AFGHANISTAN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Nationalism and journalism in Afghanistan

A study of Serāj ul-akhbār (1911-1918)

NAPLES 1979
Fig. 1 Mahmud Tarzi (1865-1933)
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NAPLES 1979
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MAP OF AFGHANISTAN
PREFACE

The Islamic Modernist movement was born in the late 18th-early 19th centuries, as a result of the Muslim world's awareness of its weakness and backwardness in relation to the "infidel", but materially overwhelming, West.

How to resist the onslaught of the Western conquerors? Such was the problem which served as a starting point to the long and fascinating chapter of contemporary Muslim history. The first answer was: by regaining purity, by going back to the primitive pure and progressive Islam, back to the great civilizing and educative force of the Medina Caliphate; by rediscovering the dynamism which had enabled Arabs to become World conquerors and generators of a great civilization.

Such, in its essence, was the appeal of the first "pre-modern" puritan reformist movements - the Wabhabism of Central Arabia, the Indian Wabhabism and the Libyan Senusiya.

The failure of the puritan reform to shake off Western domination resulted in the birth, in the second half of the 19th century, of liberal reformism, that accentuated not only "purity" but, even more so, "power". More politicized, going deeper, and with more lasting effects than the puritan revivalism, this movement endeavoured to change society within the framework of Islam and to fulfil a political aim - independence from Western domination - by a spiritual and cultural renovation.

The first and most typical leader of this second phase of Muslim reformism was Jmalaedddin al-Afghani (1839 - 1897), who called the Muslims to make a political stand against the West; to liberate themselves from its control, but also to carry out the internal reforms that would allow their regeneration and to cultivate modern scientific knowledge that would enable them to compete with the West.

Jmalaedddin al-Afghani's appeal was taken up and developed
by many thinkers throughout the Muslim World: Shibabeddin Marjani (d. in 1889) and Qayum al-Nasyri (d. 1904) in Kazan, Mohammed Abdub (d. 1905) in Egypt, Namik Kemal (d. 1888) and Tevfik Fikret (d. 1915) in Turkey, Hasan Melikov Zerdabi (d. 1907) in Baku, etc., who all proclaimed that Islam, far from opposing science and reason, encourages them. They expounded the view that by acquiring scientific knowledge and by adapting to Islam the new cultural and political forces and ideologies of the West, Muslims were not betraying their culture but only retrieving their lost heritage.

Modernist reformism touched all the fields of human activity and practically all the areas of Dar al-Islam. It created a new rationalistic theology, promoted by many bold religious reformers, such as the Tatars Shibabeddin Marjani (d. in 1889), Musa Jarullah Bigi (d. in 1949), Rizaeddin Fahreddin oglu (d. in 1936), or the Indian Mubammed Shibli Nu‘mani (d. in 1914), who condemned blind obedience to traditional authorities (taqlid) and proclaimed that every believer was entitled to find in the Quran and the Hadith a reply to all religious questions.

It also succeeded in putting Islamic culture within the reach of the masses by creating new literary languages or by simplifying and modernizing the existing ones so as to make them readily accessible to everyone. This was the result of many parallel efforts in numerous areas of the Muslim World—in Turkey, in the Middle Volga, in Transcaucasia, in India and in the Kazakh steppes—where a pleiad of writers and philologists succeeded in bringing the literary languages closer to the spoken dialects and in making them comprehensible not only for a small group of Ulemas but for everybody, “for the boatman of the Bosphorus as well as for the camel driver of Kashgar”, according to the striking formula of Ismail Gaspraly.

The reform of traditional education was the third phase of the Islamic renaissance of the 19th century. The leading figure in this field was a Crimean Tatar, Ismail Gaspraly (Gasprinski) (1851 - 1914), who changed the scholastic system throughout by introducing in Muslim schools the phonetic system in the teaching
of reading and also secular subjects. His model school, the Zinjirli medresseh of Bagbche-Saray was imitated first in Russia, then in the entire Dar ul-Islam and by the turn of the century the Muslim world possessed institutions typical of modern Western education with primary emphasis on the technological aspect, while preserving Islamic culture and its values.

However, in the mind of its promoters, the Jadidist reformism had been only a preparatory phase of the political movement, of the reaction of Islam against the domination of the West. At the beginning of the present century, the intense Jadid activity passes beyond the confines of religion, language and education to enter the nationalist stage of the reform; for henceforward everybody is aware that either the Muslim world will attain an independent status in relation to foreign powers, or else it will finally perish.

Everywhere, in the Ottoman Empire, in Egypt, in Iran, as well as in the Caucasus, in Central Asia and in Muslim India and Java, there appeared political organizations, some of them secret, others undisguised, representing all shades of political creeds — but with an increased leaning towards radicalism.

In 1904-05, the Muslims of Russia held three Congresses and in 1905 founded a pan-Muslim political party, Ittifaq al-Muslimin, followed rapidly by various local political groups in Baku (the liberal Musavat and the socialist Hümmet); in the Kazakh steppes (the radical national Alash Order) and in the Orenburg (the left socialist Ural). In Persia, the Shab Musaffar al-Din, under the pressure of the Constitutionalists, signed the fundamental law converting Persia from a traditional Islamic society to a Constitutional monarchy. In the Ottoman Empire, the revolutionary Committee of Union and Progress founded in 1889, becomes particularly active after 1896 and in 1909 deposes the Sultan 'Abd ül-Hamid. During the same period, in Egypt and Lebanon appear many radical Arab secret societies aiming to defend the Arab cause, to protect Arab rights and, finally, to obtain complete autonomy.

However, after 1908, a dramatic change occurred in the history of the Muslim reformist movement, which entered a new phase of decline that will last until the end of World War II.
In Russia, the brilliant Tatar Renaissance draws practically to an end towards 1908, when Stolypin’s policy forces the Tatar and Azeri leaders to emigrate to Turkey. The leading Muslim periodicals of Kazan, Orenburg and Baku are closed by Russian authorities between 1908 and 1912 and Ismail Gaspraly’s Terjuman, since 1883 the most remarkable Muslim newspaper in the world, disappears in 1914.

In Persia, Muzaffar al-Din Shah is restored by Russian troops; the Constitutional movement is liquidated and the defeat of the Tabriz Revolution and the subsequent occupation of North Persian towns by Russian detachments mark the ebb of Persian liberal movement. In 1912, the Turkish Armies are heavily defeated in the Balkan war and after the outbreak of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire and the Arab countries torn by battles are absorbed in the threatening military disaster rather than in the intellectual speculations of reformism.

Of all the Islamic States, Afghanistan is the last independent one and practically the only one to remain outside the conflict. It constitutes a “haven of peace” where the reformist movement takes refuge and continues to develop undisturbed by the clash of arms. And by a stroke of luck, it is during this period that Mahmud Tarzi was publishing in Kabul his Siraj ul-Akhbar (1911-1918). The influence of this publication extended far beyond the borders of Afghanistan, to countries where Persian was known. The impact of its bold radicalism, its appeal for Muslim – even Pan Asian – solidarity made a deep and long-lasting impression in Central Asia, India, Iran and the Caucasus.

May Schinas’s fascinating book, devoted to Siraj ul-Akhbar, is in many fields a pioneer work. Not only is it characterized by a new and original methodological approach to the intellectual history of the contemporary Islamic World, but it dwells upon a formerly neglected chapter of Afgan history – the reign of Amir Habibullah (1901-1919), and it also opens up a vista on the totally unknown aspect of Muslim reformism. Indeed, in many cases, our knowledge of the Muslim Reformist movement of the later 19th - early 20th centuries is limited to the Middle East and — to a
lesser degree—to the Indian subcontinent, whilst the intense intellectual activity of the Central Asians, the Caucasians, the Tatar Jadids, the Indonesians and the Afghans is overlooked. We certainly have reasons to be grateful to May Schinas for filling that gap as regards Muslim Afghanistan by her masterly description which introduces us to what could be called the "Afghan chapter" in the history of the Muslim world.

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The present book has benefited from the warm friendship offered by many.

In the first place, we had the privilege to enter the family life of many Afghan homes and, thus, to hear at length about the present and the past. We met such a variety of people that it is impossible to record all their names here. All have contributed in one way or another to broaden our knowledge of the customs and history of the country. To all of them we are indebted and grateful for having let us participate in their life.

In addition, over the years while studying the periodical *Serāj ul-akhbār* and trying to approach a period still close to many people's memory, we met with a general, sincere welcome. However, we wish to express here a special mention of gratitude to Professor A. Bennigsen, Directeur d'Etudes at Paris Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, and Dr. R. Farhadi who were both instrumental in initiating our research work, which they followed at every stage. Professor Bennigsen has guided us from the first day with the most amicable attention. Dr. Farhadi constantly helped us with his precious advice and encouraged us with his already long-standing friendship. Besides, he advocated the publication of the present work in English.

Mr. Abdul Wahhab Tarzi, Mahmud Tarzi's eldest son, not only provided us with the best part of the material for writing his father's biography, but showed us an affection which touched us profoundly.

Mr. Abdul Hadi Dawi, whose name stands out next to Mahmud Tarzi's in the making of *Serāj ul-akhbār*, has offered us his unvaluable knowledge. He brought to life again an historical period in which he already had his share, for which we are deeply grateful.

We are indebted to Professor L. B. Poullada and Mr. S. Q. Rishtya for their friendly encouragement, to Mrs Lydie Pearson and the
Asia Foundation through its representative in Kabul, Mr. J. Scarbrough, for their assistance, and to Architect A. Bruno for drawing the map.

We are very grateful to Professor M. Taddei for having so kindly assumed the responsibility of presenting this work to the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples, and we wish to thank the latter for publishing it in this series.

Last but not least, Mrs Nancy Hatch Dupree took a considerable part in the final stage of the work. Her competence in the Afghan field, her experience and her patience have helped us to solve difficulties of various kinds. We cannot thank her enough for her generous contribution and for the kindness she and her husband, Professor Louis Dupree, have always offered us.
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TRANSLITERATION

Since the present study is based mainly on material published in the local Afghan Persian language, or Dari, it appeared necessary to include a number of common words and expressions in transliteration. The transliteration system aims to combine the pronunciation of the Dari-speakers with the transliteration of the Arabic-Persian alphabet:

Consonants

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Long and short vowels, and diphthongs

| å | a |
| u | ò | o | aw |
| i | è | e | ay |

The ezāfat is noted -e and -ye.

The Arabic article is transcribed, with assimilation, -ul and not -ol, such as in Habibullâh, Abd ur-Rahmân, Serâj ul-akhbâr, dâr ut-tarjama.

The transcription of the Arabic 'ayn has been omitted at the beginning of proper names since it is not usually pronounced by Dari-speakers.

The hamza used in a few words has also been noted by the sign '.
1

INTRODUCTION
Two sovereigns, two personalities have emerged from recent Afghan history and have already been the object of much writing. One of them, Emir Abd ur-Rahmân (1880 - 1901) while accepting the frontiers that were imposed on him, was the first sovereign to give Afghanistan a central government, after the decline of the Sadōzay kings, internal struggles among the Mohammadzay and two Anglo-Afghan wars. Within these frontiers, the same ones as exist today, he ruled with an iron hand over a very heterogeneous population. Furthermore he succeeded in preserving Afghanistan’s sovereignty between two neighbours, two giants empires, namely British India and Russian-dominated Central Asia. He always managed to preserve a judicious balance between them, although he had chosen to give his friendship to Britain and with it the right to supervise Afghanistan’s foreign policy. It is noteworthy, and a rare phenomenon indeed, that Abd ur-Rahmân left an autobiography¹, which corroborates the facts and defines his exceptional qualities as a leader and a diplomat.

Amānullāh (1919 - 1929), grandson of Abd ur-Rahmân, is quite a different figure. A nationalist, deeply opposed to British influence, he had hardly ascended the throne when he rid his country of nearly forty years of British tutelage and proclaimed it totally independent for the first time. Afghanistan at last turned to the outside world. Kabul was flooded with foreigners, diplomats and experts. An ardent modernist, Amānullāh embarked on a vast programme of state building and modernization.

This programme was only partially completed before it was cut short by civil war, but to this day it symbolizes the think-

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ing, very advanced for his time, of a young Asian Muslim sovereign?  

Without further prompting, the mind ponders on the intervening eighteen years to wonder what wind blew over this withdrawn and still little known land. Only one man reigned during these apparently quiet years: Habibullah (1901 - 1919), eldest son of Abd ur-Rahman and father of Amânullah.

Habibullah is far from an unknown figure, if only because he was heir to one of the more critical spots in the world, where great powers have never ceased to confront each other. Furthermore, during his reign two momentous disturbances occurred: World War I, in which his position was of concern to Britain and Tsarist Russia; and the Russian Revolution.

Few internal political events of any importance transpired during the two decades of his reign. In the first place the succession took place without upheaval, a rare occurrence in a polygamous society. Emir Abd ur-Rahman died a natural death in 1901 and Habibullah, the eldest of his sons and his designated heir, took his place. Four years later in 1905, the agreements between Great Britain and Abd ur-Rahman were renewed personally with the new Emir; their terms decreed that Afghan foreign affairs be conducted exclusively between the British government and the Emir himself. On the other hand, Habibullah inherited a territorially unified, internally peaceful country. In fact, the century dawned in a relatively tranquil atmosphere. But Habibullah, who was keen to maintain Afghanistan's position on the international as well as on the Muslim scene, was not to die, like his father, of natural causes. On the domestic front, difficulties arose which he was unable to control with the same skill; his assassination in 1919, following several

plots against his life, was the result of internal tensions which have not yet been fully described\(^3\).

On other levels, the reign must be credited with original contributions rising from the Emir’s enterprising nature. Curious about technology and mechanics, Habibullāh devoted his dynamism to spectacular rather than carefully planned schemes although he surrounded himself with capable people whom he involved in his projects. In particular he employed specialists from abroad, such as doctors and engineers, who contributed to the exploitation of natural resources and to the training of specialized personnel, who were sadly lacking. The larger projects included a printing press, an electric power station and several factories. Nothing could be more lively or more instructive about Afghanistan at the turn of the century than the precious and well known accounts by some of these experts, who often lived several years in Afghanistan working on these projects. They are rich in information about the country, about life at court, working conditions, and full of anecdotes\(^4\). Yet despite their detail, such accounts remain on the fringes of many aspects of real Afghan life because their authors were foreigners.

Here one touches upon the problem of the existence, type and quality of sources required to establish history and further it. The strategic position of Afghanistan, in the heart of Asia, has been responsible for the fact that western historians, using European and Anglo-Indian political and diplomatic archives which

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3 Two assassination attempts against Emir Habibullāh are known to have taken place, one in 1909 in Jalalabad and one in 1918 in Kabul. They were both connected with a constitutional (masbruta) movement in opposition to the established power, about which information is still seriously lacking, and which have no place in this study.

cause them no linguistic difficulties, have almost always regarded Afghanistan from the point of view of its relations with one or the other of its powerful neighbours, or from the standpoint of Anglo-Russian relations. But these same archives have yet to be studied as far as the internal history of Afghanistan is concerned. As a counterweight or complement to such exclusively “foreign” documents, local documents frequently offer valuable information, although they are rare, at least for the nineteenth century. This is due on the one hand to the limited use of the printing press and lithography, which were not introduced until the third quarter of the century, and on the other hand to natural catastrophes, wars, pillage and fire which scarcely any manuscripts or printed documents and few archives survived.

For these reasons it is providential that one vital printed document dating from Habibullah’s reign should have been preserved in its entirety, namely *Seraj ul-akhabr-e afgahaniya*. This periodical published in Persian in Kabul from 1911 to 1918, was not only an entirely Afghan product, but it was addressed to Afghans, and thereby introduces us directly into the Afghan milieu, rather than through the medium of interpretations contained in the European accounts. This document is inseparably linked with the name of its founder-editor, Mahmud Tarzi, an outstanding personality who, from that period on, gave Afghanistan an unmistakable and original image.


6 At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kabul, there is a fund of archives in process of classification, but as it cannot be consulted at this stage, neither the volume nor the contents are known. On the other hand, the Library of Manuscripts, also in Kabul, contains various items including some documents concerning the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.
What in fact was Afghanistan at that time? In order to place the man and his work in perspective, it is well to look back not only on Afghanistan in the nineteenth century, but also at the contiguous parts of Asia, and even further afield. Afghanistan in the Mohammadzay era, starting in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, coveted by Great Britain and Russia and a battlefield during two Anglo-Afghan wars (1839-1842 and 1879-1880), had finally concluded a treaty with Britain, which isolated it entirely on the political front. This isolation caused, or at least contributed to, a great impoverishment, mainly of an intellectual nature. In this vast and sparsely populated country the Muslim religion lived on vigorously in an airtight compartment.

In this country of mountain people, nomads and farmers, the percentage of literacy had always been minute, restricted to religious leaders on the one hand and on the other to a very small educated élite. The former, conversant only with Muslim literature in Arabic and Persian, the Koran, its Commentaries, and Muslim law knew only classical Arabic. Not knowing any modern Arabic they were ignorant of publications and newspapers from the Middle East, and thus of all the cultural currents of the time. Whilst the religious leaders were spread over the whole country, although the most erudite found their way to the capital, the educated élite lived exclusively in Kabul. This élite, consisting of civil servants, army officers, doctors and the like, received a traditional education to which were added, in some cases, a foreign language and certain other foreign influences determined by the political situation. Whence could such broadening influences come?

The north, “Beyond the river [Âmul]”, Transoxiana, had little to offer. The Russians had completed their conquest: Samarkand fell in 1868 and the Khanate of Khiva in 1873; in the same year, by treaty with the Emir of Bukhara, they also acquired a foothold in the Emirate. The Muslims of Central Asia, subjugated under colonial rule, went through a period of intellectual stagnation which was to end only in the first years of the twentieth century
with a reformist movement in Bukhara.  

To the west, a weakened Persia was less in the hands of the last Qâjâr kings than in those of the Russians and British, who shared the country between them, and certain hangers-on at the court. Nothing substantial could infiltrate Afghanistan from there either. The policy of Nâser ud-din Shâh practically placed Persia at the disposal of foreign concessionaries. Furthermore, the first movements made at the end of the century towards the constitutional law promulgated in 1906, did not automatically bring either peace or stability.

In the Ottoman Empire of Sultan and Caliph Abdüllahamid II (1876-1909), the first revolutionary movements were followed by the Young Ottomans, and the first of the great Muslim nationalists and modernists, Sayyed Jamâl ud-din ul-Afghâni (1838-1897) preached the renewal of Islam. In the Egypt of the Khedives which was under British occupation, diverse voices were raised, notably Rashid Rezá’s (1865-1935) in his periodical Al-Manâr, and Mohammad Abdoh’s (1849-1905), a disciple of Jamâl ud-din.

Finally India, to the east and south of Afghanistan, had been subject to British imperialism since the extinction of the Muslim Moghul emperors. Following the Mutiny of 1857-1858, a liberal reformist movement was born at Aligarh inspired by Sayyed Ahmad Khân (1817-1898) who reassembled the Muslims of India in the name of “loyalty to Great Britain in politics and modernization of institutions”. Jamâl ud-din was vigorously opposed to


Sayyed Ahmad precisely on the subject of Britain and its policy of holding down the Muslims, which he condemned. Great Britain, however, never allowed the slightest echo of these upheavals to reach Afghanistan.

In spite of these chronic political tensions affecting its neighbours, Afghanistan’s commercial exchanges remained intact\(^{12}\). The continuous flow of merchants to Russia in the north and India in the east never ceased and trade with Bukhara, Lahore, Delhi, Karachi and Bombay was especially brisk. As for any other type of links, possibilities were already restricted and now depended on one source alone, British India.

Indeed, the Government of India opposed the infiltration into Afghanistan of any influence other than its own. This explains why the first Europeans to be seen on Afghan territory, apart from armies sent for the wars, were mostly British civilians, soldiers, explorers or travellers who moved around with bold audacity in search of information of all kinds on behalf of the Government of India. In the same way, it was the English language, to the exclusion of all others, which was the first European language to gain some currency when, after the First Anglo-Afghan War, an Indian staff of English speaking secretaries occasionally gave private lessons. During the same period, Emir Dost Mohammad (d. 1863), after examining what was left of the Indian army—books, items of equipment, objects found in the cantonments of Kabul and Qandahar—decided to reorganize his army. He entrusted this task to a few prisoners of war, a choice which resulted in Afghan troops being trained somewhat on the British model.

Indo-British influence continued during the reign of Emir Shēr Ali (1863-1879) with the publication of the first books, which included translations of British military works, and the first Afghan periodical, Shams un-nabār. The latter was adapted to life in the Afghan capital and based on the Urdu press, which was itself

adapted to life in Muslim India and based on the British press.

Later, when the education sector was being developed, the teachers employed, being north Indian Muslims, used schoolbooks inspired by British methods. In addition, the only European residents in Afghanistan, a handful of experts chosen by Emir Abd ur-Rahmân to be in charge of major public works and the medical doctors who were always in demand, were also British. Thus, at the turn of the century there was a definite, albeit superficial, Indo-British stamp on Afghanistan. But it was limited and did not extend beyond Kabul.

The new century started without great change. However, very soon after his accession young Emir Habibullâh distinguished himself by a series of tangible acts deliberately chosen to wipe out, at least partially, the remembrance of the harsh measures hitherto enforced by his father. One of them was indirectly to have decisive consequences for decades to come. This was a gesture in favour of those Afghans who had been banished from their country by Abd ur-Rahmân. Banishment was at that time a common method of stifling any opposition. Whole families of the royal clan, as well as others, had been exiled; some had found refuge in India, others in Transoxiana, others in the Ottoman Empire. Habibullâh proclaimed a general amnesty which resulted in the sudden return to Afghanistan of a large number of relatives and other descendants of his ancestor Pâyanda. These had to be welcomed and reintegrated into the life of the kingdom.

Among those coming from India, were members of various tribes and clans including the Bârakzay, Mohammadzay, Sadozay and Jabbâr Khêl amongst others. Many had been born and brought up in India, where they had lived until they were adults. For a long time they kept a certain independence of character. Following the return of only some of these exiles\textsuperscript{13}, the Afghan court

\textsuperscript{13} The families of Mohammad Ayyub and of Emir Mohammad Ya'qub, sons of Emir Shêr Ali, and a number of sardârs of Qandahar ignored the amnesty. Some of them returned to Afghanistan in the 1930s.
became dominated by young and old sardârs who spoke Urdu, admired grandeur in the Indian style, and saw progress in the material life of India. The result was immediately evident at court. Furniture, cars, big-game hunting expeditions (shekár) were introduced, for example, and a certain vocabulary came into vogue. But English was spoken little, and with a strong Urdu accent, and it remained the accomplishment of a very small minority. Habibullah, who spoke little English himself, chose his interpreters and advisers from among these returned exiles.

Mahmud Tarzi, who had returned from Turkey, had quite a different upbringing. Opposed to the Indo-British culture introduced in Kabul, he represented the culture of the Middle East. His contact with British India had been slight. It was in the Ottoman Empire where so many cultural currents converged, that this Afghan of noble birth spent his youth in exile. That is where he discovered the world, and where, avid for knowledge, he was educated by contact with a living and international Islam. But as he had remained strongly attached to his native land, which now welcomed him back, and to his people, he was determined to share with them the ideas accumulated during his long years of absence. Back in Afghanistan by the age of over thirty-five, and much enriched by his contacts with different cultures and people, he rediscovered a country which had had practically no contacts at all. He arrived impregnated with a strong feeling, natural after so many years, for everything Turkish, which stayed with him: a deep respect for the cultural and religious heritage, an admiration for the great men and a people who had suffered many wars, and for “the beloved Turkish language”.

Emir Habibullah was immediately charmed by Tarzi’s enthusiasm and personality. From the beginning the two men established a friendship, strengthened by the promise of closer family relations through the marriages of the Princes Enâyatullah and Amânullah, the Emir’s first and third sons, to two of Tarzi’s daughters. This friendship, moreover, opened the way in Kabul to a pro-Turkish current, inspired by Tarzi himself naturally, which left its mark on the court and on various sectors of public life. One of its first
manifestations was the arrival, by request of the Emir himself, of a certain number of Turkish experts in medicine, printing and the military arts, who formed the first Turkish colony in Kabul and introduced their language while teaching their subjects. It should be noted however, that Indo-British influence was not evicted by this phenomenon, as the newcomers did not operate in the same field as the British engineers. English continued to be used in the way mentioned previously, but it was fast left behind by the establishment of a cultural programme largely inspired by Turkey. Some people, encouraged by Tarzi, started to learn Turkish. And at Habibiya School a language class was held in the upper forms, for which a primer in Osmanli Turkish was produced by the Afghan national printing press. Turkish influence succeeded even in the decisions made by the first Education Council in 1913, which adopted a three-cycle educational system patterned after that in the Ottoman Empire.

Beyond this marked contribution, there was also the outline of a visible change in the already divided opinion of the court. This division was not new. It had been an immediate response to the first British political intrigues in Afghanistan, and had been emphasized by the passage of time within the entourage of successive emirs until there were two camps, one pro-British and the other anti-British.

In the serājiya\textsuperscript{14} era, the court was still clearly divided into two groups. One of them, advocating modernism in the Indian style, was represented by the sardārs who returned from India. Emir Habibullāh secretly favoured this clan and his predilection increased in the wake of a splendid journey he made to India in 1907. The other camp was always opposed to the influence of these sardārs. They were the orthodox conservatives and pious people, actively led by the Emir's very religious brother, Nasr-ullāh.

\textsuperscript{14} Expression derived from the title Serāj ul-mellan w-ad-din, born by Emir Habibullāh.
This hostility to the Indian influence was soon shared by another group gathered around Tarzi and formed of modernist Muslims, who, while opposed to the British as well as to the conservative clans, were pro-Turkish, favouring a modernistic Levantine Islam. Among Tarzi’s sympathizers were the young Prince Amânullâh, his future son-in-law, and two young intellectuals, Abd ul-Hâdi and Abd ur-Rahmân. At first, their activity was limited to meetings devoted to information, discussion and education. In 1909 this activity was strongly muted, following the discovery of a conspiracy against the Emir. Two years later, in 1911, it flourished again in a new guise, this time approved and authorized by the Emir, in the written form of Serâj ul-akhbâr, which promised to be the tribune of an ideology, first and foremost modernistic, pan-Islamic and nationalistic.

But once the euphoria of the first encounter had died down, temperaments soon clashed and events exacerbated the divisions. The World War and the decision of the Ottomans to join the Germans against the British were decisive. Emir Habibullâh did not hesitate. His declaration and confirmation of Afghan neutrality reassured London and satisfied his own inclination and part of his entourage, but aroused the opposition of both the conservatives and the pro-Turks of Kabul. In a contradictory fashion, all the latter then joined together in the name of Islam in a single outburst of pro-Turkish feeling. This regrouping tightened even more with the arrival in Afghanistan of a German-Turkish mission, in September 1915. The conservatives, with Nasrullâh, and the modernists with Tarzi, were favourable to the mission. Emir Habibullâh, in his indecision, not wanting to oppose firmly either his brother or Tarzi who both had some influence on him, received the Germans in the end, but did not make any promises. This was the beginning of dissent between the Sovereign and Tarzi, which was not to affect the principle of the existence of the periodical Serâj ul-akhbâr, but did somewhat modify its tone.

The definition and theoretical orientation of Serâj ul-akhbâr are at once clearly stated and wide-ranging. Again and again the periodical is described as an organ “of the country (watani)” and
as a Muslim organ. In other words, Tarzi like all the thinkers of his time, addressed himself to the entire Islamic community, who could still respond across cultural and national barriers with a deep sense of religious solidarity, and, just as normally, in their own language, to his compatriots, the Afghans. The constant harangues of Tarzi and his collaborators to their “Muslim brethren” and to their “Afghan brethren” confirm this. This point leads to another concerning the quality of the readers.

In Afghanistan where the masses were untouched and inaccessible because of their illiteracy, and the literate élite were very few, the periodical certainly did not reach very many, even though its public, as is usual, went beyond the actual subscribers who belonged to the economically privileged class. Moreover, one may well believe that the discourse had meaning for few of them, which is confirmed by the fact that hardly any sign of dialogue ever appeared in the journal, as Tarzi had hoped. For all of them, at any rate in Afghanistan, the discourse was new. No one before Tarzi, not even Sayyed Jâmal ud-din during his stay in Afghanistan in 1866-1868, had ever pronounced such words as “liberty”, “respect for the homeland and for religion”, “union”, “progress”, or “school”, nor commented on them with such conviction.

Outside Afghanistan things were different. Serâj ul-akbâr was read in such regions as Turkey, the Caucasus, Turkestan and Japan, where these words were not just words, but had a resonance, often reflecting some reality. As seen by the foreign reader, Serâj ul-akbâr fitted into the long list of an already flourishing, ardently nationalist Muslim press.

For Tarzi was a contemporary of some great Muslim nationalists. In Istanbul he had been in direct personal contact with the greatest of all, Sayyed Jamâl ud-din ul-Afghâni, shortly before the latter’s death in 1897. Mohammad Abdoh, Jamâl ud-din’s Egyptian disciple, died in 1905, Gasprinski, the Crimean editor of Terjüman in 1914, Abd ur-Ra’uf Fetrat, the Bukharan reformist, agitated in Turkestan from 1908-1909.
Until 1900, in Turkey, Tarzi had known the currents of ideas, the press from all over the world, as well as people and events. Together with Jamâl ud-din and so many after him, he had begun to nourish the feelings of revolt against the formidable strangle-hold of western colonialism and imperialism, forced ever more onto the peoples of the East. And he started to ponder on the situation of the Muslims. In Afghanistan, which he never had the opportunity to leave during the whole of the serâjiya reign, exchanges with the outside world by press and news, surmounted more or less successfully the distances and difficulties of communication. Tarzi continued to be informed to a certain extent. In a periodical which he himself created, he propounded his own ideas. He formulated answers to his own questions, which were also implicitly those of all intellectuals. It was in order to acquaint everybody with his reflections, to awaken the Afghan masses, to guide young Afghans on the paths of a modern world in full evolution, or rather revolution, in order to support the Muslims already engaged in the struggle, that he put Serâj ul-akhbâr at their service. For seven years it was his mouthpiece. The form and content of this document provide the material for the present study.

There is one essential chronological detail which adds even more interest to this Afghan publication within the history of world national movements, and which emphasizes Tarzi’s precocious maturity: namely, that if Serâj ul-akhbâr occupies the first place among Tarzi’s written work, both by its volume and its density of contents on the one hand and in the chronological order of publication on the other, it does not occupy first place, by any means, in the chronological order of composition. Exactly twenty years separate the periodical’s launching in Kabul from the composition in 1891, during the Ottoman period of exile, of an important Account of a journey in 29 days on three continents, Asia, Europe and Africa. This account alone would deserve
special study. It is important to note that twenty years before Serâj ul-akhbâr, it already contained the broad outline of the author’s ideas. For, at the age of twenty-six, five years before meeting his master Sayyed Jamâl ud-din in person, but evidently already influenced by him, and before the Iranian and Young Turks movements of 1905 and 1908, Tarzi had partly formulated his aspirations, particularly his nationalist ones. This Account was published in Kabul much later, when Serâj ul-akhbâr, already four years old, had started to repeat and to develop certain of its fundamental themes hitherto kept in manuscript. This is true of practically the whole work of Tarzi until the end of the serâjiya era. The composition of many poems, essays and translations which later appeared in Serâj ul-akhbâr and were simultaneously published in separate volumes, goes back in reality less to the Ottoman years in this case, than to the first Afghan years preceding the launching of the periodical.

Thus, at the same time these new ideologies were travelling east, their echo was heard in Afghanistan. This is so particularly noteworthy since Afghanistan was one of the rare countries in Asia spared the sufferings of a “physical” foreign occupation, and a country almost totally deprived of means and able manpower. One thing is evident: the receptivity of Tarzi’s young friends to his theorizing and his ideals very soon contributed to Afghanistan’s rapid start toward their application. The next reign is proof of that, for the most concrete effects of the publication and its author’s effort are not to be looked for during the life span of the periodical but immediately after its cessation in December 1918, within two months of the end of the serâjiya reign and the initiation of a new outlook based without any doubt on Tarzi’s teaching.

As a young prince, Amânullâh had rapidly shown great receptivity to Tarzi’s very new ideas. As a king, once his first task was accomplished by liberating his country from British tutelage (Third Anglo-Afghan War, 1919), he relentlessly endeavoured to build a modern large-scale reform programme based on these new ideals. The anti-imperialist, modernist and nationalist ideologies
promulgated during the reign of Habibullāh made their way and found a champion, albeit not for long. During the decade of the amāniya reign more was heard of Serāj ul-akbbār even though it had been, replaced by Amān-e afghān with a different staff. Tarzi himself was also more in evidence as he was called to higher and henceforth political functions. Then, the fall of Amānullāh in 1929, his exile and that of his family and entourage, including Mahmud Tarzi for whom it was a second and final departure, rang the knell of an unprecedented attempt at modernization, not only in Afghanistan but in Muslim Asia; a modernization indebted to the existence of Serāj ul-akbbār, in which its components had matured in black and white for seven years.

It is only recently that Serāj ul-akbbār has been exhumed from Kabul libraries and used as a witness of the serājiya era and as a source of its history. The first extensive studies to be made of it were the theme of two theses both defended in 1964, at opposite poles, one in Stanford (California) and the other in Moscow. The analysis of V. Gregorian, in English, fills three chapters of a pioneer work of encyclopedic type on modern Afghanistan\textsuperscript{15}. That of Sabir Mirzoev, in Russian, is on the contrary specialized, centred as its title indicates, on the literary and educational aspects\textsuperscript{16}.

As for the biography of Tarzi himself, although its main outline has often been touched upon lightly, it has never been really scrutinized in detail. This will be the first item to be examined.

\textsuperscript{15} V. Gregorian, \textit{The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernization} 1880-1946, Stanford, 1969, chap. 6 to 8.

\textsuperscript{16} S. Mirzoev, \textit{Literaturno-prosvetitel'skaja dejatel'nost' Mambuda Tarzi i ego gazeta "Siradž-ul-abbar" (1911-1919 gg.)} (The Literary and educational activities of Mambud Tarzi and his journal "Siradž ul-abbar" (1911-1919), Dushanbe, 1973. A thesis in Russian was presented in 1975 at Leningrad by an Afghan scholar, Samia Ebadi, under the title of \textit{Osnovopoložnik afgan-skoi žurnalistiki - Mahmud Tarzi i gazeta "Siradž al-abbar" (1911-1918 gg.)} (The Founder of Afghan journalism - Mahmud Tarzi and the journal "Siradž al-abbar" (1911-1918). Its translation into Dari has been announced.
The data necessary to establish the biographies not only of M. Tarzi but also of his father, who was well known as a poet, are not based solely on *Serâj ul-akhbâr*. Their collected works, as published to date, provide many details, whilst others just as valuable are based on first-hand oral information. Indeed, one should not lose sight of the chronological reality. Until the Afghan Republic of 1973, sixty-two years had passed since the publication of the first number of *Serâj ul-akhbâr*, hardly fifty-five years since the publication of its last number. That half-century undoubtedly knew many upheavals: the assassination of Emir Habibullâh (1919); the reign of the progressive King Amânullâh (1919-1928) victoriously begun with the War of independence, which ended disastrously in the civil war of the son of a watercarrier (*Bacha-e Saqaw*, 1928-1929) and in exile; the ephemeral reign of King Mohammad Nâder (1929-1933), also a victim of assassination; and finally, the reign of the latter’s son King Mohammad Zâher (1933-1973), dethroned and exiled after forty years. These political upheavals on the one hand, and the normal course of time and life on the other, have naturally eliminated many men. But seventy years do not by any means signify a dead past. And there are still living in Afghanistan, under the young Republic, a few witnesses of the *serâjiya* reign. Their reminiscences and their accounts form an unequalled contribution to history.

It is particularly fortunate that among others, nearly all Mahmud Tarzi’s children are still with us. Their memory is the best guarantee of authenticity. But the biography of M. Tarzi will remain incomplete here for the simple reason that it continues well beyond our study which is strictly limited to the *serâjiya* era. The life and activity of M. Tarzi who died in Istanbul in 1933, did not end either with the suspension of the publication (December 1918) nor with the death of Emir Habibullâh (February 1919). They continued intensely during the reign of King Amânullâh and have been studied by others in this connection.

After the man has been introduced, an outline of his work will be given. Firmly constructed and maintaining a high quality
through its life, *Serāj ul-akbbār* merits a detailed description, including its material appearance, the team who worked on it, details of its periodicity, printing, distribution, and a summary of its content.

The substance of *Serāj ul-akbbār* may be looked at in two different ways. The first way is to regard the periodical as an organ of local information which is purely descriptive and contributes to presenting a picture of Afghanistan; a necessarily incomplete picture, since the journal covers only the second half of the reign which was ten years old when publication started. These seven years of publication take history in its course, mentioning a few facts, omitting others, whether deliberately or not, making reference to wheels of government already turning and to others being set in motion. Men’s careers are also caught in their course, therefore it is not always possible to appreciate the role or the value of each one. Be it as it may, where personalities and institutions are concerned, thanks to its precise dates and accurate terminology, which foreign sources usually neglect, the contribution of *Serāj ul-akbbār* is concrete. On the other hand, because the episodic nature of the periodical leaves some details imperfectly traced, it is necessary to consult external references already mentioned, such as published works and oral information, in order to render certain facets intelligible.

The description relates first of all to the geography and the historic past of Afghanistan, such as they were known locally. Next it presents the men who at Emir Habibullah’s side directed the destinies of the kingdom, and endeavours to give an idea of life at court which was concentrated in Kabul, the capital. It ends with the presentation of a few elements of internal organization and the development of such institutions as the army, industry, and education which received a certain impulse during the reign. Many problems relating to the very structure of the country’s administration, particularly in finance and agriculture, remain untouched or unresolved, for reasons already mentioned. Until a yet to be undertaken overall analysis of these points provides proof
for further modifications, it would appear that the conditions prevailing during the preceding reign remain valid for the serājiya era.

The second approach to considering the substance of Serāj ul-akhbār is to regard it as a mouthpiece for M. Tarzi's ideas. The substance of the writing is quite different here, and indeed it reveals no apparent link with the previous themes. But after all Tarzi, an Afghan, moved in an Afghan milieu for which Serāj ul-akhbār was well placed to provide a backdrop. One finds that practically all the subjects which preoccupied Tarzi during his long years spent abroad, followed by nearly ten years of observation and maturation in Afghanistan, are in a way liberated in the periodical, whether they be of a social, cultural, moral, religious or political nature. And the special problems of Afghanistan always emerge in a great surge of nationalism, among, or following, others more vast or more general.

As a journalist, Tarzi had over the years formed the idea of what the press in general should be. He defined it as "the mirror of the world ..., the arrow which cuts off the tongue of whoever slanders the homeland ..., the protector of truth, the master of literature, the doctor who little by little cures his ignorant patients, the rose garden where everyone can pick the flower which best suits his temperament ..."\(^{17}\). He had not enough images to illustrate the necessity of a good press, which is, he said, as essential as food and clothing, and to describe the benefits which all levels of society can derive from it. As an Afghan, Tarzi considered it his duty to

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\(^{17}\) Serāj ul-akhbār (further referred to as SA), I, 1, pp. 1-2. Since the references to the periodical are very numerous, for such is the purpose of this study, and since the periodical is not easily available and beyond many readers, the notes have been divided according to a double numbering system. Passing references to Serāj ul-akhbār are followed by (1), (2) ... and arranged by chapter at the end of the volume; whereas detailed references to Serāj ul-akhbār, together with the other notes, are followed by\(^{1}\), \(^{2}\) ... , and placed at the bottom of the page.
place such an instrument at the service of the nation, the homeland, the state. As a Muslim, he desired to put it equally at the service of religion and of all Muslims. This vast programme led to a remarkable diversity of content.

In a great number and variety of essays, touching at random on such topics as the development of science and the economy, and on the evolution of morals, Tarzi expressed his admiration for all progress in general, and spoke of his aspiration for change. This progress, these changes, had already become a reality in Europe which had become synonymous with civilization, gifted for politics, avid for power, and implanted outside its borders as far afield as possible; but the reality was double-edged, dragging men and nations into a ruinous, destructive war. Europe was not only the powerful protagonist of progress, the inventor of all techniques, in brilliant contrast with the rest of the world, apart from America and Japan. Europe was also responsible for the division of the world on a continental scale, into one dominating block, namely itself, and one dominated mass, namely Africa, Asia and Australia. Seen from the East, especially the Muslim East, Europe represented above all the powerful world of Christianity which put religion at the service of politics, and which was trying resolutely to swallow the Muslim world. Each one of these themes was repeated by Tarzi with the obstinacy of a man who had not only reflected on this actual political, economic and religious division of the world, but had come to the conclusion that his country happened to be exposed to the greed of the European block, and its religion was thereby threatened.

As an Islamic journal, Serāj ul-akhbār was closely interested in Muslims all over the world, and it was the axis for the entire Muslim world, namely the Ottoman Empire, seat of the Caliphate, that received the most sustained attention. However, the political division and religious indifference which prevailed in the Muslim world, remained Tarzi’s constant preoccupation. As a distressed witness of this decadence, he first offered his diagnosis of the disease, and then tirelessly recommended the remedy. And transposing the general problem to the special case of his own country, Afghanistan,
he revealed both the weaknesses and at the same time the reasons for hope.
BIOGRAPHY OF MAHMUD TARZI (1865 - 1933)
Mahmud Tarzi’s family, who belonged to the royal clan of the Mohammadzay\(^1\), had, since 1818, been established at Qandahar, whose government was shared by Sardar\(^2\) Rahmel, half-brother of Emir Dost Mohammad and Mahmud’s grandfather, and some of his brothers. The death of one of them and the disputes arising from it, forced Rahmel to flee in 1855 to Persia, where he finished his life. He had left behind a son, Gholam Mohammad, who had long served him as a soldier, for which he had been rewarded with a sword that had been in the family since the time of the Safavids.

Gholam Mohammad (1830-1900), Mahmud’s father, is a better known figure thanks to an irrefutable source, namely his biography written by Mahmud himself as an introduction to his father’s poetical works, published in Karachi during the latter’s lifetime\(^3\).

\(^1\) Clan of the powerful Bârakzay sub-tribe, Dorrâni tribe. The Mohammadzay clan, apart from two short intervals, reigned over Afghanistan from Emir Dost Mohammad (1826-39; 1843-63) until King Mohammad Zâher (1933-73).

\(^2\) Sardar, literally “chief”. Military title given to Dorrâni chiefs, and later principally to those of the Mohammadzay clan.


The merit for the patient search for documents goes entirely to Abd us-Sa-mad, our non-literate but learned bookdealer.
Left alone in Qandahar, Gholám Mohammad was integrated by Emir Dost Mohammad into the community of state princes and received, as a learned scholar, a yearly salary of one hundred and twenty thousand rupees. He served Dost Mohammad until the latter's death in 1863, at Herat, where he had accompanied his master. From Herat, Gholám Mohammad returned to Kabul, escorting the Crown prince and new Emir, Shér Ali (1863-1879), at whose side he later experienced successive periods of favour and disgrace⁴. He then lived on a pension, retiring eleven years before Emir Abd ur-Rahmân finally drove him and all his family out of Afghanistan in 1882.

Little is known with any precision about the reasons for this enforced departure. In his son's words, Gholám Mohammad described himself as close to Abd ur-Rahmân at the beginning of his reign. He was, he said, with him at Chârikâr in July 1880 when the negotiations with the British at the end of the Second Anglo-Afghan War put him on the throne⁵. Soon afterwards the Emir quarrelled with his cousin Mohammad Ayyub, who also coveted the throne, and the formation of factions on this occasion should provide the clue to Abd ur-Rahmân's withdrawal of favour and Gholám Mohammad's disgrace⁶. After three months in prison, Gholám Mohammad and his family were escorted out of Afghanistan to Pishin where a British representative received him with respect and offered him his government's protection and a subsidy. Gholâm Mohammad then chose to travel to Karachi where he had some relatives. During the three years he remained in India, he made long journeys which took him to most of the larger cities. In Karachi he frequented literary circles, where he was soon known and appreciated as a poet, and took part in poetry contests in which the Sindi poets, writing in Persian, competed.

⁴ Gholám Mohammad "Tarzi", Dêwân, pp. 431-432, a poem written in Kabul prison; and id., Qasâyed, pp. 139-142, a poem written in Qandahar prison.
⁵ M. Tarzi, Seyâbat-nâma, p. 148.
⁶ Ibid., p. 248.
But Gholâm Mohammad had never intended to stay in India, "kept by the Infidels", nor to establish himself there, and he decided to continue his travels in the direction of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, provided once more by the British with a final sum of money, he set off for Baghdad, in June 1885 with thirty-five members of his family. The governor of Baghdad, Taqi-uddin Pasha, received him very well and advised him after a period of six months to go to Istanbul and try to meet Sultan Abdülhamid II. This was duly done. Gholâm Mohammad, accompanied by his son Mahmud travelled to the capital. Received by the Caliph, he was granted a monthly pension of two thousand qorush and permission to establish residence in Damascus, centre of the Ottoman province of Syria. Gholâm Mohammad settled there as a "personal guest" of the Sultan7 and lived there to the end of his life. Illness carried him away in December 19008.

Gholâm Mohammad was very devout, and lived an exemplary Muslim life. During his stay in Iraq, where according to a long-held desire he had established himself in the neighbourhood of the holy shrine of Sheikh Abd ul-Qâder Jilâni, he visited Nejef and Kerbalâ. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca several times. The third time, in 1891, he wished to proceed to Mecca bearing the official title bestowed upon him by the Sultan. With a letter of recommendation from the governor of Syria, Osman Pasha, Gholâm Mohammad presented himself before the Sultan to request his authorization which was obtained together with a sum of two hundred pounds towards the expenses of the journey9.

7 Ibid., pp. 12 and 207.
8 SA,II,7, p. 11; and M. Tarzi, Paráganda, Kabul, 1915, p. 16, Gholâm Mohammad died in Damascus on 8 December 1900/15 Sha'bân 1318. For his birth in Qandahar on 30 April 1830/7 Zu l-qa'da 1245, see Gholâm Mohammad "Tarzi", Qasâye'd, p. 156.
9 M. Tarzi, Seyyâhad-nâma, p. 12 and the whole work. It is known that Gholâm Mohammad made a pilgrimage at the end of 1887, see M. Tarzi "Dibâcha", p.12; and another one at the beginning of 1900, see M. Tarzi, Az bar daban sokhâni wa az bar chaman samani (From each mouth a word and from each field a sprig of jasmin), Kabul, 1913, pp. 149-150, a ghâbal sent to his son Mahmud from Mecca, dated 29 January 1900/27 Ramazân 1317.
Being a calligrapher and a poet, Gholâm Mohammad took the pen-name of “Tarzi (the stylist)”\(^\text{10}\). He was the author of a large poetic corpus of religious and mystic as well as secular inspiration. His *Dewan* was published in Karachi eight years before his death, thanks to the help of his nephew Mohammad Anwar, and of his son, Mohammad Zamân, who both lived there for a while. One of his manuscripts, Akbâr-e hamida (*Exemplary morals*) which he wrote in six months in Damascus (1888-1889) was taken to Istanbul by Mahmud and presented to the Caliph who in turn prescribed a raise of a thousand *qorush*, although the work was apparently never published\(^\text{11}\). Two other works are known: Resâla-e ash’ar-e Irâq wa Hejâz (*Collection of poems of Iraq and Hejaz*)\(^\text{12}\) and Tarz-e Tarzi (*The Style of the stylist*). Neither of them was ever published and only the latter exists in manuscript\(^\text{13}\).

Gholâm Mohammad had eleven children, six sons and five daughters, by several wives\(^\text{14}\). Three of his sons, Gol Mohammad, Mohammad Zamân and Abdul-Khâleq were later engaged in translation and publishing at the printing press of Kabul. Mohammad Zamân had not accompanied his family in their exile beyond Karachi; he remained there about ten years before returning to Kabul and becoming Emir Habibullâh’s librarian (*khâzen ul-kotob*) (1).

\(\text{10} \) SA, VI, 5, p. 2, Gholâm Mohammad who was known as “Tarzi-e afghân” in literary circles, was addressed as “Tarzi Sâheb” in his family milieu, as he is called by his descendants today. The name of “Tarzi” he himself gave to Mahmud and not to his other sons. In 1921, on the eve of enrolling at the University of Oxford, Abdul Wahhab, Mahmud’s eldest son, asked his father to be allowed to take Tarzi as his surname; later, the whole family adopted it.

\(\text{11} \) M. Tarzi, “Dibâcha”, p. 14; and Gholâm Mohammad “Tarzi”, *Dewan*, pp. 707-708. The manuscript is said to be held in the library of Istanbul University (inf. A.W. Tarzi).

\(\text{12} \) M. Tarzi, *Az bar daban*, pp. 15-16, prose work entitled *Naw Bahâr* (*New Spring*) taken from this work; and SA, II, 7, p. 11.


\(\text{14} \) See below Appendix I, table 1.
Another son, Mohammad Amin, who died in his youth, was known as a poet under the name of Andalib. But of all of them, Mahmud’s personality remained the most striking by its intelligence; the most lively by the quality and originality of work produced. Mahmud was born at Ghazni on 23 August 1865 of a Sadōzay mother, whose name was Saltanat Bē-


17 On the occasion of the commemoration of the eightieth anniversary of Sayyed Jamāl ud-din’s death celebrated by a seminar held in Kabul in March 1977, the following volume was published: Maqālāt-e Mahmud Tarzi dar Seraj ul-akhibr-e afghāniya 1290-97 sb., gerd-āwaranda Rawān Farhādi (Mahmud Tarzi 1865-1933. Pamphlets, Editorials and Other Major Articles from Seraj-al-Akhbar 1911-1918. Compiled by Dr. A.G. Rawān Farhadī), Kabul, Bayhaqi, 1355/1977, VIII - 1002 p., pl., portr., facsim. It brought to light new material, still unpublished, which permitted the editor to revise and correct the date of the birth of Mahmud Tarzi. Up to now the date was assumed to be 8 August 1867/1 Rabi’ II 1284, on the basis of M. Tarzi’s father’s printed writings, see Gholām Mohammad
gorn. He himself specified that his birth in this city happened quite by chance, whilst his mother was travelling from Kabul to Qandahar to join Gholâm Mohammad, who was there at the side of Emir Shēr Ali (2). He was seventeen when he left his country for India in exile with his parents. Until then, on his own confession (3), he had no knowledge outside of prose, poetry and religion which were the traditional subjects that could be acquired in the family circle, in Persian or Pashtō. In India he started studying languages and travelling with his father. They are known to have visited Bangalore (Mysore) in 1882 (4) and Lahore the following year (5). About that time Gholâm Mohammad himself affixed the name of “Tarzi” to that of his son Mahmud (6). The Indian period was a short first lap which started young Mahmud on the path of experience, travels and discoveries. On his departure from Karachi, when he left one new world for another one in Baghdad, he heard Arabic and Turkish for the first time. A halt of six months in Iraq served as a prelude to a stay of fifteen years on Ottoman soil, precisely the most decisive years in the shaping of a young man’s mind. In Baghdad he started learning Turkish, encouraged by the Counsellor of the sixth Ottoman army, Hedâyat Pasha, who had taken the Tarzis under his protection18. From that time Mahmud was very close to his father, accompanying him on all his important petitions of which the first one, as seen previously, was to go to Istanbul to obtain a statute. At the end of his travels, Mahmud discovered in Istanbul and Damascus, the Muslim capitals of those days, a universe brimming with opportunities for acquiring knowledge and wide open to another even more distant, stranger continent, Europe. Henceforth nothing re-

“Tarzi”, Qasâyed, pp. 158-159. In a recently discovered autographed manuscript entitled The Things seen and heard (Didani-hâ wa shenidani-hâ), however, Mahmud Tarzi himself said he was four years old at the time of Emir Shēr Ali’s journey to Ambala in March 1869. Also, from the abjad contained in a handwritten manuscript by Gholâm Mohammad “Tarzi”, the new birthdate may be assumed to be 23 August 1865/1 Rabi’ II 1282, see R. Farhadi’s discussion in op. cit., pp. 817-822.
mained beyond the young man's grasp. The tidal wave of books which inundated Turkey in the form of translations and adaptations offered a very wide choice of what Europe had produced through the ages. Mahmud started to read and learn, and thanks to a rapid mastery of the Turkish language, he delved into every possible subject.

Though settled in Damascus Tarzi often returned to Istanbul. On one occasion in 1888-1889, it was "to present to the Sultan a book written by his father." The account of his journey, which he wrote then under the title *Seyâbat-nâma-e Dâr-e sa'âda* (Account of a journey in the Home of happiness), in which he said he had given "geographic, historic and political information", has not survived. The following year, Mahmud stayed in Istanbul for nine months, interrupted by two weeks in Paris, at the time of the World Exhibition. This was the longest he ever stayed in the Ottoman capital.

But the only travel about which there are abundant details is the one he made a little later in May-June 1891, "less than a month after his marriage," from Beirut to Alexandria via Istanbul. This time he accompanied his father who was making a pilgrimage, as interpreter. It was indeed with great diligence that Mahmud wrote another account of this journey, published later in Kabul, which gives an accurate and vivid description of the stages of his trip together with a lively account of the conversations which he entered into very easily with his travelling companions. In Istanbul, Gholâm Mohammad not only obtained permission to go to Mecca, but also Mahmud's nomination as a civil servant of the third grade, which he prized highly. After the

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19 M. Tarzi, *Seyâbat-nâma*, p. 10, M. Tarzi affirms having gone "seven times from Shâm to Istanbul".
23 See below Appendices II and III which give a list and a summary of all published works of Tarzi.
crossing from Beirut to Istanbul on a Russian steamer, interrupted by calls at Tripoli, Izmir, Chios, Athens, and Salonica, the journey continued on one of the Khedive’s boats at the invitation of the Sultan whose guests they were at Nishantash. The boat took them to Alexandria where Mahmud let his father continue alone towards the Holy places of Arabia, whilst he returned to Damascus via Port Said and Jaffa.

In 1896 Mahmud was to be found again in Istanbul where, according to his own account (7), he had come from Damascus on his father’s advice to follow the teaching of the great Sayyed Jamāl ud-din ul-Afghānī. This sojourn of seven consecutive months which ended in March of the following year with the Master’s death, was very certainly one of the most vital events in the young man’s life. Finally, the journey to Istanbul in 1901 following Gholām Mohammad’s death, was Mahmud’s last trip during the Damascus period. Only twenty-two verses (bayt) out of five hundred he wrote about this journey, under the title of Seyābat-nāma-e manzum (Account of a journey, in verse), are extant. It was never possible to publish this work either in Istanbul or in Lahore, where Mahmud had occasion to stop on his way to Afghanistan.²⁵

The same year, in 1901, less than a year after the death in Damascus of Mahmud’s father, Emir Abd ur-Rahmān died in Kabul and was succeeded on the throne by Prince Habibullāh. The vacuum left by the death of his father, to whom he was much attached by bonds of respect and admiration, and also the change that had taken place in Afghanistan, threw Tarzi into a great quandary. Although he had admittedly been exiled, Tarzi never ceased to consider Afghanistan his true and only homeland. The dilemma was rapidly solved, however, by his decision to make an exploratory visit to Kabul. Strengthened by the thought and hopes he already nourished of bringing the Ottoman and Afghan worlds closer together, he decided the moment had come to make a

²⁵ M. Tarzi, Parāganda, pp. 15-17.
first attempt. Armed with a permit and a passport he went to Kabul in February-March 1902, accompanied by his nephew Habibullah, for a stay of ten months. This is the journey, the not yet definitive return, one must visualize when Tarzi speaks of his return to Afghanistan “in the second year of Emir Habibullah’s reign, after an absence of twenty years” (8). In Kabul, during personal audiences with the new Emir, Tarzi spoke persuasively of the mutual interest which could develop between the two countries. Succeeding, he received an order (farmān) to bring back his family and at the same time recruit some Ottoman experts to serve in Afghanistan.

Having returned to Istanbul to announce his preliminary contact with the Afghan state and to take his leave, Mahmud found that his plans were opposed by the machinations of some of his enemies who suddenly appeared and accused him of forging his order to return. It took him seven to eight months of uncertain waiting to obtain the authorization from the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior to return to Damascus and collect his family for the trip back to Kabul. Moreover, he had to forego taking with him the Turkish specialists he had engaged; they took up their new posts later26. This is how they returned to Afghanistan in 1905, after twenty-three years of absence, following the amnesty proclaimed by Emir Habibullah which concerned families other than that of Gholām Mohammad “Tarzi” as well. The return journey was naturally long and slow. After a week spent in Beirut, the travellers took a boat to Port Said, and from there another to Karachi where they spent two months before reaching Peshawar by train. There they halted for yet another month. As for the last lap of the journey, it was accomplished in twelve days by palanquin (takht-e rawān) through the Khyber Pass.

26 These facts derive from a manuscript notebook which belonged to Mahmud Tarzi, now in the possession of his son Abdul Wahhab in Kabul. A.W. Tarzi did us the extreme favour of translating them from the Turkish and putting them at our disposal, together with many others.
Mahmud Tarzi brought with him an already large family. As a very young man, he had been married to an Afghan girl of the Khâ'gyân tribe, but she had died in Damascus before the death of their son Abd ul-Qâder. Shortly before this double loss, however, Mahmud had married a Syrian, Asmâ Râsimiya, who gave him five sons and five daughters. Asmâ Râsimiya was the daughter of a merchant from Aleppo, Mohammad Sâle, who, having become muezzin of the Ommeyad Mosque in Damascus, was living in that city without any other profession. Mohammad Sâle stayed several times in Kabul after his children returned, and he died there in 1918 (9).

Mahmud returned to Afghanistan with his wife and their first four children, Khâyriya, Huriya, Sorayâ, and Abd ul-Wahhab, and also his mother who died in Kabul in 1908. His sisters, Khorsâ, called Bibi Dâdâ, and Sârâ, called Sârat Khânom, and other members of the family also formed part of the party. Having arrived with nothing but their personal effects, Mahmud and his family were given a residence near Kabul at Chebel Sotun in the garden.

27 See below Appendix I, table 2.
28 Born in Damascus in 1893, married in Kabul in 1909 to Prince Enâyatullah, she enjoyed in 1974 at the age of 81, a very remarkable memory. To her never-failing kindness we owe the most vivid family details recorded here.
29 Born in Damascus in 1895, married twice, she is today living in Kabul, after many years spent in Berlin.
30 Born in Damascus in 1899. In 1913, she married in Kabul Prince Amânullah, who became Emir in 1919. Exiled in 1929 with their children and relatives, King Amânullah died in Zurich in 1960, Queen Sorayâ in Rome in 1968. Their mortal remains were taken to Jalalabad and placed next to those of Emir Habibullah.
31 M. Tarzi, Parâganda, pp. 22-23, a poem gives the date of birth of Abd ul-Wahhab in Damascus, on 24 November 1903 Ramazân 1321. Abd ul-Wahhab studied in England from 1921 to 1928. In Qandahar on the road to exile in 1929, he married one of Emir Habibullah's daughters, Khadija. After his return to Afghanistan in the 1950s, he was Director of the Afghan Tourist Organization until 1973.
32 Said to be buried in the mausoleum of the Sadōzay sovereign, Timur, situated in Kabul on the right bank of the river, her tomb could not be traced.
of Lt. General Parwâna, which had been confiscated during the reign of Abd ur-Rahmân. After a few months, with the onset of the winter season, they moved to the central quarter of Deh-e Afghânân to the house of a local person of standing, Mollâ Amu. This house was taken from them before the end of Habibullah’s reign and they were then given a home by Prince Amânullah in an annex of his own residence.

Little is known about Mahmud’s occupations during his first years in Kabul. He established the Office of Translation (dâr ut-tarjama) with its offices in Bâgh-e mehmân-khâna, taught history and geography at the Military School for one year, and travelled in the country with the Emir. But, anxious to make a name for himself, he gathered some young friends round him, continued to write and, above all, prepared for the publication of his major work, Serâj ul-akbbâr. Mahmud was fully occupied with the composition and publication of this important periodical until nearly the end of Emir Habibullah’s reign. After Amânullah ascended the throne, Tarzi, who was his father-in-law, became Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this capacity he presided over the independence negotiations; later he was appointed minister in France. In Kabul, he lived at first a few steps away from the ministry and from the palace in a place called Gerdân Sarây, and later in an apartment on the wall surrounding the palace grounds, Borj-e Kampunir. In 1929 when Amânullah was overthrown, the royal family followed the King into exile. Mahmud Tarzi also left Afghanistan for a second exile which took him back to Istanbul. He died there of cancer four years later, in 1933. His wife, Asmâ Rasmia, struck by hemiplegia, also died there in 1945.

Mahmud Tarzi had been a passionate reader from his early youth. He read mainly Turkish authors; he read also European works already translated into Turkish; and he soon enjoyed translating some of them into Persian.

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33 Information A.W. Tarzi.
34 M.Tarzi, Az bar daban, pp.181-205, a French novel entitled Flora (translation dated 1891-92); id., Parâganda, pp.7-14, a poem (tarji’-band) by Ziya Pasha (1897-98); ibid., p.28, and SA,IV,4,p.2 n., M.Tarzi mentions his translation of Hasan Fehmi’s book on international law (1896-98), etc.
First as a translator and then as a man of letters, Mahmud embarked on an intensive literary career. His first collection of essays written in Damascus, *Dabestan-e ma‘āref* (*The School of Knowledge*), has never been rediscovered in its entirety, but segments were later published in Kabul. In this work Mahmud recorded pieces of prose, translations and also poems, for the composition of verses was not the least of his many talents.

Before continuing with this introduction of Tarzi, his work and his ideas, a word of clarification is needed on one point and one name only passingly mentioned in the foregoing biography: his meeting with Sayyed Jamāl ud-din ul-Afghāni. The present study and analysis will show that Tarzi belonged to the wave of Muslim thinkers who followed in the footsteps of the great precursor. The Sayyed was present in *Seraj ul-akbbār* in spirit as well as by name. To Tarzi he was not merely a famous, foreign figure, for a longlasting understanding existed between the two men. It is not intended to present their two ideologies here because although Jamāl ud-din’s life and works have been studied exhaustively, little is known yet about Tarzi.

What do *Seraj ul-akbbār* and M. Tarzi reveal about the reformer? First, in two extracts from the Turkish press, his name is incidentally mentioned, once in connection with a new account of the assassination of the Shah of Persia, Nāser ud-din (10), and a second time when the Istanbul journal, *Al-Adl*, quotes a passage on the origin of the Afghan people and of the word “Afghan” from his work *Tatemmat ul-bayān fi ta‘rikh ul-afghān* (11).

Elsewhere, the Sayyed is introduced to Afghan readers through a discussion of his exceptional character and belief in his Afghan origins. The author of this introduction was not Mahmud Tarzi.

but a correspondent originally from Kabul then resident in Farrukhabad (U.P.), who sent a Persian translation of the famous biography of Jamāl ud-din published in the Cairo review, *Al-Helāl*, to *Serāj ul-akhbār* (12). Actually, only an adaptation of the original text was published, at the end of which M. Tarzi announced that he would shortly publish supplementary information.

This supplement came one month later, after the journal had been running for six years, in the rather unexpected form of a very revealing personal account (13). First of all Tarzi emphasized the ambiguity, even confusion, which the Sayyed himself used to foster as to whether his true antecedents were "rumi", i.e. Turkish, or Afghan, or Persian. Tarzi immediately added to the file of those arguing in favour of a non-Afghan Jamāl by presenting two items of evidence, dating from the Sayyed’s stay on Afghan territory, in which his rumi origin is hinted at. This visit which lasted more than two years (September 1866 - December 1868) remained engraved in the memories of all and recounted in local histories, through two poems written by Mahmud’s father, Gholām Mohammad, who had the opportunity of meeting Jamāl ud-din at Qandahar. One was a *qasida* of praise to Jamāl37 and the other, written at Jamāl’s request, was about the Caliph at that time, Abdūlaziz.38 As he himself stated, the young Mahmud was imbued from his childhood with the poetic talent of his father, and very soon became familiar with the name of Jamāl ud-din. This was due as much to the famous poem dedicated to the distinguished visitor, as to the many stories about him, told by the child’s tutor, mollā Mohammad Akram of Qandahar, and by his eldest brother, Mohammad Zamān.

Then, to this knowledge acquired from hearsay during his childhood, Tarzi added further evidence, which he judged himself of

37 *SA*, VI, 5, p.2, partially reproduced here. M. Tarzi makes a note to rectify in Gholām Mohammad “Tarzi”, *Qasāyed*, pp. 70-71, which contains the whole poem, the name of Jalāl ud-din printed in error, to Jamāl ud-din.

38 *SA*, VI, 5, pp. 3-4, partially reproduced here. For the complete text, see Gholām Mohammad “Tarzi”, *Qasāyed*, pp. 72-75.
much greater interest, gained through direct personal contact with Jamâl ud-din many years later. It happened in 1896 when Mahmud was living at Damascus with his family and Gholâm Mohammad learnt through the press of the arrival in the Ottoman capital of the same Sayyed Jamâl ud-din he had known in Afghanistan thirty years earlier. He advised his son to go to Istanbul and follow the Master's teaching. Mahmud, armed with the necessary letters of introduction and recommendation, left at once for Istanbul and remained there for seven months. From the residence Aqarat Humayun in the district of Beshiktash where he was staying, he went every day to Nishantash, to be with the Master, in whose proximity he thus lived the last months of the latter's life, witnessing his illness, his operation and his death in March 1897.

It is this past, in many ways so memorable and still so alive, which Tarzi evoked in his one story of episodes selected from daily life relating to the Sayyed, his life and his death. From memory he quoted, for instance, the Master's fiery reply to journalists forever curious about his enigmatic origin: "Well, the Afghans do not call me Afghan, the Iranians do not consider me as Iranian, nor the Turks Turkish, and the Europeans do not admit to me being European; but which damned nation in the world will have the courage to tell me: 'Jamâl ud-din is descended neither from Adam or Eve'?)."

Next he gave a detailed account of the rapid progress of the Sayyed's illness, made up of the sick man's own words; this progress had been much hastened by the state of great tension following the accusation made against him of having assassinated the Shâh of Persia in May 1896. Less than a year later, Jamâl ud-din died of cancer of the lower gum, operated twice, of which his circle of admirers had witnessed the painful evolution. Tarzi himself believed the Master had been assassinated, and pondered on the identity of the likely assassin: the Jewish doctor in charge? More than a doctor, he was a man in whom Jamâl ud-din had placed complete trust.

In his remembrances Tarzi recalled many times the name of Sheikh Abu l-Hodâ, a Syrian, about whom, he said, many stories
were circulating: Jamāl ud-din called him, with good reason, Abu
z-Zalāl i.e. The Father of perdition (the opposite of Abu l-Hoda,
i.e. The Father of the right path) because of the intrigues this dervish
plotted against him which were recounted by Tarzi in his story
about the Sayyed.

In short, made up of many details, seen or heard, Tarzi's sup-
plement to the Sayyed's biography is apparently based on an-
cecodile; it does indeed reveal the great interest Tarzi took in the
smallest things concerning the man whose radiance enthralled disci-
iples from everywhere. Among them, Mahmud Tarzi, an Afghan,
a loyal follower for seven months, who was already concerned
about the fate of Muslims, affirmed years later that "these seven
months of dialogue are as good as seven years of travel" and that
"the scientific, philosophic, political and social discussions which
took place each day in the presence of this scholar would fill
many books, if one wanted to record in writing each phrase and
each expression". He said that "the seeds of philosophy which this
wise man, Master of the arts, sowed in the minds of his Europe-
an, Asiatic, African and even American disciples, would little by
little bear fruit for the world of Islam", and, finally, that the man
himself, Jamāl ud-din, "would never die because his heart had lived
on love".

These words of Mahmud Tarzi leave not the slightest shadow
of a doubt about the ideological hold exercised over him by the
discourses and theories of Jamāl ud-din. How far did this hold go?
What evolution, what revision would it know in later years? The
articles in Serāj ul-akhbār and the pamphlets accompanying them
count as the first fruits produced more than ten years after the
encounter with Jamāl ud-din. They reveal ideas, projects, reflections
and analyses in which one will not be surprised to find some
similarities as well as differences when the inevitable moment comes
of comparing the inspiration and thought of each of them.
DESCRIPTION OF SERĀJ UL-AKBÂR (1911-1918)
In every respect Serāj ul-akbbār was a complete novelty, if only in the Afghan press whose history had till then been very brief\(^1\). Only one newspaper is with certainty known to have existed before it, the first no doubt ever to have appeared in Afghanistan: Shams un-nahār *(The Day’s sun)*, of which a few numbers have been found quite recently and studied in Afghanistan itself\(^2\). Published during Emir Shēr Ali’s second reign (1869-1879), Shams un-nahār had no successor under Abd ur-Rahmān and it was not until the twentieth century that the Afghan press took flight quite remarkably with Serāj ul-akbbār.

Two documents recently discovered, one in manuscript form,

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the other lithographed, which antedate Seraj ul-akbbar by a few years, should however be mentioned. The first one, called Akh-
bar-nama (Journal), dated March-April 1904, was apparently a sin-
gle sheet intended for the Emir, containing many translated ex-
tracts from the Indian press3. The second one, Seraj ul-akbbar-e
Afgahanistan (The Torch of News of Afghanistan), of which the
only number appeared on 11 June 1906, already had the same
aspect adopted by Seraj ul-akbbar five years later4.

The successful production of such an undertaking as Seraj
ul-akbbar, 1911-1918, demanded a policy, means and personnel5.
Who in Afghanistan had any experience of journalism? No one
indeed. Consequently the team of journalists working on the new-
paper was very limited and it was M. Tarzi himself, for whom this
was a vocation, who assumed the responsibility for all the articles
which were not signed, during the whole life of the periodical6.

In the beginning, Ali Ahmad, esbik-aqasi-e molki7, a high
court official closely concerned with internal affairs, worked with
Tarzi. Ali Ahmad was the paper's spokesman of court news; a
member of the administrative committee (sherkat-e edara) he
appeared on the title page as an “observer (sar-negaran)”, but his
contribution lasted less than two years for he withdrew by June
1913 (1). Two journalists, Abd ul-Hadi8 and Abd ur-Rah-

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3 M.K. Ahang, “Takmela bar nasharat-e davra-e amir Habibullah Khan, akhbar-
nama-e qalami (Supplement to the publications of the reign of Emir Habib-
ullah Khan, a manuscript journal), Aryana, 1970,XXVIII,3,pp.60-70, facsim.
4 H. Afghani, “Mawlawi Abd ur-Rauf Qandahari, ‘alem wa sahafi wa shahi’er
(Mawlawi Abd ur-Rauf Qandahari, scholar, journalist and poet)”, Soroush
(Karachi), 1960, V, nr. 6, in which the author gives a description of the
document and presents the biography of its editor; and M.K. Ahang, Sazri..., pp. 28-43.
5 In Kabul two almost complete collections are available for consultation
at the National Library (Ketab-khana-e ‘anma) and at the Historical Society
(Anjoman-e tarikh).
6 A detail repeated at the end of each issue of the paper, except for the first
three.
7 On the term esbik-aqasi and about Ali Ahmad, see below p. 112.
8 Born in 1895, originally from the Dawi tribe of Qandahar, Abd ul-Hadi
combined the roles of journalist (moharrer), translator (motarjem) and
poet. He ended a long career as President of the Afghan Senate to which
he was nominated in 1970. Since 1973 he has been retired.
mān⁹, replaced him and reported on official ceremonies which they attended as representatives of the paper. They also produced some original essays, particularly of a religious or moral nature. Because of their knowledge of Urdu, Pashtō, English and Turkish, however, translations from the foreign press and of various other works were their principal contribution. Other translators were also known to have worked for the paper: Fayz Mohammad (2) and Ali Mohammad (3) for English, and Mehmed Nazif for Turkish (4). Occasional contributors, such as Abd ur-Rabb, the court mollā, for religious commentaries¹⁰ and Khayr ud-din Kholusi Bey, for military tactics (5), also wrote for a special column, and a few correspondents wrote from the provinces¹¹ and from abroad, such as those from Kerki and Merv (6), and Gholām Naqshband from Cairo (7).

For the first year, when Serāj ul-akhbār was lithographed, the cooperation of a calligrapher, mirzā Mohammad Ja’far Qandahari, was needed and the editing was entrusted to Mahmud Tarzi’s, half-brother Abd ul-Khāleq¹². The illustrations, from the second year, were produced by a team of zincographers directed by a Turk, Mehmed Fazli, founder of the School of zincography set up in Kabul in 1912. M. Fazli who worked closely with M. Tarzi and contributed several articles about certain techniques to the paper, was shortly afterwards sent to Europe to learn colour printing and to complete the working equipment, but he was stranded in Paris because of World War I and could not return to Kabul.

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9 Journalist and translator. Originally from the Ludin tribe of Qandahar. His father, known as Kākā Sayyed Ahmad, attained fame by devising a method of teaching adults to read Persian, published in Kabul in 1921.
10 Son of mollā Abd ur-Ra’uf. From SA, II, 11, he was entrusted with the column devoted to religious commentary (bāb ut-tafsīr).
11 Shahryār Bey at Herat, Mohammad Shafī’ at Dayzengi, Mohammad Rahim at Maymana, Abd ul-Ghafur at Wardak and Maydān, Abd ul-Latif at Ghazni and Abd ul-Ahad in Afghan Turkestan were all provincial correspondents (wāqeq’u-netgār).
12 A detail repeated at the end of each issue of the first year, except for the first two.
Another Turk, Mehmed Nuri, who came from Istanbul to assist M. Fazli succeeded him as head of the School. The rest of the staff are known from a group photograph.

The paper appeared fortnightly. Its title, at first Serāj ul-akhbâr (The Torch of News), was changed after three months to Serāj ul-akhbâr-e afghâniyâ (The Torch of Afghân News). It appeared with great regularity on the first and fifteenth of each month of the lunar year. The date printed on the front page next to the date of the solar calendar, was soon joined by the Gregorian date, called "English Christian date." But to save Afghan readers who were used to the Muslim solar calendar from the mental acrobatics in correlating dates, there was a project, never realized, to date the ninth year of the periodical from Nawrâz (21 March), the first day of the solar year (8).

The pages were of a large format (33 X 24 cm) and grew in number from twelve to sixteen in view of the interest of the

13 SA, II, 22, p. 11, group photograph of the students of the School of zincoigraphy: Sayyed Ahmad, Abd ul-Ghani, Khâleq-Dâd, Abd ul-Hakim, Yâr Mohammad, head of the zincoographers, and Sayyed Abu Bakr, and VI, 1, p. 4. Mehmed Fazli wrote a short work entitled Resimli afghan siabati (Account of an Afghân journey), Istanbul, 1325.

14 SA, II, 22, p. 10, group photograph showing: mirzá Abdullâh, in charge of correspondence (ma'mur-e maktub-newisi), Mohammad Azîz, accountant (ma'mur-e mobâsebât), Gholâm Naqshband, storekeeper (tablûd-dâr), Abd ul-Wâli, in charge of addresses (surâma-newisi), Abd ul-Hâdi and Abd ur-Rahmân.

15 From SA, I, 8, of 20 January 1912. When Tarzi heard that a newspaper with the same title was being published in Jhelum (Punjab), he added the adjective afghâniyâ to his own paper (personal communication).

16 The first number is dated "15 Shawwâl 1329/ 16 Mizân 1290" / 9 October 1911, and the last one "15 Rabi' I 1337 / 19 December 1918 / 27 Qâws 1297". One notes an interruption in the publication from 24 July (VII, 24) to 7 October 1918 (VIII, 1); although no reason is given, this interruption was most certainly a repercussion of the assassination attempt directed against Emir Habibullâh in Kabul at the beginning of the same July.

17 From SA, I, 14, of 19 April 1912.
Emir in the diffusion of knowledge” (9). This number remained constant, with very few exceptions. Each page had two columns of text, printed on good, sometimes glossy paper, in black, or sometimes green, red or blue ink. For the first year, Serāj ul-akkbār was entirely lithographed at the government printing press, the only printing facility available. From the second year, after the installation of the first modern typographic printing press and the establishment of the School of zincography, it was possible to present more attractive issues enlivened by many portraits and illustrations.

Sixteen hundred copies of each issue of the periodical were printed (10). The great majority of readers were Afghan and included a number of ex-officio subscribers. The life of such an undertaking depended naturally on regular circulation; in a country where the number of literate people was minute and where genuine clients would probably not have exceeded one hundred (11), the only solution was to deduct the price of the subscription from all annual salaries of more than one thousand rupees. In this way the salaries of thirteen hundred functionaries were automatically docked, ranging from the highest rank to the rank of colonel for the army, and from the highest grade to equivalent grade (of colonel) for civil servants (12). Besides, Serāj ul-akkbār prided itself on its first reader being Emir Habibullāh himself (13). As for its women readers, the number it quoted in Kabul alone, one hundred, seems a maximum (14). Foreign subscribers in India, Persia, in the Ottoman Empire and in Russian Turkestan were probably more important for the interest they took in the periodical than for their numbers, there were fifty or sixty in Bukhara and Samarkand, and their number grew in spite of the postal difficulties (15). Though it is not known with any certainty how widely Serāj ul-akkbār was distributed, in geographic terms, it may be assumed from the postmarks on letters addressed to the editor that it went well beyond the countries mentioned above, including also Japan and Australia.

Serāj ul-akkbār was spread through exchange with “all the Muslim newspapers of Transoxiana” (16), in India (17) and in
Japan, or distributed free of charge (18). Over and above this distribution, about one hundred copies remained (19). Apart from a few numbers that sold out quickly (20), these were offered to the public at the normal price, in single numbers or bound volumes (21), or presented as prizes at the end of the school year to, for example, the best student of Habibiyā School\(^{18}\).

As *Serāj ul-akhbār* was by definition a non-profit making enterprise, it was launched and kept alive with a minimum of subsidies granted exclusively by the state. But in spite of its constantly narrow budget, it survived for seven years without a change of tariff. The seventh year was made more difficult still by a series of extra costs due to several fires, to the removal of its premises to the district of Deh-e Afghānān\(^{19}\), and to increases in the price of paper and materials caused by the War, Mahmūd Tarzi was forced to put up the price\(^{20}\).

Subscriptions were paid in advance, not directly to the account of the paper, since it would have been difficult for it to receive sums of liquid money, but to the public Treasury, which issued a receipt. Local currency was not accepted from foreign subscribers, but Kabul rupees had to be bought locally, at the day’s rate (22), and handed to the local agent of the paper (*wa-kil*): Gholām Haydar at Peshawar\(^{21}\), Gholām Nābi at Bukhara.

\(^{18}\) SA, IV, 21, p. 1. See also M.K. Ahang, “Tirāj wa khwānandagān-e Serāj ul-akhbār (Circulation and readers of Serāj ul-akhbār),” *Aryana*, 1971, XXIX, 1, pp. 38-40. In brief, it is possible to assess the distribution of sixteen hundred copies of *Serāj ul-akhbār* as follows: thirteen hundred *ex-officio* subscribers, one hundred voluntary subscribers, one hundred subscribers abroad and one hundred copies left over.

\(^{19}\) From SA, VII, 1, of 4 August 1917.

\(^{20}\) From SA, VIII, 1, of 7 October 1917, the price of a single copy went up from one *abbāsi* to two *shābis*. In Kabul and its surroundings as far as six *korub* (circa eighteen kilometres), the subscription was raised from eight to twelve Kabul rupees per year, in the provinces from fourteen to twenty Kabul rupees, and abroad from ten to thirty “English rupees” per year.

\(^{21}\) SA, VII, 12, cover, Gholām Haydar, originally from Wardak, was administrator of the Afghan post (*sarresbta-dār-e dāk-kbāna*) at Peshawar; and III, 14, p. 6 (portrait).
ra²² and Abdullāh at Meshed²⁹-

In Kabul the carefully controlled distribution was operated by hand. In the main offices of the town a person was responsible for handing the paper to subscribers at their place of work; the police office (daftar-e kōtwāl) arranged home-delivery to some known addresses through a district officer (kalāntar) (23). However, following a series of irregularities giving rise to many complaints, distribution was soon entrusted to the Central Post Office (24).

Serāj ul-akhbār remained the only press medium in Afghanistan during the entire serājiya era. Its task was therefore the heavier as in its desire to be “the shop-window of knowledge (bāzār-e 'elm)” it was forced to be at once a “scientific review”, a “literary periodical”, a “political journal” and a “daily newspaper” (25). Moreover, its subtitle indicated that it would contain news “from home and abroad and a certain number of useful articles”. Before studying how this ambitious plan was realized, it is necessary to clarify one essential point: the relation between Serāj ul-akhbār and the authorities, or rather, since it amounts to the same thing, the position of Mahmud Tarzi vis-à-vis the Emir.

It is quite certain that the situation was rendered ambiguous from the outset by the name of Ali Ahmad on the front page, since he was an official so close to the Emir. Part of the foreign press, particularly the British press of India, saw this as proof of the paper’s subservience to the state, and made the fact an excuse to show open hostility. Strongly worded articles in which the publication was termed as “official”, “government-controlled”, or “semi-governmental” more than once provoked Tarzi to protest. Ali Ahmad’s presence had undoubtedly helped in launching Serāj ul-akhbār, which is indeed the reason why the esbik-āqāsi said he accepted M. Tarzi’s proposal only after first hesitating; but he

²² SA, II, 12, cover, Gholām Nabi was a dealer in astrakhan skins at Bukhara.
²³ Ibid., Abdullāh was responsible for Afghan trade (kār-dār-e tejārat) at Meshed.
stated that his mission was only honorary (26). Tarzi confirmed that besides official reports, always signed, Ali Ahmad provided "no other written contribution" to the newspaper and that it was this purely "commercial and financial" association with the paper that made it necessary for his name to be mentioned (27). In fact, Ali Ahmad was well known for his political ambitions and possibly his hesitation in accepting a proposal which flattered him and gave him additional publicity was less sincere than he made out. On the other hand, however well disposed the Emir might be towards Tarzi, which he proved by giving his authorization to publish the periodical in the first place, the editor could not do without the support of important people as a link between himself and a sometimes irresolute Sovereign. In the end, neither the Emir's favours, nor the support of his counsellor lasted.

One month before Ali Ahmad's resignation, Tarzi admitted that the presence of the esbik-āqāsī was a handicap which prevented him as editor from expressing himself freely, because of the risk that his personal views would be taken as the official voice of the government (28). Until the end he defended his periodical from the charge of ever having been inspired by the state: "In no case has our paper an official, or semi-official character" (29). Nor did the fact that Serāj ul-akhbār was printed on a government press make it into an organ of the government, he said. Moreover, it is evident that the opinions of some high officials, including the Emir, did not coincide with Tarzi's own. Tarzi pursued different goals, which could not, like politics, endanger the existence of his offspring, and thus "useful articles" abounded.

In his unceasingly firm determination to be free, Mahmud Tarzi gave his periodical a formal mark of independence by utilizing a vocabulary which was not yet in use in the country. Thus to avoid all possibility of confusion, he made a distinction between his own office, called edāra and governmental offices called daftar or mabhkama, and between himself as a director (modir) and the usual administrator (sarrashta-dār). To maintain this distinction as well as to prevent possible errors in the delivery of mail, he changed his title again, after modir had been adopted by
others, to "chief editor (sar-moharrer)" and "authorized director (sâheb-e emteyân)" (30).

The plan of Serâj ul-akbâr varied little from one number to another. There was a methodical division into five main sections: a commentary on a general theme, local news, foreign news, a variety of articles, and literature. Developed according to the turn of current events and following the editor's taste, these sections appeared regularly, if not always in the same proportions, and were fitted as well as possible into a coherent unity.

The first section offered an article about the country—a geographical description, a study of the Emir's work, past or present, in the development of the kingdom—or a commentary on the occasion of major religious or secular holidays; occasionally some event or other would inspire a leading article with a moral conclusion.

Next came what the paper itself entitled the "Interior events (bawâdes-e dâkhela)" or local news. Here one could have hoped to read of Afghan domestic and foreign policy, but even important public affairs were not systematically mentioned in the course of their development, and nothing very illuminating was said either about the mode of government or the organization of the country. Even if the decade in question did not experience the political or diplomatic activity of the previous reign, it is remarkable to note how few events were recorded; allusions to well known occurrences are even absent. To mention only one example, not a word was said of the arrival or the eight month stay in Afghanistan, in 1915-1916, or the famous German-Turkish mission24. In over seven years the only serious incident described was the Mangal revolt of 1912, and this dated back to the time of Ali Ahmad's presence at the paper, and was the object of several official reports25. Was it the latter's departure from

24 L.W. Adamec, _op. cit._, has written in great detail on the importance of this mission. The mission's two protagonists recorded their adventures, see O. von Niedermayer, _Unter der Glutsonne Iran_, Hamburg, 1925, pp. 124 _et seq._; and W.O. von Hentig, _Mem Leben - eine Dienstreise_, Göttingen, 1962, pp. 130 _et seq._

25 See below p. 96.
the newspaper which caused the cessation of communication between the central power and Serāj ul-akhbār? In any case, after Ali Ahmad had been relieved of his function, there was no other permanent correspondent belonging to official circles, or even close to them. Of course, Mahmud Tarzi himself was connected by family ties as well as by the necessity of obtaining information, but he strongly objected to being neglected by the Office of Information (mahkama-e ettelā'āt), which was a branch of the eshik-āgāsi's office (31). He complained that he was receiving only unimportant and uninteresting messages from them such as short news items, natural catastrophies and weather reports, rather than any information on important matters.

One must add that although the authorization to publish had been granted readily by the Emir, it was nevertheless natural, in a country where sovereigns had no little trouble in maintaining their position, that some sensitive points arose. For instance, the most topical theme of all, was Afghanistan's relations with its neighbours, especially with British India, a matter which had divided Afghans for generations. Since it was necessary to spare the Emir, as well as some Afghans and the Government of India on this subject, the choice of publishable news or commentary was considerably reduced. As a result, first priority was given to such events as religious and secular holidays, excursions and anniversaries of the Sovereign and the princes, and audiences, all of which were accurately dated. And where the latter were concerned, the description of protocol arrangements nearly always outweighed the contents of the discussions.

As a parallel to the "Internal events", there were what Serāj ul-akhbār itself entitled "External events" (hawādes-e khāreja)" or news from abroad. For some time Tarzi gave his "political résumés" in this section. These were, in fact, very full editorials, mostly indictments, revealing the principal themes of his reflections. Tarzi attacked problems frontally and indirectly. When moderation was imposed on him, he would take, for instance, a topical European event and then digress into a meditation on the relations between Europe and Asia. At other times, he would collect articles from the
foreign press, giving either a résumé with an occasional commentary, or a translation.

In the absence of rapid means of communicating news, such as telegraphy, the only source of information was the foreign press which reached Kabul by post. The journey was slow and delivery irregular, but the delay, which deprived the news of some of its freshness, mattered little, for on the one hand Tarzi preferred when studying a country to read its own press, however stale, and on the other hand, in view of its periodicity and its aims, Serāj ul-akhbār did not require up-to-date daily news. In the wide choice of international Muslim and non-Muslim press, not all the quoted titles had the same importance, and not all by any means reached Kabul. Apart from newspapers received in exchange and a few others which one can guess were read directly, it would be difficult to decide which were quoted at first, second or even third hand. The list was very long: nearly forty for India alone, in Urdu and English, over a dozen for the Russian press, mostly Muslim Russia from Turkestan to the Caucasus and Crimea, and nearly as many for the Persian papers of Tehran and Meshed. Further afield, there was the Turkish press, and M. Tarzi often

26 The most important ones are: in Urdu, Afgbān (Peshawar) published also in a Pashtō version, Al’-Adl (Lucknow), Al-Balāgh and its successor Al-Felāl (Calcutta) published by Abu I-Kalām Azād (1888-1958), Hammad (Delhi), Mellat, Payasa Akhbār, Watan and Zamindār (Lahore), Al-Mosbīr (Moradabad), Serāj ul-akhbār (Jhelum), Moslemān-e Amritsar and Wakil (Amritsar) etc.; in English, The Civil and military gazette, Educate, Comrade (Delhi), Statesman (Calcutta), Lucknow gazette, Pioneer (Allahabad), Tribune, the great Habl ul-matin (Calcutta) etc.

27 In Russian, Novoe vremja and Russkoe slovo. Hürriyet, Tir mibnātkešan, Samarqand and its successor Aina (Samarqand), Turan (Bukhara), Sada-e baqq. Iqtbal, Achiq Söz and Shawkat (Baku), Terümān (Baghche-Saray) etc. For the Muslim press see A. Bennigsen and Ch. Lemercier - Quelquejuy, op. cit.

28 Of Meshed, Āgābi, Babār, Chaman, and Naw Babār published later on in Tehran. Of Tehran, Ershād, Ra’d, Shebāb-e sāqeb, etc.
had recourse to the great newspapers of Istanbul. In addition to these vital news media of the Muslim world, Serâj ul-akbbâr cited six Egyptian newspapers of a certain weight, some other more modest ones from Baghdad, Damascus and Beirut, and finally from the other side of the world, the Japanese Okhowat-e islamiya received in exchange, and its successor, Al-Islâm (32). There was the European press, also very remote, from France, Great Britain and Germany, where a Persian language paper Esteqâlā (33), was the European press, also very remote, from France, Great Britain and Germany, where a Persian language paper Esteqâlā (33), akbbâr was informed of all the great names of the international press, excluding the American continent, too far away in distance and still far from its readers’ preoccupations.

It seems possible to discern among this mass of titles, M. Tarzî’s criterion for using them, namely, the amount of attention he devoted to the outside world, principally the Muslim world, and, in fair return, the foreign interest in Afghanistan and in its periodical. Serâj ul-akbbâr was very sensitive to the world’s opinion of it. Apart from half-a-dozen English journals from India led by the Allahabad Pioneer which quickly acquired a reputation of spreading unacceptable news about Afghanistan, the remaining press from the Islamic world was favourable. These papers even showed much sympathy and respect for the quality of the first Afghan newspaper, for the Muslim orientation of Emir Habibullah’s policy, for the progress made in the country and for the renowned valour of its people. These qualities were praised for example by Paysa akbbâr, Zamindâr and Mellat from Lahore, Al-Adl, Sebil ur-risbad and Terjüman-e baqiqat from Istanbul, Sada-e

29 Al-Adl, Jebân-e Islâm (in three languages, Arabic, Turkish and Urdu), Al-Halal ul-osmani (first in Turkish and Arabic, later in Arabic only, and then in Turkish only), Haqq, Iqdam, Yeni gazette, Sabah, Sebil ur-risbad, Tanin, Terjüman-e baqiqat, Tavir-e efqar, etc.

30 Al’Alam, Al-Helâl, Al-Mo’ayyed ul-gharrâ, Ash-Sha’b, Al-Abrân, and in Persian Chebra-nomâ.

31 Sadâ Islâm and Az-Zawrâ’. 
baqq (Baku), Al-' Alam (Cairo) and the great Terjuman from Baghche-Saray (Crimea). Thus Serāj ul-akhbār was known outside the Afghan frontiers. Indeed it was so well known that its persistence in giving a hearing to and supporting Muslim minorities, led to its being banned several times in India and in 1913 in Russian Turkestan (34).

The actual foreign news was presented in several ways. It was grouped according to the origin of the papers it was taken from — Indian press, Persian press, Russian press and European press—or according to the subject — the Balkan Wars, the World War, the Muslim World; or otherwise presented in no special order, and with no further attempt at classification. At any rate a great variety of subjects was covered, ranging from international politics to minor items of news.

The fourth section was very varied. Every taste was catered to. Articles on popular science, morals, accounts of travel, dissertations on philosophical, patriotic, military or agricultural themes were all gathered together under the vague title of “Diverse articles” and described as the very “useful articles” referred to above.

Finally, the column entitled “Literature (adabiyyāt)”, the most constant, and homogeneous of all, was open according to Serāj ul-akhbār’s wish, to every genre, whether eastern or western (35). It was rich in local poetry of mainly contemporary authors and also offered European works or extracts in translation.

Each number of Serāj ul-akhbār was presented in a cover of thin coloured paper, which gave a list of contents and illustrations and the subscription rates. It also contained local advertisements: publicity for a Hindu bookshop in Kabul, where to buy newly published books (36), a list of schoolbooks published by the Office of Text-books (dār ut-ta‘līf) (37), an announcement of recruitment of teachers for Habibiya School (38), lists and prices

32 A new column from SA, VII, 8, of 1 December 1917.
of articles produced and offered for sale by the Kabul Workshops (39), and other announcements from abroad: publication at Peshawar of the weekly paper Afghān (40) and at Lahore of the review Hekmat (41).

The description of Serāj ul-akbbār would be incomplete without mention of the supplements which at regular intervals accompanied the main publication. They consisted of small pamphlets “offered (badiya)” each year to subscribers with the last number of the periodical\[33\]. The original intention of publishing two per year, one every six months, was fulfilled only for the first year. Their author was always Mahmud Tarzi who announced them and presented their contents with great care (42). In general they followed the precise guidelines of Serāj ul-akbbār, i.e. “the awakening of the Muslim world”, and stressed some other favourite themes. These little books, of a very manageable pocket size often supplemented the pages of Serāj ul-akbbār, limited in number, or developed certain points which Tarzi felt embarrassed to express at too great length in the newspaper; they were an integral part of Tarzi’s message to Muslims and to Afghans. A small four-page newspaper addressed to school children, Serāj ul-ātfāl (The Children’s Torch), was offered instead of the usual brochure at the end of the seventh year. This was intended to accompany each future issue of Serāj ul-akbbār and its first six numbers did in fact accompany the last six numbers of Serāj ul-akbbār.

Knowing how small Afghanistan’s production of printed works was, and how great its shortage of any informative material, one might well wonder what sources besides the already mentioned foreign press could be consulted, if required, by Serāj ul-akbbār’s journalists. Any necessary documentation came from abroad in the form of a small working library of handbooks, encyclopaedias, reviews and other printed matter brought back from their travels

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33 See below Appendices II and III.
by some of the writers, principally M. Tarzi himself\textsuperscript{34}. The great majority of works were certainly Turkish and brought from Turkey. Although Tarzi read many languages, he undoubtedly managed such Muslim languages as Arabic, Urdu, Pashtô and, of course, Persian, with greater ease than any European language. Nevertheless, he knew much about the western world. Whilst he was in Damascus and Istanbul, it was his perfect knowledge of Turkish which gave him access through many translations and adaptations to all kinds of literature from German, English and especially French; in Kabul he encouraged his principal colleagues, Abd ul-Hâdi and Abd ur-Rahmân, to learn Turkish so that they too might have access to this other world.

The inspiration for the innumerable so-called “useful articles” originated in two types of works: those in Turkish, which were the most numerous, whether in the original or as translations; and those in other languages. References to the former sometimes carry a brief indication of the source in addition to the simple notation: “Translated from the Turkish”. There are for instance: the Qâmus ul-alam of Shams ud-din Sâmi (43); two volumes of international law, one by the statesman Hasan Fehmi (44), and the other by Ali Shahbaz (45); a general history by Murad Bey of which Abd ul-Hâdi had already translated the first of six volumes for use in schools (46); the works of Ahmed Midhat\textsuperscript{35}, the Ottoman Military Almanac and other works related to war, cotton growing, travel, etc. Serâj ul-akbbâr published biographies of great men of Muslim history, taken from a book by Hamed Wahabî (47), and large extracts from the Turkish version of \textit{The Wealth of Nations} by the Scot economist Adam Smith (48). Other Turkish translations quoted include one from English on Islamic-Christian polemics (49), and a general history on war in three volumes translated from German (50).

\textsuperscript{34} A fire which broke out aboard the ship which was taking his effects from Istanbul to Bombay probably badly damaged M. Tarzi’s library (personal communication).

\textsuperscript{35} See below p. 185.
As regards Afghanistan history, Tarzi borrowed from, or referred to two fundamental works. Serāj ut-tawārikh, a history of Afghanistan from the reign of the Sadōzay, commissioned by Emir Habibullāh, written by an Afghan, Fayz Mohammad, and published in Afghanistan was a large work and unique of its kind; the other, the memoirs of Emir Abd ur-Rahmān.

Classical Islamic literature was not neglected either. For the description of Bāmyān, Serāj ul-akbbār used the Mo‘jam ul-boldān of Yāqut (died 1299) (51), for the description of Herat, the Rawzat us-safā of Mirkhond (died 1498) (52). Elsewhere one finds edifying anecdotes taken from Anwar-e sobayli, a Persian translation from the Arabic Kalīla wa Dimna (53), as well as many verses taken from the works of the two great poets from Shiraz, Sa‘di (died 1292) and Hāfez (died 1390).

Finally, one might have expected more use to have been made of possibly more readily available modern publications in Arabic and Urdu, for which translators could be found. But, there is only one passage translated from Urdu about Arab civilization (54). In fact, there was a preference for western documentation; one notes in particular the place of French literature, with among other things the publication of a fashionable serial novel by X. de Montépin (died 1902).

36 SA, VI, 24, p.7; and VII, 1, p.2. Fayz Mohammad, known as Hazāra, Serāj ut-tawārikh (The Torch of History), Kabul, 1913-1915, three parts in two volumes. The work had hardly been published when Serāj ul-akbbār announced it, complete with price and places of sale, see SA, V, 10 et seq. There are some biographical details about the author, in Persian, in Abd ul-Hakim Rostāqi, Bahār-e afgānī (Afghan spring), Kabul, 1931, pp. 113-114.

37 SA, II, 12, p.3; and VII, 15, p.3. See above Chapter 1, note 1. Of the various editions of this work, the original Dari one is the only one not consulted, so it is not possible to tell if the two passages quoted in Serāj ul-akbbār (II, 12, p.3; and VII, 15, p.3) come from it or not. At any rate, they are very close to the Persian translation published in Meshed in 1901/1319 shortly after the publication of the English
This inventory, though incomplete is sufficient, nevertheless, to indicate the variety of the source material available in Kabul.

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38 SA, I, 1 to III, 23, X.de Montépin, *Les Enfers de Paris* (*Fâje'a-bâ-ye Pâris*). And also, I, 4, p.10; II, 16 pp.8-9, extract from Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes*; and VI, 16, pp.13-14, extracts from Jean de la Fontaine and F. Coppée, in a Persian translation by Sa'id Nafisi (*Naw Babâr*), etc.
GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, POPULATION
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
1. Geography

In this chapter it is important to remember that Serâj ul-akhlâb-aâr was an episode of a few years in the life of Afghanistan and that it can in no case be considered as a history book or a geographical guide. At that time the knowledge of geography was limited to a small number of literate people who could read about it, a small number of travellers who knew the terrain, and an even smaller number of literate travellers who could note down what they saw. Mahmud Tarzi was one of those. The geography of the country was revealed in Serâj ul-akhlâb-aâr as occasion rose, following a journey or a new construction in the provinces.

The configuration of Afghanistan was described in its major features: a barrier of mountains in east Central Asia, of very high altitude, with eternal snow, high passes and valleys difficult to reach. At the western extremity of the Himalayas, “the roof of the world” or Pamir gives rise to the high chain of the Hindu Kush which separates the basin of the Kabul river in the south, from the valley of the Jayhun (Âmu Daryâ or Oxus) in the north. The Hindu Kush extends westwards into the Kûh-e Bâbâ which covers the Hazârajât and Ghûr provinces as far as the city of Herat. This great mass falls away southward to two plateaus. One plateau slopes to the south and south-west, as far as Baluchistan and the depression of the Sistan; here assemble the waters of the north and east, of which the most important ones form the Helmand

1 His travels did not lead M.Tarzi beyond Nangarhâr, Ghazni and Kohistan, during the serâjâiya period.

river. The other plateau slopes to the east and opens out into the Kabul plain between two massifs in the Hindu Kush and the Safid Kôh. The Afghan soil is said to be exceptionally rich in minerals of high quality, including gold, silver and lead, as well as in marble and in precious stones, such as rubies at Jagdalak (Nangarhâr) and lapis lazuli in Badakhshân.

The country was often described intentionally in a wider setting. Neighbouring countries, powerful by their size as much as by the ambitions of their rulers, had always been a major cause of concern in the fixing and preservation of frontiers, and it was important, according to Tarzi, not to lose sight of the country's position. To the north, "Beyond the river [Âmu] (mâ wardâ un-nahr)" (or Transoxiana), lies Russian Turkestan; to the east, the Indian continent separated from Afghanistan by a formidable mountain chain where the Khyber Pass is considered "the only important door ... besides that of the Bolân valley which opens towards India from the province of Qandahar"; to the south the mountainous and arid region of Baluchistan; to the west the Iranian desert.

In this imposing and severe ensemble, softened by "delightful valleys and fertile grounds", one region enjoyed a privileged fate and a rapid development: the great province of Kabul, which had the maximum effort lavished upon it. The building of a few highways leading from the capital in various directions permitted traffic to move in a wide radius around the city and facilitated the exploration of its surroundings. Thus, Seráj ul-akbbâr was able to give more details about Kabul than about any other region.

Around the Kabul urban centre, the division in four zones —"the southern zone (samâl-e jonubi)", "the western zone (samâl-e ghârbi or maghrebi)", "the northern zone (samâl-e shamâlî)" and "the eastern zone (samâl-e sbarqi or masbreqi)"— indicated a general direction from the capital3. Seráj ul-akbbâr started with the

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3 This division did not coincide with the provincial division of the country which changed from time to time. See below Chapter 5.
description of the eastern zone of Nangarhār.

Nangarhār, with its mild winters, is a warm (garm-sir) and fertile region east of Kabul (1). “Bordered on the north by the Chitral and Kafiristan mountains, by the Safid Kōh in the south, by the mountains and valleys of the Khyber, Bajawr and Mohmand in the east and on the west by the Tagaw and Kabul rivers”, Nangarhār has as its principal artery the Kabul river. Locally called Sin (literally “river” in Pashtō), the river crosses the Nangarhār from west to east towards India where it flows into the Indus river at Attok near Peshawar. From the town of Jalalabad, heart of the district, on its right bank, the river flows between Mount Shinwār in the Safid Kōh range and the mountains of Kafiristan and Asmār. The river was crossed by only one bridge, Pol-e Darunta, built upstream from Jalalabad, just below the Darunta gorge, to link the Kabul and Laghmān valleys. A dam and a canal, Nahre serāj-e Jalālābād, designed for the improvement of agriculture and irrigation of fifty thousand jerib of previously uncultivated land (one jerib = circa one-half acre) were also built in the same area. Among the lateral valleys, all fertile, the best known are on the left bank: including Konar, Asmār and Laghmān with their plantations of rice, sugar cane, cotton, wheat, and maize, and the Emir’s usual hunting grounds in the Waygal valley and the Valley of light (Darra-e nur). The latter, named after a small tributary of the Kabul river, “whose heights can be seen from the royal garden in Jalalabad”, is situated seventy-five korub (one korub = circa three kilometres) to the north-east of the town (2).

Further west of the Konar, Laghmān, a cool, green valley in which one of the Emir’s favourite residences was constructed, is famous for its culture of rice (3). The river of the same name, formed by the confluence of the two rivers Alengar and Alisheng above the village of Qarghā’i, is itself a tributary of the Kabul river. Just before the confluence, on flat ground which the Emir judged to be a strategic spot, a military fort had been erected, Qal’at us-serāj-e Laghmān. Situated “so as to survey the region

4 Chitral and Bajawr were included in the “Indian” territory following the Durand Agreement of 1893.
from Nuristan to Chitrāl”, it strengthened the north approaches to the already important region of Jalalabad to which it had easy access, thanks to the new bridge.

Jalalabad (4), the chief town of the district (bākem-neshin), was the last big urban centre before the Khyber Pass, then at a distance of three days by road. It was on the one hand a military post guarding this border-region and the pass, and on the other hand, “a very usual port of call” for the commercial transactions between Afghanistan and India. Separated from the capital by one hundred and thirty-five kilometres, and situated more or less half way between Kabul and Peshawar, it was more intensely alive in winter, when the heat subsided and Emir Habibullāh and his followers installed their winter quarters there for three or four months each year.

North of Kabul, beyond the Khayr-khānā Pass, and as far as the foot of the Hindu Kush, the vast region of Kōh-dāman (literally “mountain skirt”) and Kohistan (literally “the mountain region”) constitutes the granary and orchard of the Kabul province because of its fertile and well-irrigated soil (5). Their many rivers, such as the Panjshēr, Nilāb, Sālang, Ghōrband eventually unite and flow into the Kabul river. There, grapes are harvested as well as large quantities of nuts and mulberries, all of which provide the population with its main resources and winter provisions. The grapes are very abundant and used in several ways. Dried raisins, wine and vinegar have been traded as specialities of Kōh-dāman since ancient times. Another speciality, a rough, resistant hand-woven cotton cloth, largely supplied the needs of Kabul.

This is a densely populated region, including “the chief towns of the Panjshēr and Andarāb valleys in the north, of Tagaw and Nejraw in the east and of the Ghōrband valley in the west...”. Chārikār is the only sizeable town in Kōh-dāman, but according to the Emir’s judgement, its position is strategically inferior to that of Parwān, some two hours distant by road, toward the northeast. The new town of Parwān guards two major passes to the north, the Khāwāk Pass and the Sālang Pass, and stands at the
entrance to the Ghôrband valley on the Bâmyân road. The Emir changed the name of Parwân to Jabal us-serâj and built a fortified residence, Serâj ul-amsâr, there as well as a bridge, Pol-e serâj-e Golbabâr, across the Nilâb river. There too, he ordered the construction of a very important hydro-electric power station utilizing the abundant and impetuous waters of the Sâlang river to supply the needs of Kabul's growing industries (6).

The once famous and prosperous city of Ghazni (7), at a height of two thousand metres, lies a hundred and thirty-five kilometres to the south-east of Kabul. Being situated at the crossroads of the great axis Kabul-Qandahar with the road linking south-west Afghanistan to India, it also stands at the entrance to the central mountains, Bâmyân and the Hazârajât. This position was indeed a privileged one. With a view to repopulating the region, the Emir ordered the restoration of a dam, Band-e serâj-e Ghazni, on the Ghazni river and the construction of a water reservoir to the north-east of the city. When completed the water capacity was to make possible the irrigation of over two hundred thousand jerib.

This ended the list of the best known and most accessible places. The largest part of Afghan territory, however, remained unreachable or scarcely visited because of limited communication facilities. Two historically celebrated places briefly described, however, were the great Buddhist site of Bâmyân, and the mountainous area of Nuristan. Distances and measurements recorded in the descriptions of these places are not as precise as those concerning areas personally visited by the reporters.

The high valley of Bâmyân⁵ is situated to the west of Kabul, between the Hindu Kush and the Kôh-e Bâbâ, at an altitude of over two thousand five hundred metres. It has been “the

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only road leading from Turkestan and from Tataristan to India”, known and used by such renowned conquerors as Alexander the Great, and recorded by Muslim geographers of the Middle Ages. Two huge “idols” carved out of the mountain side, and innumerable caves and cells, monuments to the introduction of Buddhism, amaze the traveller, whilst the ruins of Shahr-e Gholghola (literally “The City of wailing”) mark the destructive passage of Chengiz Khan through a once flourishing city.

As for Nuristan (8), it has always had an exceptional and mysterious quality. It is a region of mountains and forests, to the west of the Konar valley, on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush, separating it from Badakhshân. According to Serâj ul-âkbâr neither its borders, nor any figures concerning its size are known. To the north-east it possibly stretches to the Pamir and “to the high forests of China and Khotan and to the valleys of Chitral, and beyond that to the high valleys of Kashmir and Tibet”. It has peaks of five thousand metres, cold winters and hot summers, its soil is not very good and the basic food of its population consists of goat’s milk and its derivatives. Nuristani live an isolated life bound by their very strong traditions locked within the mountains.

2. History

Like its geography, the historic past of Afghanistan was only touched on slightly. Serâj ul-âkbâr declared Afghanistan to be “a page of the revolutions of the world and a sample of the changes of time, at one time a great power in Asia, at another trampled underfoot by cruel foreigners” (9). After Bâmyân and the glory of the Ghaznavids (10), recent history was reached in one jump with an expression of gratitude towards Emir Abd ur-Rahmân, founder (mo’asses) of a third Afghan kingdom (11). Before him, apart from his father Emir Mohammad Afzal (1866 - 1867), whose short reign had been considered “the springtime of Afghanistan”, two great sovereigns had succeeded in founding
great kingdoms a century apart. The first time, in 1747, this success was achieved by Ahmad Shâh Dorrâni (1747-1772) whose Sadôzay clan remained in power “until the invasion of Afghanistan by the British”. The second time, the founder of the Mohammadzay state, Emir Dòst Mohammad drove out the British and their puppet, Shâh Shoja’, the last Sadôzay, and installed his own dynasty for a long period. “The third era of revival”, said Serâj ul-akbbâr, started with Emir Abd ur-Rahmân, Dòst Mohammad’s grandson.

Abd ur-Rahmân’s memory was frequently praised in the most flattering terms, although this Emir had been the author of very severe repressions (12). Portraits of him were quite often published, his memoirs were quoted and reproduced, parts of his life were recounted: He was always identified by his title “Light of the Nation and Religion (Zeyá ul-mellat w-ad-din)”. And once Serâj ul-akbbâr availed itself of a pretty photograph taken at Samarqand, showing the Emir with his young son Habibullâh, to redouble its praise in a new title which unites “the sun” and “the founder” (i.e. Abd ur-Rahmân) with “the rays” and “the builder” (i.e. Habibullâh), namely “the Conjunction of Jupiter and Venus (Eqterân us-sa’daym)” (13).

It was this same Emir Abd ur-Rahmân, who, after saving his country from the British grasp for a second time, had rid it of its family quarrels, placed it on the road to progress and presented it with a new conquest. Indeed one of the reign’s greatest accomplishments had been to give “the Light” of Islam, hence its name of Nuristan, to the Country of Infidels, i.e. Kafiristan. This region which was both inaccessible and beyond the main existing routes, had remained

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impermeable to the first Islamic conquest and later to the established Muslim environment, until the famous expedition of 1895 during the reign of Abd ur-Rahmān was finally crowned with success. This expedition, as Tarzi remembered—at the time he had been living in the Ottoman Empire—was celebrated in the Muslim world as an important, if not unbelievable, event. According to an article in Terjūman taken down at the time in Tarzi’s notebook and reported here, Emir Abd ur-Rahmān was praised not only for “succeeding in protecting his country against domination” but even more for keeping this region beyond the reach of neighbouring Russian expansionist designs, as well as out of “the fanciful projects” of British missionaries (14).

In addition to these salient historical facts, many fortuitous archaeological discoveries and the existence of monuments, ruins, and tombs of famous people all over the country are so many witnesses, said Serāj ul-akbār, to an eventful past and rich soil. The story of the decoration on the Herat Mosque and of the damage it suffered during successive troubled periods until Emir Habibullāh ordered its restoration, was recorded here with an attempt at precision (15). The same order was applied at Ghazni at the tomb of Mahmud (died 1030), the greatest sultan of the Ghaznavid period. Previously known as “the turquoise coloured building (emārat-e firuza)” this mausoleum was later incorporated in the village of Rawza near the city7. Also at Ghazni, the remains of an old dam (16), two crumbling minarets (17), the discovery of coins and a large number of tombs in the neighbourhood, gave some idea of its past prosperity (18). Citing the inventory of the holy places in the region, compiled on the Emir’s instructions8, Serāj ul-akbār listed several other tombs of famous people: Sebuktigin, Sultan Mahmud’s father and founder of the dynasty, Sanā’i (died 1130), the poet, and his nephew, Sheikh Rāzi

7 SA, II, 5, p. 10 (photograph of the mausoleum); and 19, pp. 2-3, the topography of the place is carefully described by M. Tarzi who went to Ghazni himself together with Emir Habibullāh in 1913. The text of the inscription of the stele is reproduced in part.
8 SA, II, 18, pp. 3-4. Mohammad Rezā, Reyāz ul-altwāb (The Gardens of the steles). The work was published in Kabul in 1967.
ud-din Ali Lâlâ, disciple of the Khwarezmian Sheikh Najm ud-din Kobra, and others.

Emir Habibullah’s sudden enthusiasm for photography and the introduction of zincography greatly enhanced this historical summary. What was left unsaid or undescribed was offered to the reader in the form of an excellent collection of photographs which included, apart from those already mentioned and many others, the ruins of Balkh (Bactria) (19), the imposing mausoleum attributed to Ali at Mazâr-e Sharif (20), the mausoleum of Ahmad Shâh Bâbâ, the sacred building housing the mantle of the Prophet, the place called Chehel Zina (“The Forty steps”) and a well preserved part of the citadel with the ‘Id-gâh door at Qandahar (21), and to the west of Qandahar, the citadel and the arch of Bost, both of which were very delapidated (22). Pictures taken at Herat of the great ëwân of Abdullâh Ansâri’s mausoleum, the nine minarets of the Mosallâ, the south-west tower of the fort, called Borj-e khâkestar, the Chabâr Bâgh palace, and the tomb of Jâmi were also included, among others (23). Finally, a series of portraits and plates recording historic scenes followed the illustration of the nation’s monuments and ended the survey of the past: Emir Dost Mohammad (24), his successors (25), “Historic groups” 9.

3. Population

Well known men, facts and places were mentioned, others, not less known, were omitted. Did the opportunity not present itself? Was it deliberately not taken? The same questions arise in another, more delicate field. From reading Serâj ul-akhbâr one would hardly

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9 SA, VI, 2, p.6 “A Historic group”, photograph taken at Ambala (Punjab) in 1869, showing Emir Shêr Ali, Crown prince Abdullâh and the Afghan dignitaries who attended the Conference; VII, 1, p.11, photograph taken in Kabul in 1879-1880, of Lord Roberts surrounded by numerous sardârs and other Afghan chiefs whose names appearing on the photograph are nearly all legible, glossy paper, red ink; and VIII, 4, p.2 “A Historic group 1298/1880-1881”, a group of fifteen sardârs related to Emir Dost Mohammad, the list of names is clear, etc.
guess the existence of one basic point, namely the composition of the Afghan population.10

Estimated in Serāj ul-akhbār at between five and ten million11, this population reflects the position of the country: a thoroughfare at the cross-roads of several cultures, Iranian, Indian, eastern Turkish and Mongolian. Some idea of this complex ethnic scene may be obtained by looking at the origin of the petitions reproduced in the paper, sent to Kabul from Ghazni and signed by the representatives of “the Tājik of Ghazni”, of “the Wardak tribe”, “the Hazâra” among others (26). But the only deliberate allusion to this mixture appears in an attempt to define the concept of a “nation (mellat)” which includes these diverse groups by simply explaining that “the Dorrāni, Gheljay [Ghelzay], Tājik, Tork [Turks], Ozbak, Hazâra, Kohistâni, Panjshêri, etc. are all called ‘the Afghan nation’ ” (27).

Where religion is concerned – officially Sunni Islam of the Hanafi rite with a Shiite minority –, one reads that “non-Muslims include a few thousand Buddhists, Brahmans, Sikhs, etc. belonging to various Indian religions” 11a who, having lived on Afghan soil for generations, are recognized as “Afghan Hindus (hindu-ye afghâni)” (28). Nothing indicates that there were also Afghan Jews, mainly in Herat.

Such a composite could not be sustained without problems and its maintenance required a subtle manipulation of internal politics. Serāj ul-akhbār, which wished to remain non-political, kept silent. Very few examples of the official attitude, discrimination against or preferential treatment of one group or another, appeared in the newspaper. However, it was emphasized that the Shias were preferably appointed “in the government (bokumat)”-government being understood here as administration— as scribes (dabir, monshi, sar-daftar); that they

11a As it was usual in his time M. Tarzi considered Hinduism and Buddhism as branches of the same creed.
lived amicably with the Sunnis "without conflict or apparent antagonism", but that when they were guilty of some crime they received terrible punishment (29). Among them the Hazâra had the reputation of being stubborn. Each group lived quite separately, without there being any exchange or association between Hazâra and other Afghans, for example. Thus, when some joint action occurred, such as an embezzlement under cover of religion, it was described as something "impossible", "unimaginable" (30).

The Afghan Hindus were the only ones to find a place in the newspaper, but the letters which they published were too loud in their praise of the regime to ring true. They probably did not enjoy as many rights, nor as much respect, as they liked to pretend or as they were elsewhere reported as enjoying. Most specialized in monetary exchange, which represented "an important part of the country's commerce", and their chief, Naranjân-Dâs, a man who commanded respect in this field, and some other Hindus, occupied important posts (31). They flattered themselves on the Emir's good will and expressed, at least officially, their gratitude for the respect shown for their temples and holidays; the Emir was even present on one occasion at their great spring Festival. The education programme established a special school for their children, with qualified teachers at state expense (32). However, even though "from the point of view of rights" there was said to be no difference between Hindus and Afghans, but "complete equality", nevertheless the Hindus had to pay a poll tax "which was not new", and also wear yellow turbans, not to mention numerous occasions of friction with Muslims concerning certain holy places.

Tarzi gave general information without comment on fashionable theories about the correlation between the cradle of the Aryans and the Hindu Kush mountains, namely the land of the Afghans (33). Where details were concerned, as in the division of Afghan tribes for

12 SA, IV, 19, pp.4-6, letter ("ariza") of thanks sent by the Hindu community of Kabul.
13 SA, I, 11, p.8; and 22, p.8, reply by the Hindu community of Kabul to the attacks of Pioneer.
14 SA, I, 1, p.5; and 22, pp.7-15, concerning the sacred well of Sultânpur near Jalalabad, claimed by both the Hindu and Muslim communities.
instance, he was no more precise. Earlier, “the Dorrâni and the Ghelzay” had been mentioned without further elucidation. Elsewhere, the Dorrâni tribe in power since Dost Mohammad was said to enjoy a privileged position. And the Mohammadzay were cited for the fact that each man received a pension of four hundred rupees, and each woman three hundred rupees (34).

As for the Afghan tribes of the Indian frontier, who were responsible for the notorious insecurity on the road to India, and were constantly making raids, they were scarcely mentioned in Serâj ul-akhbâr, in spite of their permanent instability. Only one incident of major importance was reported: the rebellion of the Mangal in March-June 1912 in a military fort in the southern zone (samt-e jonubi) near Khôst, which forced Kabul to react promptly. The details of the events were painstakingly described in several long, official reports written and sent to Serâj ul-akhbâr by Ali Ahmad to proclaim the Emir’s firmness in the face of rebellion, and also his clemency (35). The repression ordered by the Emir was led by Lt. General Mohammad Nâder. In order to oppose the rebels who had been reinforced by the Ahmadzay (Ghelzay) tribe under its chief Jândâd, loyal subjects of the eastern zone (samt-e mashreqi), such as the Shinwâri, Khôgyâni, and Konari, offered their services and their men to the Emir. The raising of thirteen hundred men, in addition to the regular troops in Khôst and Kabul, led to the royal army’s rapid victory; the rebels presented signed copies of the Koran, as a proof of their submission. In the end, Emir Habibullâh pardoned them all, subject to the single proviso that the sons of the rebel khâns and maleks were to be brought to Kabul as hostages where they were to stay for several years, separated from their families, and trained in a military class. Furthermore, thirty-five Mangal families were moved to the Lôgar valley (36).

Still regarding the population, it will be noted that thanks to Serâj ul-akhbâr, close links were kept with a number of Afghans living abroad. The Afghan community in Australia was particularly active and sent a series of descriptions of the mosques and religious schools built at their expense in the two cities of Perth and Adelaide (37). Also there were reports of the emotion felt by a large group
of Afghans from Baghdad when they were faced with the British threat to demolish the mausoleum of Sheikh Abd ul-Qâder Jilâni around which they had settled (38). Finally, an Afghan residing in Istanbul sent a very long article in Pashtô to Serâj ul-akhbâr for publication (39).

4. Language and literature

Such a diverse collection of peoples raises a number of basic questions, one of them being the question of language or rather of languages. This question scarcely existed for Serâj ul-akhbâr which recognized only two, Persian and Pashtô. The paper was written throughout in the former language, with occasional pieces, notably less rare towards the end, in Pashtô.

Incidentally, writing about the Persian language, Tarzi noted, without further details, the importance of dialects and vernaculars spoken in Afghanistan. He added that the various Pashtô dialects in use from Qandahar to Nangarhâr, were of no less importance (40). As for the Turkish groups, they were completely ignored. Thus, in his article “The Importance of language” (41), Tarzi gave explanations concerning only the two previous mentioned languages, Persian (fârsî) being the “official (rasmi)” language, and Afghâni or Pashtô being the “national (melli)” language. And he specifically characterized Serâj ul-akhbâr as a “journal in the Persian language” (42). The wide use of this language in Afghanistan had historic reasons, explained Tarzi; Persian was traditionally the language of bureaucratic affairs and of the scribes, the language of chancery, of audiences, the language too of the great families, Sadôzay as well as Mohammadzay, and finally the language of books. The number of people speaking it in Afghanistan was already large and moreover it was used as a means of communication between the various ethnic groups in the capital and in the cities, and even beyond the Afghan borders. Pashtô, on the contrary, was the language of warriors and the military arts, and a language restricted to a much smaller territory.

In its column “National Literature (adabiyyât-e melli)”, Serâj ul-
akbbâr offered examples in both languages, of contemporary literary production. They were abundant in Persian, being the continuation of a tradition and a rich past, but still somewhat meagre in Pashtô. Like other Orientals, many Afghans write verse by natural inclination from their early youth, and Serâj ul-akbbâr’s welcome to all of them was definitely an encouragement to the poets, who were given an opportunity to see their works published. A complete list of their poems published in the periodical will not be given here; it deserves careful study, from the point of view of literature and the evolution of poetic habits as much as from those of politics and the evolution of morals. Such a study is in any case in progress. Here only the most important elements of these contributions will be mentioned.

At the head of the Persian-speaking contributors appeared the name of Mahmud Tarzi, who, like his father, was a great lover of versification. There were many extracts –ghazals as well as qet’as—from his works which were at the time being published at the Enâyat printing press. During the first three years of Serâj ul-akbbâr Mahmud Tarzi was the mainstay of this column and practically each number contained a piece composed by himself. Later his poetic contributions became rarer, almost to the point of disappearance.

From the beginning, together with Tarzi, other poets presented themselves, among whom, Abd ul-Ali, called Mostaghni and Shêr Ahmad, called Mokhles (43), were the most prolific. But others were also well known: Abd ul-Hâdi, the journalist, whose pen-name was Parishân, Gholâm Haydar called Mozneb (44), mirzâ Mohammad

15 Sabir Mirzoev, op. cit.
17 SA, V, 17; VI, 11; 12 etc. See Kh.M.Khaista, op. cit., pp. 84-87.
Aziz (died 1918) (45), Abd ul-Ghafur, called Nadim (died 1916) 18, Mohammad Hosayn, called Râqem 19, Mohammad Sâdeq, called Fâni 20, Mollâ Tuti (46). Many different subjects were dealt with. Poems on religion exalted Islam, the Prophet Mohammad and the great Muslim holidays 21; politico-religious poems expressed Afghan support for the oppressed Muslim minorities 22 and patriotic ones sang the praise of the homeland. Secular or occasional verse celebrated events at court, the birth of a prince 23, a death, royal excursions, the erection or the beauty of a building 24, and changing seasons. But more than anything else the Emir’s virtues were praised (47); the country’s benefactor was blessed for his merits, not the least of which was his authorization for the publication of Serâj ul-akhbâr. Furthermore, poems also went on to praise, with much metaphor and hyperbole, the qualities of the first great Afghan newspaper (48). On another occasion poetical acrobatics were offered as an intellectual pastime to the poets among the readers, with an invitation to participate (49).

But not all writers were contemporary; in the previous century there had been some great names too. Since few of their works were generally available, Tarzi made up a short list, hoping to create an interest and bring to light the works kept secretly in the possession of a few private owners. In some cases he was successful. These deceased poets were classified in two groups: Mohammadzay and non-Mohammadzay (50). Among the former, Tarzi’s own father, Gholâm Moham-

18 SA, III, 18; IV, 6; and VIII, 3. See Kh.M. Khasta, Yâdi, pp. 127-131.
19 SA, IV, 11; V, 8; and VI, 3. See Kh.M. Khasta, op. cit., p. 33.
20 SA, V, 15; VI, 12; 17; and 20. See Kh.M. Khasta, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
21 SA, I, 22, p. 5 qasida on the occasion of the month of Ramazân, by Mostaghni; III, 8, p. 13, a eulogy of the Koran by Mollâ Tuti, etc.
22 SA, II, 12, pp. 14-15, qasida on the Islamic situation, by Râgheb; 20, pp. 15-16, qasida on the sufferings endured by the Muslims of Rum, by Mokhles, etc.
23 SA, V, 15, pp. 6-7, qasida on the occasion of the birth of Prince Obaydullah, by Besmel; VI, 17, p. 3, ghassal on the occasion of the birth of Prince Hamidullah, son of Enayatullah, by Abd ur-Rasul, etc.
24 SA, II, 14, p. 11, on the Darunta bridge, by Mostaghni; III, 14, pp. 1-2, on the construction of Serâj ul-emârat, by Mokhles, etc.
mad, called Tarzi-e afghan, stood out with an important published Dēwān which Serāj ul-akbbār often quoted (51). Tarzi's great uncle, Mehrdel, was presumed to have been the author of a collection of poems left in manuscript form25, from which three pieces published here were probably taken (52). There was also M. Tarzi's half-brother, Mohammad Amin, called Andalib (53), three ghazals by Mohammad Aziz, called Aziz (54) and one ghazal by Ahmad, son of Emir Dost Mohammad26. Next there were the non-Mohammadzay poets with first the Sādōzay poet-king, Shāh Shojā27, then Mastān Shāh Kabuli, author of a mystical work, Bahr ul-asrār (The Sea of secrets), Meyān Abd ul-Bāqi (died 1871) of the Mojadaddi family, author of a Dēwān which was never found, as well as Mir Olfat28, Mohammad Nabi, known as Wāsel (55) and the illiterate (ommi) poet, Wali Tawwāf (56). The great poets of the past were not forgotten either. A biography of Jāmi (died 1492) was given, with extracts of his work (57). Some verses of Bēdel (died 1720) were quoted here and there and his Complete works (Kolliyāt) were announced as being in course of publication, on Nasrullāh's order, at the Kabul printing press29.

The situation was entirely different where Pashtō literature was concerned. Tarzi himself admitted to knowing nothing about it. There was a mere mention of the two poets Abd ur-Rahmān (died 1706) and Abd ul-Hamid (died 1732)30, whereas the fame of Khoshhāl Khān Khattak (died 1689) explains why Serāj ul-akbbār published, if not large extracts from his works31, at least a detailed biography written by Gholām Mohyi ud-din (58).

Tarzi commented that this neglect was due to the fact that, al-

25 S.de Laugier de Beaurecueil, op. cit., p.21, nr.31.
26 SA,VII,14,pp.3-4. See S.de Laugier de Beaurecueil, op. cit., p.124, nr.122.
31 SA,V,4,p.8; 23-24,p.15; and VI,2,pp.5-6. See A. Bausani, op.cit.,pp.265-267.
though the Afghan people "generally speak both languages, i.e. Persian and Pashtô", Persian was given priority in view of its very ancient and traditional use. Nevertheless from time to time the editor of *Serāj ul-akhbār* showed a renewed desire to reinvigorate the *Afghānī* language. Evidently, he deplored the sorry state of Pashtô, and he repeated the words of one reader, Sâleh Mohammad, a poet and teacher at Habibiya School, who pointed out that Pashtô did not enjoy a privileged position at that moment, there being no specialized school and no books other than a few collections of love poems (59). Thus, apart from one opening line incidentally placed in the middle of an article (60), it was almost the end of the third year of *Serāj ul-akhbār* before an announcement was made that a firm decision to publish works in Pashtô in the periodical had been taken (61). Even a long article submitted earlier for publication, was not presented in its original form, but in a complete Persian translation (62). The later decision was confirmed several times when contributions were requested (63). Moreover the new heading "National Literature" specified in its subtitle that this was a section in the two languages "Fārsī-Afghānī" (64), and the last few years of the periodical offered a good number of poems—*ghazal, qasida, mokhammas, tarjî-band*—of which it can be said that they were among the first works in Pashtô ever to be printed in Afghanistan and published for the general public. The most frequently presented authors were the same Sâleh Mohammad (65) and Gholâm Mohyī ud-din (66). There was one single piece by Mostaghni (67), another by the Mohammadzay Abd ur-Rasul (68) and one by Mollā Mohammad (69). A list of one hundred and four proverbs compiled by Gholâm Mohyī ud-din (70) and long extracts from a manual of ethics still in manuscript form, *Tahzīb ul-wâjebāt (The Rectification of duties)* (71), more or less mark the end of the Pashtô panorama of *Serāj ul-akhbār*. 
EMIR HABIBULLAH, THE COURT, THE CAPITAL
1. Emir Habibullah

Emir Habibullah was the greatest man in the kingdom. His every action attracted the attention of all. Seraj ul-akhbâr was very eloquent on the subject of the Sovereign, about whom most of the news and articles related. The Emir's achievements were mentioned again and again, parts of his speeches were reproduced and on every possible occasion he was lauded in a very flowery style. There were many portraits of him, and photographs with him in the foreground.

Habibullah was the eldest of Emir Abd ur-Rahman's five sons. His mother, Golrez, came from the Wakhân and Abd ur-Rahman had married her at Samarkand where he was living in exile, and there Habibullah was born on 2 July 1872 / 25 Rabi' II 1289. The child was not yet ten years old when his father was proclaimed Emir of Afghanistan in July 1880; a few months later the new Emir's family arrived from Russia and young Sardar Habibullah set foot on his ancestral soil for the first time. Very soon, on two different occasions, when his father went on an expedition in August 1881 and in November 1888, he was put in charge of the government in Kabul, a duty which he fulfilled very well, as his father himself acknowledged. During Abd ur-Rahman's reign, Habibullah enjoyed a privileged posi-

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1 For example, SA,II,6,p.1, return from a hunting expedition, 1910; III, 21, pp.5, portrait, and 6, a walk in the Sâlang valley, 1910; IV,10,p.5, portrait; 23, p.6, in the valley of Paryân, 1910; V,16, p.5, in the garden known as Khornâ Bâgb at Jalalabad, 1912, etc.

2 This specific date is given in Seraj ul-tawârikh, I,pp.334-335. The main elements of Habibullah's biography have been taken, for the period when he was a prince, from Sultan Mahomed Khan, op. cit., ; for the first years of his reign, from A.Hamilton, op. cit., and from Seraj ul-akhbâr. A general biography is to be found in EI²,III,pp.13-14, "Habib Allah Khan", by G.Scarcia. For the genealogy, see below Appendix I, tables 3 and 4.

3 Sultan Mahomed Khan, op. cit., I, pp.216-272 and 275.
tion as the eldest son, and had many occupations\(^4\). He presided over audiences and was simultaneously inspector of Kabul’s industries \(n\ddot{a}z\text{e}r-e k\ddot{a}r-e s\ddot{a}n\text{e}y\dot{e}\) \(^1\) and Commander-in-chief of the army \(s\dot{a}r\text{-}a\ddot{f}s\ddot{a}r-e 'om\text{um}u\dot{m}i\) \(^2\). At the age of twenty-nine, after Abd ur-Rahmān’s death in October 1901, Habibullāh ascended the throne of Afghanistan without the usual fraternal rivalries, and reigned nearly eighteen years before being assassinated during a hunting expedition in the Laghmān valley, at the place called Kallagush, on 20 February, 1919.

During the reign of Habibullāh two anniversaries were celebrated regularly with solemnity: the Emir’s birthday and the recognition of the Sovereign by the Afghan populace. In 1896, representatives of “all the tribes” had gathered in Kabul to swear an oath of loyalty to Abd ur-Rahmān and to bestow on him “on behalf of the entire nation” the title \(l\ddot{a}q\dot{a}b\) of “Light of the Nation and Religion \(Z\ddot{e}\ddot{y}\ddot{a}l\text{-}m\ddot{e}ll\text{at} w\text{-}ad\text{-}d\ddot{e}n\)”\(^5\), and this ceremony was repeated for the young Emir Habibullāh in the second year of his reign. On this occasion, “again on behalf of the entire nation” he received the title of “Torch of the Nation and Religion \(S\ddot{e}r\dot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{j} u\text{-}l\text{-}m\ddot{e}ll\text{at} w\text{-}ad\text{-}d\ddot{e}n\)”. This event, “the Day of national unity \(j\ddot{a}s\ddot{h}n\text{-}e\st{e}tf\ddot{a}q\text{-}e\st{m}\ddot{e}ll\text{at}\)” was commemorated each year with one day and four evenings of popular rejoicings. The date, after being twice changed, was fixed by Habibullāh as the 12 of Saratān of the solar year, i.e. 3 July. On the second and third evenings, the municipality and the people of Kabul undertook to illuminate and decorate the streets through which the Emir, accompanied by the princes, used to take a walk or drive among his subjects. On the first and last days, the festivities were organized by the palace and reserved for a limited number of guests. The Emir gave two receptions in the gardens of the palace. One took place on the first day, after an audience attended by representatives of all the tribes from the provinces in addition to those who were customarily present.

\(^4\) *Id.*, II, pp.99-100.

\(^5\) SA, I, 20, p.6; and II, 14, pp. 2-3. See Sultan Mahomed Khan, *op. cit.*, II, p. 31; *S\ddot{e}r\dot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{j} u\text{-}t\text{-}taw\text{w}\ddot{a}r\text{ri}k\dot{b}*, III, pp. 1216-1217, and 1235; and M.H.Kakar, *Afghanistan*, pp. 208-209.
Another was held on the last evening, after a display of fireworks on the Chaman-e bozuri which the whole of the assembled population thoroughly enjoyed. This ended the Jashen (3).

As usual in any new regime, the first official decisions were not slow to follow the accession; these expressed compassion for a population which had so far lived under an Emir who is said here to have been without pity (4). Very soon the new Sovereign invited those exiled during Abd ur-Rahmân’s reign to return to their country. He proclaimed to all his subjects that their debts, which still weighed heavily on each of them, were remitted. He promised his protection to the ‘olamâ and the sheikhs, announced increase in army pay, a rule against hoarding wheat which had become scarce and expensive, and forbade price speculation. He ordered bread to be sold cheaply to the poor every day, authorized people to be out at night provided they carry a lit lantern, and allowed women to wear blue rather than white veils (5). He put an end to practices which he had inherited together with the throne, such as the trading of young men (gholâm) and young girls (kanîz), and the unspeakably cruel punishment inflicted on prisoners, known as the “black well (seyâb châb)” (6). He ordered that a limit be put on the usually fabulous expenses spent on wedding or funeral ceremonies, varying according to class, the permitted expenditure for weddings was henceforth to be from one hundred to five hundred rupees for ordinary people, from one thousand to fifteen hundred for heads of tribes and up to five thousand rupees for members of the royal family (7). The Emir himself set the first example on the occasion of his sister’s wedding.

To these tokens of benevolence others were addressed to Muslim countries beyond the Afghan borders, which generally contained expressions of religious solidarity, but sometimes discussed other subjects6. The Emir publicly proclaimed his own and his people’s sympathy for suffering Muslims, and he made

6 SA, I, 1, pp.5-6, thirty thousand Kabul rupees for the victims of a fire in Istanbul; and III, 20, pp.1-2, money sent for the victims of an earthquake in Sicily and another one in Japan.
important gifts taken from his personal Treasury ('ayn ul-māl)\(^7\).

Very eclectic in his tastes and activities, the Emir liked novelty and entertainment. Golf and photography which he first introduced into the country were among his favourite pastimes. His interest in photography led him to the idea of setting up a photographic laboratory (\textit{ākkās-khāna}) in Kabul and organizing a competition (8) as well as an exhibition in the palace gardens to which, as was usual in such cases, he invited the social élite. The profit made by the laboratory, together with that made by a “Café” installed on the Chaman, was intended to finance an orphanage (\textit{yatim-khāna}), founded in 1911, to which the Emir seemed devoted (9).

In spite of attacks of gout which immobilized him increasingly, Emir Habibullāh did not lead a sedentary life. He liked to travel outside Kabul, taking up residence at Jalalabad in winter or in the mountains of Paghmān in summer. He made trips to inspect construction sites or he would go hunting or fishing, but he made only one journey beyond his own frontiers, a great pleasure trip to India in 1907 at the invitation of the British Government\(^8\). The Emir returned from his visit to India full of enthusiasm for the innumerable new things he had seen which had enchanted him. On his return he immediately set out on a long tour around Afghanistan. After the wonders he had seen abroad, he was struck by the deficiencies he found at home. During nine months following a circular itinerary from Kabul, passing through Ghazni, Moqor, Kalat, Qandahar, Herat, Maymana and through parts of Turkestan, Qataghan-and-

\(^7\) SA, I, 5, p.2, twenty thousand Kabul rupees for the war victims of Tripolitania.

\(^8\) SA, IV, 2, pp.2-3; V, 20, pp.5-6 (photographs); 21, pp.5-6 (id.); and V, 23-24, p.10, Abd ul-Hādi mentions a work in Urdu published on the occasion of Habibullāh’s journey to India, by Nāder Ali, \textit{Seyābat-e Habib} (Habib’s journey). On the political repercussions on this two month journey, January-March 1907, see L.W. Adamec, \textit{Afghanistan}, pp.65 \textit{et seq.} Finally, E1\(^2\), III, p.13, where the Emir is said to have made “repeated visits to India” is to be corrected.
Badakhshān, Andarāb and the Khāwāk Pass, the Emir and his companions travelled continuously from place to place with only a few longish halts in major towns. They travelled on horse back, for want of any other means of transport (10). A few years later, Serāj ul-akbbār recalled these two expeditions and emphasized their consequences and results because they had set in motion a whole series of major works, which aimed at improving conditions for travellers and village people and preserving some historic sites (11). Though, it must be admitted that all building and restoration works reflected the Emir’s special taste in architecture.

Emir Habibullāh kept a notoriously large harem in which the four wives permitted by Muslim law (nekāhī), were joined by numerous concubines (surati)9. These alliances, which were often of a political nature, brought into the barām-sarāy young women from a great variety of ethnic groups. Firstly there were the Pashtun, not necessarily of the Mohammadzay clan, and then the non-Pashtun, such as Nuristani, Hazāra, Badakhshi, Shoghnān and Chitrali, all of whom produced numerous offspring10. The three eldest princes, all half-brothers, had reached adulthood at the time of the publication of Serāj ul-akbbār. Enāyatullāh (born 1888)11, Hayātullāh (born in 1888 also)12 and Amānullāh (born 1892) took a share in the affairs of state. The third one, young Amānullāh, guided by the strong personality of his Barakzay mother, Queen Olyā Hazrat, at-

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9 The word surati, possibly based on a popular spelling or etymology, is the word commonly used in Afghanistan.
10 See below Appendix I, table 4. The genealogical table given here is deliberately limited to the princes who, with one exception, had reached adulthood in the serājiya era. At his death in 1919, Habibullāh had more than twenty sons and as many daughters. Sultan Mahomed Khan, op. cit., II, pp.11-12, gives a list of seven wives chosen by Emir Abd ur-Rahmān for his son Habibullāh. Later, this list was considerably increased.
11 His mother, Queen Olyā Jāh, called Badr ul-baram, was a daughter of Abd ul-Majid of Tagaw; her name was Sāheb Jamāl. She died in Kabul on 12 November 1918, see SA, VIII, 4, pp.9-10.
12 SA, VII, 12, p.7, Hayātullāh is said to have been born on Habibullāh’s sixteenth birthday. His mother, a surati, from Chitral, was called Sandal.
tained a privileged and influential position. He would take over the throne of Afghanistan on the death of his father\(^\text{13}\). As for the younger princes, Mohammad Kabir, born in 1895 and already a young man, was by royal firman placed under the tutelage of his elder brother Enâyatullah\(^\text{14}\) and the next ones, Mohammad Ali (born 1907), Abd ul-Majid (born 1908), Asadullah (born 1910) and Mohammad Amin were still children and received tuition in special classes (12).

Hordes of bearers and servants and a large subordinate staff were attached to their Majesties, to the harem and to the palace. In the direct personal service of the Sovereign there were among others private physicians\(^\text{15}\), a secretary (monsbi), Abd ul-Latif, an interpreter (tarjomân), Azimullah, a steward (nâzem), Najmuddin, a librarian (khâzen ul-kotob), Mohammad Zamân, half-brother of Mahmud Tarzi, a reader (ketâb-khwân), Abd ur-Rashid, an English chauffeur. There was also a group of very young boys educated at the palace who were constantly in attendance to carry out odd jobs, rather like pages, called gholâm-bacha\(^\text{16}\). They were placed under the leadership of a certain Mohammad Wali who also looked after the foreign correspondence of the Emir, to whom he was a kind of personal archivist\(^\text{17}\). Finally, there were a few much coveted positions such as head of the domestic staff (pêsb-khedmat-bâshi) held then by a former gholâm-bacha, Ibrâhim, appointed in 1913 (13), chief butler, (âb-där-bâshi), held by Sâleh Mohammad (14), chief valet in charge

\(^\text{13}\) His mother, Olyâ Hazrat, literally “Majesty”, was known by that appellation; her name was Sarwar Soltân, her title (laqab) Serâj ul-kkawâatin. She was a daughter of Shêrdel Bârakzay and was considered as the first queen, though she was not first chronologically. On her rôle in favour of her son Amânullâh and about his reign, see L.B. Poullada, op.cit. and R.T.Stewart, op. cit.

\(^\text{14}\) SA, VI, 12, pp 1-3. His mother was a surati of mixed origin.

\(^\text{15}\) Abd ul-Halim, Allâh Joyâ, Abd ul-Ghani. The last two were Muslim Indians summoned by the Sovereign following an accident in which he lost a finger. They remained in Kabul afterwards.

\(^\text{16}\) Mohammad Sharif, Mohammad Es.hâq, Mohammad Ya’qub, Sekandar etc.

\(^\text{17}\) SA, I, 16, p.5; and II, 18, p.2. Mohammad Wali was sar-jamâ’a-e gholâm-bacha-hâ-ye khâiss.
of the royal tents and carpets (*farrâsh-bâshi*).

2. *The court*

The Emir was head of state, the court served as his government. This was a handful of men who were either close or distant relations, or members of important families, among whom the main offices were distributed. They gravitated toward the royal entourage, on every occasion possible, whether private or official.

"Many years previously", the Sovereign had conferred upon his younger and only full brother Nasrullah (born 1874), the highest place after his own, a kind of "Premiership" which made Nasrullah "the authority and the centre for the achievement of all important matters, and for the transmission and execution of orders" (15). Enayatullah followed next in importance. The Emir's eldest son, he had received a military education and was entrusted when still very young with the supervision of all army matters (*nezârat-e omur-e ʿaskariya wa reyâsat-e edâra-e barbiya*). In 1913 matters concerning education (*nezârat-e maʿaref*) which his uncle Nasrullah had relinquished (16), were added to his duties, and later on, he was entrusted with the care of the civil hospital.

When the Emir was absent from Kabul, in particular during the long periods of winter residence in Jalalabad, the powers of government were entrusted alternately to Nasrullah and to Enayatullah. Later, when Nasrullah and Enayatullah themselves resided in Jalalabad during the whole winter season, the powers were handed over to two other sons. For three winters in succession, from 1911 to 1913-1914, the powers were entrusted to Hayatullah alone who came specially from the province of Qataghan-and-Badakhshan where he served as governor for many years (17). Later, from 1916, the duties of the acting head of state were divided between him and Amannullah (18). As for the Emir's three half-brothers, they occupied minor positions. Aminullah (born 1885), called *Sardâr-e modâfe*, looked after matters relating to justice (19). Mohammad Omar (born 1890), called *Sardâr-e sanâye*, was interested in industry (20) and Gholam Ali (born 1890),
the youngest, was a courtier without special function (21).

Next, there was the *esbik-āqāsī* 18, who held a position of trust charged with internal affairs, which had been traditionally held by Shêrdel's Bârakzay clan since the nineteenth century. Under Habib-ullah this function was split into four, and the responsibility of each incumbent was concerned less with the running of state affairs, which were in the hands of more influential men, than with matters of protocol. Neither the duties nor the influence of the *esbik-āqāsī* extended beyond the court. And in any case considering that all major decisions were taken by the Emir himself, their power was very limited; less limited perhaps in the case of Ali Ahmad, who was very close to the Sovereign. Ali Ahmad, Shêrdel's grandson, *esbik-āqāsī-e molkī*, dealt with civil matters 19, whilst Nêk Mohammad, *esbik-āqāsī-e bozuri*, was entrusted with court protocol 20, Mohammad Solaymân, *esbik-āqāsī-e nezâmi*, with military protocol 21 and Mohammad Aziz, *esbik-āqāsī-e kbâreji*, with protocol concerning foreign visitors 22.

Three other personalities of Mohammadzay origin enjoyed the respect due to them for their advanced years. The two sons of Yahyâ,

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18 Expression borrowed from the Iranian administration and still in use under the Qâjär dynasty, see EI², IV, pp.123-124, "Išik-ākāsī", by R.M.Savory. In Afghanistan it was during Dost Mohammad's reign that Shêrdel Bârakzay (died 1877) had inaugurated this function which remained with the family after him. To the form *šâqâbas* adopted in Afghan Persian, *Seraj ul-akbâr* prefers the original Turkish one *esbik-āqāsī*, literally "court usher".

19 Ali Ahmad (died 1928) was a son of Khôshdel and grandson of Shêrdel Bârakzay. His grandfather, Shêrdel, had also been governor (*loynâb*) of Turkestan; his descendants took the surname of Loynab (from Pashtô, *loè* "great", and Arabic *nâeb* > *nayeb* > *nâb* "deputy").

20 SA, I, 16, p.5; and III, 23, p.12 (whole portrait). Ghelzay of Gardez. His descendants took the surname of Nekzad.

21 Eldest son of Mohammad Asef, he later became governor (*nâyeb ul-hokumat*) of Herat. SA, III, 24, p.11 (portrait).

22 Son of Mohammad Yusof. SA, I, 14, pp.7-8, nominated *esbik-āqāsī-e molki* for some time in 1904-1905, then *esbik-āqāsī-e nezâmi* for seven years, in March 1912 he became *esbik-āqāsī-e kbâreja*. 
Fig. 3 Abd ul-Hádi Dáwi
Fig 4. Erâyatullah (1888-1946) with the Turkish Doctor Munir Izzat Bey
From left to right:
The 5 A group of high ranked officers.

1. Abd ul-Wahid
2. Moh. Hosain Hassawi,fields major
3. Frukh Moh. son of Zerfaya
4. Emir Habibullah, son of Emir Abdul Rahim
5. Haythullah, son of Emir Habibullah
6. Moh. Omar, son of Emir Abdul Rahim
7. Ghulam Ali, son of Emir Abdul Rahim
8. Azizullah, son of Nasrullah
10. Sher Ahmad, son of Fath Moh.
From left to right:

2. Shah, son of Moh.
5. Hamiz, son of Moh.
6. Ashl, son of Moh.
Fig. 7 Del-koshá palace, Kabul

Fig. 8 The clock-tower (borj-e să'at) in the palace garden, Kabul
Mohammad Åsef and Mohammad Yusof, who had lived many years in exile in India before returning to Afghanistan during Abd ur-Rahmân’s reign, were courtiers and the Emir’s close companions (mosâheb-e kbâss); their sons who were young officers, were also admitted to the royal entourage and were active. The third one, Abd ul-Qoddus, the mosâhebs’ uncle, who had been first counsellor to Abd ur-Rahmân, fulfilled the same function for Habibullâh, particularly for foreign affairs.

The custom of giving titles to persons of royal blood, whether in respect of their merit, their rank or their rôle in political life, which had been practiced in the Muslim world since early times, enjoyed a renewal during the serâjiya era which was unique in recent Afghan history. Important people came to be known less by their name than by their laqab. Emir Habibullâh, as mentioned previously, received his own, Serâj ul-mellat w-ad-din, by unanimous national acclaim. Very soon this word “serâj (torch)”, in adjectival form was used to qualify nearly all developments of the period, and, on the other hand, became part of many other apppellations, as for example, other laqabs, titles of books, names given to the various palaces, works of art, buildings, and cities. It was even thought for a time that the name of Serâjâbâd-e Jalalabad would

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23 When designating the family, western historians, especially Americans, recently added the plural mosâhebân of mosâheb to the names of the descendants of Mohammad Åsef and Mohammad Yusof, see O. Caroe, Fraser-Tytler, Adamec, Gregorian, etc.

24 See below pp. 130-131.

25 For example: ta’llif-kbâna-e serâjiya, ’asr-e serâjiya, pol-e serâjiya, etc. Moreover Seraj was towards 1950 adopted as a surname by Emir Habibullâh’s direct descendants.

26 Particularly the laqabs given to the Emir’s first wives, Serâj ul-kbawâtin, Serâj ul-baram ..., and to his eldest daughters, Serâj ul-banât, Samar us-Serâj, Nur us-Serâj, etc.

27 Serâj ut-tawârikh; Nadim, Serâj ul-qawâ’ed, Kabul, undated; Serâj-e arkân-e islâm, Kabul, 1915-1916, etc.
suit the city of Jalalabad better (22) and that the name of Serâj-e Ghazni might be given to the new town of Ghazni (23).

In turn, the Emir bestowed on the princes and on some sardârs, titles which reflected the positions they occupied at his side. Nasrullâh the second most important person in the kingdom, was called Nâyeb us-saltanat, literally “Regent”, and Prince Enâyatullah, Mo‘in us-saltanat, literally “the Helper of the kingdom”. The title of “Support of the state”, 'Azod ud-dawlat, was granted by royal firman to Hayâtullâh in 1917 (28), whilst Amânullâh, though younger, was already “Eyes of the state”, 'Ayn ud-dawlat. As for the venerable Abd ul-Qodús, he bore the title of “Upholder of the state”, E’temâd ud-dawlat which indicated his rôle of right-hand confident of the Emir (29).

A large number of civil servants ensured the running of administrative matters: administrator (sarreshta-dâr), chief accountant (sar-daftâr), director (modîr). They ascended the scale of civil administration by grades parallel and similar in name to those of the army; it was the adjective “civil (molki)” or “military (nezâmi)” following the grade which indicated the category. As for the names of the grades, they were mostly borrowed from English terminology and the British army.

In this administration it happened that Habibullâh confirmed some non-Mohammadzay in key posts they had occupied previously. Thus, the Master of finance (mostawfi ul-mamâlek) had been since the previous reign a khân of Kohistan, Mohammad Hosayn (30); he combined the military rank of Lt. General with its civilian equivalent (nâyeb-salâr-e molki wa nezâmi). He it was who first took the initiative at the end of 1913 of proposing the introduction of a national budget (“bûje”); this project was approved unanimously and signed

28 SA, VI, 15, pp.3 and 5, facsimile of the firman dated 27 January 1917.
29 Nothing has yet been found to elucidate during which reign he was granted this title. His descendants took the name of Etemadi.
30 SA, II, 23, p.10. Of the Sâfi tribe, originally from Sayyed Khêl (Kohistan). His son is the poet Khalîl ullah Khalîli.
during an advisory assembly attended by civil servants and accountants of all the administrative branches, such as the section of purchases, roads, factories, warehouses, Treasury, taxes, construction, and rebār. But Serāj ul-akhbār kept silent about the nature of the proposal and the budget. The second-in-command of the financial section (nāyeb-e mostawfi ul-mamālek), Abd ul-Ahmad, was a kbān of Ghazni; he shouldered an additional imposing mission, being in charge of the works of the new Ghazni dam.

Another person of importance was Naranjān-Dās, the head of the Hindu community; he was chief accountant of the financial section (sar-daftar-e wojubāt) and administrator of the royal personal Treasury(sarreshta-dār-e 'aynul-māl); in the civil administration he attained the grade equivalent to colonel (kernel-e molki) (24) and together with some great merchants from among his community he occupied an official position at the audiences.

As a reward for services rendered, Mohammad Sarwar, director of all the Workshops (sar-afsar-e kol māshin-kbāna-hā) was raised to the civilian grade equivalent to that of general (jernel-e molki) in 1913. A number of other civil servants were in charge of other essential departments, among whom there were secretaries (amin, plur. omanā) for information (amin ul-ettelā'āt), for military equipment (amin-e nezām), for finance (amin ul-wojubāt), for correspondence (amin ul-makāteb), for police (amin ul-śasāt), and for

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31 SA, III, 10, pp.4-5; and 12, p.7, with the names and functions of the signatories of the project.
32 SA, III, 3, p.4; and 9, p.14, he was assassinated at Ghazni on 5 January 1914. His descendants took the name of Malekyar.
33 SA, I, 16, p.4; II, 20, p.4, text of the royal firman dated 16 June 1913; and IV, 23, p.5 (portrait). Son of Mohammad Siddiq, Bārakzay.
34 SA, IV, 10, p.3. Mohammad Akhtar succeeded his father, Mohammad Safar, at the end of 1914. They came from the Chitral area.
35 SA, III, 15, p.11, Mirzā Mahmud (portrait).
37 SA, I, 1, p.5, Abd ul-Wahhhāb, grandson of Purdel, until 1911.
38 SA, IV, 3, pp.3-4, Fateh Mohammad, son of Zekriyā. The name of Zekriya was adopted by some of the descendants.
mines (amin ul-ma‘áden).  

Finally at a Muslim court like this one, in a country where devoutness was general, religious knowledge was honoured. Pious and learned men succeeded each other, sometimes from father to son, at the Emir’s side. Already appreciated by Abd ur-Rahmân, Mawlawi Abd ur-Ra’uf (1851-1915) was appointed court mollá (mollá-ye bozur) and on his death in 1915 was succeeded by his son Abd ur-Rabb. They took part in all the reunions, were authoritative in all matters of jurisprudence (fetwâ), confirmed the Emir’s declarations by quotations from the Koran, shared with other mollás in the supervision of religious books for devotion and instruction, and chose laqabs.

Next to the mollás, among the religious and conservative élite, certain families of noble extraction were respected for their origin and were very influential. The most prominent of these was the family of the Mojaddadis, whose origin Seráj ul-akbbár recalled on the occasion of the visit to Kabul of their chief in 1916. The family claimed descent from Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Sheikh Ahmad, called Mojaddad-e alf-e sâni meaning “Renovator [of Islam appeared] in the second millennium”, belonged to the mystic order (tariqa) of Naqshbandi, lived at Sirhind (east Punjab) and died there in 1624. In Afghanistan, the Mojaddadis, called also Hazará-e Shur Bázár after the name of the district in Kabul where they were invited to settle under the Sadûzay, and Hazará-e Chahár Bâgh after the name of their residence in Jalalabad, enjoyed the Emir’s favour and even

40 SA, V, 2, pp.6-7, a few biographical elements are given here on the occasion of his death during the cholera epidemic. Originally from Qandahar, Abd ur-Ra’uf, known as Khâki, was a teacher (modarres) at the Royal madrasa; he left some works in Pashtô, Persian and Arabic. He was also the author of the welcoming inscription on the great mosque of Mazâr-e Sharif, and of several articles in Seráj ul-akbbár itself, see SA, I, 1, pp.10-12; II, 22, pp.1-4 etc. See also H. Afghâni, “Mawlawi Abd ur-Ra’uf...”; and above p.66, n.4.
more so, it seems, that of Prince Enâyatullah. Because he spent part of his life away from Afghanistan at Haramayn (i.e. Mecca and Medina), or, when in Afghanistan then away from Kabul, in Jalalabad, the Sheikh of that time came to the capital sufficiently rarely for his visit to be celebrated with great pomp. A few months earlier, the paper had announced the death, at the age of thirty-eight, of the Sheikh’s eldest son, Gholâm Qâder, and published a long elegy about the deceased, written by the poet Mokhles (25).

Another less rare and consequently less important visit was that of the Herati Gholâm Nabi, Mir of Gázorgâh, head of the brotherhood that grew up around the mystic Abdullah Ansâri. He came to the capital every second year to pay homage to the Emir, whilst his father, Mir Mohammad Osmân, used to make the journey every year.

It was during this same serâjiya era that another family, originally from Baghdad in this case, and whose members were followers of Sheikh Abd ul-Qâder Jilâni, entered Afghanistan. They settled in Kabul with the Emir’s permission and their head took the title of Naqib. Serâj ul-akhbâr did not refer to them at all.

One of the strongest traditions influencing the life-style and governing practices of the Afghan sovereigns, was the holding of audiences (darbâr). The Sadzâz kings, according to Serâj ul-akhbâr, held them with a ceremonial copied from that of Persia. The first Mohammadzay, however, distinguished themselves by a complete absence of decorum and a simplicity so great that the meeting became a kind of tribal gathering “without discipline or organization”. Emir Abd ur-Rahmân, on the contrary, introduced

42 SA, V, 11 bis, pp.1-2; and 15, pp.7-8, names of the khalifas who accompanied the Sheikh on his trip to Kabul. Serâj ul-akhbâr called the Sheikh by his laqab only, Zeyâ Ma’sum. On the rôle played later by the Mojaddadis in the opposition to King Amanullâh, see L.B.Poullada, op. cit.

43 SA, III, 16, p.5, announcement of Mir Mohammad Osmân’s death on 17 March 1914; VIII, 3, pp.4-5; and 4, p.6 (portrait).
a certain pomp by building two halls, one containing up to a thousand people for public audiences (salâm-khâna-e 'ámm), the other of a more modest size for private audiences (salâm-khâna-e khâss) (26). In turn, Habibullâh, who favoured solemnities and modernization in the European style, organized audiences in quite a different way. He introduced furniture, tables and chairs, uniforms according to rank and season, music, decoration of the halls, and a very glittering protocol (27).

In the serâjiya era there were two kinds of audiences. First, the regular, official audiences, which marked either religious holidays ('id) such as the end of the yearly fast (‘id-e fetr or ‘id-e ramazân), the feast day of sacrifice (‘id-e azbâ or ‘id-e qorbân), the birthday of the Prophet (rôz-e mawlûd), Shab-e barâ’t on the 15 Sha'bân, or secular holidays such as the Day of national unity (jashn-e ettefâq-e mellat), the New Year (nawrûz) on the 21 March / 1 Hamal, and the birthday of the Emir and princes (28). They were in fact large receptions, sometimes held at night, at which, after a prayer or the traditional speeches, a meal was served to all the guests. Then there were the working audiences (darbâr-e kâr) also called audiences for petitions and replies (darbâr-e 'arz wa dâd) which took place several times a week, or every day in periods of great activity. According to their importance, they were presided over by Emir Habibullâh himself, or his brother Nasrullâh, or by his sons Enâyatullâh or Amânullâh, in that order (29). They were reserved for the hearing of written or oral requests and for legal proceedings (30), and were also convened, according to circumstances, to decide military matters (31), announce promotions, and appointments (32), and to announce events to the nation44.

It was the rôle of the civilian (molki) and military (nezâmi)

44 SA, I, 5, pp.3-4, on the War of Tripolitania; II, 23, p.6, on the cost of building the new Ghazni; IV, 1, pp.2-3, proclamation of Afghanistan's neutrality during World War I, etc.
esbik-aqāsis, through the intermediary of a civil servant\(^{45}\) to notify the guests. Among them there was a nucleus of habituéṣ (ahl-e darbâr), always inevitably present. They were princes and sar-dârs, the members of the most important families, officials who had reached a certain grade in the civil administration (mansab-dârân-e molki), or a certain rank in the army (mansab-dârân-e nezâmi), the 'olamâ, the religious heads — mollâs, sheikhs, sâdât (plur. of sayyed) — and the chiefs of the neighbouring regions, called in this case, khwâânin-e darbâri (khân, plur. khwâânin) (33).

Naturally the representatives of the great province of Kabul, who in view of their relative proximity could travel more easily, were the first ones to be summoned. This was unfair to those residing in distant provinces. The Emir was aware of the inequality. When the worst of the winter was over in early 1916, he summoned representatives of the population (wakîl, plur. wokalâ) from every corner of the country (har velâyat wa bar maball) to Kabul and proposed that they should select about thirty men from amongst themselves to represent them. In the future, this would minimize the inconvenience to the large number — five hundred and forty in all — of provincial representatives who had to remain away from home for long periods. The elected candidates would be changed every few months and the expenses of their travel and residence in Kabul would be assumed by the state (34). But this proposal, which contained in embryo the idea of a permanent national representation, was never implemented. The way in which the collaboration between the Sovereign and the nation's representatives operated, as well as the history of the Council (shurâ), or Councils, which assembled in the serâjiya era are still difficult to clarify. It seems that there was a State Council (shurâ-ye dawlat) which included those few among the Emir's immediate entourage who exercised authority under him\(^{46}\). As for

\(^{45}\) SA, V, 11 bis, p.2. No name is known.

\(^{46}\) L.W. Adamec, Afghanistan's foreign affairs, pp. 268-269, reproduces a list of thirty "Members of the State Council of Afghanistan, Khwâs-Majlis-i-
the National Council (shurā-ye melli), which Tarzi elsewhere described as one of the sources of the strength of Afghanistan (35) there is no proof that this institution actually existed on a definite basis. All it is possible to say is that the Emir, as previously mentioned, proposed in public, towards the end of his reign in 1916, the definite idea of such an institution, and that, on the other hand, on certain occasions, special audiences were held in Kabul, which assembled a greater number of national representatives than was usual at regular ones.

Consequently it is also possible to say that the provincial reality remained largely outside the daily preoccupations of Kabul. By the same token, the provinces continued to maintain their own political as well as geographical isolation.

The country within its first clearly-defined boundaries which Habibullāh had inherited, was divided into four large provinces. Abd ur-Rahmān had placed governors at the head of each province, and charged them with the responsibility of maintaining the peace he had finally established. This situation was slightly modified by Habibullāh. He increased the number of provinces (waelāyat) to six: Kabul, Qandahar, Herat, Turkestan (Mazār-e Sharīf), Farāh, Qataghan-and-Badakhshān (Fayzābād)\(^47\). They were the distant fiefs of governors (nāyeb ul-bokumat)\(^48\) appointed for an indefinite period of time, and recalled occasionally by the govern-

\(^{47}\) *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Afghanistan and Nepal*, Calcutta, 1908, p.39.

\(^{48}\) SA, I, 1, p.5, Abd ul-Wahhāb, Sardār of Qandahar, was appointed governor of Turkestan in replacement of Abdullāh, who died; 5, p.6, Hayātullāh, Emir Habibullāh’s second son, was governor of Qataghan-and-Badakhshān; III, 5, pp.2-3, Mohammad Yunus, son of Mohammad Yusof and brother-in-law of Emir Habibullāh was appointed governor of Qandahar succeeding Mohammad Osmān, in November 1913; and VI, 19
ment of Kabul. Once they were installed in their posts, the governors were not expected to contact Kabul often. Each one reigned autonomously over his domain. It is evident that this independence of the body (i.e. the provinces) of the country emphasized its separation from the head (i.e. Kabul), and permitted grossly disproportionate economic development. These provinces where not a single foreign influence ever penetrated, were doomed to stagnation, whilst the province of Kabul, and especially the capital, already privileged by the concentration of political life, court life, and the presence of the intelligentsia and an educated class, benefited from such efforts of organization and modernization as there were, and from the first concrete results of these efforts.

3. The capital

Kabul, capital of the kingdom and centre of the province of the same name, was the place of residence of the Emir and the centre of all business activity. It had held this position since Qandahar was abandoned in the eighteenth century by the Sadōzay kings. The fort of Kabul (Bālā Hesār), situated to the south-east of the city on top of a hill, was at that time the seat of the sovereign and the administrative offices. In the nineteenth century, it was the blood-stained battlefield of the Anglo-Afghan wars, and during the second of those wars it was the target of British revenge. It was almost completely destroyed when Abd ur-Rahmān ascended the throne, and a new site had to be found which would be suitable for a royal residence. The Emir decided on the garden

pp. 5-6, Mohammad Solaymān replaced the Bārakzay Mohammad Sarwar as governor of Herat. No name was given for Farāh. As for the province of Kabul, its governor was for some time the Bārakzay Khōshdel, see SA, I, 5, p. 5
of Deh-e Afghānān in the northern part of the city, where he built his own palace (qal'ā or arg) as well as residences for the queen and the other wives (haram-sarāy), the Treasury, shops and two halls of audience (36).

Emir Habībullāh, who was sensitive to beauty and passionately fond of decoration, considered his father's constructions already old-fashioned, and in his turn undertook the modernization of the old palaces, the erection of new buildings and the planning and beautification of the city49. To the north of his arg he added two palaces facing each other: Borj-e shamāli which was enhanced by a glass greenhouse, Gol-khāna, and a pool of green marble, and Del-koshā (37), in front of which the clock tower, Borj-e sā'at or menār-e sā'at, reflected the Emir's taste for curiosities50. Opposite the greenhouse, a mosque was built in which the pulpit, the niche and the lower walls were faced with marble; on special occasions carpets covered the white marble floor (38). In the royal gardens which had been extended to the west and filled with flowers, a set of lights was installed to illuminate evening receptions in the summer, and among the lawns shaded by plane trees the gracious palace of Stōr was erected51, as well as a large octagonal platform, Soffa-e hasb rōkh. Queen Olyā Hazrat's palace and her garden, Tammuz Bāgh, were also modernized.

One of the major public works of the serājiyā reign in Kabul was the development of the esplanade of the great 'Id-gāb mosque, which itself dated from the previous reign, into a public place for promenades and entertainment, the Chaman-e b ozuri (39). The boundaries of the site were, to the west the road which sepa-

49 SA, I, 19, pp.1-2; and II, 8, p.2. Many photographs of the main buildings of Kabul illustrated the descriptions given by Serāj ut-akhbār.
50 SA, I, 11, pp.1-2, a square tower, thirty metres high, and 3.6 metres wide; the clock, which was made in England, was bought for nine thousand five hundred kaldār rupees (Indian currency).
51 Pashtō for "star", pronounced estor by the Dari-speakers.
ites it from the mosque, to the east the Marānjān hill, to the north the village of Zendabānān and to the south the Begrāmī road. This place was used for the performance of gymnastics, for the meetings of the faithful on the first day of Ramazān, when they listened to the reading of the Koran (khatm), and for the fireworks displays on National day. The project included a “Café”, where strollers were able to relax and buy refreshments, the profits from which were to go to the orphanage. The hopes of the Emir were disappointed. The public’s interest was not aroused and the takings were very small. A year or two later, in pursuit of the same aim, the Emir created an artificial lake at the foot of the Marānjān hill and introduced boats for hire, but it was in vain. He then resorted to the already well known practice of obligatory contributions; civil servants, in order to keep their jobs, or hold their position in the audiences, were required to donate either fifty rupees per year, or two hundred rupees as a single life subscription and were forced to make an appearance twice a week, on Sundays and Wednesdays at the Chaman “Hôtel”. A company (sherkat) was entrusted with the financial and commercial responsibilities for the enterprise.

Other places in town were put to different uses. Qawmi Bāgh was adapted for meetings of all kinds, parties, weddings, ceremonies of condolence (fātebagiri), in order to save families the trouble and expense of having these receptions at home, and it was constantly in use. And at the western end of the city, Shabrārā, built by Abd ur-Rahmān during the last years of his reign, served some time as an exhibition hall for objects manufactured

52 Qawmi Bāgh was inaugurated in 1909 with the signature of the wedding contract (nekāb) of Prince Enāyatullāh with M. Tarzi’s eldest daughter, Khayriya. Later, other ceremonies celebrated there included, in 1913, the nekāb of Mohammad Yunos with Emir Habibullāh’s sister, Okht usserāj; on 2 June, see SA, II, 19, pp.5-6; that of Prince Amānullah with Sorayā on 30 August, see SA, III, I, p.8; and the great wedding reception (‘arusi) of Ahmad Shāh, son of Mohammad Asef, with Khoshdēl’s daughter on 19 Novembre, see SA, III, 6, pp.2-3.
in the Kabul Workshops.

Each of the princes had a separate residence. Enâyatullāh’s was in the district of Deh-e Afghānān where he installed his own printing press and hosted the meetings of the Education Council (40). Amānullāh lived at 'Ayn ul-'emārat, which was completed in 1911-191253, and the Emir's brother, Nasrullāh convened his private audiences at Zayn ul-'emārat (41).

The rest of the city, composed of houses hidden behind their walls, gardens and shopping streets (bāzār), stretched out at the foot of the mountains and along the river. The houses which were all of clay and wood, were piled one on top of the other, and were often ravaged by fires which spread very rapidly54.

In the immediate surroundings of Kabul where the Emir liked to walk and stay in summer, in search of cool air, there were some lovely villas in beautiful gardens. Paghmān (42) was a village of green shade and waterfalls to the west of the city where there was a park called Sāya Bāgh dating from Abd ur-Rahmān’s reign. Emir Habibullāh built a residence called Sobayl higher up in the valley, where he officially resided during the hottest weeks. Higher still, he built the residence called Bayt us-sayf and in the village of Begtut, a villa called Setāra. It was from this same Paghmān that, to elevate the water shortage in Kabul, an underground system of metal piping was installed to provide the capital with drinking water from the mountains (43).

To the south of Kabul, the Bābor garden (Bāgh-e Bābor) and further away in the village of Hendaki, the Chehel Sotun garden are well known, as are Māhtaw Bāgh and Bāgh-e boland also called Bāgh-e bālā (44).

Elsewhere on carefully selected sites, Emir Habibullāh built

53 SA, II, 1, p.6, appellation derived from Amānullāh’s laqab. In Jalalabad, the Prince lived at the 'Ayniyā residence, see SA, VI, 19, p.12.
54 SA, II, 11, pp.4-5, fire of Mandahi, district of food trading; III, 19, p.9, fire of Chendāwal, Hazāra district; and IV, 3, p.4, fire of the Hindu quarters.
civil as well as military edifices. In Jalalabad, which became his winter capital, he himself planned and personally supervised the building of one of his largest residences, Serāj ul-'emārat. Constructed in record time during the winter of 1910-1911, it included an audience hall of six hundred seats, and spacious apartments (45). Still in Jalalabad, the Sovereign entirely transformed and modernized a palace built by his father, as well as the royal garden, Bāgh-e shāhi, surrounding it, and added a large artificial lake next to it (46).

To complete this account of building works by Habibullāh, the military forts of Serāj ul-amsâr at Jabal us-serāj (Kohistan) and of Qal'at us-serāj-e Laghmān (Nangarhâr) should be noted again, as should various works such as the bridges, Pol-e Darunta and Pol-e serāj-e Golbahār, and irrigation dams, Nahr-e serāj-e Jalālābād on the Kabul river, Nahr-e serāj-e Qandahār on the Helmand river (47), and Band-e serāj-e Ghazni on the river of the same name.
AN OUTLINE OF ORGANIZATION
1 The Army

The emirs devoted most of their attention to military affairs. And it may be noted that the adoption of western civilization in Afghanistan began with military matters. Dost Mohammad had called on one of his nephews, Mohammad 'Alam\(^1\) and on a British officer, Campbell\(^2\), to contribute to the military sector. Also, contact between the armies during the Anglo-Afghan wars had given rise to the first attempts of organization: training of troops, wearing of uniforms, making arms. The building of the Kabul Workshops towards the end of the century was the most concrete result of these initial innovations.

However, it was not until 1909 that a Military School (\textit{maktabe fonun-e barbiya-e serajiya})\(^3\) was created. Emir Habibullah publicly announced this project in a speech on \textit{Chaman-e bozuri}, before the usual assembly of the nobles of the dynasty and the political and social elite from throughout the kingdom, when he enjoined them to entrust their sons to the projected school, which they duly did. In 1912, the School had one hundred and fifty pupils. It was directed by a certain Mahmud Sâmi from Iraq, who

\begin{itemize}
\item [1] SA, VI, 24, p.7, son of Rahmdeel and brother of Gholâm Mohammad “Tarzi”, Mohammad 'Alam had learnt English from an Indian secretary and was said to have read many military works.
\item [2] SA, II, 13, p.4, extract from Sultan Mahomed Khan, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p.5, in which Emir Abd ur-Rahman says to have followed Campbell’s teaching for three years, until the latter’s death in 1866. On his conversion to Islam, Campbell had taken the name of Shêr Mohammad.
\item [3] SA, I, 12, p.2, the date of 1909/1327 was given by M.Tarzi in a \textit{qi’ta}, reproduced here.
\end{itemize}
had taken refuge in Kabul after escaping from Baghdad. He was, however, soon suspended for maladministration and ill-treatment of the pupils. A few reforms were then introduced and regulations (nezâm-nâma) were printed and distributed to the pupils and staff. Gholâm Jilâni was appointed inspector (1). Mahmud Sâmi was rehabilitated a few months later, by the grace of the Emir, and recovered his rank and position⁴. His reinstatement lasted for only a short time, however, as at the end of 1913 Ali Khan succeeded him (2). Ali Khan was Turkish, and was assisted among others by two other Turks, Abd ul-Latif (3), professor of artillery, and Khayr ud-din Kholusi Bey (4), inspector of higher military studies.

Overall supervision of the School and military affairs was entrusted to the Emir’s eldest son Enâyatullâh, inspector general (nâzer-e ‘omumi) and to Mohammad Yusof’s son, Mohammad Nâder, observer general (negârdân-e ‘omumi). In 1914, the latter was given the rank of general (sepâb-sâlîr) which placed him at the head of the entire Afghan army⁵. At his side, four of his young but already highly placed brothers, led the corps d’élite: Mohammad Hâshem was sar-saros⁶, i.e. head of a section of forty cavalry who came from the southern zone (samt-e jonubi), Shâh Wali

⁴ SA, II, 8, p.4. Mahmud Sâmi had the rank of colonel. Serâj ul-akhbâr gave no indication as to either the reason of his flight from Bagdad where he was teaching gymnastics in a preparatory school, or why he was replaced at the head of the Military School of Kabul. He was executed in March 1930. He was the author of several works on military instruction and of a translation of a culinary book.

⁵ Mohammad Nâder, born at Dehra Dun (U.P.) in 1883, arrived in Afghanistan in 1901. He was promoted Lt. General (nâyeb-sâlîr) in 1912, after commanding the campaign against the Mangal, and general (sepâb-sâlîr) in 1914. Proclaimed King in 1929, he was assassinated in November 1933. See SA, III, 21, p.8; B. Koshkaki, Nâder-e afgân (Nâder the Afghan), Kabul, 1931; and L. Dupree, op. cit., chap. 20 and 21.

⁶ Mohammad Hâshem, born at Dehra Dun (U.P.), died in 1953. SA, VI, 24, p. 11, Lt. General (nâyeb-sâlîr) and commander of the Herat garrison (sar-afsar wa qumândân-e urdu-ye Herât).
was rekāb-bāshi⁷, head of a group of one hundred and forty cavalry mainly Nuristani; Shāh Mahmud was sar-khān-spār⁸, head of a group of cavalry mostly sons of khāns who rode their own horses, and Mohammad Ali was colonel of the second royal guards (resāla-e shābi)⁹. Their first cousin, Ahmad Shāh, was sar-min-spār¹⁰, head of a group of cavalry chosen among the mīrs from Hazārajāt.

Before the creation of the serājiya Military School, military training was given at the School of Royal Orderlies (maktab-e ardāšt-bā-yē bozur) to which was assigned a contingent of Nuristani youths, sons of the “newly converted to Islam (jadīd ul-islām)”. In 1912 their number reached ninety-eight. All pupils were aged between nine and nineteen and divided into groups supervised by a senior boy (lālā) (5). Later on Mohammad Nāder had all the jadīd children put together in one class at the Military School (6), and later still there was a special school for them called Maktab-e awlād-e jadīd ul-islām, which was carefully managed and encouraged, and for which two crack battalions (boluk) formed of the first Nuristani, served as model (7). Additionally, still shortly after the Mangal revolt of 1912, a new class at the Military School was formed for the sons of maleks (senf-e malek-zāda-bā-yē mangal) who had rebelled and then repented. About a hundred boys were thus kept in Kabul; their course lasted for about four years, and they were then replaced by new boys again divided into groups of ten under the supervision of a lālā (8).

Habibullāh had always been interested in the army, having been given command of it by his father. When he became Emir his interest grew and he instituted important changes in the organization. The

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8 Shāh Mahmud, born at Dehra Dun (U.P.), died in December 1959.
9 Mohammad Ali, born at Dehra Dun (U.P.), died in 1920.
10 Ahmad Shāh, born at Dehra Dun (U.P.), died in 1952.
first one naturally concerned the most important army in the country, the Kabul force. He amalgamated the four regiments (ghond) called ardal, ardali, kót wál and dár us-saltanat, into two divisions (lewá). The first (lewá-ye awwal or resálá-e tolwára), which included the two ghond-e ardal and ghond-e ardali, was commanded by Lt. General (náyeb-sálár) Sáleh Mohammad; the second (lewá-ye dowwóm), under Lt. General Mohammad Yunus, comprised the other two ghonds (9). Each division included three branches of service: infantry (pyáda), cavalry (sówwára) and artillery (tópchi). For recruitment to the regular army, Habibulláh introduced a new system of drawing lots for the conscription of “one man in eight (basht-nafarí)” (10). And on the occasion of the Mangal rebellion in 1912, the Emir himself announced that he would henceforth use the term afwáj-e molki, literally “civil troops”, instead of the Turkish word iljári, to designate the troops raised from tribes in case of urgency, as opposed to afwáj-e nezámi, which designated the regular troops (11).

Emir Habibulláh devoted one day a week, namely Tuesday, to military matters (12). He loved parades, authorized a display of gymnastics in Qawmí Bâgbé, attended the various exercises which took place at the camp of Shérpur and on Chaman-e bozúri. A large field, Chaman-e nezámi, north-west of the city, was additionally reserved for military exercises (12). At his audiences the Emir personally announced certain decisions such as military promotions, the increase in army pay at the end of 1913 (13), and a distribution of wheat for the army from government reserves (13). During his long sojourns outside Kabul he organized manoeuvres which provided the occasion for “contacts between the civilian and military population” and for festivities, in addition to his hunting expeditions (14).

In the serájiya era, Afghanistan was not lacking in emblems and

11 SA, I, 23, pp.4-6, performance given in aid of the orphans, on 2 August 1912.
12 SA, II, 6, p.2, situated at Khwája Rawásh, site of the present airport.
13 SA, III, 4, p.3, increase from ten to twelve rupees announced during the audience of 11 November 1913.
14 SA, I, 18, p.2, the flag is designated by the Arabic words ‘alam, ‘oqráb and rayát, the Turkish hayrauç and the Persian parcham.
for the first time the country was endowed with an official flag (bayraq-e dawlati) which government offices were expected to raise during the day. The flag showed a pulpit (menbar) and the niche indicating the direction of Mecca (mebrāb), in white on a black background. A special flag for the Emir with a white menbar and mebrāb on a red background, was hoisted wherever the Sovereign was present, whilst Nasrullah and the princes each had their personal flag, with the insignia of their houses\(^\text{15}\). The army also had the number of its flags increased. The Emir presented the national military colours consisting of a standard (alam) for all regiments (ghond) and a special flag (‘oqrāb) for each company (mot)\(^\text{16}\). Moreover, regiments and battalions each received a different flag (rāyat) and smaller units (kandak, tōlay) another one of lesser dimension.

2. The Workshops of Kabul (māshin-khāna)

Afghan industry revolved entirely round a single important installation, the Kabul Workshops (māshin-khāna), situated on the left bank of the river in the garden called ‘Alamgani, south of the city. In the nineteenth century, the emirs of Afghanistan had been able to produce some war equipment to provide for their most immediate needs, but it was Emir Abd ur-Rahman who, not only for military purposes, established the basis for a governmental mechanized industry. Under his reign the māshin-khāna took shape and in 1892 a tannery and

\(^{15}\) SA, VIII, 3, pp.3-4, Nasrullah’s flag had a crescent moon (shaqq ul-qamar), Enayatullah’s the national cap, decorated with a medal (kolāb-e neshan-dār). Hayatullah’s flag was handed to him during a ceremony presided over by Enayatullah on 14 September 1918; it bore a cap decorated with a feather (par-dār). Amānullah’s flag bore a cap decorated with an aigrette (kolāb-e jegha-dār).

\(^{16}\) SA, I, 1, p.2, on both ‘alam and ‘oqrāb, the inscriptions and figures were embroidered in white on a black silk (qanāwez) background; there was a detailed description of each one.
leather factory were set up.  

As a young prince, Habibullāh was already well versed in the functioning of his father's Workshops which he supervised and visited regularly. As emir, he was still seen to go once a week, showing his interest in the progress of local production (15). Without losing sight of his predecessor's original aim, Habibullāh completed and developed a great ensemble of manufactures which quickly turned out a number of prime utility. The impulse given to industry bore a direct relation to the Emir's famous journey to India in 1907. As the quality of Afghan wool had been praised during his visit, Habibullāh hastened on his return to order the establishment of a wool-weaving mill (pashmina-bāfi), which was already set up by 1912 and inaugurated two years later. This factory was provided with a complete set of equipment and in its first three months it produced twelve thousand military uniforms of high quality at a quite profitable price.

The Workshops were operated entirely by a steam engine, which was stoked daily with enormous quantities of wood brought from great distances, either from Nuristan or from the country south of Jalalabad, the only two wooded regions in the country. But the Emir's wish to increase the number of factories soon made it necessary to look for a less expensive, less destructive source of energy, so he decided to build a hydro-electric power station at Jabal us-serāj (Kohistan), not only to operate the factories, but to light the city and the new palaces as well.

The Workshops were placed under the direction of General Mohammad Sarwar, who had been in charge for many years during the previous reign. He was assisted by Mir Mohammad Háshem, chief accountant (sar-daftar) (35), and by Atā Mohammad, administrator of

18 SA, III, 18, pp.1-2, inaugurated on 27 April 1914; IV, 5, pp.3-4; and 11, pp.1-2.
19 SA, II, 7, p. 4; III, 7, pp. 1-2. See also A.C. Jewett, op. cit.
the leather factory (sarreshta-dār-e kār-khāna-e charm) who was in turn assisted by Qāder Bakhsh, a qualified Indian, successor to Thornton (17).

The list of products issued by the máshin-khāna was long, headed by military equipment and supplies which were its main output: heavy artillery, light arms, complete uniforms, shoes — for which there was a special factory and a special machine — and head-gear for officers and other ranks. A certain Mohammad Rezā Bey, gunpowder specialist, worked at producing cartridges and cannonballs. Afghan coins were minted in the máshin-khāna which also housed workshops for tinning, glass-blowing, carpentry, stone cutting and lapis lazuli. Candles, which were so precious before the introduction of electricity, had been manufactured there for a long time, as had soap, and the leather factory produced boots, gloves, saddles, harnesses (18). All manufactured goods were exhibited to the public in a show-room set up in Kabul at the Shahr-ārā palace, and some of them, such as kitchen utensils and home decorations were sold to the public (19). The máshin-khāna advertised its products, and Serāj ul-akhbār published the description and price of the items offered for sale in a shop in town: woollen materials, which were also obtainable by the metre direct from the factory, stockings, leather buttons carrying the national emblem, saddlery and toilet articles20.

The entire Afghan industry, which was concentrated in Kabul and centred around the Workshops, was a state monopoly which left no room for private industry. There was also no authorized large-scale private commerce. No industrial development was even projected for the rest of the country. Different regions had their own cottage industries where the size of the workshops was limited to the size of the family running them. The state occasionally placed orders with these enterprises. Turkestan and Herat, for instance, were re-

20 The list drawn up by Mir Mohammad Hāshem occupies a whole page of the inside cover, from SA, V, 1 et seq. The shop belonged to one Abdullāh and was situated in the street called Bāzār-e arg.
nowned for their carpets and supplied very large ones to cover the floors of audience halls, government offices and residences of the élite (20).

Finally, the máshbin-kbána housed the installation of the national printing press: the great lithograph press, the typographic press, the school of calligraphy and engraving, and the new zinecographic equipment. During its first six years the office of Seráj ul-akhbár was situated in this great ensemble so that the type-setting and printing of the periodical could be more easily supervised.

During Abd ur-Rahmán’s reign non-Muslim foreigners settled in Kabul for the first time to carry out specific projects ordered by the Emir; among others a Frenchman called Jerôme, who was active in starting the máshbin-kbána. During the serájiya era, these and other foreigners continued in the service of Habibulláh, and were employed at great works in Kabul and its surroundings. It is interesting to note, however, that Seráj ul-akhbár makes hardly any mention of them. In particular there is not a word about the American engineer Jewett, who carried out the project so dear to the Emir’s heart, by installing the hydro-electric power station at Jabal us-seráj, even though his stay in Afghanistan – May 1911 - December 1918—coincided exactly with the life of the periodical. Of the dozen foreigners, mainly British, whom Jewett described in his own diary, Seráj ul-akhbár mentioned only three: Thornton, the leather expert, who had left long before (21), Halliday, the engineer of the Darunta bridge (22) and the Scot, James Miller, architect of the clock tower and of the Ghazni dam (23).

3. Education (ma’âref)

In contrast to military matters, which always stimulated heads of state, education never moved beyond its strictly religious framework. Apart from the traditional Muslim tuition given in mosques and in religious schools (madrasa, plur. madâres) by masters of Koranic
Fig. 9 Emir Habibullāh at pause during a trip

Fig. 10 The royal tents prepared for a festival
Fig. 11 The 'Id-gâh mosque in Kabul on a festival day
education (mollâ, bâfez, plur. boffâz, literally “who knows the Koran by heart”, qâri, plur. qorâ, literally “who reads and recites the Koran”, and ’âlem plur. ’olamâ), there was no possibility of pursuing any other studies when Habibullâh ascended the throne (24). The Royal madrasa (madrasa-e shâhi) in Kabul, created by Abd ur-Rahmân, at which Abd ur-Ra’uf taught, was the only one enjoying any reputation.

The Emir first entrusted his brother, Nasrullâh, with the task of developing education. In 1905, Nasrullâh, who was a devout Muslim, requested by firman21 that the number of madrasas and bâfez be increased; and one year later the Emir authorized the request22. From the detailed annual reports which were sent regularly to Serâj ul-akhhâr and signed by the administrator, Mir Mohammad Yusof23, it can be seen that beginning with 1912 there was a regular increase in the number of pupils, which reached three hundred and fifteen in 1918. At the end of their studies, the graduates were qualified to recite the Koran and to teach. In his first report, dated 1912, Mir Mohammad Yusof announced the creation, following the dictates of the aforesaid firman, of ten madrasas outside Kabul, at Jalalabad, Ghazni, Qandahar, Posht-e rud, Farâh, Herat, Maymana, Balkh, Fayzâbâd and Khânâbâd. For lack of students, the Farâh madrasa was transferred to Laghmân and the Posht-e rud school moved to Lôgar. In 1914-1915 a new madrasa was opened at Khôst.

The madrasas were all under the supervision of the Office of Information (mabhkama-e ettelâ’ât) of Kabul. The Royal madrasa

21 SA, I, 22, p.4, the firman, dated 5 November 1905, is mentioned in the first report on the madrasas.
22 SA, IV, 24, p.2, on 12 November 1906.
23 The complete title of his function was administrator of the Office of Information and of the madrasas (sarreshta-dâre mabhkama-e ettelâ’ât wa madâres-e boffâz). For the annual reports, see SA, I, 22, pp.4-5 (June 1912); II, 23, pp.2-4 (May 1913); III, 18, pp.4-5 and 7 (May 1914); IV, 24, pp.2-3 (June 1915); VI, 2, pp.2-3 (July 1916); 23, pp.1-2 (June 1917) and VII, 24, pp.3-5 (August 1918) from which was drawn the following paragraph.
was supervised by the secretary of information (amin ul-ettelâ'ât) himself (25), who reported every month to the Emir on the situation in the capital and in the provinces. The other madrasas were overseen locally by the governor (nâyeb ul-bokumat), or by the district officer (hâkem), the judge (qâzi), the administrator (sarreshta-dâr) or the police officer (kôtwâl) 24. The state ensured the upkeep of the madrasas and provided for the needs of the students who received board, lodging and clothing, and of the masters who, if they were poor, received an allowance of forty rupees per month for life.

After Emir Habibullâh’s accession to the throne, the establishment of several European-styled educational institutions provided a parallel to this religious education. Chronologically, the first of these was Habibiya School (at first called madrasa and then maktab-e Habibiya, 1904/1322) 25 which established a basis for primary as well as secondary sections. Three years later, an Office of Text-books (dâr ut-tâ’lîf, 1907/1325) (26) produced the first essential study materials.

During the first ten years of the reign, all educational matters rested on Nasrullah’s shoulders, but then his other occupations obliged him to hand over his educational responsibilities to his nephew Enâyatullah (27). This hand-over gave rise to renewed activities, starting with the first meeting of the Education Council (anjoman-e

24 SA, I, 22, p.5, a table listed in opposite columns the names of cities with madrasas and the names of governors responsible for the proper functioning of the establishments; and IV, 24, p.3.

25 SA, III, 1, p.6, in this number dated 17 September 1913, the creation of Habibiya School is said to date back to “a little over nine years”, i.e. to 1904. On the other hand, in SA, IV, 21, p.3, Mohammad Hosayn, mostawfi ul-mamâlek, who attended the ceremony, recalls that the official inauguration took place a 14 Rajab, without mentioning the year. If this was correct, then the date would be 24 September 1904 / 14 Rajab 1322. But the booklet, Habibiya-e dirôz wa emrôz (Habibiya yesterday and today), Kabul, Ca.1965, gives the date of 28 February 1905 / 23 Zu l-hejja 1322. The school was first situated in the south-east corner of the arg garden behind the present National Bank (Bank-e mellî), but was soon transferred to Bâgh-e mehmân-khâna where it was officially inaugurated by Nasrullah.
ma'âref, August 1913 / 1331), whose multiple objectives were based on reforms and expansion. Reports sent to Serâj ul-akhbâr gave an account of the measures taken by this Council. Three of its important projects were accomplished in a remarkably short time: regulations for Habibiya School were published (nezâm-nâma, 1913/1332); a Teacher Training College (dâr ul-mo'allemin, 1914/1332) was founded; five primary schools (mâktab-e ebtedâ'iya, 1915/1333) were inaugurated.

This Education Council was composed of ten members who met twice weekly at the residence of their president, Enâyatullâh. One of them was their secretary, another acted as chairman (montazem-e majles) and submitted decisions approved by the Council to the Emir. When he took over responsibility for educational affairs, Enâyatullâh found the situation far from satisfactory. Habibiya School had been opened with the help of Muslim teachers from northern India, at a time when staff and means were lacking. Text-books designed to meet the educational goals of the British Government in India had been translated directly from the English. There were no regulations for the organization of the education sector, no guidelines regarding the duties of the staff or the discipline of the students. To remedy these defects, which were costly in every way, Enâyatullâh quickly assembled his Council and prepared and published the complete regulations of Habibiya School within four months. It comprised sixteen sections, which left nothing in doubt.

The School was directed by Me'râj ud-din, an Indian, and was then equipped with

26 SA, III, 1, pp.5-6; and 4, p.4, the members were three Turks, Hasan Hilmi, Mehmed Fazli and Ali Khan, four Indians, Ahmad ud-din, Qâder Bakhsh, Mohammed Arshad and Me'râj ud-din, and two Afghans, mulla Abd ur-Rabb and Mohammad Omar; 13, p.3; and IV, 21, p.2.

27 Nezâm-nâma-e madrasa-e mohâraka-e habibiya, Kabul, 1913, 22 p., one thousand copies printed. It was published in full in SA, III, 19, pp.2-4; 20, pp.3-5; and 21, pp.3-7.

28 Because of the lack of teachers, Me'râj ud-din combined the functions of director (modir) and teacher (modarres-e awwal). Among other teachers were: Mohammad Arshad, qâri Nèk Mohammad (Arabic), Sâleh Mohammad
a laboratory, a library, an arts-and-crafts room and an infirmary. School materials were provided to the pupils free of charge. The new function of inspector general (mofattesh-e 'omumi) was inaugurated by Ali Ahmad, who was responsible for applying the regulations and for reporting to the Emir.

As for the teaching programmes, they were established in three, well defined cycles: primary (ebtedā'īya), secondary (rosbdīya, from rosbd, “adolescence”) and higher (e'dādiya, literally “preparatory”), which were all offered at Habibiya School. At the end of each cycle a diploma was given (sbehādat-nāma or sanadāt-e ta'limi) which qualified its holder to apply for a job in the government administration (29).

At the end of the primary cycle, which lasted four years, it was intended that the pupil should have acquired basic religious knowledge that he should be able to read and write and have learnt the rudiments of arithmetic and geography. He would then be able to choose between working in the service of the state, entering the Military School, or remaining at Habibiya School where the higher sections of education were available.

The three-year programme of the secondary cycle was established in accordance with a project which was apparently never put into practice during this reign, aimed at giving certain pupils the opportunity of studying abroad. The students were divided accordingly into two groups: those who decided to stay in Afghanistan (daraja-e roshdiya-e dākhela) and those who wished to go abroad (daraja-e roshdiya-e kbāreja). The subjects taught – religion, modern science and languages – differed only where languages were concerned. Persian literature and Arabic grammar were compulsory for both groups, but

(Pashtō), Gholām Mohammad (drawing), Abd ul-Ghafur, known as Nadim (Persian) and Mehmed Nazif (Turkish). Ahmad ud-din was administrator (sarreshta-dār).

29 The following account is taken from two reports. One in SA, VII, 7, pp.4-6 for the year 1914/1915 / 1333, was read by Me'rāj ud-din on prize-giving day on 28 October 1917, the other one, an entire number, SA, VIII, 1, devoted to education, dated 1918.
the first group studied Pashtô whilst the second studied English plus another language chosen from Turkish, Urdu or Pashtô. For the first group, this was the end of the seven year schooling offered by the country. They could be appointed to a government job with a monthly salary of fifty rupees. The diploma holders of the second group had before them another three years of higher studies (e’dâdiya). At the end the best ones, chosen for study abroad, undertook higher preparatory studies in subjects selected from medicine, geology or electricity, using English as the medium of instruction; at this stage they were paid the sum of seventy rupees monthly. The others were channelled into teaching jobs, preferably English, to replace foreign teachers, at a monthly salary of one hundred rupees.

This summary drawn from carefully presented reports, substantiated by statistics, gives the impression that the system was well established and functioned properly. In the year 1914-1915 / 1333 for example, there were two hundred and ninety-six pupils and fifty-five teachers at Habibiya School, of whom only five were Indians. A little later, the School provided the first qualified teachers, whereas previously no Afghan teacher had received any specialized training.

In addition, the Teacher Training College (dâr ul-mo’allemin-e ebtedâ’iya) was created in 1914, directed by Abd ur-Rabb\textsuperscript{30}. It was situated within the Royal madrasa and from the beginning it had plenty of students Masters from the mosque schools and other adults who were keen to learn, attended the college for two hours each day. In one year enrollment increased to eighty. The courses lasted for two years, after which graduates were assigned, mostly to primary schools (30).

\textsuperscript{30} SA, VII, 7, p 6, Abd ur-Rabb was director (modir) and administrator of the primary schools (sarreshta-dâre makáteb-e ebtedâ’iya-e dâr ul-mo’allemin). Among other teachers at the Teacher Training College were Gholâm Mohyi ud-din and Mohammad Adib.
Finally in 1915, scarcely two years after he had been put in charge, Enâyatullah presided over the inauguration of five primary schools, out of the twelve projected by the Education Council for various parts of the city 31.

Apart from this regular teaching programme, itself quite new, other innovations were apparently introduced on the Emir's initiative. For example, two classes were reserved for the princes and sons of high functionaries (senf-e shâb-zâdaygân) in order "to prepare them in accordance with their family's position" 32. Next, after the mollâs had protested that their regular pupils were being drained away by the primary schools, they were authorized to run special (khosusi) schools to prepare students for the primary schools. These were supervised by a government official (31). Also in 1918, a new section offering instruction in the recitation of the Koran (qerâ'at) to officiating functionaries in mosques (imâms and muezzins), was inaugurated at the Teacher Training College, under the teacher of qerâ'at with a highly specialized syllabus (32).

A last project concerned the region of Darra-e Nur on the edge of Nuristan where six primary schools were to be opened in six villages of the valley (33).

Only boys were intended to receive an education. From the day the Emir had ordered the development of education and the building of schools, approximately ten years previously, a total of two million rupees had been spent on this project, i.e. two hundred thousand rupees annually (34). This budget was charged to the state, but more than once the generosity of rich citizens was appealed to, following the example of Mohammad Hosayn who assumed sole responsibility for the running costs of one school even though it remained under the direction of the education inspectorate (35).

31 SA, IV, 19, pp.2-4, 27 April 1915; and VII, 7, p.6, these schools were situated in the following streets (gozar): Bâgh-e nawâb, Tandur-sâzi, Khâfi-hâye Chendâwal and Parâncha-hâ; the fifth school was for the sons of the domestic staff at the court (khoddâm-e bozûre-âli).
32 SA, IV, 21, p.3; and VIII, 1, pp.10-11, in all eighteen children in two classes.
Apart from the Nuristan project, all educational efforts were concentrated in the capital, to the detriment of the provinces where no educational institutions other than madrasas and mosque schools existed.

4. Printing (matba’a)

Printing was a prime necessity and inseparable adjunct to education and under the Serājiya reign a spectacular advance was made with the introduction of a modern typographic installation. Serāj ul-akhbār was among its first achievements.

The first printing press—a lithographic press—dated back to the reign of Shēr Ali, but few traces of it remain. Emir Abd ur-Rahmān enlarged the installation appreciably in order to publish translations of technical works and government forms (sokukāt-e dawlati). Under Habībullāh it was again enlarged and for a few more years it remained the only one in use. Then, in 1912, on Mahmud Tarzi’s initiative a brand new, perfected typographic machine and important zincographic equipment were installed to take care of the needs of the new periodical. They were operated, like the first press, by steam, and also situated in the Workshops. The eight new machines together with the three original ones formed an impressive set-up, but they were apparently insufficient considering that “they could hardly deal with government orders”. These machines were the property of the state and they were used to print orders, text-books and religious books, but other work was also authorized. The typographic printing press had the necessary Arabic and Persian characters but lacked marks of inflection (e’rāb) for the notation of the Koranic text (36). Latin characters and rotary equipment were

also missing (37). The monthly commitment to produce two editions of sixteen hundred copies of *Seraj ul-akbbar* presumably monopolized all its resources for five to six days twice a month (38).

A new printing press called the Enayat press (*matba'a-e Enayat*) published its first small brochure in this same year, 1912. This was a private non-commercial undertaking, started by Prince Enayatullah at his own expense in his own residence, to publish literary, artistic and scientific works (39). With the assistance of its chief typographer, Abd ur-Rauf, the Enayat printing press published thirteen titles in seventeen volumes over a period of seven years. These with two or three exceptions, were all from the pen of Mahmud Tarzi, either as author or translator.33a Though Enayat publications were sold to the public, they probably brought in little revenue, and the press suffered during World War I so much that at one stage the possibility of adopting the same solution that had saved *Seraj ul-akbbar*, was seriously considered, i.e. compulsory sale to officers, for example, of the five volumes of *The History of the Russo-Japanese War* (40).

5. **Public Health**

Public health was one of the more neglected sectors although the idea of building a hospital was first conceived at the end of Abd ur-Rahman’s reign. The Sovereign reserved funds from his private Treasury (*'ayn ul-mal*) for this purpose, and Sardar Habibullah and Nasrullah made important donations 34. But Kabul’s civilian hospital (*shaf'a-khan'a-e molki*) apparently did not open until the reign of Habibullah, during the first decade of the twentieth century 35. It was placed under the supervision of Prince Enayatullah

33a See below Appendix II B.
34 SA, I, 3, p.3, text of a public appeal for donations, dated 23 March 1899, mentioning that eleven thousand rupees had already been given by Sardar Habibullah, eight thousand by Nasrullah, and nine thousand from the private Treasury.
35 SA, II, 3, p.10. This hospital was situated on the left bank of the Kabul river, next to the Mahmud Khan bridge.
and directed by a very active and devoted Turkish surgeon, Dr Munir Izzat Bey, who was both administrator (sarreshta-dâr) and head doctor (sar-tabib). He had qualified at the Medical School of Istanbul and had also studied in Paris (41). His first task in view of the ravages of frequent epidemics, was to produce anti-smallpox vaccine on the spot, for, until then, apart from a small amount of vaccine imported from India at great cost, there was no remedy in Afghanistan at all. Munir Bey succeeded, and encouraged the population to vaccinate all children systematically (42). Later, at the request of the governor, Mohammad Solaymân, he was able to send four doctors to Herat. They had been trained by him to vaccinate and perform minor operations.

The medical reports sent to Serâj ul-akbhâr36 indicated the treatment given at the hospital by the small team of Turkish assistants37. In 1914, there were forty beds and out-patients averaged ninety-seven per day. Operations ranged from setting fractures to removing stones and hernias. The year 1915 was particularly unhealthy in Kabul and its surroundings because of a cholera epidemic and Dr. Munir Bey, in close cooperation with Enâyatullâh, was forced to impose strict quarantine regulations (44). Apart from the dispensary and hospital rooms, there was a pharmacy run by a chief chemist (sar-dawâ-sâz), called Shams ud-din (45), who was also in charge of outside facilities, such as the infirmary of Habibiya School. In addition to the civilian hospital, there was a military hospital (shâfâ- khâna-e nezâmi) run by Indian doctors38.

Here again, everything was concentrated in Kabul. With the exception of the capital, with its medicinal resources as described above, the

36 SA, III, 17, p.2, statistics for the year 1913-1914; VI, 10, pp.1-3; and 16, pp.2-4, statistics for the year 1914-1915.
37 Dr Fahimán Bey studied medicine in Istanbul, then went to Egypt where he was recruited by Dr. Munir Bey for Afghanistan; he arrived in Kabul in 1908 and left Afghanistan only once in 1914-1915, for a whole year; he died in Kabul in 1969 (personal communication).
38 SA, II, 3, p.10. It was situated in the north of the city in the quarter called Shèrpur; Dr Allâh Joyâ practiced there.
nation's health was left to the care of local doctors (*bakim*) practicing traditional medicine and to haphazard cures.

6. Communications

As a result of his journey round Afghanistan in 1907, during which he suffered greatly from lack of comfort, Emir Habibullah introduced improvements in communications (46). Traditional modes of travel remained unchanged; since one travelled on foot, on horseback, with a donkey or a camel, the quality of the highway mattered little. The introduction of the motor car by the Emir and members of his entourage, however, necessitated the rapid building of roads joining Kabul to the provinces (47). It is true that the number of vehicles in the country was small and that they were a royal luxury limited to the service of the Emir and his close associates. An attempt was made to create a private transport company (*sherkat-e 'arâba-e motar*), but since it was also merely a privilege of the élite it could hardly be called a company. It was meant for the transport of passengers and goods between Kabul, Kohistan, Paghmân and surrounding regions, but it is doubtful whether it functioned effectively for very long (48).

The Emir was primarily concerned about certain streets in his capital and the roads leading to his neighbouring residences. Some streets were maintained and lined with trees. These included the road between the palace gate and the *'Id-gâh* mosque and the Lahori gate, the road leading through Chahârdehi, south of the city to Chebel Sotun garden, *Jangal Bâgh* and *Mâhtaw Bâgh*, as well as the road leading westwards towards the summer resorts of Paghmân and Begtut. Looking further afield, but still in the direction of his own journeys, the Emir extended the road network towards Ghazni, Kohistan, Lôgar and Nangarhâr. Towards Ghazni the road passed through Chahârdehi, Arghanda, the valley of Maydân, Qal’a-e Qâzi

39 SA, II, 3, p.5, fourteen cars set off for Ghazni in October 1912.
and through Shashgaw of Wardak (49). On the road to Jalalabad, rest houses were constructed at the usual halting places at Bagrahī, Botkâk, Khāk-e Jabbâr, Bârekâb, Jagdalak, Sorkhpol, Nemla and Bâwali. Designed by the Ruler himself according to simple plans, these lodgings were provided with essential commodities. Rebâts, built in the form of a fortified compound (qal’a), were intended as halting places for ordinary travellers and caravans. Such rebâts stood as landmarks six korub (circa eighteen kilometres) apart and offered free accommodation; food for travellers and fodder for their animals was on sale at the usual prices; often a mosque was built next to them (50).

The first iron bridges, built with the help of British engineers at Darunta (Nangarhār) across the Kabul river (51) and at Golbahār (Kohistan) across the Nilāb (40), facilitated the passage of men and beasts. Previously, crossing by raft (jāla) or by boat was often fraught with danger, including loss of life.

Concerning the movements of travellers, a committee comprised of “representatives (wokalā) and secretaries (omanā) of the state and a few eminent educated people” was said to have been set up during the year 1912-1913 to prepare a code of regulations (nezāmnāma). It was reported to contain about one hundred and fifteen clauses, and to introduce travel permits (rāb-dārī) and also certain regulations about commerce, movements of pilgrims, of frontier people, etc. (52).

A no less appreciable improvement in communications was achieved with the installation of the first telephone lines. Under Habibullāh the palace was linked to the government offices for the first time and this was such a great success that three or four years later, first Jalalabad and Laghmân in 1910, then Jabal u-serâj in 1911 and Phaghmân, were similarly linked. From that time onward, the Emir, when away from his capital always remained in contact with it and it with him (53).

The postal organization which dated back to the reign of Shēr Ali

40 SA, I, 2, p.2, inauguration of the bridge on 11 October 1911.
with it and it with him (53).

The postal organization which dated back to the reign of Shēr Ali when the first stamps were issued, was revised under Habibullāh. A Turkish expert, Hasan Hilmi, was entrusted with the issue of seven new types of stamps for ordinary letters, parcels and government dispatches, and with drawing up postal regulations (54). Letters from India were forwarded through Peshawar, where an Afghan office checked them and all other official traffic. This office was run for years by Gholâm Haydar.

It is noteworthy that in reporting on the efforts made during the serājiya era to establish legal codes governing its basic organizations, Serāj ul-akbbār mentioned severalnezám-nāma. Those concerning Habibiya School, the Military School, travel permits and postage have already been mentioned. One regulated the wearing of uniforms (nezám-nāma-e albesa) (55); one set a maximum load for beasts of burden (56); two others dealt with the Teacher Training College and the primary schools, of which a copy is known to have been given to the Emir (57). Except for the regulations of Habibiya School and the primary schools which were published, it is still not clear whether thesenezám-nāma were first printed and then implemented, and if so, how this was done.

Finally, it should be emphasized once again that the province of Kabul alone benefited from the Emir’s dynamism. Habibullāh was entirely devoted to his capital and its surroundings. In fact it may be said that he was devoted to himself and his own pleasure. In the few fields which have been examined here, it is readily apparent that the projects carried out during this period related to the gratification of Kabul’s élite without contributing much to the wellbeing of the people.

On the basis of Serāj ul-akbbār alone it is not possible to present a much wider or more complete picture of the Afghan administrative system. Within the framework thus presented, quite different
matters were revealed under the pen of the editor. The periodical’s real substance was Tarzi’s message.
M. TARZI AND THE WEST
1. *Admirer of civilization and progress*

As a prelude to all his reflections and all future developments, M. Tarzi stressed the exceptional nature of man (*bashar*) as compared with animals on the one hand, and on the other as a creature in the midst of a universe of vast dimensions. Distinguished from animals by his mind (*'aql*) and by the power of speech (*manṭeq*) to which science (*'elm*) and knowledge (*ma'rifat*) give added brilliance (1), man, he said, thanks to his creative thought (*fekr-e ijad*), has incalculable potential for influencing nature and the elements, compared to which, however, he is nothing (2). Man is made in such a way that he has access to everything, to civilization, discovery, progress, science; he is even the artisan of all these treasures. Tarzi never tired of repeating it.

Tarzi used two key words “What is it? Why? (*chist? cberâ?*)” as a title of one of his articles, which was an introduction to philosophy (3), and an invitation to acquire knowledge. Thanks to those words, which sprout from the natural curiosity of the human mind from earliest infancy, a process of thought is set in motion, which makes it possible to ponder on an infinity of questions and to examine them thoroughly.

Tarzi’s first aim was to postulate the existence of philosophy (*falsafa, bekmāt*) as an independent science, “the science of principles from which the fundamental rules of all other science are derived”, the science of the ultimate interrogatives, What is it? Why? Struck by the use Europeans made of their brains and their imaginations, and by the scientific mastery they had achieved in all disciplines, and prompted by his admiration for intellectual work, Tarzi launched his readers and friends on a journey of the mind. He disclosed to them an immense world, and he unfolded the development of science, he enumerated practical inventions, gave plain descriptions or observations of a literary or economic nature; in short, he wrote a eulogy on the civilization of progress.
History was no doubt one of the subjects which attracted Tarzi most, because of the wisdom it imparts to all who can "take heed and draw lessons from past generations and from the statement of facts" (4). He approached it from different angles (5). He established its evolution, from the time of the revelation of books before writing, followed by the three ages determined by historians: its infancy, from the first stone inscriptions to the Greek epics; its youth, from "the Father of History", Herodotus, and the Latin authors, to the invention of printing which ushered in the adult age. Since then much activity has been deployed, associating history with geography, archaeology, linguistics, etc. Today, "married even with photography and zincography", history has confirmed its maturity. It is natural that each person should be concerned with his own history, said Tarzi, who would like to awaken this interest in Muslims, for whom the beginning of everything is Islam and the Hegira. Until then and even later, the Arabs were ignorant of science and history, but they had recourse to genealogy ('elm-e ansâb) and poetry recorded events and conquests. With the accession of the Abbasids (749-1248), scientific development in which history played a leading rôle, progressed rapidly.

History was described as "a study of the past of the world and of mankind", "one of the most important branches of science ... but on condition that ... man does not simply read it stupidly ... but reads it by judging it with the eyes of philosophy (bekmat) and discernment, and endeavours to apply past situations to the present", "a very useful science", "an intellectual need". For it is necessary to be aware—and this is the point that M. Tarzi wished to make—that all knowledge has two facets. One is the subject itself (mawzu'), the other is "the philosophic and rational judgement" passed on the subject. The kind of history which merely recounts battles, dates and legends, offers nothing to the mind; and Tarzi explained that the traditional genre as it appears in The Marvels of creation ('Ajâyeb-e makhlûqât)
and some passages of the universal histories, *Rawzat us-safā* and *Nāser ut-tawārikh*¹, is nothing but fantasy devoid of historic value. Nevertheless, a reflective examination of those same accounts can be fruitful; such examination forces the reader to question the facts, to look for their causes and reasons, and to discover hidden motives. These mental gymnastics open the intelligence, educate the mind and broaden knowledge; the results may serve as examples for politicians, for instance, and as morals for the rest of mankind (6). What Tarzi also wished to stress was, that the principles adopted by historians of recent times for whom “the philosophy of history (hekmat-e ta’rikhiya)” has emerged as a new and separate science (7), differ fundamentally from those prevailing in classical Muslim works. He stressed the importance of related subjects such as archaeology (8) and iconography (9).

Tarzi disclaimed any intention of systematically analyzing science and technology. He proposed to select from these fields, in order to illustrate the considerable developments achieved through the application of the human mind, and to extend the knowledge of his readers. To start at the beginning, he said, one approaches “the history of the earth”, its formation, its geological eras (10); after a short introduction to natural sciences (hekmat-e tabi‘iya) (11), one goes on to study meteorology which has been developed greatly, especially in the analysis of winds (12), and to cosmography (13). On this earth, created by God, lives man, himself a work of the almighty Creator. Pondering on these exceptional creations, man asks questions about himself, starting with

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1 *‘Ajāyeb ul-makhlulaqat*, by Qazwini (died 1283), *Rawzat us-safā*, by Mirkhond (died 1498) and *Nāser ut-tawārikh* by Sepehr (died 1880).

2 SA, I, 11, p.9; and VII, 19, p.5, to 23, p.9, part of a translation of F. von Schiller’s speech at the University of Iena in 1789, “What is general history? Why do we learn it?”, the text was taken from the Turkish periodical *Qişq anbar*.
his physical and organic life. Then certain parts of the human body are
described at length, as well as their functions: the digestive system
(14), the circulation of the blood (15), the nerves and the brain (16)
and the five senses (17). Man, and the division of mankind into
various civilizations (18), ethnic groups and languages (19) always
occupied an important place in Tarzi’s interests.

Geography was introduced in Serāj ul-akbbār as another essential
for the practical knowledge of the world and mankind (20). This
knowledge is linked to the exploration of terrestrial space and this
exploration in turn depends on the development of communications.
As long as there were no fast boats and no railways, geography re-
mained undeveloped and largely imaginary. Today it is all different,
noted Tarzi. Men have brought the continents closer to each other,
by facilitating and accelerating travel. At the same time, Europeans
have shown a great spirit of adventure and brought back from their
long expeditions all sorts of information. Thus, thanks to numerous
monographs and travel accounts, it is possible nowadays to know
Istanbul, for example, without having been there, and many other
places, not to mention Afghanistan, he added. Europeans in particular
explored unknown territories, and visited “primitive and uncivilized
peoples”, and their accounts and much information about “the East,
i.e. India, Iran, Afghanistan, China and Turkestan” are widely
published in Europe in periodicals similar to Serāj ul-akbbār. But
Tarzi’s interests lay in the opposite direction. He started by publishing
descriptions of the civilized countries of Europe, with the well-defined
objective of making known unfamiliar places, and, above all, present-
ing men in competition with one another in their search for advanced
techniques and a high standard of living “while shedding each other’s
blood” (21). Paris and London, the great European capitals, reflect
the high degree of civilization and progress of their respective coun-
tries and deserve attentive visits. Nothing was omitted from his
descriptions including their situation, monuments, great national
institutions, and cultural life (22).

Next, leaving the civilized regions for others recently explored, one
finds an enumeration of the islands of Malaysia (23), a very detailed
description of Australia (24), a summary of Aurel Stein’s explorations in Turkestan (25), Captain Scott’s expedition to the South Pole (26) and the history of the city of Kano, Nigeria (27). The survey was completed, in the absence of maps, by many photographs of famous monuments and landscapes (28), but it was interrupted by the cessation of *Seraj ul-akhbâr* before the beginning of the promised account of China and the Chinese (29). Tarzi, who had travelled widely and had seen and remembered many things described in his *Account of a journey in 29 days*, was familiar with this kind of literature which was pleasant and instructive as well as fashionable. On two occasions he gave extracts, translated from Turkish, from lively travel accounts, about Japan\(^3\) and Lapland\(^4\).

"Each people lives by its language, each language by its literature". This statement was the subtitle of a section on "National literature" (30) and M.Tarzi, as a polyglot and writer, was well qualified to enlarge on the theme. Languages, he said, which are "the only thing which differentiates people and nations" must, in order to live, be constantly enriched and corrected (*eslâh*). That is the task of learned people. In developed countries such people have already attempted this and succeeded. Up to a hundred years ago, however, the spoken and written forms of some languages, such as Arabic and Persian, or even Osmanli Turkish, differed enormously. This is a major obstacle to scientific, literary, artistic and philisopchic development, which, insofar as it is transmitted through writing, remains inaccessible to the masses. To remedy this situation, said Tarzi, there is but one solution: to unify, or at least keep the spoken and written languages as closely together as possible by encouraging the use of the popular vocabulary in all written material. This is not an easy task, he ad-

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4 SA, VI, 14, pp.3-8, to 16 and 18 to 20, diary of a journey to Lapland (1865), written by a Polish traveller, translated into Turkish and published in *Qırq anbar*. 
mitted; it demands much effort, for it depends on an increase in the literate population, hence in the number of schools, printing presses and books. In any case, this dynamism is imperative for the survival of groups speaking such a language (31).

As for literature, continued Tarzi, it presents itself as “the bedecked bride” of an already enriched and embellished language. It fits each language, just as languages, dialects and vernaculars fit a nation. One can thus speak of a national literature (32). Tarzi was versed in both western and eastern literatures. He said that after the lullabies and nursery rhymes heard from early childhood, tales and legends are one of “the strange needs” of humanity (33); that whether in verse or in prose, there is not a single nation without them, “nor a language in which they have not been written”. He then summed up in a few words the genre of the great Persian epics in verse by Ferdosi (died 1020) and by Nezâmi (died 1209), of tales in prose such as Bahâr-e dânesh (The Spring of knowledge)⁵ and also of European novels. He stated that writers were now abandoning the conditional imaginary themes for reality and the technical novelties of the century. This applied especially to the field of poetry, “one of the pillars of literary science”, “one of man’s natural virtues”. Tarzi devoted much attention to it, as he was a poet himself, and the son of a poet, as well as an admirer of collections of classical masters of poetry, which he considered to be “the amulets of the soul”. He stood in the front line of the conflict between traditional and modern poetry (34). He noted that from the earliest ages the idea had been rooted in men’s minds, that poetry is inseparable from music and love, that it is “a lover whose beloved is the world of Nature”. At a time, however, when changes were occurring everywhere, even in poetry, the delicate poetry of Nature was described as “ancient” (‘atiq)”. The modern (jadid) poetry which Tarzi defended and promoted in Afghanistan, used “heavy” topical words such as “Education”, “Instruction”, “Homeland”, “Coal”. Tarzi himself used all these words as titles and

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themes for his *ghazals*. This style, however, was regarded by traditional poets as "artificial (*son'i*)".

One of the reasons why Tarzi valued science so highly, was that it was the endless source of extraordinary inventions (35). In speaking of the seven wonders of the world, he said, one ought to speak of seventy, since they have increased so rapidly in recent years (36). Tarzi was fascinated by mechanics, technology, architecture, and for him, for example, the control and utilization of winds in the early stages of aviation for civilian air travel, war or commerce, opened a perspective of a radically transformed world. That is why he gave a great deal of space to accounts about pioneer aviators (37), celebrated flights, and to the description of the first balloons and aeroplanes (38). In reality he granted equal importance to communications of all kinds such as highways, underground roads through tunnels, and sea routes used by many types of vessels (39). And comparing a country to the human body, he expressed the view that "without exaggerating, roads are its veins and arteries, and bridges its joints"(40).

Tarzi thought of such great scientific discoveries as electricity (41), and of those innumerable inventions which were "a world of usefulness and benefit" (42), such as the telegraph, and the wireless for the promulgation of news (43), the telephone (44), the motorcar and the train (45). Other inventions he listed were gas lighting (46), the manufacture of glass (47), lithography (48), photography (49), photo-engraving (50), the telescope and microscope (51), and the rotary press (52). Sometimes their history is sketched or the procedure described in quasi-technical detail.

Other monuments of human achievement mentioned were the Great Wall of China (53), the Panama Canal (54), the Suez Canal, the Aswan dam, the biggest bridges in the world, the Eiffel Tower (55), and projects such as the tunnels at Gibraltar and under the English Channel (56), and other minor inventions (57).

In his descriptions, articles and poems, Tarzi introduced a large foreign vocabulary especially from English and French, in phonetic transcription. Besides terms indicating the latest inventions and sciences, many others were used, such as manoeuvres, metre,
kilometre, boycotting, quadrille, propaganda, dynamo, turbine, caricature, golf, microbe, lift, quarantine, and programme.

There are many other fields, said Tarzi, where man must use his intelligence and increase his knowledge, because they enrich individual and collective life. For instance, given the need of all organisms for natural food products, and also the extraordinary riches that a country can derive from its soil, it is necessary to give much attention to agriculture. Seraj ul-akbbar introduced a new heading on this subject and developed a few questions of major general interest, and also of local Afghan interest, such as frequent invasions of locusts (58), and the cultivation of lemon and orange trees (59), and cotton (60), prime needs for Afghanistan, for agriculture contributes to the economic balance of a country as much as industry and commerce (61).

Tarzi advocated the development of local industries which no country is ever completely without (62), for the conservation and local investment of capital which would otherwise be spent abroad was essential. He specified, however, that the main reason for industrialization should not be to achieve complete self-sufficiency—a situation which cannot exist—but to contribute as far as possible to its most immediate needs, and encourage the population to work and produce more (63). As for commerce, it was “the first stone” in the construction of a country, and “the basis of all industries, factories and inventions”, even though it was also the cause of most present wars (64). On the problem of the balance of payments and of external commerce, Tarzi, who was not a specialist, summed up divergent economic theories. On internal commerce, the key to prosperity, he pointed out one necessary condition, namely that it must be free, without state monopoly or customs barriers inside the country. Once those conditions were fulfilled, the state was further obliged to grant small businessmen the right to form companies and societies (sherkat) “in full freedom”. His presentation of the

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6 V. Gregorian, *The Emergence*, p. 200, gives the beginning of a list.
commercial company as "one of the most important instruments of a country's wealth", reflects the expression "the multiplicity of hands (takassor-e ayādi)" used by the Arab philosopher Ibn Khaldun in demonstrating the fact that several associated merchants can achieve what one man's fortune can not (65). Also, a joint enterprise, or any other type of large-scale business undertaking, can take on what the government can not (66), and the "real confidence between men" required by such undertakings was bound to benefit the country (67).

When Tarzi wrote that new industry should assume the rôle of "providing for its most urgent requirements", he meant first and foremost its military requirements. For no country in the world can avoid this, he said. To protect its right to govern, it is forced to have an army proportional to the size of the territory, the wealth of its inhabitants, and its relations with its neighbours, whether friends or enemies (68). The army is "the soul of the nation". It is a fact, he added, that the power of a nation is measured by its military power, and what is more this power determines the making and breaking of international agreements (69). Tarzi was so well aware of the seriousness of this reality that from the beginning of his periodical, with the firm intention of being useful, he addressed himself most particularly to the army officers among his countrymen, who in any case made up the majority of his subscribers. Not belonging to the profession himself, he selected a variety of subjects from specialized works such as the Military Almanac of the Ottoman army, the duties and mottoes of a soldier (70), speeches and famous sayings7, the deadly wars (71), and "How to destroy railways" (72), or, from a Turkish manual, the spirit and strategy of the Jehād in the early days of Islam8. Elsewhere he left it to others to exalt

7 SA, I, 17, p.13, speech by Omar Pasha on the occasion of the declaration of the Crimean War, 1853; 18, p.3; 19, p.14, speech by Napoleon; II, 4, p.17; and 7, p.12.
8 SA, V, 21, pp.2-4; and 22, pp.2-8, extract from the work of an Ottoman officer, Ahmed Rafiq.
the army (73) and describe the interest of manoeuvres (74), "The History, Progress and Diffusion of the art of war" (75), "Preparations for war in civilized countries", the fight against bands of robbers, armaments (76), and military spies (77). Past and present wars, up to and including World War I, served to illustrate the evolution of tactics. These naturally discussed the new means of transport (78) and new weapons at the disposal of the armies. The Russo-Japanese War, for instance, when dreadnoughts, aeroplanes and balloons were not yet in common use, still provided remarkable examples of newly invented weapons (79). That war, Tarzi noted in his article "What is the history of war and why should we learn it?", was important from an historic and political viewpoint and as "a complete set of rules" for the military art? Therefore, he decided to undertake a complete translation of a Turkish account and to publish extracts from it in Serâj ul-akbbâr (80). Finally, he concluded, if the army is a necessity, when peace is threatened, or when "that sacred thing, the honour of religion, of the state, of the nation and of the homeland" is exposed to danger, then war becomes "the most sacred" of duties (81).

2. Critic of imperialist and Christian Europe

Thanks to its vitality deployed in all directions—a point which Tarzi expounded on at length—Europe had built for itself a powerful political and economic system. Tarzi, with his usual feeling for imagery, compared the whole continent to one great city whose several elegant quarters would be such capitals as Paris, Berlin, and St Peters burg joined by good communication routes and rapid transport. He also compared Europe to a great school building with these cities as its classrooms, or even a technical school of which they would be the many workshops. Europeans work incessantly, he said, competing with untiring energy in creative inventiveness,

9 SA, VI, 24, pp.4-8. And see below p.260.
forever perfecting and manufacturing new materials. Europe is called "the fiancée of the world, the mine of knowledge". It has everything (82).

A parenthesis is necessary at this point, to note Tarzi's intuition that European expansion, so long unique in the world, was on the point of being challenged. There are two nations, he said, in the process of affirming their economic and political supremacy, the United States of America and Japan. They both combine great personal effort with compulsory and intensive education and have already achieved a level of development which compares favourably with Europe. The Japanese especially, he said, who started from nothing "like bees searching through the flowering fields and meadows of the world, have gathered the honey of technical skill" and today they have their experts and their trade flourishes. Their particular asset stemmed from the fact that while systematically imitating the best in Europe, they did not in any way modify the well known refinements of their own creeds, customs, morality and general way of life (84). In 1915, Japan obtained important economic and financial concessions from China which contributed to its growing power (85). From now on, the Far East and Asia would take their place in the modern world, and Japan in the front line, according to Seraj ul-akhabar, should henceforth emerge as a model for all Asiatic countries (86).

Nevertheless, Europe on the eve of World War I remained "the city of civilization", "the steam engine of the great factory of the world", "the engine of the ship" (87). But it was an engine which was beginning to shudder, wrote Tarzi, a machine with a broken valve, a civilization heading for excesses and catastrophe. London itself was already a huge factory of five million workers drowning in air polluted by smoke, steam, dust, coal and humidity (88). Already the rush towards progress and the arms race taking place

10 SA, I, 13, to 19; II, 13, p.3; VI, 4, p.2 (Abdur Rahman); VII, 14, 16, 18 and 20, "The World of Japan"; SA, III, 6, p.4; and V, 20, pp.8-9, for the United States.
at the very heart of Europe was becoming feverish (89), for Germany had embarked on a breathtaking industrial, military and commercial growth, that was beginning to make it a formidable rival to Britain. It was a time of alliances. European nations were showing "astonishing activity", evident to all (90). They were organizing among themselves and they "were building their relations on force and power" in order to give their plans a better chance of success. Tarzi explained that this was the basis on the one hand of the Triple Alliance, grouping Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy, and on the other of the Entente Cordiale, a bilateral alliance between France and England which became a triple alliance when Russia joined them (91). Tension was building up, and the conflict was imminent. Tarzi repeated that countries which acted out of self-interest and united for mutual security inevitably fed the germs of their own destruction. Is it necessary, he continued, to assume that the many new inventions, bombs, heavy artillery, dreadnoughts, battleships and submarines, aeroplanes and balloons, must be used destructfully? Is it not possible after all to assume that by definition they might be utilized for peaceful ends? (92). In other words, men constantly perfect weapons which they think necessary for their protection, but which, in reality, turn against them and become the instrument of their destruction (93).

Tarzi explained that all this was in accordance with an immutable law which ordained that "mankind, or rather the whole world of nature, is locked in the struggle for survival (mohāraba-e bayāt)". The self-destruction seen in the animal world has nothing to do with hostility or the aversion of one species for another. Animals destroy each other in order to survive; wild animals devour gazelles, birds of prey devour pigeons; crocodiles devour fish, birds feed on insects, fish on smaller fish. It is a necessity of life, which is ephemeral like that of a butterfly. The butterfly develops from the silkworm, which becomes a chrysalid, and wound round itself,

11 SA, 1, 17, p.7; and 19, p.4, eye-witness account of the visit to Damascus in 1899 by the Emperor William II, at which M.Tarzi was present.
grows, pierces the cocoon and with its new wings flies into the air. At that point two phenomena occur simultaneously, “the maximum progress achieved, and the onset of the decline of life” (94).

In the same article, Tarzi discussed how this was happening to Europeans. He said that they found Europe more cramped and more oppressive than the silkworm's cocoon. Not satisfied to develop materially on their own territory, they had launched themselves outside their frontiers in order to conquer distant regions. Great empires were born. The Northern bear and the British lion, the German firedragon and France had shared out between them the best territories of Africa, Asia and beyond. “On the chess-board of politics” they could be seen to move like pawns, with infinite cunning (95). The cunning consisted in keeping the two sides of the political scales in perfect balance; each one of the guards attends to this and “constantly watches the position of the pointer”. When one scale dipped, for example, in favour of the Triple Alliance under the weight of Tripolitania or the Congo, the balance was immediately re-established by an equivalent weight given to the Entente Cordiale in Morocco or Persia (96). The arms race was running parallel to the race for conquests. Colonial expansion was in full swing. European nations, even the smaller among them, such as the Dutch, had laid hand on populations far superior in numbers, which their technical experts, “the shepherds”, lead like cattle “with closed eyes, wherever they want” and govern as they please (97). They have succeeded in making millions of people dependent on them for all their needs, “from needles to iron pillars to support their bridges, from sewing-thread to metallic suspension cables” (98). “They have thrown Asia and Africa into a confusion dominated by fire and smoke”, and “conflagration due to the Europeans' bitter struggle for life” rages from Morocco to the Persian Gulf.

The process was clear and clearly summed up by Tarzi, and the World War was its necessary and inevitable outcome: the cupidity of men and nations to derive benefit from everything and everybody in order to dominate and to survive, is a source of rivalry, nevertheless it engenders alliances; but naturally those alliances prove
factitious and provoke discord which in turn leads to conflict and to conflagration. The horror of the blows which are dealt is in proportion to the strength of the opposing forces and the weapons used. So-called civilization becomes barbaric, the weak are trampled underfoot and wiped off the face of the earth (99).

At that point, Tarzi’s great admiration for Europe’s successful striving for progress gave place to a merciless criticism of this warmongering civilization and a hatred for European colonialism and imperialism. Tarzi denounced the behaviour of Europeans in general with extraordinary violence. He accused them of considering themselves the sole representatives of the human race and of looking upon other people as animals, depriving them of their liberty and making them into their servants (100). He did not hesitate to call those, meaning Europeans, who wanted to dominate Asia “usurper” and “thief”. He spoke of an increasing “morbid hunger”, as the European sickness (101), condemned their ostentatious, futile luxury and the cruelty clothed as civilization (102). It was evident, Tarzi continued, that in the eyes of the world the dynamism of Europe had created a wide contrast between “civilization (madantiyat)”, synonymous with Europe, and “barbarity (wahshat)”, meaning the non-civilization of the rest of the world, and of the East in particular; between dominating (bâkem) Europe and the continents subjected (makhum) by it; between the supplier and the debtor. Superficial minds had grown accustomed to that image.

But, Tarzi wrote, neither affluence, civilization, nor the political and economic domination of which Europe prided itself, had proved to be infallible weapons. For science, arts and technology are nothing when it comes to providing for a population too large for the available resources of the land, and unbalanced continents become in turn dependent on their occupied zones. For this purely material predominance was immoral, it encouraged vice, debauchery and crime, and was doomed to explode sooner or later. In short, it was obvious when looking beneath the surface that the relations between the dominant and the dominated, the supplier and the debtor did not follow the pattern which seemed to be self-evident at first sight;
that the so-called civilization of Europe did not, as the Europeans made out, exclude acts of barbarity, which they attributed solely to the uncivilized world; and that wars proved the fact (103). In addition, these wars which dissolved alliances of convenience between European heads of state, exposed that particular “freemasonry” as being what “we” call, said Tarzi, a farâmush-kbâna or House of Oblivion12. Tarzi took a great interest in European politics, despite the great distance separating Afghanistan from Europe, and despite his openly expressed aversion for its policies. Afghanistan had escaped the system at a time when much of the world was actually experiencing foreign occupation. But Tarzi, who had travelled, observed and reflected, knew perfectly well what to expect from Europe’s colonial expansionist tactics and he denounced the use of religion for political ends as another of its methods.

He launched a bitter attack on missions and Christian missionaries whose machinations were always supported by the sponsoring government. He attacked their teaching methods which never attempted to develop the intelligence and thought of their pupils (104). “We are not taken in”, said Tarzi, by their churches, hospitals, schools, their books and brochures distributed free of charge; “the harm these germs of evil and cheating have caused in the world has nowhere been matched by the germs of the plague” (105). European missionaries had infiltrated all parts of the world, he continued, under many pretexts. Linguistics was a principal pretext, for they translated the Bible into local languages in order to evangelize as well as to facilitate their own encroachments (106). From this stance it was only one step to equating Europe, i.e. the Occident, symbolizing civilization, with Christianity, whilst the rest of the world, not linked

12 SA, V, 4, p.11. In Persia the word for freemasonry “framâsun” or “framâsan” was confused with the Persian word “farâmush” meaning “obliteration” in the expression farâmush-kbâna or House of oblivion. During his stay in India in 1907, Emir Habibullah agreed to belong to a Masonic lodge, see L.W. Adamec, Afghanistan, p.66.
to a Christian group was dismissed as non-civilized and barbaric. Europe, observed Tarzi, from the height of its superiority claimed to be “the legislator of general peace... the ferment of men’s success”. Europe claimed “the right of sovereignty”, considering itself to have been “entrusted by Jesus with the order of the world” (107), and, therefore, ordained for “a civilizing mission (wazifa-e tamaddon)” throughout the rest of the world (108).

This, from Tarzi’s Muslim viewpoint, was all the more resented because the Islamic world, from Morocco to India, was particularly coveted and affected by European colonialist designs. In addition, the East, in the eyes of the Christian West, really meant the Muslim East. Also in Tarzi’s eyes, political and religious fanaticism practiced by Europe on Muslim, especially Ottoman territory, was only one step away, after an interval of several centuries, from a renewed Crusade. Its origin would be the ravenous hunger with which European guests sit down together at the table by common agreement, and, in the name of international stability, share the dainty morsel of the Islamic world, cutting it up in their attempt to devour it. The general impatience, he said, had reached its limits and some had started to attack the piece with “fine gluttony”. In Persia the Russian bear and British lion had become reconciled, and were generously helping themselves whilst the Italians, in their rush, were wading in the blood of Tripolitania; the smaller Balkan states, activated by the large countries of Europe, were continuing the projected dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and in Africa, France and Germany were helping themselves (109). In spite of their mutual jealousies, a major obstacle in the division of the spoils, their aims seemed clear to Tarzi: “destroying Islam (mabw kardan-e islâm)”, “annihilating and weakening all Muslim states (mabw wa ezmeblál-e hamma bokumat-hâ-ye islâmî)” (110).

In short, Europe as a whole was famished and Great Britain and Russia had emerged as two giants. As rivals throughout the nineteenth century, they had played a redoutable game in Asia. At the time of Serâj ul-akbbâr, with the lessening of tension caused by an Anglo-Afghan entente on the one hand, and an Anglo-Russian accord
on the other, the threat to Afghanistan seemed less immediate. Nevertheless, during the periodical’s lifetime, these two powers continued to symbolize the whole of devouring, tentacular, colonialist Europe.

The towering superiority of Great Britain is well known, said Tarzi (111). Britain owed its power in the first place to “having planted its flag on every continent”, and to having seized “the richest and most lasting treasures of the world: India, Australia, Canada, Egypt, South Africa, Gibraltar, Cyprus, Malta, Aden, etc.” Thus, strengthened by this vast empire, it had developed industry and commerce, and a navy which had installed it in first place in Europe and in the world. In Asia, it was solidly implanted in India having overcome the short-lived competition of France in the conquest of India and the tenacious competition of Russia. Nevertheless, it thought constantly of possible expansion towards Afghanistan.

There, History shows the difficulties that had been encountered between Afghanistan and Great Britain13. The latest result was the agreement made between the Government of India and Emir Abd-ur Rahmân at the beginning of his reign, confirmed in 1893 and renewed by Habibullah in 1905. Of these three stages, Serâj ul-akbbâr mentioned only the first one, a “letter (eqrâr-nâma)” alluded to in a short extract from the conversation which took place at Rawalpindi in 1885 between Emir Abd ur-Rahmân and the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin14. Moreover, only one aspect of that agreement was really stressed, namely, that one of the two enemies (Russia) was practically eliminated, and the other (England) was turned into a friend. The agreement, as noted elsewhere, was based “on the preservation and reciprocal defence of the territories against


14 SA, IV, 3, p.1. The complete text of this conversation was published separately in Kabul in 1886, as mentioned previously by Serâj ul-akbbâr, SA, IV, 2, p.2.
the Nordic torrents” 15, evidently meaning Russian ones. Afghanistan, according to Tarzi, considered this contract as “vital” and the relations resulting from it as sincere and friendly, and affirmed its intention of observing the agreement scrupulously, on condition that this was reciprocated (112).

There was another clause in the same agreement on which Serâj ul-akbbâr commented discreetly but clearly. This clause stated that the British controlled Afghanistan’s foreign policy, but that they could in no case interfere in the Afghan internal affairs (113). Great Britain agreed to this clause because of its proximity in India. India, said Tarzi, “in view of the permanent contact it has with us is worthy of interest; but as for our commercial, political and historic relations, that is another matter!” (114). Such reserve well expressed the unease caused by the semi-alienation of Afghanistan and by the isolation derived from it, which had been instituted by Abd ur-Rahmân and approved by Habibullâh, but which Tarzi and his friends disliked from the start.

Although Tarzi’s attitude towards Great Britain and towards Anglo-Afghan relations remained basically unchanged in its hostility, the tone of Serâj ul-akbbâr, and therefore of Tarzi, was not always the same. At the beginning it was moderate, almost friendly, as was shown by some remarks entitled “A Criticism full of wisdom” addressed by Emir Habibullâh to Great Britain concerning Muslim policy (115). But a few months before the end of World War I, no trace of friendship was left. In a crushing retort to the declaration of the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, which appeared in Serâj ul-akbbâr on 16 May 1918, Tarzi denounced Britain’s blackmail, at the risk of damaging his already deteriorating personal relationship with the Emir, and the Emir’s relations with the Government of India. He denounced the nature of the supplementary “aid” in the form of “troops, cash, etc.” which Britain offered Afghanistan in return for its neutrality, under the pretense that it was a protection against the new “danger for the East”, which was not Russia this time, but Germany (116).

15 SA, I, 14, p.10, reply to Pioneer.
Not for one moment did Tarzi delude himself about certain gestures of London's policy towards his country. He knew that an off-hand manner was one of the characteristics of imperialism. The most recent blow dated from 1907 when, by the announcement of the St Petersburg Convention, Afghanistan's "friend", Great Britain, and its traditional rival, Russia, agreed to divide Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet into respective zones of influence without the Emir's knowledge. The shock and disillusionment caused by the Convention were considerable (117). Years later, at the time when the World War strengthened this rapprochement, Tarzi pondered on the future of the Anglo-Afghan treaty of friendship, signed long before the Convention and directed against Russia. At the same time, he showed a certain indulgence towards "our dear friend Great Britain" which he regretted to see the loser in this unhappy alliance (118). This indulgence was for a "friend" not of his, but secretly of the Emir. He needed to express such indulgent feeling in order to preserve the Emir's favour for himself and his periodical.

On the other hand, there was a point on which, according to Tarzi, the agreement made by Abd ur-Rahmán served Afghanistan's interests very effectively. This concerned the favourite theme of British policy in the East, namely the project of linking Europe and Asia by railway, to which Afghanistan was always firmly opposed. The route of the projected line which was intended to link London to India, had often been traced out without the knowledge of the parties concerned. This time the plan included an Afghan section passing through Herat and Qandahar. The advantages of a railway in general and especially of having a railway of one's own, were recognized by Tarzi quite frankly and he mentioned them in detail, but he did not let them outweigh the irremediable harm a foreign railway could do to a country by passing through its territory. In Afghanistan two dangers would immediately emerge. First, there would be a succession of foreign intrusions, for if a

concession was granted to one, namely Britain, this would provoke Russia to demand an equivalent concession for a Kilif-Peshawar line via Kabul. A second consequence would be the disintegration of the country, following the irreparable break between the capital and the eastern provinces from Herat and Qandahar. Afghanistan had always been firm in its refusal to allow a railway, said Tarzi, and it would remain so. As this was a purely internal decision, Great Britain obviously could not risk interfering.

Britain had been respected in Afghanistan for some time, Tarzi continued. This was due to the British Government’s tolerant attitude towards the various religious communities of India, including the millions of Muslims. Afghans could not remain indifferent to their fate. The destruction of the great mosque of Kanpur in August 1913, however, revised their opinion forever, he said (119). Not only did this act alienate the entire Muslim population of India because of the infringement on their religious rights, but in Afghanistan it triggered off a renewed condemnation of British schemes in occupied territory (120). Serāj ul-akhbār recorded other examples of frustrations suffered by the Muslims of India, especially in their efforts to create their own press. Their newspapers were severely checked, even suspended, and their directors were at times imprisoned all because the British feared a potential Muslim front 17.

Great Britain had been unable to establish its people in Afghanistan. Its one official representative in Kabul, was a Muslim Indian. But Britain had used India, which was so near, as a springboard. It used methods “invented by European countries for their colonies (mostamlakāt wa mosta’marāt)” (121), said Tarzi, and he could see the unfortunate direct results. Text-books imported from India were prime examples. In addition, Afghanistan was systematically criticized and denigrated in the Indian press. Specimens of such material was often deliberately quoted by Serāj

17 SA, III, 5, p.6, list of nine newspapers fined or suspended; IV, 6, p.16, difficulties of Comrade and Hamdard (Delhi), and of Al-Helāl (Calcutta); V, 19, p.9, of Lema’ār (Lahore); and VII, 16, p.13, etc.
ul-akbbār. Pioneer, the most virulent paper, followed by Tribune, Educate, Englishmen and The Statesman, showed marked hostility. The attacks concerned the freedom of Serāj ul-akbbār (122), which was contested, the independence of Afghanistan and its exclusive ties with Great Britain, the presence of Turks in Kabul in spite of these ties (123), the refusal of the railway (124) and the much more thorny problem of the existence in Afghanistan of political parties in opposition to a party loyal to the Emir (125). Tarzi, whose pride was hurt, answered by calling attention to Pioneer’s systematic ill will towards Muslims in general and Afghans in particular.

Russia’s ambitions were just as great as those of Britain. Since Peter the Great, said Tarzi, India had been the target aimed at by the Tsars, without success. India was the object of their bitter rivalry with Britain. Afghanistan had been caught between two fires until the last Russian incursion into its territory in 1885 had strengthened “the choice” which Emir Abd ur-Rahmān had made already in any case, in favour of Anglo-Afghan friendship. Russia was a “formidable torrent” gushing from the north, which had never ceased to expand, in spite of many obstacles. By-passing hurdles, filling in ditches, explained Tarzi, this torrent had managed to reach Persia in the west and the ocean, through Manchuria, in the east (126). Defeated in the pursuit of its course by the Russo-Japanese War, the Nordic bear then became worried by Germany’s growing influence in Asia. Because of this it embarked on a new policy of diplomacy. “Without military intervention and without having to confront its rival”, Russia henceforth conferred with Britain (Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907) thereby insuring a solid position for itself in Persia. Admittedly, “the granary of provisions which is India”.

19 SA, IV, 2, p.2, extract from the conversation between Lord Dufferin and Emir Abd ur-Rahmān; the latter was visiting Rawalpindi at the time of the Russian advance and the capture of Panjdeh in March 1885; and 3, p.1, id.
Russia's original objective, had not been obtained, but Tarzi judged this new policy to be much superior and advantageous (127). However, Tarzi held not the slightest sympathy for a people so obstinate in ideas and so cunning in behaviour (128).

Tarzi was also aware, as numerous extracts from press and correspondence prove, of Russia's behaviour towards its important Muslim population. Like those in India, the Muslims in Russia were a minority spread over a vast territory, trying to practice its faith. *Seraj ul-akhbār* recorded the harassments of the tsarist regime against the Muslims of Abkhasia, of Khiva and Merv, of Ferghana, among others (129). The paper also noted the efforts being made by these Muslims to preserve their culture and their religion, to unite, and to express themselves in their own press. The list of their newspapers quoted or used by *Seraj ul-akhbār* is long.\(^{20}\)

When the Russian Revolution occurred, the Afghan periodical recounted the events just as the foreign press, especially Muslim journals received in Afghanistan, introduced them. The upheaval was greeted, as it was elsewhere, as one of “the historic events which deserve the title of 'beginning of peace' ”, and as the first step towards the recognition of the rights of Muslims (130). For Tarzi, speaking in general, “the Russian Revolution and the defeat of Great Britain have opened clear and solid paths where the social and religious problems of Muslims are concerned” (131). Thinking of the Afghans in particular, he rejoiced in the removal of the Russian threat in the East (132).

Finally, the news of the Russo-German treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918, stipulating the recognition of Afghanistan's independence by both countries, made Tarzi take up his own pen to express his satisfaction (133). Giving the translation of the text of the clause, he discussed at length for the first time the fact that “it is not necessary to recognize something for it to exist, for there are factors which prevent this thing from existing and from being

\(^{20}\) See above Chapter 3.
recognized”; he meant by this that independence and a viable political existence, which Afghanistan had always recognized as its own, had never been taken into account by the big powers.
M. TARZI AND THE MUSLIM WORLD
1. Situation: Persia, Ottoman Empire, diaspora

The influence which Europe wished to extend further and further over the world in general, and over the Muslim world in particular, did not by any means allow Tarzi to forget the place, the number or the situation however mediocre, of the Muslims of his time. He looked at the great Muslim masses of India and Turkestan, who were struggling under British and Russian domination respectively. Then he looked at Persia, the seat of the Caliphate, the Muslims of Africa and the diaspora, describing their situations, noting the distress they suffered.

For Afghanistan, Persia is a sizeable neighbour with, according to Serāj ul-akbār, fifteen to twenty million Muslim inhabitants (1). It is also a sister country because of its language, Persian (fārsi). Its press which could be read without difficulty was accordingly much used by the Afghan periodical. But it was a kingdom in trouble. Its difficulties were not minimized in the hope that they would serve as a lesson. In the first place, Tarzi deplored the fact that since the beginning of the century Persia had been in turmoil from end to end (2). The movement in favour of a constitution revealed that the country was not ready for it, that it could not oppose “the wiles of political microbes whose influence had produced, indirectly, several illnesses in the delicate body of this old country and caused its death”. Ruined internally by this failure, Persia would and could not face the intrusion into its territory of the troops of its gigantic neighbour, Russia, which “had installed ten to fifteen thousand men at Tabriz, Resht, Astarabad, Mazandaran and Meshed”. The holy places of Meshed were bombed in 1912, its population massacred. Instead of reacting when it still had strength, the Persia of the last Qâjârs just let things happen. It then became the victim of a skilful division between Britain and Russia. Each officially carved out a large “zone of influence (manteqa-e nöfuz)” for itself,
Russia, to the north, Britain to the south. The Iranian press, and all other sources, were unanimous in bemoaning the pitiful state of this country torn between two foreign occupants (3), depressed by internal vanities and dissensions (4) and unable to defend itself because of the poor condition of its army (5).

This progressive disintegration and the real weakness of its neighbour were seen by M. Tarzi as a blow already struck against Afghanistan, as well as a threat to come. For, if the intellectual contribution from India had proved negative if not harmful, the influence from Persia, which could have been considerable in view of the favorable circumstances, had, said Tarzi, been nil. Because of its close proximity, Afghanistan would have benefited significantly if Persia had endeavoured to create schools, encourage scholars and men of learning, and advance on "the path of progress and civilization" (6). In addition, the Persian language, common to both countries, would not have lost so much of its strength (7). But none of this happened. Chaman, a newspaper from Meshed, otherwise favourable to Seraj ul-akhbâr and Afghanistan once contested Afghanistan's independence (8), whilst Afghan-Persian relations were tainted with border incidents. Indeed, frequent skirmishes took place in Sistan, a region shared by the two countries. Sistan was, in fact, the main reason for the strained relations. This zone shared the waters of the rivers Helmand, Khâsh and Farâh, which assembled in a vast hollow through the middle of which the line of demarcation had been drawn. Responsibility for any incidents was always blamed by one side on the other (9).

Tarzi judged Persia severely even without dwelling on these quarrels, which had become commonplace. He criticized both the frivolity of its statesmen, including its sovereigns (10), and the confusion created by the constitutional movement which had alienated the country (11). He chided its theologians (âkhond, mojtabeh) for their fanaticism in encouraging a spirit of belligerence in the name of Shi'ite Islam, and held that they were largely responsible for Persia's estrangement from its two Muslim neighbours (12). To sum up, Tarzi said that Persia had sunk because of its own sloth. A
prisoner of its own defects, it had become an easy prey and had offered Great Britain and Russia, two world powers watching for an opening, the opportunity to get together and trace out their plan to divide the spoils on the map of the Orient (13).

Persia's position as a neighbour of the great Ottoman Empire was a most interesting aspect of the situation. Tarzi enjoyed describing at length the largest Muslim country of the day: for six centuries the head of a power block which spread by stages far beyond Asia into two other continents, Europe and Africa, the Empire of Soliman the Magnificent, the seat of the Muslim Caliphate and of the highest religious officials, the Ottoman Empire also contained the holy places of Arabia and other places of Islam. It was, needless to say, the cynosure of the faithful millions dispersed all over the world (14).

As he was greatly aware of the exceptional quality of the Ottoman Empire, Tarzi devoted his special attention to it. Christian Europe, whose target it was, also payed it attention as did the entire Muslim world for whom it was still a beacon. During the seven years of publication there were few numbers of Serāj ul-akhbār without a large number of columns devoted to Turkey: portraits of statesmen such as Anwar Pasha¹, Nazem Pasha², Mahmud Shawkat Pasha³, Said Halim Pasha (15); numerous extracts from newspapers and original commentaries. M. Tarzi followed as closely as possible the evolution of Ottoman politics, considering it his Muslim duty to do so. His interest was also a mark of personal loyalty.

The involvement of the Ottomans in three successive wars, the War of Tripolitania, the Balkan Wars and World War I, provided Tarzi with inexhaustible material for his articles and for his "political

1 SA, II, 13, p.11, "Anwar Bey, Napoleon Bonaparte II", extract from Civil and military news, Ludhiana; 13,p.5, pen and ink portrait accompanied by a ghazal about him by Mollá Tuti; III, 12, pp.6 and 9, his nomination as Minister of war, and portrait, etc.
2 SA, II, 6, pp.5-6, translation of an oration to the Ottoman troops; and 11,p.12, announcement of his assassination in January 1913 (press).
3 SA, II, 21, pp.8, 10-11, announcement of his assassination in June 1913; and 22, pp.12-14.
résumés”. In the War of Tripolitania and in the Balkan Wars, the injustice of aggression against right by might, and the injustice of the martyrdom inflicted on Muslims by Christian Europe, struck him most forcibly. The Italo-Turkish conflict in Africa (1911-1912) was recorded regularly by press extracts, until very soon, in a sort of editorial, the first of its kind, Tarzi denounced its flagrant iniquity (16). He accused Italy of repeating in the Mediterranean region, centuries later, against Muslims this time, the carnage of the martyrdom of the first Christians in the theatre of Rome (17). He also accused Italy of having, in its impatience, dealt the first blow in the dismemberment of the Muslim East, which had been planned jointly by all the countries of Europe (18). Finally, he said that the cruelty of the Italians in the treatment of their Muslim prisoners gave a revolting picture of the nations which called themselves civilized (19). The Ottoman Empire had only just had its African territories of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica amputated, when the battlefield was transferred to Europe in the Balkans (1912-1913); there the Caliphate lost nearly the whole of its possessions for ever.

Tarzi described how in this new conflict, the six powers joined by the Triple Alliance and the Entente Cordiale goaded four small countries joined by the Balkan Entente, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro, to rise against a single state, the Porte. All the resentment which he had felt towards Italy, he then transferred to all aggressors, direct and indirect. But this time, the news of the persecution of Muslim peoples exacerbated his anger to a point where he developed his theme of the new Crusades more fully and clearly. What Christian Europe wanted, he said, and had wanted for a long time, was to destroy the Caliphate and, beyond that, the Muslim religion itself by annihilating the Ottoman Empire (20). Because of their faith hundreds of thousands of Muslims were submitted to all kinds of tortures of which Serâj ul-akhbâr spared
not the slightest detail, nor a single testimony. For a whole year it accumulated extracts from the international press (21). The only map in all seven volumes of Serāj ul-akhbār showed Rumelia and the Balkans (22), and many illustrations depicted the cruelty of the Bulgarians and Serbs, and the desecration of mosques and the Muslim religion. Cartoons, frequently satirical, in which the Muslim is always humiliated in front of the cross and by it were also included. But the military honour of the Ottomans was not at stake, Tarzi insisted; the loss of Rumelia and of the Mediterranean islands was the inevitable result of disproportionate numbers. The Ottomans stood alone facing many adversaries and even if the Empire “were made of steel, it could not withstand those terrible rasping attacks” (23). Edirne fell after a brave resistance, but the recapture of the city a few months later was an act of justice (24).

But like Persia, the Ottoman Empire was not only exposed to the danger of territorial dismemberment. For more than a century the emergence and growth of new ideologies, in opposition to the despotism of the sultans, had brought about a serious decline, which, in the first years of the twentieth century, was precipitated by a maze of military as well as political events. Of the two kinds of conflict pulling the Empire apart, namely the external war and internal struggles between political parties, the latter, said Tarzi, exceeded the former in gravity (25). The regular series of political résumés, published by Serāj ul-akhbār was inaugurated most appropriately with “A Summary of the political situation in Istanbul”, emphasized by the subtitle “Lesson to be drawn (dars-e 'ebrat)”. This at once gave the tone of M.Tarzi’s views of the situation created by the emergence of political parties. Tarzi attributed the origin of the

4 SA, II, 21, pp.6-8; and III, 4 to 24, “Example ('ebrat-nāma)”, a long account sent from Istanbul concerning the persecutions inflicted on the Muslims in the Balkans. The author was an Afghan residing in Turkey; the account written in Pashtō was translated into Persian first by M.Tarzi and then by Abd ul-Hādi.
5 SA, II, 18, p.9; 19, p.8, quoted from London News, III, 10, p.11; 13, p.12, by Gholām Mohammad; 14, p.11; 22, p.12, by Gholām Mohammad, etc.
disorders to the existence of the parties themselves and to the quarrels they indulged in which were also partly responsible for the external defeats. To look back over the last few years, he said, at the revolution of the Young Turks (1908) and the replacement of “what they called despotism (estebeddād)” by a constitution and a National assembly (majles-e mellat) (26), is enough to perceive “the astonishing changes” which have appeared “since a constitutional government (bokumat-e masbruta) has been set up in the Ottoman Empire” (27). At the same time, expressions like “Union and Progress (ittihad ve taraqqi)” and “Liberal Union (Hüriyet ve itilaf)” were brandished about, which were the names of the two opposing tendencies. These were most “sacred” words, when they implied real union and understanding which, under the circumstances, he deplored, was hardly the case (28).

There were many reasons for the sustained interest which Serāj ul-akbār showed in Turkey. Tarzi condemned the existence of political parties in general, and the Ottoman parties in particular, with a severity equal to his attachment to this country which had made him welcome for fifteen very busy years. For example, he did not conceal the immense benefits he had derived from meeting men such as Sayyed Jamāl ud-din, and from discovering literary works of all kinds. The literary shock he received shortly after arriving in Istanbul as a very young man, when he came across a work by the Turkish author, Ahmed Midhat, was decisive in that respect. He started to devour Midhat’s works. Without ever meeting the author in person, he admired him for doing his country an immeasurable service by popularizing literature. The news of the author’s death struck Tarzi as the loss of a very dear friend who had led him “from the desert of ignorance to the highway of knowledge” and with whom he had been lucky to serve his “intellectual apprenticeship” 6. Later, following in the footsteps of this fertile writer, translator and journalist, Tarzi engaged in the same

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6 SA, II, 19, pp.13-14, on the occasion of the death of Ahmed Midhat in Istanbul in December 1912, Tarzi published his biography, a list of his works, and a portrait. See EI², I, pp.298-299, “Ahmad Midhat”, by B.Lewis.
kind of activities. In his own periodical he made frequent use of the various publications of A. Midhat: the daily newspaper, *Terjuman-e Baghīqat*, the brochure, *Qiraq Anbar*, the general history of Europe entitled *Qainat* and the translation and commentary of the American philosopher, G.W. Draper.

This very deep personal attachment of Tarzi's was further strengthened in his Afghan heart by the aversion he felt for Great Britain and its imperialist policy towards Afghanistan. Thus, when Tarzi recommended that Turkish be taught in Afghanistan, he spoke with the voice of experience and drew comparisons. Looking back on the previous century, he pondered on the concrete benefits brought to the development of Afghanistan, in whatever field, by the English language. He saw only a few. The English language, which was used only sporadically, had not imposed itself over the years. Although the first translations from English into Persian, written and published during the Sher Ali era and increasingly during the reign of Abd ur-Rahman, were important first steps, their number remained minute. English takes many years of study and effort to learn. By contrast, noted Tarzi, Turkish can be learnt quickly because it is close to Persian in its script and vocabulary. Moreover, Turkish is a great Muslim language: "We shall never derive as much benefit from English as from Turkish for our knowledge of military and civil affairs", and Tarzi claimed to be a living proof of his theory in his six or seven years of journalism (29).

This preference, both emotional and rational, was strengthened still further by Tarzi's total religious attachment to the seat of the Muslim Caliphate. That, however, was not an individual attachment, but a collective one of all Muslims, specially Afghans (30). Tarzi drew particular attention to this point. Besides a religious bond between the two countries, made even closer by the fact that they both practiced the Hanafi rite of Islam, there was "another spiritual bond" which demanded that, when a Muslim country, especially the Ottoman Empire, the elder brother, was in danger, this brotherhood should be felt by the others as "an absolute order" (31). This statement was meant as a severe reproach addressed between the
lines to Emir Habibullâh for whom the official ties between Afghanistan and the Ottoman Empire were entirely of a religious nature, and did not imply any political pressure. This was proved in the Autumn of 1914 when Turkey entered the World War: the Emir proclaimed the neutrality of his country. That could be said to be the Emir’s personal choice, a choice easily accepted in as far as it served the general interest of the country, at least in the first stages when war was declared only in Europe. But during the next stages, the alignment of Turkey with Germany against Great Britain “changed the position entirely” (32).

Serâj ul-akbbâr made no secret of its view, and its editor announced that because of the importance of recent events, namely the Ottoman involvement in the war and “its consequences in the whole Muslim world”, he had decided “for certain reasons” to keep silent (33). Thus, he did not publish any commentary concerning the Ottoman decision but let his Muslim colleagues in India speak for him. Habîl ul-matîn, whose sound judgment he admired, was much perturbed and did not conceal the delicate situation in which the Muslims of India were placed between “their religious feelings pulling them towards the Sultan” and “their benevolent sincerity leading them to Great Britain” (34). On the other hand Al-Helâl wrote: “the bonds which unite the Muslims of India and the Turks are natural (qodratî) and he who denies them is not a Muslim” (35). Tarîzi limited himself to reproducing portraits of Sultan Mehmet V and of the Ottoman minister for war, Enver Pasha, and speeches in which they lectured their troops on the purpose of war (36). This silence deceived none. Henceforth, Tarîzi opined that the entrance of the Ottomans —“as well as the Japanese”— into the war had led Asia to join the conflict which was “regrettable” (37);

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7 SA, IV, 1, p.3, audience of 24 August 1914 when the text of Emir Habibullâh’s reply to Lord Hardinge was read, reaffirming Afghan neutrality; 4, 1, audience of 3 October 1914, confirmation of neutrality; 7, pp.3-4, audience of 28 November 1914, the Emir mentioned Turkey’s entry into the war, but did not say a word about Afghanistan’s position; and 17, p.3, audience of 17 April 1915, on the advantage of “keeping out of it”.
moreover, the fate of this elder brother, bound, in life or death, to Germany, gave him cause for the gravest alarm (38). He noted that in contrast to what had happened in the past during the wars in Tripolitania and the Balkans when all Muslims rose as one man in support of the Ottomans, this time such solidarity was lacking. Because of the policies of their governments, many Muslims had been unable to respond to this “great jehdad”; in India and in Transoxiana, in particular, the Muslims were bound hand and foot (39). A fact Tarzi did not dare mention clearly, but which was the clearest of his “certain reasons” for keeping silent, was that Afghanistan had not responded either, but preferred to maintain a convenient neutrality. This decision infuriated the pro-Turkish, conservative, anti-British majority of Kabul for it made the Emir into an accomplice of Great Britain, his friend, against whom the Ottoman brothers were fighting.

Another cause of disagreement at the highest level in Kabul had been the arrival in Afghanistan of the German-Turkish mission in September 1915. In spite of the importance of the event, Serāj ul-akhbār said nothing about it. The only indirect mention was the publication of two letters, signed Barakatullāh and Mahendra Pratāp, sent from the pavilion in Bābor Garden, in the suburbs of Kabul, where the mission officially resided. Mahendra Pratāp’s letter, dated 15 May 1916 (40), was merely a reply to certain allegations which were probably circulating in the city concerning his identity and his presence in Afghanistan. He wrote that, provided with papers from the German and Ottoman governments, he had come “concerning the question of India and the East”, and that he was accompanied by “German and Turkish officers”. As already mentioned, the development of the war which involved Turkey and Germany, provoked much tension in Kabul; the arrival of the mission in question certainly made things even more difficult. And that was one more of the “certain reasons” why Tarzi, always treading cautiously, could not commit himself with more than the publication of these letters.

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8 As the archives in Kabul and Delhi clearly show, these “certain reasons” are known to derive from the diplomatic pressure exerted by the Viceroy on Emir Habibullāh regarding the German-Turkish mission.
In the end, Afghanistan's rapprochement with Turkey did not materialize in the way Tarzi so ardently wished. Only a few official acts indicated a non-committal solidarity: during the Italo-Turkish war, in November 1911, the Emir invited his people to make a financial contribution, in lieu of some other form of material aid or active support which the great distance made impossible (41); on the death of Sultan Mehmet V in July 1918, he ordered prayers of mourning to be said, as a symbol of "the improving relations of religious unity existing between the Ottoman and Afghan countries" (42).

Tarzi, without any shadow of doubt, deeply resented the dissensions which shook the internal stability of Afghanistan and struck Seraj ul-akhbâr in the middle of its career. The existence of the periodical, which was his major concern, was not threatened by all this, but it continued at the cost of the immediate concession which the editor made to the authorities in renouncing the expression of his free opinion (43). Tarzi continued to give information about the progress of the war, but by copying the ideas of others and of other newspapers. Little by little, the tone of Seraj ul-akhbâr changed. Little by little, Tarzi placed the periodical under the banner of a rather belated pan-Islamism and of nationalism, which did not preclude, in the end, words of great sharpness.

But before this change, many other Muslims from all over the world were mentioned in Seraj ul-akhbâr, by name and in connection with many different subjects. The Muslims of North Africa were discussed because they belonged to that group of peoples dominated by Europe, and the Muslims of the Far East for the vitality of their minority communities. Morocco was specially mentioned because it had just lost both its independence and its freedom, said Tarzi, and had fallen a prey to Germany and France (44).

Seraj ul-akhbâr recommended that those of its readers who could understand English should read the monthly journal from Tokyo, Okhóvwat-e islâmiya (Islamic brotherhood) which was for some time obtainable in Kabul when it was exchanged for the Afghan
periodical (45). *Okhòwát-e ỉslāmiya* was suspended by the Japanese authorities because it overstepped its purely religious rôle by printing political articles and it was shortly afterwards replaced by *Al-Islām*. After that had been announced in the number of 22 February 1913, no further mention was made of this Japanese periodical, an inveterate militant organ advocating the union of Muslims in Asia (46). Nonetheless, the name of one of its editors, Mohammad Barakatullāh, a well-known Muslim Indian who lived for some time in Japan, appeared several times in the pages of *Serāj ul-akbbār*. The first time was through a long “Religious, political and social article” sent from Tokyo on 18 March 1913 (47) in which, admist enthusiastic outbursts in favour of the Muslim cause, Barakatullāh presented the Emir of Afghanistan as the hope of “salvation of the Muslims”. Three years later he wrote to *Serāj ul-akbbār* again, but this time from Kabul where he had arrived a few months earlier with the German-Turkish diplomatic mission. The letter, dated 7 July 1916, was a “Commentary on the expression ‘In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Clement’ ” (48) in which the author again found an opportunity to praise the exceptional position of the Emir.

The same vitality present in Japan was found among the Muslims of China. Tarzi noted their meetings and their efforts to obtain “religious freedom and all that implies” from the Chinese government. In one of his yearly summings-up of the world situation, he rejoiced in the fact that “the Muslims of China have also shown signs of awakening” (49).

Finally, there was a condemnation, in no uncertain terms of the Sheriff of Mecca for his rebellion of 1916, an act of treason against the Ottoman Empire and against religion (50).

2. Causes of Muslim weakness

The Eurocentrism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries resulted in the almost total subjugation of the Muslim world. It created
colonies here and influence zones there, it started wars and by its technical, military and economic supremacy it succeeded in placing and keeping the Muslims in a position of inferiority.

Tarzi, who witnessed an important stage of this domination and who knew both worlds, who was a fervent admirer of the western world and at the same time an ardent Muslim and Asian patriot, followed a simple objective: to help Muslims react.

To begin with, "the heart of matter" was to seek the reasons why the Muslims of his time were so much behind the times. The political and economic decline of the Muslim world was attributed by many, as a matter of course, to foreign imperialism, and its late scientific development to Islam. These were much disputed and controversial opinions which Tarzi knew well. Serāj ul-akhbār, his forum, gave him occasion to correct the first view, to invalidate the second, and to uncover the real roots of the evil. Though European colonialism and imperialism were undoubtedly destructive to the autonomy of the Muslim world, Tarzi did not hold them entirely responsible for the situation. One cannot refuse to recognize, he said, a severe internal weakness affecting Muslims themselves, nor relieve them of their part of responsibility (51). This weakness, made up of the two excessively negative elements of ignorance and disunity, naturally affected the whole community.

Tarzi meant ignorance in secular terms, in its widest sense (bē-‘elmi, bē-khabari, nā-dāni); not only a lack of elementary training and of intellectual knowledge, but also a lack of practical experience in such technical fields as agriculture and commerce (bē-san‘ati, bē-zerā‘ati, bē-tejārati): an ignorance which engenders the profound darkness of drowsiness, not a natural sleep such as is necessary to life, but that illness of the mind called torpor (52). Man and his

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9 SA, VI, 14, pp.2-3, to 21, pp.7-9, a series of articles on "What keeps the Muslims from making progress?"
mind were caught in a mesh of one evil leading to another, dominated by slackness, inertia and stagnation (53), which negated and condemned all blossoming and development. Tarzi, who was passionately keen on progress, technology, and anything new, admitted that none of this could be acquired without a certain mental dynamism, the necessity for which Muslims had not recognized, or had refused to recognize, for centuries. That explained why they had not moved forward resolutely to combat illiteracy, why they had no roads or indeed no modern means of communications, why they were incapable of producing a weapon (54) and why they were incapable of defending themselves.

More widely still, ignorance, "one of man's most tyrannical enemies" (55), is also found in the realm of religion, in the display of a theoretical and limited knowledge, which not only impedes progress, but causes some people to actually refuse to accept progress. Ignorance is a blindness brought about by faulty religious practices or outdated beliefs. In his attempt to explain this kind of ignorance Tarzi invited his readers to note not so much the traditional religion or ideology of Islam, but rather what the Muslim religious class had made of it over the centuries, or rather had not made of it. And he made a frontal attack on those bastions of the Islamic religion, the 'olamā (56), the sheikhs and the mollās in their madrasas, their takkiyas and their mosques. He did not deny either their intelligence, or the quality and usefulness of their knowledge and their teaching, but he placed their full value firmly in the distant past when knowledge, and particularly religious knowledge, had been used as a means of strengthening Islam, i.e. during the early centuries. But to each thing its time, said Tarzi, and the future did not belong to the pioneering 'olamā. The activity of their successors had lapsed so considerably that Muslims were now living on their past glories, endlessly repeating the same truth. Furthermore, in order to avoid the emergence of any theological dissension within the Muslim community, knowledge had simply been prevented from developing. For example, the teaching of anything new, even the thought of borrowing or imitating, which had traditionally been considered
impious, “blameworthy innovation (bed’at)”, and condemned as such, was often still condemned. To the rejoinder, which Tarzi anticipated, that there is no relationship between the teaching given by the ’olamá and technology, he retorted that the moral responsibility for the slow technological and scientific development of the Muslim world rested with many of these learned people; as the curiosity of the mind towards the modern world was never encouraged, Muslim ideology had failed to adopt enlightened attitudes toward progress.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Muslim world was not only underdeveloped and undereducated, but, in the eyes of Tarzi, it was also profoundly divided and disunited, which was even more unfortunate. For, he said, at the same time Koranic encouragement of science was neglected, concepts of fraternity, unity and mutual aid, the very “basis of Islamic civilization”, were also abandoned. In addition, political and religious differences which had not existed in Islam were thereby introduced (57). Division and disunity (shuqāq, bê-ettefâqi, ekhtelâf), disastrous for humanity and for nations in general, were particularly destructive at the heart of the worldwide Muslim community, and within each Muslim nation in particular. They prevented nations from establishing healthy governments and maintaining public security without which no nation is viable (58). Furthermore, the political trenches had been dug between nations, with a total disregard for religious solidarity.

Thus, beyond the historic event of the tragic battle of Kerbala10, “a dark stain on the history of Islam”, Tarzi stressed the even more disastrous consequences to the unity of the Islamic community. He insisted that the tenth of Moharram had left “a terrible breach in the powerful fortress of the Islamic community”, that it was “the first blow which cut in two the body of religion”, and that it was responsible, after twelve centuries, for the present division between Iranian Shias and Afghan Sunnis, between the Iranians and Turks, also Sunni

10 The followers of the Caliph Ali and his descendants were defeated at Kerbala on 10 Moharram 61 / October 681. This date is considered as the beginning of the expansion of the Alid, or Shiite, movement.
(59). Later, Tarzi continued, the quarrel born with the Safavids over the separation between the Caliphate and the Imamate widened the chasm between Muslim countries still further, whilst, from the outside, “the intrigues of Russia and Great Britain” dug it still deeper (60).

Tarzi could see no humanitarian or official understanding of these problems, and not the slightest effort toward reconciliation. He described the divisions as so many illnesses which were attacking and destroying all possibilities for national or international cohesion, regardless of whether they were derived from the existence of the political parties (61), from the ancient schism or from perpetual tribal rebellions (62). Muslims were so far removed from a unity based on Islam that they did not even understand its meaning. As a result they were unable to provide even material needs and in the sphere of ideas, misunderstandings were greater than ever (63). All this greatly embittered Tarzi. The situation was critical in all respects. Muslims had lost much territory (64) and deprived themselves of all modern means, without avoiding growing dissension because they had abandoned the straight path of the Koran and strayed onto the path of folly, which Tarzi greatly deplored. Local customs, he said, prevailed over religious principles, the ’olamā had become intransigent on the “branches (forū”), taking no account of the “principles (osul)”. These ’olamā and their companions were not to be compared with their predecessors of the early and Middle Ages. “Under their turbans, they like to parade as such, but they sow the seeds of stupidity among the ignorant masses”. They recite Arabic “like parrots”. Amulets, magic, sorcery, tales, legends and a whole mystifying literature, were used to stupefy, lull and suffocate the people all the way from North Africa to India (65).

3. Reaction: excellence of the Muslim religion

In reaction to the material victories won by the Christian West, which was civilized and, in appearance, united, over the ignorant and
divided Muslims, Tarzi echoed the opinion of Muslim intellectuals and became the champion of Islam. To eliminate any doubt about the potential capacity of Muslims to unite and achieve progress, he expounded on the excellence of the holy Book, the Koran, and Muslim doctrine, by scrutinizing the golden age of Islam.

Thus he presented their religion to his coreligionists as an ideal moral code, “the mine of all virtues” (66) and the Koran as a guide to every success (67). Adherence to the immutable rule of the Book would cement the Muslim community (68). The exaltation of the Koran was necessary in his eyes to show that the word of Allâh as it was revealed to the Prophet in his time remained valid for those who were prepared to read it, and who were willing to interpret and adapt it. In order to convince his audience through examples, Tarzi started a special column of exegesis, in *Serâj ul-akbâr*, called *Bâb ut-tafsîr* (69). Also he encouraged others to discuss the commentaries and *hadîs* in many other kinds of articles (70).

Moreover, Tarzi discussed the importance of the four Muslim languages – Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Urdu– from different viewpoints. It was axiomatic, he said, that the use of Arabic, “the most sacred and most noble language for Muslims”, must be generalized because it was a rich language and the language of the revelation (71). Religious holidays, for *Serâj ul-akbâr*, were occasions for sermons (*maw’âza*), reproaches and exhortations recalling the true meaning of events and story-telling about the happy times they commemorated (72).

In order to enhance still further the luminous character of the Muslim religion, Tarzi painted the picture of early Islamic times in the same way other Muslim reformists had done. The premonitory signs of the prophetic mission, the miraculous and exemplary life of the Prophet, the energy of the men in the *jebâd*, the success of the conquests and the unity of the emerging community were all recounted in glowing terms (73). Continuing in this vein, he added that history spoke for itself through the next brilliant episodes of Islamic civilization. He praised the cultural and scientific influence radiating from the great Muslim cities of the Middle Ages, especially
in Spain (Andalus) (74). He extolled the great empires which succeeded each other down to the Ottoman Empire, the last and greatest of them all, whose enlightened sultans he described in detail (75). Finally, Serāj ul-akhbār published a few particularly eloquent biographies of Salāḥ ud-din-e Ayyubi (Saladin) (76), Ibn Khaldun (77) and Alp Arslan Saljuqi (78), from among the great men and heroes of Muslim history, whose remembrance would forever provide glory and consolation to Muslims the world over.

Tarzi’s sincerity might well be questioned from such flattering statements that Islam was “the best, the most noble, the most sacred of religions” (79) and from the stress he gave in recounting the number of conversions to Islam (80). But he felt it was necessary to reaffirm the past courage of Muslims in order to refute the widely-held belief that Christianity was a superior religion. He himself worried about this opposition of Christianity versus Islam, progress versus immobility, and West versus East. His writings compared the strength and fragility of these two worlds by describing their failures and their successes through the ages. Islam, he said, had a decisive moral and spiritual strength which enabled it to resist western attempts to dominate it, in spite of its present critical state. Tarzi was convinced that total domination of one people by another, could not be achieved unless the religion was uprooted. And Islam still lived.

The editor also described Islam as a religion of reason and progress although this too seemed contrary to contemporary evidence. It only needed a backward glance, he said, to see the prime rôle and “the unique position” of the Muslim world in the Middle Ages. There was a long list of inventions and achievements which had been made in the Muslim world before it went to sleep and allowed Europe to grasp and develop them. Tarzi not only denied that the West had invented them (81), but he affirmed that all philosophic, technical, literary and other knowledge had reached Europe directly from Muslim universities (82). The contrast between the past and present situations was made abundantly clear in “What were we and what have we become? What were the Christians and what have they become?” (83).

Tarzi claimed that if men were directly responsible for such a
reversal, as was the case, then men could provide the remedy. Henceforth, Muslims must scrutinize their past and their own conscience in order to decide without further delay about the future. Nothing could, after all, prevent the future from assuming a new aura, a new importance.

A final argument put forward to prove that the Muslim community was privileged materially as well as spiritually was the extent of its spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, and the rich quality of this land with potential natural resources beneath its soil (84).

4. Solutions

In striking formulas, Tarzi at once sounded a battle-cry to encourage Muslims to fight both against themselves and against the enemy: "Science and technology are the two hands of union (ettebâd) against which no opposition can prevail" (85), "Progress and civilization, and the peace and happiness of humanity depend on science and knowledge" (86). Having said that, Tarzi maintained that there was no aspect of human life or of the life of a nation which should remain aloof from science. There was nothing which science did not affect in some way, and Tarzi introduced science as a necessary ingredient for all growth and happiness. And, like Abd ur-Ra’uf Ferat, he supported the idea of progress and encouraged people to participate in the progress of their own time (87). Science, he said, is light (88), the light which wakens the mind, encourages it to work and directs it towards discovery and invention. At the present time, he repeated admiringly, this light and the progress it brings with it, are the most brilliant contributions of Europe, America and Japan. To the question of how to acquire that progress Tarzi’s reply was simple: come out of the dark, run behind this light, imitate and borrow. Where could science and technology be acquired and then developed? Simpler still: in schools. And to what purpose? On that point his answer
reflected the preoccupation of the times and equated industrial progress with military aims. Anti-imperialist war sprang to mind, and, after acquiring freedom, the preservation of national independence was necessary to guarantee happiness (89).

But Tarzi did not seem to succumb wholly to an admiration for progress at any price. He saw in this emerging industry, the danger of pollution (90), he saw in the rise of Japan the first signs of a possible yellow invasion with consequences still unforeseeable for the western world (91) and he did not recommend imitation or borrowing from Europe indiscriminately. Much though he pressed Muslims to become familiar with European techniques and arts and learn their science, he thought it equally necessary to abstain from their “apparent and futile luxury” (92). And he recommended following the example of Japan which had not sacrificed its cultural and traditional heritage to mechanization (93).

A whole sequence of indispensable measures was linked to this call for science: the creation and multiplication of schools at all levels, printing presses, the introduction of a good press and all means of information, and an organized telephone, telegraph and postal services “without which a country is like a house without windows” (94), were advocated among other things. Nothing better demonstrates the importance Tarzi granted to these things than the number of pages on which these subjects were commented on, defined, and clarified\textsuperscript{11}. In these pages, public instruction, “a factory of men” (95) and printing, “the mother of civilization and father of progress”, “the spring of knowledge” (96) were praised in every way. They became the topical theme of many poems, ghazals and qasidas, in sharp contrast to the much appreciated traditional lyrical poetry\textsuperscript{12}.

\textsuperscript{11} SA, I, 4, pp.8-9, “Science and knowledge (\textit{elm wa ma'refat})”; 6, p.12, “The news agencies” by Mehmed Fazli; 17, p.13, “The libraries”, by Mehmed Fazli; VII, 18, p.9, “What is education? (ma'âref chist?)” etc.

\textsuperscript{12} SA, I, 9, p.12, “Studying (\textit{sabil})”; 12, p.4, “Education (ma'âref)”; II, 2, p.14 (Mostaghni); 4, p.19 (id); 6, p.11 (id); 10, p.15 (id); 16, pp.10-12 (Abd ul-Hâdi); III, 17, pp.4-5 (Mokhles); VI, 11, p.5 (Abd ul-Hâdi) etc.
Tarzi naturally attached special importance to his chosen medium, the press. For him it was an incomparable means of education, available to all, with constantly new material (97). A press was an absolute necessity in the modern world (98). It was also necessary for a nation to be multilingual; he insisted that a perfect knowledge of languages allowing for systematic translation of scientific works, was the price a nation without means had to pay in order to achieve progress (99). Finally, Tarzi explained that there was no comparison between the educational facilities available in the past to the student, the researcher, or to any man, which permitted only a limited vision of the world, and modern means at their disposal today. These means must be sought out and utilized. The printed word was indispensable for study, it recorded the experience of others. But there was travel too, for example, now much easier, which provided personal experience (100) and a widened vision of the world. Tarzi knew what he was talking about.

One precondition was essential, however, if the Muslim masses were to have access to this light: the support of the religious class, so strongly opposed to anything new. Tarzi was most interested in winning over this class, for, in a society so long dominated by religious fanaticism, in which every choice and decision was influenced by that class, any progress depended entirely on them. Therefore, he appealed directly to the ḥulmā, with whom he had to reckon, reminding them of their rôle as guides, advisors, and providers of those directives and "judicial decrees (fatwā)" which should be adapted to modern times (101). And he did not stop there. With his customary assurance, he took issue again with entrenched popular taboos regarding women. Tarzi was convinced of the importance of woman's rôle in the family and in society, neither of which can do without her. He declared his feminist views in the name of progress and put the question squarely: "Is it necessary or not to educate women?". He himself replied equally categorically, that women represent a large part of mankind, that the Muslim religion
has nothing against them and that their education is a duty (farz) for the good of future generations and for progress (102). Then, noting the general movement for the liberation of women, he allowed foreign Muslim women, mainly Turks and Iranians to speak, and some non-Muslim women. He recorded their desire for independence and freedom and their activities in this direction: meetings (103), devotion in time of war (104), struggle for the right to be educated, awakening of Chinese women (105).

The Koran, according to Tarzi, was as explicit in encouraging science as it was in advocating unity, thus conferring on the 'olamâ and other religious authorities the double rôle of spreading knowledge and building Muslim unity (106). Together with science, unity (ettebâd) was also one of Tarzi’s battle-cries. According to him it was the only possible front for Muslims to offer the imperialist enemy. Unity existed on two overlapping levels, as did Islamic ideology in which there could be no separation between the political and religious spheres. Although Tarzi restrained from commenting on some delicate political situations, particularly in the way the West separates church and state —and sometimes he seemed torn between these two view-points—, his repeated calls for religious unity and the unity of the nation, served only one purpose: to advocate freedom and independence.

In the first place, despite the scarcity of information he received, Tarzi succeeded in keeping his eyes wide open on the great Muslim press —thirty titles constituted the framework of a famous poem by Abd ul-Hâdi (107). Tarzi was always on the lookout for the slightest sign of an effort at Muslim regrouping, wherever it might take a place. He noted that in China, for example, there had been a great assembly claiming religious freedom, a movement of revolt against the government, an announcement of solidarity with Muslims abroad (108) and that there was a "Society for the diffusion of

13 SA, III, 15, p.12 (Sabâb), opening of a class for women at the University of Istanbul; and 18, pp.9-10, inauguration of a school for girls at Aligarh (press).
instruction and of Islam” at Nanking. In California, at Oakland, there was a “Society for the protection of Islam”, in Australia there were new mosques at Adelaide and Perth (109) and there was “A great Islamic congress in Africa” which launched the idea of a Muslim university in Beirut (110); in India an annual meeting of the “No’mân Society” at Lahore was announced, and the regulations for the “Society for servants of the Kaaba” were issued in Delhi; a declaration of sympathy by the “Iranian Society of Madras” over Persia’s distress was noted as was the declaration of gratitude by the “National Committee of India” for the struggle of the Muslims in Russia (111). In Russia itself there were such reports as the “Union of ‘olamâ of Russia” (112), and various Muslim congresses (113).

Elsewhere, Tarzi’s energy was constantly stimulated by the humiliation which Europeans, those “devourers of Islam (islâm-khôr)”, those “cutters of the vein of life (borendagân-e ‘oruq-e bayât)” as he called them, imposed on eastern Muslims, and by the resulting increase in Muslim pride. This inspired Tarzi to call repeatedly on the Muslims to unite. With pressing slogans such as “Muslims, join hands towards unity, do not divide” (114), “Muslims, love one another and keep away from discord” (115), placed as subtitles over articles no less pressing, he conveyed his thoughts on “Islâmîyat”, on belonging to the Islamic religion as well as on the religion itself. “To bring Islâmîyat to life” (116) is a programme which he described as follows: “For in order to preserve the eternity and integrity of Islâmîyat, it is absolutely necessary to lay the foundations for that great construction which is the unity of Islam, for which

14 SA, II, 10, p.6, Jâmîyat-e nashre ma’âref wa islâm (press).
16 SA, I, 12, p.8; and II, 24, cover, Anjoman-e no’mâniya.
17 SA, II, 17, pp.9-10 (Zamindar); 19, p.12; and III, 5, pp.6-7, Anjoman-e khoddâm-e Kâ’aba.
all Muslims are held responsible by the holy word and its law” (117). Then, summarizing the problem, the extent of which must have escaped many of his readers, he continued in more concrete terms with a slogan “Asia for the Asians” presenting thereby an image of a powerful Muslim block in Asia.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when all eyes were inevitably turned towards Europe where the fate of the world was being decided, Tarzi placed Asia in the centre of all his preoccupations and hopes. In the first place, as a reaction to European imperialism he proclaimed in one of his political résumés, imperatively entitled “Asia must belong to the Asians”, that the Asians themselves had the right to dispose of their own continent (118). Besides, he noted, the natural characteristics and the originality of each of the two continents do not allow one of them to impose its laws, for example, or its alien ways of living on the other. “Is Europe not the daughter of Europe, and Asia the daughter of Asia?” (119). Tarzi could see that Asia still possessed what Europe was beginning to lack: expanses of quality land, and abundant natural resources untainted by pollution. He could see, however, that Asia had already been partially absorbed by the European intrusion, and he defended himself: “Do not imagine that the Asians are dead” (120). He fixed his eyes on the Far East where the Japanese economic upsurge, and the Chinese awakening were for him the surest guarantees of Asia’s resistance against engulfment (121).

The geographic contiguity of three large countries evoked a dream in his mind and drew from his pen descriptions of an “island”, a “body (wojud)”, made of a Muslim block with the Ottoman Empire on the west which would be its head, Persia its centre and Afghanistan its eastern extremity. The idea was not new. Tarzi repeated it in terms of an island “surrounded on all sides by the torrent of civilization, meaning Europe”, and breached in two Persian regions by the Russian torrent (122). But, sometimes he forgot this breach, which elsewhere he deplored, and wrote instead of two common factors shared by these three countries in contrast to the many other nations which had become European colonies: the very fact that they existed, and
the fact that they were free and politically independent (123). In reality, only two of the countries, Turkey and Afghanistan, shared these qualities along with an additional element, the Hanafi rite. Shiite Persia figured only as an indispensable link between them. Tarzi bitterly regretted that this dream of union, whether limited to three countries or extending to all Muslims, was never realized, but he never gave up the hope of seeing it attained one day.

This question of unity, said Tarzi, concerns each Muslim in turn. It starts with each individual, according to the firm recommendation of the Koran, with a “personal intention (neyat)”. When Tarzi spoke of religious unity, he was thinking of a harmony within a Muslim nation, a harmony intended to prevent religion from being trampled on by non-Muslims, a harmony which left no room for any weak point, nor any division whatsoever; he was thinking of the union of the minds and thoughts of each individual member of the Islamic faith. Religious unity, he continued, goes hand in hand with the unity of the nation and of the homeland for it permits national freedom and independence to be won and rejects subjection by a foreign nation. Unity forbids quarrels and rivalries. In a word, the stronger the unity of minds, the less chance there is for foreign domination, and the greater the chances are for progress and development (124).

This problem of a national unity based on religion, lead to a chapter on civic and political instruction revealing Tarzi’s nationalist feelings. This problem required explicit definitions, which he set out in a series of articles, and which he held onto rigorously. Under the title “Religion? the state? the nation? the homeland? (din? dawlat? mellat? watan?)”, which he himself classified in the section of moral philosophy (akhlāqiyyât) (125), he outlined the basis of his conception. In his constantly imaginative, deliberately “poetic” style, which he was sure would speak to a public unfamiliar with abstractions, he presented the homeland (watan) as “the container”, “the benevolent parents”, “the tree” and the nation (mellat) as “the contents”, “the children”, “the fruit”. Phrased in words understandable to all, he described how indissolubly one was linked to the other, how, in fact, each one had no separate existence. The homeland was the delineated
territory, the land; and the nation was the diverse population attached to that land. The construction of the nation could not be achieved without a certain order and a certain discipline, responsibility for which must rest with a sovereign authority, the state (dawlat). Here too links existed. The state was composed of qualified and educated men who ran its affairs and ensured the good of the nation with reference to the king who had selected them. They were responsible to him and to the nation. Just as a homeland without a nation had no meaning or existence, and vice versa, so this was true of a nation and a homeland without a state. These men, Tarzi continued, who divided tasks and responsibilities between them (126), established the basis for order and thus for that public security (amniyat-e 'omumiya) (127) on which the mature fulfilment of the nation depends. Public security is absolutely essential to the functioning of a productive mechanism capable of providing the happiness desired by all through the medium of diligent work, the acquisition of science and progress, a union of minds and a respect for moral values. Finally, religion (dim), meaning the Muslim religion, the fourth sacred element of Tarzi's title, was closely associated with the other three, and by the same token it was a part of the whole which made up each person's life. After stressing the divine character of the fund of justice entrusted to successive Muslim leaders from the Prophet down through a succession of sultans and kings, and the indissoluble bond between this spiritual "deposit (amānat)" and temporal power (128), Tarzi discussed the danger of a gradual decline of one or the other under foreign domination.

Tarzi, at last, considered the reciprocal duties and rights (boquq-e motaqābela) of these four sacred entities. He insisted further on the duties and rights which the nation and the state had towards each other and towards the other two, religion and homeland. Nation and state formed one inseparable entity, the former being the body, the latter the head and brain. If one of them was defective, the other would soon follow; their health was dependent on reciprocal confidence. They were "like two stones set together in a ring (cbun dō negin and wa yak angoshtari)" (129), the ring being the homeland. In
their turn, nation and state together were the spiritual and physical life of that body which was the homeland, and together they had to protect it, as well as the religion which lived in it.
M. TARZI AND AFGHANISTAN
1. Weaknesses

Protection of religion, respect for the nation, and love of the homeland are general themes, but the discourse was addressed, as Tarzi’s intentions and his text clearly indicated, to the Afghans. Indeed it was not rare for him to express his attachment to Afghanistan with warmth. This country remained his home, under all circumstances. He called himself “an Afghan by his ancestors, an Afghan who loved his country, an Afghan who was proud to belong to the Afghan nation, an Afghan always ready to sacrifice himself, his possessions and his children to preserve the independence and the sovereignty of his sacred land” (1). As for his periodical, he specified that it was “only for Muslims, and among Muslims, only for the Afghans”. Everything he said, the songs he composed, were said and composed “from the point of view of ‘afghāniyat’”, a word which covered all the virtues of the Afghan people (2).

When Tarzi arrived in Afghanistan, at the age of forty, he came with fresh eyes, eager to discover a country and a milieu of which he had little knowledge but which he knew and felt to be his own. And Tarzi brought with him his emotions, his enthusiasm, and also some projects. His birth and his culture at once guaranteed him a place at court and among the active élite. Nevertheless his vocation was not political, at least not at the beginning¹, and during the whole of the serājiya era he remained on the fringes of all official and government activity, completely absorbed by his work as a journalist and a writer.

It was not that the political destinies of his country were not

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¹ From the beginning of the next reign, M.Tarzi was to assume political responsibilities as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1919), as head of the Afghan delegation to Mussoree (1920), and Minister in France (1922-1924).
close to his heart, but there were differences of opinion for which there was no remedy. Tarzi was fundamentally anti-imperialist and particularly anti-British. He had nurtured these feelings from a very early age, possibly from his three year stay in Karachi, and they had grown stronger with the years. In Kabul, where Emir Habibullah had deliberately renewed the British right to oversee a substantial part of Afghan politics, Tarzi preferred not to interfere in official life, so as not to jeopardize relations which soon enough became difficult and of doubtful sincerity. Moreover he felt a great mistrust for politicians and diplomats; he associated them with certain actions such as “wiles, plots, opportunism, lies, cheating, flattery etc. all of which are inadmissible in the world of morals, good manners and courtesy, but considered acceptable in that science [politics], whenever the occasion arises” (3). He was too straightforward to play that sort of “game”. He was also suspicious of what political parties could be, and his suspicions were founded on his observation of the struggle between Hurriyet ve itilaf and Ittibad ve taraqqi in the Ottoman Empire, and on information he received from Persia.

Caution and mistrust led Tarzi to employ a method by which he addressed himself to Afghanistan’s specific goals through general discussions. He might not have pressed his point quite so insistently when exposing some general problems, if he had not seen in many cases his country’s urgent needs. To do this, he adroitly balanced repeated flattery of the Emir and other leaders with striking observations about the deficiencies of the country. “Spare the rod and spoil the child”, as the proverb says. Tarzi did not hesitate, while outlining his programme for the liberation of Muslim peoples and the renewal of Islam, to condemn, when the opportunity presented itself, what was before his eyes; it amounted to attacking, and not always in veiled terms, the way Afghanistan was being run and those responsible. He knew full well, in his own words, that he was “creating a world of enemies for himself” (4), enemies to whom he did not neglect to reply (5). He thus denounced a number of latent defects inhibiting the progress
of the country, beginning with its intellectual poverty.

The tragedy of Afghanistan, as Tarzi never ceased to say, was its ignorance and its illiteracy. He himself estimated that only a hundred thousand literate people out of a population of eight to nine million could describe "the relation of the earth to the sun, of a grain of maize to a melon, of a millimetre to a metre" (6). "The only weakness of Afghanistan derived from its overall [lack of] science and knowledge ('elm wa 'erfân-e 'omumi)" (7). In "Afghanistan needs education (ma'âref) more than anything" (8), he could hardly have been more insistent. Quite rightly, Tarzi admitted that Emir Habibullâh was an innovator in this field and would go down in history as such. Habibiya School started to function in 1904 on modern basis. It was followed during the serâjiya era by a series of measures2 which for the first time introduced the teaching of subjects other than religion, and a budget for Education. There is no doubt that compared to previous reigns, this was an important first step. But Tarzi was not satisfied when he saw that efforts were limited to the capital, and the results were limited.

There were two other obstacles, he said, which explained why "the level of education for the whole of Afghanistan does not reach that of a small town in Punjab" (9). These obstacles were internal (mawâne'-e dâkbeli) and external (mawâne'-e kbâreji).

In order to define the first category (10) Tarzi investigated the character and personality of the Afghan people. They were a people famous for their traditions and their warlike temperament, he said. There were admittedly some "men of letters", the mirzâs, and some "men of religious science", the mollâs, two classes distinct from that of the warriors or "sword class (senf-e shamsbîr)". But "for the majority of Afghans", he explained, the practice of bearing arms was automatically assumed; the son of a kbân or the son of a noble family (asîl-zâda) "must be able to manipulate the

2 See above pp. 136 - 143.
spear, the rifle and the sword (*nayza-bāzi, tofang-bāzi, shamsib-bāzi*) and he *must* be a horseman, whereas "he *may*³ be able to read and write a little". The distinction is clear. It is noteworthy that during the *serājiya* era nearly all men of position held a military rank, that the two princes Enāyatullāh and Amānullāh were among the first to graduate from the first Afghan Military School worthy of that name, and that for a long time they would be followed by many of their brothers and relatives. But when Tarzi announced that nowadays "thoughts are being revised", he meant that some people had at last admitted the necessity of having some form of education that was not exclusively military. And that gave him the opportunity to denounce forcefully "the exclusive habits and usage" of war which had been, and still were, obstacles to the progress of education in the country.

To be sure, acceptance of the principle of change was in itself a kind of progress, but it now created certain responsibilities, said Tarzi, and these responsibilities were not being fulfilled as they should have been. Insisting on the fact that "education in any country does not create itself" (11), Tarzi then denounced the culpability of the state in not granting sufficient financial means to education. He pointed as well to the culpability of the population, particularly of the wealthy classes, who in their indifference, hardly manifested any initiative or material generosity towards a wider field of education for their children (12). Tarzi could see that in order to diffuse science and generalize instruction in Afghanistan, the basic means were lacking at every level: qualified teachers, schools, a daily press, libraries, books (13) and printing presses to print them, rotary machines, roman characters for printing texts in English, for example, and even special characters (*mo’arrab*) for printing the Koran. He had no illusions about the complexity of the problem, an internal problem for which nobody so far had shown any interest. Unanswered questions demonstrated his lucidity

³ The verbs were underlined by the author.
and his distress: “If we have a rotary printing press in this country, what will it print, and if we print, who shall we give it to, to read?”(14).

Deprived of all those things, Afghanistan had first to look abroad in order to ensure the functioning of its first school, Habibiya School. Abroad meant India, which offered advantages such as proximity and easy recruitment of a Muslim teaching staff. Tarzi insisted “the teachers must be Muslims” (15). But this foreign connection also involved risks that, according to Tarzi, could be attributed to all colonialist policies, which are the worst obstacles, “the external obstacles” (16) to healthy development. First of all, the languages offered were restricted to English or “Afgāni”, and the quality of the teachers was low; the teaching methods were based on English books for beginners printed in India which were used at Habibiya School by the hundred. Tarzi especially deplored the deliberate belittlement of the Afghan national image and character found in these works, which he felt would surely lead to arresting the development of the children, of education, and progress in general (17).

Besides illiteracy, there were many other defects fatal to any attempt at progress. Tarzi pinpointed some of them by the indirect expedient of giving advice: he counselled caution and discipline, and physical modesty on the streets (18); he encouraged parents to instruct and educate their children properly (19); he reflected on the meaning of the family, stressing the rôle of women (20); he encouraged bibliophiles to make known the rare books they owned (21). These were elementary recommendations addressed to all levels of the population, referring to what in Tarzi’s eyes were bad habits and a mentality far removed from the modern world.

Tarzi was no more optimistic when he touched here and there on the delicate religious situation in his country. It has been noted earlier that every year the statistics of attendance in religious schools were sent to Serāj ul-akhbār for publication. Tarzi published them regularly, as soon as they were received because he saw in them a sign of the Emir’s unflagging support for the Islamic framework of the nation. Another sign, he noted, was the fact that the Emir,
whether in Kabul or travelling outside, always had one or two 'olamā among his entourage who were state employees (22). It was really Nasrullāh, who was known for his piety and for being the protector of the established religious system, who himself presided over and encouraged religious instruction. Tarzi made it clear that he had nothing against such a policy, provided it maintained a real spiritual force, and that it did not oppose the establishment of modern methods which could open the way to progress.

Tarzi’s judgment became more severe when he gave his views on Afghan religious leaders, accusing them of narrow-minded fanaticism. He did not soften his opinion when describing what the mollās ought to be and what they in fact were and did. For it was under their influence, he hinted, that the very words “education” and “schools” had become void of meaning and were stigmatized as “blameworthy innovation (bed’at) and imitation (taqlid) opposed to religion and the nation” (23). They were the ones who caused difficulties when modern teaching methods were suggested (24), and who protested when they realized that they were loosing their audiences because of these schools.

The disagreement between Tarzi and the mollās was heightened by one specific matter, as was shown by the polemic that grew around the regular publication in Serāj ul-akhbār of a column called “Famous women of the world (nām-warān zanān-e jabān)”⁴. Tarzi had a double aim in publishing the series. He wished to publicize the exemplary lives of women who had distinguished themselves in history, by assembling a collection of biographies not yet published in the Persian language. This project, however, never materialized. Also, he was especially interested in reaching Afghan women readers, who were a small minority, he said. Protests raised by his initiative and addressed to the editor in two letters by a mollā from Qandahar, convinced Tarzi of the limitless incomprehension of

⁴ SA, I, 7, pp.8-10, to III, 24, selection of items taken from various sources and presented in alphabetical order.
religious leaders who denied women the right to study or acquire an education.

This narrowness of mind was bound to contaminate the people who were, as Tarzi lamented, practically in the power of the mollâs. They had vast audiences and could be obeyed blindly, as it pleased him to illustrate with a significant anecdote (25). In turn, this population, especially the women (26), followed the ignorant (27) and fraudulent (28) religious practices of these mollâs which the periodical reported in detail. On this point Tarzi’s solution was imperative: “Our dear country contains a plethora (kasrat) of experts (fozalâ va ‘olamâ) in sacred sciences, there is no need to coach any more of them in this domain” (29), and he invariably went on to stress the need to open schools, prepare intelligent books, and widen the sphere of progress.

However struck he was by Afghanistan’s backwardness and wasted time—“If we had set to work thirty years ago with efforts comparable to those of Japan and America... and if by the hundred our children had learnt every possible kind of science and technology...”—, Tarzi retained his optimism: “There is still time”, he assured his readers (30).

After intellectual deficiencies, Tarzi tackled the economic poverty of the country and passed on to a second target of criticism: the absence of any commercial organization in Afghanistan, which not only handicapped its economic development but represented a defect “contrary to the interest of the country”. The fact was that Afghanistan, an already “poor country, had no wide range of either commerce or imports” (31). That there was in Afghanistan no law, similar to those operating in Europe, to encourage the grouping of private commercial businesses. That “no one saw even the necessity for it”, was for Tarzi a serious state of affairs. The first two Afghan companies, one for automobile transport and the other for the organization of recreational facilities on the Chaman, were both created at the prompting of Emir Habibullâh, in an effort to wake the people

5 SA, III, 6, pp.11-13, a letter from mollâ Mohammad Rafiq, and reply by M. Tarzi; and 10, pp.7-10 (id.).
up at long last, encourage them to take an initiative and "lead them gradually into an atmosphere of order and organization" (32).

Then, Tarzi indicated some of the difficulties caused by petty trading. Individual shopkeeping was the only commercial activity practiced in Afghanistan. First of all there was the practice, common between Afghanistan and India, of smuggling goods such as wool (33) across the border, which benefited only a few people, to the detriment of the general public (34). Next, there were imports from abroad, particularly from India. One case described in Serāj ul-akhbār, dealt the country’s health a double blow. It concerned the importation into Afghanistan of very many copies of the Koran, edited and printed in Lahore, such as Afghanistan was incapable of producing for lack of suitable equipment, but which it could scarcely do without. The massive purchases meant that each year important sums of money left the country, a considerable loss considering how such sums could have been used at home. In addition, the printing was done in a non-Muslim state, without being checked by the religious authorities, by a non-Muslim business enterprise, rather than by a qualified religious body. Consequently, the text of the sacred Book had been so badly corrupted that it was a slur on religion and a danger for the education of the children. As a possible solution, Tarzi proposed the creation of a "Society of the Afghan book (sherkat-e kotobiya-e afghāniya)" , a "non-profit making society with religious aims", which would remedy these shortcomings. It would have operated commercial exchanges with equivalent societies in Peshawar and in the Punjab, and even published non-religious works if required (35).

Elsewhere Tarzi suggested that the merchants of Kōh-dāman combine the wholesale trading of grapes and other fruits and thus organize commercial exchanges with similar companies in Nangarhār province, specializing in rice and sugar cane (36).

Insufficient facilities evident in such sectors as education and trade were matched by those in medicine. Undoubted efforts had been taken, but again these were limited to the city of Kabul.
Since service were inadequate even in the city, there could be no question of meeting the needs of the whole population (37). Finally where some kind of structure did exist, such as the traditional accounting system, it was often wrong, slow and "incomprehensible" as Mohammad Hosayn who was actually in charge of the state finance described it (38).

Corruption was sometimes practiced on a large scale, which reflected complete decadence in moral standards, Tarzi noted. Here he denounced the venality of provincial governors, who were often still poor when they were nominated, and then in no time acquired money and land at the expense of those they administered. The same thing happened among the mirzâs of bureaucracy (39) and among doctors who were known to sell medicines they were supposed to supply free of charge (40). Then there was the case of the money which the Afghan people donated for the victims of the Italo-Turkish war; no one knew, "but it would be interesting to know" what became of it after it was handed over to the esbik-âqâsi (41). These are some of the reasons why Prince Amânullâh decided, as Tarzi recorded, "to put an end to corruption (resbwat-khwârî) and to break up the bands of thieves and robbers" on one occasion when he had temporarily taken charge of the government (42).

2. The forces of hope

In the summer of 1914 Serâj ul-akbbâr published a significant article by Tarzi. Entitled "Afghanistan, the importance of its geographic situation, and its political importance", it was a geopolitical article considerably ahead of its time (43). Later, inaugurating the seventh year of its publication, the paper carried a no less pregnant essay entitled "Afghanistan's potential for progress and
civilization. The natural religious, social and political resources of Afghanistan” (44). Thus, Tarzi twice took the opportunity of emphasizing the Afghan position, clearly defining the place of Afghans in relation to the world and amongst themselves. Elsewhere he focused on the character of the country, a state and a nation which was hardly known, explaining that “because there is only one country in the world which has relations with us, it has presented us in the way that suited it best” (45). Many elements from these long articles have already been quoted previously, but to recall them here is to recall the ideas which led their author to compose them. The precipitous events of World War I acted, it seems, as the drop which made the bowl run over, and contributed to Tarzi’s suddenly increased interest in the Afghan scene. The force of his nationalist feelings was equalled only by his anti-imperialistic convictions. The crux of the matter was that Tarzi felt even more strongly that Afghanistan needed to shake itself free of the British completely. They were, after all, responsible for Afghanistan’s isolation and for its internal dissensions.

In the first of these articles in which Tarzi described his country as a “fortress of Asia”, he was thinking primarily of the political situation which had long placed Afghanistan at the heart of Anglo-Russian rivalries in this part of the continent. Previously he had once used the already customary expression “buffer state (bâjeb)” between Great Britain and Russia (46), and made an allusion to “the rights and duties” this situation implied for Afghanistan. Hence, the rôle Tarzi ascribed to Afghanistan within Asia: “an axis in the balance of peace” (47). But by recapitulating an argument that had extended over seven years, a certain number of traits other than those concerning its politics were isolated in order to describe this fortress which was still impregnable, according to Tarzi. Natural conditions, man-made qualities and the environment were additional facets to be considered.

It is no exaggeration to begin by saying, as did Tarzi, that Afghanistan, a chain of mountains, difficult of access, already looks
Fig. 15 Serāj ul-akhbār, 7th year, nr. 22, p. 1
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Fig. 16 Serāj ul-akhbār, 7th year, nr. 22, p. 9
like a natural fortress, and that nature had endowed it with many gifts. The fact that it lacked openings through which it could look out and through which it could be observed was certainly a handicap. This handicap was partly compensated for, according to Tarzi, by the talents of its people, which he never underestimated (48). Their warlike talents were universally recognized, he said. This made the Afghan people a nation of soldiers; a brave, courageous people who, in the profession of arms, owed nothing to anyone (49).

In time, two incomparable “gifts” were bestowed on this people, continued Tarzi. One of these, “the best one”, Islam, was acquired twelve centuries ago; the other, attained less than two centuries ago, was its independence (50). These were two of Tarzi’s favourite subjects, which were avidly repeated again and again in the periodical, in verse and in prose, not only by Tarzi but also by his friends, with increasing passion.

Afghanistan was always depicted as an independent Muslim state. Its Muslim character was never contested, unlike its independence. Independence was questioned mostly by outsiders, through the foreign press, in a common attempt to provoke a denial and thereby force the government to dissociate itself from the ideals expressed in the country. Tarzi could not keep silent, as he himself said, but he avoided a potential pitfall opened by his comments on the current political situation by using complex dialectical arguments, stressing that Seraj ul-akhabar was not the official voice of the state, but simply the interpreter of the nation’s feelings. In doing so, it was to be understood that the state (dawlat) also belonged to the nation\(^6\). He said that it had become “a sacred duty of love for his religion and for the state (din-dosti, dawlat-dosti)”, to reply, and a matter of national honour.

Tarzi looked at the independence of Afghanistan from two viewpoints. From the viewpoint of the “immutable” religion of Islam, this

\(^6\) SA, VII, 12, pp.15-16; and 13, pp.1-7, a reply by M.Tarzi to the Persian newspaper Chaman.
independence was intrinsic, since a Muslim state, he said, may be “beaten, broken or even destroyed”, but it cannot be non-independent or semi-independent, or spiritually dominated by a people of a different religion. Large groups of Muslims could “form a free government” by their own efforts “according to divine and civil laws (šarʾan ṣarfa)” . After that, independence could in no case be subject to “an internal aspect and an external aspect”. This expression was an allusion to Afghanistan’s dependence on the outside, which Tarzi obstinately refused to accept. This included double allusions to Afghanistan’s restricted policy and to the subsidies granted by Great Britain. Tarzi resolved the difficulty by pretending to find some justifications with which to answer the accusations once published by Chaman. He said that dependence on another country, or even on a different religion, implied the idea of tribute and Afghanistan, on the contrary, had always been on the receiving end, and had never given tribute.

From another viewpoint, which he called “the forever changing international law” in contrast to Islam’s immutable law, Tarzi explained how Afghan independence had evolved. First, he said that “the forever changing international law” had been defeated twice by the immutable law during the two Anglo-Afghan wars. Then, he articulated two essential points in a long essay: Afghanistan was never subjugated by a foreign country and it maintained control over its internal affairs on one hand, on the other hand Afghanistan was a free country. The first point was true in so far as the article specified that Afghanistan had indeed expelled the British invader and resisted occupation. It was inexact, however, in omitting any mention of the price Great Britain imposed for non-interference in Afghanistan’s internal affairs. As for the second point, Tarzi lauded Ahmad Shāh Dorrānī’s conquests in the name of freedom and the subsequent efforts he made for the homeland, for sovereignty, for territorial integrity and for the unity of the nation. Afghanistan had resisted the double weapon of European colonialism, as
Tarzi called it, consisting of a forceful occupation accompanied by the imposition of a new religion. For, he said, not without a touch of pride, Afghanistan was the only country which resisted the penetration of missionaries, and even to this day it was the only spot on earth "without the slightest trace of the Trinity" (51).

Nevertheless, on internal matters Tarzi seems once again to be indulging in wishful thinking when he affirmed that "the form of government of Afghanistan is essentially national (mellati) without the slightest touch of despotism" (52). It is striking to note how Tarzi's great desire for a permanent dialogue between the authorities and the populace is linked paradoxally with his categorical refusal to countenance the emergence of political parties. A republic or any other form of popular government besides royalty was anathema to Tarzi.

Finally, although it was isolated within the mountains of Asia, Afghanistan was not isolated from the Muslim world. On the contrary, it was situated at the heart of an agglomeration of millions of Muslims (53). Their proximity on such a vast scale in Turkestan, India, Baluchistan, Persia and far beyond, presented, according to Tarzi's dearest wish an unique opportunity "to build a strong religious policy". This did not materialize. Tarzi liked to emphasize that in spite of wars and upheavals of all kinds, Afghanistan stood forth as a privileged country, because it was a quiet, alert and watchful country and suspected far stronger than many. This was corroborated by testimonies from parts as far distant as Salonica, and Tokyo, and from the Muslim press which presented Afghanistan and the Emir as symbols of salvation and hope for Muslims.

7 SA, II, 1, p.9; V, 13, p.2; and M.Tarzi, Ayā che bāyad kard?, Kabul, 1912, pp. 1-10.
8 SA, I, 20, p.13. kbotba spoken by the governor of Salonica, reproduced by Al-Helal ul-osmani.
10 SA, II, 19, p.8 (Sada-e baqq); III, 11, p.14 (Terjuman); V, 17, p.3, letter from Ferghana, etc.
But Tarzi did not stop there; complete independence was his goal. Thus, when Great Britain prepared to make her reckoning towards the end of the World War, Tarzi discarded all pretenses and announced that independence must be the price of Afghanistan’s neutrality, asserting that Afghanistan should become “a wall of iron (dewâr-e ában)” in Asia and once again he called on his compatriots to unite, to obey the head of state and respect sacred values such as religion, state, nation and the homeland.

Shortly afterwards, in the spring of 1918, the treaty of Brest-Litovsk appeased him and gave him confidence. For the first time the great countries of the world recognized, accepted and respected the political and economic independence, the sovereignty and territorial existence of Afghanistan (54). But Serāj ul-akbbār did not have much longer to live.

11 SA, VII, 19, p.16, reply to Lord Chelmsford.
10

CONCLUSION
It is difficult not to be struck by the singular contrast between the multiplicity of subjects broached in *Seraj ul-akhbâr* and the intellectual poverty which reigned in Afghanistan in the first years of the century. In fact, the local cooperation which Tarzi had hoped for in spite of everything, did not materialize, except in the literary column. In his evaluation at the end of the first year Tarzi deplored the fact that he had not succeeded in awakening the interest of the merchants and great landowners (1). At the end of the second year he was frankly embittered (2), and at the beginning of the fourth year he was no less so (3).

Tarzi's dream that *Seraj ul-akhbâr* might become “an itinerant school bringing knowledge”, a school open to “the whole nation”, “a high school ... which hastens ... to serve the pupils” (4) was also unrealized. In reality, the periodical was forced by circumstances to become an organ of Kabul's élite. Tarzi exploited every means in order to reach a wider public. A long account about celebrations in Kabul was expressly addressed to readers in the provinces and abroad (5); he introduced more columns, one on religion, “because it is a Muslim paper” (6), one on agriculture, to catch the interests of the landowners (7); and a military column was started at the request of some readers and then dropped for lack of encouragement (8). His attempts to include a column addressed to women also petered out and government offices in Kabul did not even respond to his appeals (9).

Faced with such indifference and misconceptions, Tarzi took refuge in an attitude that might be called impersonal, because he stopped taking notice of the various classes of his readers. He was left with the conviction that his periodical, as he had defined it from the very beginning, emanated from his sense of duty (*wazifa*) towards the whole of the Afghan nation, a sacred duty, which he believed was “a necessary promise which man makes to himself in all conscience” (10). Tarzi felt that this promise to inform and awaken the Afghan nation, to serve it, as well as the state, the homeland and religion was his primary duty. He fulfilled this promise with the same vigor he defended other causes. While presenting
problems, suggesting and urging solutions, he referred repeatedly to
the character of his mission, through the intermediary of the periodi-
cal, and vice versa. At times he did so in the hope of learning whether
he had been successful.

Thus, his achievement during those seven years appeared to be a
real tour de force, and indeed it was. In the first place, since there was
almost no precedent, the very establishment of *Serâj ul-akhbâr* pre-
sented great practical difficulties. Tarzi surmounted these difficulties,
overcoming the technical problems with such mastery that the result
was an impeccable presentation without the slightest misprint. Natu-
urally the honour for this material perfection was shared with the
small team of printers trained by Tarzi himself, and with his two
co-journalists. After the personnel, the working tools had to be found.
One of the major problems was that all things arriving from abroad
had to pass through Peshawar and through the Afghan agent operating
there, a kind of bottleneck which caused considerable delays, made
worse no doubt by strict mailchecks. Thus, the foreign press which
arrived very irregularly, and a makeshift private library were the only
sources at the disposal of the journalists.

In the absence of public libraries, which Tarzi often complain-
ed about (11), he had to rely greatly on his own resources. Tarzi
was not short of those, and his collaborators attended a great
school. *Serâj ul-akhbâr* lived for practically seven years on the intellec-
tual capital of its editor, which dated back to the time when, in the
Ottoman Empire he had access to all kinds of information; a capital
of knowledge which had matured with time, which adapted itself to
changes in taste and events, but which did not renew itself by outside
contacts, except through occasional press publications.

Tarzi never left Afghanistan during the entire *serâjiya* reign and
had no opportunity to re-experience the stimulating encounters of his
earlier days. Leading a sedentary life for fifteen years, he did not pos-
sess the internationalism of *Sayyed* Jamâl ud-din, for example, who
travelled about all his life. Being the head of a family, he did not have
the same freedom of movement enjoyed by Jamâl ud-din, who was a
bachelor. For fifteen years Tarzi relied upon his memory, his notes
and his intelligence. In all, it can be said that Tarzi worked mostly alone, in a closed circle, in a closed country. He called himself a journalist and only that, but he went far beyond the limits of the profession, proving to be in turn a teacher whose language was necessarily pitched at the level of an uninstructed audience, a moralist distributing reprimands and advice, a politician against his wish, a poet, a learned man, and a thinker. Above all, however, Tarzi remained a Muslim and an Afghan.

His ideas were simple and simply expressed. Tarzi was not a man to indulge in abstract speculations or theological and mystical visions or eschatological perspectives. He was a man of sense, faithful to a few leading ideas. His spirit was filled equally with hope and despair, as he viewed the precarious situation of the Muslim world. Then he strove to define the anchor of salvation which was the same for both the entire Muslim block and for each particular people, for established states and minorities. A convinced, modernist Muslim such as Tarzi could sum up this anchor in two words: Islam and science. Tarzi not only saw them as essentially and necessarily compatible, but he placed them on an equal footing. He praised the moral virtues and human qualities of Islam not only because they provided the Muslim faithful with salvation, but because they were of immediate benefit in this world. According to Tarzi, the most urgent need for the Muslim world was to resist colonialist pressures towards the East, and, the only path to victory that he could see was through the unity of hearts and people; only unity would transcend political frontiers and differences in dogma. Tarzi wanted Islam, the support of union, to become a political weapon in the hands of Muslims against the West, just as Christianity had been and still was utilized by the West against the East. The other weapon, along with Islam, and just as necessary in a world where final victory goes to the strongest, was science, the whole of science, with all its formidable potential for invention, and particularly technology. Science was again a weapon used by the civilized Westerners against the deprived East which could be turned against the West through constant efforts by Easterners. In his discourses especially addressed
to Afghans, Tarzi pointed out the fact that they had never known foreign occupation, except for very short periods by the British during the wars, nor had they had any direct contact with a Christian population. This enabled him to enlighten them on the meaning of colonialism and Christian expansion.

The fact that such ideas reached Afghanistan, a country whose sovereigns had for almost two centuries been exclusively preoccupied with the protection of their throne and borders, appears extraordinary. Two elements worked in favour of implanting these ideas, or rather in favour of their author. One was political, the other personal. The period of calm which Afghanistan experienced at the turn of the century was a recent phenomenon. It was only after the last upheaval of the Second Anglo-Afghan War, when the strong hand of the newly emerged Abd ur-Rahmân put a break on foreign ambitions and a stop to family quarrels, that the land seemed ready to receive something fruitfully. The accession of Habibullâh in 1901, on a secure basis, augured well for the future and this augury was confirmed ten years later, in 1911, with the publication of Serâj ul-akhbâr. In the meantime there had been a meeting between Emir Habibullâh and M. Tarzi, two men of the same generation, but of entirely different educational backgrounds and intellectual levels, with entirely different ambitions. Both men however, had enterprising minds whose agreement was the essential prerequisite for launching the periodical a few years later. Before the friendly understanding between the two men faded, Tarzi used his powers of persuasion towards alleviating certain needs of the country. Some of Tarzi's ideas could easily be recognized in the Emir's long speeches at audiences, particularly his insistence on the need to educate everybody, to establish a dialogue between the sovereign and his subjects, to stay a unified nation in spite of events. None of these ideas engaged the nation beyond its borders.

But things changed in the long run. Again under Tarzi's impulse, a few Turkish experts settled in Afghanistan, and Habibiya School, which was already functioning when Tarzi arrived in the country, adapted a curriculum resembling the system instituted in
the Ottoman Empire during the previous half century and favoured by modernists. But the situation changed above all when a new fact dawned on many minds. People began to see that Afghanistan could have dealings with more that one foreign power, and not only non-Muslim Great Britain, and that the Muslim world could fight for its own existence and total independence. It was enough to look beyond the borders, beyond just Great Britain in India, to be convinced of this.

Inaugurated discreetly with some external signs of ottomanism—Tarzi preferred to see his country Turkized rather than Anglicized in the Indian way—, the change further developed in depth with the pro-Turkish stance that some Afghans took during the World War. From then on the change was increasingly broadened on the ideological plane directed more specifically towards Islam, anti-imperialism and nationalism. Tarzi was the inspirator for this change, *Serāj ul-akhbār* its instrument.

After seven long years of enlightenment, *Serāj ul-akhbār* revealed the imperialist policy of Great Britain, the grandeur of the Afghan Muslim nation and the necessity for its total independence. But then, the end of *Serāj ul-akhbār* was accelerated by a chain of events and the newspaper was finally silenced in December 1918. Emir Habibullāh left for Jalalabad for the winter months. His return to Kabul was awaited to cancel an order prohibiting the publication of an article about the independence of Afghanistan, so as to enable the periodical to resume publication1. Instead of this, exactly two months later, on 20 February 1919, the Emir was assassinated near Jalalabad. Six months later, in August 1919, after some short hostilities initiated by the new sovereign, Amānullāh, Afghanistan freed itself from Great Britain and proclaimed its independence.

Had it not been the intransigence of Emir Abd ur-Rahmān, the family of M. Tarzi, including himself, might have not left Afghanistan. "If we had stayed in our dear homeland, destiny would not have made us travel across distant lands, and we would not have been forced to associate and consort with many adherents of different

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1 Personal communication.
creeds, and we would ourselves have said nothing about these subjects” (12), noted Tarzi.

Under Emir Habibullâh, Tarzi returned to his “dear homeland” and Serâj ul-akbbâr was born. “If Serâj ul-akbbâr-e afgâniya did not exist in Afghanistan, Afghanistan would be for us a locked casket, a sealed envelop” (13). It would be difficult to improve on this statement from the Moradabad paper, Al-Moshir.

Without Mahmud Tarzi, finally, one can suppose that the royal Afghan court would have adopted more and more of an Indo-British style and that Afghanistan would have remained in the British orbit. It is evident that the country would not have experienced that swing towards the Ottoman world and the Middle East, which made it culturally a part of western Asia, and no longer of southern Asia, and which led in onto a new path, patiently traced out and lit by the ephemeral torch of Serâj ul-akbbâr.
PASSING REFERENCES TO SERĀJ UL-AKBĀR
2 Biography of Mahmud Tarzi pp.45-61

(1) SA, III, 1, p.8; VI, 5, pp.12-13; and VII, 8, p.8.
(2) SA, II, 18, p.3.
(3) SA, II, 19, p.13.
(4) SA, III, 19, p.7.
(5) SA, VII, 10, p.4.
(6) SA, VI, 5, p.2.
(7) SA, VI, 5, p.4.
(8) SA, I, 19, p.1; and III, 24, p.2.
(9) SA, VII, 17, p.16; and 19, pp.3-4.
(10) SA, II, 3, p.6 (press).
(11) SA, V, 14, p.4 (press).
(12) SA, VI, 3, pp.3-10, Soltân Mohammad is the translator, L.Zaydân, the author.
(13) SA, VI, 5, pp.1-8.
3 Description of Serāj ul-akhbār pp. 63-81

(2) SA, II, 20, p.12.
(3) SA, VI, 8, p.16.
(4) SA, III, 17, p.9.
(5) SA, IV, 5, p.7.
(7) SA, I, 11, p.6; 17, p.10 etc.
(8) SA, VIII, 1, cover.
(9) SA, I, 12, of 20 March 1912.
(10) SA, V, 2, p.4.
(11) SA, III, 24, p.4.
(12) SA, I, 24, pp.4-5; VII, 24, p.2 etc. and see covers.
(13) SA, I, 24, p.4.
(14) SA, III, 6, p.12.
(15) SA, VI, 1, p.8.
(16) Ibid.
(17) SA, II, 20, cover.
(18) SA, II, 10, p.11.
(19) SA, V, 2, p.4.
(20) SA, VI, 5, cover, the following numbers had run out: I, 16; IV, 1 to 12; and V, 1 to 3.
(21) SA, I, 24, p.7.
(22) SA, VII, 24, p.2.
(23) SA, III, 9, cover.
(24) SA, III, 21, cover.
(25) SA, IV, 24, p.2.
(26) SA, II, 19, p.2.
(27) SA, II, 5, p.9.
(28) SA, II, 17, p.9; and VI, 1, p.4.
(29) SA, IV, 3, p.2.
(30) SA, VII, 1, pp.9-10.
(31) SA, IV, 19, p.7; and V, 3, p.4.
(32) SA, I, 18, p.7; and II, 11, p.9.
(33) SA, V, 19, p.7.
(34) SA, VI, 1, p.8.
(35) SA, I, 2, p.7.
3 Description of Serāj ul-akhbār pp.63-81

(36) SA, II, 12, cover.
(37) SA, II, 13, cover.
(38) SA, III, 9, p.16.
(39) SA, V, 1, cover.
(40) SA, II, 22, cover.
(41) SA, III, 6, cover.
(42) SA, I, 12, p.3; 24, pp.4-5; II, 24, p.3 etc.
(43) SA, VII, 15, pp.1-2.
(44) SA, IV, 4, p.2.
(45) SA, VII, 13, p.2.
(46) SA, VII, 19, p.5.
(47) SA, VII, 9, p.5.
(48) SA, I, 2 to III, 24, An Inquiry into the nature and the causes of the Wealth of Nations ('Elm-e sarwat-e melal).
(49) SA, VII, 15, p.10.
(50) SA, VI, 24, p.5.
(51) SA, VII, 23, p.10.
(52) SA, VII, 19, pp.1-2 (correspondence).
(53) SA, II, 18, pp.7-8.
(54) SA, VI, 5, p.13 (translated by Mohammad Zamān).

(1) Description taken from SA, I, 8, pp. 1-2; 9, pp. 1-2; II, 10, p. 2; and VI, 13, pp. 1-2.

(2) SA, I, 13, pp. 2-3 (Ali Ahmad); and II, 11, p. 5.

(3) SA, I, 13, pp. 1-3.

(4) SA, II, 10, pp. 2-3; and VI, 13, p. 1.

(5) SA, II, 1, p. 4; 7, pp. 2-4; and VII, 2, pp. 1-3.

(6) SA, II, 7, p. 4; and IV, 9, p. 3.

(7) SA, II, 1, p. 6; 3, pp. 2-4; 17, p. 4; 19, pp. 3-4; and III, 3, p. 4.


(10) SA, II, 3, pp. 2-3; 5, p. 2; and 19, pp. 2-3.

(11) SA, I, 24, p. 4; and VII, 1, p. 2.

(12) SA, II, 17, p. 12.

(13) SA, II, 12, pp. 1 (photograph) and 2-4.

(14) SA, VII, 15, pp. 2-4.

(15) SA, VII, 19, pp. 1-3, letter from the Governor of Herat, Mohammad Solaymân, and photographs of the mosque.

(16) SA, II, 3, p. 3; and VII, 11, p. 11 (photograph).

(17) SA, II, 4, pp. 4-5 (photographs).

(18) SA, II, 5, p. 2.

(19) SA, III, 22, p. 5 (photograph).

(20) SA, II, 15, p. 1 (photograph).

(21) SA, III, 18, p. 5 (photograph); 20, p. 11 (id.), and V, 19, p. 5 (id.).

(22) SA, IV, 22, p. 12 (photograph); and V, 19, p. 6 (id.).

(23) SA, VI, 13, pp. 5-6 (photographs); 14, pp. 6 (poor photograph) and 11 (photograph); 19, p. 11 (id.); and VII, 6, p. 6 (id.).

(24) SA, V, 1, p. 5 (portrait).

(25) SA, III, 1, p. 5; and VII, 1, p. 4, twice the same negative, but the second time printed in red ink on glossy paper, with caption.

(26) SA, II, 23, pp. 6-8.

(27) SA, IV, 20, p. 4.

(28) SA, VII, 1, p. 3.

(29) Ibid.

(30) SA, VII, 22, p. 2.

(31) SA, I, 11, p. 7-8; and VII, 1, p. 3.

(32) SA, III, 13, p.4; and VII, 7, p.6.
(33) SA, II, 9, pp.10-12.
(34) SA, VI, 1, pp.2-3.
(35) SA, I, 14, pp.5-6 (Ali Ahmad); 15 pp.3-5 (id.); 16, supplementary page (id.); 17, pp.5-6 (id.); 18, pp.3-4 (id.); 19, p.3; II, 4, pp.3-11 (Ali Ahmad) and 12-14 (account by Mohammad Nāder).
(36) SA, I, 20, p.4.
(37) SA, IV, 6, p.8 (correspondence); 21, pp.9-10 (id.); and V, 10, pp.4-7 (id.).
(38) SA, V, 13, p.7 (press).
(39) SA, II, 21, p.6 et seq.
(41) SA, V, 2, pp.2-3.
(42) SA, II, 21, p.6.
(43) SA, II, 6; 20; III, 19; IV, 5; 8, etc.
(44) SA, II, 24; III, 2; 8; 17 etc.
(45) SA, I, 4; II, 16; VII, 6; 10 etc. For some biographical details given on the occasion of his death, see SA, VIII, 4, pp.10-11.
(46) SA, II, 16; 23; III, 1; and 8.
(47) SA, V, 8, pp.2-3, by Mostaghni; 13, pp.2-5, by Salāh ud-din Saljuqi; VI, 8, pp.1-2, by Abd ur-Rasul, etc.
(48) SA, II, 15, p.15, by Besmel; and III, 1, pp.13-14, by Mostaghni.
(49) SA, V, 4, pp.4-7.
(50) SA, VII, 8, pp.7-10.
(51) SA, II, 19, p.5; IV, 18, p.1; 20, pp.3-4 etc.
(52) SA, VII, 14, p.9; 17, p.9; and 22, pp.8-9.
(53) SA, VII, 13, p.9.
(54) SA, VII, 13, p.10; and VIII, 4, p.13.
(55) SA, VII, 14, p.3.
(56) SA, VII, 14, pp.4-5; and VIII, 3, p.3.
(57) SA, VII, 6, pp.3-4; and 9, pp.5-9, extract from a Turkish work by H. Wahabi.
(58) SA, V, 4, pp.7-8.
(59) SA, VI, 20, pp.7-8 (in Pashtō, by Sāleḥ Mohammad); and 22, p.9.
(60) SA, II, 20, p.13.
(61) SA, III, 20, p.11.
(62) SA, II, 21, pp.6-8; and III, 4 to 24 entitled “Example (ebrat-nāma)".

(63) SA, V, 2, p.3; VI, 22, pp.9-10; and VII, 8, pp.12-13.
(64) SA, VI, 20 et seq.
(65) SA, III, 20; IV, 8; 16; 23 etc.
(66) SA, IV, 17; V, 4; 19 etc.
(67) SA, IV, 6, p.7.
(68) SA, VI, 8, pp.1-2.
(69) SA, VI, 9, p.4.
(70) SA, VI, 14, pp.8-9.
(71) SA, VII, 5; 10; 11; and 14.
5 Emir Habibullāb, the court, the capital pp. 103-125

(1) SA, I, 16, p. 2; and IV, 22, p. 4.
(2) SA, II, 11, p. 2.
(3) SA, I, 20, pp. 6-10; 21, pp. 1-2; II, 14, pp. 2-3; 21, pp. 2-4; IV, 23, pp. 2-3; and V, 23-24, pp. 1-4.
(4) SA, III, 4, p. 2.
(5) SA, I, 17, pp. 3-4 (Abd ur-Ra'uf); II, 17, pp. 2-3; and VI, 1, pp. 2-3.
(6) SA, III, 1, pp. 4-5 (Ali Ahmad).
(7) SA, III, 1, p. 5.
(8) SA, II, 17, p. 16.
(9) SA, I, 4, pp. 1-2; IV, 17, pp. 1-2; and VI, 4, pp. 2-3 (Abd ur-Rahmān).
(10) SA, VII, 6, pp. 1-3.
(11) SA, VI, 1, pp. 1-2; and VII, 19, p. 2.
(12) SA, VIII, 1, p. 11.
(13) SA, II, 21, p. 4.
(14) SA, I, 16, p. 6.
(15) SA, I, 5, p. 4; and VI, 10, p. 3.
(16) SA, III, 1, p. 6; 17, p. 2; and V, 20, p. 2.
(17) SA, I, 5, p. 6; II, 15, p. 10; and III, 8, p. 3.
(18) SA, VI, 10, pp. 2-3; 15, p. 7; VII, 8, p. 2; and 14, pp. 2-3.
(19) SA, IV, 3, p. 5 (portrait).
(20) SA, IV, 3, p. 6 (portrait).
(21) SA, IV, 3, p. 11 (portrait).
(22) SA, VI, 13, pp. 1-2; and 15, p. 2.
(23) SA, II, 23, p. 6; and III, 1, pp. 6-7.
(24) SA, I, 5, p. 4; and III, 10, p. 4.
(25) SA, V, 6, pp. 4-5.
(26) SA, II, 8, pp. 1-2; 14, p. 2; and 15, p. 2.
(27) SA, II, 15, p. 2; and VI, 1, p. 2.
(28) SA, II, 14, pp. 2-3.
(29) SA, VI, 10, p. 3.
(30) SA, VI, 15, p. 2.
(31) SA, III, 5, p. 3; and V, 20, pp. 2 et seq.
(32) SA, III, 19, pp. 8-9.
(33) SA, I, 1, p. 3; 5, p. 3; II, 23, p. 6 etc.
(34) SA, V, 16, pp. 2-3.
(35) SA, IV, 2, p. 2.
5 Emir Habibullāh, the court, the capital, pp. 103-125

(36) SA, II, 8, p.2.
(37) SA, II, 1, p.6.
(38) SA, I, 19, p.2.
(39) The following description is taken from SA, I, 1, pp.2-4; 20, pp.1-3; III, 1, p.7; VI, 4, pp.2-4; VII, 21, p.2 etc.
(40) SA, III, 17, p.5 (photograph).
(41) SA, II, 5, p.11 (photograph).
(42) SA, I, 19, pp.2-3; II, 6, p.8 (photograph); and 19, p.11 (id.).
(43) SA, I, 2, p.3; 21, p.3; and II, 1, p.6.
(44) SA, I, 17, p.3 (Abd ur-Ra’uf).
(45) SA, I, 7, p.3; II, 1, pp.4-5; VI, 15, p.3; and 18, p.5 (photograph).
(46) SA, II, 1, p.5; and 10, p.2.
(47) SA, III, 1, p.7.
6 An outline of organization pp. 127-149

(1) SA, I, 12, p.2; 20, pp.4-6; and II, 4, p.3.
(2) SA, III, 4, p.4.
(3) SA, VII, 13, p.11.
(4) SA, IV, 5, p.7; and 12, p.4.
(5) SA, I, 14, p.2.
(6) SA, II, 22, p.7.
(7) SA, VII, 15, p.5; and 21, p.10 (group photograph).
(8) SA, II, 4, p.3; 22, p.6; and VII, 21, p.9 (group photograph).
(9) SA, V, 20, pp.2-3; and VII, 3, pp.1-3.
(10) SA, VIII, 2, p.3.
(11) SA, I, 15, p.4; and III, 5, p.12.
(12) SA, IV, 4, p.3.
(13) SA, III, 9, p.3.
(14) SA, II, 11, pp.2-3.
(15) SA, IV, 5, p.4.
(16) SA, I, 16, p.4; and III, 12, p.5 (portrait).
(17) SA, IV, 15, pp.1 and 3.
(18) SA, I, 16, pp.1-4; and IV, 5, pp.2-3.
(19) SA, II, 20, pp.3-4.
(20) SA, III, 3, p.3.
(21) SA, IV, 15, p.3.
(22) SA, I, 2, p.2; and 8, p.2.
(23) SA, I, 11, p.1; II, 3, p.4 etc.
(24) SA, I, 23, p.8; and II, 9, p.2.
(25) SA, I, 22, p.4; and IV, 10, p.3.
(26) SA, II, 9, p.2; and 13, cover.
(27) SA, II, 22, p.6; and IV, 21, p.2.
(28) SA, VIII, 18, p.7.
(29) SA, III, 13, p.4; and IV, 19, p.3.
(30) SA, III, 14, p.3-4; VII, 7, pp.4-6; and VIII, 1, pp.4-5.
(31) SA, IV, 19, p.3.
(32) SA, VIII, 1, p.5.
(33) SA, VII, 15, p.6.
(34) SA, VIII, 16, p.6.
(35) SA, IV, 19, pp.3-4; and 23, p.3.
(36) SA, VII, 17, p.11.
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(37) SA, VII, 7, p.9.
(38) SA, V, 2, p.4.
(39) SA, I, 14, pp.6-7; and VII, 15, p.8.
(40) SA, VIII, 3, pp.5-6.
(41) SA, III, 14, p.5 (portrait).
(42) SA, I, 12, pp.11-12; and III, 17, pp.1-3.
(43) SA, VI, 21, pp.1-2.
(44) SA, IV, 20, pp.9-13; and V, 1 to 5.
(45) SA, II, 5, p.13; and VII, 7, p.5.
(46) SA, VII, 6, pp.2-3.
(47) SA, I, 2, p.1.
(48) SA, I, 7, p.2; 10, p.4; 20, p.2; II, 21, p.4; III, 7, pp 4-5 (photographs of two of the company's cars); and VII, 15, p.9.
(49) SA, II, 18, p.2.
(50) SA, I, 10, pp.3-4.
(51) SA, I, 8, p.2.
(52) SA, III, 1, pp.3-4.
(53) SA, I, 7, p.2; and II, 1, p.7.
(54) SA, I, 6, pp.1-2.
(55) SA, II, 15, p.2; and VI, 1, p.2.
(56) SA, III, 20, p.2.
(57) SA, VIII, 1, p.11.
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(1) SA, I, 12, p.1.
(2) SA, II, 5, pp.10-11.
(3) SA, II, 14, pp.9-11.
(4) SA, VI, 13, p.4.
(5) SA, I, 9, pp.10-11; 11, pp.9-10; IV, 16, p.8; and VI, 13, pp.4-5.
(6) SA, I, 19, p.12; IV, 7, pp.4-5; and VII, 19, p.6.
(7) SA, IV, 7, p.5.
(8) SA, II, 5, pp.2-3.
(9) SA, IV, 8, pp.7-8 (Abd ur-Rahmân).
(10) SA, I, 16, p.9, to 18, pp.10-13; and II, 17, pp.13-14, to 21, p.15 and 24, pp.8-11.
(13) SA, III, 2, pp.13-15, to 8, pp.11-12.
(15) SA, III, 8, pp.13-16; and 22, pp.13-14.
(16) SA, VI, 7, pp.4-7.
(17) SA, VI, 9, pp.6-7; 11, pp.7-8; 13, pp.2-4; 16, pp.4, 6-8; 18, pp.5-7; and 19, pp.4-7.
(18) SA, II, 13, pp.2-3; and VI, 13, p.4.
(19) SA, II, 9, pp.9-11.
(21) SA, VI, 4, pp.4-6.
(22) SA, VI, 4, p. 7, to 9, pp. 6-10, Paris; and 10, pp. 8-10, to 12, pp. 7-9, London.
(23) SA, VI, 6, pp.10-11.
(24) SA, VIII, 5, pp.8-11; and 6, pp.4-8.
(26) SA, II, 15, p.9.
(27) SA, VIII, 3, p.9.
(28) For example, SA, III, 10, pp.11 and 12; and 22, p.11, Paris; p.6, Fontainebleau; 13, p.11; IV, 11, pp.5-6, 11 and 12; 12, pp.5, 6, 11 and 12; and 16, pp.5 and 6, Istanbul; p.11, London; 15, pp.5, 6, 11 and 12; and 16, p.11, Agra; 17, p.5, Ajmer; V, 13, p.11, Simla; 22, pp.5. 6, Mecca; VI, 3, p.11; 4, pp.5 and 6, Delhi etc.
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(29) SA, VIII, 6, p. 8.
(30) SA, VI, 22, p. 7.
(31) Ibid.; and VII, 5, pp. 3-4.
(32) SA, VI, 22, p. 9.
(33) SA, VII, 5, pp. 4-6, entitled “History, legend, novel, short story”.
(34) SA, I, 17, p. 14; II, 2, pp. 13-14; and VII, 6, pp. 5-6.
(35) SA, I, 4, p. 9; and II, 15, p. 12.
(36) SA, V, 2, p. 3.
(37) SA, VII, 24, pp. 6-8, extract from J. Joubert.
(38) SA, I, 10, p. 2; 12, pp. 8-9 (Mehmed Fazli); VII, 24, pp. 8-9; VIII, 3, pp. 7-9; and 4, pp. 14-16.
(39) SA, I, 10, p. 2.
(40) SA, I, 2, p. 1; and 10, p. 1.
(41) SA, I, 7, pp. 7-8; and IV, 9, pp. 1-3.
(42) SA, I, 7, p. 1.
(43) Ibid.; and 8, pp. 11-12 (Mehmed Fazli).
(44) SA, I, 7, p. 1; and VII, 21, pp. 10-11.
(45) SA, I, 7, pp. 1-2.
(46) SA, I, 17, p. 15.
(47) SA, VII, 5, pp. 6-8; and 6, pp. 7-9.
(48) SA, I, 4, p. 12 (Mehmed Fazli).
(49) SA, I, 11, pp. 10-11 (Mehmed Fazli).
(50) SA, I, 13, pp. 13-14 (Mehmed Fazli).
(51) SA, V, 4, pp. 2-4.
(52) SA, V, 2, pp. 3-5.
(55) SA, V, 5, pp. 4-8.
(58) SA, IV, 23, pp. 8-10.
(60) SA, VII, 9, pp. 11-13; 10, pp. 2-4; 12, pp. 12-13; 14, pp. 7-8; and 15, pp. 10-13.
(61) SA, III, 18, p. 1.
(63) SA, III, 3, pp. 1-3; and IV, 22, p. 1.
(64) SA, I, 16, pp. 11-13.
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(65) SA, I, 20, p.2; and V, 5, p.2.
(66) SA, VII, 15, p.8.
(67) SA, III, 22, p.2.
(68) SA, II, 13, pp.1-2; III, 5, p.11; and VIII, 2, p.2.
(69) SA, I, 13, p.4; and IV, 4, p.2.
(70) SA, I, 12, p.11; 14, p.13; 15, p.13; 16, pp.13-14; and II, 8, pp.11-12.
(71) SA, I, 21, p.12.
(72) SA, II, 3, p.11.
(74) SA, II, 12, pp.12-13 (signed M.F.).
(75) SA, IV, 2, pp.9-10 (Abd ur-Rahmān).
(76) SA, IV, 5, pp.7-8; 12, pp.3-4; and VII, 18, pp.10-11 (Abd ul-Latif).
(78) SA, I, 10, p 2; and 24, p.11.
(80) SA, IV, 17, pp.7-8; VII, 17, pp.14-15; and VIII, 3, pp.6-7.
(81) SA, VII, 12, p.2, entitled “Philosophy of war and peace”.
(82) SA, I, 19, p.10; and II, 12, pp.4-6.
(84) SA, V, 20, pp.8-9.
(85) SA, V, 3, p.10 (Chebra-nomā).
(86) SA, VII, 13, p.13 (Abd ul-Hādi).
(87) SA, II, 9, p.10; and III, 6, p.4.
(88) SA, I, 19, p.11.
(89) SA, II, 10, pp.4-5.
(90) SA, I, 20, p.10.
(91) SA, I, 16, p.7; 20, p.10; VIII, 2, p.4 etc.
(92) SA, I, 19, pp.10-12, entitled “On the necessity of a world war”.
(93) SA, I, 15, p.11.
(94) SA, I, 21, pp.3-4; and II, 16, p.4.
(95) SA, I, 20, p.10; and II, 24, p.5.
(96) SA, III, 14, p.7.
(97) SA, III, 6, p.4.
(98) SA, I, 19, p.10.
(99) SA, I, 21, p.4.
(100) SA, II, 8, p.5.
(101) SA, II, 17, p.7.
(102) SA, II, 13, p.3; and 20, p.8.
(103) SA, I, 19, p.10; and VII, 12, p.3.
(104) SA, I, 19, p.12.
(105) SA, II, 1, p.16.
(106) SA, VII, 15, pp.2-3.
(107) SA, IV, 9, p.12.
(108) SA, VII, 12, p.3; and 15, p.3.
(109) SA, I, 18, p.5.
(110) SA, II, 5, p.5; and V, 7, p.3.
(111) SA, I, 19, p.4; II, 14, p.4; and IV, 16, p.11.
(112) SA, II, 17, p.9; and IV, 3, p.1.
(113) SA, I, 24, p.11; and IV, 3, p.1.
(114) SA, VII, 1, p.4.
(115) SA, II, 18, pp.7-8.
(116) SA, VII, 19, pp.10-16.
(117) SA, III, 7, p.5.
(118) SA, IV, 2, p.4; and 3, p.2.
(119) SA, I, 18, p.5; and II, 24, p.6.
(120) SA, III, 1, pp.11-12; and 3, pp.9-10.
(121) SA, VII, 18, p.7.
(122) SA, I, 8, pp.6-8 (Educate); and II, 17, p.9.
(123) SA, I, 14, pp.8-9 (Pioneer).
(124) SA, II, 5, p.9 (Pioneer).
(125) SA, I, 10, pp.4, 5 and 6 (Pioneer).
(126) SA, I, 12, pp.6-7.
(127) SA, I, 17, p.7; III, 7, p.5; and IV, 2, p.4.
(128) SA, I, 19, p.4; and II, 18, p.8.
(129) SA, III, 13, p.14 (correspondence); IV, 2, p.14 (press); 17, p.3 (corre-
spondence); 19, p.11 (press) etc.
(130) SA, VI, 9, p.9 (press); and VII, 3, p.11 (id.).
(131) SA, VII, 16, p.3.
(132) SA, VII, 19, p.12.
(133) SA, VII, 23, pp.15-16.
8 M. Tarzi and the Muslim world pp. 177-204

(1) SA, VII, 1, p.3.
(2) SA, I, 11, p.5; 12, p.7; 16, p.7; 18, p.5; II, 1, p.9 etc.
(3) SA, I, 7, p.5 (Habi ul-matin); III, 15, p.13 (Terjūman); V, 16, p.7 (Rad); 17 pp.12-13 (id.); VI, 2, pp.10-11 (Awāz-e islām); VII, 6, pp.11-12 (Chaman) etc.
(4) SA, I, 17, p.8 (Habi ul-matin); and 18, p.8.
(5) SA, I, 13, pp.3-4 (Tanin).
(6) SA, I, 16, p.7.
(7) SA, II, 10, pp.13-14.
(8) SA, VII, 12, pp.15-16, reply to Chaman.
(9) SA, I, 17, p.9; 18, p.8; and 21, pp.5-7, "Political relations between Afghanistan and Iran".
(10) SA, III, 1, p.11; and VII, 6, p.2.
(11) SA, I, 8, p.7; and II, 1, p.9.
(12) SA, I, 7, p.6.
(13) SA, IV, 15, p.9; and V, 7, p.3.
(14) SA, II, 12, p.6; and III, 21, p.3.
(15) SA, III, 12, pp.7-8 (Terjūman).
(16) SA, I, 5, p.6.
(17) SA, I, 12, p.7.
(18) SA, I, 18, p.5.
(19) SA, I, 7, p.4; and 8, pp.9-10.
(20) SA, II, 5, pp.5-6; 6, pp.4-5; and 13, p.7.
(21) SA, II, 4, pp.12-13 (Urdu press); 5, pp.6-7 (Al-Mo‘ayyed ul-gbarra); 6, pp.5-6 (Turkish press); 9, pp.3 et seq. (Arabic and Turkish press) etc.
(22) SA, II, 4, p.16.
(23) SA, II, 5, p.5; 13, p.7; and VI, 24, p.7.
(24) SA, II, 15, pp.6-7; and 24, p.4.
(25) SA, I, 11, pp.4-5.
(26) SA, II, 8, p.5; 11, pp.7-8, "The parties (ferqa-hā - pārti-hā)".
(27) SA, II, 21, p.8.
(28) SA, I, 10, pp.6-7, "Summary of the political situation in Istanbul"; II, 1, pp.8-9, 14 (press) etc.
(29) SA, II, 10, pp.12-13; and VI, 24, p.8.
(31) SA, IV, 19, p.9.
(33) SA, IV, 6, p.8; and 14, p.3.
(34) SA, IV, 6, pp.8-9 (Habi ul-matin).
(35) SA, IV, 7, pp.9-13 (Al-Helâl).
(36) SA, V, 1, pp.12-13; and 2, pp.6 and 12 (portraits).
(37) SA, IV, 9, p.12.
(38) SA, IV, 15, p.9; and 16, p.13.
(39) Ibiâ.; and V, 1, p.13.
(40) SA, V, 17, p.11.
(41) SA, I, 5, p.2.
(42) SA, VII, 23, pp.2-4.
(43) SA, V, 3, p.4.
(44) SA, I, 11, p.5; II, 1, pp.10-11; and 22, p.12.
(45) SA, I, 18, p.7; and 19, p.8.
(46) SA, II, 5, p.7; and 11, p.9.
(47) SA, III, 2, pp.4-8.
(48) SA, V, 23-24, pp.4-8.
(49) SA, II, 14, p.8 (press); and III, 1, p.11.
(50) SA, V, 22, p.12.
(51) SA, III, 23, pp.9-10 and 13 (Abd ul-Hâdî); and VI, 16, p.3.
(53) SA, II, 24, p.2.
(54) SA, I, 13, p.10; V, 1, pp.2-3; and 2, p.2.
(55) SA, III, 14, p.4, “The acquisition of science” (Munir Izzat Bey).
(56) SA, II, 19, p.7; 20, p.14; 21, p.9; 23, p.2; III, 12, p.3; 13, p.13; V, 1, pp.1-2; VI, 16, p.2 etc.
(57) SA, VI, 21, pp.8-9.
(58) SA, II, 21, p.2.
(60) SA, VII, 1, p.6.
(61) SA, II, 12, p.5; and 15, pp.6-7.
(62) SA, I, 15, pp.15-16.
(63) SA, I, 13, pp.10-11; and III, 21, p.3.
(64) SA, III, 8, p.7 (Abd ul-Hâdî).
(65) SA, I, 20, p.14; II, 16, pp.7-8; III, 5, p.4; 12, pp.2-3; V, 11, pp.7-8; VI, 16, pp.2-3; 21, p.9; VII, 15, p.8, etc.
8 M. Tarzi and the Muslim world, pp. 177-204

(66) SA, II, 13, p. 3; 16, p. 7; III, 9, p. 5; 12, p. 3; IV, 23, p. 23; V, 15, p. 1 (Abd ur-Rahman); VI, 18, p. 5 etc.

(67) SA, I, 22, p. 3; II, 9, p. 2; 24, p. 2; V, 1, p. 2 etc.

(68) SA, III, 3, p. 10.

(69) SA, II, 11, pp. 14-15 (Abd ur-Rabb); and III, 2, pp. 1-3 (id.).

(70) SA, I, 17, pp. 1-2 (Abd ur-Ra’uf); 24, p. 2; II, 22, pp. 1-4 (Abd ur-Ra’uf);
III, 19, p. 8; VI, 7, p. 1 (correspondence) etc.

(71) SA, II, 10, pp. 11-12.

(72) SA, II, 12, pp. 10-11 (Abd ur-Rabb); 22, pp. 1-4 (Abd ur-Ra’uf); 23, p. 1-2;
III, 11, pp. 1-3; 23, p. 2 (Molla Tuti); IV, 20, pp. 1-2; 22, pp. 12-15 (Abd ur-Rahman);
V, 11, pp. 1-5 (Abd al-Hadi); VII, 22, pp. 1-5 (id.) etc.

(73) SA, II, 13, p. 3; 20, p. 13; III, 8, pp. 8-9 (Abd al-Hadi); V, 21, pp. 2-4;
22, pp. 2-8 (translation); 23-24, pp. 9-10; VI, 14, p. 3; 15, pp. 9-10; 19,
pp. 3-4; and 20; pp. 8-10.

(74) SA, IV, 22, p. 10; and VII, 18, pp. 3-5.

(75) SA, IV, 14, pp. 5-13 (Abd ur-Rahman).

(76) SA, VII, 10 to 12, 14, 15, 17 and 18.

(77) SA, VII, 20, pp. 5-9.

(78) SA, VII, 21, pp. 3-7, to 23, pp. 6-8.

(79) SA, IV, 22, p. 11.

(80) SA, III, 9, pp. 9-10 (Abd ur-Rahman); and 14, p. 8 (Eqdam).

(81) SA, IV, 13, p. 7; V, 1, p. 2; VI, 14, p. 2; 16, pp. 3-4; and 17, pp. 5-8.

(82) SA, I, 13, p. 11.

(83) SA, VI, 21, p. 8.

(84) SA, I, 19, p. 11; and 23, p. 9.

(85) SA, I, 4, p. 9.

(86) SA, V, 1, p. 1.

(87) SA, III, 5, pp. 8-9 (Samarqand).

(88) SA, I, 12, p. 1; II, 9, pp. 1-2; 20, p. 13 etc.

(89) SA, V, 1, pp. 2-3.

(90) SA, I, 19, p. 11.


(92) SA, II, 20, p. 8.

(93) SA, V, 20, p. 8.

(94) SA, IV, 14, p. 13.

(95) SA, IV, 19, p. 1.

(96) SA, II, 2, pp. 2-3.
(97) SA, II, 2, pp.3-4; and III, 11, pp.13 and 15 (gbaxal).
(98) SA, VI, 24, pp.1-2.
(99) SA, V, 2, p.3.
(100) SA, II, 15, pp.10-12; and V, 23-24, pp.8-9 (Abd ul-Hādi).
(101) SA, I, 15, p.6; II, 23, p.13; and V, 1, pp.1-3.
(102) SA, III, 6, p.13; and 10, p.10.
(103) SA, II, 14, p.12 (Asb-Sb’ab ul-gbarra); 14, pp.6-7 (Tanin); 19, pp.8-10; and 23, pp.13-14.
(104) SA, I, 6, p.3 (’Alam); II, 5, p.7 (Sabul ur-reshad); and 21, p.1.
(105) SA, I, 7, p.9 (Urdu press).
(106) SA, I, 15, p.6; III, 19, p.7; and V, 13, p.2.
(107) SA, III, 17, p.8, “Praise and advantages of newspapers” (Abd ul-Hādi).
(108) SA, II, 14, p.4; III, 12, p.11 (press); and IV, 18, p.14 (id.).
(109) SA, IV, 6, p.8 (correspondence); and 21, pp.9-10 (id.).
(110) SA, III, 12, p.10.
(111) SA, VII, 6, pp.13-14 (Chaman).
(112) SA, VII, 15, p.13 (Chaman).
(114) SA, III, 12, p.10.
(115) SA, IV, 19, p.8.
(117) SA, V, 7, pp.1-3.
(118) SA, II, 17, p.7.
(120) SA, II, 18, pp.7-9.
(121) SA, II, 17, p.7; and IV, 20, pp.14-15.
(122) SA, I, 16, p.7; and 17, p.7.
(123) SA, IV, 15, p.8; and 19, pp.8-9.
(124) SA, V, 7, pp.1-3; and 13, pp.1-2.
(125) SA, IV, 20, pp.4-7; 22, pp.10-12; and 23, pp.5-7.
(126) SA, I, 23, p.7.
(127) SA, II, 21, p.2; III, 3, pp.1-3; and 9, p.6.
(128) SA, III, 9, pp.4-5.
(129) SA, V, 12, pp.1-2 (Abd ul-Hādi).
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(1) SA, IV, 19, p.9.
(2) SA, V, 10, p.2.
(3) SA, III, 4, p.5, "Politics".
(4) SA, III, 4, p.3.
(5) SA, VII, 1, pp.7-9.
(6) SA, III, 24, p.2.
(7) SA, IV, 2, p.3.
(8) SA, VI, 1, p.3.
(9) SA, VII, 16, p.6.
(10) SA, VII, 18, pp.4-7.
(11) SA, II, 9, p.2.
(12) SA, III, 24, pp.3-4; IV, 19, p.2; and VI, 1, p.4.
(13) SA, VI, 4, p.6; and VII, 19, p.5.
(14) SA, V, 2, p.5.
(15) SA, III, 9, p.16, advertisement; and VII, 18, p.8.
(16) SA, VII, 18, pp.7-8.
(17) SA, III, 1, p.6; and VI, 1, p.3.
(18) SA, I, 2, pp.9-10; and 3, pp.8-9.
(19) SA, I, 4, pp.7-8.
(21) SA, VII, 8, p.7.
(22) SA, I, 12, p.2.
(23) SA, VII, 16, p.4.
(24) SA, III, 24, p.3.
(25) SA, III, 19, pp.7-8.
(26) SA, III, 10, p.10.
(27) SA, VII, 19, pp.9-10 (correspondence).
(28) SA, VI, 22, pp.1-3.
(29) SA, VI, 1, p.4.
(30) SA, V, 20, pp.9-10; and VII, 16, p.4.
(31) SA, III, 21, p.2.
(33) SA, III, 10, p.2 (Chaman).
(34) SA, III, 22, p.2.
(35) SA, VII, 15, pp.6-10.
(36) SA, VII, 2, pp.2-3.
(37) SA, II, 3, p.10.
(38) SA, III, 10, p.4.
(39) SA, III, 4, pp.2-3.
(40) SA, II, 3, p.10.
(41) SA, III, 21, p.2.
(42) SA, VI, 10, p.3.
(43) SA, IV, 1, pp.3-6; 2, pp.1-3; and 3, pp.1-2.
(44) SA, VII, 1, pp.1-7; 16, pp.1-6; and 18, pp.4-8.
(45) SA, VII, 13, p.4.
(46) SA, I, 24, p.12.
(47) SA, IV, 2, p.1.
(48) SA, I, 16, p.7.
(49) SA, VIII, 2, p.3.
(50) SA, VII, 1, p.1.
(51) SA, II, 1, p.16; and VII, 17, p.2.
(52) SA, IV, 2, p.2.
(53) SA, IV, 1, p.6; and VII, 1, pp.3-5.
(54) SA, VII, 23, p.16.
10 Conclusion pp. 221-228

(1) SA, I, 24, p.5.
(2) SA, II, 24, p.3.
(3) SA, IV, 1, p.2.
(4) SA, V, 1, p.4.
(5) SA, I, 20, p.9.
(7) SA, IV, 23, p.8.
(8) SA, I, 12, p.11; and IV, 5, p.7.
(9) SA, III, 5, p.4; and IV, 19, p.7.
(10) SA, II, 24, p.3.
(11) SA, VI, 2, p.2.
(12) SA, II, 19, p.13
(13) SA, III, 11, p.11 (Al-Mosbir).
APPENDIX I

Genealogical tables

Signs and abbreviations:

⊙ = born
X = married
Xa) = first marriage
Xb) = second marriage, Xc) Xd), etc.
( = separated or divorced
† = died
Ca. = circa
/1905 = before 1905
w.p. = without posterity

Dates:
The underlined dates indicate the length of a reign.

Placenames:
The place of birth follows the sign ⊙.

When the places of death and of burial are known to be different, they are indicated as follows: the place of death follows the sign †, and the place of burial follows between brackets, the date of death. Otherwise there is only one placename mentioned.
GHOLAM MOHAMMAD, called “Tarzi-e afghan”

○ 1830 † Damascus 1900
Son of Rahmdeel, Sardār of Qandahar

Xa) “Bōbō jān”, niece of Pāyanda
1 Gol Mohammad † Kabul /1905

Xb) “Bibi Kô”, daughter of Mehrdel, Sardār of Qandahar
1 Khorshayd
2 Mohammad Zamān ○ 1848 † Kabul 1931
3 Shēr Mohammad † Qandahar
4 Mohammad Amin, called Andalib ○ 1855 † Qandahar Ca. 1875

Xc) Nārenj, from Kohistan
1 Abd ul-Khâleq † Kabul Ca. 1930
2 Sârâ † Istanbul 1934
3 Monawwar

Xd) Saltanat Bégom, Sadōzay † Kabul 1908
1 Hamdam Soltān † Peshawar
2 MAHMUD ○ Ghazni 1865 † Istanbul 1933

See below Table 2

Xe) Nazira, from Algeria ○ Damascus † Ca. 1967
1 Abdullāh
MAHMUD TARZI

○ Ghazni 1865 † Istanbul 1933
Son of Gholâm Mohammad

Xa) ? a Khôgyâni † Damascus /1891
1 Abd ul-Qâder † Damascus /1891

Xb) 1891 Asmâ Rasmîya † Istanbul 1945
Daughter of Mohammad Sâleh, from Aleppo

1 Khayriya, “Bibi” ○ Damascus 1893
X Enâyatullâh, son of Emîr Habibullâh

2 Huriya, “Huri” ○ Damascus 1895
Xa) Abd ur-Ra’uf, son of Nâyeb Habibullâh Tarzi ()
Xb) Gholâm Siddîq, son of Gholâm Haydar, from Charkh

3 Sorayâ ○ Damascus 1899 † Rome 1968 (Jalalabad)
X Amânullâh, son of Emîr Habibullâh

4 Abd ul-Wahhâb ○ Damascus 1903
X Khadija, daughter of Emîr Habibullâh

5 Abd ut-Tawwâb ○ Kabul 1907
X Zakîra, Turkish

6 Abd ul-Fattâh ○ Kabul 1909
X Pakiza, Turkish

7 Abd ul-Aziz ○ Kabul 1911 { twins
X Najla, Turkish

8 Azîza ○ Kabul 1911
X Sayyed Qâsem, son of Sayyed Ahmad Shâh Aghâ

9 Abd ul-Qâder ○ Kabul 1912
X Martha, Argentine

10 Āmena ○ Kabul 1914
Xa) Majid Bey, Turkish
Xb) Obaydullâh, son of Emîr Habibullâh
ABD ur-RAHMĀN, Emir
1844 - 1880 † Kabul 1901
Son of Emir Mohammad Afzal

Xa) Maryam, “Bōbō jān-e Qal’a-e Hazāra”
   Daughter of Faqir Mohammad
   1 Abdullāh ○ Kabul 1860 † Qandahar 1879

Xb) “Bibi Wālida”
   Daughter of Mir Jahāndār Shāh, from Badakhshān
   w.p.

Xc) Golrēz, “Bibi”, from Wakhhān
   1 HABIBULLĀH, Emir
      ○ Samarqand 1872 - 1901  † Kallagush 1919 (Jalalabad)
      See below Table 4.
   2 Nasrullāh, Nāyeb us-saltanat
      ○ Samarqand 1874  † Kabul 1921
   3 Fathullāh {twins. ○ Samarqand † 1881
   4 Abd ul-Fahd {Died during the journey from Samarqand
to Kabul

Xd) Halima, “Bōbō jān-e jeghadār”
   Daughter of Sayyed Mir Atiqullāh
   1 Shams ud-din 1881 - 1883
   2 Mohammad Omar, Sardār-e sanāye′
      ○ 1889  † Hyderabad Ca. 1942.

Xe) ?
   1 Hafizullāh 1881 - 1895

Xf) Zebaki, from Chitral
   1 Aminullāh, Sardār-e modāfe′
      ○ 1885  † Tehran 1961

Xg) ? daughter of a Sayyed from the Balkh region
   1 Gholām Ali ○ 1890  † Kabul 1921

Xh) Safura, from Chitral
   1 Fātema  † unmarried
   2 Hájera, Okbt us-serāj  † Kabul Ca. 1928
HABIBULLAH, Emir

- Samarqand 1872 - 1901
  † Kallagush 1919 (Jalalabad)

Son of Emir Abd ur-Rahmân

Xa) Sâheb Jamâl, "Olyâ Jâh", Badr ul-haram
Daughter of Abd ul-Majid, from Tagaw

1. Enâyatullah, Mo'in us-saltanat
   - Kabul 1888
   † Tehran 1946 (Jalalabad)
   ...

Xb) Sandal, from Chitral

1. Hayâtullah, 'Azod ud-dawlat
   - 1888
   † Kabul 1929

Xc) Sarwar Soltân, "Olyâ Hazrat", Seraj ul-khawâtin
Daughter of Shêrdel, Bârakzay

1. Amânullah, 'Ayn ud-dawlat
   - 1892 - 1919 - 1928
   † Zurich 1960 (Jalalabad)
   ...

Xd) Zarin Tâj, 'Esma' ul-haram

1. Mohammad Kabir
   - 1895
   † Kabul 1965
   ...

Table 4
APPENDIX II

List of the published works of Mahmud Tarzi

A. Periodicals. Kabul

_Serāj ul-akbbār-e afghāniya (The Torch of Afghan News)._ 1911 - 1918.

_Serāj ul-atfāl (The Children's Torch)._ 1918.

See below "Hadiya".

B. Collection called “Library of the Enāyat printing press (Ketāb-khāna-e matba’a-e Enāyat)”. Kabul.


3. Aa bar dabān sokhani wa aā bar chaman samani (From each mouth a word and from each field a sprig of jasmine). 1913/1331. 17 cm., 268-ivp.


9. Seyābat-nāma-e seb qet’ā-e ru-ye zamin dar 29 rōz, Asy̱ā, Orupā, Afriqā,

10 A work by Abd ur-Rabb.


14 id. IV 1918/1336. 314 p.

15 Turkish reader by M.Nazif.

16 id.


C. "Hadiya", a supplementary publication "offered" once a year with the last number of Seráj ul-akbbár. Kabul.

1st year 1a. 'Elm wa Islámiyat (Science and Islam). 1912/1330. 16 cm., 65 p.

id. 1b. Áyá ohe báyad kard? (What is there to do?). 1912/1330. 16 cm., 160 p.

2nd year Adab dar fann, ba-nám-e dégar Máhmuđ-námá, déwánda-e ghasáli-yá (Refinement in Art or The Book of Mabmud, a short collection of ghazals). 1913/1331. 18 cm., 45 p.

(Published again later in addition to Paráganda, see above "Library of the Enâyát printing press", 8).


4th year Mokhtásrar-e jógbráfiyá-ye ʿomumi (Summary of general geography). 1915/1333. 23 cm., 72 p.


7th year Serāj ul-afāl (The Children Torch). 1918/1336.

D. Other publications


APPENDIX III

Summary of the published works of Mahmud Tarzi

B. Collection called “Library of the Enâyat printing press (Ketâb-ḵbâna-e mabta’a-e Enâyat).”

This appendix does not include the translations.

All the prefaces are signed by Enâyatullah.

1 Afghânistân, asar-e manzum (Afghanistan, in verse). 1912/1330. 34 p.

This was the first work to be produced by the Enâyat press, but Tarzi had written this booklet several years earlier, in 1905, during the first months after his arrival in Afghanistan. Prince Enâyatullah explains in a preface (pp.1-7) the two ideas which led him to install the Enâyat press in his house: to publish books of varied inspiration with a view to “enlightening the minds”, to satisfy one of his whims.

In a short introduction (pp. 8-10) which is in verse like the rest of the work, Tarzi notes the alternation of periods and places of civilization: Asia and the East, after a brilliant civilization, are now suffering a decline, while the contrary is to be seen in Europe. He then gives a short description of the natural resources of Afghanistan, a land coveted by the West (pp.10-11), of its frontiers (p.12), the four regions—western region (Herat), eastern region (Nangarhâr), northern region (Balkh) and southern region (Qandahar)—(pp. 12-13) and of the capital. At the end, some words of praise are addressed to Emir Habibullah (pp.23-24).

3 Az bar daban sokhâni wa az bar chaman samâni (From each mouth a word and from each field a sprig of jasmine). 1913/1331. 268-ivp., portr., coloured paper.

A collection of a great variety of texts, which represents the “Literature (adabiyât)” section of a larger work, called Dabestân-e ma’âref (The School of Knowledge), which was composed in Damascus and never published in its entirety. It contains short essays and stories in prose, translations of foreign authors, especially Turkish and French, ghazals and unpublished extracts from the works of Gholâm Mohammad M. Tarzi’s father.

5 Rawza-e hekam (The Garden of maxims). 1913/1331. 159 p., portrait.

Collection of short essays representing the second part of M. Tarzi’s Dabestân-e ma’âref. (See above Az bar daban...), this time of “moral and
and philosophic inspiration”.


Collection of poems “written on different dates and in different places”. To the Damascus period belong a poem (tarji-band) translated into Persian by M.Tarzi, of the Turkish author Ziya Pasha (pp.7-14), the introduction in verse to a work which has been lost, a travel account written by M.Tarzi in 1901, during a trip to Istanbul (pp.15-17). Also from the same period, an essay in verse on the oneness of the Creator of Heaven (pp.18-22), and a poem on the occasion of the birth of Abd ul-Wahhab, eldest son of M.Tarzi (pp.22-23), both written in the Syrian village of Al-Hama. Finally another tarji-band, the first one chronologically, 1896-1897, on “Society” (pp. 28-30).

Among the many occasional or topical pieces, ghazals, qe‘as etc. of the Afghan period, two essays in verse may be noted, Joghrisfi‘-ye mokhtasar-e mamalek-e Afganistan (pp.34-38) and Tawhid (pp.56-70). Both had already been published in their entirety in two separate volumes, the first one under the title Afganism, usre manzur (See above “Library of the Enayat printing press”, 1), the second one under the same title, Tawhid (See below “Hadiya”, 3).


Travel account composed in the form of a diary during a journey of one month in May-June 1891. An account in the best tradition in which, next to daily unforeseen events relating to the actual trip, there are a mass of personal details and remembrances as well as full geographic and historical information about the places visited. There is also a welter of impressions snatched in passing and noted down, and of thoughts, in addition to serious reflections on not less serious social, political and religious subjects. Because it has such variety this volume, which antedates Seraj ul-akhyar by twenty years, counts with the periodical as the most important and richest work of M.Tarzi. The account has the spontaneity and sincerity of youth. M. Tarzi was in his twenties — and the seriousness of a precocious maturity.

The reason for M.Tarzi’s journey was to accompany his father, Gholam Mohammad, to Istanbul, where the latter wished to solicit permission to make
a third official pilgrimage to Mecca, using his title of “personal guest of the Caliph”. After obtaining this permission, M.Tarzi continued the journey as far as Alexandria, but there he parted with his father and returned to Syria. A map (p. 674) indicates the itinerary they followed and the Mediterranean ports of call of the successive boats taken from Beirut onwards. Noteworthy are the very detailed, even learned descriptions of the places they passed or visited, starting with the Ottoman province of Syria (pp.16-44), Tripoli (pp. 74-79), Izmir (pp. 104-112), Chios (pp.117-119), Athens (pp. 131-137), Salonica (pp. 155-161), Mount Athos (Haghion oros) (pp. 166-169), Istanbul (pp. 258 et seq., and 448-488) with a visit to a khânaqâb of whirling dervishes (pp. 635-643), Port-Said (pp. 645-648) and Jaffa (pp. 651-652). These descriptions are interspersed with numerous photographs whose subjects and accurate captions suggest that they were taken by Tarzi himself during the journey.

M. Tarzi’s gift and also his taste for establishing human contacts can be seen from the number of conversations he had with the wide diversity of people he met, such as his French, English, Italian, Russian men and women fellow travellers, the captain of the steamer, Turkish officials, Afghan émigrés, priests, and actresses. It was precisely on the occasion of these unforeseen encounters and situations, and in the conversations duly recorded, that Tarzi expresses his opinions freely, placing them at times in the mouths of those who questioned him, or even in that of his father. He omits nothing in his firm determination to make the reader participate in all the traveller’s experiences (p. 334). Thus, he defends Islam and justifies polygamy in a protest against the political games played by Christian missionaries and the unnatural celibacy practiced by the Catholic clergy (pp. 93-96 and 174). He alludes to the practice of the confession of sins (pp. 563-564) and the frivolous morals of Europe (p. 333) as well as to the despotism of Sultan Abdülhamid and the Khedive (p. 502).

From one end to the other, the work shows the profound attachment of the Tarzis, father and son, to their country, Afghanistan. Made up of countless small details, this attachment is also expressed in declarations or arguments which leave no doubt about the strength and sincerity of the author’s patriotic and nationalistic feelings. It is stated that no pact handing over Afghanistan to the British was ever made at the beginning of Abd ur-Rahmân’s reign; the idea of Afghanistan not being a free and independent country is rejected, as was the equally fallacious belief that Afghanistan did not enjoy friendly relations with all its neighbours. Emir Abd ur-Rahmân is
praised for extracting the country from enemy "claws" (pp. 141, 143 and 146-148); he is officially forgiven for emptying the country of so many of his subjects, including the Tarzis (pp. 247-248); Afghanistan is said to be "still a very new country" (p. 297), just emerging from internal difficulties and the effects of two short foreign occupations, and much harmed by the neighbouring power, Great Britain (pp. 657-658). In spite of scantly information about the new Afghanistan created by Abd ur-Rahmân after the Tarzis' departure, this distant home nevertheless occupies a place in Mahmud's reflections on, for example, the religious disunion of the Muslims (p. 244), the necessity of organizing a strong army (pp. 354-355) and the need to generalize education (pp. 295-297).

But in his curiosity about life and people, Tarzi did not confine himself solely to intellectual questions. This journey was also a pleasure trip and Tarzi gladly welcomed all types of entertainment, strolls, excursions, and spectacles, from which his mind always derived some benefit. The young man sometimes also indulged in day-dreaming or lyrical composition, which revealed the vivid sensitivity of a poet.

C. "Hadiya"

1a. 'Elm wa Islâmiyat (Science and Islam). 1912/1330. 65 p.

A refutation of attacks launched by the Christians who maintained that science and Islam are incompatible. Tarzi draws his best arguments from the Koran, which not only expressly recommends the studying of science, but makes it obligatory for all Muslims (pp. 6-10). From the Muslim viewpoint, this science, the light par excellence, is closely related to action (pp. 11-16); it is based on reading and writing (pp. 16-21), which all forms of art (fann) share with it. At the outset a personal effort is required, which leads to an unlimited number of actions, in the same way that science has no limits. Such a conjunction must make man succeed here on earth as well as in the hereafter (pp. 21-29). The fault of the Muslims who provoked the attacks, is that they, unlike Europeans, Americans and Japanese, concentrated their efforts entirely on the hereafter, and neglected to strive towards progress on this earth (pp. 29-36). Tarzi insists on the fact that all Muslims and all Muslim countries, in order to gain strength, have need of every possible science, including the theological sciences, as well as all kinds of technology which Islam declares to be beneficial (pp. 36-50).

The last part of the work was written by Abd ur-Ra'uf (pp. 53-64) whom
M. Tarzi had asked to comment on the ideas he had put forward. Abd ur-Ra'uf confirms certain points and concludes that the difference between the science of this world and the science of the hereafter lies in the intention.

1b. Ayâ che bâyad kârâ? (What is there to do?), 1912/1330. 160 p.

The work begins with the customary eulogy addressed to the Afghan Sovereign, Emir Habibullâh. This time though, Tarzi indirectly introduces a decisive judgment regarding the form of government Muslim states should adopt. He vigorously defends the system of royalty against that of a republic. He insists on the fact that in Islam, "a republican government has never been heard of and has never existed", and that, though councils (shurâ, jami'ât) have been assembled for the selection of a caliph or an emir, they have never been used to form a government of this kind. He claims that kings are the guardians of the Koran, the right path and guides to Muslim (pp. 1-10).

Next the question "What is to be done?" arises. This question concerned the whole of the present Muslim community and reflected a preoccupation that Tarzi would have liked to instil in each one of his co-religionists, and to which he attempted to reply, using his "thought" and his "reason". Furthermore, the question derived directly from another "What were we? What have we become?" which clearly states the problem of the spectacular reversal of the Muslim situation. Tarzi gives a historical review of the Muslim world (pp. 11-64) from the beginning of Islam, with many details about the military successes of the early ages, about the intellectual radiance and scientific superiority of the Muslims over the Europeans during the Middle Ages, up to the interruption of all development caused by religious dissensions and separatist movements. This was the beginning for the Muslims of a long phase of still prevalent intellectual stagnation and political decadence during which they were dominated by the Christian West, which had learnt everything from them.

Tarzi cites the particular case of the last three Muslim countries which he calls "independent", the Ottoman Empire, Persia and Afghanistan. These three countries, although adjacent and forming "an island", never derived the slightest benefit from their favourable geographical position, which, "with farsighted and enlightened diplomacy" "could establish an offensive and defensive triple alliance". But there was one obstacle to this alliance. Shiite Persia had been forever placed outside the Sunni world by its Safavid sovereigns. The island is now disintegrating, as Tarzi sets out to show in a brief historic survey of each of the three countries.
Turkey had not resisted the combined blows of European Christians, palace despotism and the troublemaking party politicians (pp. 72-91). Persia was crumbling for similar reasons (pp. 91-106). To Afghanistan, finally, Tarzi devotes even more attention (pp. 106-132). For him, in spite of a very ancient past, Afghan history did not start until 1747 when the Sadōzay Ahmad, formed an independent Afghan state. He reviewed the events: the perturbed reign of the Sadōzay, the manipulations and failure of the British, the tranquil reign of the first Mohammadzay, Emir Dost Mohammad, with a centralized administration, but no foreign policy and not the slightest interest in extending education, the reigns of Shēr Ali, and of Mohammad Yaqub, the second invasion and second failure of the British. Afghanistan had resisted the foreigners, but not the family quarrels caused by too many wives and hence too many sons struggling for the succession, and by the inadequate education of the princes. Emir Abd ur-Rahmān arrived in time to take the head of a nation which had none, and thanks to him and to his eldest son and successor, Afghanistan finally entered the Asian scene as a great Muslim country.

Nevertheless an imperative question remains for all: “What is to be done in these difficult times?”. Tarzi has his reply ready (pp. 133-159): in order to substitute science, light and life, for ignorance, darkness and death, there are, he declares, some “necessary acts”. The Koran must be made into the Book of life for living people, which it is by its essence, not a book of the dead, and Islamic specialists in all corners of the world should be made to reread it. Unity (etebād) must be taken as the basic guide at all levels, both in order to resist the Christian world and to march towards progress. It is necessary “to run after science and technology”, and therefore to educate and to instruct. Finally, an army is necessary to safeguard the concepts of nation and homeland. And all that, Tarzi says, must be done without delay, for time is short, and it passes quickly.


A collection of forty-seven ghazals of seven verses each, presented in the alphabetical order of the rhymes, a form which Tarzi borrows from the third part of Panj ketāb (The Five Books) [also called Panj ganj (The Five treasures)], a very popular work in Afghanistan. Tarzi has even borrowed its very appropriate title, Mahmud-nāma, but as the subjects differ fundamentally, he
gives a short explanatory introduction. In it he also outlines a comparison and
critique of the two genres: the *Mahmud-nāma*, with its entirely poetic classical
tradition, and his own, which, on the contrary, was in accord with present-day
questions and technical progress. Thus, for example, such titles as these are
found: "The School (maktab, rhyme b)", "Europe (yurup, rhyme p)", "Com-
merce (tejārat, rhyme t)", etc.

3 *Tawhid-e kbāeq-e yagāna ba-zobān-e mawālid-e salāsa (The Oneness of the
unique Creator, expressed by the three kingdoms of nature)*. 1914/1332. 37 p., plate by Gholām Mohammad.

Essay in verse written at Jalalabad in 1911. It starts with an account of the
creation of the vegetable, mineral and animal kingdoms (pp. 2-10), work of
Allāh, Creator of the world, and the creation of man on whom God chose to
bestow, besides intelligence and thought, the "sovereignty ... over other ani-
mals". "A Story by way of an example" (pp. 15-37) shows how the superb
lion is incapable of protecting himself against man, even a simple carpenter, or
even against certain animals such as a duck, a donkey, a horse, a camel and an
elephant; man, however, by his guile, succeeds in taming these animals, even
their king. By means of this fable, Tarzi wanted to explain that knowledge is
the only thing which differentiates man from the animal. Then in a final
digression of four verses, he denounces what this truth represents for certain
peoples:

"Consider this same distinction between East and West,
The present lion is the East, the carpenter, the West,
Look at India and its magnificence,
Look at the Englishman and his philosophy (bekmat),
With skills, science and wisdom (bekmat)
With a great deal of politics,
He has submitted India, somehow.
It is by man that the lion has been tamed".

4 *Mokhtasar-e joghrāfiyā-ye 'omumi (Summary of general geography)*. 1915/ 1333. 72 p., maps.

This work was written in answer to a request by some subscribers. At the
same time it was meant for the students of the first and second years of
Habibiya School. Tarzi addressed both sets of readers in a short preface and a
first lesson (pp.2-5). After presenting some basic elements of general geography such as the division of the surface of the earth into solid and liquid parts, and some essential definitions (pp. 6-11), he proceeds to analyse each continent in turn. For each continent, the account starts with generalities, continues with the list of countries with some details about each one, and ends with elements of physical geography, especially hydrography, presented in tables. Each chapter is completed by a map and a series of examination questions. Europe (pp. 12-13), Asia (pp. 24-40), in which Afghanistan stands out with an extensive description (pp. 26-30), Africa (pp. 41-49), the Americas (pp. 50-58) and Australia (pp. 59-62). As an appendix, some recapitulative tables (pp. 63-72) give the dimensions of the continents, the division of the world's population by religion, an estimate of the population by continents, countries and cities. In a final note (p. 72), Tarzi mentions that he has had the terminology and transcription of geographical names checked by Abd ul-Hâdi and Abd ur-Rahmân, in order to adapt them to the Habibiya School system which was influenced by India, whilst he himself was familiar with the Ottoman Turkish system. The draftsman of the maps was mirzâ Mohammad Ja’far.


In a few pages at the beginning (pp. 2-6) and at the end (pp. 101-104), Tarzi explains how the title is more imposing than the content of this work. Like the previous work, this booklet is aimed at teaching the young generation in Afghan primary schools, this time by amusing them. The scene takes place between a young pupil who is keen to learn and very studious, and his teacher who has studied in Paris and is responsible for explaining the difficulties contained in the science text-book. Three lessons are thus given in a friendly tone, in the form of a dialogue between the master (mo’allem) and the pupil, in the course of some walks in the country. The first lesson (pp. 11-47) on a beautiful autumn day, entitled "Sky, earth, air", explains various elementary aspects of physics, geography, cosmography, biology, etc. Previously, the teacher had expounded on the principle (sare bekmat) of the divine origin of the elements, natural phenomena and the universe, and the existence of the Almighty Creator. The second lesson (pp. 47-86) on the humidity of the air and stream is treated in the same style and with the same effort toward explaining phenomena, such as "Dew, mist, clouds, etc." and their transformation with scientific precision. A few explanations are also given about the rainbow, thunder and electricity. Water is the subject of the
third and last lesson, a lesson on chemistry (pp. 86-101).

6 Watan wa ma'āni-e motanawwe'a-e hokmiya-e ān (The Homeland, its different meanings and philosophic implications). 1917/1335. 98 p.

In an introduction (pp. 2-7), Tarzi notes that if, at the present time, a time of “renewal and novelty”, the word “homeland” is not by any means new, the use which is made of it and the benefit derived from it are new. Tarzi does some research on the meaning of the word by means of definitions found in various dictionaries and other classical Arabic works (pp. 8-22); it reveals that the homeland is not always simply a place of birth, but that it encompasses many concepts which are examined here in turn.

“The inherited homeland (watan-e mawrus)” (pp. 22-35) is the place of one’s ancestors, where one may not have been born, but towards which one is attracted. “The place of birth (masqat-e ra’s)” (pp. 26-28). “The place where one grows up (mansbā)” (pp. 28-44) is already dearer to a man’s heart, because it provides memories. “The adopted homeland (watan-e mottakbas)” (pp. 44-53) is the place where a man elects to live. “The real homeland (watan-e baqiqi)” (pp. 54-70) combines the four preceding ones. It is where man is born, and grows up and dies, where life and all the feelings connected with it are closely interwoven. One protects one’s homeland. “The shared homeland (watan-e moshtarak)” (pp. 71-82) came into existence with Islam. It is made up of religious and sentimental ties, it unites all Muslims of all horizons, however different their customs and their characters may be. “The political homeland (watan-e seyāsī)” (pp. 83-85) finally, is a creation of international law, conceived by Europeans who give this name to their colonies. By contrast with the preceding case, the ties here are ties of interest. In conclusion (pp. 85-90), Tarzi makes the recommendation that patriotic love should be in the hearts of the children; he explains that for Afghans, Afghanistan is at once “the real homeland” and, from the religious point of view, “the shared homeland”. The work ends with a long poem by M. Tarzi entitled “Love of the homeland (‘esbāqe watan)” (pp. 91-98).

D. Other publications


Biography of Gholām Mohammad, called “Tarzī-e afghān” (1830-1900), father of Mahmud Tarzi. See above Chapter 2.

The manuscript of this work comes from the private library in Kabul of M.S. Parwanta who is said to have authorized its publication in a collection for the young. It is an early work. M. Tarzi finished it in 1888 (p. 48), hardly three years after his arrival in the Ottoman Empire. In a short introduction (pp. 1-3), Tarzi starts by giving unqualified praise to the progress of literacy and education in the Turkey of Abdūlhamid, then he describes his essay as the sum of various works he has read in Turkish.

After stating that "goods moral (akhlāq-e basana)" are what will count first on the Day of Resurrection (p. 4), he explains and reviews with quotations from the Koran, from hadīs and from works of philosophy, the four virtues (fasāyel), on which good deeds are based: wisdom (hekmāt) consisting of science ('elm) (pp. 4-16), courage (shajā'at) (pp. 17-18), chastity ('effat) (pp. 18-20) and justice ('adālat) (pp. 20-22). A second part (pp. 22-48) entitled "Education and good manners (tarbiya wa adab)" examines the art of conversation (pp. 29-30), health (pp. 30-42) and education of children (pp. 42-48).
APPENDIX IV

Serājiya chronology

1901 - Death of Emir Abd ur-Rahmān (1 October)
- Habibullāh is proclaimed Emir of Afghanistan (3 October)

1902 - Mahmud Tarzi’s ten month stay in Afghanistan
- The British mission led by A.H. McMahon in the Sistān demarcates the frontier between Afghanistan and Persia (1902 - September 1904).

1903 - Amnesty proclaimed by Emir Habibullāh in favour of exiled Afghans.
- Emir Habibullāh receives the laqab of Serāj ul-mellat w-ad-din
- Russo-Afghan dispute about the removal of boundary pillars near Herat (spring)
- The British officer H. Dobbs is sent to Herat to check, together with a Russian officer, the repair of the boundary pillars (autumn)

1904 - Opening of Habibiya School
- British mission led by J.W. Dane, and signature of a treaty renewing Anglo-Afghan agreements of 1880 and 1893 (December 1904-March 1905)
- Prince Enāyatullāh’s journey to India

1905 - Arrival in Afghanistan of Mahmud Tarzi and his family (spring)

1906 - Publication of Serāj ul-akbbār-e Afgānistān (11 January)
- Emir Habibullāh’s trip to Kohistan

1907 - Emir Habibullāh’s journey to India (2 January - 7 March)
- Emir Habibullāh’s journey around Afghanistan (nine months’ tour)
- Creation of the Office of Text-books (dār ut-talīf)
- Anglo-Russian Convention of St Petersburg defining the zones of British and Russian influence in Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet

1908 - Disturbances on the Indo-Afghan frontier (1908-1909)

1909 - Opening of the Military School (māktāb-e barbiya)
- Failure of a plot to assassinate Emir Habibullāh in Jalalabad (March)
- Prince Enāyatullāh’s marriage to M. Tarzi’s eldest daughter

1910 - First telephone link between Kabul and Jalalabad

1911 - Arrival in Afghanistan of the American engineer A.C. Jewett for the construction of a hydro-electric power station at Jabal us-serāj (Kohistan) (June 1911 - December 1918)
- Telephone link between Kabul and Jabal us-serāj
- Publication of the first number of Serāj ul-akbbār-e afgānīya (9 October)
- Inauguration of the Serāj-e Golbahār bridge (Kohistān) (October)
- Emir Habibullāh’s departure for Jalalabad (25 November 1911 - 2 May 1912)

1912 - Mangal revolt (March-June)
- Publication of the first work by the Enāyat printing press: M. Tarzi, Afgānistān, asar-e manzum
- Emir Habibullāh’s visit to Ghazni (October)
- Emir Habibullāh’s departure for Jalalabad (22 December 1912 - 26 April 1913)

1913 - Emir Habibullāh’s visit to Ghazni (17 - 21 May)
- Ali Ahmad ends his association with Serāj ul-akbbār (June)
- First meeting of the Education Council (anjoman-e ma‘āref) (August)
- Opening of the Teacher Training College (dār ul-mo‘allemin)
- Prince Amānul-lāh’s marriage to M. Tarzi’s third daughter (August)
- Emir Habibullāh’s visit to the power station of Jabal us-serāj (3 December)
- Emir Habibullāh goes hunting at Chenāri (6 December)
- Emir Habibullāh’s departure for Jalalabad (15 December 1913 - 11 April 1914)

1914 - Inauguration of the wool-weaving mill (pashmina-bāfi) (27 April)
- Mohammad Nāder is promoted to general (sepāh-sālār) (June)
- Emir Habibullāh declares Afghanistan’s neutrality in World War I (24 August)
- Emir Habibullāh goes hunting at Chenāri (20 November)
- Emir Habibullāh announces Turkey’s entry into the War (28 November)

1915 - Inauguration of the primary schools of Kabul (April)
- Cholera epidemic
- German – Turkish mission in Afghanistan (September 1915 - May 1916)
- Emir Habibullāh’s return to Kabul from Paghmān (4 November)

1916 - Death of Mohammad Yusof (January)
- Prince Mohammad Kabīr is placed by firman under the tutelage of Prince Enāyatul-lāh (December)
- Emir Habibullāh’s departure for Jalalabad (17 December 1916 - 12 May 1917)
1917 - Prince Hayātullāh receives by royal firman the laqab of 'Azod ud-dawlat (January)
- Emir Habibullāh’s trip to Kohistan (August)
- Emir Habibullāh’s departure for Jalalabad (5 December 1917 - 25 April 1918)

1918 - Failure of a plot to assassinate Emir Habibullāh in Kabul (July)
- Interruption of the publication of Serāj ul-akhbār from 24 July (VII, 24) to 7 October (VIII, 1)
- Publication of the first number of Serāj ul-atsfāl (7 October)
- Publication of the last number of Serāj ul-akhbār (19 December)

1919 - Assassination of Emir Habibullāh at Kallagush (Laghmān) (20 February)
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TARZI, Gholâm Mohammad. See above GHOLÁM MOHAMMAD “TARZI”.

TARZI, Mahmud. See above Appendix II, List of the published works of Mahmud Tarzi.


GLOSSARY

āb-dār-bāshī, chief butler
adabīyāt, literature
afwāj, troops
akhbār, news
amāniya, adjectival form of amān, from Amānullāh
amin, plur. omanā, secretary
anjoman, council, society
arg, royal palace
'akkās-khāna, photographic laboratory
'ālem, plur. alamā, learned
'arīza, plur. 'arāyez, petition
'arūsī, wedding ceremony
'āyn ul-māl, royal personal treasury

bāgh, garden
band, dam
bayt ul-māl, public treasury
bayrag, flag
bed'at, blameworthy innovation
boluk, battalion
borj, tower

chaman, field, lawn

dabīr, scribe
daftar, office
darbār, audience
dāk-khāna, post-office
dār ul-..., house of, seat of ...
dawlat, state
dēwān, poetical book
dīn, religion

e’dādiya, preparatory
ebtedā’iya, elementary, primary
edāra, office, administration
ettebād, unity, union
ettelā‘āt, information
‘elm, science

fam, plur. fonun, art, technique
fīrmān, firman, decree
farrāsh-bāshi, chief valet in charge of the royal tents and carpets
farsakh, parasang, league
fāteba-giri, ceremony of condolence
feqh, religious jurisprudence
fitwa, judicial decree

garm-sir, warm climate
ghazal, short poem
gbolām, adolescent
gbolām-bacha, court page
gbona, regiment

bāfez, plur. hoffāz, who knows the Koran by heart
bākem, provincial district officer
bākem-nesbin, seat of the provincial district officer
bakim, doctor
baram, baram-sarāy, harem
basht-nafari, conscription of one man in eight
bekmat, wisdom, philosophy
hokumat, government

jadid ul-islām, newly converted to Islam
jasben, festival
jehād, holy war
jerib, measure of land, circa one-half acre
jezya, poll tax

kalāntar, town district officer
kaniz, young girl
ketāb-khana, library
ketāb-khwān, reader
korub, road-measure, circa three kilometres
kōtwāl, police officer
khān, plur. khawānīn, chief
kbāna, house
khāzen ul-kotob, librarian
kbrīm, reading the entire Koran

laqab, title
lēwā, military division

maʿāref, education
madaniyyat, civilization
madrasa, plur. madāres, religious school
mahkama, office
maktab, school
malek, chief of village
maʿmur, employee
mansab-dār, officer
maʿrefat, knowledge
māshin-kbāna, workshops
matbaʿa, printing press, printing
millat, nation
mirzā, scribe
moʿallemin, teacher
modarres, teacher
modir, director
mofattesh, inspector
mofattesh-e āmumi, inspector general
mobārer, writer, journalist
mollā, learned in theology
molki, civil
monsbi, scribe
montazem-e majles, chairman
mosābeb, plur. mosābebān, companion
mostawfi ul-mamālek, master of finance
moterjem, interpreter

nabr, river, canal
nāyeb-sālār, Lt. General
názem, superintendent
názer, inspector
negarán, observer
nekáb, marriage contract
nekábi, married women
nezám-námá, regulations
nezámi, military

pashmina-bâfi, wool-weaving mill
pêsb-khedmat-bâshi, head of the domestic staff
pol, bridge

qal'a, fortified compound
qasida, plur. qasâyed, poem, elegy
qári, plur. qorâ', who reads and recites the Koran
qázi, plur. qozât, judge
qerâ'at, reading the Koran
qet'a, short poem
ráb-dâri, travel permit
rebât, halting-place
resâla-e sbâbi, royal guards
resbuwat-khwârî, corruption

salâm-khâna, hall of audience
samt, zone
sar-daftâr, chief accountant
sar-dawâ-sâz, chief chemist
sar-mobârâr, chief editor
sarmâma-newis, employee in charge of addresses
sar-negarán, observer
sarresbta-dâr, administrator
sar-tabib, head doctor
sardâr, (title), chief
sayyed, plur. sâdât, descendant of the Prophet
sepâb-sâlâr, general
serâj, torch
serâjiya, adjectival form of serâj, from Serâj ul-mellat w-ad-dîn
seyâbat, journey, travel
seyābat-nāma, travel account
suratī, concubine
shafā-khāna, hospital
shebādat-nāma, diploma
shēkār, hunting
sherkat, company
sherkat-e edāra, administrative committee
shurā, council

tabwil dār, storekeeper
tarjī-band, piece of poetry
tarjomān, interpreter
ta'rikh, history

wakīl, plur. wokālā, representative, agent
watan, homeland
welayat, province

yatim-khāna, orphanage
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