

Pashto and the Loykan of Ghazna

A New Research

On the History of Pashto Literature and Ghazna

by

Professor Abdul Hai Habibi

Pahsto and the Loykan of Ghazni

Transliteration of Pashto letters used in the text:

ā	ا
ṛ	ر
s̄	ښ
dz	خ
ts	څ

Introduction

The history of Pashto language remained obscure during the early years of the Islamic period. After the discovery of *Paṭa Khazana* (The Hidden Treasure) in 1942 some light was shed on its obscurity. This precious book provided us with a poem by a Suri governor by the name of Amir Kroṛ Jahan Pahlawan written around 756 CE.

Amir Kroṛ Jahan Pahlawan was a descendant of the great Ghori kings. Based on the historical references provided in Hidden Treasure he is the author of an invaluable poem of valor. Just as I mentioned in detail, in the second volume of *The History Pashto Literature*, Pashto language, during the early Islamic period, was the court and literary lingua in Ghor and Khorasan. Later on, during the period of Ghori rulers, we have at our disposal many odes and poems in the language.

Until now our knowledge regarding the old literature of Pashto was based on information provided in Hidden Treasure and the *Tazkerat-al-Awlia* (Memoirs of Saints) of Suleiman Maku, written in 1215, which provides us with poems by some old Pashto poets from the era of the Ludi kings, Saṛban, Beytney and Gharghsht.

Fortunately now we have at our disposal another Pashto couplet, which I would like to present to the readers with historical and literary evidence in this treatise.

This couplet dates back to old Pashto relics from the early Islamic period from which we can also deduce many unknown historical incidents. It also provides us with information regarding a lost family of kings from Ghazni, about which we did not have any information, nor has it been mentioned in the annals of historical research.

Based on historical evidence, I would like to introduce this couplet of the Loykan family of Ghazni, for the first time and write about ancient Pashto clues which we have been able to discover from the Baghlan and Rozgan inscriptions.

I hope that this effort of mine proves beneficial in the development of history of Pashto literature and shed light on some dark historical events and provide evidence to young Afghans regarding the authenticity of the language so that they may be able to use this book as a reference in their quest in undertaking research on the language.

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I present this book to the younger Afghan generation at a time when I am living in diaspora from the country. I hope that they continue their research of Pashto literature so that this subject may be further elaborated.

The wine-makers job is unfinished
If a thousand cups remain in the vine.

Abdul Hai Habibi
Karachi, August 1961

1. Royal Families

During the early Islamic period a number of royal families and local commanders ruled in the Kabul and Hindu Kush valleys and Khorasan's cities. These families were the descendants of the Hephthali (Abdali), Huns (Khans) and the Kushans. Arab historians, such as Ibn Khardazba, Yaqubi and al-Maqdasi, have mentioned them as Sheran Shah of Bamian, Dawaran Shah of Zamindawar and Ratabala.¹ One such Hephthali (Abdali) family was from Zabul and an inscription related to Mehra Kola (Mir Khaol) was dedicated to a commander of this family in a valley located two miles north of Rozgan. In following chapters we will learn that the Kabulistan and Zabulistan rulers had family ties. According Shahnama of Firdowsi such ties of kinship took place between the family of Mehrab Kabuli and Saam and Zaal of Zabul with the marriage of Rudaba, the daughter of Kabul Shah, to Rustam of Zabiul.²

Unfortunately we do not have much information about these families. Their names have been mentioned on some coins and Al-Biruni provides a short description of the families in his book *Ketab-al-Hind*. Arab historians have also made vague references to some local commanders. It is also not clear what their language was? However the letters found on coins are either in Greek, Sharada and occasionally in Mongolian scripts.³

Since the purpose of this treatise is to shed light on the language of these families and not their history therefore I will present documentation related to their language only so that we may achieve our goal.

Based on linguistic studies of these inscriptions and the names of the commanders I have concluded the language of these people, who lived from Takhar to the banks of the Helmand river, was either Pashto or a language which had close affinities with Pashto.

I will present my reasoning based on linguistics and the analytics of historical events.

1. Masalek-al-Mamalek of Ibn Khardazba, p. 170, London; al-Baladan of Yaqubi and Ahsan-al-Taqaaseem, London.

2. Refer to Vol. 1 of Shahnama of Firdowsi.

3. Peshawar museum contains a tablet from the Zabul Huns, which beside the Sharada script has some words inscribed in Mongolian also. This inscription was found in Waziristan.

2. The Baghlan Inscription

Excavations conducted by the French Archeological Mission in Afghanistan during the past decade in Surkh Kotal of Baghlan have resulted in the discovery of important finds which are of great importance with respect to history and linguistics. Among them is an inscription in Greek script inscribed in three lines. The first two lines of the inscription are in a local language while the last line is in Greek which just says (by Yala).

From relics found in the large fire worshipping temple it has been concluded that in Surkh Kotal, located 15 miles from Pul-i-Khumri, a large fire worshipping center was located there. It is possible that the idols of kings of the time were worshipped there and fire-worshipping was also practiced in the temple.

The Worshipping of Kings

Western archeologists believe that the recognition of status of kings at the Surkh Kotal temple suggests that Kanishka, the great king of the region, had started a deity in which kings were worshipped and it is possible that the holy fire was also considered a royal dignity. Hence the idols of kings were kept in the same temple and place of worship. Professor Schlumberger, the discoverer of the temple writes: One reason why the Surkh Kotal temple can be considered to be a place of worship of kings is that the inscription found there reads (the temple of Kanishka, the martyr).¹

It is possible that with the reading of all the inscription this vague statement will become clear. However, I present two other reasons which corroborates this fact as follows:

1. The Shah Bahar moniker was commonly used during the early Islamic period. Baihaqi talks about the Shah Bahar of Ghazni during the Ghaznavi period where the king used to review his troops.²

Bahar or Wahara, which in Sanskrit also means a temple, stems from Wara of Avesta located in Balkh. This word is present as a suffix in

1. From Schlumberger's conference, Ariana, Sunbula 1339.

2. Tarikh-e Baihaqi, pp. 610-637.

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the names of many places such as Kandahar, Nangarhar, Nadhar, Potohar (near Taxila) and Chaparhar. In other Aryan languages this word has been transformed to *hur* or *warr* and then became *pur* and *pura* such as Lahawur, Lawhur, Lahore and Parshawar, Parshapur and Parshawpur. In Sind it has the connotation of Babbahur. In Persian literature *bahār* has been used to mean a temple. Nezami states:

The placid Bahar of Balkh
Has but a bitter tasting red flower.

Feralawi says:

Your beautiful face is like Spring flower,
You who vie with the glory of Bahar.

Mansuri Razi:

The Bahar of idols and its magnificent mast
Resemble the tresses of my sweetheart.

Farukhi writes:

Autumn has turned the meadow's color
Into a golden hue, in every direction of Bahar¹

Thus Shah Bahār is a supplemental construction of Pashto meaning (bahar shah=idol of shah=temple of shah) and a place of worship of kings where prayers were held for the royal idols and statues.²

We see this historical name in Shaibar, near Ghazni, the present day Shibar pass of the Hindu Kush mountains as *shah* and *shai*. *Bār* and *bar* are short forms of *bahar*, *bahur*, *wuur*, *wara* which are related to the historical hār.

Ahmad bin Abi Yaqub bin Wazeh Asfahani, famous as Yaqubi, who died in the year 844 CE, while describing the cities of Kabulistan writes: In the year 792 CE Fazl bin Yahya Barmaki sent an army from Takharistan to Bamian and captured Ghorwand, Sarkhor (Surkhbad of Bamian) and Shah Bahar, where an idol was worshipped. Ibrahim bin Jebrael, commander of Fazl, destroyed and burned the idol.³ This Shah Bahar, which has been mentioned in the hand-written copy of Ketab-al-Baladan as Sah Bahar, was located between Ghorband and Surkh Band

1. See Lughat-e Fars of Asad, p. 124. Khwarazmi states: Al-Bahar is the name of houses in India (Mufateh-al-Ulum, p. 74).

2. Regarding the roots of the words *bahar* and *wahara* refer to Vol. 1 of History of Pashto Literature by the author, p. 94, Kabul.

3. Ketab-al-Baladan, pp. 290--291, London.

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(Bamian) may be the present day Shibar of the Hindu Kush. Shibar like Shaibar of Ghazni is a short form of Shah Bahar.¹

This historical document shows that the temple of Sanam was present in Afghanistan until the arrival of Moslems and Shah Bahar was a temple where kings were worshipped by the people of the area. This word has roots in the Pashto language and its structure is also related to Pashto.

2. The Pashto couplet, which will be explained later, reveals the temperament of king-worshipping and the presence of the idol of Shah Loyak in historical Ghazni. What we see in the excavated relics of the Baghlan temple is reminiscent of Pashto literature and the couplet related to Shah Loyak of Ghazni. It is possible that the religion of the people of Baghlan, and those from Ghazni, before the advent of Islam and its introduction into this land, may have been the same. Both groups believed in the worshipping of kings and the Shah Bahar of Ghazni, Shibar of Hindukush, Khyber of Nangarhar and the temple of Baghlan were centers of worshipping of monarchs.

Some Words of the Baghlan Inscription

Even though the Baghlan inscription has not been read in its entirety but some of the words of the first two lines, which are in Greek script, are as follows: *kair dumi bagho lāngo*.²

Professor Henning is of the belief that the old name of Baghlan has been written in the inscription as *bagholung* whose Sughdi form was Baghdang or Baghdanj.³

1. The author is of the belief that Khyber, the famous pass between Nangarhar and Peshawar has also been derived from the same root where the letters (sheen=qaf) are transformed to (khe) in the eastern Pashto dialect. Such transformation from the western to the eastern dialect is common until this day in the language. From this historical study it is clear that the name Khyber does not come from Arabia. The summation of certain past historians, who relate this name as a link between the Pashtuns and Jews, is totally baseless.

2. The Eastern and Western Journal of Italy, November 1957.

3. According to Hsuan Tsung, the Chinese traveller, the Chinese form of the word was Fo-kio-lang. From the east to the west this country was 50 li, and from the north to the south 200 li, whose capital had a circumference of 2 li (p. 150, Travels of Hsuan Tsung (Si-yu-ki) translated by Beil. The Chinese form of the name also has three syllables which matches the inscription (ba-gha-dang). The last part of the word is (ang).

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We will evaluate this word now:

In all ancient Aryan languages *bagha* or *baga* meant a god. The *bagha* of Avesta, *baga* of old Fars, *bahga* of Sanskrit, and *bagh* of Russian are from the same root. This name was commonly used in ancient monikers such as Bagh Pur (the Arabic form of which is Faghfur meaning the son of god), Baghistan (present day Beistoon meaning place of god), Baghdad, Baghshur, Baghni, Baghland (names of places), *bagān yasht* (a part of Avesta) Baghār (in Behsud of Daizangi) Baghāwi (Sar-e Pul) Baghak (in Samangan), Baghyar (in Kunar valley), and Baghawardān (of Herat) are all infinitives of the same name.

We see this word in present day Pashto but its form is not like the *bagha* of Avesta but is close to the *baga* of the Darius inscription of Beistun.

In Kandahari Pashto dialect *bug* means great and monumental. It is said that such and such is a *bug* (great) person meaning he is a large and strong individual.

It is possible that the ancient *bagha* and *baga* were used as descriptive nouns denoted to a god and not used as substantive nouns but later were converted to substantive nouns such as Rahman, Ghafur, Azim etc, nouns which are associated with the name of God.

The *bug* of Pashto, which is still in use to mean great and mighty, is seen in a lot of historical names such as Bagram, Bagrami (Kabul), Bagal (Herat), Bagla (Ghazni), Bag Lug (Daizangi), and Bag Pai (Taloqan), Bagi (Tarnak). Shamsuddin Kakar, who lived around 1835 CE, in a poems states:

My fate is so gloomy

Doomed inside but imperial (*bug*) outside.

This word was used in the same context in Persian literature also. Mawlana Balkhi writes:

Why are you boasting about the king and *bug* (grandeur)?

You are nothing but a tiny mosquito.¹

From this it is clear that remnants of the word *bagha=bug* were present in Pashto and Persian and its usage changed from a substantive noun to an adjective.

1. Masnavi, Vol. 1, p. 48.

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From Mahmud Kashgari's (1074 CE) writings we know that *bug* was used to mean a leader in eastern Turkish of the time.¹ It is possible that the singular *baglar* in the renowned *beglarbegi*, after the Mongol forays, may be the same word, which during the time of Mahmud Kashgari became a part of Turkish words. Naser Khusrao states:

Every useless person has turned
Into a *bug* and *tageen* (great) these days.²

Since *bug* was used in ancient Avesta, Sanskrit and Fars languages we can deduce that at the time when Aryan tribes had started communicating with Turkish tribes, along the banks of the Oxus river, from Takharistan as far as Khutan, the word may have spread into their languages too.

But the later part of the word (*ang*) also seems to have ancient roots which is present at the end of names such as Salang (north of Kabul), Yakawlang (in Daizangi), Bashlang (Helmand Valley), Alesh Ang (in Laghman valley), Awlang (in Salang), Mastang (in Baluchistan), Zarang (ancient capital of Seistan), Poshang (west of Herat), Gerang (a city in Merv) and Rarang (a pass in Ghor). Arab geographers converted the suffix of *ang* to *anj*. The Arabized pronunciation of these names thus became Fushanj, Bashlanj, Zaranj, and Hairanj.³

According to Professor Henning this *ang* or its Arabized version *anj* meant a fire-temple and the excavated temple of Bagolang is a prime example of such a place. Engravings of this temple were inscribed on coins related to the kings of the Hindu Kush valleys until the advent of Islam. This *ang* (meaning a fire-temple or fire) became *athar* or *āzar* in Pahlavi, which also meant fire.

In Chapter 17 of Bandhishan a large fire-temple has been mentioned by the name of Azar Ferobugh, said to have been located on the Roshan mountain of Kabul.⁴ It is not possible to state with certainty where this mountain was located but in the Pahlavi form of this name *ang* appears as *azar*, *bago* and *bagh*. Hence it can be deduced that the fire-temple of

1. Divan-i-Lughat-al-Turk, Vol. 1, p. 50, Istanbul.

2. Divan of Naser Khusrao Balkhi, p. 429.

3. Ahsan-al-Taqaaseem, pp. 306-312 and Asthakri, p. 239.

4. Yasna 1/132, presently Koh-e Roshan is located in Jurm of Badakhshan province. It is possible that this name was common in the past but is now localized.

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Koh-i-Roshan is the excavated fire-temple of Surkh Kotal of Baghlan and it is possible during that time Baghlan was a part of Kabul.

Even if we do not consider Azar Ferobagh to be the fire-temple of Surkh Kotal we can state with certainty that this Azar Ferobagh, meaning the magnificent fire of god, was present in the mountains of Kabul which indicates the presence of a fire-temple in this land. In this denomination the old *ang* has become *azar* in Pahlavi meaning a fire. In Pahlavi *bagh* was used with the same meaning. The meaning of *ang* in Persian is *aatash* and *aur* in present day Pashto. In ancient times a fire-temple was also called an *ang*. We see that in the Avestan word, *dazhanga* (*dazh* means fierce and *anga* means fire) the tenor of which is fierce fire. The present day *dozakh* (hell) is also the same word.¹

From the time of Zoroaster until the beginning of Islam fire-worshipping was the religion of people from the Indus to the Oxus river for thousands of years. Fire-temples were located in different parts of this land. As a result most of the ancient cities and historical places have been named after this temple. In these names we see *ang* in the east and Khorasan while *azar* in the west, example of which were presented earlier.

Ang in Pashto

The old root of *ang* is seen in many words in Pashto. *Angar* and *angara* mean a very radiant fire and fire embers, the first part of the word is the historical *ang*. *Angal* in Pashto means movement and speed which are manifestations of a fire. The suffix (laam) at the end of the word is an indicator of an adverb such as *borjal*, (lookout tower), *katal* (slaughter house), *Zawul* and *Kawul*.

Angaza which means speed and intensity, has an *ang* at the start of the word. *Angolā* means a sharp and harsh voice and it is possible that the English words anger, angry and angel, may have the same root.

The Pashto poet, Mullah Faizullah Kakaṛ, who was a contemporary of Ahmad Shah Abdali, (around 1747 CE), and was a resident of Zhob at the foothills of Koh-e Suleiman has used this exact word in his poem:

Even though I may hide my heart's feelings
But my heart burns like an ember (*balāng*).

1. Yashtha, pp. 2-170.

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This *balāng* is a complex word composed of *bal* (which means lighted) and *ang* (fire) and the poet is stating that his heart hurts as though it is on fire. Hence the *balāng* of Pashto means a lighted fire.

We should bear in mind that in its Sughdi format, *bagholang* transforms to *baghdang* and *baghdanga* in old Persian has the letter (daal) between the *bag* and *ang* and at times this (dāl) transforms into a (lām) in Pashto such as *dewār=dewāl* (wall), *gharbel=ghalbel* (sieve) and other such words.

Originally this word was *bagodāng* and in Pashto it is conveyed as *bagho ang* meaning the fire of God and in accordance with the rules of conversion of letters in Pashto *baghodang* became *baghdang* and *bagolang*. Later *ang* got converted to *ān* and the name became Baghlan. Such transformation has also taken place in the names of places such as Gulran (in Herat), Shamlan (Helmand Valley), Samangan and Badakhshan.

Such transformation has a strong historical precedence. In Chinese books, dating back to the second century BCE, Badakhshan has been noted as Tsa-nag-lang. Later in Hiuen Tsang's travel log it appears as Po-to-chang-na and in Yuan Shi literature as Ba-da-ha-shang.¹ The last part of the word i.e. *ang* was later converted to *ān* and hence the word became Badakhshan.

Another example of such transformation is the name Sang Charak of the Guzgan mountains, which until the present time, some people pronounce it as *sān* and *sang*. Past geographers have mentioned it as *sān*.²

Based on this reasoning two parts of the name Bagholang are present in Pashto until the present time and the form and structure of the word *butmamaha* is Pashto. We have other names of places in Afghanistan with the same structure such as Ghordang, in Khakrez of northern Kandahar, Yakhdang in the Sarobi area of Kabul province,³ the Badanj pass between Ashtargram and Laghman⁴ which are manifestation of the old form of the word. Sulāng, which is located between Kohistan and Najrow, has the same element at the end of the

1. Middle Age Research on Chinese Texts, by Peter Meder, 1887, London.

2. Astakhri, p. 270, Hudud-al-Alam, pp. 60-91.

3. Geographical Dictionary of Afghanistan, Vol. 2 p. 92 and Vol. 4 p. 226.

4. Akbar Nama and Tabakat-i-Akbari.

word. Now we will look at some other words of the inscription which are also in Pashto.

Kirdome

This word also has two syllables, *kirdo-me*.

Based on current vowel transformation *kirdo* in Pashto is *kaṛie dei* (has done). Here we need to bear in mind that Pashtuns have different dialects and I am of the belief that those dialects, which are used by tribes who live in mountainous regions, such as the Afridi, Wazir, Musaid and Wardak, are close to the original pronunciation of the words. Languages and dialects spoken in cities come under the influence of religions and become embellished with foreign influences. As I have mentioned in detail in the second volume of Tarekh-i-Adabiyat Pashto (History of Pashto Literature) the systematics of exclamation of words of the Behistun tablet (the old Persian language dating back to 2500 years) is close to the pronunciation of these tribal people. Examination of words of the Baghlan tablet also have the same pronunciation. Pashtuns living in mountainous regions pronounce the vowel *kaṛei dei* in different ways.

The Kakar tribesmen pronounce it as *keyṛae da* while some other pronounce it as *keṛda-keṛaydo-keyṛa da* while other use the exact ancient form of *kirdo*.

The later part of the word (*me*) is a detached pronoun which is present and used in Pashto and *kirdo me* is a Pashto verb which has been derived from the infinitive *kṛal*.

Thus the whole sentence is: *kirdo-me bagholang = kaṛie dei me Baghlan* (I have done Baghlan, i.e. I have built Baghlan).

But the verb *kṛal=kawal* has numerous meanings in Pashto. One of its ancient meaning is to build, to construct. The Kakaṛ say *maṛie dei kaṛay da* meaning you have eaten food or *sanak halta kor wakawa* meaning Sanak built a home there.

The root of *kṛal* is common with *kar* of Avesta, and *kardan* of Pahlavi and Persian which means to construct.

In the section of Bahram Neyanesh of Khorda Avesta (article 20) among the names of ancient fire-temples a *mino-kirdo* is mentioned.¹

1. Khurda Avesta, p. 301.

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Minyo or *mino*, which is derived from *manal* of Pashto, means wisdom and intellect in Persian.¹ *Kardo* like *kirdo* has been mentioned in the Baghlan inscription which means constructed and built and this temple was built by *Minyo*.

We see that in Old Persian and Pahlavi *karta-kard* comes at the end of names of places and buildings which means has been built. For example *pārsa karta* (the *pāzar kah* of Greek Persopolis) in present day pronunciation is Pārs Abad. Thus *balāsh kard*, *khusrao kard*, *baghak kard* belong to the same category,² which means to build.

In Pahlavi writings the verb *kart* has been used to mean to build such as *ganjak farāsiyak tur kart shaharistan atopātakan*. (The Ganjak city was built by Afrasiyab from Transoxiana).³

Firdowsi conveys this meaning in the following couplet:

I cleared the world from demons

And built several cities⁴

In this couplet *basei shahr kardam* means built several cities.

In old Persian prose *kardan* also meant to built or construct. Khwaja Abdullah Ansari Herawi has also used *kardan* and *kunam* in the context of meaning to build. It must be mentioned that this present analysis is only based on three words of the tablet. When all the words are read and evaluated it is possible that the sentences used in the tablet will provide us with further linguistic details and we may obtain more information about the language.⁵ According to Monsieur Schlomberger studies on Pashto language should date back to the second century based on the findings of the Surkh Kotal tablets.⁶

1. Yasna, Vol. 1, p. 207 and Mazdyesna wa Adab-i-Farsi, p. 301.

2. Sabk Shenasi, Vol. 1, p. 31.

3. Yasna, section 2, Atish chapter, edited by Pur Daud.

4. Shahnama, Vol. 1, couplet 4118.

5. According to Monsieur Schlomberger in the Bakhtari language of the tablet beside the 24 letters of Greek and additional letter has been used for sheen (ش). I believe that this is the letter (ش) of Pashto which is a coarse form of sheen.

6. Aryana, Vol. 5, Sunbula 1339 SH.

3. The Rozgan Inscription

One strong philological reason which links Pashto language with the royal families of Kabulistan and Zabulistan is a linguistic analysis of their names. For example the Kashtarian was a family during the time of Hiuen Tsang (630 CE) and Wu Kong, another Chinese pilgrim (790 CE), which ruled over Gandahara, Attock as far as Taxila. According to Marquat, a researcher on culture, this name was *kasha tarya*, which was present in old Persian and Sanskrit also.¹

I provided a detailed description of this name earlier² whose original form is *ksha tura*. According to Khair-al-Bayan of Pir-e Roṣhān (written around 1573 CE) *tur kash* meant a swordsman. I will provide further historical evidence regarding this issue in the coming pages.

In the Sanskrit inscription, which was discovered by Alexander Burns, before 1836 from Hund of Attock (the historical Awhind) which dates back to the 7-8th century CE, powerful meat consuming *tur kash* (Turshcas) have been mentioned.³ This word is probably the *kaṣh turey* or *tur kaṣh* of Khair-al-Bayān.

The name of a king of this family was Laka Turman, which in present day Pashto is *laka turman*, meaning like a swordsman. This name has the root of *tura* (sword).⁴

1. Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. 1. p. 643 as referenced by Iranshahar.

2. Refer to Vol. 1, p. 65 of History of Pashto Literature by the author.

3. Kabul by Sir Alexander Burns, pp. 120-121, London 1842. A complete English translation of the inscription is included in the book. The original inscription was handed over to the Bengal Asiatic Museum. This inscription was written by Serri Tillaka and was found in historical Waihind, along the banks of the Indus river.

4. Mehra Kola is considered to be a king of the White Hun royalty, while among the Kashmir kings, Turman, has been mentioned. Kalhana, the author of Raja Tarangini, talks about this king and considers him to be the brother and heir to throne of Raja Hairniya, after whom his son, Purorsena the second, sat on the throne (toward the middle of the 6th century CE). This Turman, son of Sri Shatha, was from the Gonandia family. This Kashmiri Turman should not be confused with Turman, father of Mehra Kola from Zabul. Researchers are of the belief that numismatics dating to the 5th and 6th centuries, associated with the Turmans from Kashmir, which are being discovered at the present time, that Kashmir was a part of the Zabuli kindgom. The coin of Turman was in use during that time, which was copied by the Kashmir kings. This name has been copied in coins one after the other (refer to footnotes of Oral Stein in the translation of Raja Taranginini, p. 82 of introduction, Vol. 1. and Vol. 2, p. 320).

Now you can visualize the influence of the word *tura* in the names of ancient

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Other Brahman kings of the 7th century CE who ruled over Kabulistan and adjacent lands are:

Kalar

Famous as Lalya. This name is composed from *kawi lar*, *kakoi*, or *ki*. *Kawa* in Pashto means intelligent and leader and *lar* has been derived from *latal* meaning to have and king, hence *kawi lar* means a leader and intelligence.¹

Lalya in Pashto is *lālā* which means a respected person and older brother, used in Kandahar until the present time, and out of respect Hindus are referred to by this title. Every younger brother calls his elder brother *lālā* or *lālah*.

Sāmand

The first part of this word is the *sāh* of Pashto² meaning personality, freedom and spirit. In the inscription *sāhu* means the free cypress and having distinction. The Kandahari's have a saying: earn and spend it like a *sāhu*. Here the word means free spirit and distinction.

The second part of the word *mand* is derived from the Pashto *maindal*, meaning to find, which in the past was also written as *mandal*. This *sāmand* or *samanta* means free spirited, spirit and exuberance. Based on the Pashto infinitive *maindal* is also pronounced as *mantal*. It is possible that the root of (*mand*) is associated with the Persian *neromand* (powerful) and *dardmand* (afflicted).

Kamar or Kamlo

The interchange of letters (ra) and (lam) is common in Aryan languages such as *dewar* and *dewāl*, Gharzai and Ghalzai, Chatral and Chatrar. Thus *kamro* has also been written as *kamlo*. Kamar in Pashto means colorful, beautiful and elegant. *Kamro* is a feminine name given to Afghan women which means colorful and piebald. In a Pashto ballad it has been used as *kamra*.

kings from Zabol to Kashmir based on the evidence presented in coins. From the account of Raja Tarangini (2/213) we know that until the time of Sultan Hussain Shah of Kashmir (1472-1484 CE) Turmani coins were in circulation in Kashmir. He states: When Hussain Shah realized that the coins of the great Turmana do not have any usage therefore he issued and popularized the *dwi dinari* coin.

1. Regarding the root and literature on this subject refer to History of Pashto Literature Volume. 1, p. 102 .

2. In a number of coins this names appears as *saha* also which is exactly the *sāhu* of Pashto. In a poem by Ansuri this name appears as Sāmand (History of Iranian Literature, vol.1, p. 562).

Jiya Pala (Jipal)

Meaning *dzaya=zayee* a nurturer, the protector of a nation or nurturer of life.¹

Ananda Paala (ānand pāl)

Anand means pleasure, tranquility. Khushal Khan has used *anand* in the sense of having a pleasant life.

Tarojan Paala

At present it is *torojan pāl* in Pashto, meaning nurturer of a sword and swordsman. The word *tura* (sword) has a strong root in many historical and present Pashto names.

Sepaala Pati

It is the *sepahbad* of Persian and Pahlavi and in Pashto it is used as *sepāh la pati* meaning commander of a troop.²

Padma

At present we say *pa dama* in Pashto meaning with grandeur.

Khudwaya ka

The Afridi from Khyber still call God *khudoye* and *khalwi*. The actual name is *khudoyak*, which is common in Pashto. Further elaboration of the word is found in explanations about the word *loyak*.

Wanka

This noun is derived from *wrak* of a Pashto dialect meaning conqueror and victory. The use of letter (ر و) is associated with victorious. The letter (kāf) at the end of the word is a filler such as in *khudoyak*. We see the names of these kings in excavated coins only.³

The Names of Kidāriyan and Awdālian

At the beginning of the 3rd century CE, when the power of the Great Kushan emperor subsided, a person by the name of Kidar established the lesser Kushan kingdom in Bactria and the Hindu Kush valleys.

This name also has a Pashto root. In old Pashto literature *kawi* is

1. This *pāl* from the root of *pālal* has found its way into Indian names and at the present time a number of Indian monikers end with *pāl*. It is a Pashto word which remains in use in Sanskrit.

2. The extraction of the word *pati* from *pat* has been explained in the first volume of History of Pashto Literature, p. 75.

3. Encyclopedia of Islam, chapter on Afghanistan.

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kāw which was mentioned in the word *kalar*. In Veda it has been used to mean a leader and knowledgeable person. In Avesta it also meant a leader.¹

This word has roots in the beginning of many nouns such as Koshan, Kaikhusrao, Kawa and others. The Kianiyan was a mighty lineage of kings in Bactria.

Kaidar, like the previously mentioned Pashto word *ki lar=ki larunki* means having the rank of *ki*, leader and knowledgeable. In Nuristani language this name is used until the present time as *kator*. Ancient ruins west of Kandahar, located on top of a mountain, are known as *kitoor* or *kiotol*.² Mullah Abdul Baqi Afghan writes:

Go to the top of Kitol so you may have a good view.

A son of Kidar was known as Peyro.³ The names Peyro, Pira, Pir and Pirak are present in present day Pashto whose feminine form is written with a passive wow (و).

When the Hephthali (Abdali) empire was established in Afghanistan after 425 CE, the great king of this lineage was Akhshano (460 CE). In Arabic and Persian books this name has been incorrectly written as Akhshanwar, Akhshuwan and Khashnawaz. According to Christensen the actual word is *khasyun* which in Sughdi also means a king.⁴

The author of History of Afghanistan states that *akhshanwar* means full of jewels⁵ but he does not provide an analysis of the word to be scrutinized linguistically. In my opinion Christensen's opinion is more logical and this word can be analyzed as follows:

The first part of this word, like *kashtariya* is the *kaš* of Pashto which has been derived from *khasey*, *kshey* and *kashey*.⁶ The conversion of the letters kaf (ك) and khe (خ) is common until the present time in India and

1. For further elaboration see History of Pashto Literature, Vol. 1, p. 102 and Pata Khazana.

2. In old copper coins from Kashmir, dating to the 5th and 6th century, the name Sritoramana appears and in all the coins related to the Karkota family of Kashmir the word Ke-da-ra, the establisher of the Lesser Kushan dynasty appears. In Chinese writings this name is Ki-to-la (Vol. 1, p. 32 of Raja Tarangini, translation and annotations by Oral Stein).

3. Tarikh-i- Afghanistan, Vol. 2, p. 437.

4. Sasaniyan, p. 385. According to Sughdi texts of Mueller, Vol 1, p. 108.

5. Tarikh-i-Afghanistan, Vol. 2, p. 457.

6. Khasey is a famous Pashtun tribe.

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the East where Khanpur is pronounced as Kanpur.

The second part of this word is *war*=*wow* which has a root in the word *wanka* meaning victorious and conqueror. Hence *kṣayoon*=*khashyoon*=*akhshayoor* means a swordsman who conquers. The battles of this brave king with Feroz, the Sassanian emperor, are renowned.¹

These Hepthali (Abdali) had a mighty kingdom in Zabulistan who named themselves Jāwuli=Zaawuli. Tura Mana, a champion of this family (which in Pashto is tura man=meaning carrier of a sword), and his son, Mehrā Kolā (the *mir kol*=*Imar kahol* of Pashto) were famous conquerors of India around 500 CE. Their descendants have been mentioned as the meat eating swordsmen in the Awhind inscription.

The Mir Kol Inscription

This Mir Kol, or according to the Sanskrit form of speech, Mehrā Kolā was a famous conqueror. Two inscriptions, which have been discovered in a northern valley of Rozgān, located north of Kandahār, are dedicated to him.

The historian, Professor Beur, of Oxford University, saw the two inscriptions a few years ago and has written articles about them in the Journal of Peshawar Museum. He states: "The Rozgān inscriptions, which are housed in Peshawar museum, are similar to the three epigraphs found in Tuchi of Waziristān. Since the Waziristān tablets have not been read as yet it is not possible to discuss them with certainty. What we know is that these inscriptions were engraved with Greek and Mongolian scripts in two languages."

Some of the words of inscription number 41 of Peshawar museum, which was discovered in Waziristan, are in Kufic script in which the words Allah and Mohammad can be read. Some other words of this inscription are in Mongolian also. However, in the Uruzgan inscription, whose letters are more visible, we see the following words in Greek alphabet:

bāgos shāho zāwalu mehrozki

According to Beur, this king whose name appears in the Rozgān inscription, may be the Hun governor, Mehrā Kolā of 500 CE, but we do not know his actual name. A translation of the above words by Beur is as

1. Sassanians, p. 384.

follows: The divine king of Zabul Mehrā.

1. Bāgo

It is the same as the Pashto *bagah*, *bagha* and *bug*, which means god and imperial. The letter seen (س) has been added at the end of the word in the inscription and Professor Beur, on his own behalf, has added (ی) to it so that it may be read as the original Hindi word *siri*. However, according to the rules of philology, this is the original form of the word since (*sin-yas-yaz*) are comparative appendages of Pashto. Hence (*bāgos-bāgweis-bāgweiz*) are related to *bāgo=bug* of Pashto, similar to *bagha* of Avesta and *baga* of Sanskrit, which means (godly, sacred and god). It is the title given to kings that were worshipped during that period who were considered godly as explained earlier in this book. Merick studied some of the words of the inscription one of which is (*bago shāoo kanishki*). This title appears with the name of Emperor Kanishka (the god king) and is similar to the *bago shāoo* of the Uruzgan inscription.

2. Shāho

In Pashto it is used as a noun and adjective. Shāhozai and Shāhokhel are Pashtun tribes and in Kandahar the word is used as Shāho until the present time. In Pashto literature *shaho* and *shahā* mean a lover. Some people pronounce *shāho* as *shāwoo*. Both forms of the word appear in the inscription.¹

According to Marquart the root of the words *shāh*, *shār*, *sher* and *shahr* is the historical Kashtarya word (*kaśh tur*).² Therefore we can conclude that the original root of the word is Pashto. *Shāh*, *shāho*, *shār* and *sher* originate from the same source which was used to address a spiritual ruler. His Majesty King Ahmad Shah Abdali has used the word *shahā* repeatedly in his poems meaning a spiritual lover and chief which is a reference to the revered position of a king.

It needs to be said that the title of *shār* was in use in Gharjistan until

1. Hiuen Tsang who was in Balkh on 20 April 629 writes that Po Ho (Balkh) has one thousand monasteries and three thousand followers of the lesser wheel Buddhist faith. The convents were embellished with precious stones and Shi Ho (Shāho), son of Khan (Hun) came to loot the wealth (p. 151 Si-yu-ki, Memoirs of a Buddhist Monk from China, translated by Beil). From this we know that around 629, Shāho, son of a Zabuli chief, was in power in Afghanistan.

2. Iranshahr of Marquart. According to Islamic Encyclopedia Shār was the ruler of Gharjistan and Sher was the ruler of Bamian. Refer to Al-Baladan of Yaqubi, Masalik of ibn Khardzba and Yaqut.

the time of Sultan Mahmud. Al-Utbi and Baihaqi, historians of the Ghazni court, have mentioned the words in their books. These people were contemporaries of the Ghaznavi kings and were related to them.¹ The use of the names Shāo and Shāho, by some tribal folks, such as Mir Gul and Mir Khan, are associated with the obscure historical traditions of tribal people. These names were inherited by our ancestors.

3. Zāwalo

According to the rules of Pashto grammar it is related to Zāwul which was also pronounced as Jāwul and Jāwala. Zabulistan was a parcel of land extending from Ghazni to Helmand including the Tarnak valley, Arghandab and Helmand. Jaghuri, Wajristan and Rozgan comprised the central part of this region. A tribe known as the Zāwali lives there until the present time.²

According to the Shahnama of Firdowsi the historical Zawalistan was the abode of ancient warriors and it was the home of the Hepthali (Abdali) people. An inscription dedicated to one of the kings is present in the heart of Zabulistan i.e. in the Shali valley of Rozgan which leads to Kandahar, Wajristan and Jaghuri.

The structure of the word *zāwalo*, according to Pashto grammar, is a relative pronoun and the letter (wow) is still used at the end of words such as *braet* (moustache), *breyto* (one with mustach), *kheta* (stomach) *kheto* (glutton). The name of Pashto language is also related to this rule (*pasht=pakhat*) with the addition of wow has become a relative pronoun meaning the language which is associated with the Pasht=Pakhat=Pashtun.

Zāwalo also has the same connotation which is related to Zāwul and Zāwuli.³

4. Mehrozki

Bivar has erratically read this word and states that it is Mehra Kola, the famous Hepthali (Abdali) king.

As I explained in detail in the first volume of History of Pashto Literature (p. 75) the word *kola* in Vedic language means a family, which until the present time is known as *kahol* in Kandahar. The people of

1. Tarikh-i-Utbi, p. 251, Tarikh-i-Baihaqi pp. 298 and 502, Tarikh-i-Guzida p. 397.

2. Kabul by Alexander Burns, London 1842. During that time the Zāwali tribe consisted of one thousand families (p. 230).

3. Regarding the word *zāwul* read the article in Ariana Journal, vol. 61.

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Paktia call the Mohammadzai royal family Payand Kahol, since they are related to the late Sardar Payenda Khan.

In Arghistan, where this family originated, the Mohammadzai are known as Mamad Kahol. Amir Kroḡ Suri, who died in 756 CE, has mentioned *kol* in his poem, while Sheikh Reza and Nasr Ludi (around 1009 CE) have written *kahol* in their poems.¹ In Memoirs of Saints of Sulaiman Maku, written in 1215 CE, the word appears as *kahol* also.²

However, the word *mehr*, meaning sun in Pashto, is present in the form of (*mayr*, *mur*, *Imar* and *nour*) and the Tirin people of Lorlayi, until the present time, refer to the sun as *mayr*. In Kabul this word is used to indicate nobility and gentleness. Names such as Mir, Miro, Mira and Mura (feminine) are present in Pashto.

Hence Mehr Kola (*mir kol=Imar kahol*) means from the family of sun and born of sun. This name is now used as Mir Gul and it has lost its ancient meaning. People recite the song, dear Mir Gula, in the villages and valley of Afghanistan to this day.

We need to emphasize as to how *mehr kola*, which existed in Sanskrit, and has been written in the same form in Vedic coins, was converted to Mehrozki in the inscription.

This historical dilemma can be scrutinized by means of Pashto lexicography. From time immemorial we have been using the name (*mir=mehr*) which is Mirwais. Until the present time people name their children Mirwais in Kandahar. In Mardan, north of Peshawar, a region is known as Mirwais. Similarly all Afghans are familiar with the name of the late Haji Mirwais Khan, the renowned national leader, who rose from Zabulistan (Suri of Kalat).

Some ignorant Arabs have written this name as (*Awis*) in Arabic. However, this ancient name existed well before the coming of Arabs and the infiltration of Arabic language.

From time immemorial the Pashtuns had the tradition of supplicating the names of their ancestors to designate kindness. Based on this tradition the name Mirwais became (*Mirowski=Mirochaki*). This form has been preserved as (*Mehrozki*) in the Uruzgan inscription.

As mentioned *mir* is *mehr*, *Imar* and sun. *Wais* or *waisa* or *waisiya*,

1. See Hidden Treasure (Pata Khazana), pp. 35-71.

2. See Pashtana Sha'ra, vol. 1, p. 64.

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meaning a village, tribe and family, was present in Sanskrit and Avesta. *Wais pati* (large family) comes from the word *pati* and *pat* of Pashto means the preserver of families.¹ According to Geiger, *wais* appears in Rig Veda meaning a family.²

Hence *wais* is exactly the (*kola=kahol=kol*) of Pashto while Mirwais=Mir Kol means from the family of sun or born of sun. We see this name as Mehrozki in the Uruzgan inscription which, with the addition of the letter kaf, has become (*miroski=mirotski=mehrozki*).

It is evident from the Uruzgan inscription that Mirowski (Mehra Kola) was a revered king of the Pashtun Abdalis and like the Baghlan kings who were called (*bago shāoo*) the king of Zabulistan was also considered to be godlike.

Composition of Words

There is another reason which compels me to consider the inscription to be in Pashto and that is the grammatical composition of words which resembles Pashto. It is a substantiated rule of Pashto grammar that the adjective comes before the interrogative adjective while in Persian it is vice-versa. For example in Pashto we say *tor āas* (black horse) while in Persian it is rendered as *asp siya* (horse black).

We see this rule has been followed throughout the inscription such as:

“khudāyie shāh zāwali meroski”

Here we see that three adjectives have been placed before the interrogative which is an indicator of Pashto grammar from the past.

If we are to compare the writing on the coin (*bagh dat baz bagh kurt*), a king from Pars (220 CE), we see that the adjectives appear after the interrogative such as:

*“bagh dat - partar ka - zi baghi - bagh kurt”*³

Meaning *bagh dat* (King Baghhdad), *partar ka* (name of family), *zi* (son), *baghi bagh kurt khudayi baghkurt* (name of father).

I have examined the Rozgan inscriptions in which the writing is not clear since they were inscribed on a huge boulder which has been

1. Cambridge History of India, p. 91.

2. Tamadun-i-Iranian Sharq, 1/266. See details in Tarikh-i-Adabiyat Pashto 1/77.

3. Sabk Shinasi, 1/130.

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exposed to wind, rain and sun over ten centuries. As a result some of the words are not eligible.

On the inscription we can read some Arabic words also one of which is (Hasan) while the other is Kharput or Kharposht. It is assumed this could be Tajuddin Hasan Salar Kharposht, who was governor of Ghor and Tulak during the Ghor period. In 1224 CE, upon his order, Qazi Menhaj Seraj, the author of Tabakat-i-Nasiri went to Isfazar.¹ These words were inscribed after 1202 CE as the style of calligraphy is related to that period.

(4)

Loykan of Ghazna

1. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1/698 published by Habibi.

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Topics which appeared in the preceding passages are an introduction to the main topic of this endeavor and with established references and lexicological analysis it reveals that Pashto language was in use during the early Islamic period.

In future we may come to the conclusion that all the inscriptions are in Pashto but what is clear is that the languages of the inscriptions have closeness to Pashto. Linguistic attributes leads us to believe that the words of the inscriptions have close affinities.

Now we will dwell on the main topic of the book which is a historical description of the ambiguous Loykan family and their language. This issue has remained unresolved until now. Hence its clarification will be beneficial for history and linguistics.

The history of Loykan, similar to the history of the ancient Hephthli and other families of Kabulistan, is not properly known. In some books we just come across the name of Loyak or Lawik and we know that some people, bearing this name, have passed in the annals of history.

Longwort Dames, the British numismatist and historian writes: "Around 873 CE the local governor of Ghazni was named Shah Lawik but his personality remains ambiguous. Since he had united with the Hindu Shahan it is believed that he was a Hindu. After him Balkatagin, with the assistance of Aāl-Sāman, captured Ghazni and minted coins in the city in 970 CE. After Balka another person by the name of Piri became the king of Ghazni, who had formed an alliance with Lawik and Hindu Shah of Kabul until 977 CE when Subuktagin attacked him from Parwan and captured Ghazni."¹

However, my opinion is that this Lawik was not a single person but it is the name of a large family which ruled over Ghazni and Gardez and territories linked to these cities. They had formed an alliance with the Kabul Shahs and the Ratbel of Zabul. Historians have mentioned them as follows:

(1)

Abu Sa'id Abdulhai bin Zuhak bin Mahmud Gardezi who lived around 1048 CE provides the following description about the exploits of Yaqub Layce Safari:

1. Encyclopedia of Islam, 2/154.

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“Then Yaqub went to Bost from Seistan and captured that place. From there he went to Banjwai and Tagin Abad where he clashed with Ratbel. He then created a wife and killed Ratbel and took control of Banjwai. From there he went to Ghazni and captured Zabulistan and Sharistan and then went to Gardez where he engaged in war with Abu Mansur Aflah bin Mohammad bin Khaqan, who was the amir of Gardez. After a great deal of struggle and losses Abu Mansur agreed to give hostages and send ten thousand Dirham to Seistan every year. Yaqub then left for Balkh and took control of Bamiyan on 1254 CE.”¹

As I will explain later, Ibn Aflah, the amir of Gardez, who has been mentioned by a historian from Gardez was a king from the Loyak family.

(2)

Nizam-al-Mulk, the author of Siyasat Nama, which was written in 1286 CE, mentions Alaptagin's wars with the amirs of Kabul and Ghazni. He writes: Alaptagin fought with Shir Bareek², the amir of Bamian and arrested Shir. Then he attacked Kabul and arrested the son of Kabul Shah, who was the son-in-law of Loyak. During this time Loyak, the amir of Ghani, fled and went to Sarkhas.³

From these two narrations of Siyasat Nama it is clear that Loyak was not the name of an individual but there was a family by this name with marriage links with the Kabul Shahs. If there were one person with the name of Loyak who fled to Sarkhas then who is the Loyak who went to the fort and engaged in battle and was arrested after twenty days?

This family ruled in Ghazni until the middle of the fourth century Hijra (1058 CE). In 962 CE Alaptagin managed to defeat Loyak who died a year later. He was descended by his son Ishaq in Ghazni.

During this time Loyak once again attacked Ghazni but since the Samani king, Mansur bin Nouh, came to the assistance of Eshaq, Ghazni remained under his control.

After Eshaq's death in 975 CE, Amir Pari took charge of Ghazni but the people of Ghazni asked their former amir, Loyak to come back. Loyak, with the assistance of Kabul Shah, attacked Charkh (Logar

1. Zain-al-Akhbar, p. 2.

2. The correct form of the word is likely Shir Bamik, related to Bami and Bamian.

3. Siyasat Nama, p. 122.

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located south of Kabul). However Amir Subuktagin defeated him who ascended the throne of Ghazni on 25 April 977 CE and established the sultanate of the Ghaznavi family.¹

The span of time between the Loyak who was contemporary of Safavis and the Loyak, contemporary of Subuktagin, is at least one century. It is unlikely that this Loyak was one person. Thus there is the strong possibility that several persons belonging to the royal family of Ghazni had the same name.

(3)

The renowned historian from Khorasan, Minhaj Seraj Jouzjani, provides the following description about Subuktagin: After the Spring incidents Alaptagin directed his attention to Ghazni and captured Zawalistan and took Ghazni from Amir Anok (Raverty: Abubakr Lawik). Amir Alaptagin died after eight years and his son took over as ruler who fought with Anok but was defeated and went to Bukhara to seek help from Mansur Nouh. He then returned to Ghazni and captured it. After a year Eshaq passed away and Malikatagin, a junior prince of the Turkmen, was declared ruler who was a just and pious king. He ruled for ten years until his death. Amir Subuktagin worked for him. After the death of Malikatagin Amir Pari ascended the throne who was a seditious person. A gathering of people from Ghazni, close to Abu Ali Anok, wrote a request on his behalf. Abu Ali Anok sought the help of the king of Kabul. When they arrived near Charkh, Amir Subuktagin attacked them with a force of five hundred Turks, defeated them and a large number of them were killed and taken prisoner. Subuktagin also captured two warrior elephants which were taken to Ghazni. Since the people were tired of Pari's corruption they willfully accepted Amir Subuktagin as their king on 27 April 977 CE.²

In the hand written copies of Tabakat-i-Nasari, the spelling of this name also appears as Anok, which seems to be the correct version. The later Loyak, who was defeated by Subuktagin in Chark, has been named as Abubakar and Abu Ali Lawik. Given his Arabic names it is clear that

1. Afghanistan After Islam (manuscript) p. 92 by Habibi and Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. 1, section on Afghanistan.

2. Tabakat-i-Nasari, 1/268, edited by Habibi.

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this amir was a Moslem.

However, between the three spellings (Lawik, Anok and Loyak) the later seems to be correct.

(4)

Mohammad bin Ali bin Mohammad bin Hasan bin Abu Bakr Shabankāraey, the author *Al-Nisab*, written in 1325 CE, in a hand written manuscript of the book, writes the name of amir of Ghazni as (Loyal). This seem to be an error of the scribe. Without doubt the actual name is (Loyak).¹

(5)

Abdul Hai Gardezi, beside mentioning Abu Mansur Aflah, writes about another person from this family. This person was named Abu Sahl Marsal bin Mansur Aflah Gardezi who lived during the time of Sultan Mahmud and Mansur in Ghazni. When Sultan Mahmud died in 1030 CE and his son Masud went to Neshapur, it was Abu Sahl Marsal bin Mansur bin Aflah Gardezi who conveyed the message of the Caliph of Baghdad, to Amir Masud, declaring him as the king.²

1. It should be noted that in hand written manuscripts most uncommon names are misspelled by scribes such as Ratbel, which in manuscripts has appeared as Zanel and Rantabel. This name has appeared erroneously and has perplexed the late Bahar, author of *Tarikh-i-Seistan* and *Majmal*. The correct form of the name is Ratbel. Similarly the word Loyak has been erroneously written by scribes as Anok, Lawik and even Loyal.

An example of alteration of the word has taken place during the time of Sultan Naseruddin Mahmud in Delhi. The renowned Persian poet Omaiduddin Loyaki (born in 1204) who was probably from the Loyaki lineage, and was respected all over India, was know as Omaid Loyaki.

However, this name was also adulterated by scribes and written as Nonaki, Tulaki, Bomaki, Loyaki and Delami (*Bazm-i-Mamlukia*, p. 203). The author of *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*, Abdul Qadir bin Malukshah Badwani, has written this word in its correct form as Loyaki but in the 1868 published version of Calcutta of the book. vol. 1 p. 70 it appears as Tulaki and in p. 92 as Nonaki and in p. 3 of contents it is Lopaki.

2. Colonel Rashid, who lives in Karachi, has a correct copy of *Muntakhab* which was probably written during the time of the author. In page 15 of the book the name appears in several places as Omaid Loyaki. From this we know that the original form of the name was Loyaki.

Some authors have written this name as Tulaki stating that Tulak was a city in Delam (!). It is clear that Omaid was not Tulaki and Tulak is not in Delam. Tulak is

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We know from Gardezi, who was a historian during the time of Ghaznavi dynasty, that the Loykan family was associated with the Ghaznavi court and they were famous statesmen, who were sent as ambassadors by the court. According the Gardezi we know the following persons from this family: Sahl (born around 1010 CE), bin Marsal (born around 961 CE), bin Mansur (born around 918 CE), bin Aflah (born around 873 CE), These individuals will be discussed at the end of the book also.

Loyak

In this name, which signifies glorification, *loy* means great and commander. It is a Pashto word to which the letter (kaf), expressing glory and kindness has been added.

In different dialects of Pashto the word is pronounced as (*lawei*, *lawi* and *loy*). The *lawik* of Tabakat-i-Naseri and *loyak* of Siasat Nama are both correct and are different enunciations of the word. However, *anok* and *loyal* are merely adulterations of the word.

Loy in Pashto means great, commander and leader, while *loyan* is its plural, a title bestowed upon commanders. Similar to *ratbel*, *shir*, *kidar* and *kashtari* this word represents a honorific title for a royal family.

In a Pashto poem, which will be explained later, *loyan* is plural of *loy* and *loya* has also been used. From this we know that the original word is *loy* which has been glorified with the addition of the letter (kaf).

Kaf of Glorification and Kindness

We see ancient traits of human behavior in the customs, language, manners, clothing and social structure of people. These traits have ancient roots which have passed through generations over time. These traits portray hidden aspects of our history.

In Pashto the letter (kaf) is added at the end of words. This grammatical rule is applicable in two circumstances. For example in the diminutive form such as *koz*h (kozhak), *maz*ha (muzhak), *kh*ar (kharak). Here an actual diminution is the intention.

However, in the name of people this rule is reversed and the

a place in Ghor, which exists until the present time. Since Omaid lived in India in Sanam, his name appears as Asnami also.

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addition of (kaf) at the end of a name is an indication of glorification. This grammatical rule dates back to ancient times in Pashto and the (kaf) used to signify glory has been used at the end of names of royal families. Hence the word *loyak* signifies the glorification of *loy*.

We frequently see this rule in old Pashto names such as Barak, Atsak, Sanak, Khatak, Hoyak, Shitak, which are all names of Pashtun elders. The royal family of Sardar Payenda Khan is known as Payendak, since the Mohammadzai kings were from this family.

We see this phenomenon in names such as Zmarak, Babrak, Khairak etc. The name of the renowned vizier of Sultan Mahmud was Hasnak, which is an indicator of glorification.

This ancient ostentation, which was explained in the words *mehrozki* and *shāwo*, has been in use since old times in the names of elders and leaders. We see that this feature existed well before the time of Loykan in historical names.

Baihaqi addresses the king of India as *fur*.¹ In *Majmal-al-Tawarikh*, the king of kings of India has been named as *fur*.² In *Tahqeq Malilhind* of Albiruni, *Shahnama* of Ferdowsi, *Jama' al-Tawarikh* of Rashiduddin it also appears as *fur*. In *Maha Baharat* this name was Parj, and Plutarch, the Greek historian, wrote it as Prus. While Arab historians have written it as *fur*.³

With the addition of (kaf) this name has been written by local people as Furak. Abu al-Farj Runi, in praise of one of the Ghazni kings, mentions this name as Furak.⁴

Mehrozki (Mirosak) is another such name which was explained in the section of the Rozgan inscription. In the name of kings (*khudayak*) has been mentioned. Ibn Khardzaba refers to names such as Ghozak, Neizak and Furkak, while discussing the monikers of ancient kings.⁵

Based on this historical rule, the Pashto word *loi* has been glorified as *loyak* with the addition of the letter (kaf) and as mentioned earlier this is not a diminution or a libel. When Pashtuns refer to baba (father) as

1. *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, 1/100.

2. *Majmal-al-Tawarikh wa al-Qesas*, p. 108.

3. *Tarikh al-Yaqubi* 1/116.

4. *Diwan-i-Runi*, p. 65.

5. *Masalik-al-Mamalik* of Ibn Khardazba, p. 41.

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babak or to shah (king) as *shāhak* and *shāho*¹ this does not indicate they are using it as a means of digression but it signifies glorification.²

(5)

A Narrative of Loykan

The late Baz Mohammad Kandahari, who had a convent in Malir of Karachi, had received a small book written in Persian from his Baluchi

1. This name is in use in Pashto until the present time and was prevalent in the early Islamic period. When Hiuen Tsang arrived in Takharistan from India on 1 August 644 CE he met with Shaho Khan, the governor of the region, and stayed there for a month. This Shaho Khan is a derivative of the present name (Shaho) and is the same Shao and Shaho, mentioned in the Baghlan and Rozgan inscriptions.

2. Mawlana Balkhi:

The use of kaf of compassion is not diminution
When an elder says *teflakam* (my child), it is not an insult.

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disciples from Dera Ismail Khan. The front and last pages of the book were missing, hence we do not know the name of the author, but from the script and the paper of the book it can be estimated to have been written around 1494 CE.

The script of this copy was later Naskh and most of the letters were missing dots, chay (چ) was written as jeem (ج), pae (پ) as bae (ب) and gaf (گ) as kaf (ك). It seems that the scribe of the manuscript did not have an understanding of the language and had changed a lot of words or it had been written this way in the original from which it was copied.

The book, written in the Persian language, contained narratives about the miracles of Sakhi Sarwar and only 32 pages of the book remained.

The style of writing resembled the books of the Ghaznavi and Ghori periods and it is possible it was written before 1203 CE.

The rest of the narratives of the book did not have any historical value and only contained absurd miraculous deeds of the Sakhi Sarwar.

I received this book in 1957 while I lived in Karachi under prohibition by the Pakistani authorities. After studying the manuscript I returned it to the owner and do not know what happened to it later since the late Baz Mohammad died atrociously in Dera Ismail Khan and the few pages of the book, which I had photographed, were confiscated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Pakistani police, together with other microfiches and manuscripts. I do not know what they did with that literary collection?

Page 15 of the book contained a narrative of utmost historical value which I photographed and copied and after a prolonged and dedicated study of the words I was able to decipher the ambiguous words.

I present here the narrative in its original form and present my analytical study of the words so they may be read correctly.

The narrative:

Abu Hamid al-Rawali in *Tarikh-i-Ghazna* (History of Ghazni) relates a narrative from Hasan Sana'ni that there is a grand mosque near the Bamian gate of Ghazni which is known as the mosque of Aflak Loyak which used to be an idol temple built by Wajwir Loyak for Ratbel and Kabul Shah.

Since his son Khanan converted to Islam he did not destroy the idol

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of Loyak. He embellished it and hid it underground. Kabul Shah Khanjal sent this verse in the Khaljia language in which Loyak states:

*bazm kazn sahid loyak loi ano boyalā lomā
kasa trr babrā ghlom balom mamla tez bo bamlā*

بزم کزن سحید لویک لوی انو بویلا لوما
کسه تر ببرا غلوم بلوم مملا تیز بو بمللا

Khanan reconverted to Hinduism and when Aflakh became king he erected the Loyak temple.

It is said that when Sultan Sakhi Sarwar went to the mosque he said he could hear the big idol. He dug out the idol, removed the silver lining and destroyed it. He used the money from the silver to erect the grand mosque and in this way eliminated the aura of Hinduism from the city of Ghazni (page 15 B of the book).

Here we are not concerned about the miracles of saints and the way the mosque was recovered or the idols. What is important is the linguistic and historical value of the narrative. Since the first and last pages of the book are missing and we do not know the title of the book we will call it Keramat (miracles). Here we will evaluate the linguistic and historical contents of the narrative.

Analysis of Words

1. Abu Hamid

This name can be read without difficulty but I have not found the identity of this person in any historical books.

2. al-Rāwali

The second word in the original text is al-Rāwali, but the correct version could be al-Zāwali. Zāwal or Zābul is the ancient name of the region between Ghazni and Helmand and a number of writers and scholars were known by this name. For example Qazi Shahabuddin Dawlat Abadi, renowned scholar and expositor, was the grandson of Omar al-Zāwuli.¹ This is the ancient Zāwul mentioned in the Rozgan inscription. Hence Abu Hamid was a Zāwuli from Zābulistan.

3. Tarikh-i-Ghazna

Despite a detailed search I was unable to find a book by this name

1. Subha al-Marjan, p. 39.

nor was I able to recognize Abu Hamid Zāwuli. It is possible that this may be an unknown book and author. Since Hasan Sāghani was a famous Indian scholar and lexicologist it is possible that Zāwuli also had affiliation with the Indian sub-continent.¹ He had heard the statement of Imam Hasan Sāghāni and quoted it in his book.

4. Hasan Sāghāni or Saghāni

He was an Indian scholar and renowned lexicologist of Arabic who has been mentioned in Keramat as (Sana'ni). Sana'ni seems to be an incorrect spelling of Sāghani or Saghani Arabized as Chāghani. The Chāganis live north of the Oxus river.²

Imam Hussain Sāghani (Sagani) was born in 1181 CE in Lahore and studied in Ghazni and Baghdad and became a scholar of Arabic lexicon. He gained fame in Iraq, Egypt and Hijaz and wrote numerous books such as Ketab-al-Shawarid fe Lughat, Sharha al-Qulada al-Samtia, Kitab-al-Futa'l, Kitab-al-A'ruz, Mashariq-al-Anwaar, Musbah al-Daji, Al-Shams-al-Muniza, Sharha al-Bukhari, Dara-al-Sahaba, Kitab-al-Faravez, La'bab-al-Zakhir and an unfinished dictionary of Arabic.³

He died in Baghdad in 1252 CE and according to his wish was buried in Mecca. His fame and erudition spread from Delhi, Lahore, Ghazni and Khorasan to Baghdad, Egypt all the way to Hijaz.

As in the copy of Keramat Imam Hasan Saghāni has been mentioned it is clear that the book was written around 1203 CE since the

1. A book by the name of Tarikh-i-Mullah Mohammad Ghaznavi was in possession of Sheikh Abdul Rahman bin Abdul Rasul Chisti, who died in 1683. In 1623 he quoted this book and states: that Mullah Mohammad accompanied Sultan Mahmud to India and wrote his book of history (Persian Literature by Story p. 1072). Abdul Rahman Chisti was a famous Indian author who is the writer of Marat-al-Israr, Marat-i-Masudi and other books on Sufism, who does not seem to be an imposter, and had seen the history of Mullah Mohammad Ghaznavi. The late Shirani also mentions this book and considers it a lost book (Tanqid-i-Sher al-Ajam, p. 75). However, it looks as though that Tarikh-i-Mullah Mohammad Ghaznavi is a different book from Tarikh-i-Ghazna. Abdul Rahman Chisti has clarified that Mullah Mohammad was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud who lived around 1009 CE. Abu Hamid heard the above narrative from Imam Hasan Sāghani who lived around 1203. Therefore the two books cannot be mistaken. In 1961 Khalili found a book in Ghazni Museum with the title of Tarikh-i-Ghazna which was written in 1494 by an author who was a contemporary of the Timuri kings of Herat but I have not seen this book as yet.

2. Hudud-al-'Alam, p. 66.

3. Subha-al-Marjan, p. 28. Tazkira-i-A'lama-i-Hind, p. 48. Bazm Mamlukia, p. 28.

Imam lived during that period. Since Abu Hamid mentions and quotes him directly thus we should consider him his contemporary.

Whether Imam Hasan Saghāni was knowledgeable about life in Ghazni and whether his narrative is correct is corroborated by his stay in Ghazni while he studied in the madrasas of this city.¹

Al-A'bab is an unfinished book by the Imam on research into the words of Arabic language. A hand-written copy of the book is preserved in Istanbul and I saw a microfiche in the library of Islamic research in Karachi. To some of the Arabic words, Imam has added its Persian meaning also and states that the meaning of a certain word in the Ghaznavi language is such and adds that he heard it from the people of Ghazni.²

From all this evidence we come to the conclusion that Imam spent a long time in Ghazni and was familiar with events there. Hence his narration is correct.

5. Bar dāb Bamian?

Scribes have also adulterated these words and I think the correct form is *bar darb bamian* (by Bamian's gate). I base this assertion on a genuine historical document. In ancient times Ghazni had four gates and according to Maqdasi one gate was named (bāb-al-bamian).³ It was also referred to as Darb-i-Bamian.

According to the custom in Khorasani cities the gates of cities were named after the city which directed people in that direction. Examples are the Lahori gate of Kabul, the gates of Kabul and Herat, Shikarpur, and the Kandahar gate in Herat, which exists until the present time. Bāb-al-Bamian or darb Bamian was probably the northern gate of Ghazni from which people travelled to Bamian.

6. Marlat

This word appears as *marlat* and *markat*, both of which are incorrect, and could be an aberration of scribes. The correct form of the word is *mazgat*, which, from the description in the manuscript, is a great mosque referred to as a *mazgat*.

In classic Persian *mazgat* meant an Arabic mosque and it is

1. See the article in Ma'rif A'azam 1959 on the life of Hasan Saaghani by Mawlawi Abdul Halim Diobandi and Ma'jam-al-Matbuāt, 6/128.

2. Hand-written manuscript of Al-A'bab.

3. Maqdasi's Ahsan-al-Taqaṣeem, p. 303.

assumed that *masjid* could be the Arabized form of *mazgat*. The root of this word has common affinities to *nmazdak* and *mazdak* of Pashto. Until the present time people consider the *marwat* (generosity) of a mosque as *mazdak*.¹ Asadi Tousi writes: "Mazgat in Persian means a mosque."² In old Persian texts such as translation of Tarikh-i-Tabari of Bala'mi, Tafsir-i-Tabari and other books of the Al-Sāman period this word has repeatedly been used for a mosque.

7. Aflakh Loyak

According to the narrative provided in Keramat, a large mosque existed in Ghazni near the Bamian gate named The Aflakh Loyak Mosque, which was probably built by Khanan, grand father of Aflakh. This Khanan, from the Loyak family, was the first person to embrace Islam and later repented his decision. His grandson, Aflakh, buried the idol of his ancestors in the mosque. During the time of Loyak's ancestors this mosque used to be an idol worshipping temple which contained the mentioned idol and according to the ritual of worshipping of kings, people worshiped the idol.

This Aflakh Loyak is the same person mentioned in Zain-al-Akhbar of Gardezi. However, in the hand-written manuscripts of the book the name appears as Aflakh bin Mohammad bin Khaqan whose nickname was Abu Mansur.³

From the short description provided by Gardezi we know that Aflakh's father, Mohammad, was a Moslem and was given the Islamic name of Mohammad but his father Khaqan (who has been mentioned as Khanan in the narrative) was originally an idol worshiper who, with the appearance of Islamic crusaders, adopted Islam but later repented his conversion. Like other people of the land, who due to Arab victories, accepted Islam and when the Arab soldiers left the land they would convert back to the religion of their forefathers.⁴ He also converted back to his original religion after embracing Islam.

Even though Gardezi does not provide any clarification that this Abu Mansur Aflah was from the Loykan family but from the narrative in

1. For explanation of this word refer to Tarikh Adabiyat-i-Pashto, 1.69.

2. Lughat-i-Fars, p. 51.

3. Zain-al-Akhbar, p. 6.

4. See Futuh-al-Baladan of Belazeri, chapter on the conquest of Khorasan and Seistan.

Keramat his affiliation with the mentioned family is clear.

In the published copy of Zain-al-Akhbar, the name of this person has been noted as Aflah but in the deficient copy of Keramat the name appears with the letter khe (خ) but it seems that Gardezi's version is correct. Aflakh does not have any meaning in Arabic, Pashto or Persian nor have I come across this name among local people.

It is possible that the first person from this family, who embraced Islam, could be the same person who was then given the name of Aflah derived from *falah*. It can also be speculated that this mosque, which was built by him, could be the first of its kind in Ghazni. I have not come across any reference to a mosque in Ghazni in historical books or numismatics mentioning a mosque before the invasion of Arabs in the land other than what is described in Keramat. We do not have in our possession lost books on Ghazni's history to enable us to conjecture life in the city before Islam.¹

8. Baihāna

This word has been written as *baihāna* and *bahāna* in the original narrative which most likely could be *buthkhana* (a temple). As a result of symmetry which follows with the word we can conclude that a large idol worshipping temple existed near the Bamian gate that housed the Loyak idol.

As mentioned earlier the placement of idols of kings in temples was a tradition of the people of the time. In the fire-worshipping temple of Baghlan the idols of kings of that period have been unearthed. In both the Rozgan and the Baghlan inscriptions the title of God (*bagosh* and *bāgo shāoo*) are evident which shows the sanctity of the position of kings.

It is possible that the Loyak idol was kept in the Ghazni temple for this very purpose and when the iconoclast Moslems were victorious and Khanan or Khaqan, the governor of the region, forcefully embraced Islam, he was unable to destroy the idol of his ancestors. He therefore kept it in a silver coffin and buried it there to protect it from destruction by Moslems soldiers.

However, no relics of the Loyak temple, the later mosque or the

1. Refer to the author's articles on lost books on the history of the Ghaznavi dynasty, Aryana, May and June 1960.

Bamian gate, are evident in the city of Ghazni now. It is likely that archeological excavations of the area may unveil this ambiguity.

9. Wahwir Loyak

In the deficient copy of Keramat this word appears as *wahwir* but I believe the word is *wajwir*. It is likely that Loyak was a contemporary and relative of the Kabulshah and Ratbel of Zabulistān. The region south of Ghazni is known as Wajristān. In present day books it has been written as Wajristān while others have noted it as Hajristān.¹

Minhaj Seraj has written this name as Wajwir and Wajristān and considers it allied with Wajiri. During the Ghori period it was a famous province.²

In the Ghaznavi period, an area known as Hajwir, was a part of Ghazni. The author of *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, the famous Sufi Ali bin Osman Hajwiri Ghaznavi, death 1102 CE, was from this area. Prince Dara Shukoh considered it a district of Ghazni.³ The author of *Kashf* repeatedly refer to himself as Hajwiri.

Thus the Wajwir, Hajwir, the Wajir of Ghori period and present day Wajristan are different spellings of one name which the clergy have Arabized as Hajristan. It is possible that the region came to be known as Wajwir Loyak or Wajwir was its ancient name and Loyak belonged to this area. The adjective of relationship, associated with an area of governance, was in use until the Ghori period. In *Tabakat-i-Naseri* Minhaj Seraj mentions numerous distinguished people of the Ghori period who were linked to their sphere of governance. The naming of a person related to a specific area is in use until this day among Afghans of that region and the people of Kabul, Ghazni and Moqur are referred to by the name of the regions they come from such as Kabuli, Mazari and Moquri.

We do not know how Wajwir was pronounced in the past. However, Zukovski, publisher of *Kashf-al-Mahjoob* and Nickelson, its English translator, and others of the east and west, have read and written it in its annexed form and it is likely that in the hand-written copies of *Kashf-al-Mahjoob*, it was written similarly. Thus Wajwir should be read with the letter (waw و). In ancient local languages this (waw) represented the old

1. Refer to *Seraj-al-Tawarikh*, vol. 3 regarding Abdul Rahman Khan's war with the Hazara people, this name appears as Hajristan.

2. *Tabakat-i-Naseri*, vol. 1 pp. 393, 396, 412, 436 etc.

3. *Safinat-al-Awlia*, p. 65.

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huz such as the word *huma* of Avesta (*suma* of Sanskrit) which in Pashto is *wum* and *wumān* or *huya* pronounced *wuya* in Pashto.

Hence *wajwir* and *hajwir* are two forms of the word from the same origin, the second (wow) which was abandoned and in the context of Minhaj Seraj it became *wajir*.

We need to bear in mind that in classical Persian, in a converted form of the word (*hajir=hazhir*) means good and liked. Bo-al-Farj Rumi has used this word as *hajir*.

In Shahnama Hajir is son of Godarz who was captured by Sohrab. Qatran has used Hazhir and Nahazir in his poetry, while Minochehri has used *hazhiran* instead of fair and beautiful.

From these examples we see that *hajir* was used as an adjective and proclamation and it is likely that it has a common root with *hajwair*, *wajwair* and *wajair* and is a Khorasani word as described below:

It looks as though this name has two parts: ho or hay, which in Pahlavi means good or beneficence. In Pashto, until the present time, (*ho=woo*) is used instead of yes and very good. It was also in use in classic Persian. We see it in the form of *hubakht* (lucky) and *hunāmi* (of good repute) in Herawi dialect. Khwaja Abdullah Ansari used these words around 1087 CE in his book.¹ *Ho* has been used as part of important historical words such as *humata*, *hokhta* and *horashta* of Avesta. In Pahlavi it was *humanish*, *hugabshan* and *hukanish*. In Persian good thinking, good speech and good deed are three pillars of Mazdisna.² In Pashto these are close to the *humana*, *hukhtana* and *hurasha* of Avesta and *hurmak* in Avesta was the adjective of Jamshed. In Persian *āaho* means fault.

Firdowsi says:

If there is a fault in a person with white hairs

Your hairs will turn dry like the popular's leaf.³

The second part of this name (*juwair=hayr=zhayr*) appears as *chaisara* in Avesta and *chaitara* in Sanskrit. In Persian it is *chehr*, *chehra*, *tsera* and *tsair* in Pashto, meaning the face or appearance of a person. Farukhi says:

1. Tabaqat-al-Sufia of Khwaja Abdullah Herawi,

2. Gatha 75, Mazdisna and its Impact on Persian Literature, p, 400.

3. Shahnama, vol. 1, verse 2644.

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The appearance of a person with a weapon
Is much attractive than a hundred idols.

This word has been preserved as *manosh chaisara* in Avesta, *manosh chehr* in Pahlavi and *mino chehr* in Persian. As mentioned earlier Minochehri has used it to mean fair and beautiful. Thus (*wajwair=hajwair=wajir*) is the *hu tsair* of Pashto (ho=pious and good) and (*jawir=jair=zhair=chahr=tsair* means appearance and looks). When put together it means good looks. In reality it was a very graceful and elegant name which means *mino chehr*. Minochehri has used *hazhiran*, its plural form, instead of fair and goodness.

In present day Pashto the word is written as (*ho tsair*) meaning of fair complexion which is close to the historical *bahjwair*. It is clear that this word has historical roots and was close to its Pashto equivalent. It is possible that the conversion of the letter (chay چ) to (jeem ج) may have been due to the influence of Arabic script and there was no difference between these two letters. We see this form of usage, of both letters, until the 16th century in manuscripts of that era.

Linguists are of the opinion that (*wazir*), used in Arabic is actually an Arabic word. Quoting Darmisteter in Iranian Studies Brown considers it parallel to the *wachir* of Pahlavi.¹ According to Henry Mason it was *vacira* in Avesta² and Professor Louis, instructor of Persian at Cambridge University, states: During the Sassani period the relationship of the king with the people was that of a great sovereign (*farmandar-i-buzurg*) and toward the end of the Sassani period this title was changed to *dabir-i-kul* and *dabir pāt* and during the Bani Umayya times the *dabir* or secretary was in charge of the civil policy of the state. In the Abassi period the title of *wazir* (*vezir*) was in use which has roots in Iranian languages.³

Some authors have written the meaning of *wachir* as one who issues edicts or makes decisions but it is possible that Arabs did not adopt this word from Fars since *wachir* was in use before that period in the form of great ruler and *dabir pāt*. When the Arabs came to Khorasan they started using the word *wazir* in place of *katib* or *dabir*. Thus we need to seek the root of this word in the languages of this region. According

1. Tarikh-i-Adabi Iran, vol. 1, p. 370.

2. Tamadun-i-Iran, p. 184.

3. Miras-i-Iran, p. 126.

the the above analysis (ho+tsair) is (ho+zair) which is the *wajir=hawair=wajwair* of historical Ghazni and Zabulistān. A part of the ancient Wajiristān is known as Waziristān at the present time. Thus the meaning of *hozir=wazir* in Pashto is one with fair complexion and erudition.

10. Bar hidmat rasi wa kābulsah

These words have also been adulterated by scribes and their correct form is (*bar khedmat ratbel wa kābulshah*) meaning that Wajwir Loykan built the idol house for Kabul Shah and Ratbel.

Ratbel was the title of kings who ruled from Zabul to Seistan during the Arab conquests of the first century Hijra. They fought the Arab invaders for two and a half centuries until the rise of Subuktagin.¹

It looks as though that the Ratbel kings had an amicable relationship and marriage ties with the Zabuli and Kabulshah emperors. When the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, was on his way to Zabulistan Kabulshah accompanied him to Zabulistan and then returned back to his homeland.

According to Gangaham: during his return journey from India Hiuen Tsang passed through the Attock, Banu and Apokin (Afghan) territory and arrived in Ghazni on 25 June 643² which corresponds to 24 Hijra.

Thus we can say that the Loykan ruled over this land from the beginning of the 7th century CE until the Subuktagin era (325 Hijra) for several centuries.

However historians have written Ratbel with different spellings and the copiers of hand-written manuscripts have further abrogated the word such as *ratbal, ratrael, ratbal, zandael, zanael* etc. It was these strange forms of the word that has confused the author of Tarikh-i-Seistan and the late Bahar Khorasani, the writer of Majmal-al-Tawarikh, who considered it to have been derived from (*zinda peel*) of Persian and thought its original form to be (*zandabel or zanbel*).³

The famous English historian, Raverty, states that the word comes from the Hindi (Ranthabel) or (Ratan Paal) and has been written

1. Refer to the conquest of Khorasan in Futuh-al-Baladan of Bilazari, Tarikh-al-Yaqubi and Ahsan-al-Taqaseem.

2. Ancient History of India, 1/266.

3. Footnotes of Tarikh-i-Seistan p. 91 and Majmal p. 422.

incorrectly.¹

We see that famous Arab historians such as Belazari, Yaqubi, Tabari and Masudi have unanimously written this word as Ratbel and its plural as Ratabala, similar to Qiāsara, Namārada, Kiāsara, Farāghana, Tarākuma and Afāghana etc. Such a plural form was commonly used in the names of places.

We see that Ratbel has been mentioned by Farazdaq, the famous Arab poet, who was a contemporary of the Ratbel rulers, which the poet has written with the vowel-sign *fathah*.

Returning prevailed after the attack

Without hesitation with Ratbel's grace.²

Abu Mansur Mowhub bin Ahmad Jawaliqi, 1073-1146 CE, while converting the word to Arabic, states that Ratbel was the ruler of Sajistan with a *fathah* but in its printed form it has been written with the vowel ('u).³ From its use in Arabic poetry we see that the original form of the word was *ratbel* as *zantabel* does not fit well in the verse. The correct form of the word, during that time, was with a *fathah*. We see that later the word found place in Arabic names and Arabs used it to name their sons. A famous Arab inventor was named Ratbel bin Saleh, whose name has been mentioned by Zubaidi in his dictionary in the section al-ratbel.⁴ Alama Zahabi has quoted a number of his Mohammedan traditions.⁵

From all these historical narratives we see the original form of the word was *ratbel*.⁶ The burdensome configuration, *zantabel*, which Bahar⁷ considers to be its original form does not fit in the Arabic verse. If we are to consider it to be (*zanbael*) the word does not befit with the root of *al-*

1. Notes on Afghanistan p. 63.

2. Diwan-i-Al-Farazdaq, pp, 325 and 333.

3. Al-mu'arib min al-kalim al-Ajami, Dar-al-Kutub of Cairo, 1361 H, p. 163.

4. Taj-al-Urus, under article al-ratbel.

5. Mushtaba-al-Nisba of Alama Zahabi.

6. For further clarification see Dr. Baluch's article of June 1958.

7. The late Bahar, in footnotes of Tarikh-i-Seistan and Majmal, believes *zantabel* has been derived from *zhinda peel* of Persian and as a result of a clerical error it has been converted to (*ratbel*) in Arabic. Arabic lexicographers consider *ratbel* to be related to *al-ratbel* and consider the root of *zindabel* to be separate and have not mixed these two words. Jawaleiqi considers *al-zandabel* to be an Arabized form of the Persian word meaning a female elephant (Al-Muarib, p. 176). All this shows that the Arabized form of the word *zandabel* and *ratbel* are two separate words.

ratbal. Arabic lexicographers consider its root to be separate from that of *zanbael*. Nor have they mentioned a surname as such.

Analysis

It can be asserted that the last part of this word is *bael*. Raverty states that it has a common root with *pāl* which is used at the end of Pashto and Hindi names. Based on this the original spelling of the word may have been *ratpael*. Since we do not see any difference in the use of the letters (bae and pae) in Arabic and classic Persian the word *ratbael* was thus written with a (bae).

In a number of old names the word *pāl* has been derived from *pālāl* and *paelal* which in Pashto means to foster. *Pāl* and *pael* provide us with such a meaning when used at the end of a word such as *menapāl* (nationalist) and *khpalpāl* (self cherisher). It is possible that the same *pāl* is in use in Hindi names such as Ratanpāl, Gopāl, Anandpāl.

The first part of the word (*ratu*) was in use in Hindi and Avesta. In Gatha the suffix *ratu* means a spiritual leader and has been used as an adjective in the name of Zardusht (Zoroaster) which has been translated as (rejector of the world).¹

It is said that the first person who encountered Zoroaster was the angel of nobility and *homana* in Pashto (ho=kho=kha)+mana has been derived from *manal* (meaning pious). He thus learned belief in Rita and Asha, justice and spiritual order of the world from the angel.² It is possible that *rita* is the first part of the word *ratpael*.

The first part of the name was commonly used by the people of ancient Afghanistan. In Avesta language the original name of Rustam, the legendary hero from Seistan, was Raotha-Staxma. In Pahlavi literature a Ratu-Staxma has been mentioned. According to Christensen this first part of the word is the name of mother of Rustam Rath+Apath (Rud Abaz) or according to the Shahnama, Rudaba, the daughter of the king of Kabul. According to ancient tradition, which was prevalent in the formation of names, the name of the father or mother was included as a

1. Farwardin Yasht, part 152.

2. Tamadun-i-Iran, article by the orientalist Dumas, p. 82.

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common ingredient in names of people.¹

In Persian the word (*rad*) means intelligent and sagacious. Firdowsi says:

The wise Siawush put on the breast-plate
And tied the armor around his waist.

This same word was used in Sanskrit to mean the goddess of love, Venus, and friendship.²

In Pashto the root of this word is found in the names of women such as (*rātu*) which means spiritual lover. In men's names (Ratgul) is from the same root. *Raat=rut* means a spiritual leader and lover+gul comes from the historical word (*kol, kola, kahol*). The collective meaning of this name is (family of a beloved leader). However, clergies have Arabized these names as Rāhatu and Rāhatgul and the actual meaning of the word has been lost.

Based on this historical and lexiconological evaluation we can say that Ratpael is a meaningful Pashto name meaning one who nurtures love or the idol of love.

It is an attractive and beautiful name and for this reason the Arabs adopted it from this land and named their children as such. Earlier we provided the name of a narrator as an example.

In reality most of our culture, civilization and ancient traditions were obliterated as a result of Arab conquests and we do not see any signs of it now. Hence we cannot say how our ancestors lived before the implementation of Islam in this land? What was their language? How they thought and what were their traditions?

The only source we have at our disposal to evaluate these issues is through the names of people, places and historical structures which familiarizes us with the ancient linguistic roots, thoughts and culture of the past. However time and destruction prevents us from evaluating these issues but if we pay attention and scrutinize these matters in light of historical documents and language we can obtain a great deal of information. One such example is the name Ratbael, a name which links us with the ancient heritage of this land.

11. Bisarash khanan?

1. Kiyaniyan, p. 203.

2. Indian Dictionary, p 426 by Duncan Forbes.

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In Keramat the name of Wajwair Loyak's son is Khanan which has been incorrectly written in the defective copy of the book. However in the hand written manuscript of Zain-al-Akhbar, two copies of which are present in England, this name appears as Khaqan. The name, Khaqan, does not exist among Pashtuns while Khanan is in frequent use, especially among the people of Urgan, Zabilistan and Mullahkhel. It is possible that the scribes of Gardezi's book converted the name to Khaqan.

At any rate Khanan or Khaqan was son of Wajwair Loyak who was the first person in that family to embrace Islam and converted the temples of Bamian Gate in Ghazni to a mosque and buried the Loyak idol there. Like other people of the land, with the departure of the Arab army, he once again switched to his original religion. In this sentence (*bisarash*), which is an ancient spelling, refers to (*pisarash*) meaning his son.

12. Kābulān sah?

The correct version of this title is Kabulan Shah, derived from Kabulshah, which appears in historical books from time to time. For example Ibn Khardazba, while referring to ancient kings, has mentioned Kabulan Shah.¹

The word Kabulan, with the suffix (an), refers to Kabul.

In this context Dāwarān Shah (related to the land of Dawar), Hinduwān Shah, Nakshbān Shah and Qashambarān Shah, are similar names mentioned by Ibn Khardazba. Bābakān attributed to Bābak etc. are names which appeared in Pahlavi also.

13. Khanjal?

In the defective copy of Keramat the word appears without a dot on the letter (noon). It seems this was the name of a Kabulshah king. I assume the original version of the name may be Khanchal. This assumption is based on a famous book by an Arab historian.

Ahmad bin Waseh Yaqubi (dead 905 CE) writes: Al-Mehdi, the Abasi caliph, sent his emissaries in 708 CE to some of the neighboring kings and asked them to surrender to him. Most of them accepted his demand. One of them was a Kabulshah whose name was Hanhal.²

1. Masalik-al-Mamalik of Ibn Khardazba, p. 170.

2. Tarikh-al-Yaqubi, 3/131, printed in Najaf 1358 H.

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This Kabulshah's name, who lived around 708 CE, has been printed as Hanhal in Tarikh-i-Yaqubi while in Keramat it appears as Khanjal. Since the spellings are different from each other this aberration could be the result of an error by the scribes.

The first letter of the name in Keramat is a (khe), the second in Yaqubi is a (noon), the third in both texts is a (laam). When these letters are combined they give us Khanjal. It is my belief that the original word is Khanchal. Due to old Arabic and Persian spelling, in which the letters (jeem) and (chey) were not differentiated, it was written as Khanjal with a (jeem).

Analysis of the Name

The name has two components: *khn-chal*.

Khn is the short form of *khan*, without the use of the letter (alif). This form is used by the Kakar tribesmen until the present time and pronounced as *khn*. Khntama Khan was a tribal leader in Zhob and Quetta at the beginning of the 20th century. In this name khn=khan.

The second part *tamā* also has an ancient background. In historical documents we have adjectives conjoined with this word such as Giotama (from Gio's lineage=Buddha).¹ The word *mardum* (people) was *martam* (*mar-tamā*) meaning from the lineage of the dead. In Avesta *marta* refers to dying.² In Avesta the title of Zoroaster's family was (*spin tama*),³ the first part of this word is *spin* with *spi* being its short form which in Pashto means white and *tama* is *tomana*, meaning family.

Hence *khntama* means noble or from the family of nobles which in Pashto means of noble decent and pride.

Another example of this name is Khangul (khan+kahol=kol). Both words are ancient and the second part of the word is the historical *kola*, *kol* and *kahol* (meaning family), which was explained earlier.

Pashtuns use *khān* in words such as Khāngul=Khngal and Khān Maṛie=Khnmaṛie.

Therefore *khn chal* in origin was Khan Chāl, whose later part *chāl* in

1. Buddha by Julius, 1905.

2. Yashtha, 2-42.

3. Yasna, 19.

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Pashto means manner, mode and conduct.¹

Mullah Miran Kandahari states:

He does not understand the mode of love

He is just a polluted fly making noise.

Thus the name Khanchal refers to mode of leadership and literally it refers to one with high character and beneficent which goes well with a person with good character.

It needs to be mentioned that the word *khān* did not seep into Khorasan with the Genghis Mongols but has been in use in this land for eons, well before the advent of Islam, and has been derived from (*hun=hān=khān*) which was the name of the Hepthali (Abdali) people.

14. Balisān Khaljia ki loyak guft

(in Khalji language as narrated by Loyak)

We do not know the name of this Loyak but from the text of this story it is clear that Khanchal Kabulshah sent this verse in the Loyak language. It is possible he was in Kabul since we know from historical events the two families were related. It is possible that this Loyak was related to Khanchal.

What is important and critical to know is what was the nature of the Khaljia language? And what language was it?

With the historical and linguistic evidence we have at hand we can say that the Khalji are the present day Ghalji people who have lived in Ghazni and Zabulistan from ancient times. We can see the root of the word in *gharj=gharcha=ghalcha* and many other words. The letter (ghain) has been transformed to (khay) and Ghalji took the form of Khalji.

1. One name which is similar to this word was Auchal, the king of Kashmir, who ruled from 1101 to 1111 CE. Kalhana, the author of Raja Tarangini (8th chapter, vol. 2, after p. 2) states that king Auchal was a pious person who took care of his people, whose name has the same meaning.

Aw=ho means noble and *khob+chal* means manner, thus Auchal=Hochal means one with noble character, the last part of the name is *chal*. Raja Khanchal was ruler of Kashmir valley during the time of Sultan Mahmud. Several centuries after Khanchal this raja was killed on 8 December, 1111 (Tarang 8, section 379 of Raja Tarangini).

As mentioned earlier the sharing of names existed among the kings of Kabul, Gandahara and Kashmir. We see examples of these names in Pashto until the present day such as Homal=Aimal (ho+mal=noble companion) and Hodayr=Wadayr (ho+dayr=noble abode, the name of a Safi tribe). A constable by this name lived during the Ghaznavi period (Adaab-al-Harb wa Al-Shuja'a of Fakhar Mudabir, Lahore)

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Members of the great Khaljia family, which ruled in India for centuries, were the Afghan Ghaljis. Many historical edifices have been named after them such as Khalj (Rozgan, north of Kandahar) and Khalj¹ (of Helmand Valley) Khalj of Ghazni, mentioned by Yaqut, was a part of Zabulistan.²

The linguistic analysis of Khalji, Ghalji or Ghalzi reveals that the word is Gharzi meaning mountain dwellers.³ We see that in the names of places and tribes the letter (khay) has been changed to (ghain) such as *khar khaiz=karghaiz* or that the present day Saghar of Ghor which Menhaj Seraj has noted as Sakhar, was originally *sur ghar* (red mountain).⁴

With hesitation Mohammad Qasim Firishta quotes from Tabakat-i-Akbari of Nezamuddin Ahmad Bakshi Herawi that the Khalji are descendants of Khalij Khan, the son-in-law of Genghis Khan. But as Firishta has cast doubt on this statement it is totally baseless and out of context since it is not possible for one person to have millions of children in a span of 600 hundred years.

These Khalji or Ghalji tribes lived three centuries before Genghis in this land, and were famous and well-known. The unknown author of Hudud-al-Alam states in 983 CE:

“In Ghazni and surrounding areas of these towns, which I mentioned, live the Turkmen Khalj tribesmen who are herders of large flocks of sheep and are constantly on the move in search of pastures. There are a large number of them in Balkh, Takharistan, Bost and Gozganan.”⁵ These Khalkh are undoubtedly the Khalj people which scribes have written incorrectly. Even before Hudud-al-Alam was written another geographer, Ibn Khardzaba (around 845-849 CE) has mentioned the Khaljia people and states: The Kharlakh Torakan stay near Taraz

1. Astakhri mentions Khalj as a region of the Helmand valley (p. 245).

2. Ma'jam-al-Baladan 2/381.

3. Refer to: Annexations of Shahnama vol. 5, p. 33 in which the story of Kak Kohzad, an Afghan leader, is mentioned who was a native of Zabul and was a dweller of tents. The mentioned Kohzad is an exact translation of the Pashto word *gharzai*. These tent dwellers were the Ghalji people who live in this land in the same way which will be explained later.

4. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, p. 245.

5. Hudud-al-alam, p. 64, in which the word Khalj has been incorrectly printed as Khalkh.

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during the winter months and adjacent to them are the wintering pastures of the Khalj (Khaljia).¹ From this we know that nomadic Ghalji went to the lowlands of Takharistan during the winter months, just as some of them go to their winter pastures in the Takharistan valleys at the present time.

Another geographer, Ibrahim bin Mohammad Astakhari (952 CE) writes: "Khalj are a Turkan group of people who from ancient times settled in Ghor between India and Seistan. They have large herds of sheep and their complexion, language and clothes resembles the Turkan."²

Some scholars of oriental studies are of the opinion that these Ghaljis are remnants of the Hephthali. Marqwart writes: The Khalch or Khulch are remnants of the Hephthali, who in Syrian sources, have been mentioned as Khwlas around 1159 CE.³ Later in 1164 ambassador Reimberchaus has written this word as Kholeir.

We come across the same opinion in Mohammad bin Ahmad Khwarazmi's book written in 981 CE who states: The Khalj and the Kabjiya Turkan⁴ (in the original book it has been incorrectly written as Kanjibiya) are descendants of Hiyatala who lived in Takharastan with great pomp.⁵

These Khalji have been regularly mentioned with Afghans and it seems they had close affinities and the same homeland. Abu Nasr Mohammad bin Abdul Jabar Utbi, 1024 CE, while describing the conquest of Subuktageen, writes: "The Afghania and Khalj yielded to Subuktagin and were forcibly made to work for him."⁶ Ibn Asir also mentions the same narrative.⁷

Minarski undoubtedly states that: that these Khalj Turkan are

1. Masalik-al-Mamalik of Ibn Khardazba, p. 28.

2. Astakhari, p. 245.

3. Iranshahar, p. 251, quoting Minarski.

4. These Kabjiya have been noted as Kapchi by Baihaqi and Kuchi by Menhaj Seraj which has been converted to Kafs by Arabs. In the addendums of Shahnama they have been spelled as Kuch while the Armenian historian has written this name as Kamchak Haftaliat. At present time they are known as Kuchi (nomads).

5. Mafateh-al-A'loom, p. 72.

6. Tarikh-i-Yamyani, p. 26.

7. Al-Kamil, 8/348. Ibn Asir in Al-Kamil vol. 7, p. 116 writes: That Yaqub Layce captured the Khaljia and Zabul.

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ancestors of present day Khalji. Barthold and Haig corroborate this opinion in Islamic Encyclopedia.¹

We can say with certainty that Khalji or Ghalji and the Abdali may have had close ties to ancient Hephthali and Zabuli kings since the Hephthali (Hayatala) were kings in Zabulistan where present day Ghalji and Abdali live. Figures from the time, minted on coins, resemble the complexion of the Pashtuns living in this area. Their high browed noses, brown eyes, thick hairs and strong bodies resemble Pahtuns.

So Khalj or Ghalji are not the progeny of those Turkic and Ghazan, who during the Ghaznavi period and later during the reign of the Saljoks, came to Khorasan, but the present day Ghalji are linked to the Hephthali, famous as (white Huns), who lived in Takharistan and Zabulistan before the rise of Islam. Other Afghan tribes have also been attributed with the name of this tribe, Haftali (Abdali). These Aryan Haftali got amalgamated with the ancient Pakhat tribes, who lived here from the Vedic and Avestan eras in this land and their name Haftali (Abdali) and Khalj (Ghalji) remained intact.

We can consider this to be a new mixture of the northern Aryan tribes in Takharistan with the Pakhtat tribes of Paktia and Zabulistan since the name Ghalcha=Gharcha=Ghalja is present among the mountain dwelling tribes of Badakhshan. These people are for certain Aryans and their language is also Aryan and they do not have any relationship with the Turkan or the Mongols. The name Apa Kuchia, the Qafs of Arabic, and our Kuchi has been mentioned in Hakhamani inscriptions before the amalgamation of the Aryan Huns dating to 2500 BCE.² From this it is evident that the name probably was in use among the ancient Bactrian Pakhat tribes and these nomadic people probably lived in this land before mixing with the Huns.

The intermingling of white Aryan Huns (khān) of the north with Pakhats (Pashtuns) in Baktria, the Hindukush valleys, Kabulistan and Zabulistan is a natural undertaking since the northern and southern sections of the the same race mixed with each other. However, we do not know what language the Khanan of the white Aryans spoke but from the closeness of the languages spoken in the greater Hindukush, the

1. Minarski's footnotes on Hudud-al-Alam, p. 348, Oxford.

2. Old Persian, p. 165 and Sabk Shinasi 2/67.

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Ghalcha, Wakhi and others with Pashto we can come to the conclusion that their language had closeness to Pashto and special letters of the language such as (ښ seen and څ tsey), which did not exist in Pahlavi, Persian or Avesta, are present in these languages until the present time.

It was these white Abdali and Ghalji people who attacked western India. In the Awhind inscription they have been mentioned as the meat eating Tur Kasha and Kalhana mentions them in his book Raja Tarangini (written in 1148 CE). In 913 CE they established the Ludi kingdom in Multan for the first time after which, for the next five centuries, they maintained a mighty kingdom, known as the Khalji, all over India and spread Islam as far as Bengal. It is for this reason that the word *khān* became synonymous with the name of every Afghan all over India. The *hun=hān* has been converted to *khān*.¹ The letter (khay and hay), are in use in Middle Eastern languages and the ancient Huwārazm became Khwarazm and *khanum* is pronounced as *hanum* by the Turkmen.

In order to ascertain this statement we have strong evidence from the Turk people themselves. The famous Turkic linguist and lexicographer, Mahmud Kashgari (1074 CE) writes: "The Ghazan are composed of 24 tribes but the two Khalji tribes do not consider themselves to be a part of them and are of a different lineage."²

The same Turk historian and lexicographer, who has mentioned Turk tribes, has not included the Khalj and Khaljian among Turk tribes. Since this person was himself a Turk and was familiar with their language, history and traditions therefore we can consider his dictum to be worthwhile and believable.

Mohammad bin Najib Bakran (around 1204 CE) states: "The Khalj are a tribe that live in the environs of Khalj and Zabulistan in the plain of Ghazni. Because of hot weather their skin turned dark, they became nomadic and their language changed. The word Khalh is an abbreviated

1. In that the ancient word *hun* converted to *hān* and *khān* can be traced to the Afridi tribes. These people pronounce *khān* as *khun* and it is this word which in old times was used in the title and name of Tarkhān and Tarkhun. Ibn Khardzba has recorded this word as *tharkhān* and *tharkhun* (p. 41). The later part of this word is without doubt the *khun=khān=hun*. Later we will discuss that it is a Pashto word.

2. Diwan-i-Lughat al-Turk, 3/307, Istanbul.

form of Khlalj.¹

From this statement it is clear that the Khalj were separate from Turkic tribes and there was conjugation between the words Khalh and Khalj.

Menhaj Seraj talks about a number of tribes in India and calls those who are of Turkic origin Turks and those who are Khaljian (plural) as Khalji. These people left the Garamser area of Ghor to establish a dynasty in India. Individuals such as Malik Khan Khalji, Mohammad Bakhtyar Khalji, Mohammad Sheran Khalji, Ali Mardan Khalji, Hesamuddin Ewaz Hussain Khalji, Ghiasuddin Khalji² and many other Khalji leaders were not part of the Turkic leaders. The Indian historian, Zia Barni (around 1357 CE), in a special chapter in his History of Feroz Shahi, writes that the Turkic people are the royalty, but when Malik Jalaluddin Khalji, ascended the throne in India, he writes: the people were very concerned as to how a Khalji can take over the Turkic throne. He states: "The Khalji leader made the people very concerned."³

We know from this statement that the Khalji were not of Turkic origin otherwise why should people of the Delhi court be concerned about the loss of power of the Turks.⁴ These Khalji people, who left a magnificent civilization and administration in India, were part of the Khalji tribes from Afghanistan.⁵ They are the present day Ghalji living in Afghanistan.

Bartold writes: "As of the fourth Islamic century (900 CE) we see that the Khalji people lived in Southern Afghanistan from Seistan as far as India. They are the remnants of the Pashtun Turkic people, who according to Astakhri, came to this land during ancient times. The present day Ghalji Pashtuns, who live in the Tarnak and Arghandab valleys, are from the same lineage."⁶

Torak and Torkas

1. Jahan Nama, p. 17 hand-written manuscript, referenced by Minarski. This book has lately been published in USSR.

2. Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 1/495.

3. Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi of Zia Barni, p. 173, Calcutta.

4. Refer to the annals of Congress of Tarikh-i-Hind 1939. Khaljis were not Turks.

5. Tazkira-i-Bahaduran Islam, 2/331.

6. Islamic Encyclopedia, 2/872.

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Here I add an issue which is probably completely new and may not be acceptable to the reader at first glance.

In fact the writer of this treatise, with the information available at this juncture, cannot make a decisive claim. The Heftali of Zabul, who had white Aryan blood, upon arrival to Kabul and Zabul from greater Takharistan, got mixed with the Pakhat (Pashtun) tribes, who had been living in this mountainous region and had their own language, culture and peculiar social structure.

As stated earlier some of the ruling families were known as Kashtaria. This name is composed of *ksa tura* and according to Khair-al-Bayan of Pir Roshan it is (*tur kash*)¹ meaning one who draws the sword and the name of the Turk Zabuli tribe is from the same root.

This *tur kash* of Pashto which at the present time is *tur bās*, meaning a swordsman, was written with the letter (س seen) of Pashto which the Indians, Greek and other ethnicities wrote in their own format. Thus the Pasht=Pashtun were called Pakhat by the Vedic Indians.² They transformed the letter (س seen) to (خ khay). However during the time of Avesta this (س seen), according to the articulation of the people of Nangarhar, was converted to (khay) which we see in the Bactrian name of Balkh.³ The Greeks and Herodotus (484 BCE) read it as Paktves.⁴

Turkash, which in the past was (*kash torie=kashtria*) was the title of administrators and brave military officers. This name can be traced back to Vedic times used in the division of Indian castes. The first part of this

1. In recent years this historical name has become (*tur bās, tur bāz*) in Pashto whose meaning is *tur kash*, one who draws his sword. Unfortunately some scribes have Arabized and given a Persian flair to this name and has written it with the strange spelling of *tara baz* or *tor abas* etc. while the actual word is purely Pashto and is the historical *tur kash*.

This change has impacted the psyche of people to the extent that 25 years ago, while I was the editor of Tolo Afghan newspaper of Kandahar, I had written the name of a Kandahari as (Tor Bas). The mentioned person came to me and said his name was actually Tara Baz and that I had written it incorrectly. I told him Tara Baz does not have any meaning. I added that he was a Pashtun and his name was Pashto. *Tora* means a sword and *bas* is from the infinitive *basal* meaning to draw. He was happy to learn the meaning of his name. The same word *tur* appears in the noun Tarkhan which the Arabs converted to Tarakhan.

2. Veda, vol. 2 p. 17, 81, section 18 words 6,7.

3. Venda, first part.

4. Jughrafiay-i-Tarikh Iran of Barthold, p. 130. For further clarification refer to Tarikh-i-Adabiyat Pashto, vol. 1 p. 26 onwards.

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name, *tura*, is seen in many historical names such as the Turviana of Veda which in present day Pashto is *tur wayunie*. Turman was a Kashtaria king in Gandahara, while the second part (*kash*), as a result of the peculiar pronunciation of the letter (seen) was totally adulterated in different languages. Since people did not understand the converted Kashtaria phrase *tur kash* and considered it to be “turak” and called the Aryan Hephthalis to be Turak. In the Awhind Sanskrit inscription, we see that this name appears as Turshca while this name is the same *tur kash* of Pashto. We see that in Sanskrit the letter (seen) has been converted to (shc).

In Raja Tarangini (written in 1148 CE) the name repeatedly appears with the spelling of Twruska and the author of the book, Kalhana, considers the country of Lalya kings between between Dard and Turu Shaka (book 5, verses 152-155). He says that the Tur Shaka tied their weapons on their backs, shaved half their head and attacked Kashmir several times (book 4, verse 179). He provides details about the battles of the Kashmiri kings (book 7, verse 57). He writes that around 1102 CE, king Harsha of the Turu Shaka destroyed all the idols and temples of Kashmir (book 5, verse 1095).

From this it is evident that the Pashto *tur ksa* became *turu shaka* in Hindi and due to its closeness of spelling writers confused it with *turak*. In the eastern dialect of Pashto the verb *kshal* becomes *wakshal* and *tur ksa* in Arabic dialect has been converted to *turu ska*, which then found its way into India and Kashmir.

It is possible that this confusion may have started during the early Islamic centuries when *tur kas* was assumed to be *turak*. Sir Alexander Burns, in his translation of the Sanskrit Awhind inscription, considers the meat eating Tur Shaka to be Turks from the Turak race. Stein, the English translator of Raja Taranginini has ascribed Turu Shaka as Turak.

If this historical aberration and confusion is correct, and I am not mistaken, it will resolve the complex historical debate and conversion of Afghan Khalji=Ghalji to the Turak of geographers and historians.

Thus we can say that Afghan Khalji=Ghalji were not Turak but got mixed with the Tur Kas chiefs in the later centuries BCE. This is evident from historical documents and when these Afghan Khaljis started a kingdom in India they and all Afghans were known as (Afghans and

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Pashtuns). For example Khushal Khan Khatak, without any doubt, considers Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-1296 CE) to be a Khalji from *wilayat* and writes:

Once again Sultan Jalaluddin ascended the throne

Who is a Ghalji from wilayat of the Afghans.

Afghans living beyond Khyber and Indians have impudently named the region of Kabul, Ghazni and Khorasan to be Wilayat. After the domination of the English this name was referred to England in India since the centralization of Indian affairs shifted from Khorasan to London.

From this verse of Khushal Khan it is clear, that until the time of the poet (1641 CE), Afghans considered the Ghalji kings of India as Afghan Ghalji and called them Turak.

From this historical analysis we can conclude that the language of the Khalji=Ghalji people is Pashto until the present time and these tribes are an important part of Afghan families and compose one third of all Pashtuns. Thus the Khaljia language, mentioned in Keramat, is Pashto and Loyak Zabuli recited his verse in this same language. In that their language was Pashto will be discussed later.

Cunningham, the English historian writes: During the seventh century when the king of Ghazni converted from Buddhism the language and alphabet of these people was different from other tribes. Hiuen Tsang, who was knowledgeable about Indian and Turkic languages, clearly states that the language of the people of Ghazni and their alphabet was different from other countries. Reflecting on Hiuen Tsang's assertion Cunningham concludes that with certainty it can be said the language of these people was Pashto. However, we do not have any proof related to this issue except that Hiuen Tsang mentions a place in southeastern Ghazni as O-Po-Kien which is the word Afghan.¹

This statement by Cunningham is corroborated by discussions in this book and shows the link between the Loykan of Ghazni with Pashto. Moreover, Cunningham states: According to Hiuen Tsang the language of the people of Falana (from Banu to the area south of Kabul) had a slight similarity to the Indian language. Thus we can say that these people were not Indian but were Afghans.²

1. Ancient History of India, pp. 41-42.

2. Ancient History of India, p. 89.

It needs to be added here the name Awgana (Afghans) appears in Indian works at the beginning of the 6th century CE in Bahrita Sanhita (pp. 11, 12, 13, 61) which was authored by the Indian astrologer Varahomihira.¹ This reasoning reveals the presence of Afghans and their language centuries before the advent of Islam.

15. Hinduwan sah

Undoubtedly this word is Hinduwan Shah, in Pahlavi and Old Persian literature Hinduwan was used to mean India.² In the appendages of Shahnama we come across the story of Zabuli Afghans and their leader, Kak Kohzad (Kak Ghalji) as such:

Near Zabol there is a road
With a high, dangerous mountain.
To one side of which there is a plain
While another plain leads to Hinduwan.
In which a lot of *kuch* (families) have settled:
Afghans, Hazara, Kurd and Baluch.³

In this poem plain is the place where present day Afghan nomads (Ghalji) pitch their tents and it is possible that the plain mentioned in Shahnama is Waza Khwa of Urgun and from this direction a road leads to India by way of Gomal and Kuram. Kuch is the Kapchi of Baihaqi and Kabjiaya of Khwarazmi. Even now the nomadic Ghalji travel as far as the banks of the Indus. Abu Mansur Muafaq bin Ali Herawi (971CE) mentions Hinduwan: "And the medicines which can be found in Hinduwan cannot be found in other places."⁴

16. Naisa?

The correct form of this word is *nabsa* which at present is *nawasa* (grandchild) of Persian and *Imasai*, *nusai*, *nmasai* in Pashto. Baihaqi considers the singular form of this word to be *nabsa* and *nabsagan* its plural form.⁵ *Nabsa* has been mentioned in an old Tafsir (interpretation)

1. Refer to Fuchi's Roads Between India and Bactria to Taxila, p. 235, Paris 1947.

2. Bak Shinasi, 2/27.

3. Shahnama's appendages, vol. 5 p.33.

4. Al-Abniya a'n Haqayeq al-Adwiya, p. 1, manuscript.

5. Tarikh-i-Baihaqi, pp. 221, 673.

of the Quran, preserved at Cambridge University.¹ Fakhr Mudabir Mubarakshah writes: “Sindnal, the *nabsa* (grandchild) of Kabul Shah came back from India.”²

Amir Khusrow says:

His ranking need no further clarification

Since he is the *nabs* (grandchild) of Mohammad.

According to Gardezi, Aflah was grandchild of Khaqan (Khanan), then certainly this word is *nabsa* and we know from Baihaqi that the word was commonly used in Ghazni.

17. Bashāni banist?

The correct form of this word is *ba shāhi binishast* (ascended the kingdom). Sahai in Pahlavi and early Persian also meant a country and kingdom.³ The following words of the sentence are: “*buthkhāna loyak bar kand wa mazgat bekar*” (removed the Loyak temple and erected a mosque in its place).

18. Sultan Sakhi Sarwar

This person has a great deal of fame in India and Punjab and is considered to be a renowned saint. Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori writes: His name is Sayed Ahmad and he was famous as Sakhi Sarwar Sultan and he is a saint from Multan. People call him “Laka Data” and his lineage goes back to Hazrat Ali (son-in-law of Prophet Mohammad). His father’s name is Zein-ul-Abedeem who lived in Kursi Kot of Multan and married Ayesha Kaho Kahri, who gave birth to two sons, Sayed Ahmad and Abdul Ghani.

Sayed Ahmad went to Baghdad to see Hazrat Abdul Qader Jailani and Shahabuddin Suharwardi and later studied under Mohammad Eshaq Lahori, in Lahore. Mufti Lahori, recognizing his benevolence, states he was martyred near the Shah Kot mountain in 1181 CE, where his shrine is present to this day.⁴ Babur mentions him in his memoirs and he was famous during that time also.

Based on his spiritualism and augustness he was known as “Sultan.” He is considered to be a renowned propagator of Islam in India second only to Sheikh Ali Hajweri. In Jalandar Hindu tribes call

1. Page 34b of the manuscript.

2. Aadab-al-Harb wa al-Shuja’a, p. 28.

3. Sabk Shinasi, 1/429.

4. Khazina-al-Sufiya, 2/248.

themselves “Sultani” and consider themselves associated to him.¹

During the 15th and 16th centuries CE this Sultani sect was very famous and the Jaat (gypsies) of Punjab called themselves Sultani and visited the Shrine of Sakhi Sarwar in February. However, during the time when Sikh were in power, Dewan Sawalmal, the governor of Multan, prevented them from making this pilgrimage. According to the Jalandar Gazette these Sultani Hindus lived in the region until the 19th Century.²

This Sakhi Sarwar, who has been considered to be a contemporary of Hazrat Abdul Qader Jailani (1078-1166 CE) and Sheikh Shahabuddin Suharwardi (1144-1235 CE), was famous in Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan, lived on the route from Khorasan to India. As a result Pashtuns were also his disciples and it is possible he visited Ghazni to pursue his studies when the Ghaznavi kings were in power and Ghazni was a center of learning.

The imperfect copy of Keramat shows that the book was written to show his munificence and all its narrations deal with his dispositions, one example of which is the present narration and the finding and excavation of the Loyak idol in the Ghazni mosque.

19. Bāeen marlat?

This word is *mazgat* (mosque) for certain since *mazlat* does not have any meaning.

20. Kashf sudas?

This word is *shudash* meaning it was discovered with him.

21. Dar yālut?

The correct form is *dar taboot* (in the coffin) in present day spelling.

22. Az shahr-e ghazna barjāst?

Barjast does not have any meaning here. The correct word is *barkhast* (to get up).

The narration in its correct form:

Abu Hamed Al-Zawali, in Tarekhi-Ghazni, while referencing Hasan Saghani, states: That near the Bamian Gate in Ghazni there is a grand mosque know as the Aflakh (Aflah?) Loyak mosque, which used to be a colossal idol temple built by Wajir Loyak for Ratbel and Kabul Shah.

Since his son, Khanan (Khaqan) converted to Islam, he did not break the Loyak idol and buried it in the mosque in a silver casing.

1. Jalandar's Gazetter, p. 121.

2. Aab-i-Kawsar of Sheikh Ikram, p. 91 onwards.

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Kabulan Shah Khenchel sent this couplet, in the Khaljia language (which will be presented in the following chapter).

Khanan (Khaqan) converted back to Hinduism and when his grandson, Aflakh (Aflah?) ascended the throne he destroyed the Loyak temple and transformed it into a mosque.

It has been narrated:

When Sultan Sakhi Sarwar went to see the mosque he said: I smell an idol, as he had good intentions he located the idol, dug up the ground and took out the Loyak idol encased in silver. He broke the idol and gave the silver to the mosque's foundation. Based on the benevolence of this saint the stench of blasphemy and Hinduism disappeared from the city of Ghazni.

(Page 15 of the Keramat manuscript).

(6)

A Pashto Couplet of the Loykan

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In the text of Keramat it has been narrated that Loyak recited a poem in the Khaljia language which Kabulan Shah Khenjil sent to Khanan (Khaqan?) Loyak.

This Khaljia language is undoubtedly Pashto. After studying this couplet for a year I was able to decipher it which shows that it is in Pashto. Its metamorphosed spelling in the original is:

*bazm kazn sahid loyak loi ano bo yala loyā
kṣa tur babrahulam balum mamla tezyo bamla*

After analyzing the words its current spelling is:

*pa zami kazna ṣakhaed loyak loy ano boyala loya
kse tur ba babarārhulum balum mamlā tezyo bamlā*

Translation:

Buried in ground, the great Loyak, in Ghazni
Will defeat the swordsmen army, do not aid the Arabs.

This couplet is actually in very old Pashto with former words which provides us with a clue of ancient Pashto.

Analysis of the Couplet's Words

1. Pa zami

Meaning on earth. The ancient *zami* is *zamin* in Farsi and *zmaka* in Pashto. This word exists in its exact form in old Persian literature and *zami* has been used by Fakhruddin Gurgani (1055 CE), Nezami and Asad Tusi (death 1073 CE).

In Avesta *zam* meant the earth and in Pahlavi *zamik* meant against the sky¹ and *zamiyad* was the goddess of earth.² It looks as though that formerly *zami* was used in Pashto also and became *zmaka* or *mzaka* which is close to the Pahlavi *zamik*. Now its later form is in use.

2. Gazna

The spelling of this word is (*kazan*) with the original being *gazan=gazna=ghazna*. According to Ben West this word in the Sughdi language is (*gazank*) and (*gazan*) in Manichean books which means a treasure. In Sanskrit this word was *jagan* or *kajan*. Arabs converted this Aryan word to *kanz* and *khazana*. Abu Mansur Mohub bin Ahmad bin

1. Yashtha, 8-13-95.

2. Mazdista and its Impact on Persian Literature, p. 432.

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Mohammad al-Khezr Jawalaiqi (1070-1164 CE) writes:

“Al-kanz: An Arabized Persian noun meaning a treasury in Arabic.”¹

Thus the Arabic *kanz* is an Arabized form of the Persian *ganj*² and the old form of *ganj* in Pahlavi, Sughdi and Pashto was *gazang=gazna=ganza=ghazna*.

We have further linguistic evidence indicating that *ghazan=gazan=gazna*, in old language, meant a treasury or storage. We see that in old Persian, especially in Herawi dialect, *marghozan* meant the place where fire worshipers lay the dead. Khwaja Abdullah Ansari has named this place (*marghozan goran*) meaning where the dead are laid.³ In Persian literature this word exists as *marghazan*.

Menochehri and Amamai Herawi have used this word as *marghazan* in their poetry.⁴

If we are to analyze this word we see that it has two parts: first *maz* takes root from *murdan*. In Pashto *mar* meaning dead exists, while the second part *ghazan* means a treasure or a storage. Thus (*mar+ghazan*) means storage of the dead or graveyard.

As it is clear from *Tabakat-i-Nasari* of Menhaj Seraj and the imprisoned poet, Masud Sa'd Salman, in olden times fortresses, which were difficult to penetrate, were used for two purposes: the storage of treasures and as prisons. During the Ghaznavi and Ghori periods the fortresses of Ghazni, Nai, Sue, Dahak and Ahangaran were used as prisons and for the storage of royal treasures. In his poems, Masud Sa'd has repeatedly named Nai, Sue and Dahak as prisons.

Since the Ghazna fortress was used for the same purpose royal treasures were kept there which were called *gazna* or *ghazna* and the name of the city of Gazna or Ghazni is from the same root.

Cunningham states: during the seventh century, while Hiuen Tsang was visiting Ghazni (25 June 644 CE), the city was at its zenith and according to him its measured 30 li (5 miles). Cunningham adds that it was the most fortified and secure city in the East and its name was derived from *gaza* which in old Persian means a treasure. According to

1. *Al-Mua'rib min Kalam al-Ajmi* 1391 H. Cairo.

2. *Swa al-Sabeel ila Ma'rifa al-Maghrib wa al-Dakheil*, 1903 Lahore.

3. *Tabakat-al-Sufiya*, p. 213, hand written manuscript.

4. *Diwan-i-Minochehri*, p. 66.

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Nenus (around 500 CE) and Deunesius (around 300 CE) it was a heavily fortified city which was impenetrable.¹

In that the name of Ghazna has, during the old times, been written with three syllables and its root was ga-za-na, we have good reason to believe that during the same year Hiuen Tsang mentions the country of Tsu-Ku-Cha which had a length of 7000 li, whose capital was Hu-Si-Na, with a length of 30 li.² Tsu-Ku-Cha is considered to be the Chinese version of Arakosia. Monsieur Martin believes that Hu-Si-Na is present day Ghazni.³ We see that Hiuen Tsang has recorded Ga-Za-Na as Hu-Si-Na with three syllables.

Thus the word *kazan* appears as *gazan* in the Pashto couplet which is an indicator of the antiquity and genuineness of the word.

3. Sahid Loyak

This word is based on the context of digging of earth and burying of an idol (*ṣakhed*). In Pashto its root is from from *ṣakh* (buried) and *ṣakhawal* (to bury). Now we say *ṣakh so*.

I think that the infinitive of *ṣakhedal* had its own derivatives and *ṣakh kedal* is the later altered form of the word in the language. The subjunctive *yad* is very close to the Herawi dialect of Persian, such as *khurdaid* (*khurd*).⁴

Therefore *ṣakhaed loyak* means Loyak was buried. There are a lot of such examples in *Tabaqat al-Sufia* of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari, which was written in the Herawi dialect.

4. Loi Ano

In present day spelling it is written as *loyano*. *Loyan* is the plural of *loi* (meaning great and auspicious) in Pashto. At present the word is used to mean great and leader of the tribe. In Kandahar the phrase *da keli loyan aw meshran sara ra ghund shwal* (the elders and leaders of the village gathered) is frequently used. The poet Karimdad has used *loi* to mean great and chief.

5. Boyela

This is an old pronunciation of (*byela*). *Byelal* and *boyelel* (to lose)

1. Ancient History of India, p. 42.

2. Travels of Hiuen Tsang, Book 12.

3. Ancient History of India, p. 40.

4. Farhang-i-Tabakat al-Sufia, Habibi.

have the same meaning. Pashtuns living in mountainous regions still use *boyela* meaning (lost). The different pronunciation is due to dialectical differences in expressing vowels. As I said earlier there were settled differences among the Musaid, Wazir, and Afridi dialects in the past. *Boyela* (*byelowala*, *byelo*, *byla*) is a past perfect which is *bākht* (lost) in Persian.

6. Loyā

The present day *loy* is from the same root which is a noun of instrument. Such words were commonly used in the past but are rare now. For example now we use *khandā* (laugh), *zharā* (cry), *runā* (brightness) *natsā* (dance) but do not use *dzghalā* (to run), *shenrrā* (lust), *zalā* (illumination), *zarghā* (greenness), *zalmā* (youth), *shkelā* (beauty) *malā* (accompany) etc. There were many such words used in Pashto in the past and their use is seen in former poetry.¹ In the first line of the couplet *loyān* and *loyā* are both from the same root and this shows that the Loyak title is from a similar root.

7. Ksa tur?

The correct spelling of this word is *ksha tur* (kṣa tour) and as stated earlier both *kṣa tur* and *tur kaṣ* have been used in Pashto and this couplet also shows its ancient usage meaning warriors and swordsman. In Sanskrit it was *kashtaria* and it was in use in old Persian and Sughdi. The words *shah*, *shar*, *keshwar* are all from the same root.² Its use in the couplet reveals its genuineness and age of the couplet and the word.

8. Babrā ghulum

This word is likely (*ba barāghulum*) which, due to the meter of the couplet, is read as (*ba-barā-ghal-wam*) and its infinitive is *baragulum* or *baraghlal*. From its injunction it looks as though *barāghalul* is similar to the (*agāl*, *barāgledan*) of Persian. Asadi has used the word as *aghāl*. Firalawi has written it as *āhagli*.³

This infinitive appears as *barghlānedan* and *warghalānedan* in Persian also which, at the present time, is *shkārāl* or *pārāwal* (to incite) in Pashto and in Persian it has been described as “to incite someone to

1. See Pata Khazana, pp. 234-239.

2. See Tarikh Adabayat-i-Pashto, vol. 1, p. 65.

3. Lughat-i-Fars, p. 325.

fight.”¹ Baihaqi has written it as *barāgalanedan* and *agāleed*.²

In this Pashto couplet *ksa tur ba barāghlum* means: I will incite the army meaning I will bring my army to your aid.

In Amir Krorr's poem (757 CE) in Pata Khazana, the word *yarghelm*³ appears and I had read it as *parghalm* since in the poems of Khushal Khan and other poets of the middle ages *parghalal* and *yarghalm* have been used to mean to attack. After evaluating Loyak's couplet it is possible that the *yarghālm* of Amir Kroṛ may be *barghālam* from the infinitive of *barghalal*. This word has an old root and Amir Kror was a king during the time of the Loyaks who was a ruler in Ghor and Badghis, to the west of the Loyak domain. The closeness of the language between these two rulers is likely.

9. Bulum

From the structure of the couplet this word is composed of two parts (*ba-lum*). But I have been unable to find a sensible meaning for the word. I was also unable to find a word which fits in this context. Hence this word remains obscure and ambiguous.

10. Mamlā

This word is probably an interdiction of the dead word *mala* which is now used as (*ma mla*) meaning do not cooperate. Toward the end of the couplet *m/a* has been used. *Mal* in Pashto, until the present time, is used to mean a helper, assistant and friend. *M/a* (meaning to accompany and friendship) is a conditional noun such as (*loya*).

Shaikh Asad Suri, a former Pashto poet (1034 CE), in his poem has used *m/a* meaning to help the poor.⁴ Malikyar Gharshin (1176 CE) states: Freedom fighters come, gather around, to aid Shahab.⁵

Sometimes *mali* has been used to mean to stay. Abdul Qader Khan writes: God ruin this world as friends leave it while the foe stays. In another instance he says: The ignorant will believe in a structure whose foundation is in flooded water.

In all these instances *mali* means to stay and continue and it is possible that (*ma m/a*), in this context, means do not stay and will not

1. Burhan-i-Qata', vol. 1.

2. Tarikh-i-Baihaqi, Vol. 2 pp. 752-805.

3. Pata Khazana, p. 33.

4. Pata Khazana, pp. 41, 234.

5. Pashtana Shua'ra, vol. 1 p. 52.

stay.

The word's last letter alif (ا) which has been used instead of the present day ha (ه) is in use in the Ghalji, Wardak and Afridi dialects such as *ma kawa* (do not do) as *ma kwā*, and *ma khwrā* (do not eat). Qais Ali states that this alif represents the old form of language.

11. Tez yow?

Based on the rhyming structure of the couplet this word should be read as (*ti-zi-yow*). It is possible that the word *tāzyow* has been converted to *tezyow* based on the rule of the conversion of letters in different dialects.

From ancient times Arabic language and Arabs have been referred to as *tāzi*. In current linguistic structure we say (*ma mla da tāzeyow pa mla*) meaning do not continue cooperating with the Arabs.

Since Loyak Khanan of Ghazni was forced to embrace Islam another Loyak wrote to him from Kabul in this couplet: "It is pitiful that the Loyak idol has been buried in the soil of Ghazni and since you have lost your might I will send reinforcements and you should abstain from cooperating with the Arabs."

The Musaid and Wazir Pashtun tribes pronounce *tāzi* as *tezi*, the old name for Arabs which was commonly used in Pahlavi and Persian also. During the time of Arab incursions Firdowsi has used this word for Arabs, as *tāzi* and its plural form *tāzian*. He also refers to the Arab language as *tāzi* also.¹

Arabs have been called *tāzi* by other ethnicities also. During the Tang dynasty in China 618-910 CE, the Chinese wrote this name as Ta-Shi. In 960 CE Ta-shi, Amir of the Faithful, sent a delegation of 20 ambassadors to the Sung kings and a Tazi ambassador was sent to the court of Liao-Shi, the Chinese emperor.²

Most researchers are of the opinion that *tāzi* has been derived from the name of the Tayee tribe since the Banuti Arabs lived close to Iranians therefore all Arabs were named after this tribe.³

There is historical evidence where a nation has been named after a tribe such as Yunan (Greece) which has been named after the Yuniya

1. Shahnama of Firdowsi, vol. 5 p. 302 afterwards.

2. Middle Age Inquiry into Chinese Resources by Petrich Meider, 1887, London.

3. Bartold in Islamic Encyclopedia, vol. 2, article on Tajik.

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tribe, and Fars (the Arabic name for Iran) has been named after the Parsa tribe, which the Greeks called Persia and later became Pershia.¹

We see another example of this denomination in the couplet of Keramat where the language of the Pashtuns has been called "*lesan-i-ghaljia*" (the language of the Ghalji). But this is not just the language of Ghalji people but is spoken from the Indus to Herat by a large nation. However, since in India the Ghalji people represented this language, and since several thousand Ghalji nomads visited India every year Pashto there was known as the (Ghalji language. Erroneously the language of a large nation was named after one tribe.

Results

1. Dictionary of Shahnama, p. 84.

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The following is a summary of the literary and linguistic results of this research.

1. Loykān: A royal family in Zabulistan and Ghazni who were related to the Kabul Shah kings.

2. Their name has been derived from the Pashto word *loy* (great) and their language was Pashto.

3. The oldest Loyak king was named Wajwir (Hajwir) who lived around 622 CE. This name remains in the words *wajir* and Jaristan.

4. A Pashto couplet of these Loykan has been included in Keramat.

5. Their dialect was similar to the dialect of present day Wardak, Musaid and Wazir people.

6. These Loykan kept idols of their ancestors in temples and possibly worshipped them but after the advent of Islam they became Moslems.

7. Their struggle against the Arab armies, Safavi and Ghaznavi kingdoms, lasted for several centuries.

8. They seem to be close to the Ghalji (Khalji) hence their language was called the "Khaljia language."

9. The root of Gazna, which was the old name of Ghazni, can be seen in Sughdi and Persian languages. In Pashto it was (Gazan).

10. A Loyak, who was a Pashto poet, and was contemporary of Khanan (Khaqan) Loyak and Khenjel Kabul Shah, lived around 760 CE.

11. Like Amir Kror_ Suri he is considered an old Pashto poet.

12. The Loykan family was annihilated by Subuktagin (796 CE).

13. During the first Hijra century (7th century) Pashto had similarity with Pahlavi and Sughdi in the eastern parts of its sphere. Examples are words such as *zami*, *gazna*, *barāghulum* and *tāzi*. However, Amir Kror_'s poem, which we have obtained from Pata Khazana, written during this time, is devoid of such influence and the dialect spoken in the mountainous country of Ghor, had not come under the influence of foreign languages. The culture of the Sassani period had cast an influence over the language spoken in Zabul and Ghazni. This is not unusual since Ghazni and Zabul were on the crossroad of trade routes between India, Iran and Trans-Oxiana and Arabs also traveled through the region. Thus they left their cultural and linguistic influence on the people of the area.

14. During the early Christian era when the White Huns (Arian

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people) came to Zabulistan from Takharistan, the Hepthali (Abdali) settled in Arghandab and Helmand valleys and mountains as far as Kozak and amalgamated with the native Pashtuns (Pakhat) who lived there. These Pashtuns are still known as Abdali (Durrani) and the Gharzi=Ghalzi=Khalji also came under the influence of this admixing in Zabulistan. These white Aryans had lived for centuries in Takharistan and the greater Hindu Kush valleys had geographical links with northern Turks. Undoubtedly they introduced Turkish words which got mixed with Pashto words. As a result we see Turkish words in Pashto, such as *ulus* (nation), *jirga* (council), *yarghal* (attack) etc.

15. When these people were impacted by Arab (Islamic) forays they took refuge in the mountainous regions where they continued to speak in their language. We see vestiges of their language in Wardak, Musaid and Wazir dialects. However, those who lived in the lower regions in towns and cities, came under the linguistic and cultural influence of other neighboring areas. The dialect of present day Abdali people is an example of such influence.

16. Based on this information the historical lineage of Loykan is as follows:

Loyak Wajwair (Hajwair)
(contemporary of Ratbel and Kabulshah, around 738 CE)

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Loyak Khanan, son of Wajwair (Khaqan of Gardezi), contemporary of Khelchil Kabulshah, who converted to Islam, and then became an apostate (Loyak who recited the Pashto couplet was their contemporary around 780 CE)



Mohammad bin Khaqan (Gardezi), has an Islamic name and his religion was Islam (around 826 CE)



Abu Mansur Aflakh son of Mohammad (Abu Mansur Aflakh, Gardezi) who was defeated by Yaqub Layce Safari in Gardez (866 CE)



Abu Ali (Abubakar) Lawik
(~~Tabakat-i-Nasiri~~) or Mutlaq
Loyak (Siyasat Nama),
father-in-law of son of
Kabulshah, who were defeated
in Charkh of Logar by
Subuktageen (937 CE)



According to Gardezi:
Mansur (born 913 CE)
Mursal (born 961 CE)
Sahal (born 1010 CE)



The End

(Afghan Embassy in Karachi, 12 August, 1961)

Abdul Hai Habibi

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Emendation

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A text, dating before Islam, in which the title of Loyak has been mentioned, is the 25 lines inscription of Surkh Kotal of Baghlan which was discovered in the Nawshad temple of Baghlan and is now preserved in Kabul Museum.

The inscription, written in Greek script, in the Takhari language (composed of Pashto and Persian elements), was written during the time of the great Kushan king Kanishka. Based on its linguistic and historical importance it is most valuable. I have written a separate book on analysis of the language of the inscription.

In the inscription the word Loyak appears as Loix. The use of this title dates back to the period before Islam (7th century CE). It is a tablet which shows the Loyak family, and this title, were in use in olden times. After the publication of this treatise it has not possible to elaborate this issue I refer the reader to my book on the Baghlan inscription (Mother of Dari Language) and the discovery of an ancient language of Afghanistan.