmatullah, is his son (*Makhzan-e Afghani Qalami*, p. 256), his other brother is Pir-e Germaan. Their sister, Bibi Khala, is buried in Pseen and her shrine is still revered (*Epilogue of Divan of Miya Nàim*, p. 222).

Nàmatullah provides a detailed description of this family in his book which is presented here: Mathi had three wives. First Bibi Piyari bint (daughter) Shaikh Salman Danaye Sarwani, who gave birth to six sons: Yusuf, Zahr (Zahir), Omar, Bahlol, Mohammad, Hasan and Alo. Second Bibi Ani Ghalji who had two sons named Khwaji and Maamaa and third, the daughter of the chief of the Mahyar Sarhbani tribe who had one son named Hasan.

Hasan is also considered as an eminent Afghan scholar. Nàmatullah mentions him as a learned personality and writes: Hasan bin Mathi was a sage and eminent scholar (*Makhzan-e Afghani Qalami*, p. 256).

Shaikh Kaṭa was the son of Shaikh Yusuf bin Mathi, whose mother, Bibi Murad Bakhta was from the Zamand tribe, gained great fame among the seven sons of Shaikh Mathi (*Makhzan-e Afghani Qalami*, p. 204). Besides being a spiritual leader he was also a great literary figure and an eloquent writer in the Pashto language. According to *Paṭa Khazana* he wrote *Larghoni Pashtana* in Pashto, which is an important reference document. The annals of his life are not clear to us but according to the author of *Paṭa Khazana*, who notes the death of Shaikh Mathi around 688 H. (1289 A.D.), it can be deduced that if three new generations are born in a century Shaikh Kaṭa was alive around 750 H. (1349 A.D.).

The Shaikh appears to have been a shrewd investigator, as the author of the book writes: Shaikh Kaṭa saw *Tarekh-e Suri* of Mohammad bin Ali Albasti, which is an important reference document of *Larghoni Pashtana*, in Baleshtan and cites important events from it in his book (p. 29). Unfortunately, Shaikh Kaṭa's book is not available, neither have been the references mentioned in the book found. Not much is known about the life of Shaikh Kaṭa except that he was a steadfast man who had a penchant for travel. Nàmatullah recalls his eight sons as follows: Sultan, Sabet, Haji, Salman and Mamay from his first wife, named Zalo Maghdorazi. His second

wife who was also named Zalo and belonged to the Akazay Yusufzay tribe, gave birth to three sons named Ibrahim, Malik and Paji (*Makhzan*, p. 306).

Shaikh Qadam bin Mohammad Zahed bin Mirdad bin Sultan bin Shaikh Kāṭa was another famous personality of that family (*Makhzan*, p. 306). According to the epilogue of Nàim's Divan he died in Sar Hind and is buried there. Nàmatullah gives the name of his mother as Shahri bint Khoydad Kakanay (*Makhzan*, p. 307). From his writing it can be seen that Qadam's father was a contemporary of Mirza Mohammad Hakim bin Homayun who started ruling in Kabul after 962 H. (1555 A.D.) Therefore it can be estimated that Qadam also lived during that time.

Shaikh Qasim is the son of Shaikh Qadam and his mother was Naekbakhta bint Shaikh Allahdad Mamozay, who has been mentioned in the third treasure of this book. Nàmatullah considers him a disciple of the descendants of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jailani and states: He was born in the spring of 959 H. (1552 A.D.) near the Badani river (east of Peshawar) and died in 1016 H. (1607 A.D.) (*Makhzan*, p. 307). Qasim Afghan became famous for his erudition and spirituality. The people of the area gathered around him, which put fear among the local administrators of Mirza Mohammad Hakim bin Homayoun. Therefore, Shadman Khan, the governor of Peshawar decided to murder him forcing him to leave Peshawar for Qandahar. From there he went on the pilgrimage of the holy places and became a follower of the Qaderi faith. After the pilgrimage he returned back to (Doawa) Peshawar and gained great fame as a scholar and spiritual leader and came to be known as Shaikh Qasim Sulaimani. This time the Moghul court of India tried to bring an end to his fame and with the help of one known as Esa, he was called to come to Lahore. After going to Lahore, Qasim became even more famous and powerful and a large number of the people of Lahore gathered around him. Because of this Jahangir, the Moghul emperor, jailed him in the Chenar fort where he later died. *Tazkera-e Awlia-e Afghan* is the famous work of this eminent Afghan spiritual personality in which he describes the life and works of renowned Afghan scholars (*Tazkerat-al-Abrar*, p. 183-184). Unfortunately this book has not been found so far.

Nàmatullah mentions him among Afghan scholars but he also talks about his life separately and states: His holy shrine is in Qalà Chenar (*Tazkerat-al-Abrar*, p.

184) and he had several children. Nàmatullah who wrote his book two years after the death of this renowned saint notes his children as follows:

Shaikh Kabir, known as Bala Pir, was born on Thursday, the 4th of Shawal 994 H. (1586 A.D.) in Badani of Peshawar and died on 12 of Ramadan 1054 H. (1644 A.D.) (*Makhzan*, p. 308). Akhund Darweza also mentions Shaikh Kabir. This shows that his fame had spread throughout the region (*Tazkerat-al-Abrar*, p. 184). He died in India and is buried there (Epilogue of Naim's Divan). The other sons of Shaikh Qasim are: Wasil, born 1007 H. (1599 A.D.), Nour who died in 1061 H. (1651 A.D.) and Farid born in the year 1000 H. (1592 A.D.) (*Makhzan* p. 308-309).

Shaikh Imamuddin was also a famous scholar and writer and was well-known among the 12 sons of Shaikh Kabir. His mother, Taj Bebe bint Malik Darwez, was from the Khalil clan. He was born on Monday in the month of Moharram in the year 1020 H. (1611 A.D.) and died on 23 Moharram 1060 H. (1650 A.D.) He is buried at Peshawar. Shaikh Imamuddin wrote *Tarekh-e Afghani* which contains historical narratives of the Afghans and provides other historical sources as references. Among the books listed as references are: *Rowzat-al-Ahbab*, *Majmà-al-Ansab*, *Asnaf-al-Makhloqat*, *Tawarehk-e Ibrahim Shahi* of Maulana Mushtaqi, the book of Khwaja Ahmad Nezami, *Ahwal-e Sher Shah* and *Israr-al-Afghani* (hand-written manuscript of *Tarekh-e Afghani*). His other work is *Awliya-e Afghan*, which has not been found but the author of *Paṭa Khazana* mentions it. Among his children the following are famous:

1. Shaikh Abdul Razak, born 24 Rajab 1037 H. (1627 A.D.)
2. Shaikh Abdul Haq, born on 22 Zulhajja 1039 H. (1629 A.D.)
3. Shaikh Mohammad Fazel, born 22 Rajab 1040 H. (1631 A.D.)
4. Shaikh Abdul Wahed, born 28 Moharram 1048 H. (1638 A.D.)

Another famous personality from this family is Miya Nàim bin Mohammad Shuàib, bin Mohammad Saeed bin Qiyamuddin bin Shamsuddin bin Abdul Razak (mentioned earlier). He was a famous Pashto poet and his hand written divan exists. Miya Nàim was born in Khalil of Peshawar and lived there. He wrote his divan in 1230 H. (1815 A.D.) while still very young. During the reign of Shah Zaman Sadozay he left Peshawar for Qandahar and lived in the village of Nakodak, where

he died later. His descendants still live in this village. His divan consists over 3,000 couplets and he is revered in the literary school of Rahman Baba.

22. *Pâswâl*: This word probably means keeper, protector or king. It has not been seen in the works of other scholars and it is not clear on whose authority *Pashto Máráka* refers to it as king or amir. From the poem of Shaikh Mathi it is understood that it had a meaning nearer to that given to it in *Pashto Maráka*. The word is composed of *pâs* and *wâl*. *Pas* in Persian also means protection and in Pashto *paséna* and *pasal* have similar meanings. Anyhow *pâswâl* is an old Pashto word which can be reintroduced into present day Pashto literature.

23. *Skêlel*, *skélâ*: In Pashto *skêly* is an adjective meaning beautiful which has also been written as *ksêly*. In Kakaristan and Peen it is pronounced as such and in the Nangarhar and Peshawar valleys it is pronounced as *skêly*. Rahman Baba says:

<i>khabar nê Yam ché pê bâb mé ksêly tsa dê</i>	خبر نه يم چه په باب مي کنبلی خه دي؟
<i>zê rahman pê andésna Yam lê dê skéléyo</i>	زه رحمان په اندېښنه يم له دې بنکلیو
I do not know what has been written in my destiny	
I Rahman, am afflicted by these beautiful ones.	

Those tribes that pronounce it as *ksêly*, use it to mean both written and beautiful.

From the works of past poets in this book it can be seen that the word had the infinitive, verbs and verbal noun that have fallen from use. Shaikh Mathi has used *skélal* meaning arrangement and decoration:

<i>tola skélal dê stâ lê lasa</i>	توله بنکل دی ستا د لاسه
<i>ayê dê paswalo pasa pasa</i>	ای د پاسوالو پاسه پاسه
All this decoration is your work	
O protector up above.	

Skélâ (beauty) is a verbal noun derived from the same root. There were several other derivations, some of which are in use up to this day. Shaikh Mathi says:

<i>stâ dê skélâ da palwasha dê</i>	ستا د بنکلا دا پلوشه ده
<i>da yê yawa spákâ nandara dê</i>	دا ئې يو سپکه ننداره ده
This is a flash of your beauty	

And a slight semblance of its aura.

Skélídál (to become beautiful) is an infinitive and *skélídah* is its verbal noun as used by Mathi:

loya khawanda ṭola tē yē لویه خاوندہ ټوله ته ئې

tēl dē narhey pē skelyda yē تل د نړۍ په بنکلیده يې

O protector you are owner of all

Striving for the beauty of the world.

Skéláwúnkay (one that beautifies) is a noun of agency from the infinitive *skelal* (to arrange). Skarandoi says:

dē pusarlay skéláwúnkay biya krha síngaruna د پسرا لي بنکلونکي بیا کړه سنګارونه

The beautifier of spring has decked herself again. *Wáskelal* is the past perfect tense. Skarandoi says:

márghaláro bandē wéškélal bañúna مرغلو باندي و بنکل بنونه

With pearls she bedecked the gardens.

Beside the word *skely* or *ksely* that we know today all its other forms have become extinct, nor can they be found in the works of the Middle period. As the pronunciation of the words *skely* and *ksely* is close to the Arabic *shekl* some may think that the words were derived from the Arabic and have been Afganized. From the following description this error can be clarified.

These words had a strong root in the ancient Aryan languages, and in the Sanskrit language they are present in both forms (*kshel* and *shkel*) meaning the same thing. Forbes in the Hindi-English dictionary printed in London in 1807, page 505 writes: *Shukl* or *shukla* means light or whiteness. *Shukala-paksha* is the brightness of the moon from the first to 14th day and this word is present in Pashto in the same form (*skely-palwasha*). Its other form *ksely* is also present in the Sanskrit as noted in page 573 of the same dictionary:

kushal means health, prosperity, auspiciousness, success

kushala means good, happy, right

kushali means successful, victorious

When the form and root of this word are present in the Aryan languages and all philologist consider Pashto as an Aryan language then how is it possible to say that: *skély* of Pashto has been derived from Arabic.

Moreover, if we refer to Arabic dictionaries the word *shekl* has different meanings one of which is visage and *shakeel* in that language does not mean beautiful. But according to *Zabt-al-Munjad* and other sources it refers to frothing from the bridle's mouth-bit and the meaning of beauty or pretty is absolutely not seen in it.

24. *Hásk*: In ancient documents this word means sky and now anything elevated or high is considered as *hásk*. It is first seen in the poem of Hazrat *Bit Nika*. He states:

<i>hásk aw mdzáka nghêstê stâ dê</i>	هسک او مخکه نغښته ستا ده
<i>dê mrroo wadâ lê tâ dê</i>	د مړو وده لټا ده

The sky and earth are yours

You let men grow and multiply (*Pashtana Shuàra* vol. 1, p. 50).

In this book *hásk* has been repeatedly used, showing that it was a common term in ancient times but was replaced by the word *asman*, though it has retained its meaning of high. Shaikh Mathi says:

<i>nê hásk nê mdzáka wê tor tám wu</i>	نه هسک نه مخکه وه تورتم و
<i>tyâra khpára wê tol àdám wu</i>	تیاره خپره وه تول عدم و

There was no sky nor earth, but a dark abyss

Where darkness prevailed, in total nothingness.

The ancient poet of the Pashto language, Amir Krorh Jahan Pahlavan says:

<i>zma dê báryoo pêr khol tawezî hásk pê nmundz aw pê wyarh</i>	زما د بریو پر خول تاوېري هسک په نمنځ او په ويړ
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The sky revolves around my victories with pride.

Shaikh Asad Suri states:

<i>nangyalayoo lára qayd mrhénâ dá dzáka</i>	ننګیالیو لره قید مرینه ده خکه
<i>sêh yê walwutala hásk tê pur dê lár</i>	سه ئې والونله هسک ته پر دې لار

As imprisonment to the brave is like death
To the sky transpired his breath in this way.

Skarandoi says:

*zarghonû mdzoko kë dzál kâ láka storîya
ché pur hásk bandë dzálezî spin gulûnah*
The white flowers among the green grass
Resemble stars in a dark sky.

زرغون مھکو کی خل کا لکھ ستوريه
چہ پر هسک باندي خلبيز ي سپين گلونه

Nasr Ludi, the son of Shaikh Hamid Ludi states:

<i>dê islam pûr hásk bê dzálam wê tûranoo tê tyârá yam</i>	د اسلام پر هسک به خلم و نورانو ته نياره يم
On Islam's sky I will shine	
Though to my accusers I am darkness.	

From these literary sources it is clear that among the people of the past *hask* meant sky and it is possible that this word may be reintroduced in its original form.

25. *Balishtan*: In this book Balishtan has been mentioned as a city and fortress in Ghor. It is an ancient city of Ghor which dates back to the early Islamic period and was the administrative center of the local rulers. In *Tarekh-e Suri* it has been stated: Around 139 H., the son of Amir Polad Suri conquered all the fortresses of Ghor including Balishtan. Shaikh Kaṭa, the famous historian who lived around 750 H. (1349 A.D.) had seen *Tarekh-e Suri* in Balishtan. It can be said that Balishtan was known during Shaikh Kaṭa's life. An area between the Teray district of Qandahar and southeastern Ghor is known by this name. In historical and geographical documents the area has been also recorded as Walishtan. The letters (*bai*) and (*wow*) often replace one another in the names of places in Afghanistan such as Zawul=Zabul and Walishtan=Balishtan. Balishtan has been recorded as a Ghorid city by Baihaqi as Gorwalisht (*Baihaqi*, p. 76). Ghorwalisht has also been mentioned in *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri*. In a hand written copy of the book, available in St. Petersburg, it has been written as Ghorwalisht (Raverty's comments on *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri*). Ghowalisht was a city between Takinabad and Mandesh of Ghor. The location of present day Balishtan coincides with that of Ghorwalisht.

Walishstan has also been mentioned as a city between Dawar and Bost in *Tarekh-e Seistan*, (p. 206-208), which undoubtedly is Balishtan. Abu-al-Hussan bin Zaid Baihaqi, famous as Ibin Funduq also considers Walishtan as a district of Bost whose center was Siwar (*Tarekh-e Baihaqi*, p. 347). From these documents it can be

deduced that Walishtan=Balishtan was a famous Ghorid principality. Minhaj Seraj in *Tabaqath-e Nasiri* also considers Walishtan to be a part of Ghor and divides it into the upper and lower Walishtan. He states that the people of Walishtan were not Moslems during the time of Amir Suri (*Tabaqath*, p. 181).

This name, however, should not be confused with Walas=Balas=Walishistan=Walisistan, which Baihaqi has mentioned along with Makran and Qusdar of Touran (*Baihaqi*, p. 294). Maqdasi has mentioned it as Balish in *Ahsan-al-Taqaseem*, and in *Hudood-al-Âlam* it has been written as Balis. Al Biruni in *Qanon-e Masâudi wa Al-Saidala* mentions it as Balish and Walisistan. Al Yaqubi in *Ketab-al-Baladan-al-Yaqubi* has recorded it similarly. Walishistan=Balis=Balish is located in present day Sind and Baluchistan occupying the lands from Siwi (Sibi) and Sewan of Sind. Al-Biruni in *Qanon-e Masâudi* considers Siway and Mastung of Baluchistan and Sewan of Sind as the cities of Walishistan.

26. *Suri and Amir Polad*: Suri was an important clan that lived in Ghor. They are present there until this day and are called Zuri. This is an old name and Arab historians and geographers have recorded it as *zur* and *zuri*. The first historian who mentions *zur* in the Islamic era is Ahmad bin Yahya Belazeri {circa 255 H. (869 A.D.)}. During the conquest of Sajistan and Kabul he states: After the year 30 H. (651 A.D.), Abdul Rahman bin Samra bin Habib bin Abd Shams occupied Sajistan, Zarang and Kash and reached the Dawar region by way of Al Rakhj. He besieged the people of the area in Jabal-al-Zur and later established peace with them. He confiscated the golden idol, with eyes of ruby, and cut its hands and extracted the rubies. He then told the governor of Dawar: "This idol will neither harm you nor will you gain anything from it." After that he marched on Bost and Zabul (*Futuh-al-Baladan Belazeri*, p. 402).

Later historians such as Abu Zaid Ahmed bin Sahl Balkhi, who died in 322 H. (934 A.D.), and wrote *Ketab-al-Ashkal* or *Sovar-al-Aqaleem* in 309 H. (921 A.D.), and after him the famous Astakhri who refined it into *Al-Masalek wa al-Mamalek* also mentions the idol and the temple of Jabal-al-Zur. Yaqoot quotes them and refers to the mountain and idol as *zur* and *zoon* (*Mâjam-al-Baladan*, vol. 4, p. 28). In another book he states: Zoor was an idol in the Dawar region (*Marased-al-Ithlâ*, p. 206).

From the writings of pre-Islamic historians it is seen that this temple was famous before the advent of Islam. Hsuan Tseng, the famous Chinese traveler saw it in 630 A.D., and calls it Shuna. He says that the temple was located in Tsaw Kota on a mountain. The idol known as Shuna and its temple located in Jabal Zur is seen on the coins of two dynasties from southern Hindukush, the Tajan- Shahi and Napki Malka. It signifies the solar divinity and it is possible that the religion of the people of Zur was sun-worshipping before Islam (*Anis*, vol. 190, Kohzad). Le Strange states that the temple was located near the city of Wartal (*The Lands of Eastern Caliphate*). At present it is not possible to correctly identify the location of this temple.

The name Zur becomes more common after the Islamic period. It changes to Sur and Suri and some tribes and regions have come to be known by this name. For example Zurabad was a famous city which is present up to this time south of Sarakhs near the northwestern border of the province of Herat of Afghanistan. Yaqoot has noted it as Zurabaz in the vicinity of Sarakhs (*Marasid*, p. 206), but was considered the domain of Herat in the past. Abubakr Atiq bin Mohammad-al-Surabadi-al-Herawi was a scholar born in this city who lived during the time of Alp Arsalan 455-465 H. (1063-1073 A.D.) and *Tafseer-al-Soorabadi* is his famous work (*Keshf-al-Zunon*, vol. 1, p. 234).

Suri bin al-Màtaz, the chief of Khorasan, is another renowned Suri personality during the reign of Sultan Masàud. He apparently is connected to the Suris. Shaikh Abdul Jabar bin al-Hasan-al- Baihaqi, is a poet of the Masàud era who recited satirical Persian and Arabic poetry. He writes:

*Awake and be aware O proud one and see
The relics of Masàud and Suri;
You will not find such joy in the world
Indeed until death in the ruins of Sur.*

or: *O Amir look towards Khorasan. What wealth brings the Suri* (*Tarekh-e Baihaq ibn Funduk*, p. 179). The historical Suris are very closely related to the Ludis. The Ludis had famous monarchs such as Shaikh Hamid, Sultan Bahlol and Sultan Ibrahim. The Suris also had kings of fame i.e. Sher Shah Suri, Adil Khan, Islam Shah and Adli (*Hayat*, p. 284; *Khurshaid* etc.).

We know from the annals of history that from ancient times to the beginning of Islam and later the Suris reigned over Ghor, Khorasan and later in Ghazni, Bamiyan, Takharistan and Zabulistan. They established the mighty Ghorid dynasty in our country. The eastern borders of their empire reached the Ganges river and Khorasan in the west. The northern border of their empire was demarcated by the Oxus river and the Pamir mountains and to the south it stretched to the Arabian sea. Qazi Minhaj Seraj, a famous historian of the time, wrote about the Ghorid kings. Since he was a historian of the Ghorid court and lived at that time his statements seem to be correct. A short statement of his work is presented.

Minhaj Seraj quoting *Muntakhab-e Nasiri* states: There were two brothers from the progeny of Zahak. The older was named Sur and the younger Saam. The first one was a ruler and the second a commander of the army. The descendants of these rulers governed Ghor centuries before the advent of Islam. They were known as the Shansabanians, because the king who embraced Islam, during the time of Hazrat Ali, was named Shansab (*Tabaqath*, p. 176-177; *Jahan Ara Qazi Ahmad Ghafari*).

Moreover, according to Al-Yàqubi and Belazeri, another personality related to the Suris, during the early Islamic period, was the governor of Merv. He was known as Mahooy Suri who killed Yazd Gard the third, the last Sasanid emperor when he fled to Merv to escape the Arab armies. During the time of Hazrat Ali he went to Kufa and was appointed the governor and collector of the region by the Caliph (*Futuh-al-Balandan*, p. 323; *Al-Balandan ibn Wasekh-al-Yàqubi*, vol. 2, p. 214).

Firdausi, the great Persian poet, gives a detailed account of Mahooy Suri and considers him of Suri origin. He writes:

Like the wind he felled a camel

Near Mahooy, of Suri origin.

After killing Yazd Gard, this famous Suri chief spread his empire and sent his armies to Balkh, Hari and Bokhara. Firdausi notes:

To his first born he gave Balkh and Hari

And sent his armies in every direction,

As the army grew in numbers

*And he attained his goal,
He gave the soldiers money to prosper
And brought pride to his family.
He had a famous and wise man
In his service called Kursiyoon.
Then toward Bokhara they marched
The warriors of the brave army.*

Shansab bin Kharnak (Sarnak) is most famous among the Suri kings. Amir Polad Ghori was one of his sons whose domain was the mountains surrounding Ghor. He revived the name of his ancestors. When Abu-Muslim drove away the Bani Omiya rulers from Khorasan, Amir Polad took his Ghorid army to his help. The palace of Mandesh and the mountains of Ghor were under his sway. Following his death, his domain was left to his nephews. After that there are no accounts of these kings until the time of Amir Banji Neharan (*Tabaqath*, p. 179).

After Amir Polad, who was the contemporary of Abu Muslim Khorasani {around 130 H. (748 A.D.)}, Minhaj Seraj does not mention anything about this dynasty until the time of Amir Banji Neharan who lived at the time of Haroon-al-Rashid 170 H. (787 A.D.) There is no mention of this dynasty after Amir Banji until the era of Amir Suri, a contemporary of the Safarids 254-296 H. (868-909 A.D.). With regard to Amir Suri he states: He was a great king, and most of the lands of Ghor were in his domain...Amir Suri was the leader of the Mandesh Shansabanis (*Tabaqath*, p. 181). After Amir Suri he talks about Malik Mohammad Suri. He is the same person who was imprisoned by Sultan Mahmud and sent to Ghazni but died on the way.

In summary it can be said that the Suris are the historical Zuris, who played an important role in the history of our country and Amir Polad is an important personality of this dynasty. According to *Patra Khazana*, Amir Krorh Jahan Pahlavan was his son. We do not have any further information on the life of Amir Krorh, except that his name lives in Afghan folklore. When the Pashtoons want to say that something is very old, they say, it is from the time of Amir Krorh.

27. *Mandesh*: It is a famous city of Ghor dating back to the Ghorid and Ghaznavid periods. Documents of the Ghaznavid era mention Mandesh. Abulfazl Mohammad Baihaqi, the famous historian of the time states: Amir Mohammad bin Mahmud was imprisoned by his brother, Masàud, in Kohtez (or Kohsheer) fortress from where he was transferred to the citadel of Mandesh.

The name of Kohtez fortress has been documented differently. In *Tarekh-e Seistan* it is written as Kohezh. The annotator of the book states that Kohezh is actually Kohizhak (*Tarekh-e Seistan*, p. 207). The fortress was in the vicinity of Takinabad and the present day Kozhak is not far from this place. Therefore it can be concluded that Kohizhak was located somewhere in the Kozhak mountains. This mountain range extends from the southern Registan of Qandahar southward to the southern and eastern parts of Kalat.

Baihaqi notes that Mandesh was a mighty fortress with high walls. He describes the fortress as follows: When we left the Ayaz forest and reached Korwalesht, the Mandesh fortress was visible from a long distance. We continued journeying and finally reached the base of the fortress. Upon arrival we saw a huge fortress with strong, thick and high walls (*Baihaqi*, p. 76). When Amir Mohammad was imprisoned in the Mandesh fortress, Nasir Baghawi, who was his friend, recited these lines in his memory (*Baihaqi*, p. 76):

*O king what misfortune has befallen you,
That your foe is from your own lot,
Your tribulation is the worst of tribulations
That from your father's kingdom you have inherited Mandesh.*

After Baihaqi, Abdul Hay Gardezi, circa 440H. (1049 A.D.), mentions the Mandesh fortress, that was specifically used to guard the royal treasure (*Zain-al-Akhbar*, p. 87). Following the Ghaznavid period, Mandesh has been referred to in *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri* of Minhaj Seraj Jouzjani several times. For example with reference to the progeny of the Ghorid kings, who were known as Sur and Saam, Zumandesh and Mandesh have been mentioned (*Tabaqath*, p. 178). Later, in reference to Amir Polad he states that the Mandesh citadel and other cities of Ghor were under his sway (*Tabaqath*, p. 179). Minhaj Seraj considers Mandesh as the

administrative center of the Shansab dynasty. He writes: There is a large mountain in Ghor, Zarmurgh, on which Mandesh is situated. It is said that the palace and the ruling center of the Shansabanis is located at the foot of the mountain. The second mountain is called Surkhghar. This mountain is also located in the province of Mandesh (*Tabaqath*, p. 181). The word *surkh ghar* has been written as *sar hasar* and *sar khasar* in the hand-written manuscript. According to Raverty it is *Surkh ghar* because *ghar* in Pashto means mountain thus *Surkh ghar* means red mountain.

Regarding the construction of the citadel, Minhaj Seraj writes: Abas bin Shish summoned experienced masons from Mandesh and built a palace at the base of the mountain on a promontory. The walls of the palace extended to the precipice of the mountain (*Tabaqath*, p. 183). Later he states: Bahauddin was appointed as the chief of Sanga, which was the administrative center of Mandesh...and the Sanga fortress is called Khol Mani (*Tabaqath*, p. 186, 360). *Khol* is a Pashto word meaning helmet and *mañi* in Pashto means palace thus *khol mañi* means Helmet Palace.

From the notes of historians it is clear that Mandesh was a famous area of Ghor and Sanga was its center. Yaqoot, the famous geographer writes: Sunj is a village in Bamiyan and Sanja which is pronounced as Sanga by the Persians is a famous region of Ghor (*Marasid*, p. 224). Ibn Asir also considers Sanja a city among the cities of Ghor (*Al Kamel*, vol. 11, p. 75). Similarly Yaqoot states: Sinja was a famous center of Ghor (*Marasid*, p. 225).

The exact location of Mandesh and Sanga cannot be pinpointed with accuracy. It is possible that these names are still used in Ghor.

28. *Kheisar*: According to Yaqoot it is a border fortress between Ghazni and Herat (*Màjam-al-Baladan*, vol. 3, p. 499). It has often been mentioned in the Ghorid and Ghaznavid periods. It was famous for its fortifications and strength. In describing Masàud's conquest of Ghor from Herat, Baihaqi states that the first journey was to Baashaan and then to Kheisar (*Baihaqi*, vol. 1, p. 122). In another place he gives its location near Toulak (*Baihaqi*, p. 130). From this it can be deduced that Kheisar was a border fortress in the northwestern part of Ghor. Astakhri also states that it is situated at a distance of two day's walk from Herat (*Al-Masalek wa al-Mamalek Astakhri*).

Minhaj Seraj considers the Kheisar mountain among the five mountains of Ghor. He says its length, breadth and height are beyond comprehension (*Tabaqath*, p. 181). Kheisar was famous around 600 H. (1204 A.D.) because Tajuddin Osman Margheeni, the first ruler of the Kurts, who was related to Sultan Ghiasuddin Mohammad bin Saam Suri 668-699 H. (1270-1300 A.D.), lived there. Tajuddin was given the title of governor of Kheisar and after his death, his son, Malik Ruknuddin became the governor of Kheisar and a part of Ghor. He was also recognized as the governor of Kheisar by the Mongols. He died in 643 H. (*Tabaqath-e Nasiri* and *Habib-al-Sayr*). The fortress became renowned during the period of the Kurt rulers. Saifi Herawi states: After occupying the fortresses of Khorasan, Genghiz Khan decided to lay seige to the fortress of Kheisar. He sent one of his sons with an army to the province of Ghor to occupy the famous fortress. They reported that it was an unusually strong and large fortress and that no offender had been able to occupy it except the Islamic rulers of Ghor...Genghiz ordered that artists who have seen the fortress and know its dimensions be summoned so they may paint the fortress for him. When he saw the painting the beauty and workmanship of the fortress was beyond belief. He turned toward his commanders and said: "Nobody has seen such a place nor will anyone see it in the future..." (*Tarekh-e Saifi Herawi*).

The historical fortress of Kheisar, which was famous during the time of Ghorids and the Kurts, has been destroyed like other Ghorid fortresses and citadels. Its remains, known as Jahan Qalà, rise about 40 meters above the ground level in the western Zarni mountains.

29. *Tamran*: Tamran was also a famous Ghorid city and during the Shansab period a number of scholars lived there. Minhaj Seraj repeatedly mentions this place. For example he writes: In 618 H. (1221 A.D.) the author of *Tabaqath*, Minhaj Seraj, was on his way from Tamran to Ghor and he met Malik Hesamudin Hasan Abdul Malik at the Sanga fortress known as Khol Mani. (*Tabaqath*, p. 360). Similarly this historian gives the name of the third mountain among the five mountains of Ghor as Ashk (Dar Ashk) and states that it is in Tamran and is the highest and largest mountain of Ghor (*Tabaqath*, p. 181).

Hudod-al-Ālam (p. 59) says that Tamran is located in the vicinity of Karwan in Khorasan and its chief is called Tamran Qazenda. *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri* gives the names of several famous personalities of this city such as: Malik Qutbuddin Yusuf Tamrani, Malik Saifuddin Masàud Tamrani, Malik Tajuddin Tamrani and Malik Nasiruddin Tamrani were among the administrators and chieftains appointed by Sultan Ghiasuddin Mohammad Saam (*Tabaqath*, p. 204).

Tamran was the domicile of the Tamrani people and they are known as the Teimuri called the Temuri today who may be the original Tamrani. The present day Teimuri live in the vicinity of Tulak and Farsi of Ghor and south of Herat (*Asar-e Herat*, vol. 1, p. 137-138). They are now considered as a branch of the Char Aimaq of Ghor who are divided into different groups (*Hayat*, p. 457).

The present day Teimuri and the Tamrani of the past, like the three other Aimaq groups i.e. first the Zuri=Suri of the Islamic era, second the Taimani=Thamani of Herodotus and third the Hazari who include the Jamshadi and Feroz Kohi have lived in Ghor, Badghis and Sabazawar of Herat since ancient times. A study of this book shows that the language of the people of Ghor and the Taimani was Pashto and until this day large numbers of the Taimani speak the language. Famous Pashto poets have arisen from this tribe in the past.

With regard to its geographic location we are only aware of Minhaj Seraj's statement: From Tamran to Ghor. From this it can be deduced that Tamran was a region outside the domain of Ghor at that time. In another place he states: The writer was in the service of Malik Nasiruddin Abu Bakr in the year 618 H. (1221 A.D.) in the provinces of Gazaiv and Tamran (*Tabaqath*, p. 188). From this statement it is seen that Gazaiv and Tamran were close to each other and in the direction of Ghor. Gazaiv is now pronounced as Gizav and written as Gizab. Under the present day administrative division it is a part of the Uruzgan province, north of Qandahar. It is located north of Ajristan (the historical Wajiristan) and south of Daikundi. Therefore we can say that Tamran was located east of Ghor and the abode of present day Teimuri tribes, who live in Ghor and in the western parts of the country, cannot be considered with certainty to be a part of the historical Tamran. According to historians Tamran was located east of Ghor. It is possible that because of the turmoil

in Ghor, which resulted in the movement of the Feroz Kohi people from Feroz Koh (Feroz mountain) to the valley of Murghab, the Teimuri tribes may have left their original domicile and moved westward.

30. *Barkoshak*: *Koshak* means a palace, or a high and strong edifice (*Burhan-e Qatà*). It was frequently used in Persian after the advent of Islam. The Ahnaf palace, which was built by Ahnaf bin Qais in Merv was known as Koshak-e Ahnaf by the Persians (*Ibn Khardabah*, p. 32; *Ashkal-al-Àlam*, p. 209, handwritten manuscript of Jaihani). Palaces built in high mountainous regions were known as Koshak. With regard to the life of the mountainous people of Ghor, Minhaj Seraj writes: A Koshak was at war with another Koshak (*Tabaqath*, p. 181).

This word is also mentioned by Baihaqi. For example Koshak Mubarak is mentioned in Herat (*Baihaqi*, p. 49). But Barkoshak was a famous palace of the Ghorid dynasty. In the hand-written version of *Tabaqath* it has been written in two forms: *baz-koshak* and *bar-koshak*, especially in the manuscript which I have seen, it has been written as Barkoshak in several places. In *Pata Khazana* it has also been written as Barkoshak. Since Bazkoshak does not have any meaning therefore the correct form is Barkoshak as *bar* in Pashto means high or upper and has often been used against *lar* which means low or lower. These words have been used in the names of places and tribes such as Bar Arghandab (upper Arghandab), Bar Grishk (upper Grishk), Bar Pashtoon (upper Pashtoon). Bar had the same meaning in Persian and has been used in *Al-Tafheem* of *Al-Biruni*, and in *Tarekh-e Seistan* (p. 404) as *barzara* or upper Zara which is a branch of the Zara river.

Minhaj Seraj gives the following account of Ghor's Barkoshak: And that palace (Barkoshak) is a structure of unparalleled beauty and workmanship which cannot be seen in any other land and no architect has been able to build it elsewhere. On top of the palace are five gold studded turrets every one three yards high and two yards wide, and two golden falcons, each the size of a camel, that were sent by Sultan Muàzuddin after the conquest of Ajmir to Sultan Ghiasuddin Mohammad Saam as a present... (*Tabaqath*, p. 210).

Other records of this historian show that the Barkoshak palace was located on a mountain in the city of Feroz Koh. He states: A celebration and banquet were

held at the Barkoshak palace, located in Feroz Koh (*Tabaqath*, p. 21). In another place he writes: Between the city and the mountain, the Barkoshak palace was fitted with an iron gate (*Tabaqath*, p. 215). According to these statements, Barkoshak was a famous citadel of the city of Feroz Koh unmatched in size and height.

31. *Tarekhe Suri*: The author of *Paṭa Khazana* mentions the name of this book several times and consider Mohammad ibn Ali Albasti as its writer. This book was an important source of reference for Shaikh Kaṭa, the author of *Larghoni Pashtana*, who saw it in Balishtan. The two books serve as an important source of reference for the author of *Khazana*. Unfortunately there is no trace left of either book.
32. *Wyārháná*: It is derived from the root of *wyārh*, meaning pride, and was used in the Middle period, but is not used at the present time. The poems of valor and pride were referred to as *wyārháná*, which form an important part of Pashto literature. It is an important noun and should be introduced into usage once again.
33. *Atál*: Means strong, genius and outstanding. The Pashtoons also used it as a noun, for example, Atal Khan, from the Sadozay tribe, Popalzay clan, was a contemporary of the sons of Ahmad Shah Baba.
34. *Mán*: This word is not used in Pashto now. In Sanskrit it means heart, soul and will (Forbes Hindi-English Dictionary, p. 703). In India it was idiomatically used to mean desire. The great scholar, Abu Raihan al-Biruni, in describing the social moves of the Indian Aryans says that *mán*, in reality, means heart. Since the heart is considered the center of an animal's will therefore "*mán*" was used by people to express their desire (*Ketab-al-Hind*, vol. 1, p. 45).

In this old Pashto poem of Amir Krorr, *mán* has been used:

għashy dē mán dzī bresnā pur mertsamánu bandē

غشي د من خي بريبننا پر ميرخمنو باندي

The arrows of my strong will like lightening fall on the enemy.

From its usage it is seen that the word was used in the old Aryan language and was in use in old Pashto just as in Sanskrit. At the present time the word *zrhá* which means heart, is sometimes denoted to mean will or desire such as *pē zrhá ksē mē dē* i.e. I have the desire to do this work.

35. *Yárgħálam*: A verb in the first person present tense from the infinitive *yárgħálal*, which is not used now. In the poetry of the Middle period it was used as *yárgħál* meaning to attack. From the following couplet by Khushal Khan Khatak it is clear that in the past the word had an infinitive and several derivatives:

ma kho toba wakrha kē zrhah hum ra sara mal shî

ما خو توبه وکره که زرہ هم را سره مل شی

eshq dē ché hamēsh yay pē thoba bandē yárgħál shî

عشق دی چی همیش ئی په توبه باندی یرغل شی

I have repented and hope my heart sides with me

It is love that always attacks repentance.

36. *Pézhandoy*: Meaning clear, famous or well-known.

37. *Pálan*: Related to the word (*pál*) meaning step which evidently means infantry.

38. *Zárhēn*: This word is not in use today, but in explanatory terms it can be said that the letter (*noon*) has been added to the word (*zrha*) replacing the letter (*ha*) meaning valiant and brave. It is among the rare words of the language preserved in the book.

39. *Mákhsûr*: This word is composed of *mákh* meaning face and *sûr* meaning red. It means honor and is out of use now.

40. *Lwárhawî*: This word not in use today is derived from *lwárh* which means high or exalted. In similar fashion *dranawei* meaning respect and graciousness and still in use today has been derived from *drund* heavy.

41. *Lowr*: In this book it has been repeatedly used to mean kindness. From the poem of Amir Krorh Jahan Pahlavan it is seen that the word was in use in the Pashto language several centuries ago. He says:

khpalū wágarhū lára lowr pérzoyaná kawám خپلو وگرو لور پېرزوینه کوم

To my subjects I graciously show kindness.

In Shaikh Mathi's poem it has been used in the following context:

stâ dē lowrûno yaw rñâ dē ستاد لورونو یوه رنیا

It is a radiance of your grace.

Shaikh Asad in his fable states in prayers:

hum pē tâ dē wî dër lowr dē ghafar هم په تا دی وي چیر لور د غفار

May the grace of God be with you.

In his *Saqi Nama* Zarghoon Khan says:

mâ tê jam dár bél wálor râ ماته جام درېل ولور را

Give me a cup of contentment and grace.

From these examples it is seen that the word has been used to mean kindness, grace and commiseration. The word *lowr* is not used by itself in Pashto any more except in the form of *lowrina* meaning commiseration.

42. *Bâmêl*: In Pashto dictionaries *bâmêl* means endurance and friendship and in common language it is used in the same context. From the poem of Jahan Pahlavan it is clear that in the old times it was used to convey the meaning of care-taking and friendship. At any rate it is an important word of our language.
43. *Wâdâna*: To foster or rear. At present *wâdâ* is used to mean the same and *wâdâna* has become extinct.
44. *Dérédz*: It is a word that is not in use at the present time nor is it seen in the works of the Middle period. Perhaps, in old times it was a common word. From its use here and in Skarandoi's poem it can be said that it was used to mean pulpit. In the original manuscript, an annotator has written the translation *manbar* (pulpit) twice over the word. From the viewpoint of structure, it is composed of *dérëdal* (to stand) and *dzaî* (place). Literally, it is closer to *isthgah* in Persian and *mouqif* in Arabic.
45. *Stâywâl*: One who praises or recites an encomium. *Styél* is a verb which means to praise and *wal* is a suffix but this noun is not in use now and instead *stâyunkay* is used.
46. *Poshanj*: According to Yaqoot it was a fortified city in the Mashjar valley about 10 *farsakhs* (50 km) from Herat (*Marasid-al-Ithlâ*, p. 85). It is the same famous city mentioned in *Masalik wa Mamalik* and in historical documents written after Islam. It was the center of learned men and its Persian spelling is Poshang. According to *Hudod-al-Âlam* (p. 57) it was a fortified citadel surrounded by a moat. From the beginning of the Islamic era to the conquests of the Moghuls Poshang was a one of the most famous cities of Khorasan.
47. *Baghnein*: A region in Zamindawar which is called Baghni at the present time. It is located between Ghor and Zamindawar. It has also been recorded as Baghni in *Hudod-al-Âlam* (p. 64).

48. *Amir Mohammad Suri*: The name Suri and the Suri dynasty were alluded to in annotation 26. Here, I am concerned with Amir Mohammad Suri who was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud and this book contains his elegy. Qazi Minhaj Seraj gives the following account of Malik Mohammad Suri: ...When Amir Mahmud Subuktageen ascended the throne, Ghor was under the rule of Amir Mohammad Suri. He sometimes obeyed Sultan Mahmud, sometime transgressed and at other times rebelled against him...until Sultan Mahmud invaded Ghor and besieged the Ahangaran fortress for a long time resulting in many deaths. After a lengthy period, Mohammad Suri made peace, left the fortress and started serving Sultan Mahmud. The Sultan sent him to Ghazni with his younger son, Sheish. When they reached Kailan, Amir Mohammad passed away. Some say that since he was a prisoner he was unable to bear the humility brought upon him. He was carrying poison under the gem of his ring and ended his life by taking it (*Tabaqath*, p. 182).

The statement that he was unable to bear the humility of imprisonment which resulted in his death is corroborated in *Pata Khazana*. Baihaqi also writes about Sultan Mahmud's conquest of Ghor but makes no reference to the Ghorid king. He merely states that in 405 H. (1044 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud led his armies into Ghor by way of Bost and Khwabain (*Baihaqi*, p. 117).

Ibn Asir considers this battle to have taken place in the year 401 H. He says that Mahmud's army was led by Altontash, the governor of Herat and Arsalan Jazeb, the governor of Tus. Ibn Suri came out of Ahangaran to meet them with ten thousand men. They fought bravely for half a day, then Mahmud deceitfully retreated and the Ghorids chased Mahmud's army and drove them away from the city. Mahmud gathered his men and attacked, resulting in the capture of Ibn Suri and the conquest of Ahangaran. Ibn Suri committed suicide by taking poison (*Al-Kamel*, vol. 9, p. 91).

Like Ibn Asir Hamdullah Mustufi also records these events but says: Suri, the leader of the Ghorids, was killed in battle and his son was taken prisoner. In rage he killed himself by taking poison hidden under his gemstone. The Ghorid Kings were from the lineage of the ruler who was defeated by the army of Mahmud. Fearing the Sultan, his progeny went to Hindustan. (*Guzidah*, p. 406-497).

In this way historians of the Ghaznavid and Ghorid era and later ones give a different account of the events. Some even consider these dynasties to be non-Moslem; it is possible that during the Ghaznavid and Ghorid periods not all the people of these regions had become Moslem. But according to Minhaj Seraj and *Pata Khazana*, citing *Tarekh-e Suri*, the name of the king who fought Sultan Mahmud was Mohammad Suri and the elegy also shows that he was a Moslem.

Minhaj Seraj states that Shansab, the founding father of this dynasty embraced Islam during the time of the fourth Caliph (see annotation 26). As I have discussed in annotation 26, Belazeri in *Futuh* and Yaqubi in *Al-Baladan* mention Mahoya Suri, who was received by the fourth Caliph, and was appointed the governor of Merv. Therefore, the statements that this king was an infidel during the time of Mahmud is weak and difficult to accept.

From the writings of Baihaqi it is clear that the struggle for Ghor did not end until the era of Masàud, and it was not possible to subdue Ghor (*Baihaqi*, p. 129). Thus the struggle with the Suris continued until Masàud was able to finally end the tumult.

49. *Ahangaran*: It was the most important city of Ghor and was considered the administrative center of the Ghorid empire. The elegy of Shaikh Asad Suri, recited in memory of Mohammad Suri, says that Ahangaran was in peace due to his fortitude. Al- Biruni considers Ahangaran to be in the mountains of Ghor (*Muntakhabat-e Qanon Masàudi*, p. 28) and Ibn Asir considers Ahangaran to be the most fortified citadel of Ghor that was conquered by Mahmud in 401 H. (1011 A.D.) (*Al-Kamel*, vol. 9, p. 76).

Hamdullah Mustufi writes: Ghor is a famous province and its city is known as Rud Ahangaran. It is a large city with a healthy climate and has good grapes and melons (*Nazhat-al-Quloob*, p. 188).

Ahangaran exists up to this day. Its relics are located along the banks of the Hari Rud, south of Kasi. Barthold, the famous Russian orientalist, also considers the location as that of the ancient Ahangaran (*Historical Geography of Barthold*, p. 405). Its location is also given in the Royal Atlas, map 34 (*Tarekh-e Hind*, vol. 1 p. 253).

In the footnotes of *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri* (p. 320) Raverty gives the location of Ahangaran near the Ahang canal of Ghazni, which apparently is an incorrect statement as the historical Ahangaran is still famous and known by its former name.

50. Dzghêlâ, dzêlâ, zérghâ, zálmâ: By studying Paña Khazana and the poems of the past we come across verbal nouns of these words. The words zhérhâ from the infinitive zhérhal, to cry; khéndâ from the infinitive khéndal, to laugh and nêtsâ from the infinitive nêtsal, to dance are examples which are in use in the language but the words in the title of this section are not in use anymore.

By looking at the words belonging to the same family, that are alive in the language, we can say that *dzghélâ* (meaning effort has been derived from the infinitive *dzgéstal* to run), *dzélâ* (brightness has been derived from *dzélédal* to illuminate), *zérghâ* (meaning greenery comes from *zérgoon* green) and *zélmâ* (youth, comes from *zélmay* young). These words have been used repeatedly in this book.

When I found the few pages of *Tazkerat-al-Awlia* of Sulaiman Maku in 1933 in a mosque of Adam Khan village along the banks of the Helmand river, I noticed the use of the word *méla* in the poem of Malikyar, which has been derived from *mél* (friend) in the same manner. In volume one, page 65 of *Pashtana Shuàra* I had mentioned its usage with uncertainty. From these old poems it is clear that there were other words used in the same form in our language but have fallen from use with the passing of time. Such rare and important words used by our ancestors should be reintroduced into the language.

51. *Bâmy*: In the *qasidah* of Shaikh Asad bin Mohammad Suri who died in 425 H. (1034 A.D.) the word *bamy* has been used in these lines:

<i>nê ghâṭol biya zêrgħonez̧i pê lašuno</i>	نه غنول بیا زر غونبیری په لانبونو
<i>nê bâmy biya masëda kâ pê kohsâr</i>	نه بامی بیا مسبدہ کا په کھسار

Nor does the tulip blossom on the cliffs,
Nor does the bami smile on the mountains.

The noun *bâmy* is not in use now nor is it seen in the literature of the Middle period. From its use it is seen that *bâmy* was the name of a flower. The word is also

seen in old Persian literature. It appears with the historical name of Balkh. For example Farukhi Seistani (circa 429 H.) states:

Greetings O Balkh Bamy with the spring breeze

Enter it through Nawshad gate or the gate of Navbahar. (Divan-e Farukhi, p. 109).

Hakim Asadi Tousi, circa 458 H. (1066 A.D.) says:

With great pomp

The king of Nimroz rode

Toward the domain of the brave

Known as Balkh Bamy by name. (Garshasp Nama, p. 335).

Firdausi Tousi, circa 400 H. (1010 A.D.), says:

Toward Balkh Bamy they were sent

With a great deal of advice.

Elsewhere he says: *From Balkh Bamy he extracted gold. (Shahnama, vol. 2, p. 482, vol. 3, p. 1285).*

Anwari says: *From Balkh Bamy you can fly to the roof of Al-Aqsa mosque.* Regarding the old name of Balkh, Abu Raihan al-Biruni states: *Balkh and its old name Bamy (Qanoon-e Masàudi, p. 43).* Some compilers of dictionaries consider the name of Bamian, one of the famous cities of our country, to have been derived from *bamy* and believe that the names of the two centers of civilizations have etymological links (*Anandraj Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 378). Some authors have written that Balkh Bamy was also called Balkh Bamiyan and it was famous by both names (*Ganj-e Danish*, p. 144).

Zaki Walidi Toughan, professor of history of the Istanbul University writes: It is likely that the name of Bamiyan has been derived from *bamy*. Bamiyan means Balkhians. Thus it can be said that Bamiyan belonged to the Balkhians (Zaki Walidi's comments on *Qanoon-e Masàudi*, p. 43). Thus *bamy* was used as a title and as a attributive adjective with the name of Balkh (*Farhang-e Naubahar*, vol. 1, p. 98).

We know that a attributive adjective was always used with the historical name of Balkh and during the time of Avesta the word *srira* was its attribute. *Srira* means beautiful. Later it was replaced by the word *bamy* (beautiful and illuminating). This

word takes its root from *bamya* of Zend (Zend Avista, vol. 1, p. 8). In Pahlavi *bamy*(pretty) was *bamik*. According to Johnson, *bamik* appears in the Pahlavi translation of Avesta that dates back to the eighth century A.D. and was found in Samarkand (*Zoroaster*, p. 271-272).

This was how *bamy* was used in the historical context. Now let us see how it was used in the Pashto language. It is used as a name by the Pashtoons. For example, Bamy was a person from the Popalzai tribe of the Abdalis (*Hayat*, p. 118). A clan by this name still lives in Qandahar, and the street on which they live is called the Bamizay street.

Our ancestors used the names of flowers as proper names. As mentioned earlier *popal* is also the name of a flower and at the present time names of flowers such as Jandei Khan, Gul Khan, Gulab, Ghatol, and Rайдay are commonly used by Pashtoons. This similitude has a strong reason. The Afghans have lived in open country in the midst of natural beauty and have close ties to nature. Thus when they were naming their children, nature had an instinctual effect on their decision making. Therefore the names of flowers, beautiful plants, birds, mountains etc. are used as names of people. The use of the name of the *bamy* flower as a proper noun is one such example.

What is the relation between the use of the word *bamy*, the name of a flower, possibly some kind of a tulip, with the ancient *bamy* meaning beautiful? To answer this question we have to look into the cultural affinities of the people of Balkh. The use of flowers, during spring, was an ancient tradition of the people of the region. The famous temple of Nau-wa-hara which later became Navbahar was a place visited by the common people. According to historians its tall flags could be seen from far away (*Màjam-al-Baladan*, vol. 8, p. 320). Avesta mentions "the land of high flags". One of the flags is still preserved in the shrine of Hazrat Ali in Mazare Sharif. It is raised with great ceremony on the Afghan new year day (March 22) and the celebration of *gul-e surkh* (red flower) is still held there every year. People from all over the country visit the city to participate in this celebration.

Yaqoot gives an interesting account of this temple: The temple of Navbahar in Balkh was very large and famous. It was covered with silk and other fine cloths. It

was the habit of the people to cover every new edifice with flowers. With the start of spring season they embellished the temple with the first flowers of spring (*Màjam-al-Baladan*, vol. 8, p. 320). Therefore the meaning of *bamy* can be interpreted in two ways. First, it may have replaced *srira* which in Avesta means beautiful. Second, *bamy* was a flower. As flowers are always identified with beauty and nature, therefore it was allegorically used to mean beauty. At any rate the *bamy* of Pashto has close ties with Balkh Bami and both words seem to have an Aryan origin.

52. *Gharj*: Gharj is historical Gharjistan, Gharshistan or Gharistan of our country which has been recorded in different forms by scholars. Yaqoot in *Màjam-al-Baladan* says that the original form of the word is *ghar* meaning mountain. *Ghar* is an old Pashto word. Yaqoot says that the boundaries of this province extend westward to Herat, eastward to Ghor, northward to Mervalrod and southward to Ghazni. He states that it is a vast region with a lot of habitations and that the Mervalrod flows through it (*Marasid*, p. 291). In *Hudod-al-Àlam* (p. 58) it is considered a part of Khorasan and its administrator is called *Shar*. It has good agricultural land where large quantities of cereals are grown and it is surrounded by mountains.
53. *Shar*: Same as Gharj as explained in annotation 52.
54. Feroz Koh: It was the capital of the Shansab rulers of Ghor and was destroyed during the Mongol invasion. It was one of the most famous cities of our country that has been praised by historians such as Minhaj Seraj.
55. *Shansab* and *Shansabani*: These names are explained in annotation 26.
56. *Bolêla*: In this book the word *bolêla*, meaning the same as the Arabic *qasida*, occurs in several places. It is possible that the word fell out of use after the early times. It is one of the old words of Pashto preserved in the book.
57. *Chándáy* In the encomium of *Skarandoi*, written for Sultan Shahab al-Dunya wa al-Din Ghori, the word *chándáy* has been used:

<i>pér bárbáñ ché zágh dê chuñoo nghwázédéh sî</i> <i>tê wâ chándáy séráh pëoodéy áshlékonah</i> In the garden when the songbirds sing, You say it is like a poet reciting poetry.	پر برین چه برغ د چونو نغورپدہ سی ته وا چندی سره پپودی اشکولونه
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In the original text the word (poet) is written over *chándáy*. This word is totally out of use. *Chándáy* is probably a word left over from the ancient Aryan times because it was used in Sanskrit. Among the Hindi Aryans, *samarti* was the science of holy narratives. Of the six branches of this science one was known as *chahand*, the science of poetry. Every Vedic scholar was required to study the six sciences; among them the study of *chahand* was also necessary (Hind Veda, p. 88).

Abu Raihan al-Biruni, who has made a thorough investigation of the Indian sciences, states: *Chanad* refers to the science of metering in poetry. Since most of the Indian sciences and books are written in poetry, according to the rules of *chahand*, therefore, the study of this science is of utmost importance. The understanding of this science is difficult. He continues to give a detailed description of the rules of this science and adds: This science was created by two Indian scholars named Pangal and Chalat and the famous book of this science was written by Giest (*Ketab-al-Hind*, vol. 1, p. 180).

From this explanatory note it can be deduced: that *chahand* is the science of metering in poetry and *chanday*, which in Pashto has been used to mean a poet, has the same root as the Aryan word. Since the Aryans went to India from our country, therefore, we can say that the word has entered the Indian languages from here.

58. *Áshluk*: In the couplet of *Skarandoi* presented in annotation 57, an annotator has written the translation "poems" over the word *áshlokuna*. In Forbes Hindi-English dictionary it has the same meaning and is referred to as a Sanskrit word (Forbes Hindi-English dictionary, p. 42). Al-Biruni writes: Most of the Hindi books are *áshluk*, which is a form of poetry called *charrud*. Every *pud* has eight words, the fifth word of which is light and the sixth heavy (*Ketab-al-Hind*, vol. 1, p. 194).

To summarize: Among the Indian Aryans, *áshlok* was a form of poetry. Originally, it may have strictly meant poetry or rhythmic prose. Thus *áshluk* is an ancient Aryan word meaning poetry. It was also used in old Pashto.

59. *Popál*: Popál is the name of an Afghan clan which belongs to the Abdali (Durani) tribe (*Hayat*, p. 117) and Popal has always been used as a name by the Afghans. From this book it is evident that *popál* was the name of a flower, since it has been customary to use the names of flowers such as *bâmy*, *réday* and *ghâtol* as proper

nouns. Thus it can be said with certainty that *popál* was the name of a flower which was Arabicized to *fofal*. It is said that a tree by the same name grows in India. Farukhi Seistani states: In it are trees such as the Indian *gawz* and *popál* that yield fruit throughout the year. *Popál* is called *kobal* in Hindi and *separi* and *dali* in Urdu, which yields a famous Indian medicament. In English the fruit is called betel-nut.

60. *Sháñ and Sháña*: In the original text an annotator has written the translations rutted and rut. Their usage also shows they have the same meaning. Evidently these words are not in use now and only *sháñédal* is used in some parts of Nangarhar meaning the neighing of a horse which is called *shéshnel* and *shiéhná* in Qandahar. Since horses neigh during the rut in spring it is possible that the word *shéñédal*, which originally meant to rut has been applied to the neighing of a horse. *Sháñ* meaning rutted is not used anymore and I have not come across it in latter day Pashto literature.
61. *Qusdar*: Qusdar was a famous city during the early Islamic period. It was located in the southeastern part of our country known as Touran. It is still known by the same name and is situated in Kalat of Baluchistan (*Historical Geography of Barthold*, p. 128).

Al-Biruni recorded it as Quzdar of the Sind (*Muntakhabat-e Qanon Masàudi*, p. 29) and Astakhri, on the road from Fahraj (Seistan) to Sind, considers it a city of Sind (*Astakhri*, p. 55-56). Yaqoot says: Qusdar is a city of Hind or Sind and is located in the region known as Touran. It is a small city with many bazaars (*Marasid*, p. 321). This city, which in *Hudod-al-Àlam* has been spelled with the letter *seen*, in other books with *swad* and in the historical documents of the Ghaznavid and Ghorid periods with *zay* (for example *Adab-al-Harb* of Mubarak Shah, p. 11-58), was a famous place between Seistan and India and its excise revenues reached one million dirhams (*Ahsan-al-Taqaseem*, p. 485). It was the stronghold of the Khariji sect, and in the mid fourth century Hejira Abulhasan Ali bin Latif was its commissioner. It had numerous mosques and buildings and was famous for its law and order (*Màjam-al- Baladan*, vol. 7, p. 78).

Bashari says that Qusdar lies 12 manzils (manzil is the distance walked in one day) from the Tez port of Baluchistan in the direction of Makran (*Ahsan-al-*

Taqaseem, p. 385) and Abulfida places it 20 manzils from Multan (*Taqweem*, p. 349). Ibn Hawqal states: There are some villages in the vicinity of Qazdar, and the commissioner of the place is Muàyan bin Ahmad (circa 367 H.), who reads the sermon in the name of the caliph and lives at Bakaznan.

Al-Bashari who saw the city in 375 H. (986 A.D.) writes: Quzdar, the capital of Touran is located on a plane. The city is divided into two parts. The sultan's house and fortress are in the first section and the second part known as Bodein, contains the merchant's houses. It is an extremely clean place. It is a small prosperous city. The people of Khorasan, Pars, Kirman and Hind visit it, but its water, which comes from a canal, is not good (*Ahsan-al-Taqaseem*, p. 478).

62. *Debal*: It was a famous port situated west of the Indus River delta on the shore of the Arabian Sea and is now called Tahtha. It was considered to be within the limits of Sind (*Ayeen-e Akbari*). It is well-known for its compilers of Hadis and scholars whose names are included in Samàni's genealogies. This port was a center for Arab merchants (*Tàluqath Hind wa Arab*, p. 391).

Al-Biruni considers it to be located in Sind (*Qanoon*, p. 16), a statement corroborated by Muqadassi. The author of *Hudod-al-Àlam* writes: It is a city in Sind on the bank of the River Indus and is the domicile of merchants (*Hudod-al-Àlam*, p. 74). Astakhri notes its location to be two *farsakhs* from the delta of the Indus, and a journey of seven days from the border of Pars (Sara) (*Astakhri*, p. 62). Yaqoot writes: It is a famous city on the shores of the Indian Ocean and the waters of Lahore and Multan flow in its direction and empty into the ocean (*Marasid*, p. 174).

It was an important port city of India and according to Sayoti in *Tarekh-e Khulafa*, 150 thousand people lost their lives there in an earthquake in the year 280 H. (894 A.D.), during reign of the Abassid Caliph, Moàtamid. From this statement the size of the city can be estimated. Albashari states: There are one hundred villages around it and in it live merchants who speak Sindi and Arabic and its revenues are high (*Tàluqath*, p. 392).

63. *Sthan*: This word which has been used in the encomium of Skarandoi means country or land. At present no such word is in use in the Pashto language. However, the word was used by the ancient Aryans and also used in old Pashto. In other

Aryan languages *stan* means land or place and is used up to the present time. It is also seen in Persian from the beginning of the Islamic era in words such as Sharistan, Ghargistan and Gulistan etc. In Sanskrit *sthan* means site, place, center or station (Forbes Hindi Dictionary, p. 458). The word Hindustan was originally Hindu-Sthan, meaning the land of Hindus. *Sthan* was also known as Bharat and in old Indian records Hindustan was also called Dev-sthan meaning the land of piety (*Ketab-al-Àlam*, vol. 1, p 54).

In the Persian of the Ghaznavid period *sthan* had the same meaning. Fakhr Modabir Mubarak Shah states: To the *sthan* of Lohore they went...(Adab-al-Harb, p. 39). From these documents we understand that *sthan* was an old Aryan word which was commonly used in Pashto, Sanskrit and Persian and is the root of *stan*, currently used in Persian; *toon* of Pashto also seems to have the same root.

64. *Attock*: The area where the Indus River passes east of Peshawar through a narrow gorge is known as Attock.
65. *Bármal, lármal, thármal*: These three words are neither present in the literature of the Middle period nor used in present day conversation. In the hand written manuscript of *Pata Khazana* an annotator has written the word noon over *bármal*, afternoon over *lármal* and evening over *thármal*. These times of the day are now called (*mapsén, mazégár* and *mašam*).

Tarekh-e Baihaqi and other old Persian texts show us that from those times until now the different times of prayer e.g. *namaz pesheen, namaz digar* and *namaz shām* were applied to the times of the day. It is possible that these words were Afghanized in Pashto and became *mapsén, mazégár* and *mašam*.

Pata Khazana and the encomium of *Skarandoi* give us the old names of these times and show that our national language contained such precious literary treasures that have now been replaced by foreign words. Some people consider these words to be the condensed versions of *barmahal* (high time), *larmahal* (low time) and *tor mahal* (dark time). *Mahal* is still used in Pashto and means time. At any rate these are ancient treasures of our language.

66. *Boodthoon*: This word has been used twice in the encomium of *Skarandoi*.

yâ bê wran kâ boodthoononah dê bámbño

پا به وران کا بودتوونه د بمینو

He will destroy the boodhoons of the Brahmans;

tso ché nast krrē lē narrēya boodthoononah خو چه نست کری له نریه بودتونونه

To annihilate boodhoons from the world.

In the first hemstitch the word *budkhana* meaning place of idol worship has been written over *boodthoon* by an annotator. Its usage in the hemstitch suggests the same meaning.

Structurally the word is formed from two elements i.e. *bood* and *thoon*. We know the second element from *Paṭa Khazana* where it has repeatedly been used to mean home and place. But *bood* is not spelt as such in modern Pashto. However, in Pashto vowels are added to words to ensure correct pronunciation. The letter (*waw*) has been added to the word while the original word is *bud*. Ibn al-Nadeem gives a complete description of *bud* and states that Indians had an idol by this name in their temples. It is said that the idol had the likeness of Bhudda, who was sent to direct them (*Al-Fahrest*, p. 487). Belazeri also talks about the *bud* of Multan for which a great temple had been built (*Futuh-al-Baladan*, p. 437).

Mohammad bin Ahmad al-Khwarazmi 387 H. (997 A.D.) says: *Bud* is a large Indian idol which people visit. Every other idol is also called a *bud* (*Mafateh-al-Àoloom*, p. 74). The Arabs have borrowed this word and according to the rules of their language its plural is *buddat* (*Al-Fehrest*, p. 484).

The word is pronounced *buth* in Persian. These words have originated from the word *buddha*. As the people worshipped idols of Buddha, first those idols and later all idols were called *buth*. In Pashto the word has remained in its old form, *bud*, the form also recorded by Arab historians. In Pashto it has been preserved in the form of *bood-thoon*. Beside being the name of every kind of idol, the Bhuddists consider *buddh* among the three absolute elements of the mind i.e. intellect, religion and ignorance. The first has been called *buddh* which brings forth the states of happiness and peace (*Ketab-al-Hind*, vol. 1, p. 41). It is possible that due to the importance of *buddh* intellect is inferred from it. The word is still used in this context. In Pashto and in the Kabuli dialect of Persian, *bud* means an intellectual and a scholar.

In pre-Islamic Persian and Pahlavi the word was written as *buz* and meant keeper, chief and head. Masàudi explains that in Pars there are ranks and dignities, the highest of which is *mobuz* meaning the keeper of faith. In these languages *mo* meant religion and *buz* meant keeper, the plural of which has been written as *muabeza*. Similarly *asfahbuz* is composed of *asaba* meaning army and *buz* meaning commander. In the same way *dabeerbuz* meant the keeper of books, *Hothekhsha-buz* was leader of merchants (*Al-Tabniya wa al-Sharaf Masàudi*). In same manner *hirbuz* was the fire chief and *kohbuz* was chief of mountains as described by Khwarazmi (*Mafateh-al-àloom*, p. 64, 65, 71). The meaning of head, keeper and chief was implied by the word *buz*. It is close to the *bud* of Pashto and Hindi.

After studying these documents it can be said that *bud*, *buz* and *bood* had the meaning of chief, head and owner among the ancient Aryans and later it became the name of the famous Indian missionary, and people built a large number of his idols to which they prayed and which they called *bud*, *bood* and *buth*. In *boodhoon* of Pashto, meaning a temple or place of idol, the same word has been preserved.

67. *Nmzdák*: In Skarandoi's encomium it has been stated:

nûm dë têl wá pûr dârîdz pûr nmzdákona نوم دي ٿل وه، پر دريچ پر نمزدکونو

Let the banners fly on the mosques as you strive.

On top of the word *nmzdák* an annotator has written mosque. This word is used among the nomadic tribes of Nasir as *muzdák* with the same meaning. In my opinion the word *lmandz* or *nmundz* meaning prayers and *nmzdák* (mosque) have their root in *lmandzal* and *lmdzanh*. In this book they have been used in several instances meaning praise, benediction and prayers. For example:

<i>shpê yay ruñy pê lmandzo wî</i>	شپې ٿئي روني په لمانخه وي
<i>pê zhérrâ aw pê naroo wî</i>	په ڙرا او په نارو وي
<i>ché bê hksëwoot pê lmandzna</i>	چه به گنڀووت په لمانخه
<i>yâ bê ksëwoot pê stayana</i>	يا به ڪنڀووت په ستائينه
<i>yawa wrádz jahâd afzal</i>	يوه ورخ جهاد افضل
<i>têr kálo kálo lmandzél</i>	تر کلو کلو لمانخه
Many a night he prayed	
And in tears stayed.	

When in prayer he knelt,
Day and night in prayers he dwelt.
One day of jihad,
Is better than several year's prayers.

These couplets are from the poem of Dost Mohammad Kâkarh and in all instances the use of the word *lmndzana* and its likes mean prayers. Such usage of the word is also seen in the poems of the Middle period. For example, Khushal Khan says:

<i>pēr dzoyana sa sulook nmándzna àdál</i>	پېرخوينه، بنه سلوك نمنخنه، عدل
<i>kê dē dâ khoyûna shta tsa ghwarré norê</i>	که دې دا خويونه شته خه غوارې نور

Saintliness, good deeds, to pray and justice.

If you have these attributes, what else do you want?

Abdul Qadir Khan says:

<i>sár wa mál sándál zénat dê àshoqano</i>	سر و مال بندل زينت د عاشقانو
<i>enayat, méhr, nmándznah, zenat sta sî</i>	عنایت، مهر نمنخنه، زینت ستاسی

To dispense wealth is the work of lovers
Favor, love and prayer be your ornaments.

Nmándzan is from the same root meaning prayers, blessings and kindness as Abdul Qader Khan states:

<i>kê nmandzán wáyál dē nê këzî wê ma tê</i>	که نمنخن ويل دي نه کبري و ما ته
<i>kála kála rata krrê khábéra spora</i>	کله کله راته کړه خبره سپوره

Kind words you do not have for me
Then sometimes do chide me.

Nmándzeli is a past participle from the same root as Khushal Khan writes:

<i>khudây haghah pê dwarroo kawno dây nmándzly</i>	خدائي هغه په دواړو کونو دئ نمنځي
<i>ché pê wradz yê àdál wedad pê shpah nmundzonah</i>	چه په ورڅي عدل وداد په شپه نمنځونو

God has blessed the one
Who practices justice at day and prays at night.

The words *nmándzal*, *nmnádzana*, *nmnádzan*, *nmnádzeli*, *nmundz*, *nmzdak*, *namaz* and *mazkat*, which have been used in Pashto and Persian, all have the same ancient Aryan root. In Pashto they are also written with the letter *lam* at the beginning of the word. The word *namaz*, which is the first of the five pillars of Islam, also meant benediction, humility and respect in old Persian (according to Forbes Hindi Dictionary, p. 749, the root of all these words is the same in Aryan languages. In Sanskrit *namast* means respectful and *namsiya* is honored or revered). For example Abdul Hay bin Zahak Gardezi writes in *Zein-al-Akhbar* (p. 75):

Choon amir ra bededand, hama namaz burdand wa khedmat kardand, wa baro-e padshahi salam kardand.

When they saw the amir, they bowed and saluted the king.

Firdausi says:

Zameen ra beboseed wa burdash namaz زمین را ببوسید و برداش نماز

hami bood peshash zamani daraz همی بود پیشش زمانی دراز

He kissed the earth and prostrated himself for a long time (*Shahnama*, vol. 5, p. 315).

Thus we can say that like *namaz*, the words *nmundz* and *lmundz* were also used in this context to mean humility, submission, respect and politeness. The old *nmzdak* and the present *muzdak* of Pashto, which mean place of prayer and mosque, were also used in old Persian but spelt as *mazkat*, as seen in old Persian texts. For example in *Hudod-al-Àlam* (372 H.), Masjide Jamà, the grand mosque has been written as *mazkat adena* and *mazkat jamà* (p. 56). With respect to the grand mosque of Herat he writes in page 57: The grand mosque (*mazkat jamà*) of this city is the most well constructed among all mosques (*mazkatha*).

Similarly, Abu Ali Mohammad Balàmi, the famous Sassanid vizier (circa 363 H.), in the translation of *Tarekh-e Tabari*, uses this word to mean a mosque. For example he says: And Maryam was with Zekriya in that cell of *mazkat* (p. 228) or...on Friday they prayed in the grand *mazkat* (p. 728).

68. *Sarwan*: Abu Mohammad Hashim ibn Zaid-al-Sarwanay is from Sarwan. The author of the book in reference to *Larghoni Pastana* states: He was born in Sarwan of Helmand. Sarwan is the historical city which has been mentioned by a large number

of past geographers. Ibn Howqal says: Sarwan is a small city of Seistan with a lot of fruits, especially dates and grapes. It is located two manzils from Bost (*Taqweem*, p. 342).

Ashkal-al-Àlam of Jaihani says: Zarwan is smaller than Qarmain and is near Ferozqand with plenty of agricultural lands, buildings and abundant water (*Ashkal*, p. 66). *Hudod-al-Àam* gives the following description: Sarwan is located between Bost and Zamindawar and is a part of Khorasan; it is a small town with a hot climate where dates grow; it is a pleasant place (*Hudod*, p. 63). In *Qanoon-e Masàudi*, it has been incorrectly recorded as Zardan and this may be an error of the scriibe. Al-Biruni also considers Zarwan to be in Bost (*Qanoon*, p. 28). He writes in *Al-Jamahir*: There are gold mines called Zarwan in the vicinity of the village of Khashbaji near Zabulistan where this metal is found among the rocks and in wells. In the mountains near the Khashbaji village silver, iron, lead and magnet etc. are found (*Al-Jamahir*, p. 213).

Astakhri also considers Sarwan to be in Bost (*Astaghri*, p. 238-248) and it has been recorded in the same way in *Tarekh-e Seistan* (p. 30). Sarwan or Zarwan stands up to this day along the eastern bank of the Helmand river and is a part of the Nahre Seraj district. Ancient relics of a fortress and other buildings are seen around it and at the present time people call it Sarwan Qala. It is the domicile of the Alekozay and Alizay tribes.

69. *Abu-al-Àina*: Ibn Khalad also famous as Abu-al-Àina was a famous Arab scholar, poet and writer. He was the mentor of Abu Mohammad Hashim al-Sarwani. His name is Mohammad bin al-Qasim or Ibn Khalad bin Yasser bin Sulaiman and he was in the service of Bani Hashim. His nickname was Abu Abdullah, and he was a famous writer and poet. He studied under al-Nabeel, Asmaee, Aba Obeida, Aba Zaid al-Ansari and others. Suli, Ibn Najeeh and Ahmad bin Kamel talk about his life as follows: He was a well-versed and eloquent person, a great scholar, intelligent and an excellent orator. He was born in Ahwaz in the year (191 H.) and died in the month of Jamadi-al-Awal, toward the end of the year (282 or 283 H.) in Baghdad (*Màjam-al-Àodaba*, vol. 7, p. 61).

Historians consider him the most eloquent Arab poet and he was well-known for his humor. Some of his humor can be read in Arabic and Persian books. Amin Ahmad Razi writes: He was a humorous character. One day in the court of the vizier he was talking in someone's ear. The vizier asked: "What lies are you telling him?". He answered: "Just praising you". He lost his sight as a young man and spent 40 years in blindness (*Haft Eqleem*, vol. 1, p. 161).

Hashim al-Sarwani, one of the ancient poets of our national language, who was a student of this famous Arab genius, translated a poem of his mentor into Pashto that we saw in the biography of Abu Mohammad Hashim al-Sarwani. Fortunately Yaqoot has also recorded the Arabic version of the poem which is presented here to the readers so that it may be compared with the Pashto translation. (Not presented in this English translation. For comparison please refer to the 1944 edition of *Pata Khazana*).

70. *Bostan-al-Awlia*: The date of the completion of this book has been recorded as 956 H. (1549 A.D.) but in the description of the life of Shaikh Bostan the date appears as 998 H. (1590 A.D.) This discrepancy is probably due to an error by the scribe as in *Makhzan-e Afghani* of Nàmatullah (p. 250, hand written manuscript) his death occurred on Friday the 11th of Rabi-al-Thani in 1002 H. (1593 A.D.). Therefore it can be said that the date 998 H. (1590 A.D.) is close to reality because in 965 H. (1558 A.D.) the Shaikh was either a young boy or an infant. As Nàmatullah states that Sarwani traveled to India in his youth, therefore he probably did not have the time to write during his journeys.
71. *Bara Khwa*: Meaning a high side or an elevated land. People of the lowlands call the plains of Qandahar and Arghandab, the elevated lands of Ghor and the lands beyond Kalat up to Ghazni as *pasa khwa*, *bara khwa* and *Iwarha khwa* i.e. high land.
72. *Kajran*: This is the historical Kajooran which is mentioned in Ghorid episodes. It is called Kajran up to this day. It is formed of highlands, over eight thousand feet, which occur northeast of Dawar and south of Ghor. The people of the area are known as Kajrani. The historical record of this word Kajooran is frequently seen in *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri*. It was an important urban center of the Ghorid period. Al-Biruni states: Kajran of Ghor is in the midst of mountains (*Muntakhabat-e Qanoon*

Masàudi, p. 28). Zaki Walidi Toughan, the editor and publisher of the book writes: This name has not been mentioned in other geographical sources.

73. *Saam*: The original is Shaam. It is misspelled in the book.

74. *Shahi and Shaha*: These words are frequently seen in Pashto literature and have been in use since the old times. *Shahu* is a third form. It is a common name for the beloved. In the Pashto language the love stories of *Shaha and Gulan* and *Shahi and Deli* are famous. In both stories the heroine was desired and loved by the *shahi* or *shaha*. From the poem of this book and other sources it is clear that the sweetheart is referred to as *shahi*, *shaha* or *shahu*. His Majesty King Ahmad Shah Baba says:

<i>dê shahâ dê angáñ sël sî ahmadah</i>	د شهاد انګن سیل سی احمده
<i>kê taslîm <u>khpéla</u> ráza křré zmâ délah</i>	که تسلیم خپله رضا کړې زما دله

See the compassion of the beloved O Ahmad
If you want to submit O heart of mine.

Khushal Khan says:

<i>dê sháhey thûro sunbolo</i>	د شهی تورو سنبلو
<i>pér spîn mákh yê tásélsolo</i>	پر سپین مخ ئې تسلسلو

The beloved's dark tresses
Hanging around her white face.

75. *Shaikh Bostan Barheits*: This person, whose life history and an example of his poetry is presented in *Pata Khazana*, is from the *Barheits Sarhbani* family. His book *Bostan-al-Awlia* was seen by the father of the author of *Pata Khazana*. Beside what has been written about him in *Pata Khazana*, Nàmatullah, who was his contemporary, provides the following information: This distinguished servant of God who has been burnt in the divine fire, is a symbol of unity and erudition, Shaikh Bostan *Barheits*, came to India from Rah during his youth and settled in the village of Samaana. He made his living as a merchant. He was a man of deep feelings and his eyes were never dry. He lamented all the time and despite his pain he read 15 chapters of the Koran every day. Most of the time he recited sorrowful Pashto poetry which made people cry. He performed the ablution and prayed five times a day. The writer of this history befriended him during a sea voyage. One night the sea was stormy. The ship mates became frightened and started to pray for mercy. Since my

relationship with him was sincere I asked him that it was time to seek help. He replied that it was merely the confusion of the mind and there was nothing to fear. After saying these words, the storm subsided and a desirable wind started to blow and saved the ship from danger. Upon returning to Ahmadabad of Gujrat he told me one day that his life had come to an end and whether I would be willing to arrange a coffin for him. I agreed. He died from dysentery on Friday the 11th of Rabi-al-Thani in the year one thousand and two after the noon prayers.

In short this exalted figure whom Nàmatullah Herawi had met personally, and was his friend for a long time, was a great scholar and poet.

76. *Bêdêla*: This is a special form of Pashto poetry which is read with a distinct tone. It is subject to a special rule of prosody known as *kaçr*. Throughout its length the first hemistich is repeated after every distich. There are several ways of metering the verses of a *bêdêla*.
77. *Ludis of Multan*: Shaikh Hamid was the governor of Multan during the time of Alaptageen and Subuktageen 351-390 H. (962-1000 A.D.). After his death, his son, Nasr ascended the throne. During the time of Sultan Mahmud, i.e. after 390 to 401 H. (1000-1011 A.D.), when Multan became part of the domain of Ghaznavids, Abu al-Futuh Daud bin Nasr was the governor of the area. This book presents a detailed and useful account of this dynasty little seen in other historical works.

The author of *Pata Khazana* extracted this information from *Kelid-e Kamrani* (see annotation 78). *Kelid-e Kamrani* quotes *Aàlam-al-Louzà fi Akhbar-al-Ludi* written by Shaikh Ahmad ibn Ludi 686 H. (1287 A.D.). Since these statements do not lack references therefore they can be relied upon. Beside the names of the three governors, the name of another person, Shaikh Reza, who was the nephew of Shaikh Hamid, has also been mentioned in the book while he is not mentioned in other sources. The name of Nasr has been recorded as Naseer by later historians such as Fereshta but in *Zain-al-Akhbar* of Gardezi it is Nasr without the letter ya. This book has also spelled his name in the same manner as Gardezi. From this it can be deduced that the original citation i.e. *Tarekh-al-Ludi* is a reliable source.

Mohammad Qasim Fereshta, extensively deals with the subject that Shaikh Hamid was a Ludi Afghan and states: He administered Lamghan and Multan under

the tutelage of Raja Jaipal. From 351 to 356 H. (962-655 A.D.) he helped the Raja against western invaders. When Subuktageen ascended the throne, Shaikh Hamid signed a peace treaty with him and in 395 H. (1005 A.D.) when Sultan Mahmud started his Indian campaign, the administration of Multan was in the hands of Abu al-Futuh Daud, the grandson of Shaikh Hamid. Next year, that is in 396 H. (1006 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud did not go to India by the direct way of Gomal and Derajat but attacked Multan by way of Peshawar. Abu al-Futuh was surrounded, but he made peace, repented from the Ismaili faith, and accepted to pay taxes to the Sultan. After a few years (around 402 H.) Sultan Mahmud once again attacked Multan and vanquished the Ismailis. He captured Daud bin Nasr and brought him to Ghazni where he died later (*Fereshta*, p. 17-27).

This is a summary of the account by Fereshta regarding the Afghan Ludi dynasty. After him other writers such as Hayat Khan (*Hayat-e Afghani*, p. 45), Sher Mohammad (*Khurshaid Jahan*, p. 67) and Malleson (*History of Afghanistan*, p. 44), consider them Afghan Ludis, most likely based on the writings of Fereshta.

Previous historians who have referred to these events do not mention anything about their nationality. For example, Abdul Hay Gardezi, who wrote his history during the Ghaznavid period {around 441 H. (1050 A.D.)} writes: With the advent of the fourth century, he decided to capture Multan. He went there and conquered the remaining territories of Multan and captured most of the Qaramitha or killed some or cut the hands of others and chastised them. Others were imprisoned in fortresses where they eventually died. In the same year, he captured Daud bin Nasr and took him to Ghazni, from where he sent him to the Ghorak fortress (located 30 miles northwest of Qandahar) where he died... (*Zain-al-Akhbar*, p. 55).

Arab historians also mention these events. For example the summary of the statements of Ibn Asir and Ibn Khaldoon is as follows: Sultan Mahmud attacked Multan in the year 396 H. (1006 A.D.) because the governor of Multan, Abu al-Futuh, had embraced atheism and had invited his subjects to join him. When the governor heard about the Sultan's arrival he abandoned Multan. The Sultan besieged him and fined him twenty thousand dirhams (*Al-Kamel*, vol. 9, p. 122; *Ibn Khaldoon*, vol. 4, p. 366).

This is what Arab historians have written regarding the Ludi dynasty, but a contemporary Indian scholar, Maulana Sulaiman Nadawi, discusses this issue in his book *Tàaloqat Hind wa Arab* (p. 315-329). He states that the family of Shaikh Hamid was Arab and the progeny of Julm bin Shaiban, the Arab governor of Sind, who is considered to be the first Qaramithi governor of the region (*Tàaloqat*, p. 328).

From their genuine Arab names such as Hamid, Nasr, Daud and Abu al-Futuh and the use of words such as shaikh, Nadwi concludes that these rulers were of Arab origin. He further states that Mohammad Qasim Fereshta considers them Afghan Ludis without any strong documentation and that he has faked their roots.

In fact, before the discovery of *Pata Khazana*, there was no document to substantiate that this family was of Afghan origin. Fereshta has also not clarified his references with respect to this family. By reading *Pata Khazana* the issue becomes clear. It shows that Fereshta was not making false claims. With such positive documentation there is no doubt that the Ludi family of Multan is of Afghan origin. This is because what has been documented in *Pata Khazana* is in conformance with the names and events recorded in Arab texts. In short this book shows:

1. The story of the Afghan origin of Shaikh Hamid. This family was not a fabrication of Fereshta. This fact has also been stated by historians preceding Fereshta. The progeny of this family once again rose to power in India during the eighth century until their defeat by Babur, the first Moghul emperor, in the battle of Pani Pat in 932 H. (1526 A.D.).
 2. The members of this family spoke Pashto. The poetry of Shaikh Reza and Nasr bin Hamid has been recorded in *Pata Khazana*, they are considered to be among the oldest poems in this language.
78. *Kamran Khan Sadozay*: Kamran Khan Sadozay is a famous Afghan personality, who, according to *Pata Khazana* wrote *Kelid-e Kamrani* in 1038 H. (1628 A.D.) in Share Safa of Qandahar. We have ample information on Kamran Khan and his family. They were famous administrators of Qandahar for a long time. The founding father of this family was the famous Sado Khan and Ahmad Shah Baba and the Sadozai governors of Herat are related to him (*Hayat*, p. 118; *Khurshaid*, p. 181). Omar, the father of Sado Khan was a margrave of Qandahar during the time of the

Safavids. Sado Khan was born on Monday 17 Zihajja 965 H. (1558 A.D.). After the death of his father he took over as chief of the tribe. He lived for about 75 years and had five sons: Khwaja Khizr Khan, Moudod (Maghdod) Khan, Zàfaran Khan, Kamran Khan and Bahadur Khan (*Sultani*, p. 59). Among these five brothers, Kamran Khan was a literary personality and is subject of our discussion here.

Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani believes Sado Khan had a number of children and says that during the era of Shah Abas he was appointed the governor of Qandahar (*Tazkera-al-Mulook*, in Raverty). In summary: After Sado Khan his son Khizar Khan became the chief of the tribe and during the time of Aurangzeb, the son of Khizar Khan, who was named Khudadad Sultan, was appointed the governor of Qandahar by the Delhi throne. Another brother, known as Sher Khan had also gained fame and His Majesty Ahmad Shah Baba was from his lineage. Thus Ahmad Shah's lineage is as follows: Ahmad Shah son of Zaman Khan son of Daulat Khan son of Sarmast Khan son of Sher Khan (*Hayat*, p. 119).

Names of the members of this family appear in the history of the Moghuls of India. It seems that Kamran Khan and Malik Maghdood (Maudood) were the contemporaries of Shah Jahan 1037-1076 H. (1628-1666 A.D.) and they were considered among the famous governors of Qandahar at that time. The armies of Shah Jahan took over Qandahar with their help 1047 H. (1637 A.D.); and after that battle they were appointed the governors of the area (*Padshah Nama*, vol. 2, p. 32-36).

Kamran's date of death is not clear, but according to the writings of Abdul Hamid he died in Delhi in the month of Rabi-al-Awal of 1050 H (1640 A.D.) (*Padshah Nama*, vol. 2, p. 151). Afterwards, his brother Malik Maghdood, challenged Mir Yahya, the governor of Kabul, who was appointed by Shah Jahan, and lost his life in the ensuing battle in 1053 H. (1643 A.D.) When Shah Jahan heard the news of his death he was deeply saddened and removed Mir Yahya from the post of governor (*Padshah Nama*, vol. 2, p. 348).

79. Share Safa: An area 100 km northeast of Qandahar. In past times it was the domicile of the Sadozay tribe.

80. *Párhêkey*: This word which in the past times meant a poem is not in use any more.

The oldest book where we see its use is *Tazkerat-al-Awlia* of Sulaiman Maku. It has been used several times in the few pages of the book which were discovered in 1933 (see *Pashtana Shuàra*. vol. 1, p. 53-55-63). From this it is evident that *párhêkey* was used to mean a poem.

81. *Arhah*: In the poems of the Ludis *ãrrah* has been used twice:

hagha groh dë aus ãrrah kárr هغه ګروه دی اوس آړه کړر

You have changed that religion now.

zê lê groha pê ãrrah yám زه له ګروهه په آړه یم

I have converted from religion.

This word is not in usage any more nor is its meaning seen in dictionaries. Perhaps its root is in *arraval* (to change). Thus *ãrrah* should mean change. In both instances it has been used with religion and faith. Perhaps it is derived from the infinitive *arraval* and means *ilhad* (apostasy). *Lahd* in Arabic means inclination and going beyond limits (*Qamoos-e Ferozabadi*) and *ilhad* is derived from it. At the present we have derivations such as *awostal*, *arrawang*, and *awosta* from *arraval* but *ãrrah* is not in use anymore. But the intransitive form of *arraval* which is *awostal* is still used to mean *ilhad* (atheism or changing religion). For example in the case of a person who changes his religion it is said: *awostay dei* (he has changed).

82. *Esa Meshwañay*: This famous writer and poet was known to us prior to the discovery of *Paṭa Khazana* through *Makhzan-e Afghani* of Nàmatullah Herawi. His life history is presented in the first volume of *Pashtana Shuàra* (p. 72-72). Nàmatullah includes his Hindi and Persian poems in his book and considers him a famous saint.

83. *Koyal*: This is the name of a bird in Sanskrit (Forbes Hindi English Dictionary, p. 561), called the cuckoo. In Pashto the feminine form of the name is *koyala*. It has been used in the quatrain of Khalil Khan Niazay. *Koyélá* may be compared to *bulbula* whose masculine form is *bulbul*. In Pashto literature it has also been used as *kwail* and *kohél*. Miya Nàim Mathizay says:

dê chamán pê bulbulano kë shor gád shî

د چمن په بلبلانو کې شور ګډ شي

ché nàyém dê shpê faryad láka kohél kâ

چه نعيم د شپې فرياد لکه کوهېل کا

The garden bulbuls start singing
When Nàim laments at night like the cuckoo.

84. *Rantanhbour*: This name has been written in different forms but the correct version is Rantanhbour (Rantambour in English). It was a famous fortress of Ajmir, in eastern Rajputana (*Khulasa-al-Tawareekh*, p. 55). Its ancient name was Ran-sat-maba-pur, meaning the place of battle columns. It is a stone fortress on top of a hill (*Gazetteer*, vol. 21, p. 235). It is famous for its strength in Indian history and was occupied for the first time by Sultan Muàez al-Din Ghori (*Taj-al-Maàsir*; *Gazetteer*, vol. 21, p. 235) and according to *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri* (p. 172) 70 kings had not been able to occupy it. Khushal Khan was imprisoned there after 1074 H. (1664 A.D.). He mentions it in his poems. For the life history of this poet refer to the introduction of his divan which I published in Qandahar in 1317 H. (1938 A.D. This date refers to the solar Hejira year).
85. *Derawat*: This place lies about 89 km northwest of Qandahar and is located south of the mountains of Ghor and Uruzgan with a mountain stream passing through it. At present it is an administrative center. It is possible that the historic Hera-hoti may be this place.
86. *Toba*: An elevated area at the foothills of the Kozhak mountain, 130 km southeast of Qandahar which is the domicile of the Atsek tribe.
87. *Sultan Ghiasuddin*: Refers to the famous Sultan Ghiasuddin Mohammad Saam Ghori who fought big battles in the vicinity of Herat and Ghor. As the battles are referred to as jihad they must have been fought against non-Moslems. These are probably the battles which were fought with Sultan Shah Jalaluddin Mahmud Khwarazamshah in 588 H. (1192 A.D.) in which Jalaluddin had sought the help of a large number of non-Moslem Khathas (refer to *Tabaqathh-e Nasiri* and others).
88. *Kâkarhs shrine*: With regard to the shrine of Kâkarh Baba this book says that he was buried in Herat. Pashtoons visit his shrine from far away places such as Zhobe and Kâkarhistan and call him Kak Nika (*nika* in Pashto means grandfather). The historian, Sher Mohammad, who spent some time in Herat writes: His grave is near the right gate of the grand mosque of Herat and he has visited it several times. People pray at his grave as they enter or leave the mosque (*Khurshaid*, p. 204).

89. *Kohat*: This place is located about 80 km southeast of Peshawar. Several Khaṭak writers and poets mention it in their works. Rahman Baba got the early inspiration of his youth from this place.
90. *Kokaran*: This place is located 10 km west of Qandahar along the banks of the Arghandab river. Haji Mirwais Khan's shrine is there. From this book it appears that our national leader spent his life there.
91. *Manja*: It lies 32 km northwest of Qandahar adjoining Share Safa. This is the place where the declaration of independence was accepted and signed by a national council. The declaration was probably signed there because it was the home of Khanzada, daughter of Jàfar Khan Sadozay, wife of Haji Mirwais Khan as the area was under the influence of the Sadozay tribe in those times.
92. *Jaldak*: It is located 110 km northeast of Qandahar and is the domicile of the Alakozay tribe.
93. *Shah Beg Khan*: Two people have been recorded by this name in the history of our country. First Shah Beg, son of Amir Zoalnoon Arghoon, who was the governor of Qandahar after 900 H. (1495 A.D.), was driven away by Babur in 913 H. (1507 A.D.). He took refuge in Shaal and Mastung. Shah Beg took back Qandahar in the same year but was finally totally defeated by Babur in 928 H. (1522 A.D.). He went toward Sind and Baluchistan and ruled there for some time (*Tarekh-e Måsumi; Fereshta, Babur Nama*; the tablet of Chil Zeena of Qandahar).

Second, Shah Beg Kabuli, who in 1003 H. (1595 A.D.) took over Qandahar under the orders of Jalaluddin Akbar and was the governor of the region. He stayed there until the end of Akbar's life 1014 H. (1605 A.D.) In the same year the Safavid forces besieged Qandahar. Jahangir sent his forces and restituted the city. He appointed Pakhta Beg Kabuli who was known as Sardar Khan as the governor of Qandahar thus replacing Shah Beg (*Akbar Nama; Tuzuk-e Jahangiri; Iqbal Nama; Muntakhab-al-Lubab*).

Since in this book the title of *subadar* of Qandahar accompanies the name of Shah Beg, it most likely refers to Shah Beg Kabuli because Shah Beg Arghooni was known as the governor and ruler of Qandahar and not as a *subadar*.

94. *Ali Sarwar Ludi*: He is a famous Pashtoon writer and the author of *Paṭa Khazana* cites *Tuhfa-e Saleh* and Nàmatullah's *Makhzan* while talking about his life. Nàmatullah states the following in *Makhzan* about this poet: The renowned Shaikh Ali Sarwar Ludi Shahukhel was among the holy men of his tribe and lived in the Kahror village of Multan. He was among the people whose prayers were answered, his advice was effective and in thirty years he was not once seen to lie down. It is said that one day as he was sitting in a mosque and having a haircut the barber stated that on whoever Shaikh Najmuddin Kubri cast a glance he was blessed. The Shaikh smiled and said that is easy. When the haircut was finished the barber went into a trance and started talking about piety. He then started to pray and preach and people gathered to listen to his sermons. The Shaikh bestowed his saintly blessing on all people and his children are also outstanding personalities.
95. *Shaal*: Shaal or Shalkot (the Shaal fortress) was near the present day city of Quetta. According to Abu al-Fazl, it was considered an eastern dependency of Qandahar during the Akbari era. It had a fort with earthen walls where Kasay Afghans and Baluch lived (*Ayeen-e Akbari*, p. 189).
96. *Gomal*: It is a famous passage which starts southeast of Ghazni (Wazakhwa), goes along the northern tiers of Koh Sulaiman to the western banks of the Indus river.
97. *Mullah Zàfran*: He is a famous personality of the Hotheki period and *Paṭa Khazana* has one of his poems. Contemporary historians such as Sultan Mohammad and Sher Mohammad mention him in their works, a summary of which is presented here:
- According to *Paṭa Khazana* Mullah Zàfran was an outstanding scholar of the court of His Majesty Shah Hussain Hothek. Sultan Mohammad writes that Mullah Zàfaran was appointed the ambassador to the court of Nadir Shah Afshar by His Majesty Shah Hussain before 1143 H. (1731 A.D.). Nadir Shah invaded Herat in the same year and Mullah Zàfaran once again went as an emissary to Herat and an exchange of prisoners took place between the Afghan and Iranian forces (*Sultani*, p. 87). Sher Mohammad says that in the month of Moharram of 1143 H. (1731 A.D.) Mulla Zàfaran represented His Majesty Shah Hussain in the court of Nadir Shah at Sananduj (*Khurshaid*, p. 148). This historical event has been corroborated by Mohammad Mehdi Ashtarabadi (*Jahan Kusha-e Nadiri*, p. 134-155). It is possible

that Astarbandi was the source for the writings of Sultan Mohammad and Sher Mohammad.

In summary it can be said that this distinguished personality was among the exalted men of Shah Hussain's court. He should not be confused with another Mulla Zàfaran who was a courtier of His Majesty Shah Mahmud and His Majesty Shah Ashraf in Iran. This Mullah Zàfaran was an emissary of Shah Ashraf to the court of Nader Shah during the time of the downfall of the Afghan forces. He was arrested by Nadir Shah and sent to Asfahan. Since he could not bear imprisonment he jumped from the bridge of the River Lasheen (Lashni) and committed suicide (*Sultani*, p. 85; *Khurshaid*, p. 147).

98. *Musa Khel*: A clan of the Kâkarh tribe that lives in the foothills of Sulaiman mountain, east of the Zhobe valley.
99. *Masàud*: A branch of the Waziri tribe.
100. *Bangas*: A tribe that lives south of Peshawar and Spinghar. During the Moghul era of India the district of *Bangas* was considered a part of Kabul. It is the domicile of the Mohmand, Khalil, Afridi and Khaṭak tribes (*Ayeen-e Akbari*, vol. 2, p. 190-193). The *Bangas* road toward Kabul was also famous at that time.
101. *Dera*: This word probably refers to Dera Ismail Khan or Dera Ghazi Khan. When Shah Hussain, the Hothek king, sent his army to this region his commander in chief was Bahadur Khan.
102. *Shaikh Rahmani*: A famous anchorite and spiritual leader of the time. He was a follower of Shaikh Adam Banuri who was a student of Hazrat Mujadad Kabuli who died in 1106 H. (1695 A.D.) (refer to Divan of Abdul Qadir Khan, p. 10-262).
103. *Pir Mohammad Miyaji*: This famous personality of the Hotheki era has been discussed in other sources in the following context: When His Majesty Shah Ashraf lost his forces and started marching from Shiraz toward Qandahar, the Nadiri army pursued him. When Shah Ashraf crossed the Fasa bridge (three *farsakhs* from Shiraz), he left Pir Mohammad Khan known as Miyaji, the guide of His Majesty Mahmud, together with some soldiers to guard the bridge. Miyaji who was revered by the people was killed in that location in 1143 H. (1731 A.D.) (*Jahan Kusha*, p. 121; *Sultani*, p. 85).

104. *Bori*: A place in Kâkarhistan of Zhobe.
105. *Babojan Babei*: Sultan Mohammad writes that at the time when Shah Mahmud and Shah Ashraf were predominant Babojan Babei was the governor of Lar wa Bandar in Iran. After the downfall of the Hotheki empire he returned to Qandahar. *Jahankusha-e Nadiri* has recorded him as Baro Khan. When Nadir Shah Afshar marched on Qandahar from Herat, he ordered Imam Wirdi Beg, the governor of Kirman to capture Grishk and Bost. His Majesty Shah Hussain sent an army under the command of Babojan to face him. He engaged the Nadir Afshar forces and drove them toward Farah (*Sultani*, p. 88; *Jahan Kusha*, p. 166). Besides this note he is not mentioned in other sources.
106. *Mashor*: A village 10 km southwest of Qandahar. The remains of an old citadel and a city are present there. During the Moghul period, the southern gate of the citadel of Qandahar was known as the Mashor gate (*Abu-al-Fazl, Akbar Nama*, vol. 1).
107. *Shaha wa Gulān*: This is a famous Pashto love story. The main characters of the story Shaha (female) and Gulān (male) are symbols of purity and good conduct. This folk story is still told among the people, parts of which are recited in the form of poetry.
108. *Mohmand*: This village lies about 10 km east of Qandahar and is considered the first *rubat* (measurement of distance) toward Kabul.
109. *Yusuf*: This person who was a companion of Haji Mirwais Khan has not been mentioned in the sources we have at hand. *Tarekh-e Sultani*, *Khurshaid Jahan* and *Hayat-e Afghani* mention others with regard to Hotheki events, but aside from *Paṭa Khazana*, Yusuf is not mentioned elsewhere. There is also no mention of Aziz Khan Nourzay, Gul Khan of Baberh tribe, Nour Khan Barheits and Nasro Khan Alakozay of Jaldak in other sources.
110. *Yahya Khan*: This Yahya Khan is the brother of Haji Mirwais Khan. Mohammad Khan, the nephew of Haji Mirwais, who accompanied his father and uncle into battle, is known as Haji Angoor in later events. He was the governor of Jakhtaran for a long time. His son, Abdul Ghafoor Khan was in control of Kalat during Nadir Afshar's march on Qandahar. Abdul Rasoul Khan, the brother of Abdul Ghafoor, fought

bravely against Nadir engaging him in battle near Shibaar (*Hayat-e Afghani*, p. 257-264).

111. *Skaapur*: This is the Pashto form of Shikarpur of Sind through which trade with Qandahar took place.
112. *Mastung*: It is a famous historical city located in Baluchistan. Today it is a mere village. Yaqoot records it in the Arabic form as Mastunj. He states that the distance between Mastunj and Bost is seven days (*Marasid*, p. 329). Gardezi says: Sultan Mahmud captured Shar, the king of Gharjistan, and sent him to the city of Mastung (*Zain-al-Akhbar*, p. 56).
113. *Miya Abdul Hakim Kâkarh*: He is one of the famous Afghan spiritual leaders, was well-known for his mysticism. He lived around 1140 H. (1728 A.D.) and in 1150 H. (1738 A.D.) left Qandahar for Kâkarhistan. His shrine is located in Tal and Chatali.
114. *Ksheta Khwa*: Meaning in the lower side. Since the surroundings of the Tarnak river, south of Qandahar, is located at a lower elevation therefore it is known as *Ksheta Khwa*. It is the domicile of the Barakzay people.
115. *Miya Nour Mohammad*: He was from the Nourzay tribe and is considered a pious and learned personage of Qandahar. He was a student of Miya Abdul Hakim and lived during the reign of His Majesty Ahmad Shah Baba. Considered a teacher of the common people he died in 1172 H. (1759 A.D.) and is buried in the village of Manara, south of Qandahar. His shrine is still visited by people. Among his works *Maqala-e Àulia*, on Suffism is famous. A scholar of the time, Mullah Ahmad Qandahari, has written a commentary *Tâleem-al-Sulook* on it.
116. *Panjwayee*: It has been written in different ways such as Panjwai, Fanjwai, Banjwai and Panjwahi by Arab and Afghan historians and geographers. It is a famous city of the historical Rakhj or Rakhz. It is still famous by the same name and lies about 24 km southwest of Qandahar.
117. *Wêyáy*: This word was in use until the Middle period of Pashto literature and probably meant a word. It is often seen in the works of Middle period writers. For example Khushal Khan says:

dâ wêyáy zmâ dê raz day

دا ويي زما دراز دی

dâ manzil dûr aw daraz day

دا منزل دور او دراز دی

This is the word of my secret

This journey is long and arduous; or:

yaw wêyáy dê dálasa râta prë nézdéy

يو وي د دلاسا راته پري نبردي

dzan kê hár tso khpál máyan tê marwar kárrám

خان که هر خپل مین ته مرور کرم

Not a single soothing word she utters

No matter how much vexed I may be from my love.

118. *Bostan*: This place is located 32 km north of Quetta in Baluchistan and is the domicile of the Atsekzay tribe.

119. *Saidal Khan Nasir*: He is a famous Afghan general who participated in numerous battles inside and outside the country. Beside considering him a military genius, the author of *Paṭa Khazana* says that he was a scholar and wrote poetry in Pashto, our national language. He was the son of Abdal Khan Nasir Barhizay who lived in Dela, near Abe Istada, southwest of Moqur. The Nasir clan is a famous branch of the Ghalji tribe and is divided into the Spin Nasir, Sur Nasir and Tour Nasir i.e. the white, red and black Nasir. Barhizay or Borhizay is a branch of the Sur Nasir (*Hayat*). According to this book, Saidal Khan started serving in a military capacity during the time of Haji Mirwais Khan. He accompanied His Majesty Shah Mahmud to Iran and took part in the conquest of Asfahan and made noteworthy contributions to the expansion of the Afghan kingdom. With the downfall of this great military leader during the seige of Kandahar by Nadir Shah Afshar, the Hotek kingdom fell apart. Thus it can be said that Saidal Khan was a pillar of that kingdom.

Historians mention his name in all the battles that were fought in a period of 30 years inside and outside the country after the rise to leadership of Haji Mirwais Khan up to 1150 H. (1737 A.D.). According to *Paṭa Khazana* he also successfully participated in the battles against the Safavids undertaken by Haji Mirwais Khan to liberate the country.

After the death of the great liberator, Haji Mirwais Khan, when His Majesty Shah Mahmud marched on Iran Saidal Khan was the commander of his troops. He also participated in the battles of His Majesty Shahanshah Ashraf, both inside and outside Iran and was victorious in his encounters with the enemy. He is said to be

the only commander of the forces of His Majesty Ashraf during the battles against Nadir Afshar.

When the Afghan forces were defeated by Nadir Afshar in Iran, Saidal Khan returned to Qandahar and fought against Nadir Afshar until the last moment and did not capitulate to the foreign invaders. As long as it was possible he attacked the invaders.

In Moharram of 1142 H. (1730 A.D.) when Nadir Shah invaded Herat and attacked the governors of that region, Shah Ashraf tried to occupy Meshad. The commander of the Afghan army was Sidal Khan and his forces were centered in Kirman (*Jahankusha*, p. 105). Later he fought against Nadir Shah and after the defeat of Shah Ashraf's forces he came to Qandahar to join Shah Hussain to continue his military quest.

In 1143 H. (1731 A.D.) Nadir Shah directed his forces toward Herat. The Abdali rulers of the area continued resisting Nadir Shah up to 1144 H. (1732 A.D.) when they sought the help of Shah Hussain, who was the ruler of Qandahar. In the month of Rabi-al-Awal of the same year Saidal Khan marched toward Herat with a force of several thousand men (*Jahankusha*, p. 181; *Nadir Nama*, p. 115; *Sultani*, p. 88). After several years during the month of Zieikàda 1149 H. (1736 A.D.) when Nadir Afshar surrounded Qandahar, the people of Qandahar, under the military leadership of Saidal Khan, resisted him fiercely for a period of one year. When Nadir Afshar directed his forces toward Kalat, Saidal Khan left the Qandahar citadel with four thousand men to face his enemy and fought several battles until he was besieged, together with Shah Hussain and his men, in the Kalat fortress. When Nadir Afshar captured Saidal Khan he blinded him (*Jahankusha*, p. 315; *Nadir Nama*, p. 197, *Khurshaid*, p. 160; *Zendagani-e Nadir Shah*, p. 105; *Sultani*, p. 92).

After loosing his sight, Saidal Khan with some of his relatives left for Shakar Dara of Kohdaman, north of Kabul and later died there. His shrine is located in the Siyahsang graveyard of Shakardara. He left behind a son, Sher Mohammad, whose progeny is known until this day.

120. *Sultan Mulkhi and his family*: This man who is the grandfather of Haji Mirwais Khan's mother is considered a learned Afghan figure. Members of his family were

the chiefs of the Ghalji tribe for a long time. They are from the Toukhay clan and are considered the cousins of the Hotheks. The Mulkhi branch is famous among the Toukhays. This branch, which numbers about 100 families, lives south of Tazi Rubat between Shahjoi and Kalat. The ruins of their ancient fortress are still seen there. Historians agree that Sultan Mulkhi was a contemporary of Aurangzeb who ascended the throne in 1068 H. (1658 A.D.) and died in 1118 H. (1706 A.D.)

Mulkhi, as chief of the Ghalji, demarcated the Garamabad valley until Jaldak as the border between the Ghalji and Abdali tribes. This truce was signed with Khudadad Sultan Sadozay, who was the chief of the Abdali tribe. The truce holds until this day (*Sultani*, p. 60). Sultan Mulkhi died in the battle of Darwaza between Indzargai and Surkh Sang. After his death, his son, Haji Adil (Abdal) became the chief for a time. He and his son Bayee Khan were the governors of Kalat and they lived in the Kalat and Jakhtaran fortresses, situated along the banks of the Tarnak river. Eventually Bayee Khan was killed and Shah Alam, son of Ali Khan, the nephew of Mulkhi and his son Khushal Khan became the governors for some time. Later Ashraf Khan and Alahyar Khan, the sons of Khushal Khan became leaders. Ashraf Khan was appointed as the governor of Kalat and Ghazni by His Majesty Ahmad Shah Baba. During Ahmad Shah's first campaign in India he accompanied the king. When Timur Shah became king, Amo Khan, son of Ashraf Khan, rose to be the chief of the Ghalji tribe (*Hayat*, p. 261-264; *Khurshaid*, p. 217-220).

121. *Beglar Begi*: According to the Safavid administrative setup the highest ranked administrator was called *beglar begi*, and the governor of Qandahar was given this title. The *beglar begi* was directly appointed by the king. Several khans and sultans worked under him in the administrative region.
122. *Thazi*: This is the second rabat (a day's journey) toward the northeast on the road to Kalat. The progeny of Mulkhi Toukhi live near it toward the south.
123. *Kosan*: This place lies west of Herat along the banks of the Hari Rud and at present it is a part of the Ghorya district. In Pashtoon tradition the distance between Khyber to the east and Kosan to the west is considered to be very long as these two parts are separated by the entire length of the country.

124. *Nour-Jahan*: Mumtaz Mahal Begum was the queen of Shah Jahan and Nour-Jahan Begum was the queen of Jehangir, the Moghul emperors of India.
125. *Bibi Naekbakhta*: This learned woman was an Afghan scholar and the author gives a good description of her life. The writings of Nàmatullah, regarding this woman, accord with what has been written about her in *Paṭa Khazana*. Nàmatullah mentions her in these words: Hazrat Shaikh Qadam had two wives. One was the mother of the pious Bibi Naekbakhta from the Mamozay tribe and she came from the village of Ashnaghar where the Mamozay live...(*Makhzan*, p. 307). Apart from this we do not have any other information regarding this sagely woman.
126. *Ashnaghar*: An area north of Peshawar which is also written as Hashtnaghar.
127. *Badani*: An area east of Peshawar.
128. *Jamaryañi*: A branch of the Toukhay clan.
129. *Deray*: Meaning Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan. *Dera* (plural=*deray*) is a Pashto word.
130. *Gulistān*: A place northeast of Farah which is the domicile of the Nourzay tribe.
131. *Khusrao Khan*: According to historians Khusrao Khan was the nephew of Gurgin Khan. According to *Tarekh-e Sultani* (p. 72), *Jahankusha-e Nadiri* (p. 6), and *Khurshaid Jahan* (p. 132) his name was Kaikhusrao Khan but Sir John Malcolm (p. 204) and Abdullah Razi in *Tarekh-e Iran* (p. 564) write his name as Khusrao Khan.

Rare Words

(used in the text of the book)

اخیسته *akhistá*: Charge, attack.

اڱز *ághéáz*: Effect.

اتل *átál*: For explanation refer to annotation 33.

اوجار *aujârr*: Ruin, spoil.

ایواد *éiwad*: Land, country.

اوکوب *aükûb*: Dignity, reverence.

اوخار *aútsâr*: Bright, clear.

آغلي *ãghlê*: Beautiful; its feminine is *ãgháléy*.

اشلوک *áshlûk*: For explanation refer to annotation 58.

ایلانی *aëlâj*: Obedience, submission, surrender; *aél* means submissive. It has been used extensively in the poems of the Middle period but *aélâay* has not been used as an infinitive.

ایر *aírr*: In Pas'hto it means a fleet of boats; this word is still used by a number of Pas'htoon tribes and has been recorded in dictionaries.

استاخېي *astâzêy*: This word stems from *astêwal* (to send) and is used up to the present time meaning messenger.

اړه *ãrra*: This word is not used now. It probably stems from *arhêwal* (to change) and means the same. For further explanation refer to annotation 81.

باد *bád*: Rival.

برغه *bárghá*: This is an extinct word which is not used at the present time. It probably means gain or desire.

بیارتې *byârté*: A form of the word *bîrté* meaning again.

bárbáñ: The word is not alive in this form. *Báñ* means a garden or forest. In the original manuscript *ai bagh loi* (e.g. large garden) has been written over the word. In Pas'hto *loi* also means high and tall. Therefore *bárbáñ* probably means a high garden. It is possible that in the past large gardens or streets were known as *bárbáñ*.

bârrî: The word is not alive in this form. *Bârha* at present means pay or fare. It is possible that in the past *bârhâl* was used as an infinitive, while in the lyrics of Shaikh Mathi it has been used in the form of a verb. From its use in the poem its meaning may be deduced as to gain or to desire.

bâmél: For explanation refer to annotation 42.

bolêlê: In the book it has been used several times to mean an ode. It is possible that the word has fallen out of use with time. It is a lexicographic gem of Pas'hto preserved in the book. For further explanation refer to annotation 56.

bërray: As used in the poem of Shaikh Asad it means a chain.

bâmi: For explanation refer to annotation 51.

bârêl: *Bêry* is a verb in the present tense from the extinct infinitive *bêrêl* (to conquer). This verb with all its derivatives has fallen out of use and only *barey* (victory) is currently in use.

bârëdzár: The word is used by certain tribes at the present time meaning the half way hour between sunrise and mid-day.

bârmél: For explanation refer to annotation 65.

bûdthûn: For explanation refer to annotation 66.

bâmbéñ: Spiritual leader of the Hindus.

blézdêl: Twisting, folding.

pâswâl: For explanation refer to annotation 22.

pêrthêmîn: Majestic, magnificent. This word is related to *partam* meaning majesty and glory. At present *pêrthêmén* is not used.

plor: Price, value.

pândz: This word is extinct and is used rarely in the form of the verb *pândzëdêl* meaning birth and creation.

pârrêkey: For explanation refer to annotation 80.

پلن *pálén*: For explanation refer to annotation 37.

پلاز *pláz*: In the past this word meant a throne. It is not used now.

پوپل *popál*: For explanation refer to annotation 59.

پسول *psoláë*: At present only *psul* is in use meaning jewelry. *Psoléley* which is derived from the infinitive *psoléi* is extinct. *Psoléi* and *gáñel* are successive verbs meaning to adorn.

پېر *péyr*: Turn and state.

پېرل *péyrel*: To buy.

پتى *páthi*: Related to *páth* meaning respect and dignity.

پېنا *púpánâ*: To vanquish or destroy.

تره *thrá*: Fear, hate.

ترخ *thrêkh*: Under the arm; such as *tsurî thrêkh tê áchawál* meaning to put traveling provisions to one's arm. This idiom has special connotation which means to undertake a journey.

تون *tûn*: This word is not used in the singular form. In the past it meant place or a suffix denoting place. In this book it has been used in several instances as stated. At present it is used in a compound manner such as *mëzîthûn tûn* meaning an ant nest.

تىرو *térû*: Derived from the root of *t  ir* and *t  iray*. *Th  iray* means to go beyond limits and cruelty. *Th  iro* probably means cruel and suppressor but it is not in use now.

تار *th  r  r  *: Sad, agitated. In the Middle period *th  r  r  â* was used to mean agitation and *turor* and *turhor* meant agitated.

تىرون *t  r  n*: In Skarandoi's elegy it has been used meaning to pass or to cross. In some instances it has been used to mean cruelty and aggression.

ترى *t  r  y*: In the past it meant a bridge. It has probably been derived from the root of *ter* and *teredal* meaning to cross. Since the word is extinct it can be guessed to mean a bridge which is evident from its use in Skarandoi's poem.

ترمل *th  rm  l*: For explanation refer to annotation 65.

تاخون *t  kh  n*: Affliction. The folk poet Abdullah says:

z   may  n p  r t   Yam t  kh  n m   d   sanam  h

زه مين پر تا يم تاخون مي دي صنه

kho  z m   zerrgy d   ãkh  r d  r pas   mr  ma

خور مي زيرگي دي در پسي مرمه

I am in love with you, afflicted am I sweetheart
My heart is wounded, I long for you.

تريپل *trápálél*: At present *trarpéludél* is used in certain dialects meaning to run, jump or wish. In a Pas'hto *landay* it has been used as such:

lê spinë tûréy nê dë thérplod

له سپيني توري نه دي ترپلود

pür bégáney dár kárry khwlah pšémâna yâmáh

پر بيگانې در کړي خوله پنیمانه يمه

You ran away from the gleaming sword

I regret letting you kiss me yesterday evening.

تورن *torén*: *Tor* means accusation and black. In Nasr Ludi's poem it has been used to mean traducer or accuser. *Torén* has fallen out of use now.

تورا *torâ*: Related to the root of *tor*. In the past it probably meant to defame. *Tourâ* has fallen out of use now.

توران *turén*: Related to *tor*.

تورتم *tortám*: Total darkness.

تال *tâl*: Delay, rear. Also means a swing.

تيکنه *tíkána*: This word is extinct now and probably meant justice in the past. It is from the root of *tík* meaning center or original at the present time.

تيکلونه *tíkâwénê*: Comfort and rest. At present *tíkâw* is used in Qandahar to mean the same.

جندی *jundey*: This word has been repeatedly used in *Paṭa Khazana* and by poets of the past meaning a flower. In today's vocabulary it has been replaced by the word *gul* (flower). It can be said that in the past *gul* was called *junday*. In certain tribes the proper noun Jandi Khan or Jando Khan is used which means Gul Khan. In Qandahar this word is alive in the form of *lam junday* meaning a tuft which is close to a flower.

جوپه *jopá*: Caravan.

جاندم *jândém*: Among the people of the mountains and in the rural areas it is used to mean hell but the city folks do not use the word. This book sheds light on the past usage of the word.

جادل *jâjêl*: To contemplate, to think. This verb is out of use and only *jâj* is rarely used in some places.

جگن *jágrrén*: Related to combat i.e. war. An annotator has written the word *lashkar* (army) over it. From its use in the book it seems to have meant an army or soldiers in the past and it can be used to signify an army in present day usage.

چندی *chándáy*: For explanation refer to annotation 57.

چر *chárh*: A ford.

چونی *chuñéy*: It has been repeatedly used in this book meaning a bulbul.

خلوریخ *tsálorédz*: It probably means a quatrain. This word is not in use at the present time. It is a literary deposition of Pas'hto left to us by the book and can be reintroduced instead of *rubâây* (quatrain).

خوري *tswaréy*: Provisions of journey.

خوار *tswâr*: This word is totally extinct and I have not seen it being used anywhere. From its use it can be deduced that it means patience and quiet.

خپان *tsápân*: Stormy, *tsépa* means a wave.

خرکدل *tsérkédêl*: Sunrise; this infinitive is out of use now.

خندونه *tsêndûna*: In the original manuscript the words *ai faq* (e.g. horizon) has been written over the word. At present *tsênda* means side but *tsêndona* meaning horizon is an old word from the same root.

خواک *dzwâk*: Life, means.

خوري *dzáréy*: A messenger, courier.

خغلا *dzghélâ*: For explanation refer to annotation 50.

خلا *dzélâ*: For explanation refer to annotation 50.

خل *dzál*: To illuminate, shine.

خولگی *kholgey*: Kiss; diminutive of *khula*.

خونول *khunéwêl*: This word is out of use together with all its derivations and only *khunáy* meaning dispersing is alive. Thus *khunéwêl* means to disperse or spread.

خاتیج *khâtîdz*: An annotator of the original manuscript has written *ai mashriq* (e.g. east) over the word which we refer to in a compound way as 'the sunrise side'. This word, together with *lwédiidz*, meaning west is an ancestral gem left to us in the book. Evidently *khâtêidz* has been derived from the roots of *khêtêl* (sunrise) and *dzî* (side), meaning sunrise and east.

خره *khêrr*: *Khêrr* means brown. It is also allegorically used to mean simple. In this book *khêrrow* most likely refers to vice and depravity. It probably had such meaning in the past.

دریخ *dérîdz*: For explanation refer to annotation 44.

درمل *dûrmûl*: *Durmálhi* from the infinitive *durmäl* was used to mean cure in the past, while medication was called *durmál*. Both words are considered etymological gems of Pas'hto.

درناري *drêñâwi*: This word is almost out of use. It was alive and used in the past. It is seen in the poetry of Bit Nika in *Tazkerat-al-Awlia* of Sulaiman Maku (refer to p. 49 of *Pashtana Shuâra*). It is from the root of *drund* (heavy) and means respect.

درل *dérêl*: *Drî* means the presently used *dárézî* (standing). This verb together with its infinitive *dérêl* (to stand) are both extinct.

دېښه *duşnî*: For explanation refer to annotation 6.

دوییچ *dwá-yédz*: Couplet. The word together with *tsloridz* are not used today.

دمه *dámê*: To rest.

دونگونه *dungûna*: Pride, sneer, jest.

روده *rodá*: Way, road.

رپ *ráp*: The root of the infinitive *rêpédël* meaning to flutter. This word is out of use now.

روغى *rugháy*: From *rugh* (healthy) meaning health. At present *rughtiâ* is used and *rugháy* has become extinct.

rēzēdāla: This word has fallen out of use. It is also not seen in the works of the Middle period. The word is related to the infinitive *rēzēdēdál* (to shiver) and means earthquake. It can be reintroduced into Pas'hto vocabulary.

rameshth: It means music and singing. *Rámêshgar* is a singer. In Persian these words are *ramish* and *ramishgar*.

rêpáy: An annotator of the book has written *bairaq* (flag) over the word. This is an extinct word and *rapedal* is a an infinitive which means to flutter. Possibly due to fluttering, a flag was known as *rêpáy* in the past because of its peculiar movement.

résthoon: This word has been derived from the root of *réstya* meaning truthful. The word is used at the present time.

roñal: *Roñálí* has probably been derived from the infinitive *roñal*. It is not used now. At present *roñawal* (to illuminate) is used from the root of *roñ* (bright).

rágħâ and rágħâwa: Both these words are derived from the root of *rogh* (well). The infinitive *rágħéwal* (to make well) and its verbs, when used together with the particles *war, dar, ra, dzni, la* mean to detest or sever ties. For example *ma la ahmada warághēwala* i.e. I severed my ties with Ahmad. *Rágħâ* and *rágħâwa* are used in these old forms in the book and probably mean to abhor or detest.

rbél: *Lowr* and *rábél* are the roots of *lowrīna* (kindness) and *ráblédal* (to accept, to approve). These words are occasionally used at the present time. For further explanations refer to annotation 41.

zoy nîv: This phrase is out of use and means adopted son or child.

zárran: For explanation refer to annotation 38.

zárgħâ: Evidently it stems from the root of *zárgħoon* (green). It is a derivative that is not used at the present time and several such nouns have been used in the book. For further explanations refer to annotation 50.

zélmâ: For explanation refer to annotation 50.

zghál: To run. The infinitives *zghéstal* and *zghésta* are from the same root.

Khushal Khan says:

zê pê běltānēh kē dē wésal nârē wáhama زه په بیلتانه کې د وصال نارې و همه

tsok ché ubēh wâkhly wê pâyâb wítah yay zghél shî

څوک چه او به و اخلي و پا ياب و ته ئې زغل شي

In my loneliness I cry for love's union

One who is drowning runs toward the ford.

زیارنه *zyârêna*: Effort, endeavor. At present only *zyâr* is used to convey these meanings.

ژوبلور *zhoêblor*: It is probably derived from *zhoêbla* meaning battle or to hurt to which the suffix *wr* has been added. In the past it was used to mean a fighter or soldier, hence it has been used in several instances to convey these meanings in the book. It can be used as soldier in present day vocabulary.

ژړلزار *zhrha zhrh*: This word can be read in two ways. First *zhrh* as an adjective of lover e.g. an afflicted lover; one that has lost its complexion. The second possibility is that the word was used as an idiom in the past meaning noise and clamor. Since this idiom is not in use at the present time therefore the second possibility seems unlikely.

ژوبلال *zhoêblal*: Refer to *zhoêblor*.

ژبور *zhêbêwar*: Fluent, a versatile speaker. Derived from *zhêba* (tongue) and the suffix *war*.

سورن *surân*: Storm.

سوده *sudêh*: Contentment.

سوان *suwân*: This word is out of use now; only *sawâni* is occasionally used in Qandahar meaning ease.

سوب *swáb*: It is used up to the present time among some tribes meaning to bring forth.

سویمن *sobmên*: *Soba* means conquest and victory; *sobmén* with the suffix *mén* means victorious and conqueror.

سخ *sêkh*: Fortune and hence happiness.

سین *sîn*: A form of the word *sînd*; both of which mean a river. It is a remnant of old Aryan words in Pas'hto.

سوخند *swádzênd*: Burning.

سمی *sámáy*: Its root is apparently in the present day *sám*. *Sámáy* is not used at the present time and means welfare and prosperity.

sobi: سوبې *sobi*: Plural of *soba* (see *sobmēn*). It has been used in the poems of the Middle period but not at the present time. It has also been used as an adjective in the form of *soobmun* meaning victorious.

ستایوال *stâywâl*: For explanation refer to annotation 45.

ساندی *sândî*: Lamentation.

سما *sêmâ*: From the root of *sêm* meaning correctness, righteousness, peacefulness. This and other words like it such as *zalâ*, *mlâ* and *zêrghâ* have been used in the book several times. From its use it can be said that *sêmâ* meant justice and correctness.

سه *sêh*: Breath. At present *sâh* is used.

سوراړ *surârr*: Scorching desert.

سار *sâr*: This word is alive in the form of *sârêy* meaning a rival, instance, example. It is possible that its old form was *sâr*.

سینګر *sângárr*: Among the writers of the Middle period this word was written as *sângéarh*. At present it is pronounced as *sângárha* in Qandahar. It means a boulder or rock. Khushal Khan says:

د ناقص د طبیعت سره څه کار دي *d nâkás dê tarbiyat sêra tsê kâr dë*

د سینګر د زراعت سره څه کار دي *d sângárr dê zêrâat sêra tsê kâr dë*

What is there to gain from the training of an ignoble

Or from a field full of rocks.

ستهان *sthân*: For explanation refer to annotation 63.

سال *sâl*: Fine grains of sand. This word is not common now and only used by the people of southern tribes.

سوني *suni*: Lies.

سادين *sâdîn*: Ploughed ground.

سلا *sêlâ*: Advice, council.

شخړه *shkhêrra*: Conflict.

شnar *shinâr*: This word is not heard among Pas'hto speakers nor is it seen in its literature. It is possible that the word was used in the past and has become extinct.

In *Latayef-al-Lughat* of Abdul Latif its meaning has been given as disgraceful, vile and destruction. Its use in Shaikh Asad's poem agrees with these meanings.

شن sháñ: For explanation refer to annotation 60.

بنکل skélel: For explanation refer to annotation 23.

بنکلا skélâ: For explanation refer to annotation 23.

بنکلیده skélida: For explanation refer to annotation 23.

بنخمنی sédzménî: Woman. This word is alive at the present time.

بنهانه sêhána: It means propensity and good deed. It is from the root of sê (good).

غوردن ghwázén. It has fallen out of use and means informed or one who listens.

غاری غاری ghárrî ghárrî: A Qandahari idiom meaning full.

غیرگون ghbárgon: In old times it meant to answer.

غله باغ ghârra-zágh: Ghârra in Pas'hto means neck. Allegorically it is referred to a special tune played on a flute. In Shaikh Mathi's poem the word can be interpreted in two ways. First ghârra-zágh can be considered as a compositive noun meaning the tune of a flute. Second it may be read separately, ghârra and zágh to mean lamentation (of the reed), song (of the people) and singing (of the bulbul).

غول gházêl: Mágħza is a negative imperative meaning do not listen but now the infinitive gházêl (to listen) does not exist, but nghozêl was used in the Middle period with the same meaning whose negative imperative is mê nghozá. There is the possibility that mágħza is the short of mê nghozá. Khushal Kahn has used nghwyézá as the affirmative imperative of the verb and says:

sê krha, sê krha, sê krha, dê nékékhwâ khábery nghwézá

بنه کړه بنه کړه د نیکخوا خبری نغويږده

Do good, do good, listen to the words of the pious.

کوت koṭ: An old Pas'hto word meaning a fortress.

کرغه kárgħá: Arid land.

کوشک koshak: For explanation refer to annotation 30.

کهول káhol: A dynasty or family.

کرونگی *krrongy*: In old Pas'hto this word meant a waterfall. It is not in use at the present time. In the encomium of *Bagh-e Aram* of Zamindawar by the ancient poet, Taimany, who was a contemporary of Sultan Ghaisuddin Ghori (*Tabakath-e Nasiri*, p. 81), the word *krhonga* has been used meaning a waterfall (*Pashtana Shuàra*, Vol. 1, p. 58).

کوتول *koṭwâl*: This is a Pas'hto word which has been in use since Subuktageen and referred to an important post in the administrative structure of that period. Hence it is frequently seen in *Tarekh-e Baihaqi*, *Tarekh-e Gardezi* and *Tabakath-e Nasiri*. The word is composed from *koṭ* (fort) and *wal*, a particle of possession and relation. Together the two words mean keeper of a fortress or protector of city. The word is used up to this time in our country and Pas'htoons pronounce it with the letter *fæ*.

کرم *kárrâm*: Injured, cut, maimed.

کورول *koráwal*: A verb which was in use in the past and is extinct now. Only its root is present in *korá*. Its infinitive is *korá káwal*. From the poetry of Shaikh Reza Ludi we see that *koráwal* was used as an infinitive during that period.

کاوه *káwa*: From *káwal* meaning to do.

کرور *krorr*: Hard and strong. This word which is in use up to the present time means hard and strong. *Krorth* is seen in the names of past dignitaries.

کوبله *koyélá*: For explanation refer to annotation 83.

کربدن *kárrédán*: To go around.

گابل *gâñéł*: *Wê gâñéł* is the past tense of the infinitive *gâñéł*, which is out of use and was probably used in the past. It stems from the root of *gâñā* or *gëñā* meaning jewels; hence the infinitive *gâñéł* means to bejewel.

گوابل *gwâşéł*: To forbid. *Gwâş* is used at the present time with the same meaning.

گروهبدل *grohëdél*: An infinitive from the root *groh* meaning religion in the poem of Shaikh Reza Ludi. It is not in use now and only *grohëdél* (to believe) was in use during the Middle period. Khushal Khan says:

<i>nê yay zrréh pê mâ nármézî nê gruhëzî</i> <i>khudâya tséh më sáro kâr shû lé kâféra</i>	نه ئې زړه په ما نرمېږي نه ګروهېږي خدایه څه مې ساره کار شو له کافره
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Neither is she kind to me nor admires me
 God with what kafir am I dealing.

From the use of the word *groh* and *grohëdêl* in the poem it is seen that in the past *groh* was used to mean religion. In the original manuscript an annotator has written the word *ai dean* (e.g. religion) over *groh*. These words are literary treasures found in the book. They can be reintroduced to the language.

گروه *groh*: Refer to *grohëdêl* explained above.

گلول *gêlêwêl*: To bear, to endure.

لته *láta*: Land, district.

لجد *lájand*: Also used as *lazand* meaning smeared, soaked.

لور *lowr*: For explanation refer to annotation 41.

لرغونی *lárghunêy*: Ancient, old.

لونل *lunêl*: The verb *lunêl* in Pas'hto means to sprinkle or spray. Besides fluids, it is also used when speaking of dispersal of other material. The infinitive *lustêl* has also been used for the same meaning. Moreover, *lwástêl*, which is written similarly in Pas'hto, but pronounced differently means to study. The infinitive *lunêl* was in use until the Middle period. Its use becomes rare after that. Khushal Khan says:

<i>hághêh tér yârân bê biyâ byârta râ náshî</i>	هغه تیر پاران به بیا بیارتہ راشی
<i>kê pê sár bândë râ nûlám turë khâwrë</i>	که به سر باندی را نولم توری خاوری

The old friends will not come once again

Even if I sprinkle dark soil on my head.

لی *ly*: A verb in the present tense from the infinitive *lwástêl* or *lwálal* meaning to say.

لویدیخ *lwëdîz*: East. An annotator has written *ai maghrib* (e.g. east) over the word. It is formed from the roots of *lwëdal* (sunset) and *dzây* (place).

لرمل *lármal*: For explanation refer to annotation 65.

لمانخنه *lmândzêna*: *Lmundz*, *lmândzêl* and the same words in which the letter *lam* is replaced by *noon*, all mean prayer or praise. For further explanations refer to annotation 67.

لمانخل *lmândzal*: To pray. For further explanations refer to annotation 67.

لپردنه *lézdána*: Travel.

لوینه *loyêna*: Pride. From the root of *loy* (big or large).

máluna: Plural of *mál* meaning companion. At present *málē* is used.

مَرَانْدِي *mrrāndī*: Plural of *mrrñnda* meaning a thin string. *Dê zrra mrrāndī* in Pas'hto means veins of the heart. Sometimes it is referred to feelings of the heart.

میشت *mēîsh̄t*: To reside, to settle.

مرستی *mrástáy*: Helper. It is derived from *mrásta* which means help or aid.

مېرڅي *mértsy*: For explanation refer to annotation 6.

مهال *máhâl*: Time.

ملاتېر *mlá-tárr*: Derived from *mlá* (waist) and the infinitive *têrrel* (to tie). It means companion and helper.

من *mán*: For explanation refer to annotation 34.

مخسور *mákhsûr*: For explanation refer to annotation 39.

ملا *mlá*: Waist. In the past it was used as a noun of agency from *mál* which at present is *máltya* meaning friendship. Its usage in the old form is seen in the poem of Malikyar Gharshin (refer to p. 56, vol. 1, *Paštana Shuàra*). For further details refer to annotation 50.

محور *mékhwâwēr*: This word is rarely used now and is derived from *mékh* (face) and *wêr* (a particle of relation) meaning honorable and respectable.

مواس *máwás*: In Pas'hto *máwás* means guardian. Hamid Mohmand says:

چه ئې نل سترګو کول پکنې خونونه

د مخ بنهر ئې ده زیري مواس ونيوه

Where his eyes many a lover slayed

The city of his face sought the protection of the beard.

The word is also used in Hindi. It entered Persian during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. In *Tabakath-e Nasiri* and *Tarekh-e Feroz Shahi* it means guardian of way. The plural is *máwásat*. It is probably an old Aryan word.

مړل *mrrēl*: To die.

مینت *ménést*: To accept.

مېره مخي *mërra makhay*: Literally it means man-faced. It is referred to women who are brave and valiant or have a masculine character.

نیز *nîz*: Flood. This word is not used now.

نیزوړی *nëz-wárrî*: Debris carried by flood.

نمڅه *nmêdzéna*: Request.

نمانځل *nmândzél*: For explanation refer to annotation 67.

ناره *nâra*: A kind of Pas'hto poetry which is recited in stories in a loud voice.

نمځي چار *nmêndzî-châr*: This compound word is not used now. From its usage it can be deduced that it meant pure, chaste and devout as *nmândza* and *nmândzal* means to pray. *Nmundz* meaning prayers is also from the same root. *Châr* means work. Collectively the two may mean worshipper.

نمری *nmârî*: Dress, clothes.

نغورېدل *ngwázédêl*: An infinitive from the past which is not in use now and means to hear. Khushal Khan says:

dê nékkhwa khábéry ngwáéza

Listen to the words of the pious.

نست *nést*: Evidently it is the *naest* of Persian. In Pas'hto the word is used in the affirmative as *sta* and *nêsta* in the negative form. It is possible that *nést* is a short form of *nêsta* meaning obliterated and destroyed.

نولېدل *nulédêl*: *Nul* means grief. The infinitive *nulédêl*, which is used at present, means to grieve. Khushal Khan says:

<i>gândy wî chê dê wésâl pê khwêséy khwês shî</i>	گندی وي چه د وصال په خوبني خوبن شي
<i>chê khushâl pê judâyay kê dér nul kâ</i>	چه خوشحال به جندی کي دير نول کا

He may attain happiness from love's union

For in separation Khushal is in great grief.

نغورېل *ngwázêl*: To hear. For further explanations refer to *ghzál*.

نومړ *numêrr*: Candidate, assigned. Khushal Khan says:

<i>pê yáwâh bélák yay nán têr hár châ bêh krrám</i>	په یوه بیلک ئې نن تر هر چابه کرم
<i>bál yay hum dey pê sábâ râta numêrrý</i>	بل ئې هم دي سبا راته نومړي

With one gift he has raised me above all

And tomorrow he has me for another one assigned.

نجتل *njétél*: To thrust in.

نمزدک *nmzdák*: For explanation refer to annotation 67.

ويرژلي *wîrzhêlêy*: A mourner.

ويارنه *wyârraná*: Gratulation. For explanation refer to annotation 32.

وادنه *wâdêna*: To foster or rear. At present *wâda* is used to mean the same and *wâdêna* has become extinct.

ويرنه *wérêna*: From the root of *wér* meaning lamentation.

ويرمن *wayrman*: One who is afflicted.

ورنگن *wrréngén*: Related to *wrhânga* (ray). It means bright and shining.

ورخلوي *wrádz-loy*: An annotator has written the word *ai qiyamat* (e.g. doomsday) over the word and until the present time *lo-wrádz* means doomsday. *Wrádz-loy* is not in use now and is the old form of *lo-wrádz*, which literally means the big day.

ويار *wyârr*: For explanation refer to annotation 32.

وابي *wêyây*: For explanation refer to annotation 117.

هسک *hásk*: For explanation refer to annotation 24.

يرغل *yárgħál*: For explanation refer to annotation 35.

يون *yûn*: To journey, to go.

يادي *yâdây* From the root of *yâd* meaning reminder, remembrance.

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