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HABĪBULLAH HAN

Reshtia, S. G.

A historical document: Habibullah's last letter to the British government .-- 1993? : Afghanistan Studies Journal, vol. 3 / 1992 pp. 19-23, (1993?)

Habīb Allāh Khān, Amīr of Afghaniṣṭān

Habibullah Han (08 0030)

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

28 Mayıs 2017

Ḥabīballāh Khān

Christine Nölle-Karim

Ḥabīballāh (Ḥabībullāh) **Khān**

(1872–1919) was son of the *amīr* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (r. 1880–1901) and a slave girl from the court of Jahāndār Shāh, the *mīr* (*amīr*) of Badakhshān (r. 1864–9). He succeeded ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and ruled Afghanistan from 3 October 1901 to 20 February 1919, when he was assassinated at Kalla-gūsh, in Laghmān. Ḥabīballāh Khān inherited a functioning administrative and military system. His first official communications indicated the young *amīr*’s intention to continue the isolationist policies of his father: in order to shield his country from foreign intervention, he rejected the introduction of such modern means of communication and transportation as telegraph and railway. The treaty signed with the British Raj officer Sir Louis Dane (1856–1946) on 21 March 1905 confirmed the agreement ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān had concluded with the Foreign Secretary of the government of India Sir Mortimer Durand (1850–1924) in 1893. The British government retained control of Afghanistan’s foreign relations, undertook to pay an annual

subsidy of £160,000, and accepted the presence of a political agent at the court of the viceroy of India. Ḥabīballāh Khān, for his part, permitted the stationing of an Indian Muslim political agent in Kabul. The *amīr*’s official visit to British India in January–March 1907 was followed by the Anglo-Russian convention of 31 August 1907, which placed Afghanistan firmly within the British sphere of influence. Yet, Ḥabīballāh Khān accepted the Turco-German Hentig-Niedermayer mission, sent by the Central Powers to Kabul in 1915–6 with a view to drawing Afghanistan into the unfolding First World War. He also accepted the foundation of a “Provisional Government of India” under the nationalist Mahendra Pratap (1886–1979) in Kabul. While all major international boundaries had been defined in the last third of the nineteenth century, negotiations continued during Ḥabīballāh Khān’s reign. After a severe drought in 1902, the task of developing a durable formula for distributing the waters of the Hilmānd River between Afghanistan and Iran fell to the Indian Army officer Colonel Arthur Henry McMahon (1862–1949). The British boundary commission

control over the principal routes of access to the Indus valley and created a major Paštūn irredentist problem.

Habīballāh (1901-19). 'Abd-al-Raḥmān had chosen his eldest son *Habīballāh* as his successor in 1895 and kept him in close contact with the exercise of power. Having ascended the throne without opposition—an accomplishment without precedent since 1186/1772—he took the title *Serāj-al-mella wa'l-dīn* and followed policies little different from those of his father. In 1323/1905 he renewed the personal accord which tied the amir of Afghanistan to the British government. He pursued a careful industrial policy with the opening of a wool-weaving industry at Kabul and the construction of the country's first hydroelectric plant at *Jabal al-Serāj*. And he governed with the same authoritarian methods as his father, a fact that cost him the hostility of a small constitutional party and a series of assassination attempts, the third of which was successful at *Kala Gūs* (*Laḡmān*) on 18 *Jomādā I* 1338/21 February 1919.

One of *Habīballāh*'s first political acts had a large impact: the granting of a general amnesty to all exiles. An elite impressed by foreign culture and exiled by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān returned and shook the prevailing conservatism of Kabul, turning this city into an active center of intellectual life. The leading role fell to a junior branch of the royal line, the *Ṭarzī* family, in particular its chief *Mahmūd* (see Table 13). A perfect example of Levantine cosmopolitanism—he had lived in Damascus for twenty years—he was a militant nationalist, fervent supporter of modernism, and convinced pan-Islamist; his strong and brilliant personality rapidly attracted a genuine audience. Around him assembled a group of constitutionalist "Young Afghans," who were anti-British and pro-Turk. They established public education for boys and brought Ottoman doctors and military advisors, a first break in the English monopoly on technological assistance. From 1329/1911 to 1337/1918 the group, animated by *Ṭarzī*, published in Kabul a semimonthly Persian review called *Serāj al-akbār*, which was widely read abroad. They played an important role in the appearance of modernist Islam in Asia at the beginning of the 20th century.

A second school of thought was represented by the members of a family from another branch of the *Mohammadzī*, the *Moṣāḥebān* or *Yahyā Kāi*, who had returned to Afghanistan from India. They rapidly acquired important positions in the Afghan army's general staff. Contrary to the *Ṭarzī* family, they were proponents of a technological orientation in the manner of Anglo-India. Such ideas had already penetrated Afghanistan superficially, and the amir, himself a great devotee of such things as golf, photography, cars, and alcohol, was not insensible to them.

A man of weak character, the amir could not decide between these two thoroughly antagonistic schools of thought, in particular concerning the key question of Anglo-Afghan relations. When, despite German pressure, he chose neutrality during World War I, the

"Young Afghans" became reconciled with conservative circles, with whom they shared nationalist and anti-British sentiments. This alliance of convenience could not stand the test of the succession crisis that followed *Habīballāh*'s assassination. At *Jalālābād*, the winter capital where the court was residing, *Naṣrallāh*, younger brother of *Habīballāh* and leader of the conservative and clerical faction, declared himself amir. Simultaneously *Amānallāh*, one of *Habīballāh*'s sons and *Ṭarzī*'s son-in-law, himself close to the "young Afghan" school, also declared himself amir at Kabul, where he had been governor during his father's absence. He obtained the army's support and eliminated his rival by publicly accusing him of being involved in the plot against *Habīballāh*. The *Moṣāḥebān* seem to have first supported *Naṣrallāh*; this cost them a short imprisonment before they rallied to *Amānallāh*.

Amānallāh (1919-29). The new amir set out to put the "Young Afghan" program into practice. One of his first gestures was to demand full sovereignty in all matters concerning foreign affairs. Confronted with British hesitations, he called for a *jehād* which came to be known as the third Anglo-Afghan war and resulted in the strengthening of national unity. While the Afghan forces, aided by *Wazīrīs* and *Mas'ūds* from India, attacked the Thal garrison, the Indian army advanced on *Jalālābād* and even launched an aerial raid on Kabul. The hostilities lasted a month; the prospect of a new war on the heels of the 1918 armistice did not appeal to the British, and they feared Paštūn tribal uprisings along their borders. Hence they were led to sign an armistice and later the Treaty of Rawalpindi (11 *Du'l-qa'da* 1337/8 August 1919), which ended their forty year protectorate in Afghanistan. With *Ṭarzī* as the minister of foreign affairs, the country began to open up to the world and experience profound and brutal changes, evidenced particularly in the mass arrival of foreign diplomats and experts, the opening of French and German schools in Kabul, the sending of Afghan missions to Europe and the Soviet Union, and the signing of several bilateral treaties with Turkey, Persia, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. In June, 1926, *Amānallāh* symbolically completed this process by abandoning the less important title of amir for the more prestigious one of shah.

The second part of the "Young Afghan" program, modernization through a profound transformation of society and the economy, fully occupied the regime for a large part of *Amānallāh*'s reign. The first Afghan constitution, approved in 1303 Š./1924 by the 1,052 members of the *lōya jeryū* (a grand assembly of the country's leaders), defined the general legal frame for an unprecedented revolution in administrative, judiciary, military, and fiscal affairs. With the aid of French and Turkish experts, more than seventy ordinances (*nezām-nāma*) were published over a period of nine years. Symptomatic of the changes, the solar *hejīrī* calendar officially replaced the lunar calendar in 1301 Š./1922. For the first time in Afghan history encouragement was offered to all private initiatives in economic

Tha'labi, 'Arā'is, 240 f.; Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdell-Thomine, 6/13, n. 1-2.

(G. VAJDA)

HABĪB ALLĀH (ḤABĪBULLĀH) KHĀN (1872-1919), son of the *amir* 'Abd al-Rahmān [q.v.] and of the concubine Gulriz, who came from the Waḡhān; ruler of Afghānistān in succession to his father, from 1 October 1901 to 20 February 1919, when he was assassinated at Kalla-gūsh in the valley of Alingār not far from the residence of Kal'at al-Sirādj (Laghmān). In foreign affairs he adopted a pro-British policy, reinforced by frequent visits to India, by requests for British arbitration on the question of the frontier with Iran (MacMahon Mission, 1902-3, whose findings were accepted by both countries so far as the delimitation of the frontier was concerned, though the related question of the division of the waters of the Hilmand was to drag on at greater length), and by the signing, on 21 March 1905, of an agreement with Sir Louis Dane which confirmed the 'Abd al-Rahmān-Durand agreement of 1893. Great Britain pledged itself to guarantee Afghan independence so long as the *amir's* actions, in his relations with other powers, conformed with the advice given by the British government; to pay an annual subsidy of £ 160,000 sterling; to place no limitations on Afghānistān's importing of war materials; and accepted the presence, for an unlimited period, of a political agent at the court of the Viceroy of India and of Afghān commercial agents in India and in Great Britain itself. The *amir* pledged himself to friendship with Great Britain, and always to consult Britain in any consultations with a third power; accepted the presence at Kābul, for a period of three to five years, of an Anglo-Indian political agent chosen by the *amir* from among Muslims proposed by the Indian Foreign Office; he did not, however, accept the British request to construct fortifications on the Hilmand. This was the situation which was to form the subject of the Anglo-Russian convention of 31 August 1907 (not, however, formally accepted by the *amir*), which left Afghānistān under the British sphere of influence, recognizing Russia's interests as equal with those of Great Britain only in the field of commerce. In this field and in that of the local matters concerning frontiers there was also to be possible some direct contact between Russia and Afghānistān, but all political relations were to be left to the British Agent. During the First World War, however, Afghānistān's proclamation of neutrality (*farmān* of 24 August 1914) made it possible to accept a Turco-German mission and also the presence in Kābul of a "provisional Indian revolutionary government". In internal policy, the *amir*, who was rather less energetic than his father, embarked on a programme of pacification based on acts of generosity such as recalling exiles and the remission of tribute, but always within the framework of a process of irreversible state centralization, even though it was being carried on under the aegis of the *mullās* and of the military, and under the menace of the palace intrigues conducted by the *Sardār* Muḡammad 'Umar (b. 1889), the son of 'Abd al-Rahmān, and his mother Bībī Ḥalīma, but above all by Naṣr Allāh (b. 1874), the *amir's* brother, commander-in-chief of the army and a claimant to the throne. The slackening of discipline in the army (whose strength in peace time was 150,000 men) was offset by new military supplies and by general material improvements. The *amir* took measures against the serious

economic situation of the country by means of a fiscal policy which permitted the increase of trade with India (and also with Russia, but without going so far as the establishment of the regular relations desired by the governor of Turkestan, Ivanov), and with Treasury loans to merchants. He carried out some public works, but it was in the field of education that most progress was made. With a military school supplementing it, there began to function from 1903 the high school called Ḥabībiyya, based on the type of the Anglo-Indian colleges and intended to train an administrative cadre: in its 12 classes, with local and Indian teachers, there were taught, together with literature and the religious sciences, geography, chemistry, physics, history, mathematics; while among the languages, together with Persian, were English, Hindustani and, more sporadically, Pashtu. A suitable *Dār al-ta'liḡ* attached to the school attended to the preparation of textbooks, most of which were lithographed in India. In Kābul a lithographical and printing works (the 'Ināyat press) was set up. For eight consecutive years from 1911, there appeared the 16-page fortnightly scientific, literary and political periodical *Sirādj al-akhbār-i afghāniyya*, with engraved illustrations and edited by the "father of modern prose", Maḡmūd b. Ḡulām Muḡammad Ṭarzi (b. Kābul, 1285/1868-9, d. Istanbul 1353/1934-5). Thus schools and periodicals were the first two really modern manifestations of Afghān cultural life. The assassination of the *amir*, however, brought to an abrupt end this interim period of apparent tranquillity and of imposed friendship with Great Britain, and opened the way to new and more definite national claims by the country.

Bibliography: A. Hamilton, *Afghanistan*, Boston-Tokyo n.d. (Oriental Series, Millet Company); *Dogovor zaklyučennyi meḡdu Britanskim pravitel'stvom i émirom Afganskim ot 21 marta 1905 goda s otnosyashchimisya k nemu prilozheniyami*, in *Sbornik materialov po Azii*, lxxx (1907), 62-74; A. Le Chatelier, *L'émir d'Afghanistan aux Indes*, in *RMM*, ii (1907), 35-49; F. Raskol'nikov, *Rossiya i Afganistan*, in *Novly Vostok*, iv (1923), 16-8.

(G. SCARCIA)

HĀBĪL WA ḲĀBĪL, names of the two sons of Adam [q.v.] in Muslim tradition: Heḡel and Kāyin in the Hebrew Bible (for the distortion and assimilation through assonance of the two words, compare the pairs of words *Djālūt* - *Tālūt*, *Hārūt* - *Mārūt*, *Yādjūdj* - *Mādjūdj*; Kāyin is, however, attested sporadically). Although the *Qur'ān* does not give these names, it tells however (CV, 27-32/30-5, Medinan period) the story of the two sons of Adam, one of whom killed the other because his own sacrifice was refused when his brother's was accepted. Unlike the Bible, the *Qur'ān* also tells how the murderer learned from the example of a crow how to dispose of his victim's body. From this episode the *Qur'ān* argues for the prohibition of murder, underlined by a consideration inspired, no doubt indirectly, from the *Mishna*, *Sanhedrin*, iv, 5: to take the life of an innocent being is as serious a crime as to cause the death of the whole of humanity; to save the life of a single person is as meritorious as to do so for all men. If an exegetical tradition is to be believed, *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 72, is also referring to the first murderer: Kābil, having offered the trust (*amāna*) to Adam, broke his word and killed the brother entrusted to his care, but this interpretation, foreign to the context, does not rest on any serious basis. Several later authors certainly know the biblical story: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. S. 'Ukāṣha, 17 f.,

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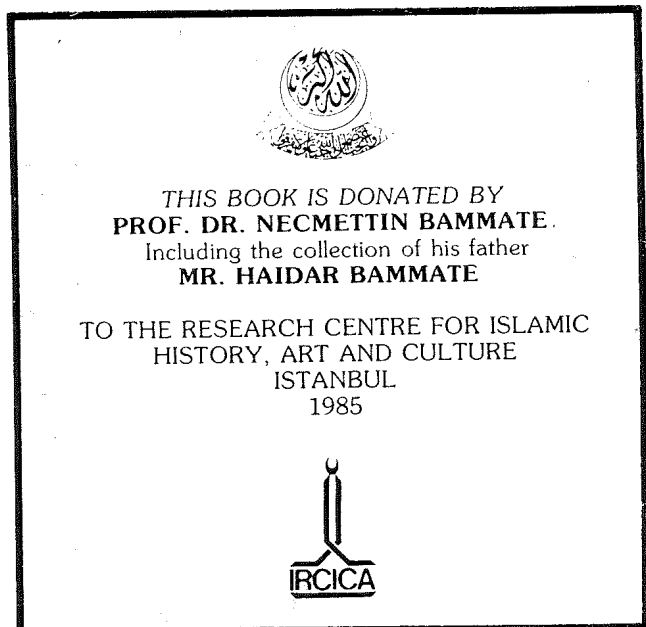
LOUIS DUPREE

Afghanistan

09 MAYIS 1991

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
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1973



CHAPTER 19

Habibullah

MARKING TIME, 1901-19

PALACE, rather than tribal, intrigue beset Habibullah. Although he was the oldest son of Abdur Rahman Khan, Habibullah (born 1872) was the child of a Wakhi slave girl, Guriz, also the mother of Nasrullah (born 1874). The most royal wife, however, strong-willed Bibi Halima, paternal granddaughter of Dost Mohammad Khan, intrigued to have her son, Mohammad Omar Jan (born 1889), placed on the throne. The activities of Bibi Halima forced Habibullah to place her son under constant surveillance. Habibullah himself had four wives, about thirty-five concubines, and approximately fifty offspring. Nasrullah Khan failed to obtain the support of many tribal leaders for the new Amir, but the army, founded by Abdur Rahman Khan, remained the base of power for Habibullah (Poullada, 1969, 106).

The religious leaders had been suppressed by Abdur Rahman Khan. He took over most *waqf* (religious endowments) and put the various brotherhoods on the government payroll (L. Dupree, 1966, 270). Abdur Rahman brooked no opposition from the religious leaders. Under Habibullah, however, the religious leaders (backed by Nasrullah) regained much political power and influenced many of Habibullah's decisions. A parallel rise in modernist thinking, however, led by Mahmud Beg Tarzi, greatly affected Afghanistan in the second decade of the twentieth century.

British and Russian power-plays dominated Habibullah's foreign affairs, along with the disputed drawing of the Persian-Afghan boundary in 1905. As had his predecessors, Habibullah notified the British Viceroy, Lord Curzon (who had succeeded Lord Elgin in January 1889), of his accession to the throne, but Curzon, a great Forward Policy advocate, wanted to extract concessions from Habibullah before recognizing him as Amir. The early 1900s saw the British once again in close competition with Tsarist Russia in Asia. Worldwide imperialist fever swept the West. Bismarck performed a miracle of fusion by uniting the disparate German principalities, and, a latecomer to imperialism,

HABIBULLAH

Germany frantically sought colonies in Afro-Asia in order to gain international imperialist respectability. The Americans, not to be outdone, acquired territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific from Spain. The Ottoman Empire, long the "Sick Man of Europe," continued its headlong dash toward total collapse.

The British pushed outposts into tribal territories from Chitral to Baluchistan, recruited and trained local levies, paid high subsidies to some tribes, fought others, and built rail lines to Dargai, Thal (terminus of Afghan lumber trade), and Jamrud (entrance of the Khyber, where the old fort today squats like a battleship pointing toward the rough seas beyond).

In 1901, the British separated the Cis-Indus region of the Pushtun from the body politic of the Punjab to form a new province: the North-West Frontier Province (Dichter, 1967). Tribal raids increased rather than diminished as the British moved forward. In 1907, 56 raids were recorded in the Settled Districts of the North-West Frontier, 99 in 1908, 159 in 1909 (Davies, 1932).

Lord Curzon informed Habibullah that the British treaty with Abdur Rahman had been a personal document and, therefore, a new one must be considered. The Curzon note constituted a grave insult to Habibullah and Afghanistan, for the British always insisted that successive regimes in Kabul inherit treaty obligations. In attempts to coerce Habibullah, the British prevented arms supplies ordered by the Amir from passing in transit through British India. Curzon invited Habibullah to come to India for consultations. Habibullah, well within his rights, refused and insisted a country-to-country treaty does not need revision unless both parties desire changes. Lord Curzon, undeterred, asked Habibullah again in June 1904, and again received a negative reply. Curzon, one of the great White Man's burdens, pushed for war, and spread the rumor that Habibullah was considering an Afghan-Russian alliance. Luckily, calmer and more senior heads prevailed in London, and Curzon relaxed.

To the north, the Russians pushed their railheads to within easy striking-distance of Afghanistan. Thwarted in Tibet by the British, and by the Japanese in the Far East (Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05), the Russians might have won favor with the Afghans if Curzon had been permitted to continue his shortsighted policies.

While Curzon ranted in London, having been recalled for consultation, Habibullah made a shrewd move. Since the British wanted to talk over a new, personal treaty with him, he saw no reason to honor the existing treaty. He decided to try to open diplomatic intercourse with

Russian Commissioner, the negotiations would have to be postponed until the spring.

Russia took advantage of this delay to march up the Murghab river to the vicinity of the oasis of Panjdeh, and in the spring of 1885, by attacking the Afghan garrison, created the famous Panjdeh crisis, which nearly precipitated an Anglo-Russian conflict. The speech of Mr. Gladstone, who demanded a war vote of £11,000,000—an enormous sum at that period—is not yet forgotten. Fortunately, however, negotiations were not broken off, and a Boundary Commission finally settled this very difficult question.

Before quitting this subject it is desirable to point out that these negotiations coincided with the failure of the British expedition to relieve General Gordon at Khartum, while Bismarck, who had concluded a secret treaty with Russia outside the Triple Alliance, approved of a system of persistent annoyance against Great Britain.

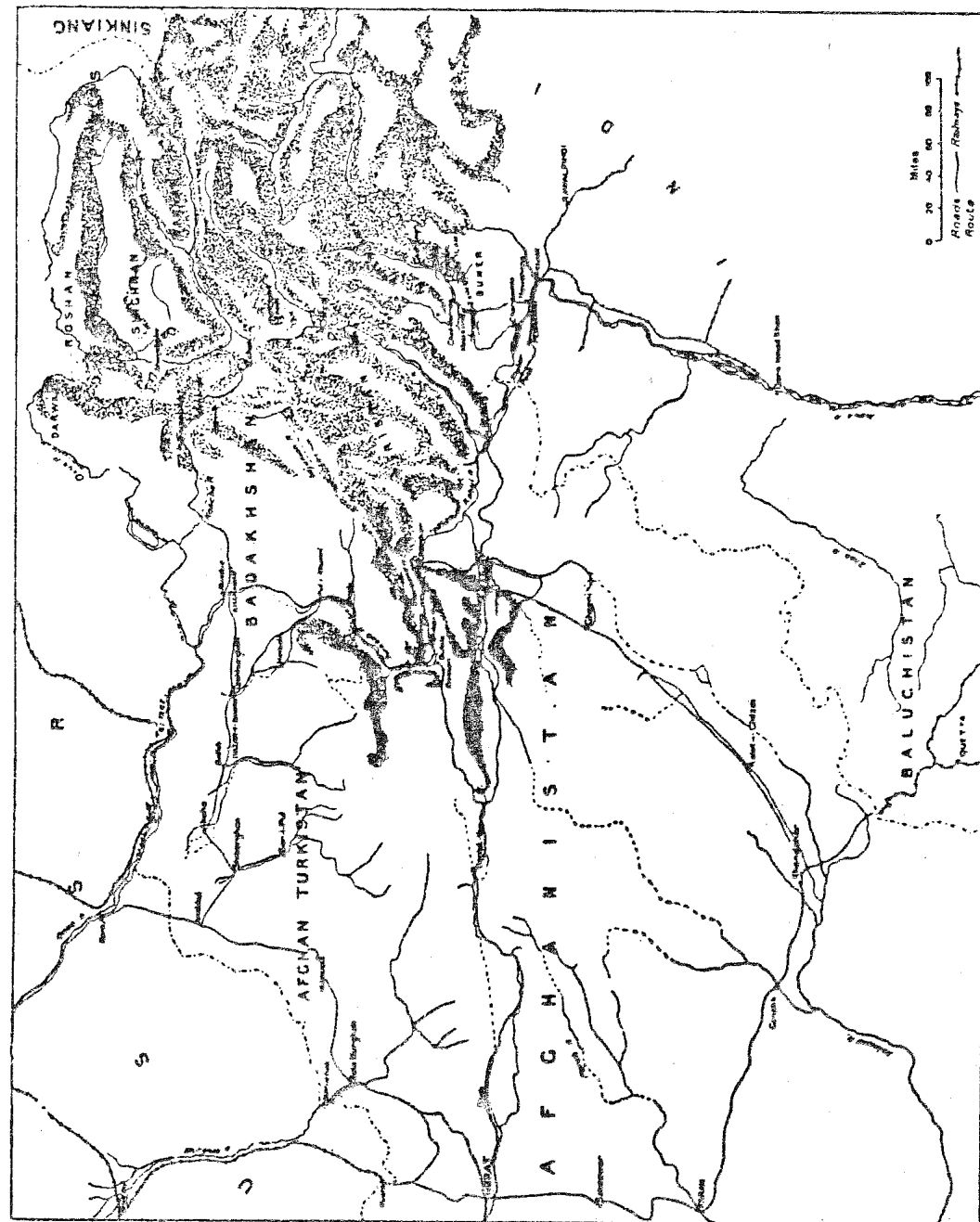
The Anglo-Russian Negotiations

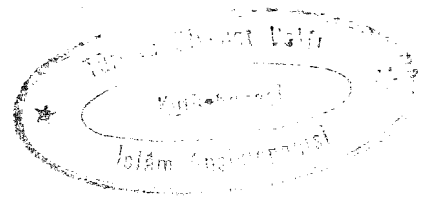
The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 may be described as a most important landmark in the relations between Great Britain and Russia. It dealt with Afghanistan, with Persia, and with Tibet. Here I only deal with it as affecting Anglo-Afghan relations. In 1900 Russian officials attempted to open up direct communication with the Amir Habibulla Khan. Lord Lansdowne objected, but Count Lamsdorff sought to justify such action, which in 1903 caused serious friction between the two Powers.

In 1902 Great Britain, renouncing definitely her policy of isolation, negotiated a treaty with Japan, by the terms of which, in the event of either party becoming involved in war with a third Power, the other Power was to remain neutral unless any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, when the contracting party should come to its assistance. Three years later a further treaty of alliance was concluded, which bound the contracting parties to come to each other's assistance in case of unprovoked attack on the part of any other Power; this treaty was renewed in 1911.

In 1905 the present Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, as British Ambassador, discussed the treaty mentioned with Count Lamsdorff. The Russian Foreign Minister declared that it had created a most unfavourable impression, whereupon Hardinge pointed out that Russia at great cost had constructed a series of strategical railways to the frontiers of Afghanistan and, indeed, to the gates of Herat, although she had

Assian Affairs, 27/2 (1940), 4 s.





From a photo by Fry of Lucknow.

Amir Abdurrahman
Amir el Kebir

AFGHANISTAN

FROM DARIUS TO AMANULLAH

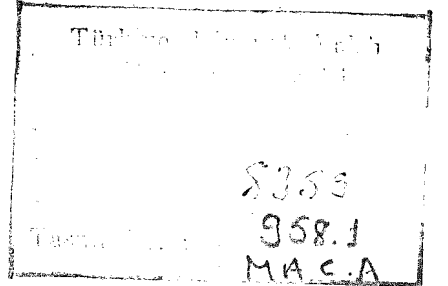
BY

LT. GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN

K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.

COLONEL COMMANDANT THE ROYAL ARTILLERY

Habibullah Khan



nisa traders

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ACCESSION OF HABIBULLAH KHAN 249

of modern innovations." Then a pleasant little piece of satire: "In following the advice of any Foreign Power or courtiers of our own Durbar, they must keep before their minds the shrewd counsel given by Sadi, 'That shrewd young boy will save the purse of sovereigns in his pocket who looks upon every passer-by as a pickpocket and a robber!'" And those who have studied Persian will observe with pleasure that the Amir el Kebir adjures his son to read carefully the *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, a glorified Æsop's Fables, full of the wisdom of the Eastern world told in animal guise.

His advice on trade is replete with the wisdom of the moderns. "I have opened several canals, and several others are being cut. The trade in Astrakan skins, wool, horses, and sheep has considerably increased, and I have lent money out of the Treasury to Afghan merchants to encourage trade without charging interest on such loans. Instead of charging interest I charge import and export duties, which bring in more than the interest would, and leave a margin for the merchants themselves."

THE ACCESSION OF HABIBULLAH KHAN

When Habibullah succeeded to his father's throne there were many in India who feared that he was not a strong enough character to sit where Abdurrahman had sat. But partly, no doubt, because of the preparation his father had made for him to succeed (so different from these Eastern potentates who have treated their heir with contumely), and partly, no doubt, because he had the necessary character, his reign was a great success. Slowly and steadily he followed the policy of his father, improving roads, improving trade, continuing canals. Afghanistan has never been a rich country. Vast areas can never be anything more than barren rock, and the available revenues needed careful expenditure. There was little to spend on anything but gradual development. The mullahs seemed to be content enough. Lord Curzon's coming to India as Viceroy had practically coincided with his accession. The former had

250

AFGHANISTAN

once visited Abdurrahman at Kabul, and with his great knowledge of Asian matters should have been well qualified to handle those Afghan questions which were constantly bound to arise. There were a good many points to be adjusted between the two Governments—customs, border disputes, trade conventions, and the like—and Lord Curzon was anxious that the Amir should visit India. This His Highness for some reason or other was not keen to do. Lord Ronaldshay has discussed the Afghan question very fully so far as it then entered into Lord Curzon's career; but it is not difficult to see that the Foreign Department in India knew well that his lordship did not see, and could not see, the questions that arose between us from the Amir's legitimate point of view. At this time apprehension of Russia's intentions had been much revived. Lord Kitchener had been charged with bringing the whole organisation of the army up to date, and preparing its administrative organisation for a Central Asian campaign in support of Afghan integrity. But Habibullah would not come down, and probably was not sure if he was secure enough to come, or could face those who would call him *kafir* for his pains. So Inayatullah, his son, came in his stead, and in lieu of a visit of His Highness himself, Sir Louis Dane, the Foreign Secretary, was sent with a small mission to discuss matters in dispute. This mission spent six months in Kabul in 1904, six somewhat difficult months, in which the Governor-General insisted on taking up a vexatious and meticulous attitude with many of the questions that the mission was to settle.

Nevertheless the Amir was entirely friendly, and while wanting certain things that we could not agree to, was perfectly reasonable in most points.

The officers of the mission made many friends, and, as Abdurrahman has always said, "The more Afghans and British meet the better they get on," and quite repudiated the idea that the less they saw of us the more they liked us. It was not till 1906 that Habibullah paid his visit to India, when Lord Minto was Viceroy. This visit was a pleasing one, and he himself won golden opinions, and was

فارسی، ۵۸۸/۲-۵۹۰؛ تاریخ نظم و نثر در ایران، ۲۴۱؛ حبیب‌السیر، به
کوشش دبیر سیاقی؛ فهرست کتاب‌های چاپی فارسی، ۱۷۱۸-
۱۷۱۹؛ کاروان هند، ۳۸۹-۳۹۱.

برزگر

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(mad.zā.yi)، سراج‌الملک و الدین امیر حبیب‌الله خان پسر
عبدالرحمان خان، ربیع الآخر ۲۱۲۸۹/ژوئیه ۱۸۷۲م-۱۳۳۷ق،
پادشاه افغانستان از خاندان بارکزیایی (۱۳۱۹-۱۳۳۷ق/۱۹۰۱-
۱۹۱۹م). وی در سمرقند، که پدرش عبدالرحمان خان در آنجا
در تبعید به سر می‌برد، به دنیا آمد و نوشت و خواند و علوم
متداول را از استادان شایسته فراگرفت و شاهزاده‌ای کمابیش
بافرونگ و باسواد بار آمد. گرچه امیر عبدالرحمان خان پادشاهی
مستبد و خودکامه بود، تصمیمات نهایی را به تنهایی می‌گرفت
و بدگمانی او به زیردستانش چندان بود که از بیم آن‌که مبادا
کاربه‌دستان دولت و حتی پسرانش روزی سری برآورند و
حکومت او را تهدید کنند، از سپردن کارها به دست آن‌ها بسیار
می‌پرهیخت. در اواخر زندگی خود، حبیب‌الله خان و برادر
عینی‌اش نصرالله خان (۱۲۹۲ق/۱۸۷۴م-۱۳۳۸ق) را که از
بطن کنیزی به نام گلریز از مردم و اخان بودند (این کنیز در خدمت
ملکه دختر میرجهاندار شاه از میران بدخشان بود به سر می‌برد،
و چون ملکه نازا بود، پسران این کنیز را با آگاهی و پذیرش امیر
به نام خود فرآ نمود) در اداره کارهای کشور شرکت داد و بی آن‌که
رسماً ولایتعهدی حبیب‌الله خان را اعلان کند، به گونه‌ای وی را
به نام جانشین خود به بزرگان کشور شناسانده بود. البته
حلیمه خانم، ملقب به بوبو جان، همسر دیگر عبدالرحمان خان
که از خانواده‌ای محتشم بود و ملکه رسمی امیر به‌شمار
می‌آمد، بارها کوشیده بود تا امیر را وادارد که پسر کوچک‌ترشان،
سردار محمد عمرخان، را به ولایتعهدی خود برگزیند، اما کاری
از پیش نبرد. امیر عبدالرحمان خان در طول پادشاهی، همه
سرجنبانان و سرکشان داخلی را از میان برده یا از میدان به‌در کرده
و حکومت مرکزی بسیار نیرومندی پی‌افکنده بود و نیز،
برخلاف پادشاهان گذشته که حکومت ولایات، به‌ویژه ولایات
بزرگ و مهمی مانند قندهار و هرات، را به پسرانشان می‌سپردند
و در عمل از آن‌ها جنگ‌سالارانی مدعی شاهی می‌ساختند، از
دادن قدرت زیاد به پسرانش بیمناک بود، و چنان‌که گفته آمد، از
میان آن‌ها، تنها دو تن که بزرگ‌تر بودند، یعنی حبیب‌الله خان و

فرزندان او و دوره شاهنشاهی شاه اسماعیل صفوی و اطلاعات
مربوط به ظهیرالدین بابر و شیبانی خان از یک بسیار جالب
توجه است. ذکر اطلاعات مفید و پرارزش درباره رجال علم و
ادب و سیاست و دین که خواندمیر آن‌ها را ذیل دوران‌های
عده‌ای از سلاطین جای داده، به کتاب حبیب‌السیر جلوه خاصی
بخشیده و آن از جمله منابع بسیار سودمند درباره تاریخ رجال
ساخته است. (تاریخ ادبیات در ایران، ۴/۵۴۴-۵۴۵) بی‌گمان
بخش اعظم حبیب‌السیر، به‌ویژه بخش‌های مربوط به تاریخ
اساطیری - دینی جهان و تاریخ پس از اسلام تا نزدیکی‌های
دوره مؤلف، برگرفته از تواریخ پیشین، خاصه روضة‌الصفای
میرخواند، نیای مادری خواند میر، است و در واقع بخش آخر
کتاب را، از وفات سلطان ابوسعید تیموری در ۲ رجب ۸۷۳ق
(یعنی جایی که روضة‌الصفای بدان پایان می‌پذیرد) تا ربیع‌الاول
۹۳۰ق، که شنیده‌ها و دیده‌های خواندمیر را دربر می‌گیرد،
می‌توان معتبرترین بخش کتاب برشمرد و بیشتر اهمیت کتاب
نیز برای همین بخش است؛ گرچه، خواندمیر در بخش‌های پیش
از آن هم، تنها به نقل روایات پشینان بسنده نکرده است. یکی از
امتیازات حبیب‌السیر، در سنجش با روضة‌الصفای و تواریخ پیشین،
آن است که خواندمیر، در پایان هر دوره‌ای فصلی در شرح حال
وزرا و صدور و رجال و سادات و نقبا و مشایخ و فضلا و ادبا و
شعرا و هنرمندان نامدار آن دوره نوشته است که هرچه
به پایان کتاب نزدیک‌تر شویم، کمیت و کیفیت این‌گونه
آگاهی‌های زندگینامه‌ای بیشتر و بهتر می‌شود. نثر حبیب‌السیر از
منشآت بسیار پخته و شیوای نثر مسجع معمول دوره تیموریان
است و در آن صنایع بدیعی و مترادفات در حد متوسطی به کار
رفته است. بخش‌هایی از کتاب، به‌ویژه تراجم احوال رجال و
دیباچه کتاب و تشبیب و پیش‌درآمد عناوین و وقایع مهم، به
نثر مسجع مترسلانه (یا مصنوع منشیان)، و باقی کتاب، آزاد از
تصنعات منشیان، و بسیار سلیس و روان است. حبیب‌السیر
تاکنون چند بار، از جمله در بمبئی (۱۲۶۳ق) و تهران
(۱۲۷۱ق)، و با مقدمه جلال‌الدین همایی و فهرست‌نویسی
دکتر محمد دبیر سیاقی در ۱۳۳۳ش در تهران چاپ شده است.
آثار الملوک والانبیای خواندمیر گزیده‌ای از حبیب‌السیر است و در
۹۳۱ق فراهم آمده است.

منابع: ادبیات فارسی بر مبنای تألیف استوری، ۵۵۱/۲-۵۶۵؛
پژوهش‌هایی در تاریخ ادبیات ایران، ۲/۹۹؛ تاریخ ادبیات در ایران،
۴/۵۴۵-۵۴۴؛ تاریخ ادبیات فارسی، اته، ۲۸۲؛ تاریخ تذکره‌های



A seated courtier with his pet falcon, courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M. 386, f. 1.

another one in the scene with Shaikh Şan'ān, a beardless youth whose head appears on the horizon, are frequently encountered in a group of twenty-six miniatures in a copy of the *Şāh-nāma* made for Ḥosayn Khan Šāmlu in Herat in 1600 (Reżā 'Abbāsī Museum, Tehran; Schmitz, 1981, pp. 163-66, pls. 45, 47-50, 52-53, 54-55, 57, 59-66, 71-72, 74, 77, 82-83). The calligrapher of this *Şāh-nāma*, Moḥammad-Mo'men b. Moḥammad-Qāsem with the pen name (*taḳallos*) Aşaḥḥ Kermāni, had also copied a *Nozhat-nāma-ye 'alā'i* of Šahmardān b. Abi'l-Ḳayr for Ḥosayn Khan Šāmlu fourteen months earlier in Qom (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Persian Ms. 255). Two miniatures in this manuscript are attributable to Ḥabib-Allāh, as the comparison of landscapes and animal depiction in the two manuscripts demonstrate (Schmitz, 1981, p. 161, pls. 42-43). Five album leaves with paintings and drawings in the style of Ḥabib-Allāh are in one of the Read Albums in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Schmitz, 1997, M.386.1, 4, 10, 11, and 12). The finest of these show a seated courtier with his pet falcon (fig. M.386.1). A related Reed Album folio has an inscription saying that it was made in the library (*ketāb-khāna*) of Ḥosayn Khan Šāmlu, the governor of Herat, which indicates that the album was assembled for Ḥabib-

Allāh's patron (M.386.3; Schmitz, 1997, p. 124, fig. 177). Lastly, there are other dispersed album leaves that may also be the work of Ḥabib-Allāh, such as the one showing a youth wearing a striped robe and the special *qezelbās* turban of Khorasan and holding a small cup to his lips (Sotheby's, London, 3 May 2001, lot 57).

Some paintings by Ḥabib-Allāh, including the album folios in the Staatlich Museen zu Berlin, the seated lady in orange dress in the Topkapı Saray Library, and the paintings in the Morgan Library, feature extensive and complicated tooling on gold and silver clothing and accouterments. The seated courtier with his pet falcon in the Morgan Library (fig. M.386.1), for example, has pricking on the gold lapels of the coat — parallel rows, apparently applied with a minute wheel on the left and freehand on the right; when struck by light their sheens are subtly different. Pricking is also used on the gold and silver gloves, the skullcap, and the knives. This technique is not used by contemporary artists in Isfahan or by other artists in Herat, and it suggests that Ḥabib-Allāh was trained as a gilder and had worked in several mediums.

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(BARBARA SCHMITZ)

HABIBIYA SCHOOL. an elite high school for boys established in 1321/1903 in Kabul and named after its founder, Amir Ḥabib-Allāh (q.v.; r. 1901-19). Originally established as a *madrasa* (q.v. EDUCATION), after World War II it became known as "the Ḥabibiya Lycée" (*Lisaye Ḥabibiya*). Its curriculum was modeled on that of Aligarh College (Dupree, p. 447), and thus it followed the Anglo-Indian system. Sardār Naşr-Allāh Khan, the amir's brother, served for ten years as its director and was succeeded by the amir's eldest son Sardār 'Enāyat-Allāh. A budget of 100,000 Kabuli rupees provided for the salaries of five teachers and the needs of the pupils,

Molière's *Le Misanthrope*," *IJMES* 30, 1998, pp. 251-70. *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, XVIII, p. 262. *Türkiye'de basılmış farsça eserler, çeviriler ve İran'la ilgili yayınlar bibliyografyası*, Ankara, 1971, pp. 23, 26. Gölām-Ḥosayn Yusofi, "Sargodašt-e Hājji Bābā va Mirzā Ḥabib Eşfahāni," *Yād-dāsthā*, Tehran, 1370 Š./1991.

(TAHSIN YAZICI)

HABIB AL-ESLĀM, Persian-language weekly newspaper published in Kabul. It replaced *Amān-e afğān*, following the advent of (Ḥabib-Allāh) Bačča-ye Saqqā (q.v.). A total of thirty-one issues of *Ḥabib-al-eslām* appeared between 9 Hut 1307 Š./28 February 1929 and 10 Mizān 1308 Š./1 December 1929. The editors were Gölām Moḥey-al-Din, Sayyed Moḥammad Ḥosayn (beginning no. 6) and Borhān-al-Din Koškaki (no. 21 onward). A major periodical of the period, it included government declarations, official agreements with tribal leaders, and political and religious issues in general.

The format was four-column pages, 32 x 42 cm, lithographed in Ḥabib-al-eslām publishing house, which later (1 Tawr 1308) was renamed Sarkāri. The newspaper carried neither illustrations nor advertisements. It was priced initially at 10 *puls*, later (starting no. 22) at 6 *payas*. The annual subscription rates were 5 *afğānis* within Afghanistan and 15 shillings abroad. An incomplete collection is kept in the Indian Office Library and Record in London.

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(NASSER-AL-DIN PARVIN)

HABIBĀBĀDĪ, MO'ALLEM, See MO'ALLEM HABIBĀBĀDĪ.

HABIB-ALLĀH, amir, monarch who initiated modernization in Afghanistan (b. 1872, d. 1919). For a historical account of his reign (1901-19), see AFGHANISTAN x.

When Amīr Ḥabib-Allāh ascended the throne, taking the title *Serāj al-mellat wa 'l-dīn* ("Lantern of the Nation and Religion") he inherited a country at peace. He granted an amnesty to the *sardārs* (notables) expelled by his father, Amīr 'Abd-al-Raḥmān (r. 1880-1901), and invited them to return to Afghanistan. They consisted of two major groups: the exiles in India, who were impressed by the military power of Britain, and those in the Ottoman empire, who were influenced by the nine-

teenth-century Tanzimat reforms. A member of the Indian group, Moḥammad Nāder Khan (later Nāder Shah, r. 1929-1933), after giving his sister Maḥbuba, "the Hindustani Queen" (*Maleka-ye hendustāni*) in marriage to Ḥabib-Allāh, became one of the his most successful generals (*sepahsālār*). At the same time, Maḥmud Ṭarzi, who had met Jamāl-al-Dīn Afğāni (q.v.; Dupree, p. 438), represented the Young Turk element. Ṭarzi was a major proponent of the amir's modernization efforts (Dupree, pp. 437-40).

The amir realized that modernization in the army and administration required educational reforms and the establishment and expansion of an industrial base. He showed his priorities by appointing his brother, Naṣr-Allāh, as minister of education, and by putting his eldest son, 'Enāyat-Allāh, in charge of military affairs. Four secretaries (*išiq-āqāsi*) were put in charge of civil, military, court and foreign affairs respectively. He reorganized the provincial administration and established several state councils, which included Muslim Indian experts. Although he divided the responsibilities for governing the country, Ḥabib-Allāh continued to reserve for himself the authority to make all major decisions.

Amīr Ḥabib-Allāh's biggest success was in the field of education. He appointed a ten-man Education Council (*Anjoman-e mā'āref*) headed by Sardār Naṣr-Allāh, which met twice a week and submitted its decisions to the amir for approval. In 1903, he founded the Ḥabibiya School (q.v.). Originally established as a *madrassa*, it recruited students who had completed the lower levels of religious education and trained them according to a modified Anglo-Indian curriculum, which included for the first time subjects other than religion. In order to appease the ulama who had enjoyed a monopoly on education, several *madrāsas* were set up as preparatory schools for transfer to the Ḥabibiya.

In 1907, the Institute of Literary Composition (*Dār al-ta'lif*) was established to translate texts from English and produce teaching materials. In 1914, the Teacher Training College (*Dār al-mo'allemīn*) was founded to provide teachers for the new schools. It was located initially in the Royal Madrasa. The amir allocated in total about two million Kabuli rupees for education during the first ten years of his reign. Modern military education began in 1909 with the opening of the Military School (*Maktab-e fonun-e harbiya*), where Turkish officers introduced the students to drill and the military sciences. General Moḥammad Nāder acted as inspector of the school, which recruited from among the sons of notables). The amir's sons 'Enāyat-Allāh and Amān-Allāh (later king, r. 1919-29; see AMĀNALLĀH KHAN) were among the first of the school's graduates, who formed a cadre of modern officers in the army. A school for Royal Orderlies (*ārdaliyān*) was opened for newly-converted Nurestānis and the sons of those *māleks* (chiefs) who had revolted but subsequently repented.

During the reign of his father, Ḥabib-Allāh Khan had been "Inspector of industries." In 1892, Amīr 'Abd-al-Raḥmān had founded "the workshop" (*māšin-kāna*), by

حبيب الله امير الافغان

Habibullah Khan
- Afghanistan



فينسا معاشر لم يبنوا لقومهم وان بنى قومهم ما افسدوا عادوا
لا يرشدون ولم يعرفوا المرشد والجهل منهم معاً والغنى يبعاد
كما قال الادفه الازدي . وفيما من يقول ما قاله ابو مسلم صاحب الدولة
ادركت بالحزم والكتمان ما عجزت عنه ملوك بني مروان اذ جهدوا

هذا شأن ملوك المشرق في هذه الايام بعد ان احتكت ركابهم بركاب اهل المغرب بعضهم
كمن الغواية فضيع ملك آياته واجدادهم وبعضهم استرشد العقل وتطبق الحزم فبنى لنفسه
منه ما يصح عن عزيز الجانب ، فقد خبير . اعتبر ذلك ببعض ملوك الهند وملك اليابان وبعض
رائها وامير الافغان
وقد تقدم وصف امير الافغان المنقلب الى رحمة مولاه وما امتاز به من الحزم وعلو الهمة

(١١) يجب على الملوك ان يحثوا

جنودك سمداء مستريحين فيجوك ولا يث

حياً فيك وحرصاً على سلامتك . واعلم ان الجنود يبيعون ارواحهم الغالية بمراتب قليلة تعطى
دائماً في مواعيدها واذا لم تسر معهم على هذه الخطة فانهم يثنون في ساعة شدة ان يبيعوك
ارواحهم بثلث اعلى قيمة واسمي

(١٢) يجب ان تعلم يا بني ان بيت مال الحكومة هو ملك الامة وليس مقام السلطان

او الامير تجاهه الا مقام الحارس الامين على ما فيه . فاذا ابتدأ الحاكم ينفق المال المودع

عنده على مصالحه ومطالبه الجسورية فانه يكون خائناً وله امانة وسلموه القيادة واعتقدوا

فيه الاستقامة . ومن المقرر المعلوم ان الخائن لا قيمة له في اعين الامة مطلقاً وانه مبغض

عند الله وعند الناس اجمعين . ويجب ان يكون بيت المال دائماً متمثلماً لان ضعف الحكومة يظهر

في قلة ما لها اكثر من ظهوره في شيء آخر . كذلك يلزمك ان تدقق في ضروب المصروفات

والايرادات وكل ما يزيد يضم على بيت المال بالتوالي ويجب عليك ان تعمل كل ما في امكانك

من الوسائل لزيادة ثروة بيت المال لكي تتمكن من انجاز الاعمال التي تريد انجازها سواء كانت

سياسية او حربية او تجارية او صناعية او تعليمية في الاوقات المناسبة لها لان الزمن بابي يحتاج

الى كل هذه الاعمال والسير على هذا النهج القويم لكي تعيش آمناً مطمئناً قوياً عزيز الجانب

وهذه الوصية مرآة تظهر فيها صورة هذا الامير الكريم ومبلغ حكمتيه وحسنه ودستور بلدين

ملوك المشرق ان يتخذوا احكامه نبراساً لهم في سياسة بلادهم

وفي الاسبوع الثالث من شهر سبتمبر الماضي اصيب بشلل في الشق الايمن وفي الثامن

والعشرين منه شعر بدنو الاجل فدعا اليه اهل بيته وكبار رجاله فلما مثلوا بين يديه خاطبهم

بصوت ضعيف لكنه واضح جليلاً قائلاً

” اذا شاخ الملك وتولاه الهرم وادركه الاجل عين من يخلفه على عرشه فاريد تعيين من

يخلفني منذ الآن . فانظروا فيما بينكم من ترونه اهلاً لذلك واخبروني به ”

فاجابوه وعيوضهم مغرورة بالدموع انهم يريدون حبيب الله الذي مارس سياسة الامارة وتضاعف

منها مدة ثماني سنوات . فاعز حينئذ الى حبيب الله ان يتقدم سيفه وحماله المرصعة بالحجارة

الكرمية واعطاه سيجلاً كبيراً يتضمن وصيته واموراً تتعلق بادارة شؤون الامارة . ثم امر باقي

بنيه ان يعرفوا بالامارة لانهم الاكبر وانسرف الجميع من حضرته . وما لبث بعد هذا ان

انتابه النزاع وفاضت روحه الى رحمة ربه في غرة اكتوبر امكن خبره فانه لم يعان الا في ٣ منه

also entered the service of the following sultan, Bāyazid II. After about 1483 Angiolello's career is obscure. It is certain that he came back to his home town Vicenza, married and became a functionary; he possibly had two missions (perhaps for the Venetian Republic) or stayed (as an agent or merchant) in Persia around 1482 (after Sultan Mehmed's death) and then in between 1499 and 1515.

The main work attributed to Angiolello is the so-called *Historia turchesca* (Turkish history) a noteworthy source on the Ottoman history. A considerable part of it is the *Breve narratione della vita et fatti del signor Ussuncassano* (A brief narrative of the life and facts of the sovereign Uzun Hasan) that first was published in Vicenza by the printer Leonard from Basel (October, 1490; no surviving copy), then by G. B. Ramusio in the second volume of his famous collection of *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (Venice, 1559) together with a continuation of the *Narrative* dealing with Persian history until the beginning of Shah Tahmāsp's reign (930/1524). There is a question of the narrative's authenticity, although it is clearly a firsthand chronicle, and no modern edition of it has been made. The first section seems partly founded on Giosafat Barbaro's account of his own mission to Persia (first published in Venice, 1487), and the text and history of the second section remain to be verified critically.

The *Narrative* is essentially a first person chronicle of the political and military events in Persia from 1467 to 1524, and particularly a report of the Turkish-Persian wars. It depicts Uzun Hasan and his family; the campaign of Caramania (872-78/1467-73) against the Ottomans, which became a defeat of the Aq Qoyunlū forces; the Turkish counteroffensive (879/1474), in which the author took part (a detailed description of the two opposing armies is given); the Persian campaign in Georgia (882-85/1477-80), and Uzun Hasan's death (882/1478). The second section, in twenty-three chapters, concerns the beginnings of the Safavid rise to power: Ya'qūb Pādšāh Sultan's succession to Uzun Hasan; the struggle of Shaikh Haydar and his "Sofians" against Rostam; Shaikh Haydar's death; the birth, education, character, and rise of Esmā'īl; his conquest of Iraq (906-09/1500-03) and subsequent campaigns against Ottomans and Uzbeks (911-21/1505-15); his campaign in Sīrvān and conquest of Šamākī (916/1510); and the Ottoman campaign of Egypt and conquest of Cairo (922-23/1516-17). The report concludes with a final (and apocryphal?) note on the death of the Sophy (i.e., Shah Esmā'īl I 930/1524) and the accession of Tahmāsp. Paolo Giovio used the *Narrative* as a source for the portraits of these two Safavid kings in his biographical collection *Gli elogi, vite brevemente scritte d'uomini illustri*, Venice, 1559.

Bibliography: N. di Lenna, "Ricerche intorno allo storico Giovanni Maria Angiolello (degli Anzolelli), patrizio Vicentino, 1451-1525," *Archivio veneto-iridentino* 5, 1924, pp. 1-56. F. Babinger in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 1961, III, pp. 275-78. G. Mantese, "Aggiunte e correzioni al profilo storico

del viaggiatore vicentino Gio. Maria degli Angiolelli," *Archivio veneto*, ser. V, vol. 71, 1962, pp. 5-15. L. Olivato, "Giovan Maria Angiolello un vicentino tra i Turchi nel rinascimento," *Il Velcro* 23, 1979, pp. 143-48.

- Afghanistan

(A. M. PIEMONTESE)

ANGLO-AFGHAN RELATIONS, a survey from the earliest times to the death of the last Bārakzay ruler in 1357 Š./1978.

A brief encounter in Fatehpur Sīkri in the summer of 993/1585 illustrates two abiding themes of British involvement in India and Afghanistan. John Newbery, Ralph Fitch, and William Leedes had a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Mughal emperor Akbar mentioning their "intention to introduce the trade of merchandise of all nations whatsoever they can." Akbar was then preparing to lead an army to Kabul to re-assert his authority and we do not know for certain whether the English visitors met him face to face. Kabul had been the springboard for his grandfather Bābor's successful invasion of India in 932/1526, and Akbar had good reason to believe that he who held India must not let Kabul fall into the hands of a hostile power. Here already, 400 years ago, we see trade as the driving force of the British, and we see anxiety about Kabul motivating the actions of an emperor of India. Out of that brief encounter in 993/1585 was born the East India Company, chartered by Queen Elizabeth in 1600 (see R. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations...* Everyman edition, III; Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England*, pp. 212-15; Edwardes, *Ralph Fitch, Elizabethan in the Indies*, pp. 19-20, 73-77).

The East India Company was not long past its bicentenary when the British marched into Delhi in 1218/1803 and took under their protection the blind and powerless Shah 'Ālam II, last but one of the Mughal emperors descended from Bābor. From that moment it became inevitable that the British in India, having beaten back most of the Indian aspirants to the power abdicated by the Mughals, would have to look to the frontiers so recently breached by Nāder Shah of Persia in 1551/1739 and by Aḥmad Shah Dorrānī of Afghanistan in eight successful expeditions between 1160/1747 and 1180/1767. While those invaders were about their business in the north, the British had been preoccupied with the consolidation of their own positions and with the defeat of their French commercial and political rivals elsewhere in India. Now they found themselves supreme, save for the final reckoning with the Mahrathas under Holkar (see A. B. Keith, *Constitutional History of India*, London, 1936, pp. 113-15; W. A. J. Archbold, *Cambridge History of the British Empire* IV, Cambridge, 1929, chap. 28.)

A few years after the British arrived in Delhi the imperial ambitions of Napoleon Bonaparte provoked a flurry of diplomatic activity, made all the more urgent by Napoleon's alliance with Russia in 1807. In 1224/1809 the British made treaties with four north-western neighbors of India: with Shah Šojā' of Kabul,

E.Ir. c. 2 (s.1), 5, 32-41, 19, 1986 (London)

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES,
K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

Lecture given at a joint meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and the East India Association on March 13, 1940. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the Chair.

In opening the meeting the Chairman said: We are to have a lecture on the present position in Afghanistan and there is perhaps no one amongst living men who is better qualified to speak upon such a subject than our lecturer this afternoon, Sir Percy Sykes. (Applause.)

I think it would be true to say that it must be very nearly half a century since Sir Percy first went to Central Asia. It was actually, I think, in 1892, and very shortly thereafter he was attracted more particularly by Persia. It so happened that I myself spent the Christmas of the year 1900 at a distant spot where Iran, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan meet—namely, Sistan—and it was when I was in Sistan that I first heard of the activities of Sir Percy Sykes.

In those days, as many of you will remember, there was acute rivalry—shall we say, commercial rivalry and to some extent political rivalry—between Great Britain and Russia in that part of the world, and Sir Percy Sykes, realizing the importance of establishing British interests in Southern Iran, by sheer force of character and determination compelled—I do not think I am saying too much in using that word—the Government of India to establish a consulate at Kerman in South-Eastern Persia, and the obvious person to become consul was naturally Sir Percy Sykes himself.

His interest in Iran was only briefly interrupted during a period of leave, I think in 1902, when he went in command of a body of Yeomanry to South Africa, was wounded, and needless to say was mentioned in despatches.

But, as soon as might be, he returned to his first love and was soon in Persia once more. He became Consul-General in Khurasan, with his headquarters at Meshed, and during the Great War he raised the South Persia Rifles and commanded the forces in the southern parts of that country. In addition to that, he has also served His Majesty as his representative in Chinese Turkestan.

He possesses what I should think is a quite unusual number of gold medals—the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, the gold medal of the Royal Empire Society and a special MacGregor gold medal for explorations of military value.

Finally, at a time when you would have thought that he might look for some leisure after a life of strenuous labour, he has been devoting his energies and his interests to the writing of a history of Afghanistan. It is no doubt the cream of this work, which will in due course be published as the History of Afghanistan, that he is going to lay before us this afternoon.

I have pleasure in calling upon him to do so.

THE advance of Russia towards Afghanistan, the kernel of the problem of Central Asia, may be considered to have commenced in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, at which period she was separated from the British possessions in India by

from doing so by his treacherous Russian allies. Sir Alfred Lyall puts the following lines into the mouth of the Amir Abdur Rahman:

“And yet when I think of Shir Ali as he lies in his sepulchre low,
How he died betrayed, heart-broken 'twixt infidel friend and foe,
Driven from his throne by the English, and scorned by the Russian, his guest,
I am well content with the vengeance, and I see God works for the best.”

Shir Ali was succeeded by his son Yakub, who made a treaty with the British at Gandamak in May, 1879. This led to the establishment of a British Mission at Kabul under Sir Louis Cavagnari, who, with the members of his staff and his escort, were massacred by mutinous Afghan soldiers and the Kabul populace in the following July.

Once again three columns invaded Afghanistan. Roberts, who commanded his old force, which was much strengthened, crossed the Peiwar Kotal and marched on the capital. Yakub Khan surrendered, but Roberts found the Afghans occupying a strong position under the Amir's uncle at Charasia, where he won a second notable victory. He then entered Kabul and accepted the abdication of Yakub Khan. During the winter Roberts' force was attacked in the Sherpur Cantonment, which he had occupied, but he beat off the fanatically brave Afghans, inflicting severe losses upon them.

The situation now remained obscure from the political point of view, but the solution to this difficult problem was the reappearance of Sirdar Abdur Rahman in Afghan Turkestan. This truly great chief, after a remarkable career, in the course of which he had been driven out of the country by Shir Ali, was finally placed on the throne of Afghanistan by the British in 1880. He then set to work and gradually reunited all its provinces under an iron despotism.

The continued advance of Russia towards the frontiers of Afghanistan naturally caused the Amir intense anxiety, and in 1882 he strongly urged on the Viceroy (who at this time was Lord Ripon) the necessity for help to defend his frontiers against an attack by Russia.

Mr. (later Sir Mortimer) Durand, the Foreign Secretary, was strongly in favour of an understanding with Russia by which the boundaries of Afghanistan would be defined. Finally, in 1884, after the occupation of Merv, it was decided by the two Powers to appoint Commissioners, who would seek to lay down a line satisfactory to both parties. The British Commissioner, upon reaching the scene in the autumn, was informed that, owing to the alleged ill-health of the

Asian Affairs, c. 27 (s. 2), s. 141-171, 1940,

(Germany)

عبد الرحمن على أن يكون هو الأمير وجلاوا سريعاً عن البلاد . فأدار الأمير عبد الرحمن الأمور بحكمة سلم له بها أهالي الشرق والغرب ، ورّم فتوق بلاده وأقام العدل وأرهم الحد في المفسدين ، ووطد نفوذ الحكومة وأسس معملاً للسلح ، وأصلح بقدر إمكانه تدريب الجيش ، ووسع حدود البلاد من جهة الشرق ، واستولى على ولاية كافرستان التي هدى الله أهلها على يده إلى الإسلام فساها نورستان ، وبالأجل فقد ذقت مملكة الافغان في زمانه طعم الراحة ، وعرفت معنى الوحدة . وما زال يسدد أمورها إلى أن قبضه الله إليه سنة ١٣١٩ هجرية وفق ١٩٠١ ميلادية . وهو معدود من أفضل ملوك هذا العصر في سداده وحكمه ومضاء عزيمته وبلغني أن له تاريخاً مطولاً بالفارسي ذكر فيه ماجريات حياته . وخلفه ولده الأمير حبيب الله خان الذي خاطبه الحكومة البريطانية بلقب ملك ، وإن كان لم يتمكن من تأسيس علاقات خارجية مع غيرها مما بقي معه استقلال افغانستان مشروباً بشيء من القصر لم ينفك قيده الأبهة ولده من بعده .

ولما نشبت الحرب العامة أحب الأتراك والألمان أن يجتذبوا الأمير حبيب الله خان إلى جبهتهم وسارت بعثة ألمانية إلى كابول وخاطبته في ذلك فكان يعتقد أنه لو خاض غمرات هذه الحرب لجنى على نفسه وعلى وطنه فلم يأت بأدنى حركة تعيظ الانكليز ، وقد يعد عمله هذا مستحسناً لأن حفظ اليهود أمر محمود ، والنظر في العواقب من أجل المناقب . إلا أنه عفا الله عنه ، كان يقدر أن يتهز تلك الفرصة لمطالبة انكلترا بكثير من حقوق الافغان التي التهمتها أثناء ما كانت أفغانستان في الضيق وذلك نظير أخذ البلاد التي ابتزتها إياها بدون حق والحجر الذي وضعته عليها في الأمور السياسية الخارجية وكنعها من الحصول على ثغر بحري تكون حرة فيه بوارداتها وصادراتها . فأهمل الأمير حبيب الله ذلك ، ومشى في سياسته على مقتضى مكارم الأخلاق الشرقية التي تأتي مهاجرة العدو في حالة ضيقه ، لا على مقتضى السياسة العملية الأوروبية التي لا تعرف هذه المكارم بل تعدها من قبيل الخيالات الشعرية ، أو مبادئ الفطرة الأولى التي ليست في شيء من مبادئ المدنية الحاضرة المبنية على الحقائق الراهنة ، وذلك بخلاف ما يدعى الأوربيون من كون الشرقيين لا يحترمون سوى بالقوة ولا يتأخرون عن نقض العهود إذا آنسوا من عدوهم الضعف . فيرمون الشرقيين بما هو في الحقيقة دأب الغربيين . ولقد ذهبت أمانة حبيب الله خان مع انكلترا سدى إذ

« م ١٤ - ثاني »

ACCESSION OF HABIBULLAH KHAN 249

of modern innovations." Then a pleasant little piece of satire: "In following the advice of any Foreign Power or courtiers of our own Durbar, they must keep before their minds the shrewd counsel given by Sadi, 'That shrewd young boy will save the purse of sovereigns in his pocket who looks upon every passer-by as a pickpocket and a robber!'" And those who have studied Persian will observe with pleasure that the Amir el Kebir adjures his son to read carefully the *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, a glorified Æsop's Fables, full of the wisdom of the Eastern world told in animal guise.

His advice on trade is replete with the wisdom of the moderns. "I have opened several canals, and several others are being cut. The trade in Astrakan skins, wool, horses, and sheep has considerably increased, and I have lent money out of the Treasury to Afghan merchants to encourage trade without charging interest on such loans. Instead of charging interest I charge import and export duties, which bring in more than the interest would, and leave a margin for the merchants themselves."

THE ACCESSION OF HABIBULLAH KHAN

When Habibullah succeeded to his father's throne there were many in India who feared that he was not a strong enough character to sit where Abdurrahman had sat. But partly, no doubt, because of the preparation his father had made for him to succeed (so different from these Eastern potentates who have treated their heir with contumely), and partly, no doubt, because he had the necessary character, his reign was a great success. Slowly and steadily he followed the policy of his father, improving roads, improving trade, continuing canals. Afghanistan has never been a rich country. Vast areas can never be anything more than barren rock, and the available revenues needed careful expenditure. There was little to spend on anything but gradual development. The mullahs seemed to be content enough. Lord Curzon's coming to India as Viceroy had practically coincided with his accession. The former had

AFGHANISTAN

once visited Abdurrahman at Kabul, and with his great knowledge of Asian matters should have been well qualified to handle those Afghan questions which were constantly bound to arise. There were a good many points to be adjusted between the two Governments—customs, border disputes, trade conventions, and the like—and Lord Curzon was anxious that the Amir should visit India. This His Highness for some reason or other was not keen to do. Lord Ronaldshay has discussed the Afghan question very fully so far as it then entered into Lord Curzon's career; but it is not difficult to see that the Foreign Department in India knew well that his lordship did not see, and could not see, the questions that arose between us from the Amir's legitimate point of view. At this time apprehension of Russia's intentions had been much revived. Lord Kitchener had been charged with bringing the whole organisation of the army up to date, and preparing its administrative organisation for a Central Asian campaign in support of Afghan integrity. But Habibullah would not come down, and probably was not sure if he was secure enough to come, or could face those who would call him *kafir* for his pains. So Inayatullah, his son, came in his stead, and in lieu of a visit of His Highness himself, Sir Louis Dane, the Foreign Secretary, was sent with a small mission to discuss matters in dispute. This mission spent six months in Kabul in 1904, six somewhat difficult months, in which the Governor-General insisted on taking up a vexatious and meticulous attitude with many of the questions that the mission was to settle.

Nevertheless the Amir was entirely friendly, and while wanting certain things that we could not agree to, was perfectly reasonable in most points.

The officers of the mission made many friends, and, as Abdurrahman has always said, "The more Afghans and British meet the better they get on," and quite repudiated the idea that the less they saw of us the more they liked us. It was not till 1906 that Habibullah paid his visit to India, when Lord Minto was Viceroy. This visit was a pleasing one, and he himself won golden opinions, and was

işine yaramaz. Afganistan'ın stratejik durumundan askerî maksatlar için, bir yabancı devletin ordularını geçirerek başka bir yabancı devlete hücum etmede faydalanması mümkündür. Fakat, her hangi bir yabancı devletin Afganistan'ı kontrole kalkışması iyi bir yatırım olamaz. Böyle bir yatırım, ancak 50-60 sene geçtikten sonra o yabancı devlete faydalı olabilir... İki kuvvetli komşusuna (Rusya ile İngiltere) karşı Afganistan'ın politikası dâima dostça olmalıdır. Fakat bu komşu devletlerden biri Afganistan'dan geçip diğerine hücum etmek ve bu arada Afganistan'ın istiklâline karışmak isterse Afganistan, ona karşı düşmanca dayanmak mecburiyetindedir... (327)

Abdurrahman Han, Afganistan'ın iç işlerinin idaresi için oğluna, Yüksek Danışma Kurulu ile Umumî Meclis'in üyelerini meydana getiren Han'lar ile Melik'lere cahillikten kurtulana kadar fazla şalâhiyet vermemesini tenbih etmiştir. O'na göre, Afganistan halkı okuyup câhillikten kurtulduğu zaman, kendi selâmetleri için kendi kendilerini idare etmesini öğreneceklerdir (328).

Abdurrahman Han sağlığında Afganistan tahtına tâlip olabilecek bütün adayları ortadan kaldırdığı ve memleket dâhilinde de tam bir otorite sağlamış olduğu için veliahdı olan büyük-oğlu Habibullah Han'ın Emîrliğine hiç bir kimse itirazda bulunmamıştır. Abdurrahman'ın ikinci oğlu Nasrullah Han, kendini dine verdiği ve ayrıca ağabeyine de son derece bağlı bir şahıs olduğu için hiç bir zaman Emîrlikte gözü olmamıştır.

(327.) Abdur Rahman, I, 196; Macmunn, s. 247 vd.

(328.) Fletcher, s. 153.

Mehmet Saray,
Dünden Bugüne Afganistan
İstanbul 1981

AFGANİSTAN'IN İNGİLİZ NUFUZUNDAN KURTULMA MÜCADELESİ VE UÇUNCU İNGİLİZ-AFGAN HARBI (1919)

Afganistan'ın yeni emiri Habibullah Han, saltanatının ilk yıllarında mümkün olduğu kadar babasının tâkip ettiği politikadan ayrılmamağa gayret etmiştir. Bilhassa dış politikada, İslâmın düşmanı olan Rusya'dan çekinmeyi ve bu ülke ile münâsebetlerinde dikkatli olmayı, Afganlara pek çok ıstırap vermiş olan İngiltere'ye de asla güvenmemeyi kendisine prensip edinmiştir.

Habibullah Han, tahta çıkışından bir müddet sonra, Rusya Harbiye Nâzırı General Kuropatkin'den fevkalâde iltifatkâr bir tebrik mesajı aldı (329) Bunu duyan İngilizlerin mağrurluğu ile meşhur Hindistan Umumî Vâlisi Lord Curzon, Habibullah Han'ın Rus nüfûzuna girmesinden endişelenerek onu Hindistan'a dâvet etti. Dâvet mesajında Curzon, ayrıca, Habibullah Han'a bir müddetten beri İngiliz hükûmetinin Afganistan'a vermeyi düşündüğü mâlî yardımı da bu vesileyle almasını rica ediyordu (330) Habibullah Han, Lord Curzon'un dâvetini nâzik bir şekilde reddettiği gibi, babası zamanından beri yapılmakta olan İngiliz yardımını

(329.) Fletcher, s. 171.

(330.) Fraser-Tytler, s. 178.

Abdurrahman Han'ın Efendi
Fihrist-i Devlet, 124 devletin kumulu ve yitulu
Lah. Hekimdar 550-560
Alem'den Ahmed III 1726'ya
kadar, Caerman
Nanosmanıye ve Hanıdige
Kap.

in human life; thus rulings concerning the washing and burial of the dead, usually treated as a subdivision of *ṭahārāt* (purity) and therefore placed close to the beginning of most systematic treatises on *feqh*, are dealt with by Fayz at the very end of his books. In this respect, too, Fayz can be seen to have been influenced by *Qazālī* (Modarressī *Ṭabāṭabā'ī*, p. 16). Also of interest are his views on the permissibility of music and the transmission of impurity from one object to another, views which departed from the *Aḵbārī* consensus and were accordingly criticized.

Finally, Fayz is also noteworthy as a poet. *Rezāqolī* Khan Hedāyat remarked of his *Dīvān*, which contains some 6000 lines, that it is "full of exalted truths and precious subtleties" (*Majma' al-foṣṣahā*^{IV}, pp. 48-49).

Fayz's principal students were *Ne'mat-Allāh Jazā'erī*, *Moḥamma- Sa'īd Qomī*, and his own son, *Moḥammad 'Alam-al-Hodā*, who copied out the entire text of *al-Mahajjat al-bayzā* and wrote a commentary on *al-Wāfī*. It is worth remarking that despite all the differences in outlook separating them, *Moḥammad-Bāqer Majlesī* narrated *Hadīth* from Fayz. It was however, as a result of the hostility to Sufism propagated by *Majlesī* that the *takya* founded for Fayz in Isfahan was razed to the ground some time during the reign of *Shah Solṭān Hoṣayn* (*Eṣfahānī*, p. 183).

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