Memoirs of Poets

Hidden Treasure

by

Mohammad Hotak son of Daud

Written in 1141–1142 A.H. (1762–1763 A.D)
in the city of Kandahar

Translated by
Khushal Habibi
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 breathe 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.

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. When he became a man, he devoted his life to prayers. He was the chief of his tribe at Atghar and Syoray.

It has been narrated: At that time the Mongols raided the banks of the Arghandab river several times and ravaged Atghar, Awlan and Kalat. Baba Hothek gathered his tribesmen to fight the marauding Mongols near Sur Ghar (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 Ghar 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.

Baba Hothek

To produce a wonderful light
A great number of Pahtoons was killed
When the Pahtoons sang this sonnet
Blood fell as rain on Sur Mountain

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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 Pashtoonkhwa with many a lance.

The Mongols have taken our home and village.

Brave warriors of Margha come fight
For the cause of Pa'shtoonkhwa 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.

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 Margha 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. 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 Baba, 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 Noor Baba 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 KHRAŞBOON 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 Kesay 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. Sometimes he would visit Ghundan 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.

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

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

Nāra

The time of separation has come not knowing,  
From Kesay mountain Khrašboon is going.  
O brother Khrašboon 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, Khrašboon, 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.

It is said that Khrašboon Baba relpied as such.

Khrašboon'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 Khrašboon 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 Kasay \(^{14}\) returned to Kesay and P̣sheen. \(^{15}\) The children of Kand and Zamand dispersed and brought Nangarhar, Khybar and Peshawar under their control.
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,Marginha and Pešen. Some of them went to Zɪhob and the mountain of Koşhak. Imran and Hasan, the brothers of Shaikh Mathi lived on the mountain named the Khwaja Imran Ghar. Bebe Khala, their sister, lived in Pešen where she is buried. Another brother of Mathi is buried in Garmam.

It has been narrated that Shaikh Mathi, 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 Tarnak river. One day as Shaikh Mohammad Zahr, the eldest son of Mathi, who 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 children 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 *Dê Khuday Mîna* (Love of God) which includes his heart rendering poetry. I had heard this poem from my father and record it here:

**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 your 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  
On the rich and the poor equally though.

As the sun shines dazzling in space,  
As the moon enchants 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  
A small sample of your prudence.

نقل کا: چه شیخ منی بابا، لوی زاهد او عابد او پر خاوند مین سری و. دد اولاد ونیا او پر پیمبر او بندی میشت سی، او واته اه لدی خی خو لوی ستانه را ونیئ. شیخ زهیر د شیخ امران خه روایت کا، چه شیخ منی بابا، لوی عالم او د دین مرشد و، پر غنیکان، کی نی توکت او کبن، چه نوی نو د دنیا مینه، و. په دغه کتاب کی مینی بابا خیل شعرونه هم کبن او داسی مناجاتونه نی وړل چه زبونه نی ویلی کول، دغه دو شعر ما له خیله پلاره اوربدنئ و، چه نقل نی کانئم:

**شعر**

په لوی سهار، په نیمو شبکه  
په غایه برغ او په شبکه  
په دو ورژلو په شبکه  
په لون ستدا نیاد، ناری سوی دی  
د ستدا د مینی ننداهی دی!

جنیدی زرغون که په بیدیا دی  
د بیدن خوا ته په خندا دئ  
ترنک چه خر دی په چر دئ  
توله بیکلی دی ستدا له لاسه  
ای د پاسواول پاسه پاسه

که لمر رویته مخ نی سپین دئ  
یا د سپیرونه نتندی ورین دئ  
که غر دئ بینکل پرتنمی دئ  
لکه هنداره مخ د سین دئ  
سندا بینکل دا پلوشئ ده  
دا نی پیسکه ننداهی ده!

13
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 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 Kaţa 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 Balishtan\textsuperscript{26} that: Amir Kro\textsuperscript{r}r was the son of Amir Polad\textsuperscript{26} who became the governor of Mandesh\textsuperscript{27} in Ghor where he was known as Jahan Pahlavan. He is said to have conquered the fortresses of Ghor, Balishtan, Kheisar\textsuperscript{28} Tamran\textsuperscript{29} and Barkoshak\textsuperscript{30} and assisted the Caliphate.

Amir Kro\textsuperscript{r}r was a valiant fighter and challenged several people at a time. It is for this reason that he was known as Kro\textsuperscript{r}r, 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\textsuperscript{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 Ummia. Mohammad Ibn Ali Albasti in Tarekh-e Suri writes that in the call to war by the Abbasids Amir Kro\textsuperscript{r}r scored many victories. Therefore, he wrote this poem known as wyâr\textsuperscript{32} (glorification). Shaikh Kaţa, God's mercy be on him, has recorded this poem from Tarekh-e Suri.
Boasting of Amir Krokh 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 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 lightning 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 Kror 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. 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 Pashtâna 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 Baghnein 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, God's mercy be on him, in Ghor and was successful in surrounding him in Ahangaran. 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.

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Afraid is the lion from his might,
Every oppressor fears his fearsome sight.
His arrows pierce the warrior’s shield
Brave men run 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.

له او کوچه نی داری تیدو چیب
رستمان خین خلا کاندی به وار
دئ فلک پر وکا خه کاری گذار؟
ته تی غشی، نه لیندی و نی تی سیار
ستا له لاس ئدی هیهگ گل بهله خار
پر تلیو اوری د یغم نیتار
ببلوی په زیا زر مین له یار
چینی زایری په ورب ورب ستا له ستار
ته به ملا کری، له بی وزلو له ترار
نه به یوریو له گردنه له مدار
نه به ووریشی تیپوی د افتار
هیله په تیپی زیویپه خه خار
کله تیر باسی وگری هبیشیار
کله خیری کری گریوان د نصختی چار
چه له برمه نی زمردی رپی زینگل کی
هم تی غشی سکیپی وال د زوبولو
چه نی ملاوی نه کیرینی په غنیلیو
په بیوه گردنیت نی پیباسبی له برمه
خه تیری خه ظلم کاندی ای فلکا!
په ویژولو، لور نکری به زور قرایی
هیهگ روغی می په زیه نسته ستا له خوه
له تهی رو د اوچو خاغی له اویژیو
نه به لاس واخلن له خوهه نی به لورب
نه به زه وسوخوی په هغیرا باندی
نه به وصل کری مین له بل مینه
ستا له لاسه د پراتا زدلیو زگریدی کا
کله خوغی کاندی مراندی د زیگیو
کله تیکی واهوی پر نازولو
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 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, 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.
ŠKARANDOI

God’s mercy be on him

Let this be known he was from Ghor: In his book, Larghoni Paštana, Shaikh Kāṭa Mathizay, God’s mercy be on him, citing Tarekh-e Suri writes that Škarandoi was a native of Ghor and sometimes lived in Bost and Ghazni. His father’s name was Ahmad, who was the commissioner of Feroz Koh in Ghor. Škarandoi was a courtier of Sultan Mohammad Saam Shansabani, 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 bolêla, 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 enchantness 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.

ذكر د نبکارندوی عليه الرحمه

چه د غور ؤ، پوه سه پي: چه شيخ کتب متي زي رحمة الله عليه كنبلي دي، په کتاب "الرغوني پشتئان" كي، چه د "تاريخ سوری" كي د: چه نبکارندوی ميشه د غور ؤ او كله کله به په غزنة او په پښه کي هم اوسيدلي. بالارزي احمد نومبد، او د غور د فيروز كوه کوتوال، نبکارندوی د سلطان شهاب الدين او ادین محمد سام شناسبانی په پادشاهي کي مخور او د درناوي خاوند، او هغه وخت په هغه سلطان پر هنده یرغل کاو، نبکارندوی چه شاعرا او عالم سري، هم د هغه سلطان په لينکرو کي، او هسی وایي: چه نبکارندوی به مدح کي د سلطان محمد سام، او سلطان غياث الدين غوري د ستایني قضيدي لري، په بوللي دي، محمد ابن علي وایي: په پنده کي ما د د بولولو غي کتاب وليدي، او له هغه خه په دغه بولوله په هد محمد سام عليه الرحمه ستاني هد وکنله:

القصيدة في المدح

بیا نی ولولن په غرونون کنبسی لالونه
طیسان زمدي او غوسته غرونه
مغفو باندي وبنکل بنونه
زرغونو پیو کي ناغی زلی جونه

د پسرلی بینکولنکی بیا کور سکارونه
مخکه شته، لابونون شنه، لنی شنی سوی
د نسیان مشاطی لاس د مچیدو دی
د غتولو جنیدی خاندي و ریدی ته
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 allow
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.
See the flowers in their prime
And the smiling buds sublime.
Spring has given the poppy 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.
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 Qusdar to Debal 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.
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 Attock 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 afternoon
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.

Ne bh mor sum d Sultan wentoneh
D persli phe dorow dhan le dehronghe
Le quirsahat doro dhible nheitoneh
Le lahar nity d mhiyani garaaronhe
Ne thi vonghe teh tinighere klor dawoneh
Tur mekan le kri rahip jojadooneh
Renor norte nri ile shaponeh
Ghara gairhe thi tres sollethose renoneh
Khe jowooneh sini ile vourhe dehr miborneh
Te dehr vourhe dehr nekcharde hebroneh
d dawor tory ile jhibi kai xoloneh
Dehr vourhe dehr ile jibronhe
Ch dehr vourh bador heem wokak,
Ziloneh
Be pirmi d zemrie bidiri ile xinglonke
Per orow dori ile dorigaion ile iloneh
Ziloneh
Be jowo ile shinbo xiel yastase solonhe
Ko aqgheli bieglie kandian xetoneh
Bt bejblie hem persli ile xatoneh
Ghuroon kai ile bulide xihile xhboneh
Ko lerm uk le jibronhe,
koi treloneh
Ne he bojibdiy dali zamie xiel hebrooneh
Ghuroon kai ile bulide xiel hebrooneh

Ne bh jowoneh bh staiye d Ghurib moory se
D shenb d k海尔 goxali le mer dhi
D benbe aur bi ders khaw conditionhe
Qe zabal he bh piriniy sivory sii
Ne thi vonghe teh dehr dehr nembhuno
D aslam d dini shebah d dehr le mer dhi
He khilae he py pyr hende sebd yirgul ka
Pe persli he thi tebore py miteka
Ne bh deh vundhiy ron stowri bh heks kheli
Ne bh raoloi johorin deh siriphi lehori
Ne bh vourhe zelmi phe dehr reh vonghi kai
Bo jowo ile xinglon he mer thon kai
Bo jowo ile xinglon le mer leh thon kai
Ne bh siriphi bahandi yirgul kandii
Sahirin siriphi me le varhe eliane kai
Bo hrahalki ayick de deh rakhli kandii
Pimtonkhe kiokehile hezuli hehend te
Ziloneh
Hehend te
Ziloneh

Ziloneh

Ziloneh

Ziloneh
In India they will raise their victorious flag
Or their lives will be taken if they drag,
As they forge ahead, many idols 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;
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.
Shaikha Katta, God's mercy be on him, in his book *Larghoni* Paštana writes: Abu Mohammad Hashim was born in Sarwan 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, 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 Paštto. 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 Paštto. 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 *Dé Saloo Wažmah* (The Desert Breeze) in Pašto elucidating the rules of Arabic prosody.
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 Barreitsh in 956 H. (1545 A.D.) that Shaikh Taiman was the son of Shaikh Kâkâr. He went and settled in the highlands (bara khwâ) of Ghor, therefore people do not consider his children to be related to the Kâkârs tribe, but in reality they stem from the Kâkârs. Taiman was a holy and prudent man. It is said that Baba Kâkâr was alive when Taiman came from Ghor and met him in Zhobe. He then left and resided in Kajran and later died during the reign of Àlauddin Hussain Saam. This poem of Baba Taiman was recited to me by my father as he had read it in Bostan-al-Awlia

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.

SHAIKH TAIMAN

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

ذكر د عارف ربانى برھان السالکین شیخ تیمن
رحمه الله عليه

زما پلار قدس اللہ سرے لو کتابہ د "بستان الاؤلیاء" چہ شیخ المشیخ بستان
بریغ کنیلی دی پہ کال ٩٥٦ سنه هجری قدسی داسی نقل کیا: چہ شیخ تیمن د شیخ
کاکی المحرم زوی ز، خکھّه دی د غور بی خوا تہ ولر، او هلته میشنت سو،
نیو خلقت نی اویلاد اوس پہ کاکی کی نہ شمری، خو پہ اصل دوی د کاکی د اویلاد دی,
او تیمین رحمه اللہ عليه، زاہد او عابد، او ولی و۔

نقل کیا: چہ کاکی پابا، لا زودئی و، تیمن له غور، راغی، او پہ یروپ کی د کاکی
پابا لیدنه تی وکھ، بیا ولار، او پہ کجران کی و اویسید، او د علاءالدین حسین سام پہ
زمانا کی وفات سو، د تیمین پابا دغه شعروتی زما پلار له "بستان الاؤلیاء" خه نقل
کول او ما له د واربندل:

شعر

گهخّیخ ریب د لمر خیرہ سوه
زما پکور د ویر ناره سوه
د بیلتن ورخ تورھ تیارہ سوه
پرگ سو ناکخی پھ بیلتن راغی

زیه می له دی ویرنی شیئ دی
پھ زیا دارم خه ناورین دی
زرغون له اوپن می سادین دی
پھ نول نولبیرم پھ تاخون راغی
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.
My father, compassion of God be upon him, narrates from past scholars that Shaikh Bostan was from the Barheith 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 Barheith, 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 (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.

شاعر بيدلا: نوريني مي غاخي پر گرميان پووار نظر كه پرما راسته گذر كه پرما د مبيني اور دي زما زيگي وريت په انجار كينا منيبنار كينا

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 per chance 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 of my face, throw a glance at me
Come look per chance 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 per chance 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 per chance at me.
ذكر د امیر الفصحاء شیخ رضی لودی علیه الرحمه

پوه سه یه دی: جه کامران خان ابن سدو خان یه نبر ضفاکی یه سنه ۱۳۸۸ هجری قدسی علی صاحبها النجیة و الصلوات السلام، یو کتاب و کتبین، جه کلید کامرانی، نام دی. یه دی کتاب کامران له کتاب د شیخ احمد ابن سعید اللودی جه سنه ۱۳۸۸ هجری نام کتابی، نو نی "اعلایم اللذعی فی اخبار اللودی" دی. همپی نقل کی: جه شیخ رضی لودی د شیخ حمید لودی وراثه و، جه شیخ حمید په ملتان پاچا سو، نو تی خیل وراثه پنبهنتونه ته و لیره، جه د هغو غرو خلک د اسلام دین مه راوي، شیخ رضی راغی، دوه کاله د کسی یه غریگریده، او هلته نی دی په مخلوق مسلمانان کری.

نقل همی کی: نصر د شیخ حمید زوی په ملتان کی د مالاده له استاخو سره گنبینوسته، او له دوی خیه نی د الحاد او اسماعیلی فریقی عقاید، ده کری، او وگروهدی د دوی په اعتقاد، او مالک سو. جه شیخ حمید رحمه الله وفات سو، نو نی پر خای نصر گنبینوسته، او د الحاد تروجی نی غوره کری، او قرامطه نی راواتل شیخ رضی الرحمه، جه سوچ مسلمان، خیل تربیب نصر ته نی دامی پاکی وکیلی، او یو سیل: پاکی

**Párraeky**

*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 outcast 81
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.
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 Nāmatullah, 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 cuckoo 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.

ذکر د سلطان السلاطین بہلول لوڈی

عیں الرحمہ اللہ الولی

پہ مخزن افغانی کی نعمت اللہ رحمت اللہ علیه محسنی کتبی دی: چہ ملک بہلول د ملک کالا زوی، پہ هندوستان تی د سلطنت لوا هسکہ کر، او دغہ ملک لودی طاییفہ خان، ہیری زمانی، دی لودی تبر سلطنت کا ہے هند کی ملک بہلول یہ سر هند د اسلام خان تر وفات را حسی استقلال وموند، او تر جنگو پھر وروستے نے پہ دہلی خطہ او سکہ ووهلہ، پانی بت، او لاهر او هانسی او حصار او ناگور نے د ملتان تر خندو بوری ونیل، او د هندوئی د راجگانو سره تی سخت جنگكے کوڑ، او اتنا درش کالے پہ د سلطنت سلطنت وکا، او دبر عادل او عالم پادشاه وہ کال 894 سنه هجری قدسی وفات شو، گلہ چہ واپی: چہ ملکر ند و جہانگیکا بہول د سلطان بہلول عیں الرحمہ وفات پہ یہ بہ جلائل قبیلے کی کنگ وہ محمد رسول کالائوال هوٹک پہلی پیش کا کی کتبی دی: چہ پہ هندوستان د برپاہ پہ موسم خلیل خان نیازی هسی رباعی انشاء کے: او سلطان بہلول پادشاه پہ مخہ گی کی وویلہ: رہائی

خیری اوریخی زارتی کا بہلول پہ لاسه
دا ہن حکا کا ستا زمور مواسه!
پہ ہغہ لوئی کیرو پہ خول ستا
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.
In his collection of poetry Mohammad Rasoul Hothek writes:

Khushal Khan Beg was the son of Shahbaz Khan Khatak 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 Khatak 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, the Khatak 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 Khataks. He was the most lucid poet among the Khataks and a profound scholar. It has been narrated: Khushal Beg translated the guidelines of Islamic jurisprudence, Hidaya, 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.
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.

Lyric
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 GharHASHTH Nama (Book of Gharhashth) 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 Derawat in 921 H. (1515 A.D.). The following poem known as Maçnavi of Saki Nama (Cup-bearers book) appears in GharHASHTH 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 en masse,
The intoxicated roam the dales
They play happily in the vales,
لاس په لاس دي یارانی کا
مجنون وصل له لیالی دئ
نه مجنون ستنه پرلئون ستنه
ترتا وگرزمه راسه
مانه جام د ربل و لور را
اور مي بدل زره په کور کر
چه بل خنه وی افقت وی
تول اخلاص وی او صفا وی
تول مهور و محبت وی
تباره ورکه سی ریا وی
جبان توله گل او مل سی
نو پهار خمه مرغوب دئ
نو پهار به خه نه وی؟
پی مستیبو به ملو
نه نغمته به سرود سی
ورک به مهور او پیرورو سی
هور یه بل ناز و نخري کا
د جمال په تمامیا دئ
نه مهجور نه خگر خون ستنه
ساقی بی گری بخلا سه
چه یو تش شي دک تي نور را
له چرچا هره نه نور کر
توله مهور و محبت وی
تباره ورکه سی ریا وی
جبان توله گل او مل سی
نو پهار خمه مرغوب دئ
نو پهار به خه نه وی؟
پی مستیبو به ملو
نه نغمته به سرود سی
ورک به مهور او پیرورو سی

Holdig 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 Baber Khan and visited the shrine of Kâkâr 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 maânavi and contains stories of Gharghâst Baba, may his grave be blessed, and quotes from righteous men. My father had found this book in Toba and in our family the children and youth read it as a text book.

Dost Mohammad writes: My father, Baber 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.

A narrative from Gharghasth Nama

From good folks I hear
A story very clear,
Nour Mohammad Kâkâr relates
That God's blessing never abates.
Kākarr 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 Gharghasth in his dream
Who was relating this good theme:
O Kākarr 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.

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Who to God’s prayer was well acquaint,
He was constantly praying
And the Almighty’s name saying.
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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’s men,
In jihad he bravely fought
With the Sultan’s lot.

د خښتن عیادت کونه
په اړه دی چې کور دی
د هم ستای ګڼی قرض دی
په کلون کله لمانل
په جهاد هه می یوره کا
پیژندل د خلق الله دی
خان خبر کړه بهه له دینه
د لوی خپری د دین قاصد شه
دا خندی سی په خان یوی قری圈子
خان دی خلاغ له مقصیده سی
د غرا پېر خوا نومه سو
د غرا غشی تیره کړ
د سلطان غیاث له ملو سو
د سلطان مل شوی ملونه

شیه و ورخ دی ټه لمانل
وی پاڼه له تا نور دی
خه جهاد کړه په تا فرض دی
پېه ورخ جهاد افضل:
غوکه چه تل نانه و چوکه کا
لمری شرط د دین همدا دی
له تا پاته دواره دی ټه
توه واحله مجابه شه
د خداي نور په جهان خپور کړه
چه دی بشپر عیادت سی
چه له خوه چیېن کاک کاک
ژغوره خول تی آرامه کړ
هرات خوا ته په تللو سو
ويکه هوري جهادونه
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.
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 Kohat 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 Hothek Shalemkhel in Kokaran, 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 diwan 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 shall 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. 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 diwan:

Zama yalah hessi nqal wa ka: je pe qendahar ki d raftayi gurgin xan ghor wostem, ter
jad teri wak, ow khalq d khayan hessi xini pe uqandah sol je pe murg khoon sol,
no dowy je korkan ki murgon sharman, bir gizdai sadmami xajji xan hoteq
binam khel te walar, aw le hufi ne jahre d kator dkkal, aw tolne wosil, her diw je
di apa haijski keri. Hufi murgon yoww rakh maqana le nuro pinnal xahanaw or
misharaw ser shalwak, aw hessi ne toron wak: je xulmaw marj keri, aw xanxaw je
ghor w xulmaw zojowi, je bave ki xajji mir xan alibi xulme wojil; rasee je
ubdar xaman jaya qesd soor, haj berento. je de deiyan ni xalxas kai, hessi shuroon,

wa
tibt

zeh maktub gundeyi je pehie xulme ghawyu
hamoski xha teri kai teruga xha
 Germnet d ucsie no nhime aman xeri
 senunder bivy je xeyizst kai xai shurha xha

chhe dgho beytho ni wosinti, hufi murgon xajji allos te wojil; je d xulmawon kow
kam d; ema d, wosiyi xamoshi bethye de, tolne je pehie xulme da kowtom dkoor, je
xulmawon uruk se. je monasib qeet rassy, no je heh yep tassi yegh wok, hufi qeet
bairi tolle tebar or xalmai le wotene wiyasi.

Nqal kai: je bivy miastt wosroti, jeet meki ran xajji xir xan, d allos xiran
or xaman ra bal, aw je maanjie ni jirhe wok, je tolne je qeran ysew, aw d
ghrgen xan xulmaw le jowoe xulmaw xalxas keri, yep di yeqet biva xajji mir xan
murgon, le xulman jaya xeh da biveto wosinti.
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,
Oh Rahman to her forbearance you must pay heed,
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 coquetish eyes and eyebrows which I 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.
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. 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 Khan 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 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.
It has been mentioned in Tuhfa-e Saleh: Shaikh Ali Sarwar 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.

غزل لعارف الرباني

د حق نور وينم په ستگو د ایاز کي
درست وطن راته دریاب شو بي دیدنه
که زه مر شم هم له گوره کرم سر بورته
که می سر غوش د رقیب په تبره تغ سی هم به خم که دلبر غونیت په مهر و ناز کي
پر غماز دی باری کانی د غم ساز کی
چه تل ناست وي په خلوت کي سره ناز کي
پاک الله دی صورت تش پي مغز پیاگ کي
محیت پیاله می نوش که په مجاز کی
دید می نشی مگر خداي می سیب ساز کی
ناگهان چه می دلبر بورته او آز کی
که می سر غوش د رقیب په تبره تغ سی هم به خم چندر غونیت په مهر و ناز کی
پر غماز دی باری کانی د غم ساز کی
چه تل ناست وي په خلوت کي سره ناز کي
پاک الله دی صورت تش پي مغز پیاگ کي
غران بیلتن په د هغو مینو ویتنه
ای سروه غمازان شوه پي حسابه
دوهمه خزانه
به بيان د هغو شاعرانو چه زمور معاصرين دي غفرالله لهم

ذکر د آشناي بزم راز ملا باز توخي

ملا باز توخي پ اتفرگي اوسي، او په اصناف د اشعارو کي استادوي، غزل او
رباعي وایبي، او د شاعرانو اباز دی او زما چه محمد هونک پی همراه دی.
كله چه قندهار ته راسي، زمور مجلس په تود وي او پاران ده له لطافته د طبع
ممنون.

ملا باز مبادی د علومو لوستي، او په فقه شريف کي تيار دی، کله منطق او
حكمت لوالي، او خيلو شاگردانو ته تي درس ور کوي، دمغه په ابتداء د خوانی تلی
ؤ، او په هندوستان تي له استادانو لوست کي.

لطیفه
کله له کلاته ملا باز راغی، او په قندهارپو زما مليمه سو، دستی ما چرک حالله
کا، او طعام مي تيار، چه دسترخوان راغی، ملا باز هسي شعر وواييه:

شعر
پر کورو نه رمي گرزي
د باز برعه پو چچچی دئ
اويس مي بس ها سيپينکي وري دئ
ما زه هجه سبين وري هم حالله کا او د مليمه ميلسطي ته مي پوه کا. دا بدله د
د د بدلو خشه ده:
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.

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;
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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 Hothek. 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 Hothek 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.

[Translation]

ذكر د أفضل المعاصرين ضل الله في العالمين شاه حسین
لزالم ظلال سلطنة علي مفارق المسلمين

پادشاه جمیع ظل الله شاه حسین نیالم خلی هوتک، او د مغفور جنت مکان
حاجی میر خان روی دی، چه اوس په خوانی کی پادشاهی کا او پیشنیتی نی په
سیری آرام دی، پادشاه عالم پنیه په ۲۳ د ربيع الأول په ۱۱۱۴ سنه هجیری په
سیری کي د کلاته پیدا سو، هغه وقت چه حاجی میر خان د پیت الله او اصفحان
سفر وکا، پادشاه ظل الله کوچنی او له اعلام علماء ملازم حمید هوتک خجه تی
درس لوس وئ، او تر دولتو گولپوری د عمر تی دقیه او ناقص او منطق او د
بلاخت کتپ ولوستل او له قندهاریکي له پیشه نی مهم تر دومره ای، او چه
جنت مکان حاجی میر خان په ۲۸ د ذیجمه الحرام ۱۱۱۴ سنه هجیری په قندهار
کی وقات سو، پادشاه ظل الله خورسند کی ن او د خیل مشر وور شام حمود خان
سره، میر عبدالزیب کی د حاجی میر خان وور و بسله مره د وور له قندهار له
مشت سو، خو د اولس رعایت تی کم کا، خو په ۱۱۱۹ سنه هجیری د ششی د نارنج له
قصر له بام خفشا سوم او را ولود مر سوم خیل عر مزرخ ورسته میر موسوم وه
قندهارکی پادشاه سو او د مسیس تا کرمان پر خوا لینکر کا له په سنه
۱۱۲۵ هجیری که د اضفاح د نظظم دیارا پا له قندهاریکی خیل وور پادشاه ظل الله
شاه حسین پادشاه، کا او د قندهار او فراه پادشاهی نی ترغی، شاه حسین ته
ورکه او د خلو غلچو ملکو او خانانو او مراثانو شاه حسین پیلیه پادشاه ومانه او
خطبه او سکه نی په نامه مبارک جاری سو.
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 Zahlafar Zafarani Tarakay, who is close to the king and is the teacher of his son Mohammad. Mullah Zahlafar is a scholar of medicine and mathematics and has authored a book on medicine and mathematics called *Guldasta-e Zahlafarani* (Bouquet of Zahlafar). 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 Shaal and Zhobe 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.

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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 Hothek, 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 book 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 Zafaran 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 Khel tribe. His father Mohammad Khan had come from Kesay mountain with the Babels 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.

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**ذكر د شاعر شیوا بیان محمد یونس خان**

**هسی روایت کا:** زما تربیۂ رحمت ہوتوک چہ سہت 1130 هجری پیہنو تہ تلی وم او هلته می چہ خیبر کی محمد یونس خان شاعر شیوا وِلید اور د اشعار می سماع کرل، محمد یونس پہ دگھ کال یو دبریش کلن خواں وو او یہ قوم موسی خیل چہ پلار تی نور محمد خان لو موسی خیلو خنھ ذکسی د پاپرون سرے راغلی او یہ خیبری او سیدی، محمد یونس پہ پینتوکی علمونے او کناونے ولوئیل او یہ هئغ وقت چہ یعبدالحیم پابا ژونڈی چو ہئغ شاگردو سو او د چھار دیوان چی چور چہ دھر گزل لری او یہ خیبری معروف سو۔ محمد یونس مهمان دوست او کرم سرے دئ مسافرین چی پہ خیبری کی پر چرے اوسی او چہ خوک عالم او اشعار د دکرہ ورسی، دھر قدر کی او چہ عزت داری او مبلہ نازی کی ہمت کہ، رحمت ہوتوک حکایت کہ: چہ محمد یونس پینتوکی بدر کی پر پاتس کی کی دھر ایں کم او چہ ورخ نی ما تہ ویل چہ یووه نہ شی لا وکری بیا نو ولاد سے پیا میاہت کی زما عزت کی او چہ ورخ پہ نی اشعار آباد رانہ ویل، دھر دھر گزل رحمت د دھر دیوانہ ما تہ راہپل چہ چی دی کتاب کی نی ثبت کاندم۔ خداً تعلیمی دی محمد یونس خان ژونڈی موعز ولری:

**غلز**

گولن یہ باندے چہ مینی باندی سرا چا  
کہ بناپست نی سنا لے حسن روژی نہ چی  
پہدا حسن پہ لیہد شمس و قمر چا  
کہ پنختی می خیل مهر رہیر نه چی  
کہ بیاں پ نیم وصل د دلیبر چا  
کہ بیاں نیم ستنا لے حسن روژی نہ چی  
پہدا حسن پہ لیہد شمس و قمر چا  
کہ پنختی می خیل مهر رہیر نه چی  

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64
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

Unless one’s lips have tasted salt
Yunus’s good name is prohibited to him.

دومنمیاتنبااسمیونس
خوشیهنمیلبنمنکاخستیندئیدیونسنمکیاسمپرحرامشه
MOHAMMAD GUL MASÀUD

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.

بدله

چه می جاتان یه نیمه شیه کی بیل شو  
چه رانه لاری، نو دی غم له ما نه مل شو  
بنکلی لیلی له ما نه لاری، زه نسکور یمه  
د بیلینه سواراکی ورک مرض می جل سو  
رب دی تنبیست در یوري اورکی زه دی نسکور کرمه  
واریت دی په اورکرمه دا سپی رقیب می ستا په ور د مینی غل شو  
راشی د خدا رویه غورکرمه محمد گل زایی  
تا ته تل تل زایی دا ستا د عشق په وایلاکی لکه تل شو  
اور را باندی بیل شو
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 Bangash for the Khataks. It is said that Abdul Qadir Khan was a brave and industrious chief, and the Khatak 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 diwan 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 Musleuddin Sadi into Pashto from Persian. In 1115 H. (1703 A.D.) he wrote another book in prose called Hadeqa-e Khatak (The Khatak 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 Khatak in Dera.
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. 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 Hadeka-e Khâtak.

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.

نقل كا: چي عبدالقادر خان په طريقت نقشبندی کي خليقه هم ہو، او د پير خلافت ني كا، او د مريدانو ارشاد ني كا، شيخ رحماني سعدی لاهوري په خلافت پاكلي و، د عبدالقادر خان شعرونه دېری دي، نواب محمد اندر، ده د مسل غولونه له کابل راول، او زه دلته له ‘’صديقة حتيکه‘‘ خشه ده دې بو خو شعرونه نقل کاند،

غزل

پکی گم د خیل آشنا وي تر تل تل
تري محروم شوه چہ شور کاندي بوله
شمع تا چه د خیل سوز قصه ویله
دا لیب پری معشوقی اوگوله
که تی میج په پلو پیژن ما لیبله
شمع اور په تندي بل کر گرزبدله
ته بیغمی په پالتی باندي خمله!

درېغه نور غمونه لپري شوی له دله
شینم وصل ټېک با موهد خاموش شو
په چه زیه دی قلم شوه په مجلس کی
عاشق هیغه نه چې خبر د عشق له سوزه
قافلې په پرېد خراغ کله پاتېر
په ماتم د پروانه چې تی خان وسو
درسته شه دې په نارو عبدالقادر کر
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:

يربنا نارود ردهب ناخ مادا هاٽا هلآاقب هپېد نارود هپ راھدندق يک روهشم ،ئد هپ يرداب وا هپ يلآويلا يفرو مهک، او يرغې تي ضبط كا، د بري سمند نی هري خوا ته جه تخ، چه خاي اخلي، او برې تي له ازله په برخه د، چه ڪېندار كي تول خلق پيژني، او محتجان او فقرا تي په کرم او سخاوت ماره د، د خود لاس نی زربخش د، او هره كله د غريبانو دستگيره كا. ېاده شا، عالم ېناء شا، هسي حسين نی ېده وور ختیب كا، او غوام نی ېه امیر الامراء ېاد كا. خان عاليمن که علموکي عالم د، او ېه اشعارو بي نظير، شعراء او علماء په لاس کرم پالي، او هييکلت نه مجلس له دی طايفر خالي ته وي، په صله کي په دوران طاق د، او بله په شام له ته حامت د، چه له مفره راسي علمه او شعرو ميلمه كا، او دوې ته ننديني كا. خالق تعالي دا كرم دوران او حامت الزمان تر بهره وندي وناسي، آمين با رب العالمين.

هسي وایي كاب نهاین محمد هوتک غفر لله صلی و سترعوبه: چه خان عالي مکان د کتاب دیاره له خليو اشعارو خمه ما نه ېوه يده را كرم، چه دلته ني ثبت كوم، چې کتاب له ذكر خير د دی حامت خالي نه وي، او هر خوک چې ني ولولي، دعا وروه وکا، ېهه يده دا ده.
**Bédéla**

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.

**بدله**

بیلون دی زور دئ تر لیمو می سهار نم خاعی
دا سره یاوقوت می پهن کی ستان ده غم خاعی
گوره لیلی باران د اوپنو ستان ده جم خاعی

بیغله چون چه شینکی خال نخا چه گل کوی
سره چه وزی سیل کا، یرغ په بلبل کوی
ملالی سترگی نی کیه که ویرتلو کوی
د زوبل زه وینی په هر گری هر دم خاعی

نیکلی نجلي! د باغ په لور مه خنا مه کوی
وریت سوی زه می دئ مین پوری خندا مه کوی
زه پننگ ته پی دیوه ما جلیلا مکوه
په ستان له عشقه له بونی پر مه ماتم خاعی

له شینم خاعی
په غم امل خاعی
خنه پرچم خاعی

په سرو منگلو کوي
گل په اوربلو کوي
زیب په کجلو کوي
لکه شینم خاعی

عاشق رسوا مکوه
راشه جفا مکوه
نور ظلم یبا مکوه
غم او امل خاعی
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 Barheish 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 bedêla instantaneously.
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 Mohammed 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.

 đa گرذازد: سجاپی ملا پیر محمد میجی

مال پیر محمد هوک د ملا سرور مغفور زوی دی چه ملا سرور له میا فقیر الله
صاحب گمه استمامه کهی ده او ملا پیر محمد له خیله بلاره فیوض ومون.  د علمین
مکان حاجی میر خان سره په جنگگی کی ملگری و، چه د شاه ظل الله ورور، شاه
محمود ادام الله دولتله اصحان ته ولای، ملا پیر محمد هم ته هله وغونیت او له
انفس میمون نی استفاده کا او خلق د خدای شریعت او د امام اعظم صاحب
مذهب ته را بولی. نقل کا چه: میجی صاحب له روافضو سره مباشی کا او په دايلو
علمي دوی ملامت کا چه چه علماء روم چه په اصحان کی دی هم د ملا پیر محمد
صاحب عزت کا او پیر افغان تی لقب کا، میجی صاحب په علم اخلاق کی یو
کتاب کنی در "افضل الطریق" تی نوم دی او په هغه كتاب د عقايداو او
اخلاقو بیان کا، په یون کتاب هم لریته "الطریقی فی رد الروافض" تی نوم دی.
په افضل الطریق کی تی دا حکایت کنی دری چه زه تی له هغه كتابه دنیه ثبت
کاندم چه په دی کتاب چی یادگار وی:

حکایت

شیخ میتی په خلیلی و
لوره ورن په لار و
پوه ورک و ته اوغدان و
که ده گره د غفار.
On his way he once found
Many stones scattered around,
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,
Colyrium 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 Kâkar narrates: This poet lives in Bori and is 40 years old. He has a divan and his poetry is as sweet as honey. Abdulaziz Kâkar 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 BABEI\textsuperscript{105}

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 Mashora\textsuperscript{106} 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 Gulan\textsuperscript{107} into Pashto lyrics. His book is entitled Kesas-al-Ashoqeen (Stories of Lovers). He praises love in his book and says:
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 Mohmand 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. Redei 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.

ذكر د افصح دوران، ريدي خان مهمند

ريدي خان زوي د غياث خان، او د مسعود خان مهمند لسپړي، جه كلي د مهمند نه، نه نامه بهله سپري، غياث خان د حاجي مير خان عليين ميكان هميز او ملگري او، او ريديخان اوست نکه سپري، او د آشناين هوهز او دمسار شاعر دي، د پادشاه چللي اله په مع کي عزت لري او د شوکت او مکنت خاوند دي، پر آشناين مهربان دئ، او د گيکات الحروف مجلسي دي، اشعار تي خوايي دي، او د بلاغت علم تي لوستي دي، په ټه او تفسير او صرف او نوحي هسي به او پوره لوست ارلي، جه طالبان نه حل د مشکلونو خشي كا.

ریدیخان به سنه ۱۱۳۶ اسلامیه الوالی او هله تي د شاه محمود سره صحبتونو وکا، یا قنداره تي راغی او یيوکتاب تي به شرخ حال او د چنگو د حاجي مير خان او د شاه محمود وکنی، دا گيکات خلزون زه بيونتنو دئ، توم تي دئ "محمود نامه"، کله تپيي ېپادشاه چللي اله په مع کي ولوست، زر طلويي صله وعندل، تي طبع کي ني هسي جوادیت پروت دئ، چه هلگه صله تي به ېپورت اورخي پر یاران او آشناينو نتارک، او ريديخان غزل او مناوي او رياضيي ېپيل دیوان کي لري او "محمود نامه" تي هسي ېزورکتاب دئ، چه اکثر پينتانه تي به مجيستي لولي، د گرگين خان گرچي د وژل قصه او د اصفحان د فتوحاتو تفميلونو تول پکین ستی.

هسي وایي، محمد كاتب الحروف: چه ما له ريديخان هسي درخواست وکا: چه په كتاب کي د محمود نامي خه بره پخه ته کاندی، ريديخان هم ما له كتاب په باب را كا چه د گرگین خان د وژل قصه د، او هغه ما دلته وکيلو به توفق الله تعالى.
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 a sty,
Toward Kāba 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 Christian 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
Oppressing 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,

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,
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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 Paghtoons 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 Paghtoons 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 Paghtoons 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

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,
Yusuf brought the Hotheks from Syoray for the raid,
Aziz Nourzay of Delaram came to join
Gul Khan Baber and Nour Khan Barreitsh, the lion.
Nasro Alekozay from Jaldak came
To join the martial game.
Yahya Khan and his son Mohammad Khan were there
And swore that Gurgin, they would not spare.
Yunus Kâker 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.

بل بادر خان و د بادورو لمسی
پیوشف را تول کله د سیوري هوتک
گل خان بابر و بل و نور بیغ خان
کا نی خوانانو د لینکو کومک
تول سره یو سول چه کری مر گرگین خان
پینختو جوپر گرچیانو ناورین
قوما کا خلاص له ظلم و جوره غفار
قوم تی تول کا، ورپی که نصرت:
خالق دی نکا پینختو قوم بریاد
نبایی چه وسناتو خانونه له شر
سیبا به راسی په زرغونو سیاہ
ورک به کا نو، ننگه، ننبو د اغنان
خان مو چمنکی لیری کانئید نفقاً

سیدال ناصر، او بايو جان و بايی
مياجی هم راغی، د مير خان په کمک
غزيز نوزري د دلارام یېلوان
راغی نصر او الكزي د جلدک
بل يحيي خان و بل ني زوي محمد خان
يونس كاکر وکا پرغل په گرگین
گرگین ني مرا تول گرچی سو کشتار
قندهار ونیو حاجی میر په همت
"قه ظالوم ومر اوست خو مور سو آزاد
پاپا ظالم دئ مور پی لوت کا لینکر
اصحابنک وک، له لینکرو د شا
نه به پینختون پیرديد پر مخ د جهان
دنبم قوي دئ راسي کى اتفاق
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
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.

 сырک د عالم کامل ملا محمد عدل بریغ

دا ملا صاحب به قوم بریخ او عالم او متوفر سری دی، خلقه له لار تبونه، به شوارک کی اویسی، او طالبانو ته درس کا ده بیلار ملا محمد فاضل هم به ملا ق، چه "روضة ربیان"، کتاب تی کتابی و، ملا محمد عدل، هم یو کتاب نظم کی دی؛ چه "محاسن الصلوة"، نوی نوم دی، او د لمانه مسایل او ثوابونه، او د تارکینو غذاونو تی پکتی کتابی دی، دا یو خو بیتونه له هغه کتابه دله را نقل کوم، چه یادگار وی:

پیت

هغه خلق عاصیان دی
چه فرض نه کاندی له قصده
چه واي کوم تی زده نه نه وي
علم فرض پر هسری دیئ
چه ب قصد یو لمونی قضا کا
خداهن پا تا زه امان غواین
له هغو سره می گی کا

چه یو فرض کیکیان دی
دوی بی شهک کافران دی
که طعام خوری حیوانات دی
چه فرض نکه خ کسان دی
په دوزنی کی فاسقان دی
له هغو چه فاخران دی
چه خاصه ایمانداران دی

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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 Skaapur 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 Mastung 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 humorous 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 Shāṭer Mobānd 111

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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).*

محمد طاهر چه طبع ظرافت لري، او هسي نكات به اداکا، هسي قطعه ثي
په جواب انشاء کا:

قطعه جوابي

صحيحب دبر اثر کا گيرو
منکر نسي د اثر
اوسر انسان سولي بصر
ته دمحمه هغه شي وي

محمد عمر خان يه ظرافت له محمد ظاهره، یوتشته کا، چه ستا نوم ظاهر دی
خو مظهر نه دی. محمد عمر هسي بيت ووايه:

بيت
زه و خان یه ظاهر پ
خو و تا یه مظهر
He is an anchorite, a leader in asceticism and the disciple of Miya Abdul Hakim, 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 you 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 Khwa of Kandahar 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 Waeez. Sometimes during the sermon he recites his poetry also which is in the form of advice. He has written a book called Tuhfa-e Waeez (Gift of the Sermon) which deals with asceticism and piety.

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

Bédêla 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 surface 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 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 Andar 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. 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 Muslemeen (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 your 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 words
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.

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Let me tell you a few words
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 Bostan 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 fourty 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.

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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 NASER\textsuperscript{119}

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 Toukhay\textsuperscript{120} 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\textsuperscript{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, grammar 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.

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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 bulbuls 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. 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. 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 Abdulaiz Khan, Yahya Khan and Abdul Qadir Khan.

drimeh xzanane

به بیان د بنخو چه شعرونه ني ويلي دي

ذكر د عسمت پنه نازو توخی

همی نقل کی: جه نازو د سلطان ملخی توخی لوز وچ تولد تی په ۱۰۶۱ ستینه هجري هغه خایي ته نیری وچ نازو نومی. سلطان ملخی په هغه وقت د زغئنی تز جلدکه د اقفاوو مشرف او او استقلال تی حکومت کا، معارض او ساری تی نه دریلود او نازو لپاره خالقی په مرمنو پیشینه او سهین پیری او علما خه لوست وکه او بهره مشی ارثیه وچ نازو نومی تی مشیاني او شجاعت او سخاوت ته حیران او.

روایت دی: له نه روایتون، جه سلطان ملخی د سر غره ته نیری په چنگ کی ومر او حاجی عادل چه نازو ووروند په پلاره ته انتقام چنگ ته ولی اوک، کلا او کور نی نازو نه پرینه، په هغه وقت نازو نوره په ملک کی او د چنگیاله خویانو سره نی کور او کلا له تاراکه د دنیمانو وسائیل. ما ته خیل پلار حکایت کی: جه نازو نا په مبلستیا او غربیناو سرافارا په پاله موروه و، او هر وقت جه په دی مسافرانو قافلی راغلی، د نازو پکتی اوپول، په سوی سیلو میلمنه په تی روزول، او دوی ته په دوی ورکله، چا په کالی په نه دریلود، لیاس نی ورکله او د سخاوت نوم تی له صیغه ترکوسننی خیرو لگه، نازو په حیاله د ناتام خان هونک وچ د کرم خان زیدی او د هونکن پناي خه تی نرخ یده خاهی ته دنرخو او اصفحان د دوی ده دی دی شجره طبیعی خه دی او نازو غلور زامن دریلود، چه مشر تی حاجی میر خان او نور عبدالعزیز خان، او یحیي خان، او عبدالقادر خان دی.
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 Paštô 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 Maṣnavie Sharīf (Holy Maṣnavi) 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.

ذکر د در شهوار عصمت حليمه حافظه

خان علی‌بین مكان خوشحال خان خیک لور، چه د عبدالقادر خان خیک
سکه خور کیده، زما پلار همسی روایت کا؛ چه د بنوته ولایم، چه هغه وقت دا پننته
ژونه و، او د خبل پلار په ژونه نی مروجه علوم ولوستل، او بیا د شیخ سعدی
لاهوری رحمت الله عليه مرهیده سود، او د خبل وور عبدالقادر خان په لاس نی
بیبعت وکا، چه هغه هم د شیخ دوران خلیفه و. 

روایت کا: چه حليمه بی بی فاضله و عارفه بنخه ده، او په سراپرده د عصمت
ناسته ده، میره نی دی کری اود خالق عبادت کا، او د خبل وور عبدالقادر خان
په کور کی نورو پیشه تو لوستل کا، او قرآن عظیم نی هم په یاد دی، زما پلار وویل;
چه حليمه بی بی بی پننته اشعار هم واتی، او پنیک عصر سر آمد افران د، او
موزنان د پننتو اشعار خوبیښه، د تصرف او طریفکت کنی تب لوستلی دی او
هسی وای: چه مشکلات د مشنوی شریف او مونولوگ د حضرت امام ربانی قدس
سره حل کوی، د خلیمی په اشعار او ماجراست کی عشق نه بنکاری بلکه نیلو شعرونه
نی د حقيقة پلار دی، او د محیوب حقیقی صفت کا، دغه په بدله نی زما پلار ما
ت وویل، چه په خزانه کی داخلوم، رحمه الله علیها.
The mere thought of my love
Made me overwhelmingly elated,
I do not know if my happiness
To Mumtaz or Nour-Jahan can be related.
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 NAEKBAKHTA

The perfect gnostic

This chaste and learned woman is the daughter of Shaikh Allahdad of the Mamozai tribe. Her father and grandfather were religious leaders of the tribe in Ashnagar. 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 Naebakhta, 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. 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 Naebakhta 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.

More Advice

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 Ghalji 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 diwans 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.

ذكر د شاعرة برگزیده زرغونه

زرغونه ملا دين محمد کاکر لر ود، به پنجوائی کي اوصد، او له پلاره نه وکا تحصيل د علموم، او د فصاحت احکام تي زده کول او د فضحاو اشعار تي ولوستل.

زرغونه په حواله د سعدالله خان نورزي ود، په توريالي زامن خي درلو، او تول د علم او هنر خاوندان وو. ما ته هسي نقل وکا پلان: په زرغونه د شيخ مصلح الدين

سعدي رحمه الله عليه کتاب د بوستان تول په پښتو شعر نظم کا او نوم تي و

"بوستان د پښتو" چه د کتاب تي په سنه 93 هجري قدسي پاي ته ورساو، او

تول نکات عارفانه، او نصائح حکیمانه ته پښتو کری.

علاوه بر دی زرغونی نور اشعار او غزلونه هم وویل، او په زمره د فصحا تي

شهرت وکا هسي چه موزونانو د روزگار به تي اشعار ولوستل. او پښتو په بوستان

بي سيره، او گلونه د پندا او نصيحته به تي تیولول. هسي وائي: چه زرغونه کمالداره

نيخه وو، خطي تي خوا به وو، او کانيانو به تي له حسن خطره، اقسام د خطي زده

کول. زما پلان هسي وويل: چه په سنه 1100 هجري ما د زرغونه به خط "بوستان

د پښتو" ولي. په خليل اشعار تي پنخه خطي هسي کنيل. چه ملكری تي

خط ته عاجزی کا، او دغه حکایت له هغه کتابه زما پلان رحمه الله عليه په یاد و، چه

زه تي په خزائنه کي کي ایم.
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.

Aروپئلي مي قبه ده
د اختر په ورخ سهار
له حماما ړونې
ابري خاوري چا له بامه
مخ او سرني سوکړ
بايزيدي په ښکري سوکړ
"چه زه چې په بد یو او
لې ابرو په خه برمه
هو! پوهانو خان ابري کې
ځوک چه خان ټه ګوري تل
لوبي تې په ګفتار نده
توضح په دې سره کې
RABIÌÀ

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 Jamaryañei\textsuperscript{128} read to me one of her quatrains which I include in \textit{Khazana}.

Quatrain

\textit{He brought man to the world's mire}
\textit{And put his inner body on fire,}
\textit{By creating hell on earth called separation}
\textit{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, Deras 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, Gulistan and other areas to seek the help of the Pathtoons against the enemy. He managed to enlist the Nourzay, Barakzay and Eshaqzay tribes and attacked Khusrao Khan.

خاتمه د کتاب

په بيان د حال د کتاب د حروف حکیرن فقیر محمد هوتهک مؤلف د دغه کتاب هسې وابی محمد هوتهک داود خان زاوي د قادیر خان په هموتهک، زه زیږه د کهول اصل خان مرغه ود و زما نیکه قادیر خان له هغه خايد راغه سپوری، او هلته او اوسيدي پسله ترڅو مهنته په نتیجه د نسبه او قسمت راغهنی، او د قدندهار په خوا کيږي څه کوکران استونکه کوله او پیشه ته ورځماغه. قادیر خان د پیر ممر سري، په سن ۷۶ ۱۰۵۸ هجرو وفات سو، او په هغه کليه کوکران نومپرې نه سر، زما پلار په داود خان نومپرې له کال ۱۰۲۹ هجري، په دغه کوکران زبردلی، او په آوان د صباوتو تي علم لوستلی او یخلي عصر په موزئونو او فصخه او علمه د نامه خانونه او ور پر عمر له قدندهار تلی، او د کښي غونئه او نوره او دېره او پېښنی، او نور غونئه تي ليالي، او هغه وقت خه خان علیمنو مکان حاجي مير خان په قدندهار کي ګرځېږي خان سره جینګونه ګرلي، نو زما پلار هم په دغو جگړي کي ملګري او ورسه. خښه ته له پرمخته زما معرفه له دي خاندان ورې دی او اخلاص نه لرم په زره پنځه کال ۱۲۰ هجرو چه د صفوی پادشاه لينکرکي له قدندهار زد، نو د جنت مکان حاجي ميرخان له خوا، زما پلار ولی او په فراه او سپیستان او غلستان او نوره خای کي پښتنې د حاجي میرخان مومه ته را وغونئې، او له هغه پښتنو سره نې مکې وکړي او په پښتنې د نورزو او بارکرو او سحک زوه، نه ملکري کول د خان او پر خسرو خان په برغل وکا.
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,
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 cherful 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 Kharoṭay exclusively for Sardar Mehrdil Khan.

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

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. Moqr 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 Ghâr**: 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 *Pastankha* and now *Pashtoonkhwa*. Kohzad in his book, *Aryana*, explains the word, a summary of which is presented here: *Pakth, Pasth* or *Bakth* 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 *Pashtikha* (*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 particpated 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 Pakthiis (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 Skaranandoi, a poet at the court of Sultan Màzuddîn Mohammad Saam, who invaded India after 571 H. (1123 A.D.), wrote a poem in eulogy of the king in which he states:

*Pashtoonkha skalay zalmy çhê zghély hind të
go aghléh péghlé kândi atáñoona*

When the youth of Pashtoonkhwa go to India
Young and pretty maidens dance joyously.

Similarly Sulaiman Maku, the author of Tazkerat-al-Awalia, circa 612 H. (1215 A.D.) notes Pashtankha without the use of the letter wow (Pashtana Shuâra, vol. 1, p. 64-70). In *Paţa Khazana* the word occurs in the poem of Baba Hothek 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:

*Har chê sa dê pashtoonkhwa day hâl yá dâ day*

Whatever good is from Pashtoonkhwa, this is its state.

His Majesty King Ahmad Shah Baba states:

dë dehli tâkht hêrâwama chê râ yad krâm,

zma dë skuly pashtoonkha dë ghroo saronah

I am oblivious of the throne of Delhi
While pondering my beautiful Pashtoonkhwa'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, Pšeen, 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 Pashtoonkhwa 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 khel 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 Pashto-Pakthika of today, which is the name of a historical province of our dear country.

6. Mërts, dusên: Mëyrts whose plural is mëyrtsy 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 mërts and the other dusên. Baba Hothek in his poem of chivalry says:

\[ mërt̨s y zg̨e l̨i aw t̨ér̨he \]

ميرخى زغلي او ترهري

See them running the frightened foe.

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

\[ g̨ašhy d̨e m̨e dz̨î bresna pur mërt̨sâmênu bandi. \]

غشي د من مي خي بريننا پر ميرتيسامينو باندي

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

Skarandoi in his encomium says:

\[ nê yâ yz̨ok makh t̨e d̨rî d̨e mërt̨sâmênu \]

نه ني خوک مخ ته دري ميرتيسامينو

Not an enemy can face his might.

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

\[ ch̨e d̨e stîrgo yav taqwa séra mërt̨séy d̨e \]

چھ د سترگو ني تقا سره ميرتسي ده

\[ pê na haqah mî nìvalé parsayay d̨e \]

په نا هاقه مي نويلاي پارساني ده

Her eyes have enmity with piety,
Needlessly do I adhere to piety.
Afzal Khan Khâtak writes in his history:

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

From these literary references it is seen that from ancient times to a few centuries ago mërts (enemy), mërtsî (plural) and mërtsî (enmity) were used. Similarly mërtsîman (enemy) and mërtsîmanî (hostility) were also in use. On the other hand dusêñ (enemy), dusna (plural) and dusnîy (hostility) were its synonyms. Sulaiman Maku says:

They attacked the enemy and vanquished the foes (Pashtana Shuâra, vol. 1).

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

dusen mo prê khrê

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

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

dusên pê qhashyoo mú pêya khrê

Young men face death boldly,

In the poem of Amir Ludi it has been used as follows: zma dusna hasi tûrâ khrî, my enemy accuse me thus; or tûrany dusên chê wayî, the accusing enemy says; or dé dusno wynawë mâghza, do not listen to the enemy.

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

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 dusên is present in the literature. For example, in the Urmazd Yeshth 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 Asmani, 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 dusên all belong to the same family. The dusên 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. Marghâ: 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.


9. Noor Baba: Baba Hotheek 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. Ghwarha Margha: Margha is also known as Ghwarha Margha.

12. Ghundan: This mountain is located between Kalat and Shahjoï, south-east of the town of Kalat, south of the Tarnak river.

13. Kand and Zamand: They are the sons of Khrasboon bin Sariban. 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 Margha, 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 Afgani Qalami, p. 352; Khur-shaid, 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 Afgani 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), Danweza (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 Khatak 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 Murasâ, 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, Nâmatullah 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: Nâmatullah 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 descendents were among the most famous learned Afghans. After the death of Shaikh Mathi they spread in all directions and their spiritual influence increased.

Nâmatullah 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 Nâim Mathizay. The Khwaja Imran moutain 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 Nâmatullah, 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 Nâim, p. 222).

Nâmatullah 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,
Bahlool, 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 Sarfbani tribe who had one son named Hasan.

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

Shaikh Kaţa 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 Pata 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 Pata 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 Kaţa 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 Kaţa 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 Kaţa's book is not available, neither have been the references mentioned in the book found. Not much is known about the life of Shaikh Kaţa except that he was a steadfast man who had a penchant for travel. Na'matullah 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 Kaţa was another famous personality of that family (Makhzan, p. 306). According to the epilogue of Nā'im's Divan he died in Sar Hind and is buried there. Na'matullah gives the name of his mother as Shahri bint Khodayd Kakyana (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, Majmá-al-Ansab, Asnaf-al-Makhloqat, Tawarekh-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 Afghani*, 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.)
4. Shaikh Abdul Wahed, born 28 Moharram 1048 H. (1638 A.D.)

Another famous personality from this family is Miya Nāím bin Mohammad Shuāib, bin Mohammad Saeed bin Qiyamuddin bin Shamsuddin bin Abdul Razak (mentioned earlier). He was a famous Paśhto poet and his hand written divan exists. Miya Nāím 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. *Paśwál*: 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 Paśhto Marákā 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 Paśhto Marákā. The word is composed of pās and wál. Pas in Persian also means protection and in Paśhto pāsēna and pasal have similar meanings. Anyhow pāswál is an old Paśhto word which can be reintroduced into present day Paśhto literature.

23. *Skéel, skélá*: In Paśhto *skély* is an adjective meaning beautiful which has also been written as *ksély*. In Kakarhástan and Pśeen it is pronounced as such and in the Nangarhar and Peshawar valleys it is pronounced as *skély*. Rahman Baba says:

> khabar né yam ché pē bāb mé ksély tsa dē?
> zë rahman pē andésna yam lē dē skéléyo

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 *ksély*, 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
\textit{skêlal} meaning arrangement and decoration:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tola skêlal dê stà lê lasa} توله بلکل دی ستاد لاسه
\item \textit{ayê dê paswalo pasa pasa} ای د پاسوالو پاسه پاسه
\end{itemize}

All this decoration is your work
O protector up above.

\textit{Skêlâ} (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:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{stà dê skêla da palwasha dê} ستا د پسکلا دا پلواشا ده
\item \textit{da yë yawa spáka nandara dê} دا نی یو سپکه نندره ده
\end{itemize}

This is a flash of your beauty
And a slight semblance of its aura.

\textit{Skêléidál} (to become beautiful) is an infinitive and \textit{skêlîdah} is its verbal noun as
used by Mathi:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{loya khawanda tola tê yê} لویه خاونده توله ته نی
\item \textit{têl dê narheq pê skêlyda yê} تل د نری په پسکلیده پی
\end{itemize}

O protector you are owner of all
Striving for the beauty of the world.

\textit{Skêláwûnkay} (one that beautifies) is a noun of agency from the infinitive
\textit{skelal} (to arrange). Skarandoi says:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{dê pusarlay skêláwûnkay biya krha singaruna} د پسرلی پسکلنوکی بیا کره سنگارولی
\end{itemize}

The beautifier of spring has decked herself again. \textit{Wâskêlal} is the past perfect
tense. Skarandoi says:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{márghaláro bandê wêskêlal bañûna} مرغلوو باندلی و پسکلی بئونه
\end{itemize}

With pearls she bedecked the gardens.

Beside the word \textit{skêly} or \textit{ksêly} 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 \textit{skêly} and \textit{ksêly} is close to the Arabic \textit{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 (\textit{kshel} and \textit{shkel}) meaning the
same thing. Forbes in the Hindi-English dictionary printed in London in 1807,
page 505 writes: \textit{Shukl} or \textit{shukla} means light or whiteness. \textit{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 (\textit{skêly-palwashala}). Its other form \textit{ksêly} 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: skêly 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 el evated or high is considered as hásk. It is first seen in the poem of Hazrat Bit Nika. He states:

\[
\text{hásk aw m} \text{dzáka nghêsté stà dê} \\
\text{dê m} \text{rro wadà lè tà dê}
\]

The sky and earth are yours

You let men grow and multiply (Pashtana Shuara 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:

\[
\text{nê hásk nê m} \text{dzáka wê tor tám w} \\
\text{tyâra khpâra wê tèl adám w} \\
\]

There was no sky nor earth, but a dark abyss

Where darkness prevailed, in total nothingness.

The ancient poet of the Pashto language, Amir Krohr Jahan Pahlavan says:

\[
\text{zma dê bár} \text{yoo pêr khol tawezî hásk pê nmundz aw pê wyarh}
\]

The sky revolves around my victories with pride.

Shaikh Asad Suri states:

\[
\text{nangyalayoo lára qayd mhréna dá dzáka} \\
\text{sêh yê walwutala hásk té pur dê lâr}
\]

As imprisonment to the brave is like death

To the sky transpired his breath in this way.

Skarandoi says:
The white flowers among the green grass
Resemble stars in a dark sky.

Nasr Ludi, the son of Shaikh Hamid Ludi states:

dē islam pûr häsk bê dzâlam
wê tûranoo tê tyârá yam

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 hâsk meant sky and it is possible that this word may be reintro duced 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 Nasirî). Ghowalisht was a city between Takinabad and Mandesh of Ghor. The location of present day Balishtan coincides with that of Ghorwalisht.

Walishtan 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 Tabaqathh-e Nasiri also considers Walishtan to be a part of Ghor and deduces 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-Álam it has been written as Balis. Al Biruni in Qanon-e Masàudi wa Al-Saidala mentions it as Balish and Walisistan. Al Yaqubi in Ketab-al-Baladan-al-Yàqubi 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 Masàudi 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, Zaranj 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 gover nor of Dawar: "This idol will neither harm you nor will you gain any thing 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-Áqaleem 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 (Májam-al-Baladan, vol. 4, p. 28). In another book he states: Zoor was an idol in the Dawar region (Marased-al-Ithlà, 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 Zurabaj in the vicinity of Sarakhas (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-Baladan, p. 323; Al-Baladan 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 Ghorı 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 Khurasan, Amir Polad took his Ghori 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 Khurasani {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 Patā Khazana, Amir Korh Jahan Pahlavan was his son. We do not have any further information on the life of Amir Korh, 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 Korh.

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, Masāud, 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 Kožhak is not far from this place. Therefore it can be concluded that Kohizhak was located somewhere in the Kožhak 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 Tabaqath-e Nasiri of Minhaj Seraj Jouzjani several times. For example with reference to the progeny of the Ghoriids, 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 (Majam-al-Baladan, vol. 3, p. 499). It has often been mentioned in the Ghoriid 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 north western 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 be came 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. (Tabaqathh-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 siege 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 Gizaib and Tamran (Tabaqath, p. 188). From this statement it is seen that Gizaib and Tamran were close to each other and in the direction of Ghor. Gizaib 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 be cause 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 Qatâ). 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-Álam, p. 209, handwritten manuscript of Jaiani). 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 Pata 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 Katsa, 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. Wyârháná: It is derived from the root of wyârh, 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 wyârháná, 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 idiomaticaly 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:
   
   ghashy dê mán dzi breşnâ pur mertsmánu bandê
   غشی د من خی برینشا پر میرسمانو 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 pê zrhá kšē mē dē i.e. I have the desire to do this work.

35. **Yârghâlam**: A verb in the first person present tense from the infinitive yârghâlal, which is not used now. In the poetry of the Middle period it was used as yârghâl 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 kê zrhah hum ra sara mal shî
   ما خو توبه وکره که زره هم را سره مل ذي

   eshq dê chê hamēsh yay pê thoba bandê yârghâl shî
   عشق دي چي هميش ني په توبه باندي یارغل ذي

   I have repented and hope my heart sides with me
   It is love that always attacks repentance.

36. **Pêzhandoy**: Meaning clear, famous or well-known.

37. **Pâlan**: Related to the word (pál) meaning step which evidently means infantry.

38. **Zârâhên**: 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 (zrhâ) replacing the letter (ha) meaning valiant and brave. It is among the rare words of the language preserved in the book.

39. **Mâkhşûr**: This word is composed of mâkh meaning face and sûr meaning red. It means honor and is out of use now.
40. *Lwárhai*: This word not in use today is derived from *lwár* which means high or exalted. In similar fashion *dranawe* 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 *Kroh* Jahan Pahlavan it is seen that the word was in use in the Pashto language several centuries ago. He says:

\[khpalū wāgarhū lára lowr pērzoyanā kawām\]

To my sub jects I graciously show kindness.

In Shaikh Mathi's poem it has been used in the following context:

\[stā dē lowrûno yaw rñâ dē\]

It is a radiance of your grace.

Shaikh Asad in his fable states in prayers:

\[hum pê tâ dë wî dër lowr dê gha far\]

May the grace of God be with you.

In his *Saqi Nama* Zarghoon Khan says:

\[mâ tê jam dár bêl wâlor râ\]

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 impor tant word of our language.

43. *Wádána*: To foster or rear. At present *wádá* is used to mean the same and *wádána* has become extinct.

44. *Dêrêdz*: 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 *dêrêdal* (to stand) and *dzâi* (place). Literally, it is closer to *istghah* in Persian and *mouqîf* in Arabic.

45. *Stâywál*: One who praises or recites an encomium. *Styîl* 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-Ithlā, p. 85). It is the same famous city mentioned in Masalik wa Mamalik and in his torical documents written after Islam. It was the center of learned men and its Persian spelling is Posang. According to Hudod-al-Ālam (p. 57) it was a fortified citadel surrounded by a moat. From the beginning of the Islamic era to the conquests of the Moghuls Posang 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-Ālam (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 Paṭa 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 Mustui 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, zêrghâ, zâlmâ: By studying Pata Khazana and the poems of the past we come across verbal nouns of these words. The words zhekâ from the infinitive zhekhal, to cry; khêndâ from the infinitive khêndal, 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 dzghêlâ (meaning effort has been derived from the infinitive dzgêstal to run), dzêlâ (brightness has been derived from dzêlédal to illuminate), zêrghâ (meaning greenery comes from zêrgoon green) and zêlmâ (youth, comes from zêlmay 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 mêla in the poem of Malikyar, which has been derived from mêl (friend) in the same manner. In volume one, page 65 of Pashtana Shuâra I had mentioned its us age 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. Bâmî: In the qasidah of Shaikh Asad bin Mohammad Suri who died in 425 H. (1034 A.D.) the word bâmî has been used in these lines:

    nê ghâtol biya zêrghonezi pê lasuno
    nê bâmî biya masêda kâ pê kohsår

     Nor does the tulip blossom on the cliffs,
     Nor does the bami smile on the mountains.

     The noun bâmî is not in use now nor is it seen in the literature of the Middle period. From its use it is seen that bâmî 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.*


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 Masāudi, 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 Masāudi*, p. 43). Thus *bamy* was used as a title and as an attributive adjective with the name of Balkh (*Farhang-e Naubahar*, vol. 1, p. 98).

We know that an 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 Paštto language. It is used as a name by the Pašhtoons. 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 Raiday are commonly used by Pašhtoons. 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 affini ties 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 (Majam-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 (Majam-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 Majam-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-Âlam (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:

\[
pêr bârbâñ chê zâgh dê chuñoo nghwâzédéh sî
tê wâ chándáy sêráh pëoodêy áshlékonah
\]

In the garden when the songbirds sing,

You say it is like a poet reciting poetry.

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 *áslokonuna*. 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 āshluk, 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, āshlok was a form of poetry. Originally, it may have strictly meant poetry or rhythmic prose. Thus āshluk 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 flow ers such as bāmy, réday and ghātol 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 sháñëdal is used in some parts of Nangarhar meaning the neighing of a horse which is called shéshnel and shiéhnâ in Qandahar. Since horses neigh during the rut in spring it is possible that the word shéñëdal, which originally meant to rut has been applied to the neighing of a horse. Sháñ meaning rutted is not used any more 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 Masâudi, 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-Álam 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 com missioner. It had numerous mosques and buildings and was famous for its law and order (Mājam-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 vil lages in the vicinity of Qazdar, and the commissioner of the place is Mu'ayan 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 Samâni's genealogies. This port was a center for Arab merchants (Taluqath Hind wa Arab, p. 391).

Al-Biruni considers it to be located in Sind (Qanoon, p. 16), a statement corroborated by Muqaddasi. The author of Hudod-alÂlam writes: It is a city in Sind on the bank of the River Indus and is the domicile of merchants (Hudod-al-Âlam, p. 74). Astakhri notes its loca tion to be two farsakhs from the delta of the Indus, and a jour ney 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 earth quake in the year 280 H. (894 A.D.), during reign of the Abassid Caliph, Mo'âtamid. 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 (Taluqath, 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 Baharat and in old Indian records Hindustan was also called Dev-sthan meaning the land of piety (Ketab-al-Álam, 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 Paśhto, Sanskrit and Persian and is the root of stan, currently used in Persian; toon of Paśhto 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 Páta 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 (mapséén, mazégár and maşam).

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 Paśhto and became mapséén, mazégár and maşam.

Páta 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 Paśhto 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.

\[
\text{yā bē wran kā boodthoononah dē bāmbño} \quad \text{يا به وران كا بودثونوه د بمينو}
\]

He will destroy the boodthoons of the Brahmans;

\[
\text{tsō chē nast kṛē lē narrēya boodthoononah} \quad \text{خو جه نست كري له نريه بودثونوه}
\]

To annihilate boodthoons 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 *Pata 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-Āoloom*, 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. Masâudi 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 Masâudi*). In same manner *hirbuz* was the fire chief and *kohbuz* was chief of mountains as described by Khwarazmi (*Mafateh-al-āloom*, 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 *boodthoon* of Pashto, meaning a temple or place of idol, the same word has been preserved.

67. *Nmzdák*: In Škarandoi's encomium it has been stated:

\[ nūm dē tēl wā pūr dāridz pūr nmzdákona \]

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 *lmundz* or *nnmundz* meaning prayers and *nmzdák* (mosque) have their root in *lmandζal* and *lmndζanh*. In this book they have been used in several instances meaning praise, benediction and prayers. For example:

- *shpë yav ruñy pê lmandz* wi
- *pê zhêrrâ aw pê naroo wi*
- *chè bê hkséwoot pê lmandzna*
- *yâ bê kséwoot pê stayana*
- *yawa wrádz jahãd afzal*
- *têr kálo kálo lmandzél*

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:

\[ pêr dzoyana sa sulook nmándzna àdál \]

\[ kê dê dâ khoyûna shta tsa qhwarrê norê \]

Saintliness, good deeds, to pray and justice.

If you have these attributes, what else do you want?

Abdul Qadir Khan says:

\[ sár wa māl sándzal zênat dê âshoqano \]

\[ enayat, méhr, nmándznah, zenat sta sî \]

To dispense wealth is the work of lovers
Favor, love and prayer be your ornaments.

\textit{Nmándzan} is from the same root meaning prayers, blessings and kindness as Abdul Qader Khan states:

\begin{verbatim}
ке нманжан въял дэ нэ кэзэ вэ ма тэ
кэлех кле рате керх сэерэ

Кёлех кле Рате Керх Сэерэ

Kind words you do not have for me

Then sometimes do chide me.

Nmándzel} is a past participle from the same root as Khushal Khan writes:

\begin{verbatim}
кэлех кле лэли

Кёлех кле Лэли

God has blessed the one

Who practices justice at day and prays at night.

The words \textit{nmándal, 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 \textit{lam} at the beginning of the word. The word \textit{namaz}, which is the first of the five pillars of Islam, also meant bene diction, 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 \textit{namast} means respectful and \textit{namsiya} is honored or revered). For example Abdul Hay bin Zahak Gardezi writes in \textit{Zein-al-Akhbar} (p. 75):

\begin{quote}
\textit{Choon amir ra bededand, hama namaz burdand wa khedmat kardand, \quad wa baro-e padshahi salam kardand.}
\end{quote}

When they saw the amir, they bowed and saluted the king.

Firdausi says:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Zameen ra beboseed wa burdash namaz} \\
\textit{hami bood peshash zamani daraz}
\end{quote}

He kissed the earth and prostrated himself for a long time (\textit{Shahnana}, vol. 5, p. 315).

Thus we can say that like \textit{namaz}, the words \textit{nmundz} and \textit{lmundz} were also used in this context to mean humility, submission, respect and politeness. The old \textit{nmzdak} and the present \textit{muzdak} of Pashto, which mean place of prayer and mosque, were also used in old Persian but spelt as \textit{mazkat}, as seen in old Persian texts. For example in \textit{Hudod-al-Álam} (372 H.), Masjide Jamà, the grand mosque has been written as \textit{mazkat adena} and \textit{mazkat jamà} (p. 56). With
respect to the grand mosque of Herat he writes in page 57: The grand mosque (*mazkat jamâ*) of this city is the most well constructed among all mosques (*mazkatha*).

Similarly, Abu Ali Mohammad Balâmi, 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-Álam** of Jaihani says: Zarwan is smaller than Qarmain and is near Ferozqand with plenty of agricultural lands, build ings and abundant water (*Ashkal*, p. 66). *Hudod-al-Áam* 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 Masâudi*, it has been incorrectly recorded as Zardan and this may be an error of the scribe. 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 (*Astaghrî*, 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, Abu Obeida, Abu 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 (Mâjam-al-Åodaba, 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 Egleem, 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 Nâmatullah (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 Nâmatullah 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 lwarha 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 Tabaqath-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 Masâudi, 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 Guln** 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:

\[
\text{د شها د انګن سیل سی احمده}
\]

\[
\text{که تسلیم خبله رضا کری زما دله}
\]

See the compassion of the beloved O Ahmad
If you want to submit O heart of mine.

Khushal Khan says:

\[
\text{د شهی تورو سنبلو}
\]

\[
\text{پر سپین مخ نی تسلسلو}
\]

The beloved's dark tresses
Hanging around her white face.

75. **Shaikh Bostan Barhehts:** This person, whose life history and an example of his poetry is presented in **Pata Khazana,** is from the Barhehts 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 Barhehts, 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 shipmates 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 Nâmatullah 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 Paṭa Khazana extracted this information from Kelid-e Kamrani (see annotation 78). Kelid-e Kamrani quotes Aâlam-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 Afghan, 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-Akbar, p. 55).

Arab historians also mention these events. For example the sum mary of the statements of Ibn Asir and Ibn Khaledun 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 in vited 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 Khaledun, 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 per sonality, 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 Zihaja 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, Zafaran 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 Abbas he was appointed the governor of Qandahar (*Tazkera-al-Mulook*, in Raverty). In summary: After Sado Khan his son Khizarr Khan became the chief of the tribe and during the time of Aurangzeb, the son of Khizarr 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. **Pār/hékey**: 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 Shuāra, vol. 1, p. 53-55-63). From this it is evident that pār/hékey was used to mean a poem.

81. **Arhay**: In the poems of the Ludis ārrah has been used twice:

   *haqha groh dē aus ārrah kār*  
   هغه گروه دی اوس آره کر
   
   You have changed that religion now.

   *zē lē groha pé āṟah yám*  
   زه له گروهه په آره 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 arrawal (to change). Thus ārrah should mean change. In both instances it has been used with religion and faith. Perhaps it is derived from the infinitive arrawal 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 arrawal but ārrah is not in use anymore. But the intransitive form of arrawal 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 dey (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 Nāmatullah Herawi. His life history is presented in the first volume of Pashtana Shuāra (p. 72-72). Nāmatullah includes his Hindi and Persian poems in his book and considers him
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. Koyéla 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 ké shor gád shî  
ché nàyém dê shpê faryad láka kohél kâ

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 Ghorî (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 Atšek tribe.

87. Sultan Ghiasuddin: Refers to the famous Sultan Ghiasuddin Mohammad Saam Ghorî 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 Khatak 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 Kanzada, daughter of Jafer 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 Zaalnoon 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 Masum; 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; Muntakhhab-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 Pata Khazana cites Tuhfa-e Saleh and Namatullah's Makhzan while talking about his life. Namatullah 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 Zâfran: He is a famous personality of the Hotheki period and Pağa 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 Pağa Khazana Mullah Zâfran was an outstanding scholar of the court of His Majesty Shah Hussain Hothek. Sultan Mohammad writes that Mullah Zâfaran 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 Zâfaran 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 Zâfaran 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 Zâfaran who was a courtier of His Majesty Shah Mahmud and His Majesty Shah Ashraf in Iran. This Mullah Zâfaran 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 Kākarh tribe that lives in the foothills of Sulaiman mountain, east of the Zhobe valley.


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 Khātāk 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 Kākarhistan 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 Nadir 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 Gulan (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 con sidered 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 Baber 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 Anoor 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. *Skāapur*: This is the Pashto form of Shikarpur of Sind through which trade with Qandahar took place.

112. *Mastunj*: 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 Kâkar*: 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. *Kṣeta 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 Kṣeta 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 Āulia*, on Suffism is famous. A scholar of the time,
Mullah Ahmad Qandahari, has written a commentary *Tāleem-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. *Wēyāy*: This word was in use until the Middle period of Pašto literature and
probably meant a word. It is often seen in the works of Middle period writers. For
example Khushal Khan says:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dā wēyāy zmā dê raz day} & \quad \text{دا ویو زماد راز دئ} \\
\text{dā manzil dūr aw daraz day} & \quad \text{دا منزل دور او دراز دئ}
\end{align*}
\]

This journey is long and arduous; or:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaw wēyāy dē dálasa rāta prē nēzdény} & \quad \text{یؤو ویو د دلسا راته پری نیدنی}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{džan kē hár tso khpāl máyan tē marwar kārrám} & \quad \text{خان که هر خو خل مین ته مرور کرم}
\end{align*}
\]

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 *Pata Khazana* says that he was a scholar and wrote
poetry in Pašto, our national language. He was the son of Abdal Khan Nasir
Barhizay who lived in Dela, near Abe Istada, southwest of Moqrur. The Nasir clan
is a famous branch of the Ghaljī tribe and is divided into the Spin Nasir, Sur Nasir
and Tour Nasir i.e. the white, red and black Nasir. Barhizay or Borthizay 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 siege of
Kandahar by Nadir Shah Afshar, the Hothek 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 Sidal 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, Sidal 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 Sidal 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 Sidal Khan, resisted him fiercely for a period of one year. When Nadir Afshar directed his forces toward Kalat, Sidal 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 Sidal 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, Sidal 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 Shkardara. 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 Álam, 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 Naebbakhhta: This learned woman was an Afghan scholar and the author
gives a good description of her life. The writings of Nāmatullah, regarding this woman, accord with what has been written about her in Paṭa Khazana. Nāmatullah mentions her in these words: Hazrat Shaikh Qadam had two wives. One was the mother of the pious Bibi Naekbakhta from the Mamozy tribe and she came from the village of Ashnaghar where the Mamozy 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.
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. Gulistan: 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)

اکِست‌ه ăkhêstâ: Charge, attack.
اغز ăghêáz: Effect.
اتل ătál: For explanation refer to annotation 33.
اوچار aŭjâr: Ruin, spoil.
اوود aŭwâd: Land, country.
اوکوب aŭkûb: Dignity, reverence.
اوخار aŭxsâr: Bright, clear.
اغِلی ăghlê: Beautiful; its feminine is ăghálêy.
اشلوك áshlûk: For explanation refer to annotation 58.
ايلاني aëlâî: 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.
اير aîr: 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.
استاخي astâzêy: This word stems from astêwal (to send) and is used up to the present time meaning messenger.
آره ārra: This word is not used now. It probably stems from arhêwal (to change) and means the same. For further explanation refer to annotation 81.
بد bâd: Rival.
برغه bârghâ: This is an extinct word which is not used at the present time. It probably means gain or desire.
بيارتی byârté: A form of the word bîrté meaning again.
برین bârbâñ: 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 bârbâñ probably means a high garden. It is possible that in the past large gardens or streets were known as bârbâñ.
باری bârri: The word is not alive in this form. Bárra at present means pay or fare. It is possible that in the past bârhál 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.
بامل bâmêl: For explanation refer to annotation 42.
بوئش 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.

*bêrêl*: As used in the poem of Shaikh Asad it means a chain.

*bâmî*: 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.

*bârêdzár*: The word is used by certain tribes at the present time meaning the half way hour between sunrise and mid-day.

*bârmêl*: For explanation refer to annotation 66.

*bûtûn*: For explanation refer to annotation 66.

*bábêní*: Spiritual leader of the Hindus.

*blézdêl*: Twisting, folding.

*pásâwâl*: For explanation refer to annotation 22.

*pêrthêmên*: Majestic, magnificent. This word is related to *partam* meaning majesty and glory. At present *pêrthêmên* is not used.

*plor*: Price, value.

*pândz*: This word is extinct and is used rarely in the form of the verb *pândzdêdêl* meaning birth and creation.

*párrêkey*: For explanation refer to annotation 80.

*pálên*: For explanation refer to annotation 37.

*plâz*: In the past this word meant a throne. It is not used now.

*pêpál*: For explanation refer to annotation 59.

*psolâ*: At present only *psul* is in use meaning jewelry. *Psolêley* which is derived from the infinitive *psolêl* is extinct. *Psolêl* and *gânêl* are successive verbs meaning to adorn.

*pêyr*: Turn and state.

*pêyrêl*: To buy.

*páthî*: Related to *páth* meaning respect and dignity.

*pûpânâ*: To vanquish or destroy.

*thrá*: Fear, hate.

*thrêkh*: Under the arm; such as *tsûri thrêkh tê áchawâl* meaning to put traveling provisions to one's arm. This idiom has special connotation which means to undertake a journey.

*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 *mêzîthûn tûn* meaning an
ant nest.

**tērū:** Derived from the root of tēir and tēiray. Thēiray means to go beyond limits and cruelty. Thēiero probably means cruel and suppressor but it is not in use now.

**thērār:** Sad, agitated. In the Middle period thērārā was used to mean agitation and turor and turhor meant agitated.

**tērūn:** 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.

**tārây:** In the past it meant a bridge. In 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.

**thārmēl:** For explanation refer to annotation 65.

**tākhûn:** Affliction. The folk poet Abdullah says:

\[
zē mayān pūr tā yam tākhûn mē dē sanamēh
khoāz mē zergy dē ākhēr dēr pasē mrāma
\]

I am in love with you, afflicted am I sweetheart
My heart is wounded, I long for you.

**trāpālēl:** At present trarpēlûdēl is used in certain dialects meaning to run, jump or wish. In a Pas'hto landay it has been used as such:

\[
lē spinē tūrey nē dē thērploð
\]

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

**torên:** Tor means accusation and black. In Nasr Ludi's poem it has been used to mean traducer or accuser. Torên has fallen out of use now.

**torâ:** Related to the root of tor. In the past it probably meant to defame. Tourâ has fallen out of use now.

**tortâm:** Total darkness.

**tâl:** Delay, rear. Also means a swing.

**tikâna:** This word is extinct now and probably meant justice in the past. It is from the root of tīk meaning center or original at the present time.

**tikâwēnê:** Comfort and rest. At present tikâw is used in Qandahar to mean the same.

**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.

- **jopá**: Caravan.
- **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.
- **jâjêl**: To contemplate, to think. This verb is out of use and only *jâj* is rarely used in some places.
- **jâgrâên**: 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.
- **chándây**: For explanation refer to annotation 57.
- **châr**: A ford.
- **chuñêy**: It has been repeatedly used in this book meaning a bulbul.
- **tsálorédz**: It probably means a quatrain. This word is not in use at the present time. It is a literary deposition of Pas’h’to left to us by the book and can be reintroduced instead of *rubâây* (quatrain).
- **tswaréy**: Provisions of journey.
- **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.
- **tsâpân**: Stormy, *tsépa* means a wave.
- **tsérkêdêl**: Sunrise; this infinitive is out of use now.
- **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.
- **dzák**: Life, means.
- **dzâráy**: A messenger, courier.
- **dzghêlâ**: For explanation refer to annotation 50.
- **dzêlâ**: For explanation refer to annotation 50.
- **dzâl**: To illuminate, shine.
- **khulgy**: Kiss; diminutive of *khula*.
- **khunêwêl**: This word is out of use together with all its derivations and only *khunây* meaning dispersing is alive. Thus *khunêwêl* means to disperse or spread.
- **khâtâdz**: 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 lwédidz, 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.

khêr: 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.

dêridz: For explanation refer to annotation 44.

durmûl: Durmálhi from the infinitive durmâl was used to mean cure in the past, while medication was called durmâl. Both words are considered etymological gems of Pas'hto.

dênâwi: 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 Paštana Shuâra). It is from the root of drund (heavy) and means respect.

Drêl: Drî means the presently used dárézi (standing). This verb together with its infinitive dêrêl (to stand) are both extinct.

dusnî: For explanation refer to annotation 6.

dwâ-yêdz: Couplet. The word together with tsloridz are not used today.

dâmê: To rest.

dungûna: Pride, sneer, jest.

rodâ: Way, road.

ráp: The root of the infinitive rêpêdêl meaning to flutter. This word is out of use now.

rughây: From rugh (healthy) meaning health. At present rughiâ is used and rughây has become extinct.

rêzêdâla: 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 rêzêdêdâl (to shiver) and means earthquake. It can be reintroduced into Pas'hto vocabulary.

ramêshth: It means music and singing. Râmêshgar is a singer. In Persian these words are ramîsh and ramîshgar.

répây: An annotator of the book has written bairaql (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 répây in the past because of its peculiar movement.

rostoon: This word has been derived from the root of réstya meaning truthful. The word is used at the present time.

Roñal: Roñâlî 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).

 rághâ and rághâwa: Both these words are derived from the root of rogh (well). The infinitive rághéwal (to make well) and its verbs, when used together with the particles war, dar, ra, dînî, la mean to detest or sever ties. For example ma la ahmada warághéwala i.e. I severed my ties with Ahmad. Rághâ and rághêwa are used in these old forms in the book and probably mean to abhor or detest.

 rbêl: Lowr and râbêl are the roots of lowrîna (kindness) and râblêdal (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.

 zárghâ: Evidently it stems from the root of zárghoon (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.

 zêlmâ: For explanation refer to annotation 50.

 zghál: To run. The infinitives zghêstal and zghêsta are from the same root. Khushal Khan says:

 ze pê bêltânêh kê dê wêsal nárê wâhama
 tsok chê ubêh wâkhly wê pâyâb wîtah yav zghêl shî
 خوک چه اوبه واخلي و پایاب وله تی زغل شی

 In my loneliness I cry for love's union
 One who is drowning runs toward the ford.

 zyârêna: Effort, endeavor. At present only zyâr is used to convey these meanings.

 zhoëblor: It is probably derived from zhoëbla 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.

 zhrâ zhr: This word can be read in two ways. First zhr 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.

 zhoëblal: Refer to zhoëblor.

 zhêbêwar: Fluent, a versatile speaker. Derived from zhêba (tongue) and the suffix war.
surân: Storm.
sudēh: Contentment.
swân: This word is out of use now; only sawâni is occasionally used in Qandahar meaning ease.
swáb: It is used up to the present time among some tribes meaning to bring forth.
sobmên: Soba means conquest and victory; sobmên with the suffix mên means victorious and conqueror.
sêk: Fortune and hence happiness.
sîn: A form of the word sind; both of which mean a river. It is a remnant of old Aryan words in Pashto.
swádzênd: Burning.
sâmây: Its root is apparently in the present day sâm. Sâmây is not used at the present time and means welfare and prosperity.
sobi: Plural of soba (see sobmên). 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.
stâywál: For explanation refer to annotation 45.
sândî: Lamentation.
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 sémâ meant justice and correctness.
sêh: Breath. At present sâh is used.
surârr: Scorching desert.
sâr: This word is alive in the form of sârêy meaning a rival, instance, example. It is possible that its old form was sâr.
sângârr: 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:

dê nâkâs dê tarbiyat sêra tsê kár dê
dê sângârr dê zêraât sêra tsê kár dê
What is there to gain from the training of an ignoble
Or from a field full of rocks.
sthân: For explanation refer to annotation 63.
sâl: Fine grains of sand. This word is not common now and only used by the people of southern tribes.
sunî: Lies.
sâdîn: Ploughed ground.
sélâ: Advice, council.
shkhêra: Conflict.

This word is not heard among Pashto 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.

sháñ: For explanation refer to annotation 60.

skêlêl: For explanation refer to annotation 23.

Sêlâ: Advice, council.

shêkhêrra: Conflict.

This word is not heard among Pashto 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.

shêkêlê: For explanation refer to annotation 23.

shêkêlê: For explanation refer to annotation 23.

shêkdê: For explanation refer to annotation 23.

sêdzmêni: Woman. This word is alive at the present time.

sêhana: It means propensity and good deed. It is from the root of sê (good).

ghwâzên. It has fallen out of use and means informed or one who listens.

gharî ghárî: A Qandahari idiom meaning full.

ghàrra-zágh: Ghàrra in Pashto 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 ghàrra-zágh can be considered as a compositive noun meaning the tune of a flute. Second it may be read separately, ghàrra and zágh to mean lamentation (of the reed), song (of the people) and singing (of the bulbul).

ghâzêl: Mághza is a negative imperative meaning do not listen but now the infinitive ghâzêl (to listen) does not exist, but nghozêl was used in the Middle period with the same meaning whose negative imperative is më nghozâ. There is the possibility that mághza is the short of më nghozâ. Khushal Kahn has used nghwyézá as the affirmative imperative of the verb and says:

sê krha, sê krha, sê krha, dê nêkêkhwa khâbery nghwêzá

Do good, do good, listen to the words of the pious.

koṭi: An old Pashto word meaning a fortress.

kârghâ: Arid land.

koshak: For explanation refer to annotation 30.

kôhol: A dynasty or family.

Kârrong: In old Pashto 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 Shuara, Vol. 1, p. 58).

**kotwāl**: 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 kot (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 tae.

**kārrām**: Injured, cut, maimed.

**korawal**: A verb which was in use in the past and is extinct now. Only its root is present in korā. Its infinitive is korā kāwal. From the poetry of Shaikh Reza Ludi we see that korawal was used as an infinitive during that period.

**kāwa**: From káwal meaning to do.

**kor**: Hard and strong. This word which is in use up to the present time means hard and strong. Kroh is seen in the names of past dignitaries.

**koyelá**: For explanation refer to annotation 83.

**kárrédán**: To go around.

**gâñēl**: Wê gâñēl is the past tense of the infinitive gâñēl, which is out of use and was probably used in the past. It stems from the root of gâña or gêña meaning jewels; hence the infinitive gâñēl means to bejewel.

**gwâsêl**: To forbid. Gwâs is used at the present time with the same meaning.

**grohëdêl**: An infinitive from the root groh meaning religion in the poem of Shaikh Reza Ludi. It is not in use now and only grohëdêl (to believe) was in use during the Middle period. Khushal Khan says:

\[ \text{nê yay zmêh pê mâ nârmêzî nê gruhêzî} \]
\[ \text{khudâya tsêh mê sâro kâr shû lé kâféra} \]

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.

**groh**: Refer to grohëdêl explained above.

**gêlêwêl**: To bear, to endure.
Land, district.

Also used as lazand meaning smeared, soaked.

For explanation refer to annotation 41.

Ancient, old.

The verb lunél in Pashto means to sprinkle or spray. Besides fluids, it is also used when speaking of dispersal of other material. The infinitive lustél has also been used for the same meaning. Moreover, lwástél, which is written similarly in Pashto, but pronounced differently means to study. The infinitive lunél was in use until the Middle period. Its use becomes rare after that. Khushal Khan says:

The old friends will not come once again
Even if I sprinkle dark soil on my head.

ly: A verb in the present tense from the infinitive lwástél or lwálal meaning to say.

East. An annotator has written ai magrib (e.g. east) over the word. It is formed from the roots of lwédal (sunset) and dzây (place).

For explanation refer to annotation 65.

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.

To pray. For further explanations refer to annotation 67.

Travel.

Pride. From the root of loy (big or large).

Plural of mál meaning companion. At present málê is used.

Plural of mrñinda meaning a thin string. Dê zra mrândî in Pashto means veins of the heart. Sometimes it is referred to feelings of the heart.

To reside, to settle.

Helper. It is derived from mrâsta which means help or aid.

For explanation refer to annotation 6.

Time.

Derived from mlá (waist) and the infinitive térrél (to tie). It means companion and helper.

For explanation refer to annotation 34.

For explanation refer to annotation 39.

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, Pashtana Shuāra). For further
details refer to annotation 50.

mêkhâwêr: This word is rarely used now and is derived from mêkh (face) and
wêr (a particle of relation) meaning honorable and respectable.

mâwâs: In Pas'hto mâwâs means guardian. Hamid Mohmand says:

ché yâ yê têl stârgê kâwêl pâksê khûnûna

dê mâkh sâr yê dê zëyrêy mâwâs wuniwâ

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 mâwâsat. It is probably an old Aryan word.

morêl: To die.

mênest: To accept.

mêra makhay: Literally it means man-faced. It is referred to women who
are brave and valiant or have a masculine character.

nîz: Flood. This word is not used now.
nîz-wârê: Debris carried by flood.
nmêdzêna: Request.
nmândzêl: For explanation refer to annotation 67.
nârâ: A kind of Pas'hto poetry which is recited in stories in a loud voice.
nmêndzê-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 nmândzial
means to pray. Nmundz meaning prayers is also from the same root. Châr means
work. Collectively the two may mean worshipper.
nmrâri: Dress, clothes.
ngwázedêl: An infinitive from the past which is not in use now and means to
hear. Khushal Khan says:

dê nekkhwa khâbêry ngwâëzê

Listen to the words of the pious.
nêst: 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 nêst is a short
form of nêsta meaning obliterated and destroyed.

nulêdêl: Nul means grief. The infinitive nulêdêl, which is used at present,
means to grieve. Khushal Khan says:
He may attain happiness from love's union
For in separation Khushal is in great grief.

To hear. For further explanations refer to ghzá'l.

Candidate, assigned. Khushal Khan says:

With one gift he has raised me above all
And tomorrow he has me for another one assigned.

To thrust in.

For explanation refer to annotation 67.

A mourner.

Gratulation. For explanation refer to annotation 32.

To foster or rear. At present wáda is used to mean the same and wádêna has become extinct.

From the root of wèr meaning lamentation.

One who is afflicted.

Related to wrhânga (ray). It means bright and shining.

An annotator has written the word ai qiyamat (e.g. doomsday) over the word and until the present time lo-wrâdz means doomsday. Wrâdz-loy is not in use now and is the old form of lo-wrâdz, which literally means the big day.

For explanation refer to annotation 32.

For explanation refer to annotation 117.

For explanation refer to annotation 24.

For explanation refer to annotation 35.

To journey, to go.

From the root of yâd meaning reminder, remembrance.


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