

## **Earliest Pashto studies by Western scholars from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

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### **Abstract**

*This article aims at dealing with the dawn of Pashto studies, from the first mention of this language, in the 16th century, till the first scientific treatises on Pashto grammar, literature and lexicology by Bernhard Dorn, published between 1840 and 1847. The questions this article tries to answer is: how was the documentation of Pashto collected? By whom? For which purpose? The aim of the following overview of all western authors who dealt with Pashto in the initial epoch is also to show how general knowledge increased more and more quickly with the military involvement in the region.*

**Keywords:** Pashto, Afghans, origin of Pashto and of the Afghans, Afghanistan, British India, Persia.

### **1. Introduction**

Since more than two centuries, Pashto — an Eastern Iranian language belonging to the Iranian family, spoken in Afghanistan, Pakistan and important diasporas — is object of academic and public interest and researches. The number of publications dealing with all linguistic aspects of Pashto grew with the passing of time and the resulting bibliography is nowadays quite ample. In spite of this, a general appraisal of Pashto studies does not exist, but only partial bibliographical sketches in specific domains. As a result, one of the main difficulties to be faced when beginning researches into Pashto studies is linked to the difficulty of find scientific bibliography.

This article aims at dealing with the dawn of Pashto studies, from the first mention of this language, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, till the first scientific treatises on Pashto grammar, literature and lexicology published by Bernhard Dorn, between 1840 and 1847.

This initial period is characterised by the first discovery of this language, the first collections of materials and the tentative of classification within one or the other language family. Since the epoch of the first rapprochements with Hebrew, towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century,

a progressive work has been accomplished, thus reaching, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a good scientific level, laying the foundations for the successive developments in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and till nowadays.

This epoch also coincides with the colonial goals of the British government, trying to dominate the region in order to contrast French, before, and successively Russian influence and presence in Persia and Central Asia. Conventionally, we can consider 1919, the end of the third Anglo-Afghan war, as the concluding event of the phase of British colonialism. Even if the British presence did not fade away from this region, the British stopped trying invading Afghanistan and globally lost much of their interest in the knowledge of this country.<sup>1</sup> In the successive epoch, the Soviets will increase their interest for Afghanistan, with a resulting multiplication of Soviet studies on Pashto.

Two main themes develop in the initial period of the discovering of Pashto and of the Pashtuns: their language and their mythical origin. We are interested in the first topic, but it is strictly intermingled with the second and very often influenced by it.

The questions this article tries to answer is: how was the documentation of Pashto collected? By whom? For which purpose? The goal of the following overview of all western authors who dealt with Pashto in the initial epoch is also to show how general knowledge increased more and more quickly with the military involvement in the region.

## **2. Antoni de Monserrat (16<sup>th</sup> century)**

The first official mention of the Pashtun or Pathan tribes is found in the correspondences of Antoni de Monserrat in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Monserrat

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<sup>1</sup> Indeed, as remarked also by Raverty, in the introduction to his dictionary, the main goal of such an interest was military: “The annexation of the Panjāb - by which a large portion of Afghānistān Proper, containing nearly two millions of inhabitants, came under our rule - demands that due attention should be paid by the government officials to the language of the people over whom they are appointed as rulers and administrators [...] we can only free ourselves from dependence upon them [Indian agents, neither English nor Afghans], by sending as agents into the country men practically acquainted with the language spoken by the people, or, at least, with the language in general use at the Court of the ruler to which they may be accredited” (Raverty 1860: ix).

<sup>2</sup> On Monserrat, cf. Correla-Afonso 1980 and Fuat Sezgin et al. 1997; see also Monserrat’s letters (Monserrate 1914).

was born in 1536 and was the member of the first Jesuit delegation to Goa. Chosen as the ambassador to the court of the Mughal king Akbar, where he could also study Persian,<sup>3</sup> he had the opportunity to participate to the campaign of 1581 of Akbar against his half-brother Hakim and his allies, the Pashtuns.<sup>4</sup> He died in 1600 in India.

He wrote a personal narrative<sup>5</sup> of all the events, regions and people he met. Concerning Pashto, unfortunately he did not let materials or remarks, apart the general sensation on the pronunciation of a proximity with the sounds of Spanish, so that the two languages share apparently some words:

Beyond Gagaris a branch of the Indus was crossed, which rejoins the Indus a little lower down, thus forming a broad island, which was called by the ancients Prasiene [In the time of the Macedonians the Indus bifurcated above Aror, to run for about a distance of 2 degrees in two beds which enclosed between them the large island called by Pliny Prasiene, the Prarjuna of the inscription of the Allahabad column. It now runs at that point in a single stream (Ptolemy p. 83) (note of the editor)] on account of its greenness, I suppose. Camp was pitched on the bank of the Indus in a valley of the district of Hazara. [Hazara, now included in the North-West Frontier Province (note of the editor)] The island mentioned above belongs to a clan of Patanaei who are called Delzacquii [The Delzacs settled in the Peshawar valley in the 14th century A.D., and seem to have been, like the Ghakkars, friendly to the house of Babar (note of the editor)]. [...] Their language is that of other Patanaei, namely Pastoum [Pashtu (note of the editor)]. Its sound is like that of Spanish, and – what is more to be wondered at – it has some of the same words. (Monserrate 1922: 118)

Concerning the Pashtuns living in part of the actual Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, Monserrate states that: “There is not a vestige remaining of the ancient names, districts, cities and towns. The Patanaei originated in Gandara and Suastene. They invaded and occupied a great part of India, having

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<sup>3</sup> “Persian is a very beautiful language, and its vocabulary is well suited to the use of those who are devoted to learned and philosophical studies” (Monserrate 1922: 49).

<sup>4</sup> “Akbar was accompanied on this journey by the Jesuit Monserrate, with whom he enjoyed the evening diversion of discussions on comparative religion. Monserrate has left a Latin diary, more detailed than any of the Muslim chronicles, and with claims to be considered the primary authority for these events” (Caroe 1958: 207). On this campaign, see *ibid.*: 207-210.

<sup>5</sup> The Introduction is dated “*Sanaa, January 7th, 1591*”.

defeated the Christians” (*ibid.*: 136),<sup>6</sup> while he writes about the Pashtuns living in the region of Jalālābād that: “The inhabitants of the Province [of Jalālābād] are the Patanaei, who are controlled by a Mongol garrison. These Patanaei, whom the Mongols call ‘Aufgan,’ live by agriculture” (*ibid.*: 149).

Lastly, in the second part of his work, intended as a commentary to the first part,<sup>7</sup> Monserrate links Pashto with Bactrian and Parthian:

These same Sacae [Sauromatae] founded Indo-Scythia, near the Paharopanisas, whose inhabitants are called Patanaei [Pathans (note of the editor)] and Delazacquii [Dilazaks (note of the editor)], *i.e.* ‘true of heart’. They speak a mixture of the Scythian language of Bactria and the Median of Parthia, called Pastoum. By the Persians they are called Aufgani. The Bactrians were brought into that region first by Eucratides. Subsequently the Parthians were brought in by Mitthridates, the great-grandson of Arsaces, after he had slain the son of Eucratides (Monserrate 1922: xli)

### **3. Judas Thaddaeus Krusiński (1728)**

Judasz Thaddeus Krusiński (1675-1756) was a Polish Jesuit Father, who related the last period of the Safavid dynasty. He was sent to Persia and here he begun the king’s translator. He assisted, in 1722, to the military

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<sup>6</sup> “The tract beyond the Coas [i.e. the Kabul river (my note)] and below the junction of the rivers, lying to the east between the Indus and the Suastus, was called by the ancients Gandara [...]: that above the junction and northwards beyond the Suastus was called Suastene [Swat, to the north of the river of the same name (note of the editor)]: and that between the Coas and the Suastus Gorica [This is Gorya of Strabo. ‘Gouryaia designates the territory traversed by the Gourais or river of Ghor which is the affluent of the Kabul river now called the Landai, formed by the junction of the rivers of Panjkora and Swat. Alexander on his march to India passed through Gouryaia.’ (Ptolemy) (note of the editor)]. It is now inhabited by Patanaei under the rule of Xacattgei or Mongols. There is not a vestige remaining of the ancient names, districts, cities and towns. The Patanaei originated in Gandara and Suastene. They invaded and occupied a great part of India, having defeated the Christians. Their country, lying as it does between the Indus, and the Coas or the Suastus, is level and of the same climate as its neighbour India” (Monserrate 1922: 135-136).

<sup>7</sup> “Finally, I have divided my work into two books, of which this first forms an account of the first journey to the court of the King of the Mongols, whilst the second is, as it were, an appendix and commentary upon the first” (Monserrate 1922: xviii).

Afghan campaign in Persia,<sup>8</sup> where he lived between 1707 and 1728. Successively, he was teacher of oriental languages in Rome, Jerusalem, France and Istanbul.<sup>9</sup>

Krusiński's work knew a complex history. The original was written in Latin, but apparently gone lost, as it is not found in any library. However, the Jesuit Jean-Antoine du Cerceau (1670-1730) could read it and took the basic information<sup>10</sup> to compose his own *Histoire De La Dernière Revolution de Perse* in French (Krusiński-du Cerceau 1728) and English (Krusiński-du Cerceau 1733), which would be quite different from Krusiński's original, according to Mitford, the translator of the last edition (see *infra*).<sup>11</sup>

Krusiński's Latin work was successively translated (by himself?<sup>12</sup>) into Turkish and published in 1729 by Ibrahim Padshah, vizier of Sultan Ahmed III, under the title of Tareekh-i-Seeah. Already in 1731, this last was retranslated into Latin by Johann Christian Clodius (1676-1745), professor of Arabic at the University of Leipzig, where he remained all his life, under the title *Hoc est Chronicon Peregrinantis, seu, Historia ultimi Belli Persarum cum Aghwanis gesti* (Krusiński-Clodius 1731). To be noted that neither du Cerceau nor Clodius never went to Persia or India. This last Latin version was in turn translated into English by George Newnham Mitford, "about whom little is known" (Digital Library of Congress), in 1840, with the title *The Chronicles of a Traveller: a History of the Afghan Wars with Persia, in the Beginning of the Last Century, from their Commencement to the Accession of Sultan Ashruf. Being a*

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<sup>8</sup> When Mahmud, Mirwais' son, "led his Ghaljis in a triumphant campaign against Persia. In 1720 he captured Kirman, and in 1722 besieged and took the Safawi capital Isfahan after appalling barbarities" (Caroe 1958: 251): see Roemer 1986: 320-324.

<sup>9</sup> For all information on Krusiński's life, see Malecka 2015 and bibliography. Cf. also Ferrer 2018 and Lockhart 1986: 407-408.

<sup>10</sup> "The story I give to the public is based on a testimony [...], since I have composed it solely on the Memoirs of Father Jude Krusinski, Polish Jesuit" [my translation] (Krusiński-du Cerceau 1728: ii: "L'histoire que je donne au Public est fondée sur un témoignage [...], puisque je l'ai composée uniquement sur les Memoires du Père Jude Krusinski Jesuite Polonois").

<sup>11</sup> "[T]he easy faith of the good Jesuit, and the lively imagination of his French editor, have produced an historical romance, which, though not destitute of information, requires as much knowledge to distinguish between the truth and the falsehood, as would have sufficed for the production of a correct history" (Elphinstone 1815: 436).

<sup>12</sup> Du Cerceau first ascribes the translation into Turkish to the same Krusiński: see also Krusiński-Clodius-Mitford 1840: viii.

*Translation of the "tareekh-i-seeah," from the Latin of J. C. Clodius, Prof. Arab. At Leipzig* (Krusiński-Clodius-Mitford 1840). Mitford devotes a long introduction to the tentative of reconstruction of the history of Krusiński's work.<sup>13</sup>

About the Afghans, we find, in Clodius' translation, a hypothesis of their origin:

The origin of this nation is involved in great obscurity; and it is unknown whether they originated in the province of Sheerwan, which is situated on the Caspian sea, on the verge of Daghestan, or in the plains bordering on that province, beyond the Bab-al-abwab, [...] or were the ancient 'Caspian', or a branch descended from that nation. However, making continual predatory incursions on the Persian and other adjacent

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<sup>13</sup> His final reconstruction of the history of the book is the following: "It is however probable, that the Pole may not have been sufficiently versed in French, to write a history in that language, and might have rather had resort to another, in the use of which he seems from his other works to have been familiar; while the Polish was ill adapted, particularly from the declining state of Poland, to disseminate a knowledge of the memoirs throughout Europe. But if the Latin copy had not been greatly corrected by the Turkish translator, in the opinion of its author, there could have been no occasion to give Clodius the laborious commission of making a retranslation of it into Latin—an effort that he did not long survive, and which he assures us he completed in the almost incredible space of six weeks, though it was in the depth of winter, and he was suffering at the time with a very severe disease, which threatened the most fatal consequences. He does not seem to have seen the other version in Latin, and complains of the difficulty of reducing the flowery style in which the Turkish account had been written. It is probable that the Turks, with a view to remedy errors which they conceived to be propagated in the preceding accounts of this rebellion, determined to counteract their effects, by publishing another in a tongue so generally known as the Latin, among well educated persons in the European states to the westward of them; and at the same time to make it subservient to the purpose of rendering the establishment of a press at Constantinople generally known. If Krusinski had assisted the Effendi in making the Turkish version, it is to be supposed that Ibrahim, who long continued to be a great patron of science, would have made some reference to him; but from the circumstance of his name never being even once mentioned throughout the work, or even that of the author of the version originally used, we may be led to form a decided opinion, that the one translated was Du Cerceau's, which was published both at the Hague, and at Paris, anonymously. At the same time, Krusinski, who attended Ashrufs ambassador to Constantinople, is described in 1729 to be at Kaminiak, and to have passed his latter days there; a place so close to the frontiers of Turkey, that the Turks held possession of it for the last twenty-seven years of the seventeenth century. It may therefore be conjectured that he was versed in the language of the contiguous nation, and that he had not removed far from Constantinople, when his work became one of the earliest specimens of science propagated by the Sultan's press" (Krusiński-Clodius-Mitford 1840: xl-xli).

countries, Teimoor, having conquered, removed them to a more distant country, between India and Persia, so that they might be at the same time secure from all invasions, and equally incapable of inflicting injury on others. Some historians consider this nation to have sprung out of Armenia, since the province of Sheerwan was originally called Albania, and when its inhabitants were styled Albani; and if this were the case, it is very probable Albanians were erroneously called Afghans. The Armenian monasteries, moreover, on the confines of Scheerwan and Karabagh, are called Kendsar, the superintendants of the roads, Aghwanitsch, which in the Armenian language signifies a leader of the Afghans; and in the padshahliks of Kiunge, Rivan, and Nachgivan, on the frontiers of Geelan, the resident Armenians, who take great pride in the names, call themselves Aghwanlik. It is probable that when they inhabited Kendahar, the word Candahar was corrupted in process of time from Kendsar, which by some authors is considered as the castle erected by Alexander the Great. Whilst the Afghans resided among the Armenians, they indubitably followed the religion and customs of that people; but when far away from their native soil, and they had mingled with the Indians, they by degrees embraced the Mahomedan faith. (Krusiński-Clodius-Mitford 1840: 21-22 [my translation])<sup>14</sup>

Du Cerceau's work provides also a hypothesis on the origin of the name

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<sup>14</sup> "Gentem hanc, Provinciam Schirvan, prope littoral maris Caspii in confinibus Daghestanae sitam, aut extra portas Caspiae, Daghistanae conterminos campos inhabitasse, vel ipsum populum Caspium, aut ab eo prognatum incertaeque originis esse, a viris rerum peritis memoriae traditum fuit. Cum vero regions Persicas, aliasque adjacentes, perpetuis excursionibus ac praedationibus infestaret, & Timurus illas sibi subjecisset, querelis incolarum ad illum delatis, praedictam gentem in alias remotiores terras, Persiam inter ac Indiam relegavit, ut hoc modo ab invasionibus molestis, nec parum damni inferentibus liberarentur. Ex gente Armenia esse populum hunc quidam annales referunt, quoniam provincia Schirvan olim Albaniae nomen habuit, eiusque incolae fecundum Geographos Albani diéti fuerunt, et si ita res habet, Aghwanos etiam Albanos per errorem dicios maxime verifimile fit. Hodienum quoque in confinibus Schirwanae ac Karabag siti Armenorum monasterii Kendsar appellati, viarum praefectos Aghwanitsch vocant, quod in lingua Armenica Aghwanorum ducem significat, et in praefectura Kunge et Rivan et Nachgivan ac finibus Kilanae et inter gentem Sahnak dictam habitantes Armeni, nunc ex eo nomine gloriam captantes Aghwanlik se vocant. Et probabile est a viarum praefectis Kendsariensibus, cum Kendaharam inhabitarent, Candaharae vocem temporis lapsu ex Kendsar per errorem corruptam fuisse, in quibusdam Chronicis illud castellum ab Alexandro Magno exstructum jam esse reperitur. Et cum inter Armenos habitarent Aghwani, eorum mores ac religionem secutos eos esse, omni dubio caret, cum vero a solo natali penitus separati, cum Indis commiscerentur, paulatim religionem Mohammedicam amplexi fuerunt" (Krusiński-Clodius 1731: 11).

“Afghans”. As this is missing from the version provided by Clodius, we can deduce that this is a reasoning of the same du Cerceau:

The *Aghvans*, who were originally of the Province of *Szyrvan*, which was anciently call'd *Great Albania*, and which is situate between the *Caspian Sea* and Mount *Caucasus*, were formerly subdued by *Tamerlane*, who could not reduce them till after many Battles, wherein he cut a great Part of them to Pieces. But as this unmanageable People, not used to bear the Yoke, were continually revolting, and took Arms again upon the first Occasion that offer'd, he thought he could not make sure of them, but by transplanting them to another Soil, being persuaded, that when they were once out of the Sight of their own Country, they would at the same Time lose that Love of Liberty and Independence which had engag'd them in so many Rebellions, and which had given him so much Trouble and Fatigue; and in order to keep them under the stricter Subjection, he plac'd them between *Persia* and the *Indies*, upon the Confines of each of those two Empires, which he had equally reduc'd to his Obedience. 'Tis said, that they were anciently Christians, of the *Armenian* Sect, but that they turn'd Mahometans for Want of the Assistance and Instructions of their Priests and Doctors, whom *Tamerlane* took away from them, that they might sooner embrace that Religion. As to their Name, that alone seems to justify what is said of their Origin, with respect to *Albania*; for as in the *Armenian* Tongue our Letter *L* is chang'd into *GH*, and our *B* into *V* Consonant, so of the Word *Albans* is formed *Aghvans*. (Krusiński-du Cerceau 1733: 137-139 [my translation])<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> “Cette Nation originaire de la Province de *Szyrvan*, qu'on nommoit anciennement la grande Albanie, & qui est située entre la Mer Caspienne & le Mont-Caucase, fut autrefois subjuguée par Tamerlan, qui ne pût la réduire qu'après bien des batailles où il en tailla en pièce une partie. Mais comme ce peuple intraitable & peu accoutumé à porter le joug, se soulevoit sans cesse, & reprenoit les armes à la première occasion qui s'en présentoit ; il crut ne pouvoir s'en bien assurer qu'en le transportant dans une autre contrée, persuadé qu'en perdant la vûe de leur païs, ils perdroient en même tems cet amour de la liberté & de l'indépendance qui les avoit engagés dans tant de revoltes, & qui lui avoit causé à lui-même tant d'inquiétudes & de fatigues : & afin de les tenir dans une sujettion plus étroite, il les plaça entre la Perse & les Indes, sur les confins de l'un & l'autre de ces deux Empires qu'il avoit réduits également sous sa puissance. On prétend qu'ils étoient anciennement Chrétiens, du Rit Arménien ; mais que privés du secours & des instructions de leurs Prêtres & de leurs Docteurs, que Tamerlan leur avoit enlevés pour les pouvoir amener plus facilement au Mahometisme, ils s'y étoient peu à peu laissés aller. Au reste leur nom seul semble autoriser ce qu'on dit de leur origine par rapport à l'Albanie ; car comme dans la langue Armenienne on change notre lettre *L* en *GH*, & notre *B* en *V* consonne, des *Albans* on en a fait les *Afghvans*” (Krusiński-du Cerceau 1728: 140-142).

On the question of the origin of the Afghans, Mitford devotes some pages to the presentation of the matter and to some other opinions (cf. also *infra*). In particular, he stresses as the Jewish genealogy proposed for Pashto by W. Jones (see *infra*) was accepted also in Rees' Cyclopaedia (1819, s.v. *Afghans*) and also assumed for the Turks, then he concludes:

A history of the origin of the Afghan nation, by a Christian ecclesiastic like Krusinski, from materials given him by Afghans, may therefore derive some interest by having undergone the ordeal of correction by a Turk; more especially if reference be made to similar parts of history [...] wherein are accounts of the contests between the Turkish branches of Ghiznee and of Seljouk, in the eleventh century, for the country now inhabited by the Afghans and their neighbours. It may be remarked, however, that though in the genealogy now submitted, as one corrected by the learned Turk, so well versed in history as Ibrahim Effendi, Teimoor be represented to have brought the Afghans from near Daghestan, and established them between Persia and India, in accordance with an ancient custom in Asia, when conquered inhabitants proved turbulent, Ferishta, the historian whom General Briggs has so carefully translated, relates how, in 1008—that is three hundred years before Teimoor appeared on the banks of the Indus—10,000 Turks, Afghans, and Khiljees, with 6000 Arabian horse, pursued and slew twenty thousand Hindoos; and how, in 1049, the Afghans in Sind and Mooltan declared, though unsuccessfully, their independence: nay, even in his introduction, he states the Mahomedan Afghans to have laid waste Kirman, &c., as early as A.D. 682. “The Abdoollees (the Iluzarehs of this volume, and the Douranees of the present day),” writes the historian of Caubul, who is quoted as to their position within the boundaries of Afghanistan, “were only lately moved to their present seats;” and by that writer are stated to be Toorkomans; whilst in Krusinski's and Ibrahim's joint account they are called Afghans, and may, therefore be deemed a connecting link between the two now distinct races of Turks and Afghans, who are thus represented to be derived from a common stock, the ten tribes of Israel. (Krusinski-Clodius-Mitford 1840: xxxiii-xxxv).

As a conclusion of this section, however, we may note as unfortunately Krusinski did not provide any linguistic information on Pashto, nor did the two other French travelers — Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689), *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, ecuyer baron d'Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, Paris 1676-1677, and Jean Chardin (1643-1713), *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux*

*Indes orientales : par la mer Noire et par la Colchide*, Paris 1686<sup>16</sup> — let any information concerning Pashto and the Afghans.

#### **4. Louis André de La Mamie de Clairac (1750)**

Louis André de La Mamie de Clairac (1695-1752)<sup>17</sup> never went to Persia, but took benefice of his staying in Istanbul between 1724 and 1727 to gather information on Persia: this allowed him to write a *Histoire de Perse, depuis le commencement de ce siècle*, published in 1750.<sup>18</sup> In the first volume of this work, he presents the Pashtuns and their legendary history. In particular, at p. 2 he writes:

This people, generally understood under the name of *Afghvan* or *Awgan*, is divided into three principal Tribes, who, like most other Oriental Nations, trace their gealogy back to Noah. Japheth, they say, had three sons, Armen, Aghvan & Cardvel: the first two of these brothers remained in Armenia, which takes its name from that of the eldest, just as Cardvel, which is part of Georgia, takes its name from that of the youngest, who went to live in that country. [My translation]<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> For a presentation of this edition see Chardin-Stewart 2018.

<sup>17</sup> For all information on Clairac, see Laporte 2003 and references.

<sup>18</sup> “En témoin de son temps, Clairac mit à profit son séjour à Istamboul pour prendre des notes sur les affaires iraniennes, alors fort troublées depuis plusieurs décennies. Ces notes devaient lui permettre de publier un quart de siècle plus tard ce qu’il semble avoir considéré comme l’œuvre principale de sa vie, une *Histoire de Perse* en trois volumes, sur les affaires et les convulsions internes de ce pays” (Laporte 2003: 241-242). Cf. also Lockhart 1938: 307-308: “Although the author was never nearer Persia than Constantinople (where he was from 1724 to 1727), he obtained through the friends whom he made there and through French diplomatic and consular officials [...] of his acquaintance a large amount of data relating to Persia [La Mamye-Clairac also utilised a number of works such as du Cerceau’s version of Krusinski’s Memoirs, the *Relation* of Père Reynal, the *Relazione della Rivoluzioni* [sic] *di Persia* (which I have not seen), by the Sieur Joseph, a Georgian who was interpreter at the French Consulate at Isfahan, etc. [note of the Author]]

<sup>19</sup> “Ce peuple compris en general sous le nom de *Afghvan* ou *Awgan* est divisé en trois principales Tribus, qui, comme la plupart des autres nations Orientales, font remonter leur génealogie jusques à Noé. Japhet, disent-ils, eut trois fils, Armen, Aghvan & Cardvel : les deux premiers de ces freres resterent dans l’Arménie qui tire ce nom de celui de l’aîné, comme le Cardvel, qui fait partie de la Géorgie, tire le sien de celui du cadet qui alla s’habituer dans cette contrée”.

Concerning the origin of the Pashtuns, see also below. However, Niccolao Manucci (1638-1717), in his *Storia do Mogor*, first published in 1705, states: “The Pathāns might

And adds, concerning their language, that (p. 8):

With regard to their language, it is rough, coarse, and has no connection with any other. This circumstance supports what I have said about their origin, or at least makes it clear that they are a very ancient Nation and distinct from those with whom they are neighbours. [My translation]<sup>20</sup>

He confesses to have been wrong in his opinions about the Afghans, but to have in any case included them in his work, due to the amount of time spent in his researches.<sup>21</sup>

The work by de Clairac is very accurate and of great intellectual honesty, as can be seen by his notes concerning the name itself of the Afghans. Here, de Clairac offers a useful overview of all quotation forms, in order to clarify the etymology and the place of origin of this people:

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collect eighty thousand horse and much infantry. But they are scattered in different parts of the kingdom, and differ from the Paṭhāns who live beyond the river [Indus] and to the west of it, about whom the Mogul has to be very careful, for at one time they claimed the crown. [...] In spite of these dissensions they are all of one race, descended from an ancient prince called Pastô (Pushtū). He had many sons [... list of the sons and tribes]. In this manner they entitle themselves after their ancient princes, and the name of Paṭhān has come down from the first prince, Pastô. Their language differs from the speech of India” (Manucci 1907, II: 453-454).

<sup>20</sup> “A l’égard de leur langue, elle est rude, grossiere, & n’a nulle rapport avec aucune autre. Circonstance qui appuye ce que j’ai avancé sur leur origine, ou du moins qui fait connoître que c’est une nation très-ancienne & distincte de celles dont elle est voisine”.

<sup>21</sup> “The uncertainty in which I was on the origin of the Aghvans had made me begin with a rather long digression, in which, based on the title of Cosaishite which Aschraf took, and on some other appearances as plausible as they were false, I tried to prove that these peoples were Arabs. M. Freret, not very favourable to my conjectures, maintained that they were Indoscythians. I had a lot of trouble to delete my dissertation, however dry, however boring, however out of place it was, apparently because it had cost me a lot of research and care. I decided to write to Constantinople, and the Aghvans were declared to be Indoscythians, and I was found to be wrong, which should surprise no one, since I was not surprised myself” [my translation] (de Clairac 1750: xiv: “L’incertitude où j’étois sur l’origine des Aghvans m’avoit fait commencer par une assez longue digression, où fondé sur le titre de *Cosaïschite* que prenoit Aschraf, & sur quelques autres apparences aussi plausibles que fausses, je m’efforçois de prouver que ces peuples étoient Arabes. M. Freret peu favorable à mes conjectures soutenoit qu’ils étoient Indoscythes. Toute seche, toute ennuyeuse, toute déplacée qu’étoit ma dissertation, j’avois beaucoup de peine à la supprimer, & cela apparemment parce qu’elle m’avoit coûté beaucoup de recherches & de soins. Je m’avisai d’écrire à Constantinople, les Aghvans y furent déclarés Indoscythes & je me trouvai avoir tort, ce qui ne doit étonner personne, puisque je n’en fus pas surpris moi-même”).

The difficulty of unravelling the true name of a people who are the main cause of the revolutions I am dealing with, is the first thing that has stopped me. Father Jerome<sup>22</sup> calls him *Aquan*: the new Memoirs of the Missions of the Society of Jesus in the Levant Volume 3.<sup>23</sup> *Akvan*: the letter written from Tauris, *Algavan*:<sup>24</sup> the letters written from Aleppo and Julfa,<sup>25</sup> *Aghuani*: Father Reynal,<sup>26</sup> *Aghve*; finally Father du Cerceau, Herbert, Frescurati, the anonymous Turk, Sanson, in his *Voyage de*

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<sup>22</sup> The very de Clairac provides a bibliography and short biography of the authors of his sources. The Pere Jérôme is the author of the *Relazione del Padre Fia Hieronimo d'Avenione Carmelitano Scalzzo* and was charged of establishing in Bandar-Abbas the commerce for the Company of Ostende. He remained in Ispahan from 1722 to 1725, when he left for Constantinople, where he met de Clairac: "I gave a French translation to this Minister [M. Joseph], who sent it to the Author of the *Mercur* de France, who had it printed in September 1726" [my translation] (de Clairac 1750: liii: "j'en donnai une traduction Française à ce Ministre [M. Joseph], qui l'envoya à l'Auteur du *Mercur* de France, qui la fit imprimer en Septembre 1726").

<sup>23</sup> He refers here to p. 350 "I will say in passing, that the greater part of the inhabitants of this Province [Sirvan], were formerly transported to the other extremity of Persia in the mountains, between *Belk Kabul*, and *Candahar*, where they have preserved their first name, with little change, being called *Akvans*, but the harshness of the place has perverted their nature. They have become thieves, and render themselves formidable to the Caravans, who pass through the Indies" [my translation] (*Nouveaux mémoires* 1723: 350, part of the *Mémoire de la province du Sirvan. En forme de lettre adressée au Pere Fleuriau*, pp. 333-392: "Je dirai en passant, que la plus grande partie des habitans de cette Province [le Sirvan], fut autrefois transportée à l'autre extrémité de la Perse dans les montagnes, entre *Belk Kaboul*, & *Candahar*, où ils ont conservé leur premier nom, avec peu de changement, étant nommés *Akvans*, mais l'âpreté des lieux a perverti leur naturel. Ils sont devenus voleurs, & se rendent redoutables aux Caravannes, qui passent aux Indes").

<sup>24</sup> "Letter written from Tauris on 7 July 1723 by a Capuchin Missionary, to a Capuchin of Aleppo. *Gaz. of Holl.* 13 Oct. 1723" (de Clairac 1750: lix: "Lettre écrite de Tauris le 7 Juillet 1723 par un Missionnaire Capucin, à un Capucin d'Alep. *Gaz. de Holl.* 13 Octob. 1723").

<sup>25</sup> Reference to the volume 3 of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites par des missionnaires de la compagnie de Jésus. Mémoires du Levant* (Lyon 1704), where indeed they are called *Aghuans*. The letter was written the 28 of August 1726.

<sup>26</sup> "Relation of what happened in the last Persian war, during the years 1722, 1723, 1724 and 1725, by the R. P. Reynal, Missionary of the Society of Jesus in Syria, with notes by M. Joseph. [...] It can be found without these notes in the *Mercur* de France of December 1726, and it was moreover printed in 4. in Paris the following year" [my translation] (de Clairac 1750: lxv: "Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la dernière guerre de Perse, pendant les années 1722, 1723, 1724 & 1725, par le R. P. Reynal, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie, avec des notes de M. Joseph. [...] On la trouve sans ces notes au *Mercur* de France de Décembre 1726, & elle a d'ailleurs été imprimée in 4. à Paris l'année suivante").

*Perse*, and Pere Sebastien Manrique, in his *Itinerario de las misiones*,<sup>27</sup> *Afghvan*, *Aghwan* ou *Aghvane*. Dourri-Effendi (...) and Mustafa-Effendi<sup>28</sup> on the contrary, name him *Efgan*, and in this they agree with the Circular Letter written in 1727 by the Grand-Visir concerning peace. Mister Joseph<sup>29</sup> calls him *Awgan*, which is more or less the same, as the

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<sup>27</sup> In reality, the form adopted by the Frey Sebastien Manrique is *Aguvanes*. Thus runs the narrative of Manrique's journey in 1742-1743: "After we had, on the first day, registered at the custom-house there all the goods I had, the Mirza ordered six hundred horsemen to go on in advance, in three squadrons, with orders to keep ahead and reconnoitre along the road on account of the Aguvanes [fn. of the editor], folk who inhabit those rough mountains and inhospitable ranges and sally forth thence, like wild intractable animals, to attack the defenceless travellers who pass through these wilds" (Manrique 1927, II: 256). At p. 261-262, he adds an interesting remark: "As a rule the Grand Mogol has fifteen thousand cavalry in this place, under the command of [397/2] a Nababo or Viceroy and experienced veteran Captains. This is necessary because of the propinquity of the inimical Persian, as well as the fact that the mountains of Kandahar are inhabited not only by the Aguvanes, of whom I spoke, but also by the Peysanes or Petanes [fn. of the editor]; (according to the more popular pronunciation), who are one and all strong, fierce men of a much lighter complexion than that of the Industanes, but naturally barbarous, cruel, and addicted to highway robbery and theft. For this reason the Mogol has to be continually on the march". In the fn. the editor comments that: "Manrique here makes a distinction between Afghāns and Pathāns (Petanes), though none actually exists. See *Hobson-Jobson* [see Yule and Burnell 1903], s.v. Puttan. The Afghāns call themselves *Pukhtūn* or *Pushtūn*, according as to whether the hard or soft dialect is in use. Bellew, however, supports Manrique by stating that the race is 'Afghān', and was called *Pathān* merely because it resided in a Pathan country. Several early maps show the Pathāns north of Qandahār and the Afghāns to the south".

I will not focus here on the origin and difference among the terms "Afghan", "Pashtun" and "Patan", on which many authors concentrated. Among the authors of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, see Vigne 1840: 167: "The meaning of the word Patan, which is synonymous with Afghan, has been already given from Lieutenant Burnes, signifying the 'mast', or chief of his tribe". See also Klaproth 1810: 76ff. On the whole subject, see the shrewd and accurate remarks by Shah Mahmoud Hanifi 2008; see also his more recent articles, in particular: Hanifi 2012, 2013 and 2016.

<sup>28</sup> "*Memorandum on the Efgans, followed by notes on some proper names used therein*. Done for me by M. Desroches, then Secretary to M. de Villeneuve, under the dictation of Mustafa-Effendi, one of the Secretaries of Reys-Effendi" [my translation] (de Clairac 1750: lxii: "*Mémoire sur les Efgans, suivi de notes sur quelques noms propres qui y sont employés*. Fait pour moi par M. Desroches, alors Secrétaire de M. de Villeneuve, sous la dictée de Mustafa-Effendi, l'un des Secrétaires du Reys-Effendi").

<sup>29</sup> "Letter from Father Joseph de Reuilly, written from Aleppo on 11 June 1726, to Father Eusebe, Superior of the Capuchins in Tripoli. *Merc. de France, January 1727*" [my translation] (de Clairac 1750: liv: "Lettre du R. P. Joseph de Reuilly, écrite d'Alep le 11 Juin 1726, au R. P. Eusebe, Supérieur des Capucins à Tripoli. *Merc. de France, Janvier 1727*").

Turks often use e for a in proper names; Tavernier<sup>30</sup> *Augan*; and Cherefeddin,<sup>31</sup> *Ouganian* and *Ougani*. It is easy to see that almost everything comes down to whether one should say *Aghvan* or *Awgan*. M. Delisle,<sup>32</sup> who no doubt sensed this difficulty, evaded it by putting in his map of Persia made in 1724, *Ouganes* or *Aguanes*. The first of these names given by Cherefeddin appears to be the oldest; however, I have only used the other, because it is more in keeping with usage. In addition, I have made from *Aghvane*, for that is how the word is pronounced, *Afghvan*, after the example of the Father du Cerceau. This author and that of one of the letters which make up the third volume of the new *Memoirs of the Missions of the Levant*, say that this Nation formerly inhabited Chirvan, which is ancient Albania; they allege as proof of this fact the Armenian pronunciation, which from *Alban* makes *Aghvan*. Father Krusinski, to whom I have written, is of the same opinion; he bases himself on the tradition of these peoples, who acknowledge that they were Christians, of the same rite as the Armenians, and on the annals of the latter, which assure the same thing [...] As for the title taken by the Patriarch, since the pronunciation of the country changes the letters *lb* into *ghv*, it obviously concerns the *Albanians* or *Aghvans* of Albania, that is to say, the inhabitants of Chirvan,<sup>33</sup> and not the Aghvans of Candahar

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<sup>30</sup> See above.

<sup>31</sup> “History of Timur-Bec, translated from the Persian of Cherefeddin-Ali, contemporary author, by M. Petit de la Croix. *Paris 1722*” [my translation] (de Clairac 1750: lii: “Histoire de Timur-Bec, traduite du Persan de Cherefeddin-Ali, Auteur contemporain, par M. Petit de la Croix. *Paris 1722*”).

<sup>32</sup> Guillaume Delisle (1675-1726) draws a plan of Asia in 1723. Here he indicates, in correspondence of Candahar [sic] “Augans”, near the “Patanes”, located in the Mogol State. The same in the “Carte de la Turquie de l’Arabie et de la Perse” of 1701.

<sup>33</sup> “Interestingly, Saint-Martin 1818 links these “Aghovans” to the Abkhaz: Ibn-Haukal mentions, in his geography written in Arabic, a country called *Abkhaz*, which was situated in the neighbourhood of Derbend, and which must be distinguished from that of the Abkhaz, which is situated at the western end of the Caucasus. It seems to me to be the same as that of the Aghovans; and I am moreover very much inclined to believe that the manuscript should read, instead of *Abkhaz* ابخاز, the name of *Abkhan* اتخان; a lesson which is confirmed by the testimony of Masudi” [my translation] (Saint-Martin 1818, I: 222: “Ibn-Haukal fait mention, dans sa géographie écrite en arabe, d’un pays appelé *Abkhaz*, qui étoit situé dans le voisinage de Derbend, et qu’il faut bien distinguer de celui des Abkhaz, qui est situé à l’extrémité occidentale du Caucase. Il me paroît être le même que celui des Aghovans ; et je suis en outre très-porté à croire qu’il faut lire dans le manuscrit, au lieu d’*Abkhaz* ابخاز, le nom d’*Abkhan* اتخان; leçon qui se trouve confirmée par le témoignage de Masoudy”).

Some pages later (pp. 224-225), Saint-Martin speaks against the identification of these Afghovans with our Afghans: “Some writers, basing themselves on the great resemblance

and Herat, who have, in my opinion, nothing in common with them, except a name which they share with other Nations, and which in itself is a generic term which means nothing other than *peoples*. [...] One cannot doubt, especially after reading the foregoing, that the *Ouganians*; the *Ouganis*, and the *Awgans* or *Aghvans* are the same people. [...] It would therefore be constant that these peoples inhabited Candahar before the reign of Timur. (de Clairac 1750: xxv-xxx [my translation])<sup>34</sup>

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between the name of the Aghovans or Albanians and that of the Afghans, who played such an important role in the last political revolutions of Asia, have concluded very lightly that these two peoples had a common origin” [my translation] (p. 224), concluding that any proof can be put forward this identification, especially because “the Afghans of India are not called *Aghwan* اغوان, as F. Krusinski writes in the Turkish translation of his Memoirs, but *Afghan* افغان; and the latter name is the only one met with in Eastern writers” [my translation] (p. 225: “Quelques écrivains, se fondant sur la grande ressemblance qui se trouve entre le nom des Aghovans ou Albaniens et celui des Afghans, qui ont joué un rôle si important dans les dernières révolutions politiques de l’Asie, en ont conclu fort à la légère que ces deux peuples avoient une origine commune. [...] les Afghans de l’Inde ne s’appellent point *Aghwan* اغوان, comme le P. Krusinski l’a écrit dans la traduction Turque de ses Mémoires, mais *Afghan* افغان; et ce dernier nom est le seul qu’on rencontre dans les écrivains orientaux”).

<sup>34</sup> “La difficulté de démêler le véritable nom d’un peuple qui est la principale cause des Révolutions dont je traite, est la première qui m’a arrêté. Le Père Jérôme[...] l’appelle *Aquan* : les nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant Tome 3.[...] *Akvan* : la lettre écrite de Tauris, *Algavan* :[...] les Lettres écrites d’Alep & de Julfa,[...] *Aghuani* : le Père Reynal,[...] *Aghve* ; enfin le Père du Cerceau, Herbert, Frescurati, le Turc anonyme, Sanson, dans son Voyage de Perse, & le Père Sébastien Manrique, dans son *Itinerario de las misiones*,[...] *Afghan*, *Aghwan* ou *Aghvane*. Douiri-Effendi (...) & Mustafa-Effendi[...] au contraire, le nomment *Efgan*, & ils conviennent en cela avec la Lettre circulaire écrite en 1727 par le Grand-Visir au sujet de la paix. Le Sieur Joseph[...] le nomme *Awgan*, ce qui revient à peu près au même, les Turcs mettant souvent *e* pour *a* dans les noms propres ; Tavernier[...] *Augan* ; & Cherefeddin,[...] *Ouganian* & *Ougani*. L’on voit aisément que presque tout se réduit à sçavoir si l’on doit dire *Aghvan*, ou *Awgan*. M. Delisle,[...] qui sans doute a senti cette difficulté, l’a éludée en mettant dans sa carte de Perse faite en 1724, *Ouganes* ou *Aguanes*. Le premier de ces noms donné par Cherefeddin paroît le plus ancien ; cependant je ne suis servi que de l’autre, parce qu’il est plus conforme à l’usage. Au reste, d’*Aghvane*, car c’est ainsi que ce mot se prononce, j’ai fait *Aghvan*, à l’exemple du Père du Cerceau. Cet Auteur & celui d’une des lettres qui composent le troisième volume des nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant, disent que cette Nation habitoit autrefois le Chirvan, qui est l’ancienne Albanie ; ils alleguent pour preuve de ce fait la prononciation Arménienne, qui de *Alban* fait *Aghvan*. Le Père Krusinski à qui j’en ai écrit est du même sentiment, il se fonde sur la tradition de ces Peuples qui reconnoissent avoir été Chrétiens, du même rit que les Arméniens, & sur les annales de ces derniers qui assurent la même chose [...] Quant au titre que prend le Patriarche, puisque la

## 5. Lorenzo Hervas (1784 and 1786)

Lorenzo Hervas y Panduro (1735-1809) was a Jesuit linguist.<sup>35</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that he never went to Persia or India<sup>36</sup> (but he traveled to America), he composed an encyclopedic work in Italian dealing with the world languages (see in particular vols. XVII-XXI<sup>37</sup>). In his *Catalogo delle lingue conosciute e notizia della loro affinità, e diversità* (vol. XVII), he cites Pashto as a dialect of the Hindustani:

In the Mediterranean provinces of Hindustan, and on the coasts of its peninsula, which extend as far as Indus, the *Hindua*, *Seike*,<sup>38</sup> and *Bebendina*<sup>39</sup> languages are spoken. The *Hindua* language (from Syriac *Hindu* Indian) seems to me the ancient, and natural language of Hindustan. It is still spoken in some countries of Persia, where there are

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prononciation du pays change les lettres *lb* en *ghv*, il concerne évidemment les *Albaniens* ou *Aghvaniens* de l'Albanie, c'est-à-dire les habitants du Chirvan,[...] & non les Aghvans du Candahar & du Herat, qui n'ont, selon moi, rien de commun avec eux, qu'un nom qu'ils partagent avec d'autres Nations, & qui par soi-même est un terme générique qui ne signifie autres chose que *peuples*. [...] L'on ne peut douter, sur-tout après avoir lû ce qui précède que les *Ouganiens* ; les *Ouganis*, & les *Awgans* ou *Aghvans* ne soient les mêmes peuples. [...] Il seroit donc constant que ces Peuples habitoient le Candahar avant le regne de Timur”.

<sup>35</sup> Many works studied Hervas and his work. Among others, cf. Fuertes Gutiérrez 2015 and bibliography.

<sup>36</sup> He complains the lack of data for Asia and declares having got his information from other Jesuits in missions in these areas: see Hervas 1784: 108-109.

<sup>37</sup> Vol. XVII: *Catalogo delle lingue conosciute e notizia della loro affinità, e diversità*, Cesena 1784; vol. XVIII: *Origine, formazione, meccanismo, ed armonia degl'idiomi*, Cesena 1785; vol. XIX: *Aritmetica delle nazioni e divisione del tempo fra gli orientali*, Cesena 1787; vol. XX: *Vocabulario poligloto, con prolegomeni sopra piu di CL lingue. Dove sono scoperte nuove, ed utili all'Antica storia dell'uman genere, ed alla cognizione del meccanismo delle parole*, Cesena 1787; vol. XXI: *Saggio pratico delle lingue, con prolegomeni e una raccolta di orazioni dominicali in più di CCC lingue e dialetti*, Cesena 1787.

<sup>38</sup> He considers the *Seike* language a “Tartar dialect mixed, it seems, with the language of Tibet (which is certainly a Tartar dialect) and the Hindustani dialect, is spoken by *Seiki*, who have become powerful, and respectable in Hindustan” [my translation] (*ibid.*: “dialetto Tartaro misto, a quel che sembra, del linguaggio del Tibet (il quale è certamente dialetto Tartaro) e del dialetto Indostano, si parla da' *Seiki*, che sono divenuti potenti, e rispettabili nell'Indostan”): would he intend here the Khotansaka?

<sup>39</sup> “The *Behendina* language, or *Gora* proper of the *Gori*, or *Giaouri* of Hindustan, and Persia appears to be a pure dialect of Persian” [my translation] (*ibid.*: “La lingua *Behendina*, o *Gora* propria de' *Gori*, o *Giaouri* dell'Indostan, e della Persia sembra un puro dialetto della Persiana”).

Indians. The main dialects of this language are *Padtano*, *Dacnese*, or *Telugiko*, and Mongolian, or Hindustani. [...] The *Padtano* is used in much of Hindustan and by *Padtani*, who believe themselves to be descended from Persians, Turks and Arabs. The Safi believe themselves to be descended from the *Padtani*. (Hervas 1784: 122-123 [my translation]).<sup>40</sup>

The information Hervas provides is quite contradictory. For instance, in the volume *Aritmetica delle nazioni e divisione del tempo fra l'orientali* (1786), he provides the numerals of the “*Padtanica*” language (n. 279, pp. 134-135). While telling that he took this information from the sixth volume of the “supplement a’ commentarj dell’Accademia Petropolitana, ove si mettono gli eruditi trattati di Teofilo Sigefrido Bayer sulla storia del regno Battriano de’ Greci, e l’Opera di Cristofaro Walter intitolata *dottrina Indiana de’ tempi*”, he states that “the *Padtany* [language], which is a Daknian dialect [i.e. of the Dhakan province], takes it from the city *Padthana*” [my translation].<sup>41</sup> The numerals are of Indian origin, nothing to do with Pashto (*ek, dô, thin, tschahâr, pângi, tscheha, sâth, ath, nov, dës*).

In his successive works, the volumes 20, *Vocabolario poliglotta*, and 21, *Saggio pratico delle lingue*, both published in 1787, Pashto is not mentioned at all.

However, since 1800 he begun republication of his work in Spanish. In the second volume, *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas, y numeracion, division, y clases de estas segun la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos* (vol. II, Madrid 1801), while speaking of the Industan, he quotes five nations: the *indostana* or *indiana*; the *hebreá*; the *gaure* or *gauri*; the *arábiga*; and lastly the *tátara* or *tártara*. On the fourth he adds (p. 138):

The descendants of these and other conquering Arabs who ruled in these countries, established their court at Delhi, which is now one of the two

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<sup>40</sup> “Nelle provincie mediterranee dell’Indostan, e nelle coste della sua penisola, che si prolungano fino all’Indo, si parlano le lingue *Hindua*, *Seike*,[...] e *Bebendina*.[...] La lingua *Hindua* (dal Siriaco *Hindu* Indiano) sembrami l’antica, e naturale dell’Indostan. Parlasi ancora in alcuni paesi della Persia, ove sono degl’Indiani. I dialetti principali di questa lingua sono il *Padtano*, il *Dacnese*, o *Telugiko*, e il Mongolo, o Indostano. [...] Il *Padtano* si usa in gran parte dell’Indostan, e da’ *Padtani*, i quali si credono discendenti da’ Persiani, da’ Turchi, e dagli Arabi. I Safi si credono discendenti da’ *Padtani*.”

<sup>41</sup> “la [lingua] *Padtanica*, ch’è dialetto Daknico [i.e. of the Dhakan province], lo prende dalla città *Padthana*”.

capitals of the Moghul empire, and is called *Patan* by the Hindustanis. The domination of these Arabs introduced many words of their language into the Hindustani language: and it is commonly called the *Moorish-Hindustani* language, which, mixed with Arabic words, is spoken in some of the northern provinces of Hindustan. [my translation]<sup>42</sup>

## **6. Peter Simon Pallas (1786)**

After the first quotations, Pashto is more extensively mentioned in the work of the Russian zoologic Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811), *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa*, St. Petersburg, 1786 (reprinted with a preface by Harald Haarmann, Hamburg, 1977-1778); ed. rev. by Fedor I. Jankovich de Mirievo, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' vsekh yazykov i narechij po azbuchnomu poryadku raspolozhennyj*, 4 vols., St. Petersburg, 1790-1791. Starting point of this project, financed by Katherine II of Russia for the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg, was the creation a comparative dictionary of all languages of the world, transcribed in Cyrillic and with Russian translation, of 273 words from 200 languages: numbers 76-80 are occupied by Persian, Kurdish, Pashto, Ossetian [= Iron] and [Ossetian] Digor, with materials coming from the collection by the German naturalist and explorer Johann Anton Güldenstädt (1745-1781).

In this work, Pashto occupies n. 78. Thus runs the list of Pashto words: n. 1 Xwday 'God', 2 asmon 'sky', 3 plar 'father', 4 mur [mor] 'mother', 5 sway [zoy] 'son', 6 xur [instead of lur] 'daughter', 7 wrur [wror] 'brother', 8 xur 'sister', 9 mele [meɾə] 'husband', 10 awrata 'wife', 13 sway [zoy] 'boy', 14 zalay [saray] 'man', 15 xaleq 'people', 16 zar [sar] 'head', 18 poza 'noose', 20 ztirge [størge] 'eyes', 23 kwak [ɣwaɟ] 'ears', 24 očole [wəɕwulay] 'forehead', 25 ixte [weɕtə] 'hairs', 27 xula 'mouth', 29 xax [ɣāx] 'tooth', 30 žiba 'tongue', 31 iżre [ǰira] 'beard', 32 malkalay [for mayzay?] 'neck', 33 ogar [oɟa] 'shoulder', 35 laš [las] 'hand', 36 guši [angušt] 'fingers', 37 nuk 'nail', 40 pxi [pɕa] 'foot', 41 singun [jangun] 'knee', 42 sarman [carmən] 'skin', 43 goxi [ɣwaɕa] 'meat', 44 adukay [haɖukay] 'bone', 45 wini [wina] 'blood', 46 zile [zɾə] 'heart', 47 poy [pāy] 'milk', 60: xaxade [for xādi 'joy?'] 'love', 75 nmar

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<sup>42</sup> "Los descendientes de estos y de otros árabes conquistadores que dominaron en dichos países, establecieron su corte en Deli, que al presente es una de las dos capitales del imperio del Mogol, y se llaman *Patan* por los indostanos. La dominacion de estos árabes introduxo muchas palabras de su lengua en la indostana : y comunmente se llama lengua *moro-indostana*, la que mezclada con palabras arábiga se habla en algunas provincias septentrionales del Indostan."

‘sun’, *myašt/myašta* [myāšt] ‘moon’, 77 *sturi* ‘star’, 82 *baran* [bārān] ‘rain’, 84 *tandar* ‘thunder’, 85 *wawri* [wawra] ‘snow’, 86 *yax* ‘cold’, 87 *wraz* ‘day’, 88 *špa/spa* ‘night’, 90 *maxi* [māxām] ‘evening’, 91 *čil* [for which word?] ‘summer’, 95 *kal* [kāl] ‘year’, 96 *erast* [waxt] ‘time’, 97 *pisməge/smak* [jməka] ‘earth’, 98 *ubə/udu* [obə] ‘water’, 100 *zint* [sind] ‘river’, 102 *šiga* [šəga] ‘sand’, 103 *smak* ‘clay’, 106 *gar* [ɣar] ‘mountain’, 112, *oor/ur* [or] ‘fire’, 121 *kani* ‘stone’, 122 *ašrep* ‘gold’, 123 *zar* [spinzər] ‘silver’, 127 *waxe* [wāxə] ‘grass’, 128 *ona* [wəna] ‘tree’, 138 *patay* [pətay] ‘field’, 140 *ule/urbiši* [instead of *oṛə* ‘flour’ and *orbəše* ‘barley’ respectively] ‘corn’, 143 *čarap* [instead of *šarāb* ‘wine’] ‘grapes’, 144 *mahay* ‘fish’, 148 *gaay* [ɣāyi] ‘ox’, 149 *kwa* [ɣwā] ‘cow’, 150 *mak* [məğ] ‘ram’, 153 *xirbišay* [for which word?] ‘pig’, 154 *spey* [spay] ‘dog’, 155 *pišik* [pišo] ‘cat’, 157 *mirge* [məryə] ‘bird’, 158 *ozər* [for which word?] ‘pen’, 159 *čirk* [čərg] ‘cock’, 160 *wya* [hagəy] ‘egg’, 162 *kas* [for *qāz*] ‘goose’, 163 *ordek* [for which word?] ‘duck’, 165 *iivi* [yəwe] ‘plough’, 179 *rotay* [roṭi] ‘bread’, 180 *čarab/araki* [šarāb] ‘wine’, 195 *patay* [pətay] ‘field’ [repetition of n. 138], 200 *asmaa* [for *asmān* ‘sky’] ‘thunder’.

Of the 200 words, only 82 Pashto words are recorded and, apart the difficulties of the transliteration of some letters not represented in Cyrillic, as *ɣ* or the retroflexes, very often mistakes of spelling and of meaning are found: cf., for instance, n. 6 “*xur* ‘daughter’”, instead of Pšt. *lur* (*xur* means ‘sister’); n. 33 “*ogar* ‘shoulder’”, instead of Pšt. *oḡa*; n. 35 “*laš*”, instead of Pšt. *las*; n. 85 “*erast* ‘time’”, instead of Pšt. *waxt*; n. 123 “*zar* ‘silver’”, instead of Pšt. *spinzər* (*zər* means ‘gold’); n. 200 “*asmaa* ‘thunder’”, in reality ‘sky’.

The endings of feminine words in *-e* account for a western informant (in Pashto *-e* indicates the plural of feminine nouns, while in *fārsi* ending *ə* are pronounced *-e*).

N. 97, “*pisməge/smak* ‘earth’”, is particularly interesting, as we find “*pisməge*” instead of Pšt. *pə zməka* ‘on earth’.

However, notwithstanding the many mistakes, this is the first tentative to offer a short Pashto lexicon to Europe and will represent the very beginning of the successive Pashto lexicography.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> I do not deal here with works on Pashto written in Pashto, on which see Kushev 2001. In particular, mention can be done here to the following six publications:

- the *Maʿrifat al-afghānī* (“Learning of the Afghan Language”) by Pīr Muhammad Kākar, 1773, “a textbook whose author pursued the aim to create a guide for studying the Afghan language” (Kushev 2001: 3), where one can find, according to Kushev (*ibid.*) lists of words, expressions and phrases, and also “a general dictionary with five thematic sections and one alphabetical section”;

## 7. Henry Vansittart and William Jones (1799)

The Pashto language was also linked to Hebrew for the first time by the late William Jones (1746-1794),<sup>44</sup> in the appendix to an article of Henry Vansittart (1756-1787),<sup>45</sup> published in 1799,<sup>46</sup> but received already in 1784, with a letter “dated CALCUTTA, March 3, 1784”.<sup>47</sup> The author of this article translated a “*Persian* abridgement, composed by *Maulavi* Khairu’ddin, of the *áfráru’l afághinah*, or the secrets of the *Afghans*, a book written in the *Pushto* language by Husain, the son of Sabir, the son of Khizr, the disciple of *Hazrat* Sha’h Ka’sim *Sulaimáni*, whose tomb is in *Chunárgur*” (Vansittart 1799: 119).<sup>48</sup> Jones (1799: 76) stated in this occasion that “the *Pushto* language, of which I have seen a dictionary, has a manifest resemblance of the *Chaldaik*”, and that “a considerable district under their [*i.e.* of the Afghans] dominion is called *Hazáreth*, or *Hazáret*,

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- the *Āmad-nāma-yi afghānī* (“Introduction to the Afghan Language”), published at Rampur at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Kushev 1980: 68), in the dictionary section contains “nouns of kinship, parts of the body, animals, birds, etc. and closes with the months of the solar year”;

- the *Riyād al-mahabbat* (1806-1807), written by Mahabbat Khān, contains a Pashto-Persian dictionary, of which B. Dorn [1847] made great use;

- the *Farhang-i irtidā’ī* by Nawwāb Muhammad Irdidā Khān composed in 1810 in three languages, *i.e.* Pashto, Persian and Hindustani, but, according to Kushev (2001: 8), remained virtually unknown to Western Pashto scholars;

- the *Ājā’ib al-lughāt* by Ilahyār Khān (1813), a dictionary in four languages, Pashto, Persian, Arabic and Hindustani, intensively used by Raverty [1860] for his dictionary;

- the *Afrīdī-nāma* or *Farhang-i Afrīdī* (1815), a small dictionary in five languages – Persian, Pashto, Kashmiri, English and Hindustani –, “intended for purely practical use” (Kushev 2001: 8).

<sup>44</sup> On the rich and impressive life and scientific production of W. Jones, see, among others, Cannon 1964 and Franklin 1995.

<sup>45</sup> It should be this Henry Vansittart, died in 1787 in Calcutta, according to Burke 1866: s.v. Vansittart.

<sup>46</sup> A first résumé of this article was published in the *Memoirs of Science and the Arts. Or, an Abridgement of the Transactions* 1, 1793, p. 219.

<sup>47</sup> At the end of the letter by H. Vansittart, he stated that “Under these impressions I venture to lay before the Society the translation of an abridged history of the *Afghans*; a tribe at different times subject to and always connected with the kingdoms of *Persia* and *Hindustan*. I also submit a specimen of their language, which is called by them *Pukhto*; but this word is softened in *Persian* into *Pushto*”.

<sup>48</sup> This information is already quoted in the first volume of the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia, or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature*, published in 1803, s.v. Afghans, where an etymology of the ethnonym *Patan* is also proposed: the name would be derived “from the *Hindi* verb *Paitna* ‘to rush’ which was given to them by one of the Sultans whom they served, in consequence of the alacrity with which they had attacked and conquered his enemies” (p. 5).

which might easily have been changed into the word used by Esdras<sup>49</sup> (*ibid.*):

This account of the Afghans may lead to a very interesting discovery. We learn from the book of Esdras, that the ten tribes after a wandering journey, came to a country called Arsareth; where we may suppose they settled. Now, the Afghans are said by the best Persian historians to be descended from the Jews; they have traditions among themselves of such descent; and it is even asserted that their families are distinguished by the names of Jewish tribes, although since their conversion to Islam they studiously conceal their origin; the Pushto language of which I have seen a Dictionary, has a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaic; and a considerable district is called Hazara, which might easily have been changed into the word used by Esdras. I strongly recommend an enquiry into the literature and history of the Afghans.<sup>50</sup>

The article just translated a poem and did not deal with the Pashto language, but notwithstanding, as acknowledged by B. Dorn successively (Dorn 1847: i), “Sir William Jones, misled by some treacherous indications, pronounced the Jewish origin of the Afghans and the affinity of their idiom to the Chaldaic”. The starting point of W. Jones’ statements (Jones 1807: 129) was 2Esd. 13, 45, where it is narrated how the ten lost tribes of Israel settled in a region called *Arsareth*,<sup>51</sup> by him associated with the region of Hazarah.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> See also Jones 1807: 169-170 [the Eight Anniversary Discourse, on the Borders, Mountaineers, and Islanders of Asia, delivered 24th February 1791], stating that “there is very solid ground for believing, that the *Afghans* descended from the *Jews*; [...] because *Hazaret*, which appears to be the *Asareth* of ESDRAS, is one of their territories; and, principally, because their language is evidently a dialect of the scriptural *Chaldaick*”.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. also “*The Israelitish Origin of the Afghans considered being an abridgment of a paper read at the Literary Institute, Peshawar, by Rev. T. P. Hughes*” [?].

<sup>51</sup> “<sup>40</sup>Those are the ten tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanasar the king of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. <sup>41</sup>But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt, <sup>42</sup>That they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. <sup>43</sup>And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow places of the river. <sup>44</sup>For the most High then shewed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over. <sup>45</sup>For through that country there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half: and the same region is called *Arsareth*. <sup>46</sup>Then dwelt they there until the latter time; and now when they shall begin to come, <sup>47</sup>The Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again, that they may go through: therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace” (2Esd. 13, 40-47; my italics).

<sup>52</sup> The region of Hazarajat, or Hazaristan, is located in central Afghanistan and would be the birth place of the Hazara people. It is divided in three central provinces of Bamyan, Daykundi and Ghor, ed includes Maidan Wardak, Ghazni, Orūzgān, Balkh, Sar-e Pol,

At the beginning, this hypothesis was accepted by many explorers and scholars on the basis of the prestige of W. Jones,<sup>53</sup> but was soon discarded.<sup>54</sup>

## **8. Thomas Tychsen (1804)**

Thomas Christian Tychsen (1758-1834), another scholar who dealt marginally with Pashto, even if never travelled to Asia, in an article in Latin, “De Afganorum origine et historia commentatio”, published in the *Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis* (1804), provides critics on the previous hypothesis on the origin of the Pashtuns:

As to the origin of the Afghans, although there are many opinions, two seem to prevail, the first, which you may call European, for it is generally accepted by the learned men in Europe, derives from the Albanians, the inhabitants of the Caucasus mountain, the Afghans, the other, which is said to be of the Afghans and Persians, from the ancient Hebrews. (Tychsen 1804: 44 [my translation])<sup>55</sup>

Here, the first hypothesis is firstly ascribed to Krusinski and Clodius (see above),<sup>56</sup> while the second refers to Jones and Vansittart (see above) and

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Samangan and Baghlan.

<sup>53</sup> For instance, A. Burnes (1834, I: 164), at the end of the presentation of the different information, writes: “Since some of the tribes of Israel came to the East, why should we not admit that the Afghans are their descendants, converted to Mahommedanism? I am aware that I am differing from a high authority; but I trust that I have made it appear on reasonable grounds”. The “authority” is obviously M. Elphinstone (see below). W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck (1841) just note the Jewish features of some Afghans, described as “very Jewish-looking person” (*ibid.*, II: 348). Vigne 1840 (pp. 166-167) provides the following genealogy: “They say, that the eldest of Jacob’s sons was Judah, whose eldest son was Osruck, who was the father of Oknur; the father of Moalib, the father of Farlai, the father of Kys, the father of Talut, the father of Ermiah, the father of Afghana, whence the name of Afghans”.

<sup>54</sup> For the reconstruction of the way followed by the ten tribes of 2Esd. to reach *Arsareth*, see Moore 1861: 67-79, in chapter III, “How and where did they go?”. For other critics, see also Elphinstone 1815: 157 and Forster 1854: 290.

<sup>55</sup> “De origine Afganorum cum plures sint sententiae, duae tamen inprimis regnare videntur, altera, quam Europaeam dicere possis, est enim a viris doctis in Europa fere recepta, ab Albanis, Caucasi montis accolis, Afganos deducit, altera, quae Afganorum et Persarum esse fertur, a veteribus Hebraeis”.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. also Jacob Reineggs (1744-1793), who participated to a diplomatic mission to Caucasus: in his work, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, he linked the Afghans with the Armenians: “The singing Indian changed the name Ahwan, which sounded barbaric to him, into Afg’an according to his linguistic organs, and so both names soon became common to this people, which Strabo already knew under the name Avgasians and confused with the Albanians” [my translation]

indirectly to Müller (1762: 149-150).<sup>57</sup>

Tychsen provides many elements in order to confute both theories and on the second adds:

Moreover, it seems to him wrong, while the language of the Afghans is similar to the Chaldean, which, if they had retained the language of their ancestors, the Israelites, must have been Hebrew. In the specimen of the Pushto speech, which I have attached to this comment, I have indeed discovered no resemblance to the Chaldean. (Tychsen 1804: 55 [my translation])<sup>58</sup>

And he concludes his discourse with the following words:

If we believe the Indian narrative just mentioned, the origins of the Afghan race date back to the sixth century before Chr. In the age of Alexander the Great there is still no mention of the name of the Afghani. Alexander indeed reached their regions, but the names of the peoples are not mentioned here among the writers. Scholars are of the opinion that Qandahar was founded in these regions as Alexandria, on account of the name also having some resemblance to Secander, in the manner in which the Orientals address Alexander. But Rennelius, a most acute man, taught them that they were in error; yet the Paruetios mountains of Ptolemy have the same for the Qandaharians. From this time the Afghans were unknown for several centuries; in fact, we have seen previously that it is legendary as regards the narration of their actions at the beginning, their favor and honor with Muhammad in the century. VII. (*ibid.*: 58 [my translation])<sup>59</sup>

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(Reineggs 1796: 162-163: “Der singend redende Indier verwandelte den ihm barbarisch klingenden Namen Ahwan, nach seinem seinern Sprachorgane in Afg’an, und so wurden bald beide Namen diesem Volke gemein, das Strabo schon unter dem Namen Avgasier kannte, und mit dem Albanier verwechselte”).

<sup>57</sup> Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783) was an explorer and ethnologist: in his work he let notes about all the people living within the Russian boundaries. Concerning the inhabitants of Bukhara he relates the tradition concerning the ten lost tribes of Israel (see Müller 1762).

<sup>58</sup> “Porro male sibi constat, dum chaldaicae similem perhibet Afganorum linguam, quae, si maiorum, Israelitarum, sermonem illi retinuerunt, hebraica esse debet. In specimine sermonis Pushto, isti commentationi adnexo, equidem nullam cum chaldaica similitudinem deprehendi”.

<sup>59</sup> “Si fides narrationi Indicae modo memoratae, origines gentis Afganicae ad seculum ante Chr. sextum referendae erunt. Alexandri M. etate nulla adhuc nominis Afganici, mentio. Regiones eorum attingit quidem Alexander, sed populorum nomina nulla hic memorantur apud scriptores. Candaharam esse Alexandriam in his regionibus conditam opinati sunt viri docti, nominis etiam aliqua similitudine cum Secander, quo modo Alexandrum adpellant Orientales, ducti. Sed errasse eos docuit Rennelius, vir acutissimus; idem tamen montes Paruetios Ptolemaei pro Candaharensibus habet. Ab hoc

However, as it was noted by Adelung successively (1806: 254), “Tychsen knew nothing of their language except a few lines from the fourth [read second] volume of the *Asiatik Researches*” [my translation].<sup>60</sup>

### **9. Johann Christoph Adelung (1806)**

The orientalist Johann Christoph Adelung (1732-1806), basing his *Mithridates*, published in 1806, on Pallas’ work (see above), stated that between Pashto and Caldean, “was probably just coincidental” (“wohl nur bloss zufällig war”).

Pashto occupies pp. 252-255 of his work: at the beginning he provides concise historical and geographic information. On the hypothetical Jewish or other origin of the Pashtuns, in particular, he states that:

What is claimed partly by them, partly by others about their origin in Egypt, where Moses is said to have driven them out, about the Jews and their king Saul, about Alexander the Great, about the Armenians, about the Georgians, about the Arabs, about the Albanians and Alans in the Caucasus, etc., has no historical basis and is partly refuted by their language. They are probably the original people of the mountains between Indo-Eastan and Persia. (Adelung and Vater 1806: 252-253 [my translation])<sup>61</sup>

At the end of his description, he quotes just seven words (‘father’, *plar*, ‘sky’, *asmo*, ‘earth’, *smak*, *pism’ige*, ‘bread’, *rotai*, ‘day’, *uras*, ‘today’, *nen-uras*, ‘bad’, *bati*), in order to show some lexical features: while discarding a Jewish origin, he detects 27 words on 102 of Persian origin:

Jones found much similarity between their language and Chaldean, which was probably only coincidental. Tychsen knew nothing of their language except a few lines from the fourth volume of the *Asiatik*

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inde tempore ignoti sunt Afgani per plura secula; quae enim de eorum apud Muhammedem gratia et honore rebusque sec. VII. ineunte gestis narrantur, fabulosa esse supra vidimus”.

<sup>60</sup> “Tychsen kannte von ihrer Sprache nichts als einige Zeilen aus dem vierten [read second] Bande der *Asiatik Researches*”.

<sup>61</sup> “Was theils von ihnen selbst, theils von andern von ihrem Ursprunge aus Aegypten, wo Moses sie vertrieben haben soll, von den Juden und ihrem Könige Saul, von Alexandern dem Grofsen, von den Armeniern, von den Georgiern, von den Arabern, von den Albanen und Alanen am Kaukasus u. s. f. behauptet wird, hat keinen historischen Halt, und wird zum Theil schon durch ihre Sprache widerlegt. Wahrscheinlich sind sie das Urvolk in den Gebirgen zwischen Indostan und Persien”.

*Researches*. In the *Vocabul. Petropol.* [Pallas work: see above] there are 102 Afgan words, which *Güldenstedt* compares in his journey with many Ossetian words in order to establish their Caucasian origin. But among all of them, only 13 are similar, some of which concern objects of action and are therefore immediately recognised as foreign descendants, and some of which are also found in other completely different languages, so that nothing can be concluded from them. Among these 102 words, I have found few Indian, just as few Turkish-Tataric, but 27 Persian. It therefore appears to be a separate root language, which has been mixed with foreign, especially Persian words. (Adelung and Vater 1806: 254-255 [my translation and underlined])<sup>62</sup>

The statement that “It therefore appears to be a separate root language, which has been mixed with foreign, especially Persian words” at the end of this quotation is noteworthy for its modernity. Interestingly, Adelung also tries an etymology of the name “Patans”, to him derived from Ind. *Paitna* ‘angreifen [to attack]’ at the epoch of the Ghurid dynasty, in the XIIth century (pp. 253-254).

## 10. Heinrich Julius Klaproth (1810 and 1823)

(Heinrich) Julius Klaproth (1783-1835) was an important orientalist who, from Saint Petersburg, was sent to China with a Russian embassy at the age of 22, in 1805.<sup>63</sup> In a second journey, he could visit Caucasus, and published successively his *Reise in den Kaukasus und Georgien in den Jahren 1807 und 1808*. His main work is the *Asia Polyglotta*, published in 1823, after he moved to Paris in 1815. In this work Klaproth presents a description of the languages and peoples of Asia: Pashto occupies the pages 54-61. After a short but clear introduction, 214 German words with Pashto translation are presented.

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<sup>62</sup> “Jones fand viel Ähnlichkeit zwischen ihrer Sprache und der Chaldäischen, welche denn wohl nur bloss zufällig war. Tytsen kannte von ihrer Sprache nichts als einige Zeilen aus dem vierten Bande der *Asiatik Researches*. Im *Vocabul. Petropol.* [Pallas work: see above] befinden sich 102 Afganische Wörter, welche *Güldenstedt* in seiner Reise mit so viel Ossetischen vergleicht, um ihren Kaukasischen Ursprung zu begründen. Allein es sind unter allen sich nur 13 ähnlich, welche theils Gegenstände der Handlung betreffen, folglich so gleich als fremde Abkömmlinge erkannt werden, theils sich auch in andern völlig verschiedenen Sprachen befinde, daher daraus nichts zu schliessen ist. Ich habe unter diesen 102 Wörtern wenig Indische, eben so wenig Türkisch-Tatarische, aber 27 Persische gefunden. Es scheint daher eine eigene Stammsprache zu seyn, welche mit fremden, besonders Persischen Wörtern vermischt worden” [my underlined].

<sup>63</sup> For all information concerning Julius Klaproth, see Walravens 1999 and 2002.

About the mythical origin of the Afghans from one of the tenth tribes of Israel and the resemblance of Pashto with Hebrew (see above), Klaproth is very critical (he speaks of “fables and tales”, “Fabeln und Erzählungen”), in particular towards William Jones, writing not only that the former tradition of the true descendant of the Afghans was covered with a new false one, but also that all the rest is completely false:

In its place they later substituted an imaginary one, drawn from a Qoranic-Jewish source, which makes them descendants of the ten Israëlite tribes who remained in captivity. *W. Jones*, a rather learned man, but a most uncritical head, as might be supposed, first seized upon this legend, found it probable, and spread it to the world by the added lie that he had found in a dictionary of the Afg’an language *manifest resemblances to the Chaldaik*. Although he did not have to give the slightest proof of this resemblance, the Afg’an were nevertheless proclaimed and accepted in Europe as descendants of the Jews. (Klaproth 1823: 54 [my translation])<sup>64</sup>

After having demolished the other preceding hypotheses about the origin of the Pashtuns, finally he concludes that Pashto belongs to the “Indo-Germanischen” family, as proven by the list of about 200 words shown after this introduction:

Against all these fables and tales, the language of the Afg’an serves as the best refutation; for it shows, neither in words nor in grammar, the slightest resemblance to Hebrew, Chaldaic and Arabic, or other Semitic dialects, and the Arabic words introduced by Islam and by the Mohammedan culture of the people, can no more be taken into consideration here than in the case of the Turkish in Constantinople, or like the Gallicisms of which German was teeming a hundred years ago. The following list of more than two hundred Afg’an words, which I have compared with all Indo-Germanic languages and dialects, shows incontrovertibly that the Afg’ans belong to this tribe, and are to be regarded as a link in the great chain of peoples which extends from the

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<sup>64</sup> “An ihre Stelle haben sie später eine erkünstelte, aus Qoranisch-Jüdischer Quelle geschöpft, gesetzt, die sie zu Nachkommen der zehn in der Gefangenschaft zurückgeblieben Israëlitischen Stämme macht. *W. Jones*, ein ziemlich gelehrter Mann, aber höchst unkritischer Kopf, griff, wie es sich vermuthen liess, diese Sage zuerst auf, fand sie wahrscheinlich und verbreitete sie in der Welt durch die hinzugefügte Lüge, dass er in einem Wörterbuche der Afg’anischen Sprache *manifest resemblances to the Chaldaik* gefunden habe. Obgleich er von dieser Ähnlichkeit nicht die geringste Probe zu geben hatte, so wurden dennoch die Afg’an in Europa als Nachkommen der Juden proclamirt und angenommen”.

Ganges to the British Isles, and as such has remained in its old rightful place until now. (*ibid.*: 56 [my translation])<sup>65</sup>

The 214 words are arranged alphabetically according to the German meaning and are put in comparison with Persian, Kurdish, Ossetian, Sanskrit, etc. Compared with Pallas' work (see above), there are in Klapproth's list 155 more words:<sup>66</sup> *wrusi* 'Augenbraune [eyebrow]', *zangi*, *šax* [written *шax*, with *ш* = *š* and *ch* = *x*] 'Ast [branch]', *čini*, *šile*, *xwer* 'Bach [brook]', *nes*, *džira* 'Bauch [belly]', *bumba* 'Baumwolle [cotton]', *mučai* 'Biene [bee]', *tirxau* 'Bitter [bitter]', *pani* 'Blatt [leaf]', *nil* 'Blau [blue]', *šin* 'Blaugrün [blue-green]', *sikir*, *sika*, *surp* 'Blei [lead]', *lundi* 'Blind [blind]', *asmah*, *brišne* 'Blitz [lightning]', *gsul* 'Blume [flower]', *tai* 'Brust [breast]', *sine* 'Busen [bosom]', *koti* 'Butter [butter]', *kos* 'Cunnus [vulva]', *pirte* 'Dick [thick]', *tiari* 'Dunkel [dark]', *neri* 'Dünn [thin]', *ospana* 'Eisen [iron]', *urirer* 'Enkel [grandson]', *xar* 'Esel [ass]', *xware* 'Essen [food]', *rosta* 'Fasten [fasting]', *oser*, *wasyr* 'Feder [feather]', *dešmen* 'Feind [enemy]', *ker* 'Feld [field]', *lere* 'Fern [far]', *koli* 'Fett [fat]', *polat* 'Feuerstahl [firesteel]', *ku* 'Fuerschwamm [sponge]', *lamba* 'Flamme [flame]', *rod*, *sint*, *sin* 'Fluss [river]', *jar* 'Freund [friend]', *psarlai* 'Frühling [spring]', *xpé* 'Fuss [foot]', *maxse* 'Gehirn [brain]', *ser*, *sir* 'Gelb [yellow]', *baisi* 'Geld [money]', *urbiš* 'Gerste [barley]', *tyx* 'Gesicht [face]', *parun*, *parjun* 'Gestern [yesterday]', *sar* 'Gold [gold]', *xendek* 'Graben [ditch]', *sur* 'Greis [old man]', *lui* 'Gross [big]', *serg'un* 'Grün [green]', *xo* 'Gut [good]', *gely* 'Hagel [hail]', *malkalai*, *g'ial'a* 'Hals [neck]', *saxte* 'Hart [hard]', *xunix*, *kar* 'Haus [house]', *postoke* 'Haut [skin]', *tade* 'Heiss [hot]', *rana* 'Hell [bright]', *munei* 'Herbst [autumn]', *nen-uras* 'Heute [today]', *kuxt* 'Hirse [millet]', *lor*, *lior* 'Hoch [high]', *lergi* 'Holz [wood]', *gubina* 'Honig [honey]', *čirgé*

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<sup>65</sup> "Gegen alle diese Fabeln und Erzählungen dient die Sprache der Afg'an als beste Widerlegung; denn sie zeigt, weder in den Wörtern noch in der Grammatik, die geringste Ähnlichkeit mit dem Hebraischen, Chaldaischen und Arabischen, oder anderen Semitischen Mundarten, und die durch den Islam und durch die Moh'ammedanische Kultur des Volkes eingeführten Arabischen Wörter, können hier eben so wenig in Betracht kommen, als beim Türkischen in Konstantinopel, oder wie die Gallizismen von denen das Deutsche noch vor hundert Jahren wimmelte. Das hier folgende Verzeichniss von mehr als zweihundert Afg'anischen Wörtern, die ich mit allen Indo-Germanischen Sprachen und Dialekten verglichen habe, zieht unumstösslich dass die Afg'anen zu diesem Stamme gehören, und als ein Glied in der grossen Völkerkette anzusehen sind, die vom Ganges bis zu den Britanischen Inseln reicht, und als solches bisjetzt an seinem alten rechten Platze geblieben ist".

<sup>66</sup> In Pallas' work there are 14 words more: *asmaa*, *asmon*, *erast*, *ixte*, *kwa*, *mak*, *malkalay*, *ozer*, *patay*, *smak*, *ule/urbiši*, *waxe*, *xaxade*, *zar*.

‘Huhn [chicken]’, *ha!* ‘Ja! [yes!]’, *xusai* ‘Kalb [calf]’, *spinaxal* ‘Kalk [lime]’, *sale, sare* ‘Kalt [cold]’, *ux, um* ‘Kameel [camel]’, *panir* ‘Käse [cheese]’, *bakir* ‘Kiesel, Feuerstein [pebble, flint]’, *puxāk* ‘Kleid [dress]’, *oloke* ‘Klein [small]’, *alukei* [instead of (*h*)*aḍukay*], *hedukei* ‘Knochen [bone]’, *skary* ‘Kohle [coal]’, *waše* ‘Kraut [herb]’, *bagir* ‘Kupfer [copper]’, *lan* ‘Kurz [short]’, *uhid, us ‘d* ‘Lang [long]’, *tered* ‘Lang [long]’, *urusi, wro* ‘Langsam [slow]’, *swendum* ‘Leben [life]’, *spog* ‘Leicht [light]’, *urum* ‘Lend [lend]’, *xe* ‘Links [left]’, *šund‘i* ‘Lippe [lip]’, *surei* ‘Loch [hole]’, *qašug* ‘Löffel [spoon]’, *merru* ‘Mann [man]’, *kiwar* ‘Mays [mays]’, *čale, čare* ‘Messer [knife]’, *jes* ‘Messig [brassy]’, *poi, py, šodi, šoude* ‘Milch [milk]’, *maste* ‘Milch, saure [milk, sour]’, *maspixin* ‘Mittag [noon]’, *miašta* ‘Monat [month]’, *miašta, spos ‘my* ‘Mond [moon]’, *saba* ‘Morgen [morning]’, *xoli* ‘Mütze [cap]’, *zet* ‘Nacken [neck]’, *nisdi* ‘Nahe [near]’, *num* ‘Name [name]’, *posa* ‘Nase [nose]’, *baderai* ‘Niedrig [low]’, *kuak* ‘Kuh [cow]’, *g‘ore* ‘Öhl [oil]’, *gil* ‘Penis [penis]’, *as* ‘Pferd [horse]’, *kina* ‘Quelle [spring]’, *lüge* ‘Rauch [smoke]’, *kin* ‘Rechts [right]’, *nynmi* ‘Regenbogen [rainbow]’, *uris‘i* ‘Reiss [tear]’, *sir, sur* ‘Roth [red]’, *ša* ‘Rücken [back]’, *šora* ‘Salpeter [saltpetre]’, *malga* ‘Salz [salt]’, *tiroa* ‘Sauer [sour]’, *pse* ‘Schaaf [sheep]’, *žahas* ‘Schiff [ship]’, *xob* ‘Schlaf [sleep]’, *mār* ‘Schlange [snake]’, *batti* ‘Schlecht [bad]’, *sir* ‘Schnell [fast]’, *kepei* ‘Schuh [shoe]’, *tor* ‘Schwarz [black]’, *kokurt* ‘Schwefel [sulphur]’, *xirbišai, sarkus* ‘Schwein [pig]’, *xoli* ‘Schweiss [sweat]’, *drun* ‘Schwer [heavy]’, *tura, ture* ‘Schwert [sword]’, *lur* ‘Sichel [sickle]’, *čile, dobei, orey* ‘Sommer [summer]’, *zapli* ‘Stiefel [boot]’, *xage* ‘Süss [sweet]’, *uras, rjud* ‘Tag [day]’, *kanada* ‘Taub [deaf]’, *kuteri* ‘Taube [dove]’, *lur, ljur* ‘Tochter [daughter]’, *merg* ‘Tod [death]’, *tiše, ske* ‘Trinken [drinking]’, *derwase, war* ‘Thür [door]’, *mum* ‘Wachs [wax]’, *kamin, gen‘em* ‘Weizen [wheat]’, *zengel* ‘Wald [forest]’, *germi* ‘Warm [warm]’, *lar* ‘Weg [way]’, *aurata, artina* ‘Weib [woman]’, *post, pasteh* ‘Weich [soft]’, *spin* ‘Weiss [white]’, *lik* ‘Wenig [little]’, *sili* ‘Wind [wind]’, *semei* ‘Winter [winter]’, *bix* ‘Wurzel [root]’, *xax, g‘ax* ‘Zahn [tooth]’, *bsa* ‘Ziege [goat]’.

Many of these words repeat the mistakes of transcription and meaning already done by Pallas, even if there are some improvements, as *qās* ‘Gans [goose]’.

However, already in 1810 Klaproth had published a work, the *Archiv für asiatische Literatur, Geschichte und Sprachkunde*, in which he had dealt also with Pashto.

In the third chapter, in particular, *Ueber den Ursprung der*

*Aghuanen* (Klaproth 1810: 76-100), he states that the birth place of the Afghans was the chain of the Suleyman mountains: “The headquarters of the *Ághuâns* has always been the mountain *Solimân kûh* سليمان كوه, which lies to the south-west of *Chandahâr*, and is still regarded by them as their ancestral place” (*ibid.*: 77).<sup>67</sup>

After this statement, he proposes his analysis of the presumed origins and juxtapositions of the Afghans:

The now almost universally accepted opinion that the *Ághuâns* are descended from the former *Albanians* also has little going for it, and is based almost entirely on similarity of name and on the Armenian corrupted pronunciation *Achbania* and *Achwania* for *Albania*. I have closely examined the *Ághuân* words supplied by Gùldenstädt, as well as the following phrases in this language, and found that it belongs to the Median tribe, which proves its great similarity to *New Persian*, *Send*, *Pehlwi*, *Kurdish*, *Ossetian* and the *Slavic* and *Germanic dialects*. Whether one can therefore derive this people from Media and the region of the Caspian Sea is still very much a question, because not a single historical date comes to our aid in such a hypothesis. On the contrary, it must have always lived in the mountains between Persia, Hindostan and Bactria; and would have to be regarded as a link in the great *Indo-Mediterranean-Slavic-Germanic* chain of peoples, which extends from the Ganges to the British Isles, standing at its rightful place in it. (*ibid.*: 81 [my translation]).<sup>68</sup>

He then provides 23 sentences in Pashto, with Persian parallels, at the end of the chapter, a “Vocabolarium”, containing about 170 words, always the same, successively also listed again in his work of 1823 (see above), but

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<sup>67</sup> “Der Hauptsitz der *Ághuân* war immer das Gebirge *Solimân kûh* سليمان كوه, welches südwestlich von *Chandahâr* liegt, und noch jetzt von ihnen für ihren Stammort angesehen wird”.

<sup>68</sup> “Die jetzt fast allgemein angenommene Meinung, dass die *Ághuân* aus dem ehemaligen *Albanien* abstammen, hat ebenfalls wenig für sich, und beruht fast nur auf Namensähnlichkeit und auf der Armenischen verderbten Aussprache *Achbania* und *Achwania* für *Albania*. Ich habe die von Gùldenstädt gelieferten *Ághuânischen Worte*, so wie die hier folgenden Phrasen in dieser Sprache genau untersucht, und gefunden, dass sie zum Medischen Stamm gehört, welches ihre grosse Aehnlichkeit mit dem *Neu-Persischen*, dem *Send*, *Pehlwi*, *Kurdischen*, *Ossetischen* und den *Slavischen* und *Germanischen Dialecten* beweist. Ob man indessen darum dies Volk aus Medien und der Gegend des Kaspischen Meeres herleiten kann, ist noch sehr die Frage, weil uns bei einer solchen Hypothese kein einziges historisches Datum zu Hülfe kommt. Im Gegentheile dürfte es wohl immer in den Gebirgen zwischen Persien, Hindostan und Bactrien gewohnt haben; und wäre in der grossen *Indisch-Medisch-Sclavisch-Germanischen Völkerkette*, die vom Ganges bis zu den Britannischen Inseln reicht, als ein Glied anzusehen, das an seinem rechten Platze in derselben steht”.

this time with comparison from Persian and other “Medischen” dialects, and the table of Pashto numerals.

## **11. William Carey and Joshua C. Marshman (1813)**

The two missionaries William Carey (1761-1834) and Joshua C. Marshman (1768-1837)<sup>69</sup> were both based in Serampore, from where they conducted their work of translation of the Holy Writings into the Indian languages. In the sixth volume of the *Monthly Circular Letters Relative to the Missions in India*, in an article entitled “Memoir Relative to the Translation of the Sacred Scriptures”, they provide a list of languages in which to translate the New Testament: Pashto is one of them, the translation being “carried forward as far as the epistle to the Romans; and the gospel of St. Matthew is now in the press”.<sup>70</sup> They somehow validate William Jone’s statement of the descent of Pashto from Hebrew, writing that “Nor is this conjecture altogether void of probability” (Carey and Marshman 1813: 158)<sup>71</sup> and they support this hypothesis with the same arguments:

The language [Pushtoo] contains a greater number of Hebrew words, than is found in that of any nation in India: and indeed the ancient Media,

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<sup>69</sup> The first biography of the three was written by a son of Joshua Marshman, John Clark Marshman: see Marshman 1859.

<sup>70</sup> The New Testament in Pashto was published in 1818 as volume V of the publication of The Holy Bible: cf. Carey et al. 1818.

<sup>71</sup> In a note at the end of the article, they quote the opinion of an “esteemed friend, attached to the late embassy into Cabul” (Elphinstone 1815: 166), who adds: “If we examine the ancient geographers relative to this spot, we shall find it termed *Ariane*. Pomponius Mela, in describing the tracts of country between the Indus and Persia, places *Ariane* next the Indus; [note of the author: “*Indis proxima est Ariane, deinde Aria, et Cedrosis, et Persis ad sinum Persicum*”] next to *Ariane* he places *Aria*; and between that and Persia, *Cedrosis*. Relative to *Aria* and *Ariane*, the learned Bochart in his well known work on Sacred Geography, observes, that *Hara*, whither the sacred historian says, 1 Chron. v. 25. “the children of Israel are (detained in captivity) unto this day,” (probably the time of Ezra,) is *Media*, and that Jerom in his translation, neglecting the aspirate, writes it *Ara*. He then adduces the testimony of Herodotus and Pausanias to prove, that *Media* was by them termed *Aria*, and the Medes *Arii*; and further quotes a passage from Apollodorus proving that *Ariane* was in reality the same with *Aria*. [...] If *Media* be the *Ariane* of Pomponius Mela, as that lay next the Indus, it must be precisely the country now inhabited by the Afghans and the Buloochees; and if it be *Aria*, it is still the country which borders closely upon Afghanistan. Persia, between which and *Aria*, Pomponius Mela places *Cedrosis*, is scarcely three hundred leagues west of the Indus; and Candahar the chief city of Afghanistan, lies about a hundred leagues to the west of the Indus” (*ibid.*: 167-168). The work of Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) is the *Geographia sacra*: see Bochart 1646.

according to Pomponius Mela and other ancient geographers, was a farthest, within a few hundred leagues of this country. The inhabitants are now however enveloped in the darkness of Mahometanism. Their alphabet is the Arabic with such letters added as enable it to express the sounds of the *Sungskrit* language. (*ibid.*: 158)<sup>72</sup>

## 12. Montstuart Elphinstone (1815)

Montstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859)<sup>73</sup> is one of the most important personalities of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for British India. Among other charges, in 1819 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bombay. His work of 1815, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, remains a masterpiece and fundamental source of information on Afghanistan, and continues to be quoted until nowadays. In his work Elphinstone describes in detail the adopted method for the comparison of Pashto with the other languages and it is worth being read *in extenso*:

Of two hundred and eighteen hundred words which I compared [note of the Author: "The comparison was made in the following manner: - I drew up a Pushtoo vocabulary, which I believe was correct, and which had the advantage of being compared with one compiled by Mr. Irvine: similar vocabularies of the Zend and Pehlevee languages were made for me by a friend to whose kindness I have often been indebted. They were taken from two learned Parsees, and compared with Anquetil du Perron's lists. The same friend procured the Georgian, Armenian, Hebrew, and Chaldee vocabularies. My own acquaintance with Persian and Hindostanee, was sufficient, with the help of dictionaries, for the purpose I had in view; and for the Shanscrit, each word was compared with all the numerous synonyms in the Amercosh, which were read to me by a Pundit. (...) Since I wrote the above, I have had an opportunity of examining a list of about one hundred Curdish words, and I find among them five of the hundred and ten which I have mentioned as original Afghaun words, besides several common to the Curdish and Persian both

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<sup>72</sup> Among others, also George Henry Rose (1771-1855) accepts this statement: "Besides this, those distinguished oriental linguists, the Serampore missionaries, whose authority is decisive in such a matter, have ascertained, that their [of the Afghans] tongue, the Pushtoo, contains more Hebrew roots than any other of the numerous oriental languages which have been the subject of their labours" (Rose 1832: 302).

<sup>73</sup> For information on the life and epoch of Elphinstone, see Yapp 1980 and 1998. Hanifi 2019 contains an interesting analysis of Elphinstone's influence and a useful presentation of various aspects of his works.

languages. (...)”<sup>74</sup> with the corresponding ones in Persian, Zend, Pehlevec, Shanscrit, Hindostaunee, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Hebrew, and Chaldaic, I found one hundred and ten that could not be referred to any of those languages, but seemed distinct and original. Of the remainder, by far the greater part were modern Persian; but some of these were introduced into the latter language from the Zend, and many more from the Pehlevec, while a good number were words of those languages not employed in modern Persian. Some of these Zend and Pehlevec words are, however, common to the Shanscrit, the three languages having a great affinity; and some words also occur, which are to be found in Shanscrit alone, as do five or six words of the Hindostaunee language. It is probable some Punjaubee words would also be detected, if the list were compared with a vocabulary of that language. (Elphinstone 1815: 190-191)

His conclusion is explicit concerning W. Jones’ proposal: “Not one word of the two hundred and eighteen has the smallest appearance of being deducible from the Hebrew or Chaldaic, Georgian or Armenian”.

In the appendix E he lists some 365 Pashto words, more or less following the same structure found in the work of Pallas, i.e. starting from Xwdāy ‘God’ (Khoda in Elphinstone). He provides the two variants, Western and Eastern, the former much more documented. Many mistakes of Pallas list are corrected, as Loor ‘Daughter’; Ozhu ‘shoulder’, Eastern Ogu; Las ‘Hand’ (defined by Elphinstone ‘the whole arm’, opposed to ‘the hand alone’, Mungol); Speen Zer ‘Silver’, = ‘White Gold’.

The methodology of Elphinstone is very accurate: he is also attentive to dialectology,<sup>75</sup> showing thus a modern linguistic sensibility. As a general evaluation of Elphinstone’s work and approach about Pashto, we can quote a Hanifi (2019: 27):

From the perspective of book history, at least, it is significant that much of the information Elphinstone conveys about Pashto is contained in the para-narrative Preface, Introduction, Footnotes and Appendices of *An Account*. In terms of the structure of the book, we can conclude that the

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<sup>74</sup> Hanifi comments this note in detail in his article “A book history of Mount Stuart Elphinstone’s *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*” (see Hanifi 2019: 21-22).

<sup>75</sup> Rightly, Hanifi mentions Elphinstone’s importance for dialectology: “His [Elphinstone’s] bifurcation of Pashto into Eastern and Western Dialects set the stage for arguably the most developed component of Pashto language study. This is the sub-field of Pashto language study we can refer to as Pashto dialectology that has been engaged by all major subsequent authorities on the language including but not limited to Bernhard Dorn, Henry George Raverty, James Darmesteter, Georg Morgenstierm and Herbert Penzel [sic]” (Hanifi 2019: 23-24).

para-narrative consideration of Pashto is grafted upon the distinctly Persianate content and narrative of the Durrani state structure. This conclusion represents a major epistemological intervention for decentring, displacing and destabilising Pashto and Pashtuns as the cultural and historic essence of the Afghan state structure.

### **13. John Malcolm (1815)**

Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833)<sup>76</sup> is a prominent figure in the history of British India. He was in India since 1783 and was appointed Governor of Bombay from 1827 to 1830. In 1815 he published a *History of Persia from the Most Early Period to the Present Time. Containing an Account of the Religion, Government, Usages, and Characters of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom* (see Lambton 1995), where he dealt also with the “Affghan” tribes, their origin and language. Notwithstanding his doubts concerning the hypothetical Jewish origin of the Pashtuns, he highlights their originality, among the people of the region, for “personal appearance and many of their usages”:

The origin of the Affghan tribes,<sup>77</sup> who inhabit the mountainous tract between Khorassan and the Indus, is variously traced by different historians. Some assert that they are lineally descended from the Jewish tribes, made prisoners by Nebuchadnezzar;<sup>78</sup> and the principal chiefs are

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<sup>76</sup> On the life and the epoch of Sir John Malcolm, see Harrington 2010.

<sup>77</sup> “The author of a manuscript History of the Affghans observes, that some derive the name Affghan from its Persian meaning, ‘lamentation’, because these tribes bewailed their banishment from Judea. Others say that Affghan was the grandson of Saul, and was employed by Solomon in building the temple. This author refers to two histories of this nation, the Tarikh Affghanah, and the Tarikh Ghour, *i.e.* the History of the Affghans, and the History of Ghour. It appears, he says, from these works, that the Affghans consider themselves as partly descended from the Copts of Egypt and partly from the Israelites; but nothing is adduced to support this assertion” (note of the Author).

<sup>78</sup> “We are told by one of these writers that Nebuchadnezzar, after putting to death many of the prisoners, banished them into the mountains of Ghour, where they multiplied greatly, and soon became masters of the country. They maintained a correspondence with the Jews in Arabia; and when those changed their religion for that of Mahomed, a letter was received from a converted Jew, called Khálud, informing them of the appearance of a new prophet, and invoking them to join his holy standard. Several Affghan nobles went to Arabia; the principal was Keis, who, we are informed by Affghan authors, traced his descent through forty-seven generations to Saul, and through fifty-five to Abraham. This chief, with others, was introduced by Khálud to the prophet, who condescended to treat them with great favour; he bestowed on Keis the title of ‘Abdool Rusheed’, and that of Malik, or ‘ruler’, a name to which Mahomed said he was entitled, as the descendant from the ruler of Israel. These chiefs, after they became Mahomedans, accompanied the prophet to attack Mecca, and were distinguished by their zeal and valour. Keis after this

said to trace their families to David and Saul.<sup>79</sup> Although their right to this proud descent is very doubtful, it is evident, from their personal appearance and many of their usages, that they are a distinct race from the Persians, Tartars, and Indians; and this alone seems to give some credibility to a statement which is contradicted by many strong facts [...], and of which no direct proof has been produced. (Malcolm 1815, I: 596-597)

At p. 597, fn. †, he completely discards Jones' proposal concerning a presumed Jewish origin of Pashto:

There is no affinity whatever between the Hebrew tongue and the Pushtoo, or modern language of the Affghans; and no inscriptions have been discovered to support a belief of their Jewish extraction. Their own vague traditions cannot be admitted as conclusive on such a subject.

#### **14. Friedrich Wilken (1820)**

Friedrich Wilken (1777-1840), director of the library of the University of Heidelberg since 1807, became in 1817 Professor of History and Oriental Studies at the University of Berlin and chief librarian of the royal library, then in 1821 dean of the Berlin University.

Wilken never travelled in Asia. However, in 1820 he published in the *Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. Aus den Jahren 1818-1819* a fine article of 30 pages: "Ueber die Verfassung, den Ursprung und die Geschichte der Afghanen". In this article, Wilken firstly presents geography, history and customs of the Afghans.<sup>80</sup> Concerning the name 'Afghanistan', in particular, he states that it is used

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returned to his native country, blessed with the prayers of the prophet, and accompanied by some inhabitants of Medina, who were to aid him in propagating the faith he had learnt in Arabia, among the mountaineers of Ghour. His success was so great, that before his death, in the fortieth year of the Hejirah, all his subjects were converts. He died at the age of eighty-seven, leaving three sons, to whom much of his power and influence descended. His memory is still revered. Every modern chief of Afghanistan endeavours to trace his descent to the illustrious Keis — *History of the Affghans, Persian MSS*" (note of the Author).

<sup>79</sup> "Almost all Mahomedan writers claim this descent for the Affghans; and I possessed for some time a genealogical table, in which an attempt was made to prove all the principal families of Afghanistan direct descendants of the kings of Israel" (note of the Author).

<sup>80</sup> At the beginning of his article, Wilken quotes some of the most recent travelers to Afghanistan, as for instance George Forster (died 1792) (see Forster 1798), and the presumed somatic Jewish features of the Pashtuns. For an overview of the "discovery of Afghanistan in the era of imperialism", see Nawid 2019.

only by scholars dealing with the Persians: “The Afghans themselves do not encompass the country they rule with a peculiar general name. For the name Afghanistan, by which the Persians designate the empire ruled by the Afghans, is in use only among their scholars” (Wilken 1820: 239 [my translation]).<sup>81</sup>

Wilken justifies the affinity existing between the western Afghans and the Persians, from one side, with the strong longstanding contacts: “The western Afghans have grown closer to the Persians, have adopted their education to some extent, and have even allowed the New Persian language to influence their dialect, while the eastern Afghans have resisted all education” (*ibid.*: 242 [my translation]).<sup>82</sup>

On the other side, he acknowledges that all historical accounts place the Afghans in the region between Persia and India, then they should belong to one of these two genetically linked roots: “Already according to their original residences, which according to all information are to be sought in the mountains between Persia and Hindostan, we must necessarily count them either among the Indians or Persians, by the way closely related tribes of peoples” (*ibid.*: 258 [my translation]).<sup>83</sup>

And conclusively he cites the opinion of Klaproth that the Afghans belong to the Medians: “Mr. Julius Klaproth [...] concludes from the language of the Afghans, of which he communicates a significant number of words, that the Afghans belong to the Median tribe, and I believe that this opinion can be raised to the level of evidence” (*ibid.*: 257-258 [my translation]).<sup>84</sup>

Wilken, however, does not hide two methodological problems, the first related to the lack of data, the second to the great number of loanwords. On the former he states:

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<sup>81</sup> “Die Afghanen selbst umfassen das von ihnen beherrschte Land nicht mit einem eigentümlichen allgemeinen Namen. Denn der Name Afghanistan, womit die Perser das von den Afghanen beherrschte Reich benennen, ist nur bei ihren Gelehrten gebräuchlich”.

<sup>82</sup> “Die westlichen Afghanen haben sich mehr den Persern genahert, deren Bildung zum Theil sich angeeignet, und selbst der Neu-Persischen Sprache einen Einfluss auf ihre Mundart eingeräumt, während die ostlichen jeder Bildung widerstrebt haben”.

<sup>83</sup> “Schon nach ihren ursprünglichen Wohnsitzen, welche nach allen Nachrichten in den Gebirgen zwischen Persien und Hindostan zu suchen sind, müssen wir sie notwendig entweder zu den Indern oder Persern, übrigens einander nahe verwandten Volkerstammen, rechnen”.

<sup>84</sup> “Herr Julius Klaproth [...] schließt aus der Sprache der Afghanen, wovon er eine bedeutende Anzahl von Wörtern mittheilt, dass die Afghanen dem Medischen Stamme angehören, zu begründen: und ich glaube, dass diese Meinung zur Evidenz sich erheben lässt”.

The most important proof of the Persian-Medic descent of the Afghans, however, lies indisputably in their language. All the aids hitherto available for the knowledge of the Pushtu language are, however, by no means adequate, for the idioms given in the treatises by Vansittart and Mr. Klaproth are too few in number to provide a reasonably adequate knowledge of the grammatical structure of the language; and the dictionaries, both the one in the appendix to Elphinstone's travels and the one provided by Mr Klaproth, are not sufficiently systematic. (*ibid.*: 258 [my translation])<sup>85</sup>

On the second:

For for a thorough knowledge of languages, especially those which have experienced a strong interference of foreign words, it is not sufficient that one accepts the first best word presented, but the synonymous expressions must be collected, so that one can distinguish what is original and what is admixed. The words of the aforementioned vocabularies have been collected without taking this important requirement into account. [...] One can see from these language samples, however, that the Pushtu language has lost its original purity through a very strong admixture of Arabic and New Persian words, which is also very natural in the relationship of the Afghans to the Arabs and Persians. But for this very reason, nothing can be done to establish the relationship between the Afghan and Persian languages by comparing individual words; and the more striking and immediate the similarity of individual words, the less weight they carry in the balance. (*ibid.*: 258-259 [my translation])<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> "Der wichtigste Beweis für die persisch-medische Abstammung der Afghanen legt aber ohnstreitig in ihrer Sprache. Alle bisher für die Kenntniss der puschtu-Sprache vorhandenen Hülfsmittel sind indess keinesweges zurechend denn die in den Abhandlungen von Vansittart und Herrn Klaproth mitgetheilten Redensarten sind in allzu geringer Zahl, um sich daraus eine eingermassen genügende Kenntniss des grammatischen Baues der Sprache zu verchaffen; und die Wörterverzeichnisse, sowohl das in dem Anhang zu Elphinstone's Reise befindliche als das von Herrn Klaproth mitgetheils, sind nicht planmässig genug abgefasst".

<sup>86</sup> "Denn für eine gründliche Kenntnis von Sprachen, besonders solchen, welche eine starke Einmischung von fremden Wörtern erfahren haben, ist es nicht genügend, dass man das erste beste dargebotene Wort annehme, sondern es müssen die gleichbedeutenden Ausdrücke gesammelt werden, damit man unterscheiden könne, was ursprünglich und was zugemischt ist. Die Wörter der genannten Vokabularien sind, ohne Berücksichtigung dieser wichtigen Forderung, gesammelt worden. [...] Man sieht aus diesen Sprachproben indess so viel, dass die Puschtu-Sprache durch eine sehr starke Einmischung von arabischen und neupersischen Wörtern ihre ursprüngliche Reinheit verloren hat, was in den Verhältnissen der Afghanen zu den Arabern und Persern auch sehr natürlich ist. Aber eben deswegen ist für die Begründung der Verwandtschaft der Afghanischen und Persischen Sprache nichts mit der Vergleichung einzelner Wörter

Lastly, Wilken once again, after having compared some Pashto and Persian words, concludes in favour of the origin of Pashto from “medisch-persischen” roots of Pashto:

With these reasons I believe to have proved the Medo-Persian origin of the Afghans, as far as certainty can be reached in investigations of this kind, and conclude this section with the remark that this people most probably became known under its present name already to the ancients by the march of Alexander the Great to India. (*ibid.*: 261 [my translation])<sup>87</sup>

In the postscript, Wilken declares that he could check, at the last moment before publication of his article, the translation of the New Testament in Pashto published at Serampore in 1818 (see above Carey and Marshman). The conclusions he draws, on the base mainly of a lexical comparison, is that in Pashto there is also a mass of loanwords coming from languages other than Arabic and Persian<sup>88</sup> and, notwithstanding the many similarities with other languages, Pashto can be considered an independent dialect.<sup>89</sup>

### **15. Alexander Eduard Friedrich Eversmann and Martin Hinrich Carl Lichtenstein (1823)**

In 1820, Eduard Eversmann (1794-1860),<sup>90</sup> disguised as a merchant,

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auszurichten; und je auffallender und unmittelbarer die Aehnlichkeit einzelner Wörter ist, je weniger Gewicht bringen sie in die Waagschaale”.

<sup>87</sup> “Ich glaube mit diesen Gründen den medisch-persischen Ursprung der Afghanen erwiesen zu haben, so weit sich in Untersuchungen dieser Art die Gewissheit erreichen lässt, und schliesse diesen Abschnitt mit der Bemerkung, dass dieses Volk höchst wahrscheinlich unter seinem jetzigen Namen schon den Alten durch den Zug Alexanders des Grossen nach Indien bekannt wurde”.

<sup>88</sup> “I. The language of the Afghans has evidently experienced very strong admixture from other languages, not only from the Persian, but from the Arabic, even from the Syriac or Chaldean; it has itself appropriated some grammatical forms not only from the Persian, as the language directly related to it, but also from the other languages mentioned” [my translation] (Wilken 1820: 262: “I. Die Sprache der Afghanen hat offenbar sehr starke Zumischung aus andern Sprachen erfahren, nicht bloss aus der persischen, sondern aus der arabischen, ja selbst der syrischen oder chaldäischen; sie hat selbst manche grammatische Formen nicht bloss aus der persischen, als der ihr unmittelbar verwandten Sprache, sondern auch den übrigen genannten Sprachen, sich angeeignet”).

<sup>89</sup> “II. in spite of all the harmonisation of the Pushtu language with Persian that has just been demonstrated, that language nevertheless still has so many peculiarities, especially also in the basic forms, that it fully asserts its place as an independently developed dialect” [my translation] (Wilken 1820: 266: “II. Bei aller so eben nachgewiesenen Uebereinstimmung der Pushtu-Sprache mit der Persischen, hat jene Sprache gleichwohl noch immer so viele Eigenthümlichkeiten, besonders auch in den Grundformen, dass sie ihren Platz als unabhängig ausgebildete Mundart vollkommen behauptet”).

<sup>90</sup> For general information, cf. Mearns and Mearns 1988.

travelled to Bukhara, in order to collect materials of natural history. In the appendix to *Reise von Orenburg nach Buchara*, published in 1823 and containing the journal of Evermann's journey, Hinrich Lichtenstein (1780-1857), professor of zoology at the University of Berlin, after the presentation of a specimen of vocabulary of Pashto, compared with Russian, German, Tatar and Persian, and of some elements of Pashto conjugation, all issued from Klaproth's work, concludes the obvious closeness between Pashto and Persian: "That the Afghan language has the greatest similarity with the Persian language is easily seen from the preceding dictionary" (Lichtenstein 1823: 34 [my translation]).<sup>91</sup>

## 16. Charles Stewart (1829)

In 1829, in the volume 28 of *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, an article by Major Charles Stewart (1764-1837)<sup>92</sup> was published, "On the Origin of the Afgháns or Patans", in which he also quotes the opinion of John Malcolm on the origin of Pashto (see above). In this interesting essay, he tries to ascribe the origin of the Afghans to different sources:

[G]enerally speaking, the Afgháns, instead of being of Jewish extraction, are descended from the Geté and Huns; that the Khiliji are of a Turkish origin; the Lody are a mixed race of Arabs and Huns, and all the other tribes are branches from these, except the Hazary, who did not enter India till about the middle of the thirteenth century, and were part of the followers of Holakou Khan. (Stewart 1829: 286)

Indeed, he reconstructs thus the early origins of the Pashtuns:<sup>93</sup>

[E]arly in the fifth century [A.D. 420 (note of the Author)], the ancient Huns having been driven from the north of China, the greater number of them proceeded towards Europe, the remainder to Aksou and Kashgar; from thence they spread themselves to the Caspian sea and the frontiers of Persia [...]. These Huns, afterwards bore the title or name of *Te-li* or *Tie-lé*; and because they dwelt along the banks of the river Oxus, they called them *Ab-te-lé*, that is, the "Telites of the river"; from this has been formed the names of *Abtelites*, and by corruption, *Euthalites* and *Nepthalites*, which has given rise to the belief that they were Jews of the tribe of Nepthali, who had been transported to that country during the

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<sup>91</sup> "Dass die afgahnische [sic] Sprache mit der persischen die grösste Aehnlichkeit hat, sieht man aus vorhergehendem Wörterbuche leicht".

<sup>92</sup> For general information, cf. Holland 1898.

<sup>93</sup> Stewart takes his information from de Guignes 1756-1758.

period of the captivity. In the above paragraph there are two remarkable circumstances, first the name of *Abtelé*, which so nearly resembles that of *Ab-da-li*, one of the most distinguished of the Afghán tribes; secondly, the origin of the tradition of the Afgháns being descended from the Israelites [...] It is not that the Huns were the sole masters of those countries; a number of other Scythian nations had been previously established here, *viz.* the Ssu, the Ousion, the Yuechi or Geté [...]” (*ibid.*: 278-279).

In spite of the novelty of his proposal about the origin of the Pashtuns, Stewart’s analysis of Pashto is quite wrong. Indeed, he does of Pashto a mixture of many other languages:

Concerning Pashto, the modern Afghán language, called Pookhtú or Pooshtú, is a mixture of Túrkish, Arabic, Persian, and Hindy, but so disguised in pronunciation, as to be scarcely recognised by the natives of those countries. Persian is understood by the higher classes, and they all use the Persian character in writing. (*ibid.*: 286)

### **17. James Baillie Frazer (1834)**

Also J.B. Frazer (1783-1856),<sup>94</sup> a renowned traveller, writer, and artist, let some notes about Pashto and the Pashtuns. After having criticised the presumed Jewish origin, simply constating that “but, setting fable and conjecture aside, there is no doubt that the country in question has been inhabited by their tribes from a very distant period” (Frazer 1834: 299), concerning Pashto he writes:

The Pushtoo dialect appears to consist of an original stock, embracing a considerable proportion of Persian, with a few words of Zend and Sanscrit; but no trace of similarity could be discovered to the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Georgian, or Armenian tongues. (*ibid.*: 304)

### **18. Conrad Malte-Brun and Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot (1835)**

Conrad Malte-Brun (1775-1826) was the pseudonym of Malthe Conrad Bruun, a geographer and journalist, who composed an ambitious work, the *Précis de Géographie Universelle ou Description de toutes les parties du monde*, in six volumes, successively republished in eight volumes, the last two being posthumous and was edited and augmented by Jean Jacques Nicolas Huot (1790-1845). This latter, who published the eighth volume in

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<sup>94</sup> For information on Frazer, see Wright 2000.

1835, in the “*avertissement*” explains as “The description of Asia, as it was known in 1811, when it appeared in this *Précis*, is so different from what is known today about this ancient and important part of the globe, that we have had to resolve [...] to redo almost entirely everything concerning the regions we offer in this volume, and to be extremely severe in the choice of those passages of Malte-Brun’s text that could be retained” (Malte-Brun and Huot 1835: v [my translation]).<sup>95</sup> In particular, for Afghanistan Huot made use of the travels by Elphinstone, Burnes, Pottinger<sup>96</sup> and Christié.<sup>97</sup>

In the section devoted to Afghanistan, “*livre cent trente-unième*”, Malte-Brun and Huot repeat the information concerning the presumed Jewish origin of the Afghans (*ibid.*: 451-452). Concerning Pashto, we read that “The language of the Afghans is called *pouk’hto* or *pouchtou*; it is divided into three main dialects: *dourahni*, *berdourahni* and *patahni*, which are used by the many Afghan tribes. These dialects differ not only in pronunciation but also in the words themselves” (*ibid.*: 455 [my translation]).<sup>98</sup> Their information come from Elphinstone 1815.

## 19. Christian Lassen (1836 and 1838)

Christian Lassen (1800-1876),<sup>99</sup> was professor of Old Indian language and literature at the University of Bonn; during his long career he dealt in particular, among others, with Sanskrit and Old Persian philology. Incidentally, in his work of 1836, *Die altpersischen Keil-Inschriften von Persepolis*, he remarked that the three Iranian languages actually spoken, Kurdish, Persian and Pashto, show strong similarity: “The three languages that still hold their own in Iranian territory, Kurdish, Persian and Afghan,

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<sup>95</sup> “La description de l’Asie, telle qu’elle était connue en 1811, époque à laquelle elle parut dans ce *Précis*, est si différente de ce que l’on sait aujourd’hui sur cette antique et importante partie du globe, que nous avons dû nous résoudre [...] à refaire presque entièrement tout ce qui concerne les régions que nous offrons dans ce volume, et à être extrêmement sévère sur le choix des passages du texte de Malte-Brun qui pouvaient être conservés”.

<sup>96</sup> Eldred Pottinger (1811-1843) was an army officer known as the “Hero of Herat”. He let a journal of his travels in Balochistan and Sindh (see Pottinger 1816).

<sup>97</sup> Charles Christie (d. 1812) travelled in Persia: “[a]n abstract of his journal is appended to Pottinger’s account of this expedition” (Ekbal 1991).

<sup>98</sup> “La langue des Afghans se nomme *pouk’hto* ou *pouchtou*; elle se divise en trois principaux dialectes: le *dourahni*, le *berdourahni* et le *patahni*, en usage chez les nombreuses tribus afghanes. Ces dialectes diffèrent non seulement par la prononciation, mais par les mots mêmes”.

<sup>99</sup> See Karttunen 2007.

have all suffered the same mutilation” (Lassen 1836: 182 [my translation]).<sup>100</sup>

In his work of 1838, *Zur Geschichte der griechischen und indoskythischen Könige in Baktrien, Kabul und Indien durch Entzifferung der altkabulischen Legenden*, he indicates the Kabulistan or a nearby region as the homeland of the Pashtuns, who would be issued from the “Medisch-Persischen” family. He also acknowledges Pashto as a mixture of Iranian and Indian:

I know that the Afghans are said to have been recognised in eastern Kabulistan as early as Alexander’s time; [...] so the scholarly academic’s own correct proposition is that the Afghans belonged to the Medo-Persian tribe [...]. Also, the language of the Afghans shows a clear distance from our coinage. [...] Although I cannot acknowledge the Afghan language so early in the Indian Marrow, I readily admit that the original seats of the Afghans were close enough to Kabulistan, and that there would therefore be nothing conspicuous in it if their language were not purely Iranian, but, like that on the coins, an intermediary between the Iranian and Indian linguistic areas, only as it is more western, with a predominant inclination towards the Iranian peculiarities. (Lassen 1838: 174-175 [my translation])<sup>101</sup>

## 20. Robert Leach (1839)

Lieutenant Robert Leach<sup>102</sup> in 1839 published a very short *Grammar of*

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<sup>100</sup> “Die drei Sprachen, die mit altangeerbtem Rechte in dem Iranischen Gebiete sich noch behaupten, Kurdisch, Persisch, Afghanisch, haben aber alle eine gleiche Verstümmelung erlitten”.

<sup>101</sup> “Ich weiss zwar, dass man schon zu Alexanders Zeit die Afghanen im östlichen Kabulistan erkannt haben will; [...] so ist des gelehrten Akademikers eigener richtiger Satz, dass die Afghanen zum Medisch-Persischen Stamme gehörten [...]. Auch zeigt die Sprache der Afghanen einen deutlichen Abstand von unserer Münzsprache. [...] Obwohl ich nun nicht das Afghanische so frühe in der Indischen Mark anerkennen kann, so gebe ich gern zu, dass die Ursitze der Afghanen nahe genug an Kabulistan gränzten, und dass somit nichts auffallendes darin syn würde, wenn ihre Sprache nicht eine Rein-Iranische wäre, sondern, wie die auf den Münzen, eine vermittelnde zwischen dem Iranischen und Indischen Sprachgebiete, nur da sie westlicher steht, mit vorwaltender Neigung zu den Iranischen Eigenthümlichkeiten”.

<sup>102</sup> It is not clear if this is the same person as Lieutenant Robert Leech. On this latter we know that: “On Christmas Day 1837 Burnes dispatched Lieutenant Robert Leech (d. 1845) to Kandahar to do all he could to separate the Sardars and the Persians” (Findlay 2014: 48). On Alexander Burnes (1805-1841) and the epoch preceding the first Anglo-Afghan war, probably the best presentation is that by Hopkirk 1992. See also Yapp 1980. Robert Leech is the author of the *Vocabularies of Seven Languages, Spoken in the Countries West of the Indus*, published in 1838 at Bombay: here, he provides a concise vocabulary of some languages: Bariki (= Ormuri), Pashai, Laghmani, Kashgari, of the

*the Pashtoo, or Afghánee Language*:<sup>103</sup> this is probably the first grammar of Pashto in a Western language, even if in the same year Ewald had published a short article containing some grammatical information (see below). Pashto is here characterized as “decidedly of Sanscrit complexion” (Leach 1839: 1). Leach pays attention to dialectal differences: The difference between the Peshawar and Candhar dialect is, that in the former the Persian *خ* is used, when in the latter the Sanscrit *;* occurs. The Candharee is reckoned the purest dialect” (*ibid.*).

Notwithstanding the shortness of this grammar, many new elements are added to the knowledge of Pashto of the epoch: a phonetic table, declension of nouns and adjectives, conjugation of verbs, a basic lexicon and ample phraseologies. If in 1815 Montstuart Elphinstone just quoted the words from the previous works without great improvements, about 25 years after that, the knowledge and information on Pashto seems to have been much improved. In these years indeed, many political, military and religious missions took place.

## **21. Heinrich Ewald (1839)**

Heinrich Ewald (1803-1875), a German orientalist, once again came back to the hypothesis of the belonging of Pashto to the Semitic family of languages, defining it a “Thorheit [folly]”, since clearly Pashto is an “indo-persischen” and “indo-germ.” language:

So much will be clear from this that to derive Pushto from Semitic is folly. [...] In short, Pushto relates to Semitic like all Indo-Germanic languages, especially the New Persian. It is true that, apart from the words borrowed from the Arabic, it has a large number of words which are not so easy to prove in the related languages: here alone it must be borne in mind the broad basis of the Indo-Germanic language stem, that mass of finally related languages which we have hitherto scarcely begun to get to know in their entire extent. (Ewald 1839: 309-310 [my translation]).<sup>104</sup>

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highlands of Deer (= Dir), Tirhai (= Tirahi) and of the Moghal Aimaks. James Bird (1797-1864), who was Secretary to the Bombay Asiatic Society, adds some notes on the origin of the speakers of each language and a final note on the origin of the Afghans, which however does not add new information.

<sup>103</sup> The identical work was also published the same year in the vol. 85 of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (pp. 1-16).

<sup>104</sup> “So viel wird hieraus deutlich sein, dass das Puschtu aus dem Semitischen abzuleiten Thorheit ist. [...] Kurz, zum Semitischen verhält sich das Puschtu wie alle indo-germ.

In his short article “Ueber das Afghanische oder Puschtu”, Ewald provides short phonetic, grammatical and lexical information, on the base of Elphinstone’s presentation,<sup>105</sup> but also of the translation of the New Testament in Pashto, published in 1818 by the Serampore mission.

## **22. Eugène Boré (1840)**

Eugène Boré (1809-1878), a French missionary who conducted archaeological excavations in Persia and taught Eastern languages at the Collège de France, in his work of 1840, *Correspondance et mémoires d’un voyageur en Orient*, associates Pashto to a “dialecte analogue au persan primitif [dialect analogous to early Persian]”, at the same time refuting the hypothetical identification of the “Aghovans” with the “Afghans”:

It is with even less reason that some scholars, misled by a resemblance of names, have confused the Aghovans and the Afghans, feudal tribes, scattered in the south of Persia, and which, more than any others, remind us of the ancient Parthians. The Afghans possess a dialect analogous to the primitive Persian; and they have not, according to Mr. W. Jones, a Jewish or Chaldean origin. Their identity with the Aghovans has once been supposed to lead to their being considered descendants of Israel; for the country of Kir, where the Assyrians transplanted the captive tribes, seems to some interpreters to be the region watered by the Kur, the Cyrus of the Greeks. (Boré 1840: 193 [my translation])<sup>106</sup>

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Sprachen, namentlich das neups. Zwar hat es ausser den aus dem Arab. entlehnt eine Menge Wörter welche in den verwandten Sprachen nachzuweisen nicht so leicht ist: allein hier ist zu bedenken, von welchem breiten Grunde der indo-germ. Sprachstamm ist, jene Masse von zuletzt verwandten Sprachen die wir bis jetzt ihrem ganzen Umfange nach kaum anfangen kennen zu lernen”.

<sup>105</sup> “It is true that Elphinstone’s excellent work on Kabul, published as early as 1815, included a list of about 200 Pushto words and, against the usual derivation of the Afghans from the ten tribes of Israel, although still uncertain and uncertain, established the relationship of their language to the Indo-Persian ones” (*ibid.*: 285-86 [my translation]: “Zwar hat das vortreffliche Werk Elphinstone’s über Kabul bereits im J. 1815 ein Verzeichniss von etwa 200 Puschtu-Wörtern mitgetheilt und gegen die gewöhnliche Ableitung der Afghanen von den zehn Stämmen Israels, wiewohl noch schwankend und unsicher, die Verwandtschaft ihrer Sprache mit den indo-persischen aufgestellt”).

<sup>106</sup> “C’est avec moins de raison encore que quelques savants, trompés par une ressemblance de noms, ont confondu les Aghovans et les Afghans, tribus féodales, disséminées au midi de la Perse, et qui, plus que toutes les autres, nous rappellent les anciens Parthes. Les Afghans possèdent un dialecte analogue au persan primitif; et ils n’ont point, selon M. W. Jones, une origine juive ou chaldéenne. Leur identité avec les Aghovans une fois supposée a conduit à les considérer comme des descendants d’Israël; parce que le pays de Kir, où les Assyriens transplantèrent les tribus captives, semble à des

The “Aghovans”, indeed, were another people living in the Caucasus and wrongly called “Albaniens”:

The Aghovans, gentlemen, were a peculiar people, whom Pompeus first made known to us, during his expedition in the Caucasus. The Greeks and Latins, by an inaccurate transcription of their name, called them *Albanians*. They occupied the high mountains and valleys bordering the Caspian Sea, which today make up Dagestan and Chirvan. (*ibid.*: 48 [my translation])<sup>107</sup>

### **23. Bernardino Biondelli (1841)**

The Italian linguist Bernardino Biondelli (1804-1886) never travelled to the East. Anyway, in his *Atlante linguistico d'Europa*, he quotes the three idioms, according to him belonging to the Persian family: Pashto, Kurdish and Balochi:

In addition to the aforementioned idioms, there are still three distinct languages living in Asia, which, in some respects, can be ascribed to the Persian family, although they may have originally belonged to another type. These are: the *Afghan*, *Kurdish* and *Beluchik* languages.

The former is peculiar to almost all the numerous and proud inhabitants of the vast kingdom of Kabul, who call themselves *Pusctâneh*, and are known in India by the name of *Patani*, in Persia by that of *Afghans*. The enormous discrepancies of the authors who wrote about the origin of these peoples, and the poverty of the materials that could be gathered about their language, do not allow us to establish with certainty what affinity united them to the other nations. They claim to be descended from an Israelitic tribe, on whose ill-founded opinion William Jones believed he recognised some analogy between their language and Chaldean. [...]

Having said this, it is quite clear that, whatever their first origin, their ancient settlement among the Indians and Persians, civilised peoples in far greater numbers, their residence in India for about four centuries, as well as the frequent incursions they made before and after that time into India and Persia, must have imprinted on their language a dress resembling the Indian type, all the more so since they had no literature of

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interprètes être la contrée qu'arrose le Kour ou Kur, le Cyrus des Grecs”.

<sup>107</sup> “Les Aghovans, Messieurs, étaient un peuple particulier, que Pompée nous a le premier fait connaître, lors de son expedition dans le Caucase. Les Grecs et les Latins, par une transcription inexacte de leur nom, les ont appelés *Albaniens*. Ils occupaient les hautes montagnes et les vallées limitrophes de la Mer Caspienne, qui composent aujourd'hui le Daghistan et le Chirvan”.

their own and modelled themselves on the doctrines and writings of the Persians and Indians. For this reason, their language can be classified in the Persian family, from which it took more forms and roots, but not because it had a common origin. From the superficial information that we have been able to acquire up to now, it seems that Afghan was originally a *sui generis* language, which in time lost most of its primitive characteristics, assuming those of the more civilised nations with which it was in constant contact. The dissonance of the opinions of the various linguists in this regard, and the hesitancy with which, following Klaproth, I annotate it in this family, derive mainly from the paucity of materials; For the one hundred Afghan words recorded in the great *Petropolitan Vocabulary*, the two hundred produced by Klaproth in the *Asia polyglotta*, and the arid hints scattered in the works of Tychsen, Gldensted, Elphinstone and others about this language, seem insufficient for a mature judgement. (Biondelli 1841: 51-53 [my translation]).<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> “Oltre gli accennati idiomi, vivono ancora nell’Asia tre lingue distinte, che, per alcuni aspetti, si possono ascrivere nella famiglia delle persiane, sebbene in origine appartenessero forse ad altro tipo. Tali sono: la lingua *afghana*, la *kurda* e la *belcica*.

La prima  propria di quasi tutti i numerosi e fieri abitanti del vasto regno di Cabul, che si chiamano da s medesimi *Pusctneh*, e sono conosciuti nell’India col nome di *Patani*, in Persia con quello di *Afgani*. Le enormi discrepanze degli autori, che scrissero intorno all’origine di questi popoli, e la povert dei materiali che si poterono raccogliere intorno alla loro lingua, non consentono di stabilire con certezza quale affinit li congiungesse alle altre nazioni. Essi pretendono discendere da una trib israelitica, sulla quale malfondata opinione Guglielmo Jones credette riconoscere qualche analogia tra la loro lingua e la caldaica. [...]

Ci premesso, vedesi abbastanza chiaro che, qualunque fosse la prima loro origine, il loro antico stabilimento tra gli Indiani ed i Persiani, popoli civili e di gran lunga pi numerosi, la loro residenza nell’India, pel corso di quattro secoli circa, oltre le frequenti incursioni che, prima e dopo quel tempo, fecero, s nell’India che in Persia, devono aver impresso nella loro lingua un abito somigliante al tipo indiano, tanto pi se si consideri, che, non avendo letteratura propria, si modellarono sulle dottrine e sugli scritti dei Persiani e degli Indiani. Per questo appunto la loro lingua pu classificarsi nella famiglia delle persiane, dalle quali prese infatti maggior numero di forme e di radici; ma non gi perch avesse comune con queste l’origine; mentre dalla superficiale notizia che s’ potuto acquistare sinora, pare che l’afghana fosse in origine una lingua *sui generis*, che col tempo smarri la massima parte de’ suoi primitivi caratteri, assumendo quelli delle nazioni pi incivilite colle quali fu in continuo contatto. La dissonanza delle opinioni dei vari linguisti, a questo riguardo, e l’esitanza colla quale, seguendo Klaproth, l’annvero in questa famiglia, derivano principalmente dall’esiguit dei materiali; perocch i cento vocaboli afgnici registrati nel gran *Vocabolario petropolitano*, i duecento prodotti da Klaproth nell’*Asia polyglotta*, e gli aridi cenni, sparsi nelle opere di Tychsen, Gldensted, Elphinstone ed altri, intorno a questa lingua, sembrano insufficienti ad un maturo giudizio”.

## **24. Johannes Albrecht Bernhard Dorn (1840, 1842, 1845 and 1847)**

The orientalist Johannes Albrecht Bernhard Dorn (1805-1881) even if “never visited Afghanistan, but he nevertheless established the scientific basis for Afghan studies”:<sup>109</sup> he is probably the most important personality for Pashto in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to Dorn, Pashto at last entered the scientific and systematic field of linguistics.

In 1840 he published a long work dealing with Pashto grammar. In the very introduction he totally discards and refuses any connection of Pashto with Hebrew, rightly remarking as lexical similarities or presumed physical resemblance cannot testify in favour of such a linguistic link:

And if - one cannot be surprised enough - even in recent times English missionaries in Serampore, who after all knew Afghan, claimed to have discovered more Hebrew roots in it than in any other Oriental language, anyone who has only a superficial knowledge of Pushto and conscientiously examines this assumption will soon be convinced of its nullity: those missionaries, in their investigations, which, by the way, could not have been anything less than thorough, undoubtedly also took into account the Arabic words in use in Pushto, of which there are indeed a very considerable number, and since these are of Semitic origin, and their roots coincide with the roots of Hebrew words, regarded them as evidence of the occurrence of Hebrew roots; the number of such genuine Afghan words which can be compared with Hebrew is not greater, indeed far less, than in various other languages which have ever been compared with Hebrew. Since the evidence derived from the relationship of the languages is self-contradictory, and the other reasons, e.g. the similarity of the Afghan face formation to that of the Jews, the similarity of some customs occurring among both peoples, etc., can also be and have been applied to other peoples, I believe I am justified in rejecting the Jewish origin of the Afghans, and in disregarding it altogether in the investigation of the Pushtu. (Dorn 1840: 1-2 [my translation])<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Luzhetskaya 1995: see there and bibliography for a biography of Dorn. Luzhetskaya rightly states that Dorn established particularly the first systematic description of Pashto: see however Leach 1839, quoted above.

<sup>110</sup> “Und wenn auch – man kann sich darüber nicht genug wundern – noch in neuerer Zeit englische Missionäre in Serampore, die doch des Afghanischen kundig waren, in demselben mehr hebräische Wurzeln als in irgend einer andern morgenländischen Sprache entdeckt zu haben vorgaben, so wird Jeder, der das Pushtu nur oberflächlich kennt, und jene Annahme gewissenhaft prüft, sich bald von der Nichtigkeit derselben überzeugen: jene Missionäre haben bei ihren Untersuchungen, die übrigens nichts weniger als gründlich gewesen sein können, ohne Zweifel auch die in dem Pushtu

On the contrary, he clearly states that Pashto belongs to the “indo-germanischen Sprachstamme”, even if further researches, he writes, are necessary in order to clarify the links of Pashto with other more ancient Iranian languages, as Avestan and Pahlavi:

If Pushtu also belongs to the Indo-Germanic language stem, then the approximations to Send and Pehlwi are already very faded, and if we examine the genuine Afghan words closely, we find that the result established by Elphinstone, that by far the greater part of them are quite peculiar words not belonging to any other language stem, still requires closer examination, inasmuch as many of them can be traced back to Indian roots, so nevertheless that proposition will still be partly correct, until our more exact acquaintance with other languages, and especially with Pehlwi, will enable us to make more extensive comparative investigations. (*ibid.*: 4)<sup>111</sup>

The work presents the entire grammar of Pashto, following this order: I. alphabet, II. vowels, III. names, IV. adjectives, V. pronouns, VI. numbers, VII. verbs. In the appendix, Dorn declares having read Leach's short grammatical survey of Pashto and offers some remarks.

The following articles, Dorn 1942, 1945a and 1945b, complete the general and detailed information on Pashto grammar. The first article, “Nachträge zur Grammatik der Afghanischen Sprache” (1842), contains some additions to the grammar; “Zusätze zu den Grammatischen

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gebräuchlichen arabischen Wörter, deren es allerdings eine sehr bedeutende Anzahl giebt, in Rechnung gebracht, und da dieselben semitischer Abkunft sind, und ihre Wurzeln mit den Wurzeln hebräischer Wörter zusammenfallen, als Belege für das Vorkommen hebräischer Wurzeln angesehen; die Anzahl solcher acht afghanischer Wörter, welche mit hebräischen verglichen werden können, ist nicht grösser, ja weit geringer als in verschiedenen anderen Sprachen, welche je mit dem Hebräischen verglichen worden sind. Da nun der von der Verwandtschaft der Sprachen entlehnte Beweis in sich selbst zusammenfällt, und die übrigen Gründe, z. B. die Aehnlichkeit der afghanischen Gesichtsbildung mit der der Juden, die Uebereinstimmung einiger bei beiden Völkern vorkommenden Gebräuche u. s. u. ebensowohl auch auf andere Völker angewendet werden können und angewendet worden sind, so glaube ich mich berechtigt, die jüdische Abkunft der Afghanen zu verwerfen, und bei der Untersuchung über das Pushtu ganz unbeachtet zu lassen”.

<sup>111</sup> “Gehört das Pushtu auch dem indo-germanischen Sprachstamme an, so sind doch die Annäherungen an das Send und Pehlwi schon sehr verblichen und untersuchen wir die acht afghanischen Wörter genau und finden dass das von Elphinstone aufgestellte Ergebniss, dass bei weitem der grössere Theil derselben ganz eigenthümliche keinem anderen Sprachstamme angehörende Wörter sind, noch näherer Prüfung bedarf, sofern viele derselben sich auf indische Wurzeln zurückführen lassen, so wird dennoch jener Satz noch so lange theilweise richtig sein, bis un seine genauere Bekanntschaft mit anderen Sprachen, und namentlich dem Pehlwi, in den Stand setzen wird, ausgebreitetere vergleichende Untersuchungen anzustellen”.

Bemerkungen” (1845a) presents conjugation (preterit, future, present participle, past participle and imperative) of 84 verbs; the last article, “Auszüge aus afghanischen Schriftstellern” (1845b), is a collection of Pashto texts, ranging from Pashto magazines to various Diwans. In total, these articles on Pashto grammar occupy about 300 pages, an excellent result, if we consider that this is the first scientific Pashto grammar.

In 1847 Dorn publishes the first chrestomathy of Pashto (*Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan Language to Which is Subjoined a Glossary in Afghan and English*), also containing the first long bilingual glossary Pashto-English. After a quick critical review of the works of his predecessors (W. Jones,<sup>112</sup> J. Leyden,<sup>113</sup> J. Klaproth,<sup>114</sup> A.E.F. Eversmann,<sup>115</sup> F. Wilken<sup>116</sup>) and of two lexicographic works found by him in the East-India-House di Londra,<sup>117</sup> Dorn remarks definitely, confirming his previous researches:

It was reserved to our time to establish, on incontrovertible evidence the fact that the Pusthū belongs to the great family of Indo-Persian languages, without bearing the least resemblance to any of the Semitic dialects. (*ibid.*: ii)

In the *Chrestomathy*, we find miscellaneous translations from works belonging to different genders, such as the Ayāri Dāniš by Malik Xušhāl; the Maxzan pašto by Axund Darwezah; selections from the Diwans of Abd-ur-Rahman, and so on.

The glossary at the end of the volume occupies 230 pages (pp.

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<sup>112</sup> “Sir William Jones, misled by some treacherous indications, pronounced the Jewish origin of the Afghans and the affinity of their idiom to the Chaldaic” (Dorn 1847: ii).

<sup>113</sup> “Dr. Leyden [...] had made the language and the literature of the afghans an object of his researches, but far from entering into philological inquiries, contented himself with giving a few extracts from the makhzan pushtu, in illustration of his subject” (*ibid.*). J. Leyden, indeed, published the first article on the Roshaniyya, the sect founded by Bayazid Ansari, also said Pir Roshan. On this manuscript see Strangford 1863: 53 and Pelevin 1994: 343.

<sup>114</sup> “The researches of Klaproth, who first endeavoured to give an insight into the grammatical structure of the Pushtu, are full of blunders, and by no means calculated to convey a correct idea of that idiom” (*ibid.*: iii).

<sup>115</sup> “Mr. Eversmann’s essay is chiefly founded on Klaproth’s researches” (*ibid.*).

<sup>116</sup> “The remarks of Mr. Wilken, founded on the Pushtu translation of the new testament, are too short to give more than a very superficial idea of some grammatical particularities of the language” (*ibid.*).

<sup>117</sup> “In the East-India-House in London there are two copies of a grammatical and lexicographical work on the Pushtu, entitled ‘gardens of friendship’ (*ryāz almuhabbat*) [...]. When, in 1829 [cf. Dorn 1829], I translated the history of the afghans, I made some extracts from it, and succeeded in compiling the outlines of an afghan grammar which appeared a few years ago” (*ibid.*).

387-620), with about 7,000 words, and tries also to provide etymologies. Dorn states the difficulty of his work and very honestly explains as in front of words of unknown origin he preferred leaving a blank: a similar attitude found in the first etymological dictionary by G. Morgenstierne (EVP, of 1927), where many words are said being of “unknown origin”: in the second edition (NEVP, of 2003) these words have disappeared (together with the most part of the dialectological remarks), with a considerable loss of information. Dorn writes:

The most difficult and irksome task which I had to fulfil in order to make the work answer the purpose for which it was undertaken, was the composition of the Glossary; the groundwork of which is the vocabulary furnished by Muhabbat Khan; nor did I think myself at liberty, to omit a single word inserted by the latter with the only exception of the names of Afghan tribes and territories not occurring in the *Chrestomathy*. But neither the words found therein, nor those given by Mr. Elphinstone, Klaproth, Eversmann, Leach etc. will suffice for the reader of continuous Afghan composition. I was frequently obliged to recur either to the Persian or Hindustani dictionary to make out the signification of unknown words borrowed from those idioms, but which in the mouth of the Afghans had undergone so entire an alteration as to leave almost no discernible trace of their original orthography. In spite of the most careful and unwearied researches, I must leave some words without having ascertained their true meaning. (Dorn 1847: XII-XIII)

## **25. Conclusions**

In this article I have presented an overview of all scholars, travellers, missionaries and soldiers, who came across Pashto and Afghanistan and published any information on these, from the beginning to the *Chrestomathy of the Pushtu* by Bernhard Dorn, published in 1847. The first mention of Pashto is found in the work of a missionary of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Antoni de Monserrat: since then, we will wait until 1728 to find the next quotation of Pashto and the Pashtuns. Significantly, the first short descriptions of Pashto come from missionaries: the Jesuits Antoni de Monserrat, Judasz Thaddeus Krusiński and Lorenzo Hervas y Panduro, the Baptists William Carey and Joshua C. Marshman, and the Catholic Eugène Boré. Of these missionaries, the only Lorenzo Hervas never went to Afghanistan, Persia or India. However, with the exception of Carey and Marshman, who provided the translation of the New Testament in Pashto,

all other authors did not let any significant data on Pashto.

These first reports arouse the curiosity of a number of scholars, in the most part of Russian nationality or thus naturalized, who tried to provide some new materials and reflections: Louis André de La Mamie de Clairac, for instance, listed all names under which were known the Afghans until his epoch. Peter Simon Pallas was the first to provide, in 1786, a list of about 80 Pashto words; Julius Klaproth published more than 200 words in 1810 and lastly Montstuart Elphinstone, in 1815, provided a list of 365 Pashto words. Finally, with Bernhard Dorn, with whom our narrative stops, we find a real glossary, containing about 7,000 words. Dorn is also the author of a grammar and of a Chrestomathy, with in total about thousand pages published: in a little bit more than one century, from 1728 to 1847, the knowledge of Pashto had increased remarkably.

It also should be noted that many of the authors who dealt with Pashto never visited Afghanistan, Persia or India: however, Pashto and Pashtun culture begun to be described and known better and better. And even wrong opinions, as Jones' derivation of Pashto from Hebrew, had the merit to improve the knowledge of Pashto and to stimulate new and in-depth researches.

The three most important authors of this epoch are without a doubt Julius Klaproth, Montstuart Elphinstone and even more Bernhard Dorn: the successive epoch of Pashto studies, that under the British colonialism, from the first to the third Anglo-Afghan war, will take advantage of their publications and will definitely introduce Pashto studies in the scientific linguistic researches of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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