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# Sergei Andreyev. Notes on the Ormur people

# Notes on the Ormur people

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The Ōrmur̂s (Ōrmær̂s) (or Baraki, as they call themselves) are a small group of people living in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Ormurs call their original language Bargista or Bargasta. There are different views on the affiliation of the language of the Ormurs to the Western or Eastern Iranian group. According to Morgenstierne, one of the main authorities on the linguistics of Afghanistan, the Ormur language, alongside with the Parachi language<sup>1</sup>, are the last remnants of the South-East group of Iranian languages, which is an intermediate group of languages situated between the Western and Eastern groups and stretching from Kurdish, in a narrow belt towards the East (Morgenstierne, 1929, p. 30, p. 36). The Ormuri language sometimes agrees with (or, according to Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson, 1921, p. 124), is the nearest relative of) Māzandarāni, the North-West dialects of Persian and the Kurdish language (Morgenstierne, 1929, p. 28). There is clear evidence of influence of the Dardic languages belonging to the Indic group of Indo-Iranian languages (Grierson, 1921, p. 124). The language consists of two distinct dialects: the Ōrmuri of Kaniguram (Waziristan) and the Ōrmuri of Baraki-i-Barak (Logar). The Kaniguram form is the more archaic. The original language of the Ormurs is preserved only in Kaniguram and some villages in the Logar valley (south of Kabul). In other Logar villages the Ormurs speak Pashto or Persian, in the Peshawar district they speak only Pashto (Grierson, 1921, p. 123; Morgenstierne, 1964, v. I. p. 310). The Ormuri language itself possesses a great number of Pashto loan-words (Morgenstierne, 1964, v. I, p. 313). Ōrmuri is not a written language, except for few songs it possesses no literature. There is a tradition among the Ormurs that their language was invented by their ancestor Mir Yusuf in order to separate them from the Pashtuns (Leech, 1838, p. 728). According to another tradition the Ōrmuri language was invented by "a very old and learned man 'Umar Laban(?) (Umar Laban

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Parachi language is closely related to Ōrmuri. In 1926 Parachi was spoken in the Hindukush valley of Shutul, North-East of Charikar, in Ghujulan, in Nijran and in Pachaghan. According to the tradition, Panjshir, a valley near Kabul, was formerly populated by the Parachis (Morgenstierne, 1929, p.18).

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in Rose's spelling) some 400 years ago<sup>2</sup> (Rose, 1914 p. 483).

For the first time in history the Ōrmurs were mentioned by Bābur in his famous Memoirs. There they are called Bereki. It is noteworthy that despite the confusing Afghan tradition Bbur distinguishes "the Bereki people" and their language which is also called Bereki from the Tajiks and the Afghans and their languages (Bābur, 1921, v. I, p. 224). Another medieval source which provides some information on the Ōrmur people is Ḥālnāmah-i-Pir-i-Rawxān by 'Ali Muḥammad Mukhliṣ (Mukhliṣ, 1986). The Ḥālnāmah is a Persian treatise of the XVIIth century describing the lifestory of the most famous Ōrmur Bāyazid Anṣāri (1521-5?-1581?), the founder of the Rawshani movement, as well as the Rawshani activities after his death.

There are two discrepant legendary views on the origin of the Ōrmur̂s. According to the more popular version they came from Yemen in the time of Maḥmud of Ghazni. They helped him in conquering India and in return were granted Kaniguram by the sultan (Leech, 1838, p. 728). All the Ōrmur̂ people descended from two brothers Mir-i-Barak and Mir-i-Barakat, who led them from Yemen. The above-mentioned Mir Yūsuf was the son of Mir-i-Barakat (Morgenstierne, 1964, p. 311). Another tradition says that they are descended from the Kurds (Elphinstone, 1839, v. I, p. 411). At an unknown time they came from Iran and settled in the Logar valley, and later advanced to Kaniguram (Grierson, 1921, p. 123).

An Afghan popular tradition claims that the Orakzai, Afridi, Mangal, Waziri, Khattak and Khogiani tribes of the Pashtuns are of Ōrmurı origin (Bellew, 1862, p. 63; Afzal Khān, 1893, p. 222; Eng. tr., pp. 185-186). Bellew even derives the Afghan ruling tribe of Barakzai³ belonging to the Durrani union from the Barakı. Obviously it is a very artificial association. The Afghan tradition says that the Ōrmurs constitute a separate tribe within the Afghan/Pashtun nation. They are considered to be the descendants of a certain Ūrmar, an adopted son of Sharkhbūn, grandson of Qays 'Abd al-Rashid, a legendary ancestor of all Pashtuns (Ibbetson, 1883 p. 205; Morgenstierne, 1961, p. 223).

Some British Indian authors following the Afghan tradition and perhaps being confused by the discrepancy in the ethnic name  $\overline{O}$ r-muî/Baraki even wrote about two different peoples. Thus, Rose distinguishes Barik (Barakki), "a clan of Pathans claiming Arab descent" (Rose, 1914, v. II, p. 66) and Urmar (Urmur or Ormur), a non-Afghan tribe of the unknown origin, classified as a section<sup>4</sup> of the Mahsud Wazirs (Rose, 1914,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The book where this tradition was referred to was published in 1914.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Barakzai dynasty ruled over Afghanistan from 1826 until 1973.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Perhaps at that time the Ormurs of Waziristan were included into the Mahsud tribe as a ham -

v. III, p. 483). Rose also states that the birth-place of the Mahsud Wazirs is said to be Kaniguram which is inhabited chiefly by the Ōrmur̂s (Rose, 1914, v. III, p. 501). Raverty, on the opposite, considers the Ōrmur̂s as a Pashtun tribe and Baraki as a "Tajik people speaking a language of their own" (Raverty, 1888, p. 679).

In the first part of the XIXth century the number of the  $\overline{O}$ rmurs was about eight thousand families (Elphinstone, 1839, v. I, p. 411). In Kaniguram<sup>5</sup> there were 2000 families in 1838 (Leech, 1838, p. 728) and some 3000 families in the first part of the XXth century (Caroe, 1964, p. 23). In 1921 there were 400-500 houses in Kaniguram (Grierson, 1921, p. 123). At the end of the XIXth century the number of the  $\overline{O}$ rmurs in the Panjab province was 3737 families: 34 families in the Derah Ismail Khan District, 340 in the Bannu District, 3187 in the Peshawar District, 176 in the Kohat District (Ibbetson, 1883, p. 206). According to 1981 Census of Pakistan the number of people in Kaniguram area is 12. 239<sup>6</sup> (Census, 1981, p. 92). The number of the  $\overline{O}$ rmurs inside Afghanistan was and is unknown<sup>7</sup>.

All scholarly accounts agree that the territories of the Ōrmur̂s were once extensive (Elphinstone, 1839, v. I, p. 411) and even Kabul belonged to their domain (Morgenstierne, 1929, p. 36), but later they fell under the Pashtun domination. Barak-i-Barak in the Logar valley is considered as their original home. The Ōrmur̂s were known as good soldiers. They lived mainly on trade (the Ōrmur̂s are described as merchants in the Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District (p. 66)) and travelled widely<sup>8</sup>. As a result, a few Ōrmur̂ villages were founded in the Peshawar valley (Grierson, 1921, p. 123). Besides the above-mentioned Ōrmur̂ villages in the Logar valley, and in the Peshawar valley (they are the following: Ormur Bala, Ormur Miyana and Ormur Payin, about ten miles south-east of Peshawar (Caroe, 1964, p. 23)) and also Kaniguram (Waziristan), Bellew also writes about some Ōrmur̂ settlements in Kunduz, Buthhak and on the Hindukush, in the Bamian and

sāyah (vassal) section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Kaniguram (or Kani [Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District, p.66]) is a town in the heart of Mahsud Waziristan in the upper Baddar Valley (on the Takki Zam river [S.A.]) at an elevation of nearly 7000 feet (Caroe, 1964, p.200).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In the Census table "Selected Population Statistics of Individual Rural Localities, South Waziristan Agency" these people are described as "Sayad-Umars (but Urmars in 1961 Census) of Kanigurra I, II and III". Kanigurra I -5.233 (5.2 people in household); Kanigurra II - 6.397 (6.4 people in household); Kanigurra III - 609 (4.1 people in household) (Census, 1981, p.92)>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> According to Afghan guerrilla sources 206 people were killed and more than 1000 houses destroyed in the villages around Barak-i-Barak during the Soviet offensive in October 1987 (Urban, 1990, p.227).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> According to the Hālnāmah the family of Bāyazīd Anṣārī was engaged in caravan trading and had some property in Ghazni and "other parts" [of the country] (Mukhlis, 1986, p.22). Bāyazīd Anṣārī has been taken by his father to business trips from the very childhood (Mukhlis, 1986, p.19). Later he became a successful horse-trader and travelled as far as India and Central Asia.

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Ghorband districts (Bellew, 1891, p. 61). Morgenstierne, however, expresses doubts whether the people of these places preserved their original language (Morgenstierne, 1964, v. I, pp. 310-311). At the beginning of the XIXth century the Ōrmur̂s of Barak-i-Barak and other villages in the Logar valley were subjects of the Kabul emirs while the Ōrmur̂s of Kaniguram still preserved their independence (Leech, 1838, p. 728). According to the British gazetteers the Kaniguramis founded some settlements near the Indian city of Jalandar (in the Lahore province)<sup>9</sup>.

Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District provides the following information on the population of Jalandar: "The proprietors of the town lands, who are chiefly Afghans, Saiyads, Malik Rajputs, Rains and Khatris generally acquired their possessions by purchase". "Of the outlying bastis (suburbs [S. A.]) those of Shekh Ghuzan, Danishmandan, Bawakhel were founded by Muhammadan settlers from Kani or Kaniguram a little more than 2 1/2 centuries ago (the Gazetteer was published in 1883-84 [S. A.]). The earliest was Basti Danishmandan founded by merchants from Kani who purchased lands in the neighbourhood in A. D. 1609. Eight years later, Shekh Darvesh came from Kaniguram and bought the lands, on which he founded the town now known as Basti Shaikh. Basti Ghuzan was also founded in Shahjahan's time by merchants from Kani who had originally settled in Jalandhar and afterwards in Basti Shaikh. Subsequently they purchased land from Lodi Afghans, Saiyads and Shakhs, and built a bazar of their own. The basti takes its name from the tribe to which they belonged, and has now more than 4500 inhabits. In 1620-21 Basti Bawa Khel was founded by some Afghans who also came from Kaniguram. It was originally called Babapur from an ancestor of the founders named Mir Baba" (Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District, 1884, p. 66).

The Imperial Gazetteer of India adds an important information that Basti Danishmandan and Basti Shaikh Darwesh (probably the Basti Shaikh of the Gazetteer of Jalandhar [S. A.]) were founded by Ansari Shaykhs in the XVIth century (The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, v. XIV, p. 231).

Both of the above-mentioned gazetteers state that people from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Jalandar (Jalandhar [Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District]; Jullundur [The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, v.XIV, p.231]) is a city in Panjab situated in the Doab (\$\dot{doab}\$ / \$\dot{doab}\$ / \$\dot{doab}\$ (Persian) -in this context territory between two rivers [S.A.]) between the Bias and the Saltaj (also called Satlej [S.A.]) rivers (Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District, 1884, p.1). Since 1088, when Ibrāhim Shāh Ghuri took the city it remained under the Muslim rule (however, the proportion of Muslims living in the Jalandar district in 1908 hardly exceeded 45% [The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, v.XIV, p.225]) being attached to the province of Lahore. However, it was always in the hands of more or less independent governors. During the Sayyid dynasty (1414-1451) it became the scene of numerous insurrectionary movements, especially of the long rebellion of the Kakar (Khakhar in the gazetteers) chief Jasrath(?). Jalandar also witnessed military activity when Humāyūn battled for his kingdom in the middle of the XVIth century (Gazetteer of the Jalandhar District, 1884, p.7; Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, p.223).

Kaniguram started to settle in Jalandar in the XVIth century, while according to the Ḥālnāmah Bāyazid Anṣāri's grandfather Ḥājji Abā Bakr was born in Jalandar (Mukhliṣ, 1986, p. 3). Given the fact that his grandson was born in 1521-5(?) it seems possible to assume that the immigrants from Kaniguram arrived into Jalandar several decades earlier.

Apparently at the turn of the XXth century they no longer identified themselves as the Ōrmur̂s because neither gazetteer describes these immigrants as the Ōrmur̂s.

According to Elphinstone the Ōrmurs closely resemble the Pashtuns in their manners (Elphinstone, 1839, v. I, p,411). Rose, however, supports a different view: "their [the Ōrmurs'] marriage ceremonies, general rites and customary laws differ widely from those of the surrounding [Afghan] tribes" (Rose, 1914, v. III, p. 483).

There is a unique description of the Ōrmurs' customs in the Ḥāl-nāmah: After three years of quarrelling with his family, 19 years old Bāyazid Anṣāri decided to separate from his father 'Abdallah and demanded his own part from their common property. 'Abdallah was reluctant to divide the property and agreed only after long hesitation and persistent requests of some relatives and the town elders.

This juridical case connected with the joint possession of property by father and children, which can be divided by the sons' demand, is typical for Pashtun customary law<sup>10</sup>. Afżal Khān Khattak, the author of Tārikh-i-Murassa', a voluminous treatise on the history of the Pashtuns, describes it in the following way: "The tradition is that at that time there was still this custom amongst the Pathans, when the sons reached manhood, to divide amongst themselves their parent's property, and give their parents also an equal share" (Afżal Khān, 1893, p. 209; Eng. tr., pp. 169-170). It is noteworthy that Afzal Khān (lived approximately 1661-63—1748 (Kushev, 1980, p. 64), a little more than one hundred years after Bāyazid Ansāri) described this custom as the ancient one which existed "at that time" of the legendary Pashtun ancestors. A well-known medieval Afghan Hanafi theologian Akhūnd Darwizah also provides some information on this custom in his book Tazkirat al-Abrar wa-l-Ashrar. In this treatise Akhund Darwizah writes about a Pashtun custom which contradicts shari according to this custom grown up sons divide their parents property, but, as Darwizah contradicts Afzal Khān, parents are given not an equal share but a modest part sufficient only for their daily bread and a cost of funeral<sup>11</sup> (Darwizah,

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  It looks like a special form of wesh, the Pashtun custom of periodical redistributions of land plots (daftar) among families within the clan and among various clans within the tribe. It is rather possible that the described custom is an archaic form of wesh (given Afzal Khān's description of this custom as ancient) when family members were also considered for apportionment.

<sup>11</sup> This Darwizah's description was first noted by Romodin (Romodin, 1951, p.164) and later

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p. 111).

It is also interesting that according to Tārikh-i-Muraṣṣa' mothers were, presumably, not given a share of family property (Afżal Khān, 1893, p. 209; Eng. tr., p. 170). However Fāṭimah, 'Abdallah's wife, got her part without any trouble<sup>12</sup> (Mukhliṣ, 1986, pp. 19-30).

It seems that the case was not under the jurisdiction of Muslim law because 'Abdallah, who was a Muslim *qāzi* himself, was urged by relatives and elders but not the Muslim authorities. The terms sardar(an) and kadkhudā(vān) are used in the Hālnāmah in this context for the elders. In Persian sardar means "general", "governor of a province". In Pashto, however, this word, apart from "general", can also mean "chief" (Aslanov, 1966, p. 511; Rayerty, 1987, p. 600). The same applies to the word kadkhudā, which in Persian signifies "magistrate", "alderman", but in Pashto means "chief of a clan" (Aslanov, 1966, p. 666). It is possible that Bāyazid Ansāri sought the help of tribal chiefs in the case since Islamic regulations did not apply. There is some vague evidence that the Ōrmurs had chiefs (Leech, 1838, p. 728). It is noteworthy that 'Abdallah being an ansār and qāzi was forced to obey their exhortations. It may indicate a difference between the position of the Muslim clergy among the Pashtuns and among the Ōrmurs. Among the Pashtuns Muslim clerics living together with tribes are generally excluded from the tribal customary law and live in accordance with shart at law only. It seems that in the Ormur society there was a different situation.

There are some noteworthy reports on the religious rites of the  $\overline{O}r$ -murs. Bellew describes them as fire-worshippers: "Once a week they congregated for worship, men and women together, and at the conclusion of their devotions the officiating priest extinguished the fire they worshipped 13, and, at the same time, exclaimed " $\overline{O}r$  mur, a term expressive of the act, for in Pukhtu " $\overline{O}r$ " means "fire", and "mur, a term expressive of the act, for in Pukhtu " $\overline{O}r$ " means "fire", and "mur, and "mur, and "mur, are shown popular etymology of the ethnic name. It is rather strange why an  $\overline{O}rmu\hat{r}$  priest supposedly have exclaimed " $\overline{O}rmu\hat{r}$ " (the fire went out) in Pashto, and not  $\overline{O}rmu\hat{r}$  (\* $ru\hat{n}$  gul shāk [MacKenzie, 1992]). Morgenstierne, while rejecting Bellew's etymology of the word  $\overline{O}rmu\hat{r}$  (he offers one of his own:  $\overline{O}rmu\hat{r}$  is a Pashto form derived from \* $\overline{D}rmu\hat{r}$  (he offers one of his own:  $\overline{O}rmu\hat{r}$  is a Pashto form derived from \* $\overline{D}rmu\hat{r}$  (particular) agreed that the  $\overline{O}rmu\hat{r}$  is the only modern Iranian dialect which has preserved the ancient techni-

published by Reisner (Reisner, 1954, p.109).

<sup>12</sup> Thus, the  $\overline{O}$ rmuîs probably practised some form of  $kh\overline{u}lah$ -wēsh (apportionment of land to all family members disregarding their sex) rather then band-wēsh (apportionment of land to men only).

<sup>13</sup> Zoroastrians, however, do not extinguish their fires during their religious ceremonies.

cal term of Zoroastrian theology for "studying", "reading"<sup>14</sup> (Morgenstierne, 1964, v. I, pp. 311-312).

In this connection it is interesting to note that according to Leyden, the Rawshani movement, founded by a person with the Ormur background was accused of "practising the abominations of the unchaste sect termed Cheragh-cush [chirāgh-kush S. A.] (Lamp-Extinguishers) (Leyden, 1810, p. 378).

It seems, that in general, practising of the chiragh-kush ceremony was a standard orthodox accusation levelled at every sect all over the Middle East. For instance, the Shiite and Ismā'ili Hazaras, the people of mixed Iranian-Turko-Mongol origin living in Central Afghanistan, were also accused by their Sunni neighbours of practising the infamous "lamp-extinguishing" ceremonies (Morgenstierne, 1964, p. 224). According to Ferdinand Klaus the Hazara people practised some rites allegedly connected with fire-worshipping. Klaus describes the rituals of "atesh-algho" (fireleaping) months of the Hazara calendar which are believed to bring prosperity to the household and the ceremony of lighting a lamp in order to commemorate the dead. Muslim clergy considered these customs as remnants of Zoroastrism (Klaus, 1959, pp. 44-46). Followers of the 'Ali-Ilāhi (or Kākā'i) sect among the Kurds and Gōrān of the Iran-Iraq border are also described as chirāgh-söndürān (MacKenzie, 1992). In Redhouse's Turkish-English Dictionary chiragh-puf (Who blows out the light) is explained as "a certain sect reported to hold secret gatherings at which the lights are blown out, and all present give themselves to indiscriminate licentiousness" (Redhouse, 1890, p. 750). Persian dictionaries provide the same explanations (Lughat-nāmah, 1969, vol. č. p. 137; Steingass, 1970, p. 389).

Surprisingly enough no Pashto dictionary has an article on chirāgh-kush. However Louis Dupree writes that the Sunni Afghans insult the Ismā-i'līs (especially in Hazarajat) by shouting "chirgh-kush" to them (Dupree, 1979, p. 680).

In spite of the accusations of practising fire-worshipping it is rather possible that the Ōrmur̂s were regarded as a group of people of some religious significance because all Ōrmur̂s were reported by Morgenstierne's native informant to be Sayyids (Morgenstierne, 1964, v. I, p. 311). Caroe also writes that many families among the Ōrmur̂s in Kaniguram call themselves Sayyid or Anṣār (Caroe, 1964, p. 201). In the Imperial Gazetteer of India the emigrants from Kaniguram living in Jalandar suburbs were also described as Anṣār (The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, v. XIV, p. 231). Perhaps in this case the terms "sayyid" and "anṣār" do not mean respecti-

<sup>14</sup> However Ormuri is a non-written language, as it was mentioned above.

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vely "a descendant of the prophet Muḥammad" and "the companion of the prophet Muḥammad" but signifies "a noble man". Perhaps these titles are adopted by the Ōrmur̂s just as the Pashtuns take the title Khān. However Bāyazid Anṣāri was considered as a descendant of an Anṣār family and a list of his ancestors descending from Khwājah (Abū) Ayyūb Anṣāri¹¹5, a famous companion of the prophet Muḥammad is given in the Ḥālnāmah (Mukhliṣ, 1986, pp. 2-3).

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<sup>15</sup> For more information on Khwājah (Abū) Ayyūb Anṣārī see (Lévi-Provençal, 1961, pp.108-9).

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