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PRELIMINARY NOTES ON HAZĀRA CULTURE

(The Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan 1953–55)

BY

KLAUS FERDINAND



København 1959
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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Preface

The material for this article has been collected on the Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan 1953—55 (The Henning Haslund-Christensen Memorial Mission). The ethnographical part is based on my exploratory field-work in various parts of Hazārajāt in parts of the months July and August 1953, and July, August and September 1954 (Shibar-Bāmiān, Dāy Zangī (Shahristān), Be(h)sūd and Jāghōrī), and finally Ghōrband-Shibar in January 1955, besides work with Hazāra informants at different periods in Kābul. On our tour in 1953 together with our leader H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark we were very anxious to try to find the original Hazāra language, but everywhere we got the disappointing answer that they only spoke Persian.—At last we got a track to follow, at a place near Mārkhāna, Besūd, there should still be people speaking “Mongolian”, but again we got the same answer: “We do not know anything other than Persian, but the *khān*’s have a special language for themselves.”—Maybe, at last we had really found something! By the kind help of the Hākīm in Dīwāl Qol, Besūd, we had a dozen *arbābs* and *whitebeards* collected for a meeting with us, and here they immediately told us that they have not only one language of their own, but two! One, they laughingly said, was just “reverse Persian” quickly spoken, “but the common man does not know it, so we speak it at conferences. The other,” they told us, “is only bits of our original tongue, which we still use among the Persian. We call it *Hazāragī*.” And there we got it, *Hazāragī*, and everybody knew it now, even our interpreter and our servant. The first word-list, sentences and bits of poetry were taken down by tape-recorder in Besūd. When we got back to Kābul I was soon brought into contact with Shāh ‘Alī Akbar, Shahristānī, then a student at the Faculty of Letters, by whose kind help

most of the rest of the linguistic material has been collected. As I have no linguistic experience myself, I consulted Mr. G. K. Dulling of the British Embassy, which led to a close cooperation, of which this is the result.

Here I would like to express my gratitude to our inspiring leader, H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, for our successful travels in the summer of 1953, and to my good expedition comrades, Lennart Edelberg and Peter Rasmussen. Furthermore I owe a debt of gratitude to the Danish State Research Foundation and our leaders at home, Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith of the National Museum and Professor Kaare Grønbech of the University of Copenhagen, who made this expedition a reality.

Furthermore, I want to thank *The Royal Afghan Government* for the unique hospitality and the never failing confidence they have always shown us, and for the valuable help given us by the *Press Department* and *The Kābul University*.

Finally I wish to voice my gratitude to Shāh 'Alī Akbar and to my numerous friends in Afghanistan, not least to C. K. Dulling.

Copenhagen, August 1955.

K. F.

Various unforeseen circumstances have delayed the publishing of the following *Preliminary Notes* . . . These were originally written in Kābul, and later slightly revised in Copenhagen as a first small report on my work on the Hazāra culture, and at the same time they were meant as an introduction to the *Preliminary Notes on the Hazāra Language* by C. K. Dulling, which were chiefly based on material collected by our mission.

Three years have elapsed since then, some corrections have been necessary, and some more references to literature added. Here I should like to thank Professor Kaj Barr of the University of Copenhagen for his kind help in reading through the manuscript, and for his corrections and suggestions, chiefly where I have touched on linguistic matters. Professor N. E. Nørlund, likewise of the University of Copenhagen, has been so kind as to read the appendix on *The Calendar system* and has made some corrections, so that these pages now appear more correct astronomically, and I hope also more intelligible.

The work of C. K. Dulling will be published shortly.

Århus, October 1958.

K. F.

Transliteration

Basically the system in the Persian-English Dictionary of Steingass, 1947, is used; exceptions are that no distinctions are made between the different written forms of *t*, *s*, *h*, *d*, and *z*; other deviations are:

- (1) In place-names, tribal names, and *other words* (these last-mentioned always in *italics*), where I know the written (Persian) form, this is given irrespective of the local pronunciation, except for the short or unwritten vowels. The written vowels are transcribed in the following manner:

ا always \bar{a}

آ (a) in initial position *a*, *e*, or *o*

(b) in medial and final position \bar{a}

او \bar{o} or \bar{u} , as in \bar{O} beh and \bar{U} nai

ای \bar{i} or \bar{ai} , as in \bar{A} imāq

و (a) usually as \bar{o} or \bar{u} , and sometimes \bar{au} , the latter as in Yakaulang

(b) sometimes as *w*, when semi-vowel; in Appendix II, when unpronounced as in *khwāhar*

ه as "silent h" in a medial or final position, as *a* or *e*; in some place-names it is retained (e.g. \bar{O} beh), or given in brackets, the first times mentioned, e.g. Be(h)sūd

ی (a) usually \bar{e} or \bar{i} , sometimes *y*

(b) in final position \bar{i} , except after \bar{a} or \bar{o} , when given as *y*, e.g. *dāy*

Note. The $\bar{\quad}$ does not necessarily denote that the vowel is long, e.g. \bar{i} in final position.

- (2) Place-names, tribal names, and other words (*Hazāragī* etc. always given in *italics*) the written form of which is unknown to me, or where no written form exists, are all given in inverted commas, e.g. 'kado' = P. *kardan*. Some of these are transcribed from tape-recordings (in the forthcoming work of C. K. Dulling it will appear which ones), others are given in my primitive transcription. In all cases $\bar{\text{~}}$, as in 'Changhūs', signifies a long vowel. $\hat{\text{a}}$ is the vowel in English *saw*, and it is usually long, but not necessarily. Very often $\hat{\text{a}}$ in pronunciation is exactly the same as the $\bar{\text{a}}$ under (1). In general all too few long vowels are given in the transcription.

Abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic
ASP.	Afghan Spoken Persian, i.e. Kābulī Tājikī
H.	Hazāragī
M.	Mongolian
P.	Persian (literary)
Pa.	Pashto
T.	Turkish
Urd.	Urdu

The Mongol Tribes of Afghanistan

The so-called Mongol tribes of Afghanistan are often mentioned in literature, but until very recently the information found on them was sparse and unfortunately often misleading. The tribes fall into three main groups: Hazāra, Chahār Ajmāq, and the scattered subgroups calling themselves Moghōl.

The *Moghōls* are found in Ghōr, spread around Herāt and Majmana, and in Qataghan and Badakhshān. Their main centre is still in Southern Ghōr around the villages 'Zirni', 'Nili' and 'Qaisar', and Moghōl informants near Ōbeh, Herāt (Dec. 1955) stated that the Moghōl were prior to the Taimanī in Ghōr; later, I should think about 150 to 200 years ago, their spreading from Ghōr was caused by fighting with the Taimanī.

The Moghōls I met in Qataghan near Pul-i-Khomrī (Dec. 1953) declared themselves to be of Mongolian origin, and distinguished between two groups, one which had arrived together with Chinggis Khan (now found in Badakhshān as an Uzbek subtribe), and their own group which had arrived with 'Timūr Kuragān', and in which they included all the Moghōls in Western Afghanistan. They called themselves 'Moghōl Shājahān', because they were supposed to have joined Shāh Jahān in his attacks on India. These Moghōls were pashtunised and were nomads, they lived in *black tents* of the Durānnī type (found in S. and W. Afghanistan) and four years earlier they had arrived from Majmana because they wanted to settle as farmers in Qataghan. Their name and their Mongolian features were the chief remnants of their Mongolian origin, as they themselves said; they remembered some few words of their old language, but knew that others of their groups still spoke it.¹

¹ Cf. Leech 1838, and the vocabulary of Leech reedited in Ligeti 1954; cf. also Ramstedt 1906; a short word-list of Moghōli was collected by A. F. Mackenzie in 'Morchaghol' near Majmana in 1951. In 1954 Moghōli was studied near Herāt

The *Chahār Āimāq* are, as their name implies, four tribes, but only three of them—Taimanī, Fīrōzkōhī, and Jamshēdī—are generally agreed to belong to the *Four Tribes*; the fourth varies in different areas: In some Hazāra-i-Qal‘a-i-Nau is given, in others Tīmūrī, or in yet others Ēlāt, which is a common name for minor and rather diffused “Persian”-speaking tribes such as Zurī, Tīmūrī, Qipchāq, etc.

The Chahār (‘Chār’) Āimāq, or just the *Āimāq*, as they are often named, are mainly found in the mountain areas of the Herāt and Maġmana Provinces, and in Bādghīsāt; roughly speaking they are distributed from South to North like this: Taimanī in Ghōr and Shaharak; Tīmūrī diffused in the lower parts of Herāt Province (along the Harī Rūd, in Guriān and Ghōriān, and in Kushk) and in Iran from Khāf towards Mashhad (Meshed); Fīrōzkōhī in Chaghcharān and in the neighbouring areas towards Ōbeh, Qal‘a-i-Nau and Maġmana; Jamshēdī are now confined to the Kushk area of Bādghīsāt, and finally the Hazāra-i-Qal‘a-i-Nau, also known as the Hazārī, live around Qal‘a-i-Nau.¹

The origin of the Āimāqs, who are more or less half-nomadic, has never been studied. Their language is Persian (very close to Herātī Tājikī), perhaps with a slightly greater amount of Turkish words than is usual in the Tājikī dialects. But otherwise I think it is justifiable to say that the Āimāqs are of rather mixed origin. Some of the groups are supposed to be connected with the Afghans (e.g. the Kakaṛ among the Taimanī, and many subtribes among the Jamshēdī according to local informants) and others to be of Persian origin (e.g. the Fīrōzkōhī, also according to their own tradition); otherwise it is common to connect the Āimāqs with the Turco-Mongols of Central Asia. This is supported by Mongoloid

and Maġmana by S. Imawura (Kyoto University) and S. Schurmann (Harvard University) and later again in the Ghōrāt by Imawura and Schurmann on two separate missions in 1955, cf. Imawura and Schurmann, 1955. In December 1954 I visited Moghōls near Herāt and made a few tape recordings of their language and songs, which will be published in *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen.

¹ The Hazāra-i-Qal‘a-i-Nau or the Hazārī and the Hazāra of Hazārajāt are not necessarily connected because of their common name, as the word *hazāra* most probably is derived from Persian *hazār* = 1000; the Hazārī consider themselves as very mixed, and consisting of subtribes of Turkish and Āimāq origin besides a few from the Hazārajāt, which, e.g., is shown by the subtribal name “Dāy Zangī”. But the Hazārī do not explain their name from this last-mentioned connexion but from a settling of 1000 houses of different tribes around Qal‘a-i-Nau.



Fig. 1. The village Garmāb, West Hazārajāt, with stacks of cow-dung cakes ('chalma') on the flat roofs of the mud houses. In the front a simple hand-loom for making rugs ('gelam'). This village is situated at such an altitude, that the villagers remain in their houses during the summer. (Phot. in July 1953 by H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark).

features met among some of the tribes (but found to a far less degree than among the Hazāra of the Hazārajāt), and by many Central Asian cultural elements, such the yurt, the chaparī (vide p. 15 ff.), the churn, etc., found among the northern tribes, i.e. the Fīrōzkōhī, the Jamshēdī, and the Hazāra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau. There are also other cultural traditions, which for example are shown by the existence, only among the Taimanī, of a special type of the *black tent* (vide Fig. 6). It is noteworthy that this black tent is not closely connected with the Afghan black tent types,¹ and also that the yurt does not exist among the Taimanī. It is therefore possible culturally to distinguish between two main groups: The *Northern Aīmāqs* (i.e. the Fīrōzkōhī, the Jamshēdī, and the Hazāra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau), and the *Southern Aīmāqs* (i.e. the Taimanī). In reality there is also a third group, consisting of the Tīmūrī and many of the so-called Ēlāts. These tribes are mostly half-nomadic, or even totally nomadic, and culturally are not easily distinguished from the Afghans (mainly of the Durānnī tribes), thus they use the Durānnī type of the black tent. In other

¹ A short account of the different black tent types of the Afghan nomads is given by me in Ferdinand 1956, p. 64 f.; cf. also Ferdinand 1959, in: Humlum).

words, culturally they are afghanised, although they have kept their Persian (Tājīkī) language.

Besides the cultural divisions of the Āimāq tribes, it is furthermore to be considered, as already indicated, that the different Āimāq tribes themselves are of mixed origin, which can be well demonstrated by a study of the subtribal names as compared with their traditional origins. In this connexion, I find an explanation due to popular etymology of the tribal name Jamshēdī very expressive: according to that it should originate from Persian *jam' shud*, meaning *collected* or *put together*. The tribal name *Chahār Āimāq* itself, the first part of which is Persian (P. *chahār* = four), and the second Turco-Mongol (M. *aimag* = tribe) may reflect the complexity of the tribes; it might also indicate the same as an old Taimani khān explained to me, that the Āimāqs were of different origins, but had been organised in four tribes by Chinggis Khan; personally I should prefer to modify this definite statement to a vaguer one, and say, by one of the Turco-Mongol rulers (a Timurid?), who once reigned in these areas.

In mode of living and by many cultural traits the Āimāqs differ from the Hazāra of the Hazārajāt, but to themselves the most important difference is that the Āimāqs belong to the Sunnī sect of Islam.¹

The Hazāra²

The Hazāras and their distribution

Though educated Hazāras often claim that all three groups, or better, peoples, the Moghōl, the Chahār Āimāq and the Hazāra, are one and the same, i.e. Mongol, this, when the problem is examined from a cultural point of view, is not true.

The Hazāras are the largest ($\frac{1}{2}$ —1 million) of these three peoples, and although they are not all of the same origin, they constitute a cultural unit, and are considered as such by themselves and by others, in so far as they belong to the same Shi'a

¹ Further material on the Chahār Āimāq will be published later.

² A correct transliteration from the Persian script would be *Hazārah*; in the following the unpronounced final *-h* in this and similar cases will be omitted, except in a few place-names. Unpronounced *-h-* in place-names will be given in (), when first mentioned, and then omitted. It should be noted that the initial *h* in *Hazāra* often is hardly audible in the spoken language.



Fig. 2. Village of domed houses (Bād Āsiā, Besūd, 2800 m) at the edge of the farmland. These houses are used for habitation the whole year. (August 1954 by K. F.).

sect (the Ismaʿīliya Hazāras are not really admitted as Hazāra by the Hazāras of the Shīʿa).

The region where the Hazāras live is usually called Hazārajāt, with the exception of the area to the North of the Hindūkush main range, where among others the Ismaʿīliya Hazāras are found; these are also known as *Kayānī* (from their head Saiyed-i-Kayān living near Dōshī, Qataghan), as *Āghā Khānī* and *Ghalāt* or *Ghālī* (properly from Ar. *ghālī*, pl. *ghulāt*, meaning fanatic, extreme, and often used to signify a sect; by popular etymology it was explained to me as originating from Ar. *ghalaṭ* = error).

In the North the Hazāra area borders on the southern parts of the Mazār-i-Sherīf and Qataghan provinces (including the

Ka(h)mard and Saighān, Dōāb, and parts of Darra-i-Sūf, Dōshī and Ghōrī in the Hazāra area).¹ In the East the border crosses the middle of the Ghōrband valley, and runs southwards along the Paghmān and Sanglakh mountain ranges, then to the East of the Ūnāi pass, and from there, roughly speaking, it follows the foot of the mountains South-Southwest up to the area of Qalāt-i-Ghilzai. Formerly the Hazāras lived round Ghaznī, and were in possession of the western part of the plain where the main road Kābul-Qandahār runs today, i. e. Qarabāgh, Muqur, and obviously also Qalāt itself,² and even the plain south of Qalāt, where the Afghan farmers told us that the karēzes found there were made long ago by the Hazāras. It seems that it is since the time of Ahmad Shāh Bābā Durānnī (or Abdālī) (1747—1773), or according to Raverty a little earlier, that the Hazāras have been pushed towards the Northwest into the mountains.³ Formerly the southern border was very close to Qandahār, but during these 60—70 years it has become very indistinct, as a large contingent of Afghan tribes has settled there and wholly or in part taken over the land from the Hazāras; this is the case with Dahla(h) (the Arghandāb basin, South of Jāghōrī), Tīrī (north of Qandahār), etc., and even further north in Uruzgān, in Dāya

¹ Hazāra people are also to be found spread in Badakhshān and Qataghan, as e. g. reported by Burhan-ud-Din (vide Jarring, 1939, p. 13 ff.). A rather large settlement of Hazāras to the south of Sar-i-Pul in the Mazār-i-Sherif province, bordering on Chaghcharān, dates, according to Bacon (Wilber 1956, p. 49), from the time of Amīr Habībullāh Khān (1901—1919), when Hazāra refugees who left Hazārajāt after the conquest in 1892 by Amīr ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān Khān were free to return to Afghanistan and were given lands there. From the time of the conquest and onwards date the settlement of Hazāras around Quetta, and I believe the biggest contingent of Hazāras in the areas around Mashhad in Iran. In this connexion, I think, Ivanow (1926, p. 154 ff.) is mistaken, when he speaks of the Barbaris (i. e. Hazāra) near Mashhad as only coming from Qal‘a-i-Nay. Ivanow mentions the following subdivisions: 1. Uruzghani, 2. Jaghuri, 3. Bisud, 4. Daizangi, 5. Daikundi, 6. Laljangi, all of which are tribes or/and regions in Hazārajāt.

² Qalāt-i-Ghilzai was in the time of the Moghol Emperor Akbar (1556—1605) named *Kalāt-i-Barlūk*, according to Raverty (1888, Appendix p. 39). Barluk was then possibly a Hazāra tribe, as Raverty (*op. cit.* App. p. 49) refers to it as “the ming or hazārah of Barlūk”.

³ Cf. Raverty, who writes (1880, App. p. 35): “Within the last century and a half or two centuries, especially from the time that the Ghalzī Afghāns threw off the yoke of the Šafawis [under Mīr Wajis, 1720—32], they began to encroach on the *hazārah* people, and to thrust them back towards the west; and, on account of the steady increase of some branches of the Ghalzīs, many of whom are *ilāts*, *kochīs*, or nomads, this is still going on. The Durrānis, in other parts, have been doing the same, as I shall show when I come to the account of the so-called Hazārahs.” Apparently, and unfortunately, Raverty never came to that!



Fig. 3. 'Chapiers' of the Northern Hazāra during pitching by women and one man in a side valley of the Ghōrband ('Dāy Kalo' tribe, 'Urdogali', 3100 m). On the left the curved sticks ('chapar-chub') have just been stuck into the ground by the women, and on the right the man(!) assisted by the women tie the curved sticks to the central pole ('acha'). (July 1953 by K. F.).

wa Fōlād and in Gēzāo (Gēzāb) to the North West of the Helmand. In the West the Hazāras border on the Āimāq area, but as good maps are lacking, this will roughly say, the Ghōr, Chaghcharān and Sangchārak. This border I can only define exactly at the (Kābul-) Panjāo (Panjāb)-Herāt road, where it runs a little to the East of Daulat Yār just west of the Hazāra village Garmew (Garmāb).

Tribal and social situation

Apart from the Tājik population, everybody else in Afghanistan belongs to a more definite ethnic group, mostly a tribal group with a more or less fixed structure. A common Afghan proverb is: "A Hazāra without a *Dāy*, is as an Afghan without *-zai*," which means, that it is just as unthinkable to meet a Hazāra who does not belong to a certain tribe, as it is to meet a de-tribalised Afghan. It seems that most Hazāra tribes fall

under this *Dāy* heading, but how genuine this is, it is difficult to say.¹ It is commonly said that there should be 10 *Dāy*'s. These are *Dāy* *Khitay* (in *Uruzgān*), *Dāy* *Mirkasha(h)* (in *Jāghōri* and to the West of *Qarabāgh* and *Ghazni*), *Dāy* *Barka* (parts of which live in 'Pashay' in *Jāghōri*), *Dāy* *Fōlād* (north of *Uruzgān*, west of *Jāghōri*), *Dāy* *Kundi* (the large region bordering on the *Āimāq* area, south west of *Dāy* *Zangī*), *Dāy* *Zangī* (south of the western part of *Kōh-i-Bābā*), *Dāy* *Mirdād* (east of *Dāy* *Zangī* and in *Be(h)sūd*, *Dāy* *Dehqo* (*Dehqān*)) (eastern *Besūd*) *Dāy* *Chopo* (*Chōpān*) (south of *Jāghōri*), and *Dāy* *Qozī* (the large region north of *Bāmiān*, and *Shibar*, southern part of *Qataghan*). There exists at least an eleventh *Dāy* called 'Kalo' (*Kalān*) (at the western upper end of the *Ghōrband* valley), but this is only a subtribe of the *Sheikh* 'Alī.

The explanations of the name *Dāy* are manifold, and those of the *Hazāras* themselves are not satisfactory. According to the common traditions of historical writing, *Dāy* was the ancestor of all *Hazāras*, and so the different *Dāy*'s are his sons; but this is all too artificial. The solution suggested by *Fraser-Tytler* (1953, p. 56—57) is hardly more probable; he says that *Dāy* is a corruption of the Persian *dah* and means 10, and therefore reflects the *Chinggisid* military organisation. But this is far from certain; and to me it has also been explained that *Dāy* simply meant "villages" (plural of *P. deh*); maybe this idea is reflected in the common form *Deh Zangī* and *Deh Kundi* found on the maps of the *Survey of India* and often in British literature—*Dāy* *Zangī*, as it is pronounced, would then be a transformation of *Deh-i-Zangī*—the village of *Zangī*. But today *Dāy* does not mean *village*, and many *Hazāras* just explain it as meaning *tribe*, and such a meaning is just what might be expected in this connexion. If this word could be connected with the *Dāy* which in *Hazāragī* means a stack of winter fodder or of bushes for fuel, in other words: things collected and placed together, has not been made out. If so, *Dāy Kundi*, for instance, could perhaps mean the *lot of*, or *in Kundi*, or the *tribe of Kundi*. In this connexion I want to point out the possibility that the use of *Dāy* has been

¹ Several important tribes are not listed as *Dāy*, e.g. *Sheikh* 'Alī and *Besūd*; cf. *Bacon* 1951, p. 244, where she mentions the resemblance to the Mongolian tribe "Bāsūt", which appears in the "Secret History of the Mongols".



Fig. 4. The 'chapar' (Fig. 3 on the right) now pitched with straw mats ('chēgh') round it and felt ('namad') on top, leaving a smoke-hole open above the door. In the background uncultivated meadow. (July 1953 by K. F.).

supported and strengthened by analogy with the Pashtū *-zai* (= *son of*) (Persianised *-jai*, as e.g. in *Ghiljai*).¹ In spite of this argument and the others referred to above, it must be added that the actual meaning of *Dāy* has yet to be explained. It is not at all clear today, whether *Dāy* is Mongolian after all, or simply just means son or descendent, which would give the best explanation.

The overwhelming interest which is paid to tribal adherence among the Afghans is not so strongly felt among the Hazāras; but it is possible that this was different in the time before Amīr 'Abdu-r-Rahmān (1880—1901), when Hazārajāt was rather independent of the Central Government. Primarily the tribal organisation is a paternal lineage system; all the subtribes are named after an ancestor, and these again originate from a common ancestor, so that the tribal system looks exactly like a family genealogy.

¹ Connection with Persian *Dāyī*, *Dā'ī* = maternal uncle (also in Turkish dialects) would be without any known analogy.

The woman, unveiled as she is, has a comparatively free position, but in spite of her important rôle in the daily work, the maternal line is never accepted or reckoned as important, even if in actual life the connexions with the mother's line (especially with the mother's brother, '*abagha*') are very close. The relations with the mother's line are naturally strengthened by the common custom of cousin marriage, which is recommended by Islam; both parallel- and cross-cousin marriages are common with possibly a preference for the latter.

No practice of either exogamy or endogamy can be found in the subtribes. But all Hazāras can be said to be endogamous as marriages with *outsiders* are very rare; this is found most pronouncedly among the Hazāra Isma'īliyas.. Between the two sects of Hazāras (i. e. Shiite and Isma'īliya) the number of marriages is said to be even smaller than the marriages between Shiites and Sunnis.

Religious similarities and differences strongly influence tribal feelings and in the case of the Hazāras very much help them to preserve their tribal integrity. The opposition and even hostility between the two sects, Sunnī and Shī'a, is a well-known phenomenon in Islām, and as there are hardly any other Shī'as in Afghanistan (except the town dwelling Qizilbāsh and the remote Badakhshānī) Hazāra and Shī'a are nearly identical both in their own opinion and in that of others: A Hazāra will deny that he is of the same *tribe* (*qaum*) as a Hazāra Isma'īliya, and a common Afghan, who is a Sunnī, will often in his general antipathy to the Shī'as call a Qizilbāsh a *Hazāra*. This attitude has greatly helped to keep the Hazāras distinct and apart from others.

The strength of a society can largely be determined by its ability to absorb foreign groups; that ability was obviously strong among the Hazāras in former days and can still be shown to exist on a small scale today.

The Hazāras themselves explain that they consist of real Hazāras, Hazāra Saiyed, Afghān Hazāra, and Tājik Hazāra, and some will, as mentioned above, even incorporate Qizilbāsh. When you meet these different sorts of Hazāras, as e.g. in Shahristān, formerly called Se(h) Pāy (Southern Dāy Zangī), you will find that a complete cultural assimilation has taken



Fig. 5. 'Chapar' completely covered with straw from the Hazāra between Dōshī and Pul-i-Khomri. The frame consists of curved sticks and there is no central pole. This type is also found with mats and felt cover. (Phot. by Peter Rasmussen, November 1953).

place. It is most likely that this process took place continuously from the first arrival of the Hazāras in Afghanistan; but it is very hard to get any further information about this, because oral tradition has very vague ideas of time, even when reckoned in generations. The *Saiyeds*, although culturally Hazāras, hold a special position; they are supposed to be the descendants of the Prophet Mohammad, and are therefore very much respected by the lay people, who give a tithe of their harvest to them every year ($\frac{1}{10}$ or even $\frac{1}{5}$ in some places). This position they certainly want to retain by keeping themselves pure, so they do not intermarry with ordinary people. Concerning the other groups, it is tradition alone that tells that the subtribe so and so is of another origin than the rest.—You will find Afghān Hazāras all over Hazārajāt, and in some cases you can see, just as in the case of the *Saiyeds*, that they are somewhat less mongoloid than the rest.

This I have observed from the features of single persons, but it is also my impression that some Hazāras of larger areas, such as Shahrīstān in Southern Dāy Zangī, and Jāghōrī, are generally less mongoloid than for instance Dāy Zangī as a whole, or Besūd.

How the process of assimilation has worked is unknown, but racial changes on a larger scale cannot be explained just by the arrival of a single family or a single person, which is enough to create a later subtribe and the tradition of its foreign origin. In the cases of Jāghōrī and Shahrīstān we must think of other possibilities, such as an intermixture with a *pre-Hazāra* population or influx of larger groups of foreigners.

We can still see examples of assimilation going on: twenty-five years ago five Afghan families from Wardak settled in Eastern Besūd, and there they have since been completely absorbed culturally as well as socially by the Hazāras; they have become Shī'a and are already well mixed through marriages with their Hazāra neighbours.

The interior strength of the Hazara society ('*ulus*' or '*mardom-i-hazāra*') is still considerable, and the region of Central and North Central Hazārajāt has kept its national integrity till now. Only on the Eastern outskirts of Besūd, and west of Ghaznī ('*Jīghātu*' area), can one find smaller groups of Qizilbāsh, who have established themselves as a superior class of landlords among the Hazāras; but since these Qizilbāsh are also Shī'a, they are never considered real foreigners.

In former days the Hazāra culture only changed slowly by impulses from *newcomers*, and through contact with the outside world, e.g. westwards with Iran, where they had their Shī'a brethren.¹ Till about 70 years ago Hazārajāt was very isolated, and in practice independent of the Central Government.² At that

¹ Today an important trade-connexion exists with Qataghan, from where the Hazāras get their salt, one of the few things they have always imported; I believe this connexion is an old and important one, which in the material culture counts far more than the more spiritual ties towards Iran.

² Apart from the Hazāras in the "plains" around and south of Ghaznī, who were under the governorship of that city, Bāmiān seems to have been the only permanent seat of a governor under the Amīr of Kābul within the Hazāra area. But at various periods strong rulers have exercised some authority or have at least collected tax in the more accessible parts of Hazārajāt. During the reign of Shāh Zamān (1793—99) a strong governor of Bāmiān "reduced the Hazārae to a degree of order and obedience never equalled" according to Elphinstone (1842, II, p. 212), and from 1836—38 Burnes (1842, p. 230) writes: "The Huzaras



Fig. 6. Tajimanī summer camp in Shaharak with the special Tajimanī black tent and 'chapars' of the Ajmāq type, with the vertical lower and the conical upper part. Mats and woven goat-hair "cloth" are used as covers of both types of tents. (July 1953 by K. F.).

time very few dared to go to Hazārajāt; the nomads kept to the Pashtūn area, and very few trade-caravans passed through the central parts, they preferred the route by the Ūnaġ, 'Hajġak', and Īrāq passes, to Bāmīān, and the more northern routes through the Sheikh 'Alī area in the Ghōrband valley held open by force and subsidies.

The nomads were the first who tried to open up Hazārajāt proper, and they started to go there during the reign of Amīr Shēr 'Alī Khān (1863—1879), just at the time when they began to get good modern rifles, as they have explained to me. Afterwards Amīr 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Khān (1880—1901), the real founder of modern united Afghanistan, conquered Hazārajāt (1892), and it is after that time that we find large areas of Hazārajāt settled by Afghans (vide p. 12). It was also 'Abdu-r-Rahmān

of Dihzungee are nearly independent: those of Dih-Koondee altogether so. At Kara Bagh they come down upon the plains beyond Ghuzni, and are subject to Cabool, as are those of Jaghooree, Behsood, and Fouladee."

Khān, who officially gave the nomads pastures in Hazārajāt and divided the pasture grounds between the different tribes.

A new situation then arose in Hazārajāt which has changed the life of the Hazāras considerably; the nomads soon learnt that here was a virgin field for trading, and started off from their summer camps on trading expeditions to all parts of Hazārajāt and also to the Āimāq area. They bought animals, clarified butter, and rugs, and brought in cloth, shoes, sugar, tea, etc., which certainly have made life easier for the Hazāras, but also extinguished some of their cultural traits, e.g. the old Hazāra costumes, which have entirely disappeared.

Through the new position of Hazārajāt, the Hazāras also got an opportunity of going outside Hazārajāt, and from that time on dates the larger settlements of Hazāras in the cities (e.g. in Chindāwul in Kābul, where they stay together with the Qizilbāsh¹), and where they usually work as ordinary labourers; but also a seasonal migration started, and many single Hazāras as well as whole families go in winter-time to Kābul in search of occasional work under the somewhat milder climatic conditions there.² This contact has brought many new things to the Hazāras, house-building slowly changed, baking ovens appeared, and more recently non-traditional crops were introduced (potatoes, etc.).

The contact between nomads and settlers is often a difficult one, but Hazārajāt has up to now been large enough for both groups, and a collaboration has developed, not only in trade, but also in other matters; the Hazāras often do the weaving for the nomads of coarse transport-sacks, kelims, etc. (but not of tent-cloth) and also the shearing of their sheep, for which they

¹ Chindāwul is a district of the city of Kābul; its name refers to the originally military organisation of the Qizilbāsh'es (Persians of Turkish extraction who arrived together with Nadir Shah Afshar), and it means, according to Steingass (1947, p. 400), "The rear of an army", or "camp-followers"; Elphinstone (1842, I, p. 419) explains the word as "vanguard".

² These items of information I have concordantly from many Hazāra informants, but neither the settlements in the towns nor the seasonal migration are entirely new features, though they must have been considerably furthered since the conquest. Elphinstone (1842, II, p. 213) writes: "There are many Hazāra in Caubul; five hundred are in the King's guard, the rest gain their bread by their labour; many of them are muleteers." And Burnes (1842, p. 231): "All the drudgery and work in Cabool is done by Huzaras, some of whom are slaves and some free: in winter there are not less than ten thousand who reside in the city, and gain a livelihood by clearing the roofs of snow and acting as porters." These last lines remind one very much of the position today.



Fig. 7. Firōzkōhī 'chapiers' at 'Gandao' near Daūlatyār. The roof has got an extra cover of mats on top of the goathair "cloth". The vertical mats of the middle 'chapar' are painted with mineral colours dissolved in milk. Note the tripod churn of the same type used among the Hazāras. (July 1953 by K. F.).

get share payment. As the nomads often are "capitalists", they lend the Hazāras money, and take land as security as long as the loan is not paid back (the so-called *ejāra* system); during that time the Hazāra is the tenant of the nomad, and as it often happens that he is unable to pay back his loan, he will remain a tenant. In their trade the nomads usually give the Hazāra credit till the following summer, and then get payment in kind, but the poorer Hazāras are often unable to pay and then the debts are increased considerably, and the payment postponed for another year, and so it runs year after year with the result that the Hazāra loses his land and ends up as tenant for the nomad. This is what may and does happen in large parts of Hazārajāt in these years.

In spite of all the ways in which the Hazāras and nomads meet and collaborate, intermixture never occurs; the meeting is between two fully intact nations with different culture and language. As for the latter, very few Hazāras have learned

Pashto, while the Persian known to the nomads is mostly the Hazāragī.

What is going on in Hazārajāt is one of the most interesting processes in Afghanistan, and it ought to be followed most carefully not only out of scientific interest.

Tribal government

In former times Hazārajāt was ruled by tribal chieftains, some of whom it would be right to call local kings. Their power and influence varied greatly and could usually be expressed simply by the amount of horsemen they had at their disposal. The very powerful, for instance those of Yakaulang, north of Dāy Zangī, were named *il-khān*, that is to say the *head* of the *ulus*, the *tribe* or *society*; they would have had about 2000 horsemen under them. The other *kings* were only titled *khān* or *mīr*, and would have had the support of about a 1000 horsemen. The title *bēg* was also in common use, but signified a less important position, usually it was the title of sons and relations of the *khāns* and *mīrs*. An old farmer explained the title contemptuously: "In the old days everyone was a *bēg*."

The *khān* and the *mīr* had their background in the tribal system, but as their position was traditional or hereditary, they were not solely the mouthpiece of their tribes. Their private policy was often their main preoccupation, and the kind of warfare that occurred in Hazārajāt was always the result of rivalry between the *khāns*; there were no blood-feuds among the common people, such as are still frequent among the Pash-tūns. This "*feudal*" system has doubtless, in former days, been the origin of the branching off of new *lineage groups*, when a *khān*'s son succeeded in establishing himself in an independent status.

For political reasons and in order to keep the *khān* families in a stratum above the common people, marriages were always between the various *khān* families. This family hierarchy was so strong, that if a *khān* failed to have a son, his eldest daughter would be the ruler with the title '*agha*', and she usually married a common man from her own tribe.

A political system like this did in fact contain the beginnings of a higher state development; this can be seen in Jāghōrī, where

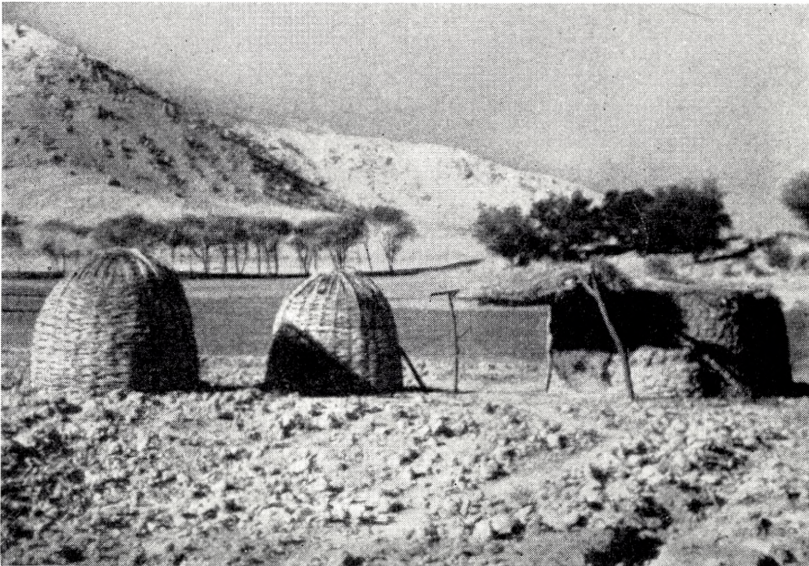


Fig. 8. Square mud hut ('kota') with flat branch roof and an attached branch sun-shelter supported by poles in front of the 'kota'. This hut is erected on a fallow field and is used as a summer habitation; beside it are seen two movable "wattled" branch "huts" ('āghil') for the sheep and goats. (Bāgh, Shahrīstān, July 1954 by K. F.).

a small kingdom, with administration, regular army, etc., arose. Jāghōrī was more or less officially recognised by Amīr Shēr 'Alī Khān (1863—79), who gave the ruler the title of *Sardār* (= prince).

When Hazārajāt was conquered by Amīr 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Khān, there was an urgent need to control the old local chieftains and to lessen their influence, before putting up a new administration independent of the local background. But it is not an easy task to overthrow a traditional tribal system completely, nor has this happened: today the same *khān* families who once ruled are more or less still in power, because of their riches and the respect paid to them, but now usually as collaborators with the Government, and as the spokesmen of their people.

The great changes have happened at the top of the tribal system, whereas the village rule is largely unaltered. It is still the whitebeards (H. 'ispi-rish') who are the leaders besides the often elected village heads, the 'darugha' or the 'aspaqal' or

'*apsaqal*' (T. *aq-saqal* = whitebeard), as they are called. But as spokesmen in liaison with the government, there are now the *arbāb*'s, who represent many villages; the *arbāb*'s (or *malek*'s) are, as far as I have been informed, a new institution, and are apparently meant to replace the old *khān*'s, as they are regional and at the same time partly subtribal representatives.

Altogether the new development points towards the elimination of the tribal system, and the substitution of a regional partition for it. This is certainly mostly felt e.g. in Besūd and Dāy Zangī, where many villages are inhabited not only by different subtribes, but even by different tribes. On inquiry here, village names are often given as subtribes, and I believe these are felt to be just as expressive. The tribal organisation is today best preserved in Jāghōrī, where the lineage group or division group and the local group apparently still correspond. The process that is going on is not only a practical political change, but also a psychological one, during which the content of the tribal adherence, the tribal feeling, loses its actuality and becomes an emotional tradition.

The geographical background

Hazārajāt is an elevated mountainous country; there are big mountain ranges, where the peaks stand over 5000 m high as in Kōh-i-Bābā and the Hindū Kush. There are elevated plateaus where water erosion has obliterated the plateau character, such as Besūd (approximately 2800—3000 m). There are also broad valleys, where the main river runs in a gorge in the middle and the sides are cut up into small valleys (H. '*qol*') as in Shahristān. In other places deep-cut green valleys with steeply rising slopes are common, as in Dāy Zangī.

Every region has its typical features; but common to all Hazārajāt is the steppe character with a relatively rich vegetation; occasionally, however, there are sparse trees, such the pistachio or *khinjak*, in the warmer southern regions. Hazārajāt has very severe winters with heavy snowfalls, which in the Central and North Central parts even cut the communications between neighbouring villages and isolate the country for up to six months of the year. The precipitation which mainly sets in in the winter season and in spring time, mostly consists of snow, except



Fig. 9. 'Āghil', movable "wattled" branch "huts", with entrance in the middle of the side. These are used as shelters for sheep and goats in the midday sun and at night; then they are covered with some kind of cloth. The entrance to the 'āghil' on the left is closed by a ladder. (Bāgh, Shahrīstān, July 1954 by K. F.).

towards the South, where it becomes rain. Now and then, the monsoon from the South-East will bring slight rain to the Eastern elevated parts in late summer, otherwise the summer is dry with a cloudless sky.

Settlement and habitations

Hazārajāt is densely populated considering its natural properties; practically every level piece of ground with possibilities of irrigation comes under cultivation. The villages are mostly located at the edge of the irrigated zone in the narrow valleys,

and in the wider valleys at the bottom, in the places most sheltered from snow-drifts and avalanches.

In the elevated parts of Hazārajāt the villages are always built with the houses attached to each other so as to afford maximum shelter. The square and flat-roofed houses are built of mud or of stones, according to available resources. The amount of wood used is negligible, and in Besūd, where wood is very scarce, they are all dome-shaped and, indeed, very well built of sun-dried bricks.

If you have got no other means of determining the altitude and the severity of the winter, you can judge from the amount of cakes of cow-dung (H. '*chalma*') and stacks of thorny scrub collected as fuel for the winter, placed on top of roofs, or just outside the village.—All through the summer you will see the women busy kneading dung together with straw for *chalma*, while the small boys constantly bring home on their backs big loads of fuel and herbs and grasses (rhubarb, etc.) from the mountains for winter fodder for the animals.—Enormous collections are made for these stacks, which are very characteristic of the Hazāra villages; no doubt the Hazāras must be counted among the greatest "haymakers" in the world.

For the sake of warmth the old type of Hazāra house often consisted of one room with a porch. There were no windows, and only a smoke-hole (H. '*mori*') in the roof which could be closed. In other places, you find a two- or three-roomed house, with a living room, a stable for the animals and a small store room; however, the stable is always built with a fire-place, so that the human beings can join the animals in severe winters, as in the one-room house. The distinction between these houses is not regional or tribal, but depends on the climate, the wealth of the owner and impulses from outside.

The furniture of the houses is extremely simple. In a corner an open fire-place (H. '*dedgo*') is situated and in many houses there is now a baking-oven in the middle of the room. There are recesses in the walls for storage purposes, one of them with the family wooden box. Small platforms are scooped out of the walls for oil lamps, and apart from these, you find ordinary household implements, such as imported copper ware, hand-made earthenware bowls, wooden bowls, etc. Rolled up in a corner is a well-

made mat of felt for covering the floor when the family go to sleep. It is astonishing to find clean and tidy houses—with piles of cow-dung just outside the door.



Fig. 10. Hazāra woman of Shahrīstān clad in the, now very seldom seen, old Hazāra dress: Remarkable are the long sleeves and the head dress, a piece of cloth folded up, which together with the physical features, give her a very “Mongolian” appearance. (July 1954 by K. F.).

In the highest regions (Dāy Zangī, Besūd, etc.) the people stay in their villages the whole year, but in lower and warmer areas they generally move out for the three summer months, as the fleas become unbearable in the winter houses. They just move to a near-by fallow field, and there they erect a small square mud-hut (H. ‘kota’) with a light roof of branches and poles. In front of

the *kota* there are sun shelters for men and animals (vide Fig. 8), and in Shahristān also small dome-shaped branch-huts (H. 'āghil') for goats and sheep (vide Fig. 9). These and the Jāghōrī square fences of wood (H. 'chārchubi') are movable, so that the dung can be well spread over the fallow field. This *kota*-system is found in Shahristān and in Jāghōrī.

In other regions, where there are good mountain pastures and fertile mountain valleys, there is a move uphill every summer. This is found in a few places in Dāy Zangī and Dāy Kundī, and is certainly connected with dry-field farming, apart from the pasture needs of the animals. The shelters here are a little different in shape, often irregularly rectangular with roof branches, poles, etc. (H. 'manā'). In the Ghōrband-Shibar-Bāmīān region we find the same system, except that the people there instead of using stone-shelters live in tents in the open mountain valleys during the summer time; there they have irrigated fields of barley, wheat, and lucerne (about 3100 m altitude) besides their dry-field farming of wheat (H. and ASP. 'almī').

Their tents resemble the yurt type because they are round, and because as seen from the outside they have a mat wall rising vertically to the height of about 1 m and furthermore a dome-shaped roof covered with felt rising from the upper edge of these mats (Fig. 4). But the inside frame shows a different shape from the yurt: there is no upper and lower part here, the frame is made of sticks stuck into the ground in a circle, and then bent towards the middle and tied together at the top of a forked central pole (H. 'acha' (Fig. 3)). In this framework an opening is made for a door with no specified orientation; there is no regular smoke-hole in the roof, the felts are just placed so as to allow the smoke to escape over the door.

This tent is called 'chapar' or 'chaparī' (the ordinary ASP. name for a temporary shelter of branches or straw); following its construction it would be more correct to call the Hazāra *chapar* a movable *beehive-shaped hut* with a felt-cover rather than a tent. Besides the places already mentioned this *hut* is found in the rest of the Northern Hazāra area (the Kahmard and Sajghān, Dōāb, Dōshī and the Ghōrī regions), but there usually without the central tent pole (Fig. 5). The *chapar* is used for six months of the year, i. e. not only in summer time



Fig. 11. Hazāra woman (note her modern narrow cuff) with her cradle ('gawara' = P. *gahwāre*), in which the child is firmly tied up. (Bāgh, Shahrīstān. July 1954 by Marianne Ferdinand).

in the mountains, but also round the villages in the early summer and autumn. This suggests that the Northern Hazāras [formerly were used to a more unsettled life, and it was then no wonder that they were all well acquainted with the construction of a yurt (H. and ASP. '*khergā*'). We were told that some 50—60 years ago the yurt was in common use among them, besides the *chapari*. This very much resembles the situation among the Northern *Āimāq* and among some of the Uzbeks of Qataghan, where nowadays the yurt and the *chapar* are found side by side.

At first sight the Chahār *Āimāq* *chapar* resembles the Hazāra one closely, the circular ground-plan, the mats and the felt-

cover are the same, but structurally the *Āimāq chapar* is not a *beehive-shaped hut*, for the framework does not consist of curved tent poles, but of two sets of straight sticks; each of the Hazāra curved poles corresponds to two straight sticks tied together to form an obtuse angle. Consequently the *Āimāq chapar* is more like the yurt, as they both consist of a circular vertical lower part and a sloping, conical upper part (Fig. 7); furthermore the *central tent pole* is often missing (as in the *chaparī* of the northernmost Hazāras).¹

For obvious reasons one might regard the different types of the *chapar* as prototypes of the yurt, and advance a nice evolution scheme: beehive-shaped hut with central pole—beehive-shaped hut without central pole, *Āimāq chapar*—yurt. But it is not quite so easy as this, for the *chapar*s might indeed be degenerative forms or just simpler parallels to the yurt.

Among the Ghōrband Hazāra the yurt as a whole-year habitation has disappeared, probably because it was no longer necessary and also too expensive, as the settled life progressed and the Hazāras acquired houses. The cheap and easily made *chapar* partly took over the functions of the yurt, and its use was adjusted to the changed conditions; but in my opinion there is no reason to think that the Hazāra *chapar* is a new invention or a degenerated form, the *type* is all too fixed for that, and furthermore a comparison with the Northern *Āimāq* does not support this idea. Among the *Āimāq* we find both kinds with more or less specialised use; the *kherqā* as the fine tent used for guests and as living-room, and the *chapar* as the kitchen and working tent, and often the night shelter for the animals as well.

These two kinds of dwellings have most likely existed side by side from ancient times, and in the course of time influenced and supplemented each other—possibly the *chapar* types are older than the yurt type—but further conclusions are out of the question until further studies have been made on the different tribes of Afghanistan as well as comparisons with the neighbouring areas.²

¹ The *chaparī* of the Jamshedī living in Turkmenistan has been published by E. G. Hafferberg (Gafferberg), 1948, p. 124 ff.

² Other traditional dwellings than the ones referred to are also to be found in these areas. Among Tājiks around 'Kāoliān' (N.E. of 'Belchirāgh') and to the East of 'Takht-i-Mirzā' (S. of Sar-i-Pul) Lennart Edelberg in July 1953 came

Daily activities

On account of the weather the main activities of the Hazāras are confined to summer and autumn; in the winter they stay mostly indoors, and do very little work. The women prepare the

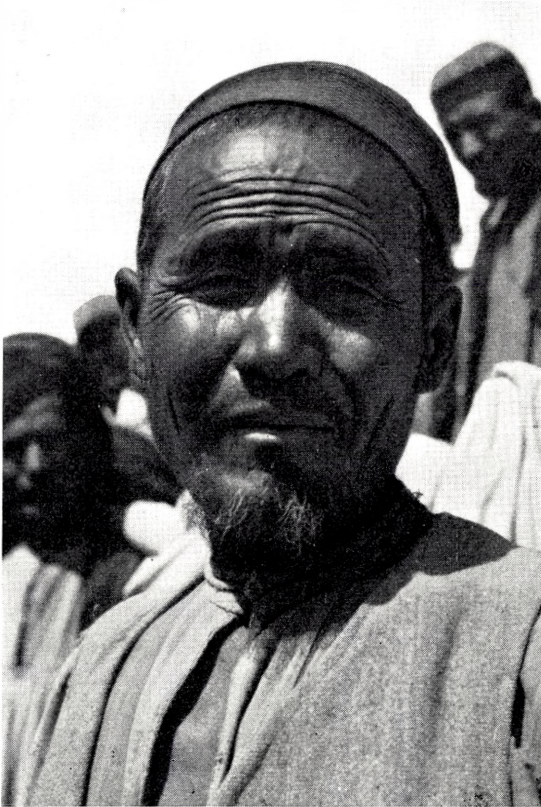


Fig. 12. A typical Hazāra of the Southern Dāy Zangī (July 1954 by K.F.).

two daily meals, at times only one meal a day, and the men do the important work: feeding the animals, and taking them out in the midday sun; this, however, is without any immediate

across *chapars* of yet another shape, alongside yurts. Briefly, the frame of these *chapars* is something like a cross between the frame of a Hazāra *chapar* without a centre-pole, and a barrel-vaulted frame. Similar dwellings, some even with more purely barrel-vaulted structure, are known from Southern Tajikistan and Southern Uzbekistan. (Cf. E.G. Hafferberg, 1948, p. 137, and B.Kh. Karamysheva, 1956, p. 14 ff.).

profit, for the animals yield no milk in winter. Roofs and entrances must be kept clear of snow, otherwise life outside is very limited, no travelling is done, and even when there is a death, it is often impossible to take the corpse to the proper burial ground. Early in winter the men may go out shooting mountain goats, but on the whole hunting is of little importance, though they have ordinary loop-type snares for partridges (H. and ASP. 'kauk' = P. *kabk*), etc.

I have often asked the Hazāras what they do in winter. The usual answer is: "Nothing but eating and sleeping!"

In winter the *Ajmāqs* fish through holes in the ice of the Harī Rūd, but the Hazāras do not fish in winter; in general fishing is very rare among the Hazāras, who seem to have a traditional aversion to eating fish.

In the summer time the Hazāras are very busy, chiefly with farming and their enormous collecting activity. The main crops in Hazārajāt are winter- and spring-wheat, barley and various papilionaceous flowers, such as lucerne, clover, beans, etc.

One harvest is usual every year, but in the warmer areas towards the South there is an extra summer crop, mostly maize. The farmwork is exclusively the work of the men, with the exception of weeding, which is done by the women.

Irrigated farming is by far the most important and this does not show the same difficulties as in other parts of Afghanistan, because water is abundant. The smaller rivers and brooks are the most useful; they can easily be converted into irrigation-ditches; the big rivers, such as the Helmand, the Arghandāb, or the Kaj Rūd, unfortunately for Hazārajāt, can only be very little exploited, as they run at the bottom of valleys with sloping sides or in gorges, so that there is very little flat land on their sides. Peculiar to Hazārajāt are the artificial ponds (H. 'na(w)ur'), which usually get their water from hillside springs. When these ponds are full, they are used for watering rather small areas nearby. These *na(w)ur's* are always the property of a single man, just as the *karēz's* are in Southern Hazārajāt.

The tilling of the land is almost the same as in the other parts of Afghanistan: ploughs, *mālā* (wooden planks for levelling the land), spades and some special wooden implements for irrigation work are the tools commonly used. The plough is



Fig. 13. Hazāra labourers in a street in Kābul sawing up a plank into boards (Spring 1954 by K. F.).

used similarly in most of Afghanistan just before sowing and usually also immediately after it, to get the seed into the ground. The fields are often sloping, and are therefore traversed with tiny furrows to lead the water over them without erosion. Often these fields are slightly terraced, but elaborate terracing with nearly horizontal surfaces is rarely found.

Non-irrigated farming is mainly possible in such regions of Afghanistan as have a considerable snowfall during the winter, and therefore this kind of farming is very common in Hazārajāt. It is astonishing to see the green or brown (i.e. fallow) squares of the dry-fields dotted all over the mountain-slopes; and the

sight of these difficult and inaccessible places far from the villages makes one realize the hardship of Hazāra life. The dry crop (H. and ASP. '*lalmi*') is mostly spring-wheat, and the fields are given the same treatment as the watered fields, except that they are not fertilized, but only get the manure left by the grazing animals; every second year the fields lie fallow, but altogether the output is very limited, and in some years it fails completely. Nevertheless the dry crop is the only answer to the demands of the increasing population and every year the *lalmi*-farming increases, but in this expansion we have a possibility of conflict with the nomads over the borders between their pastures and the dry-crop land.

Next to farming, animal breeding is the most important work; every household has a milch cow, often a ploughing bullock, some sheep and goats; asses are also frequently found, but horses are rather rare. It is only in the open and fertile Lāl-i-Sar-Jangal and in Yakaulang that grazing herds of horses (H. '*galla*') are met with; everywhere horses are the property of the rich.

The tending of the animals is the work of the small boys and girls; they leave the village in the early morning with the animals, and bring them back at noon for milking, and then again in the afternoon they take them to the hillsides and come back only when darkness falls. This marks out the daily rhythm of a village and is the basic division of all the activities of the women, who milk and make the milk-products.

The milking can be done up to three times a day, and the women are always helped by the small herdsmen; a cow can only be milked when the calf is near, and the cow usually licks the calf while being milked. If the calf dies, its skin is stuffed with straw, and this *Kalbspuppe* then receives the mother's caresses during milking. The cows give milk from calving and, in the best cases, until the beginning of the winter, whereas sheep and goats only yield for a couple of months. Though the output is rather small, milk and milk products are most important for the Hazāra economy.

Every morning the women are busy boiling the milk; this is the beginning of all milk preparation, and afterwards they start churning butter from soured milk from the night before; they churn it in goat-skins hung from a tripod, just as can be seen among the Afghan nomads. As salting of butter is unknown,

butter (H. and ASP. *maska*) as such is never kept, but, as usual in Afghanistan and other neighbouring countries, is clarified, so that the water content is at a minimum (H. and ASP. *rōghān*). *Rōghān* is one of the important articles for sale to the towns.

The buttermilk (H. and ASP. *dūgh*) in the skin can be eaten thick as such, but it is usually diluted with water. A large proportion of the *dūgh* is dried, first by boiling it, and later by hanging it in a cloth, so the water can drip out. It is then formed into round lumps and dried in the sun; the result, *q(u)rūt*, is one of the favourite winter dishes all over Afghanistan. The Hazāras also make 'chako' or 'archi' (the name in Jāghōrī), which is the dry portion of soured milk (H. 'shīr'), made by draining it through a cloth. It is extraordinary that several people from Dāy Zangī and Gēzau have stated that butter and its by-products have recently been introduced to Hazārajāt, and were not known before the Amīr 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Khān; it should be noted that the processes of making the above-mentioned milk products and their names are nearly like those commonly found among the Tājīk's of Eastern Afghanistan.

If the above statement is true, the Hazāras in olden days must have had *qaimāq* only and no butter; *qaimāq* is fairly widespread in Afghanistan, but best known from the Uzbeks. *Qaimāq* is the creamy skin which gathers on the top of milk when it is boiling; this product was in former times kept in special cool places and served as an addition to the food throughout the winter. The milk left after this boiling is called 'sāf' (which is the ordinary name for plain milk, too); the *sāf* is usually soured and then becomes yoghurt, which the Hazāras call 'shīr', as opposed to the ASP. *māst*, cf. ASP. and P. *shīr* = milk.

The whole milk industry of the Hazāra is very simple, and often you will meet people who do not even make *q(u)rūt*; the more refined things such as cheese, even if they know the process of manufacture, are mostly out of the question.

The exploitation of animal products is the work of women, but the general care of animals belongs to men, they do the marking, castration, shearing, feeding, and slaughtering. Ear clipping is found, though no really organised system of marking animals exists. Castration of horned cattle, sheep, and goats is common, but castration is never practised on horses and asses.

There are two methods both widely used outside Hazārajāt: 1. 'kufto' (P. *kūftan*) = to beat or 'tab kado' = to clap; this is done by placing a stick on either side of the *spermatic cord* and then hitting the sticks with a stone, so that the *cord* gets crushed. This is mainly practised on months-old animals, and is better in summer time than the following method. 2. 'khasi kado' = to castrate; this is done by slitting the scrotum with a knife and pressing the testicles out, and then afterwards putting salt or charcoal on the wound. Both methods are used on the animals mentioned.

Shearing of sheep and goats is done twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn. For this they use a very simple, primitive pair of scissors with the two separate blades attached to either end of a small wooden crossbar. This instrument is also found among the Afghan nomads.

In slaughtering the Hazāras follow the Islamic method.

Hazārajāt has, more than many other parts of Afghanistan, been self-sufficient until recent years, and naturally many different handicrafts are performed. Again the women take a great share in the work done, they spin, weave, sew, make pottery, felt, and some of the leatherwork.

Weaving is done on simple, horizontal looms (H. 'tānesta'); they make cloth for clothing ('*barak*'), rugs ('*gelam*'), transport sacks ('*juāl*'), and blankets ('*shāl*'). The Hazāra women also make excellent felt in the well-known way of spreading the loose, carded wool on old felt ('*namad*'), and sprinkling it with water; it is then rolled and tied up to be rolled over the ground hundreds of times. All these products are usually so well made that they have a market outside Hazārajāt.

The women do all the sewing of clothes. They have in a remarkable way been able to adapt new ideas; nowhere else but in Hazārajāt you will find all the men clad in overcoats of European cut, made of their own *barak*. This is maybe expressive of the changing Hazāra culture, but it is sad for the ethnologist, because of the difficulty in finding genuine Hazāra clothes. This particular change happened about 30 years ago, and I believe it is mainly due to the return of Hazāra ex-servicemen from the old British Indian Army¹ as well as to the nomads' trading with

¹ In the beginning of this century a Hazāra regiment or batallion(?) was formed in Quetta under the Indian Army. Even today many Hazāras from the

second-hand American clothes; otherwise the clothes are now of the ordinary Eastern pattern, a change which started when Hazārajāt was opened up. This does not count for the Northern Hazāras, who generally are clad in *barak* cloaks ('*chakman*') (a shorter inner and a longer outer cloak) of the kind found among Turks in the North.

Handmade pottery is exceptional to Hazārajāt;¹ however, the potter's wheel is now slowly appearing, mainly introduced by small number of Ghaznī Hazāras, who work in the summer time in Hazārajāt.

Specialised craftsmen are rare in Hazārajāt, which means that the ordinary men have many different tasks: manufacturing of farm implements (in so far as iron is not used), housebuilding, carpentry, etc. The only indispensable craftsman is the blacksmith (*āhangar*), who is found everywhere; in Besūd you also find half-professional bricklayers (*gēl-kargar*) from older times, and here and there, as an innovation, carpenters (*najār*). Leatherwork is important, as leather is used for many things: storing sacks; churning skins; shoes (the old type is a sole-type, H. '*kāpi*'); belts; harness for horses, etc. Usually this is men's work, but in some cases the preparation is the work of the women; the tanning is mainly done with ash water and extracts of bark, and sometimes with flour, but never with fat in any form.

The barber's work is disreputable, and as there are no barbers in Hazārajāt, all Hazāras must do this contemptible work themselves. So the lack of specialisation in Hazāra life is reflected in the common Afghan saying: "Hazārajāt has nothing but 30,000 barbers."

Traditions

The Hazāra will often tell that they are the descendants of Chinggis Khan (H. '*Changhūs*') and that they are '*moghol*'. This is definitely a tradition in many areas, but it is difficult to judge to what extent it is an original one. It may be derivative, as the people who can tell more in detail about the origin of the Hazāras,

southern regions (Jāghōri, etc.) go to Quetta for occasional work, sometimes only for the winter, but also for a year or two.

¹ Cf. a preliminary note by H. R. H. Prince Peter in *Man* Vol. LIV (1954) article 73.

always have their knowledge from literary sources. But in this respect it may be worth while mentioning the use of '*moghhol*' to describe a well-behaved and decent person—and of the antonym '*namoghhol*'.

As already mentioned several times, there is a distinction in cultural traits between the main group of the Hazāra and the Northern Hazāra; the latter in many respects resembles the Uzbek in Qataghan;—this is also reflected in their tradition of origin. The Sheikh 'Alī of Ghōrband say they are *turk* and so do the *turkmān*, a Hazāra subtribe in the Turkmān valley, South of Ghōrband; these people seem ignorant of the existence of Chinggis Khan.¹

Apart from these statements I have not met with any tales or stories throwing light on their origin. The Hazāra traditions are strongly influenced by Persian literature and Islam, and a great deal of the story-telling is mere memorisation of literature, for instance the Shah-nāma of Firdausi, Hanhi Haidari (the 72 wars of Mohammad), etc.²

Music and poetry

The Hazāras are very fond of music, and have their own "style", just as every part of Afghanistan has. A large number of different tunes are found and a Hazāra can always tell from which region a certain tune originates. Peculiar to the Hazāra is a kind of yodelling, which I have only heard in Jāghōrī (e.g. as a wife's song to her departed husband), and maybe also the way small girls sing while they rhythmically beat their Adam's apples, is peculiar to the Hazāras. The instrument used most is the *dambura*, a plucked two-stringed instrument; there are also

¹ The Sheikh 'Alī are divided into the following subtribes: 'Qa(r)lugh', 'Dāy Kalo', 'Karam 'Alī' and 'Neh Amān' (usually pronounced 'Neimān'); several informants told me that Dāy Kalo originated from Dāy Zangī, a single informant told me that Neimān were also from Dāy Zangī; cf. Naiman in the "Secret History" (Haenisch, 1948, p. 83 and 183), and Czaplicka, 1918, p. 38 ff., where Naiman is mentioned as a subtribe among the Uzbek and also among the Qazaq; it is still disputed whether the Naiman were originally Mongols or Turks, but most scholars now hold them to be Turks. Qarluqs are found in many places in Qataghan and Badakhshān, and Jarring (1939, p. 71 ff.) considers them distinct from the Uzbek, perhaps also in language; Burhan-ud-din (ibid.) says they speak Turkish as distinct from *Uzbeki*.

² The women are the tellers of the fairy- and folk-tales, and so they keep quite a separate tradition from the men, but unfortunately I have little information about this.

the *ghichak* (a two-stringed bowed instrument) and the *Jaw's harp*, *chang*, which are rarely found now; all three instruments are characteristic of the Uzbeks as well. Simple reed pipes are common, especially among herdsmen.

Their songs are of the type generally used in Afghan Persian: *chārbāit* (four-lined verses) and *ghazal* (two-lined verses), and when sung with or without instrumental accompaniment, the singer simply goes on with new *chārbāits* or *ghazals* to the same tune. The songs are mainly about love, particularly unrequited love being a favoured theme (H. and ASP. 'jödāi').

Besides the true Hazāragī poetry, the ordinary ASP. poetry becomes more and more common—but in idea there is not much difference, it is just the vocabulary that differs.

Here is an example of an old type Hazāragī-*ghazal* from Shahrīstān in Dāy Zangī, given in the transliteration of Shah 'Alī Akbar, a little modified.

Dosh raftum pal-i-shi sob nabūd nim shew būd
Yak makhak istadum u mah qasharak dar khew būd

Nāgah bédār shōdak pir khōsūr mādar aú
Zad traqqās-i-balā¹ khisht² nabūd, nim zew būd

Sag aú qāvqala kad tā bekanad pay-i-ma-ra
Koftamash ham chu misāl-i kula paspartew³ būd

Kula yak su kāpī yak su ma beka(r)dum dotaji
Kār-i-dota-ra tu medani ki sāda dar budew būd

Abu Sahl⁴ āshiq ru-yi-tu shōd ay mah-i-new
U majal yād-i-tū būd khāna ki dar Garmew bud

Goftamash yār ki in āshiq-i-dérina-i tu'st
Goft wākh kor shawum⁵ sar-ma tah-i-jamkhew būd.

¹ *balā* (Ar.) is heavenly misfortune, often personified as a horrid woman.

² There is a play on words here, for *khisht* both means a brick and sheep dung, while *zew* means a small brick.

³ "kula paspartew" is a game, where a cap is thrown around, while its owner tries to catch it; something like the English "pig in the middle"!

⁴ Abu Sahl is the author, and was a well-known poet of Shahrīstān.

⁵ "kor shawum" means "strike me blind"; it is a common swear-word of women.

1. Last night I went to her side, it was not morning then, but
the middle of the night.
One little kiss I took: The moon-browed one slept.
2. At once the old mother-in-law woke
And with damned ill-luck made a racket like no sheep's
dropping, but a good half brick.
3. Her dog yapped ready to bite me,
And I kicked it just as if it were in a "kula paspartew".
4. My cap on one side and my boots on the other, I made off
myself,
You know this making off, which always means running for it.
5. Oh, my new moon! Abu Sahl fell in love with you,
Do you remember the time you lived in Garmew?
6. I said to her, "My dearest, here is your former lover!"
She said, "Woe! my head was under my bed-rug!"

Appendix I

The calendar system

In Afghanistan there is little distinction between astronomy and astrology, and all those with any knowledge of the heavens and the stars are at the same time soothsayers. This science is to a large extent influenced by literature, first and foremost I should say Arabic, but local traditions are also found.

The Hazāras are well-known for their knowledge of the sky and the heavenly bodies, and they have two ways of dividing the year, besides the official Afghan (solar) calendar:¹ these are usually spoken of as the summer and winter "countings", and are named after the *qamar-i-'aqrab* and the '*toghal*', respectively. The *qamar-i-'aqrab* (Ar. *qamar* = moon, Ar. '*aqrab*' = the constellation Scorpio) is the designation used to describe the approximate 2¹/₂ days in every month from the Afghan solar month Hammal to the month 'Aqrab when the moon appears in the constellation Scorpio. The reckoning of these successive meetings

¹ The Afghan solar calendar starts at the vernal equinox, the 21th of March, and the months are the following: Hammāl, Saur, Jabzā, Saretan, Asad, Sumbula, Mizān, 'Aqrab, Qaus, Jadī, Dalw, Hut (properly the Arabic appellations of the signs of the Zodiac).

is fairly well-known throughout Afghanistan, but is not used as a calendar system as such, for the knowledge of its working is limited to but a few specialists, for whom these meetings constitute the keystone in an astrological classification of every day of the year; a classification, which seems to have a basis in literature and to be influenced by Arabic astronomy. The constellation Scorpio is further remarkable in that it is believed among the Hazāras that the central star in the constellation is particularly baleful, and can exercise a fatal influence on astronomers, and astronomers only.

The second "counting" of the Hazāras, the so-called winter "counting" or *toghal*¹ reckoning is much more of a real calendar, and of far more importance to the common man than the *qamar-i-aqrab* reckoning. The *toghal* reckoning, as could likewise be said of that of the *qamar-i-aqrab*, is a cross between an astral and lunar calendar and depends on the conjunctions of the moon with the Pleiades (H. 'mechid' or '-t'; ASP. 'parwīn'). It is these conjunctions which are termed *toghal*, and the periods between each two successive *toghals* is astronomically a sidereal month. The Hazāras have this reckoning in common with some of the Chahār Aimāq tribes (the northern group at least), and apparently also with the Uzbeks, though it is very few I have asked about it; it is not found among the Afghan tribes, nor among the Tājiks in the Kābul area.

According to many different Hazāra informants every *toghal* is due to last for seven days, although I have been able to find only five names for special days during the *toghal*—each of which describes the relationship of the moon to the Pleiades.

First day: 't*oghal kado*' (*kardan*) = they are near each other.

Second day: 'b*aghal k.*' = side by side.

Third day: 'm*ur(u)la k.*' = they rub each other.

Fourth day: 'b*arghula k.*' (in Besūd, and some places of Dāy Zangī) = they chase; in Jāghōrī: 'merim' = I or we go.

Fifth day: 't*er mesha*' (Jāghōrī) = they have finished.

¹ A satisfactory explanation of the word *toghal* has so far not been found. Derivation from Mongol. *toγa* "number, counting" seems highly improbable as in the later dialects the velar consonant would have disappeared and the vowels would have been contracted.

Other localities content themselves with saying '*awwal-i-toghal*'; '*doyum-i-toghal*, etc. (1st *toghal*, 2nd *toghal*, etc.).

In Waras, a district of the Dāy Zangī, an expression is used to mark the end of the *toghal*: "*toghal ter shud, qaraōl-ish mond*" — "the *toghal* is ended, but its guardian stays!" This phrase and the names of the different days of the *toghal* seem to indicate that the *toghal* is understood as a battle between the moon and the Pleiades, and that the victorious (?) "guardian" (the Pleiades?) remains and waits for another "attack" from the moon. This is in accordance with the usage among the Northern Āimāq, where the *toghal* is often called: '*jang-i-mah-o-parmi*' = "the battle between the moon and the Pleiades".

The enumeration of successive *toghals* seems peculiar. There are 11 *toghals* in all, beginning in early summer with '*bist-o-yakum*' (= 21st *toghal*, and descending in odd numbers till '*yak*' (= 1st-*toghal*', which generally occurs about the beginning of the month Hammāl.

Many Hazāras are ignorant of the origin of the working of this calendar system, and are unable to explain it. In the popular mind it often becomes combined with the fairly recently introduced Afghan solar calendar, with the result that you get very strange explanations when questioning informants.

But the system is not strange after all; as a calendar it is accurate enough, since the orbit of the moon and the position of the Pleiades are near the ecliptic (which runs through the constellation Scorpio), so that at a certain stage the Pleiades and the moon are bound to meet. Needless to say, the visible meetings happen at different times of the night according to the season of the year. Thus during 21st—11th *toghals* (i.e. the 6 *toghals* of the summer and autumn) the conjunction appears after midnight. During the 9th—1st *toghals* (i.e. the 5 *toghals* of the winter) it occurs in the evening. Although such meetings occur every lunar month, they are only visible 11 times a year. Furthermore, because of the movement of the earth, the number of days between each two *toghals* is less than a lunar month by two days or so. It is for this reason that the odd numbers are used in counting. The 21st *toghal* indicates that the meeting takes place approximately 21 days after the new moon (the visible

one, not the astronomical one), the next *toghal*, the 19th, that the meeting is on new moon + 19 days, etc. Thus it can be seen that the time which elapses between two successive *toghals* is roughly two days or so less than a lunar month.¹

Once the *toghal* series is finished (in the early spring) there remains a longish period, which, in Hazaragī, bears no particular name, although it is sometimes called 'hīch' (= nothing) or 'hichum' (= the "nothing'th"). This period lasts until the Pleiades are again visible and the following *toghal* takes place.

Among the ordinary people, the *toghals* are often associated primarily with the cold winter, and any *toghals* other than the winter ones (i. e. the ninth to the first *toghal*) are often neglected. This is the more understandable since it is in the winter that the phenomenon of the *toghal* is visible in the evening just as the *qamar-i-'aqrab* is visible in the summer evenings.

At the time of a *toghal* it is commonly believed that there is a "crisis" in the sky which causes change in the weather: cold and snow or rain is the usual result. During the winter, when the weather is of the greatest interest to the snowbound Hazāras, the relationship between the moon and the Pleiades during the *toghals* is used to foretell the weather, the greater (visible) distance between them, the colder the weather, and vice versa.

Besides their astrological significance, the different *toghals* are also used as a mere indication of the passing of the unpleasant winter and the returning of the spring. Proverbs are found among the Shibar Hazāras to express this course, and here their general meaning is reported: At the 9th *toghal* the snow and the cold have arrived, with the 7th the difficult winter—at the 5th the rain starts and goods are going down in prices, the 3rd brings "virility" and the days become good, so that farmwork can start.—The Hazāras have often expressed to me the close connexion between farming and the *toghal* system, and the real importance of the latter is its use as a calendar and directory to farmers. But it is so only among the Hazāras. The Northern Āimāq, who live under somewhat milder climatic conditions, said that the *toghal* reckoning was primarily in use among shepherds.—Here it must be added that the Pleiades as such play a greater rôle than

¹ A lunar month ("synodic month") is 29.530588 days, whereas the period between two successive *toghals* is a "sidereal month" and lasts 27.33166 days.

expressed in this article, for example the Hazāra assume that the sowing of wheat will be without any success if it is done after the “disappearance” of the Pleiades (H. ‘*mechid shista*’). The *toghal* system is one of the most interesting features of Hazāra Culture, but its cultural significance will only be apparent when discussed in connexion with the *Āimāq toghal* system and other similar systems.

The Zodiac, the Hazāra lunar months and some old customs

Afghanistan has been changing fast in recent years, and the Afghan solar calendar is well established among the common people. The knowledge of the “Tatar animal cycle” was widespread, and its use official in Afghanistan until the reign of King Amānullāh (1919—29). This 12-year cycle is, in fact, still used among the Uzbeks and occasionally in Iran, and appears in local almanacs published in Herāt. Despite the widespread knowledge of this system, nomenclature varies (e.g. differences between Kābul and Iran) and Hazāragī offers no exception to this tendency. To indicate “year”, ‘*jil*’ (Mongolian and Qataghani Uzbekī) is used, as opposed to the Turkish *yil* of Iran, and the Persian *sāl* of ASP. (e.g. H. ‘*jil-i-mush*’ for ASP. *mūsh-sāl* = the year of the mouse). This is interesting and would seem to indicate an early arrival of the “Animal cycle” among the Hazāras.

The years which differ from ASP. are the following:

- Leopard: ‘*yulbars*’ or as ASP. *palang*
- Hare: ‘*taulai*’
- Monkey: ‘*shādibaker*’ or ‘*shādi*’
- Dog: ‘*kuṭa*’

Although the “Animal cycle” is based on a cycle of solar years, there is no special Hazāra solar month. Until the time of Amānullāh, the Hazāras used the following terms to indicate the Mohammedan lunar months:

- ‘*Ashur*’ (Ar. ‘*āshūrā*’ = Moharram)
- ‘*Safar*’
- ‘*Algho-i-awwal*’
- ‘*Algho-i-doyum*’
- ‘*Algho-i-seyum*’
- ‘*Algho-i-chārum*’

‘*Rejāb*’
 ‘*Shabo*’
 ‘*Ramazo*’
 ‘*Id mah*’
 ‘*Khāli*’
 ‘*Qurbo*’

The four *algho* months are collectively known as ‘*âtesh algho*’. The names of the remaining months are Arabic and correspond to ASP. or Pashtu use. ‘*Âtesh algho*’ literally means “fire leaping”. At the new moon of each of these four months, four(?) fires were lighted in a row in front of every house; the men of the household had to leap these fires, at the same time saying: “Good luck come, bad luck go” (‘*Niki dar (a)mad — bâdi bur shud*’). To encourage them to leap, the assembled often shouted: “Come broken-necked one, jump (over the fire), so that your broken neck may disappear” (‘*Motak bur biya, alghuch ku, ke motak-tu bur musha*’). This purification rite, which appears to be of ancient origin, was performed four times a year in Dāy Zangī, but only once a year in Jāghōrī, and then on the most unlucky day of the Moslem year (13th Safar). Generally the “leaping ceremony” was combined with other rites. While the jumping was in progress, the women of the household ascended the roof, from where they threw pots full of water, which broke on the ground. At new moon (‘*mah-i-nawi*’) the ‘*Nân-i-kam*’ ceremony (i. e. “little bread”) took place: the head of the household placed a piece of bread on the Quran, holding it aloft, so that each member of the family was able to pass under it, before the dedicated bread was shared out for eating.

The Mullahs do much to stamp out customs and practices which are not strictly Islamic, and the ‘*âtesh algho*’ died out some thirty years ago, condemned by the Mullahs as heathenish and being connected with ‘*Zardasht*’ (i. e. the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers). For the same reason music is fast dying out in the Besūd area.

It appears, in the system of traditions of the Hazāras, that fire formerly played a more important rôle than it does now. In the Jāghōrī, e. g., lamps are lit on the occasion of the Festival of the Dead (‘*id-i-mordo*’), where each lamp is dedicated to a

deceased person. The eve of the major feasts, ('*id-i-qurbo*' and '*id-i-ramazo*') and marriages also involved the lighting of special lamps. When calamity overtook a community—flocks having been devoured by wolves, etc.—it was a commonly held belief that this was due to the souls of the dead being in trouble. The souls were appeased by lighting a fire between three stones, into which was sprinkled *rōghān* (clarified butter); this custom is named '*kongushu*'.

Altogether the attitude of the Mullahs and the people's own response to it makes the tracing of non-Islamic customs among the Hazāras extremely difficult; the few remnants of old customs are rapidly disappearing, and from an ethnological point of view this is certainly very deplorable, because the study of the origin of the Hazāra thus becomes a difficult and uncertain one.

Appendix II

Kinship-terminology

	Dāy Zangī ¹	Ghōrband ²	Kābul ³
<i>Fa</i>	āta, bāba (= daddy)	'ata'	padar, bābā
FaFa	bakala, 'bākul' (J.)	'atakalu'	padar kalān, bābā kalān, bābājī
FaMo	māma, 'āchul' (J.), āja	'baba'	mādar kalān, paderī
FaFaFa	bakala kalo	'ata kalu'	nēka (Pa.)
FaFaMo	māma kalo	'baba kalu'	mādar kalān
FaBr	abagha, abgha (sideform of B.), 'tata'	'abagha'	kākā, audor, 'ammū (Ar.)
FaBrWi	'i(y)ænga', 'beka' (B. & Gh.)	?	zan-i-kākā, zan-i-audor, zan-i-'ammū
FaBrSo	baché-abagha	'bâché-abagha'	bacha-i-kākā, audor-zāda, 'ammū-zāda
FaBrDa	dokhtar-i-abagha	'dokhtar-i-abagha'	dokhtar-i-kākā, audor- zāda, 'ammū-zāda

¹ The great majority of the Dāy Zangī terms besides some of the terms from the other regions originate from Shāh 'Alī Akbar Shahristānī; terms in inverted commas ' ' are in my own transcription, the others are transcribed from tape-recordings, a few of which originate from Besūd. Abbreviations used: B. = Besūd; D.Z. = Dāy Zangī; Gh. = Ghaznī; J. = Jāghōrī; Sh. = Shahristān; U. = Uruzgān.

² These terms have been communicated to me by a Hazara student (age app. 22) from Chahār-deh-i-Ghōrband. Possibly his Hazaragī was not the very best. The transcription is my own; there are too few long vowels, except perhaps in 'bācha'.

³ All the Kābul terms are directly transliterated from the Persian script. Dr. Moh. Karim Nushin was my informant. For the most peculiar ones I have put the *written* letters within brackets. (a) signifies that the written form also appears in; Rakhimi, etc.: Tadhiksko-Russkii Slovar', 1954. (b) that the form also appears in Nawees: Afghan Dictionary, 1957.

	Dāy Zangī	Ghōrband	Kābul
FaSi	'amma'	'amma'	'amma (Ar.)
FaSiHu	'eznagi', '(i)ezna'	'klesh', 'dāmād' (in address), 'yæzna'	shauhar-i-'amma
FaSiSo	'baché-amma'	'bâché-amma'	bacha-i-'amma
FaSiDa	'dokhtar-i-amma'	'dokhtar-i-amma'	dokhtar-i-'amma
StFa	'babandar', 'atandar'	'atandar'	padar-andar
StMo	âcha, 'mayandar'	'mâyindar'	mâdar-andar
StBr	'brarandar'	'bra(da)randar'	brâdar-andar
StSi	'khorandar'	'khorandar'	khwâhar-andar
StSo	'bachandar'	'bâchandar'	bacha-i-andar
StDa	'dokhtar-i-zan', '-andar'	'dokhtarandar'	dokhtar-andar
Mo	âya (D.Z., B.), âba (B., Gh., J.), aika (J., U.)	'âya', 'âpa'	mâdar
MoSi	'khâla' (Ar.)	'khâla'	khâla
MoSiHu	(i)ezna, 'shu-i-khâla'	'shû-i-khâla'	shauhar-i-khâla
MoSiSo } MoSiDa }	bola	'bola'	{ bacha-i-khâla, khâla-zâda dokhtar-i-khâla, khâla-zâda
MoBr	'naghechi' (Sh. & D.Z.), 'naghchi' (J.), taghâi (B. & Sh.)	'tâgha' (as Uzbek)	mâmâ
MoBrWi	e'inga or iyanga	'zan-i-tâgha'	zan-i-mâmâ
MoBrSo	'baché-naghechi'	'bâché-tâgha', ushtuk-	bacha-i-mâmâ, ushtuk (small Ch.)
MoBrDa		formed in the usual descriptive way	
MoFa	bakala, 'bâkul' (J.)	'baba'	padar kalân, mâderi
MoMo	mâma, 'âchul' (J.)	'âba', 'âya kalu'	madar kalân, 'anâ'
MoFaFa	bakala kalo	'baba kalu', 'ata kalu'	nêka-i-mâderi
MoFaMo	mâma kalo	'âba kalu' (bibi)	mâdar kalân, bibi
Br	'brar'	'brar'	brâdar
Br elder	'lâla'	'brar kalu'	
Br young	'brarak'	'khurd brar'	
BrWi	'beka' or 'baka' (B.), iyanga	'yanga'	zan-i-brâdar, yanga [yngh] ^(a)
BrCh } BrSo } BrDa }		formed in the usual descriptive way	{ 'ushtuk'-i-brâdar', 'aulâd-i-brâdar', bachahâ-i-brâdar brâdar-zâda, bacha-i-brâdar brâdar-zâda, dokhtar-i-brâdar
Si	'khor', 'khohar'	'khôr'	khwâhar
SiHu	(i)ezna, 'kuka' (B. & J.)	'shû-i-khôr'	yâzna, shauhar-i-khwâhar

	Dāy Zangī	Ghōrband	Kābul
SiCh	'jea' (Uzbek jean)	'ushtuk-i-khōr'	'ushtuk-i-khwāhar', 'aulād-i-khwāhar', bachahā-i-khwāhar
SiSo & Da	formed in the usual descriptive way		
Wi	khatu(n) khātu(n), aurtona (B.)	'zan'	zan, 'ayāl', kūch, khānadārī
Wi eld.	'khatun-i-awwal' or 'kalo'	'zan awwal-ingar'	
WiFa	'khosur'	'até-zan'	khosur
WiMo	'khosur-mādar'	'khoshuī', 'āyé-zan'	khoshū
WiBr	'khosur b(u)ra'	'khosur bura'	khosur b(u)ra [brh]
WiSi	egechi	'khoshna'	khēāshna [xiašnh] ^(b)
WiSiHu	bāja	'bāja'	bāja [bajh] ^(a & b)
WiBrWi	'zan-i-khosur bra'	'zan-i-khosur bura'	
Fiancée	khusta	'nāmzād'	
Hu	'shuī', 'shauhar'	'shuī'	shauhar
HuFa	'khosur'	'khosur kalu'	khosur
HuMo	'khosur (-madar)'	'khoshuī'	khoshū
HuBr eld. & you.	'khosurb(u)ra'	'ewar'	ēwar-i-kalān & ēwar-i-khōrd [aivr] ^(b)
HuSi	'apsu'	?	nanū
HuSiHu	(i)ezna	?	shauhar-i-nanū
Hu oth. Wi	'ambāk'	'ambāk'	ambāq
HuSo by oth. Wi	'baché-andar'	'báché-andar'	bacha-andar
Hu eld. Wi & you. Wi	their names are used or mother of so and so		
<i>Children</i>	'zauzat', 'ushtuk'	'ushtuk'	'zauzat', 'ushtuk'
So	'baché-ma(n)'	'báché-man', 'bācha'	bacha, pesar
SoWi	beri	'zan-i-baché-ma', 'arōs'	'arūs
SoWiFa	'klesh'	'khosur'	khosur-i-bacha
SoWiMo	qudaghu	'khoshú-í-bacha'	khoshū-i-bacha
SoSo	'nosa'	'baché-bacha'	nawāsa
SoSoWi	beri	'arus-i-baché-bacha'	zan-i-nawāsa
SoDa	'nosa'	'dokhtar-i-zan-i-bācha'	dokhtar-i-bacha, nawāsa
SoSoSo	'nosa' (p. nebara)	?	kawāsa
SoSoSoSo	—	'kun-i-kasa'	kūn-i-kāsa (= bottom of bowl)
SoSoSoSoSo	—	'lakhak-i-darwāza'	'lakhak-i-darwāza' (= the treshold)
SoSoSoSoSoSo	—	—	'nolapōsh-i-kandūcha' (= the cloth-bundle that stops the lower opening of a small clay vessel for grain)

	Dāy Zangī	Ghōrband	Kābul
Da	'dokhtar'	'dokhtar'	dokhtar
DaHu	'dāmad'	'shuī-dokhtar', 'dāmad'	dāmād
DaHuFa	khesh	'até-dāmad'	khosur
DaHuMo	qudaghu	'āyé-dāmad'	khoshū
DaSo	'nosa'	'bāché-dokhtar'	nawāsa (bachagī)
DaSoWi	beri	?	'arūs-i-nawāsa (or -i-dokhtar)
DaDa	'nosa'	'dokhtar-i-dokhtar'	nawāsa (dokhtari)
DaCh	'nosa'	'ushtuk-i-dokhtar'	nawāsa ¹

Abbreviations used: Fa Father; FaFa = Father's father, etc.

Mo = Mother

So = Son

Da = Daughter

Br = Brother; Br eld. = elder Br; Br you. = younger Br.

Si = Sister

Ch = Children

Hu = Husband

Wi = Wife

The kinship terms given above are the theoretical ones, which are slightly different when used to address a person: women are often named as mother of so and so, younger people by their name, and respected elder people by the kinship term; in the cases when this ends in an *-a*, this is altered to *-ei* (vocative), e.g. *abaghei*, *atei*, *ammei*, etc. When a noun ending in accented *-a* is used with "ezafeh" (*-i-*) (e.g. *bacha-i-man*), the *-a-i-* is

¹ Dr. Nushin gave the following terms, which did not appear in my questionnaire:

māmā khosur for HuMoBr and WiMoBr

khāla khoshū for HuMoSi and WiMoSi

kākā khosur for HuFaBr and WiFaBr

'amma khoshū for HuFaSi and WiFaSi

Furthermore Dr. Nushin added the following popular sayings, for

Father-in-law (khosur): *daba-i-kōna* = the old skin flask for oil

Mother-in-law (khoshū): *mār miāne āstīn* = the snake in the sleeve (because she will always be somewhere around to watch the meetings between her daughter and her future son-in-law)

Husband's brother (*ēwar*): *pīna sar-i-zānū* = the patch on the knee (of the trousers)

Husband's sister (*nanū*): *kazhdum zīr-i-būrīā* = the scorpion under the mat

Husband (*shāḡhar*): *tāj-i-sar* = the crown on the head

The relatives of the wife (*qaum-i-zan*): *qaila bezan* = go on eating

The relatives of the husband (*qaum-i-shawī*): *dēga beshawī* = wash the pot.

The last two expressions refer to the "fact" that on festive occasions in the home, it is the husband's family who has to work, whereas that of the wife is always very well served.

pronounced as stressed *é* followed by an unstressed hardly audible *e*, which here has been transcribed as e.g. *baché-man*.

It is interesting to note the differences between Central Hazāragī and Northern Hazāragī. The latter is less Mongolian than the former, and seems also slightly more influenced by Turkish. It is notable that my informant stated that Central Hazāragī is expanding at present, and new terms are coming to Ghōrband from Dāy Zangī via Yakaulang, for instance: '*khosta*', '*khatu*', and '*beri*'.

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