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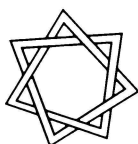
TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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THE DAWN OF PASHTUN LINGUISTICS: EARLY GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL WORKS AND THEIR MANUSCRIPTS

One finds the first attempt at a study of the Pashto language in the introductory section of one of the oldest works in this language to have come down to us in manuscript form, the treatise *Khayr al-bayān* by Bāyazīd Anṣarī (1525–1579). Written in the mid-sixteenth century, the work is represented by only two manuscripts, one copied in 1061/1651 (it was discovered in the twentieth century and changed hands several times; today at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) [1] and another in 1079/1668 (today in the Salarjang Museum in Hyderabad, India) [2]. It was published in Peshawar (1967) and Kabul (1975) on the basis of the first manuscript. The introductory part of the treatise contains instructions for conveying the sounds of the Afghan language in writing and a full list of the letters of the alphabet. This leads one to believe that the treatise was the first work to be written in the alphabet employed there, which is confirmed by a remark by one of Bāyazīd's pupils and followers, the poet Dawlat Lawāṅay: "The Afghan language was difficult, no one read or wrote in it, and he (Bāyazīd — *V. K.*) created 13 letters for it" [3]. G. Morgenstierne, a great authority in Iranian studies, believed that Bāyazīd created a "special writing system for Pashto". His view is shared by contemporary philologists at the Pashto Academy of Peshawar University [4].

Later, the writing system and suggestions for its improvement were treated by Bāyazīd's junior contemporary and ideological opponent Ākhūnd Darweza (1533–1638) and his son, 'Abd al-Karīm, in their joint work *Makhzan al-islām* [5]. The best-known Pashtun literary figure, statesman, and military leader Khushḥāl-khān Khaṫak (1613–1689) also contributed to the subject. It was he who proposed special graphemes for specific sounds in Pashto [6]. But actual linguistic works with an investigation of grammar and lexicon began to appear only in the second half of the eighteenth century. The first of them were elementary and relatively primitive teaching materials and conversation books. The earliest of them was the Pashto textbook *Ma'rifat al-afghānī* ("Learning of the Afghan Language") by *mullā* Pīr Muḥammad Kākaṙ in 1186/1773, a well-known poet who also gained fame as a preacher and theologian and was invited by Aḥmad-shāh Durrānī (1747—1773) to be the teacher and tutor of members of the Shah's family. He presented his work to the Shah's brother Sulaymān during this prince's brief reign.

Ma'rifat al-afghānī was published in 1341/1923 in Lahore to fill an order by Kandahar book-traders and was reissued in 1356/1977 in Kabul, edited and with a forward by Ḥabīballāh Rafī'. The edition follows the text of a manuscript dated to 1230/1815 held today in the collection of the Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan [7]. The work consists of 10 chapters, but the main body of the text begins with the fifth chapter following versified glorification of Allah, the Prophet Muḥammad, his *aṣḥāb*s, and the reigning ruler. The fifth chapter contains phrases and words often used by rulers of various levels, grandees, dignitaries, and *dīwān* officials (on drawing up *firmān*s and other documents, rewards and punishments, the organization of meetings, etc.). The sixth chapter explains works and expressions used in everyday life (commerce and prices, agriculture, gardening, irrigation, etc.). The seventh chapter treats clothing, food, and drink. The eighth gives words and phrases used by nomads, livestock-breeders, and shepherds. The ninth chapter contains hunting terms. The tenth chapter is a general dictionary with five thematic sections and one alphabetical section. It is clear that the *Ma'rifat al-afghānī* is not a grammar, as some researchers have presented it, but a textbook whose author pursued the aim to create a guide for studying the Afghan language. The Pashto-speaking prince Sulaymān probably had little need to use it; it was more likely intended for Dari-speaking governors, city heads, courtiers, and officials who were supposed to learn the basis of Pashto syntax and morphology in order to draw up court documents and official correspondence so that Pashto could become the language of administration and other matters in the then capital. These goals dictated the content and structure of the textbook for adult students. It presumed that grammar would be absorbed from phrases and individual words given in various grammatical forms. A sentence of identical content is given with the verb in more than 20 forms for various persons, numbers, and tenses. Although the work is hardly a scholarly achievement even by the standards of the time, it is of interest for the author's methodology and has great practical significance. In our day, it can be viewed as a relic of cultural life in the administrative, economic, and literary centre of the Durrānī state.

Somewhat later, two works of relatively large scale appeared. The first of them, entitled *Āmad-nāma-yi afghānī* ("Introduction to the Afghan Language"), contains paradigms for verb conjugation and a dictionary of the most widely used words. The grammatical part consists of alphabetically arranged chapters; for each verb we find the infinitive, present and past tenses, participles of both voices, imperative, and forms for all persons in singular and plural. The end of each chapter enumerates several other words beginning with the same letter with Persian equivalents. The dictionary section includes nouns of kinship, parts of the body, animals, birds, etc. and closes with the months of the solar year. Judging by the orthography and grammatical forms in the only extant manuscript (supposedly autograph, today in the India Office collection), produced at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Mustafaabad (Rampore), the author of the work was a native of the Eastern Pashtun region [8]. The second work, composed like the first at the turn of the eighteenth — nineteenth centuries, is the *Kitāb-i khiyālāt-i zamānī dar lughāt-i zabān-i afghānī* ("Book of Reflections on Words in the Afghan Language"); it remained unfinished. The extant manuscript (from the same collection) is likely the author's rough draft and was produced during the rule of Zamān-shāh (1793—1801). Only the third chapter was written in full: a Pashto-Persian dictionary. In the author's conception, the first chapter was to contain two sections on the evolution of the alphabet; the completed part provides the author's observations on Afghan writers' specific uses of the alphabet and cites a "code" on the alphabet from the *Makhzan al-islām*. Apparently, the work's second chapter was to treat grammar, but it remained unwritten [9].

The grammatical and lexicographical works prepared by Pashtun philologists in India in the early nineteenth century differ from their predecessors in the incomparably greater size, richness, diversity, and alphabetic volume of their lexicon and their detailed, in-depth investigation of grammar. These works display an utterly different structure and methodology for conveying lexicographic material thanks to the authors' familiarity with the lexicographical traditions of India and Iran, use of interpretive dictionaries drawn up by Indian and Iranian lexicographers over the centuries. Besides, this new — in comparison with works from the eighteenth century — approach to describing grammatical categories as formal paradigms indicates the compilers' knowledge of European literature and ability to understand, interpret, and describe independently the structure and functioning of Pashto.

Several factors stimulated the appearance of dictionaries, grammatical essays and commentaries. First, there was the necessity of identifying, analyzing, and generalizing linguistic facts, for by that time a large number of works in Pashto were in circulation in manuscript form. Second, there was the need to establish to the greatest possible degree certain standards for grammar and usage, as this body of texts was fairly diverse in terms of dialect; norms were also desirable for the oral form of literary speech to encompass the main dialect groups, if not the entire spectrum of dialects. Third, we find a desire to create materials both for the Afghans themselves and for their foreign neighbors, mainly Dari- and Hindi-speakers. Political motives in the appearance of these works, or at least some of them, were also of importance. The first in the series, *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* (1221/1806 07), was written at the order

of British authorities (East India Company); the next, *Farhang-i irtiḍā 'ī* (1225/1810), for the Indian raja Pīray-La'l, dedicated to the "lord of the sword and pen Nāzim al-dawla Sayf al-mulūk Dūstdār-khān Mister Archibald Seton Bahādur Shahāmat Jang"; another, *'Ajā 'ib al-lughāt*, drawn up by the brother of the first work's author, was a continuation of *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat*.

The compiler of *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat*, Nawwāb Maḥabbat[allāh]-khān Shāhbāz-i Jang, born into the tribe of Barets, was the fourth son of a major military and political figure, leader of a group of Afghan tribes in India grouped together under the name Rohilla, Ḥāfiz al-Mulk Ḥāfiz Raḥmat-khān Bahādur [10]. Setbacks in military actions against one of the Muslim rulers in India, Shujā' al-Dawla, led to the leader's death (1188/1774). All members of his family, including Maḥabbat-khān, were taken captive. In 1775, they were freed by the British resident in Luckhnow, Bristow, after which Maḥabbat settled there to serve the English for the rest of his life (he received a pension from them). He learned Hindustani — his literary mentor and teacher for this language was Mīrzā Ja'far 'Alī ḥaḍrat — Persian, which he studied with a certain Makīn, and English. In Luckhnow he wrote a *mathnawī* in Hindustani *Sīsī u Panū*, or *Asrār-i Maḥabbat — dīwān*s in Pashto, Persian, and Hindustani. Finally, not long before his death, he created his main work on the grammar of the Afghan language with a Pashto-Persian dictionary at the behest of Colonel Ẕahīr al-Mulk Mumtāz al-Dawla John Collins and the governor of Luckhnow, Nawwāb Ashraf al-Umarā sir George Hilaro Barlow, Brt. [11]. It is of interest that earlier, his brothers sometimes came to him who after the death of their father was head of the family to speak in secret in their native tongue in violation of a prohibition.

Not one of Maḥabbat-khān's works has been published, nor any of the linguistic works of his contemporaries, despite their significance for both Iranian studies and Indology. Moreover, the European scholars who used these works as important sources did not even deign to describe them: Maḥabbat-khān's work, which was apparently put to practical use almost immediately, soon drew the attention of European scholars as the most valuable storehouse of information about the Afghan language. The greatest use of it was made by the Russian Academician B. A. Dorn, who drew up the first grammar of Pashto in Europe and later acquired for the Asiatic Museum a copy of the manuscript from the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta [12].

Maḥabbat-khān divided his work into two parts. The first, entitled *Dar mushtaqqāt* ("On Derived Forms"), treats verb conjugation; the second, called *Dar mutafarriqāt* ("Various"), is a Pashto-Persian dictionary. The first part provides in detailed descriptive style with reading indications the conjugations of each person in both genders and numbers for each tense and aspect of the active and passive of 243 verbs in alphabetical order; the section is divided into 28 chapters (*rawḍa*), one for each initial letter. The chapters are divided into subsections (*faṣl*); each of them contains verbs with identical second letters. The totality of forms for one tense-aspect category is brought together in a *baḥth*. The work presents the infinitive, plusquamperfect, hypothetical, perfect, past tense of the perfective and imperfective aspects, present and future of the subjunctive, imperative: all of these forms are also given in the passive and with negation. In a number of cases, personal forms,

especially the third person, display significant deviations from the "standard", as they are oriented toward dialects of the Eastern group. Words in the dictionary are also arranged in accordance with the first and second letters, producing a different structure than that found in many Persian dictionaries based on the first and last letter or letters.

Maḥabbat-khān was the first to attempt a description of the sounds in Pashto absent in Arabic and Persian. He compares the pronunciation of retroflexes with the pronunciation of similar sounds in Hindi; the description of other sounds is approximate and does not correctly indicate articulation: he says of *ts* that its pronunciation is between [j] and [ch], and that medio-lingual *s'h* is between Arabic [x] and Indian [kh]. Maḥabbat-khān was also the first, in both Eastern and Western linguistic literature, to establish the presence of the objective (ergative) construction in Pashto. In this he was ahead of European researchers; moreover, many persisted in viewing this construction as an unusual form of the passive. In clarifying the conjugation of transitive verbs, the author wrote: "This is the rule for transitive verbs which agree with masculine or feminine, singular or plural, and in number in accordance with the object, while the subject can be masculine or feminine, singular or plural". The work has no special section on pronouns, but the paradigms of both voices and aspects allow one to determine all personal pronouns in direct and oblique cases, as well as enclitic pronouns. There we find the forms of several categories that are not presented directly: the copula, from the paradigm for the perfect passive, also from the passive conjugation of the helping verb *shwǝl* ("to become"), not given independently, etc. *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* lacks sections on nominal parts of speech, but much information on nouns and adjectives — gender, number, case — can be gleaned from the dictionary entries. There are interesting cases where the author fails to find a Persian equivalent or synonym for an Afghan word and is compelled to provide an extended interpretive description or an Indian equivalent, sometimes using both methods simultaneously: for example, "*ghobal* is the place where they pour out cut down cereals and drive bulls across them to separate the grain from the straw, called *dā'in* in Hindustani".

Though he provided on the whole a fairly systematic exposition of the Pashto verb, Maḥabbat-khān intentionally ignored some of its forms and did not set himself the task of separately describing nominal parts of speech. But, as we have seen, some of these gaps are filled by the verb paradigms in the first part and in the dictionary part: personal and enclitic pronouns, verb endings for the first and second persons in the past tense of transitive verbs, all forms of the copula, case, gender, and number of nouns and adjectives.

It seems to us that the work is important not only as the first lexical-grammatical study of Pashto, but also in part as a description of one of its dialects: in phonology and grammar, the work coincides with the Eastern group of dialects spoken by tribes of the Kharshbūn sub-branch of the Sarbanī branch; speakers of this dialect were the authors of the well-known Afghan works referred to by both Maḥabbat-khān and Ilahyār-khān, author of the dictionary *'Ajā'ib al-lughāt* (see n. 15).

This four-language dictionary, to this day unpublished and unstudied, was drawn up in 1228/1813. The British Library possesses two manuscripts — Or. 399 and Or. 4491 — the first of which was likely made during the author's life in

1819. Another copy is held in one of the largest collections of Pashto manuscripts, the Riza Library in Rampore [13].

In the introduction, Ilahyār-khān provides more detail than his brother on the family's genealogy, going to the fifth generation. The family was descended from the Badalzī clan of the Kotakhel subdivision of the Baṙets tribe of the Sarbanī branch, one of the oldest branches of the Pashtun genealogical tree. "Under my father's rule", he writes, "many Afghans of each *khel* came to India from the *wilāyat* (the original Pashtun lands — *V. K.*), so that in its abundance of Afghans, India strove to supercede the *wilāyat*". Imprisoned, surrounded by a foreign language, the brothers tried not to forget their native tongue and made efforts to perfect their knowledge of it. Ilahyār writes that he conversed frequently with Afghans, read, studied with an *ustād*; hence, he claims that "in my knowledge of Pashto, its words and meanings, I gave no ground to the best specialists in the language, both those born in India and those born in the *wilāyat*". After the move to Luckhnow, the author's only chance to speak Pashto was with his brothers, but a subsequent move to Bareilly deprived him of those constant meetings. He would come to Luckhnow for only one or two months a year to speak with Maḥabbat-khān. Thirty-six years passed — Ilahyār continues — and many words began to fade in his memory; after the death of his elder brother in 1808, he decided to write down everything that had remained in his memory "for my descendents and for all the Afghans of India, for it is necessary to understand and know one's language to grasp one's essence and nobility, so that it be clear to which kin and tribe a person belongs and what his descent is. The author belongs to the tribe of Sarbanī, and therefore he gave preference to the lexicon of his ancestors, leaving aside the language of other tribes except for those words that are common or necessary to all" [14].

In the dictionary entries, the author mentions 26 Persian dictionaries that he used in his work, drawn up between 1220 and 1736. References to the *Kashf al-lughāt* (1543/4) and *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (1608/9) predominate [15]. In turn, the *'Ajā'ib al-lughāt* served as a source for other lexicographers; in particular, it was used by H. L. Raverty in drawing up his Pashto-English dictionary.

In the introduction, Ilahyār explains the specific characteristics of Pashto writing and phonetics, claiming that they are observed in the orthography and reading "accepted among the inhabitants of the *wilāyat*, Ākhūnd Darweza, Ākhūnd Qāsim, and other authors of prose and poetic works known and read by the *'ulamā'* of the *wilāyat*" [16]. Since the verb was treated in detail by Maḥabbat, Ilahyār in his introduction and in dictionary entries gives only basic information about nominal parts of speech. For the first time, we find a systematic presentation of nouns in five types in the masculine and four types in the feminine depending on the formation of the plural; syntactic means of expressing the plural are also given.

An important part of the introduction is the author's proposed classification of Pashto dialects, which divides them into three groups, indicates the boundaries of Pashtun settlement and the territorial extent of each dialect group and phonetic isoglosses that form the basis for dialectic division. One should note that in European studies the simple and evident two-part classification of dialects appeared significantly later. A tripartite division, coinciding with that determined by Ilahyār, was only established 150 years later,

میشود سه نقطه درتحت اونهاده چه میشود

وچون ثقیل ترمیکرد دسه نقطه برفوق اونهاده

خه میشود وكا هي دال چون ثقیل میکرد دجزمك

مركب درتحت اوایراد كرده مي آید ال میشود

وكا هي مهمله چون ثقیل میکرد دجزمك

مركب درتحت اوایراد كرده مي آید میشود وكاهي

معجمه چون اندك ثقیل میکرد دسه نقطه

برفوق اونهاده میشود وچونثقیل ترمیکرد

یك نقطه برفوق اوویك نقطه درتحت

اونهاده میشود وكاهي شين معجمه چون

ثقیل میکرد دنیزیك نقطه برفوق اوویك نقطه

درتحت اونهاده میشود بلان اي عزیز

كه درا شعار افغاني شعراء ایشان چندلاني

مبالغه

Fig. 1

بیدار ندیمکرد دید در جواب صاحب والدنا قبل محمد وحی لب منطق کشاد

که از در کوالف زبان فرنگ افغانی بحسن دانش برد با ل ال

مرتب نکرده بده کلص به توضیح قواعد این زبان حتی الامکان خواهد کوشید

لهذا این مصنف این که موسوم بحبت خال دلدها فظ الملک حافظ رحمت خان

بعد از مغفور قوم افغان بتاریخ ست باسماع اداره نکته دانی وسخنی فهمی د قدر شناسی

نواب مستطاب معلی القاب اشرف الله امراوسه چارخ هلرد با رلوبرد

کوه نو فر خنر ل بعاد رکه طبع دالکیس لب دنوار سند و دقیقه شناسی ست عقده مالا

واکوة د دین ذ گا اکش از حرو و الاگهران دانش اس سی کوی سبقت ربود

بطریق حرو ف تنجی لغات زبان افغانی بر این قسم ترتیب داد که این رساله

مشتمل ست بر د و باب باب اول در مشتقات باب نانی در متفرقات

دهروا حد منقضی بربت وبنت روضه وبر روضه منقسم بر فصول وا کجابات

برقد رکه باشد و فصول را مقید کردم بحرف نکه مفصل حرف اول ست دحرف

آخر کلمه ملنقت نسده حرا که حرو ف آخر کلمات در این زبان اکثر لادم در بای

ظاهره های محققی دریا وختایی مورد فی مخول میبا سد دس برآورد دن لغت

طالب را اشتغلی سند وا ین مختصر را برباض المحبت موسوم ساخم بقی دائی

داید

in the 1960s; still later, dialectological work led to the identification of a fourth group [17].

The dictionary was primarily intended for the Afghans of India who needed to know Hindustani, although, as the author notes on many occasions, he was driven mainly by a desire to collect and preserve for future generations of Pashtuns the lexicon of their native language. Naturally, the work, with its word-list in alphabetical order according to the Indian words, was also intended for foreign readers for translations into Afghan, Persian, and Arabic. Ilahyār tries to find in each of these languages synonyms to translate the word in question, often resorting to extended explanations, and occasionally to examples from Afghan and Persian poetry. The Hindustani word-list takes into account the lexicon of the Kather region and its cities — Hafizabad (Pilibhit), Bareilly, Aonla, and others. Moreover, the lexicon of rural locations written down by the compiler, including agricultural terms, reflects, in his words, the speech of peasant informants.

In 1225/1810, three years after *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* and three years earlier than *'Ajā'ib al-lughāt*, Nawwāb Muḥammad-Irtiḍā-khān, the son of Nawwāb Amān-khān of the 'Umarkhel tribe, drew up the Pashto-Persian-Hindustani dictionary *Farhang-i irtiḍā'ī* (see above). It remained virtually unknown, surviving in a single manuscript copy [18], and escaped the attention of European Pashto scholars. Unaware of Maḥabbat's work, or choosing to ignore it, Irtiḍā-khān expresses regret that before him no one had deigned to write about the Afghan language; he hopes that his work will fill this gap. But the work is inferior to those of Maḥabbat and Ilahyār in structure and execution; it is closer

to the first dictionaries and grammars of the late eighteenth century: its dictionary section consists of thematic sections, while the grammar presents only the basic categories of the verb.

The early nineteenth century saw the appearance of yet another work, a small five-language (Persian-Pashto-Kashmiri-English-Hindustani) dictionary intended for purely practical use, the *Afrīdī-nāma* or *Farhang-i Afrīdī*, drawn up around 1231/1815 by the Afghan poet and *'ālim* Qāsim 'Alī-khān Afrīdī, who knew Turkī as well.

Subsequent grammatical and lexicographical works by Afghan authors dated to the 1860—90s were written after the appearance of solid European studies and represent the second stage in the development of Pashto language studies; their study is beyond the limits of the present article. The best of them are *Ghuncha-yi roh* and *Tuḥfat al-amīr* (1280/1863) by *mawlawī* Nūr Muḥammad Afghān-i Qandahārī, who also is the author of a work on the history of Afghanistan in Persian. In the manuscript, he calls himself Ḥāfiẓ Nūr Muḥammad Nūrī Qandahārī Hotak.

The dictionaries of the Afghan language presented here also form an organic part of Persian lexicography. Moreover, they could draw the attention of Indologists. It is significant that among the works under review there is not one interpretive (Pashto-Pashto) dictionary and not one grammar in Pashto. Interpretations of words and grammatical explanations are given in Persian, no matter where the works were composed in the territories where Pashto was spoken, from Kandahar to the central regions of Northern India.

Notes

1. G. Morgenstierne, "Notes on an old Pashto manuscript, containing the Khair al-bayān of Bāyazīd Ansārī", *New Indian Antiquary*, II (1939—40), pp. 566—74; D. N. Mackenzie, The Khayr ul-bayān. — *Indo-Iranica* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 134—40; V. V. Kushev, *Afganskaia rukopisnaia kniga (ocherki afganskoĭ pis'mennoĭ kul'tury)* (Manuscript Afghan Book: Essays on Afghan Written Culture) (Moscow, 1980), pp. 31, 120—1, 172; M. S. Pelevin, "Pashto (Afghan) manuscripts from the State Library of Berlin", *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, 6 (1994), pp. 339—42. For publications of *Khayr al-bayān*, see n. 3.

2. *Də Hind də kitābkhāno paṣ'hto khaṭṭī nuskhe yā də Hind də dzīno kitābkhāno də paṣ'hto khaṭṭī nuskho fihrist*, mu'allif Zalmay Hewādmal (English title — Catalogue of Pashto Manuscripts in Indian Libraries by Zalmy Hewadmal) (Kabul, 1363/1984), pp. 9—10, 207—14.

3. *Khayr al-bayān*, taṣnīf Bāyazīd Ansārī, tartīb, tadwīn aw hawāshī Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad 'Abd al-Quddūs Qāsimī pežandgəlw Mawlānā 'Abd al-Qādir (Peshawar, 1967), pp. 50, 65; *Khayr al-bayān də Bāyazīd Roṣ'hān*, sarīza 'Abd al-Hayy Habībī, də Bāyazīd Roṣ'hān yādawəna 'Abd al-Ra'uf Benawā, də Khayr al-bayān līkdūd aw lughatnāma 'Abd al-Shakūr Rashād. Də Ḥabīballāh Rafī' aw Zalmī Hewādmal pə ihtimām (Kabul, 1353/1934—35), p. 63.

4. Morgenstierne, *op. cit.*; *Khayr al-bayān*, taṣnīf Bāyazīd Ansarī, p. 66; Kushev, *op. cit.*, pp. 104—5.

5. *Makhzan*, taṣnīf Ākhūnd Darweza-Bābā, muqaddama sayyid Taqwīm al-Haqq Kākā-khel (Peshawar, 1969), pp. 137—8; Kushev, *op. cit.*, pp. 107—9; manuscript B 2483 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 251 a.

6. *Kulliyāt-i Khushḥāl-khān Khaiak*, sara də muqaddama aw hawāshī də Dost Muḥammad Kāmil Muhmand, dwayəm dzal (Peshawar, 1960), pp. *alif—zā*; Ḥabīballāh Rafī', "Zandzīrī yā Khaṭṭ-nāma də Khushḥāl-khān Khaiak ījād", *Kābul*, No. 744 (appendix); Kushev, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 110—1.

7. Pīr Muḥammad Kākaṛ, *Ma'rifat al-afghānī*, də Ḥabīballāh Rafī' pə ihtimām (Kabul, 1356/1937—38); Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Rohī, "Də paṣ'hto lumṛanī darsī kitāb-ta yawa katəna", *Kābul*, No. 733, pp. 1—14; Zarghūna Riṣ'htīn Zīwar, "Də paṣ'hto zhəbe də grāmar tārīkhcha", *Paṣ'hto tsīrəne* (Kabul, 1356/1937—38), pp. 288—304. The catalogue of the collection remains unpublished.

8. Zarghūna Riṣ'htīn Zīwar, *op. cit.*; *Idem*, "Də paṣ'hto qāmūsūno yaw lanḍ fihrist", *Paṣ'hto chāpī āsār* (Kabul, 1356/1937—38), pp. 265—76; *Catalogue of the Pashto Manuscripts in the Libraries of the British Isles by the Late James Fuller Blumhardt and D. N. Mackenzie* (London, 1965), No. 54.

9. Pareshān Khaiak, "Paṣ'hto-ke də lughatnawesəy dwa sawa kāla", *Paṣ'hto chāpī āsār* (Kabul, 1357/1938—39), pp. 340—3; Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Rohī, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—14; *Catalogue of the Pashto Manuscripts*, No. 56.

10. See, for example, Jos J. L. Gommans, The Rise of the Indo-Afghan Empire, c[irca] 1710—1780 (Leiden–New York–Köln, 1995), *passim*.

11. Manuscripts of the *Riyāḍ al-muḥabbat* are held in the repositories of India, Great Britain and St. Petersburg (see pp. 178—84, 293—4 of Zalmay Hewādmal's catalogue mentioned above, the catalogue by J. F. Blumhardt and D. N. Mackenzie (Nos. 57—60), and my *Afganskaia rukopisnaia kniga* and *Opisanie rukopiseĭ pashto Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Pashto Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies) (Moscow, 1976), pp. 17—23).

12. About *Riyāḍ al-muḥabbat*'s use see V. V. Kushev, "Grammatiko-leksikograficheskoe sochinenie 'Riĭaz al-makhabbat' i ego mesto v afganovedenii" ("A grammatico-lexicographical work *Riyāḍ al-muḥabbat* and its place in Afghan studies"), in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Ezhegodnik. 1970* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 73—82; also *idem*, "The formation and study of the Afghan manuscript collection in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/1 (March 1988), pp. 40—8, and *idem*, "Pionery izucheniia afganskogo iazyka" ("The pioneers in the study of the Afghan language"), *Vostochnyĭ arkhiv*, 4—5 (Moscow, 2000), pp. 121—5.

13. Catalogue of the Pashto Manuscripts, Nos. 61—62; *Də Hind də kitābkhāno pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskhe yā də Hind də dzīno kitābkhāno də pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskho fihrist*, pp. 187—8, 296—7. A brief preliminary information is given in V. V. Kushev, "Ilakhĭar-khan i ego chetyrēkh'iazychnyĭ slovar' 'Adzhaib al-lugat'" ("Ilahyār-khān and his four-language vocabulary *'Ajā'ib al-lughāt*"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii i kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, X (Moscow, 1974), pp. 141—6. A full lexicographical and lexicological study of the dictionary from manuscript Or. 399, the microfilm of which I could receive due to the courtesy of Prof. D. N. Mackenzie, is on the way now.

14. Sařbanī is the largest of the four main branches of Pashtun tribes according to their own traditional genealogies. It received its name from Sařban, the elder son of the legendary ancestor of all Pashtuns, Qays. Sařbanī are subdivided into two branches — Kharshbūn and Sharkhbūn. The majority of Eastern Afghan tribes belong to the former. Darweza and Qāsim, mentioned by Ilahyār, were descendents from these Eastern tribes. However, Bařeṭs, a native tribe of Ilahyār, belongs to the Western sub-branch of Sharkhbūn. The territory of Bařeṭs is the Quetta region, whence (from the settlements of Shorawak and Pishin) one group of the tribe moved to India and entered the service of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat-khān.

15. The titles of the dictionaries are given in Kushev, *Afganskaia rukopisnaia kniga*, p. 77.

16. Ākhūnd Darweza Nangarhārī is the author of the above-mentioned *Makhzan al-islām* and many other religious works, written mostly together with his son 'Abd al-Karīm. Ākhūnd Muḥammad Qāsim Pāpīnkhel Shīnwārī was head of the Peshawar and Hashtnagar *'ulamā'* in the seventeenth century and also the author of *Fawā'id al-sharī'at*. There are manuscripts of works by Darweza and Qāsim — three copies of *Makhzan al-islām*, including the most complete one, and a copy of *Fawā'id al-sharī'at* — in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. They were repeatedly published.

17. See, for example, N. A. Dvoriankov, "Literaturnyĭ iazyk i dialekty pashto v Afganistane" ("Literature language and Pashto dialects in Afghanistan"), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 2 (1964), pp. 142—6; Ch. M. Kieffer, "Afghanistan: V. Languages", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I, p. 505; M. T. Henderson, "Four varieties in Pashto", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 103/3 (1983), pp. 595—7.

18. Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, prepared by Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, vol. 9 (Patna, 1925), No. 839; *Də Hind də kitābkhāno pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskhe yā də Hind də dzīno kitābkhāno də pas'hto khaṭṭī nuskho fihrist*, pp. 189—90, 297—9.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Ākhūnd Darweza, *Makhzan al-islām*, manuscript B 2483 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, North-Western India (Peshawar?), 1166/1752—53, fol. 251b, 24.00×15.00 cm.

Fig. 2. Maḥabbat-khān, *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat*, manuscript D 707—I, the same collection, Calcutta, *ca.* 1855, fol. 2b, 31.00×19.05 cm.