



САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГСКАЯ
МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ
ПО АФГАНИСТИКЕ

27–29 июня 2017



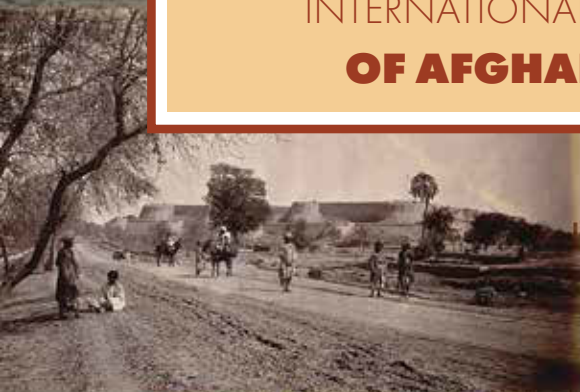
Abstracts

Saint Petersburg
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27–29 June 2017

ST PETERSBURG
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF AFGHAN STUDIES



САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
ВОСТОЧНЫЙ ФАКУЛЬТЕТ



SAINT PETERSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

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ОБРАЩЕНИЕ К УЧАСТНИКАМ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ

Наступающий академический 2017–2018 год отмечен важными датами в истории российского востоковедения. Это в первую очередь год подготовки к 200-летию Санкт-Петербургского Азиатского музея — колыбели научной ориенталистики в России Нового времени.

Изучение истории, культуры, языков народов Средней и Центральной Азии и их соседей, включая Афганистан, — изначально составляло важнейшее направление российской ориенталистики. Не случайно первым директором и хранителем Азиатского Музея стал выдающийся исследователь Ближнего и Среднего Востока академик Х. Д. Френ. Академическое востоковедение далее получило развитие в России, благодаря трудам основателя научной афганистики академика Б. А. Дорна, 175 лет назад назначенного директором Азиатского Музея; профессора В. В. Григорьева, 200-летие со дня рождения которого мы отмечаем в 2016 г. Изучение Афганистана и сопредельных ему регионов на пороге и на протяжении XX века продолжили далее академик В. В. Бартольд, проф. В. В. Кушев, проф. А. Л. Грюнберг и многие другие отечественные ученые.

Роль России в изучении Афганистана — древнейшего перекрестка народов и культур Евразии, безусловно, дает право востоковедам Санкт-Петербургского университета — старейшего научного центра России, который в 2024 г. будет отмечать 300-летие своего основания по Высочайшему указу Петра Великого, выступить с инициативой создания международной академической Ассоциации афганских исследований.

С искренней радостью и признательностью мы принимаем сегодня, в июне 2017 года, коллег, откликнувшихся на наше приглашение участвовать в столь значительной и представительной встрече востоковедов-афганистов на берегах Невы.

От имени Ученого совета Восточного факультета, коллектива кафедры Истории стран Ближнего Востока и кафедры Иранской филологии мы поздравляем участников этой первой в новом столетии Санкт-Петербургской международной конференции по афганистике и желаем ей плодотворной работы на благо науки.

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Востока Восточного факультета СПбГУ*

FOREWORD

The full scope of Afghan Studies has not been categorically defined until now for the reason of obvious uncertainty with both geographical and disciplinary boundaries of the subject-matters related to this field of research. Notwithstanding its explicit ethnical and nation marker “Afghan Studies” are commonly and rightly understood as not focusing entirely on a particular state or a specific nation, but encompassing a wide range of issues which in the following conceptual note are described as “the Afghan trans-boundary cultural and linguistic *oecumene*”. The lack of clear-cut spatial and temporal limits, vast territorial, cultural and all kinds of societal liminal areas, intrinsic frontier and multidimensional nature of the research field make Afghan Studies open to scholars with different academic backgrounds and interests.

The first St Petersburg International Conference of Afghan Studies manifests its multi- and interdisciplinary character through the thematic variety of papers contributed by specialists in various fields of humanities and social sciences; thus it also aims at defining the very scope of Afghan Studies in a broader sense.

The Conference commemorates a number of outstanding St Petersburg scholars who contributed much to the progress of Afghan Studies. Foremost it pays homage to Academician Professor Bernhard Dorn (1805–1881), who for almost four decades (since 1842) was Director of the Asiatic Museum in St Petersburg. B. Dorn left several important works that laid academic foundations of Afghan Studies and pioneered the teaching of the Pashto language at St Petersburg Imperial University. The brief outline of this teaching course, preserved in Dorn’s archives, displays a combination of topics concerning the language, the literature and the history of

Pashtun tribes. B. Dorn's teaching at the university lasted for only a year and a half in 1856–57 and was discontinued under the covert pressure of "high politics" connected with the so-called Great Game. Thus, another important if only an implicit message of the Conference, organized at the very birthplace of B. Dorn's scholarly initiative, accentuates the basic principle of freedom and independence of academic activities from any political considerations, even those associated with not frequently complicated and delicate matters of Afghan Studies.

*Mikhail Pelevin,
Head of the Department of Iranian Philology, Faculty of
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Chairman of the Organizing Committee*

Sergei Andreyev

**The Forum Rationale:
A Note by the Conference's Conceptualiser**

The importance of Afghanistan's *problématique* is beyond any doubt due to this country's key position in the global political developments as well as due to the peculiarities of the Afghan society shaping the resilience of its socio-political and cultural patterns *vis-à-vis* external impacts. Afghanistan and some of its environs is also unique as a liminal region between the Iranian world, Turkic Central Asia and South Asia that may be described in terms of the Afghan trans-boundary cultural and linguistic *oecumene*.

However, notwithstanding the practical and academic significance of that region its study is rather unbalanced. Regular policy-oriented conferences on Afghanistan bringing together policy-making professionals and scholars of Afghanistan are of applied nature; however important they may be. They mainly focus on the current *problématique* and primarily deal with policies, socio-economic and security issues.

There has been no exclusively academic conference focusing on a fundamental study of Afghanistan and the Afghan trans-boundary cultural and linguistic *oecumene* for decades. Insufficient knowledge of academic research on Afghanistan sometimes translates into a distorted view of the country that may lead to inadequate political decisions, which is vividly illustrated by the USA and its allies' actions in Afghanistan.

This is a common knowledge for those engaged in the Afghan Studies. In light of that, there was the first attempt to have an academic moot dealing with the Afghan studies in London, the UK on 6–7 November 2015, however its scope was mainly limited to the legacy of Mountstuart Elphinstone.

Thus, a comprehensive academic conference on Afghanistan and the Afghan trans-boundary cultural and linguistic *oecumene* is long overdue and still remains of paramount importance for international Afghan studies. A conference organised by St Petersburg State University Faculty of Asian and African Studies will serve this purpose.

The conference also commemorates the 150th anniversary of the Afghan Studies and teaching the Pashto language in Russia initiated by Academician B. A. Dorn at St Petersburg Imperial University. Moreover, the years 2015–2017 also see other anniversaries of the prominent Russian scholars of Afghanistan, *viz.*, in 2017 — 175 years of the appointment of B. A. Dorn as Director of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, in 2016 — the 200th birthday of Prof V. V. Grigoriev, in 2017 — the 80th anniversary of the death of Lt General A. E. Snesev, in 2015 — the 85th birthday and the 20th anniversary of death of Prof A. L. Griunberg, in 2017 — the 90th birthday of Prof V. V. Kushev. In light of that a plenary session will be devoted to the discussion of the establishment and development of the Russian Afghan Studies and anniversaries mentioned above.

The conference seeks to provide an interdisciplinary forum for the discussion of the following aspects of Afghan Studies:

1. Historiography and Sources on Afghanistan and the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*.
2. Written Traditions, Literature and Folklore of Afghanistan and the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*.
3. The General and the Specific in the Regions of Afghanistan and in the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*.
4. The Languages of Afghanistan and the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*.
5. Political Patterns in Afghanistan and in the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*.
6. Religions, Archaeology and Material Culture of Afghanistan and the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*.

More aspects of the Afghan Studies are also considered important for the discussion at this academic moot, however participants chose not to submit paper proposals focusing on them. Nevertheless, the following might be discussed at a future similar gathering:

1. The Afghan State and its Interaction with Parallel State and Non-State Actors; Embryonic State Institutions and Traditions in the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*;
2. Systemically Important Elements of the Afghan Political and Social Sphere;
3. Warfare in Afghanistan and the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*.

While these focuses have been chosen for their wide application across all centuries and regions of Afghanistan and its environs and their impact on all disciplines devoted to this area, participants were invited to propose their own panels and subjects dealing with academic aspects of Afghan Studies. To our delight that invitation prompted the addition of Archaeology and Material Culture to the list of conference panels.

**Санкт-Петербургская международная
конференция по афганистике**
Восточный факультет
Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета
27–29 июня 2017 г.

С. Б. Андреев

Концепция конференции

Значимость афганской проблематики не вызывает сомнений не только из-за ключевого места Афганистана в глобальных политических процессах, но в первую очередь из-за особенностей афганского общества, обуславливающих устойчивость его социально-политических и культурных паттернов перед лицом внешнего воздействия. Афганистан уникален как пограничный регион между иранским, среднеазиатским и южноазиатским мирами, что позволяет говорить о наличии афганской трансграничной культурно-лингвистической ойкумены.

Тем не менее, не смотря на всю научную и практическую значимость этого региона, его изучение в настоящее время недостаточно сбалансировано как в России, так и за рубежом.

Регулярно проводящиеся политологические научно-практические конференции по афганской проблематике, в которых участвуют как представители политических структур, связанных с регионом, так и специалисты-страноведы, при всей их значимости, носят прикладной характер и в основном сосредоточены на рассмотрении текущих проблем региона, ориентированных почти исключительно на политическую и социально-экономическую тематику, а также на вопросы безопасности.

Академические научные конференции, посвященные фундаментальному изучению Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-

лингвистической ойкумены, не проводились нигде в мире на протяжении уже нескольких десятилетий. Недостаточный учет мнений, представляющих фундаментальную науку, приводит к формированию не вполне объективного представления о стране, что может трансформироваться в неадекватные политические решения (сегодня это наглядно демонстрируется на примере действий в Афганистане США и их союзников).

Эта проблема уже давно стала очевидной для афганистического сообщества как в России, так и за рубежом. В частности, в Великобритании была предпринята первая попытка организовать афганистический академический форум, состоявшийся в Лондоне 6–7 ноября 2015 г., однако его масштабы были весьма скромными, и он ограничился, главным образом, проблемой изучения Афганистана на Западе в свете наследия Монстюарта Элфинстона.

Таким образом, проведение всеобъемлющей академической конференции, охватывающей многие фундаментальные вопросы афганской ойкумены, по-прежнему является насущной задачей мировой афганистики, решить которую призвана организуемая на Восточном факультете СПбГУ конференция.

Конференция посвящена 150-летию начала афганистических исследований и преподавания языка пашто в России в Санкт-Петербургском университете по инициативе академика Б. А. Дорна. Кроме годовщины начала афганских штудий в России на 2015-2017 гг. приходятся и другие юбилеи основоположников различных направлений российской афганистики: пионера российской афганистики академика Б. А. Дорна (2017 г. — 175-летие назначения Дорна директором Азиатского музея Академии наук), проф. В. В. Григорьева (2016 г. — 200-летие со дня рождения), генерал-лейтенанта/комкора А. Е. Снесарева (2017 г. — 80-летие со дня смерти), проф. А. Л. Грюнберга (2015 г. — 85-летие со дня рождения / 20-летие со дня смерти), проф. В. В. Кушева (2017 г. — 90-летие со дня рождения). В этой связи на пленарном заседании будут прочитаны доклады, посвященные становлению российской афганистики в целом и памятным датам, которым посвящена конференция в частности.

В рамках конференции планируется обсуждение следующих аспектов современной афганистики:

- Источниковедение и историография Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены;
- Письменные традиции, литература и фольклор Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены;
- Общее и особенное в регионах Афганистана и трансграничных регионах афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены;
- Языки Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены.

- Паттерны политической жизни Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены;
- Религии, культура и археология Афганистана Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены.
- Следует, однако, отметить, что нижеперечисленные темы не нашли своего отражения на данной конференции; тем не менее мы надеемся, что они станут предметом обсуждения на последующих афганистических форумах:
- Афганская государственность во взаимодействии с парастагосударственными и негосударственными акторами. Протогосударственные институты и традиции в трансграничных регионах афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены;
- Системообразующие элементы афганского политикума и социума;
- Способы ведения боевых действий в Афганистане и трансграничных регионах афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены.

Вышеперечисленные темы предлагались в связи с их релевантностью для всей афганской истории и всех регионов Афганистана и его трансграничных областей; тем не менее, участники были приглашены предлагать свои темы и секции, не включённые в изначальный список, но относящиеся к фундаментальным академическим вопросам афганистики. В результате, с большим удовлетворением, отмечаем, что по предложению участников конференции, к числу обсуждаемых тем были добавлены такие аспекты афганистики, как материальная культура и археология Афганистана.

На полях конференции будет обсужден проект создания Международной ассоциации афганских штудий. Аналогичная идея, но лишь в европейских рамках, ранее выдвигалась афганцами Великобритании и Германии, но она пока так и не нашла своего воплощения. Организаторы конференции надеются, что эту задачу удастся решить на данной конференции в Санкт-Петербурге.

СЕКЦИЯ 1

Историография и источниковедение Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены

PANEL ONE

Historiography and Sources on Afghanistan and the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*

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Understudied Problems of Afghan History

In the modern history of Afghanistan, there are many “white spots” or problems, which for various reasons still remain a mystery or have not been studied enough. They require additional systematic studies. Due to the availability of original documents on these subjects both in Russia and in other countries, this task is feasible even with minimal support from the relevant state bodies and other interested institutions.

Below is the list of understudied problems that from the modern point of view are of particular importance for Afghan history:

1. When and in what European sources — both Russian and European — was the word “Afghan” or “Afghanistan” used for the first time;

2. Whether the meeting of Mirwais Khan (1673–1715), the chief of the Ghilzai Afghan tribe and the representative of Afghan tribes at the Isfahan court, with representatives of Peter the Great in Isfahan on the eve of the fall of the Safavid empire and Peter the Great’s Caucasian campaign took place. If such a meeting really happened, can it be considered the first meeting of Afghans with Russian envoys?

It is known that the emissary of Peter the Great Israel the Jew, a native of Armenia, arrived in Persia in the autumn of 1718 with a large delegation. His tasks included inciting local khans and tribal chiefs against the Isfahan court. But the question, whether he or one of his colleagues met with the followers of Mirwais

Khan, including his son Mahmud Hotak, remains unanswered. Some authors also write about Peter the Great's order to deport Afghans who lived in the Caucasus, but there is no reliable evidence to substantiate it, thus a further study of the materials in Russian archives is worth an effort.

3. Another very interesting topic is the first battle of Russian troops against Afghan soldiers, led by Saydal Khan (Saldan Khan). This is about the detachment of General Levashov operating in Persia and facing the forces of the Afghan military leader Saldan Khan, who at that time dominated most of Persia. The Afghan sent Levashov a demand to vacate Gilan and return to Russia. The General, in turn, sent the Afghans a response demand — to leave the Russian territory within a day. Levashov formed a small detachment of 250 men under the command of Major Yurlov and dispatched him against Saldan Khan. On 20 December 1728, this detachment approached Lahijan, where the first in history clash of Russians with Afghans occurred. 250 Russian infantry soldiers with shouts of “Hurray” defeated the enemy in the very first attack — the loss of Afghans amounted to 600 people (there were about 4,000 of them). The bodyguards managed to save Saldan Khan, who was shot in a foot, in the nearest fortress of Qazvin.

As for the more recent and even modern episodes of Afghan history, which have not yet been properly academically evaluated or described in detail, there is the trip of First Lieutenant Ivan Witkiewicz (Vitkevich) to Kabul in 1837–1838 and his subsequent death in St Petersburg and an equally enigmatic trip to the Russian capital of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani in 1888. It is known that he published several articles in the Russian newspapers, met with Minister of Foreign Affairs, N. K. Giers and even hoped for an audience with Emperor Alexander III, but was suspected of spying for Britain and deported from Russia as a “persona non-grata”. It is worth noting that in St Petersburg Al-Afghani met with the famous Russian Muslim reformer, the future first Soviet mufti Rizaeddin Fahreddin (1859–1936); this meeting had a great influence on the latter.

And finally, on the “white spots” of Afghan history and Russian / Soviet-Afghan relations of the 20th century. For example, many Afghan researchers believe that the *Loya Jirga* convened in 1949 on the initiative of M. Daud, was held “on the orders from Moscow” or, at least, there was “the hand of Moscow” in it. Even nowadays, the minutes of meetings and negotiations of Soviet representatives with the then Prime Minister of Afghanistan Mohammed Daoud Khan, who arrived in Moscow in 1953 for the funeral of I. V. Stalin remain classified. According to conspiracy theories, which are very popular in Western and Afghan circles, the Soviet leaders even then tried to include the country in the sphere of their influence. Shrouded in secrecy is also the last meeting of M. Daud with Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow in 1977 — there is some evidence that it culminated in a diplomatic scandal that affected Moscow's policy towards Afghanistan.

Of course, the above-mentioned problems of Afghan history, which require an in-depth study, do not exhaust the whole variety of topics that make up the subject

and object area of Afghan history. Yet, the formation of a genuinely academic agenda of modern international Afghan studies is impossible without the discussions of representatives of various schools and trends, working together for the benefit of Afghanistan, its neighbours, all other countries and peoples interested in the revival of this crossroad of cultures and civilizations.

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Малоисследованные вопросы истории Афганистана

В современной истории Афганистана есть немало «белых пятен» и проблем, которые плохо освещены источниками и, по разным причинам, до сих пор остаются дискуссионными и требуют дополнительных систематических исследований. В целом ряде случаев, благодаря наличию в российских и зарубежных архивах документов по подобной тематике, такая задача представляется выполнимой даже при минимальной поддержке со стороны профильных государственных структур и всех заинтересованных сторон.

Можно выделить ряд вопросов, тем и сюжетов, которые в настоящее время представляются особенно актуальными для изучения истории Афганистана.

Один из первых таких вопросов: когда и в каких источниках — русско-и иноязычных — впервые употребляется слово «афган» и «Афганистан»?

Далее, состоялась ли встреча Мир Вайс-хана Хотаки (1673–1715, вождь афганского племени гильзаев и представитель афганских племен при Исфаханском дворе) с представителями Петра Великого в Исфахане накануне падения империи Сефевидов и Кавказского похода Петра? Известно, что посланник Петра, некий «Израиль еврей», выходец из Армении, осенью 1718 г. прибыл в Персию с большой делегацией. В его задачу входило провоцировать местных ханов и вождей племен против Исфаханского двора. Но вопрос, встречался ли он или кто-то из его коллег со сторонниками Мир Вайс-хана и его преемников, включая Мир Махмуд-шаха, остается открытым. Некоторые авторы пишут также о приказе Петра выселить афганцев, проживавших на Кавказе, однако по этому поводу у нас нет достоверных доказательств, так что есть смысл дополнительно изучить материалы российских архивов.

Весьма интересной темой является «первое сражение русских войск с афганскими воинами во главе с Сайдал Ханом (Салдан-Хан)». Речь идет об отряде генерала Левашова, действовавшего в Персии и столкнувшегося с силами афганского военачальника Салдан-Хана, доминировавшего в то время на большей части территории Персии. Афганец прислал Левашову требование очистить Гилян и уйти в Россию. Генерал, в свою очередь, послал афганцам ответное требование: в течение суток покинуть российские владения. Левашов

сформировал небольшой отряд из 250 человек под командованием майора Юрлова и направил его против Салдан-хана. 20 декабря 1728 г. отряд подошел к Лахиджану, где и произошло первое в истории столкновение русских с афганцами. 250 русских солдат-пехотинцев с криками «ура» разбили противника в первой же атаке — потери афганцев составили 600 человек (всего их было около 4 тыс.). Самого Салдан-хана с прострелянной ногой телохранители сумели спасти, украв в ближайшей крепости в Казвине.

Что касается более поздних и уже современных эпизодов афганской истории, до сих пор не получивших должной научной оценки или не привлечших должного внимания, то в этом ряду стоит поездка поручика Ивана Виткевича в Кабул в 1837–1838 гг. и его последующая непонятная гибель в Санкт-Петербурге. Столь же загадочна и поездка в российскую столицу Джамаль ад-Дина аль-Афгани в 1888 г. Известно, что он опубликовал несколько статей в российских газетах, встречался с министром иностранных дел Н. К. Гирсом и даже надеялся на аудиенцию с императором Александром III, но был заподозрен в шпионаже в пользу Великобритании и депортирован из России как персона «нон грата». Стоит отметить, что в Санкт-Петербурге состоялась встреча Аль-Афгани с известным российским мусульманским реформатором, будущим первым советским муфтием Ризаэтдином Фахретдином (1859–1936), которая оказала огромное влияние на последнего.

Наконец, несколько слов о «белых пятнах» афганской истории и российско/советско-афганских отношений XX в. Так, многие афганисты полагают, что *Лойа Джирга* 1949 г., созванная по инициативе М. Дауда, была проведена «по заказу Москвы» или, как минимум, в этом ощущалась «рука Москвы». Поныне не рассекречен протокол встреч и переговоров советских представителей с тогдашним премьер-министром Афганистана Мухаммед Дауд-ханом, прибывшим в 1953 г. в Москву на похороны И. В. Сталина. Согласно конспирологическим версиям, весьма популярным в западных и афганских кругах, советские руководители уже тогда попытались включить его в орбиту своей международной политики. Окутана тайной и последняя встреча М. Дауда с Л. И. Брежневым в Москве в 1977 г.: есть свидетельства, что она завершилась дипломатическим скандалом, повлиявшим на дальнейшую линию Москвы в отношении Афганистана.

Разумеется, предложенный для обсуждения ряд проблем афганской истории не исчерпывает всего многообразия тем, составляющих ее предметную и объектную область. Однако формирование подлинно научной повестки современной мировой афганистики невозможно без широкой дискуссии представителей различных научных школ и направлений, без совместной работы на благо Афганистана всех его соседей и других стран и народов, заинтересованных в возрождении этого древнего перекрестка культур и цивилизаций.

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A. V. Stanishevsky and the Problems of Forming an Expert-Analytical Direction in Soviet Afghanistan Studies

Since the mid-1850's. B. Dorn, and later other orientalists, had been attempting to develop the teaching of Afghan Studies as well as to foster academic and practice-oriented research in this field; however, political necessities — above all the Russian-British rivalry in Asia, promoted an expert-analytical approach dominated by the military who formed the cadre that shaped the agenda in the field of Afghan Studies. During the transition from the Imperial to the Soviet system, a key role in the shaping of this new field of study including its analytical dimension was played by Lt General A. E. Snesarev and his students of both military and civilian persuasion (I. M. Reisner and others). Due to geopolitical reasons, similar work, which was done mainly by the military, also began at the southern border of the USSR, primarily in the regions neighbouring Afghanistan. It is in this context that the life and activities of A. V. Stanishevsky (Aziz Niallo) should be considered. His contribution, with all its achievements and shortcomings, to Afghan Studies and related disciplines in their expert-analytical version remains a little-known aspect of the Soviet Oriental Studies. This paper is based on the materials kept at the Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the field researches of the author (interviews with colleagues and students of A. V. Stanishevsky).

While serving as a Red Army soldier in Ukraine, A. V. Stanishevsky enrolled as an extern at the Kiev Institute of Foreign Relations, where he was a student of the outstanding Ukrainian orientalist Academician A. E. Krymsky. Soon, A. V. Stanishevsky found himself as a Soviet Secret Police (OGPU) operative serving for several years on the Soviet borders with Afghanistan and Xinjiang, where he learned much about the religious, political and cultural problems of Ismailism and collected a large collection of rare Ismaili manuscripts, including *Tarikh-i Badakhshan*. While being engaged in both academic and applied Afghan Studies, he prepared several works on the contemporary problems of Afghanistan viz, *Amanullah Khan's Administrative Reforms* (240 pages), *The Twenty Years of Struggle for Afghanistan's Independence: 1912–1932. Documents, Essays, Notes* (480 pages), which were never published, but were available to his colleagues as manuscripts. In the spring of 1933, A. V. Stanishevsky was transferred to Moscow, where he was tasked by the OGPU commanding officers to prepare a *History of the Basmach Movement*. However, he soon interrupted this work as he was appointed Head of the Special Team of the *Tajik-Pamir Expedition* of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Severely ill and disabled due to travel deprivations in the East, A. V. Stanishevsky continued his work in various areas of Oriental Studies; thus in 1935 he, together with A. P. Vostrikov and M. A. Nemchenko (later an Afghan immigrant G. M. Rauf joined them) began translating the first part of the well-known Afghan chronicle “*Siraj at-Tawarikh*”,

authored by the court chronicler of Emir Habibullah Khan Faiz Muhammad. The translation of the fragment “Siraj at-Tavarikh” performed by these people also remained a manuscript, although, like all unpublished works of A. V. Stanishevsky it was widely used by young researchers of Afghanistan, as he himself claimed.

In the pre-war, war and post-war years, A. V. Stanishevsky once again focused on the Afghan problem—as a recognized expert, he was in demand on all fronts. In 1940, he first published his pamphlet, and then the book “Afghanistan”, both under the auspices of the military department. In 1945, he completed a large-scale project — “Review of Printed Sources on Afghanistan, Published in Russian since the XVIII century to 1940” with a total volume of 600 pages. In the second half of 1947 — early 1948. A. V. Stanishevsky participates in the demarcation of the Soviet-Afghan border — first in the Pamirs, and at the final stage — in Tashkent, where he transcribes geographical names on delimitation maps.

Being extremely busy at the main job in the analytical departments of the law enforcement agencies and solving specific tasks, more often in a confidential mode, he nevertheless maintained close ties with local colleagues and students, but also was well known as an amateur polyhistor in Moscow and Leningrad university-academic circles. Ignoring the conventions of academic life with its special hierarchy and ethics and, as a result, personal autonomy, gradually developing into marginality — this is the formula of his professional career and at the same time its price. However, the undoubted merit of A. V. Stanishevsky is the upbringing of high-level orientalists (T. G. Abayeva, etc.) — although from the formal point of view they can not be considered his scientific school (he himself did not have academic degrees at all), but he had a decisive influence on their choice of research topics and supported them at the initial stages of professional development. At the same time, A. V. Stanishevsky, being an erudite of the widest range (history and contemporary problems of Central Asia, Afghanistan, north-western China, etc.), but working in the autonomous mode of special programs / missions, was in his lifetime and remains to this day little known in the university and academic community. This does not do justice either to his real contribution to academic and applied Afghan Studies and related disciplines, or to the tasks of studying the history of Russian Oriental Studies.

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А. В. Станишевский и проблемы формирования экспертно-аналитического направления в советской афганистике

С середины 1850-х гг. Б. Дорн, а позднее и другие востоковеды предприняли первые опыты в области учебной, научной и прикладной афганистики, но практические задачи и прежде всего российско-британское соперничество в Азии

вывели на первый план экспертно-аналитическое направление, в котором доминировали военные специалисты, составлявшие не только кадровый состав, но и формировавшие повестку дня этой отрасли. На переходном этапе от имперского к советскому строю ключевую роль в становлении новой науки и аналитики об Афганистане сыграли А. Е. Снесарев и его ученики военного и гражданского профиля (И. М. Рейснер и др.). Но в силу геополитических причин такая работа началась и в южном приграничье СССР, прежде всего в регионах, сопредельных с Афганистаном, и также в основном силами военного ведомства. Именно в этом контексте следует рассматривать судьбу и деятельность А. В. Станишевского (Азиз Ниалло), вклад которого в афганистику и смежные дисциплины в их экспертно-аналитической версии, со всеми его достижениями и недостатками — малоизученная страница советского востоковедения. Данный доклад основывается на материалах Центрального государственного архива РУз и полевых исследованиях автора (беседы с коллегами и учениками А. В. Станишевского).

Будучи красноармейцем на Украине, А. В. Станишевский поступил вольнослушателем в Киевский институт внешних сношений, где учился у выдающегося украинского востоковеда академика А. Е. Крымского. Вскоре А. В. Станишевский оказался на оперативной работе в ОГПУ и служил несколько лет на границах с Афганистаном и Синьцзяном, где приобщился к религиозно-политической и культурной проблематике исмаилизма и собрал большую коллекцию редких исмаилитских рукописей, включая *«Тарих-и Бадахшан»*. В рамках занятий научной и прикладной афганистикой он подготовил несколько работ по актуальным проблемам Афганистана *«Административные реформы Аманулла-хана»* (10 п. л.), *«20 лет борьбы за независимость Афганистана: 1912–1932 гг. Документы. Очерки. Заметки»* (20 п. л.), которые не были опубликованы, но были доступны коллегам в рукописи. Весной 1933 г. А. В. Станишевский был отозван руководством ОГПУ в Москву, где приступил к выполнению нового задания — подготовке *«Очерков по истории басмачества»*, но вскоре прервал эту работу в связи с назначением начальником Особой партии Таджикско-Памирской экспедиции АН СССР.

Тяжело заболевший в путевых лишениях на Востоке и ставший инвалидом, А. В. Станишевский продолжал работу в различных областях востоковедения — так, в 1935 г. он совместно с А. П. Востриковым и М. А. Немченко (позднее к этой работе подключился и афганский эмигрант Г. М. Рауф) начал переводить первую часть известной афганской хроники *«Сирадж ат-Таварих»*, автором которой был придворный летописец эмира Хабибулла-хана Файз Мухаммад. Выполненный этой группой перевод фрагмента *«Сирадж ат-Таварих»* также остался в рукописи, хотя, как и все неопубликованные труды А. В. Станишевского, по признанию его самого, широко использовался молодыми афганистами.

В предвоенные, военные и послевоенные годы А. В. Станишевский вновь сосредоточился на афганской проблематике — как признанный эксперт, он был

востребован на всех направлениях. В 1940 г. выходит из печати сначала его брошюра, а потом и книга «Афганистан», обе — под эгидой военного ведомства. В 1945 г. он завершает масштабный проект — «Обзор печатных источников по Афганистану, изданных на русском языке с XVIII в. по 1940 г.» общим объемом в 25 п. л. Во второй половине 1947 — начале 1948 гг. А. В. Станишевский участвует в работе по демаркации советско-афганской границы — сначала на Памире, а на завершающей стадии — в Ташкенте, где занимается транскрибированием географических названий на разделительных картах.

Будучи чрезвычайно загруженным на основной работе в аналитических подразделениях силовых ведомств и решая специфические задачи, чаще — в конфиденциальном режиме, он тем не менее поддерживал тесные связи с местными коллегами и студенчеством, но также слыл эрудитом-любителем в московских и ленинградских вузовско-академических кругах. Игнорирование условностей научной жизни с ее особой иерархией и этикой и, как результат, собственная автономность, постепенно перерастающая в маргинальность, — вот формула его профессиональной карьеры и одновременно ее цена. Однако несомненной заслугой А. В. Станишевского является воспитание высококлассных востоковедов (Т. Г. Абаева и др.) — хотя их с формальной точки зрения нельзя считать его научной школой (сам он вообще не имел ученых степеней), но именно он оказал решающее влияние на их выбор тем исследований и поддержал на начальных этапах профессионального становления. При этом А. В. Станишевский, будучи эрудитом широчайшего диапазона (история и современные проблемы Центральной Азии, Афганистана, северо-западного Китая и пр.), но работая в автономном режиме специальных программ/миссий, был при жизни и остается до сих пор мало известен в университетско-академическом сообществе, что не соответствует ни его реальному вкладу в научную и прикладную афганистику и смежные дисциплины, ни задачам изучения истории русскоязычного востоковедения.

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The Afghan Boundary Commission (ABC) 1884–1888

Frontier policy is of the first practical importance, and has a more profound effect upon the peace or warfare of nations than any other factor.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston (Viceroy of India, 1898–1905)

Romanes Lecture 1907

The ABC-Project

In January 2012 the *Swiss Afghanistan Institute* acquired a substantial part of the bequest of Sir Peter Lumsden. It included manuscripts, printed documents,

photographs and maps. They are mainly connected with Lumsden's service in India and Afghanistan. The papers offer a fascinating insight into the serious crisis of the British-Russian relations in 1884–1885 and form an important part of the systematic collection of documents related to the ABC kept by the *Swiss Afghanistan Institute*.

The Institute's ABC Project combines research on the written historical material with visual evidence, and the paper presented in St Petersburg will put the ABC Project into the historical and geopolitical context: Afghanistan's boundaries are not only national borders, but will remain strategic frontiers and demarcation lines of global importance.

The Geopolitical Context

Since 1869 London and St Petersburg had tried to reach an agreement on their respective spheres of influence in Central Asia. In 1872–1873, the negotiations ended with an exchange of letters between the British and Russian Ministers of Foreign Affairs Lord Granville and Prince Gorchakov. All areas ruled by Amir Sher Ali Khan would be regarded as the Afghan territory. But the Amir was not allowed to extend his influence beyond its borders, and the British Indian Government agreed to prevent Kabul from any offensive action. Likewise, the Russian side had to stop any advance by the Amir of Bukhara on the Afghan-controlled territory.

Due to the unexplored geography of Central Asia, the 1872–1873 agreement left an ample room for interpretation. Between the Hari Rud and the Amu Darya one issue in particular proved to be controversial: according to the Russian understanding the steppe areas used by Turkoman tribes as grazing lands were outside Afghan control.

This unsolved problem became critical after the Russians took Merv in February 1884. London and St Petersburg agreed to establish a joined boundary commission. The British part of the commission was led by Major General Sir Peter Lumsden, who as a young lieutenant had participated in the Baluchistan Boundary Commission in 1857. In November 1884 he established his headquarter at Tirpul, west of Herat. The situation had become critical.

The Panjdeh incident

Shortly after the Russian arrival in Merv in 1884, an Afghan garrison was deployed to Panjdeh — an oasis situated 120 miles north of Herat. The place was inhabited by Sarik Turkomans and according to the Russian understanding it was outside the Afghan territory. The ruler of Afghanistan, Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, regarded Panjdeh to had been under the authority of Kabul, as these Turkomans had paid taxes to Herat for many years and called themselves Afghan subjects. The Afghan contingent, accompanied by British officers, was ordered to defend its position against an advancing Russian column.

On March 30, 1885, the Russian forces attacked. After a short but fierce fight, they defeated the Afghans. Lt-General Komarov, military commander of the

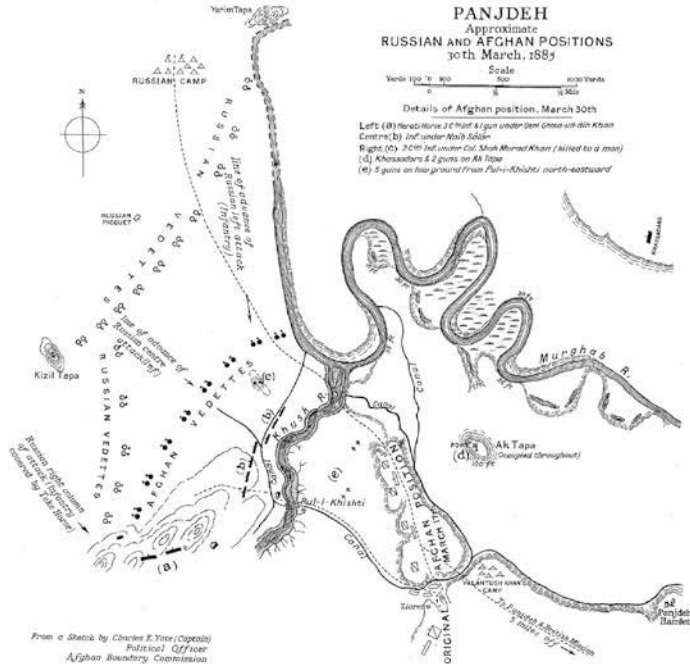


Fig. 1. The situation at Panjdeh on March 30, 1885, showing the positions of Afghan and Russian units

Trans-Caspian region, informed the Imperial War Ministry in St Petersburg of a “complete victory”. According to his report the Afghans lost 500 out of 4,000 men. Their artillery and camp fell into the hands of the Russians. British officers of the Boundary Commission, who were on the spot, advised the Afghans. But they did not participate in the fighting and withdrew after the battle.

Diplomatic efforts

Russia’s Foreign Minister Giers followed the situation with a growing concern. He and his Ambassador to London, Baron de Stael, worked toward a peaceful solution along the lines of the Gorchakov-Granville agreement. As a result Russian troops were not allowed to move beyond Panjdeh. Thus the Russian attack against this isolated oasis remained the only international military encounter with the Russian involvement during the whole reign of Tsar Alexander III. A protocol signed in London on September 10, 1885, finally opened the way for the “Afghan Boundary Commission” to start its work.

In the meantime Major General Lumsden was recalled to London. His handwriting during the Panjdeh crisis deteriorated sharply and suggests that he

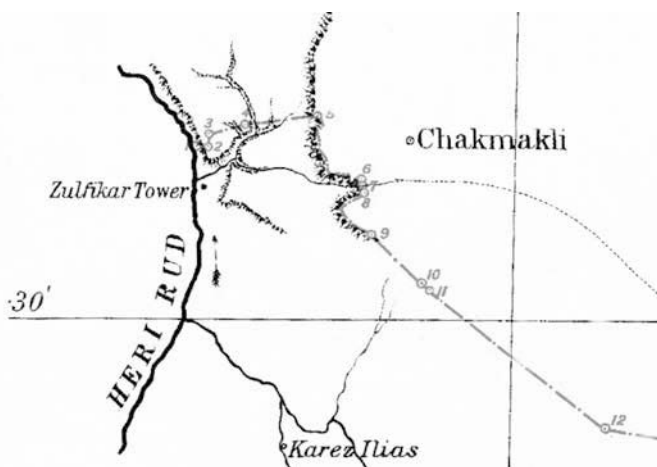


Fig. 2. The position of the boundary pillars 1 to 12 in the area of Zulfikar

must have been under an enormous physical and mental stress. He was replaced by Colonel Joseph West Ridgeway as British Chief Commissioner. On November 12, 1885, Ridgeway met his Russian counterpart, Paul von Kuhlberg, at Zulfikar where the work of the ABC began.

Afghan territory, foreign interests

Even before the British-Russian protocol was signed on September 10, 1885, Afghanistan's ruler, Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, had been invited to send an Afghan representative Qazi Saaduddin Khan, to join the commission's work. This Afghan observed the Anglo-Russian demarcation process and informed the Amir in Kabul regularly. Although the Amir later complained that leading British representatives had accepted a Russian *fait accompli* at Panjdeh, at the time of the incident he clearly indicated to the British Viceroy of India (during a meeting at Rawalpindi) that he saw no better alternative to a peaceful Russian-British settlement; and the expenses to protect this area would by far exceed an income from taxes. His later criticism was tactically motivated and intended to get an increase of British subsidies.

In October 1887 Sir Joseph West Ridgeway analysed the geopolitical result as follows: "*The demarcation of the frontier puts it in the power of Russia to force a war upon us at any time. Granted. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that Russia will not violate the frontier until she is ready to enter into war — certainly not in Central Asia only, but war all over the world. (...) In other words, war in Europe may be the cause of the violation of the Afghan frontier, but the violation of the Afghan frontier will not be the cause of war in Europe.*"



*Fig. 3. The Russian and British Commissioners at Zulfikar, Nov. 12, 1885:
Fixing the Site of the First Boundary Post.
Based on a Sketch by Major Edward Law Durand, Assistant Commissioner*

Lessons for the future

Through a pragmatic approach the ABC led to a carefully demarcated boundary and internationally recognized border between Russia and Afghanistan, from the Hari Rud to the Amur Darya. Since Alexander the Great's campaign no other mission has added so much to our knowledge of the areas north of the Hindukush. For already more than a century, every study of this part of the world has to refer to the commission's well documented experiences.

By sharing its unique library, archive and photo collection with a wider public, the *Swiss Afghanistan Institute* hopes to contribute to a better understanding of Afghanistan's highly complex history and current problems.

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The Persian Work *Bada'i' al-Akhbar* by Shaykh al-Islam Bihbahani as a Source on the History of the Afghan Conquest of Iran in the 1720's

Bada'i' al-Akhbar by 'Abd an-Nabi Shaykh al-Islam Bihbahani is one of the sources on the history of the conquest of Iran by the Afghans at the end of the Safavid era

and the primary source on the history of the thirty-six-day siege of Bihbahan (the city located in the south-eastern part of Khuzistan) by Shah Mahmud Hutaki (Hotaki) in the year 1723. The author of the work, 'Abd an-Nabi Shaykh al-Islam Bihbahani (in C.A. Storey (II, p.899) — Shaykh 'Abd an-Nabi Munshi Bihbihani) eyewitnessed the siege of Bihbahan while remaining in the city.

The Shaykh recalls how he personally helped one of the gunners, who defended the city, to shoot towards the advancing Afghans. He took up writing his testimonial book after learning of the victory of Shah Tahmasp II over the Afghans, and dedicated it to this sovereign. At the beginning of the work Shaykh al-Islam Bihbahani speaks of his objectivity and desire to write without any exaggeration. The author of the book is the founder of the dynasty of Shaykhs al-Islam Bihbahani-Sultani.

The book consists of four parts. The introductory part, briefly and “from other people’s words” describes the arrival of Mahmud from Kandahar in Iran, the siege and fall of Isfahan and the establishment of the power of the Afghans in Iran. The author also expresses his own opinion on the reasons for the Safavid defeat. These include the absence of a proper defensive strategy, uncoordinated actions of the commanders of individual units, lack of time, poorly organized logistics, and a frequent change of governors on Iran’s eastern border and their poor interaction with the central government.

The second and the main part of the source describes Shah Mahmud’s invasion of Bihbahan and the resistance of the Bihbahanis. According to the author, the advance of Shah Mahmud to the mountainous region of Kuhgiluya inhabited by the Lurs, was caused by a conflict with his first deputy (*qayim-maqam*) and commander Amanullah-khan over the distribution of the spoils of war. When Amanullah-khan, with two thousand fighters, left Isfahan, intending to join Shah Tahmasp II, Shah Mahmud went after him with a 6,000-strong army and 4,000–5,000 camels used to transport light cannons (*zamburaks*). It was during this campaign that he began the siege of Bihbachan in December 1723. However, having faced a fierce resistance of local residents and having lost many people and camels, eventually he was forced to lift the siege and leave. In the opinion of the author, the severe winter conditions of the Zagros mountains also played their role in the defeat of Shah Mahmud. This part of the work, in our opinion, is very valuable and should be used by historians studying this period. We intend to translate it into Russian.

The third part of the work speaks of one of the leaders of the guerrilla struggle that was developing at that time against the Afghan and Ottoman (in the west of Iran) domination, who gathered an army of Lurs and Bakhtiyars and successfully operated under the name of Safi-Mirza (the son of Shah Sultan-Husayn Safavi, who fled Isfahan). Bihbahani believes that under the name of Safi-Mirza, was hiding a Shaykh from Kuhgiluya. To prove that this person was an impostor, the author of *Bada'i' al-Akhbar* points to his young age (at the time of his death he was only twenty) and his pure Persian speech, since the real Safavid Prince was older in age and spoke Turkic.

Bihbahani describes the arrival of Safi-Mirza in Bihbahan, the warm welcome given to him by the locals, his first steps as the ruler of the city, and then his death (after a year and a half reigning over Bihbahan he was killed by his Lur allies).

The fourth part of the work deals with the time of the rule of the Afghan Shah Ashraf. It briefly describes the battles at Damghan and Murchi-Khurt, the entry of the Safavid army into Isfahan, the flight and death of Shah Ashraf, and the march of Nadir towards Bihbahan (here the author again appears as an eyewitness of the events).

The main manuscript of the book is kept in the British Museum. Its excerpts describing the siege of Bihbahan were included in *Tarikh-i Muntazam-i Nasiri* by Muhammad-Hasan-khan I‘timad as-Saltan, vol. II (Teheran, 1882). Another copy of the manuscript, called *Tarikh-i Afghan*, was brought to the academic attention by Dr Riza Sha‘bani in 1987. This manuscript, as part of the *Kurāsa-yi-l-mi‘yi* collection, is kept in the library of the Iranian Parliament. We used a commented edition of this book, published on the basis of the three copies by Sayyid Sa‘id Mir-Muhammad Sadiq (Tehran, “Miras-i Maktub” Publishing House, 2010).

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Персидское сочинение *Бад‘и‘ ал-ахбār* Шайх ал-ислāма Бихбахāнī как источник по истории афганского завоевания Ирана в 1720-х годах

Сочинение *Бад‘и‘ ал-ахбār* ‘Абд ан-Набī Шайх ал-ислāма Бихбахāнī служит одним из источников по истории завоевания афганцами Ирана в конце сафавидской эпохи и первоисточником по истории тридцатидневной осады Бихбахāна (город, расположенный в юго-восточной части Хузистāна) шахом Махмūdом Хўтакī (Хотаки) в 1723 году. Автор сочинения, ‘Абд ан-Набī Шайх ал-ислām Бихбахāнī (у Стори (II, с. 899) — Шайх ‘Абд ан-Набī Муншī Бихбихāнī), во время осады находился в городе и был ее непосредственным свидетелем. Шейх вспоминает также, как лично помогал одному из пушкарей, оборонявших город, стрелять в сторону наступавших афганцев. Он взялся за написание своей книги-свидетельства после того, как узнал о победе шаха Тахмаспа II над афганцами, и посвятил ее этому государю. В начале сочинения Шайх ал-ислām Бихбахāнī говорит о своей объективности и стремлении писать без преувеличений. Автор сочинения является родоначальником династии *шайх ал-исламов* Бихбахāнī-Султāнī.

Книга состоит из четырех частей. Во вступительной части кратко и «с чужих слов» описывается приход Махмūда из Кандагара в Иран, осада и падение Исфахана и установление власти афганцев в Иране. Автор высказывает и собственное мнение относительно причин поражения Сафавидов, это отсутствие правильной оборонительной стратегии, несогласованные действия командиров

отдельных частей, нехватка времени, плохо организованная логистика, а также частая смена губернаторов на восточной границе Ирана и их плохое взаимодействие с центральным правительством.

Вторая, основная, часть сочинения описывает вторжение шаха Махмұда в Бихбахāн и сопротивление бихбаханцев. Как утверждает автор, поход шаха Махмұда в населенную лурами горную местность Кўхгйлўйа был вызван конфликтом с его первым заместителем (*кāйим-макām*) и полководцем Амāналлāх-ханом по поводу распределения военной добычи. Когда Амāналлāх-хан с двумя тысячами бойцов ушел из Исфахана, в намерении присоединиться к шаху Тахмāспу II, шах Махмұд отправился в погоню за ним с шеститысячной армией и 4–5 тысячами верблюдов, которые использовались для перевозки легких пушек-замбурек. В ходе этого похода он и начал осаду Бихбахāна в декабре 1723 года. Столкнувшись, однако, с отчаянным сопротивлением местных жителей и потеряв много людей и верблюдов, в конце концов, он был вынужден снять осаду и уйти. Свою роль в поражении шаха Махмұда, по мнению автора, сыграли и суровые зимние условия предгорий Загрoса. Эта часть сочинения, на наш взгляд, очень ценна и должна привлекаться историками, изучающими этот период. Мы намерены осуществить ее перевод на русский язык.

Третья часть сочинения рассказывает об одном из лидеров развернувшейся в то время партизанской борьбы против афганского, а также османского (на западе Ирана) господства, собравшем армию из луров и бахтияров и успешно действовавшем под именем Сафй-мирзы (бежавшего из Исфахāна сына шаха Султāн-Хусайна Сафавй). Бихбахāнй считает, что под именем Сафй-мирзы скрывался какой-то шейх родом из Кўхгйлўйа. В качестве доказательств того, что этот человек был самозванцем, автор *Бадā'и ал-ахбār* приводит его юный возраст (в момент гибели ему было всего двадцать лет) и его чистую персидскую речь, поскольку настоящий сафавидский принц был старше по возрасту и говорил по-тюркски. Бихбахāнй описывает прибытие Сафй-мирзы в Бихбахāн, теплый прием, оказанный ему местными жителями, первые шаги в качестве правителя города, а затем его гибель (после полутора лет правления в Бихбахāне он был убит своими союзниками-лурами).

Четвертая часть сочинения посвящена периоду правления афганского шаха Ашрāфа. В ней кратко рассказывается о боях под Дāmгāном и Мурче-Хургом, о вступлении сафавидского армии в Исфахāн, бегстве и гибели шаха Ашрāфа и походе Нāдира в сторону Бихбахāна (здесь автор опять выступает как живой свидетель событий).

Основная рукопись сочинения хранится в Британском музее. Извлечения из него, посвященные осаде Бихбахāна, были включены в *Тārīх-и мунтазам-и Нāсирй* Мухаммад-Хасан-хана И'тимād ас-Салтана, т. II (Тегеран, 1882). Еще один список сочинения, под названием *Тārīх-и афгāнй*, был введен в научный оборот д-ром Ризā Ша'бани в 1987 году. Эта рукопись, в составе сборника

Курāса-йи-л-ми'йи, хранится в библиотеке Меджлиса. Нами использовалось комментированное издание сочинения, подготовленное к печати на основе трех списков Саййидом Са'йд Мйр-Мухаммадом Сāдиком (Тегеран, издательство «Мйрāс-и мактūб», 2010).

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The Afghans and their Australian Mark

In the 19th century there was no united Australia, it rather consisted of a few separate British colonies. In 1907, their association became a dominion. The colonization of its heartland — hard-to-reach and arid — was slow. It was affected by the lack of roads and means of transportation. Gold deposits, found in the early 1850's stimulated the exploration and development of these areas. It took a long time to build a railway between the south and the north of Australia. In 1929, a railway was built from Augusta Port in the south to Alice Springs in the centre, while another line was constructed from the port of Darwin in the north to the centre of the country. It was only in 2004 that a thoroughfare railway traffic was opened. Passenger trains also went along this line. The passenger train that runs between Adelaide and Darwin is an Australian version of a tourist train. The length of the route is 3,000 km. The name is “The Ghan”, viz., an abbreviation from “The Afghan Express”. This is the old name of the trains, which used to go along the southern part of the line. And it may sound quite surprising.

In 1818, the Afghan Durrani Empire split into a number of principalities: Herat, Kandahar, Kabul and Peshawar. In 1834, the latter, where many residents were Afghan (Pashtun) tribesmen, was conquered by the ruler of Punjab Ranjit Singh. In the 19th century Britain completed the conquest of India. After two Anglo-Punjabi wars in the 1840's, north-western India was also incorporated into the Empire; that included the lands of the Pashtun tribes from the right bank of the Indus to the Suleiman mountains on the border with Afghanistan. Their inhabitants became (though only formally) the subjects of the British Crown. Some of them got involved in the political and economic life of the Empire.

The first Pashtun Afghans who arrived in Australia were camel drivers. They were employees of the expeditions of J. E. Horrocks¹ and R. H. Burke and W. D. Willis², who in 1846 and in 1860–1861 explored the centre of the country. The success of the latter secured for the camels the niche as the main means of transportation in the depths of Australia. Their endurance and ability to carry heavy loads for long distances prompted their importation to Australia. From 1870 to 1900 approximately 15,000 camels were

¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Ainsworth_Horrocks.

² *Cobwell M.* The Journey of Burke and Wills. Sydney: Paul Hamlyn, 1971.

shipped from British India. They were accompanied by more than 2,000 cameleers. Camels and cameleers, carrying thousands of tons of cargo and mail, played an important role in the exploration of Australia, the laying of the Overland Telegraph Line and construction of the railway between the south and the north. The sign of recognition by the Australian authorities and the people of Australia of their contribution to the development of the country is a bronze monument at the Alice Springs railway station portraying an Afghan riding a camel. All cameleers were called Afghans, but not all of them were Afghans from the northwest of India and Afghanistan. Among them there were also the people of Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind, Rajasthan and even Egypt and Iran. What they had in common was their Muslim faith, hailing from the desert regions and being young and able to deal with camels. The cameleers with their camels sailed alone or in groups to Melbourne or Sydney from the ports of western India (Bombay, Karachi, etc.). They were a kind of labour migrants. Many of them, leaving families in their homeland, sent them their salaries and returned to them after a three-year contract. They settled in improvised villages, separately from Europeans and the aborigines, that sprang up as they moved along to the north of the continent. They built special quarters (Afghan or Ghantowns), where they lived in accordance with their own laws. They built primitive mosques from raw brick and used them as their community centres. The first Australian mosque was constructed in 1861 in the town of Murray (which was nicknamed “Little Afghanistan”) in the north of South Australia¹ Over time, Muslim graveyards also appeared alongside mosques. It was the Afghan cameleers who first brought Islam to Australia.

Their relationship with the white population was not easy. There were conflicts with sheep farmers over pastures, waterholes and wells. Not all white people treated Muslims well. Over time, successful entrepreneurs began to appear among the Afghan immigrants. They established shipment companies and recruited cameleers in the northwest of British India. Some of them became Australian citizens, married white women, sent children to study in local schools and tried (not always successfully) to integrate into the society of whites.

In the early 20th century the era of Afghan cameleers was coming to an end. Railways and roads undermined the role of camels as means of transportation. The need for them was decreasing. There were even fewer new cameleers. They began to go home. In 1901, the Australian Parliament adopted the “Immigration Restriction Act 1”, which banned the entry of Asians. The Afghans who lived in Australia were obligated to pass the English language test. All those who did not have the Australian citizenship (that was the bulk of them), left or were deported by the authorities.

When they were leaving, the Afghans released their camels. They bred in huge numbers in central Australia where they had no natural enemies. Now the number of wild Australian camels is estimated at 135–750 thousand heads. The authorities and sheep farmers who believe that camels by destroying pastures, devastating watering places, breaking fences and artesian wells damage the environment and

¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics. 31 October 2012. “Marree” state suburb.

the economy, cull them in an organized manner. Camel meat and race camels are exported to the Gulf countries — the UAE, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

This Australian episode is not mentioned in the known Afghan sources such as *Siraj at-Tawarikh*, *Qulliyat-i Riyazi* and others.

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Афганцы: австралийский след

В XIX в. единой Австралии не было. Было несколько независимых друг от друга британских колоний. В 1907 г. их союз стал доминионом. Заселение его центра — труднодоступного и засушливого шло медленно. Сказывалось отсутствие дорог и транспорта. Открытие в начале 50-х гг. XIX в. месторождений золота стимулировало изучение и освоение этих районов. Железную дорогу между югом и севером Австралии строили долго. В 1929 г. протянули линию порт Огаста на юге — Алис-Спрингс в центре. Из порта Дарвин на севере строили ветку в центр. Сквозное движение открыли лишь в 2004 г. По линии пошли и пассажирские поезда. Пассажирский поезд, курсирующий между Аделаидой и Дарвином, — австралийский вариант туристического поезда¹. Длина маршрута — 3000 км. Название — “The Ghan” — сокращенно от “The Afghan Express”. Так раньше именовались поезда, ходившие по южной части ветки. Это название может вызвать удивление.

В 1818 г. афганская империя Дуррани распалась на княжества: Гератское, Кандагарское, Кабульское и Пешаварское. Последнее, где многие жители были членами афганских (пуштунских) племен, в 1834 г. Завоевал правитель Пенджаба Ранджит Сингх. В XIX веке Британия завершала завоевание Индии. После двух англо-пенджабских войн в 40-е гг. XIX ее владения приросли и северо-западной Индией. Земли пуштунских племен от правого берега Инда до Сулеймановых гор на границе с Афганистаном стали частью империи. Их жители превратились (хотя бы и формально) в подданных британской короны. Часть их стала вовлекаться в политическую и экономическую жизнь империи.

Первые афганцы-пуштуны, прибывшие в Австралию, были погонщиками верблюдов. Они входили в состав экспедиций Дж.Э. Хоррокса² и Р. Х. Берка и В. Д. Уиллса³, которые в 1846 г. и в 1860–1861 гг. изучали центр страны. Успех последней закрепил за верблюдами славу главных средств транспорта глубин Австралии. Их выносливость, способность совершать длинные переходы с тяжелым грузом привели к тому, что их стали завозить в Австралию. С 1870 по 1900 гг.

¹ *Tanel F.* Trains. From Steam Locomotives to High — speed Trains. Novara (Italy): De Agostini Libri. SpA. 2015. P. 302.

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Ainsworth_Horrocks.

³ *Colwell M.* The Journey of Burke and Wills. Sydney: Paul Hamlyn, 1971.

из Британской Индии ввезли около 15 тыс. верблюдов. Их сопровождали более 2000 погонщиков (cameleers). Верблюды и погонщики, перевозя тысячи тонн грузов и почту, играли важную роль в исследовании Австралии, прокладке транс-австралийской телеграфной линии (Overland telegraph line) и железной дороги между югом и севером. Знак признания австралийскими властями и народом Австралии их вклада в развитие страны — бронзовый памятник на вокзале Алис–Спрингса, изображающий афганца верхом на верблюде. За погонщиками закрепилось название афганских, но не все они были афганцами из северо-запада Индии и Афганистана. Среди них были жители Панджаба, Белуджистана, Синда, Раджастанхана и даже Египта и Ирана. Их объединяло то, что они были мусульманами, уроженцами пустынных районов, молоды и умели обращаться с верблюдами. Погонщики со своими верблюдами приплывали по — одиночке или группами в Мельбурн или Сидней из портов западной Индии (Бомбея, Карачи и др.). Они были своего рода “гастарбайтерами”. Многие из них, оставив семьи на родине, отправляли им свое жалование и возвращались к ним по истечению трехлетнего контракта. Они селились в поселках, возникавших по мере движения на север континента, отдельно от европейцев и аборигенов Австралии. Они строили особые кварталы (Afghan или Ghantowns), где жили по своим законам. Они строили мечети из сырцового кирпича примитивной конструкции, которые были их общественными центрами. Первая австралийская мечеть возникла в 1861 г. в городке Марри (имевшего неофициальное имя «Маленький Афганистан» — “Little Afghanistan”) на севере Южной Австралии¹. Со временем рядом с мечетями возникали и мусульманские кладбища. Именно афганцы — погонщики и принесли ислам в Австралию.

Их отношения с белым населением были не простыми. Были конфликты с овцеводами из-за пастбищ, мест водопоя и колодцев. Не все белые хорошо относились к мусульманам. Со временем среди них стали появляться удачливые предприниматели. Они создавали транспортные компании и набирали погонщиков на северо-западе британской Индии. Некоторые из них получали австралийское подданство, женились на белых женщинах, посылали детей учиться в местные школы и пытались (не всегда удачно) вписаться в общество белых.

В начале XX в. эра афганских погонщиков стала завершаться. Железные и автомобильные дороги уменьшали роль верблюдов как средства транспорта. Потребность в них снижалась. Редел приток новых погонщиков. Они стали уезжать домой. В 1901 г. парламент Австралии принял «Акт по ограничению иммиграции»², запретивший въезд выходцев из Азии. Афганцев, что жили в Австралии, обязали сдавать экзамен на знание английского языка. Все, кто, не имел австралийского гражданства (таких было большинство), уехали или были депортированы властями.

¹ Australian Bureau of statistics. 31 October 2012. “Marree” state suburb.

² Adler L. L., Gielen U. P. Migration: Immigration and Emigration in International Perspective. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003. P. 278.

Уезжая, афганцы отпускали верблюдов на волю. Прижившись в центральной Австралии, и, не имея естественных врагов, они сильно размножились. Сейчас численность одичавших австралийских верблюдов оценивается в 135–750 тысяч голов. Власти и овцеводы, считая, что верблюды, уничтожая пастбища, опустошая водопои, ломая изгороди и артезианские колодцы, наносят ущерб окружающей среде и хозяйству, ведут их организованный отстрел. Верблюжье мясо и скаковых верблюдов вывозят в арабские страны Персидского залива — ОАЭ, Кувейт, Саудовскую Аравию.

В известных нам афганских источниках («*Сурадж ат-Таварих*», «*Куллият-и Рийази*» и других) сведений об этой странице жизни афганцев нет.

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Wood and Water as Environmental Pathways for Globalizing and Re-Localizing Afghanistan Studies

Environmental history represents a conspicuous historiographical gap in Afghanistan Studies and an opportune bridge to connect the modern geographic space of Afghanistan to wider regional and global histories. This paper examines wood and water to illuminate Afghanistan's regional and global connections. It will also examine those two fundamental environmental considerations in the context of domestic spaces, urban morphology, and in the national political economy, thus critically re-localizing Afghanistan Studies around natural resource-based problems of global scope.

Focusing on the post-1880 period, the largest conceptual relationships explored in this paper are the local environmental impacts of capitalism and industrial warfare that are inextricably linked globally and in Afghanistan. The primary materials consulted will be Faiz Muhammad Katib Hazara's *Seraj al-Tawarikh*, the Kabul Magazine Annual *Sal Nama* series, oral histories of Kabul and the Afghan state bureaucracy in the first half of the twentieth century, and British and American published and archival textual and visual sources (photographs and maps).

Wood is examined first as fuel for the *mashin khana* or state industrial workshops in Kabul. The rapid development of the *mashin khana* resulted from British colonial subsidization of the Afghan state accompanied by substantial technocratic support and facilitation that brought dozens European (mainly British, German and French), Middle Eastern (Persian/Iranian and Ottoman/Turkish, primarily) and South Asian (Hindus and Muslims, primarily) to Kabul. Wood as fuel for the *mashin khana* formed a key element in a larger series of commodity monopolies resulting in the Afghan state heavily investing and being deeply penetrated by sciences such as forestry and new technologies related to woodworking such as lathes. The pattern of commodity science dependency was replicated across the historically expanding range of the Afghan state monopoly portfolio.

Industrial sciences such as forestry highlight external connections mediated by global capitalism, however, wood will also be viewed through the local prisms of public and domestic architecture in Kabul. Public architecture will focus on the spatial distribution of wood and timber markets for supplying construction framing and finished products such as doors, cabinets and chests as well as charcoal for Kabul's increasingly class-divided population. Domestic architecture will be introduced through the construction elements of framing, planking and beaming, but the foci will be on wood as cooking and heating fuel. Wood as fuel informs domestic spatiality and household consumption practices that were related routinely (daily, weekly, seasonally) to an urban market network for timber and wooden products including charcoal.

From wood as fuel for winter heating and for tea-boiling and stewing broths and soups at the most ordinary, private and popular levels of consumption, to state sponsored river-damming and industrial steam-driven production at the national level of political economy, water and wood are intimately historically and ethnographically connected in all geographic regions and economic sectors of Afghanistan.

Attention to the domestic use of water and private wells will flow into a discussion of the larger public market for commodified water in the form of bath houses, ice, and mobile water dispensaries in the mid-twentieth century Kabul. The primary focus of the paper's second section on water is the Afghan state attempt to harness river water for hydroelectricity to replace forest fuelled steam power, beginning with the American engineer A. C. Jewett in the 1910's but most substantively in the context of the Kajaki dam component of the Helmand (and later Arghandab) Valley Authority that was a co-production of the U. S. and Afghan Governments. This Cold War hydroelectric development project is addressed through the environmental consequences of the deployment of agricultural and social scientific forms of knowledge by the U. S. Government and its functionaries especially the Morrison-Knudsen Corporation.

The conclusion of the paper addresses the local environmental impact of global war on terror on Afghanistan through progressive deforestation and ground water pollution by depleted uranium munitions.

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Teaching the Dari Language Sources at the Faculty of Asian and African Studies of St Petersburg State University

Academic staff members of the Faculty of Oriental Studies have always been reading with students various sources from the countries studied. At the Department of the History of the Middle East one of the outstanding Soviet scholars specialising in medieval Iranian studies Professor Ilya P. Petrushevsky read with his students specialising in the History of Iran many medieval sources, which were used in his research and first brought by him

under academic scrutiny. This was a special course “The 14–15th Century Persian Sources of the XIV–XV” and a special seminar “The 16–18th Century Persian Sources”, where he read with students and commented on the works of the greatest Iranian historians of medieval Iran: Hamdallah Qazvini, Rashid ad-Din and others.

Nowadays the teaching staff of the Department continue this tradition. Reader Genrico S. Kharatishvili reads sources in Dari with the finalist students specialising in the History of Iran and Afghanistan. These sources, first of all, include *Siraj at-Tawarikh* (The Lamp of History), which was written by the official historiographer of Afghanistan of the late 19th — first third of the 20th century Fayz Muhammad Katib (1862–1931). In this course, the emphasis is made on the Anglo-Afghan relations in the late 19th century.

Another source is *Siyahat-nama-ye se qef'a-ye ru-ye zamin dar bist-o-nuh roz, Asia, Orupa, Afriqa* (Diary of a Trip to the Three Parts of the World in 29 Days in Asia, Europe, Africa) by Mahmud Tarzi (1868–1933) — a famous writer and a “founding father” of Afghan journalism as well as a statesman and educator of Afghanistan. In this course, students pay special attention to the historical and cultural significance of the source for the study of Afghanistan and Turkey in the late 19th century.

One more work, *Afghanistan dar masir-i tarikh* (Afghanistan on the Path of History) by famous Afghan historian Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar (1895–1978). The book deals with the Iranian-Afghan and Anglo-Afghan relations under the Emirs of Afghanistan Abdurruhman-Khan (1880–1901), Habibullah-Khan (1901–1919) and Amanullah-Khan (1919–1929).

While reading these sources, much attention is paid to historical comments on the events described in them.

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Преподавание дари-язычных источников на Восточном факультете СПбГУ

Профессоры и преподаватели Восточного факультета всегда читали источники изучаемой страны со студентами. На кафедре Истории стран Ближнего Востока один из выдающихся ученых СССР иранист-медиевист профессор Илья Павлович Петрушевский читал со своими студентами группы «История Ирана» многие средневековые источники, использованные в его работах и впервые введенные им в научный оборот. Это спецкурс «Персидские источники XIV–XV вв.», спецсеминар «Персидские источники XVI–XVIII вв.», где он читал и комментировал труды крупнейших иранских историографов средневекового Ирана: Хамдаллаха Казвини, Рашид ад-дина и других.

И в настоящее время преподаватели кафедры продолжают эту традицию. Так, доцент Г. С. Харатишвили читает со студентами старших курсов группы «История Ирана и Афганистана» дари-язычные источники. Это, в первую

очередь, «*Сирадж ат-таварих*» («Светильник истории») — труд официального историографа Афганистана конца XIX — первой трети XX в. Файз Мухаммада Катиба (1862–1931). При чтении курса основное внимание уделяется англо-афганским отношениям в конце XIX века.

Другой источник: «*Сейяхат-нама-йе се гета-йе ру-йе замин дар бист о нох руз асиа, орупа, африка*» («Дневник путешествия по трем частям света за 29 дней по Азии, Европе, Африке») Махмуда Тарзи (1868–1933) — известного писателя, «отца» афганской журналистики, государственного деятеля и просветителя Афганистана. В этом курсе особое внимание студентов обращается на историко-культурное значение источника для изучения Афганистана и Турции конца XIX в.

Еще одно сочинение: «*Афганистан дар масир-и тарих*» («Афганистан на пути истории») — труд известного афганского историка Мир Гулам Мухаммада Губара (1895–1978). По нему изучаются ирано-афганские и англо-афганские отношения при эмирах Афганистана Абдуррухман-хане (1880–1901), Хабибулла-хане (1901–1919) и Аманулла-хане (1919–1929).

При чтении вышеназванных источников большое внимание уделяется историческим комментариям к описываемым в них событиям.

Vasily S. Khristoforov (Russian State University for the Humanities; Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia)

The Newest Historiography and Sources on the History of the Military and Political Presence of the USSR in Afghanistan (1978–1991)

Historiography and sources on the subject of the military and political presence of the USSR in Afghanistan (1978–1991) are quite extensive. The number of books on this subject is constantly increasing, hundreds of articles, historical studies, memoirs, collections of documents and materials appear every year. The authors of these publications are historians, political scientists, diplomats, journalists, professional military servicemen, representatives of security and intelligence agencies. They are engaged in heated discussions both about the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan in December 1979 (whether it was an invasion, an occupation or an aggression) and the reasons for their withdrawal in February 1989 (whether it was due to the political and military defeat in the Cold War because of economic problems in the USSR).

The Soviet, foreign and Russian historiography consider the problem of the military and political presence of the USSR in Afghanistan from different viewpoints.

In the Soviet historiography there was a positive attitude towards the 1978 April Revolution and activities of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), the entry of Soviet troops and the special operation to remove H. Amin from power. In general, the change in the Afghan leadership, carried out by force and the coming to power of B. Karmal in December 1979 as well as the replacement of B. Karmal

by Najibullah initiated by Moscow in May 1986 as well as reforms carried out by the PDPA in the society were mainly approved. The entry of Soviet troops was justified by the geopolitical interests of the USSR, the need to protect the southern borders, and the desire to maintain Soviet influence in Afghanistan.

In the foreign historiography there is a negative attitude towards the Afghan revolution (described as the one “provoked by the USSR” and “prepared by Moscow”) and the entry of Soviet troops (termed as “intervention”, “invasion”, “the murder of Amin”). The reasons for the entry of Soviet troops are believed to be the aggressive intentions of the USSR and its economic interests (the presence of rich mineral deposits in northern Afghanistan). Foreign researchers positively evaluated the actions of the Afghan armed opposition, although they noted its fragmentation (“no opposition party is able to lead the state”). While studying the problem of Afghan refugees, the foreign researches claimed the main reasons of these problems to have been the economic crisis and the death of civilians as a result of military operations. Foreign researchers drew parallels between Afghanistan and Vietnam arguing that the Soviet leadership was expecting a quick campaign but was drawn into a long-term struggle.

In the Russian historiography (1992–2016) we notice the rejection of the dogmatism of Soviet times, which allowed researchers to critically comprehend the actions of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, the influence of the CPSU on the PDPA, the position of the PDPA itself and its activities in the transformation of the Afghan society, implementation of reforms, attitude towards Muslim clergy.

In the study of the problem of the military and political presence of the USSR in Afghanistan, three main trends can be identified:

1. Academic works that examine the general political situation in and around Afghanistan, the activities of the PDPA, the influence of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government on the developments in the Afghan society, formation of a pro-Soviet political elite in the country, the decision on the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan and their withdrawal from the country, the Geneva negotiations on the settlement in Afghanistan.

2. Works that deal with the actions of Soviet and Afghan troops in Afghanistan, the guerrilla war of armed groups of the Afghan opposition and assistance from foreign countries.

3. Works dealing with the security and intelligence services of Afghanistan, the USSR and the USA. In these publications, former staff members of the Soviet KGB are reviewing the activities of Spetsnaz, military counterintelligence, border guards, the KGB mission and station in Afghanistan as well as with Afghan and American security and intelligence services.

Russian and foreign researches made a significant contribution to the study of the recent history of Afghanistan and, especially, to the problems associated with the military and political presence of the USSR in Afghanistan, although there are still a lot of unclarified issues in this area.

В. С. Христофоров (РГГУ; ИРИ РАН, Москва, Россия)

Новейшая историография и источники по истории военно-политического присутствия СССР в Афганистане (1978–1991)

Историография и источники по теме военно-политического присутствия СССР в Афганистане 1978–1991 гг. достаточно обширна, число книг на эту тему постоянно увеличивается, ежегодно появляются сотни статей, исторические исследования, мемуары, сборники документов и материалов. Авторы публикаций — историки, политологи, дипломаты, журналисты, профессиональные военные, представители органов безопасности. Они ведут острые дискуссии по поводу как ввода советских войск в Афганистан в декабре 1979 г. (вторжение, оккупация, агрессия); так и о причинах их вывода в феврале 1989 г. (политическое и военное поражение в «холодной войне» из-за экономических проблем в СССР).

Проблема военно-политического присутствия СССР в Афганистане в советской, иностранной и российской историографии рассматривается с разных позиций.

В советской историографии прослеживалось положительное отношение к Апрельской революции (1978) и деятельности Народно-демократической партии Афганистана (НДПА), вводу советских войск и спецоперации по отстранению от власти Х. Амина. В основном одобрялись осуществленная силовым методом смена афганского руководства и приход к власти в декабре 1979 г. Б. Кармалю, а также инициированная Москвой в мае 1986 г. смена Б. Кармалю на Наджибуллу, проводившиеся НДПА реформы в обществе. Ввод советских войск обосновывался геополитическими интересами СССР, необходимостью защиты южных границ, стремлением сохранить влияние в Афганистане.

В иностранной историографии прослеживается отрицательное отношение к афганской революции («спровоцированная СССР», «подготовленная Москвой»), вводу советских войск («интервенция», «вторжение», убийство Амина). Причинами ввода советских войск называются агрессивные намерения СССР, его экономические интересы (наличие в Северном Афганистане богатых месторождений полезных ископаемых). Иностранные исследователи положительно оценивали действия афганской вооруженной оппозиции, хотя и отмечали ее раздробленность («ни одна оппозиционная партия не в состоянии руководить государством»). При исследовании проблем афганских беженцев основными причинами иностранные эксперты называли экономический кризис, гибель мирных жителей в результате боевых действий. Иностранные исследователи проводили параллели: «Афганистан — это советский Вьетнам», обосновывая это тем, что советское руководство ожидало краткосрочной кампании, но было втянуто в долгую борьбу.

В российской историографии (1992–2016) наблюдается отказ от догматизма советских времен, что позволило критически осмыслить действия советских войск в Афганистане; влияние КПСС на НДПА, положение в самой НДПА и ее деятельность по преобразованию афганского общества, проведение реформ, отношение к мусульманскому духовенству.

В исследовании проблемы военно-политического присутствия СССР в Афганистане можно условно выделить три основных направления:

К первому направлению относятся научные работы, в которых исследуются общеполитическая обстановка в Афганистане и вокруг него, деятельность НДПА, влияние ЦК КПСС и советского правительства на развитие афганского общества, формирование в стране просоветской политической элиты; решение о вводе советских войск в Афганистан и выводе их из страны, переговоры в Женеве по урегулированию ситуации в Афганистане.

Второе направление представлено работами, в которых рассматриваются действия советских и афганских войск в Афганистане, партизанская война вооруженных отрядов афганской оппозиции и помощь ей со стороны иностранных государств.

Третье направление в исследовании темы — работы, посвященные специальным службам Афганистана, СССР и США. В этих публикациях бывшие сотрудники КГБ СССР рассматривают деятельность подразделений специального назначения, военной контрразведки, пограничных войск, Представительства и Резидентуры КГБ СССР в Афганистане, а также афганских и американских специальных служб.

Отечественными и зарубежными учеными сделан немалый вклад в изучение новейшей истории Афганистана и, особенно, проблем, связанных с военно-политическим присутствием СССР в Афганистане, хотя в данной области еще остается еще немало «белых пятен».

Alexander Kolesnikov (St Petersburg Regional Information and Analysis Centre, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, St Petersburg, Russia)

Study of Afghanistan by the Military of the Russian Empire (the Second Half of the 19th — Early 20th Centuries)

For the General Staff of the Russian Empire the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries were characterized by an active opposition to the efforts of the British Empire to establish its influence in Central Asia. In 1867, with the formation of the Turkestan Military Command Region, a series of measures was undertaken to strengthen Russia's new frontier with Persia, Afghanistan, and East Turkestan. This process secured Russian military and political interests in the neighbouring countries.

In the early 1900's, more than 30 officers of the General Staff served in the Turkestan Military Command Region. Having a good command of foreign languages and possessing extensive special and natural science knowledge, they made lengthy reconnaissance trips to Afghanistan, Persia, India and East Turkestan. The findings of these trips were reflected in fundamental military statistical works, with many of them still remaining unique academic sources on geography, socio-political history and armed forces of these states.

Suffice it to name such officers with an expert knowledge of Afghanistan, who authored numerous studies, as L. K. Artamonov, G. A. Arendarenko, B. L. Grombchevsky, M. V. Grulev, A. V. Komarov, V. A. Oranovsky, A. K. Razgonov, P. A. Rittikh, B. L. Tageev, I. L. Yavorsky, A. E. Snesev.

An invaluable contribution to the study of Afghanistan can be found in the materials of expeditions and missions of the Russian officers: N. G. Stoletov, N. I. Grodekov, P. Matveev, L. G. Kornilov, I. Strelbitsky, A. E. Snesev, P. A. Rittikh, B. N. Kastalsky, A. I. Krustilevsky, P. V. Cherkasov and V. V. Losev.

A separate topic is the study of the Pashto language by the military. In addition to the training of military orientalists at the Officer Courses of Oriental Languages at the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, language training was organized at the Tashkent Officer School of Oriental Languages. Here a thorough academic and methodical work was done that included the publication of training materials. For years I. D. Yagello was in charge of training well-qualified officers with an expert knowledge of Afghanistan in Tashkent and Ashkhabad.

A closer look at the Russian military study of Afghanistan reveals its enduring relevance since geographical information, description of the peoples inhabiting Afghanistan, their daily life, customs and ethnicity examined during their numerous missions and expeditions are least affected by time.

The source-study of the legacy of Russian military experts on Afghanistan is not yet completed; thus it may considerably expand the scope of further study of Afghanistan.

А. А. Колесников (СПб РИАЦ РИСИ, Санкт-Петербург, Россия)

Изучение Афганистана в военном ведомстве Российской Империи (вторая половина XIX — начало XX вв.)

Вторая половина XIX — начало XX вв. для Генерального штаба Российской Империи характеризовались активным противодействием усилиям Великобритании по установлению своего влияния в Центральной Азии. В 1867 году с образованием Туркестанского военного округа началась реализация комплекса мероприятий по укреплению новой границы России с Персией, Афганистаном, и Восточным Туркестаном. Этот процесс, прежде всего,

предусматривал обеспечение военно-политических интересов державы в сопредельных с ней странах.

В начале 1900-х годов в войсках округа проходили службу свыше 30 офицеров Генерального штаба. Владея иностранными языками и обладая обширными специальными и естественнонаучными знаниями, они совершали продолжительные рекогносцировочные поездки по Афганистану, Персии, Индии и Восточному Туркестану. Материалы этих поездок находили отражение в капитальных военно-статистических работах, многие из которых и сегодня являются уникальными научными источниками по географии, социально-политической истории и вооруженным силам этих государств. Достаточно назвать такие имена офицеров-афганистов, авторов многочисленных исследований, как Л. К. Артамонов, Г. А. Арендаренко, Б. Л. Громбчевский, М. В. Грулев, А. В. Комаров, В. А. Орановский, А. К. Разгонов, П. А. Риттих, Б. Л. Тагеев, И. Л. Яворский, А. Е. Снесарев и др.

Неоценимый вклад в изучение Афганистана представлен в материалах экспедиций и миссий русских военных: Н. Г. Столетова, Н. И. Гродекова, П. П. Матвеева, Л. Г. Корнилова, И. И. Стрельбицкого, А. Е. Снесарева, П. А. Риттиха, Б. Н. Кастаньского, А. И. Крастилевского, П. В. Черкасова, В. В. Лосева и др.

Отдельная тема — изучение пушту в системе военного ведомства. Помимо подготовки военных востоковедов на офицерских курсах восточных языков при Азиатском департаменте МИД, языковое обучение было организовано в Ташкентской офицерской школе восточных языков. Здесь велась основательная научно-методическая работа, издавалась учебная литература по пушту. В течение ряда лет квалифицированных офицеров-афганистов в Ташкенте и Асхабаде готовил И. Д. Ягелло.

Анализ деятельности русских военных по изучению Афганистана в рассматриваемый период свидетельствует, что фактический материал, собранный и систематизированный ими в результате многочисленных миссий и экспедиций, по сей день представляет огромный интерес в научном плане, поскольку географические сведения, описание народов, населяющих Афганистан, их быта, обычаев, черт национального характера менее всего подвержены влиянию времени.

Очевидно также и то, что еще далеко не исчерпан источниковедческий фонд наследия русских офицеров-афганистов, благодаря которому могут значительно расшириться возможности дальнейшего изучения Афганистана.

СЕКЦИЯ 2

Письменные традиции, литература и фольклор Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены

PANEL TWO

Written Traditions, Literature and Folklore of Afghanistan and the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*

Nile Green (University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), USA)

Writing History in Mid-Century Afghanistan: From *Tarikh* to Archaeology

Until as late as 1930, historical writing in Afghanistan continued the conventions of the Persian *tarikh* genre, drawing the sources for its genealogical and dynastic accounts of the Afghan past from previous Arabic and Persian texts and chancery documents. Even as prominent a historian as Fayz Muhammad Katib (1862–1931) conformed to this pattern, despite his closer and more critical scrutiny of his written sources. However, under the auspices of the Anjuman-i Adabi-yi Kabul (Kabul Literary Society) and the Anjuman-i Tarikh-i Afghanistan (Afghan Historical Society), the genres and contents of historical writing changed rapidly in the mid-1930's and early 1940's. The key shifts were temporal and methodological. In temporal terms, in line with nationalists elsewhere across Eurasia, the new historians pushed back their historical gaze into the ancient past. For Afghanistan, here this crucially involved a re-evaluation of the pre-Islamic (and specifically Buddhist) past. In methodological terms, the key shifts involved the incorporation of numismatic and archaeological evidence, primarily by means of reliance on the writings of European scholars.

Through their interactions with French archaeologists in particular, who arrived in Afghanistan in the early 1920's, Afghan historians thereby formulated a new

official historical identity for Afghanistan based on its pre-Islamic past. This paper analyses this process by tracing the emergence of the new historiography through the career of its chief promoter, Ahmad 'Ali Kuhzad, as curator of the National Museum (founded in 1931) and director of the Afghan Historical Society (founded in 1942). Through placing Kuhzad in these official institutional settings and summarizing his major works, the paper shows how traditional Islamic historiography was challenged by an imported and amended version of world civilizational history. In the decades after independence in 1919, this new historical vision allowed the young Afghan nation-state to stake its civilizational claims on an international stage through the connection of the new historiography to Afghanistan's diplomatic missions.

The paper builds on the approach to Afghan Persian and Pashto historiography that was developed in my recent edited volume, *Afghan History through Afghan Eyes* (Oxford University Press, 2016). By examining a key and previously un-researched period in Afghan intellectual history, this paper brings to light the mid-century decades before the Taliban's iconoclastic destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas to reveal a period when the Buddhist and wider pre-Islamic past was celebrated as Afghanistan's official history by state cultural institutions that re-defined Afghanistan as 'Aryana'.

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Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland)*

Education in the First Afghan Short Story *Pānzdah sāl-e qabl* by Moxles-Zādeh

The first Afghan short story *Pānzdah sāl-e qabl* (*Fifteen Years Ago*) by Moxles-Zādeh (the pen-name of Mohammad-Hāšem Šāyeq, 1264–1333/1885–1954) was published in 1311 A.H. (A.D. 1932/3) in the *Mağalle-ye erfān* (*Erfān Magazine*). It is narrated from the first person point of view in which the narrator recalls the time when he, as a small boy, faces a crucial changeover in his life, *viz.*, a pre-school education by a local mullah. We accompany the protagonist as he is sent to the mosque to learn. He is afraid of being punished by the mullah for nothing, keen on learning of the alphabet and reading some passages of the *Qur'an*. Later on, he is enrolled in a school, then chosen along with other students to attend the Habibiyyah High School in Kabul and finally becomes a civil servant.

From a literarily perspective, this 15 page *novelette* is following short story's pattern, demonstrates modern narrative techniques that help readers to use their imagination to visualize situations¹. However, the *Pānzdah sāl-e qabl*'s schooling

¹ *Bižan F.* Noxostin dāstānhā-ye mo'āsere-ye dari. Kābol, 1367; *Mohammadi M.–H.* Tārix-e tahlili-ye dāstānnevisi-ye Afqānestān. Tehrān, 1388.

theme is what makes the story a significant one and places it among other important writings in the history of Afghan modern literature. One should take notice that the story concerns an issue perceived by most of philosophers, social scientists and activists as crucial for further socio-economic development of the country, i. e. education¹. Maxim Gorky's *How Did I Learn to Write* (*Как я учился*, 1918) and Sadriddin Ayni's *Old School* (*Мактаби кӯҳна*, 1935) deal with the similar theme. In this respect especially Ayni's text seems interesting as Moxles-Zādeh was born and raised in Bokhara. Thus, one would expect that the author will emphasize this issue in his story too, however it is uncertain whether the former two authors inspired or influenced the latter².

In this paper we would like to elaborate on how did Moxles-Zādeh present his school; how did he deal with popular stereotypes regarding traditional education offered in unconventional schools-*makāteb*; what subjects were taught at various levels including primary, secondary and high schools in Afghanistan at that time, how did he describe a Western-type education; and finally how did he understand the place of education within the Afghan society and in the life of Afghans. To do this we will combine a theory of cultural criticism that challenges the artificial distinction between high and low culture, with a social approach towards literary output.

C. Ryan Perkins (Stanford University, Stanford, California, USA)

Rahat Zakheli and the Rise of the Pashto Short Story

Pashto's first short story writer Rahat Zakheli (1884–1963) was born outside Peshawar and received a childhood education from his father before traveling to Delhi and Lahore where he studied Arabic, Farsi, *fiqh*, literature, and *yunani tibb*. In 1910–11 he started the Pashto newspaper *Āfghān* where he published his first short story in 1917 by the title, *Kundah Jinai* ('Widow Girl'). He went on to write numerous other short stories and what is believed to be Pashto's first novel *Māhe Ruḵh*. In this paper I examine several of Zakheli's short stories and connect his literary efforts to developments in the Urdu literary world. Considering the historical synonymy between the terms Afghan and Pashtun and Zakheli's work outside Afghanistan proper, this presentation questions the rubric by which the cultural legacy of Afghanistan is understood and argues for an expanded view

¹ Bečka J. Traditional Schools in the Works of Sadriddin Aynī and Other Writers of Central Asia // *Archív Orientální*, 39(3) 1971. P. 284–321; Bečka J., Traditional Schools in the Works of Sadriddin Aynī and Other Writers of Central Asia II // *Archív Orientální*, 40(2) 1972. P. 130–163.

² Bečka J. Tajik-Afghan Relations and the Writing of Sadriddin Aīnī // *Archív Orientální*, 46(2) 1978. P. 97–111.

of Afghanistan's cultural history that stretches beyond national boundaries and accounts for the historical networks linking Afghanistan with the rest of South Asia.

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St Petersburg State University, St Petersburg, Russia)*

Composition Structure of Hamid Momand's *Ghazals*

The report is devoted to the principles of the compositional organization of ghazals that are part of the poetic collection of the Afghan classical poet of the end of the 17th — the first third of the 18th century 'Abd al-Hamid Momand.

In Hamid's divan, polythematic and monothematic ghazals are represented in approximately equal proportions.

For the majority of polythematic ghazals, the semantic isolation of the beits included in it is typical, with the absence of an obvious logical connection between them. The integrity of such works is provided by associative links, series of related images, and also due to the structural elements of the form: meter, rhyme system, epiphraph (redif), the repetition of lexical and grammatical structures. From this point of view, Hamid's poly-thematical ghazal is interesting. "So I'm immersed in the thought of my beloved..." Each its beit is semantically autonomous, and the structural unity of the work is supported not only by the redif *dūb* ('submerged', 'drowned'), but also due to a number of images associated with the water element — tears, a source of living water, waves, ocean, the Gulf of Oman, a ship, etc.

Hamid Mohmand's poetry is also characterized by polytypical ghazals, which break up into composition-semantic fragments, including two or more beits. The transition from one fragment to another in such ghazals also occurs at the level of associative links. So, in the love ghazal, "My unreasonableness corrected the wry cause of love..." with the redif *kaj* ('crooked', 'curve'), we can distinguish three composition-semantic fragments, the first of which is the beginning of the ghazal and which is devoted to the theme of love. In the third beitt the poet makes a transition to the theme "love — reason", which he develops in the next three couplets. In the seventh and eighth beits Hamid addresses the themes of the whims of fate and non-covetousness, and the ninth again is devoted to the theme of love. Examples of this kind of internal division of ghazals into compositional and semantic fragments are numerous in Hamid's, they are characteristic for both love and instructive lyrics of the poet.

For monothematic ghazals, several basic types of structural organization are characteristic. One of the most common ways is linking text units using keywords, with a keyword repeated in the redif. So, in the edifying ghazal by Hamid "Neither I nor you own this world..." the redif includes the theme phrase — "... this world",

and all the ghazal beits are variations on the given topic. In the redifs of the ghazal “Since you have secrets with a rival...” and the ghazal “Rivals turned my beloved away from me...” the poet uses the words *raḳīb* (“...rival”) and *dust* (“...beloved”), which serve to identify key images in Hamid’s love lyrics.

The traditional structure of the content of the ghazal genre is determined by two obligatory semantic centers: “I” and “beloved”. Very often, these semantic centers in Hamid’s ghazals also become structural and organizing centers. On them the images are threaded, and this is how the compositional unity and the logical connection between the beits arise. In every beit of a love ghazal “If *you, beloved*, do not question me about my condition...” there are pronouns that clearly point to any of the semantic centers: 1) you — you, 2) I — you, 3) I to you — God to you, 4) me — from yours, 5) I myself — to you, 6) mine — yours, 7) Hamid — he. Thus, the structural and figurative-semantic integrity of the ghazal arises.

Another type of organization of monothematic Hamid’s ghazals is a ring composition, which consists in the development of the motives of the initial beits in the end of the poem. A similar composition is characteristic of Hamid’s love ghazal: “The life of a reveller has become better for me again than the sheik’s lot...” In the first and second beits of the ghazal, the poet develops the motive of abandoning piety and asceticism in the name of love, and at the beginning of the first beit he uses the life of a reveller as a symbol of this rejection. In the last two beits of the ghazal, the poet again returns to the above motif, interpreting it in a new way, and rounds out the composition with the phrase from the beginning of the ghazal: “Be calm, o tutor, he will not be your adherent! / Hamid has again taken the oath of a reveller”.

Analysis of the composition of ghazals by ‘Abd al-Hamid Momand shows that he used the methods of the compositional organization, which were fixed in the canon of Persian classical poetry and were perceived by Afghan poetry in Pashto. Traditional compositional techniques have become an organic part of the creative manner of this Afghan classic poet.

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Композиционная структура газелей Хаида Моманда

Доклад посвящен принципам композиционной организации газелей, входящих в стихотворное собрание афганского поэта-классика конца XVII — первой трети XVIII в ‘Абд ал-Хаида Моманда.

В диване Хаида примерно в равном соотношении представлены политематические и монотематические газели.

Для большинства политематических газелей характерна смысловая изолированность входящих в нее бейтов, отсутствие между ними очевидной логической

связи. Целостность подобных произведений обеспечивается за счет ассоциативных связей, рядов связанных друг с другом образов, а также благодаря структурным элементам формы: метр, система рифмовки, эпифора — редиф (*ради́ф*), повторяемость лексических и грамматических структур. С этой точки зрения интересна политематическая газель Хамида «Так я в мысли о возлюбленной погружаюсь...» Каждый ее бейт автономен в смысловом плане, а структурное единство произведения обеспечивается не только посредством редифа *dūb* ('погруженный', 'утонувший'), но и благодаря ряду образов, связанных с водной стихией, — слезы, источник живой воды, волны, океан, Оманский залив, кораблик и т. д.

Для творчества Хамида Моманда характерны также политематические газели, которые распадаются на композиционно-смысловые фрагменты, включающие два и более бейта. Переход от одного фрагмента к другому в таких газелях также осуществляется на уровне ассоциативных связей. Так в любовной газели «Мое неблагоприятие исправило дело любви кривое...» с редифом *kaj* ('криво', 'кривой') можно выделить три композиционно-смысловых фрагмента, первый из которых представляет собой зачин газели и посвящен теме любви. В третьем бейте поэт осуществляет переход к теме «любовь — разум», которую раскрывает в трех последующих двустихиях. В седьмом и восьмом бейтах Хамид обращается к темам капризов судьбы и нестяжательства, а девятый вновь посвящает теме любви. Примеров подобного рода внутреннего членения газелей на композиционно-смысловые фрагменты в диване Хамида множество, оно характерно как для любовной, так и для назидательной лирики поэта.

Для монотематических газелей характерно несколько основных типов структурной организации. Один из самых распространенных способов — сцепление единиц текста с помощью ключевых слов, при этом ключевое слово может быть вынесено в редиф. Так в назидательной газели Хамида «Ни мне, ни тебе не принадлежит этот мир...» редиф включает в себя словосочетание-тему «...этот мир» (*dā dunyā*), а все бейты газели представляют собой вариации на заданную тему. В редифы газели «Поскольку у тебя есть тайны с соперником...» и газели «Соперники отвернули от меня возлюбленную...» поэтом помещены слова *raḳīb* («...соперник») и *dust* («...возлюбленная»), которые служат для обозначения ключевых образов в любовной лирике Хамида.

Традиционная структура содержания жанра газели определяется обязательным наличием двух семантических центров: «я» и «возлюбленная». Очень часто данные семантические центры в газелях Хамида также становятся и структурно-организующими центрами, на которые нанизываются образы, благодаря чему и возникает композиционное единство и логическая связь между бейтами. В каждом бейте любовной газели «Если ты, возлюбленный, не расспрашиваешь меня о моем состоянии...» содержатся местоимения, четко указывающие на какой-либо из семантических центров: 1) ты — ты; 2) я — ты; 3) я тебе — Бог тебя; 4) мне — от твоего; 5) я себя — тебе; 6) моей — твоей;

7) Хамид — он. Таким образом, возникает структурная и образно-смысловая целостность газели.

Другой тип организации монотематических газелей Хамида — кольцевая композиция, которая заключается в развитии мотивов начальных бейтов в концовке стихотворения. Подобная композиция характерна для любовной газели Хамида «Снова жизнь гуляки стала для меня лучше, нежели удел шейха...». В первом и втором бейтах газели поэт развивает мотив отказа от набожности и аскетизма во имя любви, причем в начале первого бейта он использует в качестве символа этого отказа слово *rindī* в значении *жизнь гуляки*. В двух последних бейтах газели поэт вновь возвращается к упомянутому мотиву, интерпретируя его по-новому, и закругляет композицию словосочетанием из начала газели: «Будь спокоен, о наставник, он не будет твоим приверженцем! / Хамид снова присягнул *жизни гуляки*».

Анализ композиции газелей ‘Абд ал-Хамида Моманда показывает, что он использовал приемы композиционной организации, которые закрепились в каноне персидской классической поэзии и были восприняты афганской поэзией на языке пашто. Традиционные композиционные приемы стали органичной частью творческой манеры этого афганского поэта-классика.

СЕКЦИЯ 3

Общее и особенное в регионах Афганистана и трансграничных регионах афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены

PANEL THREE

The General and the Specific in the Regions of Afghanistan and in the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*

Magnus Marsden (Sussex Asia Centre, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK)

Trading Worlds: Afghan Merchants across Modern Frontiers

For centuries, the territory and peoples that currently make up Afghanistan have played a major role in regional and long distance trade. ‘Afghans’ have acted in influential ways as middlemen traders connecting different regional markets to one another, and they have also hosted, facilitated, and profited from the work of other communities of merchants and also of trade diasporas involved in the trade between South and Central Asia. Generations of merchants and itinerant traders have crossed Afghanistan’s valleys and mountain passes, transporting and dealing in goods ranging from dried fruits to emeralds and carpets to guns. These merchants have delivered products to the plains and coastal littorals of South Asia, the bazaars of the great Islamicate cities of Central Asia, Bukhara, and Samarqand, the trade fairs of Russia, as well as to Chinese cities, such as the capital of the T’ang dynasty, Xi’an.

In spite of trade’s significance to their region’s history, however, Afghans are popularly represented as belonging to ‘tribes’, subscribing to static ‘honour codes’, and as tenaciously clinging on to archaic tribal values. Many of the Afghan traders with whom I work are aware that such images of ‘the Afghan’ exist. They emphasise, instead, the importance to their everyday lives of mobility, flexibility, and a willingness to engage in risk-taking ventures. This set of aptitudes and those who most clearly embody them—traders and merchants—have largely failed to receive scholarly attention: traders are the focus of sustained research, especially for projects

geared to understanding processes of state-formation, yet these social actors are rarely considered as being of significance for understanding Afghan culture or sociality.

This paper is a study of Afghan commodity traders whose work and lives is of a global nature both in its significance and scale. The daily lives of the men on whom the paper focuses cross multiple types of geographic boundaries, including those that mark off nation states, cultural areas, regions and continents, and others that distinguish the ‘landlocked’ deserts, plains, and mountains of Asia from the Indian ‘oceanic world’. The ethnographic material presented documents the forms of exchange, movement, and activity that characterise the lives of these traders. Its key aim is to show how these forms of activity and mobility are critical to the fashioning of a translocal context that cuts across the boundaries of South and Central Asia and the ‘postcolonial’ and ‘post-Soviet’ worlds.

The position developed in the paper departs from the geographical focus on the Afghanistan-Pakistan frontier that informs much writing on Afghanistan. The geographical optic the paper takes, rather, is on the links that trade and traders forge between Afghanistan and the former Soviet states of Central Asian and Eastern Europe, as well as between different parts of this region. By bringing attention to the important role played by Afghans in forging such trans-national and –cultural connections, I seek to demonstrate aspects of Afghanistan’s relationship to the world that are rarely captured in security-focused discussions of the so-called ‘Af-Pak’ nexus. More broadly, therefore, the paper addresses the ways in which traders’ perspectives on life in this dynamic yet fraught arena challenge much that is currently thought about what is now a global point of reference in discussions concerning ‘Islamic fundamentalism’ and so-called ‘failed states’.

In order to accomplish these goals, the paper explores the everyday lives of Afghan traders, documenting their shifting social and cultural identities, as well as the ways in which their work helps to inform the cultural worlds of those with whom they interact.

Robert Nichols (Stockton University, Galloway, New Jersey, USA)

The Pashtun Borderlands 1944–1947

During the World War II years and then after 1947 and the partition of British-India, the nation-states of Afghanistan and newly independent Pakistan struggled to consolidate control over claimed territories and to incorporate variously autonomous internal and border populations into national systems of politics, law, economic development, and social regulation. State-building institutions and mentalities produced discourses about modernity, progress, and development. They also produced efforts to control border trade, collect taxes, impose military conscription, and promote national policies about language, education, and culture.

This study examines the limits and failures of state-building efforts in regards to the Pashtun borderlands shared by Afghanistan and what is now Pakistan from the end of World War II to after the partition of British-India in 1947. It explores how and why select highland communities chose to stay on the margins of such state efforts. In part, the argument is that, as in other areas of the post-colonial world, overly centralized state ideologies and institutions in Kabul and Karachi faced severe limitations in efforts and achievements of “seeing like a state”, consolidating authority, and regulating complex, adaptive societies. Residents of the Pashtun borderlands retained high levels of independence amidst unresolved questions about political ideology and legitimacy, power-sharing, visions of the rule of law, religion, and control and distribution of resources.

Vladimir N. Plastun (Novosibirsk State University, Novosibirsk, Russia)

Afghanistan: the Ethnic Conflict Escalation

It is a common assumption that in a multi-ethnic state ethnic conflicts emerge when every ethnic groups aspires to realize their own interests through reapportionment of political power. They sharply react to attempts of the dominant ethnic group to limit their right for political and economic autonomy, subsidies and ethnic quotas for representation in the Government.

The ethnic question is a most difficult and pressing problem in Afghanistan. Pashtun ethnic group is a core factor in the Afghan statehood and it makes up the majority of the population of the IRA (42% Pashtuns, Tajiks-31%, Hazara-10%, Uzbeks-9%). The country's leadership, which includes the state apparatus and the Army, has been traditionally dominated by the Pashtuns. The ethnic and national problem is characterized by: a) strained relations between Pashtuns and members of other ethnic groups; b) internal conflicts inside Pashtun tribes with their numerous clans and extended families. Since the bulk of Pashtuns reside in Pakistan, the tribes do not recognize the state border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, they often move across the border and in practice they reject the state control over themselves not only by the Afghan, but also by the Pakistani authorities. It is of paramount significance that Pashtuns' tribal affiliation (especially during war) predominates over their formal political association.

If in the past there used to be ethnic tensions along the Pashtuns-not Pashtun line, now they occur between Uzbek and Hazara, Uzbek and Tajik communities. The reasons of discontent and conflicts are as follows: impairment of the rights of ethnic and national minorities, disproportionate representation in the leadership of state institutions, dissatisfaction with the economic development of the region populated mostly by a particular ethnic group.

It should be noted that the severity of inter-ethnic contradictions is exacerbated by an unsuccessful 16-year war between the USA-led and the against Taliban, the bulk of

which are members of the Pashtun ethnic group. At the same time, the armed forces of the IRA are 70% non-Pashtun. The Afghan Army, backed by the American troops, is fighting Taliban who demand the withdrawal of foreign troops as a condition for the solution of the intra-Afghanistan conflict. The IRA President A. Ghani, elected as a result of the still disputed elections, is in favour of keeping American troops in the country. This circumstance is another catalyst for the Afghan conflict.

Ethnic and political balance in the country has changed considerably with a sharp increase in the significance of the Tajik, Hazara and Uzbek communities and their political organizations. The Government of National Unity (GNU) still cannot start functioning properly, as they are bogged down in endless debates on the ethnicity of the candidates for key positions. Therefore, the normalization of the situation in the country also depends on the choice of suitable ways of interaction between ethnic groups. A different approach can lead to the growth of not only the ethnic conflict between the Pashtun and non-Pashtun, but also within ethnic communities. Eventually, the situation can develop into a difficult and hardly acceptable for the Afghans problem of the collapse of Afghanistan as a single state entity.

Analysis of recent events demonstrates that mistakes caused by external military intervention aggravate both the inter-ethnic relations in the country and the situation around Afghanistan at the regional and global levels. The external actors (USA, Pakistan, China, etc.) while calling for a peaceful resolution of the conflict cannot, however, offer an optimal solution to the problem.

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Афганистан: обострение этнического конфликта

Этнические конфликты в полиэтничном государстве, по общему определению, возникают в условиях стремления каждого этноса реализовать свои интересы через перераспределение политической власти. Они остро реагируют на попытки господствующего этноса ограничить их право на предоставление им политической и экономической автономии, увеличение финансирования, этнической квоты на представительство в органах власти.

В Афганистане национальный вопрос — самая острая и сложная проблема. Пуштунский этнос — системообразующий фактор афганской государственности и составляет большинство населения ИРА (42% пуштуны, таджики — 31%, хазара — 10%, узбеки — 9%). Руководство страны, включая госаппарат и армию, традиционно формировалось из представителей пуштунского этноса. Этно-национальная проблема характеризуется: а) напряженными отношениями между пуштунами и представителями других национальностей и народностей; б) конфликтами внутри самих пуштунских племен с их много-

численными кланами, родами и семьями. Поскольку большинство пуштунов проживает в Пакистане, племена не признают государственной границы между странами, свободно мигрируют и фактически отвергают контроль над собой со стороны как афганских, так и пакистанских властей. Важно учитывать, что племенная принадлежность пуштуна (особенно в ходе войны) превалирует над его формальной политической ориентацией.

Если в прошлом этно-национальные противоречия отмечались в основном по линии «пуштуны-непуштуны», то к настоящему времени они проявляются между узбекскими и хазарейскими, узбекскими и таджикскими общинами. Причины протестов и столкновений: ущемление прав этнических и национальных меньшинств, непропорциональное представительство в руководстве государственных институтов, неудовлетворенность экономическим развитием региона компактного проживания того или иного этноса.

Следует отметить, что острота межэтнических противоречий усугубляется продолжающейся безуспешной 16-летней войной возглавляемой США коалицией с «Движением талибан» (ДТ), основную часть которого составляют представители пуштунского этноса. В то же время, вооруженные силы ИРА на 70% укомплектованы военнослужащими непуштунской национальности. Армия Афганистана, опираясь на поддержку американских войск, воюет с ДТ, требующим вывода иностранных войск как условия для решения внутриафганского конфликта. Президент ИРА А. Гани, избранный в результате до сих оспариваемых выборов, выступает за сохранение присутствия войск США. Это обстоятельство — еще один катализатор афганского конфликта.

Этнополитический баланс в стране сильно изменился: резко выросла значимость таджикской, хазарейской и узбекской общин и, соответственно, их политических организаций. Правительство национального единства (ПНЕ) до сих пор не может сформировать свой состав, так как увязло в бесконечных дискуссиях из-за этнической принадлежности кандидатов на ключевые посты. Следовательно, нормализация обстановки в стране зависит также от выбора приемлемых путей взаимодействия этнических групп. Иной подход грозит разрастанием не только межэтнического конфликта между пуштунами и непуштунами, но и внутри самих этнических общин. В конечном счете, ситуация грозит перерасти в трудноразрешимую и вряд ли приемлемую для афганцев проблему раскола единого Афганистана.

Анализ последних событий показывает, что ошибки, вызванные внешним военным вмешательством, ухудшают межнациональные отношения внутри страны и обостряют ситуацию вокруг Афганистана на региональном и мировом уровнях. Внешние акторы (США, Пакистан, Китай и др.), призывая к мирному урегулированию ситуации, между тем, не находят оптимального решения проблемы.

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The Politics of the Afghan Narco-State

The aim of this paper is to examine the politics of the Afghan narco-state. The paper takes a look at the organization of the narco-economy and the informal networks involved in the drug industry. The argument posed is that the prospect of Afghanistan's economy being completely criminalized is more than likely, with the consequence of Afghanistan becoming a narco-state.

Afghanistan is being sucked into the vortex of a violent narcotics industry. This narcotics industry is eating away at the very foundations of the state. Although the violent struggle between the Taliban insurgents and the weak Ghani-Abdullah government captures much of the attention of analysts and media, it is the drug kingpins and traffickers that use the vacuum created by the absence of security to enhance the operations of their trafficking networks. They are able to process and smuggle narcotics with impunity, thus contributing to making Afghanistan a narco-state.

Afghanistan produces around 85 % of the world's opium, and its value is well over a billion dollars. Over one third of the country's economy is linked in one way or another to the narcotics industry. The narcotics industry fuels the insurgency and contributes to widespread insecurity. Furthermore, the narcotics industry erodes the nascent democratic institutions that were created in the wake of toppling the Taliban regime in 2001.

The narco-economy resembles a pyramid-like network which has tentacles in both the licit and illicit economy. At the bottom of the pyramid are the ordinary farmers. Their estimated numbers are in the range of 350,000 individuals. They sell their produce to local entrepreneurs who also supply legal consumer goods to the needs of the rural communities. There are estimated 10,000–15,000 such entrepreneurs. They sell the harvested opium to middle-level traders, who operate in the shady grey area of the legal and illegal trade. The estimated number of these traders is around 500. The real drug dealers number around 200–250 and they are wealthy criminals who are responsible for moving the goods in the country. These criminals are loyal to one of the main drug kingpins at the apex of the pyramid. These 20 to 25 kingpins are embedded in the economic and political life of Afghanistan. They are also responsible for mobile heroin laboratories and the acquisition of precursor chemicals (acetic anhydride) needed to produce heroin from opium.

Many sub-national officials, both in law enforcement and local government, are inextricably associated with trafficking networks and transnational criminals. The border police, customs officials and counter-narcotics police are rife with clientelism (wasita), corruption and nepotism. Many officials have managed to establish

their own networks of protection and patronage at the centre of the government. Consequently, they are immune to attempts at law enforcement.

Smuggling narcotics out of Afghanistan and other illegal goods (mainly weapons) into Afghanistan has been a profitable activity and a major source of wealth in Northern and Eastern Afghanistan since at least the 1990's. After the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001, the major warlords-cum-strongmen have competed over control of the smuggling routes. At times agreements have been reached on how to share access, at other times there have been attempts to push competitors out. There has been a lot of overlap between strongmen, businessmen, and smugglers. For instance, in the case of Northern Afghanistan, some of the leading businessmen of Mazar-i Sharif smuggle narcotics into Uzbekistan themselves, or through members of their families.

The powerful networks involved in the drug industry undermine the feeble state-building project that has consumed billions of foreign aid since 2001. In formal policies and official statements and documents the central Government has committed itself to delivering democratic and accountable governance across the land. In reality there is a power asymmetry between the feeble central government institutions and the real power-brokers in the provinces, who have emboldened themselves through power and wealth accumulated by entanglements in the illicit narcotics industry.

As a result, Afghanistan is emerging as a narco-state with no prospect of getting out of the immense mess it is embroiled in. However, the emerging narco-state in Afghanistan is not only about Afghanistan; there is a risk that the Afghan narcotics industry could end up financing international terrorism.

The paper is based on the author's work in and around Afghanistan over a period of over a decade.

СЕКЦИЯ 4

Языки Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены

PANEL FOUR

The Languages of Afghanistan and the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*

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Phraseological Antonyms in the Shughni Language

The Shughni language belongs to the unwritten Eastern-Iranian languages spoken by about 100–150 thousand people in Tajikistan and Afghanistan. The phraseology of the Shughni language is not fully documented and linguistic analysis is limited to only a few general articles (S. V. Khushenova 1971, T. Bakhtibekov 1972, M. Alamshoev 1985). This lack of theoretical developments in the field of Shughni phraseology is largely due to the lack of written texts and lexical units.

More than 7,000 phraseological units collected by the author during a five-year research in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tajikistan and among the inhabitants of Badakhshan province of Afghanistan provide the source-base of this study. Moreover, the author himself is a native speaker of the language under consideration. The subject of this study is the antonymous phraseological units of the Shughni language.

1. The antonymic phraseological units vary greatly in semantic nuances, grammatical form and expressiveness. Some researchers consider the antonymic phraseological units to be lexical variants¹. We share the point of view of those

¹ *Kunin A. V. Kurs frazeologii sovremennogo angliiskogo iazyka. Moscow, 1972. P. 185–199.*

researchers who consider the relationships of such phraseological units as those between the forms of use of different lexical units¹.

Having considered all existing classifications, we arrive to the conclusion that in the Shughni language there are the following types of formation of phraseological units of antonymic nature.

1. Alternation of a verbal or nominal component in expressively marked antonyms: *xu wazn patêwdow* ‘to lose weight’; *xu wazn zêxtow* ‘to gain weight’; *nek-dil* ‘kind’, ‘noble’, literally “[having] a kind heart”; *bad-dil* ‘evil’, ‘angry’, ‘envious’, literally “[having] an evil heart”, etc.

2. Antonymic phrase formation with negative verbal particles *na*, *ma*, *no* (*xu yil-pil binêstow* ‘to lose head’, literally “to lose your brains”; *xu yil-pil no-binêstow* ‘to get to grips with one’s mind’, ‘come to oneself’).

3. Prepositional antonymic phrase formation. In the formation of phraseological units of this group, a key role is played by prepositions, for example: *be xud sitow*, literally “To lose one’s temper”, “to faint” = *ba xud yatow*, literally “come to yourself”, etc.

4. Antonymic phraseological pairs ($a+a^1$, a^1+b^1 , aa^1 , aa^1 , ab^1+ab^1 , $ba^1+ ab^1$). This group includes phrases where two lexemes with contrasting meaning or two phraseological pairs are contrasted: 1) when one phrase is opposed by meaning to the other, we get a radial construction ($a+a^1$, a^1+b^1), and when paired synonymous phrases are opposed to each other, we get a linear construction (also aa^1 , aa^1 , ab^1+ab^1 , $ba^1+ ab^1$).² In the Shughni language these phraseological units are formed with the conjunction *at* (*-yat* after vowels), or a negation form *na-na*, and with the help of the opposition in meaning described above: *yoc at xac* ‘impatient’, literally “water and fire”; *na xurd-at*, *na xu šêx-ard* ‘unskillful’, literally “neither for yourself nor for your *sheh* (friend)”; *na pi bel boft at*, *na pi anjân* ‘useless’, literally “neither for a spade nor for a rope”; *azûd mûnda*, *azam rûnda* ‘for nothing’, ‘do something without any result’, literally “tired from here, sacked from there”, etc. Antonymic pairs in the phraseological phrases of this type are mostly found in proverbs and sayings.

5. Simple antonymic formation. This group includes all other semantic phraseological antonyms of the Shughni language: *xu ux tar xu vîdow* ‘to come to your senses’, literally “to bring your brains to yourself”; *xu yil-pil binêstow* ‘to lose your head’, literally “to lose your brains”; *isob nist* ‘very many’, literally “countless”; *angixt isob* ‘very few’, literally “finger counting”, etc. The essence of phraseological and lexical antonymy lies in the fact that semantic units are opposed here, either on the basis of antonymic connections of individual components of a phraseological unit or of two units: *çor taraf qiblâ* ‘wherever’, ‘where you may want’, literally “four sides to Qibla”, *fuk pûndenên çüst* ‘a hopeless situation’, literally “all the roads are blocked”.

¹ Molotkov A. I. Osnovy frazeologii russkogo iazyka. Leningrad: Nauka, 1977. P. 161–162.

² Vvedenskaia L. A. Sinonimicheskie pary antonimov // Russkii iazyk v shkole. № 4, 1969. P. 107–109.

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Фразеологические антонимы в шугнанском языке

Шугнанский язык относится к бесписьменным восточно-иранским языкам; на нем говорят примерно 100–150 тыс. человек в Таджикистане и Афганистане. Фразеология шугнанского языка полностью не документирована, и ее лингвистический анализ ограничивается лишь несколькими общими статьями (С. В. Хушенова 1971, Т. Бахтибеков 1972, М. Аламшоев 1985). Отсутствие теоретических разработок в области шугнанской фразеологии во многом объясняется нехваткой письменно зафиксированных текстов и лексических единиц.

Материалом исследования послужили более 7000 фразеологизмов, собранных автором в течение 5 лет на территории Горно-Бадахшанской автономной области Таджикистана и среди жителей провинции Бадахшан Афганистана. К тому же сам автор является носителем исследуемого языка. Предметом исследования являются антонимические фразеологические единицы шугнанского языка.

Антонимические фразеологизмы сильно различаются по семантическим оттенкам, грамматической форме и экспрессивности. Некоторые исследователи считают антонимические фразеологизмы лексическими вариантами¹. Мы разделяем точку зрения тех ученых, которые рассматривают соотношение таких фразеологизмов как соотношение форм употребления разных лексических единиц². Учитывая все существующие классификации, мы склонны прийти к выводу о том, что в шугнанском языке существуют следующие виды образования фразеологических единиц антонимического характера.

1. Чередование глагольного или именного компонента в экспрессивно-маркированных антонимах: *xu wazn patêwdow* ‘сбрасывать вес’; *xu wazn zêxtow* ‘набирать вес’; *nek-dil* ‘добрый’, ‘благородный’, букв. «[имеющий] доброе сердце»; *bad-dil* ‘плохой’, ‘злой’, ‘завистливый’, букв. «[имеющий] плохое сердце», и др.

2. Антонимическое фразеобразование с отрицательными глагольными частицами *na*, *ma*, *no* (*xu yil-pil binêstow* ‘терять голову’, букв. «терять ум»; *xu yil-pil no-binêstow* ‘взяться за ум’, ‘прийти в себя’).

3. Предложно-антонимическое фразеобразование. В образовании фразеологизмов этой группы ключевую роль играют предлоги, например: *be xud sitow*, букв. «выходить из себя», ‘упасть в обморок’ = *ba xud yatow*, букв. «прийти к себе», ‘прийти в себя’ и др.

4. Антонимические фразеологические пары ($a+a^1$, a^1+b^1 , aa^1 , aa^1 , ab^1+ab^1 , ba^1+ab^1). К этой группе относятся обороты, в которых противопоставляются

¹ Кунин А. В. Курс фразеологии современного английского языка. М., 1972. С. 185–199.

² Молотков А. И. Основы фразеологии русского языка. Л.: Наука, 1977. С. 161–162.

две противоположные по значению лексемы или две фразеологические пары: 1) когда одна фразема противопоставлена по значению другой это — «радикальная» конструкция ($a+a^1$, a^1+b^1), а когда парные синонимические фраземы противопоставлены друг другу, то это — «линейная» конструкция (так же aa^1 , aa^1 , ab^1+ab^1 , $ba^1+ ab^1$).¹ В шугнанском языке эти фразеологические обороты образуются с помощью союза *at* (*-yat* после гласных), или формы отрицания *na-na*, и при помощи указанного смыслового противопоставления: *yoc at xac* ‘нетерпеливый’, букв. «вода и огонь»; *na xurd-at*, *na xu šêx-ard* ‘неумелый’, букв. ‘ни себе ни своему шеху (другу)’; *na pi bel boft at*, *na pi anjân* ‘ненужный’, букв. «ни к лопате, ни к веревке»; *azûd mûnda*, *azam rûnda* ‘зря’, ‘делать что-то безрезультатно’, букв. «отсюда уставший, оттуда выгнанный», и др. Синонимические пары в составе фразеологических оборотов такого типа в основном встречаются в составе пословиц и поговорок.

5. Простое антонимическое образование. В эту группу входят все остальные семантические фразеологические антонимы шугнанского языка: *xu ux tar xu vîdow* ‘взяться за ум’, букв. «привести свой ум к себе»; *xu yil-pil binêstow* ‘терять голову’, букв. «терять ум»; *isob nist* ‘очень много’, букв. «нет счета»; *angixt isob* ‘очень мало’, букв. «счет по пальцам» и др. Суть фразеологической антонимии, как и лексической, состоит в том, что здесь противопоставляются семантические единицы: либо на основе антонимических связей отдельных компонентов фразеологического оборота или двух оборотов: *çor taraf qiblâ* ‘куда угодно’, ‘куда только захочется’, букв. «четыре стороны к Кибле», *fuk pûndenên cûst* ‘безвыходное положение’, букв. «все дороги закрыты».

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Comparison of the Two Standard Dialects of Pashto Spoken in Afghanistan and Pakistan: the Kandahari Dialect and the Yusufzai Dialect

Pashto is spoken in the East, South and Southwest areas of Afghanistan, in the Northwest Province (presently Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and in the north-eastern parts of Baluchistan, Pakistan. There are considerable dialectal variation in Pashto but the dialect of Kandahar (“western”) and the Yusufzai or the Peshawar dialect (“eastern”) are considered standard dialects in Afghanistan and Pakistan respectively. Most adherents of the two-dialect approach focus primarily on differences in the pronunciation of the retroflex consonants designated by the letters *ښ* and *د*.

¹ *Введенская Л. А.* Синонимические пары антонимов // Русский язык в школе. № 4, 1969. С. 107–109.

There are two main varieties of Pashto in Afghanistan: the Eastern one and the Kandahar one. The dialect of Kandahar is spoken in Kandahar, Farah and Herat provinces. It has enjoyed a great prestige inside and outside of Afghanistan. The Kandahar dialect is considered the most conservative¹ because it is the only one that has a phonemic system corresponding to the conventional system of Pashto orthography, which may be traced in early Pashto manuscripts. That is why Kandahar is considered the cradle of Pashto alphabets². According to M. Henderson, the dialect of Kandahar has retained archaic features for the reason that it was spoken in the areas isolated from important trade routes while other dialects were located mostly along them³.

D. N. Mackenzie on the contrary termed the dialect of Kandahar an “aberrant dialect”⁴. G. Morgenstierne was also of the opinion that the prestigious and conservative dialect is that of the Yusufzais: “Most probably the tendency towards velarization arose among the Yusufzais and Mohmands, and spread from them to the neighbouring tribes. When the orthography of Pashto was fixed in the 16th century, the distinction between ξ , ζ and x , g seems still to have been preserved even among the north-eastern tribes, who were probably the creators of Pashto literature. It may be noticed that a similar velarization of ξ , ζ is found in some neighbouring Dardic dialects”⁵.

On the Penzl and Morgenstierne’s statements concerning the statuses, historical positions and relations of the western and eastern Pashto dialects D. N. Mackenzie commented that “We have seen that the Kandahar dialect has preserved all the consonant phonemes expressed in the standard alphabet, but that while also preserving the full range of vowel phonemes it has put them to use in novel ways. The other dialects, particularly of the north-east, have abandoned a number of consonant phonemes but have generally confirmed the vowels in their morphological positions. It is an obvious inference that an older stage of Pashto, still current in the seventeenth century if the orthographic evidence is trustworthy, combined a ‘south-western’ consonant system with a ‘north-eastern’ vowel phoneme system”⁶.

In this paper these two dialects are studied in comparison and their differences and similarities are identified.

¹ Henderson Michael M. T. Four varieties of Pashto // *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. 103, No. 3 (Jul.-Sep., 1983). P. 595.

² Penzl Herbert. A grammar of Pashto; a descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar. Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1955. P. 9–10.

³ Henderson M. *Ibid.* P. 595.

⁴ Mackenzie D. N. Review of a *Short grammatical Outline of Pashto by D. A. Shafeev translated into English by Herbert H. Paper* // *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1965). P. 640.

⁵ Morgenstierne Georg. Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-western India. Oslo: Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturskning, 1932. P. 17.

⁶ Mackenzie D. N. A Standard Pashto // *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London. Vol. 22, No. 1/3, 1959. P. 235.

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Bernhard Dorn and the Beginning of Pashto Lexicography

At the end of the 18th century, William Jones, a British judge in India and one of the founding fathers of Indo-European linguistics, noted the affinity of Pashto to “Chaldaic”. Since then, researchers, explorers, missionaries, army servicemen, physicians and other Western travellers began a long discussion on the origin of Pashto (and the ethnic identity of the Pashtuns) and proposed various connections: Semitic (H. G. Raverty), Iranian (B. Dorn), Bactrian (F. Müller), Indo-Aryan (H. W. Bellew), Eastern Iranian (J. Darmesteter).

Though Bernhard Dorn never visited Afghanistan, he was the first to demonstrate that Pashto is an Iranian language in a number of his publications dealing with grammar, literature and lexicography.

This paper focuses on the fundamental contribution of Dorn to Pashto lexicography, mainly thanks to the glossary contained at the end of his *Chrestomathy of the Pushtū or Afghan Language* (St Petersburg, 1847). After presenting the work of Dorn’s predecessors on Pashto, this paper discusses his influence on subsequent lexicographers, in particular H. G. Raverty and H. W. Bellew, the authors of the two main Pashto dictionaries (published in 1860 and 1867 respectively). Through these works, the influence of Dorn reached and affected the dictionaries of the 20th and 21st centuries.

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Major Features and the Linguistic Position of the Khorasani Group of Persian Dialects within the Persian-Dari-Tajik Linguistic Continuum

The three closely related languages — Modern Persian, Dari (*Farsi-Kabuli*) and Tajik — form a vast continuum of dialects, stretching from western Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia. To draw a geographical line or define a geographical border between the dialects of Persian proper, those of the Dari language and those of Tajik seems problematical from a purely linguistic point of view since these dialects overlap and merge into one another. Thus, it is prudent to consider these dialects as a single linguistic continuum within which a few groups may be defined. A rough classification of the whole volume of dialects of Persian, Dari and Tajik is suggested by R. Farhadi¹. According to his classification the Persian

¹ Farhâdi, Abd-ul-Ghafûr. *Le Persan Parlé en Afghanistan. Grammaire du Kâboli: Accompagnée d'un Recueil de Quatrains Populaire de la Région de Kâbol*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1955.

continuum may be divided into two major groups: Western and Eastern. The former includes the Persian dialects of western and central Iran, while the latter includes the remaining dialects, namely those of eastern Iran (Khorasan and Sistan), all Dari dialects of Afghanistan, and the Tajik of the former Soviet Central Asia. A brief look at this classification is enough to reveal an unequal distribution of dialects between the two groups, as the Eastern group covers a geographically much vaster area than the Western one. However, even this classification does not presume the Eastern dialects as homogenous, insofar as the Eastern group includes two subdivisions:

- 1) the Khorasani, which covers eastern Iran and western Afghanistan; and
- 2) the Dari-Tajik, which encompasses central and northern Afghanistan and the former Soviet Central Asia.

The purpose of this study is to prove that the Khorasani dialects deserve a much more prominent place in the classification than that of just a sub-division, and that they form a group of their own. On the one hand, their similarity with Western dialects are no less significant than their proximity to Eastern dialects; on the other hand, their peculiarities within the Persian-Dari-Tajik continuum are of such a degree and quality as to make them equally different from both dialectal groups.

Below are the main features which bring the Khorasani dialects closer to the Western group and distinguish them from the Eastern group:

1. The historic *majhul* vowels and diphthongs generally evolve with a progressive tendency towards gradual merging of the phonemes *ê* and *i*, *ô* and *u*, and the changing of the diphthongs *ay* > *ey*, *av* > *ou*, *ôu*.

2. A progressive tendency towards changing of the final *a/ä* > *ε/e*.

3. The changing *â* > *o*, *u* after nasal consonants.

4. The historic vowels *ī/ĩ*, *ū/ũ* do not change into the *majhul* vowels *ê*, *ô* before *h*, *h* and *'*.

5. The existence of one phoneme *ǰ* in Khorasani *versus* two different phonemes *q* and *γ* in the Eastern dialects.

6. An active use of the indefinite enclitic *-i/-ê*, added to nouns and adjectives in combination with the numeral *yak/yeq* or without it.

7. The *ezafe* can often be dropped.

8. The use of the suffix *-e/-ε/-ə*, pleonastically added to nouns without actually changing the meaning.

9. The adding of the prefix *mi-/mê-* to the verbal element in compound verbs with *dar-*, *bar-/war-*.

10. The Past Participle in Khorasani dialects has only the *-a/-ε/-e* ending; it does not take on the suffix *-gi*.

Peculiarities of the Khorasani dialects are also considered in the present study.

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The Area of the Bactrian Language in the Early Middle Ages as Seen from Toponymical Data

The language called today Bactrian, was spoken on the territories called Bactria and later Tokharistan in antiquity and the early Middle Ages. According to the texts, which came to light, were deciphered and published mostly during the last 25 years, it was a Middle Iranian tongue attributed to eastern or central subgroup, related first of all to medieval Parthian and Sogdian and modern Pashto, Wanetsi, Munji and Yidgha. These texts cover the span of more than 600 years and document various stages of the language, shed much light on its history and internal structure, and show the history of Northern Afghanistan and Southern Central Asia from a completely new perspective.

Most of these texts however were found accidentally, and we do not know the exact location of the find. Thus, it is interesting to understand which territory was occupied by the extinct Bactrian language. The main device here is the study of ancient toponymy. Fortunately, medieval sources of the pre-Mongol period, first of all Arabic and Persian geographical treatises, but also Chinese records, provide a large number of place-names of historical Bactria and neighbouring regions in a rather exact rendering and importantly clearly indicating their geographical locations.

Many of these place-names are etymologically obvious and show peculiar features of the Bactrian language. The most evident shibboleth of Bactrian is its *lambdaism*, the change of Old Iranian **d* into *l*, but other features such as the simplification of clusters, lenition of intervocalic consonants, peculiar suffixes are also visible.

The analysis of these place-names clearly shows that Bactrian was spoken in the middle course of the Oxus, on the right-hand and left-hand tributaries of the great river. There, especially in larger cities, New Persian also was in use. The regions to the south of the Hindukush, to the south of Bamyān and Panjshēr, were hardly included into the Bactrian-speaking milieu. The same is true for the Upper Panj river valley, for Herat region and for Ghur. On the northern side, the border between the Bactrian and the Sogdian languages lied in the Hissar range, and on the north-west, in Kerka. The archaeological data and historical sources seem to agree with these delimitations.

In the frontier regions one finds the names which have various forms corresponding to the different languages spoken in the region. That is true for — *Āmul* (Bactrian) / *Āmūya* (Middle Persian) / **Āmuδ* (Sogdian) on the Middle Amu-Darya, and *Naxšab* (Sogdian) / *Našaf* (Bactrian) in southern Sogdiana.

СЕКЦИЯ 5

Паттерны политической жизни Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены

PANEL FIVE

Political Patterns in Afghanistan and in the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*

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Traditionalism and Demodernisation: The Case of Afghanistan

With the beginning of a partial modernisation in Afghanistan in the late 19th century there emerged a pattern of opposition to this process. Often described as traditionalism it aimed not only at the maintaining of the *status quo* but had a demodernising twist seeking the establishment of an alternative socio-political order pursuing demodernisation dressed in traditionalist Islamic or tribal rhetoric but undermining the traditional *modus vivendi* by introducing political tools and institutions specifically promoting demodernisation.

There are three parallel tracks in the development of actors opposing modernisation, *viz.* the traditionalist ones (tribes and Islamic clerics), conscious demodernisers (Bachah-ye Saqao Emirate in 1929 and the Taliban), and forces of political Islam that fit the modernisation paradigm but deliver on the demodernisation agenda (Islamist political parties *cum* armed movements of the 1970–80s).

The background of these three modernisation-opposing forces and the time and place specific circumstances of their operational environment explain the particular ideological and political track they were taking. Their alternating use of opposing tribal and Islamic institutions in promoting their agendas adds to the understanding of their peculiarities. Counter-modernisation activities may derive from different premises, where deliberate demodernisation and demodernisation as a by-product of modernised political endeavours are of theoretical interest.

Marianna S. Bakonina (independent scholar, St Petersburg, Russia)

***Wilayah Khorasan, or Islamic State vs the Taliban:
Religious and Political Justification of War
(on the Materials of the Glossy *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah* Magazines)***

The proclamation of the “Caliphate” (hereinafter referred to as the Caliphate) in July 2014 was a doctrinal revolution that completely changed the ideological and political landscape in the Islamic world, especially the part controlled by the ideologists of political Islamism. The decision to proclaim the Caliphate here and now, and not in the distant future, gave a new impetus to the war for the historical time and space that the ideologists of political Islam began in the 1960’s.

Having proclaimed the Caliphate, the leaders of the Islamic State (IS) completely disengaged from the rest of the Salafis, not only from the Wahhabis and other Islamist propagandists, but also from the Jihadists. This decision allows them to actively enlist supporters of radical Islam, who have adopted the ideological paradigms of modern Salafi movements, which promote the Caliphate as the ultimate goal of Islamism as a political trend, and jihad as the only way to the Caliphate.

The motto of the revived Caliphate: *[It] Shall be preserved and expanded* implies an expansionist pan-Islamic strategy. In 2015, during the peak of its power, after a year of victories and triumphs, when the IS controlled almost half of the territory of Syria and Iraq, it was announced that the jihadists of Waziristan, Sinai, Libya, Yemen, Nigeria, the North Caucasus and other regions had joined the Caliphate .

Wilayah Khorasan was proclaimed in January 2015, when several prominent figures of the Pakistani Taliban movement (*Tehrik-i-Taliban* Pakistan) distributed the video with the oath to the Caliph al-Baghdadi, and the official representative of the IS Muhammad al-Adnani, announced the establishment of the IS *wilayah* in the territories of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Thus, the IS began to be established in the territories where the Taliban movement for many years had been the most influential representative of militant Islamist discourse.

Ideological and political preparations for the invasion to the territory of competitors began long before the creation of the *wilayah* and the appointment of a *wali* in the new province. Since the proclamation of the Caliphate, ideologists of the IS in their propaganda materials have tried to disavow and discredit Al-Qaeda, the Taliban and their leadership. Criticism of the Taliban was conducted in the following directions: the propagandists of the IS pointed to the doctrinal delusions of the Taliban, *viz.*, belonging to the Deobandi school, which, in particular, allows *irja*’; a tolerant attitude towards Sufism; the refusal to persecute Shiites, the replacement of certain Sharia provisions with those of *adat*¹.

¹ *DABIQ*, № 8. P. 30–31.

Religious and doctrinal errors of the Taliban, according to the IS, are the refusal to immediately introduce the Sharia law and the establishment of such institutions as *hissa* and *Sharia* courts, a conniving attitude to the cultivation and use of illicit narcotic substances. The political criticism of the Taliban is limited to pointing out a purely national agenda of this movement, its readiness to recognize the boundaries of existing states and international organizations, which, in the opinion of the ideologists of the IS, should be equated with *shirk*. The interviews and political reviews also criticized the intrigues of the Taliban leadership that hid the death of Mullah Omar, tarnished themselves by cooperating with the allies of the “Crusaders” — the current governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as with the intelligence services of these countries¹.

After the proclamation of the *Wilayah Khorasan*, a special *fatwa* was issued and widely distributed, including a publication in *Dabiq*, which was allegedly intended to answer the questions of the Taliban fighters. From the Islamic point of view, it justifies the need to forget the oaths of allegiance given to Mullah Omar and swear allegiance to the Caliph al-Baghdadi².

In the propaganda of the IS, great attention has been paid to the living and dead heroes of the IS in the *Wilayah Khorasan* from among the former Taliban, who managed to realize their fallacies and come to an allegedly genuine Sunnism.

Even in 2017, when the Caliphate in Syria and Iraq has been losing a battle after battle, and its territory is shrinking like a shagreen skin, the ideologists of the IS do not abandon the slogan “[It] *hall be preserved and expanded*”. In the propaganda of the IS, in particular in the new glossy Caliphate magazine “*Rumiyah*”, much attention has been paid to the events and especially to “victories” in other *wilayahs*, including the *Wilayah of Khorasan*.³

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Вилайет Хурасан, или Исламское государство против Талибан: религиозно-политическое обоснование войны (по материалам «глянцевого» журналов *Дабик* и *Румийа*)

Провозглашение «Халифата» (далее — халифат) в июле 2014 года стало доктринальной революцией, которая полностью изменила идейно-политический ландшафт в исламском мире, особенно ту его часть, которую контролируют идеологи политического исламизма. Решение провозгласить халифат

¹ See, for example, Al-Qaeda of Waziristan // *DABIQ*, №6. P. 40–55.

² See *Fatwa for Khorasan* // *DABIQ*, №10. P. 20–24.

³ See, for example, *RUMIYAH*, №7. P. 35–36.

здесь и сейчас, а не в отдаленном будущем придало новый импульс войне за историческое время и пространство, которую начали идеологи политического ислама в 60-е годы XX века¹.

Провозгласив халифат, лидеры Исламского государства (ИГ) полностью размежевались с остальными салафитами, не только ваххабитами и исламистами-пропагандистами, но и джихадистами. Это решение позволяет активно привлекать в свои ряды сторонников радикального ислама, усвоивших идеологические конструкции современных салафитских движений, которые пропагандировали халифат как высшую цель исламизма как политического течения, а джихад — как единственный путь к халифату.

Девиз возрожденного халифата «сохранится и расширится» предполагает экспансионистскую панисламистскую стратегию. В 2015 году, в период своего наибольшего могущества после года побед и триумфов, когда ИГ контролировало почти половину территории Сирии и Ирака, было объявлено о присоединении к халифату джихадистов Вазиристана, Синая, Ливии, Йемена, Нигерии, Северного Кавказа и других регионов.

Вилайет Хурасан был провозглашен в январе 2015 года, когда несколько видных деятелей пакистанского движения Талибан (*Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan*) распространили видео с клятвой халифу ал-Багдади, а официальный представитель ИГ Мухаммад ал-Аднани сообщил о создании вилайета ИГ на территориях Пакистана и Афганистана². Таким образом, ИГ стало утверждаться на территориях, где движение Талибан многие годы было наиболее влиятельным представителем воинственного исламистского дискурса.

Идеологическая и политическая подготовка к вторжению на территории конкурентов началась задолго до создания *вилайета* и назначения *вали* в новую провинцию. С момента провозглашения халифата идеологи ИГ в пропагандистских материалах старались дезавуировать и опорочить Аль-Каиду, талибов и их руководство. Критика Талибан велась по трем направлениям. Пропагандисты ИГ указывали на доктринальные заблуждения талибов: принадлежность к школе *деобанди*, которая, в частности, допускает *ирджу*, снисходительное отношение к суфизму, отказ от преследования шиитов, замену определенных установлений шариата *адатами*³.

Религиозно-вероучительными ошибками талибов ИГ объявляет отказ от немедленного введения законов шариата и учреждения таких институтов, как *хисба* и шариатские суды, попустительское отношение к выращиванию и употреблению запрещенных исламом наркотических веществ. Политическая критика талибов сводится к указанию на сугубо национальную повестку дня

¹ См.: *Кепель Ж.* Джихад: расцвет и закат исламизма. М.: Ладомир, 2004. 467 с. С. 28–32.

² *DABIQ*, № 10. P. 20–24.

³ *DABIQ*, № 8. P. 30–31.

этого движения, его готовность признавать границы существующих государств и международные организации, что, по мнению идеологов ИГ, следует приравнять к *ширку*. В интервью и политических обзорах также критиковались интриги среди руководства талибов, которые скрывали смерть муллы Омара, запятнали себя сотрудничеством с союзниками «крестоносцев» — действующими правительствами Афганистана и Пакистана, а также со спецслужбами этих стран¹.

После провозглашения *вилайета* Хурасан была издана и широко распространена, в том числе опубликована в *Дабик*, специальная фетва, которая якобы призвана ответить на вопросы бойцов Талибан, в которой с исламской точки зрения обосновывается необходимость забыть клятвы, принесенные мулле Омару, и присягнуть халифу ал-Багдади².

В пропаганде ИГ уделялось и уделяется большое внимание живым и мертвым героям ИГ в *вилайете* Хурасан из числа бывших талибов, которые сумели осознать заблуждения и прийти к якобы подлинному суннизму.

Даже в 2017 году, когда халифат в Сирии и Ираке терпит поражение за поражением, а его территория сжимается подобно шагреновой коже, идеологи ИГ не отказываются от лозунга «сохранится и расширится». В пропаганде ИГ, в частности в новом глянцево-м журнале халифата «*Румийа*», уделяется большое внимание событиям и особенно «победам» в других *вилайетах*, в том числе в *вилайете* Хурасан³. Таким образом, несмотря на военные поражения, ИГ не отказывается от экспансионистских панисламистских планов.

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The Problems and Contradictions of Modernization of Afghanistan in the 20th — Early 21st Centuries⁴

The purpose of this paper is to look at the phenomenon of modernization in Afghanistan and the reasons for the emergence of the Afghan “dead-end” in the context of interaction of internal and external factors in the 1910’s–2010’s. This study is based on documents from Russian, Uzbek, British, Indian and Afghan archives and field materials of the author.

The variety of ideas on progress and modernization became popular in Afghanistan in the early 20th century. These ideas were suggested by the Young Afghans — a group

¹ См., например: Аль-Каида Вазиристана // *DABIQ*, №6. С. 40–55.

² См.: Фетва для Хурасана // *DABIQ*, №10. С. 20–24.

³ См., например: *RUMIYAH*, №7. Р. 35–36.

⁴ This research project was undertaken with the financial support of the RFH-RFBR Foundation (project № 15-01-00440).

of progressives who advocated the spreading of knowledge and education, and on the political front went as far as advocating the adoption of a constitution while still preserving the monarchy. But after the murder of Emir Habibullah Khan in February 1919 and coming to power of one of his sons — Amanullah Khan — the Young Afghans did not have any access to power. Sharing the views of the Young Afghans and even trying to implement them in practice during his reign (1919–1929), Amanullah Khan acted in an authoritarian manner, not caring about creating a new managerial class, although near him there were also reformist politicians — Mahmud-bek Tarzi, M. Wali Khan, the Charkhi brothers, etc. Yet, they only briefly participated in the administrative work on the internal and foreign policy of Afghanistan, as the King's the desire to monopolise the process of taking and even implementing decisions resulted in arbitrariness and even led to fatal errors. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the influential clan of Musahibs, favoured a more moderate version of modernization, and some of its members found themselves in a personal conflict with the Emir on a family-related basis. Yet, despite these contradictions within the Pashtun elite, it is the “Amani era” that is considered the first, albeit unfortunate, experience in the modernization of the Afghan traditional society and state.

The subsequent attempts to modernize “from above”, linked with the role and politics of M. Daud, the Prime Minister (1953–1963), and then the first President of Afghanistan (1973–1978), are critically evaluated in the mainstream historiography. We can agree with this, given his authoritarianism and repressive methods of responding to the actions of opposition, which forced the left radicals of the People's Democratic Party to fight against him in order to save the party elite in the spring of 1978. Yet, many years later, in the 2000's, in various circles of the Afghan elite, there was a solid opinion that it was M. Daoud who was the most successful and popular Afghan leader. At the same time, academic and journalistic literature practically ignores the relative successes of Afghanistan in the development of new forms of economy and administration in the 1930's–1940's, initiated by A. M. Zabuli and other representatives of the emerging entrepreneurial class.

The further development of Afghan history is only connected by foreign authors with the arrival of Soviet troops in December 1979 and their stay in this country until February 1989. All actions of the Afghan authorities until the collapse of the PDPA-Watan regime in the spring of 1992 are considered as the puppet Sovietisation. Yet, such assessments are largely true only for a series of radical leftist reforms in the sphere of politics, education, etc., while some economic projects of that time are still considered by many in Afghanistan as a real contribution to the development of the country. At the request of the current Afghan authorities, they are subject to renovation and should be carried on within the framework of the privileged partnership between the Russian Federation and the IRA in the 21st century.

While analysing Afghan alternatives and the current ongoing conflict one can only talk about discontinuous and sectorial modernization or its regionalised

varieties. The experience of Herat and, until recently, the northern regions of Afghanistan (Mazar-i-Sharif, etc.), shows that a revival may also occur in a localised manner. In these and other cases, the influence of the external factor, viz., the Western and Soviet ones as well as the Asian impact have affected the Afghan experience of localised as well as of regional, sectorial and other modernizations.

The study of the modernization phenomenon in its Afghan version in the last 100 years (the 1910's-2010's) demonstrates that the reform projects of the first third of the 20th century were not supported by the relevant recruitment policy and qualified personnel as well as by adequate financial resources; while the objective difficulties were multiplied by the adventurism of the ruling circles with the external interference preventing the unfolding of reforms and exploiting the benefits of Afghanistan's geographical position at a crossroads of trade and military-strategic routes. However, even in the pre-WWII and WWII years, the nascent Afghan entrepreneurial class, with the support of the new Musahiban dynasty, managed to diversify patterns and methods of trade and economic activity.

The subsequent reformist programmes of M. Daoud, the leftist radicals of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and their opponents from the Islamist, traditionalist and liberal camps were interrupted due to the difficult internal political situation and outbreaks of civil war as well as due to the scramble of external forces for influence in this part of Asia. It was only at the beginning of the 21st century that large-scale peacekeeping initiatives and integration projects emerged: the Istanbul process, which provides for the pacification of Afghanistan by the efforts of its neighbours through economic, cultural and other interaction with this problem state, the Chinese One Belt, One Road project aimed at creating a powerful infrastructure and multilateral cooperation in Eurasia. However, the geo-economic and international political imperatives of these projects do not yet guarantee the full-scale entry of Afghanistan into this field of cooperation, but this is the most promising path to stability and progress.

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Проблемы и противоречия модернизации Афганистана в XX — начале XXI вв.¹

Цель данного выступления — характеристика феномена модернизации в Афганистане и причин возникновения афганского «тупика» в контексте

¹ Данный материал подготовлен при поддержке РГНФ/РФФИ (проект № 15-01-00440).

взаимодействия внутренних и внешних факторов в 1910–2010-е гг. Источниковую базу исследования составили документы из российских, узбекистанских, британских, индийских и афганских архивов и полевые материалы автора.

Идеи прогресса и модернизации в различных ее версиях стали популярны в Афганистане в начале XX в. — такие идеи были предложены младоафганцами — группой прогрессивно настроенных деятелей, выступавших за распространение знаний и образования, а в своих политических взглядах доходивших до принятия конституции при сохранении монархии. Но после убийства в феврале 1919 г. эмира Хабибулла-хана и прихода к власти одного из его сыновей — Аманулла-хана — младоафганцы не получили доступа к власти. Разделяя взгляды младоафганцев и даже стремясь реализовать их на практике в период своего правления (1919–1929), Аманулла-хан действовал в авторитарной манере, не заботясь о создании нового управленческого класса, хотя рядом с ним находились и политики-реформаторы — Махмуд-бек Тарзи, М. Вали-хан, братья Чархи и др. Но они лишь на короткое время включались в управленческую работу по вопросам внутренней и внешней политики Афганистана, а стремление монарха взять на себя процесс принятия и даже осуществления решений оборачивалось самоуправством и даже фатальными ошибками. Положение усугублялось тем, что влиятельный клан *мусахибов*, выступал за более умеренный вариант модернизации, а некоторые его члены оказались и в личном конфликте с эмиром на семейно-родственной основе. Но даже несмотря на эти противоречия внутри пуштунской элиты, именно «эра Амани» считается первым, хоть и неудачным, опытом модернизации традиционного общества и государства.

В историографии в основном критически оцениваются и последующие попытки модернизации «сверху», связываемые с ролью и политикой М. Дауда — премьер-министра (1953–1963), а потом и первого президента Афганистана (1973–1978). С этим можно согласиться, учитывая его авторитаризм и репрессивные методы реагирования на действия оппозиции, которые и заставили выступить против него левых радикалов Народно-демократической партии с целью спасения партийной верхушки весной 1978 г. Но спустя много лет, уже в 2000-е гг., в различных кругах афганской элиты утвердилось солидарное мнение, что именно М. Дауд был наиболее успешным и популярным афганским лидером. При этом в научной и публицистической литературе практически игнорируются относительные успехи Афганистана в развитии новых форм экономики и управления в 1930–1940-е гг., инициированные А. М. Забули и другими представителями нарождающегося предпринимательского класса.

Дальнейший ход событий афганской истории зарубежные авторы связывают исключительно с вводом советских войск в декабре 1979 г. и их пребыванием в этой стране до февраля 1989 г., а все действия афганских властей вплоть

до падения режима НДПА-Ватан весной 1992 г. считают «марионеточной советизацией». Но такие оценки во многом справедливы лишь в отношении серии леворадикальных реформ в сфере политики, образования и т.п., тогда как некоторые хозяйственно-экономические проекты и объекты того времени до сих пор считаются многими в Афганистане реальным вкладом в развитие страны. По просьбам уже нынешних афганских властей они подлежат восстановлению и должны быть продолжены на основах привилегированного партнерства РФ и ИРА в XXI в.

При анализе афганских альтернатив и нынешнего затяжного конфликта можно говорить лишь о прерывной и секторальной модернизации или ее региональных вариантах. Опыт Герата и, до недавнего времени, северных областей Афганистана (Мазари-Шарифа и др.), показывает, что возрождение может происходить и по «очаговой» схеме. В этих и других случаях на афганском опыте «очаговой», а также региональной, секторальной и прочей модернизации сказывалось и сказывается влияние внешнего фактора — западного, советского, эффект прочей Азии.

Исследование феномена модернизации в ее афганской версии и в хронологическом формате последних 100 лет (1910-е–2010-е гг.) показывает, что реформаторские проекты первой трети XX в. не подкреплялись соответствующей кадровой политикой и материально-финансовыми ресурсами, а объективные трудности, помноженные на авантюризм правящих кругов и внешнее вмешательство, не позволили развернуть реформы и использовать выгоды географического положения Афганистана как перекрестка торговых и военно-стратегических путей. Однако уже в предвоенные и военные годы нарождающийся афганский предпринимательский класс при поддержке новой династии *мусахидов* сумел диверсифицировать формы и методы торгово-экономической активности.

Последующие реформаторские программы М. Дауда, левых радикалов Народно-демократической партии Афганистана (НДПА) и их оппонентов из исламистского, традиционалистского и либерального лагерей прерывались из-за сложной внутривнутриполитической ситуации и вспышек гражданской войны, а также борьбы внешних сил за влияние в этой части Азии, и только в начале XXI в. появились масштабные миротворческие инициативы и интеграционные проекты: Стамбульский процесс, предусматривающий умиротворение Афганистана усилиями его соседей через экономическое, культурное и иное взаимодействие с этим проблемным государством, китайский проект «один пояс, один путь», нацеленный на создание мощной инфраструктуры и многостороннее сотрудничество в Евразии. Однако геоэкономическая и международно-политическая императивность этих проектов еще не гарантирует полноформатного вхождения Афганистана в это кооперативное «поле», но это главный путь к стабильности и развитию.

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Virtue and Vice: the Dialectics of Afghan Affiliation among the Baloch

The intricacy of the Baloch society is greatly conditioned by the presence of alien components of ethnic, social and religious background, among them the Afghan element being one of the most prominent.

This paper explains the main circumstances of how the Baloch perceive the Afghans or those connected with Afghanistan. For this purpose a historical dimension of the Baloch-Afghan interrelations plays a crucial role, as it might offer answers for the identification of the criteria that shape social perceptions of the Baloch towards the Afghans.

The Pashtun origin of certain Baloch tribes (like the Barakzay), provide prestige and, therefore legitimizes their stand in the Baloch social hierarchy. Same is true regarding the Afghan affiliation of some eminent Sunni religious leaders of contemporary Baluchistan. Meanwhile, being an Afghan (Pashtun), particularly out of the traditionally established tribal social structure (this applies mostly to migrants and refugees from Afghanistan who fled to Iranian Balochistan during the last decades) creates certain challenges for a full integration into the Baloch society.

In light of that the position of Afghans and those perceived as such in Iranian Baluchistan is of an ambivalent nature.

Thus, the paper attempts to navigate into the dialectics of the Afghan affiliation and identify the criteria for the Baloch complex society's assessment of Afghan affiliation.

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The Afghan Shia Revolution

This paper explores major shifts in the political ideologies of the Afghan Shia from the 1970's to the present. It investigates the emergence of revolutionary thought in the 1970s and 1980's and then traces its evolution under clerical leadership in the 1990s and 2000s. The focus is on the shifting ideas of Shia revolutionary and clerical figures and their global contexts.

From the 1970's, Afghan Shia religious scholars and lay people intensified their contacts with centres of scholarship and piety beyond the borders of Afghanistan. Well before the revolution in Iran, labour migration and the growing attraction of study in centres of religious education in Iraq and Iran meant that more and more Afghan Shia gained exposure to vastly different religious, political, and cultural milieus. 1979 drew many of these migrants, students, and

clerics into the revolutionary maelstrom of Iranian politics. Yet the events of that year also forced many Afghan Shia to seek refuge in Pakistan and beyond. Still others saw the leftist revolutionary government that had seized power in Kabul the year before as the salvation of a minority community that has long faced persecution at the hands of the Afghan state. Civil war and the rise of the Taliban movement would dash many of the utopian visions of the Afghan Shia in the 1990's, but the US-led intervention in 2001 renewed hopes for an entirely new dispensation for a now "emancipated" minority community within an ostensibly "democratic" polity.

This paper investigates the intersection of these revolutionary legacies and the search for new strategies of religious and national legitimation within highly mobile Afghan Shia diaspora communities scattered across the globe. Analysing the encounters of these actors with Muslims in Europe, the USA, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and elsewhere, I focus particular attention on the tension between the nationalist discourses of migrants and the Shia universalism of diasporic religious scholars, on the one hand, and the simultaneous efforts of these same religious leaders to represent "national" concerns, on the other.

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Sufi Fraternities and Political Integration in the Indo-Afghan Borderlands

This paper compares the strategies of social engagement received and transferred by the mobile mullahs of the Akhund Ghaffur-Hadda Mulla line in the Indo-Afghan borderlands with those used by the *pirs* of the *khanqah* (Sufi lodge) — centered line of Khawaja Usman Damani in the same region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These Sufi networks were comparable for their common roots in "reformed" Mujaddidi practice that straddled the political border of colonial India and modern Afghanistan. They may be differentiated for the *loci* of their participation in and mediation of the day-to-day affairs of practicing communities — the Hadda Mulla's antecedents were dispersed among the Pashtun borderland communities to support day-to-day enforcement of religious priorities while Damani advocated a *khanqah*-centered practice.

I argue that it is the dissimilarities and not the similarities of the two fraternal networks that are of significance here. Assessing the spatiality of religious participation rather than evidence of conflict with state, I argue that while the *pirs* in Damani's line restricted their activities within the *khanqah*, the mullahs of the Hadda line acted intentionally as agents of political integration. The latter's conceptualization of the arena of religious service fashioned both a geo-political and an ethical contiguity across difficult terrain, linking small settlements and sparse

populations through religious interventions. The spatial imaginaries underpinning the interventions of these two Sufi networks account for the difference in their social and political impact in this frontier.

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Washington, D. C., USA)*

Afghanistan as Beta-Test

There has been a long tradition where tactics and strategies developed and deployed on the battlefield are returned home and redeployed in domestic contexts. In the United States, for instance, many of the urban counter-insurgency techniques developed by the RAND Corporation as part of the American war in South Vietnam were later domesticated in American inner cities as methods of crowd control and urban policing.

Since 2001, the war in Afghanistan has provided yet another opportunity for the development of techniques and technologies which have increasingly found their way into the armoury of military forces as well as the arsenal of domestic police forces throughout the Western world. The US Army's Human Terrain System, and its next generation 'computational counter-insurgency', as well as the use of retinal scans to make identity databases are just some of the most important and publicly visible examples.

Yet Afghanistan's role as a kind of beta-testing ground for tactics and more broadly governance goes back much further than the most recent American intervention. The area now constituting the state of Afghanistan, along with its frontier with Pakistan, provided the British Indian state a template on which it developed forms of administration, ideas of control and practices of governances. There were replicated not only throughout the British Indian Empire, but throughout Britain's global empire as well. Indeed, they were part and parcel of a globally ubiquitous phenomenon of governance making the late 19th century world as European colonial empires filled in the 'blank spaces on the map' with legible state forms.

Three elements of this 19th century beta-testing with lasting consequence today are:

- 1) the mission, and intellectual legacy of Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone;
- 2) the system of tribal governance of Sir Robert Groves Sandeman; and
- 3) the legal code of the Frontier Crimes Regulation in force along British India's northwest frontier.

This paper considers each of these episodes in turn and how they continue to shape both the Western intellectual cannon and governing approach to Afghanistan and beyond.

*Katja M. Mielke (Bonn International Center for Conversion,
Peace and Conflict Research Institute, Bonn, Germany)*

Studying Globalized Afghanistan: Evidence, Trends and Contextualization in the Area Studies Debate

Areanists — that is area studies scholars with respective language and cultural competences — focusing on Afghanistan often portray the country as a vessel that contains diverse peoples differentiated by social boundaries and language, who interact through manifold networks of exchange. However, cross-border trade and other flows (movement of people, ideas, messages, goods, discourses, etc.) make Afghanistan the epitome of mobility (though sometimes blocked) and provide the basis of portraying it as liminal ‘area’ or zone. Afghanistan has escaped a fixed attribution to one of the established ‘areas’ in institutionalized area studies — either being appropriated by South Asian Studies, at other times claimed by Central Asian Studies, then again by Middle Eastern Studies; and Iranian Studies have dealt with Afghanistan as well. At the crossroads of Asia, Afghanistan’s position in the scholarly realm is ambiguous at best. While ‘Afghanistan Studies’ have no tradition in Western area studies, curricula for *Afghanistika* in the Russian Federation and the former Soviet Union and *Afghanistik* in the former GDR existed.

The paper will discuss the different approaches of how Afghanistan is studied in social sciences- and area studies-related perspective and contextualize these in the area studies debate (Crossroads Asia Research Network 2011–2016 (www.crossroads-asia.de); Mielke/Hornidge 2017)¹. The presentation will dwell on the following three dimensions:

I. Recent scholarly output: If the recent scholarship is considered, two observations stand out: First, that the recent focus on Afghanistan as ‘intervention society’ since the early 2000’s, has largely meant a Western agenda setting regarding the topics of interest for research that actually gets funded. Secondly, the research is to the least extent undertaken by Afghans themselves. The investments into education over the past roughly 15 years have had no tangible effect on training of social scientists and researchers at local universities.

II. Disconnect of fundamental vs. applied studies: As the conference organizers note, there is a gap between fundamental and applied studies regarding Afghanistan. While the latter have been dominant, areanists in favour of the former are facing difficulties in obtaining funds and getting their research results published by quality academic quality publishers. Inherent in this predicament is also the realization (and

¹ *Mielke K.* Tracing change: On the positionality of traditionally mobile groups in Kabul’s camps // *Internationales Asienforum/ International Quarterly for Asian Studies*, 47.3/4 (2017), Special Issue: “Geographies of South Asia”, 315–347; Mielke Katja, Hornidge Anna-Katharina (eds.). *Area Studies at the Crossroads. Knowledge Production after the Mobility Turn*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017; Mielke Katja. *Afghanistan seit 1978*. In: Paul, Ludwig (ed.): *Handbuch der Iranistik, Nachtragsband*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2017 (forthcoming).

frustration at times) of many colleagues leaning towards fundamental research that apparently nobody takes it up for ‘translation into action’ so that policy makers for example could make use of this knowledge.

III. Globalized Afghanistan: Given the extent to which Afghanistan and its people have been ‘globalized’ — whether as refugees, in marriage networks, as diaspora group, local consumers, businessmen, travellers, labour migrants, aspiring citizens — today the Afghanistan Area Studies cannot limit themselves looking at issues confined exclusively to the territorial boundaries (‘vessel’) of the state of Afghanistan. Instead, ‘Afghanistan’ needs to be studied in its connectivity, translocal patterns of social, political and economic relations, including ‘Afghans’ mobility patterns. Moreover, knowledge generation about globalized Afghanistan should be carried out in inter- and trans-disciplinary manner — a European Society for Afghan Studies would be an interesting first step in this direction. However, future studies of Afghanistan should not be exclusively conducted from a northern / external perspective.

*Mikhail Pelevin (Faculty of Asian and African Studies,
St Petersburg State University, St Petersburg, Russia)*

The Sheikhs vs. the Chiefs: a Khattak Case of 1724

Fragmentary data on Pashtun tribes in the late Middle Ages and early modern times offer a disjointed picture of local conflicts expectedly caused by strife for material and administrative resources, viz., livelihood and political power. The latter was traditionally exercised by chiefs (*malik, khān, māšr*) who shared it with tribal assemblies (*jirga*) within the limits defined by customary laws. However, the earliest writings produced on tribal territories both in Pashto and Persian indicate that even as early as in the 16th century a nascent “caste” of spiritual leaders (*shaykh, pīr, miyān*) regularly trespassed into tribal affairs and politics. Shaykh Mali is credited with imperative long-term rulings in the sphere of land use in Swat among the Yusufzays; the leaders of the Roshani community were deeply involved into various political processes and military campaigns in the Peshawar Valley.

A power balance between secular and spiritual authorities in each individual tribe was shaped by the tribe-specific level of structural and leadership *hierarchization*. In 17–18 centuries the neighbouring Yusufzay and Khattak tribes, which unlike many other Pashtun tribes possess written histories, had different, if not the opposite systems of social and administrative organisation. While the Yusufzays maintained a patriarchal autonomy of its subdivisions, the Khattaks, having been strongly integrated into the Mughal Empire, developed a more hierarchical configuration, which produced two elite kin subdivisions, viz., the ruling military-administrative one (*khānkhel*) and the spiritual one (*stāna*): Akorkhel and Yasinkhel (later Kakakhel). Since its eventual institutionalization after the death of the widely

revered tribal Shaykh Rahmkar in 1653, the Khattak *stāna* had been consistently at odds with the *khānkhel* about the distribution of power. In the Khattaks' chronicle written by Khushhal Khan (d. 1689) and his grandson Afzal Khan (d. circa 1740/41) the earliest accounts of this conflict go back to 1672, though a tribal folklore story, recorded in the end of the 19th century, tells of even earlier confrontations between the two subdivisions.

The conflict reached its peak in 1724 when a routine financial disagreement about road tolls developed into a full-scale war for power. A detailed if patchy and unfinished account of these events makes up the final section of the Khattaks' chronicle, included by Afzal Khan, the head of a conflicting party, in his historiographical compilation in Pashto *Tārīkh-i Muraṣṣa'*. Despite being for clear reasons tendentious and ideologically biased, Afzal's account provides a unique first-hand description of almost all components of the conflict:

- 1) individual and collective participants (key actors, associates, military allies, interested parties, those on the wings, potential arbitrators or mediators);
- 2) their motives, interests, objectives (financial and political);
- 3) the conflict dynamics (the conflict phases, demarcated by a one-month period in February-March when, legitimized by a *jirga*'s convention, the sheikhs exercised supreme administrative power);
- 4) forms (diplomacy, military pressure, open warfare);
- 5) instruments (oral negotiations, correspondences, declarative petitions for adjudication, even within the Shari'a jurisdiction, alliance making);
- 6) ways of settlement (legal reconciliation via tribal customary regulations or official arbitration by imperial authorities, "supra-legal" suppression by force).

Strict temporal and spatial localization of narrated events pertaining to this particular conflict well places it in the broader context of the Pashtun and regional history.

The case recorded by Afzal Khan Khattak in 1724 provides a close insight into the historical realities of the evolution of the so-called Pashtun tribal Islam, and may serve as a definite pattern for comparative research of similar phenomena as well as of other conflict lines in the Pashtun tribal society.

Florence Shahabi (SOAS, University of London, London, UK)

Afghan Intellectuals and the writing of the 1964 Constitution

Afghanistan's 1964 constitution marked the start of its 'decade of democracy,' and the launch of what was thought to be a new kind of government and an era of socio-economic modernization. A figure at one remove from the constitution was the Kabul University professor of Western philosophy, Baha' al-Din Majruh. Celebrated as the author of the literary masterpiece, *Azhdaha-ye Khodi*, his academic writing and later resistance reportage from Peshawar often goes unmentioned. Along with

a cadre of intellectuals, he assisted the official constitution writing committee, presided by his father, the Minister of Justice. The document was drafted, reviewed and ratified under Majruh's eyes, and subsequently he also witnessed its disintegration, tied to the dissolution of the 'constitution coalition'. Averting censorship, Majruh's 1972 article, "Political Philosophy", which appears as a scholarly introduction to the subject, barely conceals a critique of the activities and ideologies of the fractious intelligentsia, and their increasing disunity and disillusionment with the constitution. Perhaps because the Pashtun poet and tribal chief, Khushal Khan Khattak, captures the extreme individualism valued by Afghan politics, Majruh uses his *Dasturnama*, a text described by Dr V. V. Kushev as a treatise on political ethics, to elaborate on the localization and hierarchization of power in Afghan society. The concept of ethics that emerges from Majruh's discussion of political philosophy will be contrasted with the same notion as it is conceived both by Islam and by Pashtun culture.

СЕКЦИЯ 6

Религии, культура и археология Афганистана и трансграничных регионов афганской культурно-лингвистической ойкумены

PANEL SIX

Religions, Material Culture and Archaeology of Afghanistan and the Liminal Areas of the Afghan Linguistic and Cultural *Oecumene*

Warwick Ball (Independent scholar, Edinburgh, UK)

Archaeology in Afghanistan: Recent Discoveries, Current State of Research, New Developments

Since increasing instability in the late 1970s brought archaeological fieldwork to a halt, Afghanistan has been in a state of almost continual upheaval. There was a brief resumption of limited fieldwork in the early 21st century, but further instability halted most of this. One would reasonably expect therefore the field to be virtually moribund. However, the sheer quantity and quality of new discoveries in and research on Afghanistan over that period has been overwhelming. The following are just some of these activities.

New excavations at Tepe Zargaran at Balkh have uncovered remains of a Hellenistic temple¹. A substantial city of the Achaemenid period at Chashma Safa south of Balkh has been recorded, whose remains include a fire temple². Excavations

¹ Mairs R. *The Archaeology of the Hellenistic Far East: A Survey*. Oxford, 2011. P. 29–30.

² Besenval R., Rassouli N. Les travaux de l'Institut Afghane d'Archéologie et de la Délégation Archéologique de France en Afghanistan // *Afghanistan Archaeological Review* (2010). P. 1–27.

at Tepe Narenj in Kabul have uncovered an extensive Buddhist monastery complex that continued in use until the Early Islamic period¹. Further Buddhist architecture and art has been recovered from excavations at the extensive Buddhist city of Mes Aynak south-east of Kabul². New excavations at Bamiyan have revealed Buddhist monastic remains at the foot of the great cliff³. The excavations at Tepe Sardar at Ghazni were re-opened⁴. Investigations in the vicinity of the Minaret of Jam have revealed the remains of the city of Firuzkuh⁵. A survey in the Herat area has recorded several hundred new sites⁶.

There have also been many spectacular accidental discoveries. An Aramaic archive from Balkh contains the correspondence of the Achaemenid Satrap of Bactria concerning the invasion of Alexander of Macedon⁷. At Mir Zakah a hoard of some 4 tonnes of precious objects was discovered, including over two tons of coins (the largest coin hoard ever discovered in the world)⁸. A new Greek inscription from Kandahar has been discovered⁹. Another inscription, in Bactrian from Rabatak, provides details of the ancestry of Kanishka¹⁰. Over 150 documents written in Bactrian have revolutionised our understanding of the history of eastern Afghanistan from the 4th to the 8th centuries¹¹. A Sasanian painting at Ghulbīyan in north-western Afghanistan has been one of the most

¹ Paiman Z., Alram M. *The Tepe Narenj Buddhist Monastery at Kabul. Buddhist art during the first Muslim raids against the town.* (Collège de France. Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne). Paris, 2013. Fascicule 82.

² Engel N. *The Buddhist monasteries and settlement at the Mes Aynak copper mine, Logar Province.* Kabul, 2011.

³ Duccoeur G. (ed.). *Auteur de Bāmiyān. De la Bactriane hellénisée à l'Inde bouddhique.* Paris, 2012.

⁴ Filigenzi A., Giunta R. (eds.). *The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan 1957–2007. Fifty years of research in the heart of Eurasia.* Rome, 2009.

⁵ Thomas D. Firūzkūh. The summer capital of the Ghurids // A. K. Bennison & A. L. Gascoigne (eds.). *Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of State, Society and Religion.* London: Routledge, 2007. P. 115–144.

⁶ Franke U., Urban T. *Areia Antiqua — ancient Herat. Summary of the work carried out by the DAI-mission in collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology, Ministry of Information and Culture, Afghanistan.* Berlin, 2006.

⁷ Naveh J., Shaked Sh. *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B. C. E.) from the Khalili Collections.* London, 2012.

⁸ Bopearachchi O., Landes C. and Sachs (ed.). *De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie central. Catalogue de l'exposition.* Lattes, 2003.

⁹ Mairs R. *Op.cit.* P. 103–117.

¹⁰ Sims-Williams N., Cribb J. A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great // *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 4 (1995–96). P. 75–142.

¹¹ Sims-Williams N. *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan I: Legal and Economic Documents.* London, 2000 (second revised edition: 2012).

important additions to Central Asian painting in fifty years¹. The spectacular discovery of a new Sasanian relief of Shapur at Rag-i Bibi near Pul-i Khumri has in a single stroke dramatically extended our knowledge of Sasanian art². All of these discoveries foreshadow greater ones still to come.

There are many exciting recent, new and ongoing research projects. The British Museum has been engaged in a study of the large numbers of objects and coins brought from Afghanistan to London in the 19th century by Charles Masson³. The Oriental Institute at the University of Oxford recently completed the Balkh Art and Cultural Heritage Project on medieval Balkh⁴. Oxford University Press is shortly to bring out a comprehensive sites and monuments record of Afghanistan based upon the 1982 *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*⁵. The University of Oxford also hosts the Gandhara Connections Project⁶. The Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago are engaged in a highly detailed heritage mapping project of Afghanistan based upon high resolution satellite imagery⁷. The American Institute of Afghanistan Studies is launching a new scholarly journal on Afghanistan, the only one devoted solely to Afghanistan, to be published by Edinburgh University Press.⁸ Edinburgh University Press are also bringing out a number of new titles relating to Afghanistan, and are actively expanding their Central Asian studies list.

The past year alone has also seen a number of conferences relating to Afghanistan: Hellenistic Central Asia in April 2016 at University of Reading, Architecture of the Iranian World 1000–1250 in April at University of St Andrews, Limits of Empire in Afghanistan 600 BCE — 650 CE in October at University of Chicago, Archaeology and Heritage of Central Asia in December at University of London, to name just some. All of these include ongoing research activities. The current conference at the University of St Petersburg thus forms an appropriate culmination.

¹ Lee J. L., Grenet F. New Light on the Sasanid Painting at Ghulbiyan, Faryab Province, Afghanistan // *South Asian Studies*, 14 (1998). P. 75–85.

² Grenet F., Lee J., Martinez Ph., Ory F. ‘The Sasanian relief at Rag-i Bibi (Northern Afghanistan)’. Joe Cribb & Georgina Herrmann (eds.). *After Alexander. Central Asia Before Islam*. Oxford, 2007. P. 243–267.

³ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/masson_project.aspx.

⁴ <http://www.balkhheritage.org>.

⁵ Ball W. *Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. Paris: A. D. P. F., 1982.

⁶ <http://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/GandharaConnections>.

⁷ <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/camel/afghan-heritage-mapping-partnership>.

⁸ <https://afghan-institute.org/publications/journal>.

Konstantin Vasil'tsov (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg, Russia)

Mazars of Afghan Badakhshan (Based on the Materials of I. I. Zarubin's Archive, f. 121, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg)

In the archive of I. I. Zarubin (f. 121 of the IOM RAS) a manuscript in Persian of the *Hikayat-i mazarha-yi Kuhistan* is kept, which contains information on some *mazars*, revered saints and missionary preachers popular in Afghan Badakhshan.

Sacred places play an important role in “folk religion” of the Muslim world, in many cases determining the local specificity of the universal message of Islam in a particular region. Despite the ambiguous attitude to the cult of saints and sanctuaries among representatives of various *madhhabs*, authoritative *fuqaha*, *ulama* and other religious figures, the practice of worshiping the saints has for many centuries demonstrated vitality, the ability to adapt to new conditions and to the realities of the modern world.

The cultural memory of the inhabitants of Badakhshan has preserved a special attitude to the representatives of the Muslim (*Shi'i*) sacred history (Muhammad, 'Ali, Fatima, Hasan, Husain, Zain al-Abidin, Muhammad Baqir, etc.), who became famous in the popular hagiographic tradition. In Badakhshan folklore they are perceived as saints, to them are attributed numerous feats and miracles (*karamat*) that they performed in Badakhshan. Though all these traditions are mythological in nature and have nothing to do with reality, this kind of “lives of the saints” play a special role in affirming the Badakhshan religious identity, linking the local history of the Pamirs to the history of Islam as a world religion, “inscribing” Badakhshan into the sacred *Dar al-Islam* history (lit. “territory of Islam”).

Moreover, the Badakhshanis place into the category of saints Ismaili *da'is*, religious authorities or *pirs*. Beside Isma'ili characters, representatives of Iranian Sufism (*ahl-i tasawwuf*), whom the local tradition likens to their co-religionists occupy an essential place in the body of oral narratives. Among them, the most popular characters are Shams-i Tabrizi, Jalal ad-din Rumi, 'Abdallah Ansari, Mansour al-Hallaj.

There is a special type of place of worship, which is called *qadamgah* (the place where a saint left its mark (*qadam-i mubarak*), a saint passed, spent a night, left a mark about his stay (*nishan*)). Such places may often be at a worshiped spring, stone or a tree. In the villages of Namadgut, Yamchun, Tim there are such *qadamgahs* associated with the names of Ali, Fatima-yi Zuhra, Imam Zayn al-'Abiddin. The terms *aramgah* (lit. “a place of rest”), *dargah* (lit. “throne [of a holy man]”), *jah-yi muqaddas* (lit. “holy place”) are also used. To the same category of places of worship we may add the so-called *farman-khanah* (lit. “house of orders”), which are special segments of the Badakhshani house, where copies of the Koran, Isma'ili literature,

holy relics (for example, the decrees (*farman*) of the imam or his “sacred hair” (*mu-yi mubarak*)) are kept.

The sacred space is singled out in a certain way from the ordinary space, i. e. it is created and organized by various means — architectural forms, ritual utensils, performing ceremonial actions, display of light and smells. For example, an important role in the performance of *ziyarat* is given to certain ritual actions: pilgrims pour oil on stones, light fire in lamps (*chiragh-rawshan*), smoke incense, perform *tawwaf*, say prayers, etc. The markers of the sacred space can be the horns of ibexes (*nakhchiryan*), unusual in their form stones, trees or groves of trees, water sources.

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Мазары Афганского Бадахшана (по материалам архива И. И. Зарубина, ф. 121, ИВР РАН, Санкт-Петербург)

В архиве И. И. Зарубина (ф.121 ИВР РАН) хранится рукопись составленного на персидском языке сочинения *Хикайат-и мазарха-йи Кухистан*, в котором приводятся сведения о некоторых популярных в Афганском Бадахшане мазарах, почитаемых святых и миссионерах-проповедниках.

Священные места играют важную роль в сфере «народной религии» (*folk religion*) в мусульманском мире, во многих случаях определяя локальную специфику универсального послания ислама в том или ином регионе. Несмотря на неоднозначное отношение к культу святых и святынь среди представителей различных *мазхабов*, авторитетных *факихов*, *улемов* и других религиозных деятелей, практика поклонения святым на протяжении многих столетий демонстрирует живучесть, способность адаптироваться к новым условиям и приспосабливаться к реалиям современного мира.

Культурная память жителей Бадахшана сохранила особое отношение к представителям мусульманской (ши‘итской) священной истории (Мухаммад, ‘Али, Фатима, Хасан, Хусайн, Зайн ал-Абидин, Мухаммад Бакир и др.), которые стали популярными персонажами народной агиографической традиции. В бадахшанском фольклоре они воспринимаются как святые, им приписываются многочисленные подвиги и чудеса (*карамат*), которые они совершили в Бадахшане. Несмотря на то, что все эти предания носят, безусловно, мифологический характер и не имеют никакого отношения к действительной истории, подобного рода «жития святых» играют особую роль в утверждении бадахшанской религиозной идентичности, связывая локальную историю Памира с историей ислама как мировой религии, «вписывая» Бадахшан в сакральную историю *дар ал-ислам* (букв. «территория ислама»).

Кроме того, к категории святых бадахшанцы относят исма‘илитских *да‘и*, религиозных авторитетов или *пиров*. Кроме исма‘илитских персонажей, существенное место в корпусе устных нарративов занимают представители иранского суфизма (*ахл-и тасаввуф*), которых местная традиция также причисляет к своим единоверцам. Среди них наиболее популярными персонажами являются Шамс-и Табризи, Джалал ад-дин Руми, ‘Абдалллах Ансари, Мансур ал-Халладж.

Существует особый тип мест поклонения, который принято называть *кадамгах* (место, где оставил свой след (*кадам-и мубарак*), проходил, оставался на ночлег святой или оставил метку о своем пребывании (*нишан*)). Такого рода места, нередко, соседствуют с почитаемым источником, камнем или деревом. В селениях Намадгут, Ямчун, Тим существуют такого рода *кадамгахи*, связанные с именами ‘Али, Фатима-йи Зухра, Имам Зайн ал-‘Абиддин. Кроме этого употребляются также термины *арамгах* (букв. «место успокоения»), *даргах* (букв. «престол [святого человека]»), *джа-йи мукаддас* (букв. «святое место»). К этой классификации почитаемых мест можно также отнести так называемые *фарман-хана* (букв. «дом приказаний»), которые представляют собой особые части бадахшанского дома, где хранятся списки Корана, исма‘илитская литература, священные реликвии (например, указы (*фарман*) имама или его «священные волосы» (*му-йи мубарак*)).

Священное пространство определенным образом выделяется из обыденного пространства, т.е. создается и организуется человеком, при помощи различных средств — архитектурных форм, ритуальной утвари, совершением обрядовых действий, организацией света и запахов. Например, важную роль при совершении *зийарата* отводится определенным ритуальным действиям: совершающие паломничество поливают камни маслом, возжигают огонь в светильниках (*чираг-равшан*), курят благовония, совершают *таваф*, произносят молитвы и т. д. Маркерами священного пространства могут служить рога горных козлов (*нахчиров*), необычные по своей форме камни, деревья или рощи деревьев, водные источники.

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The 893 AH (1487–1488 CE) Binding Ordered by a Sistani Ruler

Ms Dorn 343 in the collection of the National Library of Russia is an undated copy of Nizami’s “Quintet”, written in *nasta‘liq* script and decorated with a *shamseh* on the first page, five *sarlawhs* and eight miniatures. The decoration of the manuscript, produced in Shiraz, allows to date it as the 1430’s. The manuscript is complete, and bears little traces of damage, mostly dirt on initial pages and marks of moisture; its good preservation condition suggests that it had not circulated unbound for a significant time.

The binding protecting the book now, on the contrary, shows traces of damage and old repair. Central-and-corner composition of doublures, covered with dark claret leather, includes central medallion and corner-pieces fulfilled in the technique of filigree, or, rather leather incrustation. Outsides of the covers are similar, block-stamped with guilt background, central panel representing a fantastic landscape inhabited with animals and birds. The broad frame is formed of a number of rectangular panels with inscriptions against the background of scrolls.

Upper and lower panels of the frame contain common benevolent formulas addressed to the owner of the book, while each of the four on the left and right sides bears a hemistich forming following two bayts:

*Ba hashtşad va navad-u seh zi hijrat-i nubavī * tamām kard mar īn jild-rā
bā 'awn-i khudā.*

*Shahd(?) -u zubdeh-yi 'ālam Funūnī(?) saḥḥāf * barā-yi shāh-i šajī' naqd-i
şulb-i shah Yaḥyā.*

In the year eight hundred and ninety-three after the hijra of the Prophet, with the help of Lord this binding was finished.

By Funūnī(?) *saḥḥāf*, who is like honey(?) and cream of this world, for the brave king, the fruit from the seed of king Yaḥyā.

These two bayts provide information on the year of the binding's production — 893 AH (1487–1488 CE), the customer who is described as a king, son of king Yaḥyā, and the artist responsible for the making of the binding. The latter's name, written with only one diacritic dot, can possibly be read as Funūnī(?) the Binder (*saḥḥāf*).

The manuscript written in the first half of the 15th century in Shiraz travelled eastwards, probably to Herat, at some point of the following four or five decades, and finally received a new binding. For a while its “biography” became connected with what are now the western regions of Afghanistan, then part of the Timurid, and later of the Safavid realms. The most probable owner of the book as mentioned on the binding is a Sistani ruler of the Mihrabanid line. He could be one of the two sons of Malik Niẓām al-Dīn Yaḥyā (842–885/1438–1480). After this Malik died his elder son, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, proved unable to cope with the challenges of his time and after a short reign voluntarily yielded power to his younger half-brother Sulṭān-Maḥmūd (died c. 1543) who finally became a vassal of the Safavids¹.

Dedication to a ruling person or his treasury is the practice that can be traced since earlier times. Among them one can mention *Kalila wa Dimna* copied in Herat in 1430 with the name of Mirza Baysunghur on the binding; the *Diwan* of ‘Attar of 1438, dedicated to the treasury of Shāh Rukh (years of rule 1397–1447); the

¹ On Mihrabanids see: *Bosworth C. E.* The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3). Costa Mesa, New York, 1994. P. 365–477.

Khamseh copied in Herat in 1445, completed in Tabriz for Uzun-Ḥasan, with the binding inscribed with the attribution to the treasury of the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd (ruled 1481–1512) and others¹. The inscription of Ms. Dorn 343 differs from these examples in a number of ways. Firstly, in style as it does not begin with the dry and widely spread formula “for the treasury of...”, being instead a quatrain praising not only the owner of the book but also the art of the binder. It also mentions the name of the binder, which was not a very common practice at that time². Finally, this inscription provides us with the exact year of the binding’s production.

We do not know how long the book remained in the hands of the descendants of the Mihrabanid line of Maliks, but eventually it ended up in the Safavid Royal Library and in 1017 AH (1608–1609 CE) was donated by Shah ‘Abbas I to the Ardabil shrine.



Binding of the Nizami’s *Khamseh*, Ms. Dorn 343 (National Library of Russia), dated 893 AH (1487–1488 CE)

¹ See: *Aslanapa O. The Art of Bookbinding // The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*. Ed. Basil Gray. UNESCO, 1979. P. 62–63, ill. 34–35, 39–41, 45–46, 47–48, 4.

² The earliest cases date back to the early 14th century, see: Afshar, Iraj. *Inscriptions on the covers of Islamic manuscripts: and introductory study // Manuscripta Orientalia*. Vol. 10, no. 1. March, 2004. P. 47; one of the earliest stamps with the binder’s name is mentioned in: Bahrami M. *Iranian Art: Treasures from the Imperial Collections and Museums*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1949. P. 24, fig. 27.

Consociatio Eruditorum Studiis Afganologicis Internationalibus (the International Association of Afghan Studies)

Sergei Andreyev

The Rationale and a Way Forward: a Note by The Association's Conceptualiser

It is intended to discuss the establishment of The International Association of Afghan Studies, which will be known by its Latin name of *Consociatio Eruditorum Studiis Afganologicis Internationalibus* (CESAI) at the margins of the St Petersburg International Conference of Afghan Studies.

The establishment of the European Society of Afghan Studies was proposed by British and German scholars of Afghanistan; however, it has never materialized. We are optimistic that this proposal may be implemented on that occasion.

Rationale

It is intended to set up a learned society of international standing as a way of coping with the somewhat difficult situation in which academic Afghan Studies¹ has come to find itself due to the shifting focus on policy-oriented research on Afghanistan. Its goal is the promotion and fostering of academic Afghan Studies,

¹ Afghan Studies is understood as a field of knowledge not limited exclusively to the country of Afghanistan but also encompassing the broader Afghan *oecumene*, viz., the areas bordering Afghanistan and sharing with it a common linguistic, ethnic and social identity.

without any aims of political nature, and it has the tasks of regularly convening the Conference of Afghan Studies and establishing a learned international journal published annually with an option of only an on-line publication being considered.

The new association is open for co-operation with any country and institution where academic Afghan Studies of a serious standing exist.

There is also a possibility of establishing regional or national chapters of the CSIRA.

Options for The Establishment of The Society

1. Interested participants of St Petersburg International Conference of Afghan Studies form a Constituent Assembly that founds the association, approves the proposed statutes (with alterations if necessary) that will be subsequently registered in accordance with the Russian law and elects the Board.

2. For administrative purposes the Constituent Assembly appoints three people who will act as the Association's founders (in name only) before the authorities;

The present moot agrees in principle with the concept of the establishment of the Society and elects the Steering Committee tasked with drafting the statutes and organizing a Constituent Assembly in the nearest future.

Initial Tasks

1. One of the first aims of this new association is to review the state of Afghan Studies globally as a preliminary step for deciding upon what other initiatives were necessary for the future. For this purpose, eminent colleagues should be requested to present at the next conference or meeting of the Steering Committee the state of the art in the following fields of Afghan studies:

- Art and Archaeology;
- History;
- Linguistics;
- Literature;
- Religion;
- Social and Cultural Anthropology.

2. The Board reviews the options for the establishment of an international journal of Afghan Studies, forms the Editorial Board and initiates its publication;

3. The Board decides on the venue and topics of the next International Conference;

4. The Board decides on the modality of awarding the CSIRA prize for the best Ph D and Habilitation thesis in the field of Afghan studies.

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