

NOTES

INTRODUCTION: AFGHANISTAN'S ISLAM

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12. On the Naw Bahar monastery at Balkh itself, see Richard W. Bulliet, “Naw Bahār and the Survival of Iranian Buddhism,” *Iran* 14 (1976), pp. 140–45.

13. Kevin van Bladel, “The Bactrian Background of the Barmakids,” in Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (eds.), *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes* (London: Ashgate, 2011).

14. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

15. Christopher I. Beckwith, *Warriors of the Cloisters: The Central Asian Origins of Science in the Medieval World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 49.

16. On the Bust madrasa, see *ibid.*, p. 92.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 94. The argument is made *in extenso* throughout the cited volume and in briefer form in Christopher I. Beckwith, “The Sarvāstivādin Buddhist Scholastic Method in Medieval Islam and Tibet,” in Akasoy, Burnett, and Yoeli-Tlalim (2011; above, note 13).

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153. Cf. Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India: Sepoy Religion in the Service of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

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156. For example, Dhavalikar (1971; above, note 154), p. 331, noted that the sixth- or seventh-century Ganesh statue found in Gardiz "is presently worshipped by the Hindu residents of Kabul in Dargah Pir Rattan Nath near the Pamiir Cinema."

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160. A 1937 account by René Dolloot of the chapel's activities has been published in Ambassade de France en Afghanistan, *Une ambassade à Kaboul* (Kabul: Ambassade de France en Afghanistan, 2008), pp. 67–70.

161. For autobiographical and biographical accounts of Beaurecueil's mission, see, respectively, Serge de Beaurecueil, *Un chrétien en Afghanistan* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), and Jean-Jacques Pérennès, *Passion Kaboul: Le père Serge de Beaurecueil* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2014).

162. For an insider account of American missionary activity in pre-Taliban Afghanistan, see J. Christy Wilson, *More to Be Desired than Gold: A Collection of True Stories* (South Hamilton, Mass.: Gordon-Conwell Seminary Book Centre, 1992).

163. On the gradually increasing epigraphic evidence for the medieval Jews of Jam (Firuzkuh), see Andrea Bruno, "Notes on the Discovery of Hebrew Inscriptions in the Vicinity of the Minaret of Jam," *East and West* 14.3–4 (1963), pp. 206–8; Walter J. Fischel, "The Rediscovery of the Medieval Jewish Community at Firūzkūh in Central Afghanistan," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85, .2 (1965), pp. 148–53; Gherardo Gnoli, *Le iscrizioni giudeo-persiane del Ġūr (Afghanistan)*, Serie Orientale Roma 30 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1964); Erica E. Hunter, "Hebrew-Script Tombstones from Jām, Afghanistan," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 61.1 (2010), pp. 72–87; and Eugen L. Rapp, *Die jüdisch-persisch-hebräischen Inschriften aus Afghanistan* (Munich: J. Kitzinger, 1965).

164. W. B. Henning, "The Inscriptions of Tang-i Azao," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20.1–3 (1957), pp. 335–42. The Hebraist Eugen L. Rapp subsequently argued

and a more recent summary of the scholarship on Islamization in Arietta Papaconstantinou, "Introduction," in *Conversion in Late Antiquity: Christianity, Islam, and Beyond; Papers from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Sawyer Seminar, University of Oxford, 2009–2010* (Farnham: Ashgate, [2015]).

3. Peshawar and the Northwest Frontier Province constitute a fifth region, which Thomas Barfield has aptly referred to as Afghanistan's "phantom limb." It was handed to Pakistan when the British departed. See Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 47–54.

4. The name should not be confused with the modern province of Khurasan, in Iran. In Sasanian and early Islamic times, the province covered much of today's former Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan: C. E. Bosworth, "Khurāsān," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition (henceforth *EI*), vol. 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp. 55–59.

5. Some inroads are being made through the study of documents and rock graffiti. See, for example, Robert Hoyland, *In God's Path: The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 100 ff.

6. Elton Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under Abbasid Rule, 747–820* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1979).

7. Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*, vol. 1, *Legal and Economic Documents*, Studies in the Khalili Collection 3, rev. ed. (Oxford: The Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 2012 [2000, 2001]); Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Documents from Early Islamic Khurasan*, Studies in the Khalili Collection 5 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions, 2006); Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*, vol. 2, *Letters and Buddhist Texts*, Studies in the Khalili Collection 3 (London: The Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions, 2007).

8. Ibn al-Faqih, *Kitab al-Buldan*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1967); facsimile Mashhad manuscript in Fuat Sezgin (ed.), *Collections of Geographical Works by Ibn al-Faqih, Ibn Faqlān, Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī* (Frankfurt a.M.: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 1987); Qudama ibn Ja'far, *Kitab al-kharaj*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, part 6, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Leiden: Brill, 1889); al-Tabari, *Tarikh al-rusul wa-l-muluk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, in 15 vols. and 3 series (Leiden: Brill, 1879–1901); Yaqt al-Rumi, *Mu'jam al-buldan*, in 5 vols. (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1955).

9. For further details, see Arezou Azad, "The *Fada'il-i Balkh* and Its Place in Islamic Historiography," *Iran* 50 (2012), pp. 79–102. Some of the local histories have continuations up to the near-present.

10. 'Abd al-Rahman Fami Harawi, *Tarikh-i Harat*, facsimile reprint (Tehran: Miras-i Maktub, 1387/2008). It also provides an important parallel source for the *Tarikh-i Harat*, by Sayfi Harawi, written some three hundred years later.

11. Guy Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930 [1905]), pp. 334–51.

12. C. E. Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs: From the Conquest to the Rise of the Ṣaffārids (30–250/651–864)* (Rome: IsMEO, 1968).

13. For discussions of early Islamic local histories, see Richard Frye, "City Chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan: *Tarix-i Nisapur*," in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan: Symbolae in*

honorem Z. V. Togan (Istanbul: Maarif basımevi, 1950–55), pp. 405–20; Richard Bulliet, “City Histories in Medieval Iran,” *Iranian Studies* 3 (1968), pp. 104–9; A. K. S. Lambton, “Persian Local Histories: The Traditions behind Them and the Assumptions of Their Authors,” in Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti and Lucia Rostagno (eds.), *Yad-nama in memoria di Alessandro Bausani* (Rome: Bardi, 1991); Charles Melville, “Persian Local Histories: Views from the Wings,” *Iranian Studies* 33 (2000), pp. 7–14.

14. Mirza Sang Muhammad Badakhshi, *Tarikh-i Badakhshan*, ed. Manuchihr Sutuda ([Tehran:] Mu’assasa-yi farhangi-yi jahangiri, 1367/1988); idem, *Tarikh-i Badakhshan = Istoriia Badakhshana*, ed. Aleksandr Nikolaevich Boldyrev (Leningrad: Izd-vo Leningradskogo un-ta, 1959).

15. Fayd Muhammad Katib Hazarah, *The History of Afghanistan: Fayz Muhammad Katib Hazarah’s Siraj al-tawarikh*, trans. R. D. McChesney and Mohammad Mehdi Khorrami, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

16. On northern Afghanistan, see Roman Ghirshman, *Les chionites-hephtalites*, MDFAFA series (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1948); Jean-Claude Gardin, *Céramiques de Bactres*, MDFAFA series 15 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1957); Marc Le Berre and Daniel Schlumberger, “Observations sur les remparts de Bactres,” in Bruno Dagens, Marc Le Berre, and Daniel Schlumberger (eds.), *Monuments préislamiques d’Afghanistan*, MDFAFA series 19 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964); and other MDFAFA reports. On Ghazni: Anna Filigenzi and Roberta Giunta (eds.), *Fifty Years of Research in the Heart of Eurasia: The ISIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan 1957–2007: Proceedings of the Symposium Held in the Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, Rome, January 8th, 2008* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, 2009). The currently active, major archaeological site of Mes Aynak in Logar district (spanning 4,000 ha) lies in the ancient territories of Kabulistan and has sanctuaries, artifacts, and Buddhist manuscripts dating from the Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian periods up to the eighth century A.D.: Omara Khan Massoudi, *Mes Aynak: New Excavations in Afghanistan* (Chicago: Serindia, 2011). An earlier archaeological project (active mainly in the 1970s and 1980s) at Ghazni itself, on the Buddhist site of Tepe Sardar, has unearthed a major sanctuary that functioned until at least the eighth or ninth century A.D., with more than two thousand artifacts, including Buddhist sculptures.

17. Al-Tabari (1879–1901; above, note 8), vol. 2, pp. 1181, 1206–7, 1219; Al-Wa’iz, *Fada’il-i Balkh*, ed. ‘Abd al-Hayy Habibi (Tehran: Intisharat-i Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1350/1971), p. 34. Étienne de la Vaissière has recently argued that “the title *barmak* derives directly from *paramaka*, a title that broadly means ‘excellent’ or ‘superior’, without any need to go to the more distant *pramukha* [i.e., an important figure in the monastic hierarchy, as attested in Khotanese texts].” See Étienne de la Vaissière, “De Bactres à Balkh, par le Now Bahar,” *Journal Asiatique* 298.2 (2010), p. 531.

18. Ibn al-Faqih (1967; above, note 8), pp. 322–24; and facsimile ms (1987; above, note 8), fols. 321–24.

19. Al-Wa’iz (1350/1971; above, note 17), pp. 16, 21. Al-Tabari and Yaqt have his father, Luhrasp, build it. Al-Tabari (1879–1901; above, note 8), vol. 1, part 1, p. 324; Yaqt (1955; above, note 8), vol. 1, p. 479.

20. Roland Besenval and Philippe Marquis, “Le rêve accompli d’Alfred Foucher à Bactres: Nouvelles fouilles de la DAFA, 2002–2007,” *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Académie*

des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 151.4 (2007), pp. 1847–74. Also relevant are the early Islamic accounts of the Naw Bahar that refer to the temple of the *mughan* (Magians: i.e., Zoroastrians). Such terms were used rather inaccurately by medieval Islamic scholars, like Ibn al-Faqih and al-Wa'iz al-Balkhi, as catchall phrases for the followers of religions that were not *ahl al-kitab* (Christian or Jewish “people of the book”). Terms on Buddhism were imprecise and greatly corrupted. For an excellent excursus on this historiographical phenomenon, see Daniel Gimaret, “Bouddha et les bouddhistes dans la tradition musulmane,” *Journal Asiatique* 257 (1969), pp. 273–316.

21. “Wakhsh, the king of gods” (BT I O and U, dated 440 E.B.D./663 A.D. and 490 E.B.D./713 A.D., respectively), a god called Ram-set (BT I P and Q, dated 446 E.B.D./669 A.D. and 449 E.B.D./672 A.D., respectively), and “Kamird, the king of gods” (BT I T, dated 478 E.B.D./700 A.D.). (For E.B.D., see below, note 54.) All documents are published in Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan*, vol. 1. For a more detailed discussion, see Arezou Azad, “Living Happily Ever After: Fraternal Polyandry, Taxes and ‘the House’ in Early Islamic Bactria,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 79.1 (2016), pp. 33–56.

22. Nicholas Sims-Williams, “Bactrian Language,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (henceforth *Elr*), vol. 3 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1989), pp. 344–49; idem, *Bactrian Documents*, vols. 1 and 2; Édouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux, recueillis et commentés, suivi de notes additionnelles . . . avec une carte* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1942 [1903]); P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1916 [rev. ed. Tokyo: The Maruzen Company, Ltd., 1937]). Jewish communities, too, have been identified through references to religious thinkers like Hiwi Balkhi (ninth-century). The recently discovered corpus of eleventh-century Judeo-Persian documents attributed to the region of Tukharistan and twelfth/ thirteenth-century tombstones in Jam (Herat/Ghur region) point to a long heritage. See various works by Shaul Shaked, notably “Epigraphica Judaeo-Iranica,” in I. Ben Ami, N. A. Stillman, and S. Morag (eds.), *Studies in Judaism and Islam Presented to S. D. Goitein* (Jerusalem, 1981); “New Data on the Jews of Afghanistan in the Middle Ages,” *Pe'amim* 79 (1999), pp. 5–14 (in Hebrew); “A Note on ‘Hebrew-Script Tombstones from Jam, Afghanistan,’” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 61 (2010), pp. 305–7; and “Early Persian Documents from Khorasan,” *Journal of Persianate Studies* 6 (2013), pp. 153–62.

23. Xuanzang, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ed. and trans. Samuel Beal, 2 vols. (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1906). For a recent study of the Buddhas of Bamiyan and a useful review of literature on the archaeological site, see Llewellyn Morgan, *The Buddhas of Bamiyan* (London: Profile Books, 2012), pp. 205–6.

24. Édouard Chavannes (1942 [1903]; above, note 22), pp. 291–92; and J. Hackin, A. Godard, and Y. Godard, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bamiyan* (Paris: G. van Est, 1928). The Hephthalite connections are discussed by Ghirshman (1958; above, note 16).

25. Joseph Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1931): 11, 46.

26. H. Torrens, cited in W. J. Vogelsang, “Herat, ii: History, Pre-Islamic Period,” *Elr*, vol. 12 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2004), pp. 205–6.

27. A. H. Dani and B. A. Litvinsky, “The Kushano-Sasanian Kingdom,” in B. A. Litvinsky, Chang Kuan-ta, R. Shabani Samghabadi (eds.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. 3, *The Crossroads of Civilizations, A.D. 250 to 750* (Paris: UNESCO, 1996).

28. Sistan was already mentioned in the *Shahnama*: C.E. Bosworth, "Sistān," *EP*, vol. 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 681–85; and *The History of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542–3)* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers in association with Bibliotheca Persica, 1994), pp. 30–38.

29. Sakastan was the "Land of the Sakas," referring to the Scythians, an Indo-European people who lived in the lands of what is now Afghanistan and northwestern India. One of the earlier designations of the region had been the Avestan "Land of the Haetumant": i.e., Land of the Helmand River, appearing in the early Greek geographical sources as Erymandus. Bosworth (1997; above, note 28), p. 681.

30. C.E. Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Ṣaffārīds (30–250/651–864)* (Rome: IsMEO, 1968), pp. 5–6.

31. Bosworth (1997; above, note 28), p. 682.

32. C.E. Bosworth, "'Ubaidallah ibn Abi Bakra and the 'Army of Destruction' in Zabulistan (79/698)," *Der Islam* 1 (1973), pp. 268–83.

33. The first date is given by al-Tabari (1879–1901 [above, note 8], vol. 2, part 3, pp. 1490–91); the second appears in Balkh's local history: al-Wa'iz (1350/1971; above, note 17), p. 35.

34. Hugh Kennedy, "The Barmakid Revolution in Islamic Government," in Charles Melville (ed.), *History and Literature in Iran: Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P. W. Avery*, Pembroke Persian Papers 1 (London: University of Cambridge Centre of Middle East Studies, 1990); C.E. Bosworth, "Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Kirmānī and the Rise of the Barmakids," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57.2 (1994), pp. 268–82; Kevin van Bladel, "The Bactrian Background of the Barmakids," in Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (eds.), *Islam and Tibet. Interactions along the Musk Routes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).

35. François de Blois, "On the Sources of the Barlaam Romance; or, How the Buddha Became a Christian Saint," in Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber (eds.), *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mittelliranischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 2009).

36. Khan (2006; above, note 7), p. 96. The group of Arabic documents contains tax receipts issued by caliphal governors and financial agents; land survey reports; contracts of slave manumission; and dowry attestations. The Bactrian-language contracts set peace agreements between feuding parties, the purchase of land or goods, slave manumission, gifts, leases, declarations of trust (or impost?), loan receipts, and marriage.

37. Al-Tabari (1879–1901; above, note 8), vol. 2, pp. 1219–20.

38. Al-Wa'iz, *Fada'il-i Balkh* (1350/1971; above, note 17), p. 34.

39. Al-Tabari (1879–1901; above, note 8), vol. 2, p. 1575; Wilferd Madelung, "The Early Murji'a in Khurasan and Transoxiana and the Spread of Hanafism," *Der Islam* 59 (1982), pp. 33–35.

40. The Kharijites were the earliest religious sects of Islam, who formulated questions relative to the theory of the caliphate and to justification by faith or by works, and carried out continual insurrections until their virtual extinction in Iraq by the 'Abbasids. G. Levi Della Vida, "Khāridjites," *EP*, vol. IV (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 1074–77.

41. Daniel (1979; above, note 6), pp. 134, 137; Wolfgang Madelung, "Ustadhsis," *EP*, vol. 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 926–27; Elton Daniel, "Bihafarid b. Farwardin," *EP Online*; Maria Szuppe, "Herat, iii: History, Medieval Period," *Elr*, vol. 12 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2004), pp. 206–11.

42. C. E. Bosworth (1968; above, note 30).
43. D. G. Tor, *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, and the 'Ayyār Phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World* (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2007); Bosworth (1997; above, note 28), p. 683. A local *'ayyār* leader in Sistan, Ya'qub ibn Layth (d. 265/879), rose to become the founder of the Saffarid dynasty, which ruled over a vast empire for 150 years and included Sistan, Khurasan, Kerman, and Fars (in Iran) and Makran (in India).
44. The amount of 44.8 million dirhams was collected by the Tahirid governor Abu'l-'Abbas 'Abd Allah ibn Tahir for the 'Abbasid treasury as *kharaj* in Khurasan and other provinces under his authority in 211–12 /826–27. Rob and Samangan accounted for 12,600 dirhams, which indicates that they were relatively small in size. Balkh, on the other hand (together with Khuttalan and Sa'd Khurra and its mountains) accounted for 193,300 dirhams of *kharaj*. Abu al-Qasim 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitab al-Masalik al-Mamalik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, part 6, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum (Leiden: Brill, 1889), pp. 24–28, 34–39; Qudama b. Ja'far, *Kharaj* (1889; above, note 8), p. 190.
45. Other contributing factors were financial mismanagement of the 'Abbasid treasury and the loss of control over the *mamluk* (slave-soldier) army. For detailed discussions, see Hugh Kennedy, "The Decline and Fall of the First Muslim Empire," *Der Islam* 81 (2004), pp. 3–30; and David Waines, "The Third Century Internal Crisis of the Abbasids," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20 (1977), pp. 282–306.
46. Al-Wa'iz (1350/1971; above, note 17), pp. 47–48; Le Strange (1930 [1905]; above, note 11), pp. 334–446; Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, "Islam and Tibet: Cultural Interactions; An Introduction," in Akasoy, Burnett, and Yoeli-Tlalim (2011; above, note 34).
47. For references to the wealth of Balkh's *'ulama*, see al-Wa'iz (1350/1971; above, note 17), pp. 64, 73 n. 3, 77, 215, 297, 347.
48. See, for example, Jonathan P. Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education in the Mamluk Period," in Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).
49. Two *silsilas* are listed in Arezou Azad, *Sacred Landscape in Medieval Afghanistan: Revisiting the Fada'il-i Balkh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), annex II.
50. Professionalization through legal school (*madhahib*) and Islamic training institutions (madrasas) begins only in the tenth and the eleventh century, respectively. For a recent discussion, see Eyyup Said Kaya, "Continuity and Change in Islamic Law: the Concept of *madhhab* and the Dimensions of Legal Disagreement in Hanafi Scholarship of the Tenth Century," in Peri Bearman, Rudolph Peters, and Frank Vogel (eds.), *The Islamic School of Law* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005). Also George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981). The *suhba* stage usually followed four years of study during which the student was apprenticed as *mu'id* or repetitor of his master or as someone who made himself useful to younger students (*mufid*). After this learning period the student could obtain a license to teach law and to issue legal opinions (*ijazat al-tadris wa-l-fatwa*). See J. Pedersen (rev. George Makdisi), "Madrasa, 1: The Institution in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish Lands," *EP*, vol. 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp. 1123–24.
51. Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam* (Patna: Jubilee Printing and Publishing House, 1937 [1922]); and Azad (2013; above, note 49), chapter 3.

52. Al-Waʿiz (1350/1971; above, note 17), pp. 209–10. On the use of the *mazalim* system at this time elsewhere in the caliphate, see Mathieu Tillier, “Qadis and the Political Use of the *Mazalim* Jurisdiction under the ‘Abbasids,” in Christian Lange and Maribel Fierro (eds.), *Public Violence in Islamic Societies: Power, Discipline and the Construction of the Public Sphere, 7th–9th Centuries CE* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

53. Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 16–32 and Graph 3.

54. E.B.D. signifies the “era of the Bactrian documents.” The dating of this era is still debated with regard to a variance of about ten years. I follow François de Blois’s argument for the start in 223 A.D., which is also applied by Sims-Williams in the revised translation of the Bactrian documents: François de Blois, “Du nouveau sur la chronologie bactrienne post-hellénistique: L’ère de 223–4 ap. J.-C.,” *Comptes Rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 2006 (2008), pp. 991–97.

55. Abu al-Rayhan al-Biruni, *Alberuni’s India: An English Edition, with Notes by E. C. Sachau* (London: Trübner & Co., 1910 [1888]), p. 108. Elton Daniel relegates references to fraternal polyandry to heresiographical stereotypes intended to besmudge the syncretic *ghulat* leaders, such as al-Muqanna’: Daniel (1979; above, note 6), p. 145.

56. The thesis forwarded by Kazuo Enoki, that only Hephthalites practiced fraternal polyandry in Tukharistan, has been corrected by Étienne de la Vaissière (the latter basing his commentary on the evidence from the Bactrian documents, which came to light only long after Enoki’s article). See Kazuo Enoki, “On the Nationality of the Epthalites,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 18 (1959), pp. 1–58; and Étienne de la Vaissière, “Is There a ‘Nationality’ of the Hephthalites?” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 17 (2003), pp. 119–32, especially pp. 119–21.

57. Tibet provides a useful comparandum. Melvyn Goldstein argues that Tibetan fraternal polyandry is the “lesser evil,” a compromise strategy, stimulated by the need to pool human resources to meet excessive activity requirements of living in a harsh environment at high altitudes, in a semiarid land with limited rainfall, and to discharge the obligation of high tax burdens. Goldstein argues that through fraternal polyandry landholdings maintain their economies of scale in relation to labor costs, and brothers share the property within a “stem family.” Melvyn Goldstein, “Stratification, Polyandry, and Family Structure in Central Tibet,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 27.1 (1971), pp. 64–74; idem, “Pahari and Tibetan Polyandry Revisited,” *Ethnology* 17.3 (1978), pp. 327–32.

58. Azad (2016; above, note 21).

59. Peter Webb, “The Hajj before Muhammad: Journeys to Mecca in Muslim Narratives of Pre-Islamic History,” in Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (eds.), *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, (London: British Museum, 2013).

60. This is a reference to early forms of Buddhism that must have continued in Balkh. Xuanzang (1906; above, note 23), vol. 1, p. 46. Later phases of Buddhism, notably the Mahayana and Vajrayana, do not preclude the use of early forms of Buddhism. For a more detailed discussion of Balkh’s sacred landscape, refer to my *Sacred Landscape in Medieval Afghanistan* (2013; above, note 49).

61. Anas ibn Malik, Abu Hamza (d. ca. 91–93/709–11), a servant of the Prophet Muhammad from his childhood and a prolific traditionist: A. J. Wensinck and J. Robson, “Anas b. Mālik,” *EP*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1960), pp. 482–83.

62. The text uses four Quranic terms to refer to the angels' prayers corresponding to the four gates of the city: *istighfar*, *takbir*, *tahmid*, and *tahlil*.

63. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), pp. 75–77.

2. WOMEN AND RELIGIOUS PATRONAGE IN THE TIMURID EMPIRE

1. Sincere thanks to Marc Toutant for his helpful comments on this chapter. For general overviews of Herat and its cultural patronage under Timurid rule, see Terry Allen, *Timurid Herat* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1983); Dietrich Brandenburg, *Herat: Eine timuridische Hauptstadt* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1977); Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (eds.), *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); and Marc Toutant, *Un empire de mots: Pouvoir, culture et soufisme à l'époque des derniers timourides au miroir de la Khamsa de Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015).

2. Roya Marefat, "Timurid Women: Patronage and Power," *Asian Art*, 6.2 (1993), pp. 28–49; citation at p. 37. Nothing remains of this mosque today. For surveys of remaining Timurid mosques, see Lisa Golombek and Donald N. Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); and Bernard O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1987).

3. Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

4. Ghiyas al-Din ibn Humam al-Din Khwandshah Khwandamir, *Makarim al-Akhlaq*, ed. Muhammad 'Ashiq, vol. 6 (Tehran: Ayina-i Miras, 1378/1999), p. 140.

5. Mir Muhammad ibn Sayyid Burhan al-Din Khwandshah Khwandamir Mirkhwand, *Tarikh-i Rawzat al-Safa*, vol. 6 (Tehran: Intisharat-i Kitabfurushi-yi Markazi Khayam Piruz, 1339/1960), p. 122.

6. Marefat (1993; above, note 2), p. 36.

7. Gulbadan Bigum, *Humayun-nama* (Lahore: Punjab Press, 1966), p. 164.

8. On the status and influence of such Mughal elite women, who very much continued the traditions of Timurid Herat, see Ruby Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

9. Quran, Surat al-An'am, verse 160.

10. On patronage as a duty of rulers under the Timurids, see Tourkhan Gandjei, "Uno scritto apologetico di Husain Mirza, sultano del Khurasan," *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 5 (1953), pp. 1–27. On the importance of mosques more generally, see Quran, Surat al-Baqara, verses 115, 144.

11. Beatrice Gruendler, "Ibn al-Rūmī's Ethics of Patronage," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 3 (1996), pp. 104–60.

12. Khwandamir (1378/1999; above, note 4), p. 63. On Nawa'i as both a patron and producer of culture, see Toutant (2015; above, note 1).

13. Quran, Surat al-Nisa, verse 8.

14. Noha Sadek, "In the Queen of Sheba's Footsteps: Women Patrons in Rasulid Yemen," *Asian Art* 6.2 (1993), pp. 15–27; and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, "The Yeni Valida Mosque Complex of Eminönü, Istanbul, 1597–1665: Gender and Vision in Ottoman Architecture,"

in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, Patronage and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000).

15. Lisa Golombek, "The Resilience of the Friday Mosque: The Case of Herat," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983), pp. 95–102; citation at pp. 97–98.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

17. O'Kane (1987; above, note 2), p. 123.

18. Donald Wilber, "Qavam al-Din ibn Zayn al-Din Shirazi: A Fifteenth-Century Timurid Architect," *Architectural History* 30 (1987), pp. 31–44.

19. On such religious issues under the Timurids and their Shaybanid successors, see Bakhtiyar Babajanov, "La Naqshbandiyya sous les premiers Sheybanides," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 3–4 (1997), pp. 69–90; Ken'ichi Isogai, "Yasa and Sharia in Early Sixteenth-Century Central Asia," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 3–4 (1997), pp. 91–103; and Mavluda Yusupova, "L'évolution architecturale des couvents soufis à l'époque timouride et post-timouride," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 3–4 (1997), pp. 229–50.

20. Zayn al-Din Mahmud Wasifi, *Bada'i' al-Waqa'i'*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1350/1971), p. 97. On the importance of mosques in everyday Timurid religious life, see Khwandamir (1378/1999; above, note 4), pp. 96–102; and Felicia Hecker, "A Fifteenth-Century Chinese Diplomat in Herat," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3.1 (1993), pp. 85–98.

21. Wasifi (1350/1971; above, note 20), pp. 389–91.

22. Marefat (1993; above, note 2), pp. 42–43.

23. Bruno de Nicola, "Patrons or Murids? Mongol Women and Shaykhs in Ilkhanid Iran and Anatolia," *Iran: Journal of British Institute of Persian Studies* 52 (2014), pp. 143–56; Gregory Kozlowski, "Muslim Women and the Control of Property in North India," in Jayasankar Krishnamurty (ed.), *Women in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989); Sadek (1993; above, note 14); Yasser Tabba, "Dayfaa Khâtûn, Regent Queen and Architectural Patron," in Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Ethel Sara Wolper, "Princess Safwat al-Dunyâ wa al-Dîn and the Production of Sufi Buildings and Hagiographies in Pre-Ottoman Anatolia," in Ruggles (2000; above, note 14); and Thys-Şenocak (*ibid.*); and Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Economic Activities of Safavid Women in the Shrine-City of Ardabil," *Iranian Studies* 31.2 (1998), pp. 247–61.

24. Marefat (1993; above, note 2), p. 37.

25. *Ibid.*

26. For references to Tuman in the *Rawzat al-Safa*, see Mirkhwand (1339/1960; above, note 5), pp. 207, 208, 236, 239, 240, 243, 244, 264, 325.

27. Lisa Golombek, "Timur's Garden: The Feminine Perspective," in Mahmood Hussain, Abdul Rahman, James L. Wescoat, Jr. (eds.), *The Mughal Garden: Interpretation, Conservation and Implications* (Rawalpindi: Ferozsons, 1996). More generally, see Bruno de Nicola, "Women's Role and Participation in Warfare in the Mongol Empire," in Klaus Latzel, Silke Satjukow, and Franka Maubach (eds.), *Soldatinnen: Gewalt und Geschlecht im Krieg vom Mittelalter bis Heute* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2010).

28. Golombek (1996; above, note 27), p. 29.

29. Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafar-nama*, ed. Muhammad 'Abbasi (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1336/1957), vol. 2, pp. 142, 143, 419, 420.

30. Maria Subtelny, "Socioeconomic Bases of Cultural Patronage under the Late Timurids," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20.4 (1988), p. 484.
31. Marefat (1993; above, note 2), p. 38.
32. Yazdi (1336/1957; above, note 29), vol.1, p. 183.
33. Mirkhwand (1339/1960; above, note 5), pp. 330–31.
34. Shivan Mahendrarajah, "The Shrine of Shaykh Ahmad-i Jām: Notes on a Revised Chronology and a *Waqfiyya*," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 50 (2012), pp. 145–48, with the *waqf* described on p. 146.
35. On Yasawi's shrine, see Michele Bernardini, "À propos de Fazlollah b. Ruzbehan Khonji Esfahani et du mausolée d'Ahmad Yasavi," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 3–4 (1997), pp. 281–96.
36. On Ansari's shrine, see Maria Subtelny, "The Cult of Abdullāh Ansārī under the Timurids," in Christoph Bürgel and Alma Giese (eds.), *Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit: Festschrift für Annemarie Schimmel* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994).
37. Yusupova (1997; above, note 19), p. 240.
38. Isogai (1997; above, note 19).
39. Jonathan Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education in the Mamluk Period," in Keddie and Baron (1991; above, note 23), .
40. Huda Lutfi, "Al-Sakhawī's *Kitāb al-Nisā* as a Source for the Social and Economic History of Muslim Women in the Fifteenth Century," *Muslim World* 71.2 (1981), pp.104–24.
41. Asma Sayeed, *Women and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge in Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
42. For descriptions of educated women, see Mir Nizam al-Din Fakhri Amiri Harawi, *Jawahir al-Aja'ib* (Lucknow: Munshi Nawwal Kishur, 1873), passim; and Gulbadan Bigum (1966; above, note 7), pp. 183, 191, 200.
43. Raziya Mukminova, "Le rôle de la femme dans la société de l'Asie Centrale sous les timourides et les sheybanides," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 3–4 (1997), pp. 203–12; citation at p. 209.
44. Zahir al-Din Babur, *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
45. Ibid., p. 238.
46. O'Kane (1987; above, note 2), pp.197–200.
47. Ibid., p. 133.
48. For a complete architectural study of the complex, see Roya Marefat, "Beyond the Architecture of Death: The Shrine of the Shah-i-Zinda in Samarkand," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1991.
49. Claus-Peter Haase, "Shrines of Saints and Dynastic Mausolea: Towards a Typology of Funerary Architecture in the Timurid Period," *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 3–4 (1997), p. 218.
50. Marefat (1993; above, note 2), p. 34.
51. Marefat (1991, 1993; above, notes 2 and 48).
52. Golombek and Wilber (1988; above, note 2).
53. Marefat (1993; above, note 2), p.35.
54. On women and craftsmen in Timurid Samarqand, see Raziya Mukminova "Craftsmen and Guild Life in Samarqand," in Golombek and Subtelny (1992; above, note 1); and eadem (1997; above, note 43).

55. For more on Timurid shrines, in Central Asia and Herat respectively, see Haase (1997; above, note 49); and Lisa Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at GazurGah* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1969). On Safavid women in the shrine-city of Mashhad, see Zarinebaf-Shahr (1998; above, note 23).

56. Golombek (1969; above, note 55).

57. On these popular uses, see Wasifi (1350/1971; above, note 20), pp. 389–91.

58. Catherine Asher, *The Architecture of Mughal India* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 264–66. On Mughal elite women more generally, see Lal (2005; above, note 8).

3. THE RISE OF THE KHWAJAGAN-NAQSHBANDIYYA SUFI ORDER IN TIMURID HERAT

1. For Timurid rule in general, see Beatrice Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), for the first half of the century, in particular the reign of Shahrukh; and Maria Eva Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), for the second half, in particular the reign of Husayn Bayqara.

2. For investment and development projects, see *ibid.*; for the shrine at Balkh, Robert McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia. Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480–1889* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

3. Matthew Melvin-Koushki, “The Occult Challenge to Philosophy and Messianism in Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka’s Lettrism as a New Metaphysics,” in Orkhan Mir-Kasimov (ed.), *Unity in Diversity. Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 247–76; and İlker Evrim Binbaş, “Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism: Mirzā Iskandar, Shāh Nīmatullāh Walī, and Sayyid Sharif Jurjānī in 815/1412,” *ibid.*, pp. 277–303.

4. To give but one example: Devin DeWeese, “Spiritual Practice and Corporate Identity in Medieval Sufi Communities of Iran, Central Asia, and India: The Khalvati/Ishqī/Shattārī Continuum,” in Steven E. Lindquist (ed.), *Religion and Identity in South Asia and Beyond: Essays in Honor of Patrick Olivelle* (London, New York, Delhi: Anthem Press, 2011), pp. 251–300.

5. Devin DeWeese, “The Legitimation of Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband,” *Asiatische Studien* 60.2 (2006), pp. 261–305.

6. Brief presentation in Manz (2007; above, note 1), pp. 224–28. See now Shivan Mahendrarajah, “The Ṣūfī Shaykhs of Jām: A History from the Īlkhāns to the Timurids,” Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 2014.

7. Manz (2007; above, note 1) stresses the cooperative aspect; in this study, competition will be the main subject.

8. *Hama az u ast*—that was the position of Zayn al-Dīn Khwafi; and *hama u ast*, as Qasim-i Anwar said: see below, note 39.

9. Binbaş (2014; above, note 3); Melvin-Koushki (2014; above, note 3). Both point out that interest in such things as the symbolic value of the letters of the Arabic (Persian) alphabet was not merely abstract speculation but could lead to serious consequences in political thought. Melvin-Koushki makes it clear that the “science of letters” was pursued within a

Shari'a-conforming framework and that those active in this science had nothing to do with the Hurufis.

10. Subtelny (2007; above, note 1), pp. 235–37, for a summary of the endowment deed.
11. Manz (2007; above, note 1), pp. 229–30; Jürgen Paul, “The Khwājagān at Herat during Shāhrukh’s Reign,” in İlker Evrim Binbaş and Nurten Kılıç-Schubel (eds.), *Horizons of the World: Festschrift for İsenbike Togan* (Istanbul: İthaki, 2011), pp. 217–50 (here pp. 223–26).
12. Manz (2007; above, note 1), pp. 233–34; Paul (2011; above, note 11), pp. 226–30.
13. Roger Savory, “A 15th-Century Şafavid Propagandist at Harāt,” in Denis Sinor (ed.), *American Oriental Society Middle West Branch Semi-Centennial Volume: A Collection of Original Essays* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1969), pp. 189–97. This study is seriously dated; it presupposes the existence of *silsila*-based groups. No “propaganda” activity for the Safawiyya (or rather: the shaykhs at Ardabil) is on record in my sources. See also Binbaş (2013; below, note 14), pp. 13–14.
14. İlker Evrim Binbaş has discussed this event and its consequences: İlker Evrim Binbaş, “The Anatomy of a Regicide Attempt: Shāhrukh, the Ḥurūfīs, and the Timurid Intellectuals in 830/1426–7,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 2013, pp. 1–38. He comes to the conclusion that it is not altogether clear whether the Hurufis really were behind the crime.
15. Manz (2007; above, note 1), pp. 230–34, Melvin-Koushki (2014; above, note 3), Binbaş (2014; above, note 3).
16. Jean Aubin, *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shāh Ni‘matullah Walī Kermānī* (Tehran and Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient Adrien Maisonneuve: 1956), p. 13.
17. Discussed in Binbaş (2013; above, note 14). See Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Tazkirat al-shu‘ara*, ed. Muhammad ‘Abbasi (Tehran: Barani, n.d.), p. 386. In his version of Dawlatshah’s anthology of poets and their biographies, Navoi also stresses that “unrest” resulted from the fact that many people joined Qasim’s circle. Navoi mentions this “unrest” twice, the second time after he has stated that Qasim came back to Herat: “Again, the sons of the Chaghata’i amirs and many of the important men in the *ulus* [military men in the Timurid domains] joined him and started to cause unrest.” This detail is not in Dawlatshah. Alisher Navoiy (‘Ali Shir Nava’i), *Mazholisun-Nafois*, vol. 12 of the Uzbek edition in 15 volumes (Tashkent: Ghafur Ghulom, 1966), p. 8. See also Manz (2007; above, note 1), p. 232.
18. Terry Graham, “Shah Qasim Anwar: The First Nimatullahi Shaykh of Shaykhs,” *Sufi* 4 (1999), pp. 16–25.
19. Jean Aubin, “De Kūhbanān à Bidar: La famille Ni‘matullahi,” *Studia Iranica* 20 (1991), pp. 233–61 (here pp. 236–37). Besides the Ni‘matullahis themselves, Aubin apparently is the only author to have stressed the link between Qasim and Ni‘matullah—this link, however, is much more important than the “primordial” teaching that Qasim received in Ardabil.
20. Binbaş (2014; above, note 3), pp. 291–92; idem (2013; above, note 14), pp. 14–15. Binbaş comments that this was “one of the most striking formulations of dual kingship written in late medieval Islamic history,” and he sees the danger that Qasim posed for Shahrukh and his regime in the new constitutional thinking going with such formulations.
21. The connection to Shaykh Khuttalani was later to be seen as a link to a Kubravi *silsila*.
22. Shahzad Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

23. Binbaş (2014; above, note 3), p. 290; idem (2013; above, note 14), p. 24. *Ilham* (“inspiration”) is the form of supernatural (divinely inspired) knowledge available after the end of Revelation. However, there also is a Turko-Mongol tradition that sees rulers as directly participating in supernatural knowledge.

24. DeWeese (2011; above, note 4); Jean Aubin, “Un santón quhistānī à l’époque timouride,” *Revue des Études Islamiques* 35 (1967), pp. 185–216. Aubin states that Khalwati shaykhs were viewed with suspicion by the authorities because they were known to recruit (or suspected of recruiting) among unruly elements.

25. Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqṣbandiyya* (Istanbul and Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994). The first of these two treatises is entirely devoted to *rabita*, “Herzensbindung an den Meister.” For the introduction of that method into Khwajagani practice, see Jürgen Paul, *Doctrine and Organization: The Khwājagān-Naqshbandiyya in the First Generation after Bahā’uddīn* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1998), pp. 34–44. It is noteworthy that ‘Ubaydullah Ahrar was licensed for *rabita* by Ya’qub-i Charkhi.

26. Paul (2011; above, note 11), p. 234.

27. Ibid., pp. 230–35.

28. This is Parsa’s *Faṣl al-khiṭab*; see Paul (1998; above, note 25), pp. 45–52.

29. Jürgen Paul, “Muḥammad Pārsā: Sendschreiben über das Gottesgedenken mit vernehmlicher Stimme,” in Anke von Kügelgen, Aširbek Muminov, and Michael Kemper (eds.), *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia*, vol. 3, *Arabic, Persian and Turkic Manuscripts, 15th–19th Centuries* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000), pp. 5–41.

30. ‘Alī ibn Husayn al-Kashifī al-Safī, *Rashahat ‘ayn al-hayat*, ed. ‘Alī Asghar Mu’iniyan, vol. 2 (Tehran: Bunyad-i Nikukari-yi Nuriyani, 1375/1977), p. 422.

31. Ibid., p. 417, and in general pp. 414–18 and 420–24.

32. DeWeese (2011; above, note 4).

33. Ya’qub Charkhi, *Risala-yi unsiyya*, ms. London, India Office, Ethé 1919, fol. 5a.

34. Paul (1998; above, note 25), p. 46.

35. This is the slogan that Florian Schwarz quotes in the title of his book: “*Unser Weg schließt tausend Wege ein*”: *Derwische und Gesellschaft im islamischen Mittelasien im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000).

36. Necdet Tosun, *Bahâeddîn Nakṣbend: Hayatı, Görüşleri, Tarikatı* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2002), p. 327.

37. Meier (1994; above, note 25), pp. 87–89 and 249–51.

38. Kashifī (1375/1977; above, note 30), vol. 1, pp. 180–83; ‘Abd al-Rahman Jami, *Nafahat al-uns min hadarat al-quḍs*, ed. Mahmud ‘Abidi (Tehran: Intisharat-i ittīlā’at, 1375/1997), pp. 494–95; Jürgen Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqṣbandiyya in Mittelasien im 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), p. 80; Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p. 99.

39. Tosun (2002; above, note 36), pp. 354–56; Meier (1994; above, note 25), pp. 28–30. *Wahdat al-wujūd* stayed a hallmark of Naqshbandi teaching until the seventeenth century, when Ahmad-i Sirhindi replaced it with “the Unity of Witnessing,” *wahdat al-shuhūd*. For the later development of Naqshbandi teaching, see Waleed Ziad’s chapter in this volume.

40. Kashifī (1375/1977; above, note 30), vol. 2, pp. 427–28; Bashir (2011; above, note 38), pp. 99–100.

41. In the entry on Ibn al-ʿArabi in his *Nafahat*, Jami states that most of the exoteric scholars vilified him, and only a minority of those scholars and “a group out of the Sufis” praised him: Jami (1375/1997; above, note 38), p. 545. And regarding Parsa, he adds that whenever Khwaja Parsa, in his *Fasl al-khitab*, quotes “one of the great possessors of gnostic knowledge,” Ibn al-ʿArabi is meant: *ibid.*, p. 547. See also Paul (1998; above, note 25), pp. 49–51.

42. Jürgen Paul, “Solitude within Society: Early Khwājagānī Attitudes toward Spiritual and Social Life,” in Paul Heck (ed.) *Sufism and Politics: The Power of Spirituality*, Princeton Papers 15 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 137–63; Tosun (2002; above, note 36), pp. 345–50; DeWeese (2011; above, note 4).

43. *Khalwat dar anjuman* or *dast ba-kar wa-dil ba-yar*, respectively.

44. Aubin (1967; above, note 24), p. 203.

45. Kashifi (1375/1977; above, note 30), vol. 2, p. 433; Manz (2007; above, note 1), p. 232; Meier (1994; above, note 25), p. 28; Bashir (2011; above, note 38), p. 146. Note that *shāhid* (witness) should not be confused with *shahīd* (martyr).

46. Jami (1375/1997; above, note 38), pp. 590–91.

47. Bashir (2011; above, note 38), pp. 145–48.

48. Alī-ṣīr Nevāyī (ʿAlī Shir Navaʿī), *Nesāyimūʿl-Maḥabbe min Ṣemāyimiʿl-Fütüvve*, ed. Kemal Eraslan (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1996), pp. 418–19. Navoi starts translating Jami, who announces two basic opinions on Qasim (one good, one critical), and after having finished the first opinion, breaks off and changes to another part of Jami’s account.

49. H. T. Norris, “The *Mirʾat al-ṭālibīn* by Zain al-Dīn Khwāfi,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53 (1990), pp. 57–63.

50. This is the gist of Baha al-Din Naqshband’s answers to the questions of Muʿizz al-Din, ruler of Herat: DeWeese (2006; above, note 5), p. 267.

51. Devin DeWeese, *An “Uvaysi” Sufi in Timurid Mavaran-nahr: Notes on Hagiography and the Taxonomy of Sanctity in the Religious History of Central Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1993), p. 6 note 14.

52. Jo-Ann Gross, “Multiple Roles and Perceptions of a Sufi Shaikh: Symbolic Statements of Political and Religious Authority,” in Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarcone (eds.), *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d’un ordre mystique musulman* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1990).

53. Hamid Algar, “Kāšgarī, Saʿd al-Dīn,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: www.iranicaonline.org (last accessed July 1, 2015).

54. Mahendrarajah (2014; above, note 6), p. 247, has a diagram of Saʿd al-Din’s disciples.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 259; Manz (2007; above, note 1), p. 235.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

57. Mahendrarajah (2014; above, note 6), pp. 295–300.

58. Kashifi (1375/1977; above, note 30), vol. 1, pp. 239–40.

59. See the discussion in Mahendrarajah (2014; above, note 6).

60. Paul (2011; above, note 11), pp. 230–38.

61. Maria Eva Subtelny, “Bābor, Abū ʿl-Qāsem Mirzā,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: www.iranicaonline.org (last accessed July 1, 2015).

62. Mahendrarajah (2014; above, note 6), pp. 114 and 261.
63. Paul (2011; above, note 11), p. 229.
64. Jo-Ann Gross (1990; above, note 52).
65. Ol'ga D. Chekhovich, "Oborona Samarkanda v 1454 g.," *Izvestiia AN UzSSR (SON)* 4 (1960), pp. 36–44.
66. This is the quality of *istighna*, "independence of mind," which I have discussed in Paul (2011; above, note 11). A quote from a sermon by Ahmad-i Samarqandi: *ibid.*, p. 243.
67. Ol'ga D. Chekhovich (ed.), *Samarkandskie dokumenty XV–XVII vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974); Paul (1991; above, note 38).
68. Subtelny (2007; above, note 1), with a list of endowments in Timurid Herat.
69. Paul (1991; above, note 38); *idem*, "Forming a Faction: The *Ḥimāyat* System of Khwāja Ahrar," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), pp. 533–48.
70. Gross (1990; above, note 52); Paul (2011 and 1998; above, notes 11 and 25).
71. For trade: Jo-Ann Gross, "Naqshbandī Appeals to the Herat Court: A Preliminary Study of Trade and Property Issues," in Devin DeWeese (ed.), *Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2001), pp. 113–28; and Aubin (1991; above, note 19); for agriculture, see Paul (1991; above, note 38).
72. Asom Urunbaev and Jo-Ann Gross (eds. and transl.), *The Letters of Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrār and His Associates* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
73. Asom Urunbaev (ed. and transl.), *Pis'ma-avtografy Abdarrakhmana Dzhami iz 'Al'boma Navoi'* (Tashkent: Fan, 1982).
74. On trade, see Gross (2001; above, note 71).
75. For the text of the decree returning the province's administration, and an analysis of it, see Mahendrarajah (2014; above, note 6), p. 114. On Ahrar's purported role, see *ibid.*, p. 261.
76. Jürgen Paul, "Wehrhafte Stdter: Belagerungen von Herat, 1448–1468," *Asiatische Studien* 58.1 (2004), pp. 163–93.
77. Maria Szuppe, *Entre Timourides, Uzbeks et Safavides: Questions d'histoire politique et sociale de Hrat dans la premire moiti du XVIe sicle* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des tudes Iranienne, 1992).

4. EARNING A LIVING

1. Khwaja Baha al-Din Hasan Nisari (Nithari) Bukhari, *Muzakkir-i aḥbab* (Remembrance of Friends), ed. and annot. Syed Muhammad Fazlullah (New Delhi, 1969).
2. [Sultan Muhammad] Mutribi Samarqandi, *Nuskah-i Ziba-yi Jahangiri*, ed. Isma'il Bik Januf and Sayyid 'Ali Mujini (Qum: s.n., 1377 Sh./1998). *Nuskah* was a version of Mutribi's earlier *Tazkirat al-Shu'ara*, ed. and pref. 'Ali Raf'i 'Ali Marwdashti, introd. Asghar Janfidi (Tehran: s.n., 1382 Sh./2003).
3. Mahmud ibn-i Amir Wali, *Bahr al-asrar fi manaqib al-akhyar*, vol. 6, part 4, ms. no. 575, India Office Library (now British Library, India Office Collection). One of the sections on Balkh and its notables was transcribed by 'Abd al-Hayy Habibi and published as *Bakhsh-i Balkh* (Kabul: Akadami-yi 'Ulum, 1360/1981).

4. Muhammad Talib ibn-i Khwaja Taj al-Dan Hasan Juybari, *Matlab al-Talibin*, ms. nos. 3757, 10809, Abu Rayhon Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tashkent.

5. Gulchin-i Ma'ani, *Tarikh-i Tazkira-ha-yi Farsi*, vol. 2 (Tehran: s.n., 1350/1971), p. 236, gives the date of composition as 1093/1682 on the basis of the numerical value of the letters in the title, but this was more likely the date when work began or was in progress, because the author was emulating Nisari's *Muzakkir-i ahhbab*, the numerical value of whose title is taken as the date of the work.

6. Much of what is said here has already been said by such scholars as Maria Szuppe, Maria Subtelny, Sholeh Quinn, Stephen Dale, Mansura Haider, Muzaffar Alam, et alii. It is hoped that the focus here on material aspects, incentives, and disincentives may make a further contribution to understanding the texture of cultural life in the area that was to become Afghanistan.

7. For the history of Qandahar in this period, see Rudi Matthee and Hiroki Mashita, "Qandahar, IV: From the Mongol Invasion through the Safavid Era," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 15 (2011), pp. 479b–482a. For Balkh, see Audrey Burton, *The Bukharans: A Dynastic, Diplomatic and Commercial History, 150–1702* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997), pp. 233–35; and for Herat, R. D. McChesney, "The Conquest of Herat 995–6/1587–8: Sources for the Study of Safavid/Qizilbash-Shibanid-Uzbek Relations," in Jean Calmard (ed.), *Études safavides* (Paris and Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1993).

8. Jane Hathaway, "Bilateral Factionalism in the Ottoman Empire," in Antonis Anastosopoulos (ed.), *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete, V: A Symposium Held in Rethymno 10–12 January 2003* (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005), pp. 31–38. See also John R. Perry, "Haydari and Ne'mati," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 12 (2004), pp. 70b–73a.

9. Shi'ism in Afghanistan would be notably bolstered in the early eighteenth century with the conquests of the Iranian Afsharid Nadir Shah. His brief incursion left behind colonies of Iranian Shi'is, known in Afghanistan generically as Qizilbash, who, as mid- and high-level bureaucrats, were the backbone of the Afghan central and provincial governments for nearly two centuries.

10. *Muzakkir al-ashab*, ms. 4270, fol. 58b.

11. R. D. McChesney, *The History of Afghanistan: Fayz Muhammad Kātib Hazārah's Sirāj al-tawārikh, Volume Three (Conclusion) and Volume Four*, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 215.

12. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969 [reprint of 1924 edition]), p. 24.

13. This is a phrase that requires some explanation. *Faqir*, a state possessed by the *faqir* (fakir), signifies a needfulness of God and stands in opposition to *ghani*, a state of nonneedfulness, or wealth. *Fana* is the ultimate immersion or annihilation of the self in God. *Sidq* implies utter integrity; and *safa*, a state of purity of mind and body.

14. For some of the principal shrine centers of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Central Asia and the families who controlled them, see R. D. McChesney, *Central Asia: Foundations of Change* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1996), pp. 80–114.

15. Devin DeWeese, "'Disordering' Sufism in Early Modern Central Asia: Suggestions for Rethinking the Sources and Social Structures of Sufi History in the Eighteenth and

Nineteenth Centuries,” in Bakhtiyar Babadjanov and Yayoi Kawahara (eds.), *History and Culture of Central Asia* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2012).

16. Badr al-Din Kashmiri, *Rawzat al-Rizwan fi hadiqat al-ghilman*, ms. 2094, Abu Raihan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tashkent.

17. On the Char Bakr shrine, see now Bakhtiyar Babajanov and Maria Szuppe, *Les inscriptions persanes de Châr Bakr, nécropole familiale des khwaja Jüybârî près de Boukhara*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, part 4: *Persian Inscriptions down to the Early Safavid Period*, vol. 31, *Uzbekistan* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 2002).

18. Devin Stewart, “A Biographical Notice on Baha al-Din al-Amili,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111.3 (1991), pp. 563–91.

19. Samarqandi (1377/1998; above, note 2), pp. 216–17.

20. Mahmud ibn-i Amir Wali, *Bahr al-asrar* (above, note 3), fols. 363b–364a.

21. Robert D. McChesney, “The Anthology of Poets: *Muzakkir al-Ashab* as a Source for the History of Seventeenth Century Central Asian History,” in Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (eds.), *Intellectual History of Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), p. 68.

22. See Stacy Liechti, “Books, Book Endowments, and Communities of Knowledge in the Bukharan Khanate,” Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2008. See also R.D. McChesney, “Islamic Culture and the Chinggisid Restoration,” in David O. Morgan and Anthony J.S. Reid (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 3, *The Eastern Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

23. See Maria Eva Subtelny, “The Making of *Bukhara-yi Sharif*: Scholars and Libraries in Medieval Bukhara (The Library of Khwaja Muhammad Parsa),” in Devin DeWeese, ed., *Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), pp. 79–111.

24. For Balkh, nine new madrasas can be identified as being built between 1529 and 1661. Only traces of the last, the Subhan Quli Khan Madrasa, still survive. For Bukhara, records exist of at least eleven madrasas built between 1530 and 1670. Of these, seven still stand—the Mir-i ‘Arab Madrasa; two by ‘Abdullah Khan (d. 1598), one at Char Bakr and the other on the Khiyaban; one by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Khan son of Nazr Muhammad Khan, facing the Ulugh Big Madrasa; the Qul Baba Kukaltash and the Nadr Diwanbigi Arlat madrasas at Lab-i Hawz; and the Juybari Madrasa, along the Rud-i Shahr canal. In Samarqand, of seven madrasas built during this period, three survive, the Nadr Diwanbegi Arlat Madrasa, at the shrine (*rawza*) of Khwaja Ahrar, and two by Yalangtush Bi Alchin (the Shayrdar and Tillakar madrasas, on the Rigistan). Of some seventeen khanaqahs recorded as being built during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I know of only four that still stand: three at Bukhara—the great khanaqah at the shrine of Baha al-Din Naqshband Allah Khan (built in 1544/5), the Nadr Diwanbegi Arlat (ca. 1630), on Labb-i Hawz, and the khanaqah at Char Bakr—and the khanaqah at Karmina, between Bukhara and Samarqand, at the shrine of Hazrat Qasim Shaykh ‘Azizan. (Images of all these buildings may be found through a Google search.)

25. For a survey of the Central Asian *hajj* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Robert D. McChesney, “The Central Asian Hajj-Pilgrimage in the Times of the Early Modern Empires,” in Michel Mazzaoui (ed.), *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003).

26. On the family tree of the Juybaris, see Babajanov and Szuppe (2002; above, note 17), pp. 127–31; and for an assessment of their wealth, see Jürgen Paul, “La propriété foncière des cheikhs Juybari,” *Cahiers d’Asie Centrale* 3–4 (1997), pp. 183–202.

27. Juybari, *Matlab al-Talibin* (above, note 4), fols. 94b–96a.

28. Traditionally there were ninety-two such distinct “Uzbek” tribal organizations. See T. I. Sultanov, “Opyt analiza traditsionnykh spiskov 92 ‘plemen ilatiia,’” in B. A. Litvinsky and ibn G. Gafurov (eds.), *Sredniaia Aziia drevnosti i srednevekov’e* (Moscow: s.n., 1977).

29. R. G. Mukminova, *K istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii v Uzbekistane XVI v. po materialam “vafq-name,”* (Tashkent: Nauka, 1966), p. 5.

30. This madrasa, better known as Mir-i ‘Arab, which still stands today opposite the Masjid-i Kalan and was functioning as a madrasa during the Soviet period as late as 1977 when this writer visited it, was built for Shaykh ‘Abdullah Yamani (“Mir-i ‘Arab”) with resources provided by ‘Ubaydullah Khan. See G. A. Pugachenkova and L. I. Rempel, *Vyidaiushchiesia pamiatniki arkhitektury Uzbekistana* (Tashkent: Gos. Izdatel’sstvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury UzSSr, 1958). See also Nisari (1969; above, note 1), pp. 37–38.

31. On the identity of the latter building as a mosque, see Bakhtiyor Babajanov, “Datiion de la mosquée Valida-ye ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Xan à Boukhara,” *Studia Iranica* 28 (1999), pp. 227–34. I previously managed to get the type of building, the date of construction, and the sponsor of the building wrong. Fortunately, by a careful reading of the inscriptions on the building, Babajanov has now provided a correct identification, attribution, and date. For my earlier misidentification of the building, see R. D. McChesney, “Economic and Social Aspects of the Public Architecture of Bukhara in the 1560s and 1570s,” *Islamic Art* 2 (1987), p. 223.

32. For a brief synopsis of the work of the khanly patrons, their amirs, and the shaykhly patrons, see McChesney (2010; above, note 22).

33. Mahmud ibn-i Amir Wali, *Bahr al-asrar* (above, note 3), fols. 345b–346a.

34. Nisari (1969; above, note 1), ms. 58, fol. 252a.

35. Mahmud ibn-i Amir Wali, *Bahr al-asrar* (above, note 3), fols. 350a–b.

36. Ibid., fols. 364a, 365a, 365b.

37. Ibid., fol. 350b.

38. Ibid., fol. 347a.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., fol. 347a.

41. Ibid., fols. 347a–b (Mawlana Jarullah), 349a (Mawlana ‘Ali Big).

42. R. D. McChesney, “‘Barrier of Heterodoxy?’: Rethinking the Ties between Iran and Central Asia in the Seventeenth Century,” in Charles Melville (ed.), *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996).

43. A five- to fifteen-couplet poem usually with a romantic theme (wine, women, song). See Jan Rypka (ed.), *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1968), p. 95.

44. The man, Khwaja ‘Ubaydullah, was the brother of Khwaja Mirakshah, who presided over a circle (*halqa*) of dervishes at the Juybar khanaqah (apparently not the khanaqah at Char Bakr): Juybari, *Matlab al-Talibin* (above, note 4), ms. 37657, fol. 94a.

45. Based on a count of women’s names appearing in the index to P. P. Ivanov, *Khoziastvo Dzhuibarskikh sheikhov* (Moscow: Izdatel’sstvo Akademii Nauk, 1954).

46. *Muzakkir al-ahbab*, ms. Tashkent 4270, fol. 194b; Dushanbe ms. p. 217. See also A. M. Mirzoev, "Mufid Yazdi wa Mufid Balkhi," *Problemy Vostokovediia* 5 (1959), pp. 170–78.

5. TRANSPORTING KNOWLEDGE IN THE DURRANI EMPIRE

1. In this chapter, I will refer to the geographic designations employed in contemporary Persian sources, namely Khurasan (Mashhad to Peshawar, encompassing most of modern-day Afghanistan), Turkestan (Central Asia, including northern Afghanistan), Sindh, and Hindustan (Punjab and North India). The term "Afghan" will denote the Pushtun/Pathan ethnic group.

2. A khanaqah is a center for the teaching of Sufi sciences and associated ritual practices, generally featuring a soup kitchen and lodging facilities for pilgrims.

3. Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and Its Dependencies, in Persia, Tartary, and India*, 2 vols. (London: R. Bentley, 1839).

4. Elphinstone's own terms for the latter were "Derweshis," "Fukeers," and "Kulunders."

5. Elphinstone (1839; above, note 3), vol. 1, pp. 328, 346–48.

6. Stephen Dale and Alam Payind, "The Ahrari Waqf in Kabul in the Year 1546 and the Mughal Naqshbandiyya," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119.2 (1999), pp. 218–33.

7. Khwaja Muhammad Ihsan Mujaddidi Sirhindi, *Rawzat al-Qayyumiyya* (Lahore: Maktaba Nabawiyya, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 144–54.

8. Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity* (Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press, 1971), pp. 1–7; Arthur F. Buehler, *Revealed Grace: The Juristic Sufism of Ahmad Sirhindi (1564–1624)* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2011), p. 43.

9. Muhammad Nazir Ranjha, *Tarikh u Tazkira-yi Khanaqah-yi Sirhind Sharif* (Lahore: Jami'at Publications, 2011), pp. 121–37.

10. Mir Safar Ahmad Ma'sumi, *Maqamat-i Ma'sumi*, ed. Muhammad Iqbal Mujaddidi (Lahore: Zia' al-Qur'an Publications, 2004), pp. 242–45; Shaykh 'Abdullah Ghulam 'Ali Dihlawi, *Maqamat-i Mazhari: Ahwal u Malfuzat u Maktubat-i Hazrat Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan Shahid*, trans. Muhammad Iqbal Mujaddidi (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 2001), pp. 50–51.

11. Iqbal Mujaddidi, "Alami Sata par Silsilah Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya ka Asr u Rasukh," in *Armaqan-i Imam Rabbani*, vol. 2 (Lahore: Shir-i Rabbani Publications, 2008), pp. 96–97.

12. A Sufi would claim a primary genealogical affiliation and methodology (e.g., Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi) while pursuing a course of esoteric studies in another Sufi tradition.

13. He was the son of Shah Ghulam Muhammad Ma'sum (d. 1747, Sirhind), a fourth-generation descendant of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi. For further biographical details, see Waleed Ziad, "From Yarkand to Sindh via Kabul: The Rise of Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Sufi Networks in the 18th–19th Century Durrani Empire," in Abbas Amanat (ed.), *The Persianate World: Towards a Conceptual Framework* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

14. Shah Muhammad Fazlullah, *Umdat al-Maqamat* (Hyderabad, Sindh: Nu'mani Publishers, 1355/1936), p. 451.

15. 'Aziz al-Din Wakili Fufalza'i, *Timur Shah Durrani* (Kabul: Anjuman-i Tarikh-i Afghanistan, 1333/1954 [Afghan calendar]), p. 682.

16. Shah Muhammad Fazlullah (1355/1936; above, note 14), pp. 490–95.
17. Ghulam Rasul Sirhindi, “Tuhfat al-Talibin” (Matiari, Sindh, undated), pp. 17–18, MSS, Khanaqah-i Pir Baha al-Din Sirhindi.
18. Fazl Ahmad was the son of Niyaz Ahmad Sirhindi (d. ca. 1764), a fifth-generation descendant of Shah ‘Abd al-Razzaq, the elder brother of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi. Ma’sumi (2004; above, note 10), vol. 1, pp. 329–49.
19. Khanykov listed Mirakan as one of Bukhara’s eight principal mosques. See Nikolai Vladimirovitch Khanykov, *Bokhara, Its Amir and Its People*, trans. Baron Clement A. de Bode (London: J. Madden, 1845), p. 103.
20. Mir Husayn ibn Shah Murad, *Makhazin al-Taḡwa*, fols. 63b–64a, MSS Inv. Nr. 51, IVANRUz, Tashkent; Imam Mohammad Jiu Sahib Zakori, *Rawzat al-Awliya’ fi Ahwal-i Asfiya’* (Zakori, Dera Ismail Khan: Nijaruz Bazar Press, 1333/1914–15), pp. 166–67.
21. ‘Abd al-Rahim ibn Khan Muhammad Pishawari, *Tasarruf-nama* (Thana, Malakand Agency, mid-19th c.), p. 334, MSS, Khanaqah-yi Hazaratkhayl; Shah ‘Abdullah Badakhshi, *Armaḡan-i Badakhshan* (Tehran: Bunyad-i Mawqūfat-i Doctor Mahmud Afshar, 1385 Sh./2006–07), pp. 111–13; Nizam al-Din Balkhi Mazari, *Tuhfat al-Murshid dar Manaḡib-i Qutub-i Zaman Ghaws-i Jahan Hazrat Jiu Sahib Shah Fazl Ahmad Ma’sumi* (Lahore: Fayz Ahmad, 1913), pp. 34–35, 131–90; F.B., *Selections from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and Its Dependencies—Confidential Series No. A XII. Report on Bajaur, Etc.* (Lahore: Punjab Government Secretariat Press, 1884), pp. 55–56.
22. Interviews with: Pir Baha al-Din Sirhindi, Matiari, Sindh, February 2014; ‘Abd al-Hayy Khakrub Faqir, Kabul, June 2013; Hazrat Imdad al-Ghaffar Faruqi, Thana, Malakand Agency, May 2015.
23. Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840–1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 8–12.
24. Muhammad Amir Shah Qadiri, *Tazkira-i ‘Ulama u Masha’ikh-i Sarhad*, vol. 1 (Peshawar: ‘Azim Publishing House, n.d.), pp. 122–38.
25. Interview, Maḡsud Ahmad Qazi (Nasrpur), Matiari, Feb 12, 2015. Sahibzada Abu al-Khayr Zubair, *Sindh ke Sufiya-i Naqshband*, vol. 1 (Hyderabad, Sindh: Sahibzada Abu al-Khayr Zubair, n.d.), pp. 160–70, 481–93.
26. Although *al-Qawl al-Jamil* was composed in Delhi, the biographies of both Fazl Ahmad and Khwaja Safiullah indicate that the protocols it described were also followed within their khanaqahs. See Shah Waliullah Dihlawi, “Al-Qawl al-Jamil fi Bayan-i Sawa’i al-Sabil,” in *Rasa’il-i Shah Waliullah Dihlawi*, vol. 1 (Lahore: Tasawwuf Foundation, 1999).
27. In several manuscripts of *Risala dar Bayan-i Tasawwuf*, sections are redacted and supplemented with discussions on supererogatory prayers. However, the general framework is the same.
28. Fazl Ahmad Ma’sumi Pishawari, *Majmu’a-i Rasa’il-i Mujaddidiyya* (dated 1246/1830), p. 1, MSS R. 196, Dr. Iqbal Mujaddidi Collection, University of Punjab (accessed via Kitabkhana-yi Milli, Tehran).
29. The tone of both tracts is decidedly pedagogical rather than defensive or rhetorical. The texts, for example, do not provide sources for meditative practices or reference scripture to justify practices from an orthodox point of view.

30. For example, the Ganj Baksh *kitabkhana* houses a template *ijazatnama* (in the name of “khalifa falan falan”) designating Fazl Ahmad and his son at Bukhara, Ghulam Qadir, as the source of the *ijazat*. This document was presumably used by *khulafa* to issue diplomas and permission to teach to their own representatives. *Ijazatnama* and *Shajrah-i Mujaddidiyya*, citing “Abd al-Qadir, khalifa of Fazl Ahmad Ma’sumi,” early nineteenth century, MSS 8901, Kitabkhana-i Ganj Baksh, Islamabad.

31. Khwaja Safiullah Mujaddidi, *Anwar al-Safi* (dated 1845), fols. 6a–7a, MSS 34307, University of Sindh Central Library, Jamshoro.

32. Arthur F. Buehler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 234–240. These concepts found within these works are enumerated in Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi’s *Maktubat* (which comprises 536 epistles), *Mabda u Ma’ad*, *Ma’arif-i Laduniya*, and other writings.

33. Qadiri, *Tazkira* (above, note 24), pp. 34–35, 85–88.

34. A similar manual, Shah Abu Sa’id Mujaddidi’s *Hidayat al-Talibin*, issued from Delhi several decades later, indicates that this type of text was provided to students for educational purposes and as blessings (*tabarrukan*) when they traveled. See Abu Sa’id Dihlawi, *Hidayat al-Talibin* (Patiala: Samana Publishers, 2005), pp. 2–3.

35. Concise *ma’mulat* manuals had been produced earlier in Sirhind and elsewhere: for example, ‘Abd al-Ahad Wahdat Sirhindi, *Kuhl al-Jawahir* (Istanbul, 1309/1892), MSS, Maktaba Mujaddidiyya (original in private library, Istanbul); Mir Numan, *Risala-i Suluk* (Hyderabad, Sindh: Al-Mustafa Publications, Old University, 2002). The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works contain far more comprehensive, instruction-oriented descriptions of practices (from initiation onward) with experiential details. Further, they often include comparative sections on practices associated with other orders.

36. Shah Ghulam ‘Ali Dihlawi, *Ayдах al-Tariqa* (Kundiyan, Mianwali: Khanaqah-yi Sirajiyya Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya, 2011); Abu Sa’id Dihlawi (2005; above, note 34); Shah Ahmad Sa’id Naqshbandi Mujaddidi, *Arb’a Anhar* (Karachi: Sayyid Sabir ‘Ali, n.d.).

37. Hazrat Muhammad Usman Padkhabi, *Majmu’a-i Rasa’il*, 1302, MSS, Archif-i Milli, Kabul; Khwaja Muhammad Na’im Siddiq, *‘Ulama, Masha’ikh u ‘Urafa-i Logar* (Kabul: Bunyad-i Hazrat Shaykh Sa’ad al-Din Ahmad Ansari, 1391/2012 [Afghan calendar]), p. 86; Mawlana ‘Abd al-Hakim Jiu Sahib, *Ta’lim al-Murid* (Ahmadshahi [Qandahar]), MSS 12951, Kitabkhana-i Ganj Baksh.

38. Warren Fufeld, “The Shaping of Sufi Leadership in Delhi: The Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya, 1750–1920” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1981), pp. 83–85; Buehler (2011; above, note 11), p. 112; J. G. J. ter Haar, *Follower and Heir of the Prophet: Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564–1624) as Mystic* (Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1992), pp. 78, 84.

39. A detailed diagram of the cosmological framework can be found in Buehler (2011; above, note 11), pp. 32–36.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 114–15.

41. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Mabda u Ma’ad*, ed. Pirzada Iqbal Ahmad Faruqi (Lahore: Maktaba Nabawiyya, 2001), p. 26; Fazl Ahmad Ma’sumi Pishawari (1246/1830; above, note 28), p. 9.

42. In Mujaddidi texts, this wayfaring is also represented by traversing successive spheres through the cosmological structure.

43. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (2001; above, note 41), pp. 27–30.

44. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Maktubat-i Imam Rabbani*, ed. Mawlana Sa'id Ahmad Naqshbandi (Lahore: Millat Publications, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 102–5; and vol. 2, p. 456.

45. The concept of the *lata'if* as Arthur Buehler notes, can be traced to Junayd al-Baghdadi and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, but the Kubrawiyya order produced the first detailed expositions on the subject. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi provided the most systematic treatment on the concept, further systematized by his successors. See Buehler (2011; above, note 11), pp. 106–9.

46. Five are located in the *'alam-i khalq* (world of creation), which are the four elements (fire, earth, air, water) and the *nafs* (ego-self). Five are located in the *'alam-i amr* (the world of divine command). These are the *qalb* (heart), *ruh* (spirit), *sir* (secret), *khafa* (hidden), and *akhfa* (most hidden) and are known collectively as “the five jewels.” Khwaja Safiullah Mujaddidi (1845; above, note 31), fols. 8a–9a.

47. The position and color association of each *latifa* varies according to the pedagogy of the teacher. According to Fazl Ahmad, the *qalb* is two finger-widths below the left breast, the *ruh* is two finger-widths below the right breast, and so forth. Fazl Ahmad Ma'sumi Pishawari (1246/1830; above, note 28), pp. 3–8; Khwaja Safiullah Mujaddidi (1845; above, note 31), fols. 12a–14b.

48. Buehler (2011; above, note 11), pp. 105, 235.

49. *Nafi wa isbat* is the recitation of *la ilaha* (negation) *il-allah* (affirmation) while holding and channeling the breath through specific parts of the body. This is repeated multiple times (always an odd number of times) in single breaths. *Muraqaba* is a purely meditative exercise of visualizing the presence of the teacher, concentrating on the place of heart, and imagining it to proclaim *Allah*.

50. These are: *awareness of breathing; awareness of steps, or one's own path; travel in the homeland; solitude amid the multitude; remembering; returning; protecting; keeping in memory; awareness of time; awareness of numbers, and awareness of the heart*. See Fusfeld (1981; above, note 38), pp. 85–90.

51. Zakori (1333/1914–15; above, note 20), p. 194.

52. Fazl Ahmad Ma'sumi Pishawari (1246/1830; above, note 28), p. 12.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

55. The additional discussions in *Makhzan* suggest that it also served as an abridged reference work for Mujaddidi cosmology.

56. Zakori (1333/1914–15; above, note 20), pp. 185–88.

57. Khwaja Safiullah Mujaddidi (1845; above, note 31), fols. 33a–42b; Fazl Ahmad Ma'sumi Pishawari (1246/1830; above, note 28), pp. 18–20.

58. Devin DeWeese, “Disordering’ Sufism in Early Modern Central Asia: Suggestions for Rethinking the Sources and Social Structures of Sufi History in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in Bakhtiyar Babadjanov and Yayoi Kawahara (eds.), *History and Culture of Central Asia* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 2012). .

59. Khwaja Safiullah Mujaddidi (1845; above, note 31), fol. 40b.

60. Ibid., fol. 7a.
61. Dale and Payind (1999; above, note 6), pp. 215–27; Ustad Muhammad Ahsan Sayqal, *Chiragh-i Maʿrifat Kulid-i Saʿadat* (Kabul: Qari Sayqal, 1388 Sh./2009–10 [Afghan calendar]), p. 66; Muhammad Ibrahim Khalil, *Mazarat-i Shahr-i Kabul* (Kabul: Anjuman-i Nasharati-yi Danish, 1383/2004 [Afghan calendar]), p. 74.
62. Khwaja Safiullah Mujaddidi (1845; above, note 31), fols. 33a–42b; Fazl Ahmad Maʿsumi Pishawari (1246/1830; above, note 28), pp. 18–20.
63. Shah Muhammad Fazlullah (1355/1936; above, note 14), pp. 422–23; Badakhshi (1385 Sh./2006–07; above, note 21), pp. 109–10.
64. Interview with Maqsud Ahmad Qazi of Nasrpur, Matiari, Feb. 12, 2015.
65. Fazl Ahmad Maʿsumi Pishawari and Anonymous, *Risala-i Asbaq-i Tariqa-i Aliya-i Naqshbandiyya* (dated Peshawar, 1225/1810), MSS 339 (95/131), Peshawar University; Fazl Ahmad Maʿsumi Pishawari and various others, *Majmuʿa* (Bukhara, early 19th c.), MSS 2572, IVANRUz, Tashkent.
66. Regarding earlier Naqshbandi classics, in two cases we find the *wasiyatnama* of ʿAbd al-Khaliq Ghijdavani, which undoubtedly served as a model or prototype for an initiatory certificate. For anonymous texts, see, for example, Khwaja Safiullah Mujaddidi and Anonymous, *Majmuʿa* (Kabul, 1299/1882), MSS, Archif-i Milli, Kabul; Khwaja Safiullah Mujaddidi and Anonymous, *Makhzan al-Anwar* (bound with a *risala* on cosmology and *lataʿif*; Sindh, mid-19th c.), MSS, University of Sindh Central Library, Jamshoro.
67. Various, “*Majmuʿa-i Rasail*, property of Mullah ʿAbd al-Wajid Sadar Qazi” (Bukhara, early 19th c.), MSS Inv. Nr. 500, IVANRUz, Tashkent; “*Majmuʿa*, property of Habibullah Khwaja Sudur” (Bukhara[?], 1272), MSS 2900, IVANRUz, Tashkent; Fazl Ahmad Maʿsumi Pishawari (1246/1830; above, note 28). One compilation also contains Shah Waliullah’s tracts on comparative Sufi practices.
68. Zakori (1333/1914–15; above, note 21), p. 236.
69. Various; Fazl Ahmad Maʿsumi Pishawari and others, *Majmuʿa-i Rasaʿil*, early 19th c., MSS 12288, IVANRUz, Tashkent. The latter manuscript, from Khoqand, may have been produced by Sufi Allah Yar’s disciples. Nasir al-Din Hanafi al-Bukhari, *Tuhfat-i Zaʿirin* (Bukhara: Novo Bukhara, 1910), pp. 71–72; Mulla Jumaʿa Quli Khumuli, *Tarikh-i Khumuli*, fols. 322b–328a, IVANRUz, Tashkent.
70. Elphinstone (1839; above, note 3), vol. 1, pp. 331–32.
71. Shihab al-Din Dawlatabadi and others, *Majmuʿa-i Rasaʿil* (Khoqand, 1283/1866), MSS 9310, IVANRUz, Tashkent.
72. Within the compilation, Halaʿi had composed his own work, made up of panegyric poems and numerological tables all referring, in *abjad*, to the death date of Pir Pagaro (1246 A.H.): ʿAbd al-Rahman Halaʿi, “*Risala on Sibghatullah Rashidi (Pir Pagaro I)*” (Jamshoro, Sindh, 1845), MSS 34307/3, Sindh University Central Library, Jamshoro.
73. Interview with Hazrat Imdad al-Ghaffar Faruqi, Thana, Malakand Agency, May 2015. Fazl Ahmad Maʿsumi Pishawari, *Rasaʿil-i Fazliyya*, ed. ʿAbdullah Jan Faruqi Naqshbandi (Thana, Malakand Agency: Idara-i Naqshbandiyya Garhi Hazratkhalay, 1399/1979).
74. Khwaja Safiullah Mujaddidi, *Makhzan al-Anwar fi Kashf al-Asrar* (Wana, South Waziristan: Jadid Kutub Khana, 1428/2007), p. *alif-zay*. Interview with Khwaja Muhammad Naʿim Siddiq (Mujaddidi historian), Kabul, June 2013.

75. Muhammad Umar, *Islam in Northern India during the Eighteenth Century* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1993), pp. 273–75, 283–88.

76. Albrecht Hofheinz, “Illumination and Enlightenment Revisited; or, Pietism and the Roots of Islamic Modernity,” (unpublished paper, 1988, available at http://folk.uio.no/albrech/Hofheinz_IllumEnlightenment.pdf), pp. 15–19.

77. Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 117.

6. ISLAM, SHARI‘A, AND STATE BUILDING UNDER ‘ABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN

1. For more on Amir ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan’s early career and his views on the British and Russian empires, see Amin Tarzi, “The Judicial State: Evolution and Centralization of the Courts in Afghanistan, 1883–1986” (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2003), pp. 30–103.

2. Amir ‘Abd al-Rahman, *Nasayih Namacha-i Afghani*, ed. ‘Abd al-Razzaq Dihlawi (Kabul: Matba‘-yi Dar al-Saltana, 1303/1885), p. 9. I am grateful to Dr. Ashraf Ghani for providing me access to most of the published sources of the period of ‘Abd al-Rahman, his personal notes, and unpublished documents, including the records from a court in the Kunar Valley, covering the years 1885–90.

3. Barnett R. Rubin, “Lineages and the State in Afghanistan,” *Asian Survey* 28 (1988), p. 1193. The emphasis is Rubin’s own.

4. Tarzi (2003; above, note 1), pp. 103–11.

5. Jon W. Anderson, “Khan and Khel: Dialectics of Pakhtun Tribalism,” in Richard Tapper (ed.), *The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983). Richard Tapper provides an analogy in Moroccan tribal society for distinguishing *hukumat* from *Yaghistan* as “*bled el-makhzen* from *bled es-siba*”: see Richard Tapper, “Anthropologists, Historians and Tribespeople on Tribe in State Formation in the Middle East,” in Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner (eds.), *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990). See also Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai, “State-Building and Centralization in a Tribal Society” (M.A. thesis, American University of Beirut, 1977), p. 109.

6. Ahmad Jan Khan Alkuza‘i, *Asas al-Quzzat* (Kabul: Matba‘-yi Dar al-Saltana, 1303/1885), p. 138.

7. Ashraf Ghani, “Production and Domination, Afghanistan, 1747–1901” (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1982), pp. 388, 409.

8. Ghani Ahmadzai (1977; above, note 5), p. 74.

9. Hasan Kawun Kakar, *Government and Society in Afghanistan: The Reign of Amir ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), p. 169.

10. Ashraf Ghani, “Islam and State Building in a Tribal Society: Afghanistan, 1880–1901,” *Modern Asian Studies* 12.2 (1978), p. 269.

11. Ashraf Ghani, “Disputes in a Court of Sharia, Kunar Valley, Afghanistan, 1885–1890,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15.3 (1983), p. 353. See also Asta Olesen, “The Political Use of Islam in Afghanistan during the Reign of Amir Abdur Rahman (1880–1901),” in *Contributions to Islamic Studies: Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1987).

12. For additional sources on Islam and the concept of state in Afghanistan in the nineteenth century, see Nile Green's introduction to this volume.

13. David Beetham, *Max Weber and the Theory of Modern Politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 65–67.

14. R. D. McChesney and M. M. Khorrami (trans. and notes), *The History of Afghanistan: Fayz Muhammad Katib Hazara's Siraj al-tawarikh*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), part 1, pp. 2–3.

15. In a welcome review of the understudied Afghan-Ottoman relations in the nineteenth century, Faiz Ahmed proposes the probability that codification of the law in Afghanistan was based on *Mecelle-i Ahkam-i 'Adliye* (Ottoman Civil Code): see Faiz Ahmed, "Istanbul and Kabul in Courtly Contact: The Question of Exchange between the Ottoman Empire and Afghanistan in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 45 (2015), pp. 265–95.

16. Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "The Heritage of Islam in the Modern World," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1.1 (1970), p. 11.

17. Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan, *The Life of Abdur Rahman Khan, Amir of Afghanistan* G.C.B., G.C.S.I., vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1900), pp. 230–32. On 'Abd al-Rahman's biographer and the amir's own autobiography, see Tarzi (2003; above, note 1), pp. 5–9.

18. Mir Munshi Sultan Mohammad Khan, *The Constitution and Laws of Afghanistan* (London: John Murray, 1900), pp. 126–27. Note that in Mir Munshi's biography of 'Abd al-Rahman, the author's name is written "Sultan Mahomed," while in his work on the constitution and laws of Afghanistan, his name is written "Mohammad."

19. N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1964), p. 129.

20. Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 53.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

22. F. R. C. Bagley (trans.), *Ghazali's Book of Counsel for Kings (Nasihat al-Muluk)* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 2nd ed., p. 45 note 1.

23. Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), p. 35.

24. Amir 'Abd al-Rahman's royal decree dated December 13, 1882, addressed to Sardar Shirindil Khan, the governor of Ghazni. I am eternally grateful to Professor Robert D. McChesney for introducing me to his copies of court documents and decrees from eastern Afghanistan, which became the foundation of my doctoral dissertation at New York University under his guidance. A longer version of this decree is included in the text of *Siraj al-Tawarikh*: see McChesney and Khorrami (2013; above, note 14), pp. 58–59.

25. Amir 'Abd al-Rahman's royal decree dated September 20, 1889, addressed to Sardar Shirindil Khan, the governor of Ghazni.

26. Alef-Shah Zadran, "Socioeconomic and Legal-Political Processes in a Pashtun Village, Southeastern Afghanistan" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1977), pp. 205–6 (emphasis Zadran's). According to Zadran, "some members of other ethnic groups in Afghanistan profess, at least half-jokingly, to believe that the Pashtuns accept one half of the *Quran*" (*ibid.*, p. 61).

27. Asta Olesen, *Islam and Politics in Afghanistan* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 33.
28. For example, see Amin H. Tarzi, "A Tax Reform of the Afghan Amir, 'Abd al-Rahman Khan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 27.1 (1993), pp. 30–50.
29. Sultan Muhammad (1900; above, note 18), p. 127.
30. Alkuza'i (1303/1885; above, note 6), pp. 102–4.
31. Kakar (1979; above, note 9), p. 167; Olesen (1987; above, note 11), p. 85; also see Coulson (1964; above, note 19), pp. 132–33.
32. *Ihtisab al-din* (Kabul: Matba'-i Dar al-Saltana, 1306 [1888 or 1889]), pp. 12–13.
33. Perhaps one of the sources for *Ihtisab al-din* was indeed the Ottoman *Mecelle*: see Ahmed (2015; above, note 15), pp. 285–89. While Ahmed does not mention *Ihtisab al-din* specifically, his argument would logically extend to all legal rules and regulations.
34. Tarzi (2003; above, note 1), pp. 149–53.
35. See, for example, McChesney and Khurrami (2013; above, note 14), pp. 286–88.
36. Amir 'Abd al-Rahman, *Sarrishata-yi Islamiya-yi Rum* (Kabul: Matba'-yi Dar al-Saltana, 1304 [1885 or 1887]), p. 2. In the recorded history of Afghanistan this statement represents the first instance when all major tribal confederations and ethnic groups living in the country are addressed as belonging to a specific political entity called Afghanistan.
37. McChesney and Khurrami (2013; above, note 14), p. 403.
38. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 819, pp. 984–86, and throughout the text; also see M. Hasan Kakar, *Afghanistan: A Study in International Political Developments, 1880–1901* (Lahore: Punjab Educational Press, 1971), pp. 165–79; and Muhammad 'Isa Gharjistani, *Kala Minar-ha dar Afghanistan* (Qum: Isma'iliyan, 1372/1994).
39. Tarzi (2003; above, note 1), pp. 153–58.
40. Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, *Marat al-'uqul wa kalimat-i maw'izat asas*, ed. Gul Muhammad Muhammadza'i Durrani Barakza'i (Kabul: Matba'-yi Dar al-Saltana, 1311/1893), pp. 18–20.
41. McChesney and Khurrami (2013; above, note 14), vol. 3, part 2, p. 862, lists certain *qazis* and *muftis* who were appointed to the Shari'a courts in Hazara districts to settle cases in accordance with the Hanafi jurisprudence. See also Hasan Kakar, "The Pacification of the Hazaras of Afghanistan," *Asia Society Occasional Paper* (New York: Afghanistan Council of the Asia Society, 1973), p. 10.
42. McChesney and Khurrami (2013; above, note 14), vol. 3, part 3, pp. 1332–33; pp. 1626–27.
43. Kakar (1971; above, note 38), p. 179.
44. Alkuza'i (1303/1885; above, note 6), pp. 74–75.
45. McChesney and Khurrami (2013; above, note 14), vol. 3, part 2, pp. 871–72.
46. John Alfred Gray, *At the Court of the Amir: A Narrative* (London: Macmillan, 1901), pp. 44–45.
47. For more on the *panchat* court, see Tarzi (2003; above, note 1), pp. 181–85.
48. Frank A. Martin, *Under the Absolute Amir* (London and New York: Harper & Brothers, 1907), p. 208. Martin does not provide a date for this incident, but he came to Afghanistan in 1895 and left after 'Abd al-Rahman's death.
49. Ghani (1983; above, note 11), p. 253. See also Alkuza'i (1303/1885; above, note 6), pp. 19–20.

50. McChesney and Khurrami (2013; above, note 14), vol. 3, part 3, p. 1069.
51. Ibid., pp. 1156–57.
52. Ibid., p. 1567.
53. Ibid., pp. 1356–57.
54. Ibid., pp. 1456–57.
55. Ibid., p. 1562; Mirza Shayr Ahmad Jalalabadi, *Fathnama-yi Kafiristan wa Sal-i Tarikh An* (Lahore: Matba‘-yi Kuh-i Nur, 1313/1896). The people of Kafiristan made wooden statues, some of which were brought to Kabul as trophies, prompting Katib to use the term “Idol-Smasher” in relation to ‘Abd al-Rahman and recalling Mahmud of Ghazni, the early-eleventh-century ruler who in Afghanistan is celebrated as the “Idol-Smasher” for his conquests in India and his destruction of Hindu temples. In connection with the wooden idols sent from Kafiristan to Kabul by Field Marshall Ghulam Haydar Charkhi, Katib wrote: “These [idols] were kept as souvenirs of the conquest of Kafiristan and from this point on it is fitting to remember His Majesty [‘Abd al-Rahman] by the nickname ‘idol-smasher.’” Quoted from the translation by McChesney and Khurrami (2013; above, note 14), vol. 3, p. 1186.
56. McChesney and Khurrami (2013; above, note 14), vol. 3, part 3, p. 1614 and pp. 1623–24. See also Amin Tarzi, “Lanti nation afghane,” *Les Nouvelles d’Afghanistan* 87.4 (1997), pp. 8–12. According to one source, the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid bestowed the title “Zi-yaüddin Ghazi” on ‘Abd al-Rahman, prompting the amir to adopt the title Ziya al-Millat wa’l-Din. See Ahmed (2015; above, note 15), p. 292.
57. Rubin (1988; above, note 3), pp. 1195–99.
58. Saikal (2004; above, note 23), p. 38.
59. M. Nazif Shahrani, “State Building and Social Fragmentation in Afghanistan: A Historical Perspective,” in Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner (eds.), *The State, Religion, and Ethnic Politics: Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986).
60. Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Law in Afghanistan: A Study of the Constitutions, Matrimonial Law and the Judiciary* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 6–7. See also Tarzi (2003; above, note 1), pp. 175–81.
61. See, for example, Thomas J. Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 338.

7. COMPETING VIEWS OF PASHTUN TRIBALISM, ISLAM, AND SOCIETY IN THE INDO-AFGHAN BORDERLANDS

1. Sana Haroon, *Frontier of Faith: Islam in the Indo-Afghan Borderland* (London and New York: Hurst and Columbia University Press, 2008).
2. Magnus Marsden and Benjamin D. Hopkins, *Fragments of the Afghan Frontier* (London and New York: Hurst and Columbia University Press, 2011).
3. Abubakar Siddique, *The Pashtun Question: The Unresolved Key to the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan* (London: Hurst, 2014).
4. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, author of a three-volume series on Sayyid Ahmad’s *jihad* and its impact, uses this term. See Ghulam Rasul Mihr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid* (Lahore: s.n., 1952); idem, *Jama‘at-i Mujahidin* (Lahore: s.n., 1955); and idem, *Sar Guzasht-i Mujahidin* (Lahore: s.n., 1956).

5. Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman describes a meeting with 'Ubaydullah Sindhi in which Sindhi argued the need for a *jihad* to liberate India. See Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Pakistan: Longman, 1961), pp. 31–32.

6. 'Ubaydullah Sindhi, "Shah Waliullah aur un ki Tehrik," introductory chapter to Mawlana Sayyid Muhammad Miyan, *Tehrik-i Shaykh al-Hind* (Lahore: Maktaba Mahmudiya Karim, 1978), p. vii.

7. Ibid., p. ii.

8. Husayn Ahmad Madani, *Tehrik-i Reshmi Rumal* (Lahore: s.n., 1966), p. 418.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 190.

11. Ibid., p. 447.

12. Muhammad 'Ali Kasuri, *Mushahidat-i Kabul wa Yaghistan* (Karachi: Idarah-yi Anjuman-i Taraqqi-yi Urdu, n.d.), p. 56.

13. Ibid.

14. Letter from Bukhari Mulla to Mahmud al-Hasan dated Shawwal 15, 1335 A.H./ August 4, 1916, "Afghanistan: The Silken Letter Case, 1916–1918," India Office Records, British Library, London (hereafter India Office Records), L/PS/10/633.

15. "Men of the Mountains, Mountains of Men," *Al-Mujahid*, November 22, 1922. Translation in *Al-Mujahid*, file 422, Special Branch NWFP, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (hereafter Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Archives).

16. "Be Careful and Alert," *Al-Mujahid*, October 1, 1922. Translation in *Al-Mujahid*, file 422, Special Branch NWFP, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Archives.

17. "Speak Again about India and Indian Friends," *Al-Mujahid*, May 8, 1932. Translation in "Maulvi Abd al-Rahim alias Muhammad Bashir," file 727, Special Branch NWFP, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Archives.

18. "Be Careful and Alert," *Al-Mujahid*, October 1, 1922 (above, note 16).

19. 'Ubaydullah Sindhi, *Zati Da'iri* (Lahore: Makki Darul Kutab, 1995), p. 50.

20. 'Ubaydullah Sindhi's description of Mahmud Ghazni's invasions as part of an Indian Muslim past was not solely employed in the Islamic narrative. Peter Robb argues that the notion of the "perennial Muslim nation" was one used equally by British intellectuals and "Hindu chauvinists." See Peter G. Robb, "Muslim Identity and Separatism in India: The Significance of M. A. Ansari," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 54.1 (1991), p. 116.

21. Mawlana Mahmud al-Rahman Sahib Nadwi, *Tarikh-i Hind mein Jadid Inkishaf wa Inqilab: Dawlat-i Ghaznawiya* (Lahore: Kutabkhana Dar al-Adab, 1931), introduction.

22. Ibid., p. 130.

23. For example, Mawlawi Muhammad Habib Sahib and Sayyid Jamil Husayn, *Sultan Mahmud Ghazni* (Allahabad: Hindustani Academy, 1940). More generally, see Romila Thapar, "Mahmud Ghazni," *Narratives and the Making of History: Two Lectures* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

24. Kumkum Chatterji's study of travel narratives links descriptions of land and historic sites to the "discovery of India" in the nineteenth-century Bengali *bhadralok* mind. See Kumkum Chatterji "Discovering India: Travel, History and Identity in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century India," in Daud Ali (ed.), *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

25. There has been excellent scholarship on competing histories. Avril Powell, for example, highlights the “space” for “autonomy, evolution and inconsistency” in school-textbook evaluations of the precolonial past. See Avril Powell, “History Textbooks and the Transmission of the Pre-colonial Past in North-Western India,” in Ali (1999; above, note 24), p. 133.

26. Nigel Crook, “Introduction,” in idem (ed.), *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

27. Haroon (2008; above, note 1).

28. Kasuri, *Mushahidat-i Kabul wa Yaghistan* (above, note 12), p. 38.

29. Letter from Amanullah Khan to Hajji Mulla ‘Abd al-Razzaq, appendix to Muhammad Wali Zalma’i, *Mujahid-i Afghan* (Kabul: Da Pashto da Tamim aw Indishaf Sangah, 1967), pp. 60–61.

30. Letter from Amanullah Khan to Hajji Mulla ‘Abd al-Razzaq, appendix to Muhammad Wali Zalma’i (1967; above, note 29), pp. 60–61.

31. Personal notes of Mawlana Sayf al-Rahman for the years 1334–36 A.H. (1916–18), Obaidur Rehman Collection, Peshawar.

32. *Translation of a Grand Pronouncement*, Shaban 15, 1332 (1914), pp. 10–13, Obaidur Rehman Collection, Peshawar.

33. Firman of Amir Habibullah Khan dated 1336 A.H. (1918), in Noor-ul Amin, “Maulana Saifur Rahman” (M.A. thesis, Pakistan Studies Center, Peshawar University, 2000), appendix. The original document is preserved in the Obaidur Rehman Collection, Peshawar.

34. *Firman* from Amanullah Khan, Rajab 19, 1337 (1919), p. 16, Obaidur Rehman Collection, Peshawar.

35. Personal notes of Mawlana Sayf al-Rahman for the years 1334–36 A.H. (1916–18), Obaidur Rehman Collection, Peshawar.

36. Obaidur Rehman Collection, Peshawar, p. 136; and Letter from the Ministry of Justice, Jedi 17, 1300 (January 7, 1922), Obaidur Rehman Collection, Peshawar, p. 129.

37. For a full discussion of Sayf al-Rahman’s work in Afghanistan, see Sana Haroon, “Religious Revivalism across the Durand Line,” in Shahzad Bashir and Robert Crews (eds.), *Under the Drones: Modern Lives in the Afghanistan-Pakistan Borderlands* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

38. On payments to the Mulla Chaknawari et al., see Haroon (2008; above, note 1), p. 118.

39. Ibid., p. 183.

40. On Afghanistan’s support of the Fakir of Ipi in leading the Pashtunistan movement in 1953, see Donald L. Wilber, “Afghanistan: Independent and Encircled,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 1953, pp. 486–94.

41. Note that the spelling of Jam‘iyyat in Urdu is distinct from that of the Jama‘at used for the other organizations under discussion in this chapter as these are two different words.

42. The quotation is from Anonymous, “Jam‘iyyat ‘Ulama-yi Hind ka Millat Nawaz Ijlas,” *Muslim Outlook*, December 8, 1927, p. 5.

43. Mawlawi Anwar Shah drew heavily on a report prepared by Denys Bray and Norman Boulton that indicated the danger of preventing the Pashtuns from participating in government in the NWFP. See Mawlawi Anwar Shah, *Khutba-yi Sadarat: Ijlas-i Hashtum Jam‘iyyat al-‘Ulama-yi Hind bi Maqam Peshawar* (Jam‘iyyat al-‘Ulama-yi Hind, 1927), pp. 36–40.

44. Mawlawi Anwar Shah, quoting Denys Bray and Boulton's Report in Mawlawi Anwar Shah (1927; above, note 43), p. 44.

45. Ibid., p. 39.

46. Khan 'Abd al-Ghaffar Khan, *Meri Zindagi aur Jaddo Jehed* (Lahore: Hashim Raza Khan Advocate, n.d.), p. 59.

47. Ibid., pp. 103–5.

48. Ibid., p. 159.

49. Leon B. Poullada, *Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919–1929: King Amanullah's Failure to Modernize a Tribal Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973).

50. Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 200–201.

51. James Caron, "Cultural Histories of Pashtun Nationalism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009), p. 79.

52. James Caron, "Reading the Power of Printed Orality in Afghanistan," *Journal of Social History* 45.1 (2011), pp. 172–94; idem, "Afghan Historiography and Pashtun Islam: Modernization Theory's Afterimage," *History Compass* 5.2 (2007), pp. 314–29; and Christine Noelle-Karimi, "Maps and Spaces," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 45.1 (2013), pp. 142–45.

53. Nile Green, "The Trans-Border Traffic of Afghan Modernism: Afghanistan and the Indian 'Urdusphere,'" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 53.3 (2011), pp. 479–508. On mobility and trade, see Magnus Marsden, "From Kabul to Kiev: Afghan Trading Networks across the Former Soviet Union," *Modern Asian Studies* 49.4 (2015), pp. 1010–48.

54. On Bhopal, see Siobhan Lambert Hurley, *Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum on Bhopal* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007). More generally, see Robert Nichols, *A History of Pashtun Migration* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007).

55. For an evocative and engaging reading of poetry written by Malang Jan, a rural Pashtun in 1940s or '50s Afghanistan, see Caron (2011; above, note 52).

56. Barfield (2010; above, note 50), pp. 199–207.

57. Mahmud Tarzi, *Afghanistan* (Kabul: s.n., 1330/1903), pp. 20–21, available as New York University Afghan Digital Library (hereafter ADL) 0246: <http://hdl.handle.net/2333.1/9ghx3fpk>.

58. Ibid., p. 26.

59. Muhammad Husayn, *Jughrafiya-yi Afghanistan* (Kabul: s.n., 1923), ADL 10153: <http://hdl.handle.net/2333.1/905qftzp>.

60. Ibid., p. 80.

61. Ibid., p. 122.

62. Muhammad 'Ali Khan, *Afghanistan* (Lahore: s.n., 1306/1927) ADL 710: <http://hdl.handle.net/2333.1/4mw6m94t>. The text was published with the approval of the government minister Fayz Muhammad Khan.

63. Ibid., p. 66.

64. The first entry in Muhammad 'Ali Khan's bibliography (see above, note 62) is the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The twelfth edition (1922) did not provide such a broad-ranging study of Afghanistan, focusing instead on the minute details of Anglo-Afghan relations, but

it did provide such narratives in entries for Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Austria, among many other European states.

65. Tahir Amin, "Afghan Resistance: Past, Present and Future," *Asian Survey* 24.4 (1984), pp. 373–99.

66. Olivier Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 128–29; and Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004).

67. Hairan Khattak, *Sarguzasht-i Mujahidin-i Afghanistan* (Peshawar: Institute of Regional Studies, 1981).

68. Muhammad Shu'ayb Parishan Khattak, *Sarhadi Qaba'il ke Rasm aur Rawaj* (Peshawar: Parishan Khattak, Chairman Pashto Academy, 1979).

69. Thomas H. Eighmy, "Afghanistan Project Planning: Muhammad Agha Wolesswari," Report Submitted under Indefinite Contract, January 20, 1977, USAID. (Retrieved March 19, 2015: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnacn389.pdf.)

70. Richard Tapper, "Nomadism in Modern Afghanistan: Asset or Anachronism?" in Louis Dupree and Linette Albert (eds.), *Afghanistan in the 1970s* (New York: Praeger, 1974), pp. 126–43.

8. NATIONALISM, NOT ISLAM

1. For details about Jam'iyat-i Siri Milli, see Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar, *Afghanistan dar Masir Tarikh*, vol. 1 (Kabul: Matba'-yi Dawlati, 1967), pp. 717–19; 'Abd al-Hayy Habibi, *Junbish-i Mashrutiyat dar Afghanistan* (Kabul: Nashrat Dawlati, 1984); Sa'd al-Din Hashimi, *Nukhustin Kitab dar Bara-i Junbish-i Mashrutakhwahi dar Afghanistan*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Mashhad: Sunbula, 2004); and Faridullah Bezhan, "Pan-Islamism in Afghanistan: New Ideology, the Constitutional Party and King Amanullah," *Islam and Christian Muslim Relations* 25.2 (2014), pp. 193–210.

2. Benjamin D. Hopkins, *The Making of Modern Afghanistan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 11–13.

3. Bezhan (2014; above, note 1), p. 196.

4. Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar, *Afghanistan dar Masir-i Tarikh, Jild-i Du*, vol. 2 (Virginia: Speedy Publication, 1999), pp. 60–82.

5. For details, see Faridullah Bezhan, "World War II and Political Dynamics in Afghanistan," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50.2 (2014), pp. 175–91.

6. Milan Hauner, "Afghanistan between Great Powers," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 14.4 (1982), pp. 481–99.

7. Milan Hauner, *India in Axis Strategy: Germany, Japan, and Indian Nationalists in the Second World War* (London: Klett-Cotta, 1981).

8. Yuri Tikhonov, *Siyasat Kishwar-ha-yi Buzurg dar Afghanistan wa Qaba'il Pashtun, 1919–1945*, trans. 'Aziz Arianfar (Kabul: Intisharat-i Kawa, 2011), pp. 422–24.

9. Faridullah Bezhan, "Ethno-Religious Dynamics and the Emergence of the Secret Unity Party in Afghanistan in the Late 1940s," *Central Asian Survey* 31.4 (2012), p. 445.

10. For the close relationships between Britain and the Musahiban, see Ghubar (1999; above, note 4), pp. 92–99.

11. For details, see Ahmad 'Ali Kuhzad, *Balahisar-i Kabul wa Pishamad-ha-yi Tarikhi* (Kabul: Anjuman-i Tarikh, 1961), pp. 588–95.
12. Bezhan (2014; above, note 5), pp. 181–82.
13. Shams al-Din Majruh, *Sarguzasht-i Man* (Kabul: Matba'-yi Afghanistan, 2012), p. 103.
14. Faridullah Bezhan, "The Pashtunistan Issue and Afghanistan Politics, 1947–52," *Middle East Journal* 68.2 (2014), p. 197.
15. Ghulam Muhi al-Din Zarmalwal, *Jam'iyat Wish Zalmiyan* (Arlington: Sazman-i Mahajirin-i Afghanistan, 1988), p. 6.
16. It was edited by 'Abd al-Ra'uf Binawa and published by the Pashto Tulana in 1326/1946.
17. Muhammad Wali Zalmai, *De Istibdad aw Mutlaqyat pa Muqable ke de Zeno Afghanano Milli Mubariza* (Kabul: Maiwand, 2003), p. 269. See also Ghulam Muhi al-Din Zarmalwal, *De Wish Zalmiyan Mubariza aw de Istibdad 'Aksula'mal* (Ottawa and Peshawar: Danish, 2006), p. 43.
18. Ibid. See also Muhammad 'Alam Basirki, *Wish Zalmiyan: De Afghanistan Yaw Siyasi Tahrik* (s.l. [Netherlands]: Afghan Kulturi Tulana, 2000), p. 38; and Zalmai (2003; above, note 17), p. 269.
19. Fredrik Barth, "Pathan Identity and Its Maintenance," in idem (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1969), p. 119.
20. This fear was genuine. Indeed, in 1949 two liberal political parties emerged, Watan (Homeland) and Khalq (Masses). They were opposition parties and advocated substantial political and social change, including limiting the power of the royal family. For Watan, see Faridullah Bezhan, "The Rise and Fall of the Liberal Hezbe Watan or Homeland Party in Afghanistan, 1949–52," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 44.4 (2015), pp. 410–26.
21. James Caron, "Ambiguities of Orality and Literacy, Territory and Border Crossing: Public Activism and Pashto Literature in Afghanistan, 1930–2010," in Nile Green and Nushin Arbabzadah (eds.), *Afghanistan in Ink: Literature between Diaspora and Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).
22. James Caron, "Reading the Power of Printed Orality in Afghanistan: Popular Pashto Literature as Historical Evidence and Public Intervention," *Journal of Social History* 45.1 (2011), p. 180. Caron notes that in eastern Afghanistan the AYP focused its activities on two areas of public discourse that were not fully controlled by the state: religious sermons and subaltern poetry. See *ibid.*, p. 187.
23. See Basirki (2000; above, note 18), pp. 36–37; and Ghulam Hasan Safi, "Zalmiyan se Ghuali?" *Angar* 1.11 (1951), p. 1.
24. Basirki (2000; above, note 18), pp. 37–38.
25. U.S. Department of State, "Memorandum of Conversation with Nur Muhammad Taraki: Wikh [sic] Zalmian Party," American Embassy in Kabul, no. A-269, October and November 1963, p. 30.
26. Quoted in Vladimir Boyko, *Dawlat wa Upususyun dar Afghanistan, 1919–1953*, trans. 'Aziz Arianfar (Kabul: Maiwand, 2011), p. 328. See also idem, "The Origin of Political Parties in Contemporary Afghanistan in the Light of New Archival Data," *Central Asia* 46 (2000),

p. 193. Marwat claims that the membership in the party was about five thousand, which must be an exaggeration. See Fazal-Ul-Rahim Marwat, "The Impact of Wikh [*sic*] Zalmiyan Movement on Afghan Politics," *Central Asia* 36 (1995), p. 52.

27. 'Abd al-Razaq Farha'i, "Dar Kishwar-i ki Qanun Nabashad," *Ulus* 2.17 (1952), pp. 1–2.

28. Idem, "Sar-i Kalawa Gumshuda," *Angar* 1.5 (1951), p. 2.

29. See, for example, A. Muhib, "Tafkik-i Quwa," *Ulus* 2.19 (1952), p. 3. In an editorial, Gulpacha Ulfat highlighted the separation and independence of the three branches of power, the role of the government, and the rights of the people. See Gulpacha Ulfat, "Nazar-i bi Usul-i Asasi-yi Dawlat-i 'Ala-yi Afghanistan," *Ulus* 2.34 (1952), pp. 1–2. In another article, "Ghayr Qanuni Ijra'at" (Unconstitutional Undertakings), he criticizes the weekly meetings in the provinces under the auspices of the governors, which made big decisions, including imprisonment of people for long periods of time. These meetings merely substituted for the courts. See Gulpacha Ulfat, "Ghayr Qanuni Ijra'at," *Ulus* 2.28 (1952), pp. 1, 4.

30. Nur Muhammad Taraki, "Arzu-ha-yi Mardum," *Angar* 1.1 (1951), p. 2.

31. Idem, "Miguyand," *Angar* 1.3 (1951), p. 3.

32. 'Ali Asghar Shu'a'i, "Dars-i 'Amali Masawat" *Angar* 1.6–7 (1951), p. 2.

33. Idem, "Luzum-i Mujadila bi Ta'subat-i Bija" *Angar* 1.4 (1951), p. 1.

34. Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar, "Wahdat-i Milli," *Angar* 1.11 (1951), p. 1.

35. Mirza Muhammad Ludi, *De Wish Zalmiyan Ghurzang* (Kabul: Akadimi-yi 'Ulum, 2013), p. 114.

36. Smith defines an *ethnos* or an ethnic community as "a named human community with myths of common ancestry, historical memories and one or more elements of shared culture." See Anthony Smith, "Hierarchy and Covenant in the Formation of Nations," in Annika Hvithamar, Margit Warburg, and Brian A. Jacobsen (eds.), *Holy Nations and Global Identities: Civil Religion, Nationalism and Globalization* (Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 23.

37. Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of the Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 30.

38. Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 69; Olivier Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 18–20; and Alfred Janata, "Afghanistan: The Ethnic Dimension," in Ewan Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (eds.), *The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism* (London and New York: Printer Publishers, 1990), pp. 60–70.

39. Zarmalwal (1988; above, note 15), p. 6. In one of the general meetings Rishtin, a leader of the party, proposed the name of the party should be Wish Pashtun (Awaken Pashtun) instead of Wish Zalmiyan (Awaken Youth). See Ghubar (1999; above, note 4), p. 240.

40. Thomas J. Barfield, "Weapon of the Not So Weak in Afghanistan: Pashtun Agrarian Structure and Tribal Organization for Times of War and Peace," New Haven Agrarian Studies Colloquium Series: Hinterlands, Frontiers, Cities and States: Transactions and Identities, Yale University, 2007: www.yale.edu/agrarianstudies/colloqpapers/19barfield.pdf (last accessed December 12, 2013), p. 10.

41. Roy notes that a Pashtun "defines himself in opposition to everything which is not Pashtun. The *shari'a*, on the other hand, attempts to transcend specific groups such as tribes, *qawm* and other *asabiyya* in the universality of the *umma*." See Roy (1990; above, note 38), p. 36.

42. See Neamat Allah, *Neamat Ullah's History of the Afghans*, trans. B. Dorn (New Delhi: Bhavana Books and Print, 2000), pp. 37–38; and Barth (1969; above, note 19), p. 119.

43. Lutz Rzehak, “Doing Pashto: Pashtunwali as the Ideal of Honourable Behaviour and Tribal Life among the Pashtuns,” *Afghan Analysts Network*, 2011: <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org> (last accessed May 15, 2015), p. 1. See also Qiyam al-Din Khadim, *Pashtunwali* (Kabul: Pashto Tulana, 1331/1952), p. 10. *Pashtunwali* is a set of social norms shared by Pashtuns that cover such issues as rules of solidarity, conflict resolution, the ascension to power, and leadership, as well as general notions of shame and honor. See Bernt Glatzer, “The Pashtun Tribal System,” in Georg Pfeffer and Deepak Kumar Behera (eds.), *Concept of Tribal Society* (New Delhi: Concept Publishers, 2002), p. 260; and Rzehak (2011; above, this note), pp. 1–2. Khadim, a leader of AYP, attributed around fifty issues to *pashtunwali*. Most scholars agree that the Pashto language is one of the main elements of *pashtunwali*, and most Pashtuns agree that Pashtun and Pashto (language) “are inextricable.” See Leonard N. Bartlotti, “Modern Pashtu Literature,” in Philp Kreyenbroek and Ulrich Marzolph (eds.), *Oral Literature of Iranian Languages: Kurdish, Pashto, Balochi, Ossetic, Persian and Tajik* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 114–15; and Rzehak (2011; above, this note), p. 2.

44. See for example, Khadim (1952; above, note 43); ‘Abdullah Bakhtani, *Pashtane Khoyona* (Kabul: Nashrato Loy Modiriyat, 1953); and Gulpacha Ulfat, *Pashtane Dudune* (Kabul: Pashtu Tulana, 1957).

45. Barfield (2007; above, note 40), pp. 10–11.

46. John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 1.

47. The Muhammadza’i (a branch of the Barakza’i of the Durrani tribe) captured the Kabul throne in 1826 under Amir Dust Muhammad and continued in power (with the exception of nine months’ rule by Habibullah Kalakani in 1929) until 1978. See Vartan Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernization, 1880–1946* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), pp. 30–32.

48. M. Nazif Shahrani, “The Future of the State and the Structure of the Community Governance in Afghanistan,” in William Maley (ed.), *Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban* (University Press, 1998), p. 233. According to Schetter, the main reasons for the predominance of Pashtun-biased nationalism were that “the Pashtuns constituted the most numerous ethnic category, and the Pashtun tribes of eastern Afghanistan were considered as the militarily strongest forces in the country. Furthermore, the royal family was Pashtun, and the word ‘Afghan’ was used in Afghanistan as a synonym for Pashtun.” See Conrad Schetter, “Ethnoscapes, National Territorialisation, and the Afghan War,” *Geopolitics*, 10.1 (2005), p. 7.

49. See Christine F. Ridout, “Authority Patterns and the Afghan Coup of 1973,” *Middle East Journal* 29.2 (1975), p. 174; Sir Michael Gillett, “Afghanistan,” *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 53.3 (1966), p. 241; and Leon Poullada, “The Search for National Unity,” in Louis Dupree and Linette Albert (eds.), *Afghanistan in the 1970s* (New York: Praeger, 1974), p. 40. Shahrani notes that in publicizing this idea the royal family had “convinced not only themselves but many Western experts and even agents of foreign governments, that there cannot be an Afghanistan without Pashtun leadership.” See Shahrani (1998; above,

note 48), p. 233. It was due to this perception that after the collapse of the Taliban in 2001, in the UN-sponsored Bonn Conference, of December 2001, the international community decided to install Hamid Karzi as the interim head of state. At the conference 'Abd al-Satar Sirat was initially chosen to lead the interim government, but he was asked by the Americans to step aside in favor of Karzai because of his ethnicity. Karzai is a Pashtun from Qandahar, whereas Sirat is from the minority Uzbek ethnic group, in the north.

50. Nick Cullather, "Damming Afghanistan: Modernization in a Buffer State," *Journal of American History* 89.2 (2002), p. 8.

51. Amin Saikal, *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival*, with assistance from R. Farhadi and K. Nourzhanov, 2nd ed. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), p. 100.

52. Janata (1990; above, note 38), p. 62.

53. Rubin (2002; above, note 38), p. 66.

54. Zalma'i (2003; above, note 17), p. 268. See also Saikal (2011; above, note 51), pp. 114–16.

55. Bezhan (2014; above, note 5), p. 179. See also M. Sidiq Farhang, *Afghanistan dar Panj Qarn-i Akhir*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: 'Irfan, 1992), p. 665; idem, *Khatirat-i Sidiq Farhang* (Tehran: Tessa, 2015), pp. 212–13; 'Abd al-Hamid Mubariz, *Mashrutiyyat Sivum wa Aghaz-i Dimukrasi dar Afghanistan* (Kabul: Maiwand, 2014), p. 82.

56. For details, see Bezhan (2014; above, note 14), pp. 197–209.

57. Christopher Cramer and Jonathan Goodhand, "Try Again, Fail Again, Fail Better? War, the State, and the 'Post-Conflict' Challenge in Afghanistan," *Development and Change* 33. 5 (2002), p. 903.

58. A. L. P. Burdett (ed.), *Afghanistan Strategic Intelligence: British Records, 1919–1970*, vol. 4 (London: Archive Editions, 2002), pp. 181–82.

59. Roman Timofeevich Akhramovich, *Outline History of Afghanistan after the Second World War* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), p. 73.

60. Burdett (2002; above, note 58), p. 229.

61. For details, see Bezhan (2012; above, note 9).

62. See Ludi (2013; above, note 35), p. 104; and Farhang (2015; above, note 55), p. 211.

63. Fredrik Barth, *Features of Person and Society in Swat: Collected Essays on Pathans* (London: Routledge, 1981), p. 105; and Rzehak (2011; above, note 43), pp. 1–3.

64. Zarmalwal (2006; above, note 17), p. 48.

65. Anthony Smith, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 6–7.

66. Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge, *Negotiation of Identities in Multicultural Contexts* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004), p. 4.

67. Bartlotti (2010; above, note 43), p. 115.

68. Ibid., p. 132; and Senzil Nawid, "Language Policy in Afghanistan: Linguistic Diversity and National Unity," in Harold Schiffman (ed.), *Language Policy and Language Conflict in Afghanistan and Its Neighbours: The Changing Politics of Language Choice* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 36–37.

69. Ludi (2013; above, note 35), p. 110.

70. For an overview of Islam in Afghanistan, see Green's introduction to this volume.

71. Bezhan (2012; above, note 9), p. 450. Thus at this time Persian had been banned as a medium of instruction in Afghanistan's official educational system. However, just after World War II and severe criticism from the outside world, especially the U.N., in the late

1940s Persian was allowed to be used as a medium of instruction in non-Pashtun areas. See Ghubar (1999; above, note 4), p. 206.

72. See Gregorian (1969; above, note 47), p. 352; Farhang (1992; above, note 55), pp. 635–38; and G. F. Girs, *Pashto Hunari Nasr*, trans. Muhtamid Shinwari (Kabul: Intisharat-i Kumita-yi Dawlati, 1987), pp. 33–34. Until the collapse of the Musahiban dynasty in 1978, these courses were in full operation around the country. According to Gharghasht, in Kabul alone there were 450 courses in the early 1960s. See M. Nasir Gharghasht, *Rahnuma-yi Kabul* (Kabul: Dawlati Matbaʼi, 1966), p. 45.

73. Hafizullah Emadi, *Dynamics of Political Development in Afghanistan: The British, Russian and American Invasions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 45.

74. James Caron, “Cultural Histories of Pashtun Nationalism: Public Participation and Social Inequality in Monarchic Afghanistan, 1905–1960” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009), p. 173.

75. In 1947 the Pashtuns on the Indian side of the Durand Line were asked in a referendum to choose between becoming citizens of India or of Pakistan. The Congress Party had demanded that they should be allowed to vote for independence as well, but this was rejected by Lord Mountbatten in order to “avoid complications.” See George Montagno, “The Pak-Afghan Detente,” *Asian Survey* 3.12 (1963), p. 620; and Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 187.

76. For the agreement, see C. U. Aitchison (ed.), *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating India and Neighbouring Countries*, vol. 13, no. 13, *Persia and Afghanistan* (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1933).

77. To affirm this abrogation, a Pashtunistan Day was officially celebrated each year in August, a major square in Kabul was renamed Pashtunistan Square, symbolic postage stamps were issued, a daily program was aired on national radio, and many other forms of publicity, including publications of books, were organized. For details, see Bezhan (2014; above, note 14).

78. Safi (1951; above, note 23), p. 1.

79. Basirki (2000; above, note 18), p. 20. The AYP sent Basirki to Pakistan to talk with the Red Shirts’ leadership. He held extensive meetings on the issue with Abdul Samad Achakzai (1907–73), the leader of the Pashtun nationalist movement in Baluchistan. See *ibid.*, pp. 20–22.

80. ‘Abd al-Habib Safi, “Pashtunistan pa Gatum,” *Angar* 1.9 (1951), p. 3.

81. The government even established a Department of the Frontier. It was soon upgraded to a ministry, to handle Pashtunistan affairs exclusively.

82. Roy (1990; above, note 38), p. 18.

83. Basirki reports that the party also tried to found a private national school (*milli maktab*), to be taught by members of the party on a voluntary basis. See Basirki (2000; above, note 18), p. 61. Perhaps they intended to establish a model school, but the suppression of the party in 1952 stopped the project.

84. Babrak Ghishtili, “Ma Chi Mikhwahim?” *Angar* 1.10 (1951), p. 2.

85. For details, see Ghubar (1999; above, note 4).

86. Richard Newell, *Politics of Afghanistan* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 75.

87. Gilles Dorronsoro, *Revolution Unending: Afghanistan, 1979 to the Present*, trans. John King (London: Hurst and Co., 2005), p. 57.
88. *Muram-nama-yi Jam'iyat al-'Ulama-yi Afghanistan* (Kabul: Matba'-yi 'Umumi-yi Sarkari, 1929), pp. 3–5.
89. M. S., "Riyakar Ta," *Angar* 1.10 (1951), p. 3.
90. Ghulam Hasan Safi, "Da'wat-i Mardum bi Khurafat," *Nida-yi Khalq* 1.3 (1951), p. 2.
91. See Zarmalwal (2006; above, note 17), p. 62; and Asta Olesen, *Islam and Politics in Afghanistan* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995), p. 213.
92. Basirki (2000; above, note 18), p. 55.
93. Ibid., p. 54; and Zarmalwal (2006; above, note 17), p. 62.
94. Quoted in Marwat (1995; above, note 26), p. 65.
95. Fazal-ul-Rahim Marwat, *The Evolution and Growth of Communism in Afghanistan (1917–1919): An Appraisal* (Karachi: Royal Book, 1997), p. 250.
96. See for example, S. Fida Yunas, *Afghanistan: Political Parties, Groups, Movements and Mujahideen Alliances and Governments, 1879–1997* (s.l.: s.n., 1997), p. 44; Mohammad Anwar Khan, "The Emergence of Religious Parities in Afghanistan," in Fazal-ur-Rehim Marwat and Syed Wiqar Ali Shah Kakakhel (eds.), *Afghanistan and the Frontier* (Peshawar: Emjay Books International, 1993); Muhammad Taqi Wahidi, "Diruz wa Imruz-i Ahzab-i Afghani," *Khat Sivum* 3–4 (2003), p. 81.
97. For the Mujaddidi family and their role in Afghan politics during the twentieth century, see Olesen (1995; above, note 91); and David B. Edwards, "Charismatic Leadership and Political Process in Afghanistan," *Central Asian Survey* 5.3–4 (1986), especially pp. 287–92. The current leader of the family, Sibghatullah Mujaddidi (b. 1926), explained the role of the family in Afghan politics in the course of the twentieth century to Edwards in 1983 as follows: "The idea was that our family was going to act as a controller on the government of Afghanistan. We were going to be in the capital so that we could control the governments, the kings and ministers and others. And nearly all the time we were advising." See *ibid.*, p. 287. If this was true, then the AYP's direct confrontation with the family was a very bold move.
98. Basirki (2000; above, note 18), p. 52.

9. GLOSSY GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

1. For an exploration of the various outside agendas and financial flows, see Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 196–225; William Maley, *The Afghanistan Wars* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 56–70; and Robert D. Crews (2015; above, note 1), *Afghan Modern: The History of a Global Nation* (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015), pp. 255–57. For a particular Pakistani perspective on how the country saw itself successfully managing the *jihad* in Afghanistan, see Mohammad Yousaf with Mark Adkin, *The Bear Trap: Afghanistan's Untold Story* (London: L. Cooper, 1992).
2. Olivier Roy, *Afghanistan: From Holy War to Civil War* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1995), pp. 27–40; M. Hassan Kakar, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979–1982* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 81–88; and Almut Wieland-Karimi, "Islamische Konzepte und politische Koalitionen,"

in Conrad J. Schetter and Almut Wieland-Karimi (eds.), *Afghanistan in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Beiträge zur Afghanistanforschung* (Frankfurt: IKO, 1999).

3. Michael Pohly, *Krieg und Widerstand in Afghanistan: Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen seit 1978* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1992), pp. 171–72; and Amin Saikal, 1992–1996,” in William Maley (ed.), *Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban* (London: Hurst, 1998) pp. 30–31.

4. His original name was problematic insofar as it was perceived as giving undue veneration to the Prophet of Islam, thus infringing on God’s right to exclusive worship. See David B. Edwards, *Before Taliban: Genealogies of the Afghan Jihad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 266–67. For a discussion of Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s exclusive conception of God’s unicity (*tawhid*), see Esther Peskes, *Muḥammad b. ‘Abdalwahhāb, 1703–92, im Widerstreit: Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der Frühgeschichte der Wahhābiya* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), pp. 22–27.

5. Mustafa Hamid and Leah Farrall, *The Arabs at War in Afghanistan* (London: Hurst, 2015), p. 42. See also Gilles Dorronsoro, *Revolution Unending: Afghanistan, 1979 to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 154.

6. Edwards (2002; above, note 4), p. 178; and Anthony Hyman, *Afghanistan under Soviet Domination, 1964–91* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 211–13.

7. Edwards (2002; above, note 4), p. 282; and Roy (1995; above, note 2), pp. 11–15 and pp. 113–15.

8. Alex van Strick Linschoten and Felix Kuehn, *An Enemy We Created: The Myth of the Taliban–Al Qaeda Merger in Afghanistan, 1970–2010* (London: Hurst, 2012), p. 59; and Asta Olesen, *Islam and Politics in Afghanistan* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995), pp. 292–95.

9. Brynjar Lia, *Architect of Global Jihad: The Life of al-Qaida Strategist Abu Mus‘ab al-Suri* (London: Hurst, 2007), p. 87.

10. Thomas Hegghammer, “Abdallah Azzam, the Imam of Jihad,” in Gilles Kepel and Jean-Pierre Milelli (eds.), *Al Qaeda in Its Own Words* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008). For a discussion of how ‘Azzam also took a great interest in collecting and publicizing the supernatural occurrences of the Afghan *jihad*, see Darryl Li, “Taking the Place of Martyrs: Afghans and Arabs under the Banner of Islam,” *Arab Studies Journal* 20.1 (2012), pp. 20–24.

11. Lia (2007; above, note 9), p. 90.

12. Madawi Al-Rasheed, *Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 103.

13. Vahid Brown and Don Rassler, *Fountainhead of Jihad: The Haqqani Nexus, 1973–2012* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), pp. 76–77.

14. Eden Naby, “Islam within the Afghan Resistance,” *Third World Quarterly* 10.2 (1988), p. 789.

15. Robert Crews, in his excellent work *Afghan Modern* (2015; above, note 1), which has also informed some of the arguments below, argues (for example) that by 1991 the *Mujahideen Monthly*, published by Hikmatyar’s Hizb-i Islami, came to collapse “the Soviets and Americans together into a single enemy with a common future.” Yet, if one pays attention

to the party's publication in Dari/Pashto and Urdu, it becomes obvious that its equally anti-Soviet and anti-United States stance has been consistent throughout the 1980s. See Crews (2015; above, note 1), p. 267. For an example of an earlier equation of the United States with Russia, see 'Alam al-Din Asir, "Agar mi-khwahid az istismar najat yabid, biya'id ba isti'mar fursat na-dahid," *Shafaq*, 2nd series, 3.3–4 (Mizan–Aqrab 1366/October–November 1987), pp. 62–64. See also Dorronsoro (2005; above, note 5), p. 155.

16. To search their holdings, many of which are digitized, see either <http://acku.edu.af/> or <http://www.afghandata.org/> (accessed January 19, 2016).

17. These books "glorified the killing of Soviets in the name of *jihad*. Children learned arithmetic by adding and subtracting guns, tanks, and bullets. The letter 'jim' was for *ji-had*, and 'mim' was for *mujahidin*, who 'fight the infidels.'" See Crews (2015; above, note 1), pp. 256–57. For an example of such a textbook from September 1987, see <http://www.afghandata.org:8080/xmlui/handle/azu/5186> (accessed January 19, 2016).

18. Classifying the parties is notoriously difficult. The labeling adopted here is a modified, simplified, but by no means fully successful attempt to reconcile the typologies offered by Gilles Dorronsoro and Barnett Rubin. Compare Dorronsoro (2005; above, note 5), pp. 149–69, and Rubin (2002; above, note 1), pp. 203–23.

19. For an excellent, detailed overview, an evaluation of the importance of specific publications, and details about their physical appearance, see Jan-Heeren Grevemeyer and Tahera Maiwand-Grevemeyer, *Afghanistan: Presse und Widerstand* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1988). For an argument about the importance of pamphlets and periodicals circulating among students in laying "the groundwork for the establishment of a new kind of 'imagined community': the authoritarian political party," and for establishing new self-conceptions as being Afghan Muslims, see David B. Edwards, "Summoning Muslims: Print, Politics, and Religious Ideology in Afghanistan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 52.3 (1993), pp. 610–11.

20. For a recent example of such a body of literature, see Hamid and Farrall (2015; above, note 5).

21. See for example, Olivier Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 139–48; David Busby Edwards, "The Evolution of Shi'i Political Dissent in Afghanistan," in Juan Ricardo Cole and Nikki R. Keddie (eds.), *Shi'ism and Social Protest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); and Sayed Askar Mousavi, *The Hazaras of Afghanistan: An Historical, Cultural, Economic and Political Study* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998), pp. 181–86. Scholars have also noticed an increasing Iranian desire during the 1980s to establish groups under their direct leadership, regarding the Afghans as too retrograde and not reliable enough. See Zalmay Khalilzad, "The Iranian Revolution and the Afghan Resistance," in Martin S. Kramer (ed.), *Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987). For a related discussion of the significant agency that even supposedly unwavering Pakistani supporters of Iran's export of the Revolution in the region have displayed, see also Simon Wolfgang Fuchs, "Third Wave Shi'ism: Sayyid 'Arif Husain al-Husaini and the Islamic Revolution in Pakistan," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd series, 24.3 (2014), pp. 493–510.

22. Rolf Bindemann, *Religion und Politik bei den schi'itischen Hazàra in Afghanistan, Iran und Pakistan* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1987), pp. 34–48. Edwards has characterized

the beliefs held by Hazaras prior to the twentieth century as an “insular, self-contained faith that emphasized veneration of shrines and uncritical reference for sayyids as bearers of *karamat* (miracles) while downplaying formal theology and the purely historical significance of shrines and sacred descent in Shi‘ism.” See Edwards (1986; above, note 21), p. 204.

23. Bindemann writes that he was unable to collect any more detailed information on the precise development, timing, and extent of the shift from the master-disciple relationship to the *taqlid* of a jurist. See Bindemann (1987; above, note 22), p. 36.

24. Crews (2015; above, note 1), p. 231 and pp. 266–67.

25. “Nigahi bi karnamahayi-yi Jam‘iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan dar ab‘ad-i mukhtalif-i jihad,” *Misaq-i Khun*, 2nd series, 6.1 (Hamal 1370/March 1991), p. 7. See also ‘Abd Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf, “al-Nas yatasa‘iluna madha ba‘d hadha?” *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 24 (Safr 1408/August 1988), p. 4.

26. This trope of “empty hands” as describing the first months and years of the *jihad* is recurrent in the journals related to the Afghan *jihad*. See, for example, Sayyid Ahmad Gilani, “Sirf hamari shara‘it par qa‘im honiwali ‘uburi hukumat taslim ki ja‘igi,” *Mahaz* 2.1 (February–April 1988), p. 7.

27. “Haqq awr batil ke dar miyan jang,” *Hijrat* 1.3 (December 1982), p. 6.

28. “Problems in the Issue of Afghanistan,” *Mirror of Jihad* 1.4 (July–August 1982), p. 31.

29. “Ma na-bayad arman-i shuhadai-yi ‘aziz-i khud-ra faramush kunim,” *Misaq-i Khun*, 2nd series, 2.3–4 (Saratan 1366/June 1987), pp. 11–12.

30. M. Enam Raoufi, “Editorial: Year of 1978 as Challenge for Afghanistan Muslim People,” *The Mirror of Jihad*, 2nd series, 1.1–2 (1986), p. 4.

31. Al-Afghani had in all likelihood been born into an Iranian Shi‘i family and adopted a supposedly Sunni Afghan pedigree in order to broaden the pan-Islamic appeal of his message. See Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn “al-Afghānī”: A Political Biography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), p. 25.

32. Muhammad Ma‘ruf Furughgar, “Wa aknun chih bayad kard?” *Shafaq*, 2nd series, 3.1–2 (Asad–Sunbula 1366/July–August 1987), pp. 355–64.

33. “Paygham-i Shafaq: Labbayka allahum labbayka,” *Shafaq*, 2nd series, 4.12 (Saratan 1368/July 1989), p. 1. Compare also “Now or Never,” *The Mirror of Jihad* 1.1–2 (September–October 1986), p. 9; and ‘Abd Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf, “Mata nakunu a‘izza?” *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 16 (Rabi‘ al-Awwal–Rabi‘ al-Thani 1408/October–November 1987), p. 5.

34. Edwards (1993; above, note 19), p. 625.

35. Rubin (2002; above, note 1), p. 203.

36. Almut Wieland, *Islamische Mystik in Afghanistan: Die strukturelle Einbindung der Sufik in die Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag, 1998), pp. 124–25. A branch of the Gilani family established itself in Afghanistan in the early twentieth century. King Habibullah had invited a brother of the order’s master, who resided in the Hijaz, to settle in the province of Nangarhar (see *ibid.*, pp. 23–24 and p. 123). For a more critical view, namely that Gilani, while keeping up his outward Sufi appearance, “allowed the order to acquire a secular character and more particularly to become a network of clientism,” see Olivier Roy, “Sufism in the Afghan Resistance,” *Central Asian Survey* 2.4 (1983), p. 66.

37. “Matn-i Dari-yi Maramnama,” *Mahaz* 1.1 (Qaws–Jadi 1365/December 1986–January 1987), p. 16.

38. Sayyid Ahmad Gilani, "Ma bi hich kas haqq nami-dahim ki khud ra bar millat-i ma tahmil kunad," *Mahaz* 1.5 (Sunbulah 1366/July 1987), p. 8.

39. A'zam does not provide a particular date for his travels. We may speculate that this journey happened sometime in the late 1960s or early 1970s, when he pursued a Master's degree in agricultural economics at the American University in Beirut. See http://www.afghan-bios.info/index.php?option=com_afghanbios&id=2935&task=view&total=3240&start=418&Itemid=2 (accessed on January 21, 2016).

40. For the changing role of religion within the Palestinian resistance, see also Helga Baumgarten, "The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948–2005," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34.4 (2005), pp. 25–48.

41. Faruq A'zam, "Satwen sawr ke waqi' ki muzammat ke tawr par Afghanistan ke Milli Islami Mahaz ke mu'awin Daktar Faruq A'zam ka khitab," *Mahaz* 2.1 (February–April 1988), p. 13.

42. See, for example, Burhan al-Din Rabbani, "Matn-i sukhanrani-yi rahbar-i Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan dar ijtimai' i muhajidin, muhajirin wa a'zayi-yi dafatir-i Jam'iyyat-i Islami dar daftar-i markazi bi-tarikh 6/10/1365)," in idem, *Irshad-i jihad: Majmu' hayi az sukhanraniha, payamha wa musahabahayi-yi rahbar-i Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan* (Tehran: Kunitih-i farhangi-yi daftar-i markazi Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan, 1990), p. 53; 'Abd Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf, "Ma taraka qaum al-jihad illa dhallu," *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 30 (Rajab 1410/February 1990); p. 4; and idem, "Masir al-shiyu' iyya al-hamra," *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 31 (Ramadan 1410/April 1990), pp. 4–5.

43. "Ma hargiz dar barabir sarkubi-yi nahzat-i Islami khamush buda nami-tawanim," *Misaq-i Khun* 4.5–6 (Asad–Sunbula 1368/July–August 1989), pp. 7–12. For a detailed account of the massacre at Takhar, where members of the Hizb-i Islami killed thirty renowned commanders of the Jam'iyyat-i Islami on July 9, 1989, see Pohly (1992; above, note 3), pp. 368–70.

44. For an exploration of the transformation of these discourses in the context of Pakistan, see Simon Wolfgang Fuchs, "Relocating the Centers of Shi'i Islam: Religious Authority, Sectarianism, and the Limits of the Transnational in Colonial India and Pakistan" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2015), pp. 254–309.

45. Incorporating ideas and a generally accommodating attitude, it has to be said, did not ultimately translate into the acceptance of Shi'i parties as equal partners, their inclusion into an envisioned transitional government after the Russian withdrawal, or the recognition of their military contributions during the *jihad*. See for a discussion, embedded in the context of rivalries between Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran, Rubin (2002; above, note 1), pp. 248–55; and Andreas Rieck, "Irans Politik im Afghanistankonflikt seit 1992," in Schetter and Wieland-Karimi (eds.), *Afghanistan in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

46. Burhan al-Din Rabbani, "Matn-i bayaniyya-yi rahbar-i Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan dar mahfili ki bi tarikh 31/2/1366 dar muhawata-yi Ashrafiyya-yi Pakistan bi-munasabat-i buzurgdasht-i khatarehayi-yi hamasa afarini-yi shuhada irad shuda bud," in idem (1990; above, note 42), p. 43.

47. On the chaotic situation in Kunar during this time, see Dorronsoro (2005; above, note 5), pp. 230–32; and Kevin Bell, "The First Islamic State: A Look Back at the Islamic Emirate of Kunar," *CTC SENTINEL* 9.2 (2016), pp. 9–14.

48. "Hum al-'adu wa-ihdharu," *Al-Mujahid* 1.3 (Rajab 1409/February 1989), p. 18.
49. "Fadila al-Shaykh Jamil al-Rahman fi liqa ma' al-Mujahid," *Al-Mujahid* 1.5–6 (Ramadan–Shawwal 1409/April–May 1989), p. 17.
50. Even though another party leader, Mawlawi Muhammad Yunus Khalis, has been charged with expressing extreme anti-Shi'i positions, Kevin Bell holds that "there are few textual clues that offer insight into this part of his thinking." See Kevin Bell, *Usama bin Ladin's "Father Sheikh": Yunus Khalis and the Return of al-Qa'ida's Leadership to Afghanistan* (West Point: The Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, 2013), p. 11 n. 56. For a critique of the foreign/local dichotomy, according to which Arab fighters were trying to impose their version of Islam on the Afghans, on the grounds that it "ignores the specific power relationships between Afghans and their guests while at the same time making unacknowledged judgments about what constitutes 'correct' or 'authentic' religious practice," see also Li (2012; above, note 10), p. 30.
51. "Millat-i mu'min-i ma dar azmungah-i qurbani," *Shafaq* 1.1 (Asad 1366/July 1985), p. 35.
52. For more information on him, see Andreas Rieck, *The Shias of Pakistan: An Assertive and Beleaguered Minority* (London: Hurst, 2015), p. 420 n. 347.
53. M. Puya, "Payam-i 'ashura," *Shafaq*, 2nd series, 3.1–2 (Asad–Sunbula 1366/July–August 1987), pp. 66–75.
54. "Sayyid Mansur 'Husayn Yar' shahidi az rahiyani-i Husayn (r. z.), Amir-i jihad-i wilayat-i Baghlan," *Shafaq*, 2nd series, 3.1–2 (Asad–Sunbula 1366/July–August 1987), p. 307.
55. 'Abd Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf, "Inna al-jihad al-yaum yamirr bi-akhtar marhalih," *Al-Bunayn al-Marsus* 11 (January 1987), p. 14.
56. Dr. Sami'ullah, "Jihad ya khana jangi," *Mahaz* 3.1 (April 1989), p. 27.
57. Burhan al-Din Rabbani, "Matn-i sukhani-rani-yi rahbar-i Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan dar ijtimai'-i 'azim-i daha hazar nafar az muhajirin-i Afghani wa baradaran-i ansar-i Iran ki bi-tarikh 12/12/1366 dar masjid-i Imam Khumayni-yi Tihiran irad gardid," in idem (1990; above, note 42), p. 12.
58. Burhan al-Din Rabbani, "Matn-i sukhani-rani-yi rahbar-i Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan dar majlis-i tawzih-i shura-yi nuzzar dar tarikh 14 Asad sal 1367," in idem (1990; above, note 42), p. 81.
59. "Sawr inqilab ki akhari hichki," *Mahaz* 3.1 (April 1989), p. 4.
60. "Jihad az didga-yi Qur'an," *Misaq-i Khun* 1.2 (Jadi 1359/December 1980), p. 60.
61. Dr. Faruq A'zam, "27 Disimbar Afghani muhajirin awr Pakistani ansar ke mushtarak ijtima' se Milli Islami Mahaz ke mu'awin Doktor Faruq A'zam ka khitab," *Mahaz* 1.4 (November 1986–January 1987), pp. 10–11.
62. Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, "Our Stand on War and Peace in Afghanistan," *Mirror of Jihad*, 2nd series, 1–2.6–7 (January–February 1987), p. 6.
63. Burhan al-Din Rabbani (1990; above, note 57), p. 10.
64. Turiyali Hahi, "Kunar ki wadiyon men khunrizi larayi," *Mahaz* 1.4 (November 1986–January 1987), pp. 25–27. See also Mawlana Sayyid al-'Arifin, *Jihad-i Afghanistan ka yikta mujahid: Hazrat Mawlana Rahat Gul* (Peshawar: Rahat al-Musannifin Markaz-i 'Ulum-i Islamiyya, 2008), p. 118.
65. Dr. Faruq A'zam (1986–87; above, note 61), p. 11.

66. For a moving account of one such instance and the assurance that this report was not a carefully crafted piece of fiction but rather a faithful rendition of one example among hundreds of such events in Afghanistan, see “Khadim-i mujahid,” *Shafaq* 3.2 (Sawr 1365/April 1986), pp. 61–64.

67. Dr. Arizu’i, “Hushdar bi millat-i musalmanan-i Afghanistan,” *Misaq-i Khun*, 2nd series, 2.3–4 (Jauza–Saratan 1366/June–July 1987), p. 191.

68. “‘Awamil-i asasi-yi mushkilat-i nahzat wa rah-i hall-i an,” *Shafaq* 2.1 (Asad 1364/July 1985), pp. 14–19; and “‘Awamil-i asasi-yi mushkilat-i nahzat wa rah-i hall-i an,” *Shafaq* 2.2–3 (Sunbula–Mizan 1364/August–September 1985), pp. 20–24.

69. Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, “Jahanbini-yi tawhidi,” *Shafaq* 2.2–3 (Sunbula–Mizan 1364/August–September 1985), pp. 9–12.

70. Burhan al-Din Rabbani, “Ba-milad-i rasul-i akram na tanha naqash-i jahan taghyir yaft balka tahawwalat-i ‘azimi dar jami’a-yi insani bi-miyan amad,” *Misaq-i Khun*, 2nd series, 2.8–9 (‘Aqrab–Qaws 1366/October–November 1987), pp. 4–10. For an exploration of Islamic student activism and a discussion of the logistics of spreading pamphlets and other literature, see Edwards (2002; above, note 4), pp. 177–224.

71. “Takhrij al-duf’a al-thania min al-jami’a al-harbiyya li-l-mujahidin,” *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 17–18 (Rabi‘ al-Awwal–Rabi‘ al-Thani 1408/October–November 1987), p. 44.

72. Muhammad ‘Arif Gharwal, “Bar sar-i paykar mujahidon ke nam,” *Mahaz* 3.1 (February–April 1989), p. 9

73. Muhammad Hasan Tawhidi, “Tabligh ke adab o shara’it,” *Mahaz* 2.2 (May–July 1988), pp. 48–49.

74. Idem, “Tabligh ke adab o shara’it,” *Mahaz* 2.3 (August–October 1988), pp. 52–53.

75. Sayyid Ahmad Gilani, “Milli-yi Islami ke liye muntakhab shura ke zarurat he,” *Mahaz* 2.3 (August–October 1988), pp. 9–12.

76. ‘Abd Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf, “Akhi al-Muslim,” *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 4 (Rabi‘ al-Awwal 1406/December 1985), pp. 4–5.

77. Sayyid Ahmad Gilani, “Sirf hamari shara’it par qa’im honiwal i ‘uburi hukumat taslim ki ja’igi,” *Mahaz* 2.1 (February–April 1988), p. 6.

78. Abu Zayd, “Dhurwat sanam al-Islam,” *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 6 (May 1986), pp. 23–25.

79. Umm Suhayb, “Min ayna nabda’ al-‘ibada,” *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 6 (May 1986), pp. 49–50.

80. Umm ‘Abd al-Rahman, “Risala,” *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 6 (May 1986), p. 51.

81. ‘Abd al-Rahim Ludhiyanwi, *Safarnama-i Jihad-i Afghanistan* (Karachi: Dar al-Ifta wa-l-Irshad, 1994), pp. 192–93 and pp. 202–3.

82. Fida Muhammad Fayiz, “Kumunizm nizam-i ikhtinaq wa wahshat,” *Shafaq* 2.1 (Asad 1364/July 1985), pp. 38–40. For a discussion of communism as a failing man-made system, see also ‘Abd Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf, “Masir al-shuyu’iyya al-hamra,” pp. 4–5. Russian policies toward religion in general and Islam in particular in fact underwent several phases, with a hostile approach bent on eradicating religion from society prevailing until 1941, a rather liberal phase in the 1950s, and a renewed attempt to contain (but not to destroy) religion from the 1960s onward. See Eren Murat Tasar, “Soviet Policies towards Islam: Domestic and International Considerations,” in Philip E. Muehlenbeck (ed.), *Religion and the Cold War. A Global Perspective* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012).

83. For efforts to create an official, communist-friendly, and progressive Islam, see Chantal Lobato, "Islam in Kabul: The Religious Politics of Babrak Karmal," *Central Asian Survey* 4.4 (1985), pp. 111–20; eadem, "Kabul 1978–1988: Communists and Islam," *Religion in Communist Lands* 16.4 (1988), pp. 345–51; and Eren Tasar, "The Central Asian Muftiate in Occupied Afghanistan, 1979–87," *Central Asian Survey* 30.2 (2011), pp. 213–26. For a view that the policy of national reconciliation had substantial political effects since it envisioned new power relationships and that it attempted "nothing less than the deconstruction of the communist regime," see Dorronsoro (2005; above, note 5), pp. 195–97.

84. For a detailed account of the rhetoric and instances of internal killings among the *mujahidin* parties, see Pohly (1992; above, note 3), pp. 340–86.

85. Dr. Sami'ullah (1989; above, note 56), pp. 20–21.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24. For a discussion of prominent Quranic verses pertaining to *jihad*, see David Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 5–13.

87. For the initial radical adoption of Soviet symbols, slogans, and policies by the communists in Kabul, see Edwards (2002; above, note 4), pp. 57–94.

88. For an extensive discussion, see Simon Wolfgang Fuchs "Do Excellent Surgeons Make Miserable Exegetes? Negotiating the Sunni Tradition in the *ghihadi* Camps," *Die Welt des Islams* 53.2 (2013), pp. 192–237. For an account of how Ibn Taymiyya's *fatwa* against the Mongols had been appropriated by the assassins of Egypt's President Anwar al-Sadat in 1981, see Johannes J. G. Jansen, *The Neglected Duty: The Creed of Sadat's Assassins and Islamic Resurgence in the Middle East* (New York: Macmillan, 1986).

89. Fuchs (2013; above, note 88), pp. 230–36.

90. Roswitha Badry, *Die zeitgenössische Diskussion um den islamischen Beratungsgedanken (šūrā) unter dem besonderen Aspekt ideengeschichtlicher Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), pp. 91–104, pp. 174–87, and pp. 221–55.

91. "Tarz-i hukumat dar Islam," *Misaq-i Khun* 1.2 (Jadī 1359/December 1980), pp. 65–68.

92. Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, "Matn-i bayaniyya-yi tarikhi-yi baradar Hikmatyar bi-munasbat-i i'lam-i nata'ij-i chaharumin-i intikhabat-i Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan ki bitarikh 20 Asad 1366 dar maqarr-i jihad-i puhantun irad namudand," *Shafaq*, 2nd series, 3.1–2 (Asad–Sunbula 1366/July–August 1987), p. 12 and p. 18. For Quranic verses and prophetic traditions adduced by Hikmatyar, see *ibid.*, p. 16.

93. See Jan-Peter Hartung, *A System of Life: Mawdūdī and the Ideologisation of Islam* (London: Hurst, 2013), pp. 126–29; and Badry (1998; above, note 90), p. 235. In reality, however, the Pakistani Jama'at-i Islami had also implemented a system of checks and balances after 1956. In case the *shura* decided to override a veto by the *amir*, it was up to the leader to accept this verdict or to resign. See Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), p. 53.

94. Rubin (2002; above, note 1), p. 213; and Roy (1995; above, note 2), pp. 43–59. For a discussion of the Jama'at-i Islami's structure, see Nasr (1994; above, note 93), pp. 47–80.

95. Edwards (1993; above, note 19), p. 624.

96. This is also the view held by Mawdudi. See Badry (1998; above, note 90), p. 288.

97. It has to be pointed out that Hikmatyar does not elaborate on how the authoritative council comes into being. See Hikmatyar (1366/1987; above, note 92), p. 19.

98. Ibid., pp. 23–29. For a similar approach of gradual elections but with a focus that local commanders should be the ones to elect local representatives, see “Liqa ma‘ mawlawi Amanullah,” *Al-Bunyan al-Marsus* 31 (Ramadan 1410/April 1990), pp. 14–16.

99. For such a view, see Robert L. Canfield, “Fraternity, Power, and Time in Central Asia,” in Robert D. Crews and Amin Tarzi (eds.), *The Taliban and the Crisis of Afghanistan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008).

100. For a description of the scene, see Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban. Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 41–43.

101. For an extensive discussion of this important concept within Islamic thought, see Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

102. Robert Crews and Amin Tarzi, “Introduction,” in idem (2008; above, note 99), pp. 33–34 and pp. 46–47.

103. Ibid., pp. 43–44; Rashid (2000; above, note 100), p. 74 and pp. 87–88. On the Pakistani sectarian scene, see Muhammad Qasim Zaman, “Sectarianism in Pakistan: The Radicalization of Shi‘i and Sunni Identities,” *Modern Asian Studies* 32.3 (1998), pp. 689–716.

104. For a statement by a Taliban spokesman emphasizing the absolute authority of Mulla ‘Umar, which made consultation unnecessary, see Rashid (2000; above, note 100), p. 102.

10. FEMALE SAINTHOOD BETWEEN POLITICS AND LEGEND

1. Cf. Surinder M. Bhardwaj, “Non-Hajj Pilgrimage in Islam: A Neglected Dimension of Religious Circulation,” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 17.2 (1998), pp. 69–87. Bhardwaj attempts to open this debate, to which in the meantime many scholars have contributed with particular regard to Afghanistan and Central Asia.

2. Dominique Iogna-Prat, Gilles Veinstein, “Lieux de culte, lieux saints dans le judaïsme, le christianisme et l’islam: Présentation,” in *Lieux de culte, lieux saints dans le judaïsme, le christianisme et l’islam* (= *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* 222–24 [2005], p. 390; trans. Ingeborg Baldauf).

3. Compare Oleg Grabar, “La mosquée et le sanctuaire: Sainteté des lieux en Islam,” *ibid.*, especially p. 488, for a more general discussion.

4. The basic materials for this chapter were collected during fieldwork carried out in the spring and fall of 1996 (together with Lutz Rzehak) and in several follow-up visits between 2002 and 2009.

5. For an overview, see Harald Einzmann, *Religiöses Volksbrauchtum in Afghanistan: Islamische Heiligenverehrung und Wallfahrtswesen im Raum Kabul*, Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 34 (Wiesbaden, 1977); Danuta Penkala-Gawęcka, “Pilgrimage as Cure: Shrines in Afghanistan,” *Ethnologia Polona* 17 (1992), pp. 35–45; and Lutz Rzehak, “Narrative Strukturen des Erzählens über Heilige und ihre Gräber in Afghanistan,” *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 58.1 (2004), pp. 195–229.

6. Pierre Centlivres, “Sainteté, martyre et exemplarité dans la crise afghane,” in idem (ed.), *Saints, sainteté et martyre: La fabrication de l’exemplarité*, Recherches et travaux de l’Institut d’Ethnologie 15 (Paris and Neuchâtel: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme and Éditions de l’Institut d’Ethnologie, 2001), p. 179.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
8. On the cognitive dissonance that people experience if cognitions do not coincide with their hypotheses about the world, and on legend as a genre that bridges the gap between the laws of nature and the miraculous, see Hans-Peter Ecker, *Die Legende: Kulturanthropologische Annäherung an eine literarische Gattung* (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 1993), particularly pp. 138 and pp. 143–45.
9. Cf. Nicholas DiFonzo and Prashant Bordia, “Rumor, Gossip and Urban Legends,” *Diogenes* 213 (2007), p. 24.
10. On these and other main features of narrative, see Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning, *An Introduction to the Study of Narrative Fiction* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008), p. 8.
11. Information given by a middle-aged male relative of Nushin’s father and by a pilgrim lady who visited the mausoleum with her daughter of marriageable age. In the following, unless specified otherwise, all information is from anonymous men and women from Shibirghan.
12. For the *ziyaratgah* (pilgrimage place) of Mir ‘Abbas Agha in the city center of Mazar, which was in the 1990s revealed to the mausoleum keeper in dreams about flame apparitions, see Lutz Rzehak (2004; above, note 5), pp. 215–16. A red flag was later unearthed at the spot.
13. On the undecayed body, see Nancy Hatch Dupree, “Sacred Geography, Afghanistan,” in Margaret A. Mills, Peter J. Claus, and Sarah Diamond (eds.), *South Asian Folklore: An Encyclopedia; Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 527.
14. For the story, see Masami Hamada, “Le pouvoir des lieux saints dans le Turkestan oriental,” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 59 (2004–5), pp. 1020–21. See Rzehak (2004; above, note 5) for dream-revelation stories from contemporary Mazar-i Sharif. For comparisons in a broader Central Asian context, see G.P. Snesev, *Khorezmskie legendy kak istochnik istorii religioznykh verovaniy Srednei Azii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), pp. 47–48.
15. Christopher S. Taylor, “Sacred History and the Cult of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt,” *The Muslim World* 80 (1990), pp. 78–79.
16. On the mutual legitimization of dreamer and dreamed, see Fedwa Malti-Douglas, “Dreams, the Blind, and the Semiotics of the Biographical Notice,” *Studia Islamica* 51 (1980), pp. 150–51.
17. The same respondent mentioned another newly established *ziyarat* devoted to Khwaja Mukhtar at a stone’s throw from Bibi Nushin’s shrine. He had known Mulla Mukhtar during his lifetime and remembered him as a pious person (*taqwadar*). Since we were shown the location by several people, it had obviously not turned out to be a fraud.
18. For example, Khizr is venerated at Chashma-yi Hayat, in Samangan, northern Afghanistan (Hatch Dupree [2003; above, note 13], p. 526).
19. *Tazkira-i Khwaja Muhammad Sharif*, Ms. or. quart. 1297 Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, fol. 10v. See Patrick Franke, *Begegnungen mit Khidr: Quellenstudien zum Imaginären im traditionellen Islam* (Beirut, 2000), pp. 201–3 and p. 205, for a thorough discussion of Khizr’s role in establishing the rank of saints; p. 50 for Khizr on horseback.
20. Thus asserted by several pilgrim ladies and gentlemen from downtown Shibirghan. Centlivres (2001; above, note 6), p. 179, mentions the same incorruptibility of blood, the

scent, and red flowers sprouting—rather than flames or flags emerging—from the place of martyrdom as being indicative of a person's rank as a *shahid*.

21. Compare Rzehak (2004; above, note 5), p. 228; major saints' graves revealed through the rejection of infrastructural measures like road building and the conversion of graveyards into construction sites are, for example, Muzrab Shah Palvan (i.e., Mizrab-i Khwarazmi), whose traditions belong to the Abu Muslim cycle of epics (cf. Irène Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim le "porte-hache" du Khorassan dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne* [Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962], p. 78), which in a matter of months from its rediscovery around 1985 developed into the major pilgrimage place of downtown Shibirghan; also Avliya-yi Bang-i Milli, the nameless Saint of the National Bank, whose mausoleum in the back yard of that bank, near the Balkh Gate (Darwaza-yi Balkh) in Mazar-i Sharif, was prevented from being flattened in the day of Amanullah Khan; Sayyid 'Alijan, several blocks from the Rawza-i Sharif on the road to Dehdadi, and Mir Miranjan next to the eastern gate of the Rawza, both safeguarded in the 1960s. The motif of resisting the bulldozer is well known all over previously Soviet Central Asia (see David Tyson, "Shrine Pilgrimage in Turkmenistan as a Means to Understand Islam among the Turkmen," *Central Asia Monitor* 1 [1997], p. 21) but also from elsewhere in the Muslim world (e.g., Julia Gonella, *Islamische Heiligenverehrung im urbanen Kontext am Beispiel von Aleppo (Syrien)* [Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1995], p. 27 and p. 452). Before there were bulldozers, it was a harnessed battle horse that, in being repelled from a certain place, helped to reveal a saint's burial place (*Tazkira-i Khwaja Muhammad Sharif* [above, note 19], fol. 47r). On inviolable burial places in Central Asia more generally, see Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), pp. 181–83.

22. On the legend more widely, see V. N. Basilov, "Sledy kul'ta umiraiushchego i voskresiaiushchego bozhestva v khristianskoi i musul'manskoi agiologii," *Fol'klor i Istoricheskaia Etnografiia* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), pp. 147–49.

23. According to local customs, young people engaged to be married may spend time together. The bridegroom is allowed to visit his future bride (Turki: *qalligh*) according to strictly ritualized procedures, and finally they may even have children together, thus circumventing costly wedding ceremonies and bride price. However, there was no mention of Nushin and the boy as being engaged, so that their rendezvous was clearly immoral.

24. The small child (*bacha*) may have slipped into the story erroneously in oral transmission: In local idiom, a young child and an unmarried young man are both denoted as *bacha*.

25. Richard Dorson, "The Oral Historian and the Folklorist," in David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (eds.), *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, 2nd ed. (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press, 1996), p. 290.

26. On invulnerability as a typical attribute of Islamic saints, see Richard Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes: Theologien und Erscheinungsformen des islamischen Heiligenwunders* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1987), p. 321.

27. For similar reports on the punishment of violators, see Bruce Grant, "Shrines and Sovereigns: Life, Death, and Religion in Rural Azerbaijan," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 53.3 (2011), p. 672 note 30.

28. Communication by pilgrims, relatives who tended the mausoleum, and outsiders.

29. In local idiom, the plural *awliya* (saint) is used as a singular instead of its proper, Arabic-derived, grammatical singular, *wali*.

30. DiFonzo and Bordia (2007; above, note 9), p. 27.

31. Bibi Nushin's possible offense loses much of its extravagance when put into an "all-Turkestan" perspective. According to a Naqshbandi *tazkira* from eastern Turkestan, even the immaculate conception of a son did not prevent A'la Nur Khanim, the daughter of Satuq Bughra Khan, from being ascribed saintly status. See the Catalogue of Lund University Library, Jarring Prov. 504, entry no. 5 available at http://laurentius.ub.lu.se/jarring/catalogue/504_1.html (accessed December 2015).

32. "Mulla Aka" is a reference to the shrine of Ibn-i Yamin Jawzjani, located in down-town Shibirghan.

33. On saints refusing to succumb to power holders, see (for example) the legend of 'Ataba of Turkistan in Julian Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims: The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1993), pp. 182–83. For Dilshad Sulṭan, see İsa Yusuf Alptekin, *Doğu Türkistan Dâvâsı* (Istanbul: Seha, 1982), p. 106.

34. On the motif of *namahram* eyes, see Baldick (1993; above, note 33), p. 193.

35. Muslim hagiography often insists that people who deny the *karamat* of a given saint will face punishment—which then causes them to repent. About written traditions to this effect, see Jürgen Paul, "Constructing the Friends of God: Sadid al-Dīn Gaznawī's *Maqamat-i Zinda-pīl* (with some remarks on Ibn Munawwar's *Asrar al-tawhīd*)," in Stephan Conermann and Jim Rheingans (eds.), *Narrative Pattern and Genre in Hagiographic Life Writing: Comparative Perspectives from Asia and Europe* (Berlin: Dr. Brandt, 2014), pp. 209–11. In our case, hesitators and deniers were not reported as being punished; only enemies who actively trespassed against the saint would suffer punishment.

36. Penkala-Gawęcka (1992; above, note 5), p. 39.

37. Communication of an elderly man at the gravesite.

38. In the local Turki idiom *girdini qaṭara qīladi*. Interestingly, *'aqida* (which is related to the mental aspect of trust) was applied only by deniers and hesitant informants, whereas believers would use *ikhlaṣ* (which denotes belief turning into trustful practice).

39. Turki *berish khudadan, sabab bir shayd bōladi ya bir ziyarat bōladi*.

40. The standard topical study on this phenomenon in northern Afghanistan is Robert D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480–1889* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). Some observations on recent documents that legitimize financial claims are provided in Rzehak (2004; above, note 5), p. 222. See also Grant (2011; above, note 27), p. 675, on Soviet objections to shrine veneration because of the entangled nature of cult and business.

41. Communications by a male high-school teacher from Shibirghan and a pilgrim lady, respectively.

42. Persian *dad u bidad mikunan, du'a mikunan, quran mikhunan*.

43. Even if the ten thousand had been Dostum Afghanis only, which were worth half the Kabul currency, that would have been enough to feed a modest family for many days.

44. For a detailed description of the *mutawalli* of Mir 'Abbas Agha, in Mazar-i Sharif, and the legal and financial issues around that *ziyarat* and several others in that same year, 1996, see Rzehak (2004; above, note 5).

45. Quoted from an elderly male pilgrim; *dust-i khuda* equals *wali allah* or, in the local idiom, *awliya*.

46. Ingeborg Baldauf, "Legitimization of Rule in the Twentieth/Twenty-First Century: The Case of 'Abdurrashid Dostum,'" in İlker Evrim Binbaş and Nurten Kılıç-Schubel (eds.), *Horizons of the World: Festschrift for İsenbike Togan* (Istanbul: İthaki, 2011).

47. Christian Giordano, "Gérer l'exemplarité en (re)mettant l'histoire à jour: Les saints, les héros et les victimes," in Centlivres (2001; above, note 6), explores the fascinating notion of "loser exemplarity" (*exemplarité perdante*, pp. 128–30), which in the Balkan region is virulent in counterbalancing all that well-known "heroic, warrior, and masculine sanctity" (p. 130). Bibi Nushin is a victim and a hero, but her heroism is not a female-victim response. It relies on exactly the same discourse of victory through power as its masculine counterpart. The idea of victory through failure seems to be too far from the non-Christian imageries prevailing in Afghanistan.

48. The fact that General Dostum already had two children from his first marriage was not mentioned in that connection.

49. For this dictum, see Paul (2014; above, note 35), p. 214.

50. Personal communication (2005) by a journalist who had observed the process of collecting donations and by the gentleman who was put in charge of purchasing the necessary amount of beaten gold from abroad.

51. Communication by a lady who had contributed to the financing and embroidering of the covers, Mazar-i Sharif, March 1996.

52. Regardless of official statements to the contrary, the relationship of General Dostum and La'î Qumandan was never really mended until the latter's unexpected and somewhat unexplained death in 2006.

53. A comparable case of contradictory truths about the *shahadat* of a local saint is reported by Grant (2011; above, note 27), who concludes his study on an Azerbaijani *pir* indicating that this saint was shot by a firing squad in Siberia in 1937, "or, as different accounts would have it, maybe not" (p. 678).

54. The quotation is from Jack Goody and Ian Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5.3 (1963), p. 307–8.

55. Lutz Rzehak, "Verheiratet mit Dschinnis: Formen von Volksfrömmigkeit in Afghanistan," *Südasien* 2 (2007), p. 77.

56. For an example from the region, see Adkhamzhon A. Ashirov, *Drevnie religioznye verovaniya v traditsionnom bytu uzbekskogo naroda (po materialam Ferganskoi doliny)* (Tashkent: Avtoref. Dr. Ist. Nauk, 2008), p. 27.

11. WHEN MUSLIMS BECOME FEMINISTS: KHANA-YI AMAN, ISLAM, AND PASHTUNWALI

1. The epigraph to this chapter is an English translation of *Gunah* (Sin), a Persian poem by Furugh Farukhzad (Forugh Farrokhzad, 1935–67) frequently quoted by the women at the *khana-yi aman* and here cited in the translation of Sholeh Wolpé, *Sin: Selected Poems of Forugh Farrokhzad* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2007), p. 3. Since Farukhzad was the preeminent Iranian poet to write about gender, feminism, and rebellion, the women at the *khana-yi aman* often recited her poetry.

2. I use the term *pashtunwali* to describe the prescriptive and descriptive rules and laws that govern Pushtun societies. *Pashtunwali* circulates both as an unwritten code of tribal law and as a written set of rules that were taken into account when writing the constitutions of Afghanistan and northern Pakistan.

3. Alissa J. Rubin, "A Thin Line of Defense against 'Honor Killings,'" *The New York Times* (March 2, 2015): http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/03/world/asia/afghanistan-a-thin-line-of-defense-against-honor-killings.html?_r=0 (accessed September 19, 2015).

4. There have been numerous articles and news stories in recent years about the precariousness of the shelters in Afghanistan. See, for example, Rubin (2015; above, note 3).

5. I thank the Wenner Gren Foundation, the American Institute of Afghan Studies, and the A. M. Foundation for generously funding the ethnographic research on which this chapter is based. Note that the names and some of the biographical details of *khana-yi aman* inhabitants and administrators have been modified to protect their privacy.

6. Veena Das, *Life and Words: Violence and Descent into the Ordinary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), p. 63.

7. Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community*, trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 85, quoted in Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin de Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 20 note 31.

8. João Biehl, *Vita: Life in a Zone of Social Abandonment* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).

9. For an anthropological discussion of the state and its peripheries, see Veena Das and Deborah Poole (eds.), *Anthropology in the Margins of the State* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2004).

10. See, for example, Leila Ahmed, *A Quiet Revolution: The Veil's Resurgence from the Middle East to America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); and Joan Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

11. It must be noted that although the word *ṭalaq* was used to describe the divorce contract, technically the women were initiating *khula*, which involved entirely different processes than the traditional *ṭalaq*. Women were able to initiate divorce proceedings under the *khula* rules after undergoing the mandatory waiting periods (*ʿidda*). One of the roles of the *khana-yi aman* was to serve as a surveillance space to monitor the chastity of the women while they awaited their divorce to be finalized. However, as I note further in the chapter, this role was constantly challenged by the participants and the staff, exacerbating the public ambivalence surrounding the *khana-yi aman*. To understand the different ways in which divorce may be initiated in Islam, see Kecia Ali, *Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010). The work of Ziba Mir-Hosseini has also made important contributions in this regard.

12. Nancy Dupree, "Revolutionary Rhetoric and Afghan Women," in Nazif Shahrani and Robert Canfield (eds.), *Revolutions and Rebellions in Afghanistan: Anthropological Perspectives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 306.

13. For the regulation and disciplining of feminine bodies in the public and private realms in the Taliban era, see Juan Cole, "The Taliban, Women and the Hegelian Private Sphere," *Social Research* 70.3 (2003), pp. 771–808.

14. Kath Weston, *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 105.
15. For an overview of interpretive anthropology, see the works of Clifford Geertz, which ask us to consider cultures as texts and thick description as a mode of ethnographic exposition.
16. For an excellent discussion of the mapping of sexual and social contract, see Das (2007; above, note 6), p.19.
17. Nasir al-Din Tusi, *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*, ed. Mujtaba Minuvi and 'Ali Riza Haydari (Tehran: Khwarazmi, 1978). For an English translation of this text, see Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, trans. G.M. Wickens (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964). See also Barbara Metcalf, *Perfecting Women: Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).
18. Dean Nelson, "Afghan Women in Shelters Are Prostitutes, Says Justice Minister," *The Telegraph*, June 21, 2012: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/9346779/Afghan-women-in-shelters-are-prostitutes-says-justice-minister.html> (last accessed May 19, 2015).
19. Ibid.
20. Lena Shemel, "Afghan Government Takeover Plan for Women's Shelters," Public Broadcasting Service, February 17, 2010: <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/blog/afghan-government-takeover-plan-for-womens-shelters-alarms-human-rights-groups/6580/> (last accessed May 19, 2015).
21. Nancy Dupree, "Revolutionary Rhetoric and Afghan Women," in Shahrani and Canfield (1984; above, note 12).
22. Jon Anderson, "How Afghans Define Themselves in Relation to Islam," in Shahrani and Canfield (1984; above, note 12).
23. Nile Green, "Idiom, Genre, and the Politics of Self-Description on the Peripheries of Persian," in Nile Green and Mary Searle-Chatterjee (eds.), *Religion, Language, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2008). See also Talal Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam," *Qui Parle* 17.2 (2009), pp. 1–30.
24. Asta Olesen, *Islam and Politics in Afghanistan* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995); and Fredrik Barth, *Political Leadership amongst Swat Pathans* (London: Athlone Press, 1965).
25. *Milmastiya*, approximately translated "hospitality," is a central precept of *pashtunwali* by virtue of which no visitor (not even an enemy) can be turned away. *Milmastiya* is tied to the concept of the *hujra*, which is a guesthouse where friends and enemies congregate. *Nanawata'i*, approximately translated "sanctuary," "shelter," or "protection," is linked to *milmastiya* in that a guest (or even a sworn enemy) cannot be refused entry based on his religious or political allegiance. *Sabat*, approximately translated "loyalty," must similarly be extended to families and friends.
26. David B. Edwards, *Heroes of the Age: Moral Fault Lines on the Afghan Frontier* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), p. 67.
27. Ibid.
28. Anne Meneley, *Tournaments of Value: Sociability and Hierarchy in a Yemeni Town* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 41.
29. Julie Billaud, "Suicidal Performances: Voicing Discontent in a Girls' Dormitory in Kabul," *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 36.2 (2012), pp. 264–85.

30. Gulnaz's story was widely reported in the international media. See, for example, "Jailed Afghan Rape Victim Freed but 'to Marry Attacker,'" BBC News, December 2, 2011: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-15991641> (last accessed October 4, 2015).

31. Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," in Lila Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

32. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Some Awkward Questions on Women and Modernity in Turkey," in Abu-Lughod (1998; above, note 31).

33. See above, note 18.

34. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage, 1978); and Leo Bersani, *Homos* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995). For a discussion of embodied capacities for action and their relationship to subjectivity, see Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

35. Foucault understands historical rupture as a redistribution or reorganization of the prior elements of the *epistēmē*. In other words, the rupture relies on the existing rules but reconfigures them in ways that allow for irregularities and aberrations. For a discussion of *epistēmē*, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Random House, 1970).

36. Weston (1991; above, note 14), p. 35.

37. Katherine Pratt Ewing, *Stolen Honor: Stigmatizing Muslim Men in Berlin* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), p. 93.

38. This is a preoccupation of ethnographies of Afghanistan, which continually seek order in chaos. For the anthropology of order in supposedly orderless societies, see, for example, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940). For an analogous approach to Afghanistan, particularly the Pashtuns, see Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958).

AFTERWORD

1. Alessandro Monsutti, "The Impact of War on Social, Political, and Economic Organization in Southern Hazarajat," in Robert L. Canfield and Gabriele Rasuly-Palczek (eds.), *Ethnicity, Authority and Power in Central Asia: New Games Great and Small* (London: Routledge, 2011).

2. Christine Noelle, *State and Tribe in Nineteenth-Century Afghanistan: The Reign of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan (1826–1863)* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997).

3. On the campaigns and atrocities, see Hasan K. Kakar, *The Pacification of the Hazaras of Afghanistan* (New York: Afghanistan Council of the Asia Society, 1973); Sayed Askar Mousavi, *The Hazaras of Afghanistan: An Historical, Cultural, Economic and Political Study* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998); and Hassan Poladi, *The Hazâras* (Stockton, Calif.: Mughal Publishing Co., 1989).

4. Rolf Bindemann, "Kunst und Widerstand: 'Revolutionäre' und 'nationale' Lieder der Hazara," in *Neue Beiträge zur Afghanistanforschung: Vorträge auf der 7. Arbeitstagung der*

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Afghanistan in Eichstätt, 13./14. November 1987 (Liestal: Stiftung Bibliotheca Afghana, 1988), pp. 85–100.

5. It should be noted, however, that the British travelers Moorcroft and Trebeck recorded the presence of Pashtun Ghilza'i nomads in the Behsud region as early as 1824. See William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab from 1819 to 1825*, vol. 2 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1979 [1st ed. 1841]), p. 384. Some twenty years later, J. P. Ferrier mentioned that hostility between Hazaras and Pashtuns discouraged the latter from crossing Hazarajat. See J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Beloochistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1976 [1857]), pp. 220–21.

6. Klaus Ferdinand, "Nomad Expansion and Commerce in Central Afghānistān: A Sketch of Some Modern Trends," *Folk* 4 (1962), pp. 123–59.

7. Robert L. Canfield, *Faction and Conversion in a Plural Society: Religious Alignments in the Hindu Kush* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Anthropological Papers 50, 1973), pp. 4–5, 12.

8. David B. Edwards, "The Evolution of Shi'i Political Dissent in Afghanistan," in Nikki R. Keddie and Juan R. I. Cole (eds.), *Shi'ism and Social Protest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 201–29.

9. *Ibid.*; Mousavi (1998; above, note 3), pp. 384–85; and Poladi (1989; above, note 3), p. 163.

10. Fayz Muhammad Katib was a Hazara from the region of Ghazni. Though he collaborated with the Kabul government, he is valued by today's Hazara intellectuals as a witness to the atrocities committed at that time. See his monumental work *The History of Afghanistan: Fayz Muhammad Kātib Hazārah's* Sirāj al tawārikh, ed. and trans. R. D. McChesney and Mohammad Mehdi Khorrami, 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

11. Kristian Berg Harpviken, *Political Mobilization among the Hazara of Afghanistan, 1978–1992* (Oslo: Department of Sociology, University of Oslo, 1996); Alessandro Monsutti, "Islamism among the Shi'ites of Afghanistan: From Social Revolution to Identity-Building," in Lloyd Ridgeon (ed.), *Shi'ism and Identity: Religion, Politics and Change in the Global Muslim Community* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); Niamatullah Ibrahim, *Shift and Drift in Hazara Ethnic Consciousness: The Impact of Conflict and Migration* (Bonn: Crossroads Asia Working Paper Series, 2012); and Olivier Roy, *L'Afghanistan: Islam et modernité politique* (Paris: Seuil, 1985), pp. 194–205.

12. Alessandro Monsutti, "Image of the Self, Image of the Other: Social Organization and the Role of 'Ashura' among the Hazaras of Quetta (Pakistan)," in Alessandro Monsutti, Silvia Naef, and Farian Sabahi (eds.), *The Other Shiites: From the Mediterranean to Central Asia* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007).

