

SCHUYLER JONES

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
NURISTAN (KAFIRISTAN) AND THE
KALASH KAFIRS OF CHITRAL

PART TWO

SELECTED DOCUMENTS FROM THE SECRET AND
POLITICAL RECORDS, 1885-1900

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 48, 1



Kommissionær: Munksgaard

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Preface

It was intended to make this part two of a regional bibliography.* Having excluded references to official reports from part one, it was thought that they could conveniently and usefully be listed in part two. It was soon apparent, however, that part two could in no way be organized so as to form a conventional bibliography. In the first place, the sources are available in only one place – the India Office Library, London. This meant that an ordinary bibliography would result in a tedious list of titles, dates, and volumes of use only to scholars with access to that library. Secondly, in the India Office Library itself these documents are not listed by author (nor could they be usefully arranged in such a manner) but chronologically. Viewed chronologically, which is the only logical way in which to pursue them, the events that led to the conquest of Kafiristan and the aftermath of that conquest can be understood. The result is a kind of political history of events in Kafiristan from 1885–1900.

The extracts contained in this volume were, for the most part, prepared by various British Political Agents in Chitral, Peshawar, Gilgit, the Khyber, and Kabul. The chronological arrangement of these reports enables us to trace the course of events (albeit hazily at times, since we view them through a political screen of British interests) in Kafiristan in this crucial decade and a half. As will become apparent, the point at which the future of the Kafirs assumes a new direction is November 12th, 1893 – the date of the Durand Agreement. The final blow to their independence comes later – the 9th of April, 1895. Despite official statements to the contrary, it seems clear that the invasion of Kafiristan by the Amir of Afghanistan was a direct result of the Durand Agree-

* Part One appeared in 1966 (*Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.*, vol. 41, No. 3, Copenhagen).

ment. When that agreement was modified to give the Amir the whole of Kafiristan he lost no time in expanding his rule by force of arms up to the Durand Line. Thus, in 1895–96, he sent his armies into the Hindu Kush to wage the wars that resulted in Kafiristan (land of the infidels) becoming Nuristan (land of light; i.e., the light of Islam). Since those days the former 'Kafirs' have been called *Jadedi*, جدید اسلام or 'new', 'newly converted to Islam'.

The editor of these documents spent several months carrying out anthropological fieldwork in Nuristan and has visited the majority of the villages mentioned in these extracts. Where the name of a village, tribe, or person is followed by another in square brackets, the latter name is that given by informants in the field. Throughout I have deliberately avoided intruding my own observations and comments into this raw material; restricting myself to a correction or clarification of terms. It will be noted that the spelling of the majority of terms and place names is highly erratic. I have left them so. Lut-dib, Lut-dih, and Lutdeh, for example, all refer to the same village, the correct name of which is Baragamatal. Further, the term Lutdeh (a Chitrali word) is occasionally used to describe the entire tribal area of Katrgul or Kantoz which contains some 30 villages. Despite our efforts at clarification, the average reader is in for a puzzling time.

With regard to our general knowledge of what actually took place in Kafiristan from 1885–1900, it should be pointed out that these documents show an imbalance in that the events occurring in the Bashgul Valley dominate the reports. This is understandable. The Bashgul Valley was the only part of Kafiristan that was at all known to the British in that period. Furthermore, the Bashgul Valley borders Chitral which was then under British control. Refugees and others crossing the border into Chitral brought information regarding events in the Bashgul, the Kunar, and the Pech valleys, and thus little is known of what took place in the more distant Waigel, Ashkun, Parun, and West Kati language areas.

S. J.

Kabul

Feb. 1968

I. Strictly Confidential

Reports on Kafiristan submitted to the Secretary of the Government of India, Foreign Department.

1. 1882, Calcutta. *Confidential Gazetteer of Afghanistan; Part One: including the Provinces of Kabal, Afghan-Turkistan and Badakhshan-Wakhan; and the Independent States of Chitral, Kafiristan and Kuram.* Compiled for Political and Military Reference by Lieutenant-Colonel C. M. MacGregor, Assistant Quartermaster-General in 1871, and Brought up to date by Lieutenant-Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, C. B., Deputy Quartermaster-General, Intelligence Branch, in 1882. Vol. II.

The majority of the information relating to Kafiristan is to be found on pages 372-400, and is derived from earlier accounts by Babur, Biddulph, Burnes, Elphinstone, Lumsden, Masson, Raverty, and Wood. In presenting this material the compiler is careful to point out that "No European, nor any other alien of whom we have any knowledge, has been into this country and returned, so that it is evident that very little can be known of it . . ."

2. 1885, Dehra Dun. *Explorations in Part of Eastern Afghanistan and in Kafiristan during 1883.* Prepared under the orders of Colonel G. C. De Pree, S. C., Surveyor-General of India. By W. W. McNair, F. R. G. S.

In this 46 page report McNair makes several references to an earlier report which he "submitted to the Surveyor General in September" but this has not yet been traced. The report under consideration here is divided into the following parts: 1. *Swat District* (8 pages), 2. *Bajour or Bajawar District* ($6\frac{1}{2}$ pages), 3. *Dir District* (9 pages), 4. *Chitral or Kashkar District* (12 pages), and *Kafiristan* ($10\frac{1}{2}$ pages).

The title of this report is somewhat misleading. The regions visited by McNair were never part of Eastern Afghanistan and, even aside from Robertson's later comments, it seems doubtful if McNair ever reached Kafiristan itself. Lockhart wrote [1889, p. 325] "He [McNair] was never in the Lut-dih valley, or in Kafiristan proper, his experience of Kafirs being confined to the subject Kalash."

McNair concludes his report by remarking that "the Kafirs would only be too glad to open communications with the British Government, and should the idea be sooner or later entertained, I would suggest that it be undertaken under direct European control, without the intervention of Chitral or Afghanistan."

3. 1886, Simla. *Routes in Dardistan and Kafiristan*. Compiled by Captain E. G. Barrow, Bengal Staff Corps, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, Intelligence Branch, Quarter Master General's Department in India. Preliminary Edition. Incomplete: to be revised. (37 p.).

Captain Barrow, together with Dr. Giles and Colonel Woodthorpe, were members of the Gilgit Mission of 1885–86 led by Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart. Barrow subsequently prepared and published (in 1888 or 1889) a *Gazetteer of the Eastern Hindu Kush* which was issued by the Intelligence Branch, Indian Army Head Quarters, but this we have not seen.

Routes in Dardistan and Kafiristan consists of the following sections:

- Route No. 1, *Chitral to the Dorah Pass*
- Route No. 2, *Chitral to Mastuj via Drasan*.
- Route No. 3, *Chitral to Mirkani (Twarai Pass Route) via Left Bank Chitral River*
- Route No. 4, *Chitral to Zebak, via the Agram*
- Route No. 5, *Chitral to Zebak, via the Nuksan or Khatinza*.
- Route No. 6, *Darkot to the Dasht-i-Baroghal*
- Route No. 7, *Dasht-i-Baroghal to Mastuj*
- Route No. 8, *Drasan to Rich*
- Route No. 9, *Darsan to Sad Istragh Pass, via Gartigul Pass*
- Route No. 10, *Gabar (Ludkho Valley) to Luddeh (Kafiristan) via the Zidig Kotal*

- Route No. 11, *Gakuch to Jandrot or Janjarot*
 Route No. 12, *Gilgit to Hunza*
 Route No. 13, *Hoti Murdan to Chitral*
 Route No. 14, *Hunza to Sarhad-i-Wakhan via the Kilik Pass*
 Route No. 15, *Jalalabad to Ashrat*
 Route No. 16, *Kulab to Ush*
 Route No. 17, *Janjarot or Jandrot to Darkot*
 Route No. 18, *Jandrot or Jinjarot to Mastuj*
 Route No. 19, *Luddeh (Kafiristan) to Chitral via the Shawal Pass.*
 Route No. 20, *Mastuj to Chitral*
 Route No. 21, *Mastuj to Jinjarot*
 Route No. 22, *Sarhad-i-Wakhan to Kala Panjah*
 Route No. 23, *Sarwat (Junction of Tirich and Turikho) to Rosh Gol.*
 Route No. 24, *Unch and Neighbourhood to Dir*

4. 1889, London. *The Gilgit Mission, 1885–86.* By Colonel Sir W. S. A. Lockhart, K.C.B., C.S.I., Bengal Army, and Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, C.B., Royal Engineers. 448 p. 11 Chapters, 2 Appendices, Table of Contents, Index, 3 maps, 110 illus.

“In the year 1885 His Excellency Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India, determined that a correct knowledge should be obtained of the Hindu-Kush range, and of the population and resources of that region. To this end a party was, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, despatched from India in the month of June of that year, under command of Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, C.B., of the Bengal Army. . . The other officers selected were Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, R. E., Captain E. G. Barrow of the Quarter-Master General’s Department, and Surgeon G. M. J. Giles of the Indian Medical Department. Of these Colonel Woodthorpe was to survey the country, Captain Barrow was to act as staff officer, and Surgeon Giles, as well as having medical charge of the party, was to be naturalist and photographer. The escort consisted of 17 non-commissioned officers and men of the 24th Panjab Infantry, and, in addition, there were three non-commissioned officers of Bengal Cavalry and Infantry, and one of Panjab Frontier Force Infantry, who were qualified surveyors. These latter were to sup-

plement Colonel Woodthorpe's one native surveyor, and, under Captain Barrow's superintendence, to conduct route surveys on a large scale." [from the Introduction].

A list of the chapters will provide a general idea of the scope of the work:

- Chapter I, *Personnel and Equipment of the Survey Party—Manner in which the Survey Work was carried on.*
- Chapter II, *General Geographical Descriptions. Roads. Bridges. Political Geography. Communications. Climate.*
- Chapter III, *Description of Chitral and its Subordinate Districts, Hunza, Naga, and Kafiristan.*
- Chapter IV, *Wakhan and Badakhshan.*
- Chapter V, *Passes and Routes.*
- Chapter VI, *Notes on the Geology of the Districts Traversed, by Surgeon Giles, I.M.S.*
- Chapter VII, *Medical Notes, by Surgeon Giles, I.M.S.*
- Chapter VIII, *Natural History Notes, by Surgeon Giles, I.M.S.*
- Chapter IX, *Note on Chitral.*
- Chapter X, *Military Deductions.*
- Chapter XI, *General Narrative.*
- Appendix I, *Battle of Yarkhun.*
- Appendix II, *Description of a rock-cut Figure of Buddha near Gilgit.*

"The first five chapters of this Report have been written by Colonel Woodthorpe, the sixth, seventh, and eighth by Surgeon Giles, and the three last by Colonel Lockhart, who has also furnished the Introduction."

In September 1885 the party crossed the Zidig Pass and descended the Bashgul Valley *via* Ahmad Diwana and proceeded to Lutdeh (Baragamatal). There, after some days, Lockhart actually made a treaty with the Kafirs.

"In the afternoon a covenant, discussed on the previous day, was made by Colonel Lockhart with the three principal men of the Bashgal tribe in the upper part of the valley, and their respective sons. This was ratified by the ceremony of killing a goat and dividing its heart (which was fortunately permitted to be cooked) between the contracting parties.

"The following is the text of the agreement, a copy of which, in



Amir Abdur Rahman Khan



Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi

English, was made over to Mara to be kept by him and his successors:—

“Covenant made between Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, on the part of the British Government, and the following chiefs of the Bashgal tribe:—

1. Mara
2. Malik
3. Gulmer
4. Chandlu, son of Mara
5. Merig, son of Malik
6. Shtaluk, son of Gulmer

“In the event of an enemy of Great Britain approaching the frontiers of Kafiristan, the above-named will send all available men of their own to the threatened quarter, to hinder or repel the invader. In return I agree, on the part of the British Government, to pay the several chiefs mentioned the sum of ten rupees per mensem per man placed in the field, and to provide arms for them; the chiefs on their part agreeing to receive one British officer per 500 men so raised, as instructors and leaders.

“This agreement has been sealed by the ceremony of sharing a goat’s heart between myself and the above-mentioned chiefs.”

W. S. A. Lockhart
Colonel

Lut-dih, 1st October 1885

One admires the boldness of the concept and the aplomb with which the agreement was drawn up, while at the same time wondering how the scheme was ever to be implemented.

5. 1890, Fort William (14th January). *Confidential Report No. 965/Foreign*, from Surgeon G. S. Robertson, On Special Duty under Foreign Department, Government of India, to W. J. Cunningham, Esq., Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department. 20 p. (Cf. *Letters from India*, vol. 59, Jan.–April, 1890).

This is Robertson’s first report, an account of his short visit to the Kam in the lower Bashgul Valley in late October 1890. Al-

though he does not dwell on it, the political nature of his travels is made clear:

"The circumstances which led to my undertaking this journey are briefly these – Last year I forwarded to the Government of India, through Colonel A. Durand, an application to be permitted to visit Kafiristan, and in my letter I explained the manner in which in my opinion the attempt could most successfully be made. . . It had been my particular wish that my little expedition should be postponed until next spring, as the delay would enable me to make all my arrangements and obtain certain information I was much in need of . . . when sanction for my journey was telegraphed to Colonel Durand through the Resident in Kashmir, it was found that my orders were to go into the Bashgal Valley in November. This was about the middle of September. Difficulties at once arose. The native surveyor, Ahmad Ali, drew back from his word, and begged in tears that he might be shot at once rather than be sent with me. He some years ago was with Colonel Tanner when the latter tried to get into Kafiristan from Jallalabad, and cannot forget his fears and troubles on that occasion. . . Colonel Durand at first thought it advisable that my journey should be abandoned altogether this year, but subsequently after much consideration decided to write and propose that I should be allowed to try and reach Kafiristan as soon as we should arrive at Chitral proper, making only a short visit and seeing the requirements of my party and discovering the chances of my receiving a friendly reception next year. Then supposing everything went satisfactorily, I was to return to India as quickly as possible and see the Foreign Secretary. Having explained to him how matters stood, permission was then to be sought to obtain such instruments, appliances, &c., as were necessary for the success of my venture next year. . . He [Durand] added that, unless he received orders to the contrary before we reached Chitral, these were the instructions I was to go upon."

This is followed by 14 pages of mainly ethnographical information collected by Robertson in Kamdesh. The last two pages are devoted to some general political observations; see extracts below:

"As already remarked the Lower Kam people are already becoming much changed by the influence of their Muhammadan neighbours, and although they have hitherto been able to maintain their independence and keep to their own forms of faith, it

seems fairly safe to predict that they, as well as all the other Kafir tribes, cannot hope to withstand much longer their inveterate enemies, provided the latter were to form a league against them. Brave as they undoubtedly are and fearless of death, their courage and devotion would avail them nothing against the breech-loaders of Afghanistan, Chitral, and Yaghistan, while their unceasing internecine strife isolates them into small communities, which could easily be attacked and subdued in detail. It is I think merely because the Mussalmans are so constantly engaged in fighting one another that the Kafir has been allowed to exist. A strong leader who could combine the constantly warring elements into which the Pushtoo-speaking-races to the south are split up, would have no great difficulty with the help of the Amir of Kabul – or better still if he were the Amir himself – in overrunning Kafiristan and earning the coveted title of Ghazi. Daggers, bows and arrows and matchlocks would have no chance against Sniders and Martinis in the hands of ruthless men accustomed to mountain warfare and spurred on by religious zeal. The Mehtar's distrust of Umra Khan [of Jandol], the unceasing wars of the latter, and their common fear of [Amir] Abdul Rahman are a better protection to the Kafirs than the difficulties of their country and their personal intrepidity.

“... it seems to me a great pity that a fine vigorous race, such as the Kafirs, should ever come under the yoke of the Amir, the Mehtar, or whomever the conqueror may be, and their friendship and helpfulness lost forever to the British Government; nor is it necessary that it should be so. The doners of the rifles, the givers of subsidies, might well intimate that an invasion of Kafiristan would not meet with their approval, and if a good reason were required for this, it might be found in the fact that British Officers were travelling in the country.

“It may be utopian to suppose that the Kafir tribes could ever combine together and become a single nation, but time and devotion might reveal some common sympathy which might be used to weld them together, so as at least to enable them to oppose an united front to an invader. It would be the work of years no doubt, and no cautiousness could be too extreme.

“In the meantime much may be done by encouraging their hopeful and friendly attitude to the English, and showing them, that all advances on our part are kindly and benevolent, but all bar-

gaining and lavish present making must ever be discouraged. If once the idea that friendship is to be estimated and paid for in solid rupees, becomes prevalent amongst them, they will increase their demands until it is impossible to comply with them, and instead of remaining well disposed to us as they are at present, they will be transformed into angry dissatisfied enemies.

"The Kamdesh people, at any rate, are already not without their fears of the Afghans and Chitralis.

"In a private conclave several of the headmen of the village asked me to write to the Amir, or ask the Government of India to do so, and prevent him from attacking a certain village. My refusal was based first on the ground that my going amongst them was merely from my own private feelings of friendship and affection for them, and that being a mere traveller, the Amir would naturally pay no attention to any request of mine. Then I asked them why the Government of India should interest itself in their behalf. They (the Kafirs) were loud in their protestation of friendship, but had they ever done anything to show the truth of their assertions? Had they not prevented Colonel Lockhart from entering their country . . . ?

"They quite acquiesced and then asked me on my return in the spring to bring them a message from the Government of India, and while I was away would I tell the English people about them?

"My plan for next year differs little if at all from that submitted last July. My party will consist of a surveyor, of Syad Shah (perhaps) [see report of 3 May, 1889], and one servant. The difficulties about transport I shall try to overcome either by attempting to induce four Balti coolies to go with me or by availing myself of the proffered help of the Mehtar, who agrees to get me Kalash (slave) Kafirs as porters as far as Kamdesh.

"Adopting a son appears to attach the adopted one to you very strongly. He believes himself to be your real son to all intents and purposes, and I am not quite sure that his family do not also view you in the light of an actual relation. . . As at present advised, it would seem well for me to make one or two more adoptions of members of important families – if plurality is admissible. . . I anticipate little more than ordinary difficulty which temper and perseverance will certainly overcome. . . "

6. 1894, *Confidential Report on [a] Journey to Kafiristan*, by G. S. Robertson, C.S.I., British Agent at Gilgit, Kashmir. 187 p., map, Table of contents, index, and a Note by Major Hon. M. G. Talbot, Staff Capt., Intelligence Division, War Office, on the Map to accompany Mr. Robertson's Report on Kafiristan.

Part I. *Narrative of my Visit to Kafiristan* (pp. 4–39)

Part II. *Kafiristan and its People* (pp. 39–155)

- Section I, *Geography, Description of Country, Climate.*
- Section II, *Roads and Communications.*
- Section III, *The Kafirs: Origin and Physical Characteristics.*
- Section IV, *Kafir Character.*
- Section V, *The Tribes: Their Divisions and Organisation.*
- Section VI, *Villages, Houses, Household Appliances.*
- Section VII, *Clothing and Ornament.*
- Section VIII, *Women: Their Position, Marriage, Divorce, Home Life.*
- Section IX, *Slavery.*
- Section X, *Trade and Agriculture.*
- Section XI, *War and Peace.*
- Section XII, *Religion and the Calendar.*
- Section XIII, *Miscellaneous Manners and Customs.*
- Section XIV, *Political and Strategic Importance of Kafiristan.*

Part III. (pp. 156–180)

- Section I, *Villages.*
- Section II, *Road Report.*
- Section III, *Lists of Latitudes, Longitudes, and Altitudes observed.*
- Section IV, *Note on Map by Major Hon. M. G. Talbot, R.E., Intelligence Branch of the War Office.*

This is the report of Robertson's second visit to Kafiristan (Sept. 22, 1890–Oct. 24, 1891) and it establishes him, not only as a pioneer fieldworker, but also as a pioneer in political anthropology, although the term did not come into use until some 75 years after he left Kafiristan for the last time. The object of his journey was

that which is today called applied anthropology and his statement of purpose has a contemporary ring to it:

"What I myself saw and heard of the Kafirs at Chitral [in 1889] certainly helped to revive my interest in them, but perhaps that would not have been sufficient in itself to induce me to make an attempt to enter their country, if it had not been for the thought that Kafiristan was possibly destined to play an important part in Indian frontier questions in the near future. That was the point of chief interest to me. I wanted to find out the exact value of Kafiristan as a factor in the general problem how best to secure the safety of the North-West frontier of India against any possible invasion on the part of the Russians, or to prove it a *quantite negligieable* in all discussions on that subject.

"In laying my proposals before Government, I had an adequate perception of the difficulties to be encountered. It would be quite useless from my point of view merely to march rapidly to a definite place, and then return quickly to Chitral. My desire was to make a comprehensive study of the peoples of Kafiristan, to examine their tribal organisation and discover their value as friendly disposed but neutral allies, or as active partisans in war: and to find out whether there was any cementing bond of union between the inhabitants of the different valleys likely on an emergency to weld the heterogeneous segments of the population into some kind of alliance which, however temporary, might still enable the Kafirs to show a united front to a common enemy. To accomplish these objects, a somewhat lengthy visit must be paid to Kafiristan. The people must be induced not only to tolerate my presence amongst them, but also to confide in me; while their statements would require to be verified by personal observation, or to be checked by the cross-examination of many different individuals."

7. 1896, London. (7th January). *Kafiristan*, by W. L.-W. [Sir William Lee-Warner, Secretary in the Political Department, India Office, 1895–1902.]

This eight page report provides a summary of background information on the Kafirs and Kafiristan and then goes on to discuss the consequences of the Durand Agreement in these terms:

"11. The agreement dated 12th November 1893, which, for brevity's sake, I call the Durand agreement, contained this clause: "(3.) The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees on the other hand, that he will at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur, or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgul valley." "Read with the correspondence I have reviewed, there can be no doubt that Sir Mortimer Durand intended to leave with Chitral that influence over the Bashgul valley which it had always had, and with us the control over the Indian gate to Kafiristan, a valley which may be one day the outlet of a road from Badakhshan to the Kunar river, *via* the Minjan Pass. Sir Mortimer's report, dated 20th December 1893, which dwelt on the Amir's savage methods, and on his gradual "breaking down the independence (para. 23) of tribes which have held their own, such as the Kafirs and Hazaras," justifies the inference that Kafiristan was not forgotten. Apart from this, the map which accompanied the agreement leaves no doubt as to the intention to save a part of Kafiristan, the Bashgul valley, from the Amir. It cut off from Afghanistan a very large part of Kafiristan, for at Chandak it boldly crossed the Kunar river, and made the southern watershed of Bashgul the limit of Afghanistan; but the Durand Convention was not observed in the delimitation. In the words of the Government of India's letter, No. 518 F., dated 13th February 1895, to Mr. Udny, "the mistake in our maps and the convention" induced them to make an "undoubted departure". The Amir maintained that the Arnawai and Bashgul rivers were not synonymous, the former draining into the Kunar from the east, the latter from the west. There was no doubt as to Sir Mortimer's intentions because Chandak was mentioned, but the Amir threatened to break off negotiations unless he had "the whole of Kafiristan to its last house." The Government of India recognised that to allow his claim was to lose the command of a route from the north through Kafiristan if ever that country was opened out, and to give the Amir in the same event a position of importance against Chitral. But it believed that our "hold upon him in other respects was much strengthened." It might frankly regard him as "our ally" and claim his assistance, and the military value of the Faizabad-Jelalabad route *via* Bashgul was discounted by

the road from Khanabad to Charikar. It was observed that “the line which is being demarcated is not the line of British possessions or necessarily the line of British influence. It is the line beyond which the Amir undertakes to exercise no interference on the one hand and the Government of India undertake to exercise no interference on the other. Neither interferes necessarily up to the line;” and then as to the Bashgul case “the Government of India give up a piece of territory to which they do not believe that the Amir is entitled by the letter of the convention. They do so partly because a mistake was made by which His Highness may have been prejudiced.” So the Kafirs were placed beyond the pale of British protection, and, at the same time, of Chitral protection upon which they had for so many years relied. The sequel is known. The Amir’s forces, full of religious zeal, are encompassing the country. It is reported that orders have been issued to exterminate the Kafirs, and that every child over seven years is to be killed. Birkot is held by eight regiments. Istorgat is held by Mer Jan, a Kafir, friendly to the Amir because he has quarrelled with other Kafirs. Troops are at Munjan and Zebak, and there seems no possible escape for the Kafirs. At one time even an asylum in Chitral was about to be denied them, but, in accordance with the Secretary of State’s orders, refugees from any Afghan atrocities are now to be allowed a refuge in Chitral.”

8. 1896, London. (24th January). *Secret Memorandum on British Relations with Afghanistan*, by W. Lee-Warner.

A seven page report by the Secretary of the Political Department, India Office, in which he analyzes the behaviour of the Amir Abdur Rahman in the light of various agreements drawn up between Afghanistan and the Government of India, concluding that “the people of Afghanistan are grossly misruled”; that the Amir’s rule “has weakened the tribes, promoted discontent, smothered trade, and failed to secure friendly relations with the British Government.” Nevertheless, he continues, “the British Government, wishing to see Afghanistan strong and independent, granted free purchase and import of war munitions, and undertook to raise the subsidy from 12 lakhs to 18 a year.” Sir William then lists the Amir’s numerous anti-British violations of agreement,

his treatment of tribes such as the Hazaras and Kafirs, and finally to remark that "the immediate question is whether the Amir should not be brought sharply to book and made to understand that the subsidy and free arms involve a friendly return. The question in the back ground is whether we must at all costs maintain the integrity of Afghanistan."

Sir William urges that the British Government be prepared to act in the event of the Amir's death or revolt against his "intolerable misrule". He suggests that the result might be the partition of Afghanistan with the British maintaining Eastern Afghanistan – "The Kandahar-Kabul Alignment" – as a protectorate. "Finally, may it not be possible and wise to come to terms with Russia on the subject of a division? . . . If the Amir does not amend his ways, it would seem that the withdrawal of his subsidy and arms would bring him to his senses, and involve the least risk of more serious complications. Some indication of this danger might be made on the next occasion that a warning is addressed to him. From all accounts the Amir will not be long in giving us an opportunity."

II. Secret & Political Letters from India and Trans-Frontier Memoranda

Extracts from the diaries of the British Agent at Kabul; the Political Officer, Khyber; the Political Officer, Peshawar; the Political Officer, Chitral; the Political Officer, Gilgit; and other sources.

6th June, 1885 (Confidential) *Simla, no. 1043 F.*

From – W. J. Cunningham, Esq., for Secy. to the Government of India, Foreign Dept.

To – Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, C.B.

I am directed to send you the following general instructions for your guidance during your absence beyond the British frontier.

2. You are requested in the first place to make your way through Kashmir and Gilgit to Chitral. On arrival there, you will enter into friendly relations with Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, and will endeavour with his assistance to obtain full information regarding Chitral and the neighbouring districts subject to his control. You will

report upon the material resources of this country, upon the number and condition of its inhabitants, upon the routes and passes leading through and from it, and generally upon all matters likely to prove of interest to the Government of India.

3. In the second place you should endeavour, if possible, to penetrate into Kafiristan, and explore it thoroughly. You will, of course, be careful to run no unnecessary risks in so doing, and you will remember that your primary object is to gain the goodwill of the inhabitants. You will, therefore, avoid pressing for admission to any part of the country which they do not wish you to visit. But if you find that you are welcome, and that your movements are unrestricted, you should make full use of your opportunities. The Government of India desires to gain all possible information regarding the country and its people, and regarding the passes leading from Kafiristan across the Hindu Kush. In this last respect, however, you must exercise special caution. It is not desirable at present that you should cross from Kafiristan into any of the Afghan districts, and it would be well if the fact of your presence in Kafiristan could remain altogether unknown to the Afghan authorities. Therefore you should, as far as practicable, avoid touching the Afghan border.

7. All correspondence between the Government of India and the officers of your party will pass through you, and I am to add that there must be no correspondence with the newspapers or with geographical or scientific journals and societies. You and the officers subordinate to you may rest assured that your exertions and theirs will be duly appreciated by the Governor-General in Council, but once your party has crossed the frontier the less the public hears of it the better.

15th August, 1885 (*Manuscript letter from Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, Foreign Secretary in India, to Sir Owen Tudor Burne.*)

. . . The passes over the Hindu Kush into Wakhan and Badakshan will I hope be thoroughly examined by Lockhart and his party – who reached Gilgit some days ago. Lockhart is instructed to make friends with Aman ul Mulk of Chitral, and to explore as thoroughly as possible the country under the Hindu Kush to the north and north east. He is also if possible to penetrate into Kafiristan and examine the passes in that direction.

I send you herewith a copy of the written orders which I was authorized to give him. They were of course supplemented by a good many conversations, and we went over the maps together with much care. Lockhart thoroughly understands what he has to do, and will I think succeed if success is possible. He has a turn for dealing with Asiatics, and is a man of considerable character – good tempered and patient, but very determined. I saw a good deal of him in Kabul where we were shut up together by the Afghans during the winter of 1879–80.

Lockhart has with him a survey officer of experience – Woodthorpe – a Doctor – Giles – and an assistant from the Intelligence Branch – Capt. Barrow. He takes with him a score of men from his regt. Chiefly Sikhs I believe – and some arms and other presents. So far Aman ul Mulk seems friendly and the Cashmere people are doing all they can to help.

You will see that Lockhart has been told to avoid publicity, and no one here has yet got hold of the Kafiristan idea. The Amir has extracts sent him from the Indian papers, and it is just as well he should know nothing about this part of the affair. I have always been a little afraid of his turning our breech loaders upon the independent tribes, and especially upon the Kafirs. Their subjugation would be a startling coup, and the idea might occur to him if they were talked about. Moreover it is not desirable to publish Lockhart's movements for the Russians.

The despatch of Lockhart's party might perhaps have been reported officially with advantage besides being put in the monthly journal, and I will now send extracts from the correspondence if the Viceroy has no objections.

Yours sincerely
H. M. Durand

28th August, 1885. Simla, No. 151. *Government of India, Foreign Dept. Secret/Frontier.*

To: The Right Honourable Lord Randolph Churchill, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

We have the honor to forward the papers specified in the margin [Letter no. 1043 F., dated the 6th of June 1885, to Colonel Lock-

hart; Letter no. 8 C.-K., dated the 10th of June, from Colonel Lockhart; Letter no. 215 B., dated the 26th of May 1885, to the Adjutant-General in India, Military Department] relative to the despatch of a mission under the command of Colonel W. S. A. Lockhart, C.B., through Kashmir and Gilgit to Chitral and Kafiristan.

2. Our object in sending Colonel Lockhart at this time is to establish friendly relations with the ruler of Chitral, Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, and to obtain accurate information on the routes and passes, the resources, and the inhabitants of Chitral and the country to the north-east under the Hindu Kush.

3. We further desire to establish friendly relations, if possible, with Kafiristan, and to improve the scanty information which we possess regarding that country.

4. Colonel Lockhart reached Gilgit on the 29th of July and left for Chitral after a halt of 10 days. He has been somewhat delayed by the unusual amount of snow remaining this year in the Kashmir passes.

5. For reasons which it is unnecessary to explain we have not made public the precise objects of this mission.

We have the honor to be, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants,

(signed) Dufferin
(and six other officials)

April, 1886. *Letters from India.* vol. 47, May-Aug. 1886. *Memo-
randum of Information Regarding the Course of Affairs Beyond
the N.W. Frontier Rec'd During month of April, 1886.*

Colonel Lockhart's party after wintering at Gilgit are again starting for Kafiristan. Last year they were prevented by the Kaffirs from proceeding beyond Luddeh [Baragamatal] because they had Chitralis in their train.

Their present intention is to try and reach Verrah, *via* Hunza, Wakhan and Badakshan, but His Highness [the Amir of Afghanistan] has expressed his opinion that the British Government intend to annex Kafiristan. An assurance to the contrary has been sent to His Highness.

It is doubtful whether Ghazan Kahn, the Chief of Hunza, will

allow the party to pass through his territory. Up to the last accounts Colonel Lockhart had been unsuccessful with him, and it is said that the Chief has referred the matter to the Chinese Government. Should Colonel Lockhart fail to get through Hunza he will again attempt to enter Kaffiristan, *via* Chitral, but if possible unattended by Chitrulis. In any case he will probably join hands with the Afghan Boundary Commission, if they return to India from that direction.

9th July, 1886. *Letters from India.* vol. 47. Letter no. 116, dated the 9th July, 1886.

Badakshan – Mr. Ney Elias left the Boundary Commission Camp at the end of April on his way back to Badakshan, *via* Shiberghan. He arrived at Fyzabad on the 23rd May. Being in bad health, he is returning to India with Colonel Lockhart's party.

Dir and Chitral

Colonel Lockhart's Mission arrived safely at Zebak on the 10th June, and he was near the Dorah pass on the 17th of June. The Amir has promised to help them in his own territory, but strongly objects to the Mission visiting Kaffiristan. Colonel Lockhart will return to India as soon as possible, to take up the duties of Quartermaster-General, and Colonel Woodthorpe will probably bring the Mission back *via* Chitral, after entering Kafiristan from Chitral country if he finds it safe to do so.

30th July, 1886. *Letters from India.* vol. 47. Letter no. 131, dated the 30th July, 1886.

Abstract of the Contents of a Despatch to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 131.

2 Feb. 1886. To His Highness Abdul Rahman Khan, G.C.S.I., Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies.

Asks if His Highness has any objection to letting Colonel Lockhart pass by Wakhan and Badakhshan into Kafiristan as soon as the winter is over.

25th March, 1886. To His Highness, etc.

Reminds His Highness of the above request, and asks him to issue orders to his frontier officials on the subject.

23rd March, 1886. From His Highness Abdul Rahman Khan, G.S.C.I., Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies.

Acknowledges receipt of letter dated 2 February 1886, and consents to Colonel Lockhart entering Kafiristan from Badakhshan. Adds that he has instructed his frontier officials to look after him.

22nd April, 1886. To His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

Thanks His Highness for the above letter, and states that Colonel Lockhart has been informed.

10th April, 1886. From His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan. Acknowledges receipt of letter dated 25th March, 1886, and states that he cannot understand the object of the Mission to Kafiristan. Withdraws his consent to party going there by Badakhshan until the real object of the movement is explained.

22nd April, 1886. To His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

In reply explains that the object is simply to gain information of the country and its people, and assures His Highness that the British Government have never had any thought of occupying Kafiristan.

7th May, 1886. From His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

Acknowledges receipt of the above letter, and adheres to his decision not to let the party enter Kafiristan from Badakhshan.

9th June, 1886. To His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

Replies to the above letter, and informs His Highness that Colonel Lockhart has already marched for Wakhan. The Viceroy trusts His Highness will alter his decision.

14th June, 1886, No. 1075 F. Telegram to the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar.

Directs him to send a special post to Colonel Lockhart, informing him that the Commander-in-Chief wishes him to officiate as Quarter-master-General, and telling him to hand over the charge of the Mission to Colonel Woodthorpe. Requests him to inform the Amir, and to ask him to help Colonel Lockhart through.

16th June, 1886, No. 1092 F. Telegram to the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar.

Directs him to send a message urgently to the Amir that Colonel Lockhart's Mission are reported to be in great difficulty owing to want of money and supplies, and that the Viceroy trusts His Highness will issue immediate orders to ensure them hospitable and friendly treatment.

22nd June, 1886. From His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan. Acknowledges receipt of letter dated 9th June, 1886, and refuses to let Colonel Lockhart's party enter Kafiristan while the question of the Turi disturbances remain pending.

26th June, 1886, No. 7 C. From the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar.

Forwards a letter received from the Amir promising to assist Colonel Lockhart on his return journey, but adhering to his refusal to let the party visit Kafiristan.

23rd July, 1886. To His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan.

Intimates that Colonel Lockhart's party has been withdrawn from Afghanistan.

3rd August, 1886. Letters from India. vol. 47. *Translation of a Letter from Lt.-Col. Ata-ulla Khan, Sardar Bahadur, British Agent at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Dept.,* No. 62, dated Paghman, the 3rd August, 1886.

[para. 8] While taking meals I told the Amir:— “The Government of India wishes to have a map of Kafiristan or to obtain information from anyone who knows the geography of that country and is acquainted with its passes.” His Highness thereupon said:— “I have seen the borders of Kafiristan, but I cannot make a correct map of the country. I will draw a map for your information.” His Highness then drew a map with his own hand, a copy of which I forward herewith. His Highness told me not to send it to Government till a correct and complete one was made, and added that there might be mistakes in it. I asked His Highness whether there was any pass in it, which might lead to Badakhshan and India. His Highness replied — “There is no outlet on the other side. In the Chaghatai reign people entered the Darrah-i-Nur and came out at Badakhshan. This is the shortest road, but it is very narrow. A man riding on horseback would have to go two miles riding and two miles on foot.” The Dabir [دبور, secretary] was ordered to write to the authorities at Kunar, Darrah-i-Nur, Lumbakan (Laghman), Tagao, Nijrao, Panjsher, Indrao, Khost, Faizabad, Jarm, Shah Nasir Khisrau, and Anjuman, calling on them to send to Kabul any merchants, who might be trading with the interior of Kafiristan. His Highness said that information would

be collected from such men and a map would be prepared. His Highness then said – “The Afghan frontier extends from Kunar to the borders of Chitral. Chitral and Asmar are the only places not included in Afghanistan. Last year the Mihtar of Chitral had designs on Asmar. The people of that place applied to me for help. I wrote to the Mihtar to dispel such an idea from his mind, else there will be fighting. Kafiristan is situated on both sides of the Himalayas and is populated also on both sides.” I asked the Amir whether there was a road from Kafiristan to Swat. His Highness replied that the road terminates at Kunar. His Highness then said – “The length of Kafiristan is about 60 miles in a straight line.”

14th April, 1887. *Letters from India.* vol. 50. *Peshawar Confidential Diary,* No. 7, dated the 14th April, 1887.

Kafiristan

4. A deputation of about 60 men of the Siah Posh Kafir country went to Kabul, and the Amir granted them dresses of honor and some money presents, and it is stated that he has sent with them 18 Muhammadan religious leaders to induce the people of the country to submit to him. It may be noted here that Mullah Khalil, a religious leader of the Mohmand country, attacked two villages of the Kafir country last year and forced them to submit to the Amir.

18th October, 1887. *Letters from India.* vol. 51. *Translation of a letter from Lt.-Col. Ata-ulla Khan, Sardar Bahadur, British Agent at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Dept.,* No. 83, dated Kabul, the 18th of October, 1887.

After compliments.— I beg to represent that . . . His Highness came back to the citadel on Saturday and held a Darbar [دربار, Court], which I attended. His Highness enquired after my health and I occupied by seat.

Five Kafir girls and a Kafir woman, who had a child in her arms, were presented before the Amir, who said – “They should be appraised. Half the price should be paid into the State treasury, and the other half should be given to the person, who brought them.” Accordingly they were valued at Rs. 400, Rs. 200 of

which was given to the person, who had brought them. I asked His Highness – “Have they been recently brought?” His Highness replied – “Yes. People always bring them. Sometimes the Kafirs catch the Afghans and carry them away. I prevented the (Lockhart) Mission (from entering Kafiristan) thinking that it might intercede on behalf of the Kafirs, i.e., that nothing should be said to them, and thus it would incur the anger of the Afghans.” I represented – “The object of the Mission in visiting that country was to obtain geographical knowledge of the place and its roads, and to prepare a map thereof. It had no other object in view. With this view Europeans travel all over the world and obtain geographical knowledge of countries, and do not care for the money they have to spend or for the hardships they have to undergo.”

21st Nov. 1887. *Letters from India.* vol. 51. *Minute Paper/Political Dept.* Dated the 21st November, 1887.

Subject: *Gilgit/Kafiristan Mission.* – Compilation of a report by Gen. Lockhart and Col. Woodthorpe.

No report of the information collected by this Mission having been compiled, the Gov’t of India propose that Brigadier-General W. S. A. Lockhart, Bengal Infantry, and Col. R. G. Woodthorpe, R.E., may be placed on special duty in England for a period of 6 months in order to write a complete account of their travels with this Mission. . . The preparation of such a report is very desirable and the information collected by the Mission should certainly be recorded. . . [See also Dufferin’s letter to Viscount Cross, dated Simla, the 31st October, 1887, in *Letters from India*, vol. 51.]

17th April, 1888. *Letters from India.* vol. 53. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 7, dated the 17th April, 1888.

Kafiristan and Kunar

5. Ten Siahposh Kafirs arrived in Jalalabad by way of Kattar [Katar] to pay their respects to the Amir. They said their country contained three thousand families at feuds with each other. They asked the Amir to support them with fire-arms; they would force their tribesmen also to submit to him. The Amir agreed and

wrote to Colonel Muhammad Amin in Kunar to assist them. On their return journey with khillats [خاٹ, robe of honour] from the Amir, Bangi Malik of the Safi tribe, resident of the Dewa Ghol Pass (independent territory) killed them in the said pass. The Sufi Regiment and the Artillery in Shewa have moved towards the Mazar Pass and not towards Kafiristan as had been first intended.

8th May, 1888. *Letters from India*. vol. 53. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda*, letter No. 67, dated 8th May, 1888.

The visit of Tamasp Khan, the Chief of Asmar, to the Amir, was mentioned in the last journal. The Amir twitted him with want of courage for not attacking Umra Khan of Jandol; but before his departure he received a handsome khillat, and the Amir conferred upon him an annual allowance. . . A pledge is said to have been taken from him to prevail on the Siahposh Kafirs to wait on the Amir; to have the khutba [خطبہ, sermon] read in His Highness's name in the mosques in Asmar; and to help in constructing the road from Jalalabad through Kattar to Chitral. Since the Khan's return to his country, the Amir has had to send 300 cavalry to his aid, the Khan declaring that his friendship with His Highness had given rise to a general feeling of hostility against him. It is reported, moreover, that the tribe has compelled him to promise never again to visit the Amir.

Several Kafirs have come in to the Amir at his summons. In Darbar and elsewhere the Amir has threatened the invasion of their country unless they make their submission; and has pointed out to them that allegiance to him would be more profitable than their allegiance to the Ruler of Chitral. At the beginning of March His Highness told the officers of the army that he intended sending an expedition against the Kafirs after the Nauroz. Since then the Sufi regiment has started for Kattar, which may possibly be the first step in this direction. On the 23rd March a party of Kafirs arrived at Jalalabad and agreed to become Afghan subjects. They were dismissed with khillats, but on their way back to their homes, they were attacked and killed by a malik of the Safi tribe.

Chitral has not been beyond the scope of His Highness's intrigues, in spite of his assertions to the contrary. . . Latterly, the Amir

appears to be working against Aman-ul-Mulk, from whom he is trying to withdraw the Kafirs now owing him allegiance.

31 May, 1888. *Letters from India.* vol. 54. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 9, dated the 31st May, 1888.

14. *Bajaur and Kafiristan*

The Amir's troops in Kattar on the border of the Siahposh Kafir territory are said to have made an attempt to encroach upon that territory. They had been opposed, and the construction of the road from Jalalabad *via* Kunar towards Kattar had been interrupted. If a collision were to occur the people of Bajaur intended siding with the Siahposh Kafirs.

16th June, 1888. *Letters from India.* vol. 54. *Peshawar Confidential Diary*, No. 10, dated the 16th June, 1888.

The Amir and Independent Tribes – Khyber, Bajaur, Kafiristan, Chitral, &c.

13 (C.) Muhammad Mattab Nazir, a trusted agent of Muhammad Sharif Khan, Khan of Dir, arrived recently in Peshawar, and is reported to have stated as follows:— When the Khan of Asmar was in attendance upon the Amir at Jalalabad about three months ago, Ram Malik, an influential headman of Kamdesh in the Siahposh Kafir country, waited upon the Amir, and His Highness treated him with much consideration. In his conversation with the Amir, Ram Malik said that the Amir was a great and powerful ruler, but that it was a pity that he had not supported Sher Afzal, disaffected half-brother of Aman-ul-Mulk, ruler of Chitral, so as to retain a hold upon Chitral. (N.B. — By the Amir's arrangements, Sher Afzal is at present in the Jarram fort in Badakhshan, not far from the Chitral frontier). The Amir replied that he was considering this question. This information was then immediately conveyed from Jalalabad to Aman-ul-Mulk by his friends, and he placed a few armed men on the Asmar road to seize Ram Malik — they did so, and put him to death. Aman-ul-Mulk, to avoid the Amir's suspicions, gave out that a Siahposh Kafir, who had lately been converted to the Muhammadan faith and had become a follower of Shah Baba of Dir, had killed Ram Malik. Muhammad Sherif Khan, Khan of Dir, sent a message to Shah

Baba, asking him to expell the alleged assassin of Ram Malik or make him over to Dir to turn out of Bajaur or to send to the Amir. Shah Baba took no notice of the communication of the Khan of Dir, and when Aman-ul-Mulk received information of it, he at once wrote to Dir to desist from such intentions, and added that he would arrange for a reconciliation between Dir and Umra Khan of Jandol. Muhammad Sharif Khan was not, however, disposed to make peace with Jandol, and had sent Miyan Rahat Shah, Kaka Khel, to Chitral to advise Aman-ul-Mulk to trouble himself no further in this matter.

It was not known with what object the Amir occupied Kattar and disturbed the Siahposh Kafir country. It was conjectured that he intended to work against Aman-ul-Mulk, so that the latter might leave Chitral and move towards Gilgit, or that the Chitral and Badakhshan routes might be brought to meet a road through Kunar, Asmar, Chitral, and Zibak. It was not thought likely that the Amir would send a military expedition against Bajaur.

14 (b). The Amir was endeavouring to construct a road through Kafiristan to Badakhshan, but the Shinwaris of Shingal with the connivance of such Bajaur tribes as the Mahmunds and Salarazai of Babakar gave much trouble to the six hundred Khasaders [خاصه دار] (irregulars) in Kattar; supplies and money sent to them were plundered, and raids and murders were committed. The Amir was not constructing this road in Russian interest but for himself. He had collected some crores of rupees in Badakhshan and Kabul, and if a rupture occurred between him and the British Government he could hardly venture into Turkistan as he could not trust Sardar Muhammad Ishak Khan. He would therefore escape by this route and remain in Badakhshan under the protection of Russia; success in constructing the above road was very doubtful, because so many independent tribes were living on it and were strong enough to oppose its completion.

23rd June, 1888. *Letters from India.* vol. 54. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 11, dated the 23rd June, 1888.

The Amir and Khyber and Kafiristan

A deputation of Siahposh Kafirs consisting of four headmen, *viz.*, Surjandat of Kamoz [Katir], Tabnik of Payam, Marya of Au-ranchba [Zhönchigal] and Kannudaul of Nashi [Nishei], and

forty men are reported to have arrived in Kunar through Kazi Amirulla Khan, head Kazi [قاضی, judge]. Rs. 800 has been paid for their expenses from Chighan Serai to Pishat, and they are well entertained.

They were afraid that the Amir would not take possession of their country, but merely construct the proposed road through it. He would not interfere with their religion, but they should adopt the Muhammadan dress. They were to go to Kabul.

16th August, 1888. *Letters from India.* vol. 54. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 15, dated the 16th August, 1888.

Kunar and Kafiristan

15. On account of the recent rebellious and hostile conduct of the Sangu Khel Shinwaris, the attitude of the Sufi tribe of Mazar and Shamashat on the Kunar border, who had been peaceful for some time past, has changed. They committed a raid between Nurgal and Islampur, killed a few travellers, and damaged the road. The Amir's brigadier in Chowki went to Kattar and sent Kazi Saif-ud-din of Chighanserai to the people of Shingal to advise them to visit the brigadier and enlist themselves among the friends and dependants of the Amir, who had no intention to take revenue or levies from them, and only desired to employ them in some work in Kunar, Pech, and Kafiristan. No reply had been given by the people of Shingal.

Sayad Ghulam Jan, Governor of Nurgal, Shewa and Shiggi, had lately received a letter from the Amir to appoint a specialist to travel *via* Darrah Nur, Kalman and Shingal to trace a way through the hills as far as Badakhshan and Kunduz, so that if practicable a road might be constructed. In compliance with these instructions, Sayad Ghulam Jan had appointed Sayad Kamal, son of Sayad Hashim, resident of Shiggi, on this special duty, the said Sayad being the religious adviser in the above-mentioned countries. Sayad Ghulam Jan had remarked in an audience that the Amir desired to construct three roads as follows towards Badakhshan and Kunduz:—

- I. *Via* Chighanserai and Kotal-i-Babarghab.
- II. *Via* Darrah Nur.
- III. *Via* Samhan, Farrashghan, and the Siaposh Kafir country.

His Highness had commenced a fourth road from Kattar to the village of Salim in Shingal.

Kafiristan

17. Since the murder of Ram Malik, the head of the Kamoj Siahposh Kafirs, by the followers of Shah Baba of Bajaur, reported in previous diaries, the Siaposh Kafirs commit raids on the Lahori [Lowari Pass], Shahi, Deshan, and Upper Baroul roads, and without a strong guard, no convoys can pass. Many Muhammadans have been killed.

Kafirs and Mahmunds made a combined attack on the fort of Kattar, and Brigadier Muhammad Amin, commanding the Kabul troops in Nurgal, repulsed the marauders. He seized some of them, and again released them without inflicting any punishment. The Kafirs made another raid on a village between Kattar and Chighanserai and carried off three boys.

29th August, 1888. *Letters from India.* vol. 55. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 16, dated the 29th August, 1888.

The Amir, Kafiristan, and Dir

10. The same correspondent [unidentified] reports that on the 4th August Biyaj Balli, a representative headman of the Piyam Siahposh Kafir section, who live four marches beyond Kattar, and whose country is only three marches to Badakshan, arrived in Kunar via Chighanserai, Kattar and Gambir. Some Safi headmen and Mulla Muhammad Sarwar, Akhunzada, the religious adviser of the Pech Pass of the Safi country, escorted him to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, who gave some presents to the Safi headmen and dismissed them.

(b) Some people of Shingal, Baraul, and Safi countries attacked the Siahposh Kafir village of Chiniyar, a fight took place and resulted in much bloodshed. The Muhammadans burnt the village, killed Malik Jaimal, the Kafir headman of the village, and brought his women and children as prisoners to Shingal.

September, 1888. *Letters from India.* vol. 55. *Peshawar Confidential Diary.*

Muhammad Sharif Khan and Communications between the Nizam of Hyderabad and Trans-Border Chiefs.

17. The following statements made by Bahadur Khan . . . give an account of his mission by the Khan of Dir to the British Government. . .

Statement of Bahadur Khan, Agent of Muhammadad Sharif Khan, Khan of Dir, made on the 5th September 1888, in three petitions.
Petition II –

My verbal instructions from the Khan of Dir are to make the following representations. . .

The Khan states that during his lifetime his deceased father was in friendly communication with the British Government; when the people of Sind made preparations to attack Mr. McNair, the Khan and his deceased father were engaged in fighting with Umra Khan of Jandol, and they at once abandoned all operations and went to Sind and protected Mr. McNair against the fanatics, and guarded him as far as Chitral. The Khan entertained hopes that the British Government would appreciate and recognize this service. . . [The Khan of Dir then recounts his efforts to establish relations with the British Government. He wishes to purchase rifles and requests that a British Agent be appointed to Dir where he would eventually live ‘publicly and permanently’. . . Petition III is a request that Bahadur Khan be granted a passport to travel to Hyderabad to establish friendly relations between the Nizam and the Khan of Dir.]

(A) In November last Hussain Shah, Miyan Kaka Khel of the Peshawar district, not the Hussain Shah, Miyan, who accompanied Mr. McNair to Swat, Bajaur, and Chitral, went to Chitral together with Muhammad Afzal, Miyan, originally a resident of Bajaur, and for sometime past in the service of the Nizam of Deccan, Hyderabad. They advised Aman-ul-Mulk to enter into a matrimonial alliance and give his daughter to the Nizam. Aman-ul-Mulk refused on the ground that they had brought no letter to the above effect to his address from the Nizam, and he gave them a Siahposh Kafir girl of 10 or 12 years of age to take to the Nizam. Hussain Shah and Muhammad Afzal, together with the girl, are in the Ziarat of Kaka Sahib, Peshawar district, and they will take her in a few days to the Nizam. . .

Kafiristan

18. With reference to the Siahposh Kafir girl mentioned in the last paragraph, Bahadur Khan adds that the girl belongs to a

religious adviser of the Kamdesh section of the Siahposh Kafir tribe, and that three months ago when he was in the service of the ruler of Chitral a Kamdesh deputation, consisting of Mal-dang, Mihr Jan, Buritaj, and other headmen complained before him that the ruler of Chitral had taken Rs. 300 from Hussain Shah and Muhammal Afzal, and had given the girl to them contrary to the wishes of her parents. These Kafirs were much pleased with Colonel Lockhart, and he had held out hopes to them that the British Government would consider any petition from them. They now desire the Government to intervene and return the girl to them. They were at enmity with Afghans and could not travel through Afghan territory; but if the British Government returned the girl, they would go to British territory through Gilgit and Kashmir.

3rd May, 1889. *Letters from India.* vol. 57. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 5, dated the 3rd of May, 1889.

Kafiristan

24. Gulab Khan adds that Sayad Shah, a catechist of the Peshawar Missionaries, went to Kafiristan in October 1888 *via* Kashmir, and is now preaching among the Kamdesh Siahposh Kafirs. The headmen of this section of the tribe are Diwan Mulk, Marjan, Mir Hazar, Ashtaluf, Mullai, Kal and Wisa. The whole section appreciate the Christian religion, and if Sayad Shah or any other missionary live long in the country and continue to preach, a large number of the people might accept that religion. These people have no books on religion, and their chief pride is the assassination of persons of other religions. Gulab Khan quotes a story that a Siahposh Kafir on being asked why the tribe was addicted to bloodshed, and why it did not fear God, replied that Abu Jahl was its prophet who had killed many Muhammadans; that it is therefore the duty of the tribesmen to kill as many people as possible and thus earn the title of 'Goki' and go to heaven. They call their God 'Umra', and their religious leader is called 'Pi'. The men occupy themselves with killing animals and birds, and women do all agricultural and household work.

(b) About the 3rd April, five men of the Khan of Dir, on their way back from Aman-ul-Mulk, Ruler of Chitral, were attacked

and killed by a party of Siahposh Kafir raiders in the Lahori [Lowari] Pass, and the guns, swords, spears and other property in their possession were carried off. A few residents of Chitral accompanied the men of Dir, but they were not molested by the raiders.

(c) It is reported from independent Mohmand territory that a deputation of 200 Chomiya Kafirs has gone to Kabul to pay their respects to the Amir's sons.

24th August, 1889. *Letters from India*. vol. 58. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 11, dated the 24th of August, 1889.

Kafiristan

20. Bij Balli, a representative headmen of Waikal [Waigal] Siahposh Kafirs, and 60 tribesmen, have arrived in Kunar on their way to Kabul. The Amir desires them to attend in Mazar-i-Sharif to arrange for a road through Kunar and Kafiristan to Badakhshan. Bij Balli waited on the Amir last year at Kabul.

A report received through the Khyber states that the Amir intends despatching three regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry and three batteries of artillery into Kafiristan *via* Hazarastan and Bandol, and after some months' stay in the country these troops are to go to Badakhshan.

10th September, 1889. *Letters from India*. vol. 58. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 12, dated the 10th of September, 1889.

The Amir and Kafiristan

5. On the 1st June, Aman-ul-Mulk received a letter from Umra Khan of Jandol, stating that it was his intention to wage a religious war against the Siahposh Kafirs, as they always killed travellers and committed other offences. It had been decided that the Jandol, Nawagai, Salarzai and Asmar forces should advance *via* Asmar, and that Dir, Swati and Painda Khel levies should advance through the Lahori Pass. Umra Khan begged that Aman-ul-Mulk should take no offence, as he (Umra Khan) was only performing a duty which was consistent with the Muhammadan religion. The Mehtar and the Kafirs were alarmed, and the Kafir elders and agents of the Mehtar visited Shah Baba and Muhammad Sharif Khan of Dir, and the Kafirs entered into an agree-

ment that they would not in future commit bloodshed or any other injury to Muhammadan travellers. Since then the Lahori Pass and other roads had not been infested, and were quite safe for travellers.

Fighting was going on between Kafirs for some days past, and one party had sent agents to the ruler of Chitral for assistance. Last year two Kaka Khel Mians were killed in the Lahori Pass by Siahposh Kafirs, and the ruler of Chitral took as a penalty from the offenders a Kafir boy, and gave him as compensation to the heirs of the deceased. These heirs lately advanced a claim for further compensation, stating that four murders had been committed, and two thousand rupees had been plundered. The Mehtar summoned a deputation from the Kafir country, and they stated that the murders had been committed by the command of Shahi Malik, Rahat Shah Mian, and Harifulla Mian. The Mehtar allowed them to return to their own country, and told the complainants that he would not arrange for further compensation. Rumours prevailed in Chitral that the Amir had a firm intention to attack Kafiristan, and that he would send his household from Balkh to Kabul through Badakhshan by the following route, *viz.*, Manjan, Lower Qauran, Upper Qauran, Ajband, Paryan and Panjsher. This road takes only seven days between Badakhshan and Kabul.

Jandol and Chitral

Umra Khan of Jandol has, with the connivance of the Khan of Asmar, built a fort in Harnoi on the Chitral border. He has given out that he will keep this fort only during such time as he is engaged in operations with Siahposh Kafirs.

8th January, 1890. *Letters from India.* vol. 59. *Translation of a letter from Sayyid Diwan Muhammad, British Agency Munshi at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* No. 3, dated Kabul, the 8th of January, 1890.

After compliments: . . . People of Afghanistan used to bring Kafir girls and sell them in the town for prices offered in proportion to their beauty by the purchasers, who used to make them their slave girls. The Amir has lately ordered that no one should do so now, because the trans-border Maliks have promised to pay

revenue. Occasionally 5 or 7 (Maliks) come at a time. Those who come receive khilats and go back to their country with their expenses paid. For this reason the Amir has prevented people from kidnapping their girls. The old custom has been stopped. Now those people, who bring Kafir girls, give 60 goats, a handkerchief, and a few yards of chintz to the parents of the girls, and they willingly give their daughters to people, who thus pay them about Rs. 350.

24th February, 1890. *Letters from India.* vol. 59. *Translation of a letter from Lt.-Col. Ata-ulla Khan, Sardar Bahadur, British Agent at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 16, dated Mazar-i-Sharaf, the 24th February, 1890.*

After compliments. — I attended the Darbar held by His Highness on Saturday . . .

Some people made a complaint against the Shah of Munjan, stating that the Shah in collusion with the people of Kafiristan did not allow them to go to that country. . . His Highness said — “My men went to Kafiristan and counted that there were remaining only 2,500 houses of Kafirs. I will send at first a messenger to them during the spring, informing them that, if they become willingly my subjects, it will be better for them, and wherever the Kafirs become Muhammadan of their own free will, I shall not establish any military station there; and I shall appoint Khassadars and build forts in those villages, the inhabitants of which will remain Kafirs, and will agree to pay the ‘Jazia’; but if the Kafirs do not agree to the proposals made by the messenger, I will depute my troops and tribesmen during the spring to make them my subjects.” . . . The Darbar was over at about 4 o’clock when it began to rain and snow.

17th April, 1890. *Letters from India.* vol. 59. *Letter from Gen. W. S. A. Lockhart to Edmund Neel, Assistant Secretary, Political & Secret Department, India Office, London, dated the 17th April, 1890.*

My dear Neel

I return, with many thanks, Dr. Robertson's report [of 14 January, 1890]. He makes some very curious blunders. e.g. says "The Kamdesh people speak with wonder as well as dissatisfaction at the splendid gifts given to the upper Kam people (their enemies) by Colonel Lockhart, and openly say that this is the real reason they would not let him pursue his journey down the Bashgul Valley." Now, apart from the very apparent absurdity of supposing that any savages would object to people entering their country with gifts because their enemies also had had gifts, the Kamdesh people had no say in the matter. We wanted to go to Virran – the *red* Kafir capital, and, when thwarted in that, suggested that we might go on south to the Kamdesh people, but my hosts in the upper valley would not hear of this and turned us bodily out of Kafiristan altogether. Robertson is either an ass, or has never read our report – or doesn't believe it.

Yours sincerely,
Lockhart

11th July, 1890. *Letters from India.* vol. 60. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 10, dated the 11th of July, 1890.

[Umra Khan of Jandol has conquered Dir]

III. *Interview between Shah Baba and Umra Khan*

On the 21st June, Shah Baba met Umra Khan in conference... At first Shah Baba congratulated Umra Khan on the successful termination of his operations against Muhammad Sherif Khan [Khan of Dir], and then Umra Khan asked him to let him know what his wish and will were. Shah Baba replied that this world was transitory and everything passed like dreams, and nothing was superior to acquiring a good name and reputation, and this could only be earned by a religious war being waged against the Siahposh Kafirs, and compelling them to accept the Muhammadan religion.

These Siahposh Kafirs had become addicted to highway robbery and assassination of Muhammadans, and it was lawful according to the Muhammadan law to take measures for their general slaughter unless and until they became Muhammadans. The English had secured the friendship of these Kafirs, and frequently went through Kashmir and Chitral to visit Kafiristan, and it was

desirable to stop such intercourse between the English and the people of Kafiristan. Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, ruler of Chitral, was also an infidel, inasmuch as he associated with English, Dogras, and Kafirs, and a religious war against him was also lawful. If Umra Khan gave effect to the above advice of Shah Baba, it would add to his fame, wealth and prosperity, and then Swat might come under his sway without any fight. After success in all these undertakings, the title of Amir would be given to Umra Khan. . .

In reply to the above, Umra Khan said that he had made up his mind to act according to this advice of Shah Baba, and desired him to accept the appointment of 'Sheikh-ul-Islam'. Shah Baba replied that he could do nothing at present without instructions from the family of his spiritual leader, the late Akhund of Swat, but that he would be able to make all arrangements for him when he was successful in the proposed war against infidels. It was not advisable to undertake such operations at present, as Chitral might offer resistance with the assistance of Dogras of Kashmir and troops of the British Government. Umra Khan had better wait till the road between Chitral and Kashmir had been closed with snow, and the country now acquired by him had become thoroughly peaceful.

IV. Umra Khan's Aspirations

Umra Khan agreed to the advice of Shah Baba, and postponed all military operations until the end of September 1890, and returned to Jandol on the 26th June. Many religious characters and notables of Bajaur visited him and offered congratulations and assistance for the proposed religious war. . . He [Umra Khan] is also collecting arms and ammunitions, and making preparations for an advance on Kafiristan soon after September.

VI. Kafiristan

Achuru, the son of a Kamdesh Kafir, had gone with Dr. Robertson to Simla. He stated that on the one hand the ruler of Chitral had become displeased with them, and on the other hand Umra Khan threatened them with an attack.

Kafiristan

16. Rumours have been spread in the Mohmand territory that, in the beginning of the cold weather, Ghulam Haidar Khan,

Commander-in-Chief, will go to Badakhshan *via* Asmar and Kafiristan and will open a road between Kunar and Badakhshan through the Siaposh Kafir territory. Babar, the renowned Moghal Emperor, had adopted the same route in his journey from Kunar to Badakhshan. A military officer was to start with a detachment from Badakhshan, and to meet Ghulam Haidar Khan in Kafiristan.

19th July, 1890. *Letters from India.* vol. 60. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 11, dated the 19th July, 1890.

The Amir, Dir, and Aspirations of Umra Khan

13. . . Umra Khan desires to extend his territory as far as Chitral by first undertaking a military expedition against the Siahposh Kafirs, who live on the Dir and Chitral border, and if he is successful in this expedition he intends attacking and occupying Chitral. He sent a message to the Siahposh Kafirs, stating that they must accept the Muhammadan religion, otherwise he would fight and put them all to death. The Kafirs sent a deputation making professions of submission, and begging to be excused from becoming Muhammadans, but Umra Khan declined and sent letters to the people of the Bajaur and Mohmand territory proclaiming that, as the slave of God, he had determined on a religious war being waged with the people of Kafiristan, and inviting all true Muhammadans to co-operate with him. . .

Kunar and Kafiristan

14. The Safis of Pech and Mamunds and Salarzais held a meeting at which they proposed to proceed against the Kafirs of Wama, and force them to become Muhammadans. These Kafirs sent a deputation through Malik Hasan Khan, Governor of Chaghanserai, to Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan, Governor of Kunar, offering eight slave-girls if he could prevent the above-mentioned tribes from going to Kafiristan through Chaghanserai, and the Governor of Kunar consented. . .

December, 1890. *Letters from India.* vol. 62. *Memorandum of Information Regarding the Course of Affairs Beyond the North-West Frontier Receiving During the Month of December, 1890.*

Gilgit, Kafiristan, &c.

News has been received from Dr. Robertson, dated the 29th October. He had then been a month at Kamdesh in Kafiristan. He writes that the Mehtar of Chitral had done his utmost to prevent his entering Kafiristan, or at all events to limit his stay there to a few days. Both the Mehtar and his son, the Shah-i-Mulk, warned Dr. Robertson that his life would be in danger, but their real fear is that their influence in Kafiristan will diminish the longer an English officer remains in the country. By the Kafirs themselves, Dr. Robertson has been received in a very friendly and hospitable manner, and they have asked him to stay two or three years, and then to take a deputation of them to India on his return. The Afghan forces sent from Kabul to attack the Kafirs from the south have not yet entered the country, and have been suffering greatly from cold and privation at Parian Darrah.

14th February, 1891. *Letters from India.* vol. 62. *Peshawar Confidential Diary,* No. 3, dated the 14th February, 1891.

Translation of a letter from Aman-ul-Mulk, ruler of Chitral, to Colonel E. L. Omanney, Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, dated 3 January, 1891.

After compliments. — All is well here, and I always pray for your good health. . . I have afforded every assistance to Dr. Robertson in reaching Kafiristan where he is safely put up; there are no other news worth communicating. Dr. Robertson has sent his letters by my servant, Mian Gul. If anything is sent for Dr. Robertson, it is advisable that Mian Gul may accompany my other servants who have gone for purchase of goods, so that he may be safe from danger on his way. . .

February, 1891. *Letters from India.* vol. 62. *North-West Frontier, Trans-Frontier Memoranda.* February 1891.

Kafiristan. — Private letters received at Gilgit from Dr. Robertson about Christmas time show that he continues to keep on fairly successful relations with the Kafirs. Torag Morag, the most influential man in Kamdesh, and also the high priest [Uta] of the Kam people, have sworn eternal friendship with him; and he begins to be quite hopeful for the future, though his position is

one of daily danger and anxiety. Umra Khan of Jandol has given up his intention of attacking the Kamdesh Kafirs, and is making friends with them, being too much occupied elsewhere to do otherwise at present. Several of the Amir's troops at the Darrah-i-Paryan have died from cold and exposure. The Amir sent a message to the Kafirs that, if they tender allegiance to him of their own free will, he will not levy taxes from them or establish military posts in their country; but that if he has to reduce them to submission by force, troops will be permanently located in their country. The Kafirs replied that they will not become subjects of His Highness.

April, 1891. *Letters from India.* vol. 63. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda,*
April 1891.

Kafiristan. — News has been received from Dr. Robertson up to the 1st of February. He had been seriously ill throughout December, but had recovered sufficiently to travel. He had been in considerable peril at one time, owing to the misconduct of a servant, who after robbing his master, had raised a disturbance, in which Dr. Robertson and his whole party were threatened with massacre. Dr. Robertson has been down the Kunar valley to the land about Narsat in dispute between the Mehtar of Chitral and the Khan of Jandol. He considers the Mehtar's hold on it very slight, and that any attempt to build a fort there would lead to his being attacked by the people of Asmar. The Mehtar had not relaxed his endeavours to get Dr. Robertson robbed and turned out of Kafiristan. He is said to be in great fear that the Government intends annexing his country, and he has tried to imbue the Kafirs with a similar feeling.

23rd May, 1891. *Letters from India.* vol. 63. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 10, dated the 23rd of May, 1891.

The Amir and his Kafir Subjects in Connection with Attacks Threatened on the Latter from Bajaur.

8. Some days ago, a deputation of Siahposh Kafirs under their representative headmen, Kamchan, Jauntak and Daur, residents of Gintol, visited Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Jalalabad, and he appointed his agents to go with them through

Kattar and Duzit and find out the road by which the Emperor Baber took his army from Badakhshan to Afghan Turkistan in ten days.

(b) About 15,000 Salarzai and Mohmands and Shinwaris of Shingal advanced to attack and burn the villages belonging to the Kafirs of Wama and Kamdesh. These Kafirs informed the Amir's Brigadier at Chawki that they had submitted to the Amir, and begged therefore that they might be protected against the above combination. Under instructions from Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, the Brigadier at Chawki took his troops as far [as] Chaghanserai and dispersed the coalition. The Kafirs brought 200 sheep and 10 slave-girls to the Brigadier, and stated that their tribe is of European descent, their ancestors having been brought from Europe into Kafiristan by Alexander the Great. Wali Muhammad Khan, Governor of Kunar, has invited Mulla Khalil, Akhundaza, from the Mohmand territory to advise the Salarzai and Mamunds of Bajaur to act in accordance with the instructions of the Brigadier Commanding at Chowki, but on the other hand the Salarzai and Mamunds have asked Mulla Khalil to prevent the Brigadier from interfering with them in the proposed attack on the Kafir country. These two tribes gave out that the religious leaders in Bajaur had given them permission to fight with the troops in Chawki, but since they have received a letter from the Amir, of which the following is a translation, they have been much frightened:—

"Be it known to the people, elders, headmen, and representatives of the Mamund and Salarzai tribes of Bajaur that they are deprived of royal favours and sentenced to severity and violence. It has been reported to His Highness that they have become refractory and rebellious, and have thus violated the laws of the Prophet and of their King who is the shadow of God. They have entertained hostile designs, and desire to attack Muhammadan villages in the hills and declare themselves fanatics. It is most surprising that they should consider as infidels those Muhammadans who have made their submission to the ruler of Islam. Consequently, with the aid of the Prophet and his four friends, a gallant and victorious force will be appointed by His Highness to punish the rebels, and to destroy them with guns and other firearms as a warning to them. Orders have been sent to the

troops in Kunar and Chaghan-serai to advance at once without waiting for any reinforcements from Kabul to destroy the villages of the rebels. We (i.e., the Amir) have read the books on the Muhammadan religion, and have, in consultation with learned persons, directed that the rebels should be put to death."

On receipt of the above letter from the Amir, several Mallas and headmen visited Mulla Najam-ud-din, Akhundzada, and pointed out that the Salarzai and Mamunds used generally to fight with the Siahposh Kafirs, that the Kafirs of Kattar [Katar], Gabir [Gemir] and of a few other villages had only become Muhammadans under compulsion, that the Amir had taken possession of their villages and established posts, that this year some of these Kafirs had committed murderous outrages in the villages belonging to the Shinwaris of Shingal and Safis of Pech, and still the Amir and his officers prevented them from retaliating. They begged Mulla Najam-ud-din therefore to persuade the Mohmand tribes to assist them. The Mulla expressed himself exceedingly displeased with the Amir, and on the following day he invited the Usman Khel, Khwajazai and Atmar Khel Maliks to give their opinion as to what should be done. The Usman Khel, who are about 10,000 souls, promised to resist the Amir's troops if they proceed through *their* country, but the Atmar Khel declined to break up their friendly relations with the Amir as they possess lands in, and trade with, his territory, and the Khwajazai expressed themselves quite unable to oppose the Kabul troops, as the greater part of their tribesmen had gone to reside in the Peshawar district... On the 10th May, a deputation of the Mamund and Salarzai waited on Safdar Khan [Khan of Nawagai] and asked him to advise the Amir to send no troops against them. Safdar Khan entertained the deputation hospitably, and told them that they were very stupid not to discriminate between the strength of the Amir and their own weakness, that they should not interfere in any way with His Highness, and that he would write to His Highness begging pardon for their past conduct. The Amir is said to have sent a communication to the Officer Commanding at Chawki, expressing his satisfaction with the promptitude with which that officer had despatched the troops under his command to prevent the Salarzai and Mamunds from proceeding against the Siahposh Kafirs, and adding that the said

officer should support the Kafirs, and that reinforcements would be sent to him from Jalalabad or Kabul. Wali Muhammad Khan, Governor of Kunar, is raising a force of 400 Jezailchis to post them in Gintol, Gambir and Sangar, and thus to extend his jurisdiction close to the independent Kafir country. . . . General Kattal Khan has arrived in Indrab with one regiment of infantry, and is collecting supplies at that place to advance against the Siahposh Kafirs who are still independent.

9th June, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 95*, dated the 9th of June, 1891.

Kafiristan. — News has been received from Dr. Robertson, dated Lamboret [?], the 16th of March. He appears to be slowly surmounting the grave difficulties which encompass a traveller in this almost unknown country, and is beginning to be allowed to move about in it. Since his visit to Narsat in the Kunar valley, he has paid a visit to Shah-i-Mulk at Aronda in the Kohistan, and at the time of writing was about to return to Kamdesh.

The Amir continues his endeavours to extend his suzerainty over the Kafirs. The Salarzai, Mohmands and Shinwaris of Shingal recently started to attack the Kafirs of Wama and Kamdesh, near the Kunar border. The Kafirs appealed for protection to the Amir's General at Chawki, saying that they had submitted to His Highness. The General advanced to the head of the Kunar valley and dispersed the tribal gathering, and the Amir has since sent a letter to their headmen, declaring that they shall be severely punished. The tribes have appealed to the Khan of Nawagai to intercede for them, and he has promised to do so. The Governor of Kunar, taking advantage of the overtures of the Kafirs, is enlisting 400 Jezailchis to post them in Gintol, Gambir and Sangar, thus extending his jurisdiction close to the independent Kafir country. It is reported that General Kattai Khan, one of the most successful of the Generals in the Amir's service, will shortly advance from Indrab against the Siahposh Kafirs.

7th July, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 111*, dated the 7th of July, 1891.

Kafiristan. — News has been received from Dr. Robertson up to the 10th of May. He was still in the Kam Kafir country, but it was settled that, as soon as the passes were open, he was to be permitted to try and enter the Waigal and Preshangal [Parun] countries. He writes that he has every reason to be thoroughly satisfied with the position he at present holds among the Kam Kafirs.

8th September, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 157,*
dated the 8th of September, 1891.

Badakhshan. — General Said Shah continues to act as civil as well as military Governor of Badakhshan. The troops in Wakhan and Shighnan have been relieved by troops from Faizabad. Three Afghan regiments have arrived at Kila Panja, and there is said to be a still greater force on the Badakhshan and Shighnan frontier. It is believed that they are intended to attack Kafiristan via the Minjan Pass, and it is not understood that their concentration is in any way connected with the recent Russian activity on the Pamirs. . . .

Gilgit, Chitral, &c.

Letters from Dr. Robertson in Kafiristan state that he has traversed the Kafir valley visited by Colonel Lockhart, crossed a pass 15,000 feet high into the Minjan valley, and then returned on hearing that the Afghan Governor of Zebak was about to visit the valley. He writes that things are going on satisfactorily, and that he hoped to penetrate into the western valleys of Kafiristan, in which case he would not be heard of again for some time.

14th October, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 172,*
dated the 14th of October, 1891.

Kafiristan. — A great many Kafirs came to Kabul during the past month, and were converted to Muhammadanism by the Amir himself, who subsequently gave them presents and sent them back to their country. A letter has been received from Dr. Robertson, dated the 6th of August. He had up to that date failed in his endeavours to get to Presemgal [Parun], owing to the jealousies existing between the different sections of the Kafirs; but he has visited Lutdib [Lutdeh/Baragamatal] and was making a final effort to reach Presemgal, failing which he proposed to return very shortly to Gilgit.

9th November, 1891. *Letters from India.* vol. 64. *Peshawar Confidential Diary.* No. 21, dated the 9th of November, 1891.

The Amir and Kafiristan

4. The Amir appointed three agents to ascertain as far as possible the passes and population of Kafiristan, and it is said that these agents have submitted the necessary report to His Highness. The number of houses is stated to be 11,000, with a population of 44,000 persons, and as the country is fertile, the Amir is considering the question of sending a force into it.

About 50 Siahposh Kafirs lately waited on the Amir, having been sent in by some Afghan frontier officer; they became Muhammadans, and, after receiving dresses of honour, obtained permission to return to their homes.

9th December, 1891. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda.* Letter No. 204, dated the 9th of December, 1891.

Kafiristan

Dr. Robertson, after a stay of about a year in Kafiristan, reached Gakuch on his way back to Gilgit on the 14th of November. During October he had again met with serious opposition and difficulties in the Presemgal valley; his tent was rushed and his arms seized, and his life and the lives of his coolies appear to have been only saved by his indomitable coolness.

23rd January, 1892. *Letters from India.* vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 3, dated the 23rd of January, 1892.

Movements of Ghulam Haidar Khan

4. The Political officer, Khaibar, who appointed special messengers to obtain information regarding the movements in the Kunar valley of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, sends the following information received from this source:—“Ghulam Haidar has moved from Sarkani to the village of Dani, which is one march from Chaghanserai. He has with him two batteries of artillery, four regiments of infantry and two regiments of cavalry. The Khan of Nawagai waited on the Commander-in-Chief with 120 horsemen and 700 footmen. The people of Bajaur and the Surkh [سرخ, ‘red’] Kafirs have combined to resist Ghulam Haidar Khan, but the latter has made satisfactory arrangements

and is summoning additional tribal levies... Ghulam Haidar Khan professes to have no intention of fighting with the people of Bajaur, and asserts that his object is only to carry off from Asmar the daughter of Tahmasp Khan who was betrothed to Sardar Habibulla Khan [son of Amir Abdur Rahman]. The Surkh Kafirs, Charmangis, Mamunds, Salarzais, Safis and Shinwaris of Shigal have held out hopes of assistance to Umra Khan." ... Ghulam Haidar Khan talks of going to Bajaur and of taking measures for its subjugation, and Safdar Khan of Nawagai and other friends of the Amir have promised to help him. He is constructing a road between Chauki and Marawara along the bank of the Kunar River, but it is believed that, if he advances on the Shigal Pass by this road, the Mamund tribe will oppose him. The accounts which he gives of the objects of his mission vary from time to time, but include the following:—

- i. – to gain possession of the Kamoz Kafir country;
- ii. – to fetch from Asmar the daughter of the late Tahmasp Khan who has been betrothed to the Amir's son; and
- iii. – to punish Umra Khan, but he affirms that he has no intention of occupying Bajaur or of interfering with its independence.

(b) Mirza Ibrahim Khan, confidential Munshi [منشی, official secretary to a person of high rank] of Safdar Khan of Nawagai, wrote a letter to one of his friends in the Mohmand country to the following effect:—

"... The Amir has sent a firman to Ghulam Haidar Khan directing him to take measures for the appointment of Tahmasp Khan's son to the Khanship of Asmar or the restoration of Dir to Muhammad Sharif Khan, and for Safdar Khan to become the sole ruler of Bajaur. The Amir adds that, for the purpose of punishing Umra Khan, Ghulam Haidar Khan should proceed not *via* Nawagai, but through Asmar, that Kafirstan, Pech, Shigal, and Bajaur should be reduced to submission, and that any reinforcements required for these objects may be obtained from Kabul.

9th February, 1892. *Letters from India.* vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 4, dated the 9th of February, 1892.

3. The Political Officer, Khyber, sends the following information received from the special messengers appointed by him to send

reports regarding the movements in the Kunar Valley of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief:—

“II. *Dated 29th January.* — Under instructions from the Amir, Ghulam Haidar Khan has come with full preparation for fighting. . . He has not, however, yet commenced fighting, and Umra Khan is carefully watching his proceedings. . . A deputation of about 60 ‘Surkh Kafirs’ also visited the Commander-in-Chief, and in answer to his advice that they should submit to the Kabul Government, they said they would consult their tribe. . .”

“III. *Dated 1st February, 1892.* . . . The scarves and other presents which were given by the Commander-in-Chief to the Mamunds, Salarzai and Surkh Kafirs have been burnt by their tribesmen, who say they have determined to oppose him in the event of his interfering with their independence. Dissensions have occurred among these tribes, some having made up their minds to submit and others having decided to fight.”

“IV. *Dated 3rd February, 1892.* — The people of Pech and the Surkh Kafirs have submitted to Ghulam Haidar Khan. The Surkh Kafirs have become Muhammadans . . . Ghulam Haidar Khan has gone to the Pech country.”

(b) . . . Ghulam Haidar Khan has moved his camp from Chaghan-serai to Managi close to the Pech border, where several headmen of Pech waited on him and received khillats. . .

(c) . . . reports state that Ghulam Haidar Khan has not yet attacked any hostile tribe. He held a review of all his troops in the presence of . . . all the tribal deputations, which had visited him, whom he dismissed after bestowing on them dresses of honour and giving them the following advice:—

“You should consider him to be your friend who is the friend of the Amir, the ruler of Islam, and you should combine to destroy those who are enemies of the ruler of Islam.”

It is given out that the Mehtar of Chitral will help Umra Khan if he is attacked. Ghulam Haidar Khan continues to assert that his object is only to settle Asmar and Dir matters, and to open a road between Kunar and Badakhshan through Kafiristan. . .

A party of Kafirs and other malcontents fired into the camp of Ghulam Haidar Khan by night, and he gave permission to the Sangu Khel Shinwaris to retaliate by making raids in different passes. These Shinwaris plundered 1,600 cattle belonging to the

people of Shigal and brought the same to the Commander-in-Chief, who expressed himself much pleased. . .

5. The Amir and Bajaur

Leaving his brother Muhammad Shah Khan to command in Jandol, Umra Khan himself has taken off some levies in an unknown direction. It is said that he has gone either to Asmar or to fight with the Kafirs who lately committed a raid in Nara on the Chitral border and cut off the hands of four Muhammadans.

Kafiristan

(6) Kazi Asif-ud-din, son of Kazi Ahmad Gul, a resident of Chaghanserai, was appointed by Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, to distribute 800 rupees, 1,000 yards of red 'alwan', 2,000 yards of long cloth and 800 yards of muslin, among the Nashai [Nishei] Kafirs. The Chumia [Chimi] Kafirs are intriguing with the Safis of Pech who live in Chappa Darra below the Kund hill. The son of Bepaj Balli, an influential headman of Kafiristan, has paid his respects to Ghulam Haidar Khan who granted him four rifles, 200 rupees, one shawl and one turban, and directed him to go home and persuade other Kafirs to come and submit. Another Kafir deputation visited the Commander-in-Chief and having become Muhammadans remained in his camp.

23rd February, 1892. *Letters from India*. vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 5, dated the 23rd of February, 1892.

Umra Khan and Kafiristan

9. When the Kafir tribes come down to live in winter near the banks of the Chitral [Kunar] river, the Muhammadan residents of Bandi Baraul (Bajaur) make occasional raids on them and carry off their children and property which they sell. In pursuance of this custom a party of Bandi Baraul raiders lately attacked a Kafir hamlet on the Chitral river, but in the encounter which ensued the Kafirs caught three of the raiders and cut off their hands. These three raiders complained of their mal-treatment to Umra Khan, who thereupon left his brothers, Muhammad Shah Khan and others, to guard the Jandol and Munda posts, and went himself with some levies to fight against the above Kafirs who are

at present camped on the further side of the Chitral river in the limits of the Mehtar of Chitral. To get at them he had to cross the river by means of ropes which he did successfully, and in the fight which followed only three men on his side were wounded, while he carried off 2 men, 5 women and a large number of goats; but on his return the ropes broke, and 17 Jandol levies fell into the river, of whom 14 were drowned and only three saved. One of the 5 women has been sent by Umra Khan to Ghulam Khan, Khan of Asmar, as a present. One of the four remaining, who have not yet been disposed of, is very handsome (being probably the wife of a Kafir headman), and for her release the Kafirs offered a ransom of Rs. 3,000, but Umra Khan has refused to let her go. Among the Kafir tribes the sale of women and girls is considered very objectionable; but when they are obliged to give a woman as a present or to obtain the release of a prisoner, they take a girl from among blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters or weavers [i.e., *Bari*], upon whom they look as people of inferior class. An offer of this kind was made to Umra Khan in exchange for the above woman, but this also he refused. Shah Baba, the religious leader in Dir, has issued a proclamation, copies of which have been forwarded to the Bajaur tribes, expressing admiration of Umra Khan for his sympathy with the people of Islam in allusion to his recent victory over Kafirs, and exhorting all Muhammadans to side with him.

Asmar

11. Umra Khan is anxious lest Ghulam Khan of Asmar, should be frightened by the appearance of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, in the Kunar valley, and should consequently submit to him. The Kafir woman, referred to above, in paragraph 9, has therefore been sent to Ghulam Khan, as an assurance that he need not feel any anxiety on account of the Commander-in-Chief, and that Umra Khan is prepared to support him under all circumstances. . .

Movements of Ghulam Haidar Khan

14. The Political Officer, Khaibar, sends the following information. . .

"IV. Dated 15th February [1892]. In the expedition, which Umra Khan lately undertook against the Kafir tribe, he carried off 16

men and women and about 1,200 cattle, but he lost 14 of his own men who were drowned in the river. He intended making another attack on these Kafirs, but the Mehtar of Chitral forbade him to do so.

(b) The Political Officer, Khaibar, has also sent the following information obtained by him from other sources:—

Ghulam Sadik, Sahibzada, who is an intimate friend of Ghulam Haidar Khan's, has stated in the Mohmand territory that an understanding exists between the Amir and Russia that, if His Highness will open a road beyond the limits of the Afghan frontier for her proposed advance on India, Russian troops will not be sent *through* Afghanistan. It is for this reason that the Amir has sent Ghulam Haidar Khan to the Kunar valley to open a road between that valley and Badakhshan *via* Kotal-i-Babar Shah and Kafiristan to enable Russia to reach Peshawar.

8th March, 1892. *Letters from India*. vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 6, dated the 8th of March, 1892.

Movements of Ghulam Haidar Khan

9.(b) The following information has been received from the special messengers appointed by the Political Officer, Khyber. . . . [Ghulam Haidar] is taking measures to construct roads between the following places:—

- I. — From Chaghanserai to Nathili in the Pech pass.
- II. — From Chaghanserai to Kattar.
- III. — From Kattar to Gintol, which is between Chaghanserai and Kafiristan and close to the range of hills called after King Babar.

(c) Recent reports received on the 2nd of March are to the effect that Ghulam Haidar Khan used much diplomacy to induce the Safis of Pech, Badil, Shigal, &c., to submit, but that he failed partly on account of Umra Khan's intrigues, and partly because Shigal had promised to help Pech. Although these tribesmen warned Mulla Khalil that he should not visit their territory again to mislead them as regards submission to the Amir, and pointed out to him that he had deceived them on a former occasion when the hostages which they had given on his advice had been put

to death at Kabul, the Mulla managed to keep them in play by means of conciliatory communications until he found that all the tribal levies, who had come from other places to keep them, had gone back. He then advised Ghulam Haider Khan to advance, and in compliance with this counsel, the Commander-in-Chief, on the 15th February 1892, marched up the Pech valley. Although the people were off their guard they fought gallantly, but, as their arms are of inferior quality, they could not cope with the forces under the command of Ghulam Haidar Khan. The valley extends about 9 miles in length, and the Commander-in-Chief has taken possession of the following villages in it:—

I. Bar-Kundi, Upper.	IV. Sandai
II. Ditto Lower	V. Shamud
III. Golak	VI. Nangalam

About 60 men on the side of the Commander-in-Chief and about 150 or 175 men of Pech were killed and wounded in this fighting. Men, women, children and cattle seized by the Commander-in-Chief have been forwarded to Chauki, and the Commander-in-Chief has again opened negotiations with the Safis of Pech, but the latter have sent their families and cattle to different places, and have themselves taken refuge in caves whence they fire on the Commander-in-Chief's camp at night. Ghulam Haidar Khan demands a fine of Rs. 20,000 with levies for service, and a tribute of one out of every 40 head of cattle, but the tribe refuses these terms, and their headman, Jan Said Khan, has not yet submitted.

The Amir and Kafiristan

10. About 2,000 Kafirs of Nashai [Nishei] had come to help the Safis of Pech, but Mulla Khalil, Akhunzada, at once seized the opportunity to denounce these Safis as infidels for relying on such aid, and the result was that, while the Kafirs returned to their own country, the people of Bajaur held aloof and gave no assistance. The Safis attribute the disaster which has befallen them to the treachery of Mulla Khalil and are anxious to compass his death. Sur Chandu [Čanalü], a headman of the Kafirs of Nashai, lately waited on Ghulam Haidar Khan, who granted him a dress of honour and sent four agents with him to obtain informa-

tion regarding Kafiristan. Of these agents one is Kazi Wasim of Kunar. The other three are 'Talid-ul-ilms' and followers of Mulla Khalil.

The Amir and Bajaur

11(d.) On receipt of information regarding the victory of Ghulam Haidar Khan in the Pech valley, Safdar Khan expressed himself as much pleased, but he has told his tribes secretly that he will raise no objection to their opposing the Commander-in-Chief when the latter enters Bajaur. Ghulam Haidar Khan has written to Safdar Khan that, after the settlement of affairs on the Kunar border, he will advance first on Kafiristan and then on Asmar.

22nd March, 1892. *Letters from India.* vol. 65. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 7, dated the 22nd March, 1892.

Kafiristan

11. In the last surprise of Kafir hamlets by Umra Khan, about 12,000 goats, cows and bullocks were seized and carried off by his force, and he intends making another attack on these hamlets after the 'Id' festival (which will be celebrated on the 26th April). Of the two representative Kafir headmen who have been taken prisoners by Umra Khan, one named Mirak, having killed several Muhammadans in many raids, enjoys much distinction and is called 'Bahadur' [Batur] by his tribesmen. Umra Khan at first intended to put him to death, but subsequently refrained from this, and made him over to Muhammad Shah Khan (brother of Umra Khan). This man, Mirak, has now become a Muhammadan, and Umra Khan has directed him to send for his family before he can expect release. Amongst other Kafir prisoners is Musammat Barchani, the wife of Tanak who has gone to Calcutta with Dr. Robertson.

9th April, 1892. *Letters from India.* vol. 66. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 8, dated the 9th of April, 1892.

Movements of Ghulam Haidar Khan

[The Commander-in-Chief has captured Asmar]

IV(d) A road is being constructed through the Pech Valley. A deputation of Kafirs lately waited on the Commander-in-Chief,

who granted them khillats and sent some surveyors with them to take surveys and obtain other information regarding Kafiristan.

The Amir and Kafiristan

8. On the 11th of March Ghulam Haidar Khan dismissed 320 Kafirs who were with his camp, but before dismissing them he obtained verbal assurances from them that they would remain loyal to the Kabul Government. They had brought with them two camel loads of idols and five loads of arrows and other weapons used in Kafiristan, which have been forwarded to the Amir.

22nd August, 1892. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 18, dated the 22nd of August, 1892.

Kafiristan

12. It is reported from Mohmand territory that the Kamdesh Kafirs have committed a raid on the Safis of Pech and killed a few men of that valley. The Maliks of Pech have therefore gone to Kabul to beg the Amir to direct Ghulam Haidar Khan to restore to them the weapons which he took from them in the recent collision. Meanwhile Ghulam Haidar Khan has summoned to Asmar Jun-tak and Bij-ball, the headmen of the Kamdesh Kafirs, to direct them to restrain their tribe from such outrages. (b) Other reports state that the people of Dir were much troubled by Kafir raids, which have now been stopped by the Mehtar of Chitral. The Kafir tribe sent three women to Umra Khan, and asked him to accept them in exchange for Mirak, who, they begged, should be released. Umra Khan has accepted two of these women, but was not satisfied with the third and sent her back, promising to let Mirak go when another woman was brought in lieu of her. He intends retaliating on the Kafir tribes for the raids committed by them in his territories.

12th October, 1892. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 186*, dated the 12th of October, 1892.

Gilgit, Chitral, Hunza, &c.

Aman-ul-Mulk, the Mehtar of Chitral, died suddenly in Darbar on the 30th August, Sardar Nizam-ul-Mulk, the eldest son, was away at the time in Yasin, and the rulership was at once assumed

by Afzal-ul-Mulk, who, in letters to the Viceroy and Foreign Secretary, announced his accession "with the unanimous consent of my brothers, the leading men and all the people of this country" and asked for aid and support in the event of Nizam-ul-Mulk opposing him. . . It is reported that he has caused Shah-i-Mulk and two of his other half-brothers to be murdered, but this requires confirmation.

Miscellaneous

Shortly before Aman-ul-Mulk's death, Umra Khan sent a Kafir headman to Kamdesh to summon the Kafir elders to Jandol to make their submission to him. The Mehtar, hearing of it, sent messengers to the Kafirs, prohibiting them from obeying the summons, and ordering some of them to Chitral. Since the death of the Mehtar the Kafirs have offered to come to terms with Umra Khan; but, as the possession of Narai places him in a position to strike at them with advantage, he refuses to make any terms until they embrace the Muhammedan religion.

8th November, 1892. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 23, dated the 8th of November, 1892.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief

9. The following information has been received from the special agents deputed by the Political Officer, Khaiber. . .

II. *Dated 17th October.*— . . . About 500 men of the Camp of Ghulam Haidar Khan have died from small-pox. . .

III. *Dated 18th October.*— Ghulam Haidar Khan is now living quietly at Asmar. Some people say that he has been forbidden from hostilities by the British Government, while others think that the Amir has prohibited him. Although Umra Khan is building forts in San and Narai, Ghulam Haidar Khan raises no objections and is trying to secure the friendship of the Ruler of Chitral and the Surkh Kafirs, some of whom have visited him. . . 10. A report from Mohmand territory under date the 29th October contains the following information:— . . . Ghulam Haidar Khan has constructed a fort at Nashagam, close to the border of Kamdesh and Chumiya Kafirs, and has built three towers on the Asmar hill. . .

Chitral, Narai, Umra Khan and the Amir

13. Abdul Haqim, a Chitral Agent, lately brought a letter from Afzal Mulk to Umra Khan to the following effect:—

“On the death of the Mehtar I withdrew the Chitral levies from the Kohistan (Narai) because the state of affairs in Chitral was not satisfactory. I believed that, as you were one of my elder relatives (Umra Khan is married to one of the late Mehtar's daughters. [signed R[ichard] Udny) and friends, there would be no harm in my recalling these levies from Narai to Chitral; but contrary to your friendship, you have taken possession of the ilaquas [قلعه, area, place] of Nasrat and Narai and are building forts there. If you wish to remain my friend, I request you to withdraw your forces.”

To the above communication Umra Khan sent the following reply on the 14th October:—

“The Kohistan to which you allude was formerly under the Yusafzai and Tarkalani Rulers and was abandoned by them on account of the constant violence of the Kafir tribes. Let me know the grounds on which you consider it an integral part of Chitral and the hereditary property of the late Mehtar. Also inform me for what reasons I should withdraw my forces. Send me your views after calm deliberation. I am about to undertake a *Jihad* [جہاد] (religious war) against the Kafir tribes, and, if you are my friend, join me with your levies to extinguish these tribes and restore peace and order.”

Kafiristan

14. As since the occupation of Nasrat, Umra Khan has extended his jurisdiction up to the borders of Kafiristan, he has determined to advance on the Kafir tribes this winter and to build a fort in the village of Barikot (in Nasrat territory) which is situated on the west of the [Kunar] river on the frontier between Kafiristan and Chitral. He believes that when a port has been constructed at Barikot the Kafir tribes will be compelled to refrain from making raids on the Dir, Asmar and Jandol border; while in the event of these tribes ever misbehaving, it will enable him to surprise them at any time. He thinks that the best time for building this port and for advancing against the Kafirs will be when snow falls

on the hills, so that neither the Kafir tribes nor the Ruler of Chitral may be able to move and obstruct him.

A report from Mohmand territory states that, in compliance with the summons of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, a deputation of the Kamdesh, Wama and Gin-Tol Kafirs, who live close to Kathar, waited on him at Asmar when he warned them against making any raids in future on the Safi tribesmen of the Pech valley, and then dismissed them with presents. Their representative headman Dor received a full dress of red 'alwan'.

23rd November, 1892. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 24, dated the 23rd of November, 1892.

Kafiristan

14. The following information is extracted from the Khyber Political Diary for the week ending the 7th November, 1892:— Seraj-ud-din Khan, Governor of Panjsher, sent 10 Siahposh Kafir lads for service to the Amir, but the inhabitants of the Panjsher valley shot four of these lads dead on the road. Nine offenders were arrested for this, and blown from guns by order of the Amir.

15. A letter from Mohmand territory, under date the 11th instant, states that Umra Khan has sent circular letters to all the Bajaur tribes, intimating his wish to wage a religious war against the Kafir tribes, and offering arms, ammunition and current expenses to every one who will join him on this expedition. The Kafir tribes, who reside on the San, Narai, and Chitral border, have been frightened at this news, and intend to wait on Umra Khan...

16. The latest reports from Peshawar state that the Kafirs lately made raids on Umra Khan's territories, in which they killed 12 Gujar boys and 5 levies of Umra Khan's. Mirak, a well known Kafir Chief, who was captured by Umra Khan (*vide* paragraph 11 of Diary No. 7, dated 27th March, 1892,) but released on professing himself a Muhammadan and promising to bring back some Kafir women, has refused to return from Kafiristan, where he has again reverted to the Kafir faith.

11th May, 1893. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 10, dated the 11th of May, 1893.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief

7.(b) The force of troops in Asmar under Ghulam Haidar Khan is about 3,500 strong. The Safi tribes of the Badil, Dewagal and Shorek valleys are making preparations to rebel against the Amir. They possess large numbers of breech-loading and muzzle-loading rifles of English and Kabul manufacture, and have managed to make up considerable quantities of cartridges from reeds. They have already sent off their cattle to Kund, a high mountain about two marches distant from these valleys, which contains springs, a few small pieces of level ground, and a large lake. The graziers of Kulman, Laghman, Durrah Nur, Pech, &c., always take their cattle in summer to graze on these hills where they build huts for themselves. The Kafir tribes also visit these hills for grazing, but have not yet moved up to them. Ghulam Haidar Khan is taking measures to send troops to punish the rebels and has spread a report that four regiments of infantry are coming from Kabul for this purpose.

10th July, 1893. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary*

No. 14, dated the 10th of July, 1893.

Kafiristan

13. Surmal, a noted Kafir of Kamdesh, with 20 of his tribesmen, visited Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Asmar. The latter treated them with kindness, and asked them whether they would like to take up their residence in Kattar and become Muhammadans, but they laughingly evaded the question, and were then dismissed to their own country.

(b) Three or four years ago Shamsher, alias Nausher, Kafir, who was then a lad of 18 years of age, was captured in Kunar as member of a band of Kafir raiders, and was sold to Umra Khan for Rs. 160. Umra Khan made him a Muhammadan, and, after trying him as one of his orderlies and proving his qualifications as a good soldier and a loyal servant, appointed him Governor of Munda. Some of his relations who came down from Kafiristan have complained that they are being troubled by their Kafir fellow tribesmen, and, as Umra Khan directed them to wait a few days at Munda, rumours have been spread that he is contemplating an advance upon Kafiristan.

(c) Mirak, the noted Kafir, mentioned in paragraph 15 (b) of the last diary, is still infesting the road between Drosh, Ashrat, and the Lowrai Pass.

24th July, 1893. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 15, dated the 24th of July, 1893.*

Umra Khan and Chitral

10. Rumours prevail in Chitral that Russians are inspecting all over the Pamirs.

(c) Amir-ul-Mulk (erroneously called Amin-ul-Mulk in paragraph 5 (a) of Diary No. 1 of 10th January, 1893), whose sister, the daughter of the late Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, is married to Umra Khan, is receiving letters and verbal messages from Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk recommending him to return from Jandol to Chitral, but he refuses to comply with this advice. A few days ago Nizam-ul-Mulk sent his agent, Mir Nasib Ali, to Umra Khan with a Kafir girl and a Kafir boy as presents for the purpose of promoting friendship with Umra Khan, and of inducing him to persuade Amir-ul-Mulk to return to Chitral. The latter, however, still refuses to go, as he is afraid that Nizam-ul-Mulk would place him in confinement.

Kafiristan, Umra Khan, and the British Postal Service between Peshawar and Chitral.

11. A letter from Mohmand territory, under date the 7th July, 1893, states that Umra Khan has sent a letter to Mulla Najam-ud-din, Akhundzada of Adda (now a refugee in Mohmand territory), intimating his attention [sic] of attacking the Kamoz Kafir tribes, and asking the Mulla to preach a religious war against these tribes, because, at the instigation of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Asmar, they come down *via* Asmar and commit bloodshed in Jandol territory. In compliance with this request, Najam-ud-din did preach in Mohmand territory in favour of Umra Khan, but Mulla Khalil Akhundzada has preached against him.

12. Barkatulla and Akhun, the Jandol messengers, who lately brought letters from Umra Khan to the Commissioner of Peshawar, made the following representations in the name of Umra Khan:-

"It is a matter of much surprise that, although during the life time of Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, the post of the British Government between Bajaur and Chitral used to be carried by one or two runners, now, when British officers are in Chitral, and Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk has been established on the throne, an escort varying from 100 to 80 men is required for the post between Dir and Ashrit. If an escort of this strength were not furnished, the runners would be killed and the post would be plundered. The remedy is easy, and the difficulty can be settled by the conveyance of a warning to the Kafir tribes to refrain from disturbing the Lowarai Pass. I do not understand why the British officers and the Mehtar of Chitral, who receive reports about the misconduct of these Kafir tribes, take no measures to correct them. Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Asmar, is instigating the Kafir tribes to commit offences in Jandol territory, and they often go to visit him. Formerly Kafirs never came down from their country to commit raids in Jandol, but lately they have committed two outrages, *viz.*, one shortly before the 'Iduz-Zuha' (25th June, 1893), in which they killed two men with their wives and boys in a hamlet in the Miskini valley, and the other after the 'Id' festival, in which two men working at a mill in the same valley were murdered. Although I have a sufficient force in the Nasrat 'ilaka' to prevent Kafirs from raiding on Dir and Jandol by that route, these Kafirs find their way into Jandol *via* Asmar and the Tarpaman (Dawa Paiman) valley with the connivance of the Sipah Salar [سپاھ سالار, Commander-in-Chief] (Ghulam Haidar).

(b) While, however, Umra Khan has spread rumours that, with the assistance of the Bajaur tribes, he intends to wage a religious war against the Kafir tribes who infest the Dir and Jandol 'ilakas', in his own Darbar he holds the following language:—

"Though these Kafir tribes have invariably been our subjects and tributaries, and the remnants of our forts still exists in Kafiristan and Nasrat, I am afraid lest my undertaking a religious war against them should offend the British Officers in Chitral, and bring about ill-feeling between me and the British Government." The people of Bajaur, who are acquainted with Umra Khan's habit of never spreading rumours beforehand of any war on which he is really bent, do not believe that he will advance on

Kafiristan, and are of opinion that his object is only to threaten the tribes, so that they may be frightened into good behaviour without recourse to actual fighting.

(c) Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar at Asmar, has sent a verbal message to Akram Jan (Governor of Nasrat on behalf of Umra Khan), warning him against causing any injury to the Kafir tribes. These tribes visit the Sipah Salar and are treated by him with consideration.

8th August, 1893. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 166,*
dated the 8th of August, 1893.

Kabul. — Mr. Pyne [Sir Salter Pyne] arrived at Kabul on the 3rd, and was received by the Amir on the 4th of July. Mr. Pyne informed the British Agent that, in the course of his interview with the Amir, His Highness had stated that he believed the English wished to occupy Kafiristan, and that it was in order to prevent this that he had occupied Asmar. Mr. Pyne added that, if the Government of India announced their intention not to occupy Kafiristan, it would go a great way towards putting an end to the misunderstandings between His Highness and the British Government. On the 11th of July Mr. Pyne had a further audience of the Amir, after which he informed the British Agent that His Highness was much pleased with the result of Mr. Pyne's visit to India.

He has now sent a letter from the Amir replying to the memorandum handed to Mr. Pyne on his returning to Kabul, on the subject of different matters in dispute between His Highness and the Government of India. The letter is written in very friendly terms. His Highness repeats that he cannot give up Asmar; but states that he will not interfere with Bajaur, Swat or Chitral. He claims the right to deal with Kafiristan and settle its affairs; and, with regard to Waziristan, Gomal, Kakar territory and Chageh, he hopes that Government will preserve his honour and dignity. Mr. Pyne writes that the Amir is very well disposed and inclined to be reasonable at present, and that he is convinced His Highness really desires to settle these outstanding matters quickly and amicably.

The arrival of forty Kafirs at Kabul to pay their respects to the Amir is reported.

Bajaur, Dir, Swat, &c.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief, is still at Asmar: and his present aim seems to be to win over Umra Khan to the Amir.

Umra Khan has replied (dated 17th June) to the Foreign Secretary's letter of 8th May, recommending him to meet Dr. Robertson, and warning him against attacking the Bashgal Kafirs, the subjects of Chitral. The Khan says that he cannot meet Dr. Robertson, as this would increase his difficulties in Bajaur, that the Bashgal Kafirs have been legitimate objects of jihad since olden times, that the Mehtars of Chitral have never complained in the past, and that his right to punish them is justified by the Kafirs' own behaviour. He re-asserts his claim to Narsat: and finally hints that the Government expects much from him and gives little in return.

In a later letter to the Commissioner of Peshawar (dated 29th June) he complains that the Afghan Commander-in-Chief has permitted the Kafir tribes to pass through Asmar, and commit offences in the Khan's territory, and that the Mehtar of Chitral has also sent Kafirs to do mischief within Jandol limits. He adds that he employs an escort of a hundred men for the Government post, but its safe transport is daily becoming a matter of greater difficulty (referring to the raids of the Kafirs whom the Government forbid him to attack), and that unless Government will arrange for the post being 'carried without difficulty between Dir and Chitral,' his subjects will desert their homes.

9th August, 1893. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary*

No. 16, dated the 9th of August, 1893.

Kafiristan

10. The Kafir tribes who visit Ghulam Haidar Khan, Commander-in-Chief at Asmar, from time to time are well treated and sometimes given presents. A few Kafirs, who lately made a raid on Shurtan in the Mamund country and killed two Mamunds, were captured by the Amir's sepoys, but Ghulam Haidar Khan set them free on the ground that the offence was committed beyond Afghan limits.

(b) Another Kafir party made a raid on some huts situated in a

ravine about 50 paces from the village of Dir, and killed 8 men of Muhammad Shah Khan, Khan of Dir. On the day of the Iduz-zuha (25th June, 1893) the country-people of Dir found three Kafir marauders prowling about, of whom one was arrested, but the other two escaped. The people of Dir and Jandol are of opinion that the raids committed by Kafirs in these territories are at the instigation of the Mehtar of Chitral.

Chitral

11. Umra Khan has, for the time being, accepted the Kafir girl and the Kafir boy who were sent to him as a present by Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk under care of Mir Nasab Ali (*vide* paragraph 10 (c) of the last diary), but he has written a letter to the Mehtar to the following effect:—

“Without any cause or reason the Kafir tribes are raiding in Jandol and Dir, and the road (between Dir and Chitral) is very unsafe. In the time of the late Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk the road over the Lowarai Pass was safe even for single travellers, but now that road is so insecure that I am obliged to send an escort of 80 or 100 men with the post of the British Government. Such a state of things is inconsistent with your claims on me for friendship. If you wish to maintain friendly relations with me, stop the Kafir tribes from committing offences in my territory; but if you have no intention of prohibiting them, take back the Kafir girl and the Kafir boy you have sent me, and I will close the Chitral road to all convoys.”

No reply to the above letter has yet been received by Umra Khan.

5th September, 1893. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 192,*
dated the 5th of September, 1893.

A deputation of Kafirs has been to Chitral to see Nizam-ul-Mulk and Captain Younghusband, and insisted on receiving a definite answer as to whether they would receive assistance from Chitral against Umra Khan, from whom they declared they were expecting an immediate attack. Captain Younghusband told them that they would get no help from Chitral this year; upon which they asked to be taken under British protection. Umra Khan has written to Jemadar Rab Nawaz Khan (News-writer in Chitral) asking him to have the raids by Kafirs stopped, and says that, if

this is not done, he must at once attack the Kafirs. Nizam-ul-Mulk is about to send for the Kafir headmen, and vigorously interdict raiding, and Captain Younghusband has sent a message to Umra Khan that he is much annoyed at the Kafir raids and the counterraids of the Pathans, and that both he and the Mehtar are doing all in their power to stop them.

8th November, 1893. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 253,*
dated the 8th of November, 1893.

Kashmir Frontier

It is reported that the Mehtar of Chitral and Umra Khan of Jandol are anxious to stop the mutual raiding between the Kafirs and the latter's men, and that Umra Khan has sent a message to the Mehtar, requesting an interview at Dir or Ashrath. Umra Khan is said to be collecting fire-arms and forming a regiment 1000 strong to be stationed at Minda, Mayar and Barwa.

The Kamdesh Kafirs have decided not to send the annual tribute of ghi to the Mehtar until they see if he recovers Narsat. They say that they pay tribute to the Ruler of Narsat not of Chitral. The Mehtar has declined to receive any Kamdesh Kafirs until the tribute is paid.

12th November, 1893. *Agreement between His Highness Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, G.C.S.I., Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies on the one part, and Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, representing the Government of India on the other part, dated Kabul, the 12th of November, 1893.*

Whereas certain questions have arisen regarding the frontier of Afghanistan on the side of India, and whereas both His Highness the Amir and the Government of India are desirous of settling these questions by a friendly understanding, and of fixing the limit of their respective spheres of influence, so that for the future there may be no difference of opinion on the subject between the allied Governments, it is hereby agreed as follows:—

- (1) The eastern and southern frontier of His Highness's dominions, from Wakhan to the Persian border, shall follow the line shown in the map attached to this agreement.

(2) The Government of India will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan, and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India.

(3) The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it, as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees on the other hand that he will at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur or Chitral including the Arnawai or Bashgal valley. The British Government also agrees to leave to His Highness the Birmal tract as shown in the detailed map already given to His Highness, who relinquishes his claim to the rest of the Waziri country and Dawar. His Highness also relinquishes his claim to Chageh.

(4) The frontier line will hereafter be laid down in detail and demarcated wherever this may be practicable and desirable by Joint British and Afghan Commissioners, whose object will be arrive by mutual understanding at a boundary which shall adhere with the greatest possible exactness to the line shown in the map attached to this agreement, having due regard to the existing local rights of villages adjoining the frontier.

(5) With reference to the question of Chaman, the Amir withdraws his objection to the new British Cantonment and concedes to the British Government the rights purchased by him in the Sirkai Tilerai water. At this part of the frontier, the line will be drawn as follows:—

From the crest of the Khwaja Amran range near the Psha Kotal, which remains in British territory, the line will run in such a direction as to leave Murgha Chaman and the Sharobo spring to Afghanistan, and to pass half way between the New Chaman Fort and the Afghan outpost known locally as Lashkar Dand. The line will then pass half way between the railway station and the hill known as the Mian Baldak, and, turning southwards, will rejoin the Khwaja Amran range, leaving the Gwasha Post in British territory, and the road to Shorawak to the west and south of Gwasha in Afghanistan. The British Government will not exercise any interference within half a mile of the road.

(6) The above articles of agreement are regarded by the Government of India and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan as a full and satisfactory settlement of all the principal differences of

opinion which have arisen between them in regard to the frontier; and both the Government of India and His Highness the Amir undertake that any differences of detail such as those which will have to be considered hereafter by the officers appointed to demarcate the boundary line, shall be settled in a friendly spirit, so as to remove for the future as far as possible all causes of doubt and misunderstanding between the two Governments.

(7) Being fully satisfied of His Highness's good will to the British Government, and wishing to see Afghanistan independent and strong, the Government of India will raise no objection to the purchase and import by His Highness of munitions of war, and they will themselves grant him some help in this respect. Further, in order to mark their sense of the friendly spirit in which His Highness the Amir has entered into these negotiations, the Government of India undertake to increase by the sum of six lakhs of rupees a year the subsidy of twelve lakhs now granted to His Highness.

H. M. Durand

Amir Abdur Rahman Khan

24th March, 1894. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary*
No. 6, dated the 24th of March, 1894.

Kafiristan

5. The 'lashkar' (force) under Mir Agha Khan, maternal cousin of Umra Khan . . . , which consisted of about 400 men, advanced only one march beyond the Nasrat Valley and attacked the Kafir village of Gadardesh [Gawardesh], also called Gurdesh, which contains about 80 houses. The Kafir tribes offered a stout resistance, and, their position being a very difficult one, the 'lashkar' was obliged to return to Nasrat after severe fighting, in which 5 towers were destroyed and about 50 men of the Kafirs were killed and wounded. Umra Khan's force had 80 casualties. On receiving this news Umra Khan wrote to Shah Baba, the religious leader of Dir, and to his own brother, Muhammad Shah Khan, Governor of Dir, asking them to meet him in the Jaubatai valley to discuss a general crusade against the Kafir tribes.

10th April, 1894. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary*
No. 7, dated the 10th of April, 1894.

Kafiristan

8. The following is a full account of the operations undertaken by Umra Khan against the Kafir tribe [the Kam] of Gurdesh (paragraph 5 of last Diary):—

The lashkar (force) consisted of the Upper and Lower Baraul levies, including 40 men armed with breech-loading rifles belonging to Umra Khan, and 20 rifles belonging to Sardar Khan (Khan of Bandi Baraul), son of the sister of Umra Khan's father. The whole force (about 325 men), which was commanded by (1) Sardar Khan, Mir Agha (maternal cousin of Umra Khan), and Gul Wali Khan, marched from Nasrat in the evening and reached Gurdesh at dawn, the distance between the two places being about 15 miles. It so happened that on that night, according to the custom of the country, the villagers had assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the death of one of their deceased notables by a dance and the use of stimulants, and they were told by their friends of the approach of Umra Khan's 'lashkar'. The Kafir tribes at once manned their towers and stoutly opposed the 'lashkar', inflicting on it much loss. Gul Wali Khan feared lest other Kafir tribes should furnish reinforcements to the villagers of Gurdesh, and he therefore ordered the whole 'lashkar' to retire with its killed and wounded and the property plundered by it, *viz.*, 3,500 goats and 70 or 80 cows and bullocks. The Kafir tribes went in pursuit of the raiding party as far as the bank of the Chitral river and recovered the whole lot of 3,500 goats. The 'lashkar' returned to Umra Khan with the plundered cows and bullocks. No men, women and children of the Kafir tribes were seized, through Umra Khan had given orders for such seizures. The villagers of Barikot, which is situated on the other side of the river opposite Nasrat, were formerly Kafirs, but became Muhammadans long since. As they are treated well by the Kafir tribes, they serve as escorts and guards to almost all visitors of Kafiristan; but on the above occasion they intrigued against the Kafir tribes and led Umra Khan's 'lashkar' as far as Gurdesh. About 40 or 50 men of Umra Khan's and six or seven men of the Kafir tribes have been killed and wounded in the above fighting, and Umra Khan desires to attack these tribes again after the 'Id' festival. Though Sahibzada Badshah Jan and the Kazi of Jandol and other friends advise him to refrain from such

operations pending the demarcation of the Indo-Afghan boundary, he is still inclined to advance on the Kafir country, saying that Lower Kafiristan has always been a dependency of Bajaur, and has paid poll tax [jizyah] on account of constant attacks made on it by the Bajaur Chiefs.

18th April, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 64*, dated the 18th of April, 1894.

North-West Frontier

Bajaur. According to information contained in a letter, dated the 5th March 1894, addressed by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to the Amir, Umra Khan of Jandol, accompanied by a force of about 2000 Bajauris, 500 of whom were armed with breech-loading rifles and the remainder with muzzle-loaders and other local weapons, lately attacked the Kafiristan villages of Deh Shaikhan and Kuver Desh [Gawardesh]. The Bajauris, it is stated, managed to carry off some cattle from the former village and to capture and destroy a tower of the latter; but they were ultimately defeated by the Kafirs with a loss of 40 men killed and 20 wounded, the Kafirs having lost only 12.

The places named in the Sipah Salar's report do not appear to be marked on any map, and it is consequently not possible to say, even if the account be true, whether Umra Khan's force violated Afghan territory or not.

Umra Khan was, it is said, preparing to renew the attack; but the Amir's Sipah Salar sent him a letter, reminding him of his promise not to pass beyond the limits of his own territory, and warning him that, if he did not refrain from such depredations, he would be called to account.

The above papers were forwarded by the Amir to the Viceroy, with a request that the British Government would either themselves restrain Umra Khan from his predatory proceedings or permit His Highness to do so. A letter has accordingly been addressed to Umra Khan, informing him of the agreement come to between the Government of India and the Amir, in which His Highness has engaged not to interfere in Chitral and Bajaur; and referring to the report of the Khan's encroachment on Afghan soil. The letter warns Umra Khan that, if the report be true, he must

understand that the Government of India do not intend to screen him from punishment; and it requests him to give his own account of the hostilities reported by the Amir's Sipah Salar. The Amir has been informed of the warning sent to Umra Khan.

Accounts received in Peshawar differ somewhat from the Sipah Salar's report. They state that Umra Khan's cousin, accompanied by a force of 400 men, advanced one march beyond the Narsat Valley, and attacked a Kafir village containing about 80 houses; that a stout resistance was offered, and that after a severe fight in which 5 towers were destroyed and about 50 Kafirs killed and wounded, the Jandol force had to withdraw to Narsat with a loss of 80 men.

A message from Captain Younghusband, dated Chitral, the 18th March, referring probably to the same affair, reported that the Mehtar was very irritated at an attack which had been made by Umra Khan on Ustargaz [Gawardesh], a Kalash Kafir village [incorrect. A Kam Kafir village] near the opening of the Bashgal valley. This village, the Mehtar says, is tributary to Chitral. The greater part of the Kalash Kafirs live in the Mehtar's own territory, and the Kafirs of Ustargaz render greater allegiance to the Mehtar than those of Kamdesh. Umra Khan had also, the telegram states, sent twenty men nearly as far as Ashrath, which is distinctly Chitral territory, and had extorted tribute from Damirsar, one stage below Mirkandi, which also belongs to the Mehtar. The attack on Ustargaz was repulsed by the Kafirs, who killed sixty Pathans; the Pathans were led by the son of the Khan of Baraul. The attack having failed, Umra Khan's sepoys left Ashrath, carrying off sheep and ghi. At Captain Younghusband's request the Mehtar sent to the attacked villages to summon witnesses from whom, as well as from others, he obtained the above news. The witnesses said that Umra Khan, enraged that the attack did not succeed, determined to preach a jihad after the Ramzan. The Mehtar wished to strengthen his position on the frontier. Captain Younghusband replied to the Mehtar that, as his dominions had been invaded, he ought to do what he thought best to secure the safety of his frontier, but that the Government of India would be informed of what Umra Khan had done.

Information received from Asmar shows that the Amir's Sipah Salar has warned the troops stationed there to refrain from any

interference in Umra Khan's jurisdiction. The Sipah Salar has also advised the Kafirs to abstain from raiding in the direction of Kunar, Asmar and Dir.

Kashmir Frontier

The Kamdesh Kafirs have sent two hundred Kabuli rupees to the Mehtar of Chitral as compensation for the murder of Chitrailis last autumn. The Madugal Kafirs have promised to send the daughter of their Chief, who was formerly betrothed to the son of Sher Afzal, to the Mehtar.

9th May, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 77*, dated the 9th of May, 1894.

News received by the British Agent in Chitral from a usually trustworthy informant in Jandol implies that the Amir brought about an agreement between the Chiefs of Bajaur and Nawagai through the medium of a Saiyid of the Pir Dastagir family who recently came from Baghdad to Afghanistan; also that the reconciliation will encourage Umra Khan to renew his attack upon Kafiristan. He is said to be greatly annoyed at his defeat in the recent encounter (pages 9–10 of last memorandum.) In reply to advice given him by his friends to refrain from operations against the Kafirs, he said that he did not see why the Amir or the British Government should object to his action; more especially as he wished, not to annex territory, but only to prevent the Kafirs from raiding on Bajaur.

A report received at Peshawar on the 21st April, stated that Umra Khan had sent a force under the command of his cousins, Abdul Ghani Khan and Abdul Majid Khan, against the Kamdesh Kafir tribes; and that the arrangements made in Narsat for supplies for this force portend that Umra Khan has no intention of recalling it till the Kamdesh Kafirs are sufficiently punished and reduced to submission.

8th June, 1894. *Letters from India. Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 11, dated the 8th of June, 1894.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Kafiristan & Asmar

7. A letter from Mohmand territory, under date the 26th May, 1894, states that Ghulam Haidar Khan, the Sipah Salar, arrived

in the Kunar valley on Tuesday, the 22 May, 1894, with two infantry regiments of 1,000 men each and equipped with rifles with which British troops are armed. He has encamped at Chauki, and intends going on to Asmar after the settlement of affairs with the Safi tribe of Dewagal whose representative headmen he has sent for. He has opened communications with Umra Khan, calling upon the latter to explain why he had attacked the Kamdesh (? Bashgal) Kafir tribes and why he had built a fort in their country (Arnawai), and warning him that these tribes were under the control of the Amir, and if he (Umra Khan) interfered with their country, he would be punished – Umra Khan says in reply that Kafir tribes are under the Mehtar of Chitral and not under the Amir.

(b) There is friendship between Safdar Khan and Umra Khan. On the 25th May, Safdar Khan received a letter from Umra Khan, stating that he had built a fort in the Kamdesh country, that many of the Kafir tribes had submitted, and that he now desired to take revenue from them and make them Muhammadans.

(h) A deputation of the Kafir tribes arrived [at Chauki] *via* the Pech valley and Nashai [Nishei], and has represented to the Sipah Salar that, unless he protects the Kamdesh Kafirs against Umra Khan, all the Kafir tribes will submit to the latter. The Mehtar of Chitral has not been successful in inducing Umra Khan to desist from building the fort at Arnawai, and is therefore now willing that, instead of Umra Khan, the Amir may take possession of the country.

8. The latest reports received from Peshawar state that, after completing the Arnawi fort, Umra Khan has returned to the Nasrat valley, where he is collecting carpenters and blacksmiths with a view to building a bridge over the Chitral river and a fort at Barikot. The work on the Barikot fort was commenced on the 18th ZikAAD (= 22 May, 1894). The object of Umra Khan is to establish his authority in these places before the demarcation business is commenced, so that he may not be ousted when that business starts. When his Confidential Agent, Badshah Jan Sahibzada, was at Peshawar last month, Umra Khan wrote to him that, since his arrival in Arnawai from Jandol, the Kafir tribes had made several raids on his men and wounded one of them in the Shirgal valley. He has obtained reinforcements from his dominions for the protection of his forts in Nasrat and Arnawai,

more especially because Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, is encamped with the two infantry regiments above alluded to in the Dewagal valley.

12th June, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 103*, dated the 12th of June, 1894.

Bajaur. — The proceedings of Umra Khan of Jandol (*vide* memoranda for March and April) continue to attract the attention of the Amir and the Mehtar of Chitral, both of whom have again addressed the Government of India on the subject. Umra Khan recently put forward a claim to Asmar; and announced his intention to build a fort at Birkot in the Arnawai valley with the object of preventing Kafir raids on Bajaur. He is reported to have already put the construction of the fort in hand; to have placed a force of about 1500 men in its vicinity: and to have stored large quantities of supplies. When the fort is finished, he contemplates erecting a tower on the bank of the Chitral river and locating a guard there to protect the water supply. In consequence of these measures, the Amir's Commander-in-Chief has reinforced certain adjoining posts in the Narsat valley; and Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk, alarmed at Umra Khan's supposed designs on Chitral territory, is strengthening his southern frontier.

It is hoped that during the demarcation of the Afghan boundary between Chitral and the Kabul river, the British Joint Commissioner will be able to meet Umra Khan and to settle matters in which the Khan's aims and pretensions may be at variance with the policy and engagements of the British Government.

Meanwhile, in reply to the remonstrance of the Government of India, he professes to have "ceased to punish the Bashgul Kafirs" and his agent states that the Khan has no intention to advance against them. According to reports received at Peshawar, Umra Khan does not appear to have abandoned his designs on Swat. . .

7th August, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 148*, dated the 7th of August, 1894.

Bajaur, &c.

Umra Khan has returned to Barwa after completing the forts on both sides of the river at Arandu. He is reported to have made a further encroachment on Chitral territory, having sent a party

to Damir, ten miles above Arandu, and forcibly taken from the people tribute hitherto paid to the Mehtar. Nizam-ul-Mulk has withdrawn his troops from the frontier, leaving a small force on watch at Darosh. The Kamdesh Kafirs, when bringing their annual tribute to the Mehtar, begged him to seek the aid of the British and expel Umra Khan from Narsat. Since the return of Umra Khan from Arnawai and the Narsat Valley, the Kafirs have committed a raid on the road between Arnawai and Dir and have killed six men. A report states that Umra Khan has detained some cases of medicines for the Chitral Dispensary, and refuses to let them go on.

Gilgit, Chitral, &c.

Amir-ul-Mulk, a younger brother of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who since the murder of Afzal-ul-Mulk by Sher Afzal, has been in Umra Khan's hands, has succeeded in making his escape and gone back to Chitral. Sher Afzal is still at Kabul, but is said to be continuing his intrigues in Chitral . . .

4th September, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 162,*
dated the 4th of September, 1894.

Kabul

The two 7" guns which the Government of India are presenting to the Amir are now complete with their carriages, &c., at Karachi, and are about to be sent on to Kabul via Chaman and Kandahar. An impending advance of Afghan troops upon Kafiristan from the direction of Badakhshan has been much talked of this summer. The names of the regiments detailed for the expedition have even been mentioned; but the recent Russian advance into Shighnan may cause the advance to be postponed for the present. In connection with the expedition from the Badakhshan side, it has frequently been reported that the Sipah Salar would co-operate from the Asmar direction; and Ghulam Haidar said, when taking leave of Mr. Udny on the latter's return to India on the 25th of August, that, if Mr. Udny was not likely to be shortly returning to take up demarcation, he (Ghulam Haidar) should go back to Asmar to resume his preparations for operations in Kafiristan.

3rd October, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 183,*
dated the 3rd of October, 1894.

Kabul.—

The Amir has acknowledged (27th August) the Viceroy's letter of 6th July, regarding the invitation of His Highness to England, by Her Majesty's Government. He expresses great pleasure at being invited, and states that he has for long had the wish to visit England; but he is unable at present to write a reply, because "the doings at the present time of the Indian Commissioners on the borders of Afghanistan, and the continual distress which they cause to the minds of the people of Afghanistan" perplex His Highness. He represents that undue notice is being taken of minute details, thereby causing the people to be despondent and raising difficulties about demarcation, which he urges should be speedily settled. When the boundary work is completed, the Amir says, he will send a reply to the invitation. He gives no indication as to what the nature of his reply will be: but it may be recorded that Sir Salter Pyne is still of the belief that His Highness intends accepting the invitation. The Viceroy, in reply, expressed regret to learn that the Afghan people had any misgivings as to matters on the frontier, and explained that there was no wish on the part of the Government of India to insist on minute points, but that the obstruction to the progress of demarcation work had arisen from His Highness not ordering his representatives to demarcate the boundary as laid down in the map attached to the Kabul Agreement [12th November, 1893], and that, unless the Amir supplied this map to his officers, it might be necessary to recall the British Commissioners. The Amir has accepted the nomination of Ressaldar Akram Khan, 9th Bengal Cavalry, for the post of British Agent at Kabul.

Bajaur, Dir, Swat, &c.

The Kafirs of Kamdesh have surprised a guard of 12 men of Umra Khan's near Narsat, putting them to death and making off with their rifles.

Gilgit, Chitral, Indus Valley, &c.

A deputation of Kafirs from Bashkar [the Bashgul Valley] arrived at Mastuj about the middle of August, and asked the Political Officer to take their country under British protection. They stated that they had always been tributary to Chitral, and that they were now being oppressed by Umra Khan. Captain Younghusband, who returned to Mastuj on the 15th August, told them that he

was shortly going to Chitral, and would speak to the Mehtar on the subject, who would then send them a reply.

19th December, 1894. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 211,*
dated the 19th of December, 1894.

Kabul

The two quick-firing guns, with carriages, ammunition, &c., complete, presented to His Highness the Amir on the part of the British officers of Sir Mortimer Durand's Mission, were despatched from Cossipore to Peshawar on the 15th of November.

No raids have been committed by Kafirs on Dir for some time past. A deputation of the Kamdesh and Waigal Kafir tribes, while on its way to visit the Sipah Salar at Asmar, was attacked in the Dewagal valley by the Safi tribes of that place; a few were killed and the headman taken prisoner. The Sipah Salar intends holding the Safis of the Pech valley responsible.

2nd January, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 2,*
dated the 2nd of January, 1895.

Gilgit, Chitral, Indus Valley

The relations between Umra Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk are becoming more and more strained. A kafila [قافلة, caravan] of rice which the Mehtar was getting up from Swat was seized, under Umra Khan's orders, by some of Sher Afzal's followers in Dir. There are at present about 60 refugee Chitrals sheltered at this place. The Mehtar is planning some means of retaliation. Umra Khan recently sent to the Kamdesh Kafirs, asking them to be his friends and offering to let them trade in Narsat. The Kafirs referred to Nizam-ul-Mulk, who advised them not to accept Umra Khan's proposal, and told them that, if they would oppose Umra Khan, he would give them every assistance.

6th February, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 24,*
dated the 6th February, 1895.

North-West Frontier

Kunar valley - Khyber demarcation.-

The actual work of demarcation has not yet been commenced owing to the claims of the Sipah Salar to draw the line in a way

opposed to the intention of the Kabul Agreement [12th November, 1893]. According to the latter and the map attached to it, the Afghan frontier from Asmar northwards follows the Chitral river valley about 4 miles from the left bank of the river, as far as Chanduk, when it crosses the valley and river and proceeds along what was believed to be the southern watershed of the Bashgal basin cutting off the whole of the Bashgal valley from Afghanistan. In our maps the stream which joins the Chitral river has hitherto been shown as the "Arnawai or Bashgal," and believing the two names to be synonymous, a clause was inserted in the convention to the effect that the Amir would at no time exercice interference in Chitral, *including the Arnawai or Bashgal valley*. A further clause in the agreement said:— "The British Government thus agree to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it as far as Chanduk." The intention of this is clear; but unfortunately, local enquiry has shown that Arnawai and Bashgal are not the same. The former drains into the Kunar not from the west, but from the east. The Sipah Salar not only claims the valley on the east bank of the Kunar river up to Arnawai, which would necessitate the evacuation by Umra Khan of his forts at Sao and Nari, but also claims the entire Bashgal valley on the right bank, maintaining that Sir Mortimer Durand had arranged at Kabul that the Amir was to have the whole of Kafiristan, "to its last house."

The Commissioners failing to come to an agreement between themselves, have referred the question to their respective Governments.

6th March, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 45, dated the 6th March, 1895.*

Kabul. — The Amir replied on the 30th January to His Excellency the Viceroy's letter of the 17th January . . . regarding His Highness's proposed visit to England. He promises to give twenty days' notice before starting, but it is still uncertain whether His Highness's health will allow of his making the journey himself, or if he will send one of his sons in his stead. . .

On the 13th of February in public Darbar, the Amir informed those present that he intended going in person to England.

Bajaur, Dir, Swat, &c.

In December, a party of Kamdesh Kafirs raided on a village of Dir called Sharungol, killed eight of the inhabitants, stole all their property, and escaped. Umra Khan is reported to have been much incensed at this raid and ordered the Hakim of Narsat to make reprisals.

Chitral, Gilgit, &c.

The situation in Chitral continues to give anxiety. It now seems quite certain that Amir-ul-Mulk, in murdering his brother, was instigated by the Sher Afzal faction and by Umra Khan, who saw for himself an opportunity for his own aggrandisement in the disturbance which must necessarily follow in Chitral. . . Amir-ul-Mulk is said to be a mere puppet in the hands of the Sher Afzal party, rather wanting in intelligence, and quite unfitted for the Mehtarship.

On the 24th of January, Mr. Robertson wrote to Umra Khan demanding an explanation of the presence of his forces in Chitrali territory, and requesting him to at once retire and so save himself from the consequences of the displeasure of Government. Under instructions from the Government of India, Mr. Udny and Mr. Robertson further addressed Umra Khan early in February, demanding an explanation of his proceedings. He replied to Mr. Udny on the 10th February that he came to assist and strengthen Amir-ul-Mulk and to combine with him for an attack on the Kafirs. Amir-ul-Mulk had opposed his friendship and acted in a hostile manner, and no alternative was left him but to do the same. He added that he would leave Amir-ul-Mulk alone if he was willing to make peace, and that he hoped his friendship with the British Government would remain unbroken. Umra Khan replied to Mr. Robertson in similar terms. The Amir has written to the Sipah Salar a letter telling him that he should not under any circumstances allow Umra Khan to interfere with Kafiristan, and authorizing him to use the troops in Jalalabad and Asmar if it becomes necessary to attack the Khan. Ghulam Haidar told Mr. Udny that he should unquestionably attack Umra Khan if he invaded the Landai Sin (Bashgal) valley.

Mr. Robertson suspects that the Sipah Salar is encouraging Umra Khan to commit himself finally, hoping that this will result in the

Amir being allowed to take the whole of Narsat and the Bashgal valley. Shortly before the assassination of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Lutdeh [Baragamatal] Kafir headmen arrived in Chitral with their annual tribute to the Mehtar. They reported that the Amir's officers were actively collecting supplies in Munjan, and that they feared this portended an Afghan invasion of Kafiristan in the spring. These same Kafirs paid a visit to the Assistant British Agent in Chitral, who received them kindly and gave them a few presents.

North-West Frontier

Khyber-Asmar demarcation. – The work of delimitation in the Kunar valley is still delayed, the situation having been rendered very difficult by the proceedings of Umra Khan in Chitral. The Amir has twice written to Mr. Udny, charging him with being responsible for the delay, claiming the whole of Kafiristan as belonging to Afghanistan, and requesting him to begin work and finish it as quickly as possible. The Government of India, having carefully considered Mr. Udny's reports, have come to the conclusion that the Amir may really believe that under the Kabul Agreement, the whole of Kafiristan does pertain to Afghanistan, and Mr. Udny has accordingly been authorized, rather than break off negotiations altogether, to concede the Afghan claim to the Bashgal valley. On the left bank of the Kunar river, Mr. Udny is authorized, as a very friendly concession to the Amir, to fix the Afghan boundary on the southern rim of the Arnawai valley. On the 21st February, Mr. Udny informed the Sipah Salar of the decision regarding the Bashgal Valley, and suggested that the survey party should start for the Bashgal Valley on the 25th...

9th April, 1895. *Agreement defining the boundary line from the Hindu Kush to the neighbourhood of Nawa Kotal, dated Camp Nashagam, the 9th April, 1895–13th Shawal 1312.*

For as much as, under Article (4) of the Convention concluded at Kabul on the 12th November 1893, between His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and Sir Mortimer Durand on behalf of the Government of India, we, the undersigned have been appointed by our respective Governments for the purpose of demarcating in concert the frontier of His Highness the Amir's dominions on

the side of India in this neighbourhood of Chitrar [sic] and Bajaur, it is hereby agreed as follows:-

(1) That on the western side of the Kunar river, this frontier will be the further or eastern watershed of the stream which in the idiom of Afghans is notorious and known as the Landai Sin pertaining to the limits of Kafiristan, and which in the Survey map is also written by the name of Bashgal, so that all the country of which the drainage falls into the Kunar river by means of this stream belongs, and will belong, to Afghanistan, and the eastern drainage of this watershed, which does not fall into the Landai Sin stream, pertains to Chitrar.

(II) That on the eastern side of the Kunar river, from the river bank, up to the crest of the main range which forms the watershed between the Kunar river and the country (lit. direction) of Barawal (Baraul of our quarter inch map. R. U[dny].) and Bajaur this frontier follows the southern watershed of the Arnawai stream which falls into the Kunar river close to the village of Arnawai, leaving to Chitrar all the country of which the drainage falls into the Kunar river by means of this stream, while the southern drainage of this last-mentioned watershed, which does not fall into the Arnawai stream, pertains to Afghanistan.

(III) That this frontier line, on reaching the crest of the main range which in this neighbourhood forms the watershed between the Kunar river and the country (lit. direction) of Barawal and Bajaur, turns southward along this watershed, which it follows as far as a point in the neighbourhood of the Nawa Kotal, leaving all the country draining into the Kunar river within the limits of Afghanistan and all the country draining towards Barawal and Bajaur outside the limits of Afghanistan; but beyond the aforesaid point in the neighbourhood of the Nawa Kotal the frontier has not at present been demarcated.

(IV) That on both sides of the Kunar river this frontier, as described in the three preceding articles, for the most part requires no artificial demarcation, because it is a natural boundary following the crests of mountain ranges; but since at present inspection *in situ* is impossible, when the ground is examined on the spot, it is probable that in the places where these mountain ranges abut on the Kunar river from either side, demarcation by pillars for a short distance from the water's edge on both sides of the

river will be found desirable for the purpose of separating the boundary of Afghanistan from Arnawai pertaining to Chitrar and the limits of the Kafir country (lit., Kafiristan) of the Landai Sin from Chitrar. In that case these pillars will be erected along the line of the watershed described in the first and second articles of the present agreement, subject to any slight divergencies from this line which may be necessary to protect the local rights of villages adjoining the frontier.

(V) That the frontier pillars, wherever considered desirable will be erected hereafter by an officer of the Government of India and an officer of His Highness the Amir acting in concert.

(VI) That these watersheds forming the frontier agreed upon as described in the first three articles of the present agreement, have been marked by a red line on the survey map attached to this agreement, which, like the agreement itself, has been signed by us both. In three places, *viz.*, (i) for a short distance from either bank of the Kunar river, (ii) in the neighbourhood of the Binshi Kotal, and (iii) in the neighbourhood of the Frepaman Kotal, this red line has been broken up into dots because the exact position of the watershed in these localities has not been ascertained with perfect accuracy; but wherever the watershed may lie the frontier will follow it, subject only to any slight variations from the watershed which may be considered necessary under Article (4) of the present agreement.

(VII) That, since on the map attached to the Convention (i.e., the Durand Convention. R. U[dny].) the Arnawai stream was drawn on the western side of the river in the place of the Landai Sin [Bashgul] of the Kafir country (lit. Kafiristan) which has been decided to pertain to the Afghan Government, and, since after enquiry and inspection of the same it was clearly ascertained by the Survey party that the aforesaid stream is situated on the eastern side of the Kunar river, and falls into the river near the village of Arnawai, and that the drawing of it on the western side (of the river) in the place of the Landai Sin was a mistake, this Arnawai stream has (now) been drawn and marked on the present survey map in its own proper place, and that stream which was drawn in the Convention map on the western side of the river was the Landai Sin stream of the Kafir country (lit. Kafiristan) which has now been decided to pertain to the Government of

Afghanistan and to be included in the limits of Afghanistan. Accordingly in the present survey map it has been marked with the name of Landai Sin and has also been written with the name of Bashgal. Moreover, Sao and Nari and Birkot, and the village of Arnawai, were not written on the map attached to the Convention, (but) now in the new Survey map the names of all these four above-mentioned villages have been entered, the village of Arnawai being written on the Chitrar side of the boundary line, and Sao, Nari and Birkot on the side of the Government of Afghanistan.

2nd July, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 130*, dated the 2nd of July, 1895.

Kafiristan. — Reports have been received from various sources to the effect that a strong Afghan force under the command of the Sipah Salar has entered Kafiristan. There seems to be reason for discrediting the reports, which have probably arisen from the fact that the Sipah Salar has got together a large force near Asmar, and has given out that Kafiristan is his objective. Orders are said to have been received from the Amir for the construction of a good twelve-foot road from Asmar to Badakhshan, and that it is to be taken in hand at once.

5th July, 1895. *Letters from India. vol. 81. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 13*, dated the 5th of July, 1895.

Asmar

4 (c) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 1st July 1895, shows that under the Amir's orders Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has summoned the residents of Pech and the Safis, and intends proceeding shortly to attack the Siahposh Kafirs of Kamdesh. His Highness the Amir has directed Muhammad Akbar Khan of Lalpura to join the Sipah Salar with all his levies. The Khan is making his preparations and has sent to Peshawar to get some stores.

(d) Supplies are being speedily collected in the Laghman and other ilakas, and are being despatched to the Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan at Asmar, who has left for the Kamozi [Katr] Kafiristan via Sao and Nari, and is expected to arrive there shortly.

25th July, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 81. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 14, dated the 25th of July, 1895.

Asmar

8 (a) An extract from Khyber Political Diary, dated 15th July 1895, shows that His Highness the Amir wrote to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, directing him to wait until the receipt of further orders before sending troops against the Kafirs. It is said that the Kafirs hearing of this held a consultation among themselves and sent a petition to His Highness, saying that troops might not be sent against them as they were willing to make their submission. They added that the Sipah Salar should be sent to the country, where they would welcome him, and accept the faith of Islam. By the Amir's orders Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, accompanied by two infantry and one cavalry regiments and a few guns, proceeded to the Kafir country. They, the Kafirs, were pleased to make their submission to His Highness and agreed to become Muhammadans as promised before. The Sipah Salar is still there; and he has sent a few Kafiri elders to His Highness the Amir awaiting final orders from Kabul.

(b) On the 15th June 1895, the Salar sent a letter to Mulla Najam-ud-din of Adda asking him to reckon him one of his true disciples, and informing him that, as the Kafir country had come under the jurisdiction of the King of Islam and the Kafirs had invited him (the Salar) to their country where he intended to go and build mosques, he begged the Mulla to send his disciples to preach there. The Mulla of Adda replied that he had no concern in the matter.

(c) On the 15th July 1895, three sepoys belonging to the Amir's regiments stationed at Asmar deserted and reached Peshawar via Bajaur. They say that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has left for Kafiristan with 5 regiments and one mule battery to construct the road there, and that supplies are being pushed on to Asmar from Jalalabad, Kumar, &c.

(d) News received from Nawagai and the Mohmand country shows that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, who had started for the Kamdesh Kafir country, has been recalled by His Highness the Amir and has been ordered to stay at Asmar leaving the sappers and miners, &c., working on the road. Ghulam Haidar Khan has accordingly returned to Asmar. . .

29th July, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 81. *Gilgit Agency Diary* for the week ending 13th July, 1895 (Confidential).

23rd June. Sipah Salar and Kafirs.

It is reported that the Afghan Sipah Salar lately sent some 300 men to Birkot and himself proceeded to Sau. He then summoned a deputation of the Kafirs from Bashgal, half of whom sent their deputation. These were informed of the terms to be imposed by the Amir's Government on the Bashgal people. The deputation agreed to all the terms except that which enjoined their becoming converts to Muhammadanism. They said they would fight sooner than become Muhammadans, and with this reply went away to their homes.

20th August, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 81. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 16, dated the 20th August, 1895.

Kabul

3 (d) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated the 15th August 1895, shows that His Highness the Amir has issued orders to all tribes living round about Kabul that any person from amongst them, who wishes to take service of his own free [will], will be enlisted for operations against the Kafirs, and he should attend before Shahzada Habibulla Khan at Kabul, who will have his name written down. The present orders are to enlist two new regiments of infantry. Whatever numbers of men are being enlisted by the Shahzada are sent on to the Sipah Salar. Many people have been taken by force out of their houses and despatched under a military guard. Shahzada Habibulla Khan has issued an order that, if any person declines to go, he will be dealt with severely. Fearing this order, every person selected for service goes without any complaint. The tribes that are living close to Kafiristan were told by the Sipah Salar that the Amir's orders for them were to receive supplies, &c., from the Government stores, and that they were to go ahead of the regular troops to fight the Kafirs. They have accepted the Amir's orders, and as they are coming in are being sent on.

(g) The Amir gave khilats and cash to the Kafirs, about 32 in number, who had embraced Islam and were sent to Kabul by the Sipah Salar and permitted them to return to their homes.

Operations Against the Kafirs

5.(a). It is rumoured that levies from Laghman with Khassadars, about 1,000 men in all, have started against the Kafirs *via* Kirman, and General Taj Muhammad Khan has moved against them from Badakhshan.

The troops and levies who had attacked the Kafirs from the Laghman side were defeated with heavy loss after severe fighting and had to retreat to Ziarat Ghazi Baba, where they got no food for two days owing to the mismanagement of the Governor of Laghman. At first the Amir's troops had taken possession of three Kafir villages and had succeeded in killing many Kafirs, but, while attacking a fourth fort named Mangwa, they were stoutly opposed; the fight lasted for a day and a night, and resulted in the defeat of the Amir's troops with a loss of about 100 men. It is said two more regiments are coming from Kabul and a fresh attack will be made.

(b) Ghulam Haidar Khan is encamped at Sao with five regiments. Some of the Kamoz Kafir hamlets were attacked at night by some Khassadars under the instructions of the Sipah Salar. The Kamoz Kafirs, who are about 3,000 men in number, would not give in to the Sipah Salar and are ready to fight. He has been informed that some time ago these Kafirs were given rifles with ammunition by the British officers at Chitral, hence they would not surrender. The road is under construction, and people from Asmar and Lalpura are collecting to work on it at the demand of the Salar. It is said that, as soon as the tribal levies are collected, the Sipah Salar will move against the Kafirs. Meanwhile he is advising them to accept Afghan rule and to allow Mullas to preach Islam amongst them promising that, if they agree to this, he will set their prisoners at liberty and will restore their cattle, but the Kamozais will not listen and are determined to fight.

(c) Now that His Highness the Amir's troops have moved towards Kafiristan, there are only two regiments left at Asmar: one is the Kandari; the name of the other is not known. The road to Kafiristan is being constructed without opposition. It is reported that a second Afghan force consisting of four regiments and one battery has moved against the Kafirs from Kabul *via* the Kulman hill on the Laghman border. Some of the Kafir tribes

are reported to have come in to the Salar, others have kept away and there may be fighting.

(d) The people of the Kunar and Asmar valleys are reported to be in great trouble owing to requisitions for the supply of provisions for the troops engaged against the Kafirs, and for labour for the construction of the road.

(e) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan had sent a party of about 500 Khassadars to attack the Kafirs. They captured some 25 Kafirs and about 1,000 cattle, and brought them to their camp. Three Khassadars were wounded in the fight. Ghulam Haidar Khan was to reach Chanak on the 2nd August. Muhammad Karim Khan is encamped at Dana Darra in the Kamdesh country with two regiments. The Salar with three regiments and a battery was at Shankar (? Shingar), and was about to leave for Chanak. The wooden bridge over the Kunar river is being repaired and strengthened. Some tribal levies are also advancing against the Kafirs through the Shigal valley.

(f) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar is said to have attacked the Kamoz Kafirs with three regiments of infantry 12 days ago, and to have taken possession of their country. He has captured about 60 men and 40 or 50 Kafir women.

(g) Local levies from Laghman have assembled at Ziarat-i-Ghazi Baba in Kirman, and are awaiting the arrival of reinforcement from Kabul in order that an attack may be made upon the Kafirs.

(h) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has sent 40 Kafir prisoners to Asmar. The Kamdesh and Kamoz Kafirs have accepted the suzerainty of the Amir, but have refused to embrace Islam. The Sipah Salar, however, presses their conversion. There is a large gathering of Kafirs at Kamdesh, and a fight is likely to take place.

(i) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated the 8th August 1895, shows that Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, who is now in the Kafir country, informed some of the Kafir elders who came in to him that he would send them to His Highness the Amir at Kabul, but they refused to go. On this the Sipah Salar despatched about 60 of their elders under an escort to Kabul. Seeing this the other Kafirs have stopped going in to the Sipah Salar.

Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has written to His Highness the Amir, reporting that the Kafirs, after holding a consultation

amongst themselves, have informed him that they are not willing either to give over their country to the Amir or become his subjects. The Sipah Salar also wrote asking for further troops being sent for operations against the Kafirs. The Amir has, it is said, despatched five infantry and two cavalry regiments and two batteries of artillery from Kabul to fight against the Kafirs by way of Kohistan.

As the Safis are residing close to Kafiristan, the Sipah Salar, by the Amir's orders, summoned a jirga of their Chiefs and elders, and after presenting them with lungis told them that His Highness's orders were for them to join the regular troops operating against the Kafirs, and asked them what were their wishes in the matter. They said that they were ready to obey the Amir's orders, but they would like first to consult those of their tribesmen who were living closer to the Kafirs in Chagharserai, &c., and then give a reply.

A fight is reported to have taken place between Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, and the Siahposh Kafirs, in which 20 men were killed on the Sipah Salar's side. The loss suffered by the Kafirs is not known, but the Sipah Salar succeeded in capturing six of their villages. In reply to the Sipah Salar's request, the Amir has informed him that more troops will shortly be sent to him. These troops have already left by way of Badakhshan to join the Sipah Salar. The Amir's orders are to attack the Kafirs from three directions, *viz.*, Badakhshan, Laghman and Asmar.

Mohmands

8.(a) The Sipah Salar has called upon Muhammad Akbar Khan of Lalpura to furnish 150 Khassadars for the Kafiristan expedition; and has warned him that, if he fails to comply, his allowance will be still further reduced. It is said he cannot collect so many Khassadars.

3rd September, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 178,*
dated the 3rd of September, 1895.

Kabul. — No news of importance has been received from Kabul during the month.

One month's pay is said to have been deducted from the whole

Afghan army this year, to meet the cost of manufacture of cannon and other arms.

Kafiristan. – No reliable news has been received of the recent proceedings of the Sipah Salar in the Kafiristan direction, but reports continue to circulate to the effect that Afghan troops have entered the Kafir country, and have met with opposition. The Amir's instructions are said to be that the Kafirs should be attacked simultaneously from Asmar, Badakhshan and Lughman. One report states that the force which marched from the Lughman side was defeated with great loss and had to retreat. Tribal levies are being collected to aid the Afghan regular forces; three thousand Khugianis are said to have already joined the Sipah Salar, as has also the Khan of Lalpura with a contingent of Mohmand levies. The Kafirs are gathering at Kamdesh, and it is expected that a fight will take place there. Several Kafir elders have been sent to Kabul. A good road is being made up the Bashgul valley. The Sipah Salar was at Sao, with a strong force, about the middle of August. The people of the Kunar valley are much distressed by the requisitions for supplies for the troops and for labour for the construction of the road.

6th September, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 82. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 17, dated the 6th of September, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

3.(a) News received shows that His Highness the Amir's troops are encamped in the country between Koi, Nari and the Kamdesh ilaka, and that the road is being made. The Kafir elders attended the Sipah Salar, consented to pay the usual revenue and requested him to withdraw his troops, but the Salar did not agree to this and replied that the troops must be allowed to pass through their country at least once. The Kafirs are not inclined to agree to this proposal as yet. Supplies are being collected from the Kunar and Kala (?) ilakas, and are being despatched for the Amir's troops engaged in Kafiristan.

(b) News from the Khyber states that the Sipah Salar has sent to Jalalabad all the cattle found in some Kafir forts captured by him. The Amir is very pleased at the successes of his army. Operations on a larger scale seem to be intended, troops are under

orders from Badakhshan, and carriage is being impressed at Kabul and Jalalabad.

11th September, 1895. Letters from India. vol. 82. Translation of a News-letter from the British Agent at Kabul, No. 35, dated the 11th September to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Sir, I beg to forward the news which I received during the week ending the 10th of September 1895:—

[On the 4th Sept. 1895] I have learned that, although the people of Kafiristan, residing near Indarab, Panjsher, and Nijrab have owned the suzerainty of the Amir, yet, those who reside near the Chitral border and higher up, do not tender their allegiance; and that the Amir is thinking of, and making preparations for, sending a military expedition to that country; and that orders will shortly be given for the despatch of the expedition.

5th Sept. 1895. . . . A certain Mirza of the Amir's office secretly sent an anonymous letter to the people of Kafiristan, stating that the Amir was thinking of occupying their country and bringing them under his power; that they should hold themselves in readiness to resist His Highness. The letter was intercepted and sent to the Amir, who has given orders to trace the offender.

16th September, 1895. Letters from India. vol. 82. Gilgit Agency Diary for the week ending the 17th August, 1895 (Confidential).

20th July, 1895. — Assistant British Agent started for Shishi. . . Camped at Broz, 21st July, 1895. — Marched from Broz to Kesu. Received a visit from a party of Kafirs who asked for protection from Government and reported that a force of 1,000 Afghans had come to Birkot, and that the Sipah Salar was pressing the Bashgalis to become Muhammadans which the Bashgalis refuse to agree to.

25th July, 1895. — (1). Returned to Chitral. 2. A Kafir headman named Jana, resident of Ahmed Dewana, visited Chitral and informed the Mehtar that, owing to pressure from the Afghan Sipah Salar, the Kam people had sent a deputation to Lutdeh [Baragamatal] asking for help against the Afghans. The Lutdeh

people in reply told the deputation that it was difficult for them to join Kamdesh in a war against the Afghans coming up from Narsat, as the Amir's garrison in Minjan was similarly threatening to attack Lutdeh. The only thing to be done was to abandon their country and retire to the interior of Kafiristan.

28th July, 1895. – (1). The Afghans are said to have some 400 men at Birkot, a full regiment at Sau, and about 800 tribal levies at Nari, The Sipah Salar is at Vasangar, and communications between him and the Kam people are being exchanged.

Gilgit Agency Diary for the week ending the 24th August, 1895 (Confidential).

Chitral

1. The Sipah Salar is said to be at Sau. He is having the road made from Birkot towards the Bashgal River, men having been put to work on it.

2. The Sipah Salar has sent the headmen of the different villages in Narsat to Kamdesh to persuade the people of that country to submit to the terms imposed by the Amir. The headmen have not yet returned.

Gilgit Agency Diary for the week ending the 31st August, 1895 (Confidential).

Chitral

Syed Amir and Jumma Khan of Arandu have brought the following news:—

(a) Two Afghan regiments advanced about the 2nd August 1895 via the Birkot nullah to the Kamie Pass leading to Kamdesh and are encamped there. Some 2,000 labourers (Shirwanis of Spin-ghar) under their Khans and Sindani people of Asmar, Shal, and Shangar, &c., are employed making a road up the Birkot nullah.

(b) The Sipah Salar some days ago visited the mouths of the Bashgal valley with an escort of 32 horse and about 100 foot, returning from thence to Sau where he is encamped.

(c) There are two regiments of regular troops and a large number of tribal levies at Birkot. Those are to move forward when the road is ready about the 7th August. Flour and other supplies for the force were being hurriedly got ready.

(d) The three headman, Shaikh Muhammad Islam of Chanduk, Ghulam Nabi of Nashagam and Aib Khan of Birkot, who had

been lately sent to Kamdesh by the Sipah Salar returned four days ago (that is, 2nd August 1895) with 14 Kam headmen. They saw the Sipah Salar and asked to be excused from embracing the Muhammadan religion and from the road to their country being made, and offered to pay the same tribute to the Amir as they have been in the habit of paying to the Mehtars of Chitral. These terms, however, the Sipah Salar refused to agree to. The Kafir headmen are still with the Sipah Salar.

22nd September, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Gilgit Agency Diary* for the week ending the 22nd September, 1895.

26th August 1895. – (1) The Kamdesh Kafirs have sent messengers to the Mehtar. The messengers give the following news:—

(a) In their negotiations with the Sipah Salar, some of the Kafirs offered to become Muhammadans, but asked that only a few Mallas might be sent into their country to teach them the Muhammadan religion, that no troops should be sent into the country, and the Amir would accept the same tribute that they had hitherto paid to Chitral.

The Sipah Salar would not accept these terms, and told them that, besides embracing the Muhammadan religion and paying 1/10th of the produce as revenue, they must agree to roads being made through their country and to furnishing 120 men for military service and a few good-looking girls for the harem.

The Kafirs think these terms very hard and have decided to fight.
 (b) The Afghan troops have advanced beyond Istargaz (Gour-desh). One Afghan sepoy has been shot dead by some Kafir scouts.

(c) A Sheikh and two Afghans having gone to Kamdesh as envoys, the Kafirs sent the Sheikh back, but kept the two Afghans.

(d) The Kafirs keep sending messengers to the Mehtar to try and get his assistance and supplies of powder and bullets. They also ask permission to take refuge in Chitral territory if defeated by the Amir's troops. The latter question having been referred by the Mehtar to the Assistant British Agent, he was informed that there was no objection to him granting such refuge.

(2) Azar Khan, a resident of Utzun, has come in and told the Mehtar that Akram Jan, the headman of Nari, lately sent some

men to their grazing grounds with the object of capturing their cattle. The Utzun people had however already removed their cattle, and Akram Jan's men failed in their object and went back. He says he was informed by Sir George Robertson that Utzun was in Chitral territory and was under the Mehtar of Chitral, and begs that the Afghans may be prevented from interfering with them.

1st October, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Kabul News-Letter* No. 38 from Muhammad Akram Khan, Lieut.-Colonel, British Agent, Afghanistan.

28th Sept. 1895. (Authentic News)

In accordance with the request of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar, one infantry regiment, one resala, and one battery of guns have been sent to the aid of the troops which are engaged in the Kafiristan expedition. It is understood that the Sipah Salar has reported that a very large number of Kafirs have collected together to resist the Afghan troops; and that they are really a brave and valorous people. He has also reported that five of the forts belonging to the Kafirs have been seized, and that during these operations a Kafir village consisting of 50 houses was captured and burned down.

1st October, 1895.

It is reported that three lakhs of rupees, loaded on seventy ponies, have been sent to Kafiristan to meet the expenses of the expedition.

2nd October, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda*. Letter No. 190, dated the 2nd of October, 1895.

Towards the end of July a party of Kafirs came to the Assistant Political Officer in Chitral, and asked for protection against the Afghans, who were advancing up the Bashgal Valley, and pressing the Kafirs to become Muhammadans. The Kafirs are ready to pay revenue and make their submission to the Amir; but they still refuse to allow the Afghan troops a free passage through their country. News of what is actually occurring is difficult to obtain and untrustworthy.

4th October, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Gilgit Agency Diary* for the week ending the 7th September, 1895.

Kafir News

17 August 1895. — A deputation of some Lutdeh [Baragamatal, Katr tribe] Kafirs arrived in Chitral with a customary tribute of 20 baltis (one balti = $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers) of *ghi* for the Mehtar. They said that as yet the Sipah Salar had not advanced into the Kamdesh valley, but that the Afghans were busy making a road up the Birkot river.

The Sipah Salar has been sending messages to the Kam Kafirs to the effect that Kafiristan has been given by the British Government to the Amir, and threatening to punish them unless they come in and give in their submission. The Kam people consulted the Lutdeh and other Kafirs, and it is reported that the Kafirs are divided as to what to do, some being in favour of resistance and others of submission. It seems probable that some 8,000 Kafirs of Kamdesh, Mujash, Madugal and Veron will oppose the advance of the Afghan force. The Wai and Katwar Kafirs have so far not joined the league.

The deputation now came from Lutdeh has for its object the obtaining of help from the Mehtar and the British Government against the Afghans, and the prevention of the latter's advance into Kafiristan.

19th August, 1895. — News came to-day that Istorgat (the Chitrali name for Gourdesh [Gawardesh]) had been occupied by the Afghan forces. The Lutdeh Kafirs who were here got the news first and were so unhappy at hearing it that they began crying.

12th October, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday the 12th October 1895.

Movements of Afghan Forces Against Kafiristan

6th October 1895. — Shukr Shah, Chitrali, reports that the Sipah Salar is said to have again started to attack Kamdesh; also that the Amir's forces are said to have attacked Kafiristan from the Laghman side and captured one fort.

2. Ajdar, Zondra of Oyon, having lately sent men into Kafiristan, his men have returned and bring the following news:—

- (a) The Amir has disapproved the action of the Sipah Salar with regard to his having accepted Rs. 1,000 as tribute from the Kam people; so the money has been returned.
- (b) The Afghan General at Faizabad has sent two Kabulis accompanied by two Tajiks of Singlich to the Kafirs of Lutdeh, with a message advising them to submit to the Amir and become Musalmans and, in case of their refusing to do so, to warn them to prepare for war with the Amir's troops. The Lutdehchis have sent a message through Krui Gumara, who lives at Bumboret, to the Mehtar saying that, if they are not helped by him, they must submit to the Amir as they cannot stand against him alone.
- (c) The Amir lately sent a force in the direction of Ramgul in Kafiristan, which force attacked and took a Kafir fort. The Afghans lost 800 and the Kafirs 400 men.
- (d) The Sipah Salar has sent a message to the Kam people advising them to embrace the Muhammadan religion.
- (e) The Kam Kafirs lately sent men to ask the Lutdehchis to come to their help, as they were about to be attacked by the Sipah Salar. The Lutdehchis refused, saying they would wait in their own country, and if attacked from the lower side (the south) they would fight, but if attacked from the Munjan side [i.e., the north] they would have to submit, as they could not withstand an attack from that direction.

Movements of Afghan Troops

8th October, 1895. — Some men recently sent down to Arandu under the Mehtar's orders have returned, and report that they saw three parties of Afghan troops from the Birkot camp, numbering in all some 200 men, marching up the Bashgal stream towards Istargaz (Gourdesh).

9th October, 1895. — Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, has arrived in Chitral and reports as follows:—

- (a) The Afghan General at Faizabad, under orders from Kabul, sent 6 Singlich men to Lutdeh with a message to the Lutdeh people to come to him and make their submission to the Amir, and adding that he had never worried them in any way or prevented their intercourse or trade in the Badakhshan provinces of the Amir. The Lutdehchis accordingly sent a deputation con-

sisting of Nili Rai, son of Kan, brother of Mara, a headman of Lutdeh, Shangnu Latkari of Lutdeh, and a Shui man, accompanied by a slave girl as a present, to the General at Faizabad.

(b) The Amir has ordered the Sipah Salar to give back the tribute money which he lately took from the Kam people, saying he wants Kafiristan, not money.

(c) Pashai is a Kafir State one day's journey from Ramgal. The Amir sent a force and attacked it, with the result that one of the three Pashai forts has been captured by the Afghans. Three hundred Kafirs were killed and one thousand Afghans.

(d) The Ramgul Kafirs have been called upon by the Amir to become Musalmans. They have refused to do so and have sent two men to the Lutdehchis proposing an alliance and mutual help in case either were attacked.

Afghan News

11th October, 1895. — Kazi Shah Muhammed, Agent of the Khwaja of Munjan, brings the following news:—

(a) The Afghan authorities in Badakhshan are having the following roads made —

1st. — At the head of the Munjan valley from a place called Kairk some six miles south of the village of Talli to the Veron Pass, a distance of one day's march. The Munjan people are working at this road.

2nd.— At the foot of the Munjan valley from near Mian Shahr through the Ulf ravine towards Lutdeh, which is one march distant.

(b) Large quantities of supplies are being brought in to Munjan and stored there, it is believed, with a view to invading Kafiristan.

(d) An Afghan General with a force has lately arrived at Charikar from Kabul. It is believed he is proceeding against the Kafirs either *via* Panjsher or Badakhshan.

(e) The Lutdeh Kafirs have sent some headmen and a slave to the Afghan General at Faziabad. . .

14th October, 1895. Letters from India. vol. 83. Gilgit Agency Diary for the week ending the 14th October 1895.

Chitral

29th August, 1895. — British Agent [of Gilgit, Sir George Scott Robertson] arrived at about 9 a.m. . .

1st September, 1895. —

Kafir News

3. British Agent [Robertson] interviewed the Lutdeh headmen. The latter said their country belonged to Chitral and to Government, and for that reason asked for help against the Afghans. They said that hitherto the Kam people had failed in making the Sipah Salar agree to anything short of absolute submission, that the other Kafir States were watching to see what the Kam people would do, and that the rest of the Kafirs would probably follow the example of the Kam people, and that half the latter were in favour of submitting to the Amir, and the other half opposed to it; that Waigal had sent all their headmen to the Sipah Salar and submitted; and that some of the Ramgulis had also become Muhammadans; they asked that if they were defeated they might be permitted to emigrate to Chitral territory and settle there. British Agent told them their country had never belonged to Government, and advised them to send their headmen to the Sipah Salar and come to terms with him. They were also told that, in case of their emigration to Chitral territory, the Mehtar would no doubt give them refuge.

4. An Arandu man arrived with the news that the people of Kamdesh had submitted to the Sipah Salar, the Afghan force having reached Kam.

2nd September, 1895. — The Darbar for the installation of Shuja-ul-Mulk as Mehtar took place at 5:30 p.m. on an open space outside the main gate of the Chitral Fort. . .

Kafir News

3rd September, 1895. — B. Chora, Kafir of Kam, brought news that the Kam people had submitted to the Sipah Salar and had agreed to pay him Rs. 1,000 annually as revenue, and that an Afghan Colonel had gone into Kamdesh to collect this revenue. The Sipah Salar leaving some 60 men at Gourdesh had withdrawn with the main body of his force from that place to Birkot. The road-making in Bashgal Valley has been abandoned by the Afghans; the road up the Birkot river is however being made.

Though the Sipah Salar has withdrawn from Gourdesh, the Kafirs are of the opinion that he means to return with a large force and occupy the country.

13th September, 1895.—

(2) It is reported that the Sipah Salar has, since his return from Gourdesh, been encamped at Birkot, and that his men are busy making roads into Kafiristan. The delay in advancing further on the part of the Sipah Salar is said to be that preparations are being made by the Amir for a simultaneous advance from different directions into Kafiristan.

Kafir News

18th September, 1895.—

(1) Mirza Nabi and Begi, two Chitrallis, lately came from Arandu, report that all the Sipah Salar's force, except three regiments, has been withdrawn to Lower Narsat, &c.; only three regiments remain with the Sipah Salar at Birkot.

The Kam people have paid Rs. 1,000 to Sipah Salar.

A party of Afghan troops from Birkot goes every morning up the Birkot ravine as far as the foot of the pass and returns to camp in the evening.

(2) Shukur Shah, Chitrali, states that the Sipah Salar has stationed some 40 men, Sheikhs from the Narsat valley as garrison of the fort at Ishtorgat (Gourdesh).

20th September, 1895.—

(1) Shukur Shah, Chitrali, brings the following news:-

The Sipah Salar lately sent four men, Syed Rasul, Kabuli, Muhammad Rasul, Shighali, and two others, up the Birkot ravine into Kafiristan to reconnoitre the roads. When these men arrived at a place called Ishpai, whence roads lead to Kam, Mujashi [Kaštá] and Wai, a party of Kafirs, who were in ambush there, attacked and killed them, taking away their arms, *viz.*, two Martini and two Snider rifles. On the Sipah Salar receiving news of the occurrence he ordered it to be kept secret, and directed 50 Afghan soldiers from Bailan to proceed at once *via* Nawa Kili up a ravine, which leads to the head of the Ishpai ravine. The latter are supposed to have been men of the tribes either of Wai or Mujashi.

Russian and Afghan News

(2) Panj Shambe, Zebaki, was lately sent to Shighnan to bring news; he went as far as Shakhdarra and started on his return journey from thence about the 15th September. He reports as follows:—

(k) There are 500 Afghan troops in Munjan and 400 in Zebak. When Panj Shambe passed through Zebak, the latter troops were preparing to march to Munjan, the rumour being that the whole 900 would shortly operate against Kafiristan.

Kafir News

23rd September, 1895.—

(1) Syed Amir Shah, headman of Arandu, brings the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar commenced his operations against the Kafirs by sending two regiments up the Birkot ravine. With these regiments were a large number of Spenghi Shinwaris and Narsat-Asmar men, who were employed on making the road. The road was made as far as Buda Pakat and then abandoned, and the force withdrawn. The Sipah Salar then arrived in person at Birkot, and with a large force and two guns moved up the Bashgal Gol (valley), and encamped the first day at Vens in Istargat or (Gourdesh). Thence he moved to a place called Damni beyond Chinar Gol. Here he established his head-quarters. Two regiments were sent on by him to a place called Kashrotal, 5 miles further up, and a road was made to that place. The Kafirs of Kamoz (i.e., Kamdesh and Madugal), who were guarding the road fired on the Afghans, who returned the fire. The Sipah Salar, on hearing of it, got angry and gave strict orders to his people not to fire even if fired on by the Kafirs.

The Sipah Salar then sent messages to the Kafirs, asking them to come and see him. The Kafirs accordingly sent the following headmen: Astor, son of Latkam Chandlu, Tani Sundra [of] Bilashe Dhare [clan], Azar, son of Diwan Malik, Chara, son of Ara Malik, Badal, son of Kazan, and Mirag [of] Gurikach [Gutketchdari or Gutketch clan], with 18 followers, to the Sipah Salar. These on seeing the Sipah Salar said that they would agree to everything except conversion to Muhammadanism, and to the making of roads through their country. The Sipah Salar replied

that they would not be forced to become Muhammadans, nor would roads be made if they did not wish it. The Kafirs then agreed to pay Rs. 1,000 as tribute from Kamdesh, Madugal, and Mujashi [Kaštá], and to send a deputation of headmen to Kabul. The Sipah Salar told the Kafirs that they need not be afraid, but if they wished to, might fearlessly send their flocks to graze in Narsat, and that the Afghan Government would be responsible for any losses they suffered there. He told them to bring things freely for sale in the Afghan Camps, and said they would receive good prices for everything.

After this, the Sipah Salar returned to Birkot, which he has made his permanent head-quarters. Everything – supplies, bazar, &c., – has been moved from Asmar to Birkot. The Afghan troops have been lodged in the houses of the villagers at Birkot, and the latter have been told to build new houses for themselves.

Akram Jan, with 40 Sheikhs, has been left in charge of Istargat or (Gourdesh), but he will shortly be withdrawn, the place being then given to Mer Jan Merag Dhare [Mir Jan of the clan of Merak], who has offered to become a Muhammadan. For this he has been exempted from all taxes or tribute.

The Lutdeh people also sent a deputation to the Sipah Salar offering to pay tribute, but he refused to take it, and told them they would be dealt with by the Afghan authorities in Munjan.

Epidemic in Badakhshan

27th September, 1895.—

E.(1) Some epidemic is said to have broken out in Badakhshan from which many people are dying. The Afghan troops in Zebak, Munjan, &c., are also suffering much from the disease, and the expedition against the Kafirs may have to be put off in consequence.

18th October, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Copy of Telegram* No. 3999 F. From the Foreign Secretary, Simla, To the Resident in Kashmir, dated 18th October, 1895.

See Chitral Diary received with your 4610, 7th October, and previous diaries. The Kafirs are now Amir's subjects. It is very undesirable that they should be permitted or encouraged to hope

for refuge in or assistance from Chitral which should observe strict neutrality as between Kafirs and Afghans.

Addressed to Resdt., Kashmir and repeated to Asstt. British Agent, Chitral.

23rd October, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 19, dated the 23rd of October, 1895.

Operations against the Kafirs

6.(a). Report from Asmar states that a few days ago the Kamdesh Kafirs attended upon the Sipah Salar and told him that they were willing to accept the suzerainty of His Highness the Amir, King of Islam, on condition they were not compelled to accept Islam, and that no road should be made through their country. The Sipah Salar told them that the King of Islam wanted the road and not revenue, and that they had better consult their clansmen again.

(b) An extract from Khyber Political Diary shows that it is stated that Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, wrote to His Highness the Amir from Kafiristan, stating that he had located some of his troops in the places lately conquered by him, where he thought there was necessity to do so, and they have been ordered to live in tents as a temporary measure. As the winter was coming on, he solicited permission for construction of huts for their residence. His Highness informed the Sipah Salar that he could build the huts wherever he thought it proper to do so. Under the Amir's orders masons, carpenters, &c., have been despatched from Kabul for this work.

(c) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is still encamped at Sao and Nari. The Kamoz Kafirs have surrendered and allowed Mullahs to preach among them. They have also agreed to pay such revenue and jizya as may be fixed by His Highness the Amir. The Sipah Salar has sent their jirga consisting of 25 elders to Kabul, and expects further instructions from His Highness the Amir. A jizya at the rate of Rs. 18 per head per annum has been announced to them, but the Kafirs consider this amount to be altogether excessive and quite intolerable.

(d) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan and the other officers engaged against the Kafirs have received orders from His High-

ness the Amir to stop taking any further action against them and to arrange to locate the troops during the approaching winter in a position where they may escape the severity of the season. Most of the tribal levies are to be disbanded and allowed to return to their homes.

23rd October, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Kabul News-Letter*
No. 41, dated the 23rd of October, 1895.

20th October, 1895. — I hear that a slave-boy in the Amir's service told the Amir with regard to the expedition sent against the Siahposh Kafirs that they go into the hills during summer, and in winter they come down from the hills on account of the heavy snow and bitter cold; that it would be advisable to wait for some time and to send the expedition when they come to live in the plains. I have also heard that the Amir approved of the above suggestion and sent orders to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, to do the needful at the time when the Kafirs come down to the plains.

22nd October, 1895. . . . I learn that the Amir addressing Sardar Jan Muhammad Khan said:— “I am informed that a large number of British Indian troops have assembled in Chitral, Bajaur and Swat; and that large quantities of provisions will be stored in those places; that the British Government will strongly fortify the pass through which the Russians can come to India. In that case, after the termination of the Kafiristan business, it is incumbent on us also to strengthen our frontier in those quarters, so that the Russian troops may not make improper encroachment upon Afghan territory.”

28th October, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Gilgit Political Diary* for the week ending the 28th October, 1895.

Chitral – Kafir News.

9th September, 1895. —

- (1) Gomura, a headman of Lutdeh, brings the following news:—
- (a) The Afghan General at Fiazabad lately sent two men to the Lutdehchis, calling on them to come to Faizabad and make their submission. The Lutdehchis refused to go saying they were prepared to fight if their country was invaded.

- (b) The Kafirs think the Sipah Salar, who is at Asmar, will not invade Kafiristan this year.
- (c) The four Afghan spies reported in a previous diary as having been killed by Kafirs at Ishpai are said to have been killed by Gachara, son of Bahadur of Madugal. The Kam people called on him to pay blood-money to the Sipah Salar or to make his peace in some other way, but Gachara told them to mind their own business.

29th October, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 20, dated the 29th October, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

5.(a) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 22nd October 1895, shows that the Kafirs have made their submission to the Amir, and that Hakims and Kazis are being appointed in their country. They have agreed with the Sipah Salar to give sufficient men to raise an infantry regiment. It was rumoured in certain places in Ningrahar that, on the return of Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, Umra Khan, the ex-Khan of Jandol would be appointed Governor of Kafiristan and that Badakhshan will also be placed under his charge.

(b) It is reported that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan had invited certain leading men of the Kafirs to Barikot to give them 'khilats', but that they refused to accept his invitation, and said they would not change their religion and abandon their liberty for the sake of such trifling presents.

The Sipah Salar is anxious to build barracks for the troops stationed at Barikot during the coming winter. He has sent orders to the people of Kunar and Ningrahar to collect 40 'kharwars' [one kharwar equals 80 Kabul *seers* or 565 kg.] of salt at Barikot.

(c) The Amir is said to have issued orders to the Sipah Salar for the construction of cantonments at Barikot, as its climate is suitable to the Kabulis in the Amir's army. This cantonment, if built, will secure the safety of the Kafiristan-Badakhshan road.

(d) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 22nd October 1895, shows that Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, is at present in Kamdesh. In accordance with the Amir's orders, the Kafirs have agreed to the appointment of Hakims in their country

and to pay revenue. Barracks are being built in Kamdesh and road-making is going on. Five infantry regiments, two batteries of artillery, and 1,500 tribal levies will be kept in Kamdesh until further orders, while the Sipah Salar will also remain at the place.

(e) Two infantry regiments and a battery have been ordered by the Amir to remain in readiness to march against the Kafirs in the direction of Panjsher, but this force has not yet started for its destination.

1st November, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 21, dated the 1st of November, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

5. (a) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 1st November, 1895, shows that it is reported that the Sipah Salar is at present encamped at Bukote [Barikot?] and that no fighting has lately taken place between him and the Surkhposh Kafirs. The Sipah Salar had sent Hakim Ahmad Jan, Peshawari, to Gardesh [Gawardesh] Fort to hold a jirga with the Kafirs. He brought with him 20 of their headmen with Rs. 1,000 and 50 men and women slaves, and produced them before the Sipah Salar. The Kafirs said that they have agreed to become the Amir's subjects and to pay the usual revenue, provided that they are not converted. The Sipah Salar told them that he would refer their case for His Highness the Amir's orders.

(b) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is still encamped at Birkot near Nari. The Kamoz Kafirs have submitted, and roads and posts have been built in their country. The Kafir jirga sent to Kabul by the Sipah Salar has not returned.

2nd November, 1895. *Letters from India*. vol. 83. *Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 2nd of November, 1895.

2. Sayad Shah Darya of Lutkho arrived in Chitral on the 23rd October and gives the following news:-

(a) The Afghan General at Faizabad has been told by the Amir that he will shortly be joined by a force from Kabul, and that he is in the meantime to concentrate at Munjan all the troops in his district, and when joined by the Kabul force to invade Kafiri-

stan from the Munjan side, while the Sipah Salar will attack the Kafirs from the other side.

(b) The above-mentioned force from Kabul was then at a place three marches from Munjan. It consists of four regiments.

(c) The Amir has also ordered that no terms shall be accepted from the Kafirs short of absolute submission and conversion to Islam. He has prohibited the killing of Kafir children under seven years of age, but no Kafir above that age will be shown any mercy who refuses to embrace Muhammadanism.

(d) The storing of supplies, &c., at Munjan is nearly completed.

(e) The roads which were being made for the force to advance are now ready.

30th October, 1895. —

The Arandu people give the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is still encamped at Birkot.

(b) There are no Afghan troops now at Istorgat (Gourdesh). The place is held by Mer Jan and other Kafirs friendly to the Amir.

(c) At Birkot there are eight Afghan regiments — six regulars and two irregulars. There are also some 800 regular cavalry. Amongst the regulars my informants only knew the names of three regiments, *viz.*, the Sufi Regiment, the Ardal Regiment, and the Sappers Regiment.

(d) There are some 3,000 transport ponies in the Sipah Salar's camp; also 200 camels and 2 elephants.

(e) There are four guns: one of these is a 'pechi top'. (I give original vernacular words. Some kind of screw gun appears to be meant. C. F. Minchin [Assistant British Agent, Chitral]).

(f) Some fifty Kafirs are in the camp and are given food from the Sipah Salar's own kitchen. Amongst them are the following headmen:—

Kana Mali Damu

Palik Demu, son of Chandlu

The son of Dechon Malik

Shili Chandlu

Mirag Chandlu

Tani Malkan's brother

(g) Some six days ago the Sipah Salar sent Murad Khan, headman of Birkot, accompanied by a confidential man of his own, to Bashgal with orders for the Kafirs to send down 80 headmen

who would be sent to the Amir. Should these headmen fail to come in he would invade Kafiristan. The general impression is that, whether the Bashgalis send these headmen or not, their country will before long be invaded, and that if the headmen come in they will be seized.

- (h) There is a large bazar at Birkot for the benefit of the troops.
- (i) The Sipah Salar has had a large house built for himself, and nearly a thousand huts have been made for the sepoys.

The above is news supplied by the headmen of Arandu. I myself looked at the Afghan Camp from the top of one of the towers of the fort lately built at Arandu by Umra Khan. The camp is about one mile distant across the river. It is about half a mile square and neatly laid out, with parade grounds in the centre. The camp consisted of half tents and half huts, the tents were evidently being taken down as the huts were built, as the camp presented a motley appearance of tents and huts dotted about. Birkot, where the camp is, is about two miles below the mouth of the Bashgal stream. At the mouth of the Bashgal stream is an Afghan advanced post of perhaps some 200 men in shelters made of branches of trees. Just opposite this advanced post is a rope bridge across the Bashgal stream made, so I was told, by the Afghans. I could see no signs of the large number of cavalry horses and transport ponies referred to in (c) and (d) above, but the south-western corner of the camp was not visible, owing to a hillock intervening from Arandu, and they may have been picketed there.

As regards (g), I understand that another two days would either see the submission of the Kafirs or an Afghan advance into Kafiristan. As regards (i) I should say that for 'a thousand huts' 400 should be read. There appeared to be about 400 huts and 400 tents from the distance from which I saw the camp.

3. The Arandu people declare that they have been called upon by the Sipah Salar to pay revenue for their lands on the left bank of the Arandu stream, the Sipah Salar declaring that the Arandu stream is the boundary between Chitral and Afghan Territory. Some 3/4 of the land of Arandu lies across the stream.

2nd November, 1895.—

3. Abdul Hamid, a leading man of the Khwaja of Munjan, brings the following news:—

- (e) There are 400 Afghan soldiers in Zebak under a Captain and 400 in Munjan under a Subedar.
- (f) Supplies are still being brought in to Munjan from all parts of Badakshan and stored there.
- (g) The roads leading to Veron and Lutdeh from Munjan were lately being made. Owing to snow having fallen, however, the work had to be abandoned.
- (h) The Lutdeh Kafirs have given in their submission to the Afghan authorities in Munjan. They were, however, told that the Amir intended to occupy their country.

4. Mehrab of Ayun, a foster relation of the late Mehtar Amir-ul-Mulk, had lately sent one of his servants to Kafiristan. The man went as far as Lutdeh, where he remained a few days and then returned. He reports as follows:—

The Lutdeh Kafirs in response to repeated messages from the Afghan general at Faizabad, sent Nili Ra, brother of Mara, headman, with a good-looking girl to the General to make terms. The General ordered Nili Ra to stay at Faizabad, until he (the General) got instructions from Kabul regarding him, and advised Nili Ra in the meantime to induce the Lutdeh people to come in and make their submission.

5. Lalif, Tajik, now residing in Chitral, lately went to Lutkho. He has returned to Chitral and reports —

- (a) A son of Khan, a headman of Lutdeh, with 5 other men also of Lutdeh, went about the 15th October to the Afghan General at Faizabad to declare their loyal feelings to the Amir's Government and to pay their respects to the General.
- (b) Four men of Lutdeh went the other day to Munjan as spies: three of them were captured by the Afghans, the fourth made his escape. It is not known how the Afghans treated the three spies captured.

14th November, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 1 C,*
dated the 14th of November, 1895.

Chitral

Deputations of Kafirs continue to come in to Chitral to seek the aid of the Mehtar, and to obtain permission to take refuge in Chitral territory if defeated by the Amir's troops. Instructions have been sent to the Political Officer in Chitral that, as the Kafirs

are now Afghan subjects [marginal note by someone in the Foreign Office: *When did this begin?*], it is very undesirable that they should be permitted or encouraged to hope for refuge in, or assistance from, Chitral, which should observe strict neutrality as between Kafirs and Afghans.

The Kamdesh and Kawardesh [Gawardesh] Kafirs are said to have submitted to the Amir and paid a fine of three thousand rupees. All Kafirs have been prohibited under penalty of death from taking supplies to, or visiting, Chitral under any circumstances whatever. The new road which the Sipah Salar is constructing has reached Kamdesh limits. A permanent bridge has been built over the Chitral River at Narsat; and barracks are being constructed at Birkot. One regiment of cavalry, one of infantry and a battery of artillery have been sent from Kabul to strengthen the force in Kafiristan.

16th November, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday, the 16th of November, 1895.

13th November, 1895.—

(1) Kori, son of Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, who left his home seven days ago, brings the following news:—

(a) As the Kagalwat and Pura Ghusht Passes leading from Lutdeh to Rumbor and Bumboret [Kalash Kafir valleys] respectively in Chitral territory are closed now, he had to travel *via* Kam [territory], Mer[grom], Istorgat [Gawardesh] and Ursun into Chitral. The Shui Pass leading from Lutdeh into Lutkho in Chitral owing to heavy snowfall has become difficult to travel over.

(b) The deputation of Lutdeh headmen, who went lately to Faizabad has not returned yet. Seven days ago the Lutdeh Kafirs sent two more men towards Faizabad to bring news of the deputation.

(c) The Veron [Parun] Kafirs tendered their submission to the Amir last year and agreed to pay tribute to His Highness. So they are in peace, and this year they have sent no deputation to Faizabad.

(d) The Waigal Kafirs also submitted to the Sipah Salar, Ghulam Haidar Khan, last year, and since then they have been keeping aloof from joining the other Kafir States.

(e) The Sipah Salar had lately called upon the Kam Kafirs to send some 80 headmen to Birkot to make their submission. As the Kam people are afraid of the Sipah Salar seizing all their headmen if they send them in large numbers, and then attacking their country, they have sent only two headmen, named Ota [Uta] and Shayuk, to pay their respects to him.

(f) About 20 days ago Kana Malik Demi [Kan Malik of the Demi clan], one of the principal headmen of Kamdesh, of his own free will, became a convert to Islam in the Sipah Salar's camp at Birkot. He has said to the Sipah Salar that, unless the Kam people send in all their headmen and submit to the Amir thoroughly in all matters, he may be given a force and he will occupy Kafiristan for the Kabul Government.

(g) The fort at Istorgat (Gourdesh) is held by Mer Jan, a Bashgali headman formerly converted to Islam, on behalf of the Afghan Government. When Kori passed through Istorgat, Mer Jan told him he (Mer Jan) had orders from the Sipah Salar to seize any Lutdeh Kafirs who should attempt to travel *via* Istorgat to Chitral, adding, however, that he did not care to carry out those orders. Mer Jan has been advising the Kam people not to send their headmen in large numbers to Birkot, as he suspected that they will be seized by the Sipah Salar.

(h) Ill-feeling prevails between the Kamoz and Kustoz [Kaštá] Kafirs: the former accuse the latter of having induced the Sipah Salar to come to Birkot and to threaten attack on Kamdesh. The Kustoz Kafirs throw back the blame on the Kamoz people, saying their own internal feuds and discord have brought about the move of the Afghan Sipah Salar to Birkot, &c. The Kustoz Kafirs are consequently thinking of abandoning their present homes and moving to their original country called Mujash [Mujash is the Chitrali word for the Kaštá people], which is one day's journey to the west of Veron and close to Katwar.

(i) The Kam headmen in their last interview with the Sipah Salar told him that, if their country was invaded by the Afghan Government, they would fight, and when overpowered will burn their houses, kill their flocks, and move to Madugal; thence, if worsted, to Lutdeh, and thence, if necessary, will take refuge in Katwar, Ramgal, and in Chitral. The Sipah Salar told them, the British Government being friends with His Highness the Amir, they would not be allowed to take refuge in Chitral.

(j) Badur, headman of Madugal, having lately visited the Sipah Salar at Birkot, was told to go back to his country and come again bringing with him the other headmen of Madugal. When Kori passed through Madugal the other day, Badur with two other headmen of Madugal was preparing to start for Birkot.

(k) An Afghan General with six regiments has arrived in Panjsher and is located one day's journey from the Mulim Pass, which is at the head of the Ramgal Valley. This pass being closed by snow now, it is believed that in the spring this force will attack Ramgal from that side.

Ramgal consists of 60 forts. Kinigal is the last fort at the foot of the Ramgal Valley in the direction of Lughman. Last summer the Afghans sent a small force of local men from Lughman and took the fort of Kinigal by assault: 100 Afghans were killed and 200 Kafirs of Kinigal. The Afghans then made arrangements for holding the fort permanently, but before they could carry out their arrangements a Kafir force of eighteen thousand Ramgalis attacked them and drove them out of Kinigal. The Afghans are now stationed at a place some 20 miles from Kinigal in the direction of Lughman. This road to Kinigal will be open for another month, and if the Afghans do not advance against Kinigal now, they will have to put off their advance til next spring.

14th November, 1895.—

(1) Ajdar, a Chitrali resident of Ayun, sent a man of his, named Sheikh, some 14 days ago into Lutdeh. Sheikh having come back brings the following news:—

(a) Sheikh interviewed Mara, chief headman of Lutdeh. The latter complained of the Mehtar's behaviour in having deserted them in their time of need and left them to the tender mercies of the Afghans. He added that his people had now through necessity submitted themselves to the Amir and that henceforth they will have to obey the orders of the Afghan Government. He then told Sheikh that no more Chitrals should visit their country as they would have to seize them to please their new masters. Mara then stated that he had lately sent his brother with a deputation of Lutdehchis to the Afghan General at Faizabad, that the deputation had been detained there, that, as the pass leading from Lutdeh to Badakhshan had become closed now by snow, he hoped they would pass the winter at any rate in peace, and

added that his people were inclined to become Mussalmans only if they were sure that after their conversion they would not be made prisoners.

(b) It was said in Lutdeh that the Afghans have made a good road from Munjan to Veron and have been carrying their supplies to that place, the General at Faizabad intending to move a force into Veron shortly.

(c) The Ramgal Kafirs have retaken the fort which the Afghans had lately taken from them.

(d) The Ahmad Diwana Pass [between the upper Bashgul Valley and Badakhshan] is closed by snow. The Lutdehchis have been entertaining fears of being attacked this winter by the Afghans over the Gohar Pass, which is close to the village of Para Bek in Lutkho (in Chitral territory).

(e) When Badur, headman of Madugal, lately visited the Sipah Salar at Birkot, the latter gave him Rs. 100 cash and a gold lungi as a reward.

(f) The Sipah Salar lately sent some money presents for the headmen of Kamdesh. The common people came to know of this, and the result was a serious quarrel broke out between them and all the headmen, the former threatening to expel the latter from the country, saying that the Sipah Salar should send money presents for them (common people) also, and that if this was not done the headmen should give back the bribes they had received. The quarrel ended after the money was sent back by the headmen.

(g) The Sipah Salar lately sent some Narsatis to Kamdesh to call in the Kam people to send in 80 of their headmen to him for salam. A jirga was held by the Kam Kafirs; at the same time they heard that Kana Malik Demi [Kan Malik of the Demi clan], one of their principal headmen, had become converted to Islam. The jirga assembly after much discussion decided that the following of their headmen, *viz.*, Ota [Uta], Tali Mal Kan, Astan, Mali Malik, Azar Kan, Sha-yuk, Diwan la, brother of Mirag, Chara, Chandlu, Ara Kan, Dumu Malik and Shit (Šit is a Katr name, not Kam] should go to the Sipah Salar at Birkot and represent that all the Kam people agree to become Mussalmans, but that they could not agree to the occupation of their country by Afghan troops, adding that the Amir should not insist on

making roads and carrying daks through their country. The Kafir deputies were further told to represent that, if they (Kam people) were hard pressed, they would abandon their present homes and become fugitives, their nation having twelve times before this had to leave their homes and move to new countries.

The Kafir deputies on being interviewed by the Sipah Salar stated everything mentioned above and even offered to furnish men for military service if the occupation of their country were not insisted on. The Sipah Salar after hearing their representations informed the Kam deputation that it was absolutely necessary that they should allow roads being made through their country and the carriage of daks between Asmar and Badakhshan. The Kafir deputies have sent men to report all this in Kamdesh.

(h) The Sipah Salar is having a fort built at a place called Matragal, near Chinar Gol inside the Bashgal Gol.

24th November, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week Saturday, the 23rd November, 1895 (Confidential).

21st November, 1895.—

(1) Lieutenant B. E. M. Gurdon, D.S.O., Assistant British Agent, Chitral, arrived in Chitral to-day. The Mehtar with his headmen went out to Lenik near Danin to receive him.

(2) A telegram was received from Colonel Hutchinson, Commanding in Chitral, Drosh, reporting news given him by the Acting Governor, Drosh, to the effect that Ghulam Haidar Khan, the Afghan Sipah Salar, had captured the villages of Istorgat [Gawardesh], Darigam, Piwat and Sirak in Kamdesh territory. The news requires confirmation.

22nd November, 1895.—

(1) A telegram was received from the Officer Commanding, Chitral, Drosh, reporting that the Acting Governor of Drosh had asked him if Kafirs taking refuge in Chitral territory should be allowed to remain, and saying he had told the Drosh Governor to give refuge to Kafirs, but to disarm them without any further molestation.

The Officer Commanding was informed of the orders of Government contained in Foreign Department telegram No. 3999, dated

the 18th October 1895, directing that Kafirs should not be allowed to take refuge in Chitral territory. The Mehtar also was asked to inform the Governor of Drosch and other border officials not to allow Kafir refugees to enter Chitral territory.

23rd November, 1895.—

(1) Four Salarzai traders, who left Arandu four days ago, have arrived in Chitral and report that when they were at Arandu the Afghan Commander-in-Chief had moved from Birkot up into the Bashgal Gol, and rumours had reached Arandu that the Afghans had captured Kamdesh. This news requires further confirmation.

26th November, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 22, dated the 26th of November, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

4.(a) It is reported that His Highness the Amir has directed General Mir Ata Khan, Herati, to march with his two regiments against the Kafirs *via* Kohistan, and has ordered Colonel Muhammad Umar Khan to lead his regiment against them from Indarab *via* Panjsher. They are to carry on operations against the Kafirs during the coming winter.

(b) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 8th November, 1895, shows that His Highness the Amir has written to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, that he should keep Khassadars in Kafirstan in place of regular troops, and in accordance with His Highness's orders the Sipah Salar is enlisting fresh men and is supplying them with pugris, posteens and rifles, so that they may in time be able to take the place of the regular troops.

(c) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is still encamped at Birkot communicating with the Kafir elders who come to him for consultation. The road from Sao to Birkot is in good order, and the Kafir Jirga which has been sent to Kabul has not yet returned.

(d) The Amir has sent orders to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to settle Kafir affairs soon, as His Highness said Sardar Habibulla Khan would like to see him at Jalalabad on his arrival there.

(e) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 15th November 1895, shows that, under the Amir's orders, Ghulam

Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, informed the Kafirs that a road leading towards Badakhshan will be made through their country. The Kafirs were annoyed to hear of this, and many of them went back to their homes and declined to attend again before the Sipah Salar. The latter has sent a report of this to His Highness the Amir.

28th November, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Translation of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan's letter to His Highness the Amir of Kabul,* dated the 10th of Jamadi-us-sani, 1313 H = the 28th November, 1895.

After compliments. — By the grace of God and by Your Highness's good fortune, Kamuz [Kam] and Kastur [Kaštá] in Kafiristan have been conquered; and the assemblage of Kafirs, who were in Mandagal have also been defeated; and the above village has been occupied by our victorious troops. As I have blocked the road on this side against the flight of the Kafirs, they have now gone to Kantuz [Katr], whence they intend to proceed to Chitral. In Kantuz, there is a short route from the top of the Lutku [Lutkho] Pass to Chitral, and although there is a great deal of snow in the way, yet they can cross it. The British officer appointed to Chitral has given assurances to the Kafirs, advising them to fight one battle or two battles, whatever they are able to do, and then come to Chitral, where they would be given a place for residence and maintenance. The Kafirs were delighted on receiving the happy tidings, and are going to Chitral. These are the facts which I have reported to Your Highness.

If Your Highness desire and permit me to write to the British officer in Chitral asking him not to allow the Kafirs to enter Chitral, I will do so. Otherwise it is as Your Highness pleases, and I shall act in accordance with Your Highness's order.

30th November, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday, the 30th November, 1895 (Confidential).

26th November, 1895.—

(2) A Kafir of Ursan (A Kalash Kafir village belonging to Chitral) named Azar arrived in camp and brought the following news:—

- (a) On the 20th November, Basti, one of the Kafir headmen who had gone to visit the Sipah Salar, was murdered by an Afghan in the middle of the camp. The remaining Kafirs complained to the Sipah Salar, who at first promised them blood money and then told them they might return to their villages. He changed his mind eventually and refused to let them depart.
- (b) On the evening of the same day 400 Shinwaris and Shigalis under Akram Jan, the headman of Narsat, and 300 more Shinwaris with Mer Jan (the Kam headman recently converted to Islam) were quietly sent off into the Bashgal Gol with orders to seize Darigam and Piwat, two Kam villages above Istorgat. Early in the morning of the next day both these parties reached their destination and occupied the villages. Akram Jan's party killed 5 Kafirs named Kamarak, brother of Azar Malik, Somra, son of Malik Basi, and his son, and two goat herds whom they found in a goat house on the Istorgat side of the Darigam village. In Piwat also one Kafir was killed. The villagers of Darigam and Piwat on finding out the approach of the Afghans set fire to their houses and fled, leaving five hundred cattle behind.
- (c) At the same time as Akram Jan and Mer Jan started, a large force of Eljaris (irregular levies), accompanied by Tuti Sheikh of Chandak and Kana Malik Damu (a Kam headman who recently embraced Islam), were sent off up the right bank of the Bashgal Gol with orders to occupy Kamu. These also succeeded in capturing Kamu without any fighting. All the Kafirs of Kamu, Kam[desh] and Mujash [Kushtoz] managed to run away with their families, flocks and cattle in the direction of Madugal after they had set fire to their houses, grain, grass and other property. They are now at Madugal, but they have sent off their women, children with flocks and cattle to Lutdeh.
- (d) The Sipah Salar got a letter from Akram Jan from Kam [territory] reporting what had happened, and immediately on receipt of it started with a force. He is camped at a place called Darigam Nisar, and is having the road there made.
- (e) Sixteen Ursan men and women (Kafir subjects of the Mehtar of Chitral) were at Mer[grom] and Kam[desh] on visits to their relations, when the Afghans captured those places, and their friends are in much anxiety about them.

27th November, 1895.—

- 1.(a) Said Amir Shah, a headman of Arandu, reports that he was in the Sipah Salar's camp at Birkot when the Kafir named Basti Guri Katch [Basti of the Gutketch clan] mentioned above was murdered by the Afghan prisoner: Said Amir Shah happening to talk to the Kafirs was arrested by the Afghans on suspicion of being a spy from Chitral, and was set free after the Sipah Salar had left Birkot for Kam.
- (b) Said Amir confirms the news given by Azar and reported above, and adds that the Sipah Salar had given strict orders to the force he sent up against Kamdesh that they should on no account fire on the Kafirs even if the latter fired. No fighting took place. The Kam headmen in the Sipah Salar's camp were kept in ignorance of the movements which had been undertaken against their country, and so the Kamdesh people were quite unprepared to resist the Afghans. They could do nothing but run away.
- (c) The Kafir headmen in the Birkot camp, who had been made prisoners before the Sipah Salar started for Kamdesh, became converts to Islam at Istorgat Nisar, and they sent messages to those of their countrymen who had fled to Madugal, advising them to return to their homes in parties of 40 or 60 men at a time, and to submit to the Afghan Commander-in-Chief.
- (d) The Kamdesh people have not as yet accepted this advice and are talking of fighting the Afghans, should they advance to Madugal.
- (e) The road between Darigam Nisar and Piwat Nisar is very bad, and consequently the Afghans have not been able to send up supplies for their force in Kam. The sapper regiment is busy making the road.
- (f) The road from Kam to Madugal is very bad. It goes through a very narrow defile, the hills on both sides of it being covered with snow.
- (g) Said Amir, when he was lately at Birkot, counted the huts and tents. He reports there were 1,500 huts and 1,100 tents. The Afghan force at Birkot consisted of the following regiments: Sapper Miner Sufi, Ardal, Urdu, Kandahari, Uzbeki and Herati. All except the last two, which consist of only 500 men each, con-

tain a thousand fighting men each. There are also four small breech-loading guns.

(h) The following Kafir headmen became Mussalmans lately: Ota [Uta], Din Malik, Kamdin, Somra, Kazan Badil, Dawan and brother of Badil Mirag, &c.

(j) The Kustoz or Mujash Kafirs having made a secret compact with the Sipah Salar have kept aloof from the Kam people and are quietly living in their homes. They promised the Sipah Salar that when he captured Kam they would all become Muhammadans.

30th November, 1895.—

(1) A Chitrali named Nangawar has just come from Arandu and reports the following:—

(a) Akram Jan, with the Eljaris of Shinwar and Shigal and the Narsatis and two incomplete regiments, is located at Kam[desh]. The Sipah Salar himself with five regiments is camped at Kamu.

(b) The Kafirs lately attacked the Afghan camp in Kam[desh] at night and killed 24 Eljaris, 4 sepoys and four bandsmen. Their heads which had been cut off by the Kafirs have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Asmar.

4th December, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Translation of a Letter from His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its Dependencies, to the address of His Excellency the Viceroy,* dated the 16th of Jamadi-us-Sani, 1313 H., corresponding to the 4th December, 1895.

After compliments. — I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that, as in these days I considered it expedient to arrange and settle the affairs of Kafiristan, I appointed regular and irregular troops to proceed from all sides to that mountainous country; and I ordered the senior Commander-in-Chief, Ghulam Haidar Khan, to proceeded there from Asmar and induce the Kafirs, who are subjects of the God-granted Government, to tender their allegiance and obedience, and to introduce among them the laws of Government and other regulations applicable to them as subjects. He has therefore visited these people with the necessary troops, treating leniently every tribe who tendered their allegiance,

but he chastised and disgraced those who, through their folly and ignorance, rebelled and followed a wrong path.

I have now received a letter from the Sipah Salar from Mandagal in Kafiristan, making certain complaints against the British officer stationed in Chitral. He writes that the officer in the course of his proceedings instigated the Kafirs to fight, and also assured them that after their defeat and flight they could come to Chitral, where they would be given a place of residence and maintenance. On the strength of this assurance the fugitive Kafirs go to Kantuz [Katr territory] and thence to Chitral.

I send herewith a copy of the Sipah Salar's letter for Your Excellency's information, so that Your Excellency may become aware of the unfriendly attitude of the officer in Chitral, and issue the necessary orders directing him to regard such hostile proceedings between the two friendly and united Governments as improper, and to keep the road of escape to the Kafirs on the Chitral side strictly closed, so that not a single Kafir may attempt to go there; but that they remain in peace and quiet in their own native places.

The Sipah Salar, after chastising the foolish among the Kafirs, will reassure and settle them down in their proper places, so that they may duly recognise the laws and their position as subjects, and live in peace and comfort.

7th December, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent at Chitral* for the week ending Saturday, the 7th of December, 1895 (Confidential).

3rd December, 1895.—

1. Nur Muhammad and Roziman, two Chitrals, who were lately sent to Arandu, have returned and bring the following news:—

(a) The Afghans having advanced from Kam [territory] against [the] Madugal [tribe], a severe fight took place between them and the Kafirs. The Afghans are said to have lost 200 Eljaris and the Kafirs' losses amounted to 180. None of the regular Afghan regiments took part in this fighting. The result of the skirmish was that the Afghans had to retire to Kam [territory].

(b) Of the two headmen (of the party lately converted to Islam), who had gone to Madugal to induce their countrymen to return to their homes and submit to the Amir, one was killed and the other returned without being able to obtain any answer.

(c) Owing to the difficult nature of the country, the Afghan forces are necessarily much scattered and exposed to night attacks. The Kafirs attack the Afghan posts every night and destroy the portions of the road constructed by the Afghans during the day.

(d) The Kafirs lately set fire to a house in one of the Afghan posts. The occupants of the house who were some Narsatis were all burnt to death.

4th December, 1895. — News has come from Lutkho that some Kafir refugees from Lutdeh [Baragamatal] have arrived in the village of Bogosht in the Lutkho district of Chitral. Men have been sent by the Mehtar to find out the truth of this report and to send away any Kafirs who may have taken refuge in Chitral territory.

7th December, 1895. —

2.(a) Dawagar Khan and Lalik, two Chitrals, have brought news from Lutkho to the effect that about 200 Lutdeh and Kam Kafirs with their families and flocks have arrived at Bogosht in the Lutkho district of Chitral. Mara, their chief headman, is with them. The Assistant British Agent again asked the Mehtar's advisers to issue orders that the Kafirs should not be allowed to take refuge in the valley.

(b) The Afghans have taken Madugal, the Kafirs having abandoned it after burning their houses.

(c) All the fighting men of the Kafirs are now holding the Sranu Darband, which is at the foot of the Lutdeh valley in the direction of Madugal.

3. Sher Muhammad, a Chitrali, who has come up from Arandu, confirms the report that Madugal has been captured by the Afghans. Thirty-seven heads of Afghans, who were killed in the recent fighting at Madugal, have been sent down by the Sipah Salar towards Asmar. Many Kafirs also are said to have been killed.

9th December, 1895. Letters from India. vol. 83. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 23, dated the 9th of December, 1895.

Operations Against the Kafirs

4.(a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has again collected local levies from Ningrahar and Laghman and intends sending a fresh expedition against the Kafirs, who are now blockaded by snow and have no chance of escape. It is rumoured that another officer has also been appointed by His Highness the Amir to conduct the operations against the Kafirs in conjunction with the Sipah Salar. The Amir appears to be very anxious to extend his sway and rule to the very limits of the newly demarcated boundary with the British Government as far as the limits of Kashgar [Chitral].

(b) Fresh attacks have been made upon the Kafirs from all sides. General Ata Khan, Sardar Nur Ali Khan, sons of Sardar Sher Ali Khan, Kandahari, and Wakil Saifani have attacked them with their regular forces and levies from the Panjsher side, the son of Sardar Hassan Khan with a few regular regiments and some 4000 levies from the direction of Laghman, Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan from Berkot [Barikot] in the Asmar ilaqqa and General Saiyid Shah Khan from Badakhshan side. The Kafirs are in great trouble and have agreed to pay up 'Jezya' (or poll-tax); but the Amir wants them to open the road from Panjsher to Badakhshan which passes through their country. To this the Kafirs would not agree.

Wakil Saifani is said to have sent a leading Kafir Malik to His Highness the Amir with his report about the news. The rumour that the Amir was enlisting new troops – one man out of every four men in his ilaqqa – is authenticated. These men have been employed for the Kafiristan expedition.

(c) An extract from Khaibar Political Diary, dated 22 November 1895, shows that with the Amir's permission Sardar Habibulla Khan has despatched two infantry regiments from Kabul to Kafiristan to relieve those serving there, who have orders to return to Kabul.

(d) Information received on the 30th November 1895 shows that the Amir's troops have conquered the country lying between Berkot and Gawardesh; that a Kafir Jirga headed by Wata and Mirak, elders, attended upon Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan at Berkot and presented a cash nazarana [نذرانہ, religious payment or offering] of Rs. 1,000 before the Salar, who placed them all under surveillance and ordered his troops stationed at Gawa-

desh to attack Kamdesh and its neighbouring hamlets. This resulted in the capture of Kamdesh, the Kafirs of which place submitted and embraced Islam. It is also rumoured that owing to some rudeness on the part of Wata and Mirak, the Kafir elders, the Sipah Salar killed these men with his own hand. The Amir's troops had to suffer great hardship in conquering the country between Gawardesh and Kamdesh as the road was very difficult.

(e) The Amir has changed his intention of annexing the conquered villages of Kafiristan. The only thing he now wants to be done is to convert the Kafirs to Islam, to realize 'Jezya' from those who live in the interior of the country and so will not embrace Islam, and to construct and open the road to Badakhshan as quickly as possible.

(f) An extract from the Khaibar Political Diary, dated 30th November 1895, shows that it is reported that the Kafirs made a night attack on one of the Amir's posts located in their country and killed and wounded a number of the Khassadars. Hearing of this the Sipah Salar despatched two infantry regiments under the command of a Colonel to punish the Kafirs concerned in the attack. The Sipah Salar has sent a report of this to His Highness the Amir and stated that until the return of the Colonel noted above, he will remain in the Kafir country.

Asmar

5. News received from Asmar shows that only one regiment is now left at Asmar, the rest of the troops there having moved to Berkot to join the Sipah Salar. These troops are to operate against the Kafirs in the middle of winter when the Kafirs will have no way of escape owing to the heavy fall of snow in their country.

14th December, 1895. *Letters from India. vol. 83. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral, for the week ending Saturday, the 14th December, 1895 (Confidential).*

10th December, 1895.—

2. News was received from Lutkho that the Bashgal Kafirs, about 900 in number, who had come into Lutkho, had been sent away by the Mehtari officials.

3. The following news was received from Chitral:—

(a) Some 200 Kafirs of Lutdeh [Katr tribe], Kam [tribe] and

Madugal [tribe] have arrived in Bumboret *via* the Kagalwat Pass. On receiving this news the Mehtar's Diwan Begi at once sent orders to Mehtarjao Ghulam-i-Dastgir and the Charvelo of Ayun, directing that the Kafirs should be turned out of Chitral territory.

(b) The Afghan Sipah Salar has arrived in Madugal and has issued orders for his advance guard to occupy the Lutdeh [Katr] country by next Friday.

(c) The Bashgal Kafirs who are assembled in Lutdeh have sent a message to the Sipah Salar, requesting that he should withdraw his forces leaving only one regiment in Kafiristan, promising on this being done to submit to the Amir's authority. The Sipah Salar in reply asked them to send in their headmen to him to discuss the matter. The Kafirs fearing lest the headmen should be arrested have not complied with the Sipah Salar's orders.

(d) Large quantities of supplies are being sent from Asmar to Kamdesh for the use of the Afghan force there.

(e) At Istorgat [Gawardesh] there are 60 Afghan sepoys. At Birkot there is a force of 3,000 Afghans lately arrived from Asmar.

(f) The Afghans are having all roads leading towards Chitral from their different camps closely watched.

1. *12th December, 1895.* — Adina Beg, a Tajik of Kuran in Badakhshan, who arrived in camp brought the following news:—

(c) The Afghans having lately assembled a large force in Panjsher are now said to have moved up the Safed Chihr Nalla which leads into the country of the Gabarak Kafirs. This nalla is situated somewhere between Panjsher and Periyan, and the road through it into the Gabarak country is very difficult.

1. *13th December, 1895.* — 2. News has come from Chitral that the Kafirs who had arrived in Bumbaret (*vide* entry No. 3 (a), dated 10th December 1895) have been sent back by the Mehtari officials.

14th December, 1895. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Translation of a letter from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan of the Kabul Agency, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 14th of December, 1895.

12th December, 1895. — During the recent fighting in Kafiristan, it is understood that 10,000 Kafirs were killed by the troops under

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan; and that the casualties among the Afghan troops amounted to about 600 men.

Some regiments will be sent to reinforce the troops engaged in Kafiristan; but the regiments have not been selected as yet.

18th December, 1895. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 222,*
dated the 18th of December, 1895.

Kafiristan

The Amir has ordered the Sipah Salar to return the money taken as tribute from certain sections of the Kafirs. It is apparently His Highness's intention to insist on the whole country being converted to Muhammadanism. The Sipah Salar with his force is said to be settling down for the winter at Birkot and constructing roads. The Afghan troops have been lodged in the houses of the villagers, and the latter have been told to build new houses for themselves. Roads are also being constructed towards Lutdeh from the head of the Munjan valley by the Badakhshan authorities. The simultaneous advance into the country from Badakhshan, Lughman and the Kunar valley will probably not take place till next year. The Amir has forbidden the killing of Kafir children under seven years of age, but no Kafir above that age will be shown any mercy unless he agrees to embrace the Muhammadan religion.

It is announced in the Danish newspapers that a Danish expedition is being organized by private enterprise with the aim of penetrating into and exploring Kafiristan from the north through Russia and across the Pamirs and Hindu Kush. The expedition, whose aims are said to be purely scientific, geographical, ethnological and botanical, expects to start from Denmark in January next, and has received assurances of the friendly interest of the Russian Government and been promised the assistance of the Governor-General of Turkistan.

20th December, 1895. *Letters from India. vol. 84. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 24,* dated the 20th of December, 1895.

Ningrahar and Jalalabad

3.(a) It is reported that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is coming shortly from Birkot to Jalalabad, and that His Highness

the Amir is also coming there. The exact date of His Highness's arrival there is not however notified.

Operations Against the Kafirs

4.(a) Ghulam Haidar Khan, the Sipah Salar, is still encamped at Birkot, and the Kafirs are being encompassed on all sides by the fall of heavy snow on this mountain.

(b) A man, who has just arrived from Pughman [Laghman?], states that it is too cold in Kafiristan for the Amir's troops to carry on any operations there. The troops are constantly troubling the Kafirs and prey upon their cattle. The Kafirs living in the interior of the country cannot help their co-religionists against the Amir's troops now for fear of being exposed to heavy snow during the winter.

(c) Information received shows that General Ata Khan and Sardar Nur Ali Khan had written to His Highness the Amir that from Panjsher the Kafir hills had all been covered with snow, and that it was very difficult, if not quite impossible, for the Afghan troops to advance any further into their country, but that next spring would be the most appropriate season for an attack when the road will also be completed easily. The Amir wrote back in his own handwriting that the Kafirs were like hill-birds, whom it will be most difficult to subdue during the spring season, and that it will be very advantageous to carry on the operations at this season of the year.

(d) News received shows that General Taj Muhammad Khan advanced against the Kafirs with his troops from the direction of Badakshan and entered the Kafir country. The Kafir elders of Kamoz and Kamdesh on being thus taken by surprise came to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan and asked for an asylum; whereupon the Sipah Salar promised to help them and proceeded to their country with their consent and took possession of it without opposition. The Afghan troops from Badakhshan and Birkot have not joined and the Kafirs, who perceive their danger, make night attacks on Afghan camps. Guns are said to have been fired at Jalalabad in honour of the victory.

Asmar

5.(a) Reports have been secretly made to His Highness the Amir by certain News-writers at Asmar that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar

Khan is in secret correspondence with the British Government through the Political Agent at Chitral. Similar reports were made to His Highness before, but the Amir did not believe them. He has now, however, deputed two of his trusted Mirzas to Asmar and Mirza Ghulam Muhammad and Faruk, two well-known Uzbak Mirzas, to Chitral to make secret enquiries there and report the matter.

(b) It is rumoured in the Mohmand ilaka that the Amir has allotted Asmar to Umra Khan, who is still treated by His Highness with every consideration.

21st December, 1895. *Letters from India. vol. 84. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 21st of December 1895 (Confidential).

17th December, 1895.—

(2) Kori, son of Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, arrived in Chitral and reported that Lutdeh had been taken by the Afghan Sipah Salar. The Darband called Sranu on both banks of the Lutdeh [Bashgul] stream, being held by the Kafirs of Kam, Madugal, and Lutdeh, was attacked by a party of Afghan Eljaris, accompanied by Akram Jan. These succeeded in dislodging the Kam and Madugal Kafirs from the Darband [درندہ, narrow valley, canyon] on the left bank of the stream, and advanced so far as to threaten the line of retreat of the Lutdeh men. The result was that about 20 (twenty) Lutdeh Kafirs were shot while attempting to escape. After this defeat all the Kafirs tendered their submission to the Sipah Salar and offered to become Mussulmans.

The whole of the Kam and Mujash have become converted to Islam. The Lutdehchis too are coming in small parties to Kam[desh], where the Sipah Salar is now encamped and are being converted to Islam. The Sipah Salar has proclaimed a general pardon to all Bashgalis who fought against his Government, and has agreed to send an officer with only 100 men into Lutdeh to arrange on the spot the conversion of the people to the Muhammadan religion. The Sipah Salar has further told the Lutdehchis, to whom he has given khilats and shown greater favour than to the Kam people, that he will not send any force now into their country, adding, however, that in the spring he

will send two regiments through Lutdeh to Munjan in Badakhshan. Kori further stated that the Sipah Salar was much pleased to hear that the British authorities in Chitral had turned back the Kafirs who had taken refuge in Chitral territory.

(3) A Chitrali servant of Wafadar Khan, the Mehtar's Diwan Begi, having returned from Arandu, confirms the news given by Kori, and states that on one day alone one thousand Kafirs were converted to Islam.

18th December, 1895. — A letter has been received from Shahzada Lais, the Maulai Sayad of Zebak, now living in Arkari. In it the Sayad mentions having heard from a trustworthy source that the people of the villages below the Chitral Fort have been sending news to the Afghan Sipah Salar.

28th December, 1895. Letters from India. vol. 84. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent at Chitral for the week ending Saturday, the 28th December, 1895 (Confidential).

22nd December, 1895. —

(2) Wafadar Khan, the Mehtar's Diwan Begi, reports that news has been received from [the] Bashgal [Valley] to the effect that the Sipah Salar has had three masjids [~~mosque~~, mosque] built in Kamdesh. The Sipah Salar is camped in Madugal and has issued orders to the Lutdehchis that beyond Madugal in the direction of Lutdeh the road should be made by them. The Afghans have made a very good road from Birkot to Madugal. Wafadar Khan further reports that every week 5 or 6 Bashgalis are sent down by the Sipah Salar to Narsat, but it is not known for what purpose.

25th December, 1895. —

(2) Muhammad Latif, Badakhshi, reports that the people of Chitral have lately been sending news and messages to the Sipah Salar. A Mulla of Dyon is said to have lately visited Bashgal for this purpose.

(3) Wafadar Khan, the Mehtar's Diwan Begi, reports that two Chitralis, residents of Chumr Khun and Dyon, are said to have gone to the Sipah Salar in Bashgal with intriguing messages.

26th December, 1895. —

(1) Muhammad Latif, Badakhshi, reports that the people of Chitral have of late been sending messages to the Afghan Sipah

Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, asking him to invade Chitral. The majority of the people are said to be taking part in this conspiracy. [In a Minute Paper dated 4 February, 1896, Sir William Lee-Warner comments on the above reports in these terms:]

"The evidence of Pro-Russian feeling increases.

An unusual dearth of news about the Kafirs. All this [*sic*] is reported this week is the erection of 3 Masjids in Kamdesh, the progress of the road to Madugal and beyond, and the weekly despatch of 5 or 6 Bashgalis to Narsat for an unknown purpose. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum, I fancy.*"

28th December, 1895. *Letters from India. vol. 84. Translation of a News-letter from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, Kabul Agency, to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 28th December, 1895.

After Compliments. — I beg most respectfully to submit the following items of news, which I have received during the past week:— On the 25th December 1895, a man gave His Highness the happy tidings of the conquest of Kafiristan. His Highness bestowed on the man Rs. 100 and a gold embroidered 'lungi'.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has reported to His Highness that through His Highness's good fortune he has conquered Kafiristan, that three hundred Kafirs, with some property, have been taken prisoners, and he asks for His Highness's orders. He has also added that the above Kafirs are desirous of embracing the religion of Islam. His Highness has ordered that the Kafirs should be sent early to His Highness's presence, so that they may be converted at Kabul, the capital of Islam.

Commandant Naim Jan has been ordered to get ready three hundred suits of white clothes, for the use of the Kafirs on the occasion of their conversion.

His Highness has been highly delighted at the prospect of the Kafirs embracing Islam. Mulla Awais-ud-din and the other Kafirs, who are employed in the Royal Artillery, have been ordered to receive the Kafirs and bring them on to Kabul with every honour and distinction. Their expenses from Jalalabad to Kabul will be defrayed by the Government treasury.

24th December. — His Highness has ordered that a jewelled khilat with an Arab horse should be presented to Sipah Salar Ghulam

Haidar Khan; and that all the troops at Jalalabad should be supplied with warm clothes.

It is reported that the casualties among the Afghan troops during the Kafiristan war amounted to about 300 men; while the number lost by the Kafirs was very large.

3rd January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Telegram No. 10 From the Resident in Kashmir, To the Assistant Political Officer, Chitral,* dated the 3rd of January, 1896.

It appears from your Diary you have been inducing Mehtar to expel refugee Kafirs from Chitral. The Government of India's orders against holding out hopes of assistance or asylum to Kafirs do not mean that refugee Kafirs are to be hunted out of Chitral. You should give no encouragement to refugees, but those who come should not be turned out. At same time measures should be taken to prevent refugees using Chitral territory as base of operations against Amir or his troops. Please act accordingly and acknowledge receipt of this telegram.

4th January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday, the 4th of January, 1896 (Confidential).

30th December, 1895.—

1. Jan Gul, a Bashgali Sheikh of Rumbor (in Chitral territory), having returned from Bashgal, gives the following news:—

(a) At Istorgat [Gawardesh], Akram Jan told him that all the Bashgalis who have left their homes should return before the spring, adding that they need apprehend no kind of harm.

(b) The Sipah Salar is camped at Madugal. He has sent an officer with 300 men to Lutdeh to convert the people of that district to Islam.

(c) Several Masjids have been built by the Afghans in Bashgal.

(d) The Sipah Salar has had a bridge built across the Bashgal Ugh river, near its junction with the Chitral river, opposite the village of Arandu. It is rumoured in the camp that the Afghans will make a road up the right bank of the Chitral river as far as the Dorah Pass.

2. The Mehtar sent Wafadar Khan to the Assistant British Agent with the following report:—

"The man, Jan Gul (mentioned above), saw the Sipah Salar lately at Madugal, and was told by him that a letter had come from the Amir, saying there were certain Kafir tribes in Chitral territory right up to Lutkho and ordering him (the Sipah Salar) to convert these also to Islam. The Sipah Salar asked Jan Gul to ascertain what the feelings of the Mehtar and his subjects were towards the English, and added that the English had swallowed up all the Muhammadan States like a dragon. Jan Gul was told to see the Mehtar secretly and to ask if he will be pleased if the Amir made a road up the right bank of the Chitral river right up to the Dorah Pass. The Sipah Salar finished by saying that the right bank of the Chitral river was within the Afghan boundary, and that he did not understand why the English were taking the trouble to build a fort within the limits of the Amir's territory. With reference to the above, the Assistant British Agent told the Mehtar's advisers not to take any notice of such foolish lies, and added that it was extremely improbable that the Sipah Salar really sent such a message.

3. Roziman, a Chitrali, brings the following news from Arandu:—
- (a) About 700 Bashgalis have been brought into Narsat under orders of the Sipah Salar. Some people say there is scarcity of food in Bashgal, so the people have been brought down to Narsat where supplies can be had in plenty. Others say that these Bashgalis have been brought down to settle permanently in Narsat.
 - (b) Large quantities of supplies loaded on camels are continually being taken up to Madugal.
 - (c) It is said that the Sipah Salar is expected to come down to Birkot in 4 or 5 days' time.
 - (d) Three Afghan soldiers have been sent into Lutdeh to convert the Kafirs of that country to Islam.

3rd January, 1896. — Kori, son of Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, brings the following news:—

- (a) Thirteen days ago an Afghan officer with 300 soldiers left Madugal for Lutdeh. They converted the people of the following villages to Islam: Poshtam [Pul-i-Rustam], Chopi [Chapu], Halagul [Owlagul], Badamuk, Lutdeh [Baragamatal], Shitgol, Apsai, Shui and Posigam. The party also visited the following passes, *viz.*, the Taluksa Pass leading to Munjan, the Sudram Pass leading to Verdu and the Dogabda Pass leading to Munjan. Three

days ago they returned to Lutdeh travelling *via* Shui, Apsai and Shitgol.

- (b) The Sipah Salar is disarming all the people of Bashgal. Four hundred matchlocks and several hundred knives, swords, bows and arrows have been taken from the Lutdehchis alone.
- (c) The Sipah Salar has taken as hostages from the Bashgalis a number of the headmen's sons and has sent them to Kabul to study in the schools there, *viz.*, 60 from Lutdeh, 60 from Kam, 20 from Madugal and 20 from Mujash [Kaštá].
- (d) The Sipah Salar is in Madugal. He has told all the Bashgalis that in future any double dealing on their part will be punished severely, and that they will have to serve him loyally and zealously in all kinds of undertakings.
- (e) The Darband of Sanan (wrongly spelt in previous diaries as Sranu) situated between Madugal and Lutdeh, is held by 100 Afghans under Akram Jan. Up to this place the Afghans have made a very good road.
- (f) Large quantities of supplies have been collected by the Afghans in Madugal.

8th January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 1, dated the 8th of January, 1896.

Kabul News

- (d) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 2 January 1896, shows that Umra Khan, the ex-Khan of Jandol, has been appointed Naib Sipah Salar of the Army in Kabul...
- (h) The Amir appears to have told his courtiers on one occasion that, as the British Government had proved faithless to his predecessors, the former Amirs of Afghanistan, he had devised the plan for opening a shorter and easier road from Peshawar to Badakhshan for the Russians, by which a man could travel from Peshawar to Badakhshan within six days, and that though the British Government had also opened a new road through Chitral, it was not as easy as the Kafiristan route.
- (i) The Amir is said to have mentioned it to his private Darbaris that his ambition for the conquest of Kafiristan was due to his desire of enlisting a few Kafir regiments, as he said the Kafirs were, as a rule, a loyal and brave people and would make good

soldiers. The Amir said that the Kafirs had proved themselves possessed of energy and courage.

(I) It is said that Muhammad Ali Beg of Saighan (?), *alias* Wakil, who was formerly in the service of Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan and was a year ago invited by His Highness the Amir to Kabul, has been given the rank of a Brigadier, and has been despatched to Kafiristan *via* Panjsher at the head of a body of tribal levies. He was granted a sword and a khilat by His Highness at his departure.

(m) Recruiting is going on at Kabul. One man out of every four men is required to enlist. Even artisans are not exempted from this liability, and the people are consequently in great trouble.

Operations Against the Kafirs

4.(a) Supplies are being collected at Basawal for the Afghan troops engaged against the Kafirs. The Sipah Salar had asked Malik Sultanai, Musa Khel of Mitai, to send 200 men to Kamdesh to assist in constructing the road, but before he could comply with the orders, he was turned out of his village and had to flee towards Kunar. The Salar has written to His Highness the Amir that it is impossible to open the Kafiristan road without the use of gunpowder, and that he should therefore be supplied with some good powder.

(b) The Governor of Lughman has collected local levies in the Lughman ilaka, taking one man out of every three men in his ilaka, has fixed their wages at Rs. 2 per mensem with free ration, and has sent them against the Kafirs *via* Daru-i-Ghazi Baba along with some regular troops from Lughman.

(c) News received shows that the Kamdesh Kafirs, who have been lately subdued by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, are being converted to Islam, and that Afghan troops from Badakhshan are also to join the Sipah Salar shortly. The tribal levies with the Salar are going to be replaced by new comers.

(d) A letter received by Naranjan Das, brother of Ram Singh, from Kabul, brings news of the conquest of 29 Kafir forts by Afghan troops and the conversion of the Kafir residents of these forts to Islam. The letter also reports the arrival of 700 camels at Kabul laden with plundered property, and that the Amir boasted of the conquest, saying that the Kafirs were independent for

2,000 years, and that it was he who had reduced them to submission.

(e) An extract from the Khyber Political Diary, dated 2 January 1896, shows that owing to the severe winter much sickness is reported to be prevalent among the troops located in Kafiristan. Many soldiers have been despatched to Kabul for treatment. By the Amir's orders Sardar Habibulla Khan has sent several doctors to treat the sick soldiers in Kafiristan.

(f) Latest news received from Kafiristan shows that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is still encamped at Gawardesh. Two Afghan regiments are stationed at Birkot, and 500 Khassadars headed by Sher Khan, Khattack, are at Mori.

The Amir's Agency at Peshawar

(f) It is rumoured that the British Government gave to Sardar Nasrulla Khan [son of Amir Abdur Rahman, brother of Habibulla] 10,000 rifles and 1,800,000 cartridges which have reached Peshawar...

8th January, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 4*, dated the 8th of January, 1896.

Kafiristan. — The Kafirs are gradually recognizing the impossibility of holding out against the Afghan forces. Several sections have made their submission, and others are expected to follow suit. The Sipah Salar's men have attacked the Kam Kafirs and captured many of their villages. A serious conflict is reported to have taken place on the Afghans advancing on Madugal, the loss on both sides being very heavy. In the end, the Kafirs fled, after setting fire to their villages. A great many Bashgal Kafirs, who fled into the Lutkho valley, were compelled to go back by the Mehtar's officials. Others from Lutdeh, Kam and Madugal, who fled over the Kagalwat Pass into Chitral, have also been sent back. Instructions have been sent to the Political Officer in Chitral that, while the Kafirs must be prevented from using Chitral territory as a base of operations against the Amir's forces, it is not intended that those Kafirs who escape into Chitral before the Afghan troops should be driven back. The Sipah Salar's force has been increased by two regiments sent from Kabul.

The Amir has written to His Excellency the Viceroy, complaining

that the British officer in Chitral had instigated the Kafirs to fight, and promised them a refuge in Chitral if defeated. His Highness requests that the road of escape to the Kafirs on the Chitral side may be strictly closed, "so that not a single Kafir may go there, but that they may remain in peace and quiet in their own native places." The reply to be sent to the Amir is under consideration.

11th January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Translation of Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan's News-Letter addressed to the Foreign Secretary, Government of India,* No. 2, dated British Agency, Kabul, the 11th of January, 1896.

After compliments. — I beg most respectfully to submit the following items of news. . .

7th January, 1896. —

The portion of the Kafiristan country, of which the conquest was entrusted to Muhammad Ali Beg and Commandant Muhammad Siddik, has been completely conquered, and about five thousand Kafirs have been sent to Kabul, and His Highness has settled them in Kohistan, ordering the officials to grant them free as much land as they will require to support themselves. They have been furnished also with new clothes at the expense of the State. The Kafirs who were sent by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to Kabul, under the charge of Mulla Ghias-ud-din, have been converted to Islam, and sent to different districts of Afghanistan; and while they are in an unsettled condition, they will be fed and clothed by the State. His Highness has released another batch of forty prisoners in honour of the glad tidings received about the conquest of Kafiristan.

Some Kafirs have reached Panjsher *via* Nijrao, but as they have refused to embrace Islam, His Highness has ordered them to be brought to Kabul.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has written to His Highness the Amir that, in most of the houses of the Kafirs, he found valuable articles of furniture, &c.; that the circumstances pointed to their being rich, and enquired whether he could search the houses of all the Kafirs, or simply restrict his operations to the houses of those who were killed. His Highness has ordered that, far as possible, no indifference should be exercised in the matter

(sic.), and that the things which have already been collected should be sent for His Highness's inspection.

His Highness has heard reports about the bravery of Commandant Muhammad Sadik Khan, brother of General Amir Muhammad Khan, and his conducting efficiently the warfare in Kafiristan. His Highness after praising him a good deal, ordered that on his return he should be made a Colonel.

11th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 11th of January, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan News

2. Mehtar Jan Shah Afzal of Nagar having come in to see the Assistant British Agent reported that (a) five Kam headmen have been arrested and put in chains by the Sipah Salar; (b) a number of sons of different Bashgal headmen have been taken as hostages to be sent to Kabul.

3. Jehan Khan, headman of Jinjirit, reports that the Afghans have built a bridge over the Bashgal-Ugh near its junction with the Chitral river, and have located a guard of some 20 men on the left bank of the Bashgal stream close to the bridge to prevent Bashgalis going towards Chitral.

4. Kori, son of Gumara, a Lutdeh Kafir, who has taken refuge in Chitral, came to the Assistant British Agent and expressed the wish to become a Mussalman. The Assistant British Agent replied that Kori might please himself as regards his religion.

5. Mehtar Jan Shah Afzal reports that several Bashgalis came into Drosh lately and were converted to Islam at their own request.

6. Some Bashgalis who lately visited Nagar told Mehtar Jan Shah Afzal that the Sipah Salar is thinking of coming to Ursun (this is in Chitral territory) to convert the Kafirs of that nala to Islam.

8th January, 1896.—

1. Said Amir Shah, headman of Arandu, came in and gave the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has sent down all the people of Kamdesh into Narsat and settled them as follows:—

The Demu Dari tribe at Palasgar, the Sukidari tribes at Chunduk, the Bilashe Dari tribe at Sau, the Ota [Uta] Dari tribe at Lut Narsat, the Garak Dari tribe at Pasangar and Birkot. [For 'tribe' read 'clan'.] The reason given by the Sipah Salar for this move is that the Kam people having destroyed all their crops have no food-supplies to live upon in Kamdesh.

- (b) The sons of 60 Kam headmen have been taken as hostages by the Sipah Salar. These are still being kept in his camp.
- (c) The following headmen of Kam have been put in chains by the Sipah Salar, because they treacherously attacked and killed Afghan sepoys after the fighting was over.

Mirag, son of Lat Kam, Chandlu Otadin [Utadin], brother of Ota [Uta] – Gazmara, son of Mirag – Patluk Sanra [Sunra] – Palyuk Demu Malding – Nilyara, son of Torag Mirag's sister – Khani Khan Otadori [i.e., of the Utadari or Uta clan] – Shili Chandlu Garak Dori [of the Garigdari or Garig clan].

- (d) All the Mugashi [Kaštá] people have been allowed to remain in their homes at Mugash [Kuštoz] and Darin [Dungul].
- (e) The people of Madugal have been told by the Sipah Salar to live in the Lutdeh district [Katrgul, the upper Bashgul Valley], their houses in Madugal being wanted for the use of the troops during the winter.
- (f) The Sipah Salar has gone with a large number of regular troops to Lutdeh [Baragamatal]. The Lutdehchis were frightened at the news of his approach, but he assured them that his only object was to visit the pass at the head of the Lutdeh valley and to fire some guns there.
- (g) The Lutdeh people have been called upon to give as hostages either 60 sons of headmen or 100 sons of common people.
- (h) All the Elgori force [الغارى, irregular levies, militia] in Bashgal has been sent back by the Sipah Salar to Birkot. Also three guns.
- (i) All the Bashgalis have been deprived of their arms. These, it is said, will be broken and used for making chains.
- (j) All the people of Bashgal who remained in their country are perfectly safe in their persons and property. Those who fled the country and have not returned have had their property confiscated. The amount of livestock confiscated is said to amount to 1,000 cows and 2,000 goats.
- (k) The Sipah Salar has informed the Lutdehchis that, when he goes back this month, he will leave no troops in their country.

Only a few mullas will be left to teach them the Muhammadan faith. One regiment will garrison Madugal, and Mullas will also be stationed in the Mugash [Kaštá] villages.

- (l) Mergan, a converted Kam headman, has been given the village of Istorgat in jagir, and also 40 cows as a reward.
- (m) Akram Jan has been given three slaves from the family of a Kam man who had previously murdered his nephews.
- (n) The Gujars of Narsat, owing to the settling of Kam people in that district and the consequent want of pasture grounds for their cattle, have been told by the Sipah Salar to move up to Kam and settle there.
- (o) One Ali Muhammad Khan, a Bashgali Shaikh, residing in the Bomboret nala of Chitral, happening to be in Birkot about the time of the Sipah Salar's advance against Kamdesh, was imprisoned by the Afghans. He lately petitioned the Sipah Salar that he was a Chitrali British subject. The Sipah Salar had him set free and allowed him to go back to his home. When coming away he was told by the Afghan authorities that he was set free, because he was a Chitrali subject of the Government. The Sipah Salar also said that he had come to know that many Bashgali subjects of the Amir were still being kept in Chitral territory, and that he was much annoyed in consequence. Ali Muhammad Khan was told to speak to the Chitral authorities on the subject, and to ask that the Bashgalis might be sent back in the same way as he was sending back Chitral subjects.

Note.— It appears that about 150 refugee Kafirs are now residing in Chitral territory. In former diaries it has been stated that the Assistant British Agent asked the Mehtar to turn back Kafirs seeking to take refuge in Chitral territory. These instructions were only given with a view to discouraging Bashgalis from entering Chitral in large numbers. It was understood that individual refugees who had special reasons for fearing to return to their homes would not be driven out. [An official of the Foreign office – apparently W. Lee-Warner – has made this marginal note: "A very unusual note in a Diary. We only want facts in Diaries."]

2. The Resident in Kashmir's telegram, dated Sialkot, the 3rd January, relating to the treatment of Kafir refugees, was received. Steps were at once taken to give effect to the instructions contained therein.

Kafiristan News

10th January, 1896.—

(f) Khanjara [a Chitrali who returned from Singlich and Dash-i-Rubat in Zebak] also heard a report that the Afghans had advanced from the Panjsher side and attacked the Ramgal Kafir country. They captured six of the Ramgal Forts. Subsequently the Ramgulis attacked some Afghan Eljori posts at night and killed a number of them. Three thousand troops have been sent from Kabul to reinforce the troops moving against Ramgal. The Afghan General Commanding the Force operating against Ramgal sent 300 men to destroy the Kafir idols.

(g) From Munjan 200 Afghan sappers have been sent to repair the road lately made in the direction of Veran [Parun].

(h) The Afghan Commander-in-Chief on reaching Lutdeh found two Senglich men there. They informed him that ten of their comrades had been killed by the Lutdehchis. They had been sent last autumn by the General at Faizabad to induce the Lutdehchis to submit to him.

The Sipah Salar sent these two men to Faizabad. He is extremely annoyed with the Faizabad General for having sent these men, and for not having done anything in the way of preventing the Lutdeh fighting men from joining the Kamdesh people.

2. A Chitrali, named Zori, brings news from Arandu to the effect that—

(a) All the Afghan troops in Bashgal are returning to Birkot. Small garrisons are being left in Lutdeh, Madugal, and Kam.

(b) There are only 60 sepoys at Istorgat.

(c) The Sipah Salar has received orders to return to Kabul at once. He will take with him 10 Bashgali headmen and 60 sons of headmen as hostages.

15th January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 83. *Kafir Refugees.*

The telegram of 18th October 1895 was sent with reference to a 'diary' entry of 26th August (forwarded to Sec[retary], Political & Secret Dept. in letter No. 4018 F dated Oct. 23, '95) to the following effect. "The Kafirs keep sending messengers to the Mehtar to try and get his assistance and supplies of powder and bullets. They also ask permission to take refuge in Chitral territory if defeated by the Amir's troops. The latter question having been

referred by the Mehtar to the Assistant British Agent, he was informed that there was no objection to him granting such refuge."

The entries marked in the accompanying diaries show how this telegram was understood and acted upon.

The order that refugees were to be allowed to enter Chitral but not to use it as a base of operations against the Amir's troops was sent from Calcutta by Barnes on or about Dec. 28th.

16th January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Telegram No. 140,*
dated Sialkot, the 16th of January, 1896 (Confidential).

From – H. S. Barnes, Esq., Resident in Kashmir

To – The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

With reference to the endorsement from the Foreign Department, No. 45 F., dated 6th instant, I have the honour to enclose, [for] the information of the Government of India, a copy of the telegram I sent to the Assistant Political Officer, Chitral, on the subject of asylum to refugee Kafirs. I enclose also a copy of Lieutenant Gurdon's reply.

[See entry for the 3rd of January, 1896 for Resident's telegram to the Assistant Political Officer, Chitral. Gurdon's reply follows:]

Telegram dated 8th January 1896.

From – The Assistant Political Officer, Chitral

To – The Resident in Kashmir.

Your telegram No. 10 of 3rd January regarding refugee Kafirs. I have noted your orders.

18th January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Political Diary
of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday, the 18th of January, 1896 (Confidential).

12th January, 1896. –

2. A Lutdeh refugee Kafir came in to Chitral and told the Mehtar that he wished to become a Mussalman.

13th January, 1896. –

1. Dost Muhammad, a messenger from Mehtarlo Shah Afzal of Nagar, arrived with the following news:–

- (a) The Sipah Salar has returned from Lutdeh [Baragamatal] to Kam[desh].
- (b) At Lutdeh the Sipah Salar married the daughter of Ghazab Shah, the chief headman of that place.
- (c) The Afghans have taken 180 sons of influential men of Lutdeh as hostages.
- (d) The Sipah Salar when at Lutdeh fixed Rs. 7,000 as the amount of revenue to be paid by the people of that district.

14th January, 1896. —

- (d) The Sipah Salar is angry with Tuti Sheikh, headman of Chunduk, it having transpired that he advised the Mujashi [Kaštá] people to help the Kam men in resisting the Afghan invasion of their country.

2. One Khush, a resident of Jinjeret in Chitral, brings the following news:—

- (a) Three days ago the Sipah Salar left Kamdesh on his way to Asmar.
- (b) All the Afghan troops in Bashgal are being withdrawn to Birkot.
- (c) The Sipah Salar has ordered the principal men of Lutdeh to come into Birkot, and learn the Kalima [کلیمہ, the word, i.e., "There is no God but God and Muhammad is his prophet."] and receive khilats.

3. Ghotali, a servant of Mehtarjao Shah Afzal of Nagar, brings news to the effect that the Sipah Salar received a letter, announcing the defeat of a detachment of Afghan troops at the hands of the Ramgal Kafirs. He started at once in the direction of Asmar, taking with him a few prisoners and a large number of hostages.

15th January, 1896. —

1. Shukr Muhammad, a Chitrali, having returned from Narsat, brought the following news:—

- (a) On the 12th instant the Sipah Salar arrived at Birkot on his way to Asmar. He brought down with him 180 hostages – 120 being the sons of the headmen of the various tribes, and 60 being influential members of the Janadari tribe [Jana clan] of Lutdeh. The Sipah Salar also brought down his newly-married wife, the daughter of Ghazab Shah, headman of Lutdeh, with 5 slave-girls.

- (b) The Sipah Salar received congratulatory messages and presents from the headmen of the Salarzai tribe and Muhammad Shah Khan of Miskini. It was rumoured in the Afghan camp that the people of Bajaur were sending messages to the Sipah Salar, imploring him to occupy Bajaur.
- (c) Shukr Muhammad further heard a rumour to the effect that the Amir was coming to Jalalabad, and that Ghulam Haidar Khan had been summoned to meet him there.
- (d) On arrival at Birkot the Sipah Salar received a salute of 24 guns.
- (e) Some Bashgali Sheikhs, amongst them being the son of Davan Malik, a Kam headman, lately went to Arandu. The Sipah Salar called them back, and at the same time sent a message to the headman of Arandu, asking him not to allow any of his subjects to enter Chitral territory. The headman replied that in such matters he would act as ordered by the authorities in Chitral.
- (f) Nearly all the Afghan troops have been withdrawn from Bashgal, only 60 sappers have been left to finish the road in Kamdesh. These have reported to the Sipah Salar that they cannot continue work owing to the intense cold.

16th January, 1896.—

1. Kori, a Lutdeh Kafir, brings the following news:—
- (a) The Afghans lately sent a force *via* Katur, a place situated on the bank of the Ramgal river, against the Ramgal Kafirs, and succeeded in taking two forts. One of these forts was afterwards surprised and burnt by a large force of Ramgalis, the greater part of the Afghan garrison perishing in the flames.
 - (b) The Sipah Salar, when leaving Lutdeh, told the people of that place that he would come back in the spring and go through Bashgal to Badakhshan. He further said that many Afghans had been killed in the fighting against Ramgal.
 - (c) The old Bashgali converts in the Sipah Salar's camp have told the Lutdehchis that they need have no fear of being troubled any more by the Afghans, as the Sipah Salar was going to undertake an expedition against Ramgal. It is said that the operations against Ramgal, if undertaken in the winter, will be carried out *via* Katur [Katar] and Gambir [Gemir] (places situated in the Ramgal Valley) [correction: Katar and Gambir, or Gemir, are

located in Tregam, North-West of Chagaserai]. If the operations are postponed till the summer, the Afghans will advance *via* Kam, Veron [Parun] and Katwar [Kti].

(d) The road constructed by the orders of the Sipah Salar in Bashgal has now been completed up to the Dogabda Pass which leads into Munjan.

(e) The greater portion of the Afghan troops have evacuated Bashgul, only 200 men with an officer being left to garrison Madugal.

20th January, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 84.

The Situation in Afghanistan.

[a news-clipping inserted in vol. 84, Letters from India.]

Sir T. Salter Pyne, C.S.I., arrived at Dover on Saturday by the Indian mail *via* Brindisi and Bombay, having left Kabul on November 24th. . . A representative of Reuter's Agency met Sir Salter, and in the course of an interview obtained some important information regarding the situation in Afghanistan and on the subject of Anglo-Afghan relations. Reuter's representative having pointed out the various statements made during the past few weeks regarding the Ameer's intentions in respect of Kafiristan, Sir Salter replied:—

"Until my arrival in India the other day I have been absolutely ignorant of what has been said in the English Press, as during the past six months I have seen only one or two papers. Therefore I know nothing of what has been said here on the subject of Kafiristan. I can, however, tell you what the Ameer personally said to me. His Highness, in the course of a three hours' discussion on that country, explained that he was absolutely within his rights in making Kafiristan an integral part of Afghanistan instead of leaving it in its present condition. Kafiristan is a danger to Afghanistan situated as it is. It has for years past been the object of the Ameer to consolidate his country with its now well-defined boundaries and to centralize his power. After the lapse of many years the Ameer has completely subjugated the Shinwaris, the Turkestan people, the Ghilgais, and the powerful Hazaras (these being the last to fall under subjection), and there are now only the people of Kafiristan for him to deal with in order to establish

absolute tranquillity and security within his prescribed dominions. In explaining quite recently this question to me, the Ameer said – and I think it important to quote his own words – “There are no trade routes allowed by the Kafirs through their country, I wish to open trade routes through it. For this I have several reasons. First, in case of complications arising from a source from which there is always a possibility of danger, I wish to be able to push my troops rapidly through Kafiristan instead of being compelled to fight my way through. Secondly, Afghanistan proper is essentially a sterile country of mountains and stones. The valleys of Kafiristan are fertile and well-watered, but, owing to the animosity existing for generations between the Afghans and the Kafirs, they yield no results. This is very detrimental to the Kafirs, who are one of the poorest races in the East.”

The Ameer further explained to me that valleys, hundred of miles long and many miles wide, remained barren owing to those feuds. Continuing, His Highness remarked:— “My intentions are only for the good of these people, not for their evil. See now what are the Kafirs? Poverty-stricken. Can they be worse off? I want to raise them. For years past you know how many of these people have come to Kabul and have embraced Islamism, and have received presents of clothes and money. I do not want to make these people Mahomedans by force. What I do want is for them to acknowledge my rule. As a follower of the Prophet I cannot make them Mahomedans unless their hearts are so disposed.”

Sir Salter continued:—

“The Kafirs cannot remain in their present isolated position, owing to changes in the Afghan frontier and in the Ameer’s policy in the interests of Great Britain. From a political point of view Kafiristan is a very weak spot, owing to possible complications, and would stand very much in the way of the Ameer being able to help Great Britain if required to do so, or in the event of Great Britain extending practical assistance to the Ameer.”

Asked what preparations were being made in Kabul for the invasion of Kafiristan, Sir Salter replied:—

“The preparations, if any, were so insignificant that in Kabul very little was known about them. As I passed through Jellalabad in the beginning of December I was told upon good authority that the Kafirs had succumbed with little or no bloodshed. Ghulam

Haidar Khan, the Afghan Commander-in-Chief, had been in Kafiristan for some time, but with a by no means extensive force, the Kafirs being a badly-armed and weak race. . . ”

In conclusion, Sir Salter remarked:—

“In Kabul we have reached the full capacity of the present cartridge machinery. We turn out 10,000 Martini cartridges, and 10,000 Snider cartridges daily, two field guns per week with all equipments, and 15 rifles a day. Quick-firing guns are produced at the rate of two a week, and a plant for making time and percussion fuses is in full work. A gunpowder plant has been sanctioned, and I shall arrange for it during my brief stay in England. . . My workshops now cover an area of one-third of a mile long by 200 yards wide. . . ”

23rd January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Kharita*, No. 5
P.O., dated Fort William, the 23rd of January, 1896.

From – His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India

To – His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

After compliments. – I have received Your Highness’s letter, dated the 16th of Jamadi-us-sani, 1313 H. (corresponding to the 4th of December 1895), forwarding a communication from Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan regarding affairs in Kafiristan.

The Sipah Salar writes that “the British officers appointed to Chitral have given assurances to the Kafirs, advising them to fight one battle or two battles, whatever they are able to do, and then come to Chitral, where they would be given a place for residence and maintenance.” Your Highness asks me to issue orders directing my officers to regard such hostile proceedings between the two friendly and united Governments as improper, and to keep the road of escape to the Kafirs on the Chitral side strictly closed, so that not a single Kafir may attempt to go there. So far as concerns the first part of the Sipah Salar’s statement quoted above, I can assure Your Highness that it is not true. My officers have never advised the Kafirs to resist the Afghan troops. In August last, some Kafirs came to Chitral and asked the Mehtar for permission to take refuge in his country if defeated by Your Highness’s forces, and the British Political Agent told the Mehtar

that there was no objection to his granting such refuge. On this coming to my knowledge, I caused the Political Agent to be informed that strict neutrality as between Kafiristan and Afghanistan must be observed. The Political Agent has not held intercourse with any Kafirs except those who have actually run away from Your Highness's troops, and those Kafirs who have crossed into Chitral territory have, as far as possible, been disarmed.

At the same time, Your Highness will understand that I cannot undertake to watch the Kafiristan-Chitral frontier and prevent defeated Kafirs from crossing into Chitral limits, nor can I instruct my officers to expel any Kafirs who do take refuge in the country. My officers have been instructed to do what they can to prevent refugees from using Chitral as a place in which they can make preparations for attacking Your Highness's forces; and as far as possible, I will cause such refugees to be disarmed. When however it came to my knowledge that Kafirs had in their flight entered Chitral territory, I took steps to let it be known that they should not be expelled the country.

Your Highness will I am sure see that in this I am actuated by no unfriendly feelings. Your Highness has, under similar circumstances, claimed as much latitude of action and your representations have been accepted. You will remember that, when the Russian Government complained that a large number of Uzbegs had fled to Russian territory from Afghanistan, Your Highness, writing on the 7th Safar, 1310 H., to His Excellency Lord Lansdowne, said - "When the people rebel and fight with my troops and then inevitably run away in some direction, what could my leading officers do with the rebels in such a case?" And "as regards the men who flee from Russian territory and come to my country, what do the Russians say about it? Such things have often occurred." And again Your Highness in the same letter wrote of your Uzbeg subjects who had fled from Maimena: "should they run away I would also not demand them from any king who may be in my neighbourhood, and I would never make any complaint also if the said king has not incited them; and I shall never allow any misrepresentation to seize my mind."

Your Highness has thus clearly stated your opinion that there is no cause of complaint against a Power which receives refugees from another State, if that Power does not incite them to hostile

acts. I accept this opinion and my officers will act in accordance with it. I trust in this way suspicion of unfriendly action will be avoided.

23rd January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 2, dated the 23rd of January, 1896.

Kabul News

(3) A large jirga of Kafirs has reached Kabul. Faramurz Khan, a Kafiri lad in personal attendance on His Highness the Amir, has been appointed to look after the entertainment of these Kafir elders. They are treated with great liberality by His Highness the Amir, who has ordered that their manners and customs should be noted and reported in writing for his information. The Amir takes interest in enquiries of this sort.

(r) Letters received by merchants in Peshawar confirm the news of the appointment of Umra Khan of Jandol as Naib Salar. He is now in high favour with the Amir, and is consulted in almost all important State matters. In reply to a second request made by Umra Khan to be deputed against the Kafirs with some troops, the Amir said that he wanted to send him to Kunar and Asmar, but that the Government of India would not allow him to do so, and that he must therefore wait for some time yet to come.

(s) News from Kabul shows that camels were being impressed in Kabul for the carriage of magazine and stores to Kafiristan *via* Panjsher for the troops engaged against the Kafirs.

Operations Against the Kafirs

2.(a) The Sipah Salar is said to have settled the Kamdesh Kafir affairs. Most of the Kafirs have fled to Chitral; some have surrendered to the Sipah Salar. These Kafirs had requested the Salar to allow them to keep possession of their lands, but the Salar told them that His Highness the Amir's order was to replace them by the Gujars of that country. A few of them headed by Juna Tak and Surmal, elders, left to represent their case before His Highness the Amir.

The troops engaged against the Kafirs asked the Sipah Salar to give them a share in the plundered property. To this the Salar

replied that he would refer the matter to His Highness the Amir. The heads of all the Kamdesh Kafirs, who lost their lives in the encounter, have been cut off and sent to Kabul on camels as a trophy to be presented to His Highness the Amir.

(b) An extract from Khyber Political Diary, dated 15th January 1896, shows that His Highness the Amir has written to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, to prepare a complete list, giving the number of men, women and children in Kafiristan, also the number of animals owned by them. His Highness also wants to know what their land produces, and what the aggregate value of these may be yearly. The Sipah Salar is making enquiries about these matters secretly.

(c) One Amir Mohd., who has just come from Laghan [Laghman?], states that the Kafirs of Paron [Parun] have somehow or other received help in arms from some neighbouring tribe, but that it was not clear who had supplied them with weapons; that a detachment of the Amir's troops advancing against the Kafirs perished by the fall of an avalanche.

(d) Some eight days ago Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan sent a letter to Mulla Najm-ud-din of Adda to the effect that, as the whole of Kafiristan was almost conquered and the Kafirs had embraced Islam, he (the Mulla) was requested by the Amir's direction to come to Kafiristan for some time and preach among the Kafirs. The man who brought the news says that the Mulla excused himself on the ground of illness.

(e) The Kafirs continue acts of hostility by night. Mullas who know their language have been sent to preach among them and efforts are being made to convert them to Islam.

(f) An extract from Khyber Political Diary, dated 7th January 1896, shows that under the Amir's orders, General Sayad Shah, the Vakil of Shighnani, with two infantry regiments, together with the tribal levies from Ghorband, Panjsher, Inderab and Khana-bad have proceeded to join the Sipah Salar in operating against the Kafirs. Many Barakzai officials have also been sent to Kafiristan. The distribution of ammunition and supplies has been placed in their hands. Special runners have been engaged to convey daily news of the events going on in Kafiristan to His Highness the Amir.

(g) A Laghmani, who reached Peshawar on the 13th January

1896 from Kafiristan, states that parties of Kafirs were coming to the Sipah Salar and received presents, but that they hesitated about conversion to Islam. He further stated that operations had come to a standstill, but that the road was under construction.

(h) Reports received state that the local levies sent against the Kafirs by the Governor of Laghman suffered much loss from heavy fall of snow in the Kafir country, and that many of them lost their lives on that account. The commandant of these levies is also seriously ill and has been brought back to Laghman.

(i) Trustworthy information received shows that His Highness the Amir has sent Rs. 40,000 worth [of] 'lungis', &c., to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to be distributed among the Kafir converts who embraced Islam. The Amir has also expressed his desire of enlisting 10,000 Kafir converts, whom he is anxious to arm with Henry-Martini rifles now coming from England. The Amir has instructed the Sipah Salar to choose smart men out of the Kafirs for military employment. These Kafir regiments are to be named 'Jadid-ul-Islam'.

(j) A deputation of the Kafir elders is said to have attended on the Political Officer, Chitral, to request him to make a recommendation on their behalf to the Government to save them from the oppression of His Highness the Amir.

(k) An extract from Khyber Political Diary, dated 7th January 1896, shows that His Highness the Amir has directed Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, that, as soon as he finished road-making in Kafiristan, he should have materials collected for constructing rest houses for travellers all along the road passing through Kafiristan to Badakhshan.

(l) Information received shows that Hakim Ahmad Jan, a Peshawari, who accompanied Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to Kafiristan as Aide-de-Camp, has been appointed Governor of the conquered portion of Kafiristan by His Highness the Amir on the recommendation of the Sipah Salar, and that he is shortly to take over charge of his duties.

(c) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has promised to remit Government revenue to the Safis of Pech and the Shinwaris of Shigal, on the condition that they made the road to Badakhshan via Kafiristan. They have agreed to this and the work will soon be begun.

24th January, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 24th of January, 1896.

After Compliments.—

The Amir has issued orders that food and raiment should be supplied gratis to the prisoners of Kafiristan who have arrived at Kabul until they can make their own arrangements.

About 6,000 prisoners have arrived at Charka under the escort of Commandant Siddik's men, i.e., the inhabitants of Panjsher, but the Amir has not as yet given orders as to the place where they are to be settled.

Many wooden images have been brought for the Amir's inspection. They represent deceased Kafirs, among whom the custom is that when a Kafir dies his relatives carve his image. The image is kept in the house to look at occasionally in memory of the deceased. Both the men and women of the Siah Posh Kafirs go either stark naked or are clad in black rags, but it is compulsory that the men and women should have a black cloth round the head.

The Amir has given orders to the troops and the rayiats to go to Kafiristan, and to punish those who may have interfered with places already conquered. This order has been sent to the Commanders-in-Chief of Turkistan and Jalalabad. They will all assemble in Panjsher.

Kafirs who are made to embrace Islam cannot pronounce the 'Kalema' properly, but they do it in such a way that the tutor himself does not understand it. When it is taught them a second time even they do not pronounce it clearly.

The Hakim of Jalalabad sent an application for leave stating that for the last 10 years he had no leave, and that he had private affairs to attend to. The Amir sent an answer to the effect that on account of the Kafiristan war, His Highness is unable to get a capable man to work for him in his place.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has sent 4,000 Kafirs to Kabul. A fight took place between the Amir's troops and the Kafirs near a place called Warkhakir, and nearly 400 men on the Amir's side were killed. The troops are suffering much on account of

snow-falls; hundreds of men are dying. At one fall the snow is six feet or more deep.

25th January, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 84. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral, for the week ending Saturday, the 25th of January, 1896 (Confidential).*

19th January, 1896.—

1. Two Bashgalis of Lutdeh were converted to Islam of their own accord in the Chitral Masjid.

2. Shahpat Ali, a messenger from Shah Afzal Mehtarjao of Nagar, brought the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is still at Birkot. He has sent half of his troops towards Asmar, the other half remaining at Birkot.

(b) A Janadari of Lutdeh [i.e., a member of the Jana clan of Baragamatal], who came up from Birkot to Nagar, reported the spread of an epidemic in the Afghan camp; 90 men are said to have died in one night.

(c) The Khan of Nawagai is said to have occupied a place called Mitai belonging to the Amir of Afghanistan. The Sipah Salar on hearing this left Bashgal for Birkot, as he thought the Nawagai Khan had taken this aggressive measure at the instigation of the English Government.

20th January, 1896.—

1. Munwar Khan, headman of Jinjerit near Drosh, brought the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is said to have liberated all the sons of the Bashgal headmen whom he had brought down to Birkot. Some say he set them free, because a Mullah told him that having become Mussalmans they could not be made slaves. Another version is that he did so under orders received from Kabul.

(b) Many Afghans in the Birkot camp are said to be dying from an epidemic which has broken out there.

(c) Many Bashgalis are said to have embraced Islam in the villages Damer and Arandu.

23rd January, 1896.—

1. A Chitrali of Dyon brings the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has set free all the Bashgalis whom he had brought down to Birkot as hostages.

(b) The Sipah Salar has left Birkot with the greater part of his force and gone towards Asmar.

(c) A small number of troops under an officer have been left at Birkot.

1st February, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 84. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday, the 1st of February, 1896 (Confidential).

26th January, 1896.—

(l) Ghairat Khan, Mullah of Chitral, having lately visited Narsat, reports the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is still at Birkot. He has put off his journey towards Asmar.

(b) There are 10 Kam headmen, prisoners in the Sipah Salar's camp at Birkot.

(c) It is said the Sipah Salar has sent two regiments from Birkot in the direction of Asmar, their destination being Mitai, a place in the Mamund country, which has lately been occupied by the Khan of Nawagai.

27th January, 1896.—

(1) A Chitrali, named Haidar Khan of Kari, has brought the following news from Arandu:—

(a) There is no epidemic now in the Afghan camp at Birkot.

(b) The Sipah Salar having postponed his departure for Asmar is still at Birkot.

(c) The Sipah Salar has sent 3 regiments from Birkot towards Asmar. At Birkot now there are 3 full regiments and 2 half regiments.

(d) The 8 Kam headmen, who were prisoners at Birkot, have been sent with the 3 regiments towards Asmar.

(e) About 120 Bashgal hostages are still in the Afghan camp at Birkot.

(g) The Khan of Nawagai lately attacked and set fire to a village called Mitai, belonging to the Amir of Afghanistan. The Sipah Salar has now sent 3 regiments there.

28th January, 1896.—

(1) Kori, a Kafir refugee, reports the following news:—

(a) About 50 sappers, who had been left by the Sipah Salar in

Kamdeshto carry on the work of repairing the road, have gone back to Birkot. They say that road-making is impossible at this time of the year owing to the severe cold.

(b) There are no Afghan troops in Bashgal now.

(c) One of the Kam prisoners, named Nili Rai, has been set free by the Sipah Salar, he having paid a fine of 2 slaves and 6 sheep. Three Kam prisoners, named Mirag, son of Lal Kam Chandlu, Kani Kan, son of Paluk Dami Malik, and Otadin [Uta Ding], brother of Ota [Uta], have been sent towards Asmar by the Sipah Salar.

(d) It is said that the Sipah Salar lately wrote to the Amir, suggesting that His Highness should visit Jalalabad, and saying that he would go there to receive him taking with him many Bashgali hostages. The Amir wrote in reply that the majority of the hostages should be set free, and that it would be sufficient if the Sipah Salar brought with him 10 Bashgali headmen.

The Sipah Salar has again written to the Amir, stating that he considers it desirable that all the Kafir hostages now in his camp should be taken to Jalalabad.

5th February, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 30,*
dated the 5th of February, 1896.

Kafiristan

A telegram from Chitral, dated the 27th January, states that the operations against the Mujash [Kaštá], Kamdesht [Kam], Madugal and Lutdeh [Katr] Kafirs are practically at an end, and that the majority of the Afghan troops have returned towards Birkot and Asmar. Most of the Kafir hostages have been set free and allowed to return to their homes, and apart from their being converted to Islam the people do not seem to have been oppressed.

The Amir's Sipah Salar has returned to Asmar.

The Amir impressed on his Generals the importance of pushing on the operations during the winter, as the Kafirs are, he said, — "Like hill birds whom it will be most difficult to subdue during the spring." His Highness appears to have resolved upon a complete conquest of the country, the disarming of the inhabitants, and their submission to Islamism. He has ordered a census of the population and an assessment of the land produce. The

heads of all the Kamdesh Kafirs slain in battle have been cut off and sent to Kabul on camels as trophies for the Amir.

In a diary for the week ending the 11th January, the Political Officer noted that there were then about 150 refugee Kafirs in Chitral, and he explained that his request to the Mehtar to turn back Kafirs seeking refuge was only given with a view to discouraging refugees from entering Chitral in large numbers, but that it was understood that individual Kafirs who had special reasons for fearing to return to their homes would not be driven out. The Political Officer has since reported that he has taken steps to carry out the orders of Government to the effect that, while no encouragement should be given to Kafirs to take refuge in Chitral, those who do so should not be turned out; and that Chitral territory must not be used as a base of operations against the Amir or his troops.

In writing to the Viceroy on the 4th December, the Amir, while professing an intention to treat with justice and leniency all those Kafirs who may tender their allegiance, complained that a report had reached him that the Political Officer had instigated the Kafirs to fight, and promised them residence and maintenance in Chitral in the event of their defeat; and His Highness asked the Viceroy to put a stop to such proceedings and to 'keep the road of escape to the Chitral side strictly closed, so that not a single Kafir may attempt to go there.' The Viceroy has replied that there is no truth in the report made against the Political Officer, but that he cannot issue the orders desired by the Amir. His Excellency quoted the Amir's own words to show that, in a similar position, His Highness would not consider himself bound to act in the way he requested, and had admitted the right of one Power to give shelter to refugees from another so long as they were not incited to hostile acts. The attitude which the Political Officer in Chitral is to hold in respect to Kafir refugees has been explained to His Highness.

The Amir has sent Rs. 40,000 worth of lungis, &c., to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to be distributed among the Kafir converts who have embraced Islam. The Amir has also expressed his desire to enlist ten thousand Kafir converts, whom he is anxious to arm with Henry-Martini rifles now coming from England. His Highness has instructed the Sipah Salar to choose smart men out

of the Kafirs for military employment. These Kafir regiments are to be named 'Jadid-ul-Islam'.

The Danish expedition into Kafiristan has been abandoned.

5th February, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. Letter No. 24 of 1896. Government of India, Foreign Department, Secret/Frontier. Fort William, the 5th of February, 1896.

To the Right Hon'ble Lord George F. Hamilton, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord, We have the honour to forward copy of correspondence with the Amir of Afghanistan regarding the treatment of Kafir subjects of His Highness seeking refuge in Chitral.

2. The Amir's representation appears to be chiefly directed against any inducement being held out beforehand to his subjects to resist his troops, and to hope for either assistance in so doing, or refuge and protection if unsuccessful. In this His Highness is within his rights, and although we were able to assure him that the Political Officer in Chitral had not acted in the manner which had been represented of him, we ourselves had sent instructions to him to observe neutrality in the matter of the Amir's operations against his Kafir subjects.

3. The Amir, however, in his letter asks us to "keep the road of escape to the Kafirs on the Chitral side strictly closed, so that not a single Kafir may attempt to go there," and in replying to this request we considered it desirable to speak plainly regarding our objections to issuing any such orders. We were able to quote the Amir's own words to show that in a similar position he would not consider himself bound to act in this way. His Highness would consider it wrong to incite a neighbour's subjects by promise of refuge to stand against the forces of their sovereign, but he would not feel bound to refuse to receive them when defeated and put to flight, or to turn them back. He has been told that we also will neither attempt to stop his subjects from escaping into Chitral, nor drive them out when they have taken refuge there.

4. In the enclosures of this letter, as detailed in the accompanying list, we include extracts from the periodical diaries received from the Political Officer in Chitral. These give various items of intelligence which we have from time to time received regarding

the Amir's proceedings, which do not seem to be unfairly conceived or harshly carried out. If the people submit to the authority of Kabul, and do not oppose the Amir's plans of opening roads through their country, they will apparently be treated like the rest of the inhabitants of His Highness's domains. In view of the interest which is taken in these proceedings, we have required telegraphic reports to be sent, and we shall continue to keep Her Majesty's Government informed of the progress of events and of the information received regarding the treatment accorded to the Kafir people by the Amir's officers.

5. There was at one time reason to apprehend that the instructions given to the Political Officer in Chitral had been misapprehended, and that Kafir refugees were being expelled the country. The extract from the latest diary received states that this is not the case. [Marginal note: "It was the case." A. C. L.] We have the honour to be, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants,

[Victor Alexander Bruce, Ninth Earl of] Elgin [and Kin-cardine. Viceroy and Governor-General of India.]

[Field Marshall Sir] Geo[rge] S. White [Commander-in-Chief, India.]

[Sir] Alexander Edward Miller [Member of the Governor-General's Supreme Council]

[Sir] H[enry] Brackenbury [Supreme Council]

[Sir] C[harles] B[radley] Pritchard [Member of the Governor-General's Supreme Council]

[Sir James] Westland [Member of the Governor-General's Supreme Council]

[Sir] J[ohn] Woodburn [Supreme Council]

5th February, 1896. *Letters from India*, vol. 84. *List of Enclosures in Despatch No. 24, Secret/Frontier*, dated the 5th February, 1896, from the Government of India in the Foreign Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

1. Extract from the Gilgit Agency Diary for the week ending the 22nd of September, 1895.

2. No. 3999 F., dated the 18th October, 1895. Telegram to the Resident in Kashmir.

3. 4th December, 1895. Letter from His Highness the Amir, enclosing letter from Ghulam Haidar Khan.
4. Extracts from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 7th of December, 1895.
5. Extracts from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 14th of December, 1895.
6. Extract from the Peshawar Confidential Diary, No. 24, dated the 20th of December, 1895.
7. Extract from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 21st of December, 1895.
8. No. 140, dated the 16th January, 1896. From the Resident in Kashmir . . . forwards copy of the telegraphic correspondence with the Political Officer at Chitral regarding the treatment of Kafir refugees in Chitral.
9. Extracts from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 4th of January, 1896.
10. Extracts from the Chitral Political Diary for the week ending the 11th of January, 1896.
11. Letter from the Viceroy, dated the 23rd of January, 1896, to His Highness the Amir.

8th February, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 3, dated the 8th of February, 1896.

Jalalabad – Ningrahar

- 7.(a) Muhammad Khan, a servant of Sahibzada Muhammad Yunis, who reached Peshawar by the last kafila [caravan], reports that the Amir will come to Jalalabad in a few days.
- (b) Camels are being impressed in Jalalabad and the Kunar ilakas to carry supplies to Kafiristan and Asmar. The people are in great trouble owing to the constant demand for carriage and supplies.

Operations Against the Kafirs

- 9.(a) Reports state that Parou [Parun?], the strongest fort in Kafiristan, has lately been seized by the Afghan troops, and that the conquest of Kafiristan is now complete. The Amir is much pleased with the conduct of General Taj Muhammad Khan, Commanding the Badakhshan troops, and Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, both of whom will be rewarded very liberally.

The city of Kabul was illuminated on Thursday, the 16th January 1896, in honour of the conquest of Kafiristan.

[We are now involved with two different Commanders named Ghulam Haidar Khan. The senior Sipah Salar whose actions we have been following thus far is now designated Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, *Charkhi*; the other is referred to as Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, *Orakzai*.]

(b) Reports received from Khyber state that Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, Sipah Salar, has sent a number of gold idols and a large amount of gold coins found in Kafiristan to His Highness the Amir. The Sipah Salar has reported to the Amir that he had heard from several of the elders of that place that many more golden idols and golden coins were hidden in certain places, and that he would try to unearth these, and when found send them to Kabul. The Sipah Salar is building temporary sheds for the troops and tribal levies, as without these it is impossible to exist there in the winter season. Many of the troops and levies are at present living in caves.

(c) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, is said to have sent 1,500 Kafir prisoners to Kabul with 100 camel loads containing presents of different kinds for His Highness the Amir.

(d) Information received from Kabul shows that the services rendered by the other Sipah Salar, Ghulam Haidar Khan, Orakzai, in the late Kafiristan expedition, have not met with the Amir's approval, and that no reward has been given to him. The services of Generals Mir Ata Khan, Taj Muhammad Khan, Mir Ali Khan, Ali Muhammad Khan and Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, the senior Sipah Salar, are to be rewarded by the Amir. Hakim Ahmad Jan and Sher Khan of Lachi (in Kohat) are also to receive rewards for their services in Kafiristan. Orders on the subject are expected to be issued after the 'Nauroz' [نوروز, New Year's day].

(e) Wakil Saifani, who was put in charge of a body of Afghan troops sent against the Kafirs from the Panjsher side, succeeded in capturing some 200 Kafirs. These Kafir prisoners were sent on to His Highness the Amir at Kabul.

(f) In the recent fighting between the Afghan troops and the Kafirs some Henry-Martini rifles were seized by the Sipah Salar. On reports being made to him that the rifles had been lent to the

Kafirs by the British Government, the Sipah Salar rebuked the men and told them that they had no concern in State affairs and sent on the rifles to His Highness the Amir.

(g) News received from Jalalabad shows that, under the Amir's orders, Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, Sipah Salar, has taken about 100 of the leading Kafirs as hostages, and these men with their families will shortly be brought to Asmar. From here they will be sent on to Kabul, where they will be kept until further orders.

The Sipah Salar also intends returning to Asmar shortly; all operations have now ceased in Kafiristan.

(h) The final report submitted by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in the handwriting of Hakim Ahmad Jan of Peshawar about the recent operations in Kafiristan was laid before His Highness the Amir on the first Shaban 1313 (17th January, 1896). The report gave a detail of the operations and of the conquest of the country from Birkot to the limits of Shighnan, and stated that a few outlying small glens remained, the occupation of which could be effected after the [winter?].

8th February, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday, the 8th of February, 1896 (Confidential).

4th February, 1896.—

(1) Shukar Shah of Siu brought the following news from Arandu:
 (a) A Chitrali resident of Lutkho is said to have gone to Birkot with a letter for the Afghan Commander-in-Chief. It is not known who the letter was from.

(b) The Sipah Salar has sent away all his troops towards Bailam, only two half regiments remaining in Birkot with him. The Sipah Salar himself being unwell could not leave Birkot immediately.

5th February, 1896.—

(1) Nangawar, a Chitrali, brought the following news from Arandu:-

(a) The Sipah Salar is arranging for an expedition against the Wai Kafirs to proceed shortly through the Bailam nulla.

(2) Sher Malik, a Kam Kafir, just come up from Damer, reports that the Sipah Salar is arranging for an expedition to start through the Bailam nulla against Waigal.

7th February, 1896. — Abdullah, a converted Kafir of Lutdeh, reports as follows:—

(a) Mara, a headman of Lutdeh, has been ordered by the Sipah Salar to call back his sons, Kan, Chandlu and Latkan [Lutkam] from Bumberet (in Chitral territory) to Lutdeh. Mara refused to comply with the Sipah Salar's order.

15th February, 1896. Letters from India. vol. 85. Political Diary of the Assistant Political Agent, Chitral, for the week ending Saturday, the 15th of February, 1896 (Confidential).

9th February, 1896.—

(1) Mukarrab Khan, Chitrali, reports the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has gone to Asmar.

(b) Nearly all the Bashgali hostages being ill, they have been left at Birkot.

(c) Muhammad Sharif Khan of Dir has taken Jandol.

(d) Muhammad Shah Khan of Miskini has fled towards Nawagai.

(e) Umra Khan having gone *via* Kandahar on a pilgrimage to Mecca, has sent three horses to Jar in Nawagai territory.

13th February, 1896.—

(1) Khush Muhammad Khan of Sin brings news from Narsat:—

(a) The Afghan Sipah Salar has left Birkot with nearly all his force and gone to Asmar. He has left 500 men at Birkot.

(b) The Afghans have started making a new road on the left bank of the Kunar river through Marawara opposite Pech. The people of Marawara, having opposed the making of the road, three Afghan regiments have been sent to punish them.

(c) The Sipah Salar has taken all the Bashgali headmen and hostages to Asmar.

22nd February, 1896. Letters from India. vol. 85. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral, for the week ending Saturday, the 22nd of February, 1896 (Confidential).

17th February, 1896.—

1. The following information was obtained from the Sipah Salar's men:

(a) In the expedition to Bashgal the Afghan casualties amounted to 40 men. The Kafir loss amounted to 180 men.

- (b) Akram Jan has been appointed Governor of Bashgal in recognition of his services during the Bashgal campaign.
- (c) All the Lutdeh headmen except Mara have been allowed to return to their homes. Mara has been taken to Asmar.
- (d) One hundred and eighty hostages from the Kustaz [Kaštá], Kamoz, and Kamtaz [Katr and Kam] tribes of Bashgal have been taken to Asmar. It is said that the Amir intends to have these men instructed in the precepts of the Muhammadan faith before allowing them to return to their country.
- (e) All the Kamoz [Kam] people have been removed from Kamdesh and settled in the different villages of Narsat. The Sipah Salar intends to keep them there for three years.
- (f) The Afghans have captured several forts in the Ramgul country. The Sipah Salar is now thinking of commencing operations against Waigal and other Kafir districts.

18th February, 1896.—

2. Shaikh Abdulla of Rumbor came in and brought the following news:—

- (a) The Afghans have taken fifteen forts in the Ramgul country. The Kafirs lost many men, and the majority of the inhabitants of Ramgul have now fled to another Kafir State, called Kulam.
- (b) The Sipah Salar has allowed all the Lutdeh headmen except Mara to return to their homes. He lately sent a message to Lutdeh saying he intended shortly to attack Waigul, Veron, and Katwar, *via* Shegal, and informing the Lutdehchis that he wished them to attack the abovementioned Kafir districts from the direction of Lutdeh.
- (c) Eighteen Mallas have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Lutdeh to remain amongst the people of that country and to teach them the precepts of Islam.

19th February, 1896.—

2. Afdar, resident of Oyon, has brought the following news:—

- (a) The Sipah Salar sent a large force from Asmar against the Waigal Kafirs. When this force reached Chigharserai, 60 Wai Kafirs came in to pay their respects. The Afghan Commandant sent them to Asmar to the Sipah Salar who has placed them in custody. The Sipah Salar then sent orders to his advanced guard

to proceed at once to Waigul, and he was preparing himself to leave Asmar to join the expedition.

(b) One hundred and thirty Shaikhs or converted Bashgulis from the villages of Istorgul [Gawardesh], Birkot, Sau, Darin, Bailam, and Asmar, have been armed with rifles by the Sipah Salar and sent to Chigharserai under command of Tuti Shaikh of Chunduk.

(c) All the Bashguli hostages are in the Afghan camp at Asmar. They are well treated by the Sipah Salar. Two of them are said to have died.

(d) The garrison at Birkot now consists of two Afghan regiments, each 500 strong.

(e) Before leaving Birkot, the Sipah Salar sent twelve Mullas to Bashgul to teach the new converts how to keep the fast during the Ramazan. Every fourth month these Mullas will be relieved by a fresh lot.

(f) Jana, brother of Mara, headman of Lutdeh, is in great favour with the Sipah Salar, because he keeps Ghulam Haidar Khan fully informed of everything that takes place in Bashgul. Mara's request to be allowed to return home was refused by the Sipah Salar on the ground that his 3 sons were still hiding in Chitral territory. Mara sent 3 men to his sons who are living in the Bomboret Gul with a message that they should return to Lutdeh. His two eldest sons however refused to comply with his wishes.

20th February, 1896.—

2. Said Amir Shah, headman of Arandu, brought the following news:—

(a) At Birkot, there are 500 Afghan troops and 4 'pechi' guns.

(b) On arrival at Asmar the Sipah Salar held a Darbar and gave khilats to all the local headmen. In the Darbar he announced his intention of proceeding against Waigul.

(c) After halting at Asmar for four days the Sipah Salar, accompanied by his whole force, a large number of local headmen, the Bashguli hostages, and a force of Eljaris who volunteered for active service under Rustum Khan, Khan of Shali, started for Waigul; 500 men were left at Asmar.

(d) Two messengers of the Afghan Sipah Salar who had lately been sent to Pech are said to have been burnt to death by the

people of the upper Pech country. The Sipah Salar has announced his intention of conquering Pech, Waigul, and Veron within a period of one month.

(e) The Sipah Salar when at Asmar received a letter containing news of the occupation of Ramgul by an Afghan force which had been recently sent from Kabul. Severe fighting and considerable loss of life on both sides is said to have taken place. Two thousand Ramgul Kafirs were made prisoners and sent to Kabul. The majority of the remaining inhabitants are said to have run away to neighbouring Kafir districts. Large quantities of grain and a considerable number of live stock fell into the hands of the Afghans.

3. Nang Awar and Sharafat Khan, two Chitrallis who have returned from Narsat, bring the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has left Asmar and gone towards Chigharserai.

(b) There is a garrison of 1,000 Afghans now at Birkot.

(d) The Amir is expected to visit Jalalabad soon. The Afghan sepoys at Birkot and Palasgor will shortly proceed to Jalalabad to pay their respects to the Amir, who is said to have also issued orders for the Sipah Salar to proceed to Jalalabad accompanied by all the troops who took part in the Bashgal campaign.

22nd February, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated the 22nd February, 1896.*

After compliments. — I beg to give below the news which I received during the last week:—

On Wednesday the 19th February, the Amir went to the Hall of Audience only to look at the soldiers who have returned from the recent Kafiristan Campaign, and when all had made their obeisance to His Highness, he spoke in kind terms to every one of them as below:— “The God-granted Government has received first class help from you. All your friends, the English nation, and the Empress of India, are pleased with you. I am also greatly pleased with you. May God and His Prophet be pleased with you.

Kafiristan is the country which gave a lot of trouble to the Kings of India and Afghanistan, but nobody could conquer it. Even Amir Timur could not. This act of bravery was reserved for Amir Abdur Rahman to be performed through you. You have shown great valour in this campaign. Bear in mind that the Czar of Russia is your bitter enemy. Some day it will be necessary for you to stand up against him." Everybody present corroborated what the Amir said and added:— "We and our sons are ready to sacrifice our lives for Your Highness's service." After a short conversation the Amir told the men:— "All of you take rest in Sherpur. I will entertain you for a few days."

The Amir has given orders to supply the soldiers, numbering nearly 5,000 men, with food, charcoal and fuel from the State, until they are given leave to depart. General Amir Muhammad Khan will supervise the arrangements in connection with the entertainment, &c.

Many of the Kafirs have been employed as labourers in the different factories.

20th February, 1896.— The Amir has sent the Kafirs numbering 6,000 who were assembled in Panjsher to different parts of Afghanistan to settle down in those places. They will cultivate lands under the supervision of the Maliks.

Twenty-two Kafir boys, under 10 years of age, have been kept in Kabul as pages for outside work.

By the order of the Amir, the Kafirs, who have embraced Islam, and their wives and children have been supplied with a shirt and a pair of trousers each.

The Amir has bestowed a khilat consisting of a chogha and a lungi on each of the inhabitants of Panjsher who had joined the expedition against the Kafirs. These men number nearly 5,000. The Amir after addressing in kind terms the people of Indarab and praising them for their valour, conferred on them khilats. They number 7,000 persons and are now staying at Sherpur. They waited on the Amir on Friday last.

All the men who fought against the Kafirs and who are 12,000 in number, received a silver medal each on Friday evening. The Maliks and Sadbashis [سد باشی, non-commissioned officer in charge of 100 men] received gold ones equal in size to the Kabul rupee and 1/100th of an inch thick, with inscriptions as below:—

Amir Abdur Rahman Kabul Service Afghanistan

On a secret report made by the Kotwal [کوتوال], Chief of Police] that Malik Amir Muhammad of Panjsher had not supplied provisions properly to the troops, the Amir sent for the Malik, reprimanded him and made him return the medal he had received. All the men who went to fight are yet in Kabul.

24th February, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Letter from Sir William John Cunningham, Secretary in the Foreign Department, to Sir William Lee-Warner, Secretary in the Political Department, India Office,* dated the 24th of February, 1896.

Confidential

Calcutta

24th February, 1896.

My Dear Lee Warner

I regret I could not at once answer your confidential letter of the 24th January about the wording of the Viceroy's official telegram of January 22nd relating to Kafir refugees. I had not until today an opportunity of referring to all the papers. Meanwhile, and apparently before any question on the subject has been put, the Secretary of State will have received the secret despatch 24 of the 5th February enclosing extracts from the Chitral diary of the week ending the 11th January which contains the information on which the telegram was based. I must confess that the note at the end of the paragraph (o) of entry for the 8th January does not specifically say that "refugees have not been driven out" though it appears to me that this is the inference which Lt. Gurdon intended should be drawn.

On the other hand I do not see in the entries to which you direct my attention 'circumstantial reports of violent expulsion'. One entry says 'news was received from Lutkho that the Bashgal Kafirs about 900 in number, who had come into Lutkho, had been sent away by the Mehtari officials' the other is that the Mehtar's Dewan Begi sent orders directing that some 200 Kafirs who had arrived at Bumboret should be turned out of Chitral territory. It is I believe doubtful whether in either case any expulsion took place.

There is also this to be remembered as to the two points mentioned at the end of your letter, (i) the Amir always had access to other valleys than Bashgal and is making other roads than

the Bashgal Valley road. We hear of Bashgal operations because that valley is nearest to Chitral territory. (ii) the overthrow of the balance of Muhammadan power in those regions equally overthrows the possibility of a combined Muhammadan jihad against the Kafirs.

The Kafirs excite sympathy and we must deal with facts; there is much however in Robertson's Kafiristan report to shew that they deserve very little.

Yours very sincerely
[Sir] W[illiam] J[ohn] Cuningham

[note by W. Lee-Warner]

The questions asked in January have been solved by the information which crossed my letter. This letter may be put by. It may be helpful if further questions are asked. W. Lee-Warner

The letter shows a certain amount of anti-Kafir *animus*.

A. L. 16 March, 1896

27th February, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 85. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 4, dated the 27th of February, 1896.

Kabul News

(v) Recruiting is still going on at Kabul. Kafirs are also enlisted in the army which is being enlarged.

Lughman

4. Reports received state that Wakil Khan, Saifani, who had been to Kafiristan with the Amir's army, returned to Lughman with some 4,000 Kafirs, of whom he sent about 1,000 to Kabul and made over the rest to the Governor of Lughman to take care of them. The Governor is said to have dispersed them among different villages of his charge.

Operations Against the Kafirs

7.(a) Reports received state that about two hundred Kafirs have, owing to the tyranny and oppression of the Amir's officials, deserted their homes and crossed over to Chitral, where they wish to take shelter under the British Government and avoid forcible conversion to Islam. Mosques are being built in Kafiristan and Mallas are preaching the doctrines of Islam. Food and clothing are given by the Sipah Salar to those who seek Islam, but volunteers are said to be few.

- (b) Reports from the Khyber state that orders have been sent by His Highness the Amir directing Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, to construct posts and huts in the newly-acquired Kafir country. The Sipah Salar is collecting materials, and as soon as the snowy season is over he will begin work, employing chiefly the Kafirs as labourers. His Highness has informed the Sipah Salar that he intends sending Habibulla Khan to see the Kafir country. Large convoys of camels laden with stores are about to leave Kabul for Kafiristan.
- (c) The Amir is said to have issued orders that 1,000 families of nomad Safis from Tagao with 1,000 nomad Lughmani families and 500 families of 'Kuchis' [کوچیں, nomads] from the Panjsher hills, should be sent to Kafiristan and settled there. That they should be required to reclaim land and cultivate it, and that no revenue will be levied from them for the first year.
- (d) News received through the Amir's men at Peshawar shows that a book giving details of the operations held against the Kafirs, the history of their clans and tribes, the names of their chief villages and leading men, and the terms finally accepted by them was sent by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to Kabul to be presented to His Highness the Amir. The book is in verse (an example that might be followed with a view to shorten official correspondence) composed by the Sipah Salar. The Amir, who appears anxious to have copies of it distributed in the whole of the Punjab, is said to have gone through it himself, and has ordered it to be printed and published at Peshawar.
- (e) Reports from the Khyber state that, owing to the intense cold prevailing in the Kafiristan hills, Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has returned from there and is now said to be two or three marches beyond Asmar. All operations in that quarter have ceased for the present.

Asmar

- 8.(a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has returned to Asmar with his forces and is making preparations for a journey to Kabul, where he has been summoned by the Amir to furnish him with a detailed account of Kafir affairs in person. He is to reach Kabul before the 21st March 1896, when the Nauroz festival (new year's day) will be celebrated and honours conferred upon deserving

Afghan officials as usual. It is believed that costly khilats will be granted to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sardar Sherindil Khan, Governor of Khost, General Taj Muhammad Khan, Governor of Badakhshan, Mir Abu Talib, Dabir-ul-Mulk, Sardar Nur Ali Khan, son of Sardar Sher Ali Khan, Khandahari, and the officials who accompanied Sardar Nasrulla Khan to Europe. It is also stated that dinners will be given to all military officers and medals awarded to the troops engaged against the Kafirs.

(b) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is ill. He will take leave if he does not recover soon.

(c) News received shows that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has come down to Asmar, and has left his troops behind him at Birkot and Gourdesh.

Kunar Valley

9.(a) Men coming from Bajaur bring news of the intended visit of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan to Pashad in the Kunar valley and of the preparations made by Saifulla Khan, the Hakim, for his reception. Five hundred Kafirs are also coming with the Salar to accompany him to Kabul.

(d) Local levies from Kunar valley, who had been to Kafiristan with Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, have returned to their homes.

29th February, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 84. *Minute Paper No. 24, Secret Department,* dated the 29th of February, 1896.
Subject: Kafiristan; Treatment of Kafirs in Chitral

The enclosures now put forward as official documents are parts of the diaries already received with the omission of a few passages as to sending of, and treatment of Kafirs in Kabul.

As between the Government of India and the Amir no answer could be more discreet and 'soft' so as to turn away wrath. The Amir cannot answer it, and cannot renew his complaints.

If the despatch is ever printed the public may criticise it as taking a stand not on the high ground of British principles but of Afghan usage. Having taken that ground we can go further, for we can feed and give money to the Kafir refugees in British territory, as the Amir gives presents to the murderers of its home. I venture to

suggest that the Gov't of India might presently be told to relieve the necessities of the Kafir refugees in Chitral. – W. Lee-Warner.

2 March, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 2nd of March, 1896.

1st March, 1896.—

The Amir is thinking of appointing a Hakim of Kafiristan, but he has not as yet been able to select any. The place of residence of the Hakim [پرکار, sub-governor] will be behind Pamkan. The place is stony. All those Kafirs who have embraced Islam will be made to settle there. The other Kafirs who are in Kafiristan will also be transferred to that place.

By the Amir's order many Kafirs have been and are being employed in the factories. They are made to work hard, and the men who superintend their work give them instructions by means of signs, because they do not understand the Kafiri language.

The Amir has issued strict orders that none of his subjects, whether high or low, should be allowed to keep the Kafirs as slaves, and that slave dealing among them is strictly forbidden. The Amir has issued orders that at Shaftal, through which one can go to Russian territory, a cantonment should be established; that 8 or 10 regiments consisting of the Kafirs and 2 regiments formed of the Kabulis should be placed there; and that the officers of the Kafir regiments should be Kabulis, who will have to prove that they belong to good families.

The Amir sent for all the sepoys and the military officers who went to Kafiristan with the expedition, inspected them and gave medals to the men, and medals and khilats as well to the officers. His Highness has also issued orders to give promotion to the officers.

4th March, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda.* Letter No. 42, dated the 4th of March, 1896.

Kafiristan

In reply to His Excellency the Viceroy's letter referred to on page 6 of the last journal, declining to close the road into Chitral against

Kafir fugitives, His Highness merely writes – “What Your Excellency says is correct. If no harm results there is no room for any objection.”

The Amir's Sipah Salar has sent in his final despatch to His Highness describing the events of the recent campaign against the Kafirs.

Orders have been given that those places which have not been subjugated are to be attacked after the Nauroz (21st of March). The headmen of the adjoining country were summoned to Kabul to receive instructions and carriage has been impressed in the Jalalabad and Kunar districts to convey supplies to Asmar and Kafiristan. The Sipah Salar has already left Asmar with a force to attack the Waigul Kafirs, and a force sent from Kabul has occupied Ramgul and sent a number of Kafir prisoners to Kabul. Mullas have been deputed to preach Islam in Kafiristan.

According to information brought to Chitral from the Afghan camp by a Kafir refugee, the Amir directed the Sipah Salar to release all Kafir hostages with the exception of 10 Bashgali headmen. The Sipah Salar however, appears to have suggested to His Highness that the whole of the hostages should be taken on to Jalalabad whither, it was expected, the Amir would be shortly proceeding; and news from Chitral, dated the 16th February, intimates that the Sipah Salar has taken 180 of them with his camp to Asmar. Information from another source states that he sent 1,500 Kafir prisoners to Kabul, accompanied by 100 camel loads of presents for the Amir. A report from Kabul itself swells the number of Kafirs sent there by the Sipah Salar to 4,000. The Amir contemplates organizing two regiments of the Kafirs who have become Muhammadans. The Sipah Salar has been informed that a great many coins and idols of gold are secreted in Kafiristan; he is endeavouring to unearth these for despatch to Kabul.

10th March, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 5, dated the 10th of March, 1896.

Kabul

(d) Reports received from Khyber state that some time ago Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, sent a number of Kafir headmen with their followers to His Highness the Amir at Kabul,

with a report stating that these men had, of their own free will, been converted into Muhammadanism. The Amir summoned them into his presence and had a long talk with them through the interpretation of one of his Kafir slaves. These headmen informed the Amir that they had for a long time embraced the faith of Islam, but from fear of their other countrymen could not declare this openly. His Highness ordered one of his officials to take a note of all their customs and ways of life. A certain sum of money was fixed for each headman, and they were then allowed to return to their homes.

(j) News received shows that a few days ago the Amir expressed his satisfaction with the state of his army in open Darbar, and remarked that his army, which now numbered 100,000 men strong, was enough to repel any invasions by infidels (*lit. Kafirs*).

(k) Saiyid Raza, a sowar of the British Agency at Kabul, reached Peshawar on his way to Hangu on the 25th February 1896.

He states – “I left Kabul eight days ago. There was no fresh news at Kabul except that 4,000 Kafirs were brought as prisoners to Kabul and settled in different villages in the neighbourhood of Kabul. Hospital Assistant, Shah Mir Khan, carries on the current work of the Agency, but he is not admitted to the Amir’s Darbar. The Amir intended to come down to Jalalabad during the winter, but he subsequently abandoned his idea.”

(m) News received shows that endeavours are made by the Amir to teach the Kafir prisoners at Kabul and other places the doctrines of Islam. Mullas have been appointed for the purpose, and every facility is given to the Kafirs to learn the language and customs of Afghans.

(o) News received shows that fresh complaints of bribery, &c., have been made to His Highness the Amir by the Mirzas [میرزا, official clerk] of Kabul and other news-writers against Hakim Ahmad Jan, who was on field service with Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in Kafiristan, and whom the latter recommended for khilats and appointment as Governor of Kafiristan on several occasions. This has created a suspicion against the Hakim in the Amir’s mind, and His Highness is expected to punish him shortly.

Laghman

5. Auliya Gul, the Governor of Laghman, has received an order from the Amir directing him to send all Kafir prisoners with him

to Kabul, so that they may be distributed among the Mussalmans of that neighbourhood and taught the doctrines of Islam.

Kunar Valley

- 8.(a) A letter received from the Mohmand country states that, on his return from Kafiristan, Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan gave a big dinner to all the troops engaged against the Kafirs, and praised them for the valour they had displayed during the operations.
- (b) Most of the leading Kafir elders who have been deported from Kafiristan have submitted a petition to the Amir through Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, begging that, as they have been turned out of Kafiristan, they may be allowed to settle in the Ningrahar and Kunar ilakas and given crown lands to cultivate. They urge that their forefathers lived in Kama, Kashkot and other places whence they were expelled by their Afghan enemies.
- (c) The Sipah Salar is encamped at Chauki in the Kunar valley, and has brought a large number of good-looking Kafir girls and lads as slaves. He intends sending them up to His Highness the Amir. He was expected to come to Dakka, but nothing has been heard about his arrival there.

Deogal and Badil Safis

- 9.(a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is reported to have left for the Safi country of Deogal and Badil. He is anxious to conquer that part of Kafiristan too which lies to the north of the Pech valley. He has employed the people of Nurgal and Shewa for the construction of a road from the mouth of the Pech valley to the limits of the Deogal Safi country. The Deogal and Badil Safis have made preparations for an opposition, and have received a promise of help from the neighbouring Kafirs too. The Kafirs and Safis of this neighbourhood have pledged together to fight to the last if either of these tribes is attacked by the Salar.

Kafiristan

10. Rumour is current that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan came across a couple of gold and ruby mines during his recent operations in Kafiristan and reported the matter to His Highness the Amir. It is believed that the mines will be opened next summer.

14th March, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday, the 14th of March, 1896 (Confidential).

11th March, 1896.—

2. One Ram Bap, resident of Oyon, has brought the following news:—

- (a) The Sipah Salar is at Pech. He is said to have sent an ultimatum to the people of Waigul to the effect that they should decide within fifteen days, as to whether they were prepared to accept the terms offered to them by the Amir.
- (b) The Sipah Salar is said to have asked the Afghan officer Commanding in Munjan to attack the Waigul Kafirs in rear, while he himself attacks them in front.
- (c) All the hostages taken by the Sipah Salar from Bashgul are in Asmar, and are receiving food and clothes from the Afghan authorities. All of them are now Muhammadans, and are keeping the fast of the Ramazan. An Arandu man, who has lately returned from Asmar, stated that the Sipah Salar had ordered double rations and khilats to be given to the Bashguli hostages during the fast month.
- (d) All is quiet in Bashgul.

14th March, 1896.—

5. Turak [Torag or Torug] and Zarkan, sons of Chandlu, a Kamdesh elder, and now residing at Ursun in Chitral territory, report as follows:—

- (a) A few days ago 60 Waigul headmen visited the Sipah Salar at Chigharserai. They brought with them guns, swords, and daggers in token of submission, and expressed their willingness to become Muhammadans. The Sipah Salar told them that he intended to visit their country. The Waigulis replied that they were ready to give hostages for their good behaviour, but that they were most anxious that the Sipah Salar should not enter Waigul with a large force. Eventually the Sipah Salar agreed to postpone his expedition to Waigul, on the condition that the Waigulis would send him 60 hostages of good family. The Waiguli elders then left to fetch the hostages.
- (b) The Afghans are busy making a road up the Chigharserai Nullah. The road will be made as far as Saranu, from whence there are roads leading to Veron, Ramgul, and Waigul.

(c) The Afghan force which advanced from the direction of Kabul have captured 20 fort villages in Ramgul, 14 villages still remain in the hands of the Ramgulis. The Afghan loss in the fighting which took place was very heavy. One hundred and twenty Ramguli headmen were sent in chains to Kabul, but the Amir has directed that they should be set free and permitted to return to their homes. The Amir has further instructed his officers to treat the Kafirs leniently and not compel them to become Muhammadans against their will.

(d) Nili Rai, a headman of the Otadari tribe [Uta clan] of Kam-desh, who was in custody, has been set free by the Sipah Salar on his relations paying a ransom of Rs. 800.

(f) Below Pech there is a small valley containing 2 large Kafir villages, named Dehguli and Dangdulia. These Kafirs have been raiding the Afghan line of communications and succeeded in capturing a number of rifles. The Sipah Salar sent them an ultimatum that they should submit within 10 days. On hearing this the Kafirs collected 100 rifles, which they had looted from the Afghans and brought them to the Sipah Salar as a peace offering. The Sipah Salar took the rifles, but said they must bring more before he could pardon them. The Kafir elders on returning to their villages sent the Sipah Salar a message of defiance saying that they declined to give up more arms. These Kafirs have friendly relations with the Khan of Nawagai, who has promised to help them, in the event of the Sipah Salar invading their valley. Dehguli and Dangdulia can only be attacked from one side and the country is difficult.

(g) The Bashgulis complain bitterly of the manner in which Akram Jan and Merjan (the Sipah Salar's representatives) treat them. Many Kafir girls and boys have been taken as slaves by these persons. Akram Jan fines all Kafirs who do not treat him with respect. The Bashgulis are thinking of complaining to the Sipah Salar. The Sipah Salar had ordered his men to treat the Bashguli hostages well, but now that he has gone to Chigharserai the Afghan officials are ill-treating them.

(h) There are 700 Afghan sepoys at Birkot, and two full regiments and four guns at Asmar.

7. Roziman of Arandu reported as follows:—

(a) One hundred and ten elders of Dehguli and Dangdulia have brought 500 rifles to the Sipah Salar at Chigharserai. The elders

further declared their willingness to become Muhammadans in open Darbar. The Sipah Salar has ordered the Kafir elders to remain in his camp, and told them that he will not visit their valley at present.

(b) The Sipah Salar is expected to come to Narsat for the *Id* festival.

(c) The Waigul Kafirs have not yet brought an answer to the Sipah Salar's ultimatum.

(d) The Bashguli hostages in Asmar have been beating the Mallas, who were appointed to teach them the Muhammadan faith.

15th March, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant, Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 15th of March, 1896.

The Amir has given orders to collect 300 Kazis [قاضی, judge] from different parts of Afghanistan so that they may be sent to Kafiristan to convert the Kafirs to Islam.

To-day 40 more Kafirs and 100 of their idols were brought to Kabul under a guard. Some women and children also have come with them. All these Kafirs were converted to Islam on Friday last in front of the citadel and they will be sent to settle down in the Panjsher district.

The Amir has given orders that the Herati and Uzbeg regiments, together with two troops of the Hizhdah Nahri cavalry, should be stationed in Kafiristan. When the Kafir regiment will be raised it will also be located in that country.

The Amir sent to the Harem two Kafir girls, who are under 18 years of age, to work as maid servants. Before being sent they were made to embrace Islam and received the name 'Wafa Begam', and the other, 'Nur Begam'.

20th March, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 6,* dated the 20th of March, 1896.

Kabul

(f) Reports from Kabul state that the Amir is busily engaged in collecting funds for the lodging, clothing, training and education

of the Kafirs by selling their cattle which was plundered and sent to Kabul by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan during the recent operations in Kafiristan. The Amir appears to be very anxious to teach these Kafirs the doctrines of Islam and to make them acquainted with the customs and manners of Mussalmans.

Some of the younger handsome slave-girls have been sent by the Amir to his 'haram serai' and others have been sold by him to his courtiers, and the price credited to the reserve fund for the education of these Kafirs.

Some clothing has already been purchased at Kabul and sent to the Sipah Salar for distribution among the Kafirs.

Kunar Valley

6.(b) The Sipah Salar has collected men from Kunar and Ningrahar, and is going to construct a road from Chaghan Serai to the head of the Pech valley inhabited by the Safis. The road will pass by a place called Mannai where the Kafirs used to commit robberies in former times.

Operations Against the Kafirs

8.(a) The Kafirs on the north of the Pech valley have sent in their representatives to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan and submitted to Afghan rule. The Salar warns them (1) to allow mullas to preach in their country, (2) to go to Kabul and pay their respects to the Amir, and (3) to surrender all rifles and swords possessed by them. The Kafirs have not agreed to these terms as yet.

The Deegal Safis have also submitted and received the same reply from the Salar...

(b) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has summoned a few masons by permission of His Highness the Amir to erect two towers in Kafiristan and the Pech valley in commemoration of the recent victory of Afghan troops in this neighbourhood, and is shortly to commence the work.

(c) Reports from the Khaibar state that many of the Siahposh Kafirs who were brought to Asmar, expressed their willingness to become Mussalmans, and to pay the tax of Chila-yak [چل و یک, literally 'forty-one', here meaning one animal out of every 40 of their livestock] and to receive the Amir's hakims and kazis amongst their country. The Sipah Salar sent a report of this to

His Highness the Amir, and the latter having given his sanction several Kafirs after being converted were allowed to return to their country. Hostages were taken from these Kafirs before they were permitted to go.

(d) In continuation of paragraph 7 (a) of diary No. 4, dated 27th February 1896, the latest news is that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has reported to the Amir that the Kafirs, who went to the British officers at Chitral, were induced to do so by the British Government who he said would not keep themselves aloof from interfering in political matters on the Afghan side of the lately demarcated boundary which justified them too in carrying on their intrigues beyond the border.

(e) It is rumoured that preparations are again being made by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan for a fresh attack upon those Kafirs who have not as yet been subdued, and that operations will commence early in the spring.

(f) Reports received from the Khaibar state that some of the Kafirs who live close to the Panjsher valley made their submission to the Amir's authority, and under His Highness's orders 4 mullas and 100 khasadars were sent to their country. A short time ago the Kafirs attacked and killed the mullas and the Khassadars. The troops in the Panjsher valley moved against the Kafirs, and burned several of their villages, capturing a few Kafirs, while many fled towards Darrah-i-Maswar. Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has sent letters to these Kafirs telling them to come to him to make their submission, or else he would send troops against them very shortly.

21st March, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday, the 21st of March, 1896 (Confidential).

17th March, 1896.—

2. Shaikh Abdulla of Lutdeh has brought the following news:—
 (a) The road leading from Chitral *via* Arandu into Narsat and Asmar has been closed by order of the Afghan Sipah Salar, who is determined, if possible, to prevent news of his movements reaching Chitral.

(b) It is rumoured that a large Afghan force personally led by the Sipah Salar has entered Waigal.

(c) Reports are also current that the Afghans have advanced *via* Munjan into Veron.

(d) The people of Bashgal are said to have gone to Birkot to complain to the Afghan Commandant there of the oppressive treatment shown to them by Akram Jan and Mer Jan.

21st March, 1896.—

3. Shaikh Abdulla reports that he has heard the following from a Lutdehchi:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has occupied Veron, Waigal, and Ramgal. He has taken 30 hostages from Veron, 20 from Katwar, and 60 from Waigal. All of these hostages have been brought to Asmar.

4. Azmat Shah, a relation of the headman of Arandu, and now residing at Jinjaret, reports as follows:—

(a) The force sent by the Sipah Salar against the Dewagal and Kuramgal Kafirs has suffered a reverse and been obliged to retreat to Pech.

(b) The Sipah Salar himself is at Veron with 1,000 sepoys.

(c) Ota [Uta], a Kam headman, went to Veron to complain to the Sipah Salar concerning the oppressive manner in which Akram Jan had been treating the Bashgalis. The Sipah Salar promised Ota that he would shortly visit Lutdeh and Kamdesh, when he would remove Akram Jan from the post of Governor.

(d) An Afghan force from Munjan has joined the Sipah Salar in Veron.

(e) The Waigalis have been well-treated by the Sipah Salar.

28th March, 1896. Letters from India. vol. 85. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral, for the week ending Saturday, the 28th of March, 1896 (Confidential).

25th March, 1896.—

2. A letter was received from Shahzada Lais, Maulai Sayad of Arkari, giving the following news brought by certain Zebakis:—

(a) The Afghan artillery which was in Shighnan has been moved into Zebak.

(b) The ryot people south of Tang-i-Faizabad are being sent towards Kafiristan to take part in the expedition against the Kafirs.

3. One Mahbub Shah of Drosch, who has just come up from Narsat, reports that the Afghan Commander-in-Chief has marched in person with a force against the Kafirs of Devgal (close to

Waigal). These people are said to have nearly 1,500 rifles which they had plundered from the Afghans.

27th March, 1896.—

2. Chandlu Kan and Latkam, sons of Mara, a Lutdeh headman (now a hostage in the Afghan camp at Asmar), visited the Assistant British Agent. They asked that some land might be given them in the Bomboret Nulla, and also requested the Assistant British Agent to write to the Sipah Salar and obtain the release of their father, Mara. The Assistant British Agent promised to speak to the Mehtar about land in Bumboret. As to Mara he said he could not write to the Sipah Salar, but promised that he would mention the matter to the British Agent, Gilgit.

28th March, 1896.—

1. The Mehtar is arranging to give some land in the Bomboret Nulla to the sons of Mara, a headman of Lutdeh...

4th April, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Saturday, the 4th of April, 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. Some Ayun men, who had lately gone to Bashgal to purchase cattle there, were seized by the Bashgalis and taken to the Afghan Officer Commanding at Birkot. This officer set them free, but told them that, whenever they wished to have any business communication with the Bashgali subjects of the Amir, they should visit Birkot and make a report of their intentions to the Afghan officer there.

4. Several Bashgali refugees in Chitral have recently come into Chitral to get converted to Islam by the local Mullas.

Kafiristan

A man named Shafat Ali of Nagar brought the following news in the early part of the week:—

(a) The Afghan Sipah Salar has left Pech, and is returning to Asmar. He has subdued the Pech Kafirs after severe fighting in which many Afghans lost their lives. Four hundred Kafirs were made prisoners, and brought into Asmar, from where they have been sent off with the Bashgali hostages towards Kabul.

- (b) The Sipah Salar took 700 rifles from the Pech Kafirs.
- (c) The Sipah Salar has sent 100 sepoys with some Mallas to Lutdeh.
- (d) Akram Jan has been removed from the Governorship of Bashgal, in consequence of the constant complaints against him from the Bashgalis.
- (e) The Sipah Salar after returning to Asmar will shortly leave that place for Kabul. . .

2. Later news brought by one Talib of Arandu who has recently visited Chigharserai is to the following effect:—

Note. — This information is more likely to be true than that furnished by Shafat Ali of Nagar (see above).

- (a) The Sipah Salar has subdued the Kafirs of the Pech country without fighting.
- (b) The Safi tribe of Devagal who had been called upon by the Sipah Salar to bring in the 1,500 rifles which they had in their possession, having delayed complying with the order, Ghulam Haidar Khan commenced making roads from two directions towards their country, with the object of sending an expedition against them. This frightened the Devagalis and they sent men to inform the Sipah Salar that, if he would return to Asmar, they would bring the rifles to him there.
- (c) The Sipah Salar has disarmed all the Kafirs in the Pech valley.
- (d) The Sipah Salar has left Pech on his way to Asmar.
- (e) The Afghans have sent no troops to Lutdeh. The Sipah Salar has however sent a Bashgali Sheikh to Madugal and Lutdeh, with orders to bring in the headmen of those districts to him. It is said the Sipah Salar's object in summoning these headmen is to enquire into their complaints against Akram Jan.
- (f) The Bashgali hostages and eight Kam prisoners are still in Asmar. They have not yet been sent to Kabul.

7th April, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 85. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 7, dated the 7th of April, 1896.

Laghman

- 4.(b) Auliya Gul, Governor of Laghman, has been arrested by order of the Amir and taken to Kabul. He incurred the displeasure

of the Amir for selling some Kafir girls to certain Turkistani merchants and appropriating the money to himself. He has been replaced by one Faiz Muhammad Khan, Kabchi, who has taken over charge of the post and supervises the Kafir captives in his charge in Laghman.

Ningrahar

5.(a) The advance camp of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan reached Dakka and the Salar himself is expected to reach very shortly. It is rumoured that he will be summoned to Kabul by the Amir.

(b) Supplies are being collected for the troops returning from Kafiristan at Jalalabad, Dakka and other places in Ningrahar. Only Khassadars are to remain in Kafiristan. Two new cavalry regiments are being raised by the Salar under orders of His Highness the Amir from among the Kafirs.

Kunar Valley

6.(a) The following proclamation is said to have been issued by His Highness the Amir to the people of Kohistan on the 12th March, 1896:-

“Be it known to you, the Safis of Pech, the Shinwaris of Shegal and the Shekhans, who have lately embraced Islam, that this proclamation is issued by me, Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, the Defender of the Faithful and the King of Islam, simply to warn you that you are too foolish and imprudent to distinguish between good and evil, because we are well aware of the fact that, when talking among yourselves, you say that the Amir is tyrannical to you and troubles you in order to bring you under subjection. But as a matter of fact we are your well-wishers and we have saved you from great troubles. You are ignorant of your own affairs. You do not know that many people are interested in your affairs, and that they seek ruin and destruction for you. I am not covetous of your property.

“Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, who is my most trusted officer, will fix a suitable revenue for you to pay yearly, which will stand for formality’s sake. You will pay that revenue at Kabul. Those who may be too poor to pay the revenue assessed will be exempted from payment. We are anxious for your prosperity and wish to open roads in your hills, so that you may have free

intercourse with Badakhshan, Shignan, and Yarkand. The people of those regions will bring their goods to your country for sale, and you will be able to dispose of the products of your country too. You will thus soon accumulate great wealth.

"The Kafirs, who have recently embraced Islam, have been sent abroad simply to acquire a thorough knowledge of the principles of Islam and learn the manners of the people among whom they may happen to live. If they hereafter secure our confidence and desire to go back to their native land, they may probably be allowed to return to their country. We do all this to protect you from danger if you could understand it.

"We hear that Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has called upon you to surrender your arms, *viz.*, rifles and swords. You really do not require them any more, because we have now suppressed the Kafirs, your old enemies. You have no excuse to make. If you are not willing to give up your arms let some of your elders, the Safis of Pech and the Shinwaris of Shegal, come to us, so that we may discuss the matter with them. If we could prevail upon them and convince them of the validity of our reasoning, you had then better surrender your arms, otherwise we will supply you with more arms.

"The people of Laghman have sent letters of thanks to us, whereas you have sent none. Be sure that we are (bitter) enemies of all unbelievers and look upon all Mussalmans as our sincere friends. If you will just think over the matter for a short while, you will see that our object in compiling the book called 'Takwim-ud-din' (The Founder of Religion) was to do good to Islam, and a careful perusal of it will convince you of our good motives. We have published several other books for the benefit of Mussalmans. As for example, we compiled and published the 'Kalimat-ul-Jehad', 'Alman sub ilal Amir-ul-bilad' (a Treatise on Holy war enjoined on a Muslim King) in 1304 H. and the 'Nasaih Namchah' (a book of advices) in the Pushtu language in 1301 H.

"We do not disregard religious matters, but we are too busy to devote much time to them.

"There are several other matters in our minds which we would not like to express in writing, but you must come in person, so that we may tell you all about them in conversation.

"Take care not to send copies of our proclamation to Bajaur,

Jandol, and Dir, because the people of those places have turned Kafirs and have given up their religion.

"If you will not abide by our words in this respect, we will see what can be done in the matter. We thought it necessary to inform you beforehand."

Kafiristan

8.(a) News received shows that the Commandant of the Afghan Regiment left in Kafiristan has reported to the Sipah Salar that the Kafirs are again showing signs of disturbance in the country, and that the troops stationed there being insufficient to repel their incursions, reinforcements should be sent at once to Kafiristan.

(b) Reports received from Khyber state that, under orders received from His Highness the Amir, Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has presented a 'khilat' to Hakim Ahmad Jan for service in the recent operations against the Kafirs. The Hakim is now with the Sipah Salar at Pech.

(c) It is reported that a Kafir named Sur Mul, who knows Persian, is employed by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in translating certain Kafir songs into Persian. He acts as an interpreter to the Sipah Salar and his translations are forwarded to His Highness the Amir for perusal.

(d) A public road is being constructed from Laghman towards Kafiristan by order of His Highness the Amir.

(e) The Amir has prohibited the sale and retention of Kafir slaves by Afghan Chiefs on the penalty of Rs. 7,000 fine.

(f) Lonia, one of the leaders of the Kafirs implicated in the murder of the Mallas preaching in Kafiristan (paragraph 8 (f) of diary No. 6, dated 20th March 1896), was shot dead by order of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, who is reported to be at Nanglam [Ningalam] on his way back to Chowki in the Kunar valley.

(g) Reports received from the Khyber state that His Highness the Amir will grant medals to all the troops that were engaged in the Kafiristan expedition. Medals are being made in Kabul.

10th April, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 68*, dated the 10th of April, 1896.

Memorandum of information received during the month of March 1896, regarding affairs beyond the North-West Frontier of India.

Note:— This memorandum is based upon reports, the accuracy of which it is not always possible to guarantee.

Afghanistan

Kabul. — The Amir is said to contemplate sending his eldest son, Sardar Habibulla Khan, to Kafiristan to see the country. Medals have been issued to the troops engaged in the recent operations.

Kafiristan

Little information has been received during the month regarding affairs in Kafiristan.

The Sipah Salar has allowed the Lutdeh headmen to return to their homes, and has sent with them eighteen mullahs to teach the people the principles of Islam. All is quiet in the Lutdeh and Munjash [Kaštá] districts, and the Afghan troops have been withdrawn. The Bashgali hostages are still in the Sipah Salar's camp. Some of the Kafir prisoners sent to Kabul are being employed in the workshops. Eight hundred are said to have been already enlisted in the Afghan army. The majority of the Kamoz Kafirs have been removed from Kamdesh and are now settled in Narsat.

The Assistant British Agent in Chitral reports that there are about 150 refugee Kam and Lutdeh Kafirs living in the various nullahs within Chitral territory. The Mehtar is arranging to give them small grants of land. Instructions have been issued that no refugees should be prevented from having access to Chitral, and if their numbers increase beyond the power of the Mehtar to deal with them, the fact is to be reported, so that Government may consider what further steps may be necessary.

11th April, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 86. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency at Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 11th of April, 1896.

On the 9th April, the Amir summoned 100 Mullas into his presence through Mulla Kosa and ordered them to go to Kafiristan, build mosques in that country, and teach the Kafirs how to say prayers and keep the Ramzan fasts.

They will each receive 12 tomans and 4 kharwars of flour a year.

His Highness has given them each a revolver, a waist belt and a horse. They left the Amir quite pleased.

11th April, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Saturday, the 11th of April, 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

4. There are still about 200 Bashgali refugees in Lower Chitral. A few Lutdeh Kafirs have also settled down in Lutkho. The Lutdeh men are easier to deal with than the Kam Kafirs, who do not really seem anxious to settle anywhere, and they appear to be watching for the first favourable opportunity of returning to their homes.

Kafiristan

Mehtarjao Ghulam Dastgir writes that the following news has been brought to him by a Chitrali, who has just returned from Bashgal:—

(a) Mer Jan, a converted Kam headman, recently proceeded to Lutdeh by order of the Afghan Colonel Commanding at Birkot to fetch the principal headmen, who have been summoned to meet the Sipah Salar. The Lutdeh headmen agreed to accompany Mer Jan, and the party passed through Istorgat (Gourdesh) on the 8th April on their way to the Sipah Salar.

(b) The Sipah Salar is at Shigal.

(c) The Afghans have only taken two forts in Veron. The remaining portion of the valley is still holding out against them.

(d) The Kafirs of Waigal have not yet tendered their submission to the Sipah Salar.

(e) Hazrat Jan, cousin of Akram Jan, has been posted by the Afghan authorities at Istorgat with orders to prevent any but the Amir's subjects from entering the Bashgal valley.

(f) No Afghan troops from Munjan have visited Lutdeh.

2. Shaikh Abdulla, a Lutdeh man, reports:—

(a) That the Kam people, who were located by the Sipah Salar in Narsat, have now been permitted to return to their homes, where they are cultivating their lands.

(b) Nini Ra, younger brother of Mara, headman of Lutdeh, has come into Chitral with his wife, with the object of settling at a place called Uchulga in the Ayun Nulla.

(c) Koli, son of Gumara, a headman of Lutdeh, who has for some time past been living in Rumbur (in Chitral territory), having fled from Lutdeh on the Afghans occupying that place, has now received a message from his father, asking him to leave Chitral territory and return to his home.

Note.—It will be seen that, according to Mehtarjao Ghulam Dast-gir's informant, the Afghans have not yet finally subdued the Wai Kafirs; but nearly all the Kafir refugees in Chitral state that the whole of Kafiristan has now submitted to the Amir, and this is probably correct. From all accounts the Afghans still seem to be anxious to treat the Kafirs well.

It is believed that the Lutdeh headmen, referred to in this diary, have been summoned by the Sipah Salar, so that the latter may enquire into their complaints against Akram Jan (*vide* previous diaries).

18th April, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 86. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 18th of April, 1896.

After compliments.—I beg to give below the news I received during the last week:—

Kazi Baraki of Logar was sent by the Amir from Jalalabad for the purpose of collecting a few Mallas for service in Kafiristan. The Kazi, while carrying out the order, took money from many Mallas and let them off. He brought to Kabul those who refused to give him anything and presented them to the Amir, and observed that they were men of great ability and might be sent to instruct the Kafirs; and that he had not brought those who were insufficiently accomplished, fearing that they might fail in their work. The Amir sent Kazi Inayat-ul-Hak to bring the other mullas and also those who belonged to the Mulla families, and who were not versed in their profession, "because," said His Highness, "no preaching is required just at present. They have only to teach the 'Kalema' which ordinary men can do." Kazi Inayat-ul-Hak reported what Kazi Baraki had done in the matter. His property was thereupon confiscated and he was committed to jail.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan sent nearly 2,500 Kafirs, men,

women and children, from Jalalabad to Kabul. They have all been supplied with accommodation in Aliabad near the Palace. Millas have been appointed to teach them Persian, to say the prayers, and to observe other Moslem rites and customs. They are furnished with food, mornings and evenings. These are the Kafirs who refused to repeat the 'Kalema' at Jalalabad, and were therefore sent to Kabul by the Amir's order.

22nd April, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 86. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Tuesday, the 22nd of April, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

1. Shukr Muhammad and Pati, two Chitrals, who have returned from a visit to their relations in Kabul (the latter are in the Amir's service), bring the following news:—

(a) When they were in Kabul, the Afghan Colonel Commanding the expedition against Kafiristan, which proceeded *via* Laghman, arrived in Kabul with his troops and the Kafir hostages. The Amir saw them outside the palace, and standing among them bare-headed said a prayer of thanksgiving to God for the successes which his troops had achieved. Then he praised the bravery of the troops and their commander. The Colonel then reported that the new country which God had granted to His Highness (e.g., Kafiristan) was exceedingly beautiful, and that he had made a good road through it as far as Munjan. He concluded by asking the Amir to pay a visit to his newly acquired territory. The Amir said if it pleased God, he would visit the new country in the course of the comming summer.

(c) The Sipah Salar, who was in the Pech nala at a place called Narinj, has left that that place on his way to Chighar Serai.

(d) The Sipah Salar lately sent some of the Bashgali hostages to Kabul to be enlisted as sepoys.

2. A Narsati, named Sayad, resident of Jinjaret in Chitral, has returned from Shigal (beyond Asmar) and brought the following news:—

(a) The Sipah Salar having taken hostages from the people of Waigal and Veron, has left the Pech valley, and travelling *via* Chigar Serai has camped some five miles below that place at the

spot where the Dewagal nala joins the Chitral river. The people of Dewagal are said to have agreed to pay a yearly revenue of Rs. 4,000, provided the Sipah Salar exempts them from giving up their rifles and other arms.

(b) All the Afghan troops have been withdrawn from the Pech valley, and are camped, some at Chighar Serai and some with the Sipah Salar at the foot of the Dewagal valley. The Sufi regiment has gone to Asmar.

(c) All the Bashgali hostages (from Lutdeh, Madugal, Kam and Mujash) are in Asmar. Three of them, who were residents of Istorgat, lately fled, and joining their families in the Istorgat hills, moved thence to the village of Suwir in Chitral where they are now staying.

(d) All the Kam people who were in Narsat have returned to Kamdesh with the Sipah Salar's permission and are busy with their cultivation.

(e) About 40 headmen of Bashgal, who were summoned by the Sipah Salar, have arrived in his camp, but no interview between them and the Sipah Salar has yet taken place. (*Vide diary, dated 11th April 1896, Kafiristan entry No. (a.).*)

**Correspondence Relating to Afghan Proceedings in Kafiristan.
East India (Kafiristan), 1896**

No. 1. *Copy of Despatch from the Secretary of State to the Government of India, dated India Office, London, February 28, 1896.*

I have the honour to transmit a copy of a memorial, dated the 7th of February, from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, requesting that Her Majesty's Government will use their influence with the Amir of Afghanistan for the abolition of slavery in his territories, and also for the prevention of exterminating raids upon the Kafirs and other tribes of the Hindu Kush. I take this opportunity of forwarding to you a further memorial, dated the 22nd of January, from the Aborigines Protection Society, together with a copy of Resolutions passed at a conference held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on the 18th instant.

2. I shall be glad to receive, at an early date, an expression of the views of your Excellency's Government upon the several proposals contained in these memorials.

3. I also enclose correspondence on the same subject with the International Arbitration and Peace Association.

I have, &c.

(signed) George Hamilton

Enclosure 1 in No. 1. Letter from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated 55, New Broad Street, London, February 7, 1896.

My Lord,

The question of the precarious condition of the Siah Posh Kafirs of the Hindu Kush has, once more, engaged the serious attention of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the continued hostilities against these almost defenceless hill tribes on the part of the Amir of Afghanistan having been fully confirmed by correspondence in the Indian and English press.

The enslavement, if not the extirpation, of this ancient and interesting race would appear to be the present policy of the Amir, and in connexion with this question the Committee of this Society desire to call your Lordship's attention to a memorial addressed by them in March 1874 to the Marquis of Salisbury, then Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, when a similar but less formidable process of enslavement and destruction was carried on by the late Amir Shere Ali. The Committee, on that occasion, stated the well-known fact that so long as the invaders of Kafiristan possessed only the weapons of the country the Kafirs were able to resist the forces brought against them by the Afghan chiefs, but, at the same time, they reminded his Lordship that since the Amir had become a feudatory of the Indian Government, receiving yearly large sums of money and several thousands of the latest improved firearms, it was feared that the Kafirs would eventually be subdued and enslaved, a calamity the more to be deplored as it would be brought about by the aid afforded to a Muhammedan ruler by a Christian nation, whose policy had been to exterminate the slave trade and slavery wherever found. They therefore called upon Her Majesty's Government to use its influence with the Amir of Afghanistan for the extinction of slavery in his dominions.

In acknowledging the receipt of the memorial, the Marquis of Salisbury stated to the Committee that he fully sympathised with

the views therein expressed, and promised to forward a copy at once to the Government of India, with a request that a full report on this subject might be forwarded to him.

The report asked for not having been received by the Committee, that body addressed Viscount Cranbrook, the Secretary of State for India, in 1878, who, in reply, stated that although a report had been asked for by Lord Salisbury no answer had been received by Her Majesty's Government in London.

No one will venture to call in question the fact that the Amir is now in the annual receipt of a very large subsidy from the Indian Government, besides having been placed in the position to build an immense arsenal. This state of things has very recently been described by Sir Lepel Griffin, in the following words:—

“In addition to the direct abandonment of Kafiristan by engagement, the British Government is further responsible, indirectly, in that they have encouraged the military proclivities of the Amir, the skilled artisans who direct his arsenals and workshops have been knighted, we have taught him to make military roads, and, only the other day, presented him with 10,000 stand of our newest repeating rifles. These are to be tried upon the poor Kafirs, armed with knives and bows and arrows.”

This statement would appear to be in no way exaggerated, for on his arrival in England a fortnight ago, Sir Salter Pyne, who directs the works at the Amir's arsenal, stated in the public press, with apparent satisfaction, that he was able to “turn out 10,000 Martini cartridges and 10,000 Snider cartridges daily, two field guns per week, with all equipments, and 15 rifles a day. Quick-firing guns,” he said, “are produced at the rate of two a week, and a plant for making time and percussion fuses is in full work. A gunpowder plant has been sanctioned,” and he intended arranging for this during his brief stay in England. The Committee would, therefore, respectfully submit to your Lordship that the fears expressed in the memorial addressed to the Marquis of Salisbury in 1874, respecting the probable subjection and enslavement of the Kafirs by Afghanistan, owing to the introduction on a large scale of improved firearms, is in imminent danger of being realised. They would, therefore, most earnestly entreat Her Majesty's Government to use its great influence with the Amir, not only for the prevention of exterminating raids upon the Kafirs and

other people of the Hindu Kush, but also for the abolition of slavery throughout Afghanistan itself, which alone can put a stop to the continued capture of slaves that has for centuries been the cause of predatory attacks upon neighbouring and weaker tribes.

On behalf of the Committee,
I have, &c.

Chas. H. Allen,
Secretary.

Enclosure 2 in No. 1. Letter from the Aborigines Protection Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W., January 22, 1896.

My Lord,

I have the honour, on behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's reply, dated the 20th Instant, to my letter of the 14th, asking your Lordship to receive a deputation from this Society and others on the subject of Kafiristan.

It is a matter of regret to our Committee that your Lordship is unable to receive the proposed deputation, as it was hoped that an opportunity would then have been afforded to several speakers having special knowledge of the question, as well as to members of this Society, of supporting the memorial which I now have the honour of forwarding to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

H. R. Fox-Bourne,
Secretary.

Sub-enclosure.

Aborigines Protection Society
Broadway Chambers
Westminster, S.W.
January 22, 1896

My Lord,

I have the honour, by direction of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, to lay before your Lordship a statement of the grounds on which it respectfully appeals to Her Majesty's Government to take immediate action in the hope of saving the Kafirs

of the Hindu Kush from the ruin which is rapidly overtaking them.

1. It is submitted that the campaign against these unfortunate people which has already been initiated on three sides of their country by the Amir of Afghanistan, can only result, unless it is prevented, in the extermination, enslavement, or displacement of tribes whose preservation in their ancient homes is a matter of great concern to scholars and others as well as to philanthropists.

2. The Kafirs, ever since the days of Sale at Jellalabad, have looked to the British, as their elder brethren, for protection. They call themselves, indeed, and are called by their enemies, "the brethren of the Europeans" in general, and of the English in particular. They have welcomed Europeans and Christian missionaries in their midst; and they have a special claim on the consideration of the British Government and people.

3. According to reports that have appeared in the Indian newspapers, the massacre of the Kafirs had already commenced in November and December last, when the too-trustful Kafirs admitted Afghan troops into the Bashgal valley under a pledge of protection from the invasion on the north or Badakhshan side, with the result that some of their villages have been burnt, many of their men killed, and girls and boys carried into slavery, by the implacable foes who had thus effected an entry into the country by misrepresentation. If, as is alleged, these treacherous proceedings have already overawed the Kafirs, the risks of their being speedily trampled under foot are only increased.

4. The possession of Kafir boys and girls has for the past thousand years been desired by every Afghan or Pathan household, and this has sometimes been effected even with the assistance of border-Kafirs forcibly converted to Muhammadanism or by means of the perennial raids by neighbourhood Pathan tribes; which, however, were not invariably successful – although the Kafirs are poorly armed – until the Afghans were provided with British rifles and other modern weapons of destruction, obtained by help of British subsidies, or manufactured in Kabul workshops under British supervision.

5. These raids have ever been conducted under the pretext of a 'jehad' or 'holy war,' and the present campaign, of unparalleled proportions, is being similarly conducted, in obedience to the

mandate of a fanatical priest, the Mulla Nizamuddin of Huda [Hadda or Adda], who is alleged to have received a large sum for the purpose from the Amir, and who, on a previous occasion, proclaimed a 'holy war' against other 'Kafirs' or 'infidels,' namely, the British. Such a war, it may be observed, is at variance with Muhammadan law unless it is undertaken in defence of the Muhammadan religion, which has never been, and is not now, threatened by the Kafirs. Many of the latter, indeed, are the descendants of Zoroastrians, Hindus, and Buddhists, forced by Muhammadan persecution to take refuge in their present mountain fastnesses along with the aboriginal inhabitants and with others, supposed by some to be of Greek origin, whom they found there.

6. The Amir, on opening the present campaign, it is said, offered the Kafirs the choice between extermination and adoption of the Muhammadan religion, but on previous occasions the Kafirs have always preferred death to embracing the faith of their hereditary foes. It is doubtful, however, whether even this change of faith would protect them from, at any rate, such partial enslavement as has befallen the Panjsheri and the Hazaras, who, after being subjugated, were sent as slaves to Kabul, where the demand for slaves must always keep up the raids for their supply. Intimation to be silent about the atrocities, purposed or perpetrated, in Kafiristan has already been given, but no confidence can be felt in Afghan professions unless they are coupled with the abolition of slavery in Afghanistan itself by an enlightened ally of an anti-slavery nation.

7. In spite of the most heroic resistance, the area of Kafiristan has in course of time been constantly diminishing, and the belt of hostile, though only nominal, Muhammadans which surrounds what remains of Kafiristan is being drawn closer and closer. Among other injuries thus inflicted on these unhappy people is the introduction among them of an immorality and of diseases previously unknown, such as small-pox. This appears from the report of Dr. Robertson, whose recent visit to Kafiristan, by giving umbrage to the Amir, has been the immediate cause of the present crisis.

8. It is charged against the Kafirs that they have made retaliatory raids upon their oppressors. These, it is submitted, were the

inevitable consequences of the cruel attacks to which they have been subjected for centuries. Wherever their neighbours have shown them any friendship, as occasionally, on the Chitral and on the Asmar side, the Kafirs have been only too glad to be left alone, and the very existence of such a small community in the midst of so numerous and such formidable enemies would in itself be sufficient proof, if there were not abundant other evidence, that they are not an aggressive people.

9. They are now threatened with national extinction. Hitherto the complete conquest of Kafiristan has been the dream of nearly every neighbouring Muhammadan ruler, anxious to acquire the title of 'Ghazi'. The Amir now seeks to convert the dream into a reality, in opposition to his own real interest and to the dictates of his own religion; and he is doing this under cover of alleged sanction by the British Government.

10. It is submitted that the 'transfer to Afghanistan of the whole of the Kafir country up to Chitral,' under the Durand agreement, which is mentioned in the recently issued Chitral Bluebook (C. 7864, p. 44), only warrants control by the Amir of the political affairs, and the external military relations of Kafiristan, and cannot have been intended to imply the consent of Great Britain to any project for the slaughter or enslavement of its inhabitants.

11. The Amir has shown himself a loyal, and, in many respects, an enlightened ally and feudatory of Great Britain, and he has frequently expressed his high appreciation of the good opinion of the people of this country. It may be assumed that he will not persist in the course of action now entered upon if he is informed in a suitable manner that by so doing he will forfeit that good opinion and the benefits resulting to him therefrom.

12. It is submitted, moreover, that it is not to the interest of Great Britain or of any civilised and Christian nation to encourage raids or campaigns on Kafirs or 'infidels,' as the fanaticism thereby roused would be likely to extend far beyond its present limits, and would in any case be injurious to the prestige of the British Government in India.

Our Committee, therefore, speaking on behalf of many scholars, specialists, and learned bodies, besides the members of the Aborigines Protection Society, and the signatories of an enclosed appeal, makes this earnest representation to Her Majesty's Gov-

ernment that it will use such influence with the highly subsidised Amir of Afghanistan as may rescue the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush from their present danger and leave them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their property, religion, and customs. (It has been suggested, on high authority, that, in the event of the British Government being too late to stay off the hand of our ally, an asylum, at any rate, be offered by the Government of India to the surviving or fugitive Kafirs, with grants of waste lands in our own hilly territory, where these brave men would form an effective military frontier-colony, and that, in order to effect their departure from Kafiristan, our troops or the friendly levies now stationed at Dir and in Chitral be ready to receive them, and that the Amir facilitate their unmolested exodus on the Asmar, Badakhshan and Lughman sides. Our Committee, however, does not look with favour on a proposal which is a mere *pis-aller*, and which does not relieve the Government from its first duty to preserve in their own houses a people for whose fate it is largely responsible.) The British Government has made over Kafiristan, whose inhabitants have ever relied on British protection, to its hereditary foe and is therefore bound to see that none of them are massacred or enslaved, or their fertile lands taken by the Afghan or Pathan 'landgrabbers,' to whom Colonel Holdich of the Afghan Kafiristan Boundary refers in the last Journal of the Royal Geographical Society as already converting the Kafirs to Muhammadanism at the point of the bayonet. Nor have the British people as represented in Parliament, any more than the Kafirs themselves, been consulted before this secret transfer of human beings took place, an act for which there does not exist even the favourable excuse of 'policy', for Kafiristan has over and over again been officially declared to be of no political or strategical importance and to lie within no trade route whatever.

I have, &c.

H. R. Fox-Bourne, Secretary.

Enclosure 3 in No. 1. Letter from the International Arbitration and Peace Association to the Secretary of State for India, dated 40 and 41 Outer Temple, Strand, W.C., 11th February 1896.

My Lord,

The Committee of this Association having had brought to their notice statements to the effect that the mountain State of Kafiristan, inhabited by a race of special historical interest, which has maintained its independence through all the turmoils around it, has been given over to its enemies the Afghans; and as it is alleged that this is in some sort due to the Indian Government, we are directed to ask your Lordship if there are any grounds for such statements, also whether, if they be true, Her Majesty's Government will speedily take measures to protect the Kafir tribes and clear the Indian authorities from the grave reproach which would be incurred by the sacrifice of a race who, so far as appears, have done the Indian Government no harm and whose destruction at the hands of Her Majesty's ally, the Amir of Afghanistan, may lead to further hostilities in those regions.

2. As to the facts regarding an attack on Kafiristan, your Lordship has no doubt authoritative information in the records of the India office, and can, therefore, inform our Committee how far the serious statements made can be confirmed or refuted. About two months ago telegrams appeared in the public press to the effect as above stated. Those published in the 'Times' of 17th December, not only by implication confirmed the fact of barbarous raiding by the Afghans, but seemed to implicate the Indian Government with some sort of responsibility for the impending destruction of the Kafirs. Amongst other remarks was the following serious allegation: "All the necessary arrangements have been made to commence operations as soon as the passes are open, and the Amir has satisfied himself that he will meet with no opposition from the Government of India in carrying out what has long been one of his most cherished designs."

3. Whilst our Committee are very loth to believe that any British authorities can have incurred responsibility, however indirectly, for this alleged attack on a race defenceless against arms of precision – such as the Amir of Kabul has been supplied with by the Indian Government – and who are neither inclined nor able to do the Indian Government any harm, they cannot ignore the evidence which points towards such an invidious conclusion. For instance, in a recent article in the 'Saturday Review' on this

subject, Sir Lepel Griffin, an Indian civilian officer who has enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Indian Government, says: "A tragedy is now impending for which, if consummated, England will be directly responsible, and of which no time will ever suffice to efface the stain. The country of a lion-hearted race, which for 1,000 years has successfully resisted Muhammadan conquest, is about to be invaded by the trained army of the Amir of Afghanistan. This will be done with the sanction and in the name of England." With reference to the phrase "about to be invaded", according to the telegrams cited in our last paragraph, it would seem that the murderous raids on the Kafirs have already been perpetrated. In the Indian press, more than a month ago, summarised statements appeared in which, after alluding to the casualties of the Amir's troops in those raids, results were stated showing that forts, temples, and villages had been destroyed, and that the loot wrenched from the unhappy Kafirs had been sent by 100 cart-loads to Kabul.

4. In the 'Review' article quoted above, Sir Lepel Griffin alludes to the Treaty made with the Amir of Afghanistan in 1893 as including the alleged permission of the Indian Government, on which the Afghans claim to rely as excuse for their apparent design to conquer Kafiristan, and destroy or enslave its people. We are accordingly desired by the Committee to respectfully request your Lordship to cause a copy of the text of the article of that Treaty which deals with the subject of Kafiristan to be furnished to our Association, so that it may be seen how much or how little foundation there may be for the grave allegations which appear to reflect on British honour in this matter. Still more earnestly does our Committee desire that prompt and urgent instructions may be sent to the Indian Government so as to avert further attacks on, and spoliation of, Kafiristan and its helpless tribes.

We have, &c.

W. Martin Wood, Vice-Chairman
J. Frederick Green, Secretary

Enclosure 4 in No. 1. Letter from India Office to the International Arbitration and Peace Association, dated February 15, 1896.

I am directed by Lord George Hamilton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 11th instant, inquiring whether "the State of Kafiristan has been given over to its enemies the Afghans," and whether Her Majesty's Government will "take measures to protect the Kafir tribes."

In reply, I am directed to state that in the delimitation of boundary which followed the conclusion of the Kabul Agreement of the 12th November 1893, the limit of the British sphere of influence was drawn so as to place Kafiristan on the Afghan side.

The latest reports received from India are to the effect that military operations were practically ended on the 24th of January, and the Afghan troops withdrawn from the Kafir country.

Enclosure 5 in No. 1. Letter from India Office to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, dated February 19, 1896.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th February, bringing to notice the request of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society that Her Majesty's Government will use its influence for the prevention of raids upon the Kafirs and for the abolition of slavery generally in Afghanistan. I am to inform your Committee that the memorial will be forwarded for the information of the Government of India.

Enclosure 6 in No. 1. Letter from the Aborigines Protection Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W., February 20, 1896.

My Lord,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of resolutions passed at a conference, convened by the committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, which was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on 18th instant. It is the earnest hope of our Committee that Her Majesty's Government will take such steps as may lead to the protection of the people of Kafiristan from the disasters with which they are now threatened by the military forces of the Amir of Afghanistan.

I have, &c.

H. R. Fox-Bourne, Secretary.

Sub-Enclosure. Copies of Resolutions passed unanimously at a Conference held at Westminster Palace Hotel on February 18, 1896, Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P., in the Chair.

1. Moved by Mr. Bhownaggree, M.P., seconded by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., and supported by Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., Mr. E. W. Brabrook, President of the Anthropological Institute, Dr. Beddoe, F.R.S., and Dr. Leitner –

“That this meeting protests against the measures now being taken by the Amir of Afghanistan for the subjugation of the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush, resulting in the slaughter of large numbers, the enslavement of many, and the ruin of the rest, their forcible conversion to Islam, and the overthrow of their native institutions, that in its opinion this ancient and heroic community ought, in the interests of science as well as of civilisation and humanity, to be protected from the merciless attack which is being made upon their lives, property, and social organisation; and that it earnestly appeals to Her Majesty’s Government promptly and vigorously to exert its influence with Her Majesty’s highly subsidised ally, the Amir Abdur Rahman, by requiring that the present persecution shall be abandoned and the Kafirs left in possession of their liberties and their historic landmarks.”

2. Moved by Mr. E. Wright Brooks, and seconded by Mr. Frank Spence –

“That copies of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to Her Majesty’s Prime Minister and Secretary of State for India.”

Arthur Pease, Chairman.

Enclosure 7 in No. 1. Letter from India Office to the Aborigines Protection Society, dated India Office, February 24th 1896.

I am desired by Lord George Hamilton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd January, enclosing a memorial from the Aborigines Protection Society praying that Her Majesty’s Government will exert their influence with the Amir of Afghanistan in favour of the natives of Kafiristan.

In reply I am instructed to acquaint you that a copy of the memorial will be forwarded for the information of the Government of India.

No. 2. *Copy of Despatch from Secretary of State to Government of India*, No. 12, dated India Office, London, 17th April 1896.

My Lord,

In continuation of my Despatch, dated the 28th of February 1896, I forward, for the information of your Excellency's Government, copies of letters received by me from the Aborigines Protection Society, dated the 30th of March, and from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of the same date, together with my replies to the same.

2. I trust that the reply which I am awaiting to the Despatch just cited will contain reliable information regarding military operations and the fate of the tribes in Kafiristan, whose alleged treatment by the Amir has evoked much sympathy and interest in this country.

I have, &c.

George Hamilton.

Enclosure 1 in No. 2. Letter from the Aborigines Protection Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W., 30th March 1896.

My Lord,

I have the honour, on behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, and with reference to the memorial on behalf of the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush which I was instructed to address to your Lordship on 22nd January last, again to submit to Her Majesty's Government an earnest appeal that it will do all in its power to rescue these unfortunate people from the ruin that is befalling them.

2. It appears, from information which has reached our Committee from unofficial but trustworthy sources, and which is doubtless in your Lordship's possession, that the military operations ordered by the Amir of Afghanistan against the Kafirs on the Bashgal or eastern side, in the latter part of last year, had far more disastrous results than were at first reported, and that, besides the many who were killed and the few who escaped, some 16,000 were then distributed among the victorious invaders, to be subjected not merely to the ordinary fate of slaves, but also

to any atrocities that the lustful desires of their owners might expose them to.

3. It further appears that hostilities were assumed at the beginning of the present month on the Waigal and Ramgal, or southern and western sides, where there has been even more severe fighting than occurred in November and December, and that, unless the campaign has been concluded by this time, the destructive work is still going on.

4. Your Lordship may be reminded that Her Majesty's Government was warned in January as to the imminence of the occurrences which have since taken place in the localities and at the date indicated; but that your Lordship informed the House of Commons on 13th February that "Her Majesty's Government has received no confirmation of the report that military operations will be resumed against the Kafirs in March"; on 20th February that "the Afghan troops under the Sipah Salar have withdrawn, and that military operations are reported to be practically terminated," also that "both the persons and property of those (Kafirs) who remained were safe," and on 23rd March that your Lordship had "received intelligence early this month that the Sipah Salar had again left Asmar for the Wai valley with a force, and that the Ramgal valley had been occupied after severe fighting by troops from Kabul," adding that, in accordance with a promise made to the House on 3rd March, "a communication was made to the Viceroy, who will use any favourable opportunity of exercising his good offices on behalf of the Amir's Kafir subjects," but that "I am afraid, under the circumstances, I cannot promise more than this."

5. Our Committee is aware that, under the conditions of the transfer of Kafiristan to the Amir, in accordance with the terms of the Durand Agreement, there are difficulties in the way of exerting sufficiently weighty influence on the Afghan Government; but as your Lordship stated in the House of Commons on 13th February that "no such contingency" as "the extirpation or enslavement of the Kafir race... was contemplated at the time the arrangement was arrived at," and as that contingency has now arisen, it is respectfully submitted that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to do all it possibly can to lessen the evils for which it is largely, if inadvertently, responsible.

6. Already, there can be no doubt, all or nearly all the fertile portions of Kafiristan have been occupied by the Afghans, with the slaughter of thousands, the enslavement of a much larger number under exceptionally revolting conditions, and the expatriation of a few less unfortunate fugitives. The conquest of the northern portion of the country, more inaccessible and less habitable, will perhaps be deferred to a later season; but it may be entered upon at any time, and its success would complete the ruin of these cruelly-used people. Our Committee implores your Lordship to take the most immediate and vigorous steps that are practicable to avert this final catastrophe, and especially, seeing that the tribes in the west are now in extreme peril, and that the delay of even a few days may seal the fate of thousands, to lose no time in addressing such telegraphic communications to the Amir as, it is to be hoped, will be of at any rate some service to them.

I have, &c.

H. R. Fox-Bourne, Secretary.

Enclosure 2 in No. 2. Letter from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Secretary of State for India, dated 55, New Broad Street, London, E.C., March 30, 1896.

My Lord,

I am desired by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to state that they have seen with much concern in your Lordship's reply on the 23rd instant to Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P., (President of the Society), that the Afghan campaign against the Kafirs had been resumed, with even more disastrous results to them than followed the former operations in the Bashgal valley, and in spite of the official belief as expressed to the House on the 13th and 20th ultimo, and on the 3rd instant, that it had come to an end on the 24th January last. They also notice with regret that your Lordship was not prepared to do more, under present circumstances, than had already been done in asking the Viceroy of India to avail himself of every favourable opportunity on behalf of the fugitive and remaining Kafirs.

It would appear to the Committee that the evils that have now befallen that unhappy race have assumed far greater dimensions

than were expected, even when they memorialised your Lordship on the 10th February, and they would trust that no time will be lost in telegraphing to Lord Elgin to intercede with the Amir with renewed and increased earnestness.

The telegram published in the 'Times' of the 28th instant would lead the Committee to hope that the Amir may not be regardless of such representations, when properly urged, and they trust that by "discountenancing the slave traffic in Kafirs" the first step has been taken towards the abolition of slavery in Afghanistan itself, which the Anti-Slavery Society has urged upon Her Majesty's Government for more than 20 years.

The Committee would earnestly hope that practical effect will be given to the discountenancing of the said traffic by the release of those Kafirs that are still in captivity in Afghanistan, and their restoration to their homes.

Whilst noticing with pleasure that the Amir will cheerfully agree to allow Kafirs to take refuge in Chitral, the Committee would specially ask your Lordship to claim protection for the persons and property of those who survive the late massacres in the Waigal and Ramgal valleys, and the restoration to freedom of the 16,000 Kafirs who, after the campaign in November 1895, were distributed by tens in Kabul, Jellalabad, and other districts, as stated in the semi-official journal. As these men have been delivered over to village slavery in its worst and most licentious form, the Committee would ask your Lordship to urge upon the Amir, who is so largely subsidised by the Government, that he would, without delay, procure the restoration of these unfortunate captives to their respective homes, or to a place of refuge in Chitral, or some other British territory.

Following the example of Russia in extending the period for the migration of Darwaz into the Russian Protectorate of Bokhara, till October next, the Committee would suggest that a like period might be allowed for the emigration of Kafirs into Chitral, Kashmir, or other British Protectorate.

On behalf of the Committee.

I have, &c.

Chas. H. Allen, Secretary.

Enclosure 3 in No. 2. Letter from India Office to the Aborigines Protection Society, dated 15th April 1896.

I am directed by Lord George Hamilton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 30th of March, requesting that the Amir of Afghanistan may be addressed, by means of the telegraph, on behalf of his Kafir subjects, and giving in detail the information, regarding military operations in Kafiristan, which has reached the Aborigines Protection Society.

In reply, I am to state that the memorials previously received from your own and other societies are already before the Viceroy of India, who has been kept informed of the purport of the replies given to questions asked in Parliament. It is very difficult for the Secretary of State to test the accuracy of all the reports to which you refer in your letter, but copies of them will be transmitted to India for consideration and report.

I am, &c.

A. Godley.

Enclosure 4 in No. 2. Letter from India Office to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, dated 15th April 1896.

I am directed by Lord George Hamilton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 30th of March, requesting that the Amir of Afghanistan may be addressed, by means of the telegraph, on behalf of his Kafir subjects, and giving in detail the information, regarding military operations in Kafiristan, which has reached the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. In reply, I am to state that the memorials previously received from your own and other societies are already before the Viceroy of India, who has been kept informed of the purport of the replies given to questions asked in Parliament. It is very difficult for the Secretary of State to test the accuracy of all the reports to which you refer in your letter, but copies of them will be transmitted to India for consideration and report.

I am, &c.

A. Godley.

No. 3. Copy of Letter from Government of India to Secretary of State, dated Simla, April 22, 1896.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch, dated 28th February 1896, forwarding copies of memorials presented to your Lordship by the British and

Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Aborigines Protection Society, and the International Arbitration and Peace Association, on the subject of the Afghan proceedings in Kafiristan. Your Lordship asks for our views on the several proposals contained in these memorials.

2. We desire to state at the outset that, if we are unable to accord our support to the measures which in these memorials have been pressed upon your Lordship's attention, it is not from any lack of appreciation of the motives which have prompted their submission, but because we are convinced that in many respects the memorialists have been misinformed as to the facts, and as to the true position of the Indian Government both as regards the Kafirs and the Amir of Afghanistan.

3. The principal assertion made or implied in these memorials is that the present policy of the Amir is the extirpation or enslavement of the Kafirs, and all three memorials unite in asking that the Government of India will use its influence with the Amir "to prevent exterminating raids on the Kafirs," or "to rescue the Kafirs from their present danger, and leave them in undisturbed enjoyment of their property, liberty, and customs," or "to avert further attacks on or spoliation of Kafiristan and its defenceless tribes." The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society add the request that an attempt may be made to secure the abolition of slavery in Afghanistan, which they assume has been the chief cause of the attacks made by the Afghans upon their peaceful neighbours.

4. In reply to this assertion, we desire to state that not only have we no information leading to the belief that the Amir's policy is such as the memorialists describe, but that, on the contrary, we have the Amir's own authority for saying that it is something quite different. In his letter of the 4th December 1895 the Amir stated that the object of the expedition was "to induce the Kafirs, who are subjects of the God-granted Government, to tender their allegiance and obedience, and to introduce among them the laws of government and other regulations applicable to them as subjects." The Amir adds - "The Sipah Salar, after chastising the foolish among the Kafirs, will reassure and settle them down in their proper places, so that they may duly recognise the laws and their position as subjects, and live in peace and

comfort," and all the information which we have so far received from other sources tends to confirm the Amir's own description of his policy and intentions. In the Bashgal Valley it appears that by the middle of January the Sipah Salar had proclaimed a general pardon of all Bashgalis who had fought against his Government, and that all the people of Bashgal who remained in their homes were perfectly safe in person and property. Early in March it was reported that the Munjash [Kaštá] and Lutdeh [Katr] Kafirs were living quietly in their homes, that a few Mallas had been left in the district, and that the Afghan troops had been withdrawn; and we have since been informed that the Waigalis have been well treated by the Sipah Salar, and that 120 Ramgal headmen who had been sent to Kabul in chains have been released by the Amir and permitted to return to their homes. The Amir is also said to have enlisted some 800 Kafirs in the Afghan army. In short, wherever the people have submitted, they appear to have been well, if not liberally, treated; and the idea that there has been any wholesale slaughter or extirpation appears to be altogether erroneous.

5. It is true that the extension of the Amir's authority is accompanied by attempts to convert the Kafirs, forcibly or otherwise, to the Muhammadan religion. But, so far as our information goes, the compulsion used has not been of a violent character, nor have the Kafirs themselves shown much disinclination to do as they were told. The statement in the memorial of the Aborigines Protection Society that "the Kafirs have always preferred death to embracing the religion of their hereditary foes," appears to be altogether devoid of foundation. The memorialists themselves admit that the Muhammadan religion has for years been gradually spreading in the outskirts of the Kafir country, and that "the belt of hostile though only nominal Muhammadans which surrounds what remains of Kafiristan is being drawn closer and closer." Muhammadan villages were also found by Dr. Robertson, even in the interior of the country, and the information we have received shows that, after their defeat, the Lutdeh Kafirs tendered their submission and offered to become Muhammadans. The Waigalis have since done the same. Kam and Munjash have also become converted, and, as a rule, the measures taken for conversion appear to be confined to the

deputation of large numbers of mullas to preach to the people. The latest news which we have on this subject is that the Amir has instructed his officers to treat the Kafirs leniently and not to compel them to become Muhammadans against their will. As regards the enslavement of the Kafirs, although it is probable that some of the prisoners of war have been retained in that domestic slavery which, as in many other Muhammadan countries, is a recognised institution in Afghanistan, there is absolutely no evidence of any enslavement on a large scale, nor of any intention to carry out such a policy. On the contrary, it has been recently reported by the British Agency at Kabul that the Amir has issued orders that none of his subjects should be allowed to keep Kafirs as slaves and that slave dealing among them is strictly forbidden. This report has also reached us from the Political officer in the Khyber, who, writing on 26th March, says – “Strict orders have been issued by His Highness the Amir in Jalalabad and other quarters prohibiting his subjects from keeping Kafir women as slaves. Any person infringing this order will be liable to a fine of seven thousand rupees.” We have no reason to suppose that these reports are other than accurate, and it will be recollect that the Amir issued a very similar order on the completion of his operations against the Hazaras. It was then directed that no Hazaras were to be taken as slaves after the suppression of the revolt.

6. A further assumption which is made in all three of these memorials is that the Government of India are directly or indirectly responsible for the attack now being made on the Kafirs, because by the Durand Agreement the Kafir country up to Chitral has been transferred to the Amir. This assumption that the Kafir country has been given to the Amir is also at variance with the facts, and the memorialists appear to have been misled into making it by a passage in Sir Henry Fowler's Despatch, No. 15, dated the 26th April 1895, (Chitral Blue Book, page 44) which does not bear the interpretation which the memorialists would apparently place on it, viz., that Kafiristan previously to the Durand Agreement was under the control of the Indian Government or within its sphere of influence. The Government of India have never had any official relations with Kafiristan, nor have we ever asserted or claimed any authority in that country.

Up to the time of the recent Chitral Expedition, India was separated from Kafiristan by a broad belt of independent Pathan tribes through whose territories we could not pass and over whom we had no control. This alone would have prevented any successful assertion of our authority in that country, even if such a policy had been otherwise desirable. On the other hand, as indeed the memorialists appear to admit, Kafiristan has from time immemorial been constantly subject to attacks from the Afghans, against which the Government of India have never felt in a position to protest. One prominent instance is the invasion carried out by the Amir Sher Ali Khan, to which the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society drew attention in their memorial of March 1874. It would have been useless at that time for the Government of India to interfere, and to have done so would probably have precipitated the war which occurred a few years later. At a later date, *viz.*, in April 1886 in reply to a protest from the present Amir in connexion with Colonel Lockhart's visit to Chitral and to the borders of the Kafir country, Lord Dufferin's Government assured His Highness that the British Government had no thought of occupying Kafiristan or of assisting the Mehtar of Chitral to do so. The Durand Agreement was an agreement to define the respective spheres of influence of the British Government and the Amir. Its object was to preserve and to obtain the Amir's acceptance of the 'status quo,' and it will be evident from what has been said that, in leaving Kafiristan outside the British sphere, the agreement merely recognised existing facts. To have attempted on that occasion to include Kafiristan within the British sphere of influence would have been regarded as an act of aggression which would certainly have seriously imperilled our friendly relations with Afghanistan.

7. It is true that one valley, which has been named the Bashgal Valley, and which is undoubtedly inhabited by Kafirs, was understood to have been included among the territories on our side of the boundary laid down by the Durand Agreement. It was desired to treat this valley separately from the rest of Kafiristan, partly from military considerations, which subsequent information showed not to have the importance attributed to them, partly from certain claims to supremacy by the Mehtars of Chitral. These claims were very indefinite and were strongly contested by the

Bashgal Kafirs themselves, who in 1885 positively refused to allow Colonel (now Sir W.) Lockhart's Chitrali escort to enter their country. Local investigation only tended to show how shadowy and untenable this claim to supremacy was. When, therefore, on the opening of the demarcation proceedings, His Highness the Amir maintained that it had not been the intention of the agreement to exclude any portion of the Kafir country from his limits, and an unfortunate error in the naming of the Bashgal Valley on our maps gave some plausibility to his contention, we came to the conclusion that it was not necessary to insist on dealing with this one valley, in a manner different from that of the remaining, and far larger, portion of Kafiristan, which under any reading of the Durand Agreement must have been left on the Amir's side of the border, and which is accessible by other routes than that through the Bashgal Valley. It is to be remembered that this decision, and the definition of the respective spheres of influence of the British Government and the Amir, have relieved the people of Kafiristan from most persistent and dangerous enemies in the Pathan and Muhammadan tribes now included on our side of the boundary. Umra Khan of Jandol had been in the habit of constantly raiding the border villages, and his pretext for advancing into Chitral last year was that he came to claim the assistance of the Mehtar in a 'jehad' against the Kafir tribes. The presence of our troops has also assured to those Kafirs who wish to leave their country a secure asylum within the borders of Chitral which, without our encouragement and support, the Chitralis would certainly not have ventured to offer to them. It may be added that the Political Officer in Chitral has been instructed to tell the Mehtar that we approve of the grant of food and of waste land to destitute Kafir refugees, that no refugees should be prevented from entering Chitral, and that if their numbers increase beyond the Mehtar's power to deal with them, the fact should be reported at once that the Government of India may consider what further steps may be necessary.

8. Finally, we would remark that there is no reason whatever for supposing that the Amir's present attack on Kafiristan is in any way a result of the Durand Agreement. The Amir Abdur Rahman Khan has always been ambitious to bring the Kafirs more completely under his authority. He has frequently threat-

ened to invade their country, and the present attack would inevitably have occurred sooner or later even if the Durand Agreement had not been concluded. We would also point out to those who would appear to approve the extension of British protection to the distant Kafir Hills that, until the road to Chitral *via* Dir and Swat was opened last year by the Chitral Relief Expedition, there were no means of communicating with Kafiristan except through Kashmir, Gilgit, and Chitral. Until last year, therefore, any effective protectorate over Kafiristan was an impossibility. Our recent occupation of Chitral, and the decision of Her Majesty's Government last summer that we should keep open the direct road to Chitral, through Dir and Swat, have, no doubt, brought us nearer to the Kafir country, but though the memorialists would apparently advocate a further advance and extension of our protectorate, this would involve an increase of our responsibilities which we are unable to accept.

9. We do not think it is necessary to reply at any length to the many other remarks or assertions in the Memorials which appear to us to be open to criticism. It will, perhaps, be sufficient to say that we do not know the authority for the statement made by the Aborigines Protection Society, that the Kafirs have welcomed Europeans and Christian Missionaries into their midst. So far as we are aware, Dr. Robertson is the only European, at any rate for the last 20 years, who has succeeded in penetrating any distance into Kafiristan, and this officer's report clearly shows that many of the current ideas about the Kafirs are very far from the truth, and that much of the sympathy bestowed upon them is misplaced. They appear, from Dr. Robertson's report, to be an ignorant, idolatrous, and slave-dealing race divided into numerous tribes, with no national sentiment and always at feud with one another. It may be worth noticing that the Memorialists are under some misapprehension with regard to Dr. Robertson's visit to Kafiristan, which, as it took place in 1890–91, cannot be correctly described as 'recent,' or as "the immediate cause of the present crisis." We would also point out that the Government of India have more than once assured his Highness the Amir that they have no desire to interfere with the internal administration of Afghanistan, and even if the statements made by the Memorialists were well-founded, it would be a matter for very

serious consideration whether we should be justified in imperilling the friendly relations which now exist with the Amir by acting in the way which the Memorialists desire. The Amir would certainly resent such an interference. A remonstrance, therefore, on our part would obviously be highly impolitic unless it were fully justified by the circumstances. We have received, and shall not fail to bear in mind, your Lordship's instructions to take any favourable opportunity of exercising beneficial influence on behalf of the Amir's Kafir subjects, but we hope that the account we have given of the true state of affairs will convince your Lordship that this opportunity has not yet arisen, and that any remonstrance at the present time would not only be impolitic but is unnecessary, and only too likely to defeat its own object.

We have, &c.

Elgin

G. S. White

J. Woodburn

M. D. Chalmers

27th April, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 86. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 8, dated the 27th of April, 1896.

(1) A khilat consisting of a belt, collar, and a jewelled sword has been granted by the Amir with a farman to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in recognition of his good services during the late operations against the Kafirs. The Sipah Salar has been directed to send his Naib Hakim Ahmad Jan to receive the khilat at Kabul, and told not to leave his station till all the frontier matters are finally settled.

Kunar Valley

(c) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan proposes to establish a cantonment at Nashagam and is collecting material for the purpose.

Kafirs

9.(a) Most of the Kafir captives in Afghanistan have been converted to Islam. Endeavours are being made by the Amir to teach them the principles and doctrines of Islam, and to make them happy in their present life. Mosques are being constructed in Kafiristan.

(b) Orders have been issued to Sardar Shad Muhammad Khan, Governor of Jalalabad, and the Sipah Salar to prepare a list of the men who rendered good services during the late operations against the Kafirs.

29th April, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 86. *Political Diary of Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Tuesday, the 29th April 1896 (Confidential).

(e) The people of Dewagal have given up seven hundred rifles to the Sipah Salar. Their offer to pay Rs. 120 instead of each rifle was refused (*vide* paragraph 2 (a) – Kafiristan, of diary ending 21st April, 1896).

Narsat

1. There is only one regiment of Afghans at Birkot (in Narsat).

Kafiristan

1. Said Amir, headman of Arandu, gives the following news:—
 (a) The Kafirs of Waigal and Veron submitted to the Sipah Salar without any fighting, and have all become Musalmans. An agent of the Sipah Salar, named Mirwali, was sent up to Waigal and Veron, and he brought in the headmen of those places with their sons, about one hundred in number. The Waigal and Veron people have given up all their arms and have agreed to pay revenue.

(b) One hundred headmen from Lutdeh, Madugal, Kam, Mujash, Waigal, Veron, and Dewagal, have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Kabul to pay their respects to the Amir.

(c) About 240 hostages from the districts mentioned above, together with seven Kam prisoners and Mara, headman of Lutdeh, have also been sent to Kabul by the Sipah Salar.

(d) Akram Jan, headman of Narsat, and Merjan, headman of Gaurdesh, and the headmen of Asmar and neighbouring places have gone to Kabul to pay their respects to the Amir.

(e) One Afghan regiment is engaged in making a road up the Shigal Nala towards Waigal. This road will be made as far as the head of the Waigal valley and will be connected with the road, which is being made from the Laghman side through Ramgal.

2. Shaikh Abdulla of Lutdeh states that the Sipah Salar has

sent a message to the people of Lutdeh to the effect that they should repair the roads in their country, as he intends shortly to proceed to Badakhshan through Lutdeh.

3. Hamid and Kachkol, two Pathan residents of Chitral, who recently visited Asmar, give the following news:—

(a) The Afghan expeditionary force sent by the Sipah Salar up the Pech valley only went up as far as the village of Nagalam [Ningalam]. The Kafirs of Wama, Waigal, and Parun (Veron) on hearing of the approach of this force became frightened, and came in for salam to the Sipah Salar at Chigharsarai. They gave 140 hostages and submitted in all matters to the wishes of the Sipah Salar.

(b) The majority (*vide* paragraph 2 (d) of diary ending 21st April 1896) of the Kamdesh Kafirs, who were in Narsat, have returned to Kamdesh with the permission of the Sipah Salar and are busy cultivating and rebuilding the houses which they themselves had burnt during the recent disturbances. A considerable number of Kamdesh Kafirs have remained in Narsat owing to scarcity of food supplies in Kamdesh.

(c) All the Kafir hostages have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Kabul.

4. Koli, son of Gumara, headman of Lutdeh, reports as follows:—

(a) All the Kafir hostages have been sent to Kabul. Akram Jan and other Narsat and Asmar headmen have also gone to Kabul.

(b) The Kam Kafirs, when told by the Sipah Salar that they might return to their homes, replied that they would prefer not to do so, if Akram Jan continued as Governor over them. The Sipah Salar replied that Akram Jan would not continue to hold the appointment of Governor of Bashgul, but that an officer would be appointed from Kabul to administer the country. He also told them to cultivate their land and rebuild their houses in Kamdesh which they themselves had foolishly destroyed.

(c) Nearly all the Kamdesh Kafirs have returned to their homes and have set about rebuilding their houses and cultivating their lands; only small parties of Kamdesh Kafirs have remained in Narsat and Asmar with the object of obtaining food of seed grain.

(d) The Sipah Salar has ordered the Lutdehchis to repair their roads as he intends to pass through Lutdeh to Badakhshan. The Sipah Salar added that, if the Lutdehchis were unable to do the

work, he would send his own men, but that in the latter case the Lutdehchis would have to supply his workmen with food. The Lutdeh men replied that they could not undertake to feed the Sipah Salar's men, and that they preferred to repair the roads themselves.

Note. – It will be seen that the men who have given news about Kafiristan corroborate each other in the majority of their statements. It is satisfactory to note that the news reported in a previous diary to the effect that the Kam people had been permitted to return to their homes has been confirmed. On the whole the Kafirs (this remark applies more specially to the districts of Kafiristan bordering immediately on Chitral. The news received concerning the more remote portions of Kafiristan cannot be satisfactorily checked here) seem to be fairly contented, and the Afghans appear to have shown a commendable moderation in their dealings with them.

6th May, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 89*, dated the 6th of May, 1896.

Kafiristan

Early in March, the Waigul Kafirs made their submission to the Sipah Salar and agreed to become Muhammadans. The force which advanced from the Kabul side against the Ramgul Kafirs was stoutly resisted, but the Afghan troops after sustaining considerable loss eventually occupied the Ramgul country. One hundred and twenty Ramgul headmen were sent to Kabul in chains, but the Amir ordered them to be set free and permitted them to return to their homes. The Kafirs of Pech made their submission towards the end of March, and have been disarmed. The Amir has issued orders that none of his subjects will be permitted to keep Kafirs as slaves; any person infringing this order will be liable to a fine of 7000 rupees. Some of the Kafir prisoners are being sent to Turkestan where lands are being provided for their maintenance. His Highness has directed that the Kafirs are to be leniently dealt with. The Bashgulis having complained of harsh treatment at the hands of the Afghan Hakim, he has been removed.

There are still about 200 Bashgul refugees in lower Chitral; and

a few Lutdeh men have also settled down in Lutkho. Several of the former have recently been converted to Islam, of their own free will by local Mullahs. The Lutdeh men are easier to deal with than the Kam Kafirs, who do not seem anxious to settle anywhere, and appear to be watching for the first favourable opportunity of returning to their homes. Those of the Kam Kafirs, who were located by the Sipah Salar in Narsat, have now been permitted to return to their homes, where they have recommenced cultivating their lands.

The Lutdeh headmen who had gone to the Sipah Salar as hostages have been released with one exception. It is noteworthy that this exception is Mara, the headman who showed special attention to Sir William Lockhart, when he entered Kafiristan in 1885.

The Amir has given orders that one regiment of Herati and one of Uzbeg infantry, with two troops of the Hizhdah Nahri cavalry regiment, shall be stationed in Kafiristan. The regiment of Kafirs, which is now being enlisted, will also be hereafter located in the country. It is reported that Sardar Habibulla Khan will shortly visit Kafiristan, to report on the desirability or otherwise of its permanent occupation. The Sipah Salar will then proceed to Kabul.

The latest information from the Assistant British Agent in Chitral is to the effect that practically the whole of Kafiristan has now submitted to the Amir; and that the Afghans still seem to be treating the Kafirs well.

7th May, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 86. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Tuesday the 7th of May, 1896 (Confidential).

Asmar

1. Amir Khan, a Gujar of Lutkho, who has just returned from Shangar, near Asmar, gives the following news:-

- (a) The Sipah Salar has not yet come to Asmar. He is at a place called Narang, one day's journey beyond Asmar. It is said the Sipah Salar will stay during the summer at Sau (in Narsat).
- (b) A large number of Gujar families have settled in Afghan territory between Pech and Arandu. They pay one-tenth of the produce of their lands and flocks in taxes to the Sipah Salar. Some of these Gujars are discontented and have asked the

Mehtar's permission to come and settle in the vicinity of the village of Damer and other places.

2. Koli, son of Gumara, a Lutdeh Kafir, who has just returned from Langar Bat, in Chitrali Narsat, confirms the news given by Amir Khan about the Sipah Salar being as yet absent from Asmar, and about his intention to pass the summer at Sau.

Kafiristan

1. Amir Khan, Gujar, further states having heard at Shangar that altogether about four hundred and fifty hostages and headmen from Bashgal, Waigal, Veron [Parun], and Katwar have been sent by the Sipah Salar to Kabul.

2. Koli, son of Gumara, also gives the following news:—

(a) The seven Kamdesh men, who were prisoners in the Afghan Camp at Asmar, have been set free by the Sipah Salar and dismissed to their homes in Kamdesh.

(b) Amongst the Kafir headmen lately sent to Kabul there were thirty-four men from Lutdeh, twenty-four from Kamdesh, one from Mujash [Kaštá], and one from Madugal.

(c) It is said that eleven thousand Kafirs from Ramgal were taken as prisoners to Kabul. The Amir lately gave permission to all those amongst them, who were married, to return to their country. The others are still in Kabul.

Note. — Very little reliance can be placed on information received concerning Ramgal.

8th May, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 86. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 9, dated the 8th of May, 1896.

Safis

8.(a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan is encamped at Narang and is demanding recruits from the Safis of Deogal for enlistment in the Afghan army. The Safis hesitate to comply with the Salar's request. Roads are being constructed from the Badil Safi country to Pech and Deogal.

(b) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar has appointed Mullas to preach to the people of Shegal, the Shinwaris and the Safis of Pech that they should be thankful to their Sovereign, the King of Islam, for his undertaking to conquer and subdue the Kafirs who were their old enemies and who had killed their forefathers.

Kafiristan

- 9.(a) The Amir has ordered two regiments called the Herati and the Sappers and Miners to advance to Kafiristan *via* Laghman, and to construct a road from Laghman to the village of Shakarpur in Kafiristan passing through the Alanger [Alingar] valley and the Muli Kotal (pass). The Amir also proposes to construct a cantonment in a plain on the bank of the Nilab river. The Kafirs who left their villages and fled to hill tracts during the late operations are returning to their homes. The Amir appears to be very anxious to complete his conquest of Kafiristan.
- (b) Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, has deputed ten Mirzas to proceed to Kafiristan, to take a census of men and cattle in the country, and to report what useful things the country produces, on which taxes could be levied.
- (c) It is reported that His Highness the Amir has appointed Muhammad Ali Beg *alias* Wakil Saifani as Governor of Kafiristan and has granted him a khilat. He is said to have left Kabul with two infantry and one cavalry regiments and a battery of artillery *via* Siah Sang and Laghman.

9th May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Political Diary of the British Agent, Gilgit*, for the week ending the 9th of May, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

A Kafir named Gulmir, son of Chandlu, resident of Kamoz, has come to Gilgit. He makes the following statement:-

"There was a fight at Kamoz between the Afghan troops and the Kafirs. The Afghans much outnumbered the Kafirs and a good number were killed on both sides. The Afghans took Kamoz, and my lands and house were taken possession of by three convert Kafirs, so I ran away to Chitral. The Afghans ordered the heads of the people to be shaved [to remove the *karunch*, a typical Kafir hair lock]. The women were not dishonoured or molested; young boys only were taken away from the villages, also four women. After the fighting was over nobody was killed by the Afghans, though a large number of cattle were looted by them. Mullas have been left in several villages to convert the people to Islam by preaching. Several men from each village

were taken by the Sipah Salar to Narsat and they were there made Muhammadans."

Making enquiries concerning the headmen and others, Sir G. S. Robertson could not discover that any one of those known to him in the Bashgal valley had been killed, although many have been taken away as prisoners.

9th May, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 86. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department*, dated the 9th of May, 1896.

After compliments. — I beg to give below the news I collected last week:—

The Amir has settled 200 Kafirs, who have embraced Islam, in the village of Malik Dad Muhammad Khan. The Malik kept a man and a woman for menial service. When the Amir came to know of it, His Highness sent for the Malik and asked him if his father had ever kept slaves, and why he had retained the Kafirs as such. The Malik expressed his regret, but the Amir ordered him to be imprisoned and his property to be confiscated. His Highness appointed Malik Khudayar Khan to be in charge of the Kafirs.

The Hakim of Koh Daman, who resides in Kashkar, sent an order to Mulla Daur Muhammad, Malik of Karezmir, to get 6 kharwars of bread ready for the Kafirs who were coming to Kabul via Paghman, but the Malik did nothing, and the Kafirs had to starve. When the Hakim came to know of it, he arrested the Malik and sent him to Kabul, reporting the circumstances to the Amir, who ordered the Malik's eyes to be gouged out.

The Amir ordered Taimur Khan of Koh Daman to prepare 1,500 shirts for the Kafirs; but Taimur only made 1,000 shirts and sent them to Kabul with an explanation that he was not able to prepare more than the number sent. When the matter was reported to the Amir, he ordered his imprisonment.

Mir Muhammad Ali, a Jamadar of the Haidari Cavalry, was placed by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in charge of 800 Kafirs. On his way from Jalalabad 2 Kafirs were found missing at Barikab, for which he has been imprisoned.

The Amir ordered Malik Kayyum Khan of Butkhak to feed 800 Kafirs who were expected to come there. On receipt of this order he exclaimed:— “Oh God! Remove this tyrant from among us.” The Amir heard about it, and, although the Malik made good arrangements for the supply of food, sent for him and imprisoned him.

12th May, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 86. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Tuesday, the 12th of May, 1896 (Confidential).

Narsat

Koli, a Lutdeh Kafir, reports having heard from some Kamdesh men, that two hundred Afghan sepoys have left Birkot and gone towards Asmar. These men are said to have been moved in consequence of disturbances, which have taken place on the Nawagai border. Only four hundred men are now garrisoning Birkot.

Kafiristan

Koli, a Lutdeh Kafir, has heard the following news concerning fighting in Ramgul and the neighbouring districts of Kafiristan:—

- (a) The Afghans attacked Ramgul simultaneously from the direction of Panjsher and Laghman, and severe fighting took place, in which the Afghans lost heavily, before they were able to finally defeat the Ramgulis. All the Ramgulis who survived the fighting were taken to Kabul, and the country is now deserted with the exception of 100 married Ramgulis, who have recently been permitted to return to their homes by the Amir.
- (b) There was also some stiff fighting in Kulam, in which a large number of Kulamis were killed.
- (c) The Kafir districts of Wai, Katwar, Veron, Sanran, Jamu, Ashkun, and Kutori submitted to the Afghans without fighting.
- (d) The Kafir hostages referred to in paragraph 1, ‘Kafiristan’, of diary for week ending 5th May 1896, as having been sent to Kabul, have been detained at Jalalabad.

16th May, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 87. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 16th of May, 1896.

11th May, 1896. — A few days ago 1,500 Kafirs, who came to Kabul from Panjsher, were settled down at Aliabad where other Kafirs are encamped. They are being taught Persian and the Kalema, and have received cotton shirts. Food is supplied to them gratis.

19th May, 1896. Letters from India. vol. 86. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral, for the week ending Tuesday, the 19th of May, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

1. Four families of converted Kafirs from Istorgat (Gourdesh) arrived in Chitral during the week, and are staying in the villages of Badugal and Ursun. They left their homes owing to an old feud with Merjan, the headman of their village. The Mehtar of Chitral has been asked to give them some land to settle upon.
2. Six families of Kamdesh Kafir refugees, who were staying at Mirkandi and Ursun in Chitral territory, have left those villages and returned to Kamdesh.
3. The Kamdesh people who have returned from Narsat to their homes, are still busy rebuilding their houses and cultivating their lands (*vide* diary entry No. 3 (b) 'Kafiristan' for week ending 28th April 1896).
4. One Lutdeh Kafir was converted to Islam in the Chitral Masjid.
5. Koli, a Lutdeh Kafir, reports that three families of Kalash Kafirs from Badamuk in Lutdeh have come to Chitral and intend to settle on their old holdings in the Jinjaret Kuh (in Chitral territory) which their forefathers abandoned about a hundred years ago.

21st May, 1896. Letters from India. vol. 86. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 10, dated the 21st of May, 1896.

Kabul

- 3.(c) A valuable sword supposed to have been left by the Mughal Emperor Baber in Kafiristan was sent to Kabul by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar, with some stone Kafir idols, as a present for His Highness the Amir.

Laghman

6.(a) The people of Kohistan, in the Laghman ilaka, are being forced to supply labour for the construction of the road to Kafiristan. They are paid at the rate of 2 annas 6 pies per man per diem. The troops who have just come to Laghman are also engaged in constructing the road. There are about 6,000 persons employed on road-making.

(b) With reference to paragraph 9 (c) of diary No. 9, dated 8th May 1896, further news received shows that Muhammad Ali Khan *alias* Wakil Saifani, is appointed Governor of Laghman (in place of Auliya Kuli Khan who has been imprisoned), and not of Kafiristan as formerly reported. This high post was granted to him in recognition of his excellent services in connection with the Kafiristan Field Force.

Kafirs

11.(a) Some 500 Kafirs, male and female, have just been sent to His Highness the Amir by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in charge of his Naib (Deputy) Hakim Ahmad Jan, Peshawari. These persons who have surrendered themselves to the Amir at their own free will are to be presented to the Amir.

(b) As most of the Kafir prisoners were suffering from all sorts of illness on account of the excessive heat at this time of the season in the localities in which they were stationed, the Amir has sent them to Charikar and gave them quarters there.

6th June, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 87. Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department*, dated the 6th of June, 1896.

The Amir has ordered the Kotwal to prepare a list of the names of the widows and other women who have no heirs both in the town and the jails, and submit it to him, so that he might marry them to the Kafirs who have become converted to Islam and have entered the army, in order that they may learn Persian sooner, and their children may know Persian and the Kafiri languages as well. His Highness says the women will get food *gratis* from Government in addition to the pay their husbands receive.

The Kafirs have each received two suits of clothes which the

washermen of the town have been ordered to wash for the Kafirs weekly. The Amir's idea is that by being clad in clean clothes, the Kafirs will acquire cleanly habits. This work will be performed under the supervision of Nazir Safar.

The Hakim of Nijrao, Muhammad Khalil by name, has been ordered to go to Jarkul in Kafiristan and work there. He has received a *khilat* according to his position. He has been suffering from fever and delirium for the last two months, and is under the treatment of Daim Khan. On his recovery he will be sent to Jarkul.

On the *Id* day Ghulam Haidar Khan sent to the Amir from Jalalabad 20 golden birds and 10 golden idols, as well as many stone idols taken in Kafiristan. The Amir was much pleased and ordered them to be placed in the Bostan Sarai.

9th June, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 9th of June 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. The men sent by the Assistant British Agent to the village of Damer . . . to enquire into the movements of the Dir men returned to Chitral. They report that the villagers of Damer have refused to obey the orders of the Dir Khan's servants, as regards the construction of a house and water-course for the Bashgali refugee, Azar Kan. The Dir men beat the villagers, but were unable to make them obey their orders. Eventually the Dir men started making the water-course themselves.

The Assistant British Agent has reported the action of the Dir Khan's servants to Major Deane [Harold Arthur Deane, Political Agent at Malakand, Swat.]

Kafiristan, Asmar and Narsat

1. Sheikh Abdulla of Lutdeh reports as follows:—

(a) The Sipah Salar, who is still at Narang below Asmar, has sent 3 Kam Sheikhs and 12 Asmaris to Veron, and directed them to assemble the local people and construct a road *via* Ishtu [Shtiwe] (this village is said to be at the head of the Veron [Parun] valley) and the Kinar Pass to a village named Putlu in Munjan, from whence there is an easy route to Wakhan. This route is shorter by two

days' march and easier than the route through Lutdeh. When the road is completed, the Afghan garrison now in Munjan will return by it to Jalalabad.

(b) The Sipah Salar's agents took 100 cows and 140 battis of *ghi* from the Veron people.

(c) The road above Pshni in Lutdeh towards Munjan has not yet been begun. The Sipah Salar is at present engaged in constructing an irrigation canal in the vicinity of Chigharserai. When this is completed, he will proceed to Pshni to superintend the construction of the road.

(d) Merjan, the Kam headman, who used to live at Istorgat (also known as Gourdesh), and who was recently summoned to Kabul, has now been sent by the Amir on some mission to Bajaur.

(e) Ishtaluk Jana and Bagdur Jana, two headmen of Lutdeh, have quarrelled with Malik and Ghazab Shah, two other headmen of Lutdeh, about some land. Ishtaluk Jana and Ghazab Shah being unable to agree, have gone to lay their case before the Sipah Salar.

3. Roziman, a Chitrali, who has recently returned from Arandu, reports that all the Afghan Mullahs have left Bashgal and returned to their homes.

4. Sheikh Abdul Aziz (Kafir name Sher Malik) states that the Bashgalis represented to the Sipah Salar that, owing to the scarcity of food, they were unable to feed the Afghan Mullahs, and urged that their own Mullahs (converted Kafirs) were sufficiently well versed in the Muhammadan religion to instruct them. The Sipah Salar agreed to withdraw the Afghan Mullahs. The Bashgalis are now becoming devout Muhammadans and the headmen of each village are careful to see that none forget their prayers.

9th June, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 87. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 11, dated the 9th of June, 1896.

5.(c) On the recommendation of Sardar Habibulla Khan and on account of the repeated requests of the troops engaged in Kafiristan, the Amir has ruled for the future that troops employed in a military expedition will receive their pay monthly and not half-yearly as heretofore.

(h) The Amir has issued general orders that Kafirs are not to

be forcibly converted to Islam, but that the Mallas may preach to them.

(n) With reference to paragraph 11 (a) of diary No. 10, dated 21st May 1896, Hakim Ahmad Jan, who was sent in charge of some 500 Kafirs to Kabul, is still with His Highness the Amir at Bagh-i-Bala, and has not returned to the Sipah Salar's camp in the Kunar valley. It is believed that he is detained there by the Amir for some special political work.

Ningrahar

6.(a) Muhammad Akram Khan of Kama, in the Jalalabad ilaka, has been granted a handsome allowance by the Amir for distinguished and meritorious services in connection with the recent operations in Kafiristan. The Amir received him very kindly at an interview.

Kafiristan

9. The Amir has sent a farman to General Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, ordering him to send some Mallas to preach amongst the Kafirs. Every Mulla is to be escorted by a certain number of sepoys when he is preaching. Orders have also been issued for the realisation of the cattle-tax of one out of every forty head of cattle and one-tenth part of their land produce. A large number of masons and carpenters has recently been sent to Asmar from Kabul to commence work on the new cantonments in Kafiristan.

9th June, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 108*, dated the 9th June, 1896.

A Risaldar of a Cavalry regiment recently fired at Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi; the bullet missed. The Amir caused the man's eyes to be gouged out.

Kafiristan

An Afghan regiment is engaged in making a road up the Shigal Nala towards Waigal. It will be continued to the head of the Waigal valley, and join the road which is being made from the Lughman side through Ramgal. There are said to be 6,000 men employed in constructing the latter road.

The Political Officer in Chitral, writing on the 28th April 1896,

says:— “On the whole, the Kafirs (of the districts bordering immediately on Chitral) seem to be fairly contented, and the Afghans appear to have shown a commendable moderation in their dealings with them.” From Kabul it is reported that the Malik of a village, where 200 Kafirs had been settled, retained two of them as slaves. The Amir sent for him, and ordered him to be imprisoned and his property confiscated. A large number of Kafirs were taken to Kabul during the month of May; they are being provided with food and clothing, and instructed in Persian and the Muhammadan religion. It is from among these Kafirs that a thousand soldiers for the Afghan army are to be enlisted.

The Danish Scientific Mission to Central Asia sailed from Copenhagen at the end of March. The members were cordially received at St. Petersburgh *en route*. Their proposal to enter Kafiristan has been abandoned, and no attempt will now be made to cross the Hindu Kush.

18th June, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 87. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Tuesday, the 18th of June, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan and Asmar

1. Ghairat Khan and Zulfi, who had been sent to Asmar for news, reported as follows:—
 - (a) The Sipah Salar recently forcibly detained some headmen from Dewagal and Badel who had come to see him. In consequence of this treatment, the Dewagalis are afraid to visit the Sipah Salar.
 - (b) The Sipah Salar is now encamped at Narang on the right bank of the Kunar river opposite Pashat.
 - (e) One hundred Mallas have arrived in the Sipah Salar's camp from Kabul. They are to proceed on duty to Kafiristan.
 - (g) The Sipah Salar intends to pass the summer in the Sao nala.
 - (h) The Afghans have made a new rope bridge across the Bashgal stream near its junction with the Chitral [Kunar] river.

20th June, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 87. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 20th of June, 1896.

After compliments. — I beg most respectfully to submit the following items of news received during the past week:—

A Kafir boy, named Din Muhammad, who is in the service of His Highness, told His Highness that the old Kafirs would never become Mussalmans; that outwardly they behaved and acted like Mussalmans, but that at home they performed the rites of their own religion and cursed the Mussalmans; that they usually keep small earthen and wooden idols by them to worship at every opportunity; that no doubt young Kafirs are sincere Mussalmans; and that it would be better to have the old Kafirs put to death. His Highness ordered that the Kafirs should be searched; and about ninety idols were found with them at Aliabad. His Highness called them and told them that, if they did not become sincere Mussalmans, they would be blown from guns.

Last week a woman while coming from Paghman to Kabul was assaulted by four newly enlisted Kafir soldiers. They were seized by some men coming from Kila-i-Yusuf Khan, and taken with the woman to Bage-i-Bala before His Highness, who asked the woman to relate the facts. His Highness ordered the Kafirs to be executed, and gave Rs. 50 to the woman.

Some of the Kafirs, who have been settled in Paghman, threw a Mussalman boy aged 12 years into an oven, and afterwards ate his body. The father searched everywhere for his boy, and one of the Kafir boys pointed out the culprits.

The father with his sword cut down two male and one female Kafir. He was then seized by other Mussalmans and taken to the Hakim, who sent him to His Highness with a report.

The Amir asked him why he had killed the Kafirs. He replied that they had killed and eaten his only child; that he could not bear the loss and the outrage, and therefore cut them down. His Highness pardoned and released him, and ordered the Hakim to be very careful about the Kafirs, who should constantly be kept in fear, as otherwise they would eat up all Mussalmans.

Twenty girls, about 12 years of age, belonging to the Safed Posh Kafirs, who were sent to His Highness by Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, are serving as maids in the Haramserai.

Kabul

- (1) The Amir has raised a regiment of Kafir captives at Kabul. Faiz Muhammad Khan, son of Muhammad Alam Khan, Kabchi, has been appointed to be their Commandant. They receive instruction in drill regularly every day.
- (n) Six very large goats presented by certain Kafir elders to the Sipah Salar, each said to have been as big as a horse, were sent to His Highness the Amir as a curiosity from Kafiristan.
- (o) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has sent an iron mace and a sword with Arabic inscriptions on them found in Kafiristan to His Highness the Amir as curiosities with a report giving a full description of these articles.

Kunar Valley

- (f) A portion of the troops, engaged against the Kafirs towards Laghman, under command of Wakil Saifani, has been ordered to join the Sipah Salar's camp at Narang. They are shortly expected to reach there.
- (g) On the 9th June 1896, the Sipah Salar summoned some 60 Kafirs from Pech with their Mullas to see if they had learned anything of Islam. On examination, he found them to have made great progress and granted them khilats.

Kafiristan

- 8.(a) With reference to paragraph 7 (d) of diary No. 4, dated 27th February 1896, a copy of the book in verse published at the expense of the Afghan Government has been obtained. It does not give any facts connected with the Kafirs, but its compilation clearly shows the importance attached to the conquest of Kafiristan. The original composition in print is attached to the copy of this diary submitted to the Punjab Government.
- (b) With reference to paragraph 9 of diary No. 11, dated 9th June 1896, one hundred Mullas left Kunar for Kafiristan and reached there on the 30th May 1896. They are preaching in the country and are escorted by armed Afghans.

25th June, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 87. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral, for the week ending Tuesday, the 25th of June 1896 (Confidential).*

Badakshan

3. The Khwaja-i-Munjan who resides in Lutkho sends the following news:—

(a) Letters from the Afghan Commander-in-Chief in Asmar are constantly passing through Veron to Munjan and Badakhshan. Taj Muhammad Khan, the General at Faizabad, has received orders from Asmar, calling on him to march with all his troops to Laghman *via* Veron and Sanu.

Kafiristan

1. Sheik Abdulla of Lutdeh reports:—

(a) The Sipah Salar has summoned two headmen from each village in Lutdeh [Katrgul], Madugal, Kam and Mujash [Kaštá]. Twenty-three headmen have accordingly started from Lutdeh.

(b) The Afghan General in Faizabad has sent orders to the people of Lutdeh to clear the road on their side of the pass. On the Munjan side of the pass, Munjanis have been ordered to make the road.

(c) The Sipah Salar in Asmar has also sent orders to the Lutdehis to make the road on their side of the pass leading to Munjan.

(d) About one thousand mullas from Kabul have arrived in Asmar and Birkot. They will be sent into Kafiristan to live amongst the people and teach them the precepts of Islam. They will also build musjids in all the villages.

(e) The Sipah Salar intends visiting Bashgal after about two months. It is said that he will then order two other roads from Lutdeh to be made — one to the pass leading to Bombaret and Oyon, the other to the pass leading to Lutkho in Chitral territory.

(f) The construction of the road to Munjan through Veron has been finished.

2. During the week four Lutdeh Kasir refugees were converted to Islam in the Chitral musjid at their own request.

3. Sheik Abdul Aziz and Sheik Abdul Hak, two Kamdesh refugees, have been given land by the Mehtar in Bombaret.

2nd July, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 87. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending Tuesday, the 2nd of July, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

1. Shaikh Abdulla of Lutdeh has brought the following news:—
 - (a) An Afghan General from the Sipah Salar's camp at Narang has gone *via* Veron [Parun] to Munjan.
 - (b) The Afghans are collecting supplies near the head of the Veron valley.
 - (c) The Afghans intend to build a fort at the lower end of the Veron valley.
 - (d) Ishtaluk Jana, a headman of Lutdeh, lately visited Veron and forcibly took 20 cows from the inhabitants of that district. When the Afghan General mentioned in paragraph (a) above arrived in Veron, the people complained to him about Ishtaluk Jana's oppression. The General arrested Ishtaluk Jana and caused the cows to be given back to the Veron people.

2. Sayid Amir of Arandu reports:—

- (a) The Kafir hostages in Kabul have been divided into several gangs and are being made to study the Muhammadan Law.
- (b) Under orders from the Amir four headmen from Lutdeh and the following headmen of Kamdesh, *viz.*, Kazan Badil [of the] Bilashe Dari [clan], Mer Jan Chandlu [of the] Deme Dari [clan], Shayuk Merjan [of the] Suki Dari [clan], who had remained behind have now been sent to Kabul: *vide* diary entry Kafiristan (a), dated 23rd June 1896.
- (c) When the above mentioned headmen reach Kabul, the Kafir headmen now in Kabul will be allowed to return to their homes. Five hundred Mullas will accompany them, each Mulla being accompanied by four Khassadars. The Mullas have orders to build masjids and teach Muhammadan customs to the Kafirs.

2. Said Amir of Arandu reports:—

- (a) The Afghans have completed the construction of the road through Veron to Munjan.

6th July, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 87. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 13, dated the 6th of July, 1896.

Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan in the Kunar Valley

- 4.(a) Letters received from the Sipah Salar's camp state that the Amir has issued strict orders to the Sipah Salar to undertake punitive expeditions against all hill tribes on the Kunar border

and especially the Safis, and to bring them under total subjection at once. That he must explain why His Highness's previous orders in this respect were overlooked. The farman conveying these orders is said to contain some indication of His Highness's displeasure, and the Sipah Salar's attention is now entirely occupied with this question. He is engaged in selecting troops for the expeditions and the reduction of the country, and wants to explain to the Amir that the leniency shown to these hillmen was due to no negligence or want of energy on his part but to the policy desirable at the time.

(c) It is proposed that the road from Badakhshan to Kunar *via* Munjan and Kafiristan, which the Amir is so anxious to open soon, should branch off somewhere in the Kunar valley. One branch will go straight down to Jalalabad, while the other will enter British territory near Matha Mangal Khel passing through the Mohmand country. Zaman Khan, Kuki Khel, brother of Amin Khan, who is serving under the Sipah Salar, is deputed with four companies of Sappers and Miners to construct the road in Kafiristan limits. Another road is also being opened from Badakhshan to Kunar *via* the Pech valley which is much shorter, being only eight days' journey from Kunar to Badakhshan.

Kafirs

6.(a) The Amir has sent orders to the Sipah Salar to try and recall all Kafir families who deserted their country and crossed over to Chitral during the recent operations in Kafiristan. The Amir has further instructed the Sipah Salar to be milder in his treatment of the Kafirs.

(b) With reference to paragraph 8 (b) of diary No. 12, dated 21st June 1896, the Kafir who murdered one of the Mallas sent to Kafiristan for preaching was arrested and brought to Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan. The Sipah Salar had him shot before his comrades as an example to others.

7th July, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 131*, dated the 7th of July, 1896.

Kafiristan

The headmen and hostages taken to Kabul have been ordered by the Amir to remain there till the autumn. One man from each

district has been allowed to return with news of their welfare to their friends at home. The Sipah Salar, who is still at Narang, below Asmar, attending to the construction of the water channel which he is constructing for the irrigation of his own property at Chighanserai, has sent some Kam men and Asmaris to Veron [Parun or Prasun], to assemble the local people and make a road by Ishtu at the head of the Veron valley, and the Kinar Pass, to a village named Putlu in Munjan, whence there is an easy route to Wakhan shorter by two days' march than the route through Lutdeh. When the road is completed, the Afghan garrison now in Munjan will return by it to Jalalabad.

The Afghan Mullahs sent to Bashgul have all been recalled, on the representation of the Bashgalis that they were unable to feed them, owing to the scarcity of food, and that their own Mullahs (converted Kafirs) were sufficiently well versed in the Muhammadan religion to instruct them. The Bashgalis are now said to be becoming devout Muhammadans.

24th July, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 87. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 14, dated the 24th of July, 1896.

Kafiristan

7.(a) Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan has submitted a report to His Highness the Amir, that there is a very good chance of His Highness trading in timber in Kafiristan, where there are many forests and the means of conveyance down country is very easy, that if His Highness kept the business to himself, it will no doubt prove very profitable, but that if he were inclined to lease it out to any one, the Sipah Salar was ready to offer Rs. 60,000 per annum for it. He has received no reply to his report as yet.

(b) It is rumoured that the Amir's eldest son is coming down to see the Kafir country for the sake of amusement.

28th July, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 87. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending the 28th of July, 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. A Kafir refugee residing in Chitral territory is reported to have recently stolen a bullock from the Madugal Kafirs and to have

returned to Chitral with the spoil. The man's excuse was that during the recent fighting with the Afghans, the Madugal Kafirs had looted some of his property, and he, therefore, considered himself justified in retaliating. This sort of proceeding cannot of course be allowed, and the Assistant British Agent has asked the Mehtar to again caution all the Kafir refugees residing in his territory that they have only been given an asylum on the understanding that they behave themselves properly. With the Assistant British Agent's approval, the Mehtar has ordered the Hakim of Drosh to send the stolen bullock to the Sipah Salar with a message, expressing regret for the occurrence.

Asmar, Narsat and Kafiristan

Abdul of Arandu, who has just returned from Lut Narsat, reports as follows:—

(a) Of the Kamdesh Kafirs, who were taken as prisoners to Kabul certain of the elders and old men, have been given khillats and allowed to return to their country. Eight Kamdesh headmen, who are said to have behaved badly during the recent fighting, have been retained in confinement at Kabul and a number of the young men of good physique have been enlisted in the Amir's army. Most of the Lutdeh men who went to Kabul have been sent back to Lutdeh. The Amir told the Lutdehchis that he treated them more leniently than the Kamdesh men, as they had not behaved so badly as the latter.

(b) Akram Jan of Narsat recently petitioned the Amir that he might be made Governor of Kamdesh and Lutdeh. The people of those districts however represented that Akram Jan had always oppressed them and the Amir, therefore, refused to grant his petition.

2. Koli, a Lutdeh Kafir, reports as follows:—

(a) The fort in the lower portion of the Veron valley (referred to in this diary for week ending 21st July 1896) has now been completed.

(b) The Sipah Salar is still at Asmar. There are a large number of troops with him, and it is rumoured that he will shortly proceed to Bashgal and personally superintend the construction of the masjids and the work of the Mullas who have been sent to teach

the Kafirs the precepts of Islam. The Sipah Salar will further superintend the construction of forts at Kamdesh and Lutdeh.

3. Sheikh Abdulla of Lutdeh states that the Sipah Salar is intriguing in Dir, Bajaur and Chitral with a view to creating a disturbance in the winter.

4th August, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 145,*
dated the 4th of August. 1896.

Kafiristan

Everything is quiet in Kafiristan. The Sipah Salar is directing his energies to the construction of roads through the country. The road to Munjan through Veron has been completed. Some more Kafir refugees in Chitral have been converted to Islam in the Chitral masjid at their own request.

18th August, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 88. Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending the 18th of August 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. Three Bashgali Sheikhs residing at the village of Jinjaret in Chitral territory are reported to have killed seven goats belonging to the Madugal Kafirs. This is the second raid on Afghan territory within the last month which has been committed by Kafir refugees residing in Chitral. Orders have been issued for the arrest of the delinquents, and they will be severely punished, as it is most important to nip this kind of thing in the bud. If the Kafirs once commence to make retaliatory raids on the Chitral villages, there will be endless trouble.

Kafiristan

1. Sher Ali of Arandu reports as follows:-

The Sipah Salar, who is now at Asmar, has appointed Tuti Sheikh, Governor of Kamdesh, and has sent orders to the Kamdesh and Lutdeh men to further improve the roads which have recently been made. Sixty Mullas have been sent to construct masjids in Kamdesh and Lutdeh, and orders have been issued for the erection of one fort in each district.

2. From other sources the following information has been obtained:-

(a) Two hundred Afghan soldiers have arrived at Kamdesh and have commenced building a fort there.

Two hundred more Afghans are shortly expected to proceed to Lutdeh for a similar purpose.

(b) The Sipah Salar has ordered the Kam, Madugal, and Mujash Kafirs to cut 500 pieces of timber wherewith to build a bridge across the Bashgal river somewhere near its junction with the Chitral river.

(c) Gumara, one of the Lutdeh headmen, who has recently returned from Kabul, has arrived at Rumbur in Chitral with his family, apparently with intent to settle.

(d) All the blacksmiths in Bashgal have been summoned by the Sipah Salar to visit him at Asmar. It is not known for what purpose.

(e) Gazab Shah, headman of Lutdeh, has been summoned to Asmar by the Sipah Salar for the purpose of conducting a detachment of 200 sepoys thence to Lutdeh.

(f) All the Bashgali headmen, who were taken to Kabul last winter, have been permitted to return with the exception of 10 Kam men, one Madugal man, and two Lutdeh headmen. The principal men among those detained are Mara, Bador and Ota [Uta].

(g) One thousand and five hundred Ramgal Kafirs have been enlisted as sepoys by the Amir at Kabul; 160 Bashgalis have also been enlisted, and the Sipah Salar has issued orders for 500 more to be enlisted from the same district.

25th August, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 88. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending the 25th August 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

1. Demu, a Kamdesh Kafir, reports as follows:-

(a) The Afghans are now engaged in widening the Road to Kamdesh, and are sending up supplies for their garrison there, which will consist of 100 sepoys.

(b) Three new masjids have recently been built at Kamdesh, and there are now one hundred and twelve Afghan Mullas employed in the Kam district in teaching the inhabitants the precepts of Islam.

2. Gumara, a headman of Lutdeh, who was recently given permission to settle in Chitral territory, visited the Assistant British Agent. Gumara has recently returned from Kabul, where, he says, he was well treated. He does not wish, however, to remain in Lutdeh, as he fears the Sipah Salar will impress his sons for military service and trouble him in other ways.

3. Basti, headman of the village of Shui, in the Lutdeh district, came to Chitral during the week and obtained permission to settle in Chitral territory.

8th September, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 166,*
dated the 8th of September, 1896.

Kafiristan

According to a Kafir informant, the Kulam and Ramgul Kafirs have displeased the Afghan officials owing to their non-observance of Muhammadan customs. They are said to have been rendered desperate by the oppression of the Afghans and further fighting in their portion of Kafiristan may be expected.

Most of the Lutdeh men who were taken to Kabul have been sent back to Lutdeh. The Amir told them that he treated them more leniently than the Kamdesh men, as they had not behaved so badly as the latter. Most of the Bashgal headmen have also been permitted to return. The fort in the lower portion of the Veron valley has been completed; forts at Kamdesh and Lutdeh are now being constructed.

9th September, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 88. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 17,* dated the 9th of September, 1896.

Kabul

(w) Detachments of young Kafirs have been formed by the Amir at Kabul. They daily receive training in drill and are to be formed into four separate regiments. Great attention is paid to these Kafir lads by His Highness. These regiments are to be named after the names of the four sons of the Amir, viz., Habibulla Khan, Nasrulla Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan, and Muhammad Umar Khan.

The Sipah Salar at Asmar

8.(c) It was given out at Mitai that four infantry regiments will be sent from Kabul to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, at that

place, and that they will be located there permanently. Some people say that these regiments with some Khassadars will proceed to Kafiristan with the object of punishing the Kafirs, who have fought against the Mallas sent by the Amir.

Kafiristan

9.(a) A rough sketch map of Kafiristan has been prepared under the directions of the Sipah Salar and submitted to the Amir. The map gives a short history of the Kafir tribe by means of short notes recorded thereon and may very likely be published by the Amir.

(b) The road from Kunar to Munjan through Kafiristan is now ready for traffic. Taj Muhammad Khan, Governor of Badakshan, has got orders to extend it from Munjan to Badakhshan itself. Posts will be located on this line and masjids (mosques) for the use of travellers are being constructed everywhere. Travellers will now come down straight to the Kunar valley from Munjan instead of going to Chitral and coming by the Loarai [Lowari] Pass.

(c) Some time ago, the Amir despatched a number of Mallas with Khassadars to instruct the Kafirs on religious matters. A fight took place between them and the Kafirs, in which three Khassadars were killed and seven wounded. The Khassadars fled from and reported the matter to Ghulam Haidar Khan, Sipah Salar, and the latter then sent a report to His Highness the Amir.

(d) The Amir has written to the Sipah Salar that some of the Mallas deputed to Kafiristan are reported to be supplying news to British authorities, and that he must keep a watch over them.

18th September, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 88. *The Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending the 18th September, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

Fazil, a Lutdeh Kafir now residing in Chitral territory, who has just returned from a trip he had made to Lutdeh with the object of fetching grain and other property which he had left there, informed the Assistant British Agent that a party of one hundred Afghan sepoys and thirty-eight Mallas under an Afghan Commandant and a Kazi arrived at Lutdeh on the 12th September.

They intend to build a fort at Lutdeh, and several masjids will also be constructed in the district. The Afghan Commandant has further ordered that small parties consisting of three Mallas and three sepoys are to be stationed at the villages of Apsai, Showar, Psigram, and Shudigul. All the Lutdeh headmen, who were recently summoned to Birkot by the Sipah Salar, have returned to their homes.

2. Sheikh Abdulla, another Kafir refugee from Lutdeh, who now resides at Rumbor in Chitral territory, gives similar information to the above and also states:—

- (a) The Afghans have completed the construction of a fort and two masjids at Kamdesh. It is believed that a second fort will be built at Kamdesh before long.
- (b) There are now five Afghan sepoys and ten Mallas stationed at Kamdesh.
- (c) One hundred mule-loads of supplies have been brought up to Madugal by the Afghans. Three Mallas have also arrived there.
- (d) The Ramgal Kafirs are said to have again rebelled against the Amir.

3. The Mehtar's Diwanbegi reports:—

- (a) Four hundred Afghan Eljaris, who had been employed in building a fort at Kamdesh, have returned to Birkot.

4. The following information from other Kafir sources has also been obtained:—

- (a) The Afghans are still employed in the construction of the road leading from Veron to Munjan *via* the Kumar Pass.
- (b) It is rumoured that the Sipah Salar will shortly proceed to Badakhshan by the above-mentioned route.
- (c) Mara, the Lutdeh headman, who is still in captivity in Kabul, petitioned that he might be set free. The Amir, however refused to release him, as the Sipah Salar had recommended that, so long as Mara's sons continued to reside in Chitral territory, he should be kept in confinement.
- (d) The Sipah Salar has recently made overtures to the Khan of Dir, with a view to estranging him from the Indian Government. The Khan of Dir replied that he could not comply with the Sipah Salar's wishes. The Sipah Salar is now inciting the Bajauri Maliks and Mallas to rise against the Government of India.
- (e) Akram Jan, who was formerly Governor of Narsat and

Kamdesh, has been carrying on a secret correspondence with the Khan of Dir for some time now.

(f) Six Ramgal Kafirs, who recently left Ramgal with messages from their country men for the Russian officer in Wakhan, were stopped *en route* by an Afghan outpost. Four of the Ramgulis were killed and two made good their escape.

19th September, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 88. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department*, dated the 19th of September, 1896.

18th September. – Mulla Kalandar of Chandaul was sent by the Amir to Kafiristan to preach the Koran. He returned home without leave. The headman of his street arrested him and sent him to the Amir through the Kotwal. His Highness ordered him to be hamstrung and his eyes to be gouged out.

The Amir gave land to eight Kafirs in Panjsher to settle upon, but they fled to Kafiristan, where they were arrested and sent to the Amir. His Highness caused them to be hamstrung, and then said that they were at liberty to go where they liked. They returned to Kafiristan dragging themselves on their hands and knees.

Umra Khan, Jandoli, is still at Kandahar. His family sent a petition to the Amir representing that they were in distress and begging for help. The Amir gave them Rs. 9,000.

The Hakim of Koh Daman reported to the Amir that Khanzada Rustam Khan had collected nearly 200 men. The Hakim feared that this might prove harmful to Government. His Highness has ordered Rustam Khan's expulsion with 100 families to Kafiristan.

21 September, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 88. *Peshawar Confidential Diary* No. 18, dated the 21st of September, 1896.

(e) At present there are no fewer than 12 cavalry and infantry regiments at Kabul, *viz.*:

Cavalry Regiments

- | | |
|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Uzbaks | 4. Kandahari |
| 2. Shahzada Nari | 5. Abbasi |
| 3. Shahi | 6. Ardal |

Infantry Regiments

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Kohistani | 4. Jangi |
| 2. Hazara Sappers and Miners | 5. Afghan |
| 3. Kafiri or Jadid-ul-Islam | 6. Name not known |

Great attention is paid to the training of the young Kafirs who promise well. They are not to be called Kafirs but Jadid-ul-Islam. Some 200 of these young lads are employed as 'Peshkhidmats' [پیش خدمت, close personal servants] of the Amir, and except these and the men in the regiments all others who were brought as captives are being allowed to return to their homes.

Umra Khan, the Ex-Khan of Jandol

- 3.(a) Umra Khan is reported to have reached Kabul, where he was allowed an interview by the Amir the next day. He is staying at Waisalabad outside the city of Kabul, and entertains hopes of being appointed Governor of Kafiristan.
 (b) Information received shows that Umra Khan, the ex-Khan of Jandol, has advised his brother Muhammad Shah Khan of Miskini by letter not to engage in hostilities with any one of the neighbouring Khans, but to keep aloof from all party strife, saying that there was some likelihood of his (Umra Khan's) appointment to the Governorship of Asmar and Kafiristan, and that Muhammad Shah Khan's misconduct might give the British Government a cause to object to his (Umra Khan's) appointment.

The Sipah Salar at Asmar

- 7.(a) A letter received from the Sipah Salar's camp states that the Sipah Salar is quite tired of complying with the Amir's orders which are so numerous and complicated now-a-days. The Amir now pays more attention to the organization of his army, and is very anxious to develop the country between Asmar and Badakhshan inhabited by Kafirs by the construction of posts, opening of new roads, and the building of mosques and public serais on the roads at all stages.

- (b) The Sipah Salar is collecting rafts at Asmar and is making preparations for coming down to Ningrahar by the Kunar river.

Kafiristan

8. A detailed history of the Kafirs, their origin, religion, country, &c., is being written in prose under the instruction of the Sipah

Salar by Hakim Ahmad Jan and Mirza Sher Ahmad jointly. It is to be published as soon as prepared and presented to His Highness the Amir.

7th October, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 175,*
dated the 7th of October, 1896.

Kafiristan

The road from Kunar to Munjan, through Kafiristan, is now ready for traffic, and the Governor of Badakhshan has been ordered to extend it from Munjan to Badakhshan. Posts and masjids are being constructed along the line for the use of travellers.

Four regiments of Kafirs are undergoing training at Kabul, and the Amir is said to show great interest in them. Each regiment is to be named after one of the sons of His Highness. A number of Kafirs who have embraced the Muslim faith have been granted lands in Pughman. Hakim Ahmad Jan, the confidential agent of the Sipah Salar, who recently visited Peshawar, stated that a census had been taken of the population of Kafiristan, and that it was found that the country contained less than twenty-five thousand inhabitants. This is less than one-half of the estimate formed by Sir George Robertson.

The Afghans are widening the road to Kamdesh, and sending up supplies for the garrison there, which will consist of 100 sepoys. Three masjids have been built at Kamdesh, and 112 Afghan mullahs are employed in the Kam district teaching the principles of Islam. A hundred Afghan sepoys have arrived at Lutdeh to garrison that valley. A few Kafirs still continue to cross over into Chitral to settle there.

8th October, 1896. *Letters from India. vol. 88. Peshawar Confidential Diary No. 19,* dated the 8th of October, 1896.

Kabul

(1) The Amir is said to have summoned the Sipah Salar to Kabul for an interview.

Kafiristan

4. The Sipah Salar has sent for 10,000 Arabic Primers, through Naib Muhammad Siyar Khan, to be distributed among the Kafirs

by the Mullahs. The Sipah Salar appears to be anxious to teach the Kafirs the first principles of Islam.

10th October, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 88. *Translation of a News-report from Hospital Assistant Shah Mir Khan, in charge of the British Agency, Kabul, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,* dated the 10th of October, 1896.

Fifteen Kafirs collected a large quantity of dry fuel in Laghman with the intention of setting fire to it, and of throwing themselves into the burning pile. They considered it better to die than to continue as Mussalmans forsaking their ancestral religion. A guard heard about it, arrested them and took them to the Kotwal, who sent them to the Amir. His Highness said they were great infidels; that it was very difficult to convert Kafirs to Islam. Then he ordered five of them in a batch to be executed in the presence of the others.

27th October, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 89. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending Tuesday, the 27th of October, 1896 (Confidential).

Asmar and Kafiristan

A recent arrival from Asmar states that "the Sipah Salar is now busy with matters concerning the revenue assessment of Asmar and Narsat. No new roads are being constructed on the left bank of the Kunar river, and the rumours regarding the coming of Umra Khan to the Bajaur frontier are without foundation."

2. A Lutdeh Shaikh, named Watmir, gives the following information:-

(a) The new road between Veron and Munjan is now in good order. The stages between Veron and Munjan are as follows, *viz.*-

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Badeo | 4. Foot of Kamar Pass |
| 2. Pashigram | 5. Panun Shah |
| 3. Shiti | 6. Munjan |

(b) The Lutdeh people are contented. One or two Mallas are stationed in each village to teach them the precepts of the Muham-

madan faith, but otherwise they are not interfered with. The Afghans pay for all supplies which they take.

(c) The Sipah Salar has suggested to the Amir that the sum of Rs. 2,500 (Kabuli) should be fixed as the amount of revenue payable by the people of the Lutdeh district.

(d) Thirteen masjids have been built in the Lutdeh district, and there are 28 Mullas in charge of them.

(e) There are 100 Afghan sepoys in Lutdeh and 120 in Kamdesh.

3. Later information received from Kafiristan shows that the Amir has issued orders that the amount of revenue to be levied in Lutdeh should be fixed at Rs. 2,000 (Kabuli).

10th November, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 89. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for the week ending 10th November, 1896 (Confidential).

Chitral

3. A deputation of Wai Kafirs consisting of the following men has arrived in Chitral, *viz.*, Aitchai Khan of Birgil, Maraz of Chimi, Sozonok of Waramdesh [The village of Waigel, which gives its name to the whole valley, is divided into two main parts: Varomdesh, the 'upper village', also called Perinta, and Bramdesh 'lower village', also called Bergele], and Babir of Birichigal [Zhönchigal]. They state that they were sent by their headmen to enquire from the Assistant British Agent and the Mehtar whether anything could be done to save them from the tyranny of the Amir's officials. The Assistant British Agent informed the Mehtar that, if the deputation really wish to see him (the Assistant British Agent), they should be sent out to his camp. When these Kafirs first entered Chitral territory, they represented that they merely came to seek a place of refuge. They now tell a different story. A further report will be made concerning them when they have been interviewed by the Assistant British Agent.

5. With reference to entry in the diary for week ending 3rd November 1896 under heading 'Chitral' on the subject of the Dir Khan's intrigues in the village of Damer, the postal overseer at Ziarat reports that he saw Azar Khan, the Bashgali refugee, on the 28th October. Azar Khan was on his way back from Dir and stated that the Khan of Dir had promised to send 40 Pathans to assist him in cultivating his land at Damer.

A complaint has also been received from the people of Damer to the effect that Azar Khan has stolen some of their cattle. The matter is being enquired into by the Assistant British Agent.

Kafiristan and Asmar

On arrival in Chitral the Waigal Kafirs (mentioned in paragraph 3 under heading 'Chitral') gave the following information to Munshi Azizuddin:—

- (a) The Afghans take supplies from their countrymen daily without paying anything. The Afghans further compel them to pay a yearly revenue of Rs. 8 (Kabuli) and half the produce of their crops per family.
- (b) The Wai Kafirs are very discontented and are conspiring with the Ramgal Kafirs with a view to rising against the Afghans.
- (c) The following is the strength of the Afghan detachments in Waigal, *viz.*—

In the village of Prent [Perinta]	20 sepoys and 1 mullah
„ Birgil [Bergele]	15 sepoys and 2 mullahs
„ Hamish [Ameshdesh]	18 sepoys and 1 mullah
„ Jamamish [Jemamesh]	15 sepoys and 2 mullahs
„ Munchai [?]	10 sepoys
„ Mildesh [Muldesh]	20 sepoys and 1 mullah
„ Chimial [Chimi]	15 sepoys and 2 mullahs
„ Akun [or Kun]	40 sepoys and 3 mullahs
„ Kaigal [Kegal]	15 sepoys and 2 mullahs
„ Nishigrom [Nisheigrom]	12 sepoys and 1 mullah
„ Wat [Want]	20 sepoys and 2 mullahs

These detachments are under the command of a Colonel who travels about from place to place.

- (d) The Afghans have constructed a good road (Note. — Further enquiries will be made regarding this road when the Kafirs are interviewed by the Assistant British Agent) from Lughman to Munjan through Waigal.

The stages on this road are as follows:—

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Barzai | 5. Urigram |
| 2. Guru | 6. Notigram |
| 3. Urshadesh | 7. Archalam |
| 4. Lotalam | 8. Gushilak [Gusalak] |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 9. Chubgel [Chukgel] | 14. Kushtiki [Kushtegi] |
| 10. Garamsane [Gramsandesh] | 15. Dewarig [Dewa] |
| 11. Sondesh | 16. Panza [Pronz] |
| 12. Pshaw [Pashki] | 17. Ushti [Shtiwe] |
| 13. Tisim [Tusum] | 18. Mraoo Pass |
| 19. Munjan | |

[It will be noted that this route, contrary to the statement in (d) above, does not go through Waigel, but follows the Parun-Pech valley.]

The Amir has issued orders for a detachment of sappers and miners to be permanently employed on the up-keep of the road.

- (e) The Amir is displeased with the behaviour of the Wai Kafirs and intends shortly to send a punitive expedition against them.
- (f) Sixteen villages in the Ramgal valley are still unsubdued by the Afghans and the Amir intends to send a force against them.
- (g) Large quantities of supplies are being collected in Jalalabad and the Afghan sepoys in Waigal state that ere long the Amir will probably be at war with the Indian Government.

2. The following news has been received from Drosh:-

- (a) The Afghans have made two roads to Munjan, the first starting from Asmar and passing through Birkot, Kamdesh, and Lutdeh; and the second starting from Chigharserai and passing through Pech, Waigal, and Veron. The latter is the better and shorter of the two routes.
- (b) Kamdesh fort is garrisoned by 100 Asmar men, and there are 100 Khassadars living in the village of Lutdeh.
- (c) The following Afghan troops are in Asmar:-

The Kandahar Regiment

,, Sufi	,,
,, Wardak	,,
,, Zarposh	,,
,, Siahposh	,,
,, Turki	,,
,, Herati	,,

In addition to these the Afghan Highland Regiment is at Chigharserai, and there is one regiment at Birkot.

- (f) The Sipah Salar will not undertake any large expedition this winter. . .
- (g) The people of Asmar are weary of being oppressed by the Afghan officials.

17th November, 1896. *Letters from India*. vol. 89. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral*, for the week ending the 17th of November, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan

With reference to the deputation from Waigul referred to in the last diary, it appears that the Wai Kafirs merely wish to know whether they will be permitted to seek refuge in Chitral. The Assistant British Agent will inform them that refuge will be granted to them.

It is unlikely however that many Wai Kafirs will be able to elude the vigilance of the Afghans owing to the central position of their country and the treacherous character of the surrounding Kafir tribes. The men have not yet been dismissed, as the Assistant British Agent wishes to confront them with some of the Kafir refugees from Kamdesh and Lutdeh with a view to checking statements they have made regarding the new roads in Kafiristan.

Badakhshan

The Khwaja of Munjan (now residing in Lutkho in Chitral territory) gives the following information, which he has received through his servant, Abdul Hamid, who has lately arrived from Badakhshan:-

- (d) One thousand and four hundred sheep have recently been sent from Badakhshan *via* Munjan and Veron [Parun] to the Sipah Salar.
- 2. Saiyid Mirza Rehan, a son of the Khwaja of Munjan, who has recently arrived in Chitral from Badakhshan, states:-
- (c) The Sipah Salar's Nazir recently bought 30 ponies and 1,500 sheep in Badakhshan, and took them to Asmar *via* the Veron valley of Kafiristan.
- (e) It is rumoured in Faizabad that the Amir intends to appoint Umra Khan of Jandol as Naib of Badakhshan.

24th November, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 89. *Political Diary of the Assistant British Agent, Chitral,* for week ending the 24th of November, 1896 (Confidential).

Kafiristan and Asmar

1. The Assistant British Agent dismissed the deputation of Wai Kafirs referred to in this diary for week ending 17 November 1896.
2. Before starting the Kafirs informed the Assistant British Agent that their real object in coming was to ascertain whether he would undertake to write to the Sipah Salar and urge him to treat them more leniently. The Assistant British Agent replied that he had no authority to correspond with the Sipah Salar on such matters, but added that, if they or any of their fellow countrymen desired to take refuge in Chitral territory, they were at liberty to do so.
3. The Wai Kafirs give the following details regarding their journey to Chitral:-

They started about a month ago from Waramdesh [Varomdesh] (a large village of 240 houses in Waigal) and marched the first day about 35 miles to Abrigal (no houses).

2nd day about same distance to Yamanigal (no houses).

3rd day crossed the Oradah Pass and marched to Kashtan [Kaštá, Nechingal Valley]. The snow on the Oradah [Urla] Pass was up to their waists, and they describe the route as being very difficult (they say the pass is now closed and that they will have to return to Waigal via Asmar and Chigharsrai).

4th day they marched to Kamu.

5th day they marched to Ishtratt (also known as Gaurdesh and Istorgat).

6th day they marched to Utzun (in Chitral territory) *via* the Patkun Pass.

4. The Wai Kafirs give the following information (*Note.* – Compare this with statement under paragraph (d) Kafiristan and Asmar of diary for week ending 10th November 1896.) regarding the new road from Chigharsrai to Munjan:-

(a) The distance from Chigharsrai to foot of Marudah Pass (called Kamah Pass in map attached to Mr. Robertson's Kafiristan report: Kumar is name of valley leading from Shtergram to the pass) is about 200 miles, and the road is now in good order throughout and fit for laden animals.

- (b) The Marudah Pass is slightly more difficult than the Dorah (this from hearsay): none of the men have seen the pass.
- (c) There are cantilever bridges at Doshakali (across Pech river: Doshakali is situated on right bank of river), Nogalam (across Waigal river), Gramsenrya and Sanudesh (both Gramsenrya and Sanudesh are on right bank of Pech river).
- (d) After crossing the river at Doshakali, the road lies up the left bank as far as Chukgel (opposite Gramsenrya). Here it crosses to right bank. At Sanudesh recross to left bank and continue up left bank of Veron (or Presun) river as far as Prunz: here cross to right bank and continue up as far as Shertergram.
- (e) Fodder and supplies generally are more easily obtained than on the Chitral route to Badakhshan.

5. The Wai Kafirs also give the following information regarding affairs in Waigal:-

- (a) The Afghans have built a fort at the village of Mildesh [Mul-desh] in Waigal. The garrison consists of one hundred and eighty Eljaris. The Afghan Hakim also lives at Mildesh. There are no other Afghan troops in Waigal.
- (b) The following taxes are realized from them annually for payment to the Amir:-
 4 oxen or cows out of every 20 animals,
 4 goats or sheep out of every 20 animals,
 8 rupees (Kabuli) per man.
- (c) In addition to the above they have to supply each month at Mildesh for the use of the garrison –
 8 maunds wheat,
 20 goats,
 100 seers ghi.

No payment is made for these supplies, and, in the event of any zamindar [زمیندار, landowner] being unable to supply his share, his women and children are seized and carried away to Kabul. Thus since the Afghans occupied the valley, about eighty Waigal women have been carried away to Kabul.

6. The Wai Kafirs and a Veron Kafir, who accompanied them to act as interpreter, give the following information regarding the population and products of the Pech, Sano, Waigal and Veron districts (e.g., the villages above the junction of the Wai and Veron streams at Nogalam [Ningalam]):-

(a) *Pech* [Valley]

Name of village	Number of families
Barzai	120
Garul	40
Ushadesh	120
Urigram	40
Lotalam	60
Natigram	40
Archalan	200
total	620

(b) *Sano or Shemi*

Name of village	Number of families
Gushalak	40
Chukgel [Chukgal]	60
Gramsenrya [Gramsandesh]	20
Sanudesh	200
total	320

(c) *Waigal* [Valley]

Name of village	Number of families
Akala	20
Want	20
Kegal	60
Akunr [Akun or Kun]	16
Mildesh [Muldesh]	120
Nashigram [Nisheigrom]	500
Jamch [Jemamesh]	120
Umdesh Jamch [?]	40
Warchigal [Zhönchigal]	580
Ameshdesh	240
Waigal	340
Waramdesh Waigal [Varomdesh]	240
total	2296

(d) *Veron or Presun* [Parun]

Pashaw (or Puhigram) [Pashki]	500
Sasum Bram [Tusum]	120
Kishtiki [Kushtegi]	120
Deogram [Dewa]	240
Pranz [Pronz]	160
Shtai (or Shtergram) [Shtiwe]	240
total	1380
Grand total	4616

(e) In Pech, Sano and Waigal – wheat, barley, cheena and dal are grown. In Veron – wheat, barley and cheena are grown. With the exception of Veron where there are only apples, grapes, walnuts, apples and apricots are found.

7. The Wai Kafirs give the following information regarding routes in Waigal and Veron:—

(a) From Waramdesh Waigal there is a path leading over a difficult pass only practicable for men on foot to Shigal, the country of the Shinwaris – two days' journey – (*Note.* – The Kafirs as a rule travel about 25 miles in a day) the pass is closed from beginning of December to end of February – name of pass is Ashidal.

(b) From Waramdesh Waigal to Kam over a pass only practicable for men on foot – three days' journey – Pass closed from beginning of December to end of March – name of pass is Oradah [Urla] (This is the route by which the Wai deputation came to Chitral, *vide* paragraph 3, page 1).

(c) From Waigal village a road leads over the Jandah [Jauda] Pass to Pashaw [Pashki] in Veron [Parun] – one days' journey – practicable for ponies – pass closed for only one month in year, *viz.*, February.

(d) There is a route leading up the Budgah nala, which joins the Veron river a little below the village of Archalam to Ashkun, another Kafir State.

(e) From Pashaw in Veron there is a difficult route to the Kalwar [Katwar] (*Note.* – Also known as Kti) valley – one days' journey – pass difficult and closed in January and February.

(f) From Pranz [Pronz] in Veron there is a difficult route to the Katwar [Kantiwo] valley – one days' journey – pass very difficult and closed from end of November to beginning of June.

(g) The route leading from Shtai [Shtiwe] in Veron to Munjan over the Marudah Pass (*vide* paragraph 4, page 2).

(h) From Shtai in Veron a road leads up the Wezgal across the Pabrukda Pass to Pabruk [Papruk] in Lutdeh [Katrgul] – one day's journey – not fit for ponies – closes from middle of December to end of March.

(i) From Shtai [Shtiwe] in Veron [Parun] a route leads to Kashtan [Kaštá] in Kamdesh [Kamdes] is in Kam territory, not Kaštá] over the Kunjinri [Kunjenida] Pass – two day's journey. (This route was traversed by Mr. Robertson *vide* his report.)

8. Gul Nabi of the village of Baburabad (close to Chitral), who was recently sent to Asmar to obtain news, states:—

(a) The Bashgalis (*Note.* — Chitrals call all Kafirs Bashgalis) seem to be contented. They come to Asmar and Birkot without fear and take service under the Afghan officials.

(b) The Sipah Salar is constructing barracks for the troops at Asmar: wood is being brought from the Dangam Gol.

(c) Thirteen mule loads of warm clothes for the sepoys have arrived at Birkot.

(e) It was rumoured in Asmar that Umra Khan had asked the Amir to appoint him ruler over Bashgal or Asmar, and that the Amir had replied that those places were too near to British territory, and that he would not allow him to leave Kabul.

9. Jana, Mirag and Patel of Lutdeh and Araba, Maril and Shayuk of Madugal report as follows:—

(a) The Sipah Salar is collecting revenue in the Bashgul valley at the following rates:—

In Madugal Re. 1 (Kabuli) per adult (men and women).

In Lutdeh Re. 1 (Kabuli) per family.

The Madugalis are assessed at a higher rate, because they burnt their villages during last year's fighting and generally gave more trouble.

(b) The Sipah Salar has issued orders that the roads are to be repaired as he intends to visit (*Note.* — Since the above was written, news has been received that the Sipah Salar has arrived at Birkot.) the valley.

(c) There are three hundred Afghan sepoys in Veron.

Badakhshan and Wakhan

2. Mir Afzal Khan and Saidad Khan, merchants of Miankili, who left Faizabad on the 25th October 1896 and travelled to Chitral with a kafila *via* the Dorah pass, state:—

(e) Lali and Muhammad Mir, traders of Chingai in Bajaur, bought one hundred and twenty sheep in Faizabad about a month ago and took them *via* Veron [Parun] to Asmar. About the same time an agent of the Sipah Salar took five hundred sheep by the same route. (*Note.* — Compare this with entry in Mr. Davis's diary under date 16th November 1896.) No other kafilas have gone by the Veron route. The construction of the road on both sides of the Marudah Pass is now finished, but the road

on the pass itself requires improving. The pass is much like the Dorah and closes for about the same length of time. The Veron route is shorter by about five days than the Dorah route, but fodder is scarce on the Veron side of the pass. (*Note.* — All the other men consulted by the Assistant British Agent state that fodder and supplies are plentiful.)

(f) The Amir recently ordered that all merchants trading with Badakshan should use the Veron route. The merchants protested that they would find difficulty in obtaining supplies in Kafiristan. Their real reason for objecting to this route is that they fear the exactions of the Amir's officials, and they do not believe that His Highness's promise to exempt them from payment of tolls for three years will be kept. When asked by the Assistant British Agent whether the Amir would be able to enforce the use of the new route, the merchants replied in the affirmative . . .

28th November, 1896. *Letters from India.* vol. 89. *Diary of the Kabul Agency* for the week which ended on the 28th November, 1896.

Last year or so, after the submission of Kafiristan, a large number of Kafirs were made captives and sent to Kabul. Many of them died on the way and those who reached here alive, adopted the Musalman religion. They have since been properly fed and clothed by His Highness, and are also being instructed in the Muslaman faith. It is also stated that now His Highness wishes to make one of these men a respectable Sardar and to grant him a handsome annual allowance. The idols of worship, which were brought here from Kafiristan, have been broken and destroyed.

16th December, 1896. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda.* Letter No. 196, dated the 16th of December, 1896.

Kafiristan

Early in November, a deputation of Wai Kafirs arrived in Chitral to ask the Assistant British Agent and the Mehtar if they might seek refuge in Chitral, or if anything could be done to save them from the tyranny of the Amir's officials. They say that the Afghans exact supplies without payment, besides levying revenue to the extent of half their crops, and eight rupees a family. One hundred

and ninety sepoys and 17 Mullahs are located in their country, and a report says the Wai men are conspiring with the Ramgal Kafirs, some of whose villages have never yet been subdued, with a view to rising.

A good road has been constructed from Lughman to Munjan through Waigal, and a detachment of sappers is to be permanently employed in keeping it in repair.

Chitral

The Amir has issued a notice to the traders of Badakhshan that he wishes them in future to travel to Asmar and Bajaur through Kafiristan, instead of by Chitral as hitherto, and he promises to exempt them from all tolls for three years if they will do so. The merchants seem doubtful about accepting the Amir's proposal, but the Political Officer in Dir and Swat reports that the route is already beginning to be used, and that a caravan of 600 donkeys came down by it from Badakshan in November. The tolls on through trade between Badakhshan and Bajaur form an important part of the revenue of Chitral State; and it will be a serious loss to the Mehtar if the Amir eventually induces traders to adopt the Kafiristan route. His Highness has sanctioned the expenditure of a large sum for the construction of the road, and for building serais and establishing villages along it.

6th January, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 2,*
dated the 6th of January, 1897.

Jalalabad. — From information received from the Khyber, it seems that the Amir has become somewhat suspicious of Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan and his special agent, Hakim Ahmad Jan.

Kafiristan

Work has been suspended on the road through Kafiristan to Badakhshan, owing to the severe cold.

The Assistant British Agent in Chitral interviewed the Wai Kafirs who came in to see him (see last Journal) before their return to Kafiristan. They informed him that their real object in coming was to ascertain if he would write to the Sipah Salar and urge him to treat them more leniently. Lieutenant Gurdon informed them that he had no authority to correspond with the Sipah Salar

on such matters, but that if they, or any of their fellow countrymen desired to take refuge in Chitral territory, they were at liberty to do so.

A great many Kafirs are said to have been recently sent to Kabul for disobeying orders given to them by the Afghan officials.

3rd February, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 19,*
dated the 3rd of February, 1897.

Kunar Valley. — There are six infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment and two batteries of artillery at Asmar, and 800 infantry at Birkot.

Kafiristan

The Sipah Salar is reported to have announced his intention of personally visiting the Bashgal country with a strong force, as he was not satisfied of the loyalty of the Bashgalis. The latter begged him not to do so and offered to surrender all the arms still in their possession, and to pay the revenue fixed by him. The Sipah Salar agreed, and a very large number of arms of every description has been sent to his camp at Asmar.

The Afghans are said to have taken the forts of Shukur and Paigal [Surich and Pägil] in the Kulam valley, which had hitherto succeeded in holding out against them. The garrison were put to death, women and children being spared. The Afghan losses in the fighting are believed to have been heavy.

There are 500 Afghan sepoys at Kamdesh and a regiment in Veron. Some Badakhshani recently brought large flocks of sheep from Badakhshan by the new Veron-Munjan road, intending to sell them to the Commissariat at Drosch, but the Sipah Salar bought most of them for the Afghan troops.

A report from Peshawar states that two Russian officers have visited Kafiristan, and, after preparing a rough map of the country, returned to Shighnan.

3rd March, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 32,* dated the 3rd of March, 1897.

Kafiristan

Four Afghan Mullas are said to have been murdered in Kafiristan for committing rape.

Some Kafirs from Lutdeh have been to Chitral to see the Assistant Political Agent. They informed him that some forty families from Lutdeh were going to leave their homes and settle in Chitral in the spring. Their principal grievance is that the Afghans are calling upon them to supply fresh hostages in place of those who have died at Kabul.

7th April, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 45*, dated the 7th of April, 1897.

Kafiristan

Early in March a deputation of Lutdeh and Kamdesh Kafirs visited Lieutenant Gurdon, and represented that they were much distressed owing to a new order published by the Amir to the effect that they were to furnish men for military service. They asked whether they should obey these orders, and said they seriously contemplated revolting. Lieutenant Gurdon believes that they have no intention of rising, and told them they had better obey the Amir's orders. A deputation of Wai Kafirs have also been in to see Lieutenant Gurdon and air their grievances. The Assistant Political Agent says that their real object was merely to get presents from the Mehtar and to ascertain whether there was any truth in a prevalent rumour that relations between the Government of India and the Amir were strained.

5th May, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 58*, dated the 5th of May, 1897.

Kafiristan

The Assistant Political Agent in Chitral has received another message from the Kamdesh Kafirs, asking whether the Government of India cannot induce the Afghans to treat them better. He has replied as before (see last Journal) that the Government of India does not interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Mer Jan, the headman of Istorgat (Gaurdesh), sent a message to the Assistant Political Agent, that he and his relations proposed to take refuge in Chitral territory. He was told that he could come if he wished, but it is thought improbable that he really intends leaving Kafiristan.

The Kafirs in the Bashgal valley are much disturbed owing to a rumour that numbers of them will be enlisted as sepoys.

The Kafirs in Pech Darra have rebelled against the mullas appointed to convert them, and have killed some of them.

8th June, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 78*, dated the 8th of June, 1897.

Kafiristan

The Lutdeh Kafirs have rebelled against the Amir, destroyed the road leading to Kamdesh, and killed a number of Afghan khas-sadars and mullas in their country. The cause of the rising is not known, but a report ascribes it to the deportation to Kabul of boys and girls for immoral purposes, and a demand for fresh hostages to take the place of some who had died at Kabul. Akram Khan, the Amir's representative for Kafiristan affairs, at once left Birkot for Kamdesh with 200 sepoys and 240 irregulars, and reinforcements were sent up from Asmar. The Lutdeh and Madugal Kafirs opposed Akram Khan's march and fighting ensued, in which the Kafirs suffered heavy loss, one report stating that the troops spared only old men and women. Some 3,000 escaped into Chitral territory, where they have not the means of subsistence.

The Mehtar is unable to provide for so large a number, and it was proposed to the Kafir headmen that they should move to the country between Panjkora and Shishikuf, which is known as Bishghar. There the Dir Khan has land enough to support 3,000 families, and he offered to allow them to settle. The refugees have been disarmed, and the Government of India have authorized the grant of pecuniary assistance for feeding them, and for transporting those who may accept the offer of the Khan of Dir. The Amir is being informed and asked whether the Government of India can assure the refugees that their lives will be spared, and their property restored if they return to Kafiristan and submit themselves to His Highness's authority. No refugees will be compelled to return to Kafiristan against their will, whether the Amir gives a guarantee or not. Latest news is to the effect that those who have submitted are leniently treated, and are being restored to their property. Many of the refugees are expected to return to their homes.

Reports received at Peshawar state that Umra Khan is in high favour with the Amir, and has been appointed commandant of the battalion of Kafir converts to Islam.

7th July, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 101*, dated the 7th of July, 1897.

Kafiristan

The Amir has replied to the letter sent to him by the Commissioner of Peshawar (see last Journal), enquiring whether the Government of India could assure the Kafir refugees in Chitral that their lives would be spared and their property restored, if they returned to Kafiristan and submitted to His Highness's authority. The Amir writes – "If they repent and return to their homes, their lives will be spared, and they will be allowed to lead a humble and rural life, but repent they must. In case they are not satisfied with this, they should not be permitted to remain in the dependencies of Chitral, and should go towards Gilgit, because their proximity would create a great many disturbances in the State. It is absolutely essential that they should not be allowed to remain in Chitral and its dependencies, because it would prove injurious to neighbourly relations." Major Deane has been instructed to make the Amir's decision known to the refugees and to allow those who wish to return under the conditions stated to do so.

Many are returning to Lutdeh, having heard that the men seized by the Afghans in connection with the recent rising are generally treated with clemency. It is thought probable that most refugees of the poorer classes will go back and that only the headmen will remain. Some of the latter with about 100 followers have gone over to the Khan of Dir's lands in Bashgar, and the Khan has given them an advance of money to help them for the present. The stories of the massacre of Kafirs, which were at first circulated, are reported by Major Deane to be incorrect.

The total number of Kafir refugees in Chitral territory at the beginning of June was about 1,600; they are scattered about the country and are working for their food. Up to the present, the Chitralis have made no complaint against them. There is only one Afghan regiment now in Lutdeh. The rest of the troops sent up to quell the rising having been withdrawn. As soon as the

Afghans have completed the fort which they are building there, the remaining regiment will be replaced by 120 khassadars.

On the 30th June, a letter was received from the Amir, stating that the refugees, in a body, wish to return to their homes, but that they are being prevented from doing so by the officials in Chitral. His Highness asks that orders may be sent to the officials not to interfere with those who may desire of their own free will to go back to Kafiristan. A similar letter has been written to the Mehtar by the Afghan Hakim of Lutdeh, and the Assistant Political Agent in Chitral has replied to him that, so far as he is aware, no Kafirs who wished to return had been prevented from doing so, but that he would make enquiries and sent messages to the refugees that they were free to go back whenever they pleased.

4th August, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 119,*
dated the 4th of August, 1897.

Kafiristan

The total number of Kafir refugees in Chitral at the beginning of July amounted to 630 men, women and children, inclusive of the Kam and Lutdeh Kafirs, who came to Chitral in the winter of 1895. Those who have recently returned to Lutdeh have been kindly treated by the Afghans: they have been given two bullocks each and some seed-grain for cultivation purposes. Refugees continue to return in small parties, but it is rumoured that some of them meditate coming back to Chitral as they are afraid that, when the winter sets in, and the passes between Chitral and Kafiristan are closed, the Amir will have them deported to Kabul. In reply to the Amir's letter (see last Journal) stating that the Kafir refugees wished to return to their homes, but were being prevented by the Chitral officials, His Highness has been informed (9th July) that the refugees have been told that they could return to Kafiristan whenever they pleased, and that he might rest assured that neither the Chitralis nor the British officers in Chitral would do anything to prevent the return of any Kafirs, who wished to go back of their own free-will.

8th September, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 129,*
dated the 8th of September, 1897.

Kafiristan

The Kafir refugees in Chitral continue to return to Lutdeh in small parties; eventually only those who have special reasons for fearing punishment at the hands of the Amir's officials, will remain in Chitral. The Afghan Governor of Narsat is trying to induce the Kafirs who have settled in Dir to return to their homes. The Afghans have finished the new fort they were building in Lutdeh. Only 200 Afghan troops will now remain in the Lutdeh valley to garrison the fort.

Chitral

Some Lutdeh Kafirs made a raid into Lutkho early in August, and carried off some sheep and goats. The Kafir refugees in Chitral say that raiding into Chitral is being encouraged by the Afghan officials.

7th October, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 139,*
dated the 7th of October, 1897.

Chitral

The Lutdeh Kafirs have carried off many bullocks and sheep belonging to Chitalis, and Lieutenant Gurdon has in consequence warned the refugee Kafirs in the Bumboret valley that, if any more cattle are raided, they will be called upon to replace them from their own herds. There is little doubt that some of the refugees have been helping the raiders. The refugees told Lieutenant Gurdon that, after the recent rising, the Afghans took away all the bullocks from Lutdeh and that there are no animals left for ploughing, and that consequently the Lutdehchis cannot resist the temptation to replace them by raiding. The Afghan Hakim, if he does not encourage the raids, as the Kafirs say he does, evidently makes no effort to stop them.

4th November, 1897. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 153,*
dated the 4th of November, 1897.

Kafiristan

A number of Kafir headmen from Lutdeh and Kamdesh have been summoned to Asmar, and the Kafirs are much disturbed in consequence. Some twelve families have fled from Munjan

and taken refuge in the upper part of the Lutkho valley. They complain bitterly of the oppression of the Afghan garrison quartered in Munjan. In reply to their request for land to cultivate, Captain Gurdon has told them that there is no objection to their settling on waste land after obtaining permission from the Mehtar's officials.

The Afghan Hakim of Lutdeh has restored to the people of Ayun some of the cattle recently carried off by the Lutdeh Kafirs. Captain Gurdon had given permission to the Ayun people to visit Lutdeh to claim their property, but declined to give them letters to the Hakim.

1st January, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 1*, dated the 1st of January, 1898.

Chitral

A young Lutdeh Kafir has been sent to Chitral by the Amir, with a letter in His Highness's own handwriting, addressed to the principal Kafir refugees, urging them to return to their country and promising pardon for past offences if they will do so at once.

6th January, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 2*, dated the 6th of January, 1898.

Chitral

Twenty-five Kamdesh Kafirs have taken refuge in the Utzun valley, eight miles below Drosh. They complain of the oppression of the Afghan Hakim. Some Lutdeh Kafirs were also preparing to take flight into Chitral, but the Afghan Governor received news of their intention and prevented them. On the other hand, it is reported that the Afghan Hakim has restored their lands to those Kafirs who, having fled to Chitral after the rising last spring, have since returned to their own country.

3rd March, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 42*, dated the 3rd March, 1898.

Kafiristan

All is reported quiet in Kafiristan. The people, however, are said to be generally discontented, and though they outwardly profess

Muhammadanism, they still worship idols in secret. The Kafir hostages, who have been in Kabul for the past two years, have been allowed to return to their homes in Kamdesh and Lutdeh, on being relieved by a like number of fresh hostages. Those who have gone back to Kafiristan say they were well treated by the Amir, and that all received presents on leaving Kabul.

1 April, 1898. *Memorandum of Information received during the month of March, 1898, regarding affairs on and beyond the North-West Frontier of India.* Enclosure of a letter to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 60, dated the 14th April, 1898.

North Western Frontier

Khyber . . . Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, Charkhi, died at Jalalabad some time about the 20th March. His body was taken to Kabul for burial.

[Generally believed in Afghanistan today is the story that Ghulam Haidar was poisoned at Asmar by order of the Amir. The Commander-in-Chief is buried at Charkh in the Logar Valley.]

14th April, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 60, dated the 14th of April, 1898.*

Kafiristan

The Afghan Mulla of the Pittigal Masjid was recently murdered by a Lutdeh Kafir. Some sixty men of Lutdeh have been arrested in connection with the crime.

9th June, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 86, dated the 9th of June, 1898.*

Kafiristan

Little news of interest is forthcoming from Kafiristan. There are 80 Afghan sepoys at Lutdeh and 20 at Domuk, a hamlet on the river about fifteen miles below the village of Lutdeh. The Officer Commanding the garrison treats the people well, but the sepoys oppress them and only pay nominal prices for supplies. The country seems to be perfectly quiet.

7th July, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 104*, dated the 7th of July, 1898.

Kafiristan

The road through Bashgal to the Ahmad-i-Diwana Pass has been repaired and widened; and 200 more Afghan sepoys have arrived in Lutdeh, the garrison of which place is now 500 men.

Two hundred and forty men from Lutdeh were recently collected by the Afghan Hakim and taken to Kamdesh, under the pretext that the Sipah Salar was shortly expected there, and that he wished to see them. On arrival at Kamdesh, it is said that they were imprisoned, but that the reason for this action on the part of the Afghans is not known.

8th September, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 157*, dated the 8th of September, 1898.

Chitral

Twenty-five Bashgal families have fled from Ustargat [Gawardesh] in Kafiristan and taken refuge in the Chitral Urtsun valley. They have been settled down near Kanti, in Chitral, on agreement to pay revenue to the Mehtar. During the absence at Chitral of the headman of this party, a band of fifteen Kafirs from Ustargat came to Urtsun to carry off his family. Orders were sent to the Urtsun people to detain the raiders pending enquiry, but they allowed the band to return taking the family with them.

The Afghan Hakim of Lutdeh has sent a message to the Bashgalis in Chitral, urging them to return to their homes and promising the restoration of their lands and houses. The messenger brought an unsigned letter from the Hakim, asking that the Bashgalis should be expelled from Chitral, and saying that as, by the Amir's orders, five hundred Bajauris had been refused admittance to Afghan territory, reciprocity of treatment was expected on the part of the British Government as regards the Bashgalis. The messenger was told that, if he could induce the Kafirs to return, no obstacles would be raised to his doing so. A number of sheep were raided by Bashgal Kafirs from the Bidir valley on the 29th July, but nearly all have been recovered. It is difficult to prevent these raids at this season of the year, when the range that forms the Chitral-Kafiristan boundary can be easily crossed. Captain

Kennion is arranging to make the Bashgalis, who have settled in Chitral territory, responsible for safeguarding the frontier.

6th October, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 179,*
dated the 6th of October, 1898.

Kafiristan. — It is reported that the Kafirs of Deogal, in the Pech valley, have rebelled and killed eight Afghan sepoys. The Sipah Salar has ordered the garrisons in Bashgal to be reinforced, and has himself gone to the scene of the outbreak.

The Amir is settling a large number of Afghans in Kafiristan. Three thousand families are said to have already arrived in the country, and more are being sent there.

Chitral

Some refugee Bashgalis, now living in Bomboreth, recently brought a herd of cattle over from the Lutdeh valley, stating that it was their own property. On enquiry, it was ascertained that the cattle had been looted, and the Political Officer had them sent back to the Afghan Governor at Lutdeh, with a letter from the Diwan Begi of Chitral.

10th November, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 206,*
dated the 10th of November, 1898.

Kafiristan

The cause of the Kafir rising in the Deogal valley is said to have been an order for the confiscation of 120 rifles from the people of Badel and Deogal. Seven Afghan sepoys were killed at the outset. The Sipah Salar, on hearing of the outbreak, marched to the scene with four regiments, and, after some fighting in which thirty Afghan sepoys are said to have been killed, completely dispersed the Kafir gathering.

22nd December, 1898. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 215,*
dated the 22nd of December, 1898.

Kafiristan

About the middle of October, a section of the Pech valley tribes was still holding out and occupying a narrow defile commanding the entrance to their country. They have since been defeated

with heavy loss, and forty headmen were taken prisoners and sent to Kabul by the Sipah Salar. The losses among the Afghan troops were also heavy.

The Afghan garrison in Kamdesh has been reinforced by 100 levies from Barkot. Both the Kam and Lutdeh Kafirs are showing an inclination to disobey the orders of the Afghan Mallas.

5th January, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 4,*
dated the 5th of January, 1899.

Jalalabad district. — The recent rising in Deegal is said to have been caused mainly by the exactions of Mir Atta Khan, the new Sipah Salar. The disturbance is now at an end, and the people have made their submission.

The Sipah Salar is encamped with a force of 2,000 men at Narang on the right bank of the Kunar river below Chighar Serai. He is most unpopular with all classes, owing to his bad temper and covetousness.

The following is the disposition of the Afghan forces in Asmar and Kafiristan:—

At Asmar, eight regiments, aggregating 4,800 men, with 32 mountain guns. At Birkot, the Zabardast Regiment, 500 strong, 4 mountain guns, and a company of Hazara Sappers and Miners. At Lutdeh, 200 Lughmani khassadars.

At Kam[desh], 86 Asmari khassadars.

In the Veron [Parun] valley, 100 Lughmani khassadars.

At Pech, one company of Sappers and Miners.

Kafiristan

There are said to have been 3,000 Kafir hostages at Kabul: A Kafir Regiment is being enlisted, and the rest are being released. As a rule the Kafirs are well treated. The Afghans estimate the population of Kafiristan at above 60,000.

2nd February, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 18,*
dated the 2nd of February, 1899.

The Amir is said to have appointed General Faramurz Khan, Commander-in-Chief of Herat, the Commander-in-Chief of Afghanistan in place of the late General Ghulam Haidar Khan. A batch of 100 Kafir men, women and children have arrived in

custody from Kafiristan, and will be kept in confinement until they consent to embrace the Muhammadan religion.

Jalalabad. – It is rumoured that the Sipah Salar Mir Atta Khan will shortly be succeeded as Sipah Salar by the son of the late Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan.

Kafiristan

General Mir Atta Khan is reported to have made a clearance of the Pech Darra population, killing many and sending others to Kabul. It is said that the Amir has sent for Mir Atta Khan to Kabul. The Amir has sent some trustworthy men to the Bashgal valley to enquire into the numerous complaints of oppression received by him from Bashgalis. The mission will also visit the other valleys of Kafiristan. It is rumoured that the Hakim of the Veron valley having incurred the Amir's displeasure has fled to Pesha-war.

9th March, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 41*, dated the 9th of March, 1899.

Kafiristan. – Of 13 Kam headmen, who were kept as hostages at Kabul, 12 have returned to their homes: the Amir has ordered the thirteenth to remain at Kabul another year. Fifty slaves from Kam and Mujash recently returned to their homes, having been set free by the Amir. All but four have announced their intention to return to the Amir's service. Thirteen persons were recently deputed by the Amir to visit Kafiristan, and enquire into the condition of the people and whether they were oppressed by His Highness's officials. The deputation travelled by Pech to Veron, Waigal, Kam, Mujash and Lutdeh, and then returned by Asmar to Kabul.

11th May, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 85*, dated the 11th of May, 1899.

Asmar. – The Afghans are constructing an 8-foot road along the right bank of the Kunar river, between the bridges at Asmar and Narsat, in continuation of the road from Jalalabad to Asmar. Some discontent is being evinced by the Narsat people, who are compelled to work on the road without payment.

Kafiristan

The Amir is said to have given orders for the raising of six new regiments, all the men for which are to come from Kafiristan. The majority are to be enlisted in the Ramgal valley; but the Wai, Veron, Katwar and Bashgal valleys are to be indented on.

8th June, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 106*, dated the 8th of June, 1899.

Chitral

The Afghan officials in Asmar and Kafiristan are reported to be in the habit of sending messages to the people of Lower Chitral, promising them grants of land if they will settle in Afghan territory. Several families of Kafirs from Lutdeh and Istorgat have emigrated to Chitral during the month.

6th July, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 131*, dated the 6th of July, 1899.

Chitral

A Bashgali Sheikh from Lutdeh has arrived in Bimboret with messages from the Amir to the Kafir refugees in Chitral territory. The messenger promises that, if they will return at once to Kafiristan, their lands and property will be restored to them, and adds that, if they do not avail themselves of this opportunity, they will not be allowed to return to Kafiristan hereafter.

11th August, 1899. *No. 80 C./Camp*, dated Nathiagali, the 11th of August, 1899.

Regular and Irregular Troops, Communications, &c., in Ningrahar, Jalalabad, Laghman and Kafiristan.

From – F. D. Cunningham, Esquire, C.I.E., Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

To – The Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I have the honour to enclose, in original, a memorandum drawn up by the Political Officer, Khaibar [J. G. Lorimer], regarding the strength of regular and irregular troops in Ningrahar, Jalalabad, Laghman and Kafiristan and other particulars connected therewith, and to suggest that it be printed confidentially.

At Barikot is the Sofi or (so-called from its late Commanding

Officer) the Said Gul Khan Regiment. It is armed entirely with Sniders. There are six companies and the strength is about 500 to 550 men. There are two mountain guns (not screw) at Barikot: they are carried on bullocks (gaobar).

There are now no regular troops at *Bashgul*. The whole of the troops from *Shewa* to *Barikot* are under General Bahawal Khan whose head-quarters are at Asmar.

15. The following is a description of the route from the Kunar up the Pech Darra or Parun to Turkistan. This road was commenced by the late Sipah Salar Ghulum Haidar Khan and carried on by his successor Mir Ata Khan: it is really only a sort of track. *Chaghar Sarai* to *Barkandai* – about 6 miles. The road lies along the east or left bank of the Pech or Parun Sind. This river is 20 to 30 yards broad in its lower course, and logs can (at times at any rate) be floated down it. Barkandai consists of about 300 houses of Saufis (Muhammadan), supplies are abundant, and there is space for a considerable force to camp.

Barkandai to *Nangalam*. – About 5 miles on the same bank. Nangalam has about 400 houses of Muhammadan Saufis, and there is no want of supplies or space to encamp for an ordinary force. *Nangalam* to *Rachalam*, about 5 miles still on the left bank of the river. The village of Racholam is on the right bank, so is the camping-ground, which is confined. The river when high can only be crossed here by a bridge impassable for animals. The village consists of about 200 houses of Saufis.

Racholam to *Sindzai*, about 4 miles. Just before Sindzai the road crosses to the right bank by a bridge fit for camels. Sindzai is a village of 60 to 80 Saufi houses. There is plenty of space to encamp a force at Sindzai.

Sindzai to *Gosala* and *Kalla*, about 7 miles. The road now runs along the right bank. Gosala has about 350 houses of Saufis and there is room for a considerable force to encamp at Kalla.

Gosala to *Safargar*, 6 or 7 miles on the right bank of the stream through a deserted country. No supplies and no space for a camp at Safargar.

Safargar to *Acharnu*, 6 or 7 miles. This is a bad bit of road full of ascents and descents. At Acharnu there are about 10 houses of Kafirs converted to Muhammadanism and space for about 3 companies to encamp.

Acharnu to Butkhana, about 7 miles. The road is stiff, but not so difficult as in the preceding stage. There are no houses and no space for a camp at Butkhana.

Butkhana to Badgora, 6 miles. There is no village, and no supplies are obtainable on this stage, but there is room to encamp two regiments at Badgora.

Badgora to Kishtaki, 6 or 7 miles. Kishtaki is one of the 6 Parun villages which extend about 10 miles along the upper course of the Parun sind. They are (in order from south to north) Pashki (140 houses), Sasum (20 houses), Kishtaki (40 houses), Diwa (30 houses), Proz (50 houses), and Ishtawi (70 houses).

The inhabitants are Kafirs converted to Muhammadanism.

Kishtaki to Ishtawi, 5 miles.

Ishtawi to Kotal Sar, about 6 miles. In this last 6 miles there are 9 separate ascents. From the Kotal Sar to Minjan is a two days' march, and it is understood that the road to the Kotal from the Minjan side is not quite completed. At Minjan there is a detachment furnished by the troops in Turkistan: at present it consists of a company of the Logari Regiment under Captain Dad Muhammad, Logari. There are two natural ponds on the Kotal itself. Loaded camels can get up as far as Ishtawi: beyond that to Minjan baggage must be carried on ponies or mules. Stores are generally carried over the Kotal on coolies, however. Even in summer there is snow on the Kotal and at other seasons it is too deep to remove, and animals can only pass after a path has been consolidated through it. In winter snow falls as low down as Gosala, but there is not ordinarily enough to seriously impede traffic below the Parun villages.

The opening of this road into Turkistan and another by Bashgul and Zebak was due to the enterprise of the late Sipah Salar Ghulam Haidar Khan, who was a man of large ideas and wished to encourage trade. There were some signs of a commencement of trade, and some sheep and goats had been brought from Turkistan by the Bashgul route, and about 4,000 sheep and goats and 100 horses by Minjan, when the Amir closed both roads for traffic; the idea of freer intercourse between Turkistan and Peshawar *via* Nawagai being distasteful to him.

16. The following irregulars are said to be employed in the Kafir country:—

In the Parun villages at the head of the Pech Darra (see above) 40 Khassadars armed with English muskets under Sadbashi Babaji (Laghmani). In Katwar 30 Khassadars under Pinjahbashi Gholam (Kunari). These Khassadars are probably not men of the locality. At Mundesh (in the Darra-i-arangsiah which runs into the Pech Darra from the east) 50 Khassadars (Muhammadan Saufis) under Pinjahbashi Mirgul (Saufi). At Kamdesh above (i.e., apparently north of) Bashgul 50 Khassadars (Asmaris) under Nawab Khan, Logari. At Baragamatal described as "on the frontier about 20 miles up the Landai Sind [Bashgul Valley]" two Behraks of Khassadars; one of Laghmanis armed with English muskets and one of Kunaris armed with country flintlocks.

17. The civil divisions of the country dealt with in this note are – (1) Jalalabad, (2) Laghman, (3) Kunar, Asmar and Kafiristan. Each of these is an independant charge: its revenue accounts are submitted direct to Kabul. The civil Governor of Jalalabad is Muhammad Umar Khan; of Laghman, Muhammad Ali Beg (better known as Wakil Khan); and of Kunar, Asmar and Kafiristan, Saifullah Khan of Kandahar. The civil subordinates in the last-named division were appointed by the military authorities, but it seems that the general administration has now been transferred from the military to the civil, as these subordinates now send their accounts to Saifullah Khan, who forwards them to Kabul, and not to General Bahawal Khan who commands the troops.

12th October, 1899. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 188,*
dated the 12th of October, 1899.

V. *Kafiristan*

(3) *Kafiristan affairs.* – The Mullas originally sent as missionaries to Kafiristan have been recalled. The conduct of many of them has been unsatisfactory: they are said to have ill-treated the people of the country and in some cases taken their women by force for wives. Some of their number have been murdered by the Kafirs on account of their behaviour. It is reported that all of those now returned to Kabul who are found to have married Kafir women will be punished, and that the Governor of Jalalabad

has received orders to collect and send a fresh band of missionaries.

- (4) The Amir's news-agent in Kafiristan was murdered there on the 13th of September, it is suspected by the people of the country.
(5) A large new grant has been made for constructing roads in Kafiristan, and it is believed that use will be made of compulsory military service in order to confirm the Kafirs in the national religion which has been forced upon them.

24th May, 1900. *Trans-Frontier Memoranda. Letter No. 66*, dated the 24th of May, 1900.

Chitral. — Some Kafir refugees have returned to Istargatz [Gawardesh] in Afghanistan, leaving deserted the village of Kaoti where they had resided for two years. Their departure is not to be regretted, as they had been suspected for some time of encouraging their relatives in Kamdesh to carry off cattle, goats and sheep from Dammer and Arandu. Mer Jan, a refugee Bashgali headman and perhaps the most influential man among the Kam Kafirs, has also returned to Afghanistan. The Mehtar informed Captain Gurdon that there were seven hundred Kafir refugees in Chitral, of whom 28 were from Kamdesh and the rest from Lutdeh. The majority have settled in the Rumbur and Bumboreth valleys above Ayun.

Acknowledgments

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EINLEITUNG

Aus Meyers Biographie ist bekannt, wie lange er auf seine persönliche Entfaltung warten mußte – vor allem aber läßt es sich aus Gedichten wie *Lenzfahrt*, *Schwüle* oder »*Tag, schein herein! und Leben, flieh hinaus!*« herauslesen. Doch nie betrachtete Meyer diese Befreiung aus dem »schweren Bann« als eindeutig positiv – ja sie dauerte wohl auch gerade deshalb so lange, weil er sie stets nicht nur als wünschenswert, sondern auch als bedrohlich empfand. Die unlösbare Problematik der Befreiung zieht sich durch sein ganzes Werk, das lyrische wie das prosaische, von *Huttens letzte Tage* bis zu *Angela Borgia*. Die Befreiungsakte des persönlichen Lebens werden in hervorragenden Gestalten zu Taten der Weltgeschichte (das geht bis in den Titel *Männer*, den der letzte Abschnitt der Gedichtsammlung trägt), und in der Person spiegelt sich die Geschichte wider; auf alle Hauptgestalten trifft das zu, was Hutten über Luther sagt:

Sein Geist ist zweier Zeiten Schlachtgebiet –

Mich wunderts nicht, daß er Dämonen sieht!

(Hutten XXXII Luther)

Schon das erste größere Werk Meyers, *Huttens letzte Tage* (1871, mehrfach revidiert) entfaltet die doppelte Problematik an dem Beispiel einer komplizierten Persönlichkeit in einer unruhigen Zeit. Hutten ist ausgezogen, das sich selbst überlebende Mittelalter zu liquidieren; er durchschaut die Hohlheit der kirchlichen Politik, die Verrottheit der Geistlichkeit, erkennt auch die sozialen Komponenten der Reformation (*XIII Die Ablaßbude*) und zögert keinen Augenblick, für das Neue Partei zu ergreifen. Er streitet für die Befreiung des Menschen aus der Vormundschaft der Kirche und für die Freiheit der Person gegen jeden Aberglauben (*XXV Astrologie*), schließlich auch für die Befreiung der Nationen von der Herrschaft eines übernationalen Reiches

(XXIX *Der letzte Humpen*, XXXVI *Deutsche Libertät*). Er freut sich über alles Neue, und sei es das Allerkleinste: »Ists doch ein Werden, ist es ein Entstehen!« (*LV Das fallende Laub*), und faßt seine Anschauung in die Worte zusammen:

Ich glaube nicht an alter Zeiten Glück!
Ich breche durch und schaue nicht zurück!
(LIX *Sturm und Schilf*)

In diesen Zeilen wird indessen auch die Fragwürdigkeit dieser Befreiung sichtbar; sie hinterläßt eine unheilbare Wunde und liefert den Menschen dem »Strom des Lebens« (LXIX) aus. Die Vergangenheit mußte zugrunde gehen, »Die Zukunft aber, Hutten, kennst du die?« (*XI Der Ritter ohne Furcht und Tadel*). Das Durchbrechen ohne Zurückschauen soll ein heimliches Unbehagen verdecken, und Hutten weiß, was er bei seiner Auflehnung verliert: selbst sagt er »trocken«: »Ich bin nichts« (*XVIII Die Gebärde*). Der Aufruhr bedeutet den Verlust jeder Ordnung und jedes Schutzes; die Fehde gegen die alte Kirche wird zugleich zum nicht-erwünschten Bruch mit den geliebten Eltern (*XX Jacta est alea*), und die Mutter nimmt später die Gestalt eines Dämons an (*LIX Sturm und Schilf*), der den Ritter in die alte Ordnung zurückrufen will. – Auch im Geschichtlichen erkennt Hutten den Verlust der alten Werte als schmerzlich; er unterstützt die Bildersärmerei, weiß jedoch auch, daß »etwas Edles« dabei zugrunde geht (*XLII Die Bildersärmerei*). Und es bleibt problematisch, ob gleich Edles wieder geschaffen werden kann; zwar besitzt Hutten »des Herzens Kraft« (*XXVII Ariost*), aber seine Reime klingen dennoch nicht so schön und lieblich wie die eines Ariost; moralische Unbedingtheit und reales Leben haben sich endgültig getrennt, und Huttens berühmte Charakteristik seiner selbst:

Ich bin ein Mensch mit seinem Widerspruch!
(XXVI *Homo sum*)

wird nicht zurückgenommen. Aus diesem Widerspruch erwächst die Dichtung Meyers; daher konnte er (14.I.1888) an Felix Bovet schreiben: »Dans tous les personnages du Pescara, même dans ce vilain Morone, il y a du C. F. M.« Die Konflikte entstehen zwischen Abspaltungen derselben Person. Eine universale Harmonie, wie sie Hutten sich wünscht, läßt sich nicht mehr realisie-

ren, der Kampf für das Ideal verzehrt die leiblichen Kräfte, und das Weiterleben in der Welt wäre nur mit einer Preisgabe alles Guten zu erreichen:

Nicht leben soll ich, wenn ich leben soll!
(V Konsultation)

Hutten sieht sich also als widersprüchlichen Menschen und definiert diese Situation als eine – zumindest auch – geschichtliche; seine Problematik ist fundamental im ganzen Werk, und wie gern Meyer ihr entkommen möchte, zeigt bereits die folgende Dichtung: *Engelberg*: »Es war mir ein Bedürfniß«, schrieb Meyer (12.XI.1872) an Anna v. Doß, »neben das mit der Geschichte verflochtene herbe Loos des Ritters ein mehr mit dem Naturleben verwachsenes einfaches Frauenschicksal zu stellen«. Und in einem Brief an Hermann Haessel (27.II.1872) nennt er die Hauptgestalt Engel »eine Art mittelalterliche Psyche«. Das Mittelalter wird – als Gegensatz zur kämpferischen Zeit Huttens – als Zeitlosigkeit idealisiert, die Geschichte wird zur Legende, und eine endgültige, höhere Ordnung hebt alle irdischen Gegensätze auf. Gegen die Geschichte wird das »Naturleben«, gegen die Neuzeit das Mittelalter, gegen den problematischen Mann die angeblich unproblematische Frau ausgespielt.

Meyer war sich der Notwendigkeit eines Aufbruchs sehr wohl bewußt; er sehnte sich danach und freute sich, als endlich nach langen Jahren »das Eis zersprang« (*Lenzfahrt*). Was aber da aufquoll, war nicht nur die schöne, blaue Flut, sondern auch die »jähe Stromgewalt«, von der Hutten sprach (*LXIX Strom des Lebens*). Engel flieht aus dem Kloster und wird von dem Sonnenstrahl befreit, der wie ein Pfeil durch das Eis schießt und alles in Bewegung setzt; Astorre aber wird sich, als er gezwungenermaßen sein Kloster verläßt, über »den alles mitreißenden Strom der Welt« wundern (*Mönch*; 12, 40). Das Neue bleibt so doppeldeutig wie das Bergwasser (vgl. unten S. 9) oder der Lenz (vgl. *Frühlingslied*, Briefe II, S. 18: »Sage, Lenz, wirst du mich töten? / Läßest du mich aufersteh'n?«).

Kaum hat die Wanderschaft begonnen, da muß das Ich einen neuen Halt suchen. Die »Wanderfüße« »begehrten« (im Gedicht dieses Namens) »ihre Lust zu büßen«, sind aber »rastlos schreitend ohne Ziel und Ende!« Der sich über den aufquellenden

See gefreut hat, ist zugleich »der zum Reiseschritt Verdammte!« Nur eines bleibt ihm »in dieser Flucht und Flut«: die Treue der Schwester (*Ohne Datum*), die Verbindung zu einem mehr mit dem Naturleben verwachsenen Frauenschicksal. Nicht nur die Erstarrung soll überwunden werden, sondern auch die Befreiung selber. Das Ziel ist eine universale Harmonie, die in *Reisephantasie* zwar erträumt wird, von der es aber heißt, daß es sie nie geben werde. Was die Wanderfüße nicht vermögen, muß dann die Pilgerschaft vollenden: »Ich bin ein Pilgerim und Wandersmann!« sagt das Gedicht (*Ein Pilgrim*); Schadaus alter Onkel meint dasselbe (*Amulett*), und Meyer schrieb in einem Brief an Cécile Borrel (7.V.1853), »que nous ne sommes que des pèlerins à terre«. Der Wanderer, der »ohne Sterbebette« seinen Füßen »eine Ruhestätte« finden möchte (Wanderfüße), sucht am Ende doch das Jenseits und nimmt auch das Sterbebett in Kauf.

Daher wird in den Novellen auch immer mehr vom Geschichtlichen abstrahiert. Zuerst wurde noch die Geschichte selbst, ihre Problematik und Widersprüchlichkeit gesucht, im Laufe der Zeit werden die Konflikte indessen immer »zeitloser«; sie werden zu »Gewissensfragen«, die sich in einem weniger verbindlichen historischen Rahmen leichter abhandeln lassen. Meyers Geschichtsnovellen zielen letzten Endes auf eine Aufhebung der Geschichte zugunsten einer »höheren« gerechten Ordnung. Die Versuchung des Pescara ist eine Versuchung durch die Geschichte, die abgewiesen wird.

Aber das Jenseits bleibt unsichtbar: die ordnenden Mächte sind nicht erkennbar, und für Pescara bleibt nur eine Gottheit: der Tod. Ein Schicksal und kein Gott lenkt die Geschicke; wo auf das Göttliche Bezug genommen wird, wie in *Angela Borgia*, geschieht es in der Form einer Regression zum Paradies, zur falschen Idylle, die Hutten bereits entlarvt hatte.

Das Neue, das schon für Hutten zwei Gesichter hatte: das der Befreiung aus den Fesseln und das des Abfalls von der Ordnung, behält nur noch das letztere: die gefährliche Auflehnung wird unterdrückt, sei es im Privaten, wo die Sexualität diffamiert wird, sei es im Sozialen, wo das »Recht«, das Unveränderlichkeit bedeutet, triumphiert.

Diese Entwicklung hatte innere und äußere Gründe. Meyer war sich seiner psychischen Gefährdung stets bewußt und mußte

dringend nach einer Art Erlösung suchen. Als diese sich in dem Leben nach dem Durchbruch nicht zeigen wollte, floh er in die Idylle zurück, die ihm den Abfall nie verziehen hatte. Was einst ein Erwachen der Leidenschaft, des Gefühls, des Bewußtseins, der Aktivität gewesen war, wird später als Verrat betrachtet. Die Befreiung wird zum Sündenfall. – Hutten sehnte sich nach dem weltlichen deutschen Reich, Meyer erlebte dessen Entstehung und sehnte sich zugleich nach dem heiligen Reich, das aber ausblieb. Die Befreiung zur neuen Ordnung, die sich Meyer – und nicht nur er – vom Bismarck-Reich erhofft hatte, kam nicht zustande, und wenn er auch weiterhin in Briefen seine Vorliebe für Bismarck bekundet: seine Novellen werden immer skeptischer.

In der Kunst war die Verehrung des »großen« Menschen freilich nie unbedingt gewesen: die Schattenseite eines Jenatsch, dem Meyer »Bismarckähnlichkeit« bescheinigte (an Rodenberg 28.III. 1891) wurde nicht verschwiegen, und diese Widersprüchlichkeit der Person und seiner Zeit bezeichnete Meyer als »die Anfänge des *modernen* Menschen« (an Haessel 5.IX. 1866). Der Konflikt, den Meyer in Jenatsch entdeckte (nämlich den Konflikt »von Recht und Macht, Politik und Sittlichkeit« – an Haessel 26.IX. 1966) ließ sich nicht mehr lösen, weil es keine höhere Instanz gab. Gott war tot – und sein Nachfolger, der große Mensch Jenatsch'scher Prägung, war keiner. Meyers Vertrauen in die Möglichkeiten des Menschen schwand immer mehr. Jenatsch wird von seinem »Dämon« getrieben, aber er befreit auch sein Land, während der Mönch Astorre und der Feldherr Pescara im Leben nichts als schuldhafte Verstrickung sehen. Pescara ist wie Hutten krank, er steht wie Jenatsch im Konflikt, kann aber keinerlei Entschuldigung für sein Weiterleben mehr finden. Als Lösung bleibt nur die Idylle – oder der Tod, der dann (von Pescara) zur Gottheit erhoben wird. Das Schicksal, für Hutten das Gegenbild der Freiheit, wird zum Schutz gegen das Anarchische und nennt sich Gerechtigkeit. Hutten und Pescara sind beide todkrank, aber nur Pescara macht sich auf dem Hintergrund seines Todes zum Richter über Gut und Böse in der Welt.

Welt und Individuum entfremden sich immer mehr; der höchste Triumph der Person ist nicht mehr ein Triumph *im* Leben, sondern ein Sieg *über* das Leben, das dem Einzelnen eine harmonische Entfaltung verwehrt, und die aktive Teilnahme am Leben ist daher nicht nur zeitlich, sondern auch logisch mit dem Tod

verbunden – vgl. das oft wiederkehrende Motiv des »Sterbens im Frühlicht«: es kommt in zahlreichen Gedichten, im Motto des Pagen Leubelfing, im Mailänder Sieg Pescaras usw. vor. Das Kloster, einst der Ort der Unterdrückung (für Franziska in *Clara* und auch noch für Jutta in *Engelberg*), wird schon für Luther (*Hutten*) problematisch, für Astorre aber ausschließlich positiv: das Kloster wird zum Schutz vor dem Zugriff der Welt. Der Konflikt bleibt der gleiche: *Nicht leben soll ich, wenn ich leben soll!* – aber die Akzente werden im Laufe der Zeit anders gesetzt.

In den folgenden Kapiteln werden die hier skizzierten Zusammenhänge breiter dargestellt: Im ersten Teil in der Form einer kurzen Übersicht über einige Motivkreise, die von der Problematik Ordnung/Erstarrung – Anarchie/Befreiung bestimmt werden. Es werden vor allem die Gedichte behandelt, und zwar systematisch, ohne Rücksicht auf die Chronologie. Die aufgezeigten Verbindungen sind selbstverständlich nicht die einzigen – und es soll in diesem Zusammenhang vor allem auf *Heinrich Henel*, aber auch auf *Louis Wiesmann* verwiesen werden. – Im zweiten Teil werden die Prosawerke in chronologischer Folge interpretiert, um die Entwicklungstendenz deutlich zu machen. Es konnte nicht darum gehen, direkt genetische Zusammenhänge zu entdecken, vielmehr soll eine Entwicklung im Gesamtgefüge der Erlebnis- und Symbolwelt Meyers dargestellt werden. Da es sich um eine Tendenz handelt, kann und soll nicht jede Einzelheit der Interpretation unbedingt zur Erhärtung einer »These« dienen; die Verschiedenheit der Novellen sollte bei aller Gleichheit ihrer Problematik nicht vergessen werden.

MOTIVE

Das Wasser

»At any rate«, sagt Heinrich Henel (The Poetry of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, S. 146) über das Gedicht *Der Schwimmer* – eine Vorform von *Nicola Pesce* und *Camoëns* – »the poem describes swimming in its two aspects of relaxation and of struggle, and it depicts the water both as a congenial and as a hostile element.« Diese Doppelheit muß festgehalten werden, auch wenn das Wasser meistens recht negative Züge trägt. Um 1871 fragte der Dichter:

Finstre Quellen, starke Wellen, ewge Ströme, rasche Schwingen,
Werdet ihr mich ins Verderben, werdet ihr ans Ziel mich bringen?

(*Bergwasser*, Corona VIII, s. 392)

Im Wasser liegt alles Unbekannte – das, was von jeher dort seine Heimat hatte, und auch das, was im Laufe der Zeit darin versank. Das Wasser ist drohend und verlockend zugleich, zerstörend und lebenspendend. An eine ursprüngliche Harmonie zwischen Mensch und Wasser weiß sich Hutten zu erinnern:

Ich schlug als Kind in übermütger Lust
Den sanften Main und trat ihn auf die Brust.

Da hab ich unter mir zu sehn geglaubt
Ein schilfbekränztes, göttlich mildes Haupt.

[. . .]

Was einst dem Knaben Spiel und Freude war,
Wird nun dem Mann zur Arbeit und Gefahr.

Er weiß es, wenn er ringt und wenn er strebt,
Daß er auf einer Todesstiefe schwebt!

(XXIII *Die Flut*)

– In der Kindheit gab es noch ein so ungetrübtes Verhältnis zum Wasser; in einem weiteren Zusammenhang taucht es wieder auf:

in der Situation des Dichtens. *Der Dichter* (Bilder und Balladen, hier nach Kempter, s. 76) lautet:

Der Zaubernachen fährt dahin,
Ein Unsichtbarer rudert ihn,
Und ob er auch am Ruder steh',
Du meinst, der Nachen selber geh'.

Das Boot gleitet ohne Mühe, schwebt auf dem Wasser ohne in den Grund gezogen zu werden. Aber diese Situation ist eine Ausnahme, denn zwischen Huttens Kindheit und seinen Mannesjahren liegt der Bruch, der das Wasser zur »Todestiefe« macht – der »Sündenfall«, wie er im Gedicht *Der schöne Tag* beschrieben wird. Zwei Knaben baden im See, der sich ganz ruhig gibt; doch

Der eine taucht gekühlt empor,
Der andre steigt nicht wieder auf.

»Der Bruder sank!« – und der Gerettete sitzt nachher »fahl wie ein Verbrecher«, während der Ertrunkene »gemach« hinabsinkt bis an die Brust der Nymphe. Hier ist die Spaltung vollzogen, die Idylle verloren. Das Gedicht mag private Hintergründe haben; am 1.IX.1853 berichtet Meyer aus Lausanne: »J'ai été à quelques pas du jeune Breting, ne pouvant rien pour lui. C'était au beau milieu du lac par une journée magnifique; il est encore au fond, retenu je suppose par les plantes aquatiques« (an Cécile Borrel), aber ein solcher Anlaß erklärt nicht die ganze Tragweite des Motivs in seiner Dichtung. Höchstens zeigt der Brief, daß die »Nymphe« vielleicht ein Euphemismus für das weit unheimlichere Schilf ist (siehe unten S. 16). Nicht nur wird ein unheilbarer Bruch geschildert, sondern es wird auch angedeutet, daß der, welcher vorangeht, nicht viel verloren habe – zugleich aber wird es der Ertrunkene sein, der bei anderen Anlässen das Leben hemmt oder ihm gar ein Ende setzt: dann wohnt in der Tiefe eben keine Nymphe mehr, sondern Schilf.

Wie positiv die Nymphe gesehen wird, steht auch in *Sonntags* zu lesen; in diesem Gedicht liegt ein »Kahn, geborgen tief im Schilfe«, d. h. noch nicht genötigt, sich auf das gefährliche Wasser zu begeben (und das Schilf ist in dieser ungebrochenen Situation nicht gefährlich). Die Idylle wird hier zwar gerettet, aber

sie bleibt unecht, was dadurch deutlich wird, daß der Einbruch der feindlichen Kräfte – »Freches Volk« – im Geiste antizipiert wird: die Idylle ist hier nur noch ein Produkt der Spaltung, das Ich im Walde weiß um die Außenwelt und möchte sich zurückziehen oder die Welt verscheuchen.

Die wirkliche Harmonie entsteht dort, wo der Kahn ohne Ruder gleiten kann, wie in *Der Dichter*, oder in *Fingerhütchen*: Die Elfen können die erste Zeile sprechen:

»Silberfähre, gleitet leise –

selbst muß er die folgende entdecken:

Ohne Ruder, ohne Gleise«,

und erst, als er diese erlösenden Worte gefunden hat, wird er von seinem Höcker befreit (entwicklungsgeschichtlich bedeutsam ist, daß die Silberfähre zuerst noch »Mondenscheibe« und »Silbermond« hieß – vgl. Kraeger, S. 153 und 2,221 – und also erst später in ganz bewußte Beziehung zur Wassersymbolik gesetzt wurde).

Erlösung gibt es auch in einer Frühfassung von *Eingelegte Ruder: Auf dem See* 2 (Romanzen und Bilder, Kempter, S. 12; 2,330):

Wo in der thätgen Helle
Das Segel hat gerauscht
Heb ich aus nächtger Welle
Mein Ruder unbelauscht.

Aber auch hier wird sie nur möglich, indem man sich aus der Welt zurückzieht:

Des Markts Gewinn und Beute
Belastet nicht mein Boot –

(auch Fingerhütchen wird nachts und im »Rain« befreit, doch sein Glück bleibt auch bei Tageslicht bestehen). Von einer solchen Erlösung in der Abgeschiedenheit, träumend oder schlafend, ist der Weg zum Tod nicht mehr weit; er wird in *Im Spätboot* angedeutet, in *Lethe* beschrieben: dort sieht das Ich

Einen Nachen ohne Ruder ziehn,

denn dort gibt es keine Konflikte mehr, das Wasser selbst treibt das Boot, ohne daß die Insassen daran teilhaben.

Wenn diese Bedingungen (Traum, Schlaf, Tod) nicht gegeben sind, muß ständig gegen das Eindringen des Wassers gekämpft werden, kurz: man muß rudern oder Segel setzen. Nur wenn »die Gottheit«, die der Tod ist, »den Sturm rings um [die] Ruder beruhigt« hat (*Pescara*; 13,242) herrscht Friede. In *Mönch* dagegen kentert die Barke, weil sie in dieser Welt – auf der Brenta nämlich – »mit eingezogenen Rudern« (12,13) zu fahren versucht; dem Wasser wird die Entscheidung überlassen, die ist aber dann eine des weniger harmonischen Todes.

Eingelegte Ruder ist daher auch kein erbauliches Gedicht; hier wird sozusagen der ertrunkene Knabe wieder angerufen:

Unter mir – ach, aus dem Licht verschwunden –
Träumen schon die schönern meiner Stunden.

Diese verlorenen Stunden halten das Boot fest und verhindern jeden Ruderschlag. In *Die Gaukler* erzählt Jung Walter:

Ich sah mein Boot, der Ruder bar,
Das halb ans Land gezogen war,
Umneigt von Schilfgeflüster!

Hier wirkt das Schilf bedrohlicher; während in *Sonntags* die Ruhe verteidigt werden sollte, ist sie hier doch wohl mehrdeutig. Das Wasser, welches das Eis durchbricht (*Lenzfahrt*), ist zwar der Strom des Lebens (*Hutten LXIX*), aber dieser mündet in den Tod. Dennoch ist das lebendige Wasser stets positiver als das stille: denn wo sich gar keine Strömung mehr bemerkbar macht, kann das Schilf wachsen:

Drüben dort in schilfgem Grunde, wo die müde Lache liegt,
Hat zu meiner Jugendstunde sich lebendge Flut gewiegt,

heißt es in *Ewig jung ist nur die Sonne*, und auch die Benennung des Wassers als »Flut« (nicht »Strom«) ist hier bedeutsam. Nicht immer ist die Flut so ungefährlich, und der Dichter sucht stets »die Rast in dieser Flucht und Flut« (*Ohne Datum*). Jede Bewegung bedeutet Leben und Tod zugleich, die Rast aber nicht nur Ruhe, sondern auch die Gefahr des Versiegens aller Quellen. Traulich und hold ist's nur in der Tiefe, aber die Lyrik weiß um den Preis dieses Friedens. – Die beiden extremen Zustände werden in *Camoëns* und in *Nicola Pesce* beschrieben: Camoëns rettet seine Kunst, indem er gegen das Wasser kämpft (und er

interpretiert es selbst als »Bosheit, Neid, Verzweiflung«), Nicola gibt sich dem Wasser hin, und zwar radikal: »Ich bleib ein Fisch, und meine Haare triefen.«

Besser als jeder Schwimmer beherrscht aber der das Wasser, der rudern kann oder gar mit vollen Segeln vorankommt; in diesem letzteren Fall sind höhere Mächte oft im Spiel, während das Rudern eher den persönlichen Einsatz bedeutet. Die Ruder werden daher oft zum Symbol des bloßen Überlebens, die Segel eher zum Symbol der Hoffnung.

Trüb verglomm der schwüle Sommertag,
Dumpf und traurig tönt mein Ruderschlag –

so beginnt das Gedicht *Schwüle*. Das Rudern fällt nicht leicht, denn aus dem Wasser ruft »eine liebe, liebe Stimme«, der sich das Ich nicht entziehen kann, obgleich es das Wasser als »Gruft« erkennt. Rudern heißt: auf die Stimme verzichten; hier muß das Ich zu den Sternen seine Zuflucht nehmen. Still ist das Wasser auch hier; – wo es ganz still wird, entsteht eben Schilf oder auch richtiges Sumpfland, das etwa dem Kandidaten Pfannenstiel (*Schuß*) so viel Kummer bereiten wird. Die liebe Stimme wird von Hutten (*LIX Sturm und Schilf*) genauer charakterisiert:

Dort! Ein Gebilde, das dem Schilf entsteigt!
Es ringt die Hände, wie ein Geist in Pein!
Erblaßt und jammernd, wie mein Mütterlein!

Dieses Verhältnis zur Mutter läßt sich biographisch erklären; aber die Mutter steht nicht nur für sich selbst, sondern für die Vergangenheit schlechthin, die »schönern meiner Stunden«; sie ist in diesem Falle auch die alte Kirche – und Hutten reagiert auch scharf:

Ich glaube nicht an alter Zeiten Glück!
Ich breche durch und schaue nicht zurück!

Die Spaltung entsteht auch aus der konkreten Sünde, und auch dann werden die Ruderschläge gehemmt:

Der Ferge stöhnt: »In Seegesträuch
Reißt nieder uns der blanke Leib!
Rasch, Herr! Von Sünde reinigt Euch,
Begehrt Ihr heim zu Kind und Weib!«

(Die Fei)

Die Hand der Fee taucht »am Steuer« empor, und der Ritter muß alles bekennen, um sie wieder zum Verschwinden zu bringen; dann aber heißt es:

Das Ruder schlägt. Der Nachen fliegt.

Als letztes Beispiel wäre eine Szene in *Angela* (14, 64/67) zu nennen: Giulio setzt erst selber über den Fluß, verliert dann nach der Begegnung mit Angela den Mut und läßt seinen Begleiter rudern.

Zwei Segel bezeichnet in aller Kürze die Segel als Symbole des Glücks; sie »erhellen« das tiefblaue Wasser. Auch in *Lenzfahrt* freut sich das Herz vor allem über »das erste Segel«, das die schwellende Flut »teilt«. Der Kandidat Pfannenstiel betrachtet sehnüchtig die Segel auf dem Zürchersee und bittet sie, ihn in die »weite Freiheit« mitzunehmen (*Schuß*; 11,83). Den befreien-den Gegensatz zum Besuch Jenatschs und Wasers in der spanischen Garnison bildet der Comer See: »Kühl hauchte ihnen die blaue, vom Geflatter heller Segel belebte Flut entgegen« (10,49); und Pescara liebt es, gemeinsam mit seiner Frau »Meerbläue und wandernde Segel« (13,185) zu betrachten. In *Engelberg* ziehen die Segel gar »wie helle Träume / Durch purpur dunkle Meeres-flut« (X, 143 f), und in *Tag, schein herein* [...] heißt es:

Ein Segel zieht auf wunderkühlen Pfaden,
Im Flutendunkel spiegelt sich der Tag.

In den erwähnten Fällen vertragen sich Segel und Flut, aber nur, weil die Flut »geteilt« wird. Dramatischer wird die Problematik in *Venedigs erster Tag* gestaltet:

Schon entflieht ein Schiff mit wehnden Segeln [...]

– dem Untergang. Und in diesem Fall werden auch die moralischen Momente betont. Denn:

Wirren Locken sind die Kränze schwelgerischer Lust entfallen.
Der Bacchant wird zum Äneas. Niederbrannte Trojas Feuer.
Mit den rudernden Genossen sucht er edles Abenteuer.

Und mit »besiegelten Ruderschlägen« rettet sich das Boot zuletzt durch die gefährliche Brandung.

Wer Glück nötig hat, setzt seine Hoffnung auf die Segel; so tut Telemachos in *Nächtliche Fahrt*, und eine ähnliche Bedeutung (mit anderen Nebentönen) haben die Segel in einem anderen Gedicht: *Der Mönch von Bonifazio*; hier werden sie direkt interpretiert:

[...] Jede Hoffnung ist verschwunden!
Nirgend weht ein rettend Segel! [...]

Nur der Mönch kann in der aussichtlosen Lage Hilfe leisten, weil ihn keine irdischen Bindungen an der völligen Hingabe hindern; wer außerhalb steht, vermag die Erlösung herbeizuführen:

»Spannen will ich weite Segel und sie nicht ermatten lassen!«
Alle seine Muskeln schwollen, alle seine Pulse bebten,
Schiffe durch das Meer zu schleppen, Segel aus der Flut zu
heben.

Besonders die letzte Wendung zeigt das Problem: das Wasser ist trostlos, solange es nicht von Segeln »geteilt« oder »erhellt« wird. Es gelingt dem Mönch, die Segel hervorzurufen, aber selbst liegt er sterbend am Boden, als die genuesischen Schiffe endlich auftauchen. Die Segel, an die er gedacht hat, mögen also sehr wohl auch andere sein, etwa die der Ewigkeit – und so treten sie in anderen Gedichten auf:

Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite berichtet von dem sterbenden Staufen, der sich ans Meer tragen lässt, denn

Meiner harrt ein schwelend Segel:
Auf des Schiffes Deck gelagert,
Fahr entgegen ich dem Morgen
Und dem neugebornen Strahl.

Fern auf einem Vorgebirge,
Das in blaue Flut hinausragt,

steht sein Tempelbau. Das Vorgebirge vereint sich mit der Flut, schafft zwar festes Land, aber nicht im Gegensatz zum Wasser, dessen Bläue auch eine positive Nuance signalisiert (vgl. unten S. 38). Das Motiv des Segels wird auch in *Hussens Kerker* seine Bedeutung haben:

Das Fensterkreuz von Eisen
Blickt auf die frische Flut,

Und zwischen seinen Stäben
Seh ich ein Segel schweben,
Darob im Blau die Firne ruht.

Hier kommt vieles zusammen: die Firne, die Flut, und in einer folgenden Strophe auch die Traube. Die Symbolwelt fügt sich hier von selber zusammen und gibt dem Gefangenen Mut.

Zur Unterscheidung von Segel und Ruder noch ein Vergleich zweier Fassungen des letzten Hütten-Gedichts (*LXXI Abfahrt*). Zu Anfang heißt es fast wie in *Der Mönch von Bonifazio*:

Gewoge rings! Kein Segel wallt heran!
Nur

Ein einzelner hagrer Ferge rudert dort

– und er wird am Schluß als Charon begrüßt:

Fährmann, ich grüße dich! Du bist – der Tod.

Diese letzte Fassung des Gedichts schließt mit dem Tod, eine frühere jedoch (*Der Tod*, Roulston, S. 205) kennt nicht nur Ruder, sondern auch ein Segel:

Ein geisterhaftes Segel wallt heran

– und diese Fassung schließt auch nicht mit dem Tod, sondern mit einem Bekenntnis:

Mein Vater, der du meine Fehle weißt,
In deine Hände geb' ich meinen Geist.

Das Ruder sorgt für die Fahrt ins Totenreich, das Segel dagegen knüpft eine Verbindung zu Gott, zur Auferstehung.

Das Schilf trat in *Schwüle*, *Die Fei*, *Die Gaukler* und *Ewig jung ist nur die Sonne* auf, aber nicht nur dort. In *Papst Julius* verdammt der aus dem Scheintod erwachende Papst das Schilf:

Charon, aus dem Sonnenlichte
Weg ins Schilf mit deinem Boot!

– und auch Michelangelo sieht den Fährmann im Schilf warten (*Michelangelo und seine Statuen*). Das Schilf bedroht die Richterin Stemma, denn die Erscheinung Peregrins kommt »vom trägen

Schilf und von der unbewegten Flut« (12,188). Im Schilf sitzt der Tod als drohende Macht, weil Stemma ihre Sünde verdrängen wollte.

In *Sonntags*, in der Idylle, war das Schilf dagegen ungefährlich (richtiger: es wurde positiv aufgefaßt), in Huttens Kindheit auch (*XXIII Die Flut*); später wird es seinen Tod andeuten:

Im Schilfe schwadert eine Entenschar
Und kündet frühen Winter diesem Jahr.
(*LXI Feldmann*)

Im Wasser liegt die Erinnerung; es wurde an den Beispielen *Schwüle*, *Eingelegte Ruder*, *Hutten LIX Sturm und Schilf* deutlich gemacht, es wird auch klar in *Die toten Freunde*: die Verstorbenen sind im Wasser zuhause, und das Ich richtet an sie die schienbar verkehrte Frage: »Gedenkt Ihr mein?« Die Verbindung zwischen dem Totenreich und dem Leben darf nicht zerstört werden; erst der Vergessene ist ganz gestorben, und auch der Lebendige, der die Toten vergißt, verliert seine Identität (vgl. auch *Chor der Toten*). Nur Stemma kann das Vergessen wünschen, denn sie hat ein Verbrechen zu verbergen.

Aber das Wasser bedeutet auch das Neue, das hervorbricht. Darin liegt kein Widerspruch, denn in beiden Fällen beheimatet das Wasser das, was dem Bewußtsein entzogen ist. In *Lenzfahrt* »zerspringt« das Eis, der See quillt auf, ruft aber zugleich die Erinnerung an die verlorene Jugend wach. Eine Sprengung des Eises wird auch in *Engelberg* geschildert: Engel wartet sehnüchrig auf die Lenzesflut, die auch kommt:

Wie's quillt, wie's flutet und wie's blaut.
Jetzt tut sie einen Freudeschrei,
Als würde sie von Fesseln frei.

(VI, 130 ff)

Das weiße Spitzchen berichtet dasselbe: der Berg weiß damit zu locken, daß der See »mir zu Füßen« sich »enteist« hat; »er flutet, er wandert, er reist«. Und dennoch zeigt das Gedicht *Die Schlittschuhe*, wie doppeldeutig auch dieses Motiv ist, da das Eis sehr wohl zur unrechten Zeit zerspringen kann: »das ist der Tod!« – der gerade dann auftritt, als sich die Leidenschaft Bahn

bricht. Die Ambivalenz ist hier besonders deutlich. Die Idylle wird zerstört, die Resignation tritt ein, das Mächen »lässt gemach die Hand«, und was übrig bleibt, ist »Märchenglück«. Kurd und Lisbeth finden in *Engelberg* den gemeinsamen Liebestod in den Wellen, und wenn es so weit nicht kommen darf, muß die Flut wieder weichen, wie sie es in *Flut und Ebbe* auch tut.

Sonst verschlingt das Wasser alles, so in *La Blanche Nef*. Hier sind Ruder und Segel gleichsam zu schwach, um den Einbruch des Anarchischen verhindern zu können; dieses wird als Sexualität bestimmt. Vor der Nixe wird gewarnt, aber gleichviel hilft's,

Es klimmt und überklimmt das Bord,
Es läßt sich nieder aus den Taun,
Es kichert wie ein freches Wort,
Es schaudert wie ein lüstern Graun . . .

Es reizt, es quält, es schlüpft, es schmiegt
Sich zwischen Edelknecht und Maid,
Bis sich das Paar in Armen liegt,
Zu früher Lust, zu Tod und Leid . . .

Und das Schiff wird in den Grund gezogen, »ein Korb von welken Blumen voll«. – Harmloser geht es im Gedicht *Spielzeug* zu, aber die Problematik ist die gleiche. Das Mädchen streckt »wie ertrinkend« ihren Arm nach der Kirche aus und macht das Einziehen ins Landhaus von der Ehe abhängig. Denn wie es Hilar (*Engelberg VI*, 145 f) so schön sagt:

Herr, laß das züchtig unterwegen!
Dazu bedarfs der Kirche Segen!

Wenn schließlich von dem Wasser als Quelle, Brunnen oder ähnlichem die Rede ist, sieht es selbstverständlich ganz anders aus – denn dann ist es unter Kontrolle gebracht, gebändigt und daher ungefährlich. Don Ferrante »verwüstete Don Giulios Seele in einer Tiefe, wohin Ariost nicht gelangen konnte« (14,60) – aber noch tiefer als dieses stygische Wasser gibt es ein reineres: »Denn der Quell echter Reue, das wußte er [Ariost], sprudelt in heiligen Tiefen, und nur in der einsamen Stille seines göttlichen Ursprungs waschen sich schuldige Hände und Seelen rein« (14, 59). Ähnlich heißt es in *Lutherlied*:

Such, Menschenherz, wo du dich labst!
 Das lehrt dich nicht Konzil noch Papst!
 Die Quelle strömt an tiefrem Ort:
 Der lautre Born, das reine Wort
 Stillt unsrer Seelen Heilbegier –

Der römische Brunnen, Meyers zu Recht bekanntestes Gedicht, zeugt auch von einer positiven Auffassung des Wassers, wenn es »strömt und ruht«, alles in sich vereinigt, ohne Schilf, aber auch ohne die große Bewegung. Die beiden Greise in *Thespelius* begegnen sich »an einer Quelle klarer Flut«. Und in *Am Himmelstor* geschieht die Reinigung durch das Wasser:

Du saßest bei dem Quell davor
 Und wuschest dir die Füße.

Denn der Staub des Erdenlebens muß entfernt werden; so entfernt Pescara den Staub der Reise aus dem Gesicht seiner Frau (bei ihrer Ankunft in Novara; 13,221), – und damit auch die schlimmen Gedanken der Liga.

Bacchus

Die Bacchus-Symbolik ist die der entfesselten Leidenschaft, und ihre Ausdrücke sind mannigfaltig: vom einfachen Weintrinken und Berauschtsein über drückende Schwüle und Föhnluft bis zum Erntegewitter oder Maskenfest (*Jenatsch, Mönch*). Diese Symbolik lebt so wenig wie die übrigen für sich allein; die Sphären sind in der Dichtung nicht getrennt: das gespenstische »Bacchanal« in *La Blance Nef* steigt aus dem Wasser empor, *Sonntags* hat es mit dem Wasser, aber auch mit den berauschten Leuten zu tun usw.

Wie in der Wassersymbolik gibt es auch hier einen harmonischen Ausgangspunkt, an dem sich die Spaltung definiert. Auch hier ist es die holde Kunst, welche eine Harmonie garantiert; ein frühes Gedicht *Poesie* (Wege, S. 49; 2,118) lautet:

Es schüttelt sich der schlanke Baum,
 Und Frucht an Frucht zur Erde fällt:
 Er steht im Paradiesesraum
 Und nicht in dieser herben Welt.

Denn in dieser Welt gibt es die Fülle nur noch als *Traumbesitz*:

»O des Glanzes! O der Fülle!
 Siehst du dort die Büschel Maises
 Mit den schön geformten Kolben?
 Siehst du dort den goldenen Thron«?

Diese Fülle wird nur »mit den Augen meines Geistes« sichtbar, in der Wirklichkeit herrscht Armut; nur der Knabe erlebt die Traumwelt, während der Zuhörer als ein Fremder auftritt, der den Zugang zu dieser Welt verloren hat. Die Fülle gibt es fortan nur als Betäubung, die dann sofort ihren Gegensatz, die Askese, produziert. Zwischen diesen Extremen schwankt der Mensch, etwa der Mönch Astorre, und schwanken auch die beiden ersten Gedichte der Sammlung, *Fülle* und *Das heilige Feuer*, die beide nur einen Teil der Wahrheit enthalten können und daher zusammengerückt sind, um sich gegenseitig beleuchten zu können. Der gleiche Gegensatz tritt auf im Gespräch zwischen Werner und dem italienischen Künstler in *Engelberg* (vgl. unten S. 131 f.).

Entfaltet sich erst einmal das Leben ganz und voll, gibt es keinen Halt mehr; es ist folgerichtig, daß der gute alte Abt in *Weinsegen* nicht »zu der Lese« kommen will,

Wo wild die Kelter überschäumt,
 Nein, wie sich ziemt für einen Frommen,
 Wann mystisch süß die Blüte träumt.

Was hier noch liebenswürdig-ironisch gesehen wird, nimmt in anderen Gedichten weitaus ernstere Züge an. Die Blüte oder die »Keime«, von denen in *Tag, schein herein* [...] die Rede ist, bedeuten die Möglichkeiten eines harmonischen Lebens, gleichzeitig aber auch das Risiko des Leblosen (vgl. auch Henel, Poetry, S. 28). Die »süßen Gespenster«, die in *Liederseelen* erschreckend wirken, rufen auch Erwartung hervor, und sie erscheinen »in der Nacht, die die Bäume mit Blüten deckt« – die also die ganze Fülle enthält und gleichzeitig eine Entwicklung ahnen läßt, die noch völlig im Unbekannten bleibt (vgl. Henel, Poetry, S. 63). Die Blüten symbolisieren eine entscheidende Situation im Leben, den Augenblick, in dem es eine andere Richtung nimmt – oder vielmehr erst anfängt. Die Liederseelen sind wie Schmetterlinge, deren Flügel – im Gegensatz zum Gedicht *Das Seelchen* – noch nicht mit Blut »betupft« wurden.

»Die jungen Blüten« bilden daher auch den Hintergrund der Vision von der »junggebliebenen Toten«:

Mit einem Blütenzweige spieltest du

– sie läßt sich als schön erinnern, wurde nie vom Lauf der Welt – von der Blüte bis zum Welken – eingefangen, sondern steht noch wie damals, als sie von dem ersten Liebeswort wie von einem süßen Gespenst »erschreckt« wurde. Das Gedicht ist eine Weiterentwicklung von *Frühlingsspruch* (Wege, S. 134), aber während in dem frühen Gedicht noch Knospen und Wangen, Blüte und Mädchen einander gegenübergestellt wurden, verschmelzen sie in *Wetterleuchten*: das Naturphänomen läßt die Wange glühen; der Donner, das allzu Materielle, bleibt ausgespart, nur die flüchtigen Blitze bilden die Situation, in der die Erinnerung ungetrübt aufflackern darf.

Die Blüten sind auch in *Lenz Wanderer* das positive Element, aber schon jetzt, beim Blühen, kündet sich eine Weiterentwicklung an: das Ja zum Lenz und Leben ist auch ein Ja zum abschließenden Tod; und das Ja zur Liebe enthält das Bewußtsein von deren Vergänglichkeit. Das Gedicht *Das rote Tal* (Wege S. 133) ging später in *Engelberg* (VII, 162 ff) ein:

Ich drang in eines Tales Raum
 Das dicht gefüllt bis an den Rand
 Von blühnden Alpenrosen stand.
 Das ganze Tal war rot wie Blut –
 Ich dachte dein in Liebesglut,
 Doch, länger schauend in das Rot,
 Gedacht ich an den jähnen Tod.

Später wird der Großrichter Herkules Strozzi »jene seltsame Angst, welche die Begleiterin der höchsten Leidenschaft ist« (14,84) empfinden. Der Durchbruch des Neuen – der Leidenschaft und des Lebens – bedeutet gleichzeitig Todesgefahr; in *Nach einem Niederländer* wird das hochzeitsbereite Mädchen mit der toten Jungfrau (in ihr selbst) konfrontiert, in *Hochzeitslied* wird gesagt, daß »Schmerz und Lust« auf immer zusammengehören. – Der Zwiespalt des Lebens läßt sich nur aufheben, indem man aus dem Leben tritt oder es potenziert – oder die »Reife« erlangt, die allerdings selten ist. Von der Toten in *Weihgeschenk* heißt es:

Warum schwandst du vor dem Ziel [?]

Viele andere Gestalten in der Dichtung Meyers wollen aber aus allen Kräften das Ziel erreichen – und dieses ist dann eine Mischung von Triumph und Tod, der Versuch einer Überwindung der Sinnlosigkeit des Lebens. Herzog Rohan, Page Leubeling, Gustav Adolf, Hutten, Pescara – alle sterben im Triumph oder sehnen sich nach einem solchen Ende. Der Triumph verträgt keine Konfrontation mit dem gemeinen Leben, daher gibt es nur »Unentrinnbares Erliegen nach dem Herrscheraugenblick«, wie Meyer einmal schrieb (in einem Gedicht anlässlich der Krankheit Friedrichs III 1888, nach Köhler, S. 158). Eine solche Steigerung des Lebens wird auf anderem Wege in dem Gedicht *Die Veltlinertraube* versucht; der höchstmögliche Genuss hängt aufs engste mit dem Tod zusammen, das Ich verschmilzt mit der Traube:

Aus der Laube niederhängend
Glutdurchwogt und üppig rund,
Schwebt' ich dunkelpurpurprangend
Über einem roten Mund!

Evoe und Winzerreigen
Schlummern in der Traube noch,

heißt es in dem Gedicht, und ähnlich hieß es auch in *Weinsegen*. Die Entfaltung bedeutet aber meistens auch Entartung und Anarchie. Selten ist die Reife, die sich Meyer mit dem Shakespeare-Zitat (»ripeness is all«) wünschte – und die Hutten vielleicht erreicht (*LXV Die Traube*), als das Bild des Todes als eines Schrecklichen zugunsten einer Darstellung der gereiften Traube verdrängt wird; in *Reife* (LVI) wird die Reife der Traube zu der des Menschen in direkte Beziehung gesetzt. Auch *Hussens Kerker* weiß davon zu berichten, und verknüpft die Bacchus-Symbolik mit der des Wassers:

Wie nah die Flut ich fühle,
Als läg' ich drein versenkt,
Mit wundersamer Kühle
Wird mir der Leib getränkt –
Auch seh ich eine Traube
Mit einem roten Laube,
Die tief herab ins Fenster hängt.

Meistens aber hat der Umgang mit den Trauben verheerende Folgen; Wein und Tod gehören zusammen, der Betrunkene tötet. Von Don Juan wird (*Das Auge des Blinden*) gesagt, er sei einer,

Der im Wein das Gift getrunken,

und er stirbt denn auch, während seine Jugend in dem Auge des aus dem Leben gestoßenen Blinden festgehalten wird. *Cäsar Borjas Ohnmacht* enthält eine ähnliche Aussage:

Wer bin ich? Einer, welcher unterging,

Den Kranz im Haar, den Becher in der Faust –

Erst später ist von einer konkreten Vergiftung die Rede; denn der Wein enthält auch ohne sie den Tod. Die Vorstellungen des Ohnmächtigen bewegen sich ausschließlich in dem Bereich der wilden, entfesselten Leidenschaft und vereinen viele Elemente der Bacchus-Symbolik in sich:

Reif stehn die Ernten, und die Sichel blitzt,

heißt es, und das wird interpretiert:

Ich steige mordend auf das Kapitol –.

Cäsar sieht auch einen Meteor, der »durch die schwüle Sommernacht« zuckt, und denkt sich seine Banden als »fackelschwingend«.

Werden in diesen beiden Gedichten Wein und Gift vermischt, so reicht in anderen der Wein allein aus, um der Anarchie Tür und Tor zu öffnen. *Über einem Grabe* schildert die Folgen:

Eine blasser Jagd: voran ein Zecher,

In der Faust den überfüllten Becher!

Wehnde Locken will der Buhle fassen,

Die entflatternd nicht sich haschen lassen,

Lustgestachelt rast er hinter jenen,

Ein verhülltes Mädchen folgt in Tränen.

Man vergleiche dieses Gedicht mit *Sonntags*, das eine ganz ähnliche Beschreibung enthält:

Nie hat sich eine Dirn im Flatterhaar,

Von rohen Buhlen durch den Wald gehetzt,

Vor deinen Spiegel keuchend hingesetzt.

Nie hat ein unstet zuckend Fackelrot

Dir über deine kühle Stirn geloht!

In *Angela* bricht Don Giulio »in den Weingarten des Lebens« (14,14) ein, und ein »klassisches Bacchusfest« entwickelt sich zum »centaurischen Mord und Totschlag« (14,28). Die bacchantische Entfaltung ist zerstörerisch; stets lodern die Fackeln gefährlich, stets entartet das Fest: so in *Jenatsch*, so auch in *Mönch*.

Der Greis in *Thespesius* weiß von ähnlichen schauerlichen Vorgängen zu berichten:

Hör an! Ein Jüngling, peitscht' ich rasend das Gespann.
Die Rosse flogen. Becher, Buhlen, Würfelspiel,
Wut, Zorn, vergossen Blut – verklagend Blut!

Das verklagende Blut leitet die Bekehrung ein (die allerdings hier eigens betont werden muß: »Nicht mit kleinem Kampf/Der Kampf ist groß!«). *Der trunkene Gott* schildert noch einmal das gleiche:

Goldne Schalen überschäumen,
Geister, die gebunden träumen,
Steigen auf in Zornesglut.

Die Bewunderung des Knaben:

Bacchus bist du, der belaubte –

wird sich in Schrecken verwandeln, als Alexander seinen Freund Kleitos wütend ersticht. »Ein herrenloser Becher« bleibt übrig, als Zeichen des ausgerasten Festes (vgl. Wiesmann, S. 164), aber auch als ein Zeichen dafür, daß sich der Becher selbständig machte und gegen den Herrn erhob.

In *Hutten LVIII Herzog Ulrich* wird der vergossene Wein zum Blut:

Ich stieß ihn weg, daß er den Wein vergoß,
Der purpur über seine Hände floß.
Mit roten Händen, wie im Walde dort
Von meines Vetters Leiche, stürzt' er fort.

Angela Borgia empfindet es einmal, als Lucrezia Wein trinkt, »als trinke Lucrezia Menschenblut« (14,101). In *Hutten XLVI Schweizer und Landsknechte* entsteht im Rausch eine Schlägerei mit tödlichem Ausgang, und nicht viel anders droht es in *Engelberg* (IX, 35 f) zu verlaufen:

Es wird ein Tanz, erst halb verzagt,
Und dann ein wilderer gewagt.

Das schönste Mädchen ist hinreichend charakterisiert, als man erfährt, daß ihr »die schwarzen Haare flattern« – die beiden Jünglinge geraten in Streit, und erst das Dazwischenkommen der Mutter verhindert weiteres Blutvergießen. – König Heinrich von England stößt seinen Becher um, so daß der Wein auf das weiße Tischtuch fließt: »wie Blut in den Schnee« (*Heilige*; 13,125).

Am grausamsten entfaltet sich die wilde Leidenschaft in *Pentheus*, wo die Berauschtetheit auch andere Höhen erreicht als in den meisten übrigen Bacchus-Gedichten:

Sie schreitet in bacchisch bevölkertem Raum,
Mit wehenden Haaren ein glühender Traum,
Von Faunen umhüpft,
Um die Hüfte den Gürtel der Natter geknüpft.

Melodisch gewiegt und von Eppich umlaubt,
Ein flüsterndes, rücklings geworfenes Haupt –
»Ich opfre mich dir,
Verzehre, Lyäus, was menschlich in mir!«

Die rasende Agave sagt dann auch, allem Menschlichen entfremdet:

»Ich bin die Bacchantin! Ich kenne dich nicht!«

Die Schule des Silen beschreibt einen anderen Bacchus: den unschuldigen Knaben, der sich »lieblich lauschend« ans Knie des Weisen schmiegt, und dessen »Götteraugen« nur »mildes Feuer« enthalten. Die Dialektik des Themas wird aber von dem Distichon *Vor einer Büste eingefangen*:

Bist du die träumende Bacche? Der Sterblichen
lieblichste bist du!
Still in den Winkeln des Mundes lächelt ein
grausamer Zug.

Die Erkenntnis, daß die Leidenschaft verlockend und tödlich zugleich ist, zeigt (neben vielem anderen) die Strukturgleichheit der Symbolsphären – (auch erklärt sich von diesem Gedicht aus das Verhältnis Meyers zum Lächeln, in *Heilige*, und in *Mönch*,

wo sich die Grausamkeit Ezzelins langsam abzeichnet: »mit einem Zug um den Mund sozusagen–« (12,12)).

Unter den neun Musen ist es Thalia, die »lachend« und »in trunkner Lust« mordet (*Der Musensaal*) – und der Kranz von Eppich, den sie trägt, erinnert an den Kranz der Agave – oder an den Lorbeerkrantz in *Der Tod und Frau Laura*: auch hier entfaltet sich das Leben, aber scheinbar nur, um »die Angst zu täuschen«; den jähnen Abschluß bildet der Tod:

Sie steht bekränzt. Sie schaudert. Sie erbleicht.

Gedichte wie *Das Heute* oder *Der Kamerad* enthalten ähnliche Bilder. In *Die toten Freunde* hat das Ich mit den jungen Leuten getrunken und dabei seine wirklichen Freunde vergessen; denn echte Lust und Liebe sind bei den Toten, die sich »ohne Neid« (*Der Reigen*) lieben können, und die zur Begleitung der Flöte sanft und harmonisch tanzen dürfen – derselben Flöte, die auch in *Das Ende des Festes* ertönt? Dieses Gedicht, das zu Meyers besten gehört, schildert – wie die Reife-Gedichte – eine Versöhnung mit dem Tod: das Fest klingt langsam ab und wird nicht gewaltsam unterbrochen.

Eine andere Art der Versöhnung enthalten Gedichte wie *Bacchus in Bünden* oder *Der Hengert*. Gegen die Leidenschaft half in *Engelberg* der Anblick der Mutter (auch in *Das Gemälde* bändigt sie die gefährlichen Kräfte), in *Der Hengert* setzt sich der Schluß (»Sterne über schwarzen Tannenbergen«) aus Elementen zusammen, die an die Mutter erinnern können (vgl. unten S. 32 f.).

Schließlich gehören in denselben Kreis die Motive Föhn, Schwüle und Ernte; die Erntegedichte bilden eine Gruppe für sich. *Vor der Ernte* spricht von »Sichel«, »Föhn« und von einer »Schnitterin« (Der Mond als Todessymbol kommt außer in diesem Gedicht auch in *Mönch* vor; ferner in *Die Fei*. Er wird oft mit dem Silber verbunden, – in *Pescara* fällt Mondlicht auf das unheimliche Schachspielbild, und silbernes Licht kündet in *Der Rappe des Komturs* das Unheil an). Auch Cäsar Borgia dachte an Sichel und Tod, und Klio, die Muse der Geschichte (*Der Triumphbogen*), bedient sich fleißig der Sichel. Pescara gleicht in seinem Tode einem jungen Schnitter. – In den Erntegedichten bricht ein Gewitter los (*Erntegewitter*):

Ein Blitz. Auf einer goldenen Garbe thront
 Noch unvertrieben eine frevle Maid,
 Der das gelöste Haar den Nacken peitscht.
 Sie hebt das volle Glas mit nacktem Arm,
 Als brächte sie's der Glut, die sie umflammt.

Hier sind fast alle Elemente der bacchantischen Entfaltung beisammen: Blitz (und damit auch Schwüle), Flatterhaar, Becher. Daher weiß *Schnitterlied* auch um die ständige Bedrohung »von donnernden dunklen Gewittern«:

Von Garbe zu Garbe
 Ist Raum für den Tod –
 Wie schwelen die Lippen des Lebens so rot!

– was später entwickelt wird, als der Tanz angefangen hat:

Von Munde zu Munde
 Ist Raum für den Tod –

Bacchus, Eros, Tod gehen eine enge Verbindung ein.

In *Die wunderbare Rede* gibt es »schwüle Blicke, die wie Fackeln lehn« – und diese Spannung bildet den Hintergrund für die Vision des Untergangs. Der Föhn »drückt« den Ritter Hutten (*XXXVIII Der Pilger*), »er [der Föhn] atmet schwer und schwül«, und das Gewitter bricht im folgenden Gedicht (*Die Mahlzeit*) los: mit ihm verknüpft sind die unheimliche, überspannte Leidenschaft des Gastes Loyola, seine Schwärmerei und sein Fanatismus, der an Moncada (*Pescara*), aber auch an Ippolito (*Angela*) erinnert. Auch in den Novellen drückt die schwüle Luft und ruft bisher gebändigte Leidenschaften aus dem Schlaf (siehe die Novellenkapitel).

Sonntags versuchte, dem wüsten Treiben Einhalt zu gebieten, allerdings ohne künstlerischen Erfolg, denn das Ich mußte sich als Polizist gebärden und konnte nur verdrängen, nicht überwinden oder versöhnen. Ein anderer Versuch wäre, die eventuellen Gegenkräfte herbeizurufen. In einer Sturmacht erzählt davon. Auch hier »bläst der Föhn« aber

In Sturmespausen klingt das Friedelied
 Aus einer fernen, fernen Seligkeit.

Diese wird auf Erden oft durch die *Ampel* vertreten, so auch hier:

Und wann die Decke bebt, die Diele bangt,
Bewegt sie sich gemach in sachtem Schwung.

– und die Betrachtung dieser Ampel gibt Anlaß, an eine andere zu denken, »die einst geglommen für ein nächtlich Paar«, für Nikodemus und Jesus.

Die Ampel ist ein Teil des heiligen Feuers: Pescara spricht von der »strahlenden Ampel des Geistes« (13,253), und seine Frau dichtet oft »bei der keuschen Ampel« (13,160). Die Ampel ist das richtige Liebesflämmchen (vgl. das Gedicht dieses Namens), sie leuchtet vertraulich in *Die Fei* und bildet den Gegensatz zu den unheimlichen Erlebnissen des Ritters (und sie scheint erst nach seinem Bekenntnis). In *Galaswinte* springt sie »in Scherben«, und die „zarte“ und unglückliche Fürstin „weint im Dunkel“, in *Jenatsch* stürzt die Ampel zu Boden, als Lucia erschossen wird, und wenig später lodert eine Flamme im Haus und ein »Rachebrand« in Jenatsch. Milton dagegen dichtet »neben/ Der müden Ampel«, und seine Dichtung wird den Lärm der Gasse überdauern. Ein ganzes Gedicht schließlich trägt den Titel *Die Ampel*: diese wird dem Dichter von der Muse geschenkt und begegnet ihm später in der Wirklichkeit in der Hand der Geliebten. Die Ampel ist der Gegensatz zur Fackel oder Flamme und spielt in dieser Symbolspäre etwa die gleiche Rolle wie der Brunnen oder die Quelle in der Wassersymbolik: gebändigte und vertraute Kraft. Daher ist sie auch ein Geschenk der apollinischen Mächte (der Muse), nicht der dionysischen. Was die Fackeln bedeuten, wird u.a. in *Amulett* und in *Jenatsch* klar (vgl. unten S. 45 u. 56). – Selbstverständlich kann die Fackel auch positive Bedeutung haben, so etwa in *Mönch*, wo von der »Lebensfackel« die Rede ist (12,22) – entscheidend ist eben der Charakter des Lichts, das diese Fackel verbreitet: hier ist es ein »Flämmchen« (12,22), also Ampellicht.

Im Walde

Im Werk Meyers steht der Wald gewöhnlich für die Möglichkeit der Flucht, nicht für die der (Er)lösung. Idyllisch ist der Wald in *Sonntags*:

Ich liebe, Nymphe, deine keusche Flut,
Die kühl im allertiefsten Walde ruht

– und diese Waldeinsamkeit wird von bacchantischen, unkeuschen Einbrüchen bedroht: »Ein Gassenhauer, liederlich gejohlt« wird mit der Nymphe konfrontiert, das Ich wendet das gefährliche Treiben von dem See ab und kann am Ende als Hüter – und Aufpasser! – seiner Idylle befriedigt feststellen:

Du bliebst in deinem blauen Kleide rein –

Unterwegs hat er seiner Nymphe einen bedeutsamen Rat erteilt:

Verborg dich tiefer in den Wald hinein!

– denn nur dort herrscht völlige, ungestörte Ruhe. Heilig ist das Dunkel, so auch in *Das Heiligtum*, wo allerdings die Heiligkeit des Waldes als Aberglaube entlarvt wird. Die Dämonie der kelischen Kultstätte wird von den Römern überwunden, eine Aufklärung bahnt sich – buchstäblich – ihren Weg. Beachtenswert ist jedoch, daß diese Entwicklung sich eher in der Geschichte als im Privaten als positiv auffassen läßt; das historische Gedicht darf viel »fortschrittlicher« sein als das private *Sonntags*, weil sich im letzteren die gefährlichen Seiten des Neuen und Unbekannten deutlicher zu erkennen geben. Was in *Das Heiligtum* Cäsar heißt, wird in *Sonntags* »Gassenhauer« genannt. Cäsar überwindet den Aberglauben, die Gegenwart aber vertreibt die Seele in den Wald.

In *Burg Fragmire nicht nach* darf die Neugier des Fremden nicht befriedigt werden; eine Aufklärung würde die mystischen und dunklen Zusammenhänge zerstören. Während in *Das Heiligtum* das Licht die »Riesentrümmer überströmt«, flüchtet sich das Ich in *Der Lieblingsbaum* vor dem Licht, das Leben und auch Tod bedeutet:

Aber haschen soll mich nicht
Stygisches Gesinde,
Weichen werd ich aus dem Licht
Unter deine Rinde.

Und im Baume selbst sieht es idyllisch aus:

»In meinem Baum – ist lauter Traum . . .«

(*Die Dryas*)

– und zwar ein süßer, viel süßer als die unbeständige Liebe in der Welt. Die Biene empört sich:

Ich sah's, wie sie sich küßten!

– und die Dryas stirbt. Die Entfaltung des Leben bedeutet Untreue gegenüber der Idylle; wohl sehnt sich die Dryas nach dem Leben draußen, aber ihre Tragödie wird verschleiert, weil sie in sentimentalem Lichte gesehen wird. In *Schwarzschattende Kastanie* besteht eine persönliche Verbindung zwischen dem Ich und dem Baum, und das gleiche ist in *Der Lieblingsbaum* wie auch in *Der verwundete Baum* und *Jetzt rede du!* der Fall:

In *Der verwundete Baum* wird eine Art Identität von Menschenleben und organischem Wachstum der Natur hergestellt:

Ich traue: Beiden geht es nicht ans Leben!

– in *Jetzt rede du!* sucht dagegen der verletzte Mensch seine verlorene Harmonie im Wald, bei dem »dunkeln Hort«:

Jetzt rede du! Ich lasse dir das Wort!

Verstummt ist Klag und Jubel. Ich will lauschen.

Nicht nur will das Ich – wie in *Ein Lied Chastelards* – dem Wald seinen Schmerz klagen, sondern es hofft auch auf die erlösende Antwort.

Chastelards Lied zeugt von dem Zusammenhang zwischen der unmöglichen Liebe und der Flucht in den Wald: er wagt seine Liebe nicht auszusprechen.

Ich will's den dunkeln Eichen klagen –.

Auf ähnliche Weise flieht das betrogene Mädchen »den harten Tag und sucht das Dunkel« (*Das bittere Tränklein*) wenn auch der Ton in diesem Gedicht weniger mitleidend und traurig ist als im Lied Chastelards.

In »unserm Tannenwinkel« wird das Herz begraben (*Das begrabene Herz*), und es sucht sein früheres Glück im Walde (*Stapfen*). Doch nicht allein frühes Glück verbirgt sich dort, sondern die vergessenen Möglichkeiten überhaupt: »Meiner Jugend Wanderbild« begegnet dem Ich auf Waldwegen (*Wanderfüße*), aber als schöne Erinnerung ohne Verbindlichkeit. Unverbindlich bleibt eingestandenermaßen auch die Erlösung »im Waldesraum« (*Die Lautenstimme*); sie ist ein »hübscher« Traum.

Das gehetzte Wild flieht in den Wald (*Abendrot im Walde*), das junge Mädchen, dem ein ähnliches Schicksal droht, ebenfalls (*Die Rehe, Weihgeschenk*).

Wie ein Reh, dem Wald entronnen,

nähert sich die junggebliebene Tote in *Weihgeschenk* dem Brunnen und sieht im Wasser ihr eigenes Bild und die Nichtigkeit alles Lebens:

Ohne Glauben an das Glück,
Flohest ins Dunkel du zurück!

[...]

Nie hat dich ein Arm umschlossen,
Liebe hast du nie genossen

heißt es, und das ist zwar traurig, aber dennoch die Basis des Gedichts. Die Blüte kann süß, das Mädchen jung bleiben, weil der Tod die Zeitlichkeit aufhebt.

Weniger unverbindlich als die Begegnung mit der Jugend »Wanderbild« ist das Gedicht *Begegnung*; hier wird versucht, aus einer Begegnung im Walde eine wirkliche Konfrontation zu machen, die Selbsterkenntnis bahnt sich ihren Weg, kommt aber zu spät: erst als die Erscheinung wieder verschwunden ist, errät das Ich ihren Namen: seinen eigenen. Dennoch haben sich Vergangenheit und Gegenwart einen kurzen Augenblick getroffen – nur gleitet das Bild der Jugend doch noch ins Sentimentale ab. Die Benennung der Erscheinung wäre wie im Märchen die Erlösung gewesen, aber sie blieb vielleicht deswegen unmöglich, weil der Reiter ein sentimentales Bild des Älteren bleibt:

Der jungen Augen wilde Kraft,
Des Mundes Trotz und herbes Schweigen,
Ein Zug von Traum und Leidenschaft
Berührte mich so tief und eigen.

Wie sehr die Waldsymbolik ein integrierter Bestandteil der Meyerschen Symbolwelt ist, läßt sich auch noch entwicklungs geschichtlich belegen (vgl. Henel): *Stapfen* hieß früher *Waldweg* (Wege S. 57), *Die Lautenstimmer* trug den Titel *Waldtraum*, und schließlich gab es einen gemeinsamen Titel für *Sonntags, Stapfen* und *Jetzt rede du!: Im Walde*.

Die Sterne

Diese können erlösend sein, aber auch bedrückend wirken als Erinnerung an das Unveränderliche. Sie verheißen eine ewige Beständigkeit und drohen mit einer endlosen Starre: die Sterne sind in *Schwüle* die einzige Hoffnung, die auch am Ende durchbricht, in *Mönch* gehört die Astrologie Ezzelins mit zu seiner Grausamkeit »Schicksal und Sternguckerei und Beschwörungen und Verschwörungen und Enthauptungen« (12,20), schreit der sterbende Vicedomini.

Im Gedicht *Unter den Sternen* werden diese gegen das mühsame irdische Leben ausgespielt:

Die ewgen Lichter fangen an zu funkeln,
Die heiligen Gesetze werden sichtbar.
Das Kampfgeschrei verstummt. Der Tag ist richtbar.

In diesem Gedicht herrscht strenger Dualismus: die Erde und der Himmel sind gänzlich getrennt, die Gesetze der Erde – die der Konkurrenz – sind denen des Himmels schroff entgegengesetzt. Daher zeigt sich der Stern auch selten genug als Begleiter einer irdischen Harmonie; meist wird er als Helfer gegen irdische Mühsal angerufen – oder als Zeuge einer schönen Erinnerung, ewiges Pfand eines verlorenen Glücks.

Daß die Sterne das höchste Maß von richtiger Liebe symbolisieren, wird nirgends deutlicher als in *Angela*: Strozzi ist der Leidenschaft ausgeliefert und redet »nicht anders, als wäre er trunken« (14,107), das Liebesduett Angelas und Giulios erhält dagegen den allerschönsten Hintergrund: »Heute war das Innere des Turmes dunkel. Von außen aber war er überglüanzt von den hohen Sternbildern« (14,124) – und Giulio nennt in seinem Teil des Duetts Angela einen »Stern« (14,125).

Die Sterne spielen »naturgemäß« in dem *Liebe*-Abschnitt der Gedichtsammlung eine große Rolle. Wie der Abendstern entschwindet auch die Liebe (*Hesperos*), bleibt aber als Erinnerung, immateriell, »aus der blassen Luft entglommen«; der Stern bleibt als Garant eines entspannten Verhältnisses zur Mutter, das zu ihren Lebzeiten nicht möglich gewesen war. Die Sterne in *Schwüle* könnten demnach solche der Harmonie zwischen Oben und Unten

sein, nicht nur solche der Rettung von der Wassergruft. Der Stern symbolisiert eine Liebe, die versöhnt, und wird mit der Mutter parallelisiert:

Freundlich zitternd gehst du nieder . . .
Mutter, Mutter, komme wieder!

was nicht heißt, daß der Stern die Mutter wäre, sondern vielmehr, daß beide zum Bereich der Liebe gehören. Ohne Versöhnung mit der Vergangenheit gibt es auch keine Hoffnung auf eine Zukunft (wie zu Anfang von *Schwüle*). In *Schwüle* ist die Vergangenheit eine Bindung, in *Hesperos* ein Verlust.

In *Weihgeschenk* werden Augen mit Sternen verglichen, wie auch sonst sehr oft in der Dichtung Meyers; die Augen spielen eine große Rolle als Verräter der Person: sämtliche Gestalten in den Novellen (von dem Fechtmeister und Gasparde in der ersten bis zu Angela und Giulio in der letzten Novelle) sind durch ihren Blick charakterisiert. Die liebenden Augen sind die, welche den Sternen ähneln:

Braune, schwermutvolle Augen,
Öffnet euch ein letztes Mal!
[. . .]
O wie hatt' ich euch so gerne,
Traute,träumerische Sterne –

Die Liebe hat sich entwickelt; nicht die Mutter sondern das Mädchen steht jetzt im Vordergrund.

Ihr Heim enthält die Zeilen:

Und den Stern der Liebe sah ich eilen
Dort zum dunkelscharfen Bergesrand,
Auf dem schlanken Giebel blitzend weilen
Wie ein zitternd Feuer, eh er schwand.

Diesmal aber hinterläßt der Stern »ein Zeichen«,

Wann er über meinem Glücke stand.

Doch keiner versteht den Hinweis des Sternes, bevor die Zeit reif wird, sagt die folgende Strophe. Der Stern ist die ewige Perspektive der Liebe, die aber erst klar wird, wenn das »Kampfgeschrei« verstummt:

Je näher dem Gestirn, das ewig ruht,
Um desto reiner wird die Liebesglut.

heißt es in *Hutten XLIX Nachtgespräch*. Nur in dem kurzen Augenblick des Zusammentreffens des Sterns mit dieser Welt lodert die Liebe auf, dann ist der Stern schon verschwunden; *Hesperos* und *Ihr Heim* enthalten beide dieses Bild des schwindenden Sternes, der kurz den Bergeshang oder den Giebel berührt, und das gleiche Motiv findet sich in *Hirtenfeuer*:

Einen Augenblick im Sinken
Ruht er auf dem Bergeshang.

(Vgl. auch etwa *Kurze Freude*, Kempter, S. 49).

Nur in diesem Augenblick hat das Ich des Gefühl, als wäre der Stern »immer nah«; er ist aber flüchtig wie die Frau. – *Dämmergang* variiert das Thema noch einmal.

Als Liebe zur Mutter, Versöhnung mit der Vergangenheit tritt der Stern auch in *Hutten XX Jacta est alea* auf:

Mein Mütterlein, behalt mich lieb und gern!
Bleib du mir milde wie der Abendstern!

aber auch hier ist der Wunsch von dem Abschied nicht zu trennen.

Verheißungsvoll sind sie Sterne schließlich etwa in *Die Rehe*, wo sie leuchtend aufsteigen – und in *Amulett*, wo Gasparde ihre schönen Augen auf einen Stern richtet, als ihr das Treiben in der Laurentiuskapelle zu bunt wird (11,36).

In *Hutten XXV Astrologie* sind die Sterne indessen mehrdeutig. Hutten dachte sich die Sterne »tröstlich allezeit«, sie können jedoch auch »arge Zwingherrn« sein. Die Macht der Sterne wird bei Meyer oft diskutiert: Hans der Armbruster erzählt (*Heilige*) von der spanischen Astrologie, Ezzelin ist (*Mönch*) der Astrologie gefallen, und Germano und Ascanio diskutieren »ein neues seltsames Sternbild« (12,39); auch bei dem Besuch Wallensteins bei Gustav Adolf (*Page*) ist von der Macht der Sterne die Rede. Diese Art von Sterngläubigkeit wird von Hutten, der die Erde festhalten will, abgelehnt:

Du bist ein Feind von jeder Tyrannei,
Und deine Sünden auch begingst du frei!

Wer den Wandel der Sterne als für das Leben auf Erden entscheidend sehn will, überschreitet die Trennungslinie zwischen Diesseits und Jenseits und pervertiert das Leben nicht weniger als der, welcher seinen Stern verliert (Astorre). Der Zusammenhang zwischen dem Lauf der Sterne (dem Schicksal) und der realen persönlichen Geschichte wird von Hutten als dämonisch aufgefaßt: der Glaube an die Sterne schließt jede menschliche Individuation aus, und Meyer präzisiert in dem Gedicht *Mein Stern* sehr deutlich, daß sein eigener Sternglaube anders aussieht als der eines Ezzelin:

Oft in meinem Abendwandel hefte
Ich auf einen schönen Stern den Blick,
Zwar sein Zeichen hat besondre Kräfte,
Doch bestimmt und zwingt er kein Geschick.

Nicht geheime Winke will er geben,
Er ist wahr und rein und ohne Trug,
Er beseligt und stärkt das Leben
Mit der tiefsten Sehnsucht stillem Zug.

Nicht versteht er Gottes dunkeln Willen,
Noch der Dinge letzten ewgen Grund,
Wunden heilt er, Schmerzen kann er stillen
Wie das Wort aus eines Freundes Mund.

In die Bangnis, die Bedrägnis funkelt
Er mit seinem hellsten Strahle gern,
Und je mehr die Erde mählich dunkelt,
Desto näher, stärker brennt mein Stern.

Holder! Einen Namen wirst du tragen,
Aber diesen wissen will ich nicht,
Keinen Weisen werd ich darum fragen,
Du mein tröstliches, mein treues Licht!

Der Stern kann die Sehnsucht nach dem Ewigen erwecken, jedoch nicht das Leben beherrschen; er ist Hoffnung – als Idee, nicht als konkrete Erwartung. »Ein süßer Stern der Hoffnung«

steigt für Don Giulio auf (14,118) – und umgekehrt träumt er vor seiner Blendung, daß ihn »tiefe Finsternis, dunkler als die schwärzeste sternlose Nacht« (14,35) umgibt. Auch Hutten weiß von »Leidensnächten ohne Stern« (*LXVII Ein christliches Sprüchlein*), während er in *Nachtgespräch* (*XLIX*) in den Sternen einen höheren Sinn entdeckt:

Mit höhern Welten bringt uns unser Gang
In einen leuchtenden Zusammenhang.

Auch hier wird indessen Distanz gewahrt; man kann den Gang der Erde nicht aus den Sternen lesen; »Der Sterne mildes Schweigen« ermöglicht (in *Über einem Grabe*) die Vorstellung von dem Leben des toten Jünglings, nicht die Erkenntnis, wie es eigentlich gewesen ist.

Schützend sind die Sterne in *Abendwolke*, wo das Segeln der Wolke »in leisem Sterngefunkel« das Ruhnen der Boote ermöglicht: »Die Ruder sind entschlafen« und brauchen auch nicht betätigt zu werden, weil die Sterne Wache halten; der Schein der Sterne bildet einen sehr sanften Übergang zum Tod im Gedicht *Das Glöcklein*. – *Schutzgeister* sind (im Gedicht dieses Namens) Goethe und Schiller, die mit Sternen verglichen werden, und in *Der Botenlauf* verkünden die Sterne den Sieg. Nicht anders geht es in *Nächtliche Fahrt*: »Unendlich brach hervor der Sterne Heer« – und erst dann meldet sich »die Tochter Zeus'« und ruft mit Telemachos den Himmel an.

Die Berge

Zu den größten Gegensätzen in der Meyerschen Symbolwelt gehört der zwischen dem schwülen Sumpf und den hohen Bergen; das dritte Kapitel des *Pescara* beginnt mit einem Vergleich und verkündet damit bereits vor aller Aufklärung den Ausgang der Novelle: »An einem Fenster, dessen Blick über die Türme von Novara und eine schwül dampfende Ebene hinweg die noch morgenklaren Schneespitzen des Monte Rosa erreichte, saß Pescara und arbeitete an dem Entwurfe des Feldplanes, der das Heer des Kaisers nach Mailand führen sollte« (13,195). Auch das Gedicht *Schweizer und Landsknechte* (*Hutten XLVI*) weiß von dem Gegensatz:

Rings Pfuhl und Wall. Das Fieber hauchte schwül.
Am Seelisberge, dacht ich, weht es kühl.

Die Berge verheißen die Erlösung von der drückenden Materie und den Aufstieg zur Harmonie; aber diese Erlösung ist eine sehr einsame Angelegenheit:

Was schaffst du noch unten im Menschgewühl?
Hier oben ist's einsam! Hier oben ists kühl!
(*Das weiße Spitzchen*)

Menschengewühl ist das gleiche, das in *Am Himmelstor* und *Unter den Sternen* »Staub«, in der Frühfassung von *Eingelegte Ruder* »des Markts Gewinn und Beute«, in *Camoëns* das »Meer des Lebens« usw. genannt wurde. Die Berge sind ewig wie die Sterne, aber sie sind erreichbar, und sei es erst im Tode. – Sie gehören nicht zum Himmel: weder in *Engelberg*, noch in *Göttermahl* – denn dort »blaut« der reine Horizont

Unverwundet von der Firne Schärfen –
noch in *Sonntags*:

Du spiegelst weder Stadt noch Firneschnee,
Den Himmel schimmerst du, mein kleiner See!

Aber ewig sind die Berge dennoch:

Ewige Gebirge schauen groß
In der stillen Kammer Dämmerlicht,
Stehen vor dem kühnen Angesicht
Wie die Wahrheit scharf und schleierlos.

(*Der tote Hutten*, nach Frey S. 223)

Die Firne verbreiten

Das große stille Leuchten
(*Firnelicht*)

(– und hier wird die Dichtung klassifiziert: als kleines stilles Leuchten: die guten Eigenschaften der Dichtung sind die, welche sie mit den Bergen gemein hat), und in *Noch einmal* wird ausgerufen:

O Atem der Berge, beglückender Hauch!

Es sind also stets die immateriellen Aspekte der Berge, die eine Harmonie verheißen: der Glanz, die Luft – und auch die Bläue (Blau ist überhaupt eine sehr positive Farbe, blau ist z. B. der kaiserliche Mantel in *Richterin*; vgl. auch Gedichte wie *Kaiser Sigmunds Ende* (»Licht und lauter Bläue«), *Epilog* oder *Heilige Bläue* (1896, Kempter, S. 5)), so wie es in der Bacchus-Symbolik die Blüte und nicht die Ernte war, die ein Gleichgewicht garantierte. Wird der Berg zum Felsmassiv, sieht er ganz anders aus, so etwa in einigen »Stern«-Gedichten, in *Clara* (vgl. unten S. 89), in *Schwüle* (»Bleich das Leben! Bleich der Felsenhang!«), in *Die Felswand* (»Feindselig, wildzerrissen steigt die Felswand.«) und in *Pentheus* (Es dämmert empor / Ein Fels ohne Pfad, ein Weg ohne Tor«).

Das fehlende Tor bedeutet den Tod; die Felswand wird erst dann »gastlich«, als oben »ein Tor mit blauer Füllung« erscheint, als »Licht und Höhe« sichtbar werden.

Engelberg wurde ins Mittelalter und in die Berge verlegt. Zu dem Brief an Haessel über die mittelalterliche Psyche (vgl. oben S. 5) gesellt sich ein anderer, an Friedrich von Wyß gerichteter, der die Bedeutung der Landschaft hervorhebt – »Die Charaktere durften bei dem Vorwiegen des Landschaftlichen nur angedeutet werden« (31.VIII.1872). In *Engelberg* ist der Hintergrund keine »Zeit des Zerfalles, wo die Persönlichkeit alles ist« (*Angela*; 14,44), sondern eine ruhige Zeit, und auch die Gegend ist ruhig; das »Kampfgeschrei« ist hier nicht Gesetz.

Ich atmet' eilig, wie auf Raub,
Der Märkte Dunst, der Städte Staub.
Ich sah den Kampf. Was sagest du,
Mein reines Firnelicht, dazu,
Du großes stilles Leuchten?

– so wird in *Firnelicht* gefragt (vgl. *Am Himmelstor*, *Auf dem See* 2). Der Ausdruck »wie auf Raub« lässt ahnen, daß alles schon entschieden wurde; das Hochgebirge ist die eigentliche Heimat, aus der man sich nur ungern und nicht für lange Zeit entfernt. Es ist daher auch kein bloßer Gegensatz zum »Staub«, sondern höchste Instanz: »Was sagest du [...] dazu?«

Distanz und Kühle sind aber notwendig, um ganz in den Ber-

gen leben zu können. *Schneewittchen* führt (im Gedicht dieses Namens) »mit kühler Brust« den Haushalt der Zwerge, ohne alle Leidenschaft, und der Berg in *Das weiße Spitzchen* hat eine Moosbank zu seinen Füßen, von der es »zum ewigen Schnee nicht mehr weit« ist, d.h. zum Tod – das gleiche Bild findet sich in *Hutten XXII Der Komtur*: die Insel, auf der der Ritter stirbt, liegt

[...] weiter oben, wo sich biegt der See
Und nah und näher tritt der ewge Schnee.

Weniger todesnah ist die Einsamkeit in *Himmelsnähe*:

Ich bin allein auf meinem Felsenriff
Und ich empfinde, daß Gott bei mir sei.

In *Fiebernacht* muß der Kranke es dulden, daß ihn der Berg wegen seines Engagements im Leben tadeln; früher war es anders: der junge Wanderer kannte keine Vorsicht,

Doch mir gefiel der Kühne und der Blinde,
Und Sorge trug ich dir als einem Kinde –
Jetzt, lieber Herr, bist leidlich du vernünftig,
Hast Weib und Hof, bist in der Gilde zünftig,
Verlaß dich nicht auf meine Flügel künftig!

Nur wer sich der Einsamkeit hingibt, wird von ihr auch gerettet werden, vgl. etwa *Der Kamerad*:

Oder wann ich im Gebirg verirrt war,
Hangend über schwindelnd tiefem Abgrund,
Sprach er: »Blick mir in das Auge ruhig!«
Und ich tat es, und ich ward gerettet. –

Dieser Kamerad ist der Tod, der in den Bergen ein vertrauter Freund ist, den man aber verdrängen möchte, als endlich das Leben anfängt, »glühend warm mit unbekannter Fülle«. Man kann sich von dem Leben so sehr einfangen lassen, daß man das Rufen der Firne unwillig abweist:

So komm ich denn morgen! Nun laß mich in Ruh!
Erst schließ ich die Bücher, die Schreine noch zu!
(*Das weiße Spitzchen*)

Leise ertönt aber ein »Herdegeläut«, das seinen religiösen Ursprung nicht verleugnen kann. Die Glocken rufen die Seele zu ihrer ewigen Ruhe, so auch in *Das Glöcklein*:

Das Glöcklein! Wieder! Hörst du's? Gute Nacht . . .

– das ist der »Pilgerruf der Abendglocke«, wie er in *Der Kamerad* beschrieben wird.

Der Tod haust in den Bergen, in zweierlei Gestalt: als versöhnender Übergang und als jäher, triumphierender Untergang, als Tod auf dem Höhepunkt des Lebens. In *Noch einmal* wird diese letztgenannte Art des Todes angerufen:

Zu Tale zu steigen, das wäre mir Schmerz –
Entsende, du Schütze, entsende das Erz!
Jetzt bin ich ein Seliger! Triff mich ins Herz!

Das Licht spielt wieder die entscheidende Rolle: »Der Himmel, er öffnet sich innig und lebt«, und das gleiche Licht ergrünzt auch in *Spiel* und in *Hutten LXX Scheiden im Licht*:

Erlege mich mit deinem ersten Pfeil!

Ruhiger ist der Tod in *Die Bank des Alten*, das an *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* erinnert:

[...] Vor einer Hütte saß allein
Ein alter Mann, von seiner Kraft verlassen,
Und schaute feiernd auf den Firneschein.

Wieder ist das Licht wesentlich, wie auch die blaue Farbe:

Zuweilen, in die Hand gelegt die Stirne,
Seh ich den Himmel jenes Tales blau,
Den Müden seh ich wieder auf die Firne,
Die nahen, selig klaren Firne schaun.

Diese Vision wird dann auf das eigene Leben angewandt; auch das Ich dieses Gedichts wird eines Tages die Bank aufsuchen, um im Licht zu sterben.

Die Berge sind sozusagen das Essentielle. Man wird in ihrer Umgebung ein anderer, vgl. *Nach der ersten Bergfahrt*:

Deine Stimme wurde voller, die das Echo wachgerufen,
 In dem klaren Herdgeläute wurde deine Stimme heller,
 Deine wegeskundgen Blicke kreisen rascher, streifen
 schneller,
 Deine Lippen wurden stiller, edler wurde deine Stirne,
 Und dein Auge, großgeöffnet, es betrachtet noch die Firne.

Hutten kann auch feststellen (*XLIV Der Schaffner*):

Natur ist in den Hochgebirgen stark,
 Und ihre Lüfte stählern Herz und Mark.

– In den Höhen läßt sich das Leben als Ganzheit erleben, wie in *Engelberg*. Nicht, daß es keine traurigen Momente gäbe, nur: das Wissen um die ewige Ordnung des Ganzen, um den Sinn des Lebens geht nie verloren. Die Erlebnisse eines größeren Zusammenhangs können persönlich wie überpersönlich sein; privat sind sie in *Noch einmal*, *Reisephantasie* und *Der Reisebecher*, geschichtlich etwa in *Die alte Brücke*, *Der Kaiser und das Fräulein*, *Der Rheinborn* und *Alte Schrift*. In der Luft der Berge lassen sich jedoch stets nur Vergangenheit oder Zukunft erleben, während die Brutalität der Gegenwart unten bleibt.

Nicht ganz ohne Bedeutung ist ein Vergleich mit der Privatperson C. F. Meyer. Während die Wald-Symbolik stets einen etwas gezwungenen Charakter behält, erwächst die Bergsymbolik deutlich aus einem tiefen Erlebnis des Motivs (ohne daß jetzt eine einzelne Begebenheit als entscheidend angesehen werden sollte). An Friedrich v. Wyß schreibt Meyer (27.VII.1866) aus Silvaplana: »Hier ist es so schön und so stille und so kühl, daß man die Rätsel des Daseins vergißt und sich an die klare Offenbarung der Schönheit hält« –. Am 7.IX. 1867 heißt es (an denselben): »Wer kann es beschreiben: das Lärchendunkel, das eifrige Strömen der Bergwasser, das große stille Leuchten der Schneeberge?« – und 22.VI.1891: »Es freut mich, daß Du wieder *Berge* und *Seen* besuchen kannst«. Haessel gegenüber erwähnt Meyer (5.VIII. 1866) »die herrliche Inspiration der Hochlandschaft und der Alpenluft«, und an Rodenberg schreibt er 19.VII. 1890: »Die Schönheit der Berge hat mich wieder ganz bezaubert und auch die Luft ist noch die alte«. Kein Wunder, daß Meyer sich nach seinem Wagenunfall 1879 jahrelang den Bergen fernhielt; ein un-

heimliches Erlebnis mußte in dieser sonst so harmonischen Umgebung besonders unheimlich sein.

Das Religiöse betonen sehr stark zwei Gedichte, *Hussens Kerker* und *Ein Pilgrim*.

Hussens Kerker vereint, wie schon erwähnt, viele verschiedene Symbolsphären in sich; die himmlische Hoffnung der Segel verbindet sich mit derjenigen der Firne:

Das Fensterkreuz von Eisen
Blickt auf die frische Flut,
Und zwischen seinen Stäben
Seh ich ein Segel schweben,
Darob im Blau die Firne ruht.

Und die Interpretation des ganzen Erlebnisse folgt:

Es ist die Zeit zu feiern!
Es kommt die große Ruh!
Dort lenkt ein Zug von Reihern
Dem ewgen Lenze zu, –

Im Ausdruck »ewger Lenz« klingt noch einmal das Motiv der Befreiung durch. Wie der Pfeil der Sonne das Eis traf und es schmelzen ließ (*Engelberg*) – aber auch den Tod bedeutete (*Hutten LXX Scheiden im Licht*), so wird der Lenz hier zur Befreiung aus dem Winter des Lebens. Der ewige Schnee weist auch in *Ein Pilgrim* auf die Befreiung hin: das Boot des »Pilgerims und Wandersmanns« nähert sich der sanften Erlösung:

Auf lichter Tiefe trug das Boot mich hin
Entgegen meinem ewgen stillen Schnee
Mit einer andern lieben Pilgerin –

Alles Dämonische scheint hier überwunden, die Tiefe ist licht, und das Boot gleitet leicht. Bezeichnend ist, daß der Schnee in Verbindung mit der anderen Pilgerin, der Schwester, auftritt, während »Weib und Kind an meinem eignen Herd« letzten Endes nur zum »Wandersmann« gehören. Die himmlische Liebe bleibt die, welche keine Verpflichtungen im Irdischen eingeht.

ENTWICKLUNG

Das Amulett (1873)

Über die Unvollkommenheit der ersten Novelle Meyers, ihre Abhängigkeit von Mérimées »Chronique du règne de Charles IX« und ihre geringere Qualität im Vergleich mit dem Vorbild herrscht allgemeine Einigkeit. Dennoch sind die Grundelemente der Problematik Meyers schon hier wenn auch nicht voll, so doch sicher mehr als halb entfaltet; bereits in dieser Novelle entflammt der Kampf zwischen Ordnung und Anarchie in voller Stärke. Der geschichtliche Schauplatz ist zentral, die Bartholomäusnacht wird zum eindrucksvollen Symbol der radikalen Spaltung. Wenn Gott nicht mehr unumstritten ist, ermorden sich die Menschen, »weil sie nicht einig sind über den richtigen Weg zur Seligkeit« (11,63). Gerade die Suche nach dem ewigen Heil schlägt jetzt ins größte Unheil, ins Massaker um; aus Glaube ist Fanatismus geworden. Der höchste Wert ist zerfallen und hat damit auch seine Stellung als höchster verloren; die Nationalität ist zum obersten Begriff geworden und an die Stelle der Religion getreten. »Werden wir denn nie lernen, daß sich die Gewissen nicht meistern lassen und daß ein Protestant sein Vaterland so glühend lieben, so mutig verteidigen und seinen Gesetzen so gehorsam sein kann wie ein Katholik!« klagt der Rat Chatillon (11,20) – ohne freilich dabei die Worte des Admirals Coligny voraussehen zu können, die keine besonders glühende Liebe zum Vaterland verraten: – »ich will nicht, daß auch du unseres Volkes Sünden mitbüßest. Wir bezahlen, was unsere Väter verschuldet haben. Du aber sollst [...] auf deutscher Erde ein frommes und ruhiges Leben führen« (11,55). Und der Hauptmann Pfyffer, der »nicht nur als ausgezeichneter Soldat, sondern auch als fanatischer Katholik berühmt

war« (11,41), sagt während der Internierung Schadaus im Louvre: »Die Heiligen mögen mir's verzeihen, daß ich einem Hugenotten das Leben rette – aber einen Landsmann und Bürger von Bern dürfen wir von diesen verfluchten Franzosen auch nicht abschlachten lassen« (11,60). – Kein Wunder, daß Schadau von Paris »den Eindruck des Schwankenden, Ungleichtartigen, der sich widersprechenden und mit einander ringenden Elemente« empfängt (11,42). Selbst wird er auch nicht diesem Zwiespalt der Gefühle entgehen: »Sein Abergläubische war verwerflich, aber seine Freundschaftreue hatte mir das Leben gerettet,« sagt er über Boccard nach dem erfolgreichen Duell mit dem Grafen Guiche (11,48).

In diesem Paris kämpfen Ordnung und Anarchie, Protestantismus und Katholizismus, miteinander. »Ist der Zweikampf schon an sich eine Tat, die kein Christ ohne zwingende Gründe auf sein Gewissen laden soll, so wird er in diesen Tagen, wo ein ins Pulverfaß springender Funke uns alle verderben kann, zum Verbrechen an unseren Glaubensgenossen und am Vaterlande« (11,49) ruft Admiral Coligny, der »wie ein Richter in Israel« (11,27) blickt und Ordnung und Besonnenheit vertritt. Pater Panigarola dagegen predigt die rohe Gewalt: »Gerade unsere Liebe zu ihnen gebietet uns, sie zum Heil zu überreden, und, sind sie störrisch, sie zum Heil zu zwingen, und, sind sie unverbesserlich, sie auszurotten, damit sie nicht durch ihr schlechtes Beispiel ihre Kinder, ihre Nachbarn, ihre Mitbürger in die ewigen Flammen mitreißen« (11,35). Chatillon weiß zu erzählen, wohin derartige Reden führen können; er habe in Nîmes »Mord und Anlauf« (11,37) anstiften sehen und zwar »im Namen Gottes« (11,37): der höchste Begriff ist entwertet und wird nunmehr als Mittel im Machtkampf verwendet.

Nicht weniger fanatisch als der Pater ist aber der junge Schadau selbst, der im Gespräch mit Boccard und Chatillon die Verbrennung Servets und die Prädestination gutheit, während der Katholik Boccard diese letztere lächerlich macht und gegen den ganzen Calvinismus seine eigene Heilung durch die Jungfrau Maria von Einsiedeln ausspielt. So konkret, auf eigenes Erleben bezogen, Boccards Religion ist, so sehr besteht Schadaus aus abstrakten Morallehren, zu denen er kaum ein persönliches Verhältnis hat. Er ist ausgezogen, für diesen neuen Glauben zu kämpfen, lernt aber vor allem die Welt kennen – und entdeckt seine eigene

Gefühlswelt: Weltgeschichte und persönliche Geschichte vereinen sich in Gasparde, deren Augen nicht ohne guten Grund an die Dandelots, des Helden Schadaus, erinnern. Leise verraten schon einige frühe Sätze einen Zusammenhang zwischen Psyche und Welt: Schadau fühlt, »daß ich die ganze Summe meines Herzens auf *eine* Nummer zu setzen habe, und die Gelegenheit dazu, so schwiebte mir dunkel vor, mußte sich in der Umgebung meines Helden finden. Auch stand bei mir fest, daß ein volles Glück mit vollem Einsatz, mit dem Einsatz des Lebens wolle gewonnen sein« (11,15).

Für Schadau bricht die Kindheit zusammen, als seine eigenen Wünsche lebendig werden, und als er eine andere Welt als die stille und abgeschiedene des Onkels kennenlernen. Der Fechtlehrer zeigt ihm die Bosheit der großen Welt: er ist ein Mörder, und Schadau wird durch ihn mit dem Fremden schlecht-hin konfrontiert; er ist böhmischer Herkunft, hat eine kriechende Haltung, unruhige Augen und gemeine Züge (11,12) – alles in krassem Widerspruch zur bisherigen Welt des Knaben. Aber der Böhme ist notwendig, um Schadau die Fechtkunst beizubringen. Ferner gerät der Jüngling bei einem privaten Fest in Streit über den Herzog Alba, nicht ohne zuvor »ein Glas feurigen Cortailod« (11,16) getrunken zu haben. Er erkennt sofort danach, daß er seine Heimat verlassen muß, aber nicht nur deswegen tut er es, sondern auch weil ihm seine Vorliebe für die »Rebellen« (11,16) bewußt geworden ist und ihm verbietet, noch länger in der ländlichen Idylle zu verharren. Der Weg ins Leben führt nach Frankreich.

Das entscheidende persönliche Erlebnis, das Duell mit dem Grafen, ist zugleich ein Kampf gegen den Katholizismus. Denn der Graf kommt aus der Kapelle Panigarolas, durch eine Pforte, »an deren beiden Seiten zwei große brennende Pechfackeln« »ihr[en] blutige[n] Schein« verbreiten (11,36) – der denkbar schärfste Gegensatz zu dem »schönen Stern, der über dem Dache der Kapelle mild leuchtend« aufsteigt (11,36), und auf den Gasparde ihren schönen Blick richtet. Guiche begrüßt Gasparde mit »halb herablassender, halb gieriger Gebärde« (11,36), und Gasparde fühlt sich im Innersten erschüttert – oder? Ihre Bitte um Satisfaktion schließt mit den Worten: »Die Unziemlichkeit muß um jeden Preis ein Ende nehmen.« (11,36). Anscheinend geht es ihr vor allem um moralische Rache, darum, den gefährlichen

Grafen und seine Sinnlichkeit auszurotten – und Schadau geht es um genau dasselbe; als er schließlich zum Duell antritt, geschieht es im Grunde nicht so sehr, weil Gasparde beleidigt wurde, sondern weil er selbst beleidigt wird: beim Zusammenstoß mit dem Grafen auf der Straße (11,43). Schadau duellierte mit einem Katholiken, einem Nebenbuhler – und mit der Sinnlichkeit schlechthin, die die reine sternklare Liebe gefährdet. Das siebente Kapitel fängt an: »Seit dem verhängnisvollen Tage, an welchem ich Guiche getötet und Gaspardes Liebe gewonnen hatte –« (11,52); und das Mädchen zögert auch nicht, den Helden an sich zu binden: »Um meinetwillen hast du die Tat begangen. Ich bin es, die dich in Sünde gestürzt hat«. (11,51).

Im Politischen bedeutet die Bartholomäusnacht den Ausbruch aller zerstörerischen Kräfte; auch hier spielt, wie früher in der Laurentiuskapelle, »greller Fackelschein« (11,63) eine Rolle. Über diese Anarchie fällt die Steinfrau, die unbewegliche, ihr vernichtendes Urteil (11,63), das auch Meyer unterschreiben konnte, und das er hier unterstrich, weil er offenbar von der Novelle selber nicht genügend überzeugt wurde. Er erkannte den Stilbruch dieser Szene, »aber es war mir ein Bedürfniß, meinen persönlichen Abscheu und Ekel, auch mit Durchbrechung der Harmonie, in diesem im XVI. Jahrh. überhaupt unmöglichen Traum auszusprechen« (an Anna von Doß, 2.X.1873).

Er hatte es nötig, sich von den Ereignissen moralisch zu distanzieren; denn Gasparde wird zwar gerettet – wieder aus den Händen einer verderblichen Sinnlichkeit –, aber Boccard stirbt, sogar durch einen Schuß aus der Pistole Schadaus. »Tout se tourne autour d'une médaille de Marie, d'une amulette qui sauve le protestant et perd le catholique«, schrieb Meyer an Vulliemin (26.IV.1873); der Tod Boccards und die Rettung Schadaus relativieren die religiösen Auffassungen der Hauptgestalten: Boccard erfährt am eigenen Leibe, was Schicksal, Vorsehung und Prädestination heißt, die Rettung Schadaus dagegen korrigiert dessen ganz abstrakte Auffassung von der Religion und seine Geringsschätzung der persönlichen Erlebnisse; es ist kaum als bloße Taktik zu werten, daß er Boccard »im Namen der Muttergottes von Einsiedeln!« (11,64) anfleht, doch Gasparde zu Hilfe kommen zu dürfen. Und Boccards Tod erinnert an spätere schicksalhafte Verkettungen bei Meyer: Astorre fällt durch das Schwert Germanos,

wie Ezzelin es vorausgesehen hatte, und der Bandit Kratzkralle ermordet seinen Bruder, obwohl er alles tut, um das zu vermeiden (*Angela*).

Ein Bruder ist es auch, der hier stirbt. Der Tod der einen Hälfte der Person ist der einzige Ausweg aus dem Konflikt, jedoch nicht dessen Lösung. Eine solche wird denn auch nicht vorgetäuscht: die traurige Erinnerung verfolgt Schadau bis zu der Zeit, wo er die Geschichte niederschreibt – und er steht in ständigem Verkehr mit dem alten Boccard.

Die Dämonie des Anarchischen wird auch keineswegs überwunden: die Flucht der beiden Eheleute aus Paris gelingt nur mit Hilfe des Fechtmeisters. Als Schadau »des Lebens und der Lüge müde« (11,69) geworden ist, rettet ihm ein Verbrecher das Leben, dazu noch einer, der ihm mit den Worten: »Tod den Hugenotten!« (11,13) das Fechten beigebracht hatte und ihm jetzt von eigenen Schandtaten erzählt, ohne daß Schadau Einspruch erheben kann. Alles muß er einstecken, auch den Verdacht, er habe sich beim Duell die Brust gepanzert. Nur durch die Hilfe des Böhmen – den Schadau seinerseits gerettet hatte, als er ihm »unwillkürlich« (11,14) den Haftbefehl zeigte – gelangen Gasparde und Schadau in die Schweiz, wo inzwischen der Onkel gestorben ist.

Am selben Tage, an dem er seine große Liebe Gasparde traf, begegnete ihm auch sein Gegensatz Boccard; als er das Mädchen endlich gewinnt, stirbt Boccard. Diese Geschichte wiederholt sich hier: als Gasparde und Schadau über die schöne idyllische Gegend hinausschauen, werden sie in die Gegenwart zurückgerufen. Schadau erinnert sich nochmals an »die Geschichte der verhängnisvollen Verkettung meines Loses mit dem meines heitern Landsmanns« (11,72), und seine Gedanken verklagen und entschuldigen sich untereinander; jede Daseinsfreude ist verloren, die Spaltung ist ihm ein für allemal bewußt geworden, und er kann seine Frau nur noch »in das verödete Haus meiner Jugend« (11,73) einführen, während der Brief des Oheims dieses Leben noch unwidersprochen verurteilt. Die Liebenden verdanken ihre Rettung Umständen, die sie am liebsten geleugnet hätten; als der Reisende heimkehrt, muß er erkennen, daß er die Pilgerschaft verraten hat. Kein Wunder, daß dieser Konfliktstoff zu noch ausführlicherer und persönlicherer Gestaltung drängte; im Jenatsch-Roman entfaltete sich dann das Thema.

Jürg Jenatsch (1874/1876)

»Es ist überdieß merkwürdig daß jene Zeit (Anfang des 17 Jahrh.) zur Besprechung derselben Fragen Anlaß gibt, ja nötigt, die jetzt die Welt bewegen: ich meine den Conflit von Recht und Macht, Politik und Sittlichkeit«, schrieb Meyer schon am 26.IX. 1866 an seinen Verleger Haessel – und einige Wochen vorher hatte er ihm mitgeteilt, daß es nicht nur um eine geschichtliche Episode, sondern um das Ganze ging: – »das Stück graubündischer Geschichte (Anfang des 17. Jahrh.) ist mit der *damaligen europäischen Politik* so eng verflochten, daß die Komposition, wenigstens durch ihren Hintergrund, aus den Schranken eines Genrebildes weit heraustreten würde.« – »Das der Poesie so überaus günstige Verlaufen einer großartigen, rohen Zeit in eine gebildetere und flachere, die Verwandlung der religiösen Bewegung im 16. Jahrh. in die politische des 17., kurz die Anfänge des *modernen* Menschen wären interessant zu behandeln.« (5.IX. 1866). – Denn diese Entwicklung traf auch Meyer persönlich, zeigte die geschichtlichen Ursprünge einer Spaltung, die er selbst erlebte, ohne sie aufheben zu können. Psychologisches und Politisches durchdringen sich in diesem Roman wie in keinem zweiten Werk Meyers; das gibt *Jenatsch* einen zentralen Platz in seiner Dichtung.

Wie für Hutten bedeutet die neue Zeit auch für Jenatsch eine Befreiung und einen Abfall. »Ich breche durch und schaue nicht zurück!« sagte Hutten (*LIX Sturm und Schilf*), und Jenatsch drückt sich nicht viel anders aus: »Hinunter mit der Vergangenheit!« (10,177). Beide sind sich bewußt, was sie dabei gewinnen – und verlieren. Der Riß geht durch alle Ebenen des Lebens: – Herzog Rohan achtet es »für ein schweres Unglück«, »daß in meinem Frankreich die evangelischen Geistlichen durch ihren Eifer sich hinreißen ließen, die Gemüter zum Bürgerkriege zu erhitzten«. (10,52). – Die Frau Jürgs, Lucia, wird durch ihren Übertritt zum Protestantismus ihrer Familie entfremdet; ihr Bruder Agostino ermordet sie und meint selber, die Jungfrau Maria habe es ihm befohlen: »Du wolltest es, Santissima!« stöhnt er (10,26). Und nicht zuletzt hat die Spaltung auch Jürg und Lucretia getrennt. Es ist die Welt des *Amulett*, die sich hier voller entfaltet. Das Erlebnis der Spaltung ist für Meyer so fundamental, daß es bis

in die Anfänge seiner Lyrik zurückgeht; es ist *das* Thema Meyers:

Ein Hirt mit zornigem Angesicht
Erkennt im Kampf den Bruder nicht.

heißt es in dem frühen Gedicht *Die Wolfenschieße* (hier nach Bohnenblust, S. 42); der Mensch ist in zwei Hälften zerfallen, die sich wie feindliche Brüder bekämpfen, und die Nationen sind es nicht weniger. Jenatsch faßt diese unglückselige Situation zusammen, als er Lucretia auf Riedberg besucht: »Siehst du nicht, Lucretia, wie wir alle in diesen Bürgerkriegen Gebornen ein frisches, schuldiges Geschlecht sind! . . . und ein unseliges. Dort hat der Bruder den Bruder erschlagen und hier liegt trennend eine Leiche zwischen zweien, die sich lieben und angehören« (10,189); in der Bibel des Blasius Alexander ist das Buch der Makkabäer aufgeschlagen (10,48).

Ohne Bezug zur Transzendenz ist der Mensch in dieser Welt verloren. Gott hat sich zurückgezogen, ohne diesmal einen Mittler zu schicken: »Ich wölbe mir die Himmel – spricht der Herr –, den Spielraum der Erde aber überließ ich den Menschenkindern«, zitiert Jenatsch aus den Psalmen (10,189), allerdings mit der Bemerkung, auch er habe eine Rede Gottes *für sich*: die Religion wird zur Privatsache, zum Element der Machtpolitik, auch für den, der es anders sehen möchte. Jeder bleibt seiner eigenen Psychologie ausgeliefert, vielmehr: er verfällt seinem »Dämon« (10,256), seinen Trieben, ohne irgendwo Halt finden zu können. Auch – und gerade – Jenatsch wird Opfer, und Heinrich Waser, den er beim Wiedersehen in Berbenn beinahe getötet hätte, fragt sich denn auch: »War es denn dieser heftigen und, wie er sich sagte, nicht durch städtische Bildung veredelten Natur stark zu verargen, wenn sie losbrach, wo Heimat und Leben gefährdet war? Und kannte er nicht von früher her Jürgs jähnen Stimmungswechsel, seine wilden, heißblütigen Scherze!« (10,46). Er hat die Antwort allerdings schon gegeben: »Er ahnte es, die Gewalt eines unbändigen Willens, die früher in den dunkeln, fast schlaftrigen Zügen seines Schulgenossen geschlummert haben mochte, war entfesselt worden durch die Gefahren eines stürmischen öffentlichen Lebens« (10,35).

So wird die Geschichte zum Schicksal des Einzelnen, wie auch

Meyer sie erlebte, dem es wie Heinrich Waser ging: – »die staatsrechtlichen Handlungen waren für ihn keine leeren Formeln mehr, keine bloße Übung seiner behenden Gedanken« (10,70). Die Erfahrung ließ die Geschichte zu einem konkreten Problem werden; Meyer war von der Geschichte zwar fasziniert, weil sie ihm ein mit »großen Gestalten« bevölkertes Bild bot, aber auch abgestossen, weil die Beschäftigung mit den großen Gestalten ihn zu wenig erbaulichen Erkenntnissen führte; die Geschichte war ein zwanghafter Ablauf, in dem jeder schuldig wurde, der hineingeriet. Noch Hutten konnte einen Zusammenhang zwischen einer freien Entscheidung und den Forderungen der Zeit postulieren; Jenatsch verliert seine psychische Freiheit, je näher die physische seines Landes rückt; Geschichte ist zum unaufhaltsamen Sündenfall geworden. Hutten leitete sein Eingreifen in die Geschichte der Zeit aus der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen ab, Jenatsch dagegen muß am Ende sich und Heinrich Waser gestehen, daß ihn »ein Dämon [...] vorwärts ins Unbekannte, ins Leere peitscht« (10,256). Für keine der Gestalten im Roman gibt es Ruhe oder Erlösung aus dem Widerspruch, jeder Sieg enthält bereits die Niederlage in sich: auf der Höhe seines Triumphes – als er zum ersten und letzten Mal »ein aus beiden Bekenntnissen verschmolzenes französisches Heer« (10,153) befiehlt – wird Herzog Rohan vom Sumpfieber befallen, und »böse Zweifel« (10,159) plagen ihn; auf der Höhe seines Triumphes, beim Maskenfest in Chur, wird Jenatsch von seiner verleugneten Vergangenheit eingeholt und erschlagen.

Die Gesetze der Machtpolitik werden zu solchen des Lebens überhaupt. Jenatsch lehnt sich gegen Katholiken und Spanier auf – »Zuerst und vor allem haben sie mit Spanien gezettelt! Kein Wort, Heinrich, zu ihrer Verteidigung!« ruft er (10,38) über die Plantas – und stirbt als ein mit Spanien verbündeter Katholik. Fest bleibt nur das nationale Ziel: die Befreiung Bündens, und Jenatsch kann von Anfang an der Hilfe eines Katholiken (Pater Pankraz) sicher sein: dieser Mönch ohne Kloster ist schon an sich ein Symbol des Zerfalls der alten Ordnungen. – Auch in Frankreich ist die Religion den Zielen der Politik untergeordnet: Richelieu unterdrückt in Frankreich die Hugenotten, während er im Ausland die Protestanten gegen Spanien-Österreich unterstützt (10,53).

Da die Taten Jenatschs immer mehr ihre göttliche Rechtfertigung verlieren, ist er seinem latenten Fanatismus ausgeliefert; schon früh verteidigt dieser Rebell gegen katholische Gewalt den Tod des Erzpriesters Nicolaus Rusea mit einem Bibelwort: »Es kam wie geschrieben steht: Besser ist's, daß Einer umkomme, als daß das ganze Volk verderbe (10,38)« – was fatal an den Sprachgebrauch des aufhetzenden Paters Panigarola in *Amulett* erinnert: – »es ist dir besser, daß eines deiner Glieder verderbe, als daß dein ganzer Leib in das nie verlöschende Feuer geworfen werde!« (10,35). Auch hier erweisen sich die christlichen Sprüche als doppeldeutig; in einer Welt, wo keine christliche Weltordnung herrscht, werden sie zu Apologien des Unrechts.

Daher hat Jenatsch auch am Anfang seiner Laufbahn gemeint, »ein Geistlicher müsse seine Hände von der Politik rein halten« (10,47), später aber hat ihn das Mitleid mit seinem Volke, wie er es selber ausdrückt (10,47) ergriffen. Herzog Heinrich Rohan nun ist der Mann, den Pfarrer an seine früheren Ansichten zu erinnern; er formuliert die entscheidende Erkenntnis: »Heutzutage darf nicht mehr dieselbe Hand das Schwert des Apostels und das Schwert des Feldherrn führen [...]. Heute walte jeder in Treue des eigenen Amtes [...]. Der Geistliche hüte die Seelen, anders richtet er Unheil an« (10,52). Die Rollen lassen sich aber nicht mehr so säuberlich verteilen, schon gar nicht bei Jenatsch, von dem Pompejus Planta einmal sagte, er gehöre »auf einen Kriegsgaul, nicht hinters Kanzelbrett, und würde dort weniger Unheil stiften« (10,19). Der Pfarrer war schon bei der Ankunft Wasers in Berbenn damit beschäftigt, »einen gewaltigen Raufdegen« (10,33) zu wetzen; jetzt erzwingen die Worte des Herzogs eine Entscheidung, und Jürg wechselt noch am selben Abend das Gewand: »Der Herzog hat recht [...]. Schwert und Bibel taugen nicht zusammen. Bünden bedarf des Schwertes und ich lege die geistliche Waffe zur Seite, um getrost die weltliche zu ergreifen« (10,58). Jenatsch verläßt den Boden der Religion und liefert sich der Politik aus; aus der Auflehnung gegen katholische Gewalt wird der Befreiungskampf des Landes Bünden. – Jenatsch hat umso mehr Grund, diesen Schritt zu tun, als er sein Schicksal am selben Tag geträumt hat: ein ungarischer Astrologe und Nekromant, den er früher in Chur über die Zukunft befragt

hatte, zeigt ihm im Traum, was ihm bevorsteht. Jenatsch sieht den Herzog Rohan mit einer Karte von Bünden (10,54). Waser, dem der Glaube vor allem zur Befestigung der bürgerlichen Moral dient, und der diese Meinung noch am Ende des Buches unbeirrt aufrechterhält (10,251, als er Wertmüller einen »Mangel an jeder Pietät« bescheinigt), ist zu Recht entsetzt, denn er ahnt, wohin es Jenatsch treibt: wer im Glauben keinen Halt mehr findet, verläßt sich auf den Aberglauben; Jenatsch wird fortan von seinem Dämon und seinem Schicksal getrieben, die eins sind: Verzweiflung an der Welt.

Das Religiöse und das Politische, einst in den – vom Herzog (10,52) erwähnten – Samuel- und Gideon-Gestalten als *eine* Kraft wirksam (nicht umsonst schauen positive Meyer-Gestalten wie Colligny oder Gustav Adolf wie Richter in Israel, vgl. 11,27 und 189), behaupten ihre Einheit nur noch negativ, aber mit unverminderter Stärke: als Hindernis der vollen Entfaltung des Menschen. Für Ulrich von Hutten verkümmerte die Physis bei den großen Taten in der Welt, in Jenatsch verkümmert das Gewissen, denn es ist in der Gestalt des guten Herzogs von Jürg getrennt. Jede Handlung auf dem Wege zur Befreiung des Landes entfernt den Pfarrer und Oberst immer mehr von der Einheit seines Wesens, seine Funktion als Held löscht seine Existenz als Mensch aus; als der Diener am Wort sich von Gott lossagt, werden Tod und Teufel seine Begleiter. Er erkennt, daß der Mord an Pompejus Planta nur den Anfang einer blutigen Laufbahn bildete und seufzt nach dem Duell mit Oberst Ruinell in Venedig: »Nun schlepppe ich auch das noch hinter mir her!« (10,89). Kein Wunder daher, daß er sich dem Herzog so eng wie nur möglich anschließt.

Denn nur die Zusammenarbeit mit diesem seinem eigenen Gewissen gewährt ihm die Hoffnung, Bündens Einheit und Freiheit ohne Verbrechen herstellen zu können. Der Herzog zieht ihn »magnetisch« (10,91) an, wie der eine Pol den anderen. Zugleich aber liegt es im Zwang der Spaltung, daß Jenatsch Rohan verraten wird in dem Augenblick, wo diesen das Glück verläßt – wie es denn auch ganz richtig von Wertmüller und von Grimani erkannt wird. Jenatsch muß den Herzog als Werkzeug seiner eigenen Pläne benutzen, nicht zuletzt deshalb rettet er sein Leben (10,154) und beschwört er ihn, sein Kommando niederzulegen, als die Thusnerartikel ohne Unterschrift aus Paris zurückkommen:

»Stoßt uns nicht ein einen solchen Abgrund der Ratlosigkeit!« (10,173). Jenatsch ist berechnend – aber nicht nur das: seine Worte an den Herzog verraten auch seine Angst vor dem Verschwinden Rohans; nur an ihm kann er sich festhalten, ohne ihn hat der Dämon freies Spiel. Sein Ruf bei der Verhaftung in Venedig: »Herzog Rohan – befreie deinen Knecht!« (10,120) reicht weiter als zum gegebenen Anlaß, und Rohan wird auch zu der Instanz gemacht, vor die Lucretia und Jürg treten müssen. Sie ist aber in dieser Welt machtlos, und Jenatsch, der dieser Welt angehört, muß den Herzog verraten, als der nichts mehr für die Rettung des Landes tun kann. Nach »innerem schweren Kampfe« (10,174) sagt er sich von Rohan los, als auch diese Hoffnung auf eine Sinngebung des sonst leeren Lebens getrogen hat: »Wo galt die menschliche Gerechtigkeit, die der Herzog verwirklichen wollte, – wo war ihr Urbild, die göttliche, um sie zu Ehren zu bringen und zu belohnen? Eitle Träume beides! Ein frommer Tor nur konnte daran glauben!« (10,176). Gleichzeitig weiß Jenatsch, daß er mit dieser Erkenntnis und mit der Konsequenz, die er daraus zieht, »sich selbst in seinen Lebenstiefen [...] zerbrach« (10,180). Um verraten zu können, muß er sein moralisches Bewußtsein preisgeben; er kann den Verrat wohl »vollbringen, aber nicht betrachten« (10,177).

Es gibt aber eben kein Lossagen, nur ein Zerbrechen, und was verdrängtes Bewußtsein ist, wird später als Schicksal auftreten. Jenatsch gerät immer tiefer in die Verirrungen seiner Seele hinein und gibt seine Grundsätze preis, um seinen Kampf gewinnen zu können. Als er die Vollmacht für Lucretias Unterhandlung mit Spanien in Mailand unterschreibt, »erbebt« er »wie vor einem heraufbeschworenen Dämon, der ihm helfen oder ihn verderben konnte« (10,191), aber in Wahrheit hat ihn der Dämon bereits vernichtet; als er am Ende auch noch die Religion wechselt, um sich als reuiger Sünder dem Hof in Madrid empfehlen zu können, kommt es Lucretia vor, »als habe er damit seine erste, innerste Überzeugung verleugnet, als sei er sich nun ganz untreu geworden und habe sein Selbst vernichtet« (10,240). Der schon früher erwähnte Volksglaube, Jenatsch »habe seinen Christenglauben abgeschworen und seine Seele dem leidigen Satan verschrieben« (10,212), bedeutet nichts anderes. Daher hat Jürg auch allen Grund, dem ihn zur Befreiung beglückwünschenden Zürcher Bür-

germeister zu antworten: »Wenn du wüßtest, Heini, um welchen Preis und mit welchen Verrenkungen meines Wesens!« (10,255), und er kann ihm gegenüber den Verlust der Person nur bestätigen: »Nun bin ich am Ziele und gern möcht' ich sagen: Ich bin müde! wäre nicht ein Dämon in mich gefahren, der mich vorwärts ins Unbekannte, ins Leere peitscht.« (10,256). Die Tat ist zum Selbstzweck geworden und nur sie hält den Bündner noch am Leben; er hat weniger für die Freiheit des Landes gekämpft, als »damit der Fieberschauer meines Lebens nicht ohne Frucht bleibe, nicht umsonst sei« (10,256).

Herzog Rohan dagegen wählt, seinem Selbst treu zu bleiben: das Gewissen setzt sich gezwungenermaßen absolut und zahlt den Preis der politischen Ohnmacht. Der Feldherr ergreift das Schwert des Apostels und vertritt die Unschuld in der Welt; »Edelmütige Größe und menschenverachtender Scharfsinn« (10,135) – so stehen sich Rohan und Grimaldi in Venedig gegenüber. In der Szene zwischen Rohan und Lecques nach dem Verrat in Chur wird auf die Taten Jenatschs angespielt und der Unterschied deutlich gemacht, als der Herzog es ablehnt, Frankreichs Ehre »mit einem Wortbruch und einer Mordnacht« (10,216) zu beflecken; und als er schließlich vor dieselbe Wahl gestellt wird wie einst Jenatsch, entscheidet er sich anders: »Ist es für mich unmöglich, zugleich ein Franzose und ein Ehrenmann zu bleiben [...], so wähle ich das letztere, sollte ich auch darüber heimatlos werden« (10,217).

Die Verkettung der beiden Gestalten dauert selbstverständlich bis zum Schluß an: jeder Versuch der Befreiung wird zur noch größeren Abhängigkeit. Je höher Jenatsch triumphiert, um so tiefer sinkt der Herzog. Bündens Befreiung bedeutet seinen Tod, mit einem »von Kümmernis« (10,261) zerstörten Herzen. Doch gerade auf dem »Gipfel des Ruhmes« (10,254) wird Jenatsch von dem verleugneten Selbst ereilt. Als Sprecher die Todesbotschaft gelesen hat, besteht Jenatsch auf seinem Fest; er versucht in tragischer Verblendung, sich endgültig vom Herzog loszusagen, ihn völlig zu verdrängen, aber die Feier »schien sich in eine wilde Lustbarkeit verwandeln zu wollen« (10,263), die bacchantischen Elemente gewinnen die Oberhand, und Jenatsch wird erschlagen. Die letzte Lossagung bedeutet auch den Verlust des letzten moralischen Wertes, das freie Eindringen der Anarchie – ironischerweise in

die »Kammer der Justitia« (10,265); erst das wilde und von Jenatsch verlangte Fest macht den Anschlag möglich. Beim Fest sind alle Hauptgestalten des Buchs wieder anwesend; auch so kehrt die Vergangenheit zurück.

Trotz aller Justitia bedeutet Jürgs Tod keinen erlösenden Durchbruch zur Erkenntnis einer höheren Lenkung der Geschicke dieser Welt; denn nicht der Herr vergilt, sondern Lucretia Planta, die vom Herzog schon in Venedig eindringlich gewarnt wurde: »Mehr als einmal in unseren heimischen Kämpfen war auch ich von Mörderhand bedroht, aber, hätte sie mich getroffen, mit dem letzten Atemzuge hätte ich Frau und Kind angefleht, sich mit keinem Rachegedanken geschweige mit einer Rachetat zu beflecken« (10,116). Die Ermordung Jürgs ist aber Rache: die der zukurzgekommenen Liebe, des verirrten Gefühls; noch eine Minute vor dem tödlichen Schlag hat Lucretia versucht, den Geliebten aus der Kammer der Justitia zu ziehen, und sie hebt zuletzt nur »in traumhaftem Entschlusse« (10,268), also ohne jedes Bewußtsein, das Beil. »Nimm sein Leben«, hatte Jenatsch gesagt und sein eigenes gemeint, »es ist dein – zwiefach dein« (10,116).

Was für die Weltgeschichte das Mittelalter der *Engelberg-Dichtung*, ist für Jürg und Lucretia die Kindheit. Damals entfaltete sich ihre Liebe, zaghaft zwar und vom Vater und Vetter bedroht, aber in sich unproblematisch. Pompejus Planta ist jedoch nicht bloß ein privater Gegner Jürgs, sondern auch sein politischer und steht somit seinen beiden Zielen im Wege: der Befreiung Bündens und der Befreiung Lucretias (und seiner selbst). Auf Riedberg hat Jenatsch nur einen Besuch gemacht und sich sofort mit Herrn Pompejus gestritten (10,47): – »der Eindruck auf beide sei der gewesen, daß sie sich besser mieden«. – Schon die Anfangsszene des Romans offenbart beide Motive in gleicher Deutlichkeit: Während die Herren Planta und Waser die politische Lage erörtern und Planta den Pfarrer Jenatsch hart angreift, schreibt Lucretia ihr »Giorgio, guardati« (10,13) auf Wasers Zeichnung.

Diese Worte genügen, um Jenatsch aus seiner mühsam erkämpften, aber stets bedrohten Idylle zu reißen, »und er versank plötzlich in finsternes Nachdenken« (10,44). Er hat zwar schon in die Politik eingegriffen, versucht aber dennoch, ein einiger-

maßen ruhiges Leben zu führen und hat »ein schönes, noch mädchenhaftes« (10,33), das heißt völlig problemloses »Weib« geheiratet. Er hat sie aber ihren Angehörigen dadurch entfremdet, daß er sie »bekehrt« hat, und das – im Verein mit seiner politischen Haltung – genügt, um den Konflikt auf die Spitze zu treiben. Es bleibt kaum Platz für ruhiges Abwägen, was sich auch in der Landschaft Ausdruck verschafft: »Du weißt nicht, welche sinnverwirrende Dünste aus den Sümpfen dieser Adda aufsteigen« (10,41), sagt Jenatsch, um die Haltung der Veltliner zu erklären, und die Beschreibung der Kirche in Berbenn erinnert an die der Laurentiuskapelle in *Amulett*; »zwei düstere Kerzen« »flacker-ten«, es zeigen sich »tanzende Schatten« usw. (10,40). Die Ermordung Lucias ist psychologisch wie politisch eine Rache des Zurückgebliebenen: »Da stürzte plötzlich die Ampel klirrend auf den Boden und verglomm [...]. Eine tödliche Kugel hatte die sanfte Lucia in die Brust getroffen« (10,61). Statt der ruhigen Ampel leuchtet kurz danach, als die Stadt gegen das Pfarrhaus vorgerückt ist, die Flamme (10,63), und Heinrich Waser erinnert sich auch später der Ereignisse in mehr als nur zeitlichem Zusammenhang: »Er stand wieder in Berbenn vor dem brennenden Hause [...]. Immer mehr wurde Heinrich Waser von dem Eindrucke bewältigt, die Lohe, welche den häuslichen Herd des Bündners verzehrt, flamme fort als unauslöschlicher Rachebrand in seiner Brust, von einem eisernen Entschlusse bis zur günstigen Stunde niedergehalten, und als Jürg tränenlos am Grabe seiner Lucia gestanden, habe er mit ihr alle Harmlosigkeit der Jugend, alle weichen Gefühle und vielleicht jedes menschliche Erbarmen versenkt« (10,71).

Auf diese Szene wird auch gegen den Schluß des Romans wieder angespielt: als Jenatsch am Tag seines Triumphes in Chur einreitet, stürzt im Gewitter »der alte Glockenturm zu Sankt Luzi« (10,252 f) zusammen, und Waser wird dadurch in die Vergangenheit zurückgerufen; der Sturz »erinnerte ihn an die dem Veltliner-mord vorhergehenden Tage seines Aufenthaltes in Berbenn, an die damaligen Zeichen und Wunder und an den blutigen Tod der schönen Lucia« (10,253) – womit teils die späteren Greuel durch den Hinweis auf die früheren antizipiert werden, teils auch der Zusammenhang zwischen dem Verlust des irdischen und dem des himmlischen Lichts hervorgehoben wird. Waser entdeckt denn

auch, daß Jürg »heute auf dem Gipfel des Ruhmes gerade so drein schaut wie damals in der Tiefe des Elends« (10,254). Nur der Dämon treibt ihn, das menschliche Erbarmen liegt im Grabe der Lucia; die Identität von Ruhm und Elend, Sieg und Niederlage wird auch hier deutlich unterstrichen.

Nach dem Unglück in Berbenn greift Jenatsch bald in das Geschehen ein, er reitet mit seinen Leuten durch »eine finstere, fohnwarme Nacht« (10,73) und ermordet auf Riedberg Pompejus Planta. Das ist eine politische wie eine private Tat: er ermordet das Haupt der katholischen Partei und den Vater der Geliebten, das Hindernis der Liebe – aber dennoch trennt ihn der Mord endgültig von Lucretia, weil er einen gewaltsamen Bruch mit der Vergangenheit bedeutet, und weil er aus politischem Anlaß erfolgt, mögen die Gründe auch vielschichtiger sein. Die Kinderliebe fällt der großen Welt der Politik zum Opfer und lebt fortan nur noch als schöne Erinnerung. »Leid tut es mir um das Jüngferchen und wird dem Jürg auch leid tun« sagt (10,68) der Schifferjunge Kuri prophetisch und umreißt damit das ganze spätere Verhältnis zwischen den beiden. Was Befreiung sein sollte, führt nur tiefer in die Verstrickung hinein, und das Gefühlsleben bleibt an den unseligen Mord gekettet, ohne je wieder loskommen zu können. Der Tod des Vaters und der Reaktion ist die Voraussetzung jeder Befreiung, bedeutet aber auch den Verlust jedes Zentrums und versperrt damit der Befreiung den Weg. Lucretia erklärt dem Herzog in Venedig, sie wolle ihr »Erbhaus zurückfordern und das Recht meines Vaters suchen, denn allein dazu bin ich noch da« (10,115). Und Jürg sagt zur selben Zeit: »Seit ich die Hand an deinen Vater legen mußte, ist mir das Dasein verhaßt, wo ich es nicht für das von Tausenden meines Volkes einsetzen kann« (10,116). Als Lucretia und Jürg durch die Berge reiten, schwanken beide zwischen Auftrag und Liebe, und Jürg stellt in seinen Gedanken die enge Verbindung zwischen Lucretia und Bünden her: »Mußte denn unabänderlich auf den liebsten Kampfpreis verzichtet sein im Augenblicke, da sich des Ruhmes glänzende Staffeln hart vor seinen Augen erhoben?« (10,151).

Jürg kann sich nicht der Liebe hingeben, ohne die Politik zu verraten – Lucretia nicht, ohne den toten Vater zu verraten. »Sie konnte den Riß nicht überwinden, der Altes und Neues für sie trennte. Sie lebte wenig in der Wirklichkeit, sondern verkehrte

im Geiste mit dem toten Vater, von dessen Gemütsart sie viel geerbt hatte und dem sie mit jedem Jahre in auffallender Weise ähnlicher wurde« (10,184 f). Auch als sie Jürg von den Spaniern befreit, lebt die Liebe nur als Erinnerung, und Lucas reitet im Gefolge mit als sichtbares Zeichen der Spaltung. Lucretia rettet Jürg aus Räuberhänden – das aber ist eine Rettung aus der Politik schlechthin, und der erste Kuß kommt denn auch in der Abgeschiedenheit der Berge zustande. Sie »lebte in einem traumartigen Glücke unter dem Zauber ihrer Berge und ihrer Jugendliebe, den sie furchtsam sich hütete, mit einem an die grausame Gegenwart erinnernden Worte zu zerstören« (10,149). Eine sich entfaltende Liebe würde sie zu der Entscheidung zwingen, der sie möglichst lange ausweicht – bis die Entscheidung immer unbewußter wird und Rudolf Planta seinen Mund auftun kann; Lucretia baut unbewußt auf die Hindernisse der Liebe, um nicht Rache nehmen zu müssen, und spielt die Vergangenheit gegen die Liebe aus. Der Silberbecher ist das Zeichen der Kinderliebe, wie die Axt das des Sündenfalls, Jürg »umfing die Kniende und zog sie mit einem innigen Kusse an seine Brust empor. Sie sah ihn an, als wäre dieser einzige Augenblick ihr ganzes Leben. Dann brachen ihr die Tränen mit Macht hervor. »Das war zum letzten Male, Jürg,« sagte sie mir gebrochener Stimme« (10,149 f). Sie erinnert ihn an das Blut des Vaters, das sie für immer von ihm trenne. Nur in dem kurzen Augenblick der Begegnung von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart lebt die Liebe, ist der Kuß möglich; dann ergreift die Zeit von den beiden Besitz und Vergangenheit und Gegenwart trennen sich wieder. – Lucretia wünscht die Annäherung und lebt dennoch nur unter dem Schutz der Distanz; als Jürg konvertiert ist, fühlt sie »eine Schranke zwischen ihm und ihr, deren sich ihr schwaches Herz zuletzt noch getröstet hatte« (10,240) fallen. Gleichzeitig weiß sie um die politischen Hintergründe, denn sie selbst hat als Unterhändlerin in Mailand an der Befreiung Bündens mitgearbeitet.

Gerade ihre Teilnahme an der Politik, zu der Jenatsch sie in der Hoffnung drängt, damit Bünden und Lucretia, das eine durch das andere, auf einmal zu gewinnen und »alle seine Kräfte und Leidenschaften in *eine Anstrengung*« (10,151) zusammenfassen zu können, – gerade diese Teilnahme läßt den Abstand nur noch größer werden. Jürg hat sich zum politischen Menschen entwickelt

– in konzentrierter Form wird diese Entwicklung in der Wirtschaftsszene in Thusis dargestellt: Jenatsch geht von der Schenke in die Herrenstube und verläßt damit gleichsam seine soziale Basis zugunsten der Machtpolitik (10,165), – und Lucretia »fragte ihr Herz, wie es denn möglich sei, daß Jürg in seiner wildesten blutigsten Zeit ihrem Gefühle und Verstandnisse weniger fremd gewesen als jetzt, da er in den Räten des Landes und im Heergefolge des französischen Herzogs unter die Geachteten und Angesehenen zählte« (10,185). Sie braucht aber nicht lange zu fragen: »Ich weiß es jetzt, gestand sie sich, dieser Freund von jedermann ist nicht der Jürg mehr, den ich liebte – nicht der scheu verwegene Knabe mit den dunkeln verschwiegenen Augen, der mein Beschützer war – nicht der zornig dahinbrausende, der mein Glück wie ein die Ufer zerreißender Wildbach in Trümmerwarf« (10,186). Denn damals gehörte alles noch der Privatsphäre an; jede Entwicklung, die aus ihr herausführt, ist Lucretia verdächtig: sie will Jürg nicht mit der Welt teilen, sondern ihn für sich allein behalten – ein Wunsch, der in der Ermordung am Schluß in Erfüllung geht.

Wie sie ihn aus der Politik ziehen möchte, muß er sie notwendig in die Politik ziehen, was sie nur noch argwöhnischer macht, weil sie in Mailand über die Schliche und Künste der angeblich so großen Politik aufgeklärt wird: »Auch Georg Jenatsch erschien ihr in einem anderen Lichte; ihr Vertrauen auf seine reine Vaterlandsliebe wurde von dem allgemeinen Ekel, den sie empfand, angefressen und ihr Glaube an die Einheit seines Wesens erschüttert, ohne daß sie augenblicklich sich ganz bewußt wurde, wie durch diese Zweifel ihr Verhältnis zu ihm sich innerlich trübe« (10,226).

Bei dem ersten Besuch Jürgs auf Riedberg hatten sich die beiden Sphären einander genähert, und ein weniger verkramptes Verhältnis schien sich leise anzubahnen: »Der Nachtwind bewegte die Löckchen an ihren Schläfen, die sich aus der Krone der dicken, dunkeln Flechten gelöst hatten«, heißt es in der Beschreibung (10,191), und wer an die gewöhnliche Bedeutung des »Flatterhaares« bei Meyer denkt, wird die Bedeutung der positiven Nuance nicht unterschätzen (vgl. auch *Engelberg VI*, 50 ff: »Im Winde flattern ihre Locken, / Da hebt das Herz ihm an zu beb'en«); zum ersten und letzten Mal werden hier Liebe und Leidenschaft

als mögliche Befreiung gesehen – doch Jürg erinnert Lucretia an die Kindheit und damit an die verstrichene Zeit und deren Greuel; der tote Vater steigt vor ihr auf und hindert sie an dem letzten Schritt vom Mädchen zur Frau. Ihre ersten Worte nach dieser Vision reden von einem »Totengeleit« (10,192), und die Lichter, die sie so interpretiert, sind denn auch die, welche den zum Tode verurteilten Herzog Rohan begleiten. »Auf Riedberg wird keine Hochzeit gefeiert!« sagt sie später (10,227). Weiter gelangt die Annäherung nie, denn die Bindungen bleiben negativ: »Als wenige Wochen später der Verrat an Herzog Rohan und die Befreiung Bündens eine Tatsache wurde, von der das ganze Land erscholl, beschlich Lucretia in ihrer Einsamkeit das bange Gefühl, als sei sie durch ihre verborgene Mithilfe mit Georg Jenatsch auf immer und ewig verbunden, teilhaftig seiner rettenden Tat, teilhaftig auch seiner Schuld. Unauflöslich war sie mit ihm vereinint in einem Augenblicke, da ihr Herz vor ihm zu erschrecken begann« (10,228) – Lucretia sieht keinen Ausweg mehr, die Worte des Rudolf Planta gewinnen in dieser Situation einen Einfluß, den sie früher nicht hätten haben können (10,242 f). Die Bindung an Jenatsch bleibt eine der Schuld, und nur der Tod kann aus dem Dilemma herausführen. Für Jürg endet der Sinn des Lebens bei der Befreiung seines Landes, für Lucretia mit der Rache an dem Mörder ihres Vaters. Ihr Axthieb, den sie als moralische Pflicht sehen möchte, bedeutet den endgültigen Sieg der Anarchie, den Verlust jedes Bewußtseins. Die nie gelebte und daher stets verkrampfte Liebe rächt sich, die gefangene Lucretia tötet den Befreier Jenatsch, als die Liebe in Brutalität umschlägt.

Das Maskenfest entartet, jede reale Basis wird verlassen, und was um Jenatsch schwärmt, sind die Schöpfungen seiner eigenen Seele, die er mit seiner Forderung nach dem Fest selbst heraufbeschworen hat. Lorenz Fausch verspottet in seiner Verkleidung als Geistlicher die Entwicklung des ehemaligen Pfarrers; auch durch ihn rächt sie die verleugnete Vergangenheit. Als er fragt, was gesungen werden soll, antwortet ihm Jenatsch:

Selig lebt und freudig stirbt,
Wen die Lieb' umfangen! . . . (10,266).

Dieses Lied deutet nicht nur auf das Kommende, sondern schlägt auch einen Bogen zurück zum Anfang des Romans, wo Waser

den Pfarrer in Berbenn ein Lied singen hörte, das »so todesfreudig und doch so lebensmutig klang« (10,33):

Kein schöner Tod ist in der Welt,
Als wer vorm Feind hinscheidt . . . (10,33).

Die Lieb' und der Feind sind in der Gestalt Lucretias identisch, und beide Lieder behaupten ihre Wahrheit. Es sind die Verdrängungen Jürgs, die die Gestalt eines »tückischen Schicksals« (10,87) annehmen, und die ihn schließlich ermorden. Nicht der Schuß des Lecques, auch nicht der Anschlag Rudolf Plantas konnten den Bündner fällen, denn er ist Lucretia und dem Herzog anheimgefallen.

Was für Rohan galt – es »schwebe über dem Herzog trotz der Hoheit seiner Stellung und seines Charakters das traurige Verhängnis, seine Kraft in unheilbaren Konflikten aufzureiben« (10,53) – trifft auch auf Jenatsch zu, dessen Konflikte eben nicht nur psychologischer Art sind, sondern mit der Geschichte seiner Zeit und seines Landes eng zusammenhängen. – »es war etwas Maßloses in seinem Wesen, eine gereizte Gewaltsamkeit in seiner Stimme und Haltung, als hätte eine übermenschliche Kraftanstrengung ihn aus dem Geleise und über die letzten seiner Natur gesetzten Marksteine hinausgeworfen« (10,227) mußte Lucretia feststellen. Um dennoch das Maß zu finden, schrieb Meyer seinen Roman, aus sehr persönlichen, aber auch sehr zeitgemäßen Konflikten heraus, wie er es Haessel gegenüber formuliert hatte – und wie er es auch Jenatsch formulieren ließ: »Dort auf dem großen deutschen Kampfplatze entscheidet sich [. . .] auch das Los meiner Heimat« (10,76).

Es wird hier kein Urteil über Jenatsch gefällt; nicht aus purer Faszination durch die große Gestalt, der alles erlaubt wäre, sondern aus einer Ratlosigkeit heraus, die Meyer später mit anderen Mitteln als denen der radikalen Erkenntnis zu überwinden suchte. Der Zürcher Diplomat und Bürgermeister Heinrich Waser – dessen Geist, wie ihm Planta sagte, sich ergötzt, »wenn die Flammen des Aufruhrs hell aufschlagen, so lange sie euern eigenen First nicht bedrohen« (10,11) – sagt vorsichtig: »Aber [. . .] ist es nicht ein Glück für uns ehrenhafte Staatsleute, wenn zum Heile des Vaterlandes notwendige Taten, die von reinen Händen nicht vollbracht

werden können, von solchen gesetzlosen Kraftmenschen übernommen werden – die dann der allwissende Gott in seiner Gerechtigkeit richten mag. Denn auch sie sind seine Werkzeuge –« (10,251). Doch Jenatsch hatte gerade die göttliche Gerechtigkeit gesucht und nicht gefunden. Der Jurist und Ritter Doctor Fortunatus Sprecher vertraut denn auch eher der menschlichen, seiner eigenen, und entgegnet: »Das ist ein seltsam gefährlicher Satz [...]. Damit ist man auf dem geraden Wege, die schlimmsten Verbrechen zu rechtfertigen« (10,251).

Bei diesen beiden Aussagen bleibt es; die Verlegenheit wird nicht verschwiegen, sondern sichtbar gemacht.

Der Schuß von der Kanzel (1877)

In zwei Briefen an François Wille – und auch in anderen Aussagen – distanzierte sich Meyer von dieser Novelle: »Es ist tolles Zeug, das mir eigentlich nicht zu Gesichte steht«, heißt es am 8.VIII.1877, und am 4.XII.1877 schreibt er: »Mir individuell hinterläßt das Komische immer einen bittern Geschmack, während das Tragische mich erhebt und beseligt«. Obwohl Meyer in dieser Novelle lustiger ist als sonst, war es ihm dennoch wichtig, festen Boden unter den Füßen zu haben. Nicht alles ist scherhaft, nicht alles Parodie. Rahel Wertmüller wird nicht in den »Teufelskreis« um den alten General gezogen, und sie weiß stets, daß dieser »sie lieb habe und seinen Spuk darum nicht allzu weit treiben würde« (11,102). Wohl wird eine Welt des Spottes geschildert, aber es wird auch auf eine andere verwiesen, teils in dem unheimlichen Traum Wertmüllers (11,91 f), der auf ein baldiges Ende im bevorstehenden Feldzug zu deuten scheint, teils in dem Satz (11,96): »Ist es nicht, als ob ein tiefes und wahres Gefühl in seinem natürlichen und bescheidenen Ausdrucke aus dieser Welt des Zwanges und der Maske uns in eine zugleich größere und einfachere versetze, wo der Spott keine Stelle findet?« Was bescheiden und natürlich, was Zwang und Maske ist, soll hier exemplifiziert werden – als wäre bescheiden und natürlich ohne weiteres synonym; was verlangt wird, ist eher, daß die Natur sich bescheide.

Der arme Kandidat Pfannenstiel gerät auf seinem Weg zur Pfarrerstochter Rahel in eine arge Versuchung, als er die »Türkín«

Wertmüllers in einer nächtlichen Vision erblickt. Hier begegnet ihm die leibhaftige – und fremde – Sensualität, die sein gutbürgerliches Wertesystem zu sprengen droht: »Pfannenstiel, der nie etwas auch nur annähernd Ähnliches erblickt hatte, wurde tief und unheimlich erschüttert von der Verlockung dieser Gebärde [»Komm, aber schweige!«], der Sprache dieser Augen. Es tauchte etwas ihm bis heute unerkannt Gebliebenes in seiner Seele auf, etwas, dem er keinen Namen geben durfte, – eine brennende Sehnsucht, die glückselige Möglichkeit ihrer Erfüllung!« (11,109). Ist dies schon arg genug, so wird es dennoch schlimmer werden, denn »kaum war er entschlummert, so trat der schöne Schemen durch die Türe, ohne sie zu öffnen, und nahm tückisch Gestalt und Antlitz der Rahel Wertmüller an, ihren maidlichen Wuchs, ihre feinen geistigen Züge. Aber ihre Augen schmachteten wie die der Orientalin und sie legte den Finger an den Mund. – Nun kam eine böse, schlimme Stunde für den armen Kandidaten. Er wollte fliehen und wurde von einer dämonischen Gewalt zu den Füßen des Mädchens hingeworfen. Er stammelte unsinnige Bitten und machte sich verzweifelte Vorwürfe. Er umfaßte ihre Knöchel und verurteilte sich selbst als den ruchlosesten aller Sünder. Rahel, erst erstaunt, dann streng blickend und unwillig, stieß ihn zuletzt empört von sich weg. Jetzt stand der General neben ihm und reichte ihm das Pistol. »Die Figur«, dozierte er, »wird bezwungen von der männlichen Elementarkraft«. Dem Kandidaten wurde wie von eisernen, teuflischen Krallen der Arm gebogen und er setzte sich die tödliche Waffe an die rechte Schläfe. »Fliehe mit mir!« stöhnte er. Sie wandte sich ab. Er drückte los, und erwachte, nicht in seinem Blute, aber in kaltem Schweiße gebadet« (11,109).

Auf der dämonischen Insel des Generals ist der schüchterne Kandidat selbstverständlich gänzlich verloren. Er trinkt zuviel Wein (11,104), wird von seltsamen Gestalten umgeben und kann vor allem nicht entfliehen – weil alles ja letzten Endes zu ihm gehört, und er den Konflikt nun einmal selber überwinden muß: »Das Tor, die aufgezogene Brücke, die kleine Verbindungsleitung der Ketten – alles ließ sich mit überzeugender Deutlichkeit unterscheiden; denn der Mond gab genügend Licht und in dem leeren, nicht zu überspringenden Zwischenraume flimmerte sein Widerschein in dem silbernen Gewässer. Pfannenstiel war ein Gefange-

ner. Unmöglichkeit, durch das Moor zu waten! Er wäre, da er die Furten des tückischen Röhrichts nicht kannte, bei den ersten Schritten versunken und hätte ein klägliches Ende genommen« (11,106). Die Segel hatte er schon bei seiner Überfahrt angefleht: »Nehmt mich mit in die weite Freiheit!« (11,83). Doch alle Hoffnung ist verloren, die Segel sind dem Sumpf gewichen, und Pfannenstiel muß bleiben.

Kein Wunder, daß es dem jungen sittsamen Theologen schwerfällt, zwischen einer Türkin »mit berauschen dunkeln Augen und glühenden Lippen« (11,108) und einer Schweizerin mit »maidlichem Wuchs« und »feinen geistigen Zügen« zu vermitteln. Rahel ist ein hochgewachsenes Mädchen, »das auf dem vom festen Lande ausmündenden Wege einherkam« (11,96) und also die gefährliche Tiefe vermeidet; sie mag die Pistolen des Generals nicht, wohl weil diese sie allzu sehr an die männliche Elementarkraft erinnern (für die sie der General denn auch im Traum Pfannenstiels ausgibt), und sie meint auch züchtig: »Einem perfekten Kavalier hängt manches um und an, worauf ich Verzicht leiste« (11,100). Dieses sagt sie nicht nur dem General, sondern auch dem Bräutigam, der sich um seine Männlichkeit Sorgen macht: »Für mich lob' ich mir den Mann, der unsren Dorfleuten mit einem erbaulichen, durchsichtigen Wandel vorleuchtet, unsren Zehntwein schluckweise trinkt [was Pfannenstiel ja auf der Insel leider nicht tat], seine Frau lieb hat und zuweilen von einem bescheidenen und gelehrten Freunde besucht wird! . . . Diese Kavaliere!« (11,120). Pfannenstiel hat auch nie gezögert, Rahel in ihrem guten Benehmen zu bestätigen; »erleichtert« kann er dem General mitteilen, daß sie sich nie entführen lassen würde (11,104). Auch steht »die schöne, morgenfrische Rahel« (11,112) wirklich der Türkin sehr fern; eben deswegen träumt der Kandidat von ihrer Vereinigung. – Im Hinblick auf die Bacchus-Symbolik ist zu bemerken, daß Rahel gegen die Trauben hart vorgeht (11,118); die Leidenschaft wird schön beschnitten, und die Wespen, »die sich geräuschvoll um die noch nicht geschnittenen Goldtrauben der Laube tummelten« (11,113), werden zum Schweigen gebracht.

In dieser Sphäre hütet sich der Kandidat denn auch, seine nächtliche Geschichte der taufrischen Rahel vorzutragen: »Bis ins Kleinste berichtete er den klaren braunen Augen seine Erlebnisse auf der Insel, nur die Vision der Türkin weglassend, die ja eine

Ausgeburt seines erhitzten Gehirns gewesen war« (11,119). Eben. Das beruhigende »ja« verrät, was es verbergen sollte: Pfannenstiel merzt das Sexuelle aus seiner Liebe zu Rahel aus, tötet sozusagen den inneren Guiche. Der Kandidat, der aus dem Amt gejagt wurde, »weil ich mit Schießgewehr nicht umzugehen verstehe und mich auch davor scheue« (11,94) – was Wertmüller sofort als mangeldes »Selbstgefühl« (11, 95) und fehlende »Männlichkeit« (11,101) diagnostiziert – sucht eher eine Mutter als eine Frau; seine nächtliche Begegnung mit der Sexualität wird als ein »Kreislauf von Begierde, Frevel und Reue« (11,109) geschildert. Er läßt sich seine Würde von Rahel zurückgeben – sie näht ihm den von Wertmüller abgerissenen Knopf wieder an – und während das Mädchen Nadel und Zwirn holt, »kam es über ihn wie Paradiesesglück. Licht und Grün, die niedrige Laube, das bescheidene Pfarrhaus, die Erlösung von den Dämonen des Zweifels und der Unruhe!« (11,120).

Die Idylle ist wiederhergestellt, »die alte Ordnung der Dinge«, die dem Kandidaten »ehrwürdig« bleibt, »auch da, wo sie zu seinen Ungunsten wirkte« (11,96) ist gerettet. Der Pfarrer, nicht Pfannenstiel, gibt den erlösenden Schuß ab, der General, nicht er selber, führt ihn mit Rahel zusammen. – Der Preis ist allerdings höher, als die Novelle wahrhaben will; denn die ganze Idylle beruht letzten Endes auf einer Verdrängung, derjenigen ähnlich, die im Gedicht *Sonntags* vollzogen wird. Pfannenstiel hat nun einmal von der Türkin geträumt und muß seinen Traum verleugnen; denn mögen Rahels Augen noch so sehr als »die verständigen und doch so warmen Augen« (11,119) beschrieben werden – *das* würden sie gewiß nicht verstehen.

Daher muß der General auch von der Bühne abtreten; er darf nicht bleiben, denn er wäre die ewige Erinnerung an die Unfähigkeit Pfannenstiels, sein Leben selbst zu gestalten. Die alles treibende – und hier, wie am Schluß des *Amulett*, alles zum Guten wendende – Dämonie wird beiseite geschoben; Wertmüllers eigener Kommentar: »Ich tue dann, als wär' ich tot« (11,126) läßt ahnen, was sich hinter dieser kleinen und leichten Novelle verbirgt.

Der Heilige (1879)

Die erste »große« Novelle Meyers spielt zwar im Mittelalter – nicht aber in dem der *Engelberg*-Dichtung. Der heilige Thomas ist kein Engel, ihn bewahrt keine himmlische Ordnung vor den Verstrickungen des Irdischen. Mittelalter heißt hier: äußerer Rahmen, Möglichkeit einer Suspension des Geschichtlichen (im Sinne von *Jenatsch*); der Konflikt zwischen König und Kanzler ist psychologisch motiviert und seine sozialen oder politischen Aspekte (wie etwa die Unterdrückung der Sachsen) sind sekundär. Meyer betonte (an Rodenberg 10.V.1879), er habe in Thomas »einen neuen Charakter« zeichnen wollen und meinte (an H. Friedrichs, undatiert – Briefe II, 354), der Kanzler sei »eine geistig überlegene, fast modern humane [...] Natur«. Wie Jürg Jenatsch ist Thomas Becket ein widersprüchlicher Mensch, nur vermag er die Idylle etwas länger zu bewahren, als es Jenatsch in Berbenn gelang; der Kanzler unterdrückt seinen Zwiespalt und flüchtet sich in die Welt des Scheins.

So tritt er auch in sehr unwirklicher Weise in die Novelle: in dem orientalischen Märchen vom Prinzen Mondschein, gegen den sich eine Verschwörung bildete, und der selber keine Verurteilung der Schuldigen wünschte – wohl aus demselben Grunde, aus dem er später keine Bestrafung der Hexe Mary will: er weiß um seine eigene Verwandtschaft mit dem Dämonischen und hütet sich, es herauszufordern. Eines Tages aber wurden ihm die abgehauenen Köpfe der Verschwörer ins Haus geschickt, und er wandte sich mit Schrecken und Abscheu von ihnen ab, weil er gegenüber dieser Roheit machtlos war. Später wird ihm Pescara sagen, warum: »Ich spüre die grausame Ader in mir selbst« (13,253).

Überhaupt geht nicht nur der Prinz Mondschein, sondern auch der Kanzler Thomas Becket der Brutalität des Lebens aus dem Wege: das zeigt unter anderem seine Reaktion auf die Bitte des Bogners, ihm seine von einem Normannen entführte Tochter Hilde zurückzugeben – und das zeigt auch die Erzählung des Armbrusters von den kriegerischen Taten in der Normandie: Thomas jagt einem Gegner das Schwert durchs Herz, »freilich um es dann, als sein Gegner in der Lache seines Blutes lag, mit Ekel und Abscheu zu betrachten und wegzuwerfen. »Bogner, gib mir ein

reines!« gebot er mir« (13,38); eine zarte Regung, die ihm freilich leicht fällt, da der Gegner schon tot ist. Ferner ist Thomas kein Freund von Hinrichtungsplätzen, und auch nicht von der leidenschaftlichen Königin Ellenor, »denn er liebte an Frauen das Zarte und Anständige. So vergnügte er sein Auge [. . .] oft an den weißen und ruhigen Gliedmaßen der keuschen Marmorweiber, die er in seinen Palästen aufgestellt hatte« (13,41).

Der Ästhetizismus des Kanzlers trägt also deutlich moralische Züge: nicht nur die Kunst liebt er – »Ich liebe das Denken und die Kunst und mag es leiden, wenn der Verstand über die Faust den Sieg davonträgt und der Schwächere den Stärkeren aus der Ferne trifft und überwindet« (13,33), sagt er selber –, sondern auch und vor allem die Keuschheit des Marmors, er liebt die steinernen Weiber nicht, weil sie lebendig aussehen, sondern weil sie tot sind. Seine Ablehnung des Lebens ist zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch passiv – aktiv wird sie später. Meyer durchschaute die Fragwürdigkeit des Kanzlers; in seinen »Andeutungen über den Heiligen«, die er 2.V.1880 an H. Lingg schickte, nannte er ihn »feingrausam«.

Die passive Haltung Becketts ist die Voraussetzung seines guten und ungetrübten Verhältnisses zum König, die Bedingung der Eintracht von Verstand und Faust. Der Kanzler vermag es, alle Staatsangelegenheiten mit gleicher Souveränität zu erledigen, weil er sich in keiner von ihnen persönlich engagiert. Wie später der Feldherr Pescara steht Thomas Becket »außerhalb der Dinge« (13,242), freilich in anderer Weise: Pescara ist *nach* dem Leben, hat den Kampf hinter sich, für Thomas aber hat der Kampf noch nicht begonnen. Seine Idylle gleicht der des Ehemannes Jenatsch, sie ist eine Zurückgezogenheit zur Einsamkeit des stillen Waldes, aber, wie die Idylle Jenatschs, von Anfang an bedroht. Denn auch Thomas trägt die gefährlichen Kräfte in sich, und bei allem äußeren Respekt vor dem Thron sagt er doch zu seiner Tochter Grace: »Der König wird mir doch einen Tag, wenn er von seinen unreinen Freuden trunken ist, für meine reinen gönnen. Dieser König–« (13,57). Bei aller Feinheit vermag Thomas seinen Haß auf den vitalen König nicht zu unterdrücken, und es ist auch nicht zufällig, daß er die Gefahr bei der unkeuschen Königin sieht: »Eine besudelte Königin. Sie haßt mich, ihre Späher haben ihr von deinem Dasein berichtet, und ich will nicht, daß Frau Ellenor von dir

wisse und an dir herumrate, – ihre Gedanken schon verunreinigen« (13,57); Grace soll gehütet werden, Thomas versucht – allerdings zu spät – sie nach Frankreich zu bringen.

Denn nicht nur mit den Marmorweibern gibt sich der ästhetische Kanzler ab, sondern auch mit seiner Tochter, die indessen so wenig wie die Königin aus Marmor ist und daher auch eines Tages aufhört, keusch zu sein. Grace ist die verkörperte Garantie der Daseinsharmonie, als Jungfrau steht sie noch »vor des Lebens Schranke« (*Die Jungfrau*); die gespaltene Seele des Kanzlers wird nur durch die Verbindung zu Grace zusammengehalten, und wenn er sie »Mein Einziges, mein Alles!« (13,58) nennt, ist das zwar konventionell, aber auch mehr als das. Denn er hat tatsächlich nichts als sie – und daher wird auch etwas robust auf den Namen des Mädchens angespielt: sie ist die irdische Anmut und die himmlische Gnade, Lucia und Sankt Luzi in einer Person. »Schlimm, wenn die süße Gnade verlorenging« (13,115), sagt der ehemalige Kanzler nachdenklich – und Hans nennt die Verführung Graces »einen Greuel und [...] eine Torheit, die Herrn Heinrich die Krone, das Leben und – wehe – seiner Seele Seligkeit gekostet hat« (13,48).

»Character des Königs das gerade Gegentheil: Starkes Temperament, gutmütig, *durchaus naiv*, dabei gründlich unsittlich«, schrieb Meyer an Lingg (2.V.1880). Der König ist so sehr Körper, wie Thomas Geist ist; er entfaltet sich im Diesseitigen mit der gleichen Konsequenz, mit der sich der Kanzler vom Diesseitigen distanziert. Im Falle des Königs aber entbehrt diese Entfaltung jeder höheren Berechtigung und jedes höheren Zweckes: sie wird daher auch in den Tod führen, was von dem Armbruster poetisch so umschrieben wird: »Glänzende Sonnen gehen blutig unter«. (13,34). Obgleich Hans die verhängnisvollen Seiten solcher blinden Lebenslust sieht, kann er seine Schadenfreude darüber nicht verhehlen, »daß in Buhlschaft und Liebeswette Kleriker und Gelehrte ausgestochen werden von Fürsten und Kriegsleuten« (13,48).

So auch hier. Denn der König bricht in den Märchenwald hinein, zerstört die Idylle und verführt die kleine Grace. Hans der Armbruster weiß, worum es hier geht: um einen »Mord der Unschuld« (13,52), der den »göttlichen Zorn« (13,52) herausfordern wird; und Meyer schrieb an Lingg: »Ich lasse das Kind gleich sterben, weil es doch einmal ruinirt ist«. Die Verführung bedeutet

das Ende jeder Harmonie, und die übriggebliebenen Personen müssen notwendig miteinander in Streit geraten. Das Leben selbst hat den ästhetischen Kanzler getroffen – und Grace, die Gasparde oder Rahel dieser Novelle, wird nach der Tat beiseite geschoben als ein nicht mehr brauchbares Requisit. Ihre Gestalt ist so notwendig wie sonst kaum eine andere in der Novelle; als die damaligen Zürcher Moralhüter sich entrüsteten: man könne keinem Frauenzimmer das Buch überlassen, zeigte sich Meyer erstaunt. Alles habe er erwartet, nur »diesen Vorwurf« nicht (an Haessel 14.V. 1880), denn Grace gehörte so sehr zur Komposition, daß sich die Novelle ohne den von Keller gerügten »Notzuchtsfall« (an Frey 6.XII.1879) gar nicht denken ließe. Andererseits bleibt aber Grace eine recht blasse Gestalt und teilt diese Schwäche mit der tauffrischen Rahel. Sicher liegt die Ursache dieser Mängel in der Problematik der Novelle: da die Harmonie stets außerhalb des Kanzlers liegt und nur der Mantel ist, mit dem er den Abgrund zudeckt, kann ihre Repräsentantin auch keine lebendige Gestalt werden.

Wie die gefährliche Türkin in *Schuß* eine Parallelfigur zu Rahel Wertmüller abgab, so zeigt sich hier die Königin Ellenor auch weiterhin als Parallelfigur zu Grace – daher bekehrt ausgerechnet sie sich, und zwar mit den Worten: »Ich bin die größte der Sünderinnen!« (13,98). Denn Becketts Abneigung gegen das Leben schlägt jetzt in Aktivität um, er rächt sich am Leben, und sein erstes Opfer ist die besonders lebendige Königin, die gleichsam an Graces Stelle tritt. – Auch sonst manifestieren sich die Gegensätze zwischen Kanzler und König sehr bald nach dem Ruin der Unschuld. Die ganze Zeit hat sich der König in Becket geirrt, erst jetzt werden die Folgen sichtbar. Als Thomas es ablehnt, weiterhin Erzieher der Prinzen zu sein, kommt der latente Streit unter ihnen sofort zum Ausbruch. Wie das Staatssiegel von England wird auch die Gemeinschaft der Knaben zerstört. Es ist – um eine Stufe tiefer – der gleiche Konflikt, der sich wiederholt; die Gnade, die Unschuld geht beim Sündenfall verloren, und Thomas und Heinrich entzweien sich. Als die beiden höchsten irdischen Herren sich getrennt haben, hält nichts mehr die anarchischen Kräfte auf den unteren Stufen zurück.

Herr Thomas hat diesen Lauf der Dinge vorausgesehen, als er den König anfleht, ihn nicht zum Erzbischof zu machen. Schon früher hatte er ihn gewarnt: »Gib mich nie aus deiner Hand in die

Hand eines Herrn, der größer wäre als du! – Denn in der Schmach meiner Sanftmut müßte ich ihm allerwege Gehorsam leisten und seine Befehle ausführen auch gegen dich, o König von Engelland!« (13,75). Doch der König hatte schon damals – bezeichnenderweise in einem Zustand verminderter Zurechnungsfähigkeit – mit dem Gedanken gespielt, Thomas zum Erzbischof von Canterbury zu machen (13,76) – aber Thomas gab seine Erzieherrolle schon vor dieser Warnung auf, und dies läßt seine Sanftmut in einem anderen Licht erscheinen. Nicht Gott ist hier der größere Herr, sondern eher derselbe Dämon, der auch Jenatsch vorantrieb: die Macht des Göttlichen hat sich ins Böse verkehrt, und wie in *Amulett* wird aus dem Gläubigen ein Fanatiker. Herr Thomas weiß darum; er kann versuchen, die Nachfolge Christi anzutreten, aber das Bewußtsein, daß diese Nachfolge pervertiert ist, verläßt ihn nie. Aber auch jetzt, bei der endgültigen Überredung, hindert der Wein den König am Zuhören (13,84). Thomas bittet darum, nicht »zum Doppelsinnigen und Zweideutigen« (13,86) gemacht zu werden und fragt ängstlich: »Wohin werde ich geführt?« (13,87). Mit Recht ist er über das Angebot des Königs entsetzt: er sieht die Religion als die einzige mögliche Sinngebung des Lebens nach dem Tode der Tochter, aber er weiß, daß er sich in seiner neuen Würde am König rächen wird. So hatte sich auch Jürg Jenatsch dem Herzog Rohan angeschlossen, um ihn nicht verraten zu müssen. In diesem Sinne hatte Meyer recht, als er (17.I.1881) an Betty Paoli schrieb: Becket wolle sich nicht an König Heinrich rächen. »Keineswegs, er muß gegen seinen Willen, und nicht Rache nehmen (das ist ihm zu roh und auch zu gefährlich), sondern strafen«. – »es ist die Verblendung Heinrichs, welche dem Kanzler die verderbliche Waffe, den Primat, selbst in die Hand drückt [...]. Der Kanzler haßt den König, natürlich, und kann ihm nie vergeben« – aber er ist auch an ihn gekettet. Gottes Strafe und des Kanzlers Rache lassen sich nicht unterscheiden; Lingg bekam denn auch im Brief vom 2.V.1880 die Auskunft: »In dem Act seiner Bekehrung durchdringen sich Rachsucht und Frömmigkeit auf eine unheimliche Weise«. Eben; seine Eigenschaften werden nicht geläutert oder geändert, sondern nur in den Dienst eines anderen Herrn gestellt. »Ich bin kein anderer, als ich scheine und mich trage. Dein Diener, den du kennst« (13,94), sagt Thomas später.

Die Bekehrung des Kanzlers erstreckt sich auch aufs Politische: er wird zum Sprecher der unterdrückten Sachsen gegen die Normannen. Nicht zuletzt deshalb sucht Heinrich die Versöhnung mit dem Erzbischof – und nicht zuletzt deshalb scheitert sie; wie einst Jenatsch will auch Becket den Verlust seines eigenen Glücks durch die Befreiung eines Volkes kompensieren, aber er bleibt sich selber treu, so sehr, daß er dem König den Versöhnungskuß verweigern muß. Dieser Anfang vom Ende spielt auf einer kahlen nordfranzösischen Heide, die in schärfstem Gegensatz zu dem idyllischen Wälzchen mit dem Traumschloß Beckets steht: »Herr Heinrich konnte sich jetzt nicht länger halten; mit gespitzten Lippen näherte er sein zerfallenes, aufgedunenes Angesicht dem kasteiten, heiligen Haupte des Kanzlers. Es war häßlich und abstoßend, das Antlitz meines Königs, aber so rührend und sehn-süchtig, als begehrte es nach dem Genusse des göttlichen Leibes. – Was jetzt geschah, Herr, was in dem Innern des Kanzlers vorging, wer kann es sagen? – Ich meine, daß dieser Verein von Häßlichkeit und Begierde ihn an die Erwürgung der kindlichen Gnade erinnerte. Er entzog ekelnd seine Lippen dem Könige und betrachtete das nahe Haupt mit Schauder, als erblicke er den In-begriff jeder Unterdrückung und Schandtat« (13,117 f). – In der Betonung der Heiligkeit Beckets äußert sich der Zweifel, den der Primas selber teilt: »Ich bin dessen nicht gewiß, ob der Nazaraner, dem ich gehöre und nachzufolgen suche, es über sich gebracht hätte, deine scheuseligen Lippen zu berühren. Den Verräter Judas hat er geküßt, der ihn, die Unschuld und Liebe selbst, verkauft und in den Tod geliefert hat; aber ob er einen Mund geküßt hätte, der die Seele seines Kindes vergiftete und den Leib der Unschuld verdarb, daran muß ich zweifeln. Und da er zugleich ein Gott ist, wie die Kirche lehrt, so kann er den Mord seines Lammes nicht vergeben ohne eine schwere und völlige Sühne, weil er sich selbst, das heißt die Gerechtigkeit, die sein Wesen ist, nicht zerstören kann. Und ich, der ein Mensch, aus heidnischem Blute und nicht so gelassen bin, als ich scheine, ich soll über mich bringen, was mein Meister nicht vermocht hätte!« (13,118). Er sagt es selbst: Thomas bleibt ein Mensch, die Nachfolge Christi ist unmöglich geworden. Indem er sich, um seine Sache durchführen zu können, unter Gott stellt, behauptet er gleichzeitig, die göttliche Gerechtigkeit zu kennen, als wär' sie ein Stück von ihm. Die Barmherzig-

keit aber verschweigt er, denn sie ist für ihn unerreichbar; er will nicht das Reich Gottes auf Erden errichten, sondern dem König »ein Volk schaffen« (13,119) und die Religion als Mittel zu diesem Zweck verwenden. Indem Thomas sich zum Richter über die Fähigkeiten des Heilands macht, spricht er aus Ressentiment – aber in dieser Welt ist der Schein trügerisch: »Das Antlitz des Herrn Thomas aber leuchtete wie das eines Engels« (13,121), sagt der Armbruster, als Thomas am wenigsten einer ist. Selber wußte es schon der Kanzler anders und besser: »Die Mary ist eine Hexe, wie ich ein Heiliger!« (13,39) – alles bleibt im Bereich des Menschlichen, der Psychologie.

Auch die Friedfertigkeit des Heiligen bleibt zweideutig; zwar verbrennt er die eine päpstliche Bulle, die zweite jedoch läßt er sich »entreißen« (13,124) – widerstrebend, aber er tut es. Sein Tod naht, doch die Annahme des Klerikers, »die Natur selbst werde Herrn Heinrich [...] befreien« (13,124 f) trügt. Der Zwiespalt zwischen Thomas und der Welt ist auch eine Einheit von beiden, und der Tod des Bischofs würde die stärkste Drohung gegen den König sein, die Negation alles Diesseitigen. Zu Recht regt sich Heinrich auf – wenn auch aus anderem Anlaß –, er verliert wie ehemals bei der Ernennung des Bischofs das klare Bewußtsein »und stieß seinen Becher so hart von sich, daß er weit über die Tafel rollte, den Wein in roten Strömen auf das Linnen vergießend, wie Blut in den Schnee« (13,125) – wie die Befleckung der gnadenreichen Unschuld. Wieder handelt der König verbündet: die Handlung, durch die er Becket endgültig zu überwinden hoffte, unterwirft ihn dem toten Primas.

»Rachsucht und Frömmigkeit« durchdringen sich bis zuletzt, das »heilige Hohnlächeln«, mit dem Herr Thomas stirbt, »als erwiesen ihm seine Henker gerade einen Liebesdienst« (13,14) ist das vorletzte Zeugnis; das letzte ist der Tod Hildes. Die Wunderwirkende Kraft des Heiligen führt zum Tod der Geliebten, als eine letzte Rache des Bischofs am Leben.

Der Armbruster zweifelt denn auch von Anfang bis Ende an der Heiligkeit des Herrn Thomas – wie er auch an dem Sinn des eigenen Lebens zweifeln muß. Hätte er vielleicht am Ende, wie später Astorre, im Kloster bleiben sollen? Er stach dreimal mit seinem Messer in den Vergil und traf die Worte: »sagittas, calamo, arcui« (13,19): er wurde Armbruster, »mit Pfeil und Bogen hab'

ich all mein Lebtag zu tun gehabt« (13,19), es war aber auch ein Pfeilschuß, der die süße Gnade tötete. Die Geschichte vom heiligen Thomas greift »in Tiefen seiner Seele hinunter, wo sein Empfinden zwiespältig wurde und seine Gedanken wie vor einem Abgrunde stehen blieben« (13,15). Das aber galt auch für die Gedanken Meyers. Louise v. François gegenüber nannte er Herrn Thomas »absichtlich *mehrdeutig*« (21.IV.1881), aber der konnte gar nicht anders erscheinen. Denn Thomas verkörpert die Probleme, die im Jenatsch-Roman nicht gelöst wurden und auch jetzt nicht gelöst werden konnten. Alles erscheint als fragwürdig; »Ist einmal das letzte Sandkorn verrollt, so tritt der Mensch aus der Reihe der Tage und Stunden hinaus und steht als ein fertiges und deutliches Wesen vor dem Gerichte Gottes und der Menschen. Beide haben Recht und Unrecht, Eure Chronik und mein Gedächtnis« (13,106), sagt Hans der Erzähler. Keine höhere Ordnung bürgt für eine Gerechtigkeit hier, vielmehr ist diese Welt eine des Streites: kaum haben Hans und Trustan Grimm einander erblickt, dann setzen sie – Jahre danach – den alten Streit fort (13,145). Meyer aber mußte versuchen, aus dieser Unsicherheit zu einer Lösung vorzudringen. Als er Frey erklärte, in *Pescara* solle das Ethische »mit Posaunen und Tubenstoßen verkündet werden«, bereute er gerade, daß er in *Heilige* »die Sache ins Helldunkel« gerückt habe (Frey, S. 300).

Plautus im Nonnenkloster (1881)

Meyer selbst schätzte die kleine Facetie nicht besonders, mußte sie aber dennoch seinem Vetter Friedrich von Wyß gegenüber verteidigen, der am leichtenfertigen Umgang mit ernsten Fragen gar kein Gefallen finden konnte. Der Autor schrieb ihm am 21.XI. 1881 einen erklärenden Brief, der zwar auf den Empfänger zugeschnitten ist, jedoch gleichzeitig einige Hinweise auf die tatsächliche Problematik, die sich auch hinter dieser Novelle verbirgt, gibt: »In den drei Figuren sind die drei historischen Bedingungen der Reformation, in komischer Maske verkörpert: Die Verweltlichung des hohen Klerus (Poggio der wahre Typus des Humanisten: Geist, Leichtsinn, Nachäffung und übertriebene Schätzung der Antike, Unwahrheit, Rachsucht . . . Diebstahl und Bettelei), – die Verhierung der niedrigen Geistlichkeit, das »Brieggittchen«. – Sie steht als die grobe mit der feinen Lüge des Poggio

im Gegensatze. Die beiden, die sich gegenseitig ihre Wahrheiten sagen, stehen im Gegensatze mit dem ehrlichen Fond in der deutschen Volksnatur (Gertrude), ohne welchen die Reformation eine Unmöglichkeit gewesen wäre«. – Die Novelle hat durchaus – wie auch die erste Entspannungsarbeit, *Schuß* – einen »ernsten Hintergrund« (21.XI.1881):

Denn Poggio steht zu Anfang der Geschichte in einem nicht unbekannten Konflikt zwischen Religion und Weltlust; soll er der Papstwahl beiwohnen oder die heidnische und frivole Plautus-Handschrift aufsuchen? Er hat das besondere Glück, daß die verdorbene Kirche keinen Anspruch auf sein Gewissen erheben kann, und wählt als Humanist und Italiener, der er ist, schnellen Entschlusses die Handschrift. Als er aus dem Munde des Hans von Splügen die traurige Geschichte von Gertrude gehört, den sonderbar faschingsartigen Jubel auf der Wiese betrachtet und schließlich das Mädchen in der Kirche gesehen hat, bleibt ihm nicht viel Arbeit übrig: er entdeckt und entlarvt den Betrug und terrorisiert die Äbtissin, indem er sich einer kirchlichen Macht, die er im Grunde nicht anerkennt, bedient, um an die weltliche Handschrift zu gelangen. Diese Strategie ist genau genommen dieselbe, welcher Jenatsch folgte, als er zum katholischen Glauben übertrat, um Bünden befreien zu können – doch die Facetie des Poggio bleibt bis jetzt rein im Anekdotischen.

Während aber Poggio nun über seinem Plautus sitzt, hört er den Gesang der Kinder draußen, die die arme Gertrude – die ihm bis dahin völlig gleichgültig war – verspotten:

In das Kloster geh' ich nicht,
Nein! ein Nönnchen werd' ich nicht . . . (11,154)

und der ehrliche Fond in der deutschen Volksnatur stört ihn nachher im Schlaf: »Bald umkreisten mich wieder die komischen Larven. Hier prahlte ein Soldat mit großen Worten, dort küßte der trunkene Jüngling ein Liebchen, das sich mit einer schlanken Wendung des Halses seinen Küsselfen entgegenbog. Da – unversehens – mitten unter dem lustigen antiken Gesindel stand eine barfüßige, breitschultrige Barbarin, mit einem Stricke gegürtet, als Sklavin zu Markte gebracht, wie es schien, unter finsternen Brauen hervor mich anstarrend mit vorwurfsvollen und drohenden Augen« (11,154).

Das »Ethische« tritt hier plötzlich in die ästhetische und ausgelassene Humanistenwelt, wie später (in *Mönch*) Dante in den sinnlichen Kreis seiner Zuhörer, und von nun an gibt es nichts zu lachen. Wie fern die jetzt provozierten Gedankengänge dem humanistischen Italiener sonst liegen, bezeugt seine Reaktion auf das falsche Kreuz: er hat sich nicht entrüstet, sondern »die Vollkommenheit der Nachahmung« bewundert, und er »brach [...] in die Worte aus: «Vollendet! Meisterhaft!» – Wahrlich nicht den Betrug, sondern die darauf verwendete Kunst lobend» (11,151). Das Brigittpäpchen hatte sofort verstanden, worum es dem Gelehrten ging. Damit Poggios Verderbtheit als die seiner Zeit und seine Kirche erscheinen möge, läßt Meyer noch den Beichtvater auftreten, der »das ehrwürdige Alter des Betrugs, seinen tiefen Sinn und seine belehrende Kraft« (11,152) lobt.

Jetzt aber hat es Poggio mit dem Gewissen – und dennoch sind seine Motive kaum ganz moralisch, sondern eher eigensüchtig: er möchte vor allem ruhig schlafen können. Er findet das Mädchen in der Kirche, wo sie nahe daran ist, den Verstand zu verlieren: »Mir schaudert vor der Zelle!« (11,156), ruft sie aus. Wie wenig sie fürs Kloster geschaffen ist, zeigt das »braune, aber schon in der Klosterluft bleichende Antlitz« (11,143), das sie dem Poggio zuwendet. Denn »»Was mir taugt«, schrie sie, »ist Sonne und Wolke, Sichel und Sense, Mann und Kind . . .«« (11,156). Kein Wunder, daß der Gedanke an Selbstmord auftaucht, wie er früher von einer anderen Meyer-Heldin, die auch nicht für das Kloster zu gewinnen war, Jutta in *Engelberg*, verübt wurde.

Das kleine Schauspiel, das Poggio nun aufführt, wird von Gertrude begriffen; in ihren Mienen »gewahrte ich die Spannung eines unruhigen Nachdenkens und das erste Wetterleuchten eines flammenden Zorns« (11,158) berichtet er, und er unterstreicht später, als sie die Dornenkrone aufgesetzt bekommt, welcher Art dieser Zorn ist: »Ein erhabener Zorn, ein göttliches Gericht flammte vernichtend aus den blauen Augen der Bäuerin« (11,159). Zuletzt ruft sie noch die Jungfrau an, »die leuchtenden Augen nach oben gerichtet« (11,160). Kein Wunder, daß Poggio »in der Tat die göttliche Wahrheit im Dornenkranze zu sehen glaubte, öffentlich geehrt und gefeiert von der menschlichen Unwahrheit, aber hinterrücks von ihr verspottet« (11,159).

Die gesunde und natürliche Gertrude bricht unter dem echten

Kreuz zusammen und kann jetzt ihren Hans von Splügen heiraten, dessen »überzeugende Männerstimme« (11,161) ihr aus dem Kirchenschiff geantwortet hatte. »Eine kurze Weile hatte die Bäuerin vor meinen erregten Sinnen gestanden als die Verkörperung eines höhern Wesens, als ein dämonisches Geschöpf, als die Wahrheit wie sie jubelnd den Schein zerstört. Aber was ist Wahrheit? fragte Pilatus« (11,161). Gertrude schon, – aber diese Wahrheit: die des »einfachen Lebens«, war es nicht, die Poggio sich erhofft hatte. Auch Meyer weiß in dieser Novelle sehr wohl, was Wahrheit ist und wie sie aussieht; nicht immer war das so leicht zu entscheiden.

Poggio spielt, um die Streitenden in der Kirche zu beruhigen, seinen letzten Trumpf aus: er verkündet die Papstwahl und bedient sich damit noch einmal der Macht einer Kirche, deren Praktiken er soeben entlarvt hat. Hauptsache: es herrscht wieder Ordnung, die Anarchie der Wahrheit wird gebannt. Es mag allerdings sein, daß gerade die Begegnung mit dem blonden und ehrlichen Fond in der deutschen Volksnatur ihm »die Läßlichkeit meiner Lebensauffassung« (11,134) klar gemacht hat und ihn in dem ruchlosen Betragen des Sohnes ein Gesetz »der Steigerung« (11,134) erkennen läßt. Aber sein Italienertum kann er nicht verleugnen; vielmehr hebt er es so nachdrücklich hervor, daß man den Verdacht schöpft, hier erzähle gar nicht Poggio sondern C. F. Meyer: »Da betrachtete ich, als ein Florentiner, der ich bin, die schlankkräftigen Mädchenarme mit künstlerischem Vergnügen« (11,145), erzählt er an einer Stelle – und an einer anderen: – »diese Dinge wurden von den zwei Franzosen mit einer uns Italienern geradezu unbegreiflichen Pedanterie behandelt« (11,146).

Der kleinen Facetie fehlt die innere Spannung; von vornherein steht fest, was Betrug und was Wahrheit ist, und die Darstellung der Konflikte tritt zugunsten einer ausdrücklichen Stellungnahme zurück. Die Wörter »Lüge« und »Wahrheit« werden ausgespielt, bis sie jede Bedeutung verloren haben, das Wunder läßt sich hier eindeutig als Betrug interpretieren. Das Gute gewinnt einen leichten Sieg, aber eben nur, weil das Böse ein mehr oder weniger frommer Betrug ist. In den späteren Novellen, wo es wieder ernstere Gestalt annimmt, läßt sich der Sieg auch nicht mehr so spielend erkämpfen. Wie in *Amulett* verhilft der Repräsentant der Anarchie (Poggio) dem Guten zum Sieg und zur Ret-

tung. Gertrude konnte in der Klosterluft nicht leben – wie wenig aber mit ihr das Thema erschöpft war, zeigt wenige Jahre später die Geschichte von der Hochzeit des Mönchs.

Gustav Adolfs Page (1882)

»Durch den Tod *eines* Mannes ward die Weltlage eine andere. Unter Gustav Adolf war der Krieg kein mutwilliges Blutvergießen: er führte ihn für seinen großen Gedanken, zum Schutze der evangelischen Freiheit ein starkes nordisches Reich zu gründen, und ein solches Reich wäre der Halt und Hort aller kleinen protestantischen Gemeinwesen, auch meines Bündens, geworden. Dies ersehnte Ziel ist uns mit dem großen Toten entrückt und der seiner Seele beraubte Krieg entartet zur reißenden Bestie. Was bleibt übrig? Zweckloses Morden und habgierige Teilung der Beute« (10,102). So klagte Jürg Jenatsch, während der skeptische Locotenent Wertmüller meinte, »die Eifersucht der deutschen Fürsten hätte wie ein Geschling von Sumpfpflanzen seinen [des Königs] Fuß gehemmt« (10,102). – Die Begeisterung eines Jenatsch ließ auch Meyer nicht kalt: er plante ein Drama über den Schwedenkönig und schrieb dann später eine Novelle. Denn Gustav Adolf verkörperte das Ideal, das Jenatsch als unerreichbar erkannte; der Schwedenkönig war die menschliche und göttliche Gerechtigkeit zugleich und bürgte für die Freiheit wie für das Reich. In ihm hätten sich die Hoffnungen eines Ulrich von Hutten (XXXVII *Der Schmied*, XXIX *Der letzte Humpen*) erfüllt. Die Gustav Adolf-Gestalt lässt das Ziel ahnen, nach dem auch Meyer strebte: die absolute Wahrheit in menschlicher Gestalt. Denn, wie er Louise v. François gestand (und zwar um die Zeit, in der diese Novelle geschrieben wurde, 31.XII.1882): »Ich habe zeither eine ganz junge Sehnsucht nach dem Großen, Heilsamen, Menschlich-Wahren (das metaphysisch Wahre halte ich für absolut unzugänglich)«. Auch hatte er der Freundin schon früher (25.IX.1881) geschrieben, er bedürfe »eines »erbaulichen« Helden, wie Hutten, nicht wie Jenatsch oder der Heilige oder der Dynast (Graf von Tockenburg)«.

Doch die Novelle heißt *Gustav Adolfs Page* und hält damit schon im Titel das Gleichgewicht zwischen geschichtlichem und

persönlichem Schicksal. Nicht nur um die Politik des Schwedenkönigs geht es, sondern auch um Leubelfings Seele – und nicht nur um die Seele des Pagen, sondern auch um Gustels Erlebnis des Größeren und Höheren, der Geschichte, um »die Ähnlichkeit ihres kleinen mit diesem großen Lose« (11,185).

Meyer, berichtet Adolf Frey (S. 329), »wünschte ein Gegenstück zu schaffen zu Clärchen, eine Jungfrau, die, als Mann verkleidet, dem vergötterten Feldherrn in den Krieg folgt, ohne daß dieser von ihrem Geschlecht und ihrer Liebe eine Ahnung hat.« Denn um das Ideal geht es dem Pagen vor allem, und da die Geschichte von Männern gemacht werden, muß Gustel selbst einer werden, um an ihr teilnehmen zu können; sie liebt in Gustav Adolf weniger den Mann als den »König von Deutschland« und kann dennoch die Regungen ihres Geschlechts nicht ganz unterdrücken. Sie lebt daher in ständiger Aufregung, in »Lust und Angst« (11,184) zugleich. Denn sie zahlt einen hohen Preis für das große Erlebnis: die Verleugnung ihrer Natur. Nicht nur ist sie ein Gegenstück zu Klärchen, sondern auch eine Zurücknahme der Haltung Schadaus (*Amulett*): dieser hatte sich am Ende aus der Geschichte zurückgezogen, um mit seiner Frau ein ruhiges Leben auf deutscher Erde zu führen; Gustel dagegen verleugnet jedes Element, das sie in die »niedrige« Sphäre des Realen ziehen könnte. Sie heißt denn auch nicht Gustel, sondern »der Page« oder »Leubelfing«, gewinnt also eine andere Identität, die ihre alte überwindet (denn was der Familienname zu bedeuten hat, geht aus dem Schluß deutlich hervor, als dem jungen Kaufmann Bescheid erteilt wird: «Nein Herr! Ihr bleibt ein Laubsfinger» (11,213). – Die Sphäre des gemeinen Lebens, des Handels und des Geschlechts, soll aufgehoben werden).

Aber die Erinnerung an den Betrug verfolgt das Mädchen auf Schritt und Tritt: mehr als einmal muß Gustel sich anhören, wie verwerflich die Unsitte ist, Mädchen in Männertracht unter den Soldaten leben zu lassen, und auch sie wird von den Worten des Königs getroffen, die die Jesuiten verdammten: »Auch du bist eine Lügnerin, eine Sophistin, eine Verlarvte!« (11,184) ruft sie sich selber zu. Gustav Adolf, den sie als Richter dieser Welt sehen möchte, wird auch zum Richter ihrer selbst: sie träumt davon, wie er sie »mit flammendem Blick und verurteilender Gebärde«

(11,185) von sich weist, und sie ist auf die Königin eifersüchtig, nicht allein, weil dieser der geliebte Mann gehört, sondern auch weil die Königin eine Weiblichkeit entfalten darf, die dem Pagen verboten ist. Der Page ängstigt sich »furchtbar, bis zur Zerrüttung, über seine Larve und sein Geschlecht.« – »Leicht zu Mute wurde ihm nur im Pulverdampfe. Da blitzten seine Augen und fröhlich ritt er der tödlichen Kugel entgegen, welche er herausforderte, seinen bangen Traum zu endigen« (11,184). Wie Jenatsch nach der Ermordung des Pompejus Planta nur als unermüdlich Handelnder weiterleben konnte, so muß auch der Page versuchen, seinen inneren Zwiespalt durch Potenzierung der Aktivität zu übertäuben; ist einmal die Harmonie im Innern verloren, wird der Sinn des Lebens in der eigenen Opferung für eine große Sache gesucht. »So fristete er sich und genoß das höchste Leben mit der Hilfe des Todes« (11,184), aber auch nur so. Daher wählt er sich auch den Spruch »courte et bonne«: »Ich wünsche mir alle Strahlen meines Lebens in *ein* Flammenbündel und in den Raum *einer* Stunde vereinigt, daß statt einer blöden Dämmerung ein kurzes, aber blendend helles Licht von Glück entstünde, um dann zu löschen wie ein zuckender Blitz« (11,181). – Doch der Zwiespalt läßt sich so leicht nicht verdrängen: Gustav Adolf bleibt in den Träumen des Pagen der *Retter oder Verfolger* (11,185)

Gustel, »ein tannenschlankes Mädchen mit lustigen Augen, kurzgeschnittenen Haaren, knabenhaften Formen und ziemlich reitermäßigen Manieren« (11,170), dem Weibertracht schlecht steht, weil es seine Kindheit zu Pferd verbracht hat, hat unterwegs zum ruhmreichen Ende eine Probe zu bestehen: die Begegnung mit der anderen Möglichkeit ihres Geschlechts, mit der Slawonierin Corinna. Früher schon hat den Pagen »das nackte Schauspiel« (11,178): die Vertreibung einer Dirne, angeekelt, jetzt aber tritt die Dirne in das Zelt des Königs. »Pechschwarze Flechten und dunkeldrohende Augen« hat »das leidenschaftliche Mädchen«, das »mit unbändiger Heftigkeit« redet und zankt. Sie fragt mit »einer hohen, vor Erregung schreienden Stimme«, und »der Busen kloppte sichtbar« schon als sie eintrat (alles 11,187). – »das seltsamste Lächeln der Welt irrte um ihren spöttisch verzogenen Mund« (11,188), als sie das wahre Geschlecht des Pagen entdeckt hat, und dieser muß seine Gegenspielerin anflehen, ihn nicht zu verraten: »Sei barmherzig! Ich bin in deiner Gewalt!« (11,188)

bitten die Blicke des ertappten Pagen – Leubelfing ist in der Gewalt des Verdrängten. Als Corinna eintrat, mußte sich der Page des Königs gestehen, daß nur wenig fehlte, und die Slawonierin hätte »das süße Haupt einer Muse« (11,187) gehabt. Nun aber tritt der König ein und ist anderer Ansicht: »Er maß das Mädchen, deren wilde Schönheit ihm mißfiel und deren grelle Tracht seine klaren Augen beleidigte« (11,189 f.).

Denn der vorhin recht bürgerliche Gustav ist »streng wie ein Richter in Israel« (11,189) geworden, es muß Ordnung im Lager geschaffen werden, und die Corinna wird das erste Opfer des Königs, der damit den Pagen befreit. So eng verknüpft sind die Gestalten Gustels und Corinnas, daß der biblische Held erst die Slawonierin der Sünde Gustels zeiht: »Du hast dich im Lager in Männerkleidern umgetrieben, dieses ist verboten« (11,190).

Meyer scheint dem König in der folgenden moralischen Verurteilung der Sexualität ganz zu folgen: Gustav Adolf wird zum Richter erhoben, »der ein himmelschreiendes Unrecht aus dem Mittel heben muß, damit nicht das ganze Volk verderbe« (11,189) – wieder Worte, die an Panigarola und Jenatsch erinnern. Gustav schilt die deutschen Fürsten, deren einige sich auch »ergriffen, ja gerührt« (11,194) geben; vor allem aber verurteilt er die Slawonierin, weil sie seine klaren Augen beleidigt. Die Strafe ist zwar nicht die christlichste: Deportation nach Schweden, um ein evangelisches, das heißt keusches Weib zu werden, aber der Autor der Novelle heißt sie gut, da er seinen Pagen befreien möchte: Corinna »öffnete den Mund, um den König, welcher sie des Ehebruchs geziehen, gleicherweise einen Ehebrecher zu schelten. Dieser stand ruhig bei Seite. Er hatte den Brief des Pagen in die Hand genommen und durchflog denselben mit nahen Blicken. Seine aufmerksamen Züge, deren aus Gerechtigkeit und Milde gemischter Ausdruck etwas Majestätisches und Göttliches hatte, erschreckten die Corinna; sie fürchtete sich davor als vor etwas Fremdem und Unheimlichem. Das wildwüchsige Mädchen, welches jedes von einer faßlichen Leidenschaft verzogene Männerantlitz richtig beurteilte, wurde aus dieser veredelten menschlichen Miene nicht klug« (11,191), und die Begegnung mit der über dem Geschlechtsunterschied stehenden gerechten und milden Menschlichkeit provoziert ihren Selbstmord. Kein Wunder, denn der Urteilsspruch des Majestätischen und Göttlichen lautet: »Deine Liebe ist eine Tod-

sünde« (11,190). Hier ist nichts mehr vom Duell mit Guiche, dieses Urteil ist schlichte Repression. Der Page ist von dem ganzen Vorgang zu Recht »erschüttert und erleichtert« (11,194). Die Gefahr, daß die Natur mit dem verkrampten Leubelfing durchgehen könnte, ist gebannt.

Die Ähnlichkeit des kleinen mit dem großen Lose geht weiter als zur Begleitung des Königs durch den Pagen, auch weiter als zur Namensgleichheit Auguste-Gustav, wenn auch diese selbstverständlich nicht zufällig ist (11,185). Nicht nur Leubelfing ist »eine Verlaryte«, sondern die ganze Welt ist eine des Scheins und des Trugs; nichts in ihr ist Wahrheit – alles Theater, wie es in der Predigt in Berlin dargestellt wurde (11,179). Das Bewußtsein von der Vergänglichkeit alles Irdischen verläßt denn auch den König nie: »Prediger, ich reite mit der heidnischen Göttin Viktoria und mit dem christlichen Todesengel!« (11,207), denn jeder Sieg auf Erden ist heidnisch, christlich nur der Tod, den Gustav Adolf auch sucht, kaum weniger eifrig als sein Page, der der tödlichen Kugel entgegenreitet: » – auch der König lebte mit dem Tode auf einem vertrauten Fuße« (11,184). »So legte der christliche Held sein Schicksal täglich, ja stündlich und fast herausfordernd in die Hände seines Gottes« (11,184), und er verschmäht es, eine Rüstung zu tragen, weil er sich nicht hinter irdischen Larven verstecken will. Sein Wunsch und Gebet, Gott möge ihn »im Vollwerte« hinnehmen, »wenn seine Stunde da sei, bevor er ein Unnötiger und Unmöglicher werde« (11,185) erinnert an die Wünsche vieler Meyer-Helden und läßt ahnen, wie nah auch hier Sieg und Tod verwandt sind: Viktoria und der Engel. Am Ende könnte der Gott Gustav Adolfs (und so persönlich wird er erwähnt) derselbe sein wie der Pescaras. »Unser Leben ist Gottes« (11,181), erklärt er dem Pagen; das Leben ist dem Tode verfallen, könnte dies auch heißen.

Denn auch der »erbauliche« Held dieser Novelle ist keineswegs gegen Zweifel gefeit. »Ich stehe in Gottes Hand« (11,199) läßt er Wallenstein wissen, kann jedoch einen leisen Aberglauben nicht unterdrücken: »Jetzt fühlte der christliche König, daß die Atmosphäre des Aberglaubens, welche den Friedländer umgab, ihn anzustecken beginne« (11,201). Zu allem Überfluß erinnert ihn Wallenstein beim Abschied an die Tochter Christina – und

gerade in der Geschichte von dem jesuitischen Lehrer am schwedischen Hofe muß Gustav Adolf etwas Schicksalhaftes erblicken. Er weiß um die Sündhaftigkeit der Welt und zweifelt einen Augenblick lang auch an der Gerechtigkeit des Himmels. Wie seinerzeit Jenatsch gibt er sich in diesem Augenblick dem Aberglauben hin (und läßt auch nachher den Pagen den Handschuh anprobieren – 11,202), was nichts anderes heißt, als daß er seinen eigenen unbewältigten Kräften zum Opfer fällt.

Denn auch Gustav ist zuweilen sündhaft gewesen, mag er noch so sehr wie ein Richter in Israel schauen: auch ihn hat der Glanz der Welt verlockt, und nicht immer widerstand er der Versuchung. Während Meyer sich noch mit dem Gedanken an ein Drama trug, erläuterte er dessen Motivation in einem Brief an Louise v. François (25.IX. 1881): »Die Verschuldung des Helden ist einfach: er begehrte in seines Herzens Tiefen die *deutsche Krone*, welche nur einem Deutschen gebührt«. – Er wird in Naumburg wie ein Gott geehrt (11,206 f), erklärt aber kurz danach den versammelten deutschen Fürsten, daß er keiner sei: »Aber ich bedachte die deutschen Dinge. Nicht ohne ein Gelüst nach eurer Krone, Herren! Doch, ungeheuchelt, meinen Ehrgeiz überwog die Sorge um das Reich!« (11,208). Vor allem aber hat der Ruf in Nürnberg: »Hoch Gustav, König von Deutschland!« (11,169) seinen schlummernden Wunsch geweckt, und er liebt seinen Pagen nicht zuletzt, weil »dieser an jenem folgenschweren Bankett ihn als den »König von Deutschland« hatte hoch leben lassen, den möglichen ruhmreichen Ausgang seines heroischen Abenteuers in eine kühne prophetische Formel fassend« (11,177). Der Page ist der lebendige Ausdruck einer Spaltung im König, stellt sozusagen seinen »sündhaften« Wunsch dar – und Gustav hat überdies den Pagen früh geküßt (11,205) und damit die Gefahr selbst heraufbeschworen.

Stellt Leubelfing somit eine innere Gefahr Gustavs dar, so sorgt der Lauenburger, »ein unsittlicher Mensch« (11,186), für die äußere, und es ist nicht so merkwürdig, wie es scheinen könnte, daß die beiden sich in Stimme und Körperbau ganz ähnlich sind. Der Lauenburger bedroht den König im Moralischen, weil er die Corinna bei sich leben läßt, und im Politischen, weil er Reichsfürst ist und daher Immunität genießt, auf die er denn auch mehrmals pocht (11,186/187/194). Er steht »dämonisch lächelnd« (11,193) da, und »der Ausdruck des vornehmen Kopfes

war ein so teuflischer, daß der Lauscher [der Page] einer Ohnmacht nahe war« (11,195). Wohl flieht der Page, um seinen König nicht zu verderben, aber er kehrt im entscheidenden Augenblick zurück. Das tut auch der Herzog, der sich wie ein verlorener Sohn der Majestät zu Füßen wirft, die ihn gütig wieder aufnimmt. Damit aber ist Gustavs Schicksal besiegelt – und seine Geistesabwesenheit vor der Schlacht deutet auch auf ein nahes Ende. »Ich will mein schlummerndes Haupt in den Schoß meines Leubelfings legen« (11,200) sagt er seinem Gegner Wallenstein, und das stimmt: gerade das schlummernde Haupt gibt sich den geheimen Wünschen hin.

Beide, der Page wie der Herzog, reiten mit dem König in die Schlacht, die er gewinnt, in der er aber selber fällt. Wie kaum eine zweite geschichtliche Situation stellt diese die Grundproblematik des Helden – und die aller Meyer-Helden – dar: im Sieg ist der Tod, der Göttin Viktoria folgt der christliche Todesengel; das »Haupt voll Blut und Wunden« (11,210), das am Schluß gewaschen wird, gehört einem Erlöser, der jedoch nicht allen Versuchungen widerstand, weil er das Leben doch zu sehr liebte. Daß der einzige Ausweg aus der Spaltung der Tod ist, weiß der Page, und weiß letzten Endes auch der König selbst. Hier wird der Held noch als Heiland dargestellt, damit der Tod nicht ohne Sinn bleibe. Der Feldherr Pescara wird die Interpretation seiner Gestalt als Heiland zurückweisen und stattdessen versuchen, den Tod selbst als positive Macht aufzufassen.

Das Leiden eines Knaben (1883)

Das Geschlecht war das Problem des Pagen; der Körper schlechthin ist das des jungen Julian Boufflers. Die Novelle wird allgemein als das »persönlichste« unter den Werken Meyers betrachtet; so meinte auch Betsy Meyer, die an Pauline von Peyer schrieb (8.III.1905): »Übrigens ist der *Dichter* selbst in diesem Büchlein, wie nicht in jedem andern seiner Werke.« Womit der Dichter C. F. Meyer gemeint ist; man könnte auch sagen, hier sei der Dichter überhaupt dargestellt. Die Novelle erzählt von einer Kluft zwischen Ich und Welt und schildert das, was Meyer in einem frühen Gedicht (Kempter, S. 66) *Dichterlos* nannte und auf sentimentale Weise beschrieb.

Das Thema ist wieder rein psychologisch, der Rahmen könnte auch ein anderer sein, denn der König repräsentiert nur eine allgemeine Gleichgültigkeit, nicht die besondere irgendeiner bestimmten Epoche. Julians Konflikt ist der der Pubertät, das Erlebnis, daß Geist und Körper nicht mehr übereinstimmen. Die Problematik des Fleisches ist für Julian besonders schmerhaft: er wird geprügelt. Und für ihn wie für Jenatsch geht mit der Liebe auch die Welt unter; die Gesellschaft, die Außenwelt, bemächtigt sich der zarten Regungen und pervertiert sie. Die Geliebte führt am Schluß den tödlichen Stoß gegen den Helden.

Fagon hebt hervor, wie ihn Julians Mutter auf dem Sterbebett bat, dafür zu sorgen, »daß der Junge körperlich nicht übertrieben werde« (12,111). Julian hat einen »untadeligen Bau, der zur Meisterschaft in jeder Leibesübung befähigte« (12,112); der Körper ist also kein Problem für ihn, sondern vielmehr sein einziges Gut, das gehütet werden muß. Denn sein Geist kann Besorgnis erregen: dem Knaben fehlt, was Fagon Kombination und Dialektik nennt, und seine Schulaufsätze sind nicht für Anspruchsvolle: »Höchstens gefiel dann und wann eine Wendung durch ihre Unschuld oder brachte zum Lächeln durch ihre Naivität« (12,113) – und diese Naivität ist es, die – eher als die Dummheit – hervorgehoben wird; Kombination und Dialektik sind Eigenschaften der Welt, nicht der zarten Seele.

Als die Mutter gestorben ist, schickt der Vater den 13-jährigen Jungen auf die Schule der Jesuiten, wo seine Kindheit aus politisch bedingter Rücksichtsnahme verlängert wird – bis der Marschall mit dem jesuitischen Schwindel zu tun bekommt und aus purem Ordnungssinn die Herausgabe belastender Dokumente verweigert, übrigens eine Andeutung dessen, daß allzu große Abneigung gegen die »Anarchie« zum Verrat am Leben führen kann. Die Sünden der Väter vererben sich – vor allem in einer so christlichen Umgebung – auf die Kinder, und die Verlängerung der Kindheit, die Julian jetzt zuteil wird, ist viel schmerzhafter: es ist die einer aufgezwungenen Infantilität. Er wird nicht mehr versetzt, lebt unter relativ immer jüngeren Kameraden – und dabei ist er selbst ein »Jüngling, über dessen Lippen schon der erste Flaum sproßte« (12,106) und der »ein Liebchen besitzt« (12,125), einer also, der jetzt den Schritt ins Leben tun sollte. Das Mißverhältnis zwischen Körper und Geist wird ihm in dramatischer

Weise bewußt gemacht, als der kurzsichtige Guntram ihn überfällt – nicht ohne zuvor noch »einige Gläser« (12,137) geleert zu haben: »Ich bin ein Blinder, und die taugen nicht ins Feld, und wenn ich nicht ins Feld tauge, will ich nicht leben! Du begleitest mich! Auch du taugst nicht ins Leben, obwohl du beneidenswert schiestest, denn du bist der größte Dummkopf, das Gespötte der Welt!« (12,137). – Bei dieser Gelegenheit verliert Julian den naiven Glauben an einen Sinnzusammenhang in der Welt, Guntram verhöhnt seinen Gott, auf den er sich gleich beruft (12,137), und selbst formuliert er später dieselbe Erkenntnis, die bei anderen Gestalten Meyers einen pathetischeren Ausdruck fand: »Er [der liebe Gott] hilfe gern, gütig wie er ist, aber er hat wohl nicht immer die Macht« (12,138). Denn »Guntram hatte ausgesprochen, was ich wußte, aber mir selbst verhehlte, so gut es gehen wollte« (12,138).

Auch der seltsame Maler Mouton spricht es aus, nur mit ein bißchen andern Worten. Mouton tadelt ihn, weil er sich das Verbleiben in derselben Klasse gefallen läßt: »Paßt sich das für dich, dem der Flaum keimt und der ein Liebchen besitzt?« (12,125) lautet seine harte Frage. »Dieser plötzliche Überfall rief den entgegengesetzten Ausdruck zweier Gefühle auf das Antlitz des Jünglings« (12,125). Damit ist der Dualismus gesetzt, ausgerechnet von Mouton, »einem Halbmenschen« (12,126), »der sich unter Pflanzen und Tieren heimisch fühlte« (12,123) und der auch seinem Pudel seinen eigenen Namen gibt. Der Naturmensch akzeptiert nicht die halben Wahrheiten und Persönlichkeiten dieser Welt. Selbst ist er ein Ausgestoßener, der – wie Julian, aber auf andere Weise – an der Begegnung mit der Welt zugrunde geht: er säuft sich zu Tode, aber er kennt dafür eine Harmonie der Natur. Ohne Bezug auf etwas Höheres (»Mouton hatte kein Taufwasser gekostet« (12,122)) ist er kein Lamm Gottes, wohl aber ein unschuldiges Schaf. Seine Art von Harmonie geht zugrunde, weil sie einer niederen Stufe angehört, aber er vermittelt dennoch dem Knaben eine Ahnung von der Ungerechtigkeit der Welt.

Denn die Welt wird von den Wölfen regiert. Von dem Père Tellier sagt sogar der sonst so neutrale König, er habe »eine Art Wolfsgesicht« (12,102), während der engagierte Fagon ihn runderaus einen Wolf nennt und von seiner »Wolfsschnauze« (12,104) spricht. Kein Wunder, daß Julian im Tierpark beim Anblick des

Wolfs erschrickt, denn »das Tier mahnt mich an jemand« (12,128) An wen, das erzählt die Gräfin dem Arzt: »»Ih! kreischte sie plötzlich, daß es mir durch Mark und Bein ging, »da ist ja auch Père Tellier!« und sie deutete auf den Wolf, von welchem wir uns nicht über zwanzig Schritte entfernt hatten. »Wahrhaftig, Père Tellier, wie er leibt und lebt!« (12,130). Von seiner Bosheit hatte sogar Mouton eine Ahnung, die darauf schließen läßt, daß dieser Analphabet C. F. Meyer gelesen hatte: er malte Julian als zweiten *Pentheus* auf der Flucht vor »verkörperte[n] Vorstellungen, Ängstigungen, folternde[n] Gedanken« (12,135) – und Père Tellier.

Tellier wird auch Julians Ahnung von der Machtlosigkeit Gottes bestätigen; er sagt sich von Gott los, um seine eigenen Zwecke verfolgen zu können: »»Was habe ich mit dem Nazarener zu schaffen?« lästerte er, in verwundetem Stolze sich aufbüäumend und der Häßliche schien gegen die Decke zu wachsen wie ein Dämon. »Ich bin der Kirche! Nein, des Ordens!« (12,150). Im Irdischen spielt sich hier alles ab, und die höchste Instanz ist somit der König, den Fagon denn auch – vergeblich – für sich zu gewinnen versucht.

Die Prügelstrafe wird zur endgültigen und entscheidenden Begegnung Julians mit der Welt und setzt aufs neue den unüberwindlichen Zwiespalt – jetzt auch im Physischen. Der Knabe vertraute »blindlings« der »Gerechtigkeit seines Vaters« (12,131 f) aber dieser ist ihm so fern wie Gott. War »Ehre« schon seit je »das Grundgesetz dieser Knabenseele« (12,114), so wird sie es noch mehr nach der Spaltung, denn die Diskrepanz zwischen Körper und Geist äußert sich als Diskrepanz zwischen dem Krankenlager und dem brennenden Wunsch nach *gloire* – die in der Sterbeszene kulminiert, als Julian – der Ulrich von Hutten ähnelt – das erlebt, was so viele Helden Meyers wünschten: auf dem Höhepunkt zu sterben. Der Geist wird gerettet, während der Körper stirbt, das Leben selbst wird überwunden und der »Sündenfall« aufgehoben.

Aber erst hat ihn sein »blaues, kühles, vornehmes Liebchen« (12,126), wie Mouton sie nannte, getötet. Der »natürliche« Mouton hatte für dieses Produkt der Zivilisation nicht viel übrig, obwohl Mirabelle in ihrer Unschuld nicht wußte, was sie tat; Julian mußte sie einmal gegen Spott beschützen, und die Liebe zwischen ihnen

entstand – wie auch anderswo bei Meyer – aus Mitleid. Auch Fagon bemitleidet sie: »Sie hatte große, blaue, flehende Augen, eine kühle, durchsichtige Farbe und einen kaum vollendeten Wuchs, der noch nichts als eine zärtliche Seele ausdrückte« (12,129). Wie Julian ist sie das Opfer einer falschen Erziehung, das Opfer der Welt: »dieser garstige Höcker [ist] ganz natürlich gewachsen« (12,132), erklärt die Gräfin, die die Unschuld auf den ersten Blick erkennt: »»Wie schlank sie schreiten!« flüsterte die Alte hinter den sich Entfernenden. »Adam und Eva! Lache nicht, Fagon! Ob das Mädchen Puder und Reifrock trägt, wandeln sie doch im Paradiese, und auch unschuldig sind sie, weil eine leidenvolle Jugend auf ihnen liegt und sie die reine Liebe empfinden läßt, ohne den Stachel ihrer Jahre«« (12,132). (Leise kündigt sich hier die Neigung Meyers an, das Unglück zur Voraussetzung der Unschuld und der reinen Liebe zu machen, vgl. *Angela Borgia*).

Aus diesem Paradiese wird Julian durch die Gesellschaft, durch »Puder und Reifrock« vertrieben; Mirabelle, über ihre Stellung zur körperlichen Züchtigung befragt, antwortet in ihrer verdorbenen Sprache: »Körperliche Gewalttat erträgt kein Untertan des stolzesten der Könige: ein so Gebrandmarkter lebt nicht länger!« (12,155). An dieser Brandmarkung stirbt Julian, denn »Ohne Selbstvertrauen kein Mann!« (12,139); das hatte ihm schon Fagon gesagt. Wie in der folgenden Geschichte von der Hochzeit des Mönchs nimmt auch hier die Liebe »ein schlimmes Ende« – aber es gibt hier Schurken und äußere Umstände, auf die man die Schuld abwälzen kann. Mirabelle bleibt doppeldeutig – sie gleicht der Mutter Julians (12,140) und könnte eine ähnliche Rache der Kindheit auf der Schwelle zum Jünglingsalter sein wie Lucretia Planta auf der Schwelle zur Befreiung. Auch deutet der blinde Gehorsam gegenüber dem Vater (12,126) auf innere Gründe, die eine Befreiung unmöglich machen. Zwar stellt gerade Mirabelle die Forderung an Julian, daß er mündig werde: er dürfe sich die Prügel nicht gefallen lassen – aber diese Forderung ist nicht ihre eigene, sondern die einer Welt, die jede Liebe bekämpft. Père Tellier ist eine eindeutig negative Gestalt: kein sich Befreender wie Jenatsch oder Hutten, sondern ein gefallener Luzifer. Julian ist »schuldlos wie der Heiland« (12,149) und wird von Père Tellier gekreuzigt.

Damit ist der Konflikt des Jenatsch-Romans vereinfacht wor-

den: er wird hier zum Kampf des Guten mit dem Bösen. Alles ist eindeutig; die Anklage gegen die Gesellschaft, die solches zuläßt, wird aber um so lauter. Erzählt wird die Geschichte von Fagon, das heißt aber von einem erwachsenen Julian, dem ein Höcker geblieben ist, und dessen Kindheit in der Novelle getötet wird. Das traurige Leben Julians wird erzählt, aber Fagon formuliert die Anklage (und die Novelle entgeht nicht der Sentimentalität). Indem Julian so stark gelobt wird, wird Père Tellier noch schwärmär – als wäre sein Benehmen besonders verbrecherisch, weil gerade Julian und nicht irgend jemand sonst sein Opfer wurde. »Wer widersteht dem Anblicke des Schönen, wenn es ungerecht leidet?« (12,71) fragt später Dante (*Mönch*) – als sollte nicht der Mensch, sondern nur die Schönheit gerettet werden. Und Fagon berichtet auch empört von »zwei Mädchen aus dem unteren Bürgerstande« (12,153), denen die Liebe nur Anlaß zum Kichern gibt, während Julian an ihr stirbt. Die beiden Mädchen stellen einerseits die glückliche Problemlosigkeit dar, werden aber andererseits – aus Ressentiment – moralisch verurteilt.

Julian erlebt seine Prügel als furchtbar, Fagon erlebt sie als böse; er ist Julian nach dem Sündenfall, Julian, der Partei ergriffen hat. Er hat seine Gründe, den Leib nicht allzu hoch einzuschätzen, und fragt am Schluß »heiter«: »Warum arm« – denn das hatte der König, ehe er sich den leiblichen Genüssen zuwandte, gesagt, – »da er hingegangen ist als ein Held?« (12,157).

Dieser letzte Satz hebt die Anklage wieder auf. Fagon hat die irdische Gerechtigkeit in Bewegung bringen wollen, hat versucht, den König zu engagieren. Als er die Vergeblichkeit seines Versuchs einsieht, deutet er seine Niederlage in einen Sieg um: der König könne getrost essen, am Ende habe der unglückliche Julian doch gesiegt. – Die irdische Gerechtigkeit war nicht mehr sichtbar, und Meyer mußte versuchen, das Geschehen selber als sinnvoll zu interpretieren. In *Die Hochzeit des Mönchs* wird König Ludwig, der sein Amt nicht ausübt, von Ezzelin ersetzt, der als Repräsentant des Schicksals auftritt.

Die Hochzeit des Mönchs (1884)

Schon in der Jugendnovelle *Clara* (1848–50) tritt die Angst vor dem Klosterleben auf: die jüngere Schwester Franziska fürchtet, wegen eines »Fehltritts« ins Kloster Villamont gesteckt zu

werden und ist einer Ohnmacht nahe, als sie mit der strengen Schwester Clara die Zelle betritt, »wo die Äbtissinnen aus ihrem Stamm gehaust hatten. Franziska flog ans Fenster, um Luft zu schöpfen, ein dunkler, hoher, naher Berg erdrückte sie fast und sie hätte weinen mögen« (Corona VIII, 397). Die Angst wird von der Felswand hervorgerufen, wie im Gedicht dieses Namens, in *Pentheus* und in *Leiden*: »Am folgenden Tage trat man aber den Heimweg wieder an,« fährt die Novelle fort; so glimpflich kommt Jutta in *Engelberg* nicht davon:

Und als an der Äbtissin Hand
 ↘ Sie auf der Klosterschwelle stand,
 Wie war sie still, wie war sie bleich,
 Als trete sie ins Totenreich! (*Engelberg III*, 49 ff).

Auch Gertrude erbleichte in der Klosterluft (*Plautus*); Lucretia Planta erwog, den Schleier zu nehmen, aber erst nachdem sie in dieser Welt nichts mehr zu verlieren hatte; Hans der Armbruster entsprang dem Kloster (*Heilige*) wie auch – und mit größeren Konsequenzen – Luther (*Hutten XXXII*). Diana sagt von sich selber: »Ich bin nicht wert, daß mich die Sonne bescheine! Für solche ist die Zelle!« (12,90). Für andere aber nicht, und die Frage, die hier gestellt wird, ist daher folgerichtig:

»»Muß es denn überhaupt Mönche geben?« kicherte eine gedämpfte Stimme aus dem Halbdunkel, als wollte sie sagen: Jede Befreiung aus einem an sich unnatürlichen Stande ist eine Wohltat« (12,10). Gerade diese Novelle zeigt, daß der unnatürliche Stand eine Wohltat bedeuten kann – für den, der mit der problematischen Welt nichts anfangen kann, für den Diener der »Barmherzigkeit«, welcher in einer Welt der »Gerechtigkeit« nichts zu suchen hat. »Geh in dein Kloster zurück, Astorre, das du nie hättest verlassen sollen« (12,97), ruft ihm Germano – zu spät – zu.

Es wird ein »Sündenfall« beschrieben, der Verlust der Ewigkeitsperspektive und der verbindlichen Ordnung. Wie in *Jenatsch* sind auch in dieser Novelle »die Doppelrollen eines Samuel und Gideon« (10,52) ausgespielt, die Welt ist streng geteilt zwischen Barmherzigkeit und Gerechtigkeit, und das eine darf nicht in den Bereich des anderen eingreifen. Wallenstein sagte zu Gustav Adolf: – »stürzte die Majestät oder ich von dem einen Ende der Weltschaukel, schläge das andere unsanft zu Boden« (11,201) – und Ezzelin muß aus denselben Gründen des Gleichgewichts versuchen,

den Mönch im Kloster zu halten. Das Verlassen des Klosters bedeutet eine Unordnung im Himmlischen wie im Irdischen: »nicht nur dem Himmel habe der Ruchlose sein Gelübde gebrochen, sondern jetzt auch der Erde« (12,81). Das Vertrauen in die menschlichen Möglichkeiten ist hier noch gebrochener als im Jenatsch-Roman; der Pfarrer, der zum »Engel des Schreckens« wurde, befreite zumindest sein Land; Astorre dagegen stiftet nur Unheil.

Das Thema der Novelle wird denn auch von Dante überdeutlich formuliert: daß »ein Mönch nicht aus eigenem Triebe, nicht aus erwachter Weltlust oder Weltkraft, nicht weil er sein Wesen erkannt hätte, sondern einem andern zuliebe, unter dem Druck eines fremden Willens, wenn auch vielleicht aus heiligen Gründen der Pietät, untreu an sich wird, sich selbst mehr noch als der Kirche gegebene Gelübde bricht und eine Kutte abwirft, die ihm auf dem Leibe saß und ihn nicht drückte« (12,9). Kein Wunder, daß Cangrande den traurigen Ausgang der Geschichte sofort errät – und dennoch bedeutsam: denn diese Gewißheit von vornherein spricht dem Mönch jede Freiheit ab und entmündigt ihn völlig. Auf der einen Seite wird alles in den Menschen verlegt (»sich selbst mehr als der Kirche gegebene Gelübde«), auf der anderen wird dieser Mensch immer unfreier; es ist für Astorre »zu spät« (12,26), die Gesetze der Welt zu lernen. Die Geschichte nimmt ihren eigenen Lauf, ohne daß der Einzelne das Geringste zu bestimmen hätte.

Daher mußte Dante, wie es Meyer (12.XI.1884) an Paul Heyse schrieb, das Thema »herrisch« formulieren, und er erfüllt seine Funktion vollkommen; denn er klassifiziert, noch ehe die Geschichte angefangen hat, die Handlung des Mönchs als Sünde: – »nicht anders, wenn ich ihn verstehе, meint es auch der Apostel, wo er schreibt: daß Sünde sei, was nicht aus dem Glauben gehe, das heißt aus der Überzeugung und Wahrheit unserer Natur« (12,10). Von einer möglichen Befreiung ist hier nicht mehr die Rede, jede psychologische Entwicklung ist ausgeschlossen; es gibt nur blinde Kräfte, die miteinander streiten. Dante tritt denn auch gravitätisch in »diesen sinnlichen und mutwilligen Kreis« (12,7), er scheint aus »einer andern Welt« (12,7) zu kommen, und »eine himmlische Verklärung« (12,11) erleuchtet »seine strengen Züge«

(12,11). Wie in der Beschreibung des richtenden Schwedenkönigs geht Meyer hier mit den großen Worten etwas leichtfertig um, es wird ein Lehrstück inszeniert, Dante erzählt nur, was Meyer will, und seine geradezu übermenschlichen Eigenschaften müssen daher unterstrichen werden: »Dante hielt inne. Seine Fabel lag in ausgeschütteter Fülle vor ihm; aber sein strenger Geist wählte und vereinfachte« (12,56).

Ohne eigene Schuld wird Astorre ins Unglück gestürzt: als er Diana vom Tode rettet. Das Boot mit den Brautleuten treibt »mit eingezogenen Rudern« (12,13) auf der Brenta, der Wille scheint also nicht bei dieser Hochzeitsfahrt dabei zu sein, vielmehr erwarten die Insassen des Bootes gleichsam das Schicksal (und werden auch von »Flötenschall« (12,13) begleitet, als handelte es sich um *Das Ende des Festes*), das denn auch bald in der Gestalt Ezzelins auftaucht und eingreift. Der Bruder sinkt, der Mönch greift »in eine Fülle blonden Haares« (12,14), und dieses Haar tropft bald danach »auf ein gewechseltes Gewand« (12,15) – ein neues Leben hat angefangen, auch der Mönch wird später eine andere Kleidung, die seines verstorbenen Bruders, tragen (12,31).

Dieses Leben ist fremder, als es sich Astorre vorgestellt hatte; er wird vom sterbenden Vater (der damit droht, die Sterbesakramente nicht anzunehmen – und also, wie so viele andere Gestalten in der Dichtung Meyers, die Religion für seine höchst privaten Zwecke verwendet) gezwungen, Diana zu heiraten, wobei sich der alte Vicedomini, der die Frömmigkeit seines Sohnes kennt, päpstlicher Unterstützung vergewissert hat. Ezzelin versucht die Heirat zu verhindern: im Gespräch mit Astorre hebt er hervor, wie gut es diesem im Kloster gehe, und spricht dabei auch die Moral der Erzählung aus: »Du bist etwas und nichts Geringes; denn du übst das Amt der Barmherzigkeit, das ich gelten lasse, wiewohl ich ein anderes bekleide. Würdest du in diese Welt treten, die ihre eigenen Gesetze befolgt, die zu lernen es für dich zu spät ist, so würde dein klarer Stern zum lächerlichen Irrwisch und zerplatze zischend nach ein paar albernen Sprüngen unter dem Hohne der Himmlischen!« (12,25 f). – Wieder bricht die alte Wunde auf: Barmherzigkeit und Gerechtigkeit, Himmlisches und Irdisches lassen sich nicht vereinen – und daraus entspringen die Konflikte im Irdischen: zwischen Recht und Macht, Politik und Sittlichkeit. – Ezzelin befindet sich in einer Situation nicht unähnlich

der des Thomas Becket vor der Ernennung zum Primas: er sieht das Unheil kommen, wenn der Mönch sein Gelübde bricht, und er selbst kann nicht umhin, das Urteil zu vollstrecken. Als der Mönch sich selber untreu wird, öffnet er jeder Falschheit Tür und Tor – das Maskenfest, das diese Novelle beschließt, ist ein Ausdruck auch der inneren Unordnung – und er gibt auch Ezzelin recht: die Grausamkeit des Tyrannen, auf die mehrmals unterwegs angespielt wird, wird durch den Verrat Astorres gleichsam legitimiert; mit dem gebrochenen Gelübde hat sich die Anarchie freie Bahn verschafft.

Der Mönch begeht in dieser Welt des Betrugs auch gleich seinen ersten Irrtum: er wähnt, die Seligkeit seines Vaters zu retten und rettet doch nur dessen Besitz: er steigt gleichsam (unfreiwillig) herab von Leubelfing zu Laubfinger – und heiratet ohne Freude die blonde Diana. Der alte Vicedomini segnet das Paar, »der Mönch widersprach nicht, und Diana schloß die Augen« (12,28). Kein Jawort wird laut, dem Schicksal wird genau so viel Raum gelassen wie bei der ersten Verlobung. – Von Diana weiß man, daß sie »hohe und oft finstere Brauen« (12,17), »die hohen und oft finstern Brauen«) hat, und was man sonst noch zu wissen braucht, sagt sie selbst gleich nach der Verlobung in der Form einer Programmerklärung: sie sei gut und gehorsam, jedoch »jähzorning, wenn man mir Recht oder Ehre antastet, und darin peinlich, daß man mir nichts versprechen darf, ohne es zu halten« (12,29).

– »das zufällige Paar« (12,16) heißt es von den beiden – so zufällig, daß sie sich erst bei einer peinlichen Szene wiedersehen: als Olympia behauptet, Astorre habe um die Hand Antiope gesbeten. Diana, die ja hinreichend charakterisiert wurde, verschwindet bis dahin völlig – Astorre hingegen lernt die Welt kennen und erstaunt »über die Macht der Sterne, den weiten Ehrgeiz der Herrscher und den alles mitreißenden Strom der Welt« (12,40). Die Macht der Sterne aber wächst, je mehr sich der Mensch von Gott entfernt, ist also ein psychologisches Faktum. Die Stern-deuterei (nicht die Sterne) ist das Arge. – Die Spaltung der Welt wird in den beiden Jugendfreunden Germano und Ascanio symbolisiert; ersterer sagt als guter Deutscher: »Verletzte Treue, gebrochenes Wort, Fahnenflucht und so weiter, dem gibt man in Germanien grobe Namen« (12,37), während letzterer Astorre in der fröh-

lichen Welt begrüßt und ihn auffordert, ihre Reize genauer zu studieren und sich dabei vor allem den Frauen »in erlaubter oder läßlicher Weise« (12,36) zu widmen. Das Spiel Ascanios mit der Gärtnerstochter illustriert deutlich, was er unter Lebensfreude versteht: »Er legte die Linke um die schlanke Seite des Mädchens und holte sich mit der Rechten aus dem Korb eine Traube. Zugleich suchte sein Mund die schwelenden Lippen. »Mich durstet« sagte er. Das Mädchen tat schämig, hielt aber stille, weil es seine Früchte nicht verschütten wollte. Unmutig wendete sich der Mönch von den zwei Leichtsinnigen ab und das erschreckende Dirnchen entrann, da es die harte mönchische Gebärde erblickte, den Pfad ihrer Flucht mit rollenden Früchten bestreuend. Ascanio, der seine Traube in der Hand hielt, hob hinter den flüchtigen Stapfen noch zwei andere auf, deren eine er Germano bot, welcher aber die ungekelterte verächtlich ins Gras warf. Die andere reichte der Mutwillige dem Mönche, der sie eine Weile ebenfalls unberührt ließ, dann aber gedankenlos eine saftige Beere und bald noch eine zweite und die dritte kostete« (12,38 f).

Damit begeht Astorre, der von seinem Freund als Adam beschrieben wurde (12,35 f: »Du liegst unter deiner Riesenzeder gleich dem ersten Menschen«), seine Sünde: das gedankenlose Traubenessen ist der Anfang vom Ende jeglicher Selbstkontrolle. »Schwindelnd tat er einen Schritt rückwärts, als stünde er auf einer Turmhöhe und sähe das Geländer plötzlich weichen« (12,23) als er das Breve des Papstes las, das ihn vom Klostergelübde los sagte. Damals öffnete sich die Anarchie vor seinen Augen, jetzt ergreift sie langsam von ihm Besitz. Ezzelin bleibt im Bilde, als er später den Mönch mit »einem sittsamen Mädchen, das zum erstenmal einen starken Wein geschlürft hat und sich danach gebärdet« (12,86 f) vergleicht – ernster klingen allerdings andere seiner Worte: »warum tratest du nicht zwischen den Unmündigen und das Kind? warum zerrtest du nicht einen Taumelnden aus den Armen einer Berauschten?« (12,82) fragt er Ascanio.

Das Unglück des Mönchs wird offenbar in der Liebe zu Antiope; als er ein für allemal den Bereich des Himmlischen, das heißt der inneren Übereinstimmung, verlassen hat, schwankt er im Irdischen nicht weniger haltlos als seinerzeit Jürg Jenatsch. Er ist dem Schicksal preisgegeben, das ihn in Gestalt von Ezzelins Reitern daran hindert, das Mißverständnis beim Rollen des Ehe-

ringes aufzuklären (12,54). Seine Liebe reicht noch in die Zeit der Barmherzigkeit zurück (und obwohl er sie damals »vergessen« hatte, gestand er dem Fürsten, daß das Gelübde der Keuschheit am härtesten war – 12,25), denn Astorre erinnert sich der Gegenwart Antiopes bei der Hinrichtung ihres Vaters, und »das Antlitz des Mönchs verklärte sich vor Mitleid und Erbarmen« (12,47). Ähnlich sagt auch Dante: »Und entzündet sich nicht heute noch und bis ans Ende der Tage aus tiefstem Erbarmen höchste Liebe? Wer widersteht dem Anblick des Schönen, wenn es ungerecht leidet? Ich lästere nicht und kenne die Unterschiede, aber auch das Göttliche wurde geschlagen, und wir küssem seine Striemen und Wunden« (12,71). Die Liebe Astorres entspringt also seinem Mitleid mit dem leidenden – Schönen, einer Mischung von Barmherzigkeit und Ästhetik, und es ist kein Wunder, daß diese Liebe nicht im Himmel bleibt. Sie hat aber keinen Platz in einer Welt, die von der schicksalhaften Gerechtigkeit eines Ezzelin beherrscht wird (12,85 f bekennt dieser seine »Schuld« an der ganzen Geschichte): »»O Mönch, Mönch,« rief Ascanio, »der die Barmherzigkeit in eine Welt trägt, wo kaum die Güte ungestraft bleibt!«« (12,50). Auch ist die Liebe selbst bereits von der bösen Welt angeschlagen. Aus der Barmherzigkeit wird nach und nach eine höchst irdische Liebe, die dann in dem »Duett« mit dem Narren Gocciola hervorbricht.

Dieser Narr gehört zu den Parallelfiguren, die dem großen Helden zur Entlastung dienen und seinen Konflikt von allem »Niedrigen« befreien, während sie hinter seinem Rücken die wahren Zusammenhänge aussprechen – kaum überraschend, daß Dante die Narren nicht mag. Die erste und letzte dieser Figuren ist der Mönch Serapion, der Astorre neidisch nachblickt, als er vom Tod des Bruders erfährt (12,19) und der später, »von dem Beispiele Astorres aufgestachelt, nächtlicherweise aus der Zelle entsprungen war und sich seit einer Woche im Schlamm der Gasse wälzte« (12,94). Zwischen Anfang und Ende übernimmt Gocciola die Rolle: er verhöhnt Astorre, als er beteuert, unbedingt Mönch werden zu wollen (12,31) – wie Lorenz Fausch beim Maskenball in Chur seinen ehemaligen Kollegen verspottete – und als er für die großen Probleme gar kein Verständnis zeigt, sondern nur »von seinen eigenen Angelegenheiten, welche ihm als das weit Wichtige erschienen« (12,34), redet. Und schließlich ist Gocciola

Zeuge des Gesprächs, das Astorre mit sich selbst führt. Gocciola hat Wein getrunken, der Mönch erscheint aber, ohne getrunken zu haben, »ebenso frohlockend und ebenso berauscht« (12,63) wie Gocciola und erlaubt diesem, gleichsam als alter ego am Gespräch teilzunehmen. Doch wird hier noch festgehalten, daß der Rausch des Mönchs sehr viel »erhabener« ist als die banale Trunkenheit Gocciolas.

Astorres barmherzige Liebe nimmt nun aber höchst erotische Züge an: »Keine Silbe hatte sie [Antiope] mit Astorre gewechselt vom ersten Schritt des Weges an, den sie zusammen gingen. Die Hände hielten sich nicht fester beim letzten: sie verwuchsen, ohne sich zu drücken. Sie durchdrangen sich, wie zwei leichte geistige Flammen und waren doch beim Scheiden wie die Wurzel aus der Erde kaum auseinanderzulösen« (12,71 f). Doch gut ist das nun keineswegs, denn »Antiope vergriff sich an fremdem Eigentum und beging Raub an Dianen fast in Unschuld, denn sie hatte weder Gewissen mehr noch auch nur Selbstbewußtsein« (12,72).

Beide sind damit aus dem Stand der Unschuld in den der Schuld getreten: der Mönch hat die Barmherzigkeit zur Liebe gemacht, Antiope hat dieselbe Liebe jetzt entdeckt, verliert aber, wie es später heißt, »mit einer schuldlosen Seele auch die natürliche Beherztheit« (12,78). Über die Liebe wird ein verdammendes Urteil gefällt: die beiden können sich nur bewußtlos lieben, der Mönch frohlockend und berauscht, Antiope ohne Gewissen und Selbstbewußtsein. Die Liebe ist das Anarchische, sie bedeutet allemal einen »Mord der Unschuld«, und um diesen Mord geht es auch hier. – Während Antiope ihre Natur eingebüßt hat, behält Diana ihre Identität; sie wird beim Maskenfest auftreten »als die, welche ich mich nenne und welche ich bin: die Unberührte, die Jungfräuliche!« (12,90). Diana bleibt, die sie ist, wird zugleich mythologisiert, und sie verlangt, daß Antiope sie »reuig und demütig« (12,90) um Vergebung bitte und ihr den Ring Astorres vom Finger ziehe. Nicht nur bei Diana soll das Mädchen Abbitte tun, sondern bei der Keuschheit in Person, die es nicht erträgt, daß Antiope zur Frau geworden ist. Die Mythologie weiß um die Zusammenhänge: nicht umsonst läßt »ein hagerer Mensch« »seine mythologischen Kenntnisse glänzen. »Nicht Diana bist du!« näselt er verbuhlt, »du bist eine andere! Ich erkenne dich. Hier sitzt dein Täubchen!« und er zeigte auf den silbernen Halbmond über der

Stirne der Göttin« (12,93). Diana verschmolz in der Mythologie mit der Mond- und Todesgöttin Selene, aber auch unter ihrem eigenen Namen hatte sie oft mit dem plötzlichen Tod junger Mädchen zu tun.

Auch hier ist es die verlorene Idylle, die sich in der entscheidenden Situation: der der Verlobung (mit dem Leben) rächt; die Keusche und Jungfräuliche ermordet die Mädchen, wenn diese älter und weniger keusch werden. Daß Antiope Diana um Vergebung bitten soll, kommtt einem Selbstmord gleich: am Abend ihrer Hochzeit soll sie ihre neue Existenz verleugnen, die Regression akzeptieren – und der Mord wird folgerichtig von Diana begangen. »Jetzt schlummert der Mönch neben seiner Gattin Antiope« (12,98) ruft es von der Straße, ein konzentrierter Ausdruck der ganzen Liebes- und Todessymbolik der Novelle.

Das Maskenfest wird zum Symbol der totalen Anarchie, im Psychologischen wie im Sozialen: »Von Stunde zu Stunde wuchs der Frevelmut des Volkes« (12,93), schreibt Meyer, der für das Volk nichts übrig hatte. »In der gedrängten Menge gor eine wilde, zornige Lust, ein bacchantischer Taumel« (12,92); die Anarchie findet ihren Ausdruck. Alle erscheinen unter Larven, nur Diana und Ezzelin nicht, weil sie beide Unveränderliches repräsentieren. Doch Ezzelin, der dem Schicksal und den Sternen so vieles glaubt (»Ist Astorre dem Schwert Germanos bestimmt, so kann ich diesen es senken heißen, jener rennt doch hinein«, sagt er (12,83)), verhindert höchstpersönlich das Schicksal, seinen Ritt nach Padua zu verlangsamen (12,92). Am Ende ist er nämlich nicht so sehr Schicksal als vielmehr Richter: was als Schicksal empfunden wird, soll nicht etwa entlarvt werden, sondern als höhere Gerechtigkeit erscheinen.

Und auch Ezzelin verdammt die Liebe Astorres und Antiopes. »Darf Astorre leben?« fragt der Tyrann, »kann er es, da er nach verschleuderter Sandale auch den angezogenen ritterlichen Schuh zur Schlarpe tritt und den Cantus Firmus des Mönches in einen gellenden Gassenhauer vertönt?« (12,82 f). Gemäß dem Satz, daß nicht sein kann, was nicht sein darf, geht die Rede Ezzelins bruchlos von der Erwägung der moralischen Schuld in die Absprechung der Existenzmöglichkeit über. – Von Antiope ist dann in ähnlichen Wendungen die Rede: »Bald errötete das liebende Weib. Bald entfärbte sich eine Schuldige, die unter dem Lächeln und

der Gnade Ezzelins sein wahres und ein sie verdammendes Urteil entdeckte« (12,89); er hätte wie Gustav Adolf sagen können: »Deine Liebe ist ein Todesünde.«

Und der Autor hätte ihm vielleicht zugestimmt. Denn diese Novelle ist ja nicht so sehr eine Geschichte von der Unmöglichkeit der Liebe in der Welt, als vielmehr von der Sünde, irdisch zu lieben. Das Element des Mönchs ist das Kloster, und nichts mindert seine Untreue, die so fürchterlich verurteilt wird. Es besteht keine Verbindung zwischen der Abgeschiedenheit des Individuums und dem Leben in der Gesellschaft, die Liebe ist anarchische Leidenschaft – oder sie ist reine Caritas. Wer einmal das Paradies, das Kloster, verläßt, verliert alle Bindungen und alles Bewußtsein. Die barmherzige Liebe wird von Erotik durchtränkt; diese aber führt direkt in den Tod. Später wird die Richterin Stemma dem Höfling Wulfrin raten, »nicht länger die himmlische Flamme der Geschwisterliebe [zu] verwechseln mit dem schöpferischen Feuer der Erde« (12,219). Von eben diesem schöpferischen Feuer ist auch hier (12,66) die Rede; erst der göttlichen Angela Borgia gelingt es, das Erdenfeuer zu überwinden.

Die immer stärkere Psychologisierung des Konflikts verursacht ein Verschwinden des Geschichtlichen. Nicht, daß persönliche und geschichtliche Konflikte nichts miteinander zu tun hätten – in *Hutten* und *Jenatsch* hatte Meyer ja gerade diesen Zusammenhang aufgezeigt –, aber in dem Moment, wo es Meyer hauptsächlich um eine moralische Be- oder Verurteilung der Vorgänge geht, tritt das Interesse an den Modifikationen dieses Grundkonflikts durch andere Umstände in den Hintergrund. Die Konflikte werden zu zeit- und umgebungslosen »Gewissensfragen« stilisiert, und wo der Dichter schon Partei ergreift, braucht er keinen Waser oder Sprecher, um dieses Urteil in Frage zu stellen. In *Jenatsch* zeigte Meyer, wie sehr die sogenannten äußeren Umstände auch innere Realitäten sind, im Laufe der Zeit wird das jedoch immer undeutlicher. Der geschichtliche Hintergrund gibt die Folie ab – Dante ist »eine typische Figur und bedeutet ganz einfach: *Mittelalter*« (Meyer an Heyse 12.XI.1884) –, spielt aber nicht mehr wirklich mit. Geschichte wird zum Schicksal stilisiert.

Dieses Schicksal versucht Meyer dann, mit der Gerechtigkeit zu identifizieren; er möchte, da er an eine Änderung der gegebenen

nen Verhältnisse nicht glauben kann, zumindest diese als sinnvoll interpretieren. Auf diese Weise werden die Novellen regressiv: sie bestätigen nicht nur die Existenz der »Verhältnisse«, sondern auch deren Anspruch auf Rechtmäßigkeit. Jenatsch zog aus, die Welt zu verändern, Pescara wird die »Allgewalt des Schicksals« (13,219) akzeptieren.

Die Richterin (1885)

Liebe sei selten und nehme meistens ein schlimmes Ende, meinte Dante. Die Liebesgeschichte zwischen Wulfrin und Palma endet ausnahmsweise gut – wenn auch erst nach vielen Verwirrungen. Aber die beiden verdanken ihre Erlösung dem Umstand, daß die Weltordnung als Ganzes nie in Frage gestellt wird. Es kommt zu keinem grundsätzlichen Konflikt zwischen gleichberechtigten Prinzipien oder Gefühlen, sondern es geht um ein ganz konkretes Verbrechen, dessen Aufklärung alles wieder ins Lot bringt. Die Richterin Stemma sündigt und stiftet Verwirrung und Unheil in der Welt, die sie regiert; aber diese Welt ist nicht die ganze: die Macht des großen Kaisers wird von Stemmas Verbrechen nicht angetastet. Den Gatten konnte sie ermorden, der höheren Gerechtigkeit des Kaisers muß sie sich unterwerfen. Der Höfling Wulfrin stürzt ins Unglück, als er die Sphäre des Kaisers verläßt und sich nach Malmort begibt, und er überwindet dieses Unheil wieder, als er sich entschließt, die Burg zu verlassen und den Kaiser aufzusuchen.

Hinter dem Geschehen steht jetzt nicht die Astrologie eines Ezzelin (und die daraus entspringende Grausamkeit), sondern die göttliche Gerechtigkeit des Kaisers Karl. Der Kaiser paktiert aber gleichsam mit dem Schicksal, der sogenannten »immanente[n] Gerechtigkeit« (Meyer an J. Landis 21.XI.1885): Karl trägt den gleichen blauen Mantel wie die Schicksalsgöttin, die Stemma in einer nächtlichen Vision erblickt.

»Frau Stemma liebt das Richterschwert und befaßt sich gerne mit seltenen und verwickelten Fällen. Sie hat einen großen und stets beschäftigten Scharfsinn. Aus wenigen Punkten errät sie den Umriß einer Tat, und ihre feinen Finger enthüllen das Verborgene« (12,170). So wie sie hier – von Graciosus – geschildert wird, möchte sie auch gesehen werden, vor allem weil die Gefahr

besteht, daß eine andere Wahrheit entdeckt werden könnte. Zu dem Schatten ihres einstigen Liebhabers Peregrin, der so wenig wie ihr einstiger Ehemann Comes Wulf sterben – d.h. aus dem Gedächtnis der judicatrix verschwinden – kann, solange das Verbrechen nicht aufgeklärt und gesühnt worden ist, sagt Stemma: »Bin ich nicht die Zucht und die Tugend? Und so war ich immer.« (12,190).

Sie verlangt dennoch, daß Wulfrin nach Malmort kommen soll, um sie feierlich von dem Verdacht, den Comes ermordet zu haben, loszusprechen. Und Wulfrin errät unbewußt die tieferen Zusammenhänge, als er dem von Stemma ausgesandten Boten Graciosus antwortet: »Hat das Weib den Narren gefressen an Spruch und Urteil? Hat es eine kranke Lust an Schwur und Zeugnis? Kann es sich nicht ersättigen an Recht und Gericht?« (12,170), – Als er ihr dann auf Malmort gegenübersteht, läßt er sich vom Schein täuschen: »Wärest du eine Böse, woher nähmest du das Recht und die Stirn, das Böse aufzudecken und zu richten? Dawider empört sich die Natur!« (12,194). Das tut sie aber auch: »»Aber was ist das für ein dumpfes Dröhnen, das den Boden schüttert?« – »Das ist der Strom,« sagte die Richterin, »der den Felsen benagt und unter der Burg zu Tale stürzt.«« (12,194). Die immanente Gerechtigkeit hat ihr Werk schon begonnen, und die sündige Richterin wird am Ende den Kampf gegen »das gegen sie selbst heranschreitende Verhängnis« (12,224) verlieren. Sie hat eine Vision von einer Parze »in langen blauen Gewanden«, »ein[em] gewaltige[n] Weib von furchtbarer Schönheit« (12,224), welches das Schuldbuch des Lebens führt und jetzt auch die Richterin zwingen wird, ihre Sünde zu bekennen, damit diese nicht endlos fortgesetzt werde. Der Kaiser spricht am Schluß der Novelle als Statthalter Gottes das Urteil – das eben auch lautet: »Gottesurteil!« (12,234).

Welche Stellung dem Kaiser im Bewußtsein gebührt, erklärt der Hirtenknabe, der »Engel Gabriel« (12,202): »Der Kaiser hat immer Recht, denn er ist eins mit Gott Vater, Sohn und Geist. Er hat die Weltregierung übernommen und hütet, ein blitzendes Schwert in der Faust, den christlichen Frieden und das tausendjährige Reich« (12,203) – vereinigt in sich also die göttlichen und menschlichen, die sittlichen und politischen Eigenschaften. In der Gestalt des Kaisers wird die »echte« Gerechtigkeit postuliert. Erst

als Wulfrin seine Sünde auf sich nimmt und vor den Kaiser treten will, wird er erlöst – und die Richterin versucht vergebens, ihn von einem solchen Bußgang, der ihre »Gerechtigkeit« zunichte machen wird, abzuhalten. »Die Tat aber, und nur die Tat ist richtbar« (12,221) sagt sie, doch Wulfrin hält es mit der Bergpredigt und will seine sündigen Gedanken verurteilt wissen.

Auch die Richterin wußte immer um die Macht des Kaisers, hoffte aber, sie zu rein politischen Zwecken ausnutzen zu können. Mit ihrem Brief an den Kaiser richtet sie jedoch, ohne es zu wollen, sich selber: »Wenn Du kommst und Ordnung schaffst, so tust Du, was Deines Amtes ist« (12,172).

Stemma muß, um ihre Sünde zu verbergen, an der »äußereren« Gerechtigkeit festhalten und schickt die Dienerin Faustine, die von der inneren Gerechtigkeit, dem Gewissen, getrieben ihr Verbrechen bekennt, zum Bischof Felix von Chur. Sie kann Faustine nicht richten, weil sie sich dann selber verurteilen müßte, und verweist auf die Verjährung der Schuld – und auf Gott: »Du bist eine große Sünderin« (12,186) sagt sie zu Faustine, hat aber für ihren eigenen Grabstein die gleichen Worte gewählt. Stemma behauptet eine Teilung der Welt zwischen »Barmherzigkeit« und »Gerechtigkeit«: als die Lombarden Chur plündern, ist der Bischof machtlos (12,207 f), denn für derart irdische Angelegenheiten ist Stemma zuständig. Als es um das Gewissen geht, schickt sie die reuige Sünderin zum Bischof. – In der Gestalt des Kaisers aber ist beides vorhanden: daher muß Stemma kapitulieren.

Die Anwesenheit des gleichsam göttlichen Kaisers krönt allerdings nur das Werk der immanenten Gerechtigkeit. Faustine ist Stemmas eigenes, verdrängtes Spiegelbild (vgl. die Namen der beiden Männer: Lupulus – Wulf), das jetzt sein Recht fordert, nicht anders als auch Peregrin es tut. Als Stemma ihre Fläschchen verwechselt und das Gegengift verliert, hat das mit dem Kaiser nichts zu tun, wohl aber mit ihrer eigenen Vergangenheit, mit dem »trägen Schilf« und der »unbewegten Flut« (12,188). Und als Stemma schließlich mit lauter Stimme vor dem Grab des Comes Geständnis ablegt, hat das Horn sie dazu gezwungen. Dieses Horn ist eine höchst irdische Macht, die des Mannes, wird aber auch als göttliche Gerechtigkeit verklart, wiederum im Zusammenhang mit dem Kaiser. – »vor dem Burgtor bei der Rückkehr geblasen, zwingt es die Wölfin zu bekennen, was immer sie in Abwesen-

heit des Gatten gesündigt hat« (12,166), erklärt Wulfrin; als der Kaiser ins Horn stößt, ist es, »als nahe ein plötzliches Gericht. Karl aber stand wie ein Cherub« (12,174). Magie und Glaube gehen eine enge Verbindung ein, Schicksal und Religion sollen als *eine Macht* erscheinen.

Stemma hat es nötig, das Horn in die Tiefe zu verbannen; sie will von Wulfrin freigesprochen, nicht zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden, und wirft das Horn in die Wolfsschlucht: »Ich kann seinen Ton nicht leiden« (12,198). Wulfrin eilt nach seinem väterlichen Erbe, kommt jedoch zu spät und verliert mit dem Horn jede Verbindung zu einer anderen Welt als der sündigen der judicatrix. Seine Leidenschaft nimmt auch gleich bedenkliche Züge an, und er handelt nicht mehr bewußt: »Laß mich!« (12,199) schreit er und stößt die Schwester von sich.

Die Verhütungsmaßnahmen Stemmas sind zwecklos: Sie nimmt bei Wulfrins Ankunft Palma den Becher aus der Hand, weil auf ihm der Vers »Willkommen im Kämmerlein« (12,193) geschrieben steht. Mit diesem Raub hat sie ihren Anspruch auf den Höfling bestätigen wollen, läßt aber der Anarchie freie Bahn. Angedeutet wurde die Liebe Wulfrins zu Palma allerdings schon früh, seinen barschen Worten zum Trotz. »Das Mädchen gefällt mir,« erklärte er (12,171) gleich, als Graciosus ihm die Geschichte von dem Geier, der ein Lamm entführte, erzählte. Und von der Palme, die am Eingang der römischen Schenke »Ad palmam novellam« steht, sagt er: »Auch liebe ich dieses junge Geschöpf« (12,165). Beide Stellen unterstreichen, daß die Liebe sozusagen vor der Sünde entsteht und von dieser nur vorübergehend pervertiert wird.

Palmas Liebe ist die ganze Zeit von Sünde frei. Das Mädchen ist ganz unschuldig, und ihre Gefühle fallen auch keiner Vergänglichkeit anheim. Sie wäscht den Becher ab und spült »den Hauch des Todes« (12,175) aus ihm, was sich nicht allein auf den Tod des Comes Wulf bezieht, sondern auch auf die Verschwisterung jeder Leidenschaft mit dem Tode. – Sie will dem geliebten Bruder »ihren« See zeigen (12,202) und läßt damit eine ganz ungetrübte Verbindung zu dem sonst so gefährlichen Wasser erkennen; und sie blickt in den Wasserfall, der den Felsen benagt, hinein, hört aber »nur wieder den Jubel und die Ungeduld des eigenen Herzens« (12,198).

Das ist allerdings noch alles am Anfang der Geschichte, bevor das Horn weggeworfen wird. Der Engel Gabriel weiß um dessen Bedeutung und nennt es »nicht gut« (12,204), daß es verloren gegangen ist. Er selbst vermag noch als Begleiter auf dem Gang über den Berg zu Pratum eine ungetrübte Idylle zu gewährleisten. Noch lebt die Unschuld: »Sie [Palma] deutete auf ein majestäisches Schneegebirge, das ihnen gegenüber sich entwölkte. Seine verklärten Linien hoben sich auf dem lautern Himmel rein und zierlich, doch ohne Schärfe, als wollten sie ihn nicht ritzen und verwunden, und waren beides, Ernst und Reiz, Kraft und Lieblichkeit, als hätten sie sich gebildet, ehe die Schöpfung in Mann und Weib, in Jugend und Alter auseinanderging« (12,205). Das ist eine Beschreibung des Paradieses, und das wird auch gesagt: denn die Wolkengestalten sind »Selige« (12,205), »Freunde oder Liebende« (12,205), als gäbe es keinen Unterschied zwischen den beiden Begriffen. Es gibt ihn in dieser Idylle nicht, – aber der Rest der Novelle erzählt gerade von dem Verlust der Unschuld, von dem Unterschied zwischen Freunden und Liebenden.

Denn Gabriel ist jetzt verschwunden, der Mittag ist »schwül« (12,205) geworden, und Palma »umfing den Bruder in Liebe und Unschuld« (12,205) am Ufer des kleinen Sees. Wulfrin erblickt im verräterischen Wasser das Spiegelbild der beiden und erschrickt. Das Erlebnis wird – buchstäblich – reflektiert, und das Bewußtsein der Sündhaftigkeit dieser Liebe wird später noch deutlicher werden: als Wulfrin seine eigene Geschichte nicht nur in der Natur, sondern auch in dem Buch erblickt (12,213). – »Er fühlte sich mit einem Male von einem dunkeln Schrecken getrieben, die Schwester zu vermählen« (12,210). »Dem Höfling aber wurde es offenbar, jetzt da er die Schwester weggab, daß sie ihm das Liebste auf der Erde sei« (12,211): so zwiespältig sind seine Gefühle.

Die Föhnluft wird denn auch »zum Ersticken heiß« (12,212), als Wulfrin und Palma mit Graciosus zusammen auf Pratum sitzen – wo eine Mauer die friedliche Landschaft aussperrt und nur »unheimliche schwefelgelbe Wolken« (12,211) am Himmel sichtbar sind. Es wird Wein getrunken, und die Eruption läßt auch nicht lange auf sich warten: »Ein blendender Blitz fuhr über Pratum weg und dem Höfling wie Feuer durch die Adern« (12,213) Graciosus zeigt ihm die Byblis-Geschichte, und Wulfrin sorgt so-

fort für eine Bücherverbrennung: »»Ins Feuer mit ihm!« schrie der Höfling, und weil kein Herd da war als der lodernde des offenen Himmels, riß er das Blatt in Fetzen und warf sie hoch in den wirbelnden Sturm« (12,214). Der intellektuelle Graciosus wird besiegt, und Palma macht mit Wulfrin gemeinsame Sache: »Nun nehme ich auch den Gnadenreich nicht, dir zuleide!« (12,214). Auch im Ärger kennt sie nur die Beziehung zu Wulfrin.

Als Wulfrin sich seiner Schuld bewußt geworden ist, sieht die Natur völlig anders aus. Alcuin wußte darum, als er das Hochgebirge beschrieb: »Tiefer unten, bei den ersten Stapfen, verliert die harmlose Fabel ihre Kraft und menschliche Schuld findet ihre Höhlen und Schlupfwinkel« (12,173). Die Harmonie ging verloren, und Wulfrin betritt, als er durch die Schlucht nach Malmort geht, »eine Hölle. Über der rasenden Flut drehten und krümmten sich ungeheure Gestalten, die der flammende Himmel auseinanderriß und die sich in der Finsternis wieder umarmten. Da war nichts mehr von den lichten Gesetzen und den schönen Maßen der Erde. Das war eine Welt der Willkür, des Trotzes, der Auflehnung« (12,215). Wulfrin fühlt sich mit dieser Welt in Übereinstimmung und schleudert seine Schwester gegen einen Felsen, als sie ihm begegnet (12,216). – Auch hier wird die Liebe, die nicht zum Ausbruch kommen darf, pervertiert und schlägt in Gewalt um. Der Haß auf das klare Bewußtsein (auf das Buch) erinnert an den »traumartigen« Entschluß Lucretia Plantas, ihren Geliebten zu töten.

Gabriel, der durch die Schlucht reitet, hört die Rufe Wulfrins nicht. Das bedeutet den Abbruch der Beziehungen zum Göttlichen, aber auch den Anfang vom Ende der Verwirrungen des Höflings Wulfrin: Gott will die lästernden Worte nicht hören, sein Heilsplan sieht anders aus.

Am folgenden Tag gibt Gabriel Wulfrin das Horn zurück. Das kann allerdings erst geschehen, nachdem Wulfrin seine sündigen Wünsche klar erkannt hat, als er sich selber akzeptiert und sein Urteil aufsuchen will. »Ein tückischer Becher ungewohnten Weines oder das freche Bild einer ausschweifenden Fabel oder der heiße Hauch des Föhnes, oder was es sonst gewesen sein möchte, hatte ihn betört und verstört« (12,217 f) – so denkt er noch vor seinem Gespräch mit Stemma. Diese führt ihn auf seine Schuld

zurück, und es ergreift ihn »ein unendliches Mitleid und die inbrünstigste Liebe zu dem jungen Leben, das er mißhandelt und vernichtet hatte« (12,218). Was in der Schlucht noch unkontrollierte Leidenschaft war, wandelt sich jetzt – allerdings erst nach dem Unglück – zur reuigen und mitleidenden Liebe, und Wulfrin entschließt sich, sein Urteil vom Kaiser zu empfangen: »»Ich will dastehen,« sagte er, »als der, welcher ich bin.«« (12,221).

Nach dieser seelischen Reinigung kann Wulfrin den Strom nochmals aufsuchen, »der hier ohne Gewalt und Sturz die Klippen breit überflutete« (12,222). Er wird »sich selbst zum Traume« (12,222) – und gewinnt sich selbst wieder. Denn Gabriel, »der sein Hirtenhemde wieder umgeworfen hatte« (12,222), erscheint mit dem verlorenen Horn. Der feste Vorsatz Wulfrins, seine Sünde auf sich zu nehmen, verurteilt das Verhalten der Richterin und zwingt sie zu bekennen (der Hornstoß beweist seine Kraft). Wulfrin erreicht mit seinem Entschluß eine höhere Gerechtigkeit und macht die der judicatrix zunichte: Stemma sieht das Schicksal nahen und wird von ihrer Schuld eingeholt; das träge Schilf rächt sich im Horn. Als sie erkennt, daß sie ein Ausharren in der Sünde mit dem Tod Palmas bezahlen muß, gibt sie endgültig auf und wählt – wie Wulfrin –, dem Kaiser alles zu erzählen.

Als ein Zeichen der baldigen kaiserlichen Ankunft kehrt die Harmonie der Natur wieder: Wulfrin liegt am breit flutenden Strom, und Stemma geht mit Palma auf eine Wiese, »die einen weiten leicht geneigten Vorsprung der Burghöhe bekleidete und über die Grenzlinie der unsichtbaren Tiefe hinweg in eine lichte Ferne verlief« (12,227). Die Schlucht ist überwunden, zumindest unsichtbar gemacht, die Welt der Auflehnung ist vernichtet worden – und mit ihr auch die Richterin: denn »aus Trotz und Auflehnung mehr noch als aus Liebe« (12,191) hatte sie sich Peregrin »heimlich vermählt«. Nun aber badet sie »ein Schauer der Reinheit [...] vom Haupt zur Sohle« (12,231) (!).

Schließlich kommt der Kaiser nach Malmort und tut, was seines Amtes ist. Er stellt fest, daß »Freiheit in Frevel und Kraft in Willkür« (12,231) entartet ist und verkündet den Entschluß, wieder Ordnung zu schaffen in Rhätien. Die Macht des Kaisers ist eben unbegrenzt: er wird die Lombarden vertreiben, und er wird auch in den Seelen Ordnung stiftten. – Die immanente Ge-

rechtheit zeigt sich in dem Tod Faustines, der den jetzt fälligen Tod der großen Sünderin Stemma andeutet. Das Geheimnis wird dann aufgeklärt: Wulfrin und Palma sind gar nicht Geschwister und dürfen sich lieben. Als Stemma ihr »lebendiges« Gift verschluckt (12,234), wird eine alte und bessere Ordnung wiederhergestellt. »Concepit in iniquitatibus me mater mea« – so hieß es in Rom (12,163), und so wiederholt es Palma jetzt am Schluß der Novelle (12,233).

Die Sünderinnen sind tot – und auch die Zaghafthen werden beiseite geschoben: Graciosus, der außer der Ehe geboren wurde und daher eine sehr hohe Meinung von ihr hatte (12,209), wagt sich nicht mehr an das außereheliche Kind Palma heran; »das geht über Menschenkraft« (12,234). Palma gehört dem Krieger Wulfrin, doch wird ihr der Kaiser – der selbst in nicht allzu heiliger Ehe lebt (12,209) – bis auf weiteres »an Vaters Statt« (12,234) sein. Schon der leibliche Vater Palmas hieß Peregrin, und jetzt tritt gleichsam der liebe Gott selber an seine Stelle. Es bestätigt sich, was schon Bischof Felix einmal sagte: »Das sind Wallungen und augenblickliche Verfinsterungen der Vernunft, aber die Natur ist gut und wird durch die Gnade noch besser« (12,207).

Diese Gnade ist jedoch eine recht zwiespältige Angelegenheit. Das Gottesurteil, das ja wirklich eine Kapitulation der Vernunft darstellt, wird als göttliches Urteil und immanente Gerechtigkeit zugleich proklamiert; diese letztere könnte man auch Schicksal oder gar Rache nennen. Wulfrin hat zwar eine Entwicklung durchgemacht – er bekannte sich zu seiner Liebe, als er noch glaubte, daß sie sündhaft sei –, aber die glückliche Lösung wird dennoch so lautstark und pathetisch verkündet, daß die inneren Zweifel nur um so deutlicher werden: Wulfrin antwortet auf des Kaisers besorgte Frage, ob er die Dämonen wohl überwinden könne: »Ich ersticke sie in meinen Armen! Hilf, Kaiser, daß ich sie überwältige!« (12,234). Daß die wiederhergestellte Ordnung keineswegs vollkommen ist, dokumentiert eindrucksvoll die Gestalt des Graciosus. Dieser geistige Nachkomme Pfannenstiels oder Heinrich Wasers muß draußen bleiben – und in ihm steckt wahrscheinlich mehr »C. F. M.« als im Kraftmenschen Wulfrin.

Das glückliche Ende setzt voraus, daß es eine eindeutige Ordnung gibt: daß Wulfrin und Palma nicht Geschwister sind, besagt

nicht, daß hier grundsätzliche Konflikte überwunden werden, sondern postuliert vielmehr, daß Auflehnung sinnlos sei, da doch alles schon gut sei. In dieser Novelle zieht sich Gott nicht zurück, um den Menschenkindern die Erde zu überlassen; es ist keine Zeit des Zerfalls, sondern eine in sich ruhende Epoche: es gibt plündernde Lombarden, aber der Kaiser wird sie überwinden. Es ist, mit einem Worte, die Welt der *Engelberg*-Dichtung.

– »zwei junge Leute, in Liebe und Haß sich begegnend,« gab es bereits in einem früheren Entwurf (Meyer an Rodenberg, 30.XI. 1881), der jedoch zu den Plänen eines *Petrus Vinea*-Romans gehörte. Diese Dichtung sollte gerade die fundamentale Problematik wieder aufgreifen, die Fragwürdigkeit der Welt deutlich machen und den (wirklichen oder eingebildeten) *Verrat* in den Vordergrund rücken. Wulfrins Geschichte enthielt so viele private Momente (vgl. den Kommentar der Benteli-Ausgabe 12,340, auch Freud, S. 272 ff), daß sie sich wahrscheinlich nur dann zu einem glücklichen Ende führen ließ, wenn die Welt als im Grunde intakt dargestellt wurde. Vermutlich wurde *Die Richterin* u.a. auch aus diesen Gründen in eine frühere und »mehr mit dem Naturleben verwachsene« Zeit verlegt. Meyers eigene Gegenwart wurde dabei verschwiegen, und alles fand seine eindeutige Erklärung. »Lesen Sie, lieber Freund, sorgfältig und streichen oder mildern Sie alles Crude oder Sinnliche, das nicht unbedingt für eine große Wirkung nothwendig ist,« schrieb Meyer an Rodenberg, als er ihm am 10.VII. 1885 die Novelle zum Lesen schickte. Auf den Effekt kam es an: die Novelle mußte möglichst »groß« geraten und die Aufklärung eines Verbrechens als die Lösung eines fundamentalen Konflikts erscheinen.

Die Versuchung des Pescara (1887)

»Pescara hat *wenig* Handlung, nur *eine* Situation: Die Täuschung seiner Versucher und das allmäßige Hervortreten seiner tödtlichen Verwundung,« schrieb Meyer (5.XI.1887) an Haessel und betonte auch in vielen anderen Briefen diese Eigenart der Novelle; so heißt es (18.XI.1887) in einem Brief an Adolf Frey: »Jede andere Fassung aber wäre unmöglich gewesen, jeder Anfang von *Verrat* ganz unerträglich. Die geheime Basis ist: Vielleicht unterlag Pescara, ohne die Wunde. – Daß ein realer Kampf im

Drama eine Bedingung, ohne welche *nicht*, ist zuzugeben, aber auch in der Novelle? Warum denn?« – Louise von François, die sich über den fehlenden Seelenkampf etwas verärgert zeigte, ließ der Autor – deutlicher noch – wissen: »Seine tödtliche Wunde bewahrt ihn (fataliter) vor Verrat. Hier ist alles Nothwendigkeit; kein Dramastoff, da Freiheit und Wahl mangelt, aber warum kein Novellenstoff?« (30.XI.1887). Andere Briefe sagen genau oder ziemlich dasselbe (vgl. 13,375 ff) – und Pescara selber tut das auch: »Ich kannte die Versuchung lange, ich sah sie kommen und gipfeln wie eine heranrollende Woge, und habe nicht geschwankt, nicht einen Augenblick, mit dem leisesten Gedanken nicht. Denn keine Wahl ist an mich herangetreten, ich gehörte nicht mir, ich stand außerhalb der Dinge« (13,242). – »Meine Gottheit [...] hat den Sturm rings um meine Ruder beruhigt« (13,242). – Nur wer gar keine Wahl hat, schwankt nicht; nur wer gänzlich aus dem Schuldzusammenhang des Lebens tritt, bleibt unbefleckt.

Dieses Leben nimmt viele Gestalten an, um den Feldherrn in Versuchung zu führen; die wichtigsten sind: die Liga und Victoria Colonna. Die Liga hat zwei Motive, ein machtpolitisches – Schutz der italienischen Fürstentümer vor dem Zugriff der kaiserlichen Zentralgewalt – und ein nationales – die Einigung Italiens –, die sich vereinen lassen. Die hier erzählte Geschichte spielt zu einer Zeit des Zerfalls, wo sich die Päpste »verweltlicht haben und einen Staat in Italien besitzen«, und wo ihnen »das kleine Szepter teurer als der lange Hirtenstab« (13,163) geworden ist. Die Kirche kann aus machtpolitischen Gründen die deutschen Fürsten schützen, obwohl diese – aus denselben Gründen – den protestantischen Glauben fördern (13,163). In dieser Atmosphäre des Wertzerfalls darf die Liga mit einem Recht auch bei Pescara ein labiles Gewissen voraussetzen, und sie unternimmt daher den Versuch, ihn zum Abfall vom Kaiser zu bewegen, um ihn dafür an die Spitze der neuen italienischen Streitmacht zu stellen. »Verrät er uns an den Kaiser, so kann er uns alle verderben. Aber wer weiß, ob er nicht seinem Dämon unterliegt?« (13,169) – dem gleichen Dämon, der Jenatsch »ins Leere, ins Unbekannte« trieb. Um den ruhmreichen Avalos soweit zu bringen, muß man ihm allerdings nicht nur die Generalswürde, sondern auch die italienische Krone anbieten, und es wird bei aller echten Begeisterung der Ligateilnehmer für die Einheit des Landes deutlich, daß die

machpolitischen Erwägungen zuerst kommen – jedoch nicht im selben Maße bei allen; der Kanzler Morone ruft aus: »Der Befreier Italiens soll sich in voller Freiheit entscheiden, nicht als das Opfer einer teuflischen Umgarnung . . .«, bekommt aber von Guiccardin gleich die Antwort: »Aber ich heiße den Menschen schweigen und handle als Staatsmann.« (13,173). Mit diesen wenigen Worten ist der Konflikt schon skizziert, und Morone selbst wird später zwischen Moral und Politik schwanken. In seinem Gespräch mit Pescara in Novara beginnt er damit, die großen Taten des Feldherrn zu preisen und ihn auf den fehlenden Lohn von Madrid aufmerksam zu machen (13,206), dann aber begeistert er sich für den Einheitsgedanken, den er ausdrücklich als Gegensatz zu den guten alten Tugenden sieht: »Ich kenne dich, Pescara: du bist ein Sohn Italiens und wie dieses erhaben über Treue und Gewissen!« (13,207).

Sich selbst charakterisiert der Versucher mit ähnlichen Wendungen: er könne keine Glaubensstreitigkeiten unter aufgeklärten Völkern anerkennen, denn er sei ganz »ein Bewohner der Wirklichkeit, ein Kind der Helle« (13,211), ein Sohn der neuen Zeit – dessen Begeisterung für eben diese neue Zeit so echt ist wie früher einmal die eines Hutten: – »meine Liebe zu Italien, das Beste, das einzig Gute an mir« (13,213), klagt er. Pescara hat ihn mit dem Hinweis auf seine Gottheit, die »wahrlich keine eingebildete« (13,212) ist, schon abgewiesen; der Feldherr will die Argumente des Kanzlers gar nicht erst in Erwägung ziehen. Er durchhaut damit den Knoten, der das Leben eines Jürg Jenatsch so tragisch werden ließ: daß der große politische Erfolg nur um den Preis der persönlichen, moralischen Zerstörung zu erzielen ist; daß nur der, welcher über Treue und Gewissen erhaben ist, in dieser Welt etwas erreichen kann.

Auch die zweite Versuchung vermag Pescara abzuweisen: seine Frau, Victoria Colonna hat Papst Clemens im Vatikan besucht, dieser hat sie überredet, selbst aber hegt sie edlere Absichten. Es gelingt dem Papst, »dieser wahren und auf Wahrheit dringenden Natur die Sache in klaren Umrissen« (13,176) vorzuzeichnen, denn Victoria, die Dichterin, läßt sich von seiner Rede und seiner Krönungsgebärde begeistern, und sie hört gern zu, als er von der »Schicksalsstunde« (13,177) Italiens spricht. »In der Verwirrung ihres Glückes« (13,179), »im Taumel ihrer Begeisterung« (13,181)

hört Victoria jedoch nicht so sehr die Argumente des politisierenden Papstes als vielmehr ihre eigenen und höheren. Als Italienerin haßt sie die Spanier – »sie empfand Grauen und Ekel, und ein tödlicher Haß regte sich in ihrem römischen Busen gegen diese fremden Räuber und hochfahrenden Abenteurer, welche die neue und die alte Erde zusammen erbeuteten« (13,183) – und auch sie ist ein Kind der neuen Zeit, eine Bewohnerin der Helle und eine Freundin der menschlichen Tatkraft: – »was der großgesinnten Frau am meisten mißfiel, war die in ihren Augen ängstliche und frömmelnde Demut, mit welcher der junge Kaiser Gott und seinen Heiligen die ganze Ehre des Sieges gab. Obwohl selbst dem Himmel dankbar, schätzte Victoria solche Demut gering an einem Manne und an einem Herrscher« (13,183 f). Als sich die Religion gleichsam rächen will – in der Vorstellung von Pescara als Heiland in der Wüste (13,190) – ist Victoria verständlicherweise »ärgerlich über das Spiel ihrer Sinne« (13,190).

Selbst in den Reden des Kanzlers Morone hört sie nichts als die Stimme ihres eigenen Herzens, was ihr um so leichter fällt, als Morone zu Anfang seine Worte mit Bedacht wählt und gewissermaßen unengagiert dasteht: »Victoria war gerührt, und auch der Kanzler vergoß Tränen« (13,192), heißt es in deutlicher Abstufung; später freilich läßt sich der Kanzler von seinen eigenen Worten – aber eben eher von diesen als von dem großen Gedanken – hinreißen. Victoria ist von der Gerechtigkeit ihrer Sache überzeugt, als sie in Novara eintrifft, und sie läßt in der Interpretation der Gestalten des Michelangelo ihrer Begeisterung freien Lauf: »Sie bejammern die Knechtschaft Italiens und verkündigen den kommenden Retter und Heiland!« (13,238). – Dann aber wird auch sie zurückgewiesen: »»Nein,« urteilte Pescara streng, »die Stunde des Heils ist vorüber. Nicht Gnade verkündigen sie, sondern das Gericht.«« (13,238).

Während sich Victoria und Morone exponieren, bleiben ihnen die Gedanken des Feldherrn verborgen, und beide erleben diese Situation als sehr peinlich: Victoria während des Gesprächs mit Pescara (»So schaukelte Pescara sein Weib über dem Abgrund und dem Geheimnis seiner Seele und hinderte sie, Fuß zu fassen« (13,237)), der Kanzler während seiner langen Wartezeit als Gefangener (»Er hatte seinen ganzen Menschen preisgegeben, Pescara auch nicht ein Teilchen seiner selbst« (12,216)). Doch schon

früher hatten beide Anlaß, an Pescara irre zu werden: der Kanzler wurde aus der rätselhaften Miene des abgebildeten Pescara nicht klug (13,165/173), so wenig wie Victoria, die schon auf dem Bilde nicht weiß, wie Pescara spielen wird. »Dieser war bleich wie der Tod, mit einem Lächeln in den Mundwinkeln« (13,173) – vielleicht demselben Lächeln, mit dem Thomas Becket in den Tod ging: es drückt Verachtung des Lebens aus. – Victoria muß sich denn auch gestehen, »daß sie trotz ihrer langen und trauten Ehe den innersten Pescara nicht kenne« (13,185). Er hat stets gemeint, »Politik sei ein schmutziger Markt und sein Weib dürfe nicht einmal die helle Spitze ihres Fußes in den ekeln Sumpf tauchen« (13,186), und er hat sie daher nie über seine Pläne und Taten genauer unterrichtet. Jetzt hat sich Victoria in die Politik begeben, ist vom Sumpf eingefangen worden – und Pescara muß sie retten (wie er ihr gleich nach ihrer Ankunft das Gesicht reinigt, sie vom Staub der Reise, aber auch vom Staub der Liga befreit (13,221)). Denn er stand immer außerhalb der Politik: »Menschen und Dinge mit unsichtbaren Händen zu lenken, sei das Feinste des Lebens« (13,186) hat er gesagt, eine Aussage, die mit dem Engagement eines Jenatsch nichts zu tun hat, dagegen wohl mit der Skepsis eines Wertmüller, denn dieser erklärte schon als junger Mensch, Kenntnis der Drähte, an welchen die Menschen tanzen, sei das Wichtigste im Leben (10,104). Pescara befindet sich stets in der Situation, die er besonders lobt: in der gegenwärtigen Abwesenheit (13,223). Zuletzt muß er jedoch die Gegenwart an die Abwesenheit verraten, um nicht das Umgekehrte tun zu müssen; eine Vermittlung ist nicht möglich.

Der Versuchung des Lebens fallen alle, außer Pescara selbst, zum Opfer, nicht nur Victoria, sondern auch Bourbon und Del Guasto, die beide Abspaltungen Pescaras sind, obwohl nur der eine, Bourbon, als »Alterego« (13,214) bezeichnet wird. Bourbon hat jederzeit freien Eintritt bei dem Feldherrn (13,196), schon dies ein Zeichen, daß er im Grunde immer anwesend ist, und er ist in ganz besonderer Weise an Pescara gekettet: durch den Verrat, den dieser nicht begeht. – Aber auch für Del Guasto gilt, daß er zu Pescara gehört, rein äußerlich schon als sein Neffe. Kaum zufällig wird gerade ihm eine brutale Handlung – das Anzünden eines Hauses über den Köpfen einiger verspäteter Soldaten (13,187) – zugeschrieben, die geschichtlich als eine des »rich-

tigen« Pescara belegt ist. Wie Bourbon die mögliche Untreue darstellt, so Del Guasto die schlummernde Brutalität und Grausamkeit des Feldherrn. Meyer schrieb an Haessel, der ursprüngliche Charakter des Helden sei »Karg, falsch, grausam« (5.XI.1887) und nur durch die Nähe des Todes veredelt, und Pescara sagt es auch selbst: »Ich spüre die grausame Ader in mir selbst« (13,253). Seine amoralische italienische und seine grausame spanische Natur bekriegen sich. Del Guasto zeigt seinen Charakter durch sein Benehmen gegenüber der armen Julia Dati, aber auch durch seine Reaktion auf die Pläne der Liga: als er Victoria von den Flugschriften des Aretino erzählt, erschrickt diese über »den glühend sinnlichen Ausdruck seines Gesichtes« (13,188).

Beide, Bourbon wie Del Guasto, sind Züge, die unterdrückt werden müssen – daher gebietet nicht nur die politische, sondern auch die psychologische Vorsicht, daß Pescara sie das Gespräch mit Morone belauschen läßt: erst wenn sie durch ihre Zuhörerschaft gebändigt sind, ist der ganze Pescara anwesend. Nach der Unterredung kommen sie hervor, »beide in der höchsten Aufregung, der bleiche Bourbon mit fieberhaft geröteten Wangen, Del Guasto mit lodernden Augen« (13,215). Erst als Pescara sie mit seinen abschließenden Worten in die Schranken weist, hat er seine eigenen Zweifel endgültig besiegt: – »hier wurde Theater gespielt« (13,215).

Und dennoch erklärt der Feldherr seiner staunenden Frau, Treue sei »eine Tugend, aber nicht die höchste. Die höchste Tugend ist die Gerechtigkeit« (13,237). Del Guasto wird denn auch zur Treue als zu etwas Erreichbarem ermahnt: »Treue am Fürsten ist die einzige Tugend, deren Ihr zur Not fähig seid, und der letzte Ehrbegriff, der Euch übrig bleibt« (13,229). Für einen Pescara, der Bourbon zu seinem intimsten Freunde macht, kann die Treue nicht die höchste Tugend sein. Treue zum Fürsten wäre nur die Treue zu einem spanischen Weltreich, »das in blutroten Wolken aufsteigt jenseits und diesseits des Meeres« (13,253), beherrscht von Typen wie Leyva, der nur die blinde Treue kennt, und Moncada, der nur die dämonische Schwärzmerei kennt. Moncada bietet dem Feldherr etwas mehr als die Liga vermochte: »Schätze, Länder, Ruhm – und den Himmel!« (13,261), doch dieser ist zweifelhaft geworden, und Pescara weiß darum: Nicht die Stunde des Heils ist gekommen, sondern die des Gerichts.

»Wäre ich ohne meine Wunde, dennoch könnte ich nicht leben. Drüben in Spanien Neid, schleichende Verleumdung, hinfällige und endlich untergrabene Hofgunst, Ungnade und Sturz; hier in Italien Haß und Gift für den, der es verschmäht hat« (13,252). Nicht dem irdischen Reich, sondern der Erkenntnis »von dem Nichts der menschlichen Pläne und der Allgewalt des Schicksals« (13,219), die auch dem Kanzler zuteil wird, hält Pescara die Treue. Er will sich nicht an Moncada rächen, sondern übergibt »den Mörder der ewigen Gerechtigkeit« (13,234), und auch Bläsi Zraggen, der ihn tödlich verwundet hat, lässt er laufen (13,255).

Dabei wächst Pescara selbst zum Richter empor: »»Nein,« urteilte Pescara streng«, hieß es (13,238), und Del Guasto erschrickt, als ihn Pescara verdammt, nicht über seine Taten; ihn trifft vielmehr »der furchtbare Richterernst des Feldherrn, dessen vernichtende Strafgewalt von Jenseits des Grabes zu kommen schien« (13,230). Von diesem Jenseits holt Pescara auch die Kraft, den Kanzler abzuweisen: das Stück, das da gespielt wird, nennt er »Tod und Narr« (13,215), denn das Jenseits ist ein Nichts und kein Gottesreich: »Mein Ziel: Staub und Asche« (13,263). Nicht die Liga und der Ehrgeiz sollen überwunden, sondern das Leben selbst besiegt werden: »Noch einmal hatte sich das Leben an ihn gedrängt und er das Beste des Daseins, Schönheit und Herzenskraft, in den Armen gehalten« (13,254).

Neben Victoria ist der Kanzler der wichtigste Repräsentant des Lebens, und auch er ist eine Abspaltung Pescaras: »Man findet ihn überall auf der Halbinsel wie – ohne die fernste Vergleichung – Eure große Gestalt«, sagt (13,201) Del Guasto nicht ohne Vergleichung. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Morone gilt denn auch dem Leben überhaupt – und gilt dem früheren Werk Meyers. Pescara kann in dieser Welt nicht leben, er hätte wie Hutten sagen können: »Nicht leben soll ich, wenn ich leben soll!« (V *Konsultation*). Seine Ablehnung der Pläne Morones ist eine Ablehnung des Jürg Jenatsch. Konnte Heinrich Waser noch meinen, die Taten des Bündners seien immerhin notwendig gewesen (und konnte Sprecher dem nicht widersprechen, sondern nur das Ganze anders sehen), so macht sich Pescara zum Richter über die Einheit Italiens: »Zwar es trägt die strahlende Ampel des Geistes, doch es hat sich aufgelehnt in der unbändigen Lust eines strotzenden Daseins gegen ewige Gesetze. Es büße, du hast es gesagt, Victoria; in Fes-

seln leidend, lerne es die Freiheit« (13,253). – Das bedeutet eine radikale Absage an sämtliche Befreiungstendenzen des früheren Werks, eine Abrechnung mit Jenatsch und Hutten und eine Unterwerfung unter die angeblich ewigen Gesetze, die Treue zu »einer heiligen Macht, die unserer erbärmlichen Gerechtigkeit spottet« (13,222). – »»es bleibt die Frage: verdient Italien zu dieser Stunde die Freiheit und taugt es, so wie es jetzt beschaffen ist, sie zu empfangen und zu bewahren? Ich meine nein«. Der Feldherr sprach langsam, als prüfe er jedes seiner Worte auf der Waage der Gerechtigkeit« (13,259). Morone wird bedeutet, daß die Freiheit sich nur »durch einen aus der Tiefe des Volkes kommenden Stoß und Sturm der sittlichen Kräfte« (13,259) wiedergewinnen lasse – und ein solcher Sturm ist unter Italienern schwerlich denkbar, weil die italienische Welt schon zu Anfang als sinnlich, ausgelassen und ohne jede Tiefe geschildert wird: »Sie empfanden [...] nicht mit der Seele, sondern mit den feinen Fingerspitzen des Kunstgefühls« (13,160) heißt es an einer Stelle, wo nicht Pescara, sondern C. F. Meyer urteilt. Er ist es auch, welcher unbefangen »ein mit unsittlichen Mitteln wirkendes Bündnis« (13,217) denunziert und sich damit reichlich massiv mit seinem Helden solidarisiert.

»Kanzler Proteus« (13,171), der Gegenspieler, hat denn auch keinen Charakter, sondern nur Larven. Er, der doch immerhin so gewichtige Worte spricht wie diese: – »ich habe stets gefunden, daß der Schlaueste und am meisten Argwöhnische endlich doch an eine Stelle tritt und an einem Abgrunde steht, wo er traun und glauben muß« (13,204), wird als lächerliche Person geschildert und von Pescara verurteilt: – »dein Italien ist willkürlich und phantastisch wie du selbst es bist und deine ganze Verschwörung!« (13,259). Sagte sich Jenatsch »nach innerm schweren Kampfe« (10,174) von dem guten Herzog los, so ist seine italienische Parallelfigur ein Clown und dessen Verschwörung ein Theaterstück. Bündens Befreiung ist dahin, an ihre Stelle tritt Pescaras Verdammsurteil. »Tod und Narr« nennt Pescara (13,215) das Theaterstück, das er und Morone in Novara gespielt haben. Bereits in *Jenatsch* findet sich eine Andeutung: Locotenent Wertmüller fragt, als er dem Hauptmann Jenatsch gegenübersetzt: »Bist du ein Held oder ein Komödiant?« (10,103 f.). Jenatsch war noch ein Held, Morone ist ein Komödiant.

So wie die heilige Liga in der Novelle geschildert wird, kann Pescara sie nur ablehnen. Entscheidend ist jedoch, daß Meyer die Intention, eine Nation zu vereinen und zu befreien, nur in solchem Lichte darstellen kann. Er lehnt das Bestreben nicht aus Reichstreue ab, – denn Pescara spricht seine Abneigung gegen das spanische Reich deutlich aus, – sondern aus Mißtrauen gegenüber der Politik überhaupt. Es mag daraus eine tiefe Enttäuschung über das Bismarck-Reich sprechen, auch wenn Meyer noch während der Arbeit an *Pescara* versicherte, er gehe »mit Kaiser und Reich durch Dick und Dünn« (an Rodenberg Ostermontag 1887). Auf jeden Fall spricht aus den Worten: »Mein Ziel: Staub und Asche« der endgültige Verzicht auf den Glauben an die positiven Kräfte im geschichtlichen Prozeß. Das Gericht wird verkündet – so erklärt es Pescara, und Meyer setzt unausgesprochen hinzu: Die Geschichte wird hier verurteilt, der Konflikt des Jenatsch-Romans durch eine Absage an jegliche Aktivität und mit dem Hinweis auf das »Nichts der menschlichen Pläne« »gelöst«.

Weder Meyer noch Pescara fiel es leicht, das »leider nothwendige Aufgeben des Seelenkampfes« (an Hans Blum 14.XII.1887) durchzuführen. Denn das bedeutet, daß das Individuum als für die Geschichte belanglos erklärt wird, daß der Mensch nichts mehr bedeutet. In einem Rückblick auf *Huttens letzte Tage* (1891) schrieb Meyer, ihm sei bei der Begegnung mit dem Baron Ricasoli »beschämend klar« geworden, »was ein Charakter im Leben einer Nation zu bedeuten hat« (Briefe II, S. 520). Hier wird aber deutlich, daß ein Charakter nichts bedeutet, denn wer seinen »Charakter« bewahren will, kann an der Politik nicht teilnehmen. Jenatsch wählte die Politik, Pescara »wählt« den Tod und den Verzicht, indem er seine Verwundung, die ein Symptom der Spaltung ist – er empfängt sie in seiner siegreichsten Schlacht und sagt selbst, daß er auch ohne sie nicht leben könne – als deren Überwindung deutet und sich auf dem Hintergrund seines unausweichlichen Todes zum Richter macht.

So wird die Verdrängung des Individuums aus dem geschichtlichen Prozeß in eine individuelle moralische Qualität umgedeutet. Jenatsch trat ins Leben hinein und verriet seine besseren Gefühle, Astorre trat aus seinem Kloster heraus und verriet sein Amt der Barmherzigkeit – Pescara zieht sich aus dem Leben zurück und bewahrt alles. Das Leben selbst ist der Verrat, und

nur wer gar nicht lebt, lebt unschuldig. Die richterlichen Gebärden des Feldherrn entspringen einem Ressentiment, denn hinter ihnen steht keine höhere Ordnung, sondern nur »Staub und Asche«.

Versuche, Pescara als Heiland zu interpretieren, scheitern daher auch – nicht zuletzt an dem Feldherrn selber, der um die Hintergründe seines Verzichts weiß. Victoria liestträumend in der Bibel und spricht von den den Heiland verkündenden Gestalten des Michelangelo. Auch Morone hofft auf Pescara als den Erlöser, das Altarbild in Heiligenwunden ruft direkte Assoziationen her vor, und Pescara selber spielt auf diese Symbolik an, um sie dann abzulehnen. Seine Geschichte ist alles andere als Evangelium; seine Gottheit ist nicht die Auferstehung und das Leben, sondern der Tod. Hier sei alles Notwendigkeit, schrieb Meyer an Louise v. François – jede Hoffnung ist verloren. In seiner letzten Novelle machte Meyer einen verzweifelten Versuch, diesen Nihilismus zu überwinden, konnte jedoch nur eine regressive Idylle postulieren.

Angela Borgia (1891)

Daß die letzte Novelle Meyers deutliche Spuren einer schwindenden Gestaltungskraft trägt, wird allgemein anerkannt. Die biographischen Ursachen liegen auf der Hand: Meyer war schwer krank gewesen und hatte sich nur langsam – und wohl überhaupt nur zum Teil – erholt; ein Jahr nach der Vollendung dieser Novelle erlitt er einen großen nervösen Zusammenbruch. Kein Wunder, daß hier die Schatten länger werden, daß die Kraft, chaotische Vorgänge zumindest formal unter Kontrolle zu halten, nachläßt. Meyer erwähnte selbst »die geradezu unglaubliche, bis zur Vision gehende, jedes Denkens und Rechnens bare Spontaneität« der Entstehung dieser Novelle (an Anna von Doß 24. I. 1892) und hatte Grund, sich beunruhigt zu fühlen. Es fällt auf, daß der Erzähler deutlich in Erscheinung tritt, daß scheinbare Beschreibungen oft Meinungsäußerungen des Autors darstellen. Die Novelle erzählt nicht mehr sich selbst, sondern der Verfasser muß eingreifen und die Moral mitliefern. So wie Meyer am Anfang seiner Laufbahn den »im XVI. Jahrh. überhaupt unmöglichen Traum« (an Anna von Doß 2.X.1873) einschaltete, so redet er jetzt von den »redlichen« Augen Angelas (14,16), von dem »inner-

lich unverfälschte[n]« Giulio (14,45) usw. Das ist nicht ganz neu: ein Schauer der Reinheit hatte die Richterin gebadet, eine himmlische Erleuchtung Dantes strenge Züge verklärt und ein heiliger Ernst die Richtersprüche Pescaras begleitet. Doch der moralisierende Ton wird hier noch hörbarer – und ist auch notwendiger als je zuvor, um das hervorbrechende Chaos zu übertönen. Es sollte nicht übersehen werden, wie sehr die Thematik auch in dieser letzten Novelle die gleiche bleibt. Meyers Wendung zum Christentum, die er in den Jahren um 1890 vollzog, schafft keine radikal neue Struktur. Sie ging vielleicht aus seiner Krankheit her vor, aber sicher auch aus der unlösabaren Problematik der Novellen (aus der wohl auch die Krankheit selber entsprang), vgl. seine Erklärung an Bovet im Brief vom 14.I.1888: »Car malgré tous mes efforts d'échapper au christianisme, au moins à ses dernières conséquences, je m'y sens ramené par plus fort que moi, chaque année davantage et même quelquefois avec une extrême violence et au mépris de toute science critique et philosophique«. Pescaras letztes Wort durfte nicht auch Meyers letztes sein, und Meyer versuchte, den Teufelskreis des Schicksals zu durchbrechen. Er mag das Fragwürdige aller Lösungen im Tode erkannt haben und wollte eine Lösung »ohne Sterbebette« (*Wanderfüße*), die heilsame Ordnung *im Leben*.

»Es bestand damals eine seltsame, von den grellsten Widersprüchen gepeitschte Welt« (14,10), heißt es schon am Anfang der Novelle. Und das Chaos, das hier aufgedeckt wird, ist dem Tosen der Schlucht in *Richterin* vergleichbar: »eine Welt der Willkür, des Trotzes, der Auflehnung« (12,215). Wie schon oft ist die Spaltung vor allem eine zwischen Himmel und Erde, der Bezug zu einer höheren Sinngebung des Geschehens ist verloren, und Kardinal Ippolito ist legitimer Erbe des Bündners Jenatsch, als er ausruft: »Sein der Himmel! Unser die Erde!« (14,83). Ippolito ist es auch, der die Erinnerung an den heiligen Thomas Becket wachruft, als er zu der Legende von dem Heiland und den weißen Zähnen des Aases Stellung nimmt: »Der Nazarener fand an dem ekeln Aase noch etwas Schönes, an dem Hunde Don Giulio hätte er nichts gefunden!« (14,52). Pescara war kein Heiland, Ippolito ist es – seiner Kardinalswürde zum Trotz – noch weniger. Wie seinerzeit Thomas auf der Heide ist er außer stande, die Nachfolge Christi anzutreten; vielmehr ist er der Sklave

seiner unkontrollierten Gefühle: er kann »den mörderischen Ausbrüchen seines Hasses« (14,16) nicht wehren, und er steht im Dienst einer Kirche, »deren irdischer Vertreter [...] ein entsetzlicher Taugenichts war« (14,11) und deren ganzes übriges Benehmen alles andere als christlich zu nennen ist.

In dieser Welt ist daher auch kein friedliches Zusammenleben möglich: die Spaltung geht bis in die fürstliche Familie, in der sich die Brüder mehr oder weniger bekriegen – nur Don Giulio hält sich gänzlich aus dem Spiel und verübt seine Missetaten anderswo. Es ist – und wieder erkennt es der Kardinal am deutlichsten – »eine Zeit des Zerfalls, wo die Persönlichkeit alles ist« (14,44), wo keine verbindliche Ordnung für die Richtigkeit der menschlichen Taten bürgt, und wo jeder zuerst an sich selbst denken muß, was dann notwendig zu Feindschaften führt. Aber wie schon in *Pescara* zeigt sich auch hier, obwohl auf andere Weise, daß die Persönlichkeit nichts ist, denn was sich entfaltet, ist nicht freies Bewußtsein, sondern ein blindes Spiel der Kräfte, kurz: Dämonie. Der Kardinal ist machtlos gegenüber seiner eigenen Leidenschaft, Don Giulio räumt »den Sinnen zuviel« (14,12) ein, um nicht zur Einsicht zu gelangen – denn er scheut wie die meisten anderen Gestalten die Erkenntnis. »Wer weiß, ob er nicht seinem Dämon unterliegt?« (13,169) frohlockten die Vertreter der Liga in *Pescara*; hier unterliegen fast alle Hauptgestalten ihrem Dämon, am deutlichsten Lucrezia, die an der »Schmach ihrer Abhängigkeit« (14,7) von dem Vater und dem Bruder leidet, ohne sie überwinden zu können. Als Don Cesare naht, weiß der Kardinal, »daß die kluge und reizende Lucrezia bei der Annäherung Cäsars ihrer selbst nicht mehr mächtig war und, wieder in den Bann ihres alten Wesens, ihrer früheren Natur gezogen, schuldvoll und schuldlos sündigte« (14,92). Dabei ist es den Figuren in diesem dämonischen Spiel auch keineswegs wohl zumute: Giulio erklärt die Welt für »abscheulich und hassenswert« (14,31) und Ferrante bekennt vor seinem Selbstmord, er habe sein Leben »stets verabscheut« (14,84).

Die dämonische Abhängigkeit trägt vor allem über die irdische Gerechtigkeit den Sieg davon; Lucrezia verführt den Großrichter Strozzi, der »das Recht in seiner Strenge« (14,80) vertreten sollte und es auch allen anderen gegenüber tut. Schon beim Einzug der neuen Herzogin wird Herkules Strozzi überwunden, denn »dieser

strahlende Triumph über Gesetz und Sitte riß ihn zu bewunderndem Erstaunen hin« (14,6); an die Stelle der Moral und des Rechts tritt eine ästhetische Bewunderung. Sie bildet den Anfang der Anarchie:

»Daß ich die Gesetzlose lieben muß, ist Schicksal« (14,28) seufzt der Richter, der gegen dieses Schicksal kein Bewußtsein, keinen Willen behaupten kann. Bembo, der Venezianer, der die eine Möglichkeit der Überwindung, die des Verzichts, zeigt, analysiert den Richter genau: »Dein strenger Rechtssinn verdammt das, was dein Auge beglückt und das Feuer deines Herzens entzündet. Das ist dein Widerspruch« (14,40) – und der ist unüberwindlich; Herkules Strozzi läßt sich von Lucrezia »mit einem Blicke der Verführung« (14,87) als Verbündeter Don Cesares gewinnen, und er kommt aus der Verstrickung auch später nicht mehr los, obwohl Lucrezia ihm ihre Gleichgültigkeit deutlich zu erkennen gibt. Don Alfonso hatte den Großrichter frühzeitig gewarnt (»Man wird Euch tot auf der Straße finden« (14,42)) und Strozzi selbst hatte schon früher »jene seltsame Angst, die die Begleiterin der höchsten Leidenschaft ist« (14,84) empfunden. Dennoch redet er im Archiv dreist und übermütig mit dem Herzog, »nicht anders als wäre er trunken« (14,107) – und wird denn auch auf der Straße tot gefunden.

Wie sich die Gerechtigkeit der sinnlichen Leidenschaft unterordnen muß, so auch der Politik. Zwar spricht Alfonso gern von dem Staate Ferrara, »wie er ihn sich denke, als ein Staatswesen von unbedingter Gerechtigkeit« (14,37), aber er wird selber zum Rechtsbrecher, wenn es im Interesse des Staates ist. Er denkt nach der Blendung Giulios nicht daran, »die Tat des Kardinals vor Gericht zu ziehen, nicht einmal daran, durch eine ernsthafte Verurteilung des grausamen und unerklärlichen Verbrechens sich davon zu trennen und persönlich loszusagen« (14,55). Aus guten Gründen freilich, denn das würde eine Trennung vom Kardinal bedeuten, und »wie sollte ich dich entbehren! . . . Oder ersetzen?« (14,76). Alfonso gleicht hier im Grunde Heinrich Waser, der es auch als unvermeidlich ansah, daß sich die Politik über die Moral hinwegsetzen müsse. Der Unterschied ist ebenso deutlich: damals wurde gegen Waser der Ritter Sprecher ausgespielt, das Problem aber wurde in der Schwebe gelassen; jetzt mag der Kardinal noch so sehr Ferrara fördern – und er tut es ja mit allem Erfolg, als

er die Pläne Cesares und Lucrezias ständig durchkreuzt –, er bleibt dennoch der Böse. Über die Politik überhaupt wird hier ein Urteil gefällt, das die eigentliche Problematik außer acht lässt. Denn die geschichtliche Perspektive, die den Jenatsch-Roman auszeichnete, gibt es hier nicht mehr. Zwar werden die Gestalten als Produkte ihrer Zeit gesehen, aber dieser Gesichtspunkt wird durch die Gestalt Angelas und durch den Ausgang der Novelle wieder aufgehoben: es handelt sich um Moral und Sünde, die Widersprüche sind keine Antinomien, sondern entstammen Verbrechen. Auch hier sind die Konflikte letztlich ausschließlich psychologischer Natur.

Mit der Verführung Strozzis durch Lucrezia und mit der Gleichgültigkeit des Herzogs angesichts des Verbrechens seines Bruders und Ministers ist die menschliche Gerechtigkeit als ordnender Faktor in der anarchischen Welt disqualifiziert, und es bleibt nur noch die »göttliche« Gerechtigkeit, für die sich Angela energisch einsetzt (14,80). »Wo galt die menschliche Gerechtigkeit, die der Herzog verwirklichen wollte, – wo war ihr Urbild, die göttliche, um sie zu Ehren zu bringen und zu belohnen? Eitle Träume beides!« (10,176). So hatte Jürg Jenatsch gesprochen; jetzt aber wird der Versuch unternommen, die göttliche Gerechtigkeit doch noch zu Ehren zu bringen. Denn Angela »ist das Gewissen« (Meyer im Gespräch mit Anna v. Doß, hier nach 14,145) das sich jetzt verselbständigt und als feindliche Macht den gottverlassenen Renaissance-Menschen gegenübertritt.

Angela Borgia ist in einem Kloster aufgewachsen, hat jedoch von dem wüsten Treiben in der Welt gehört. »Angela aber erschrak und brachte es nicht über sich, das Leben als einen Widerspruch zu verspotten« (14,11) – obwohl Hutten, als er das Leben als widersprüchlich erkannte, es wohl kaum verspottet hatte. – Mit Angela soll gezeigt werden, daß man nicht wie seinerzeit Astorre den Sündenfall erleben muß, wenn man das Kloster verläßt und in die Welt hinausgeht. Vielmehr ist es Angela, welche die Welt überwindet – und die Welt in ihrem Innern –, als sie der Wahrheit Zeugnis gibt, wie sich Don Ferrante ausdrückt: – »wenn es sein muß, auf offenem Markte« (14,9).

Es hat sich in dem Mädchen »gegen die herrschende Nichtswürdigkeit ein Bedürfnis verzweifelter Gegenwehr« (14,11) ent-

wickelt, und sie wird ihre Fähigkeiten auch schon nötig haben. Denn Ferrante erzählt schlimme Dinge von dem Jüngling Giulio, der den Sinnen noch zu viel einräumt: »In den Weingarten des Lebens eingebrochen, reißt er, statt sich ordentlich eine Traube zu pflücken, so viele er mit beiden Händen erreichen kann, vom Geländer, zerquetscht vor Gier die süßen Beeren und besudelt sich mit dem roten Saftreiche Brust und Antlitz« (14,14). Von welchem roten Saft die Rede ist, wird deutlich, als das klassische »Bacchusfest« in »den Raub der Sabinerinnen und in centaurischen Mord und Totschlag« (14,28) entartet.

Mit seinen reizenden Augen vermag Don Giulio alle zu bezaubern – nicht anders als Lucrezia es mit dem armen Großrichter tut. Angela dagegen ist die Überwindung dieser Sinnlichkeit, die verfolgende Unschuld. Diana aus *Mönch* steht in ihr wieder auf, und wenn man das gegensätzliche Paar weiter zurückverfolgt, findet man Keime des Verhältnisses Lucrezia-Angela in der frühen Novelle *Clara*. Deren Hauptpersonen, Franziska und Clara, stehen sich wie Lucrezia und Angela gegenüber, damals aber (1848–50) gewann die lebendige Franziska den von beiden begehrten Mann – und von Clara hieß es, sie sehe »in der Schwester nur die Feindin« und betrachte den Geliebten »als ihr Eigentum, und ihr Eigentumssinn war sehr ausgebildet« (Corona VIII, 407). Eine solche Clara kehrt mit Angela wieder; diesmal gewinnt *sie* den Geliebten – als Eigentum.

Und »wie sie nun gar in den Born dieser wunderbaren Augen blickte, wurde sie von Zorn und Jammer aufs tiefste erschüttert. Ihre innerste, starke Natur überwältigte sie [...] und ihre Stimme klang über den Platz: »Schade, jammerschade um Euch, Don Giulio! Fürchtet Gottes Gericht!«« (14,15 f). Giulio selbst wird hier von seinem Gewissen ereilt und überwindet das Verdammungsurteil nicht; er ist »seit jenem Tage [...] nicht mehr derselbe!« (14,30) und hegt nur einen Wunsch: »daß jene, die sich feindselig und kalt von mir abwendet, mir noch einmal ihr hell flammendes Antlitz zukehre und mich noch einmal bedrohe – noch stärker als das erste Mal . . .« (14,30).

Giulio wird nicht lange warten müssen: In der schwülen Luft im Park von Belriguardo, die sehr an die Pratum-Szene in *Richterin* erinnert, bricht es los. Angelas innerste, starke Natur überwältigt sie wieder; diesmal freilich hat es andere Folgen: »Don

Giulio hat wundervolle Augen! Die muß ihm der Neid, die müsset Ihr, Kardinal, ihm lassen!« (14,52). Ippolito gerät in Versuchung – »Das Weib verführte mich« (14,54) sagt er selbst – und läßt die schönen Augen ausreißen.

Hier geht die Natur tatsächlich mit Angela durch – im ersten Fall, bei der Verurteilung auf dem Platz, war es höchstens die Moral. Gottes Gericht ist nichts als des Mädchens eigenes, und Giulios Traum gibt darüber reichliche Auskunft. Hier wird das große Gericht projiziert – so groß, daß auch der Hüter der irdischen Gerechtigkeit, Strozzi, unter den Angeklagten ist, – und die Traum–Angela sagt, indem sich ihre Moral als zweite Natur manifestiert: »Du Tor, [...] darf auch ein Mädchen zu einem Jüngling sagen: ich liebe dich? Sie muß ihr Inneres verlarven und verkleidet Wunsch und Geständnis in Zorn und Drohung. Auch, wie könnte sich irgend ein reines Weib mit einiger Ruhe und Sicherheit dir zu eigen geben? Und dennoch: Gerade deine viele Sünde, die ich strafen muß, ist es, die mich an dich kettet. Die Schuld liegt in deinen zauberischen Augen, mit denen du frevelst. Reiße sie aus und wirf sie von dir!« (14,34). Angelas Situation unterscheidet sich in nichts von der des Richters, der »entflammt« wird »für die von ihm Gerichtete« (14,40). Nur – Angela unterdrückt das Feuer, und soll es auch Giulio seine Augen kosten. So siegt die Moral über die Leidenschaft – wie im Falle Strozzis diese über jene. Lüstern läßt sich Angela von den Sünden des Geliebten fesseln, aber allzu nahe dürfen diese nicht an sie heran. »Wenn mich dein Auge ärgert, so reiße es aus und wirf es von dir!« – das ist die frohe Botschaft der göttlich gerechten Angela.

Aber es geht noch weiter: »»Du willst nicht?« begann jetzt die Traum–Angela wieder; »aber es ist einmal nicht anders.« Damit tauchte sie den Finger in eine Schale, die sie in der Linken hielt, und träufelte dem Ärmsten, der sich umsonst zu winden und das Haupt abzuwenden suchte, einen Tropfen roter Flüssigkeit [z.B. das von Giulio vergossene Blut anderer] zuerst in das eine und dann in das andere Auge. Ihn durchzuckte ein entsetzlicher Schmerz, und tiefe Finsternis, dunkler als die schwärzeste sternlose Nacht, umfing ihn« (14,35). Das ist die Fleischhauertat Lucretia Plantas, den Verhältnissen angepaßt und als Gewissen getarnt. Und die Traum–Angela ist die wirkliche; denn sie sagt es ja selbst: »Ich bin Angela Borgia, die deine Augen über alles liebte und

sie zerstörte, dadurch daß sie einem Bösen ihre Schönheit lobte« (14,66). Freilich enthält der Traum die richtigeren Hintergründe: damit Angela das Leben nicht als einen Widerspruch verspotten müsse, wird alle Sinnlichkeit entfernt – beziehungsweise auf die Parallelgestalt Lucrezia geschoben. Die Dämonie wird verdeckt durch Verdrängung, die hier in Grausamkeit umschlägt; diese aber ist nach den Worten der Novelle mit der Barmherzigkeit identisch – denn etwas egozentrisch vertraut Angela später dem »mit Recht« entsetzten Grafen Contratio an, »sie liebe die Gerechten und Tugendhaften gar nicht – mehr schon die ringenden Bösen – am meisten aber die Barmherzigen, wenn sie die Sünder mit starken Armen emporziehen« (14,118): nicht Contratio, eher schon Giulio, am meisten aber sich selbst liebt dieses angelische Mädchen.

Denn das Geheimnis der Barmherzigkeit, so wie sie Angela praktiziert, ist eben, daß sie »immanent« bleibt: Angelas Mitleid ist nicht größer als das des Kardinals: erst als sie Giulio ins Unglück gestürzt hat, kann sie ihn lieben. Nicht mit Don Giulio, sondern nur mit dem unglücklichen Don Giulio empfindet sie Mitleid – und für das Betätigungsfeld ihrer Barmherzigkeit sorgt sie selber, indem sie ihre zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits deutlich gefühlte Liebe so lange verdrängt, bis ihr schließlicher Ausbruch nur Böses zur Folge haben kann. – Dennoch macht es ihr nicht viel aus, zu behaupten, sie sei noch unglücklicher als der Blinde – »es gibt Unseligere als Du bist« (14,66).

Giulio freilich empfindet die Sache etwas anders. Ihm ist »das süße Blau« (14,37) wichtig (er teilt seine Vorliebe mit dem Autor), und er empfindet seine Blendung als eine Art Tod: »O, o, warum raubst du mir das Licht? Was nimmst du mir das All und Einzige weg, das ich war . . .« (14,54). Giulio war mit seinen schönen Augen »König dieses Lebens«: »Ich hatte Götteraugen, war gewohnt/ Zu herrschen – was sie sahen, war mein eigen« (14,66); die Augen waren sein einziges Gut, und er hat mit ihnen auch alles andere verloren. Nicht nur ein Unglück ist hier passiert, sondern eine Existenz ist vernichtet worden.

Das freilich ist eben die Bedingung der Möglichkeit der Barmherzigkeit Angelas. Wie Astorre Antiope erst aus Mitleid liebte, und Wulfrin seiner Schwester recht herzlich zugetan war, als er sie getötet zu haben glaubte – so entfaltet sich jetzt auch die Liebe

der Donna Angela; sie ist jetzt in Sicherheit und braucht die Augen nicht mehr zu fürchten. Giulio wird sanftmütig und fügt sich in sein hartes Los: »Er verklagte weder sich noch andere, sondern nannte seine Geschichte ein Verhängnis, ohne damit seine Schuld mindern zu wollen« (14,70). Und er nähert sich dem christlichen Glauben, »da, wie er sage, das einzige Licht, das ihm in seine Nacht heruntergestreckt werden könne, das ewige sei« (14,71). Für Angela kann es gar nicht besser sein: sie liebt fortan mit gutem Gewissen und versucht jetzt auch noch, eine Begnadigung für Don Giulio zu erwirken, für die sie (14,80) die göttliche Gerechtigkeit in Anspruch nimmt. Doch nicht sie, sondern der Kardinal gibt den Ausschlag; Giulio wird begnadigt, Angela kann ihn weiterhin lieben.

Ihre Liebe kontrastiert – zu – scharf mit der Lucrezia Borgias: diese bestreikt den Großrichter und haßt ihn, als sie ihn nicht mehr braucht; Angela dagegen liebt gerade den Unglücklichen am meisten. Das fromme Mädchen erkennt den Unterschied genau und darf sich schmeicheln: »»Mit einem unüberlegten Worte habe ich einen Menschen geblendet und kann es nie verwinden! Diese aber lächelt, indem sie einen Menschen überlegter Weise in den sicheren Tod sendet«. Doch hielt sie sich darum nicht für die Bessere, sondern verschloß das gemeinsame Elend in ihrer barmherzigen Brust« (14,96). Sie hat es auch gar nicht nötig, sich für die Bessere zu halten, weil das der Autor für sie besorgt; sie braucht nur zu seufzen: »Wie bin ich eine andre!« (14,110).

Dabei erzählt ihr der trunkene Großrichter einige Wahrheiten über die Liebe (14,104), die aber schnell verdrängt werden. Denn Angela läßt den Geliebten nicht so, wie Strozzi es glaubt, »im Kerker schmachten«, sondern preßt ihr Gesicht dauernd gegen das Fensterkreuz und wird auch schließlich von Pater Mamette mit dem Blinden »in eine Schuld und in eine Buße« (14,130) vermählt. Was ihr »die irdische Gerechtigkeit nicht gewähren« (14,130) konnte, das gibt ihr die Kirche. Und was weder der Dichter Ariost noch der Philisoph Mirabili bei Don Giulio ausrichten konnten, das erreichen die Worte des heiligen Franziskus: ihr Geheimnis dringt »in eine Tiefe seiner liebedurstigen Seele, die weder Ariost noch Mirabili, weder der Dichter noch der Philosoph hatten erreichen können« (14,117).

Das sind die zwei Gesichter der Liebe: entweder große Hei-

ligkeit oder schlimme Sinnlichkeit; die Spaltung dauert bis zuletzt, und Angelas Liebe siegt, während Lucrezia bekennen muß, sie habe nie geliebt. Ihre Augen werden starr und leblos, wenn sie nicht Pläne schmiedet, ihre Reize werden für einen bestimmten Zweck produziert und gehören nicht eigentlich zu ihr (14, 18/94/104); sie kennt nur Gewalttat, Haß und Ekel. »So bekannte Lucrezia Borgia. – Angela schwieg. Sie wußte es anders und besser. Dann sagte sie einfach: »Aber die Liebe, die aus Reue und Mitleid stammt?« (14,128). Nun, diese Liebe steht »im Dienst einer höheren Gewalt als der des Herzogs« (14,129), wie es Pater Mammette sagt, und sie überwindet die Welt.

Don Giulio sind »geistige« Augen (14,129) aufgegangen, und Angelas »Härte und Herbigkeit verschwand wie die einer schwelenden Frucht, die an der Sonne reift« (14,119). So wird angeblich alles zum besten gewendet, Giulio erkennt jedoch andere Zusammenhänge, als er sagt, »daß, wenn mich dein zufälliges Wort geblendet hat, es zu meinem Heile geschah; zwar auf eine schmerzliche und gewaltsame Weise, wie eine Mutter ihr schreiendes Kind einem Räuber aus den Armen reißt! Denn ich wäre in dumpfer Lust zugrunde gegangen, während ich jetzt mit hellen Sinnen lebe, wenn auch als ein Verminderter« (14,129). – Als das Volk von Pratello von dem Mädchen Coramba sagte: »Sie hütet ihn wie eine Mutter« (14,57), verdroß ihn dies sehr, aber die Coramba war ja auch nur eine sinnliche und amoralische Hure. Angela aber darf ihn wie eine Mutter hüten; sie hat sich allerdings selbst um das Amt beworben, indem sie für die Kastration sorgte. Denn bedeutete die Blendung Giulios eine Katastrophe, so besagt ihre nachträgliche Rechtfertigung, daß nur noch verstümmeltes Leben statthaft ist. In Angela stehen Lucrelia Planta, Rahel, Diana wieder auf und rächen sich blutig am Leben.

Giulio unterwirft sich den inneren und äußeren Gesetzen – so sorgt die Liebe, die aus Reue und Mitleid stammt, für die heilsame, zwangshafte Ordnung auf dieser Welt und sichert auch dem ferraresischen Fürsten die Ruhe: »Er wird Euer Gebot nicht übertreten«, sagt die siegreiche Angela, »weder dort noch anderswo; denn seinen dunkeln Kerker kann er niemals verlassen. Er trägt ihn überall mit sich« (14,133). Ihm sind die Zähne ausgerissen.

»Ich bin eine Borgia!« (14,134). Eben.

Und dennoch ist Meyer auch seinen weniger erbaulichen Erkenntnissen treu geblieben; denn in dieser Novelle geschieht überhaupt nichts Wichtiges, auch das Gute nicht, ohne die Mitwirkung des Kardinals Ippolito. Er leitet die Blendung in die Wege, aber er erwirkt auch die Begnadigung der beiden aufständischen Brüder. Er weiß um sein Los im Jenseits – er hat von dem riesengroßen Mann geträumt, aus dessen leeren Augenhöhlen die roten Tropfen auf seine Waage fielen (14,74) – und versucht jetzt zu retten, was noch zu retten ist. Der Kardinal stirbt, als die Harmonie wiederhergestellt ist – aber vorher hat er noch mit einem Schreiben aus Mailand Alfonso dazu bewogen, Don Giulio wieder zu befreien. Immer kommt er den ausdrücklichen oder unbewußten Wünschen Angelas entgegen, aber nie erreicht diese aus eigener Kraft ihr Ziel.

Ippolito ist für Angela und Giulio so notwendig wie seinerzeit der Böhme für Gasparde und Schadau oder Wertmüller für Rahel und Pfannenstiel. In ihm überleben die Probleme, und er stellt den ewigen Zwiespalt dar, auch wo dieser jetzt verschwiegen werden sollte. Bei ihm findet sich die eigentliche Thematik der Meyerschen Novellen, während das übrige dem, was einst Schadau den »albernen Mariendienst« nannte, zum Opfer fällt, und die »Ippolito-Gestalt« ist daher auch in allen Novellen eine Hauptfigur, vor allem natürlich in *Jenatsch*.

Angela Borgia ist das letzte und grausamste Beispiel einer Regression, die freilich ihre gewichtigen Gründe hatte. Denn aus Bünden war nichts geworden, keine glorreiche Zukunft zeichnete sich ab, und das Beharren blieb wünschenswerter als eine Entwicklung, aus der jedes Moment der Befreiung verschwunden war. *Pescara* hatte gezeigt, an was für eine Gottheit man glauben mußte, wenn man glauben wollte. Meyers Hinwendung zum Christentum mag so echt wie nur möglich sein – und über sein Seelenleben soll hier nichts gesagt werden, sondern nur über die Novellen –, aber seine tiefsten Probleme hat sie dennoch nicht lösen können; man könnte vermuten, daß »Ippolito« den schließlichen Zusammenbruch veranlaßte.

STATT EINES NACHWORTS

Die Anarchie durch die Etablierung einer höheren Ordnung aufzuheben war Meyers Ziel, aber selten gelang ihm das Postulat dieser Ordnung so leicht – aber auch unverbindlich – wie in *Engelberg*. Widersprüchlich bleibt die Welt, widersprüchlich der Mensch, der nichts hat als sie; was jedoch versöhnt und aufgehoben werden sollte, wurde eher verdrängt und kriminalisiert, statt der umfassenden Ordnung entsteht eine moralische Spaltung. Es gibt am Ende nicht mehr den problematischen Jenatsch, sondern den richtenden Pescara und den schuldigen Morone. Es gibt die problematische Lucretia Planta nicht mehr, sondern Huren und Engel: auf der einen Seite die Türkin, Ellenor, Corinna, Antiope, Lucrezia, auf der anderen Rahel, Grace, Gustel, Diana, Angela. Die Mädchen sind unschuldig und naiv, ganz dem Mann ergeben – und sind ihm dennoch überlegen, weil sie für ihn die verlorene Harmonie verkörpern und ihm eine Idylle verheißen, die er allerdings nur erreichen kann, wenn er sich selbst aufgibt. Welt und Liebe schließen sich gegenseitig aus; wer sich der Frau vermählt, tut es selten genug aus Liebe, sondern um gerettet zu werden oder um eine Schuld zu sühnen. Germano will durch eine Heirat mit Antiope die Verschuldung Dianas wiedergutmachen, Pescara erwägt eine Heirat zwischen Del Guasto und der von ihm verführten Julia Dati, Giulio und Angela werden »in eine Schuld und in eine Buße« (14,130) vermählt, Engel gibt dem fremden Manne folgendes Jawort: »O, Herr, ich bin dein eigen, / Und deine Schuld ist meine Schuld!« (*Engelberg V*, 198 f) – und der Major im Fragment *Duno Duni* heiratet die Schwester eines Mannes, den er einmal ins Unglück gestürzt hat, um an ihr seine Schuld zu büßen. Angela Borgia lehnte es ab, »die Summe eines Rechen-exempels« (14,23) zu werden; es scheint aber nur eine andere Möglichkeit zu geben: daß sie den Mann blenden läßt. Die Ermordung des Gatten (*Richterin*, die erste Äbtissin in *Plautus*, Engels Mutter in *Engelberg*) kann als Rache der betrogenen Frauen aufgefaßt werden.

Engelberg versucht, in legendenhafter Weise die Widersprüche dieser Welt durch den Glauben an eine höhere aufzuheben. Engel »drückt der Menschheit dunkles Erbe, / Der Lose lastende Verkettung« (VIII, 216 f). Als Mensch ist sie schuldig, und ihr Leben ist vom Tod begleitet. Indem sie aus dem Kloster in das Leben geht, nimmt sie auch den Tod in Kauf; der Fremde sagt:

Doch geb ich dir als Brautgeschmeid
 Aus meinem Köcher einen Pfeil!
 Sieh, noch ist seine Spitze blank,
 Die nie das Blut der Gemse trank;
 Kein Geier fiel ihm noch zum Raube –
 Ich schenk ihn meiner weißen Taube!«
 Und lächelnd nimmt sie mit der Rechten
 Das bittre Eisen, das er bot,
 Und sticht durch ihre vollen Flechten
 Beherzt sich den beschwingten Tod.

(VI, 13–20)

Der Pfeil der Sonne wird sie befreien (VI, 123 ff); Silberpfeile im Haar tragen die Bräute, die den Leichenzug Kurds und Lisbeths begleiten (XII, 3 f).

Wer sich dem Leben hingibt, vergißt seinen himmlischen Ursprung und geht der ewigen Gnade verlustig. Meyers Gottvertrauen war vom 19. Jahrhundert angeschlagen (vgl. Brief an Haessel 28.XI.1887), er wußte um die Verlockungen des Lebens und bedurfte einer sichtbaren Garantie der höheren Ordnung. Er suchte die Lösung zuletzt im Glauben, vorher eher in der Kunst, die allein das Leid überwinden konnte. Michelangelo sagt es, als er seine Statuen anspricht:

Ihr stellt des Leids Gebärde dar,
 Ihr, meine Kinder, ohne Leid,
 So sieht der freigewordne Geist
 Des Lebens überwundne Qual,
 Was martert die lebendge Brust
 Beseligt und ergötzt im Stein.

(*Michelangelo und seine Statuen*)

Es gibt jedoch zwei Arten von Künstlern im Werk Meyers; er selbst schwankt zwischen ihnen, und er schwankt auch in seinen eigenen Aussagen zur Kunst. Das Ethische und das Ästhetische lassen sich offensichtlich nicht vereinen, denn das Ethische fordert für ihn die Abwendung vom Leben, das Ästhetische den vollen Genuß desselben. Der Künstler Werner in *Engelberg* ist todkrank wie der Ritter und Dichter Ulrich von Hutten auf der Ufenau, aber ein italienischer Künstler besucht Werner, und Hutten liest aufmerksam Ariost.

In der gespaltenen Welt entartet das Ästhetische leicht zum Frivolen, das Etische aber zur autoritären Moral. Meyer schwankt zwischen der Faszination des Ästhetischen, das zugleich das Anarchische ist, und dessen Preisgabe zugunsten des Moralischen, das auch das Leblose sein kann. »Ein offnes Antlitz« (*Hutten XXXIV Erasmus*) wollte die große Zeit, und Meyer zollte ihr sein Tribut: »1870 war für mich das kritische Jahr. Der große Krieg, der bei uns in der Schweiz die Gemüter zwiespältig aufgeregt, entschied auch einen Krieg in meiner Seele. Von einem unmerklich gereiften Stammesgefühl jetzt mächtig ergriffen, tat ich bei diesem weltgeschichtlichen Anlasse das französische Wesen ab, und innerlich genötigt, dieser Sinnesänderung Ausdruck zu geben, dichtete ich »Huttens letzte Tage«, – so schrieb er 1885 in einer *Autobiographischen Skizze* (Briefe II, S. 510). Obwohl diese Skizze die Problematik durchaus vereinfacht, sind die Franzosen und Italiener dennoch – von *Amulett* bis *Pescara* – fragwürdiger als die Germanen; zugleich aber wird offenbar, daß Meyer sich dem Einfluß der romanischen Länder und Völker nicht entziehen konnte; Hutten muß die Größe eines Ariost anerkennen.

Am 24.VI.1877 schrieb Meyer an Félix Bovet über seine eigene Dichtung: »C'est moins le métier qui me tente, bien que j'ait fini par l'apprendre, que certaines profondeurs de l'âme, où j'aimerais descendre, n'importe dans quelle forme«. Die Seelenanalyse war eine andere Form der Verlockung, weil sie die klaren Umrisse verwischte und das ersehnte endgültige Urteil unmöglich machte. An Haessel schreibt Meyer denn auch am 16.I.1879: »Großer Styl, große Kunst – all mein Denken und Träumen liegt darin«; er wollte in *Pescara* »das Ethische« mit »Posaunen und Tubenstößen« verkünden (Frey, S. 300 f), und Haessel erzählte er (21.VII.1887),

daß er diese Novelle immer deutlicher mache: »Etwas Mystisches oder Gespenstisches a la Kleist, das sich ich weiß nicht wie eingeschlichen hatte, wird weggehoben und das Sumpfland in festen Boden verwandelt« (er spielt hier sogar auf eine in seinem Werk verbreitete Symbolik an). Welche Probleme in einer solchen Umarbeitung enthalten sein konnten, verrät ein Brief an Lingg (11. IV.1879): »Tiefe und Formklarheit sind fast unvereinbar.«

Meyer blieb aber seiner bewußten Absicht treu, denn: »Ich habe zeither eine ganz junge Sehnsucht nach dem Großen, Heilsamen, Menschlich-Wahren (das metaphysisch Wahre halte ich für absolut unzugänglich), auch nach einem großen Styl« (an Louise v. François 31.XII.1882). »Wahr kann man (oder wenigstens ich) nur unter der dramatischen Maske al fresco sein« (an dieselbe 8.IV.1882) – »und ich hasse die Breite, die sogenannte »Fülle«« (an Carl Spitteler 14.XII.1891). – Warum Meyer das Große wollte, erklärt er selbst in einem Brief an Rodenberg (21. IV.1880): »Das Mittelmäßige macht mich deshalb so traurig, weil es in mir selbst einen verwandten Stoff findet – darum suche ich so sehnsgütig das Große.« Ein sehr legitimer Grund, auch der Grund, warum er schreiben konnte: »Dans tous les personnages du Pescara, même dans ce vilain Morone, il y a du C. F. M.« (an Bovet 14.I.1888).

Zwei verschiedene Arten der Stellungnahme zur Kunst schildert schon die Novelle *Clara*: im Schloß werden Dante und Ariost gelesen: »Es war eigen, wie so ganz verschieden die Dichtung auf die beiden Schwestern wirkte. Franziska ließ sich rühren, erschrecken, ergötzen und wiegen, wie nur ein Poet es wünschen kann; aber der Mittelmäßige hätte ihr ebenso gut getaugt als der Vollendete, und dann dachte sie sich überall selbst hinein: *sie* lief Gefahr, und *sie* errettete Ariost durch einen anmutigen Paladin, – so ganz war sie noch ein Kind. Clara aber ließ sich nicht so leicht gewinnen. Zuerst frug sie, Welch ein Mann der Dichter gewesen, denn von einem Nichtswürdigen wolle sie sich nicht blenden lassen. Fiel die Antwort befriedigend aus, wie bei Dante und Ariost, dann überblickte sie erst das Ganze, den Grund und Bau des Gedichtes, ehe sie den Zierat besichtigte« (Corona VIII 401). Beide Schwestern aber vermischen Kunst und Wirklichkeit, sei es nach der Art Franziskas, welche die Kunst über das Leben

triumphieren läßt, sei es nach der Art Claras, welche sich erst des moralischen Wandels vergewissern muß, ehe sie sich der leichtfertigen Kunst hingibt. In dieser noch sehr unbeholfenen Novelle tritt die Spaltung besonders klar und besonders undifferenziert hervor – sie bleibt aber auch später bestehen. Einen ständigen Verdacht hegt Meyer dem Spiel gegenüber. Was unter günstigeren Bedingungen vielleicht läuternde Schönheit gewesen wäre, gewinnt an Gefährlichkeit, weil es vom »Eigentlichen« ablenken kann; es wirkt nicht mehr erlösend, sondern eher auflösend:

Die Macht der Schönheit übermannte mich,
Und ich ermangle der Gerechtigkeit

– so heißt es in *Michel Angiolas Gebet* (Wege, S. 89), einem Gedicht aus dem Jahr 1865. In *Das Münster* taucht dieselbe Problematik in harmloserer, beinahe lächerlicher Gestalt auf:

Wollt ich in schwelgendes Verzieren,
In üppig Blattwerk mich verlieren
Und opferts nicht mit keuschem Sinn
Dem Ganzen streng ich zu Gewinn,
Gleich schlug ein altes Heldenbild
Erzürnt an seinem ehrnen Schild,
Den Finger hob, das Haupt von Licht
Umrahmt, ein Heilger: Tändle nicht!
Das Amt, das dir zu Lehen fiel,
Das ist ein Werk und ist kein Spiel!

Zwei Arten der Dichtung selber stehen in *Hutten* zur Diskussion (*XXVII Ariost*). Hutten beginnt die Auseinandersetzung mit sehr gemischten Gefühlen, denn

Was soll uns noch die bunte Märchenzeit?
Wir fußen jetzt in harter Wirklichkeit.

Seine Anerkennung der Leistung Ariosts wächst aber, und er muß die Gleichberechtigung der beiden anerkennen:

Was ich befehdet mit des Herzens Kraft,
Zerstörst du mit des Scherzes Meisterschaft.

Hutten und Ariost bleiben jedoch *zwei* Dichter. Hutten dringt auf den moralischen Effekt (*XXVIII Bin ich ein Dichter?*) und

nennt sich »Verseschmied«, Ariost auf Schönheit. Hutten muß »ein starkes, dauerhaftes Tuch« (*VIII Der Stoff*) für seine Dichtung haben, ein ethisches Sujet wie etwa die Geschichte Luthers (und dieser selbst gehört auch nicht in die Abteilung *Genie*, sondern in die moralische: *Männer* – diese Aufteilung in der Sammlung von Meyers Gedichten könnte an sich als Symptom der modernen Spaltung gedeutet werden; im Mittelalter können »Freche« und »Fromme« im selben Abschnitt auftreten).

Weniger nachsichtig ist Hutten verständlicherweise gegenüber Erasmus (*XXXIV*):

Die Satyrmaske, lege sie beiseit –
Ein offnes Antlitz will die große Zeit.

Die Humanisten und Ästheten werden immer fragwürdiger: Poggio erzählt in guter Gesellschaft eine Facetie von C. F. Meyer, der allerdings die »Läßlichkeit« (11,34) seiner (des Poggio) Lebensauffassung nicht gutheißen kann. Die Moral wird immer wichtiger, um die eindringende Anarchie zurückzuweisen. Papst Clemens, der sonst so unheilige, drückt die Meinung seines Autors aus, als er Victoria Colonna erzählt, er liebe ihre Muse besonders, »wo sie moralische Fragen stellt und beantwortet« (13,176), und der kluge Perser Ben Emin wird in *Angela* als ein Liebhaber der »Moral im Prachtgeschmeide der Dichtung« (14,26) vorgestellt. – Aber nur selten gelingt es der Kunst, so moralisch zu sein: so ist es kein Wunder, daß gerade die ästhetische Seite der Victoria sie zur Unterstützung der Liga hinreißt – und daß Ariost versagt, als er Don Giulio trösten will, während Pater Mamette mit seiner höheren Botschaft Erfolg hat. Hier wird nicht »das Ethische« verkündet, sondern die Gnade: auch der Philosoph Mirabili kommt zu kurz.

Auch in *Engelberg* treffen zwei verschiedene Künstler aufeinander. Der Italiener erhofft sich von der Kunst die sonst unerreichbare Vollkommenheit:

Ich selbst kann nicht vollkommen heißen,
Drum will ichs keck dem Stein entreißen.
(X, 167 f)

Er verherrlicht das Leben, wie er selber zugibt, und versucht, Werner nach Italien zu locken, denn

Dort spielt das Licht durch alle Räume,
Reift Frucht an Frucht der Sonne Glut,
Und Segel ziehn wie helle Träume
Durch purpurdunkle Meeresflut.

Dort überströmt so voll das Leben,
Daß noch dem Tod ist Reiz gegeben,
Ihr möget in die Erde fallen,
Wenn, ungelebt, ihr hier verstöhnt,
Wir ruhn in lichten Säulenhallen,
Von einer heitern Kunst verschönt.

(X, 141–50)

Diese Beschreibung drückt nicht bloß die Meinung eines Fremden aus; sie enthält für Meyer so positive Elemente wie Reife und Segel (und erinnert ein wenig an *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*). Doch Werner schätzt das heilige Feuer höher als die Fülle, das große stille Leuchten höher als die heitere Kunst, und er antwortet »schlicht«:

So sehn den bittern Tod wir nicht.
Er ist der König aller Schrecken,
Kommt er, die Stirn mit Schweiß zu decken!
Erst wenn der Stachel ihm genommen,
Beginnt die Freudezeit der Frommen . . .

(X, 156–60)

Meyer bleibt jedoch zwischen den beiden stehen; denn Werners Tod hat mit Schweiß nichts zu tun; es heißt nur:

Denn heute wars zum letztenmal,
Daß Werner saß im Sonnenstrahl.
(X, 225 f)

Gerade und vor allem der Tod bedurfte der Verklärung, weil der Glaube an die Auferstehung brüchig geworden war. In einem Brief an Haessel (15.II.1890) beschreibt Meyer ein konkretes Erlebnis: »Wie alles Sterben, war auch das meines lieben alten Forstmeisters von grausamen Umständen begleitet . . . am Ende

förmliches Ersticken.« Jenatsch stirbt aber lächelnd, und Pescara gleicht im Tode »einem jungen, magern, von der Ernte erschöpften und auf seiner Garbe schlafenden Schnitter« (13,275).

Der Kampf für die Befreiung des Menschen, der Widerstand des Bewußtseins gegen das »Schicksal« – das ist letzten Endes eine ewige Auseinandersetzung mit dem Tod. In diesem Prozeß kapituliert Pescara. Als er den Tod seine »Gottheit« nennt, findet er sich nicht nur mit ihm ab, sondern solidarisiert sich geradezu mit ihm. Das ist keine Versöhnung mit dem Unausweichlichen, sondern Ablehnung des Lebens: Ressentiment.

Meyer drang in die »profondeurs de l'âme« hinab, aber sein Empfinden wurde dort nicht weniger »zwiespältig« als das des Armbrusters Hans (*Heilige*). Wie Ariost (*Angela*) suchte er daher wieder die Oberfläche der Dinge, d.h. er wollte ein überschaubares und interpretierbares Bild des Lebens gestalten. Das, welches er sich schuf, konnte die Gegensätze nicht aufheben, sondern höchstens die eine Seite verdrängen. Die Dichtung des Ariost paßt nicht für den erblindeten Giulio, der es auch selber sagt: »Etwas anderes, Ludwig! [. . .]. Das ist nichts für einen Blinden!« (14,58). Die Blindheit bedeutet jedoch die Erlösung und triumphiert so über die von der Welt abhängige Kunst. (Dichter, die wie Giulio blind sind, können große Kunst gestalten: und blind sind die Dichter in *Die Schule des Silen* und – wichtiger – in *Miltons Rache*:

Er ist erblindet! Herrlich füllt mit lichten
Gebilden und dämonischen Gesichten
Die Muse seines Auges Nacht . . .

Aber diese Blindheit ist nicht so sehr eine der höheren Einsicht als eine des Ressentiments: Meyers Milton schreibt »Rächerverse«)

Ariost muß seinen Versuch, Don Giulio zu erheitern, aufgeben; er beurteilt nun einmal das Leben ästhetisch, »Glück könne schmerzen, und Unglück – als Tragödie betrachtet – lasse sich genießen« (14,57). Ariost reicht für die Bekehrung Giulios nicht aus, »weil er sich, leichtbeschwingt wie er war, am wenigsten dazu berufen fühlte. – Denn der Quell echter Reue, das wußte er, sprudelt in heiligen Tiefen, und nur in der einsamen Stille seines göttlichen Ursprungs waschen sich schuldige Hände und Seelen rein. – Ihm aber schauderte vor dem Verharren in solcher ge-
staltlosen Tiefe. Alles, was er dachte und fühlte, was ihn erschreck-

te und ergriff, verwandelte sich durch das bildende Vermögen seines Geistes in Körper und Schauspiel und verlor dadurch die Härte und Kraft der Wirkung auf seine Seele« (14,59 f). – Dieser ästhetische Prozeß ist im Grunde der gleiche wie der moralische des Dante, dessen »strenger Geist wählte und vereinfachte« (12,56). In beiden Fällen versucht das Bewußtsein, Herrschaft über die Dämonen zu gewinnen. Aber was für Dante vielleicht noch möglich war, gelang Ariost nicht mehr: Pater Mamette erst bringt die göttliche Tröstung.

Am Ende steht dann dieselbe Erkenntnis wie am Anfang: daß wir »doch so gründlich zwiespältig und nur durch ein Andres als wir, durch Gott, zu heilen sind« (an Friedrich von Wyß 19.IV. 1858) – aber Meyers Gottvertrauen war vom 19. Jahrhundert angeschlagen. Sein Werk gelingt dort, wo es die Lösung nicht vortäuscht, sondern der Spaltung standzuhalten versucht; wo die Harmonie als erreicht dargestellt wird, ist sie Zwang. Der Fragmenttitel *Die sanfte Klosteraufhebung* drückt die Hoffnung dieser Kunst aus; das letzte Fragment aber (1892) heißt *Der Schrei um Mitternacht*.

LITERATUR ETC.

Abkürzungen:	<i>Hutten</i>	= Huttens letzte Tage
	<i>Amulett</i>	= Das Amulett
	<i>Jenatsch</i>	= Jürg Jenatsch. Eine Bündnergeschichte
	<i>Schuß</i>	= Der Schuß von der Kanzel
	<i>Heilige</i>	= Der Heilige
	<i>Plautus</i>	= Plautus im Nonnenkloster
	<i>Page</i>	= Gustav Adolfs Page
	<i>Leiden</i>	= Das Leiden eines Knaben
	<i>Mönch</i>	= Die Hochzeit des Mönchs
	<i>Richterin</i>	= Die Richterin
	<i>Pescara</i>	= Die Versuchung des Pescara
	<i>Angela</i>	= Angela Borgia

In den Briefzitaten sind Abkürzungen wie u. (für: und), l. (für: lieb-) usw. nicht beibehalten worden.

Werke, Briefe:

Zitiert wird grundsätzlich und so weit wie möglich nach der historisch-kritischen Ausgabe des Benteli-Verlags, Bern:

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(Hinweis 14,42 = Bd 14, Seite 42)

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KARL-G. PRASSE

A PROPOS DE
L'ORIGINE DE *H* TOUAREG
(TAHAGGART)

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser **43, 3**



Kommissionær: Munksgaard
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Préface

La détermination de la nature et du comportement des radicales tombées en berbère moderne est un préalable capital pour les essais de reconstruire le protoberbère. Cette étude s'occupe au premier chef de la radicale protoberbère tombée en berbère du Nord, mais conservée comme *h* en touareg, comme *č* en ghadamsi. Or en marge de cette tâche elle traite nécessairement aussi des radicales perdues partout d'une part, et d'autre part des *h* de la *tāhaggart* (touareg du Nord) qui proviennent de *z* etc.

Nos résultats sont présentés sous forme d'une liste analytique de tous les mots de la *tāhaggart* contenant *h*. Nous espérons que cette liste servira plus tard comme un recueil de matériaux apte à compléter la grammaire historique complète de ce dialecte dont nous comptions très prochainement entamer la publication.

Pour l'accueil de cet opuscule dans sa série de Communications d'Histoire et de Philosophie nous remercions chaleureusement l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark, et en premier lieu le professeur KAI BARR qui par ses bons conseils a contribué à en faciliter au maximum l'abord pour les non-spécialistes.

Pour la correction du texte français nos remerciements sont dus à la professeur MARIE ALICE SÉFÉRIAN.

Mai 1968.

KARL-G. PRASSE

A. Introduction

Les dialectes touaregs sont les dialectes de la langue berbère qui se parlent, séparés du reste du monde berbère par les grands ergs occidental et oriental, dans la zone méridionale du Sahara, plus précisément dans le vaste triangle entre l'oasis de Ghadamès au Nord et les villes de Timbouctou et d'Agadès au Sud. Ils ont de prime abord éveillé la curiosité des chercheurs par quatre ou cinq traits archaïques qui les distinguent principalement du berbère du Nord, soit :

- 1) Le touareg distingue entre une voyelle centrale *ə* qui se maintient partout (sauf à l'hiatus), et une voyelle centrale *ø* sujette à la chute là où la structure syllabique le permet. Le berbère du Nord ne connaît que des *ə* sujets à la chute.
- 2) A ceci s'ajoute que de toute façon *ə* touareg a une place plus stable que *ə* du berbère du Nord. Celui-ci change souvent de place pour créer des structures syllabiques inconnues au touareg, en sorte qu'il devient localement ce qui a été libellé une «voyelle zéro» (A. Basset), c.-à-d une voyelle auxiliaire qui s'insère au besoin pour créer des sommets de syllabe sans avoir pour cela statut de phonème.
- 3) Le touareg a un vocabulaire infiniment moins influencé par les emprunts à l'arabe que le berbère du Nord.
- 4) La spirantisation des occlusives est inconnue au touareg.
- 5) Le touareg présente plus de *h* que les dialectes berbères du Nord en général (réserve faite pour ceux qui comme celui des Bəni Mənaşər du Maroc ont le changement de *t* initial en *h*).

Ces traits suffisent en réalité pour qu'on puisse considérer le touareg comme une langue à part au sein du berbère, bien que la majorité des chercheurs actuels ressentent une certaine hésitation à le faire.

Entre les dialectes touaregs celui du Hoggar (dit la *tāhaggart*, parlé dans la partie septentrionale du triangle) est remarquable en présentant plus que le double de *h* que n'importe quel autre dialecte touareg connu, et ceci en n'importe quelle position phonétique. C'est d'ailleurs le dialecte berbère qui a fait l'objet de

l'étude lexicale la plus approfondie, contenue dans le grand Dictionnaire Touareg-Français du Père de Foucauld.

C'est un fait déjà reconnu depuis longtemps que le phonème *h* touareg du dialecte du Hoggar (la *tāhaggart*) a au moins une double origine qui se révèle par ses correspondants et dans les autres dialectes touaregs et dans le berbère non touareg, ci-après appelé pour plus de commodité: berbère du Nord. Une place à part revient aux parlers de Ghadamès et d'Awdjila.

Dans la suite nous utiliserons les abréviations suivantes pour signifier les différents dialectes berbères dont la distinction est pertinente dans ce cadre:

T:	touareg en général
H:	<i>tāhaggart</i> (dial. du Hoggar, de l'Ajjer et des Taytoq)
N:	<i>tānəsləmt</i> (dial. des Idjellad, région de Timbuktu)
W:	<i>tāwlləmmat</i> (dial. des Iwllemmeden)
D:	<i>tadyaq</i> (dial. de l'Adghagh des Ifoghas)
Y:	<i>tāyrt</i> (dial. de l'Ayr et des Kel-Geres)
Gh.:	dialecte de Ghat (et de Djernet)
Ghad.:	parlers de Ghadamès et d'Awdjila
BN:	berbère du Nord (hors des dialectes ci-dessus)

Les correspondances en question revêtent le caractère suivant:

H	N	W	D	Y	Gh.	Ghad.	BN	=	proto-berbère
<i>h</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š, χ</i> , <i>ž, z</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>z, ž</i>	<i>z, ž</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>		* <i>z</i>
÷	÷	÷	÷	÷	÷	÷	÷		* <i>h</i> ₁
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	6	÷(h?)		* <i>h</i> ₂
÷	<i>h</i>	÷	÷	÷	÷	6	÷		* <i>h</i> ₃
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	?		* <i>h</i> ₂

Pour la possibilité réelle de distinguer plusieurs *h* protoberbères, cf. sect. G-H-J.

Le but de cette étude est: Un examen de tous les mots de la *tāhaggart* contenant *h*, à la lumière des autres dialectes berbères et surtout touaregs (v. la liste à la section Q) – et l'établissement des correspondances et alternances pertinentes panberbères de **h* protoberbère (sections B-P).

Notre conclusion en ce qui concerne la nature de **h* protoberbère peut être résumée dans les termes suivants:

Il est à peu près certain qu'on sera contraint de distinguer 2 **h* protoberbères comme phonèmes différents : **h*₁ tombé partout en berbère et **h*₂ conservé en touareg comme *h* et à Ghadamès comme 6 ou *h* au moins partiellement.

On conclut à la nécessité de cette distinction non seulement à cause de la réalisation différente actuelle des deux phonèmes, mais aussi du fait qu'autrement on aboutirait à un nombre assez élevé de racines protoberbères contenant 2 ou même 3 *h*, donc des radicales identiques, dans des positions incompatibles avec la structure admise de la racine chamito-sémitique (v. sect. H et Q no. 113, 115, 118, 119, 120, 139, 141, 142, 145, 333–338, 352, 463 etc.). A ceci s'ajoute un petit nombre de paires minimales, où la seule commutation des deux **h* paraît assurer la distinction sémantique (v. sect. J).

S'il paraît possible d'attribuer sans hésitation à T: *h*, Ghad. 6 la valeur de **h*₂ – l'évaluation correcte d'un zéro demeure impossible lorsqu'il s'agit de mots qui ne sont pas employés ou au moins pas encore relevés dans les dialectes conservateurs. Il est donc inévitable que grand nombre de mots provisoirement censés contenir **h*₁ (avec lequel **h*₂ tombé se confond) se révéleront plus tard comme contenant en réalité **h*₂, et que d'autres contiennent **h*₂ sans qu'il soit jamais possible de le prouver.

Dans beaucoup de cas **h*₂ est conservé dans la *tānəsləmt* (dialecte de la région de Timbouctou) et à Ghadamès seuls (v. sect. J). Or, nos connaissances de ces deux dialectes ne sont pas suffisantes aujourd'hui pour qu'on puisse affirmer que nous possédions une liste même approximativement exhaustive des mots en question. Le problème de l'évaluation d'un zéro devient donc particulièrement aigu lorsque ces deux dialectes sont seuls décisifs.

Nous avons attribué pour des buts pratiques de répérage le symbole de **h*₃ pour ce cas de conservation très limitée de **h*. Or, il n'y a pas de raisons sérieuses pour le considérer comme un phonème distinct de **h*₂.

Signalons enfin que **h*₁ est particulièrement fréquent comme radicale finale. Il paraît assurer dans cette position la même fonction structurelle, i.e. comme radicale complétive, que **y* sémitique. Noter qu'il se distingue en berbère de *y* final conservé, également fréquent, et de *w* final conservé. Il ne semble pas possible de déterminer si, sur le plan chamito-sémitique, **y* sémi-

tique ou $*h_1$ berbère est primitif. On se borne à constater que, d'une part ils paraissent d'égale fréquence comme radicale complétive chacun dans son domaine, et que d'autre part * , $*h$ sémitiques et $*y$ berbère remplissent aussi parfois la même fonction.

B. On convient généralement que h correspondant à z etc. provient de $*z$ protoberbère, et le correspondant **W**: χ de certains parlars (*ich* allemand) paraît nous montrer clairement que ce h *tăhaggart* est tout simplement l'ultime degré d'une palatalisation générale de z .

En principe le changement $z > h$ n'atteint que z simple, tandis que zz géminé se conserve. Dans certains cas il suffit donc de regarder les seules données de la *tăhaggart* pour pouvoir déterminer l'origine de h , p. ex. *iğhal*, pf. *ȝazzūl* «é. court». Dans beaucoup de cas l'analogie a cependant généralisé soit z , soit plus fréquemment h dans les deux cas. P. ex. impf./pf. *izar/yazzār* «précéder», *yəhhalməd/həlməd* «é. gaucher» (Q. 251).

Il faut noter aussi que le groupe *zg* devient $\ddot{z}\ddot{z}$ et ne pose pas de problème, p. ex. *əżżər<əzǵər*, *əzgər* «traverser» des autres dialectes.

La comparaison avec les autres dialectes touaregs montre en outre que le groupe *nz* devient en *tăhaggart* \tilde{nh} avec palatalisation de *n* par assimilation à un stade antérieur $\check{z}, \check{s}, \chi$ de h – tandis que *nh* primitif reste *nh* – ce qui nous offre encore un moyen de trancher le problème à l'intérieur de la *tăhaggart* (v. Q. 533–554).

Par contre l'analogie a effacé la différence de traitement du préfixe du causatif *S*. Sauf dans quelques cas exceptionnels, *S>z* par assimilation à une radicale *h* sans égard à l'origine de celle-ci. Un tel *z* ne passe normalement pas à *h*. P. ex.: *zihəl* caus. de *ahəl* «courir» (\sqrt{hzl} Q. 352), *zihər* caus. de *ahər* «avoir en commun» (\sqrt{hhr} Q. 353), mais *məsihər* réfl. de caus. «unir en soi deux races, être de race mixte, *ăsihar* n. loc. «lieu de rendez-vous» (v. cependant sect. Q. 373) *hurəj*).

L'examen des emprunts à l'arabe¹⁾ montre que le passage de $z > h$ est l'effet d'une loi phonétique qui a dû cesser d'agir

¹⁾ Charles Pellat: Les emprunts à l'arabe en Ahaggar – Etudes d'Orientalisme Lévi-Provençal 1962, pp. 239–259 (v. p. 247).

André Basset: Six notes de linguistique berbère – Annales Inst. ét orient. Alger V, 1939–1941, pp. 16–40 (v. pp. 25–28).

Francesco Beguinot: Gli Studi Berberi dal 1919 al maggio 1922 – RSO 9, 1921–23, pp. 382–408 (v. p. 391).

voici déjà une période assez longue, car les emprunts récents n'en ont pas subi l'action. P.ex. *əlzəm* «è. nécessaire pour . . .»; mais *zəlhəm* <'alzam «charger (qq'un) de . . .», *əwhən* <*wazan* «peser», *əlhimma* <*'al-ðimmah* «honneur».

Remarquons d'ailleurs que les emprunts anciens contenant ž < ġ classique montrent aussi le passage ž > h, ce qui confirme l'impression que comme certains dialectes méridionaux la *tāhaggart* a dû avoir un stade intermédiaire ž. P.ex. *əlhīb* <*əlžīb* <'al-ğayb «poche», *ălhin* <*ălžin* <'al-ğinn «mauvais esprit» — qui s'opposent encore à des emprunts plus récents comme: *əlžəmayṣt* <'al-ğamāeah «assemblée», *əžhəl* <*ğahil* «è. ignorant de la loi divine».

Des mots comme *ăkərbuh* <*ħarbūš* «école primaire» témoignent de façon analogue d'un second stade intermédiaire š.

C. Que *h tāhaggart* puisse aussi dans de rares cas provenir de *s*, c'est ce qui, à mon avis, n'a pas encore été signalé. Ce changement est l'effet secondaire d'une loi phonétique qui dit que *s* peut devenir š par assimilation à une radicale *w* ou une voyelle *u*. Si cette assimilation s'est faite assez tôt pour coïncider avec le stade intermédiaire š du passage *z>ž>š>h*, š < *s* a partagé le sort de š < *z*. šš géminé, issu de *ss* au même stade par analogie, se maintient sans changement en *hh*.

Le cas le plus clair est celui de l'impf. et de l'inf. de Q.639) *iwhar*, pf. *woššər*, inf. *tuhəre* «è. vieux», dont la racine est */wsr* (**BN**: kab. *iwsir*, *wassər*).

Un deuxième ex. est peut-être Q.622) *əššəd*, inf. *âhûd*, caus. *zuhəd* «è. mauvais». šš < *ss* par analogie comme dans *wəššər*? On ne peut pas écarter la possibilité que dans ce cas il y a plutôt changement šš < *zz* dans des conditions analogues, car les formes du **BN**, kab. *əžžəd*, ne sont pas en faveur de *ss*.

Pour les autres ex. possibles consulter la liste de la sect. Q.

D. En ce qui concerne l'origine protoberbère de *h tāhaggart* correspondant à des phonèmes autres que ceux de la famille de *z*, les opinions ont été plus partagées. Il est naturel que, dans ce cas encore, on ait eu l'idée que ce puisse être *h* qui était secondaire, le son primitif étant soit une semivoyelle, soit *b*, *f* – 6 de Ghadamès ayant plutôt été pris pour un stade intermédiaire entre les deux termes. Car, comme nous le verrons plus loin, on peut faire état d'un certain nombre de cas d'alternance de *h* avec *w*, *y*, *b*, *f*.

Ainsi F. Beguinot²⁾ établissait la loi phonétique: *b* post-vocalique et surtout intervocalique devient la fricative *ħ, f*, puis la semivoyelle *w*, qui disparaît à son tour, donnant lieu à des contractions (Beguinot ne considère pas dans ses conclusions le *h* touareg conservé).

M. Otto Rössler³⁾ se rallie à l'opinion de Beguinot, en établissant expressément une loi phonétique: «*ursprachliches*» [*b*] > *v* > *h* > *zéro* (en position «non protégée», c.-à-d. intervocalique), ou [*b*] > *v* > *ww/yg* (devant *ō, ū/ē, ī*). Il estime d'ailleurs que ce développement est la conséquence d'une spirantisation totale des «*ursprachlichen*» explosives dans le libyco-berbère⁴⁾, dont les parlers spirantisants de nos jours conserveraient le stade final. Ce seraient selon lui les parlers non spirantisants qui seraient moins archaïques, ayant subi après coup une déspirantisation, commençant par les géminées. Il s'oppose par là à l'opinion généralement acceptée (et partagée par le soussigné), qui considère les parlers non spirantisants comme ayant conservé l'état primitif des occlusives.

M. Werner Vycichl⁵⁾ se contente de dire qu'il est connu que *h* touareg peut correspondre à une ancienne labiale.

En ce qui concerne André Basset, qui avait, lui, déclenché la discussion avec son article sur le nom de l'aiguille⁶⁾, sa première réaction était de considérer que *f* pourrait être primitif⁷⁾. Déjà dans sa thèse sur le Verbe il adoptait pourtant un point de vue plus souple, en admettant que le phonème en question était réduit à un simple souffle [*h*] en *tăhaggart*, sans oser se prononcer sur son origine⁸⁾. Il parle en même temps de la chute de *b* à l'impf.int. (forme d'habitude) des verbes de type *ec¹c²ec³* à *1"b*, phénomène général dans le parler des Ida u Semlal du Sus, sporadique ailleurs⁹⁾. Dans le Handbook of African Languages, Part I, La langue berbère, il admet que *w* (*ww?*) peut passer à

²⁾ Francesco Beguinot: Sul trattamento delle consonanti *b*, *v*, *f* in berbero – Rivista R. Accad. Lincei XXXIII, 1924, pp. 186–199 (v. p. 199).

³⁾ Otto Rössler: Libysch – Hamitisch – Semitisch, – Oriens 17, 1964, pp. 199–216 (v. p. 213).

⁴⁾ ibid. p. 211–212.

⁵⁾ Werner Vycichl: Die Verben der Klasse UBAK, UFAD, UHAL im Tuareg – Le Muséon LXXVII/1–2, 1964, pp. 225–230 (v. p. 227).

⁶⁾ André Basset: Notes de linguistique berbère – Hespérus 1923, pp. 69–81.

⁷⁾ ibid. p. 79.

⁸⁾ André Basset: La langue berbère. Morphologie. Le verbe. Etude de thèmes, 1929, p. 202.

⁹⁾ ibid. p. 155.

la bilabiale spirante *v* (Ghadamès) ou à *h* (Hoggar)¹⁰⁾. Il n'y parle pas des correspondances de ces sons avec *b* et *f*, qui dans ce cadre très large ne lui paraissent probablement pas suffisamment générales pour pouvoir établir une loi phonétique.

A ces opinions assez variées nous allons maintenant ajouter la nôtre, qui est que *h* touareg est normalement, au point de vue du berbère, primitif; qu'il est devenu 6 à Ghadamès (et Awdjila) de façon générale – zéro ailleurs, sauf dans des cas particuliers où il se conserve ou bien devient *w* ou *y* par assimilation; qu'il alterne en outre avec *y*, *w*, *b*, *f* dans des conditions non déterminées, qui ne permettent que de constater l'alternance.

Pour justifier cette conception il faut que nous passions à un examen renouvelé des exemples produits par les auteurs cités – avant de dresser, dans une liste des mots de la *tāhaggart* contenant *h*, le bilan de nos connaissances actuelles sur son origine dans chaque cas, pour nous rendre compte dans quelle mesure *h* primitif s'est conservé de nos jours.

E. Avant d'aborder cette analyse il vaut cependant la peine d'étudier le comportement phonétique de *h* primitif en touareg. Rappelons d'abord que nous avons, à l'intérieur de la *tāhaggart* elle-même, deux ou trois moyens apparemment sûrs pour déceler *h* primitif:

Quand il alterne avec zéro dans une même racine (cp. sect. G; marqué $h_2 > h_1$ dans la liste sous Q).

Quand il suit *n* non palatalisé en contact immédiat (*n* se palatalisant devant *h < z*).

Quant il devrait être géminé selon la morphologie, mais s'abrége en *h* simple (*hh < zz* par analogie ne s'abrégeant pas). Cp. *eməqqeddrər*, adj.vb. de *yuddər*, et *eməheğğəğ*, adj.vb. de *huğğəğ*, *ibbərəğ* et *ihăreğ*, *yəddūkkəl* et *yəhăşşəl* etc.

Signalons ensuite trois lois phonétiques qui s'appliquent à **h* primitif, actuellement conservé ou non :

h intervocalique, géminé ou simple, et moins souvent *h* post-consonantique, peuvent changer de place, apparemment pour éviter qu'ils s'exposent à la chute, ou que leur chute éventuelle ne laisse pas d'hiatus, ou que, malgré leur chute, ils puissent révéler leur présence par la contraction avec une voyelle. Normalement *h* prend alors la place de la radicale qui précède, mais apparem-

¹⁰⁾ v. p. 7.

ment aussi parfois la place de celle qui suit. Ces cas ont été signalés en marge de la liste de la sect. Q au moyen des sigles méth.₁ (*h* postconsonantique avancé), méth.₂ (*h* intervocalique avancé), méth.₃ (*h* reculé), p.ex. no. 53, 85, 102. Cp. en outre sect. J.

Une 2^o*h* intervocalique se remplace parfois, pour éviter sa chute, par une consonne forte identique à la 1^o (*H* Peut-être y a-t-il aussi des cas de 1^o*h* remplacée à l'image de la 2^o). Ainsi s'expliquent probablement beaucoup de racines aux 2 premières radicales identiques, identité en principe incompatible avec la structure de la racine chamito-sémitique¹¹⁾. Les cas en question ont été marqués par le sigle rempl. à la liste ci-dessous, p.ex. no. 85, 64.

La chute de *h* paraît parfois se compenser par la gémination de la radicale voisine. Sigle : gém. comp., p.ex. no. 105.

Il n'est malheureusement pas possible dans ce cadre d'entrer dans le détail du fonctionnement de ces lois, qui déborde de loin le domaine de *h* conservé. Cependant les cas de *h* conservé sont naturellement particulièrement intéressants.

F. Jetons enfin encore un coup d'œil sur le sort des emprunts à l'arabe, cette fois ceux contenant *h*, *ḥ*, *ḥ̄* et *'*, *ɛ*¹²⁾. Là encore nous arrivons à distinguer deux stades successifs.

Les emprunts anciens montrent le passage de *ḥ* > *h*, de *'* ou *ɛ* > *h* (?), et de *'* et *ɛ* > zéro ou s'assimilant à l'article arabe, p.ex. :

əlhərir < 'al-*ħarîr* «soie», *hăma* < 'umma*h* (*ɛāmmah?* *għa-mâeah?*) «peuple», *ənfū*, pf. *infā* < *nafae*, *yanfae* «ê. utile à . . .», *əlahrət* < 'al-'āhirah ('al-'uhrāy?) «L'autre monde», *ārab* < *earab* «Arabe», *əlləmāna* < 'al-'amānah «foi», *əllayət* < 'al-'āyah «verset du Coran», *əllāmat* < 'al-*ɛāmmah* ('al-'ummah?) «peuple», *əlluddət* < 'al-eiddah, *'al-euddah* «période de retraite de la femme répudiée».

Les emprunts récents, par contre, témoignent du passage de *ḥ* > *ḥ̄* et de *'* > *γ*, p.ex. *əħməd* < *ħamid* «rendre grâces à Dieu», *ɔyħəd* < *ɛabad* «adorer».

h et *ḥ̄* se conservent apparemment tels quels, sans qu'on puisse distinguer plusieurs périodes. Pour *ḥ̄* ceci n'est pas éton-

¹¹⁾ Cf. J. H. Greenberg: The Patterning of Root Morphemes in Semitic – Word VI, 1950, pp. 162–181 (v. pp. 162 et 167).

¹²⁾ Cf. Pellat, op. cit. note ¹⁾, pp. 245–247.

nant, *ḥ* étant un phonème berbère stable et sans doute ancien. Par contre, c'est peut-être par hasard qu'on ne peut déceler un seul cas de *h* disparu. On peut donc apparemment affirmer qu'à une première période il y a eu confusion de *ḥ* et *h* ($> h$), à une seconde de *h* et *ḥ* ($> \dot{h}$).

Le traitement de *ḥ* et *ε* dans les quelques emprunts anciens peut être pris comme une maigre confirmation de notre hypothèse du caractère primitif de *h* touareg, dont ils auraient partagé le sort.

G. Correspondance: **N** = **WDYGh.** = **Ghad.** = **BN**

÷ ÷ ÷ ÷

Puisque **T** ou **N**: *h* correspond souvent à *zéro*, soit dans le **BN**, soit dans une partie de l'aire touarègue, le tableau ne peut être complet sans qu'on envisage aussi le cas où il y a *zéro* panberbère à une place où l'on peut affirmer avec certitude qu'il y a une radicale perdue. Car même le dialecte le plus conservateur de *h*, la *tānəsləmt*, présente un grand nombre de cas où il n'y a que *zéro*. Des ex. seraient: *əls*, pf. *ilsā* \sqrt{ls} ÷ «*é. vêtu*», *akər*, pf. *yukər* $\sqrt{\cdot kr}$ «*voler*», tous les deux panberbères. — Il y a plusieurs raisons pour ce faire:

Le *zéro* partiel, là où il existe, ne se distingue en rien du *zéro* panberbère. Cp. **N**: *əṛəh*, pf. *iṛəh* = **H**: *əṛru*, *iṛră* avec **NH**: *əktu*, *iktă*. — Nous avons des emprunts à l'arabe où une laryngale (*ε*) correspond à *zéro* touareg, soit *ənfū*, *infā* = kab. *ənfæ* < ar. *nafæ*. — Les semivoyelles *w*, *y*, traditionnellement faibles elles aussi, reçoivent en berbère un traitement différent de **h*, p. ex. **H**: *əṛru*, *iṛrăw* «*trouver*», avec vocalisation, mais sans disparition complète. — Dans des mots différents d'une même racine on a souvent dans un même dialecte tantôt *zéro* panberbère, tantôt *zéro* partiel. Cf. à ce sujet, dans la liste à la sect. Q, les no. marqués *h₂* > *h₁*, p. ex. 410) *huṣṣəl* vb. dénom. de *əṣṣūl*.

Aussi avons-nous choisi, dans nos reconstructions, de représenter le *zéro* panberbère par le même symbole que le *zéro* partiel: **h*. Nous avons donc abandonné notre ancien système¹³⁾, où **w₂* ou **y₂* égalent ce **h*, étant convaincus aujourd'hui qu'il ne s'agit que d'un phonème un, les alternances vocaliques étant

¹³⁾ Le problème berbère des radicales faibles – Mémorial André Basset, 1957, pp. 121–130.

dues à la qualité des voyelles avec lesquelles s'est contracté **h* (*əktu* < **aktuh*, *əls* < **alsih*, *iktă*, *ilsă* < **yuktah*, **yulsah* etc.), non pas à la nature de la radicale perdue elle-même.

Pour la différenciation protoberbère de zéro panberbère et de zéro partiel, v. sect. H fin.

H. Correspondance: N = WDYGH. = Ghad. = BN

<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>6</i>	\div
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A côté du zéro panberbère nous avons le zéro partiel du berbère du Nord, correspondant à *h* pantouareg. Il a à Ghadamès, et probablement à Awdjila aussi s'il faut en juger des données relevées surtout par F. Beguinot et U. Paradisi¹⁴⁾ – le pendant 6 fricatif bilabial (sic André Basset dans ses notes de voyage manuscrites; Lanfry *č*, Motylinski *f'*¹⁵⁾; Beguinot *v*). P.ex.:

ahəγ = *ahəγ* = *aθəε* = *ay* «razzier, prendre» $\sqrt{h_1 h_2 \gamma}$; *əhəd* = *əhəd* = *əθəd* = ? «jurer», nv. *tāhōde* = *tāhōde* = *təθuđi* = ? $\sqrt{h_2 h_1 d}$; *harğət* = *harğət* = *bərğ* = *argu* «rêver», nv. *tāharğit* = *tāharğit* = *uθərğət* (fém.) = *targit* $\sqrt{h_2 rgh_1}$.

La forme *ayθə* «lait», relevée par Beguinot et Paradisi à Awdjila, paraît nous indiquer que T: *ăh/ăħħawən* «lait» est le résultat d'une contraction de **ayθə* $\sqrt{h_1 γ h_2}$. Elle n'aurait donc rien de commun avec Ghad. *asəf* = kab. *ass* «jour», qui a une *f* dentilabiale ordinaire.

La correspondance avec Ghad. 6 a joué un rôle prépondérant dans les essais de prouver que *h* touareg provient d'une ancienne labiale, mais à tort selon nous. La correspondance T: *h* = Ghad. 6 est un fait général sur le plan local, l'alternance de ces phonèmes avec *b* (*f?*) un fait sporadique panberbère.

Les consonnes *w*, *f*, *b* existent à Ghadamès comme des phonèmes à part, malgré la généralité de la correspondance *h* = 6. Pour *b*, considérer le verbe *əzbuňu* (Mot.) = T: *səbbəggət* (?) «accuser de mensonge, blâmer» (~T: *bahu* Q. 14, cf. sect. M) ≠ *zbuňu* (Lan.) (?) «enfumer» (T: *ăhu* Q. 115, *ihohán* Q. 189).

Il y a une divergence entre les anciennes notations de Motylinski et d'André Basset sur quelques points importants où

¹⁴⁾ op. cit. notes ¹⁾ et ²⁾, et U. Paradisi: Il Berbero di Augila (RSO XXV, 1960, pp. 157–177).

¹⁵⁾ J. Lanfry: Ghadamès, étude linguistique et ethnographique (1968) et A. de Calassanti-Motylinski: Le dialecte berbère de R'edamès (1904).

AB avait entendu 6, Mot. *b* ou *f*. Il s'agit des verbes traités à la sect. N qui dans certains dialectes présentent une alternance: *b* aux thèmes simples – $*h_2$ à l'impr. int.

Le nouvel ouvrage du P. Lanfry vient confirmer les notations d'André Basset, selon lesquelles ces verbes ont connu à Ghadamès la communication du 6 < $*h_2$ de l'impr. int. aux deux thèmes simples, soit: *əðdəd//iðəddəd* (AB., Lan.), non pas *əfdəd//?* (Mot.). – Nous regrettons vivement qu'il n'ait plus été possible de tirer parti de l'importante documentation nouvelle de Lanfry dans la mesure souhaitable, surtout en ce qui concerne la vocalisation.

Nous sommes donc d'avis que le 6 de Ghadamès (et d'Awdjila) est secondaire, étant le résultat ultime d'une sonorisation de *h*, n'ayant la plupart du temps aucun rapport avec *b* panberbère, avec lequel il alterne cependant dans quelques cas mal expliqués, entièrement comme *h* ou *zéro* des autres parlers (cf. sect. N).

Les formes fém. des noms de nombre **T**: *əssa*, *əssahət* «sept», *təzzəa*, *təzzahət* «neuf» sont à Ghadamès sans 6, probablement par analogie au masc.: *sa*, *sat* et *təṣu*, *təṣut*.

Il convient de signaler à cet endroit que le **BN** connaît aussi, dans des mots d'origine berbère, un *h* apparemment primitif, d'apparition beaucoup moins fréquente que le *h* touareg. C'est là un phénomène qui attend encore une investigation approfondie. Il faut être conscient de la possibilité qu'il s'agisse d'un *h* analogue au *ḥ* de la sect. L, ou d'un *h* réservé à des onomatopées. Et il reste surtout de déterminer avec quels sons, y compris le *zéro*, il alterne dans l'aire berbère entière. Jusqu'ici un seul cas suffisamment sûr de correspondance avec *h* touareg a été porté à ma connaissance, v. sect. Q.120 *ihi*.

De façon analogue *ḥ* du **BN** n'est peut-être pas toujours à interpréter comme à la sect. L. Considérer des cas comme Q.195 *məhəhwər* = *kab*, *ḥḥizwər*.

Il faudra sans doute à la longue choisir un symbole spécial pour le zéro partiel: $*h_2$ (ou $*h_?$) pour le distinguer du zéro panberbère: $*h_1$ (ou $*h_?$). Cette étude constitue un premier essai dans ce sens. Cependant nos connaissances actuelles, surtout des dialectes décisifs de la *tānəsləmt* et de Ghadamès, sont encore insuffisantes pour faire la distinction dans la majorité des cas. L'alternance sporadique de $*h_1$ avec $*h_2$ dans la même racine pose encore des problèmes mal résolus. Beaucoup de $*h_1$ se

révèleront inévitablement, avec l'accroissement de nos connaissances, comme des $*h_2$. Et finalement beaucoup de zéros du BN, quelques zéros et quelques *h* touaregs, resteront inexplicables, simplement parce que les mots en question ne sont pas employés dans le nombre voulu de dialectes.

J. Correspondance: N = WDYGh. = Ghad. = BN

$$h \quad \div \quad 6 \quad \div$$

Dans certains cas le zéro partiel s'étend au touareg, à l'exception du dialecte *tānəsləmt*, qui donc avec celui de Ghadamès se révèle comme plus conservateur à cet égard que tous les autres parlers. Des ex. sont:

tehøyne = *těyne* = *bina* (sans préfixe d'état, désinence *-a*) = *tini* «datte(s)»; *ərh/irha* = *ər/ira* = *əṛr/iṛru* (métathèse, v. ci-dessous) = *iri/ira* «aimer; vouloir»¹⁶⁾.

Il est extrêmement douteux qu'on doive le cas échéant attribuer à cette correspondance un symbole particulier: $*h_3$, car beaucoup de faits portent à croire qu'il s'agit de la conservation de $*h_2$ dans des conditions particulières, soit en finale absolue après voyelle, et en toute position après consonne. Nos tentatives de différenciation demeurent tout à fait gratuites, servant le but pratique du répérage.

Il importe de noter que les dialectes N et Ghad. distinguent parfois des racines avec $*h_1$ et $*h_3$, confondus partout ailleurs, p.ex. N: *əlh* = WY: *əl*//imprf. int. T: *ihāll* «pleurer» ≠ T: *əl* = Ghad. $*əl$, pf. *ilu* = BN: $*əl$, pf. *ila* «avoir» $\sqrt{lh_3h_1} \neq \sqrt{lh_1h_1}$; N: *ənhi* WYH: *əni*/T: *ihānnay* = BN: *annay*¹⁷⁾ ≠ T: *əni* = Ghad. *əni* = BN: B. Snus. *əni*; *ani* «monter à cheval» $\sqrt{nh_3y} \neq \sqrt{nh_1y}$; Ghad. *ərnəð* «accroître» ≠ T: *ərnu* = Ghad. *ərnu*, pf. *irna* «vaincre»; Ghad. *udəð* = T: *ad* «plier» ≠ Ghad. *udu* = T: *udu*, Y: *aðu* (AB) «tomber», pf. T: *yudā* ≠ *yuðā*.

Des imprf. int. comme *ihāll*, *ihānnay* sont dus à une métathèse, évidemment pour éviter la gémination et la position intervocalique malaisées de *h* (< **ilāhhah*, **ināhhay*). Dans Ghad. *əṛr* (imprf. int. *iṛrr* = T: **ihārr*, Lan., Richardson d'après Mot.¹⁸⁾ la mé-

¹⁶⁾ v. AB. op. cit. note ⁸⁾, p. 70.

¹⁷⁾ ibid. p. 39.

¹⁸⁾ op. cit. note ¹⁵⁾ p. 194.

tathèse s'est étendue aux autres thèmes. De même dans l'infinitif **T**: *āhanay*.

Le verbe Ghad. *ərnəð* ne représente guère un cas de conservation isolée de *h* par rapport **N**: *ərnu*. En effet il paraît s'agir de deux verbes distincts dans certains parlers, mais confondus dans la plus grande partie de l'aire berbère.

Il arrive donc que **h₃* se conserve dans certaines conditions dans les autres dialectes touaregs, en remplissant ainsi les conditions formelles de **h₂*; pour la conservation analogue de **h₁* cp. sect. G. Ce fait confirme notre soupçon qu'il ne s'agit que d'un **h₂* tombé dans des positions déterminées.

Dans certains cas **h₃*, conservé en *tānəsləmt*, se conserve aussi, dans les mêmes conditions, dans une partie seulement des autres dialectes touaregs. Ainsi le groupe *nh* est peut-être plus stable en *tāhaggart* qu'en *tāyrt*. Cp. **N**: *anhil*, **H**: *anhil*, **WY**: *anil* «autruche» et **N**: *tadhənt*, **H**: *tadənt*, **WY**: *tadhənt* «graisse».

K. Correspondance: **N** = **WDYGh.** = **Ghad.** = **BN**

h *h* *h* ?

Malgré ce que nous avons dit de la généralité de la correspondance **T**: *h* = Ghad. *ð*, on possède une faible quantité d'ex. d'un phonème *h* à Ghad. qui paraît correspondre à **T**: *h*. Tels sont d'après Motylinski¹⁹⁾:

da-h = *da* «ici», *sa-h* = *sa* «ainsi» (cp. **T**: *da* = *da-h*, *dě* = *dě-h*, *sě* = *sě-h*); *u-h* = *u*, *i-h* = *i*, *a-h* = *a* «adj. dém.»; *uw-ahi* = *uw*, fém. *tuw-ahi* = *tuw*, pl. *inaw-ahi*, *tinaw-ahi* «subst. dém.» (cp. **T**: *wa* = *wa-h* etc.).

na-h = *na* «particule d'interrogation»; *ih* «oui», *ah* «certes» (dém.?) ; *uhu* «non» (cp. **T**: *ðħə* «non»).

ħəllan, *ħallan* = *hal*(?) = *killan* «très, beaucoup» (cp. **T**: *ħullan*).

Dans les démonstratifs et les adverbes il s'agit peut-être à Ghad. aussi bien qu'en **T** de variantes à la pause. Il faut cependant remarquer qu'en principe le berbère ne semble pas connaître des formes pausales particulières, et que le nefusi paraît indiquer que *-h* soit une forme abrégée de *-ha* (v. Q. 2).

Dans les interjections il n'est pas surprenant de rencontrer des sons qui ne sont pas des phonèmes ordinaires de la langue.

¹⁹⁾ op. cit.

hən paraît n'être qu'une variante de *tən* «suff. 3. pl.m.» dans certaines positions (après consonne?).

əh «être (dans . . .)», invoqué par Motylniski²⁰⁾ pour expliquer la phrase *məkk əhin zumarən n-Ləmtayn* «comment vont les moutons des Touaregs» n'existe guère à Ghad. Il doit s'agir de la forme élargie de *mək[k]*, soit *məkk-ahi*²¹⁾ suivie de la particule du génitif *n* (cp. les démonstratifs *uw-ahi* etc. et d'autre part T: *əmmək*, suivi de complément de nom).

L. Alternance: **h* – T: *h*, BN: *h̄*.

Il arrive que le phonème protoberbère **h*, réalisé comme *h* ou zéro en touareg, zéro en berbère du Nord, alterne avec T: *h*, BN: *h̄*²²⁾, p.ex.:

H: *hərnən* «montrer les dents à . . .», \sim *ħərnən* «grincer des dents contre . . .»; Ayt-Sadden: *aməz* $\sqrt{h_1mz}$ (= T: *abəz*) «prendre, saisir», \sim *ħəmməz* «serrer le poing»; kabyle: *ulwu* $\sqrt{lwħ_1}$ (= *alway*) «ê. lâche, détendu», \sim *labbwəħ* «ê. plat et large» (\sim T: *ilwi* = *alw* «ê. large»).

L'impression que nous donnent ces quelques ex. est que *h*, *h̄* peut être une forme renforcée de **h*, employée dans des verbes à valeur expressive. Il faut cependant élargir la collection des ex. pour pouvoir en juger. En kabyle *h̄* n'est pas rare comme dernière radicale justement dans les conjugaisons qui ont en touareg (et partiellement en kabyle) une dern. rad. **h*, remplacée par *t* dans certaines positions. Cp. en outre sect. H, fin. En tous cas il paraît s'agir de deux phonèmes protoberbères distincts, pas de variantes d'un seul.

M. Alternance: **h* – *w*, *y* berbères.

Partout dans le domaine berbère on peut observer des ex. d'alternance de **h* avec les semivoyelles *w* et *y*. Dans beaucoup de cas il semble s'agir à première vue de l'assimilation de *h* à une voyelle voisine, resp. *i* (*e*) et *u*. Cependant le nombre des ex. où un tel changement phonétique ne peut être supposé, n'est nullement moindre. Il y a selon nous une triple explication de

²⁰⁾ ibid. p. 32.

²¹⁾ ibid. p. 43.

²²⁾ Par alternance nous comprenons une relation de phonèmes non explicable par une loi phonétique.

cet état des choses, sans qu'on puisse dans chaque cas déterminer laquelle est en jeu.

L'alternance $*h - w, y$ indépendante de l'influence de l'entourage, qui est surtout fréquente quand il s'agit de la dernière radicale, est probablement due à l'extension par analogie de $*h$ au profit de w et surtout de y . Il est connu qu'une semivoyelle peut tomber en finale absolue après une voyelle pleine (p. ex. T: *āməsro*, fém. *tāməsroyt*, adj. vb. de *asry* «pratiquer la liberté des moeurs») ou se vocaliser après la chute d'une voyelle centrale. Dans les deux cas le résultat acquiert l'aspect d'un mot à radicale $*h$ tombée, ce qui doit laisser le champ libre au jeu de l'analogie, et bien entendu dans les deux sens. Par conséquent, dans beaucoup de cas, il n'est plus possible de déterminer la situation originelle. On ne peut que juger séparément de chaque mot, en sachant bien que si l'on avait plus de mots de la même racine, plus de représentants dialectaux du même mot, on pourrait être amené à changer d'avis. — Ce qui compte pour notre sujet, c'est qu'il n'est pas question d'un véritable changement de $*h$ en w, y ou inversement, mais d'un substitution.

L'alternance de $*h - w, y$ avec choix entre les deux semivoyelles dépendant de l'entourage, peut être due à un passage direct $*h > w, y$ par assimilation, comme nous l'avons déjà dit (sect. D). Il serait beaucoup moins plausible de supposer le passage inverse $w, y > *h$.

Il faut cependant remarquer que l'assimilation peut aussi se faire à partir de la semivoyelle, dans quel cas nous serions de nouveau réduits à une alternance inconditionnée de $*h - w, y$. Cp. p. ex. H: *tewete*, kab. *biyipa* nv. du verbe *awt* «frapper», pour lequel aucune alternance avec $*h$ n'a pu être démontrée, et où par conséquent il y a simple assimilation de $w > y$.

L'alternance avec w a été considérée comme représentant un stade intermédiaire du passage présumé de $*b > h$. Il est vrai que le passage de b (et de f) à w est sporadiquement attesté en berbère, même dans des parlers non spirantisants, p. ex. H: *əbdəd*, nef. *əwdəd*, zen. *awðəð* «ê. debout», H: *əkf*, kab. *əfk*, B. Snus *əwš*, *uš* «donner». Mais dans aucun cas il n'a été possible de démontrer un passage ultérieur à h ou zéro, mais seulement une alternance $b, f (w) - h$ (cf. sect. N et O).

Il ne faut surtout pas se laisser tromper par l'aspect particulier

que prend cette alternance à Ghad.: *b*, *f* – 6. Ghad. 6 peut alterner avec *b*, *f*, *w*, mais il s'en distingue comme phonème autonome, et à notre avis il n'a pas été montré qu'il soit le résultat d'un changement phonétique de ces sons. P.ex. Ghad. *atirəb* (Mot. *tirað*) «écriture» n'a pas la même racine que le sg. T: *tērəwt*, pl. *tēra* «lettre» $\sqrt{h_1rw}$, mais $\sqrt{h_1rh_2}$ comme le verbe correspondant *urəb* (Mot. *arað*) «écrire», car *urəb* est identique à kab. *aru*, pf. *yura*, *tirað* se couvre avec kab. *pira* (et peut-être avec le pl. T, qui provient cependant plutôt de *tēraw* par simple chute de *w*). D'autres dialectes ont *ary* $\sqrt{h_1ry}$ «écrire» (B. Snus), aucun à ma connaissance n'a **arw* $\sqrt{h_1rw}$ dans le verbe.

Exemples de **h – w, y* indépendamment de l'entourage:

Forme secondaire des particules affixes de verbe, p.ex. T: *hás*, Ghad. et BN: *yas* (= *ás*, *as*) «à lui». – Il faut mettre en garde contre l'idée que *hás*, *yas* soient nécessairement des formes post-vocaliques, augmentées d'une consonne initiale destinée à remplir l'hiatus. Si BN: *yas* paraît aujourd'hui réservé pour l'emploi en cette position, T: *hás* est simplement une forme principalement employée en tête de complexe verbal, que le mot avant lui se termine par une consonne ou par une voyelle, p.ex.: *áłs* *hás-ilkámən*/*áłs* *wa hás-ilkámən* «Un homme/l'homme qui le suit». – On note dans ce contexte que *hín*, particule d'éloignement, de nom, id. à *ín/hín* particule de verbe, est toujours possible au lieu de *ín*, p.ex. *ablal-hín* «la pierre-là». – Il est donc plus vraisemblable que *h, y* appartiennent effectivement au mot, ayant été voués à la chute en position post-consonantique. Il paraît être indifférent que la forme BN est en principe postverbale, employée après verbe à voyelle finale, là où le T préfère la contraction, sauf dans des cas isolés comme *innă-hás* = *inn-ás* «il lui dit». – La forme N: *həs* pourrait indiquer que *ás* ne soit qu'une contraction de **hás*, *hás* ayant surgi secondairement à l'analogie de *ás*.

HGh.: *əssâhət*, *təzzâhət*, forme fém. de *əssa* «sept», *təzzə* «neuf», NY: *əssayət*, *təzzayət*.

H: *təhaṭṭuf* = *təgaṭṭuf* «fourmi».

H: *həkəkət* $\sqrt{?kh_1kh_1}$ = *həkyky* «rire aux éclats».

T: $\div =$ Ghad. *ačarən*, *ačərn*, Awdj. (*ə*)*črūn* = nef., B. Snus *arən* = kab., Sus *awrən* «farine».

T: *ahar* = zen. *ar/iran* ou *war/warən*, fém. *tarət* «lion» (fausse interprétation du préf. d'état d'annexion?).

H: *əns* «passer la nuit» $\sqrt{nsh_1}$, *mənsəw* «prendre le repas de nuit».

H: *əkəl* «passer le midi» $\sqrt{klh_1}$, *məkləw* «prendre le repas de midi».

kab. *timəlsiwt*, *taməlsawt*, nv. de *əls* $\sqrt{lsh_1}$ «vêtu».

H: *tākəmmawt*, nv. de *əkmu* $\sqrt{kmh_1}$ «faire mal».

Les deux derniers ex. montrent des alternances qui sont assez régulières (nv. avec *-w*, vb. avec *-h₁*), probablement à cause de la contamination par analogie de deux variétés de verbes distincts.

Exemples de **h – w, y* avec dépendance de l'entourage:

NW: *zuhər* = **H:** *huhər* = **Gh.** *Y:* *zuwər* = Ghad. *zuwər* = kab. *zur* «vêtu, fort, gros».

H: *ăhu* = Ghad. *uču* = Sus *awwu*, *aggu* «fumée».

H: *səhəd* = **Y:** *suwəd* (< **suhəd* forme parallèle?) «souffler».

H: *təhunt* = **Gh.**: *tawənt*, *tuwənt* = Sus *taggunt* «pierre».

H: *tāhort* = **Gh.**: *tāwurt*, *tauwərt* = Ghad. *taččurt*, pl. *təččuru* (Lan.) = Sus *taggurt*, kab. *pabburþ* «porte».

H: *tashərt* = B. Snus *ħaswərþ* «couvercle, bouchon» (assim. à *ə* < **ü* dans les n. instr., cp. *ăsāru* «clef» de *ar* $\sqrt{h_1rh_1}$ «ouvrir»).

H: *ğuhəl* \sqrt{ghl} = kab. *ggužəl* \sqrt{wgl} (métathèse) «vêtu, orphelin».

H: *harğət*, pf. *ihǔrgət* = Sus *wwarəg* «rêver».

H: *tāhárğit/tihúrga* = Sus *tawargīt* «rêve».

H: *huñhər* \sqrt{hnzr} = Sus *wunzər* «saigner du nez».

H: *buggət* «vêtu, convaincu de mensonge» < *bahu* $\sqrt{bh_2h_1}$ «mensonge».

H: *hađən* «autre» ~ *wi-yođ* «certains», kab. *wa-yođ*, Sus *wa-yođ* «autre» (composés avec dém. *wa*; assim. au pl. *wi*?).

H: *ehən* = Ghad. *ayən* (Gh. *yanān*) «tente» (assim. à la voy. d'état?).

H: *tihay* = **Y:** *tiyay* «obscurité» (id.?).

T: *tehele*, *tehəle* = Ghad. *təččeli* (AB), Awdj. *təččel* = kab. *tili* «brebis» (id.?).

T: *ehəd*, *ehod*, *ehad* = Ghad. *iħad* = nef. *uħiġ* = kab. *id* «nuit» (id.?).

On constate que souvent la semivoyelle est géminée (et partant peut aboutir à *ggw*, *gg*, *bbw*, *bb*). La gémination peut être justifiée comme dans les verbes à l'h, qui en effet doit être géminée dans le système verbal touareg au moins (cp. sect. E). Ailleurs il faut peut-être compter avec le résidu d'une troisième radicale **h*₁ perdue. Ainsi il est clair que le verbe *əħər* «boucher», qui est à la base de *tħort*, *tashərt*, est un verbe creux comme tant d'autres et doit avoir la racine $\sqrt{ħ_2ħ_1ṛ}$, donc: **tā-h₂ħ₁ṛt* > **tawwurt*? Cp. Ghad. sg. *taħħurt*, dont īħ géminé semble bien acquis. D'autre part des formes comme **Għ.**: *tawwərt* pourraient indiquer une métathèse de quantité **wū* > **wwū*, telles qu'on en trouve fréquemment en sémitique.

N. Alternance: **h – b* berbère.

Le meilleur argument des partisans d'un changement **b* > **h* est constitué par une petite série d'exemples d'une alternance *b – h* à l'intérieur du berbère même. Il y a limitation dans tous les cas de ces phonèmes à la place de la première radicale, et apparemment dans la seule position devant voyelle ou entre voyelles. Le phénomène est régulier à l'impf. int. chez les Ida u Semlal du Sus, où il atteint même les emprunts à l'arabe, sporadique dans les noms verbaux de ce même parler, sporadique partout ailleurs. Voici les ex. produits jusqu'ici:

« s'arrêter, se mettre/être debout » \sqrt{bdd} .

Sus *ibədd*//*itbəddad* (impf. int. à préf. T, passé à un type différent à cause de l'identité des 2 dern. rad.).

kab. *yəħdað*//*yəħħaddað*, *iħħaddað*, *yəħħħadað* (le premier impf. int. paraît être une altération de **yaddað* avec préf. T par analogie²³⁾), nv. *adduð*, *aħħdað*.

Ghad. *iħħadd* (Lan.)//*iħħaddad* (AB, cf. sect. H).

T: *bdəd*//*ibħaddad*, nv. *tebədde*.

Pour la forme dial. *awħħadd* v. sect. M.

« taille (stature) » \sqrt{hdd} .

Sus *tiddi*

²³⁾ kab. īħ proviennement régulièrement de *b*, *d* resp.

kab. ?

Ghad. ?

T: *teħədde* = *tebədde*.

On suppose normalement que ce nom dérive du verbe *əbdəd*; il faut cependant se rappeler que cette présomption réside uniquement dans les faits qu'il y a une parenté de sens possible («la stature qu'on a debout») et que l'infinitif T *teħədde* a aussi le sens de «taille»; *teħədde*, *tiddi*, relevé aussi dans d'autres parlers, n'a à mon avis jamais été rencontré avec le sens d'un infinitif.

« être humide » $\sqrt{bzg}, bdg.$

Sus *ibzəg*//*yazzäg* (aussi «è. enflé»)

kab. *yəħəzəg*//*yəħħazzəg*, *iħəzzəg* (préf. T secondaire), nv. *azzug*

Chenwa *ibzəg*//*yəħħəzəg*

Ghad. *iħzaġ* (Lan.)//*iħəġġəż* (AB, cf. sect. H)

T: *ibdəg*//*ibāddəg*

« annoncer. » \sqrt{bdr}

Sus *ibdər*//*yaddär*

kab. *yəħədər*//*yəħħadər*, *yəħħəħħədər* (d interv. < dd), nv.

Ghad. *iħħədər*//*iħħəħħədər* (Lan.)

T: \div

« se ceindre » $\sqrt{bgs}, gbs.$

Sus *ibəks*//*yaggəs*, nv. *aggwəs*

kab. *yəħəgəs*//*yəħħagəs*, *iħəggəs*, *yəħħəħgas*, nv. *aggus*.

Ghad. ?

T: *igbəs*//*igħabbəs*

« partager » $\sqrt{bħħ}$.

Sus *ibħdu*//*yaħħa*, nv. *tiħħit*

kab. *yəħħdu*//*iħəħħtu*

Ghad. ?

DW: *ibħdu*//*ibħiċċħdu* (AB, Ma.)

« percer » \sqrt{bgh} .

Sus *ibgu*//*yagga*

kab. \div

Ghad. ?

W: *abəg* \sqrt{hbq} (?AB), H: *ədəġ* \sqrt{dhq} (?)

« commencer » \sqrt{bhd} < ar. \sqrt{bd} .

Sus *əbdu*//*yadda*, nv. *tanəbdūt* «été»

kab. yəbðu//*iðəddu*, nv. *anəbðu* «été»

Ghad. *əbdu*//*ibəddu* (AB, Lan.), nv. *anəfdu* «été» (Mot.)

T: ÷

« poussière » $\sqrt{b\gamma\gamma}$ (*bγh?*).

H: *tāboqqa* = *tāhoqqa*

L'origine de *h* n'a pas été établie avec certitude.

« être mêlé, remué » \sqrt{brwy} , $hrwy$.

H: *bərwy* «ê. bouleversé» ~ *məhərwy* «ê. éparpillé».

Tous les deux dérivés de la racine de *ərwy* «mêler» et pass. par préfixation d'une nouvelle radicale (Foucauld). L'origine de *h* n'a pas été établie avec certitude.

Pour la conclusion que nous tirons de ces ex., v. fin de la sect. O.

0. Alternance: **h – f* berbère.

Il existe un cas d'alternance **h – f* qui ressemble à ceux de la section qui précède. C'est celui de l'impf. int. du verbe :

« donner » \sqrt{kfh} , *fkh*.

Sus *ifk*//*yäkka*, nv. *tikki*

kab. yəfk/yətʃak, nv. *pilʃi* (*kš* < *kk* par palatalisation)

Ghad. *ikf* (Mot.)//*iðəkk* (AB) (Lan.)

T: *yəkf*//*ihâkk*, nv. *tehəke*.

Pour la forme dialectale *əwš*, *uš*, v. sect. M.

On s'aperçoit vite, que si l'on pouvait admettre que la forme *əfk* était plus primitive, voire que *f* était issu de *b* par assimilation à la sourde *k*, on aurait un cas presqu'analogique à celui de *əbdu*, *əbgu*. — Cependant c'est une tendance phonétique prépondérante de placer les fricatives devant les occlusives (cp. *Alexandre* > ar. 'al-'iskandar), et la forme touarègue n'est pas entièrement isolée. Hors de Ghadamès elle a encore été signalée chez les Ayt-Sadden (Maroc) : *əsf*, et en zenaga : *okf* ou *offa*.

S'il fallait considérer *əfk* comme plus primitif, on aurait déjà une alternance **h – f* hors de la première radicale, car ce serait alors *ihâkk* qui aurait subi une métathèse, analogue à celle qu'on

observe dans *ihâll*, *ihânnay*, Ghad. *iðərr* (cf. sect. J). – Ajoutons que la supposition de M. Rössler²⁴⁾ que *kk* provienne de *ww(< bb)* comme dans l'impf. int. de *awt//ɔkkat* «frapper», est à notre avis une pure spéculation.

Nous n'osons pas trancher la question. Il vaut mieux constater encore simplement que l'impf. int. a une racine différente de celle des autres temps.

Les autres exemples de l'alternance **h – f* n'arrivent pas à ébranler l'impression que cette alternance diffère de celle **h – b* en ce qui concerne les conditions morphologiques et la place de la radicale en question. Les voici :

« voir » $\sqrt{fn̥y}$.

H: *səffənnny* $\sqrt{fn̥y}$ «regarder en l'air d'une manière orgueilleuse et prétentieuse» ∞

H: *hənyhəny* $\sqrt{hn̥y}$ (= *kənykəny* \sqrt{kny}) «aller en tous sens en cherchant à voir» (l'origine de *h* n'a pas été établie avec certitude).

Ces deux verbes sont sans doute à rapprocher de *əny*, impf. int. *ihânnay* (Foucauld; v. sect. J). Il est donc probable qu'ils ont subi tous les deux une métathèse de la racine, analogue à celle de *ihânnay* (< * $\sqrt{n̥fy}$, * \sqrt{nhy}).

« saigner du nez » $\sqrt{fn̥zr}$.

H: *fuñhər* $\sqrt{fn̥zr}$ «av. la narine coupée» = kab. *ffunzər* «saigner du nez» ∞

T: *hunzər* (**H:** *huñhər*) $\sqrt{hn̥zr}$ «saigner du nez» (**H:** «éprouver du dégoût pour») = Sus *wunzər* = Ayt-Seghruchen (*g*)*gunzər* = B. Snus *bbunzər*.

Ces deux verbes sont sans doute dérivés de **T:** *tənzərt/tinzâr* $\sqrt{n̥zr}$ «narine/nez» (Foucauld) par préfixation d'une nouvelle radicale. À cause de leur coexistence en **H** il n'est guère possible de les regarder avec André Basset²⁵⁾ comme des doublets. Cp. d'autres dérivés comme kab. *ħħunzər* = *yunzu* «bouder», *γγunzər* «ê. aquilin (nez)» $\sqrt{γn̥zr}$, *γnzh*; Izayan *kkunzər* $\sqrt{kn̥zr}$ «saigner du nez» (dont Awdj. *tkinzîrt* «nez» paraît être un nom déverbal).

²⁴⁾ op. cit. note ³⁾, p. 210.

²⁵⁾ op. cit. note ⁷⁾, p. 135–136; *w* regardé comme le point de départ.

Il est à notre avis trop dangereux de songer à un simple assourdissement de *ww*, *gg* dans les cas de *ff*, *kk* respectivement, changement dont il serait bien difficile de démontrer l'existence ailleurs (malgré l'impr. int. de *əwt*, kab. *əkkat*). Il faut plutôt comparer avec des cas comme *bərway*, *məhərwy* **h* – *b*, *hənyhəng* ~ *kənykəny* **h* – *k*.

« aiguille » $\sqrt{gnf^{26)}$.

Il y a alternance panberbère hors du touareg entre : *tissəgnəft* \sqrt{gnf} et *tissəgnit* \sqrt{gnh} , *gny* (avec leur variantes phonétiques). A cause de la parenté avec le verbe *əgnu*, *əgny* « coudre », on peut écarter la possibilité d'une assimilation avec la désinence fém. *fl* > *tt* > *t*.

« laine » \sqrt{dhf} , \sqrt{dwf} ?

Il y a alternance panberbère entre *taðufl* (Sus), *paðufl* (kab.) et *təðufl* (H), *taðuft* (Chawiya), *paðufb* (Rif). L'assimilation de *ft* > *tt* > *t* n'est pas attestée ailleurs et ne doit guère être invoquée ici²⁷⁾. *tt* (> *ff* par extension de l'emphase) se compose de *t*, remplaçant de *h*, et *t*, désinence féminine. – Sans doute à rapprocher d'ar. *sūf* \sqrt{swf} .

Considérant maintenant les exemples des sections N et O, il est clair que les alternances **h* – *b* et **h* – *f* sont assez bien attestées. Néanmoins le nombre des ex. ne suffit pas pour établir que chaque **h* protoberbère, ni chaque **h₂* seulement, provienne de **b* ou de **f*, et surtout ils ne permettent pas d'établir que *f* ne serait qu'un stade intermédiaire du passage **b* > **h*. – On ne peut pas non plus en conclure, comme l'a fait M. Rössler, que chaque **b* devrait dans certaines conditions phonétiques devenir *b* > *h* (en réservant l'éventualité d'autres *h* qui n'auraient pas cette origine)²⁸⁾.

Ce qui est gênant dans les ex. ci-dessus, c'est qu'on ne peut pas les définir simplement en des termes phonétiques. Il n'est pas possible de maintenir que le changement a lieu dans telles et telles conditions phonétiques. A côté des alternances invoquées

²⁶⁾ op. cit. note 6). Noter que zen. *tsugnal* « aiguille », H: *tsubla*, *tsugla* « grande aiguille de tapissier », B. Salah *pissūbla* « grosse aiguille » etc. est un mot différent de celui ci-dessus, avec lequel il coexiste souvent dans le même parler (B. Salah *pissəgnīb*, zen. *əsəsigni* « alène »).

²⁷⁾ cf. op. cit. note 2), p. 194.

²⁸⁾ op. cit. note 3) et 4).

il existent toujours beaucoup plus d'exemples des phonèmes *b*, *f*, *w*, *y*, **h*, chacun sans alternance avec les autres.

Si M. Rössler avait raison que c'est **b* intervocalique qui se réduit à *þ* > *h* > zéro, on s'attendrait à ce que grand nombre de mots isolés, où l'analogie d'autres formes de la même racine n'auraient pas de chance de jouer, illustreraient ce changement – ou autrement dit, on ne s'attendrait pas à ce qu'il existe beaucoup de mots isolés avec *b* intervocalique, comme on en trouve effectivement partout, même à Ghadamès.

Il ne faut pas, à notre avis, attacher trop d'importance au fait que l'alternance **h* – *b* ait été régularisée dans un paradigme morphologique (impf. int. opposé à impf./pf.). Il peut s'agir de l'extension par analogie de quelques cas isolés. Il y a lieu de comparer avec l'alternance **h* – *w*, régularisée de façon analogue (verbe – nom verbal; cp. sect. M).

Nous ne pouvons donc rien dire, sinon qu'il y a une alternance, que deux racines apparentées se complètent, sans pouvoir dire de quelle nature est cette alternance, quelle direction aurait eue un éventuel changement phonétique. Nous penchons à considérer le phénomène sous l'angle de l'hypothèse des radicales complétives au moyen desquelles on explique en sémitique la création, à partir de bilitères, de trilitères divergents mais apparentés²⁹⁾.

Nous avons en berbère d'autres cas analogues qui nous laissent dans un embarras pareil, p. ex. l'alternance bien attestée entre *k* et *y*, *w*. Cp. **H**: *izay* «ê. lourd», nv. *ăzâk*; **H**: *ifaw* «faire jour», nv. *tăfuk* «soleil»; **H**: *əfsy* = **Y**: *əbsək* «désagréger»; **H**: *aly*, **Y**: *alək* «ê. suspendu»; **H**: *husy* = **N**: *huskət* «ê. beau»; **H**: *əzmy* = Ghad. *əzmək*/*żəmmək* «coudre»; B. Snus *yənsi/yənsawən*, *însi/însayən* = **H**: *ekənisi/ikənûsay* «hérisson».

P. Correspondance: **h* = *b* extraberbère.

Pour étayer encore l'hypothèse du changement **b* > **h* > zéro, on s'est efforcé de produire des ex. de mots contenant *b*, *p* (*f*) des autres langues chamito-sémitiques, voire des langues négro-

²⁹⁾ cp. Sabatino Moscati, Anton Spitaler, Edward Ullendorff, Wolfram von Soden: An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages (Porta Linguarum Orientalium NS VI, 1964), pp. 72–74.

africaines, qui auraient une parenté génétique avec des mots berbères contenant $*h^{30)}$.

Les essais dans ce sens n'ont pas réussi à convaincre la majorité des chercheurs et sont, à notre avis, voués à l'échec tant qu'on n'arrive pas à dégager des correspondances précises entre les différentes branches de la famille chamito-sémitique. Ces rapprochements sont utiles pour autant qu'ils enrichissent les matériaux à partir de l'ensemble desquels on pourra essayer d'établir des correspondances, mais pour le moment on n'en peut rien conclure avec certitude en ce qui concerne notre sujet.

Cependant, passons en revue les ex. produits pour compléter notre tableau :

ul, ulh $\sqrt{h}lh(w)$ «coeur» \sim sém. *lib(b)* \sqrt{lb} \sim ég. *ib* \sim som. *lāb*.

On n'a pas tenu compte de la voy. init. constante *u-* qui doit trahir une *l'h* ou *w* (sauf M. Rössler³¹⁾, qui propose une métathèse *ulh < luh (< lub)* qui n'est peut-être pas improbable. Il faudrait alors compter avec une consonne initiale auxiliaire ' ou *h*, avec laquelle $*\ddot{u}$ se serait contracté en une longue, maintenue comme voyelle pleine actuelle).

Si hautement probable que soit la valeur de ce rapprochement, il n'en reste pas moins que les racines sont assez divergentes. Noter que la désinence du pl. *ulawən, ulhawən* contient peut-être encore une radicale *w*, tombée au sg. par fausse coupe.

ər, ərh \sqrt{rh} «vouloir» \sim ég. *ʒbi* «désirer» \sim som. *rab* «nécessiter».

Eg. *ʒ* ne remonte pas nécessairement à *r*. Dans le cas de *'bi* les pendants sém. montrent que *ʒ* est primitif: hebr. *ʒābāh*, ar. *ʒabb*, dial. *ʒabāy* «av. le temps long après, désirer». – Noter que ce verbe semble former paire avec un verbe négatif: ég. *ʒb* «cesser» \sim ar. *ʒabāy* «refuser» (éth. *ʒabaya*) \sim berb. (T) *iba* \sqrt{hb} «cesser».

tēyne, tehayne \sqrt{hyn} «datte(s)» \sim ég. *bni*.

bni est précisément un cas où *i* provient de *r*, la forme ancienne étant *bnr*. On n'a pas de témoignage intraberbère du passage de *r > y*, mais cp. cependant le rapprochement déjà fait

³⁰⁾ Surtout Rössler, op. cit. note ³).

³¹⁾ ibid. p. 213.

entre berb. *əsw* $\sqrt{sw\bar{h}}$ «boire» et ég. *swr*, *swi*, dont l'*r* a été traité comme celui de *bnr*. La différence de place entre *y* et *i* fait difficulté.

təhunt \sqrt{hhn} , *hwn* «pierre» \sim sém. 'abn.

La vocalisation berbère pose un problème, si l'on veut identifier *h* avec *b*. La voy. *u* doit trahir une radicale faible. Mieux vaut l'identifier avec ', voyant dans la rad. médiane le correspondant de *b*. Se rappeler que 'abn a été rapproché en outre de T: *ablal* «pierre» $\sqrt{b\bar{l}l}$.

ehere \sqrt{hrw} «menu bétail; biens» \sim beğə *bari* «biens».

ahəy «razzier, prendre» $\sqrt{hh\gamma}$ \sim beğə *abik* «prendre».

harjət \sqrt{hrgh} «voir un songe» \sim saho *birrig* «s'effrayer violement», som. *bararugayya* «se réveiller». – Les sens ne paraissent pas se couvrir.

Sus *ara*, B. Snus *ary*, Ghad. Awdj. *arəb* \sqrt{hrh} , *hry* «écrire» \sim lib. *rb* «écrire»³²⁾.

Malgré tout ce qu'on en dit, l'analyse des inscriptions libyques n'est pas encore suffisamment avancée pour faire des rapprochements de ce genre, voire établir que c'est du berbère ancien. On peut seulement dire que le caractère chamito-sémitique du libyque est aujourd'hui hautement probable³³⁾.

tērəwt \sqrt{hrw} «lettre». Même rapprochement que pour *ara*.

ehən \sqrt{hnh} «tente, maison» \sim sém. \sqrt{bny} «construire».

əğru, *əğrəh*, caus. *səğər*, *səğrəh* \sqrt{grh} «discerner, comprendre», caus. «examiner» \sim ar. *ğarrab* «essayer, tenter».

ayər, *ayərh* \sqrt{yrh} «bouclier» \sim ar. *qirbah* «outre», tig. *qarbat* «peau travaillée».

Ghad. *tadaħut* (sic) / *tidəħwa* \sqrt{dhw} «baguette» \sim hébr. *ṭabbaeāt* «baguette».

³²⁾ Chabot no. 7/1. 11.

³³⁾ V. l'intéressant travail de O. Rössler: Die Sprache Numidiens – Sybaris, Festschrift Hans Krahe, 1958, pp. 94–120 – avec démonstration de l'existence de nombreux affixes chamito-sémitiques.

Je ne connais pas la forme T: *taðəhot*³⁴⁾. Emprunté au copte **ტბბე** [tbbə]?

uhal \sqrt{hhl} «saluer (un absent)» \sim ar. *bâl* $\sqrt{bw\bar{l}}$ «attention»³⁵⁾.

āhaðun \sqrt{hdn} , *zdn?* «15. nuit du mois (de pleine lune)» \sim sém. *baṭn* «ventre» (**baṭūn* «ventru»?). L'origine de *h* n'a pas été établie.

əkf//hâkk \sqrt{kfh} , *khh* «donner \sim saho *bāh* «donner».

Rapprochement possible uniquement grâce à la déduction d'une racine berbère douteuse, qui laisse provenir *k* de *w* (*kk* < *ww*).

Pour des essais comparatifs avec les langues négro-africaines, encore plus audacieux, se reporter à O. Rössler³⁶⁾.

A côté de ces correspondances génétiques on a aussi mis en jeu des emprunts anciens contenant *b*³⁷⁾ soit passés en berbère, soit pris au berbère. Aucun n'apporte d'éléments nouveaux substantiels pour étayer l'hypothèse du changement **b* > **h*. En voici la liste :

phén. *bəṣālīm* «oignons», passé en berbère sous la forme *azālim* (Sus), qui n'a aucune trace d'une rad. initiale faible, comme le serait une voyelle init. constante. Le *bə-* initial a probablement été pris pour un préfixe d'état d'annexion, *wə-*, changé en *a-* à l'état libre.

lat. *V/Bandalos*, passé en berbère sous la forme *andalus* (passé à l'arabe comme *'andalūs*). Encore fausse interprétation de *V/B* initial comme préf. d'état d'ann. *w-* devant voyelle constante.

lat. *vultur* > **bētar* > **H**: *ehədər*, **W**: *ežədər*, *egədər*, Sus *igīdər* «aigle». Pure spéculation. Le mot berbère a la 1^{er} z ou g.

lat. *vitūlu* > **batil* > **HW**: *ehədəl* \sqrt{hdl} «veau de lait». Emprunt en herb. peu probable.

lat. *Bauares* serait emprunté au berbère *iħaggārən* < **i-hawwārən* \sqrt{hwr} (ou l'ar. *hawwārah*?). Le B [6?] latin est probablement un essai gauche de rendre le son *h*, étranger au latin de l'époque en question; s'il s'agit du mot *iħaggārən* du tout.

³⁴⁾ O. Rössler: Der semitische Charakter der libyschen Sprache, ZA 50, pp. 128–150 (v. p. 132).

³⁵⁾ op. cit. note ⁵⁾ p. 227.

³⁶⁾ op. cit. note ³⁾.

³⁷⁾ Ibid.

Q. Suit maintenant la liste des mots qui contiennent en *tāhaggart* le phonème *h*, avec incorporation des mots de la *tānəslāmt*, dont *h* correspond à *zéro* en *tāhaggart*.

Il existe en outre une série de mots des dialectes méridionaux avec *h* qui n'ont pas de pendant en *tāhaggart*. Il n'a pas été possible de traiter aussi de ceux-ci, quelque intéressants qu'ils soient eux aussi, bien entendu. Il suffit de rappeler que *h* des dial. mér. est toujours à regarder comme «primitif», excepté des cas rarissimes d'emprunt à la *tāhaggart* de mots contenant *h < *z* (cp. 250) *āhəllum*).

Pour chaque mot ont été indiqués les renseignements que nous possédons sur sa forme dans les autres dialectes touaregs, augmentés d'indications utiles sur ses pendants extra-touaregs. Les emprunts à l'arabe sont pourvus de l'indication de leur forme arabe classique (et dialectale s'il y a lieu).

La liste a été établie selon l'ordre de l'alphabet français, en tenant compte des consonnes radicales conservées seules (de la forme actuelle). Se rappeler que :

Les préfixes S [*s*, *z*, *ż*, *š*], M [*m*, *n*], N [*n*], T [*t*, *tw*] (passif et féminin), Y [*y*, *i*], L [*l*, *łl*] (article arabe) – ainsi que les formes géminées et combinées de ces préfixes – n'appartiennent pas à la racine.

Les voyelles *u* et *i* peuvent représenter *w* et *y* vocalisés respectivement.

**h* représenté par *zéro* en *tāhaggart* ne compte pas comme consonne radicale.

gg est la forme géminée régulière de *w*, *qq* celle de *y*, *tt* celle de *d*. Pour cette raison tous les *q* et *t* simples ont été rangés resp. sous *γ* et *đ*.

Une dernière «radicale» *t* peut remplacer **h*, devenu *zéro* en *tāhaggart*. Dans ce cas il ne compte pas dans le classement selon l'ordre alphabétique.

Les principales désinences à décompter sont: -(ə)*t* (fém.), -(ə)*n* (pl. et participe), -*in* (pl.), -*ān* (pl.), -*nīn* (part. pl.).

Dans cette liste relativement brève nous n'avons pas cru devoir ranger à part les signes consonantiques munis de diacritiques (*š*, *ż*, *ż*, *đ* etc.), qui sont donc à chercher sous la lettre correspondante sans diacritique.

Nous nous sommes permis de changer dans une certaine mesure les signes vocaliques employés par les divers auteurs.

Pour faire mieux ressortir la racine, nous avons écrit *w*, *y* pour *w*, *y* vocalisés en *u*, *i* resp. en finale absolue de mot. La position postconsonantique indique suffisamment la prononciation voulue.

Les matériaux pour les dialectes touaregs méridionaux proviennent des sources suivantes :

- (AB) Notes de voyage inédites d'André Basset (1933–1935).
- (Neh.) Nehlil: Etude sur le dialecte de Ghat (1909).
- (JNic.) Johannes Nicolaisen: Ecology and Culture of the Pastoral Tuareg – Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Række IX (1963).
- (Ma.) Evangile selon Saint Matthieu, en Tamachek, dialecte de Tombouctou, Soudan Français – *Iselan A Husketnen es Matiu* – The National Bible Society of Scotland and The British and Foreign Bible Society (1953). – *tānəslømt*.
- (Nic. I) Francis Nicolas: Textes ethnographiques de la «Tamâjøq» des Iullemmeden de l'est – Anthropos XLVI (1951), pp. 754–800.
- (Nic. II) id. (deuxième partie) – Anthropos 48 (1953), pp. 458–484.
- (Nic. III) id. (troisième partie) – Anthropos 50 (1955), pp. 635–658
- (Nic. IV) id. (quatrième partie) – Anthropos 51 (1956), pp. 129–156.
- (Nic. V) id. (cinquième partie) – ibid. pp. 949–966.
- (Nic. VI) id.: Vocabulaires ethnographiques de la «Tamâjøq» des Iullemmeden de l'est (sixième partie) – Anthropos 52 (1957), pp. 49–64.
- (Nic. VII) id. (septième partie) – ibid. pp. 564–580.
- (Nic. Dict.) id.: Dictons, Proverbes et Fables de la «Tamâjøq» des Iullemmeden de l'est – Anthropos XLI/XLIV (1946–1949), pp. 807–816.
- (Nic. Ind.) id.: Les Industries de Protection chez les Twareg de l'Aza-wagh – Hespéris XXV (1938), pp. 43–84.
- (Nic. Tam.) id.: Tamesna, Les Ioullemmeden de l'est ou Touâreg «Kel Dinnik» (1950).
- (Nic. FT) id.: Folklore Twâreg, Poésies et Chansons de l'Azâwarh – Bulletin de l'IFAN VI/1–4 (1944).
- (F) Charles de Foucauld: Dictionnaire Touareg-Français I–IV (1951–1952).
- (P) Karl-G. Prasse: Notes inédites.

Les chiffres renvoient aux pages. Le manque de renvoi à la page indique une forme ou fréquemment et sûrement relevée, ou figurant dans un vocabulaire ordonné.

Les sigles indiquant les dialectes sont ceux de la section A.

- 1) **h des interjections:** *he, hēy* (voc.), *hey, ôh, ûh, ah, eh, ayôh, həm, ho-hôo, hit, āhle* (ar.?). *h₂-h₂*
 Les rares données des dial. mér. indiquent *h₂*: **W**: *he* (voc.; Nic. IV. 134); *eyooth* (Nic. VI. 52).
- 2) **h final des pronoms démonstratifs etc.:** *wa-h = wa, dě-h = dě, da-h = da* etc. *-h₂*
 Les rares données des dial. mér. indiquent *h₂*: **W**: *dī-h = H*: *dě-h* (Nic.); *sā-h = H*: *sě-h* (Nic.); *ā-di^h* = **H**: *a-dī-h* (Nic. VI. 52); **D**: *dě-ha-h = H*: *dě(-h)*; *sě-ha-h = H*: *sě(-h)* (F.).
Gh: *di-h = dě-h* (Neh.).
 Un *h* final analogue paraît se relever à Ghad. et ailleurs: Ghad. *da-h* «ici», nef. *dāh = dāha* «ici», *sāh = sāha* «d'ici», Ghad. *sah* «ainsi» (cf.: K.).
D: *a-dī-š* «ceci, cela» (F.); **N**: *adiš* «ainsi, donc» (Ma.) n'appartiennent probablement pas ici. Leur *-š* final paraît être une forme abrégée de **W**: *-za* (Nic.).
- 3) **h initial des pronoms suffixes etc.:** *-hás, -hi, -hin, -he* (part. de l'impf.), *-hîn, -hidd* (part. de rection) etc. Cf. sect. M. *h₂-h₃*
- 4) *bubbu* «porter sur le dos» \sqrt{bbh} . *-h₃*
N: *bubbəh* (AB); **W**: *bubbu* pf. *əbbubba* (AB).
- 5) *bubəh* «ê. cousin germain» \sqrt{bbz} . *-h < z*
 T. mér. non att. Sûrement dérivé dénom. de 6) *ābâbah*. *h < z*.
- 6) *ābâbah/ibûbah* et fém. «cousin germain» \sqrt{bbz} *-h < z?*
W: *bubaz* (Nic. FT. 458); **Y**: *abubaz/ibubazən* (JNic.); **Gh**: *ababah/ibubah* et fém. (Neh.); faux? emprunt à **H**?.
- 7) **N**: *bubbəh* v. 4) *bubbu*.
- 8) *əbdəh* «ê. à bout de souffle», adj. vb. *ebîdəh*, *zəbbədəh* «courir à perte d'haleine» (caus.) \sqrt{bd} ? *-h < z?*
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour *h < z*.

9) <i>ăbadah</i> = <i>abada</i> «toujours; jamais» \sqrt{bdh} .	- <i>h</i> ₂
Gh: <i>abadəh</i> (Neh.).	
Forme pausale empruntée à l'ar.: ' <i>abadah</i> < ' <i>abadan</i> . On en dérive en H. un vb. <i>budət</i> \sqrt{bdh} «faire continuellement», <i>abada</i> paraît être dû à l'analogie de l'adv. <i>da</i> = <i>da-h</i> (v. 2), peut-être par fausse interprétation comme <i>aba da</i> «(cela) cesse ici».	
10) <i>bədʒy়hor</i> «région sacro-coccygienne» $\sqrt{b\bar{d}ʒ\bar{y}hr}$?	- <i>h</i> ₂₋ ?
Gh: <i>bədərhor</i> (AB). Douteux.	
11) <i>bədrəh</i> «demander en mariage» $\sqrt{b\bar{d}r\bar{h}}$	- <i>h</i> < <i>z</i> ?
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour <i>h</i> < <i>z</i> .	
12) <i>ebəğəh</i> «vase ou plat grossier», <i>tebəğəht</i> «pelle à poussière» \sqrt{bgz} .	- <i>h</i> < <i>z</i>
W: <i>abəgəz</i> (Nic. VI. 63; <i>z</i> faux pour <i>z</i> ?).	
13) D: <i>təbha</i> «chevelure non tressée» (F) \sqrt{bzh} .	<i>h</i> < <i>z</i>
D: <i>təbša</i> (AB); W: <i>təbša</i> (Nic. VII. 574).	
La forme D donnée par F. paraît être une réfection par analogie.	
14) <i>bahu/bahūtən</i> «mensonge» $\sqrt{bh\bar{h}}$.	- <i>h</i> ₂₋
N: <i>bahu</i> (Ma.); Y: <i>bahu</i> , <i>bihu</i> (AB); Gh: <i>bahu/bahutən</i> (Neh.).	
Pour le vb. dénom. <i>buggət</i> , caus. <i>səbbəggət</i> (N: <i>səb[b]uggət</i> (Ma.), Ghad. <i>əzbuðu</i>), v. H.	
15) $\div/ibuhūtən$ «grandes mamelles» $\sqrt{b\bar{h}\bar{b}\bar{h}}$.	?
T. mér. non att.	
16) <i>təbēhit</i> «grain d'izeyān» $\sqrt{b\bar{h}:b\bar{y}?$?
T. mér. non att.	
17) <i>ăbuhbuh</i> «esp. maladie» $\sqrt{b\bar{b}\bar{h}}$?
T. mér. non att.	
18) <i>təbuhbuh</i> «plumet (bot.)» $\sqrt{b\bar{b}\bar{b}\bar{h}}$.	?
T. mér. non att.	
19) <i>ăbūhəj/ibūhəjən</i> «botte» et fém. «babouche» \sqrt{bzg} .	<i>h</i> < <i>z</i>
W: <i>abūzag</i> , <i>təbūzək</i> (Nic. VII. 566), <i>abušəd</i> (!AB); Gh: <i>tabuzak/čibuzağın</i> (Neh.), <i>təbužək</i> (AB).	
20) <i>buhən</i> «ê. apprêté sans viande ni beurre» $\sqrt{bzn(?)}$	<i>h</i> < <i>z</i> (?)
T. mér. non att. Probablement id. à kab. <i>bbuzən</i> (nv. concr. <i>ăbahîn</i> = kab. <i>abazin</i>).	

- 21) *búhán/búhánən* «hibou» \sqrt{bzn} .
Gh: *bu[w]izzan* (Neh.), *bəwwizan* (AB). Emprunt à l'ar. dial.: 'abú-wizān.
 Sans doute à séparer de **W:** *bāwin* = *būwe* «chouette» (Nic. VI. 55).
- 22) *ebahnaw* «âne qui ne vaut rien du tout» $\sqrt{b?nw}$.
T. mér. non att.
- 23) *əbhər* «(se) mettre à cru sur le dos (d'un an.)» (inf. *əbahar/ibəhárən*) *zəbbuhər* «id. réfl.» *əbáhar* «dos nu (d'an.)» \sqrt{bzr} ?
 Le pl. de l'inf. a peut-être été relevé dans un sens concret **Y:** $?/ibəzarən$ «lattes de *težira* (hutte)» (JNic.).
- 24) *ibhaw* pf. *bəhəw* «ê. de couleur crème foncé ou blond clair»; adj. vb. *abhaw/ibhawən* et fém. **W:** pf. *bazaw* (Nic. II. 468), adj. *abzaw/ib(a)zawən* (Nic. VI. 59); **Y:** adj. *ab(a)zaw*, *ab'saw* (AB); **Gh:** part. pl. *ibah[a]wən* «ê. gris» (Neh. faux? emprunt au **H**?).
 Il y a risque de confusion avec *ibzaw* «ê. gris cendre» etc.
- 25) *əbīlət/ibīlətʃən* «paupière» \sqrt{blhdd}
N: (*a)bilhət*, (*a)bilhətt* (AB); **W:** (*a)bilət*, (*a)bilətt*, (*a)biləd* (AB); **Y:** *abilət*, *abilətʃ*, *abiləd* (AB).
 Ce mot est probablement un composé contenant comme dernier élément **iłt*, fém. *tıłt/tıłtawin* «oeil» \sqrt{hdd} , auquel **N:** *h* peut donc appartenir.
- 26) **N:** *abilhət* v. 25) *əbīlət*.
- 27) *bulləhət* «ê. doux à l'homme (an.)» $\sqrt{bl?h}$
T. mér. non att.
- 28) *əbəlkah* «amande» $\sqrt{blk?}$
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
- 29) *əbəlyih* «épaisseur» $\sqrt{bly?}$
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
- 30) *zəbbəytəh* «courir de toutes ses forces en bondissant», adj. vb. *əzəbbəytah* $\sqrt{byt?}$
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
- 31) *əbrəh* «camper», n. loc. *əzəbrih/izəbrah* et: *əzənbəruh/izənbərah* $\sqrt{br?}$

- T.** mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
- 32) *ebərhəj* «vieil éhakit usé» et fém. dim. $\sqrt{brzg}??$
 Fém. peut-être relevé dans **NW**: *i-n-təbəršək*
 «celui de la *tebərhək*, esp. de fourmi» (AB).
- 33) *ăbərhoh/ibərhah* «chien à poil long» $\sqrt{br}??$
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour que
 le *h* final provienne de *z*.
- 34) *bərəhrəh* «dégringoler» \sqrt{brzrz}
W: *bərəžrəž* «s'ébouler» (Nic. I. 799).
h < z indiqué déjà en **H** par la parenté avec
bərəzzət «s'ébouler».
- 35) *ăbərnuh/ibərnah* «burnous».
W: *bərnuz*, *abərnus* (AB); **Gh:** *abərnuz*, *abərnus*.
 Connu aussi **BN**: kab. *aðərnus/iðərnýas*, siwi
abərnus/ibərnas.
< ar. barnús. Les formes **T** avec *z* paraissent
 exclure *h < s*.
- 36) *əlbuh* «étoffe de laine rouge» $\sqrt{bw}??$
< ar.? T. mér. non att.
- 37) *ədd* «piler» \sqrt{wdh}
NW: *əddəh* (AB), **W:** *əddu* (AB).
 À séparer de 38) *əddəh*. Connu à Ghad. comme
əddəð (sic AB. Lan.).
- 38) *əddəh* «piler» \sqrt{wdz}
W: *əddəz* (Nic. FT. 438); **Y:** nv. *eddaz* «castration
 par écrasement» (JNic.).
 Connu aussi **BN**: kab. *əddəz* «piler; frapper;
 casser».
- 39) **N:** *əddəh* v. 37) *ədd*.
- 40) *əddəh* «ê. fatigué» $\sqrt{wðz} < \sqrt{lðz}?$
NW: *əldəš* «ê. maigre, languissant, fatigué» (AB,
 Ma.); **W:** *əddəz*, *əddəð*(?) (Nic. FT. 448, I. 773,
 III. 640); **Gh:** *əd[ð]əj* (Neh.).
də au lieu de *ff* géom. paraît s'expliquer comme
 issu de *ld* par assim., malgré l'existence de formes
 avec *d* simple comme caus.: *zūdəh* (**W:** *zodəz*
 (Nic. I. 779), **Gh:** *zuðəj* (Neh.)) – nv. *ūdūh* (**Gh:**
aduğ (Neh.)).

*h < z??**-h < z??**h < z**-h < z**-h < z**?**-h₃**-h < z**-h < z*

- 41) *adəh* «tâter» $\sqrt{h\bar{d}}$?
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
- $h < z$?
- 42) *tamadaht* «dispute en paroles», caus. dénom.
zəmmədəh «se disputer en paroles» $\sqrt{\bar{d}h}$?
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
Apparenté à 41) *adəh*? (F.); métathèse?
- $h < z$?
méth.?
- 43) *duhət* «ê. engourdi» $\sqrt{\bar{d}\bar{h}h}$?
Le nv. *tădaut* [*tădawut*, *tădawt*?] peut être ancien et montrer le changement $h > w$ par assim. (cf. M.).
- h_2 ?
- $h < z (s?)$
- 44) $\div / \text{timūdah}$ «ciseaux» $\sqrt{w\bar{d}z}$, $\sqrt{h\bar{d}z}$?
W: ?/*timuḍaš* (AB); **Y:** ?/*t̥imīḍas* (AB); **Gh:** *čemidəst*/*čimiḍas* (Neh.), ?/*timudas*, ?/*timidas*, ?/*timidah* (AB).
Il n'est pas sûr qu'ici *h* provienne de *s*, car celui-ci peut représenter un *z* assourdi en finale absolue, voire par assim. à *t* si l'on peut présumer l'existence générale antérieure d'un sg.
- $h < z$?
- $h < z$
- 46) *dəhdəh* «amollir en battant entre 2 pierres» $\sqrt{d?d}$?
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour que *h* final provienne de *z* et pour que le mot soit un bilitère répété. Probablement apparenté à 38) *əddəh* $\sqrt{w\bar{d}z}$ «piler».
- 47) *ədhəl* «assister» $\sqrt{dh\bar{l}}$
N: *ədhəl* (AB).
Ch?
- 48) *əddəhālu* «absence de poils (cham.)» $\sqrt{d?lh}$?
T. mér. non att.
?
- 49) **NW:** *tadhənt* v. 53) *tādənt*.
- 50) *dəhūnət* «ê. très fort» vb. dénom. dérivé de *adħān* «h. (an.) très fort» adj. vb. (fém. aussi *tadhənt* «veuve dans sa période de retraite») $\sim \check{a}məddəhūn/$ *iməddəhān* et fém. «h. (an.) vigoureux et ardent» $\sqrt{d?nh}$
T. mér. non att.
?
- 51) *ădāhūn* «tullult flétrie, noircie et desséchée» $\sqrt{d?n}$?
T. mér. non att. Apparenté à 50) *dəhūnət*? (F.), étant un pâturage *bon* pour les chameaux etc.
?

52) <i>əd̥hər</i> «ê. fier» $\sqrt{d̥hr}$	<i>Ch₂</i>
W: <i>əd̥hər</i> (Nic. I. 778).	
53) <i>tādənt/tīdnîn</i> «graisse» $\sqrt{hd̄n} < \sqrt{dh̄n}$	<i>Ch₃</i>
N: <i>tadhant</i> , <i>tadhunt</i> (AB); W: <i>tādhənt</i> (Nic. II. 482), <i>tadənt</i> , <i>tadant</i> (AB).	méth. ₁
<i>tādənt</i> représente une métathèse par rapport à <i>tadhənt</i> et au vb. <i>ədən</i> $\sqrt{dh̄n}$ (nv. <i>ādən</i> $\sqrt{hd̄n}$) «graissier», Ghad. <i>əd̥ən</i> (Lan.).	
54) <i>ādərih/idrah</i> «trace de pas» \sqrt{drz}	$-h < z$
NW: <i>adəriš</i> (AB); W: <i>adəriž</i> (AB. Nic.); Y: <i>adəriz</i> , - <i>əz</i> (AB); Gh: <i>adəriz</i> , - <i>š</i> (AB), <i>adəriğ/idərğan</i> (Neh.).	
55) N: <i>səddərhən</i> v. 56) <i>səddirən</i> .	
56) <i>səddirən</i> «souhaiter» dénom. de <i>dīrān</i> «souhait» $\sqrt{dh̄rn} < \sqrt{drhn}$	<i>Ch₃</i>
W: <i>səd[d]ərəhən</i> (Ma.).	méth. ₁
<i>səddirən</i> représente une métathèse par rapport à <i>səddərhən</i> .	
57) <i>əfhəm</i> «comprendre» \sqrt{fhm}	<i>Ch₂</i>
T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>fahim</i> .	
58) <i>əfləh</i> «fendre» $\sqrt{fl?}$	$-h < z ?$
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour <i>h < z</i> . Synonyme de <i>əfly</i> \sqrt{fly} . A été rapproché de sém. * \sqrt{pll} , \sqrt{plh} , \sqrt{pls} , \sqrt{ply} etc.	
59) <i>efələhləh</i> «jusqu'ame» $\sqrt{flz̄lz̄}$	<i>h < z</i>
W: <i>afaləzləz</i> (Nic. VI. 56).	$-h < z$
60) <i>fuñhər</i> = <i>fəñhər</i> «avoir la narine coupée» $\sqrt{fnz̄r}$	<i>h < z</i>
Y: nv. <i>efinžar</i> «coupe de narine (âne)» (JNic.).	
Cf. 315) <i>huñhər</i> , 548) <i>tēñhərt</i> , 549) <i>ăñhər</i> et sect. M et O.	
61) <i>fəñhuyət</i> «ê. franc» dénom. de <i>fəñhit</i> adv. ? \sqrt{fnzyh}	<i>h < z</i>
T. mér. non att. ñ palatalisé indique <i>h < z</i> (v. sect. B).	
62) <i>fəruhət</i> «ê. gai» \sqrt{frhh}	$-h_2-$
T. mér. non att. < ar. \sqrt{frh} , probablement dénom. de 'afrāh (pl.).	
63) <i>ăfərhâlay</i> «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{fr?ly}$?
T. mér. non att.	

- 64) *førənkuhət* = *førənkukət* (= *førənkən*) «av. sa partie superficielle enlevée» $\sqrt{fr(n)kh(\text{?})}$
T. mér. non att. *førənkukət* paraît être une forme ou -*h*- a été remplacé par une consonne identique à la rad. précédente.
- 65) *ugdu* «ê. égal» \sqrt{gdh}
N: *agdəh* pf. *ugdəh* (AB, Ma.); W: *agdu* pf. *ugda* (AB); Y: *agdu* pf. *yugda*, *aglu*(?), *əgdu* pf. *igda* (AB).
- 66) N: *agdəh* v. 65) *ugdu*.
- 67) *əgdəh* «suffire» \sqrt{gdh}
N: *əgdəh* (Ma.).
- 68) *ugdah* «datte moitié mûre, moitié non» \sqrt{gdz}
GH: *ugdaz*, *uglaz*, *ugdas* (AB). La dern. forme avec assourdissement de la finale.
La parenté avec 65) *ugdu* (F) est à écarter.
- 69) *eğədəh* «NPL Agadès» \sqrt{gdz}
Y: *egədəz* (F, J, Nic.).
- 70) *ājdəlūhūf* «extrémité pendante du voile de tête de l'homme» \sqrt{gdlhhf}
W: *ag'dəlləhof* (Nic. Tam. 171). Probablement composé, cp. *egedil* «chose pouvant servir d'écran pour le visage».
- 71) *eğif* «dos sablonneux avec végétation» et fém. dim. $\sqrt{ghf} >$ N: \sqrt{hgf}
N: *tehəğift* (AB); W: *eğif* (AB).
tehəğift représente une métathèse par rapport à *eğif*.
- 72) *əğjəh* «entrer dans» adj. vb. *āmūğəh* \sqrt{wgz}
N: *əğ[ğ]əš* (AB, Ma.); W: *əggəz*, *əğəš*, -*χ* (AB); Y: *əggəz* (AB); Gh: *əğ[ğ]əz* (Neh.) – adj. vb. et nv. N: *amuğəš* et *uğəš* (Ma.).
Peut-être contamination dans certains dial. avec 76) *əğəh* «scarifier». Apparemment connu en BN avec le sens de «descendre», p.ex.: sus *əggwəz*.
< Y: *əgdəz* \sqrt{gdz} «visiter» (F)? cp. caus. *zuğəh* «faire entrer dans» et «visiter».
- 73) *āğuh* «tendon d'Achille» \sqrt{hgz}

- W:** *aguz* (AB. Nic.), *ağuž*, -š (AB); **Y:** *aguz*, -š (AB).
 Apparenté à 72) *əğjəh*? (F.).
- 74) *ăzâjəh/izâjâh* «rue» \sqrt{hgz} (?)
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
 Probablement n. instr. de 72) *əğjəh* (F.).
- 75) *tiğhit* «vertèbre» $\sqrt{g?h}$, $\sqrt{g?y}$?
 T. mér. non att. Apparenté à 72) *əğjəh*?, 73) *âğuh*? (F.).
- 76) *əğəh* «scarifier» \sqrt{ghz} ($<\sqrt{gyz}$?)
NW: *əğəš*, *əğya[š]* (AB); **Y:** *əgyəz* (AB); **Gh:** *əggəž* (Neh.).
 La racine paraît être primitivement \sqrt{gyz} (*y* s'étant confondu avec le *g* palatalisé?). **Gh:** *gg* par anal. avec le nv. 77) *čiggižt*?
- 77) *těğżehe/tiğjah* «scarification» $\sqrt{hgz} < \sqrt{ghz}$
Gh: *čiggižt/čiggaž* (Neh.).
 nv. de 76) *əğəh*, avec métathèse.
- 78) $\div/ijəhâñ$ «(divination par) points faits dans le sable» \sqrt{gzh}
W: *igazan* (Nic. VII. 580); **Y:** *igazan* (JNic.).
 Peut-être apparenté à 76) *əğəh*.
- 79) *tağhe/tigħewîn* «secret» \sqrt{gzw} (\sqrt{gzh} ?)
W: *takši* (AB); **Gh:** *tağəzi/čiğəziwin* (Neh.).
 Peut-être apparenté à 72) *əğjəh*.
- 80) *teğəhe/tiğəhiwîn* «taille (milieu du corps); descendance des soeurs (neveu(x))» \sqrt{gzh} (\sqrt{ghz})?
W: *tegəze* (Nic. TF. 82; JNic.); **Y:** *tegaze* (JNic.);
Gh: *čiğəzi/čiğəzawin* «vertèbre».
 Apparenté à 72) *əğjəh* ?, 75) *tiğhit* ?, 79) *tağhe* ?, 83) *tağħəħut* ? (F.).
- 81) *iżah*, pf. *yəğjāh* «ê. témoin de», caus. *zəjjuhu* $\sqrt{gh_2h_1}$.
N: *əğəyah* pf. *əğgiha* impf. int. *itâğəyha* \sqrt{gghh} (AB. Ma.); **Y:** *əggəy* pf. *[y]əggīya* impf. int. *itâgəyât*(?), *gəyət* impf. int. *itagəyat*, *gəyyət* pf. *iggsiyət* impf. int. *itagəyyat* \sqrt{gyh} (AB); **Gh:** *ġahət* pf. *yəğjāħət* (AB).
 Racine primitive conservée en **N** (conj. comme

- H:** *yaym*); **Y:** perte de *h* évt. compensée par gémination de *y*; **H** et **Gh:** chute de *y*. Caus. **H:** dénominal ? (v. 82)).
- 82) *tēgūhe/tiġūhawín* nv. de *iğah* $\sqrt{gh_1h_2}$ -*h₂*-
N: *tağuhe/t[i]ġuhawin* (Ma.); **W:** *?/siġi[y]āwīn* (Nic. V. 966); **Y:** *təgiya*, *təgiyi*, *təgiyya* (AB).
- 83) *tāġəħut/tiġħa* «panse» $\sqrt{għz}$ *h < z*
W: *tagazut* (AB. Nic.); **Y:** *tagəzut* (AB); **Gh:** *taġahut/čiġuhaċin* (Neh. faux ? emprunt à **H**?).
 Apparenté à 72) *əġġəħ* ? 80) *teġəħe* etc. ? (F.)
- 84) *iħħal* pf. *gəzzl* «è. court», adj. vb. *aġħál* aussi: «(haut du) bras» $\sqrt{għz}$ *h < z*
NW: *ikšal*, *igżal* pf. *gəzzul* adj. vb. *akšal*, *agżal* (AB); **Y:** *igżul*, *gəzzul*, *agżal* (AB); **Gh:** *igżal*, *gəzzul*, *agżal* (AB, Neh.).
h < z assuré déjà par le pf. H.
 Connu en **BN**, où il y a alternance *g – w*: kab. *iwżil* pf. *wəzzil*, Sus *igżūl*, *igżżūl*.
- 85) *ġuhəl* «è. orphelin» adj. vb. *ăġħūħil* \sqrt{ghl} -*h₂*-
NW: *ġuhəl* adj. vb. *aġuhil*, *aguhil* (AB); **Y:** *gugəl*, *agugil/igugilən* (AB); **Gh:** *aġuġil/iġuġilən* (Neh.).
*Y et Gh montrent le remplacement de *h* par une consonne id. à la rad. précédente.*
 Connu en **BN**: kab. *ggužəl* $\sqrt{wgl} < \sqrt{hgl}$ par métathèse, adj. vb. *gužil*; Sus adj. vb. *igigil* avec remplacement de *h* et assim. vocalique.
- 86) *təġjūħamt* «canal d'arrosage». *h < z*
W: *təġušamt* (AB).
- 87) **N:** *eġħən* v. 102) *eġən*.
- 88) *ăməġġahin* «épithète injurieuse grave» $\sqrt{g?n}$ -*h₂*-??
 T. mér. non att. Peut-être apparenté à 102) *eġən*, c. à d. «incurseur, pilleur», donc avec -*h₂*- ??
- 89) *əġħər* «è. ennemi de» nv. *ăġħəzzar* $\sqrt{gżr}$ *h < z*
W: *əkšər* (AB), *əgżər* (Nic.), nv. *?/iġħəzzarən* (Ma.), réc. *nəməkšar* (AB); **Y:** *əgżər* (AB).
 La parenté avec kab. *əžħər* (Dallet) est donc à écarter.
- 90) *əġħər* «immoler et distribuer aux pauvres» nv. *concr.* *tāġħəzzart* $\sqrt{gżr}$ *h < z*
 T. mér. non att. Le nv. indique *h < z*.

- 91) *taǵuhart* «poils de l'échine» $\sqrt{g?rr}$ *h < s ??*
 Peut-être apparenté à **Y**: *agusrər* «chameau blanc à dos gris» (JNic.).
- 92) *tāməǵhoyt* «ocre rouge» \sqrt{gzy} *h < z*
Y: *taməzgoyt* (! JNic.).
- 93) *aǵləh* «laisser», nv. concr. *aǵləh* et *ăǵáluh*.
 N: nv. *aǵləš* (Ma.); **W**: *aǵləz*, nv. *ăǵləz* (Nic. I. 782 et III. 646).
W: Nic. (I. 780) note aussi un vb. syn. *guləz*, auquel corresp. plus particulièrement le nv. *ăǵáluh*.
 Semble être connu aussi en **BN**, p.ex. kab. *aǵləz* «mépriser».
- aǵli/iǵlítən* «bol alimentaire» $\sqrt{gl̥h}$, puisque c'est un syn. partiel de *aǵləh*, y est peut-être apparenté (F.), bien que d'autres rapprochements soient également possibles (p.ex.: *ǵələt* $\sqrt{gl̥h}$ «déménager», *aǵli* \sqrt{gly} « noeud »).
- 94) *eǵeleh/iǵelhán* «esp. de coléoptères» \sqrt{glz} *-h < z*
Gh: *egəliž* (AB).
- 95) *ăǵúləh* «loup» $\sqrt{gl?}$ *-h < z ?*
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour *h < z*.
- 96) *ăǵélhah* «hernie» $\sqrt{gl??}$?
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour que *h* final provienne de *z*.
- 97) *ăǵəlhok* «petite dépression du sol» $\sqrt{gl?k}$?
 T. mér. non att.
- 98) *ăǵəlhim/iǵəlhám* «houe» \sqrt{glmz} *h < z*
 T. mér. non att. Bien connu en **BN**; kab. *agəlzim*, sus: *agəlzim/igəlzam*.
- 99) *zeǵǵələlləh* «éprouver du dégoût pour» (caus.) $\sqrt{gl?l?}$ syn. de *zəǵǵələlli* \sqrt{glly} *-h < z ?*
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour *h < z*.
- 100) *zəǵǵəluləh* «se rouler dans la poussière» (caus.) \sqrt{glz} *-h < z*
W: *zəggəluləz* (AB); **Y**: *zəggəluləz*, -s, *zəggəliləz* (? AB); **Gh**: *ə[ǵ]liləz*, caus. pf. *isǵəlaləz* (AB).
 Connus aussi en **BN**: kab. *gliləz*.
- 101) *aǵməh/iǵəmhən* «pouce» \sqrt{gmz} *-h < z*

NW: *ağməš*, *agməz*, -ž (AB); Y: *agməs*, *igməz*, -š, -s (AB); Gh: *agməž* (AB).

Connu aussi en BN: Sus *gməz/igməzān*.

- 102) *eğən/iğnān* «troupe guerrière» \sqrt{gnh}

N: *eğhan/ağhanən* (Ma.); W: *ēgnən/i(e)gnān* (Nic. IV. 144).

Ch₃
méth.₃

Pour la racine cp. H: *aməjğənu/iməjğəna* «guerrier» \sqrt{gnh} . La racine N corresp. à celle du vb. *əğən* \sqrt{ghn} «s'accroupir», dont il a été rapproché (F). N: décl. comme *ēskər/ăskărən* (?).

- 103) *ğuñhət* «ê. en forme d'arceau» \sqrt{gnzh} , dénom. de *tăǵaňhe/tiǵaňhiwîn* «arc»? \sqrt{gnz} ($\sqrt{gnzh}?$)

W: *taganzəy*, -ž- (AB); Y: *taganze* (JNic), *takənzi* (AB); Gh: *taganhi* (AB; emprunt à H?)

h < z

- 104) *ağgar/ığgarən* «fruit de *taǵǵart/tiǵǵárîn* «esp. d'acacia» $\sqrt{ggr} < \sqrt{ghr}$

N: *ahəggar*, *tahəğgart* (AB); W: *təggart* (AB); Y: *tahəggart*, *təggart*, *tiggart* (AB).

ahəggar représente une métathèse par rapport à *ağgar*, qui à son tour paraît illustrer le remplacement de *h* (< *hh* ?) par une consonne id. à celle qui le précède.

- 105) *ăǵûr/ıǵurrən* «eunuque» \sqrt{ghr}

N: *agurh*, *aǵurh* (AB); W: *agur*, *aǵur* (AB); Y: *agur/igurrən* : *igərran* : *igurawən* (AB).

-h₃ < -h₃-
gém. comp.₁
méth.₃

agurh représente une métathèse par rapport à *ăǵûr*, dont à son tour le pl. montre la gémination compensative.

- 106) *əǵru* «discerner» et caus. *səǵər* «examiner» \sqrt{grh}

N: *əǵrəh* (Ma.) *səǵrəh* (AB, Ma.), nv. *uǵrəh* (Ma.); Y: *əgru* (AB).

-h₃

- 107) *teməǵəréwăht* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{grgrw}?$

T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour *h < z*.

-h < z ?

- 108) N: *əǵrəh*, *səǵrəh* v. 106) *əǵru*.

- 109) N: *agurh*, *aǵurh* v. 105) *ăǵûr*.

- 110) *ăǵûrəh/ıǵûrhayən* «larynx» \sqrt{grz}

W: *aǵur[ə]ş* (AB)/*igərzan* (Nic. VII. 574); Y: *tagursayıt*, *takursayıt* (AB).

-h < z

Les formes avec 4" y sont probablement dûes à la confusion avec *təkōrsayıt* «pomme d'Adam».

- 111) *ə́gwə́h* «couper ras (crins de cheval)» \sqrt{gw} ?
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$. $-h < z ?$
- 112) *téhe/tahiwín* «col et défilé (de montagne)» \sqrt{hzh}
Y: *t̪izi* (AB); **Gh:** *čizi/čizawin* (Neh.).
Connu aussi en **BN:** kab. *pizi/piza*.
- 113) *tuhe/tuhawín* «bosse (cham.)» $\sqrt{h_1h_2h_1}$, $\sqrt{wh_2h_1}?$
W: *tahi*, *tuhay* (AB); **Y:** *tahi*, *tuhay*, *tuʃyjɪ*, *tuʃwja* (pl.?) (AB); **Gh:** *tuhı/tuhawin* (Neh.).
Connu en **BN:** Sus *tayyu/tuyya*.
- 114) *ah* «écorcher» $\sqrt{h_1zh_2}$
Gh: *az*, pf. *yuzza*. Ghad. *uzəb* (Lan.).
Connu en **BN:** kab. Sus: *azu*, *yuzza*.
- 115) *ăhu/ăhûtən* «fumée» $\sqrt{h_1h_2h_1}$
NW: *ahu*, *əhu* (AB); **Y:** *əhu* (AB); **Gh:** *ahu/ahutən* (Neh.), *əhu* (AB).
Connu en **BN:** Ghad. *uðu*, Sus *awwu*, *aggu*.
- 116) *ăhu* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{h?h}$
T. mér. non att. Id. à 115) *ăhu*? $?$
- 117) *ĕhi/ĕhán* «mouche» \sqrt{hzh}
W: *iš[i]/[i]šan*, *izi/izan*, -ž-, (AB); **Y:** *izi*, -ž-, -š-, *izu*, *iza* (pl.?) (AB); **Gh:** *izi*, *izzı/izzan* (Neh.).
Connu en **BN:** kab. Sus *izi/izan*.
- 118) *ăha/ihahán* «vallon en pente faible» $\sqrt{zh_2h_1}$
D: *ăsa* (F); **Y:** *ăza* (F, AB).
À cause de la chute totale au sg., le second *h* du pl. est peut-être à regarder comme in *h* primitif.
- 119) *əh* pf. int. *ihâ* «ê. dans» $\sqrt{h_2h_1h_1}$
pf. int.: **NW:** *iha* (AB, Nic.); **Y:** *iha* (AB); **Gh:** *iha* (Neh.). $h_2 > h_1 (?)$
- 120) *ihi/ihă* «tomber dans, sur»; + *əd* «se mettre à» etc.» $\sqrt{?h_1h_1}$
T. mér. non att. Id. à kab. *yaha/yuha* «Se mettre à; se hâter, faire vite» (Dallet)? $-h_2- ??$
- 121) *uhu* «aboyer» $\sqrt{zh_1h_1}$
W: nv. *tuzūt* (Nic. II. 473, 482); **Gh:** impf. int. *tuhu*, nv. *tuhut* (Neh.); faux ? emprunt à **H**?).
Diffère de Ghad. *huhu* «aboyer» (Lan.). $h < z$
- 122) *ahəb/ihəbbən* «mouche plate» \sqrt{zbb}
NW: *ašəbb*, *ašbəb*, *izəbb* (AB); **Y:** *ezəb*, *izbəb* (AB); **Gh:** *azəb*, -bb (AB). $h < z$

- 123) *hubət* «traîner» \sqrt{hbh}
N: *hubət* (Ma.). *h₂₋*
- 124) *hubbət* «saisir et enlever rapidement» $\sqrt{?bh}$
 Id. à **Y:** *zəbbət* «arrêter» (Nic.) ?, **WY:** *zubbət*,
zəbbət «descendre» (AB/ F) ?? ?
- 125) *tāhabbat/tihabbātīn* «trou béant» $\sqrt{z\bar{b}h}$ (?)
 Probablement nv. de **WY:** *zubbət*, *zəbbət* «descendre» (AB, F). *h < z* (?)
- 126) *tāhibba/tihibbawīn* «cotte de mailles» $\sqrt{?bb}$
T. mér. non att. ?
- 127) *həbəbbərət* «saisir solidement et vivement»
 \sqrt{hbbrh} (?) *h₂₋* (?)
T. mér. non att. Probablement à rapprocher de
abər \sqrt{hbr} «saisir à pleine main».
- 128) *ahbəg/ihbəgān* «bracelet» $\sqrt{zb\bar{g}}$ *h < z*
NW: *ašbəg*, -ž-, *azbəg* (AB); **Y:** *azbəg*, *izbəg* (AB);
Gh: *azbəg*/*izbəgən*.
 Connue en **BN:** Sus *azbəg/izbəgān*.
- 129) $\div/\tilde{tih}\bar{bəgjīwīn}$ «entraves en fer» $\sqrt{?bg}$?
Gh: *tihbəgjīwin* (AB; emprunt à **H** ?). ∞ 128)
ahbəg ? (F).
- 130) *həbəgbəg* «vê. ébouriffé» $\sqrt{?bgbg}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 131) *tāhəbhəba* «labyrinthe» $\sqrt{?b\bar{h}}$?
T. mér. non att. ∞ 126) *tāhibba* ? (F), 125)
tāhabbat ?
- 132) *həbəqqət* «vê. assis lourdement» $\sqrt{?b\gamma h}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 133) *tāhaburt* «très petite source de montagne» $\sqrt{?br}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 134) *həbərdəl* «se débattre» $\sqrt{?b\bar{d}rl}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 135) *həbərhəbər* «frapper à coups redoublés du pied
- (le fond d'un puits)» $\sqrt{?br?br}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 136) *āhād*, *āmāhād* v. 622) *əššəd*.
- 137) *ahəd/ihəddən* «fil à coudre mince» $\sqrt{?dd}$?
Gh: *ahəd/ihəd[d]ən* (Neh.; faux ? emprunt à **H** ?).
- 138) *iħəd* = *iħūd* «je t'en prie» (interj. ? vb. ?) $\sqrt{ħiħd}$?
 $\sqrt{ħiħd}$? **T.** mér. non att.

- 139) *əħəd* «jurer» nv. *tħħoħde* $\sqrt{ħ_2ħ_1d}$
NW: *əħəd*, imp. int. *əħħaħd* (AB), nv. *tahode*/
tihodawin (Ma.); **Y:** *əħəd* (AB); **Għ:** *əħəd* (Neh.).
 Connu Ghad. *tħbuði* (Mot.). h₂-
- 140) *uħaq* «jeter par le mauvais oeil un sort à» nv.
tħoħt $\sqrt{?ħ_1d}$
 T. mér. non att. Probablement à rapprocher de
tiġi $\sqrt{ħdd}$ «oeil», cf. 25) *ābīlət* (cf. Vycihl: op. cit.
 note⁵) p. 228). ∞ 622) *əššaq* $\sqrt{wsq}??$ (F). h₂- ?
- 141) *ăħôd/ăħôdən* «vent brûlant» $\sqrt{ħ_1ħ_2d}$
W: *ahūd* (Nic. I. 795). Probablement à rap-
 procher de *ādu* $\sqrt{ħdħ}$ «vent», *səħaq* $\sqrt{ħħd}$
 «souffler». ∞ 140) *uħaq*, 622) *əššaq* $\sqrt{wsq}??$ (F). -h₂-
- 142) *səħaq* «souffler; siffler», n. instr. *tashət/tihād*
 «soufflet» $\sqrt{ħ_2ħ_1d}$
NW: *səħaq*, *?/tishaq* (AB), *tħasħat/?* (Nic. VII.
 570); **Y:** *səħaq*, *səwəd*, *suwəd*, *?/tisħaq* (AB);
Għ: *səħaq* (Neh. AB), *su[wa]d* (Neh.), *tashət/*
ċiħaq (Neh.). ∞ *ādu* $\sqrt{ħdħ}$ «vent» (F) et 141)
ăħôd?
 Ghad. *səħaq* «épousseter (en soufflant)»
 (Lan.). -h₂-
- 143) *hađən* (part.) «(étant) autre» $\sqrt{ħ_2ħ_1d}$
N: *hađən* (Ma.); **Għ:** *hađən* (Neh.). Cf. sect. M. h₂-
- 144) *ăħida* «urine» $\sqrt{?dħ}$
Għ: *ahida* ? (AB faux ?). ?
- 145) *ehod/iħađān* «nuit» $\sqrt{ħ_2dħ_1}$
NW: *iħəd* (AB, Ma.)/*iħadən* (Ma.); **Y:** *iħəd/*
i[y]iħadən (AB); **Għ:** *iħəd/iħədən* (Neh.). h₂-
 Connu **BN:** Ghad. *iħad/iħađān* (Mot.), kab.
 Sus *id/adan*.
- 146) *teħədde/tihədd* «taille, stature» $\sqrt{ħdd}$
W: *ti[y]iddəy* (AB); **Għ:** *ċiddi/ċiddawin* (Neh.).
 Connu **BN:** Sus *tiddi*. Cf. sect. N. h₂-
- 147) *ċħēdad* «grondement» $\sqrt{?dd}$
 T. mér. non att. ?
- 148) *tħəħdiż/tihħaq* «tige de bois, servant à accoupler
 les deux demi-charges d'une bête» et vb. dénom.
əħəħed \sqrt{zqdd} h < š

	T. mér. non att. < ar. dial. <i>šədāda</i> (?) F), cl. <i>šiðāð/’ašiððah</i> dont le sg. a été pris pour un pl. berbère.	
149)	<i>hədəddy</i> «chanceler» $\sqrt{?ddy}$?
	T. mér. non att.	
150)	<i>hədədy</i> , nv. <i>hədədu</i> «è. enflé» $\sqrt{hədy}$ NW: <i>hədədy</i> (AB); W: <i>hədydy</i> (Nic. III. 641), <i>hədudy</i> (AB); Y: <i>hədədy</i> , <i>dədəy</i> , <i>hədədy</i> , <i>dədəy</i> (AB).	<i>h₂-</i>
151)	<i>təhaṭṭuft/tihəṭṭaf</i> «esp. de fourmi» $\sqrt{hdf} = təyaṭṭuft/tiyṭṭaf$ (cf. sect. M). W: <i>tayəṭtuft</i> , <i>ti-</i> (AB, Nic.); Y: <i>ta[h]aṭṭuft</i> , <i>tayəṭtuft</i> , <i>tawəṭṭuft</i> (AB); Gh: <i>tawəṭṭuft</i> (m. <i>awəṭṭuf</i>) (AB).	<i>h₂-</i>
	Connu en BN: Sus <i>yṭṭuf</i> f. <i>tuṭṭuft</i> . $\sim \text{ṭṭf}$ «tenir» ? (F).	
152)	<i>həddīg</i> v. 647) <i>izzaġ</i> .	
153)	<i>ehədəl/ihədlān</i> et fém. «veau de lait» \sqrt{hdl} W: <i>ehədəl</i> , <i>idəl</i> (AB); Y: <i>ehədəl/ihədələn</i> , <i>edəl/ʃiʃdələn</i> , <i>tedəlt/tidəllin</i> (AB).	<i>h₂-</i> méth. ₂ gém. comp.,
	<i>ehədəl</i> représente une métathèse par rapport à <i>edəl</i> , dont le pl. montre la gém. compensative de la 3».	
154)	<i>ăhədal/ihədlān</i> et fém. «once» $\sqrt{hd̥l}$ W: <i>ahədal</i> (AB); Y: <i>adal</i> (AB).	<i>h₂-</i>
155)	<i>tăhədalt/</i> «poltronnerie» et adj. <i>ămâhdal</i> «poltron» $\sqrt{?hd̥?}$ Probablement id. à 154) <i>tăhədalt</i> .	<i>h₂-</i> (?)
156)	<i>ăhađun</i> «15. nuit du mois» $\sqrt{?đun}$?
	T. mér. non att.	
157)	<i>hədəndən</i> «bégayer».	
	W: nv. <i>ăhăđəndən</i> = <i>ăđəndən</i> (Nic. III. 635; <i>d̥</i> faux ?).	<i>h₂-</i>
158)	<i>ăhadānar/ihadānárən</i> «NP de tribu» $\sqrt{zdn̥r}$ Gh: <i>?ižadanarən</i> (AB).	<i>h < z</i>
159)	<i>ehədər/ihədrān</i> «aigle» \sqrt{zdr} W: <i>ežədər</i> (AB); <i>ežēdər</i> (Nic. VI. 55); Y: <i>ežədər</i> (AB).	<i>h < z</i>
	Une variante avec 1 ^{er} g a été relevée en T. mér.: NW: <i>egədər/igədran</i> (AB, Ma.); Y: <i>egədər</i> (AB). Cf. BN: Sus <i>igīdər/igādrən</i> .	

160) <i>əħəððar</i> «ê. présent» $\sqrt{ħd̥r}$	$h_{2^-} < h$
T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>ħadīr</i> .	?
161) <i>ħudy</i> «ê. repris et ramené» $\sqrt{?d̥y}$	$h < z ??$
T. mér. non att.	
162) <i>əħəf</i> «dévier», n. loc. <i>āħħūf</i> $\sqrt{?ħħif}$	$h < z$
T. mér. non att. \sim 163) <i>tħaħft</i> ? (F).	gém. comp., ₁
163) <i>tħaħft/tihaffin</i> «canal d'arrosage» $\sqrt{zħiħf}$	
Għ: <i>tazəħħf/čizzif</i> (Neh.), <i>tazaħħf</i> (AB).	
Pl. avec gém. comp. ₁ pour la chute de <i>ħi</i> .	
164) $\div/tihaffin$ «léger bleuissement à l'indigo (aux tempes, bords des joues, cou des femmes).	$h < z ?$
T. mér. non att. Id. à 163) <i>tihaffin</i> ?	
165) <i>tħiħfa/tħiħfaawin</i> «chevelure non tressée, de moyenne longueur» $\sqrt{zħiħf}$.	$h < z$
W: <i>tażiħħiffa</i> (Nic. VII. 574). \sim 452) <i>ħayyāf</i> (F).	
166) <i>zəħhaħħət</i> «siffler (vipère etc.)» $\sqrt{?fħi}$	$h < z (?)$
T. mér. non att. Probablement \sim 167) <i>ħafəħət</i> .	
167) <i>ħafəħət</i> «siffler» $\sqrt{zħiħħiħħi}$.	$h < z (?)$
T. mér. non att. Probablement \sim à kab. <i>zzəħżəf</i> «siffler».	
168) $\div/ehafilən$ «longs poils», <i>teħafilt</i> «petits poils très courts» $\sqrt{?fl}$.	?
T. mér. non att.	
169) <i>ħafelħəl</i> «s'emporter (de colère)» $\sqrt{?flfl}$	$h_{2^-} (?)$
Probablement \sim <i>səttəħəl</i> «déborder complètement (en conduite)» et <i>afəl</i> $\sqrt{fħl}$ «quitter; déborder (liquide)» (F) ainsi que kab. <i>ffelħəl</i> «sautiller (insecte); ê. irascible (h.)» (Dallet).	
170) <i>əħəġ</i> «suivre rapidement», réc. <i>məħaġ</i> $\sqrt{zħiġ}$	$h < z$
NW: <i>əšəġ</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>əzəg</i> , <i>məzəg</i> (Nic. II. 482, III. 638–39); Gh: nv. <i>čimzik/čimzikin</i> «vengeance» (? Neh.).	
171) <i>ăħaġ/iħaġġən</i> «crête de poils de la bosse de chameau» $\sqrt{?ħiġ}$?
T. mér. non distingué avec certitude de <i>ăż-aġ/</i> <i>iż-aġġən</i> «crinière très courte et droite».	
172) <i>ăħuġ/iħuġġən</i> et fém. «poulain» $\sqrt{?ħiġ}$	$h_{2^-} ?$
Għ: <i>ahuġ/iħuġan</i> , <i>tahuk/čiħuġin</i> (Neh. faux ? emprunt à H?).	

173)	<i>uhaǵ, ihaǵ</i> pf. <i>yəhǔǵa</i> «vivre longuement» $\sqrt{h_2gh_1}$	- <i>h₂</i> - (?)
	Probablement id. à <i>yəhōg</i> (pf.) «s'attarder, rester» (Nic., VII. 569, IV. 137, TF. 54, 258).	
174)	<i>nahágji</i> «convenir (pour) («il convient que»)» $\sqrt{h_2gh_1}$	- <i>h₂</i> -
	N: pf. <i>ənhəǵ[ǵ]a</i> (Ma.); W: (pf. part.) <i>inhaggən</i> (Nic. VII. 579). Le rapprochement avec 170) <i>əhəǵ</i> (F) et avec kab. <i>əzg</i> , <i>əzgu</i> (Dallet) est à écarter.	
175)	N: <i>tehəǵift</i> v. 71) <i>eǵif</i> .	
176)	<i>huǵǵəg</i> «faire le pélerinage canonique» \sqrt{hgg} < ar. <i>ḥáǵǵ/ḥuǵǵáǵ</i> «pèlerin». nv. <i>təhuǵǵəǵa</i> , adj. vb. <i>eməheǵǵəǵ/iməhuǵǵáǵ</i> . Gh: <i>čihuǵəǵa</i> , <i>imhiǵəǵ/imhuǵaǵ</i> (Neh.).	<i>h₂</i> - < <i>h</i>
177)	<i>ehaǵh</i> «renard» \sqrt{zgz} W: <i>ezagaz</i> (AB, Nic.), <i>ezəggəz</i> , <i>ešəǵǵəš</i> (AB) «serval».	<i>h</i> < <i>z</i> - <i>h</i> < <i>z</i>
178)	<i>tshíǵalt</i> «esp. de danse de nègres» \sqrt{zgl} W: <i>təšíǵalt</i> (AB) «tambour»; <i>təžigalt</i> (Nic. V. 951) «ceste, boxe au pied».	<i>h</i> < <i>z</i> (?)
179)	<i>ăhaggar/ihaggárən</i> et fém. «Touareg noble» \sqrt{hwr} W: ?/[i]haggarən (Nic. FT. 408); Y: <i>ăhaggar/ihaggárən</i> «NP des <i>kəl-ăyəfsa</i> établis dans l'Ayr» (F emprunt à H?). Sans doute identique au NP de tribu « <i>hawwárah</i> » donné par Ibn Khaldoun (Tarikh, I. 276, 16 et passim; Beyrouth 1966) comme établie au Fezzan.	<i>h₂</i> -
180)	<i>ăhəggar</i> = <i>ăhiggar</i> «datte» \sqrt{zwr} Gh: <i>aziggar</i> (AB).	<i>h</i> < <i>z</i>
	La parenté avec <i>ăhaggar</i> (F) est à écarter.	
181)	NY: <i>ahəggar, tahəggart</i> v. 104) <i>aǵgar</i> .	
182)	<i>həǵrət</i> «ê. long» $\sqrt{zgrh_1}$ NW: <i>šəǵrət</i> (AB, Ma.), <i>zəgrət</i> , <i>χ-</i> (AB); Y: <i>zəgrət</i> (AB); Gh: <i>zəǵrət</i> (AB, Neh.), <i>zəǵər</i> (? Neh.). <i>h</i> < <i>z</i> déjà assûré par H: caus. <i>zəzzəǵrət</i> = <i>zəhhəǵrət</i> , nv. <i>təzzəǵrət</i> = <i>təhhəǵrət</i> .	<i>h</i> < <i>z</i>
183)	<i>həǵırət</i> «se traîner sur le sol» $\sqrt{?grh_1}$?

T. mér. non att. \sim 182) <i>həjṛət</i> ? (F), <i>əžžər</i> \sqrt{zgr} «traverser» ?	
184) <i>ăhađere/ihājerītan</i> «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{?grh_1}$?
T. mér. non att. \sim 182) <i>həjṛət</i> , 183) <i>həjirət</i> ? (F).	
185) <i>ăhađa/ihəjwān</i> «grand seau-panier» $\sqrt{?gw}$?
T. mér. non att. \sim <i>ăga/iğattən</i> : <i>iğagħġən</i> «seau à puiser» $\sqrt{ghħ}$? (F).	
186) <i>tahađa/tihəjwīn</i> «plate-forme en branchages (pour sécher fromages)» $\sqrt{?gw}$?
T. mér. non att.	
187) <i>tahađa/÷</i> «esp. de maladie des chevaux etc.» $\sqrt{?g?}$?
T. mér. non att. \sim 172) <i>ăhuġ</i> ? (F).	
188) <i>tăhaha/tihahiwīn</i> «fruit sec de gommier» $\sqrt{h_2zh_1}$	<i>h₂₋</i>
W: <i>tahəša</i> (AB); Gh: <i>tahaža</i> (AB).	<i>h < z</i>
189) $\div/ihohān$ «vapeur d'eau» $\sqrt{h_2h_2h_1}$?	<i>h₂₋ (?)</i>
<i>əttəħħuhu/əttəħħuhūtan</i> nv. (?) «vapeurs épaisses sortant du sol» $\sqrt{th_2h_2h_1}$?	<i>-h₂₋ (?)</i>
Probablement apparentés l'un avec l'autre et avec N: <i>məħħuhət</i> (?) (pf. int. part. <i>y[ə]mihahan</i> (Ma.)) «fumer», ainsi qu'avec 115) <i>ăhu</i> $\sqrt{h_1h_2h_1}$. Cp. aussi Ghad. <i>zħuħu</i> «enfumer» (Lan.).	
190) <i>huhəb</i> = <i>žužəb</i> «ê. étonnant» $\sqrt{hzb} = \sqrt{zzb}$	<i>h₂ < ε ? ž ?</i>
nv. concr. <i>ăžāžib/izħażab</i> et fém. < ar. <i>eaġħbah/eaġħib</i> , <i>'ueġġubah/'aeġġib</i> , <i>euġħab</i> etc.	<i>h < ž</i>
<i>ăžāžib</i> et le vb. dénom. <i>žužəb</i> paraissent issus de <i>*ħdžib</i> , <i>*hužəb</i> par remplacement de la 1 ^{er} h par une consonne id. à la 2 ^{er} . <i>huhəb</i> peut être issu soit normalement de <i>žužəb</i> , soit directement de <i>*hužəb</i> . Noter que le remplacement se fait ici dans une direction anomale (v. sect. E). Faut-il compter avec une forme <i>*żħħib</i> , <i>*żuħəb</i> ?	rempl.
W: nv. fém. $?/tišušab$ (Ma.).	
191) <i>ăħħul/ihħħäl</i> «jeune chameau non castré» $\sqrt{??l}$?
T. mér. non att.	?
192) <i>ăħħaħol/ihħħaħliwən</i> «esp. de racine sauvage» $\sqrt{??lw}$	<i>h₂₋ ?</i>
T. mér. non att. = \sim 264) <i>ăħħliw/ăħħliwən</i> $\sqrt{h_1?lw}$?

193)	<i>əhêhən/ihêhənən</i> = <i>tahêhənt/tihêhnîn</i> «jujubier sauvage» $\sqrt{z̄hn}$? W: <i>təšahənt</i> ? (AB).	<i>h < z</i> ? <i>-h₂-</i> ?
194)	<i>huhər</i> «é. gros» $\sqrt{z̄hr}$ NW: <i>zuhər</i> pf. <i>zuhər</i> , š-, χ- (AB); Y: <i>izwar</i> pf. <i>zuwər</i> , ž- (AB); Gh: <i>zu[w]ər</i> (Neh.), <i>izwar</i> (AB) pf. <i>zuwər</i> (Neh., AB).	<i>h < z</i> <i>-h₂-</i>
195)	Connu en BN : Ghad. <i>zuwər</i> , kab. <i>uzur</i> , pf. <i>zur</i> . <i>məhəhwər</i> «chercher réc. à se précéder à» $\sqrt{hzw̄r}$ Sans doute un dérivé à préf. M de * <i>həhwər</i> = kab. <i>ħħizwər</i> , ∼ 437) <i>əhwər</i> $\sqrt{z̄wr}$	<i>-h₂-</i> <i>h < z</i>
196)	N: <i>hak</i> v. 465) <i>ak</i> .	
197)	<i>hik</i> «vite» $\sqrt{z̄k}$ NW: <i>šik</i> (AB, Ma.); D: <i>šik</i> (AB, F); Y: <i>zik</i> (AB, F); Gh: <i>zik</i> (Neh.). Connu en BN : kab. <i>zik</i> .	<i>h < z</i>
198)	<i>tahak/tihakkîn</i> «cavité d'un tube» $\sqrt{?h_1k}$ T. mér. non att.	?
199)	<i>tahôka/tihôkawîn</i> «bracelet de cristal» $\sqrt{zh_1k}$ W: <i>tažōka</i> (Nic. VII. 565); Gh: <i>təžuka</i> «en corne» (AB).	<i>h < z</i>
200)	<i>hâkk</i> imp. int., <i>tehəke</i> nv. v. 466) <i>akf.</i>	
201)	<i>hakka</i> «datte (enf.)» $\sqrt{?k?}$ T. mér. non att.	?
202)	<i>hukət</i> «é. essouflé» $\sqrt{?kh_1}$ T. mér. non att. ∼ 203) <i>məhəkkət</i> ? (F).	?
203)	<i>məhəkkət</i> «se disputer réc. qqch» $\sqrt{?kh_1}$ T. mér. non att. ∼ 202) <i>hukət</i> ? (F) cp. <i>imhəkkət unfas</i> «la respiration est difficile».	?
204)	<i>ăhəkkôd/ihəkkâd</i> «crête de cheveux» et fém. «tresse de cheveux» $\sqrt{z̄kd̄}$ W: <i>azəkkud</i> , -ž-, -š-, <i>tašəkkuł</i> (AB); Y: <i>zəkkud</i> (AB); <i>tažəkkot</i> (JNic.); Gh: <i>tažəkkuł/čižəkkâd</i> , <i>čižəkkudin</i> (Neh.).	<i>h < z</i>
205)	<i>həkədkəd</i> «trembler» $\sqrt{zk̄dk̄}$ N: <i>šəkədkəd</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>šəkədkəd</i> (AB, Nic.), <i>zəkədkəd</i> (Nic.); Gh: <i>šəkədkəd</i> (AB).	<i>h < z</i>
	Un pf. int. <i>ihikədkəd</i> (Nic. IV. 146) ne contredit guère l'étymologie offerte, car il contient vrai-	

- semblablement la variante χ du phonème *z*. (v. sect. A et B).
- 206) *ăhôkhâk* «petit jour» $\sqrt{?k?k}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 207) *ăhkâk/ihkâk* «tignasse». $h < z$
Y: *ažəkuk, ažəkkuk* (AB).
- 208) *həkəkət* = 211) *həkyky* «rire aux éclats» $\sqrt{?kh_1kh_1}$?
 $\sqrt{?kyky}$. **T.** mér. non att.
- 209) *tăhakimt/tihəkâm* «demi-matelassure d'un bât de chameau» \sqrt{hkm} h_{2^-}
W: *?/šihəkām* (Nic. VI. 61).
- 210) *ehakit/ihəktâñ* «velum de tente» \sqrt{hkt} h_{2^-}
NW: *ehakit* (AB), **Y:** *ehakit, ehəkit* (AB); **Gh:** *ihakit/ihakitəñ* (Neh.).
- 211) *həkyky* = 208) *həkəkət* «rire aux éclats» $\sqrt{?kyky}, \sqrt{?kh_1kh_1}$?
- 212) *ahəl* «courir» $\sqrt{h_1zl}$ $h < z$
N: *ašəl* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *azəl, -χ-* (AB, Nic.); **Y:** *azəl* (AB); **Gh:** *azzəl* (?), *azəl* (Neh.).
 Connue en **BN:** kab. *azzəl*.
 $h < z$ assuré déjà par le nv. *ăzzal*.
- 213) *mahəl* «travailler à; ê. envoyé en message», caus. $zəmmihəl$, adj. vb. *ănm̥mahal/inəmmuhâl* et fém. $\sqrt{h_1zl}$ $h < z$
N: *mašəl, šəm[m]išəl, anəm[m]ašul/inəmmušal* (Ma.); **W:** *[ă]măzəl* «travail» (Nic. FT. 324), *anəmmazūl* (Nic. V. 954).
 ~ 214) *əhəl* «se diriger» ? (F). Probablement à écarter, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse de deux verbes contaminés en **H:** «se diriger» $\sqrt{zh_1l}$ «ê. courageux» $\sqrt{h_2h_1l}$.
- 214) *əhəl* «ne pas avoir peur (de)», nv. *tăhûlət* «courage» $\sqrt{h_2h_1l}$ $-h_{2^-}$
W: *əhəl, tahulət* (Nic. FT. 74 etc.); **Gh:** *əhəl, tahûlət* (Neh.).
 T. mér. non att. dans le sens de «se diriger». Il s'agit pourtant vraisemblablement du même verbe, cf. 215) *nəhəl*, 216) *nəm̥hal*.
- 215) *nəhəl* «se diriger vers» $\sqrt{h_2h_1l}$ $-h_{2^-}$

	W: <i>nəħəl</i> (? pf. <i>tənnahal</i> Nic. FT. 124); D: <i>nəħəl</i> (F).	
216)	<i>nəməħal</i> «é. orientés dans une même direction, ou: dans la direction (de)», nv. <i>tānħəħalt</i> «équivalent», <i>tānħəħla</i> «(direction) vis à vis (de)».	- <i>h</i> ₂ -
	N: <i>nəməħal</i> (Ma.); Gh: <i>tanəmħala</i> (Neh. AB).	
217)	<i>iħal</i> «se diriger (avec la main, bouche) vers» ✓ <i>?ħiħl</i> T. mér. non att. Probablement ∼ 214, 215, 216) <i>əħəl</i> etc. (F).	?
218)	<i>uħal</i> «saluer (un absent)» nv. <i>təħult/təħħławin</i> ✓ <i>ħħiħl</i> NW: pf. <i>yəħūl</i> (Ma., Nic. I. 778) <i>tħūlt</i> (Nic. FT. 58); Gh: <i>y[ə]ħul tħallt/[či]ħulawin</i> (Neh.). Probablement ∼ 214, 215, 216) <i>əħəl</i> etc. (F).	- <i>h</i> ₂ -
219)	<i>aħəl/iħilān</i> «jour» ✓ <i>zħiħl</i> N: <i>ażəl/išilan</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>azəl</i> , -ż-, -š- (AB); Y: <i>āzəl</i> , -ż- (AB), <i>izəl</i> , -ż- (AB); Gh: <i>azəl/[i]ħilān</i> (Neh.).	<i>h < z</i>
220)	<i>teħele/tihattin</i> «brebis» ✓ <i>ħħiħl/ħħiħiħl</i> NW: <i>teħəle/tihattin</i> (AB); W: <i>tiləy</i> (AB); Y: <i>tili</i> , <i>tiləy/tihattin</i> , <i>tiliwin</i> (AB); Gh: <i>teħəle/tħalawin</i> (AB), <i>[či]ħali/[či]ħalawin</i> (Neh.). Connu BN: Ghad: <i>təħəli</i> (Mot., AB), Sus, nef.: <i>tili/tattən</i> , awg.: <i>təħəl/tħilltin</i> (Beg.).	<i>h</i> ₂ - <i>h</i> ₂ -
221)	<i>tahle/tihəl</i> «esp. de roseau fig. esp. de lame d'épée» ✓ <i>ħħiħl</i> W: <i>tāħəle</i> (Nic. IV. 143); Gh: <i>tahəli</i> (AB); (<i>ət)tħħli</i> (Neh.) «sabre»; <i>tāle</i> (AB, F)/ <i>tħalawwīn</i> (F) «roseau». La forme Gh: <i>tah(ə)li</i> est probablement empruntée à H. dans le sens de «sabre» seul.	<i>h</i> ₂ - emprunt(?)
222)	<i>tāħħala/tihħaliwīn</i> «petite source» ✓ <i>ħħiħl</i> W: <i>tāħħala</i> (F); ∼ 487) <i>əħħl</i> «pleurer» ? (F). Connu BN: kab. <i>ħħala/ħħiliwa</i>	<i>h</i> ₂ -
223)	<i>əħħel</i> pf. <i>ihħla</i> «attarder; divertir» nv. <i>÷/imħħlān</i> «amusements», <i>ħallu</i> «flânerie» ✓ <i>?ħiħl</i>	<i>h < z</i>

W: *əz̥ləγ* «j'ai uriné» (Nic. FT. 408), lit. «je me suis attardé»?; *iməz̥lān* «distractions» (P); cf. 234) *məhəlhəl*.

Peut-être deux verbes distincts *əhəl* $\sqrt{h_2lh_1}$ «attarder» et *əhəl* $\sqrt{zlh_1}$ «divertir», cp. **W:** *ihlān* pf. part. «étant à bout» (Nic. III. 642)?

- 224) *ăhâl/ihallən* «réunion galante» $\sqrt{h_2h_1l}$

W: *ăhal/ihallən* «amour libre» (Nic. FT. 5).

Si l'étymologie offerte pour 223) *əhəl* $\sqrt{zh_1l}$?? tient, la parenté avec lui (F) est à écarter.

- 225) *ăhəlu/ihla* «extrémité aplatie et tranchante du javelot», *ăhəlu/ihəlān*, *ihla* «course sur l'ennemi, troupe en course» $\sqrt{zlh_1}$

W: *az̥lu/[i]zalan* (AB, Nic./Nic. FT. 118, 186), *až̥lu*, -š- (AB); **Y:** *az̥lu*, *ez̥lu* (AB).

Probablement même mot. Apparenté à 212) *ahəl*? (F).

- 226) *tăhalat/tihalătīn* «dent canine» $\sqrt{zlh_1}$

W: *tašalat* (AB), *tazalat* (Nic.); **Y:** *tazalat*, -š- (AB); **Gh:** *tazalat/čizalačin* (Neh.).

- 227) *hâll* imp. int., nv. *tâhala*, v. 487) *əlh.*

- 228) *hələbbət* «se défixer» $\sqrt{zlbh_1}$

W: *zələbbət* (Nic. FT. 88, 408).

- 229) *əhləd* «empêcher par une impossibilité» $\sqrt{?ld}$

T. mér. non att.

- 230) **N:** *təhələdət*, v. 485) *ăliqlid*.

- 231) *əhləj* «av. (suspendu) sur le côté» \sqrt{zlg}

W: *əz̥ləg* (Nic. FT. 78, 232); **Y:** *əz̥ləg* (AB).

- 232) *tehalğe/tihalğıwîn* «(côté) gauche» \sqrt{zlg}

NW: *teşəlğe* (AB, Ma.); **Y:** *tezəlge* (F, AB).

~ 231) *əhləj* (F).

- 233) *ăhâlğəm/ihâlğām* «laine teinte» $\sqrt{?lgm}$

T. mér. non att.

- 234) *məhəlhəl* «ê. attardé (par travail etc.)» caus.: *zəmməhəlhəl*, \sqrt{zlz}

N: *şəmməşəlşəl* «ê. contraire (vent)» (Ma.); **W:**

məzəlzəl «ê. préoccupé» (Nic. I. 783).

~ 223) *əhəl*, 235) *hulhəl*? (F).

h₂-
emprunt(?)

h < z

h < z

h < z

?

h < z

h < z

?

h < z

h < z

235) <i>hulhəl</i> «radoter» $\sqrt{?l?l}$?
T. mér. non att. $\sim 223)$ <i>əhəl</i> , 234) <i>məhəlhəl</i> ?	
(F). 238) <i>əhləl</i> ?	
236) <i>əhlək</i> «ruiner» \sqrt{hlk}	$h_2C < h$
N: <i>əhlək</i> (Ma.); < ar. <i>halak</i> .	
237) <i>həlkəlkək</i> «souffler en laissant pendre la langue (chien)» $\sqrt{?llklk}$?
T. mér. non att.	
238) <i>əhləl</i> «ê. distract» $\sqrt{?ll}$?
T. mér. non att. $\sim 235)$ <i>hulhəl</i> ?	
239) <i>ahəl/ihəllən</i> «tache» $\sqrt{?ll}$?
T. mér. non att. $\sim 214)$ <i>əhəl</i> ?? (F).	
240) <i>huləl</i> «ê. sauvage (an. domest.)» adj. vb. <i>ăhūlil/ihūlilən</i> et fém. \sqrt{hll}	h_2-
W: <i>ăhūlil/ihūlilən</i> (Nic. Dict. 812, II. 472); Gh: <i>ahulil/ihulal</i> (Neh.).	
241) <i>ĕhēlal</i> «épi mûr de <i>tullult</i> » $\sqrt{?ll}$?
T. mér. non att. $\sim 238)$ <i>əhləl</i> ?? (F).	
242) <i>ăməhēləl/iməhūlal</i> et fém. syn. «nerf» \sqrt{zll}	$h < z$
W: <i>em[əs]jiləl</i> (AB).	
243) <i>ăhəlləl</i> «fait de chanter <i>allah allah allah-la ilah illa llah</i> » et vb. dénom. <i>zəhhəlləl</i> \sqrt{hll}	$h_2- < h$
T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>hallal</i> .	
244) <i>əttəhlil</i> «petit livre servant de talisman» \sqrt{hll}	$h_2C < h$
T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>tahllil</i> .	
245) <i>hələlləkət</i> «frapper de toutes ses forces» $\sqrt{?llkh_1}$?
T. mér. non att.	
246) <i>hələlləmat</i> «effleurer» $\sqrt{?llmh_1}$	$h_2- ??$
T. mér. non att. Syn. de <i>lulləmat</i> $\sqrt{llmh_1}$, dont la racine n'est peut-être qu'une abréviation de celle de <i>hələlləmat</i> . Dans ce cas il est naturel de songer à la perte d'un <i>h</i> primitif.	$h_2 < h_1 ??$
247) <i>ăhəllēlu/ihəllēlwən</i> «papillon» $\sqrt{?llw}$?
T. mér. non att. $\sim 238)$ <i>əhləl</i> ?? (F).	
248) <i>uhlam</i> «entrevoir» \sqrt{zlm} . Sans doute \sim avec : NW: <i>əsləm</i> ; W: <i>əzlm</i> (AB), <i>əzləm</i> (Nic.) «apercevoir».	$h < z$
Connu en BN: kab. Sus <i>əzləm</i> .	

- 249) *zənnəhləm* «tourner la tête en arrière (pour regarder)» \sqrt{zlm} ? Sans doute caus. de réfl. de 248) *uhlam* (F).
- 250) *ăhəllum/ihəllūmən* et fém. dim. «corde» \sqrt{zlm}
W: *ahəllūm/ihəllūmən* (Nic. III. 647, VI. 61);
Gh: *ažəllum/ižəllumən* (Neh., AB).
 Connue en **BN**: Sus *tazəllumt*.
 La forme **W** est empruntée à **H**; les *Iwlləm-mədən* importent cette espèce de cordes du Hoggar (Nic.).
- 251) *həlməd* «ê. gaucher» adj. vb. *ăhəlməd* $\sqrt{zlm̰d}$
 T. mér. non att. Bien att. en **BN**: kab. *zəlməd* «aller à gauche», Sus, Ghad. *azəlməd* «main gauche».
- 252) *həlməy* «ê. de forme allongée» $\sqrt{?lm̰y}$
 T. mér. non att. Probablement \sim 253) *ăhəlləmoy* $\sqrt{zlm̰y}$.
- 253) *ăhəlləmoy/ihəlləməy; ihəlləmoyən* et fém. syn. «scinque» $\sqrt{zlm̰y}$
Gh: *tažuləmayt* (AB). \sim 252) *həlməy*? (F).
- 254) *hullan* «beaucoup, très» $\sqrt{hln̰}$
N: *hullan* (Ma.); **W:** *hullān, hullīn* (Nic.); **Gh:** *hullan* (Neh.). Cf. sect. K.
- 255) *ăhállun* «plomb; étain» $\sqrt{?ln̰}$
Gh: *ahəllum*? (Neh.).
- 256) *hələnkət* «peigner» $\sqrt{zlnkh̰}$
W: *šələnkət, šərənkət, s-* (AB); **Y:** *sərənkət, š-* (AB)
Gh: *žələnkət* (AB). (Deux vb. distincts?).
- 257) *əhləy* «envelopper de» $\sqrt{zly̰}$?
W: *ežəlay* «enveloppe (de griffe)» (Nic. FT. 422).
- 258) *ăhúlay/ihúlay* «bouc» $\sqrt{zly̰}$
W: *ăšūlay, azulay, -ž-, -ž-* (AB); **Y:** *azulay, zulay* (AB); **Gh:** *ažulay/ižulayən* (AB), -ğ- (Neh.).
- 259) *təhalye/tihalyiwîn* «plaqué métallique» $\sqrt{zly̰}$?
 T. mér. non att. Probablement id. à Sus *tazəlyā/ tizəlyiwin* «pièce de métal pour consolider, réparer».
- 260) **N:** *ăhaləs* v. 505) *âləs*.
- h < z (?)*
- h < z*
emprunt
- h < z*
- h < z ?*
- h < z*
- h < z*
- h₂₋*
- h₂₋ ?*
- h < z (s?)*
- h < z ?*
- h < z*
- h < z (?)*

- 261) *əhalis/ihalisən* «taille, stature» $\sqrt{?ls}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 262) *hăləs/hăləssən* «homme sans aucune valeur» $\sqrt{h_2lsh_1}$?
T. mér. non att. Probablement sorte de péjoratif de 505) *āləs* (F).
- 263) *tăhalləssat/tihaləssătîn* «vent qui sort sans bruit du fondement» $\sqrt{?lsh_1}$. Syn. de 497) *tălahəssat*. ?
- 264) *ăhlıw/ăhlıwən* $\sqrt{h_1?lw}$?
T. mér. non att. v. 192) *ăhahəl* $\sqrt{h_2?lw}$?
- 265) *həlwəhəlw* «ê. lâche; fig. av. peu de raison» $\sqrt{?lw?lw}$?
T. mér. non att. \sim 238) *əhləl* ?, 235) *hulhəl* ?
- 266) *həlwən* «être frais», *həleggən* «ê. brillant de fraîcheur» $\sqrt{?lwn}$. Probablement de même racine.
T. mér. non att.
- 267) *məhəlwıy* «n'être pas droit» \sqrt{zlwy} ? $h < z$?
T. mér. non att. Probablement \sim kab. *żżəlwəħ* \sqrt{zlwh} «ê. tordu», *żżəlwı* $\sqrt{żlwı}$ «traverser une période malheureuse».
- 268) *əhly* «ê. maladroit» $\sqrt{?ly}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 269) *həliyat* «engloutir; fig. disparaître, plonger» $\sqrt{?lyh_1}$? $h < z$??
Peut-être att. W: *əziləy[y]in* pf. int. «ils somnolent, c.-à-d. sont plongés dans le sommeil» ? (Nic. FT. 400).
- 270) *həlyhəly* «trottiner» \sqrt{hlyhly} ?
W: *həlyhəly* (AB). La parenté avec 212) *ahəl* est à écarter. h_{2-}
 Ch_{2-}
- 271) *hăma* «peuple tribu» \sqrt{hm} ? $h_{2-} (?) < ', \varepsilon$
T. mér. non att. Probablement < ar. *'ummah* (Pellat) ou *əámmah*. Cp. le syn. *əllámət*. < ar. *əámmah* (*'ummah* ?). Cf. sect. F.
Il ne faut pas exclure la possibilité qu'il s'agisse d'ar. *qamáeah*, connu dial. avec le sens de «famille ; épouse».

272) <i>tīhamt</i> «réservoir artificiel (pour l'eau)» $\sqrt{h_1 z m}$ W: <i>tišamt</i> (AB); Y: <i>tisamt</i> (JNic.).	$h < z$
273) <i>ehəm/ihəmmən</i> et fém. «antilope oryx» $\sqrt{zh_1 m}$ W: <i>ešəm, ezəm</i> (AB); Y: <i>ešəm, ezəm</i> (AB). <p>La forme <i>ezəm</i> est employée en H aussi (F), comme un emprunt à Y, car les oryx n'existent plus au Hoggar, mais abondent dans l'Ayr.</p> <p>Connu en BN: <i>siwi. izəm/izammən</i> «gazelle» kab. <i>Sus izəm/izmaawn</i> «lion» (id. ? (AB)).</p>	$h < z$ emprunt
274) <i>huməj</i> «ê. de forme conique (p.ex. la tête d'un cheval)» $\sqrt{?mg}$ <p>Peut-être attesté W: <i>šuməj</i> (= <i>luməj</i>) «av. l'oreille pointue (an.)» (AB).</p>	$h < z ?$
275) <i>ăhamâl/ihmâl</i> «indice» \sqrt{zml} D: <i>ašamâl</i> (F); Y: <i>ăžamâl, -š-</i> (F, AB).	$h < z$
276) <i>ăhammad/ihummâl</i> «petit troupeau de chameaux» et fém. syn. $\sqrt{?ml}$ T. mér. non att.	?
277) <i>həməlməl</i> «ê. rouge et brillant comme un tison» $\sqrt{?mlml}$ T. mér. non att. À cause du nv. concr. <i>eməmməl</i> \sqrt{mlml} , dont la racine ne paraît être qu'une abréviation de celle de <i>həməlməl</i> , il est naturel de songer à la perte d'un <i>h</i> primitif. $\sim imlal$ «ê. blanc» ? <i>məluwət</i> «scintiller» ?, <i>məlwəməlw</i> «miroiter» ? (F).	$h_{2^-} ?$ $h_2 > h_1$
278) <i>tăhamamt</i> «partie charnue à la nuque (de certains an.)» \sqrt{zmm} W: <i>tăzamāmt</i> (Nic. VI. 61).	$h < z$
279) <i>əlhəm/əlhəmmən</i> «souci» \sqrt{hmm} T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>hamm</i> .	$Ch_2 < h$
280) <i>əlhimma</i> «honneur» \sqrt{zmm} T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>dimmah</i> .	$h < z$
281) <i>həməmmərət</i> «se traîner sur le sol sur les genoux seuls» $\sqrt{?mmrh_1}$ T. mér. non att.	?
282) <i>tĕhaməq</i> «mica» \sqrt{zmy} W: <i>tazāmaq</i> (Nic. I. 798) <i>tăzəməq</i> (Nic. Tam. 23) «gypse».	$h < z$

	Syn. de <i>t̄esaməq</i> , qui paraît être une var. à \sqrt{smy} , vb. dénom. <i>səməqqət</i> $\sqrt{smyh_1}$ «briller, ê. éclatant de blancheur» (F) (cp. 435) Y: <i>esawəy</i> .	
283)	<i>əhmər</i> «supporter» \sqrt{zmr} N: <i>əšmər</i> (Ma.); W: <i>əzmər</i> (Nic.).	$h < z$
	Connu en BN: <i>kab.</i> <i>əzmər</i> , <i>izmir</i> «pouvoir».	
284)	<i>ahmər/ihmərən</i> «partie en avant de la bosse du chameau qui supporte la selle» \sqrt{zmr} NW: <i>ašmər</i> (AB); W: <i>āzmər</i> (Nic. III. 640). Probablement \sim 283) <i>əhmər</i> (F).	$h < z$
285)	<i>tehamart/tihəmrîn</i> «trachée artère» $\sqrt{?mr}$ T. mér. non att. \sim 283) <i>əhmər</i> ? (F).	?
286)	$\div/ihamarâtən$ «fragments de grains (mêlés à la farine)» $\sqrt{?mr}$ T. mér. non att. \sim 287) <i>t̄hammart</i> ? (F).	$h < z ??$
287)	<i>t̄hammart/tihammârîn</i> «épi» \sqrt{zmr} Gh: <i>tağəmmart/čiğəmmarin</i> (Neh.).	$h < z$
288)	<i>t̄lhâmust</i> «bubble» \sqrt{zms} T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>ȝamâsa</i> .	$h < z$
289)	<i>həməshəməs</i> «ê. surexcité» $\sqrt{?ms?ms}$ T. mér. non att. \sim <i>mussu</i> $\sqrt{msh_1}$ «(se) remuer»? (F), <i>aməs</i> $\sqrt{h_1ms}$ «essuyer»??	?
290)	<i>həməsməs</i> «ê. rouge et brillant comme un tison» $\sqrt{?msms}$ T. mér. non att. Altération de 277) <i>həməlməl</i> ? (F); \sim <i>teməsməst</i> \sqrt{msms} «étincelle», comme <i>həməlməl</i> \sim <i>eməmməl</i> ? (F). Dans ce cas il est naturel de songer à la perte d'un <i>h</i> primitif. \sim <i>temse</i> $\sqrt{msh_1}$ «feu» ? (F).	$h_{2^-} ?$ $h_2 > h_1$
291)	<i>ălhin/ălhînən</i> «mauvais esprit, génie» $\sqrt{zn(n)}$ N: <i>alšin/alšinən</i> (Ma.); W: <i>əlžəyn/əlžəynən</i> (Nic. I. 782). < ar. <i>ȝinn</i> .	$h < z$
292)	<i>ahən</i> «attacher» $\sqrt{h_1h_2n}$ Ghad. <i>aðən</i> (Lan.).	$-h_{2^-}$
293)	<i>t̄hunt/tihun</i> «grosse pierre» $\sqrt{h_2h_1n}$, $\sqrt{h_2wn}$ NW: <i>t̄hunt/tihun</i> (AB, Ma.); Y: <i>t̄hunt</i> , <i>təwint</i> (AB); Gh: <i>tuwənt</i> (Neh., AB)/ <i>čiwin</i> (Neh.), <i>tawənt/čiwin</i> «moulin» (Neh.). Cf. sect. M et P.	h_{2^-}

294)	<i>ehən/ihanān</i> «tente» $\sqrt{h_2 nh_1}$ N: <i>ehən/ihanān</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>ehən/ihanān, inān</i> (AB, F); Y: <i>ehən/inān</i> (AB, F); Gh: $\div/yanān/\partial d\text{-}yanān$ (Neh., F), $\div/yenān$ (AB) «maison, tente».	h_2-
	Probablement id. à Ghad. <i>ayən/ayənən</i> «maison».	
295)	<i>ahni</i> «sang» $\sqrt{znh_1}$ NW: <i>ašni</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>azni, -ž-</i> (AB); Y: <i>azni, -š-, izni</i> (AB); Gh: <i>azni</i> (AB).	$h < z$
296)	<i>hənburjən</i> «grosse sauterelle» $\sqrt{?nbrgn}$ T. mér. non att. Composé avec <i>hən-</i> ? cf. 297) <i>təhənbərəttut</i> et 320) <i>ehənkēkər</i> .	?
297)	<i>təhənbərəttut</i> «caille» $\sqrt{?nbrth_1}$ T. mér. non att. Sans doute composé de <i>hən-</i> (?) + <i>bərəttət</i> «s'échapper en fuyant . . .» (F).	?
298)	<i>hənbəy</i> «av. la tête noire» adj. vb. <i>ehənbəy</i> et fém. \sqrt{hnby} W: <i>təhəmbəy</i> (Nic. III. 637) adj. vb. ? <i>tā</i> + pf. ?	h_2-
299)	<i>hund</i> «comme». W: <i>šund</i> (AB); Gh: <i>zənd, hund</i> (Neh.; dernier faux?).	$h < z$
	Connu en BN: Sus <i>zund</i> .	
300)	<i>əlhənd</i> «acier» \sqrt{hnd} T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>hind</i> .	$Ch_2 < h$
301)	<i>ehəndəg/ihəndəggən</i> «fois» $\sqrt{?ndg}$ N: <i>ehəndəg</i> (Ma.); W: $?/[i]zəndəgən$ (Nic. III. 642). Renseignements contradictoires. Composé de <i>hən</i> + <i>edəg/idəggən</i> ? (F).	$h_2-? h < z ?$
302)	<i>məhəndər</i> «ê. réc. en colère l'un contre l'autre» $\sqrt{?ndr}$ T. mér. non att. $\sim \text{əndər}$ «sauter vivement de sa place».	?
303)	<i>həndərəmmət</i> «pousser un sourd hennissement de plaisir (cham.)» $\sqrt{?ndrmh_1}$ T. mér. non att. Composé de <i>hən</i> + <i>dərəmmət</i> ? (<i>hən</i> \sim 324) <i>hənənət</i> ? 312) <i>həngəmmət</i> ?	$h_2-?$
304)	<i>məhəndw</i> «n'av. pas l'esprit bien d'aplomb» $\sqrt{?ndw}$?

	T. mér. non att. $\sim \text{ənd}w$ «former son beurre (lait); souffler démesurément (comme un soufflet de forge) (pers.)» ? (F).	
305)	<i>məhənd̥w</i> «é. dispersé» $\sqrt{?n̥d̥w}$?
	T. mér. non att. $\sim \text{ənd}w$ «jeter» et pass. (F).	
306)	<i>təhəndəz̥it/lihəndəz̥awîn</i> «plaisanterie».	$h_2\text{-}$
	Gh: <i>tahəndəz̥ut</i> (Neh.) et vb. dénom. <i>təhənduzət</i> (Neh.).	
	Composé de <i>hən</i> + (<i>ta</i>) <i>dəz̥a</i> nv. de <i>əſs</i> «rire» (F).	
307)	<i>hənəffət</i> «pousser de petits gémissements plaintifs» $\sqrt{h_2nfh_1}$	$h_2\text{-}$
	W: <i>hənəffət</i> (AB); Gh: <i>hənəffət</i> «é. essoufflé» (Neh.).	
308)	<i>ăhənfus/ĕhənfassən</i> «manche» $\sqrt{hnfh_1s}$	$h_2\text{-}$
	W: <i>ahənfus/ihənfāsən</i> (Nic. Tam. 176); Gh: <i>ahənfus/ihənfasən</i> (Neh.).	
	Composé de 294) (<i>e</i>) <i>hən</i> + (<i>ă</i>) <i>fus/(i)fassən</i> «main» (F).	
309)	<i>ăhûnəj</i> «fruit de <i>tăhunək</i> (arbre)» \sqrt{hng}	$h_2\text{-}$
	Y: <i>tahunək</i> (JNic.).	
	Syn. \sim 325) <i>ăhûnəy</i> , <i>tăhûnəq</i> .	
310)	<i>hunnəj</i> «av. une ophtalmie» nv. abstr. <i>ăhənnəj</i> , réfl. <i>məhənnəj</i> «é. ébloui».	$h_2\text{-}$
	W: <i>ahənnəj</i> (AB).	
311)	<i>ăhənđu/ihənđa</i> et fém. «ennemi», vb. dénom. <i>zungət</i> «é. très méchant, cruel» $\sqrt{zngħ_1}$	$h < z$
	N: <i>ašənđu/išənđa</i> (Ma.); W: <i>azəngu/izənga</i> (Nic.); Y: <i>azəngu/izənga</i> (AB); Gh: <i>azənđu/izənđa</i> .	
312)	<i>hənđəmmət</i> «faire entendre le son particulier dans le rut (bélier)» ou «pousser un sourd hennissement de plaisir (cheval)» (cp. 303) <i>həndərəmmət</i> 324) <i>hənənəł</i>).	$h_2\text{-}$
	W: <i>həngəmmət</i> (Nic. FT. 408).	
313)	<i>tehənđərt</i> «fleur de gommier» \sqrt{zngr}	$h < z$
	W: <i>ezəngər</i> , -š- (AB); Y: <i>težəngərt</i> (AB).	
314)	<i>ăhiñhođ/ihiñhađ</i> «poils des parties sexuelles» $\sqrt{znzđ}$	$h < z$
	Y: <i>ažənžəđ</i> , - <i>ađ</i> (AB); <i>ažənžuđ</i> (AB).	$h < z$

315) <i>huñhər</i> «éprouver du dégout pour» $\sqrt{hñr}$	h_2-
W: <i>hunšər</i> , -χ- «saigner du nez» (AB); Y: <i>anzər</i> , pf. <i>yunzər</i> , -ž- «saigner du nez» (AB).	$h < z$
Cf. ∞ 548) <i>tẽñhərt</i> , 60) <i>fuñhər</i> et sect. M et O.	
Le sens primitif paraît être celui de «saigner du nez», conservé dans 549) <i>ãñhər</i> , dont <i>huñhər</i> doit être un vb. dénom. H n'en garde qu'un sens figuré.	
316) <i>ăhənku/ihənka</i> , <i>ihənkâtən</i> et fém. «homme impuissant» $\sqrt{?nkh_1}$?
T. mér. non att.	
317) <i>hənəkkət</i> «râler de la gorge» $\sqrt{?nkh_1}$?
T. mér. non att.	
318) <i>ăhənnaka/ihənnakâtən</i> $\sqrt{?nkh_1}$?
T. mér. non att.	
319) <i>ăhənkəd/ihənkâd</i> et fém. «gazelle» $\sqrt{znkđ}$	$h < z$
W: <i>azənkəd</i> , -ž-, -š-, <i>tašənkət</i> (AB); Y: <i>azənkəd</i> (AB).	
320) <i>ehənkékər/ihənkâkâr</i> et fém. syn. «guêpe constructrice» \sqrt{znkkr}	$h < z$
Gh: <i>izənkikər</i> , <i>tizənkikərt</i> (AB). Composé de <i>hən</i> + <i>kékər</i> ? Cp. 296) <i>hənburğən</i> .	
321) <i>tahənna/tihənniñwîn</i> «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{?nn}$?
T. mér. non att.	
322) <i>əlhənnət</i> «paradis» \sqrt{znn}	$h < ž$
W: <i>əlžənnət</i> (AB, Nic. Tam. 245). < ar. <i>gannah</i> .	
323) <i>təhâniñt</i> «grâce» \sqrt{hnn}	$h_2- < h$
N: <i>təhanint</i> (Ma.). < ar. dial. <i>ḥanînah</i> ∼ <i>ḥanâñ(ah)</i> , <i>ḥanîn</i> .	
324) <i>hənənət</i> «hennir (cheval)» $\sqrt{h_2nh_1nh_1}$?	h_2- (?)
W: <i>hənhən</i> (Nic. III. 645); Gh: <i>hənən[n]əs</i> ? (pf. int. <i>ihiñən[n]əs</i> , Neh.).	
Les formes W, Gh. (\sqrt{hnhn} , \sqrt{hnsns}) paraissent être apparentées mais non id. à <i>hənənət</i> . La base bilitère \sqrt{hn} de la racine se retrouve peut-être dans le premier élément de 303) <i>həndərəmmət</i> , 312) <i>hənȝəmmət</i> . Cp. aussi BN: Sus: <i>shənind</i> $\sqrt{hnnđ}$. ar. dial. <i>ḥənḥən</i> = <i>ḥamḥam</i> .	

- 325) *ăhûnəγ*, *tăhûnəq* \sqrt{hny} , var. de 309) *ăhûnəğ*, *tăhûnək*. h_2-
T. mér. non att.
- 326) *hənəqqət* «av. le hoquet», nv. abstr. *tăhnəqqit*/
tihñəqqaq $\sqrt{h_2nyh_1}$ h_2-
Gh: *tahnəqqit/čihñəqqaq* (Neh.).
- 327) *hənγəl* «loucher», réfl. syn. *məhənγəl* \sqrt{znyl} $h < z$
W: *zəzzənγəl* (pf. int. *ižižiγəl*, caus. syn. Nic. VII.
574).
- 328) *ăhənsa/ihənsâtən* «affluent de vallée» et fém.
dim. $\sqrt{?nsh_1}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 329) *ăhənsi/ihənsítən* et fém. «loup» $\sqrt{?nsh_1}$?
var. avec -si. Emprunt soud. (F).
- 330) *ăhənsawa/ihənsawâtən* «atelier d'artisan» h_2-
 $\sqrt{hnswh_1}$
N: *ăhənsawa* (P); **W:** *ăhənsawa* (AB, Nic.);
Y: *ihənsawa* (AB).
Composé avec 294) (e)*hən* ?
- 331) *tăhənətnat* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{?ntnt} \sqrt{?nh_1nh_1}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 332) *hânnəy* imp. int., *ăhanay* nv. v. 563) *əny*.
- 333) *ahəγ* «piller, razzier; recueillir (du liquide. Vase
etc.)» $\sqrt{h_1h_2γ}$ $-h_2-$
NW: *ahəγ* (AB, Ma.); **Gh:** *ahəγ* (Neh., AB), nv.
ah[h]ay (Neh.).
Un réfl. (pass.) a été relevé **W:** *mahəγ* (AB),
un adj. vb. **N:** *?/imahayən* (Ma.) (cf. 520)
ămâhayγ.
Connu en BN avec le sens de «prendre»:
Ghad. *aðəe* (\neq *aðəγ* «ê. allumé» (Lan.)), kab. *ay*.
- 334) *nahəγ* «ê. contracté (pris) par contagion (ma-
ladie)» $\sqrt{h_1h_2γ}$? $-h_2-$ (?)
T. mér. non att. Probablement dérivé de 333)
ahəγ (F).
- 335) $\div /tinahayîn$ «grâce; amnistie (levée d'une
peine)» $\sqrt{h_1h_2γ}$ $-h_2-$ (?)
T. mér. non att. Probablement dérivé de 333)
ahəγ (F).

336) $\check{a}n\acute{a}hoy$ «creux d'un réservoir d'eau naturel» $\sqrt{h_1h_2\gamma}$ adj. vb. de 333) <i>ahəy</i> (F), cp. 337).	- <i>h₂</i> -
337) <i>təsâhaq/tisâhây</i> «flaque d'eau» $\sqrt{h_1h_2\gamma}$ Y: <i>t[ə]sahaq</i> «petite mare» (AB). N. instr. de 333) <i>ahəy</i> (F), cp. 336).	- <i>h₂</i> - gém. comp. ₁
Une contraction de ce mot représente probablement: <i>tasaq/tisaqqîn</i> «réservoir d'eau naturel» $\sqrt{h_1h_1\gamma}$ ($\sqrt{sh_1\gamma}$?), Y: <i>tasaq</i> «marigot pérenne, mare de glaise» (AB) (cp. 338).	
338) <i>ăsăhay/ăsăhay</i> «chant» $\sqrt{h_1h_2\gamma}$ N: <i>asahay</i> (Ma.); Y: <i>asăq, assaq</i> (AB); Gh: <i>asahay/isuhay</i> (Neh.). nv. à préf. S de 333) <i>ahəy</i> ? (F).	- <i>h₂</i> - gém. comp. ₂ ?
339) <i>tēhaq/tēhyîn</i> «esp. d'arbre» $\sqrt{h_1z\gamma}$ W: <i>tîsəq, -s-</i> (AB).	<i>h < z</i>
340) <i>ahyu/ihyûtən</i> et fém. «veau d'un an» $\sqrt{h_2\gamma h_1}$ W: <i>ahəyu, ahəyaw, ihəyi</i> (AB) (le dernier faux ? cp. 397) <i>ehəri</i> .	<i>h₂</i> -
341) <i>huqqət</i> «frapper de la pointe (d'un objet)» $\sqrt{?γh_1}$ T. mér. non att.	?
342) <i>tăhoqqa</i> «poussière» $\sqrt{?γγ}$ T. mér. non att. Syn. de <i>tăboqqa</i> , cf. sect. N.	?
343) <i>tăhaqqa/tihəywîn</i> «maison-magasin de provisions» $\sqrt{?γw}$ W: <i>tażəqqa</i> (pour <i>tażəkka</i> ?) «tombe» (Nic. Ind. 54) paraît être un mot différent (nv. de <i>əsku ḥżekħi</i>). ∼ 333) <i>ahəy</i> ? (F).	?
344) <i>ahyəy</i> «é. couché sur le dos» $\sqrt{zγγ}$ Y: <i>azγəy</i> «é. appuyé» (AB).	<i>h < z</i>
345) <i>əlhaqq</i> «vérité, droit» $\sqrt{hγγ}$ T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>haqq</i> .	<i>Ch₂ < h</i>
346) <i>ăhəyəyə</i> «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{?γh_1γh_1}$ T. mér. non att.	?
347) <i>ehəyən/ihəyənān</i> «pilon» $\sqrt{zγn}$ W: <i>ezəyən, -š-</i> (AB); Y: <i>ezəyən</i> (AB); Gh: <i>ezəyən/izəyənān</i> (AB, Neh.).	<i>h < z</i>
348) <i>ăhγər/ihəγərən</i> «firmament» $\sqrt{hγr}$? = ∼ <i>ăqqər/ăqqərən</i> $\sqrt{h_1γr}$ (même mot altéré ?)	<i>h₂C</i> (?)

- et *eyîr/iyîrən* $\sqrt{y\bar{h}_1r}$. $\sim iyar$, *əqqar/yəqqōr* «ê. sec; dur» ? \sqrt{hyr} , $\sqrt{\gamma hr}$ (F).
- 349) *ăhəqqōr/ihəqqâr* «poutre en bois de palmier». T. mér. non att. Sans doute id. à BN: kab. *azəqqur/izuyran* «tronc d'arbre sec».
- La parenté avec *iyar*, *əqqar/yəqqōr* «ê. sec; dur» (F) est à écarter.
- 350) *tăhyayt/tihyayîn* «bayonnette» $\sqrt{z\gamma\bar{y}}$
- W: *tazyayt* (Nic. FT. 104); Y: *tazyayt* (AB); Gh: *tazyayt* (AB) – tous avec le sens de «sabre».
- 351) NW: *har*, v. 587) *ar*.
- 352) *ahər* «mettre en association; av. en commun» $\sqrt{h_1h_2r}$
- W: *ahər* (pf. int. Nic. VII. 578). Connu en BN: zen. *ar*.
- 353) *asihar* «lieu de réunion fixé d'avance» $\sqrt{h_1h_2r}$
- W: *asīhar* «compagnie» (Nic. I. 782 etc.). nv. du caus. de 352) *ahər* (F).
- 354) *ăhâr/ăhârən* «figue», *tăhârt/tăhârîn* «figuier» $\sqrt{h_1zr}$
- N: *ahar*, *tahart* (Ma.); Y: *tahart* (JNic.). Gh: *azar/azarən*, *tazart/tazarin* (Neh.). Bien connu BN: Ghad. Sus, kab. *azar*, *tazart*. Les formes N, Y doivent être des emprunts à H. En effet le figuier n'existerait pas dans la zone N et serait de moindre importance dans la zone Y (JNic. 203).
- 355) *əhər* «fermer, boucher» $\sqrt{h_2h_1r}$
- WY: *əhər*, pf. *ihər*, impf. int. *ihhar* (AB). \neq 359) *əhər* $\sqrt{zh_1r}$
- Connu Ghad. *əðər* (Mot., Lan.).
- 356) *ashər/ishâr*, *ishərən* «bouchon, couvercle», et fém. dim. *tashərt/tishâr*, *tassərt/tissâr*, ce dernier uniquement avec le sens de «le petit disque entre la datte et sa tige» $\sqrt{h_2h_1r}$
- W: *tashərt* (AB), *asahār*, *tāsahart* (AB, Nic. IV. 137); Y: *as(ə)hər*, *asahar* «porte» (AB); Gh: *tashərt*, *tassərt* (AB).

 $h < z$ $h < z$ $-h_2-$ $-h_2-$ $h < z$

emprunt

 $-h_2-$ Ch_2 gém. comp.₂ $h_2 > h_1$

	Connu en BN: B. Snus: <i>paswərþ/pisurin</i> $\sqrt{wh_1r}$, cp. sect. M.	
	Les formes avec <i>a</i> après S paraissent avoir une racine inversée $\sqrt{h_1h_2r}$. N. instr. de 355) <i>əhər</i> .	
357)	<i>tăhort/tihôr</i> «porte» $\sqrt{h_2h_1r}$ Gh: <i>tăwurt</i> (F), <i>tawwərt</i> , <i>təwərt</i> (AB), <i>tawart</i> / <i>či[w]ur</i> (Neh.).	h_2-
	Bien connu BN ($\sqrt{wh_1r}$): cf. AB: Le nom de la «porte» en berbère, Mélanges R. Bassett II, 1925, pp. 1–16. Cp. sect. H et M. Nv. de 355) <i>əhər</i> .	
358)	<i>ăhor/ăhōrən</i> et fém. syn. «amoncellement de rochers» $\sqrt{h_1?r}$ T. mér. non att. \sim 355) <i>əhər</i> ? (F).	?
359)	<i>əhər</i> «ê. dépoillé de ses poils» et caus. <i>zəhər</i> $\sqrt{zh_1r}$ W: <i>zəzər</i> (AB); Y: <i>əzər</i> act. et pass. (AB); Gh: <i>zəzər</i> «plumer» (Neh.). \sim Ghad. <i>əbzər</i> «ê. épluché» $\sqrt{h_2zr}$ (Lan.). \neq 355) <i>əhər</i> $\sqrt{h_2h_1r}$	$h < z$
360)	<i>tehirt/tihîrîn</i> «difficulté de respiration» $\sqrt{h_2h_1r?}$ T. mér. non att. Nv. de 355) <i>əhər</i> ? (F).	h_2- (?)
361)	<i>ăhir/ihîrən</i> «source d'un débit extrêmement faible» $\sqrt{h_2h_1r?}$ T. mér. non att. Nv. de 355) <i>əhər</i> ? (F).	h_2- (?)
362)	<i>ahar/iharrən</i> et fém. «lion» $\sqrt{h_2h_1r}$ W: <i>ahər</i> , <i>ahar</i> (AB); Y: <i>ahar</i> (AB); Gh: <i>ahər/ihərən</i> , <i>tahərt/čihərin</i> (Neh.).	h_2-
	Cp. sect. M. Ghad. <i>ačur/čuran</i> (Mot.).	
363)	<i>tăhara/tihəriwîn</i> «coulisse de taille de pantalon» $\sqrt{zrh_1}$ W: <i>tazara</i> (AB); Gh: <i>tazra/čizrawin</i> (Neh.).	$h < z$
364)	<i>ăhâra/ihârâñ</i> «sel non comestible, mélangé de natron etc.» $\sqrt{h_2rh_1}$ W: <i>ahāra</i> (Nic. FT. 190, 272); Y: <i>ahar[a]</i> «natron» (AB).	h_2-
365)	<i>hurət</i> «suivre à la trace» $\sqrt{h_2rh_1}$ W: <i>hōrət</i> , <i>zūrət</i> (Nic. Dict. 812, II. 480, IV. 145).	h_2-

Y: *hurət* (*ta-tətīhârît* «esp. de serpent» (AB) qui suit les traces» ?).

La forme *zūrət*, donnée comme une var., est probablement une erreur.

- 366) *tshîrət/tihîrtîn* «mucosité de l'oeil» $\sqrt{?rh_1}$ *h < z ?*
 Peut-être id. à **W:** *təziri* (*n-tədist*) «dysenterie» (AB). ∼ 355) *əhər* ? (F).
- 367) *harət/harətən* «chose» $\sqrt{h_2rh_1}$ ($\sqrt{h_2rt}$?) *h₂-*
NW: *harət/harətən* (Ma., AB); **Y:** *arət* (AB);
Gh: *harət/harətən* (Neh.).
- Probablement id. à **BN:** *ara*, particule qui renforce ou complète la négation du verbe (cp. fr. pas, rien). Id. à Ghad. *kara*, **BN:** kab. Sus *kra* ?
- 368) *āhârod/ihûrad* «pierre tendre et feuillettée» $\sqrt{?rd̪}$?
 T. mér. non att.
- 369) *tinəhardəfîn* «paroles de délire» $\sqrt{?rdf}$?
 T. mér. non att.
- 370) *əhrəg* «aller à l'eau» \sqrt{zrg} *h < z*
W: *əzrəg* (Nic. FT. 418, Dict. 811); **Y:** *əzrəg* (AB); **Gh:** *əhrəg* (Neh.; emprunt à **H** ? faux ?).
- 371) *ahrağ* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{?rg}$?
 T. mér. non att.
- 372) *tăharje/tiharjîwîn* «petit thalweg» \sqrt{zrg} *h < z*
Gh: *tazargi* (AB).
- La parenté avec *urrağ* «descendre» (F) est à écarter.
- 373) *hurəg* «vagabonder en liberté (an. dom.)» \sqrt{zrg} , ($\sqrt{zrh_1g}$? $\sqrt{srh_1g}$?). *h < z (s?)*
 T. mér. non att., à moins qu'il ne soit id. à **N:** *surhəg* (caus.) «permettre» (Ma.). Dans ce cas l'adj. vb. *āməzzâruğ/iməzzârağ*, att. **Gh:** *amezzarug* (Neh., emprunt à **H** ?), qui garantit *h < z*, reposera sur une forme **zurhəg* avec altération du préf. du caus. (cp. sect. B).
 Par conséquent il n'est guère possible de regarder *hurəg* comme un simple doublet de *gurəg* \sqrt{wrg}

($\sqrt{wrh_1g}$?) (ABV p. 137), «ê. en liberté (an.)», bien qu'il y ait parenté.

En outre $\sim \sigma rə\dot{g} \sqrt{rh_1g}$ «délivrer de la mort (Dieu)», $\sigma trə\dot{g}$ «lâcher librement (an.)» ($\sqrt{trh_1g}$)? (F) $\sim arə\dot{g} \sqrt{h_1rg}$ «venir en aide en donnant (qqch)» ?? (F).

- 374) *harə\j* = $\sigma hərə\dot{g}$ «ê. voisin» adj. vb. *ănâra\j*/*inârâ\jən* = *ănara\j*/*inarâ\jən* et fém. $\sqrt{h_2rg}$
N: *anharə\j*? (Ma.); **W:** *harəg* (pf. int. *i\hîrəg* Nic. IV. 137), *?/inarâ\jən* (ibid. 153), nv. *təhhīrəgt* (Nic. VI. 62). *h₂₋*
- La parenté avec 370) *əhrə\j* \sqrt{zrg} (F) est à écarter.
- 375) *har\jət*, pf. *i\hûr\jət*, nv. abstr. *təhâr\jít/tihûr\já*
N: *hur\jət* (AB), *t[a]har\jít* (Ma.); **W:** *hur\jət* (AB);
Y: *harg\jət*, *arg\jət* (pf. *yurg\jət*), *argu* (pf. *yurga*),
tahargit, *targit* (AB); **Gh:** *hər\jət* (Neh., AB),
hurg\jət (AB), *tahar\jít/čihur\já* (Neh.). *h₂₋*
- Connu en BN. Cp. sect. H, M, P.
- 376) *tehəreg\jəle/tihəreg\jəliw\în* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{?rgl}$
T. mér. non att. ?
- 377) *hərə\jər\j* «ronfler (feu)» $\sqrt{?rgrg}$
T. mér. non att. ?
- 378) *hərə\jw* «reverdir» $\sqrt{zrgh_1w}$ (?)
W: *zərīgu* «(saison de prime) hivernage» (Nic.)
en est probablement un nv. *h < z* (?)
- 379) *ăhôrhal*, v. syn. 381) *ăhôrhi* \sqrt{hrhl}
T. mér. non att. *Ch₂* (?)
- 380) *həruhə\j* «fuir tumultueusement» $\sqrt{?r?y}$
T. mér. non att. ?
?
- 381) *ăhôrhi/i\hôrhiyən* et fém. «fennec» $\sqrt{\hbar rh\jy}$
Gh: *əhurhi*, *ahurhay* (AB). Emprunt à H ?
= ∞ 379) *ăhôrhal*. *Ch₂* (?)
- 382) *təharhāyt* «relief de terrain clair et bas» $\sqrt{?r?y}$
T. mér. non att. ?
?
- 383) *ăharik/i\hôrâk* «ch. de mauvais présage» \sqrt{zrk}
Sans doute id. à W: *ašərik* «poison» (AB). *h < z* (?)
- 384) *hərkī/hərkîtən* «maroquin» $\sqrt{zrkh_1}$ *h < š*

	T. mér. non att. < ar. dial. <i>šɔrk(i)</i> .	
	Connu en BN: B. Snus <i>əššɔrk</i> .	
385)	<i>hərəkkət</i> «respecter» $\sqrt{?rk\bar{h}_1}$?
	T. mér. non att.	
386)	$\div /ihər̠inən$ «venin» $\sqrt{?rn}$?
	T. mér. non att.	
387)	<i>hərnən</i> «montrer les dents à» \sqrt{hrnn}	<i>h₂₋</i> (?)
	T. mér. non att. $\sim hərnən$, cf. sect. L.	
388)	<i>ehēray</i> «chagrin, regret» $\sqrt{?ry}$?
	T. mér. non att.	
389)	<i>ehərər/ihərār</i> «fleur de dattier mâle» \sqrt{hrr}	<i>h₂₋</i> (?)
	T. mér. non att. Connu Ghad. <i>aðarir</i> .	
390)	$\div /tihōrar$ «fait d'ê. très respecté» $\sqrt{?rr}$?
	T. mér. non att.	
391)	<i>əlhərir</i> «soie» \sqrt{hrr}	<i>Ch₂</i> < <i>h</i>
	T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>ḥarīr</i> .	
392)	<i>ăhrâru/ihrâra</i> = <i>ăhrâru/ihrûrûtən</i> «représentations, remontrances» et vb. dénom. caus. <i>zəhhərurat</i> $\sqrt{?rrh_1}$?
	T. mér. non att.	
393)	<i>hərərrəfət</i> «passer en bouffée (vent)» $\sqrt{?rrfh_1}$?
	T. mér. non att.	
394)	<i>hərirw</i> «traîner» \sqrt{zrrw}	<i>h</i> < <i>z</i>
	W: <i>zərurw</i> (nv. <i>azərūru</i> Nic. VI. 55).	
395)	<i>ihras, hərəs</i> «ê. de couleur gris alouette ou de fer», adj. vb. <i>ahras</i> \sqrt{hrs}	<i>h₂₋</i>
	W: pf. <i>haras</i> , adj. vb. <i>ahāras</i> «ê. tacheté, pommelé» (Nic. II. 470, VI. 61).	
396)	<i>harəw</i> «travailler», nv. abstr. <i>tāhōre</i> . \sqrt{hrw}	<i>h₂₋</i>
	N: adj. vb. <i>[a]mahar[a]w</i> «charpentier» (Ma.).	
	Connu en BN: Sus <i>tawūri, -ww-</i> nv.	
397)	<i>ehere/ihərawən</i> «menu bétail», <i>ehere/ihərwān</i> «bien matériel» \sqrt{hrw}	<i>h₂₋</i>
	W: <i>ehere/ihərwan</i> (AB, Nic.); Gh: <i>ih[ə]ri/ih[ə]rawən</i> (Neh.). Y: <i>ehere</i> (JNic.).	
	Peut-être apparenté à Y: <i>ehəri/ihəran</i> «veau», fém. <i>tehərit/tihəratin</i> «génisse» $\sqrt{h_2rh_1}$ (AB), ep. BN: Sus <i>ahruy</i> «moutons», <i>tahruyt/tihray</i> «brebis» \sqrt{hry} .	

398)	<i>tāhara/tihərwīn</i> «esp. de plante» \sqrt{zrw} W: <i>tašara, tašra</i> (AB), <i>tazāra</i> (Nic. Tam. 40).	$h < z$
399)	<i>həriwət</i> «creuser en grattant» $\sqrt{?rwh_1}$ T. mér. non att. \sim 400) <i>hərwhərw.</i>	?
400)	<i>hərwhərw</i> «creuser ça et là» $\sqrt{?rw?rw}$ T. mér. non att. \sim 399) <i>həriwət.</i>	?
401)	<i>məhərwy</i> «ê. éparpillé» $\sqrt{?rwy}$ T. mér. non att. \sim <i>ərwy</i> «mèler» et pass., <i>bərwyəy</i> «ê. bouleversé», <i>mətərwy</i> «ê. dans un mélange complet» (F).	?
402)	<i>əhry</i> «ê. après ; ê. le dernier» nv. <i>təhrayət</i> «fin» \sqrt{zry} N: <i>əšry, təšrayət</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>əšry</i> (AB), <i>əzry</i> (Nic. FT. 180, 292); Gh: <i>əzry</i> (AB), <i>čihrayt</i> (Neh. faux ?). Probablement id. à BN: Sus <i>əzry</i> «passer (tr.)» cp. 403).	$h < z$
403)	<i>nəməhry</i> «passer outre l'un à l'autre (réc.)» fig. «ê. désobéissant», nv. fig. <i>tānməhrayt</i> \sqrt{zry} N: <i>nəməšry, tanməšrayt</i> (fig. Ma.); W: <i>tanəmāzrīt</i> (fig. Nic. I. 779); Y: <i>nəməzry</i> (AB). Dérivé réc. de 402) <i>əhry</i> (F).	$h < z$
404)	<i>ihray, hərəy</i> «av. l'oreille mouchetée de blanc» $\sqrt{?ry}$ T. mér. non att.	?
405)	<i>tāhūri/tihūryawīn</i> «hyène» \sqrt{zry} W: <i>tazuri, -ž-, -š-</i> (AB).	$h < z$
406)	<i>həriyət</i> «produire un bruit sourd» $\sqrt{zryh_1}$ W: <i>tazərəy[y]at</i> «détonation» (Nic. VII. 567).	$h < z$
407)	<i>ahəs/ihəssən</i> «grand feu» $\sqrt{?ss}$ T. mér. non att.	?
408)	<i>uhas = uhast</i> «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{h_1?s}$ ($\sqrt{w?s}$?) T. mér. non att.	?
409)	N: <i>ahəšk, ahəkš</i> , v. 626) <i>ašək.</i>	
410)	<i>huššəl</i> «ê. nécessité» caus. <i>zəhhəššəl</i> «contraindre» $\sqrt{hsł}$ N: <i>huš[š]əl</i> (Ma.); W: caus. <i>šəhəššəl.</i> Vb. dénom. de <i>ěššil</i> $\sqrt{h_1sl}$ «nécessité».	h_2- $h_2 > h_1$

- 411) *ehəsəs* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{?ss}$. ?
T. mér. non att.
- 412) *husy* «ê. beau» nv. $\div \sqrt{tih\u00e1say}$ \sqrt{hsy} h_2z
NW: *husy*, $?/tihusay$ (AB); **Y:** *husy*, *hussy* (?) (AB);
Gh: *husy*.
Forme secondaire **N:** *huskət* $\sqrt{h_2skh_1}$ (AB, Ma.).
- 413) *\u00e1h\u00f6t/ihatt\u00f6n* «bruit» $\sqrt{zh_1t}$ $h < z$
W: *\u00e1tit* (Nic. FT. 428).
- 414) *ehati/ihat\u00e1n* et fém. «nègre» $\sqrt{h_2th_1}$ h_2z
W: *ihat\u00e1/[i]h\u00e1tan* (Nic. I. 762–63).
- 415) *h\u00e1t\u00e1bb\u00e1t* «descendre un peu en glissant» $\sqrt{?tbh_1}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 416) *h\u00e1t\u00e1gh\u00e1t\u00e1j* «palpiter» $\sqrt{?tg?tg}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 417) *z\u00e9hh\u00e1t\u00e1l* caus. «appuyer» \sqrt{htl} h_2z (?)
Le vb. simple est probablement att. dans **Y:** *h\u00e1t\u00e1l* «\u00e0. assur\u00e9» (AB). Cp. 460) *hayt\u00e1l*.
- 418) *\u00e1h\u00e1tim/ih\u00e1tt\u00e1m* «huile d'olive» \sqrt{ztm} h_2z
Gh: *azatim* (AB), *aza\u00e7im* (Neh.).
< ph\u00e9n. (pun.) *z/a/yt[i]/m* (Vycichl: Punischer Spracheinfluss im Berberischen (JNES. XI, p. 201)).
- 419) *\u00e1hattin/ih\u00e1tt\u00e1n* augm. de *t\u00e1hattint/tih\u00e1tt\u00e1n* «bouteille en cuir» \sqrt{htn} h_2z
N: *t\u00e1hat[t]int* (Ma.); **W:** *ah\u00e1ttin/[i]h\u00e1tt\u00e1n* (AB, Nic.), *attin* (Nic.), *t\u00e1hattint* (Nic.); **Y:** *attin*, *tattint* (AB); **Gh:** *tah\u00e1ttint* (AB).
- 420) *\u00e1h\u00e1t\u00e1r* «crocodile» $\sqrt{?tr}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 421) *aht\u00e1s/ih\u00e1ts\u00e1n* «esp. d'acacia» \sqrt{hts} h_2G
W: *aht\u00e1s*, *\u00e1t\u00e1s* (AB).
- 422) **WY:** *ahw*, *\u00e1hw*, v. 631) *iwi*.
- 423) *t\u00e1hawt/tihaww\u00e1n* «collier (d'an.)» $\sqrt{zh_1w}$ $h < z$
W: *a\u00e1shaw*, *ta\u00e1shawt* (AB); *tazawt/tizaw\u00e1tin* (Nic. VI. 59); **D:** *\u00e1\u00e1shaw* «corde» (AB, F); **Y:** *azaw*, *tazawt* (AB).
- 424) *m\u00e1hw\u00e1t* «faire ensemble (aller) rapidement (un travail etc.)» $\sqrt{zwh_1}$ $h < z$ (?)

	T. mér. non att. $h < z$ paraît être assuré par la parenté très probable avec <i>zəwət</i> «(se) hâter» (dont <i>z</i> des géminées a été généralisé) – et kab. <i>zziwzəħ</i> «passer rapidement, filer» (Dallet), caus. $\sqrt{wzh_2} \sim \sqrt{zwh_1}$?	
425)	<i>ăhiwa/ihiwān</i> «régime (de dattes)» $\sqrt{zwh_1}$ Gh: <i>ažiwa</i> (AB), <i>ağiw/iğiwan</i> (Neh.).	$h < z$
	Connu en BN : Ghad. <i>uziwa/iziwayn</i> (Mot.), nef. <i>ziwā/iziwāyən</i> .	
426)	<i>tāhawət</i> «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{h_1zwh_1}$ W: <i>tašawət</i> (AB), <i>tažāwat</i> (Nic. Tam. 38).	$h < z$
427)	<i>tahewwat</i> «son <i>ho-hôo</i> répété en cadence pour accompagner le violon», caus. dénom. <i>zəhhəw-wət</i> .	h_{2^-} (?)
	T. mér. non att. À cause de la parenté avec l'interjection <i>ho-hôo</i> (v. 1)) probabilité pour h_2 . \sim W: <i>səh[həw]wət</i> «hurler (chien)» (nv. <i>asəh[həw]wi</i> Nic. II. 478)?	
428)	N: <i>hawu</i> , v. 631) <i>iwān</i> .	
429)	<i>hawəg</i> «faire effort pour s'échapper» $\sqrt{?wg}$ T. mér. non att.	?
430)	<i>həwhəw</i> «ê. gris» \sqrt{zwzw} W: nv. <i>təzawzawt</i> (Nic. IV. 152); Y: <i>zawzaw</i> (AB); Gh: <i>zəwzəw</i> (AB). AB: «ê. bleu(-clair)».	$h < z$
	Connu en BN avec la racine \sqrt{zgzw} et le sens «(ê.) bleu, vert», p. ex.: kab. adj. <i>azəgzaw</i> , nv. <i>pizzəgzəwþ</i> .	$h < z$
431)	<i>həwəkwək</i> «ê. hérissé (chevelure)» \sqrt{zukwk} (?) T. mér. non att. Probablement \sim 207) <i>ăhkûk</i> \sqrt{zkk}	$h < z$ (?)
432)	<i>əhwəl</i> «ê. marqué d'une marque de propriété» nv. concr. <i>ĕhwəl/ăhwālən</i> , caus. <i>zəhwəl</i> \sqrt{zwl} W: <i>ašwəl</i> , caus. <i>šəšwəl</i> , nv. <i>išwəl</i> , <i>ažwəl</i> (AB); Y: <i>əžwəl</i> , <i>ažwəl</i> (pf. <i>[y]ižwəl</i>), nv. <i>ižwəl</i> (AB); Gh: <i>əžwəl</i> , nv. <i>ižwəl</i> (AB).	$h < z$
433)	<i>tahwalt/tihwālin</i> «sauterelle voyageuse» \sqrt{zwl} NW: <i>ašwal</i> (AB), <i>tašwalt</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>ažwal</i> (AB); Y: <i>ažwal</i> (AB); Gh: <i>təžwalt</i> (AB), <i>tağwalt/čiğwalin</i> (Neh.).	$h < z$

- 434) *hawəl* «ê. dit» et réc. *məhiwl* $\sqrt{hw\bar{l}}$? $\sqrt{h_2h_1w\bar{l}}$?
 T. mér. non att. Il peut s'agir d'un quadrilitère à 1 "h₂ ajoutée, dans quel cas la voy. *a* serait issue de la contraction avec la 2 "h₁ ($\sim \check{a}w\bar{a}\bar{l}$, *siwl* $\sqrt{h_1w\bar{l}}$, cp. 195) *məhəhwər* et d'autres). Ou bien d'un trilitère à voy. pén. primitivement longue, dans quel cas *h* refléterait directement la 1 "h₁ de *āwāl*. *h₂*- ?
h₂ > h₁ ?
- 435) *ihway*, pf. *həggəy*, nv. *təhūye*, adj. vb. *azəggay*, nv. *hăggəy/hăggəyn* (< pf. ?) «rougeole» \sqrt{zwy}
NW: *išway/šəggəy* (AB, Ma.), caus. *ššwəy* (AB);
W: *izway/zəggəy*, -χ- (AB); **Y:** *izway/zəggəy*, *təzuyi*, *zaggay* (AB); **Gh:** *ižway/žəggay*, $\div/žəg̯čay$ (AB), $\div/žəg̯čay$ (Neh.), *žəggəq* (AB).
h < z
 emprunt
h < z déjà assuré par l'adj. vb. **H:** *azəggay*, qui par conséquent paraît être un emprunt (au T. mér. ? **BN**?).
 Bien connu en **BN**: kab. *izwiγ/zəggʷay*, *tizəwγi*, *azəggʷay*.
 Ici paraît appartenir **Y:** *esawəy* = **H:** *azəggay* «hartani» (F), de racine apparentée $\sqrt{sw\bar{y}}$ (cp. 282) *těhaməq*.
- 436) *āhwar/ihwārən* «esp. de couverture en laine» et fém. dim. \sqrt{hwr} ?
Gh: *ahwar*, *tahwart* (AB; emprunt à **H**?).
 $\sim āwr \sqrt{wh_1r}$ «ê. sur»? (F). *h₂C* ?
- 437) *əhwər* «préceder» \sqrt{zwr} , adj. vb. *āmāhwar*
NW: *əšwər* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *əžwər* (Nic.); **Y:** *əžwər* (AB). *h < z*
 Connu en **BN**: Ghad. *əzwər*, *aməzwar*, *aməzwaru*, kab. *zwir*, *aməzwaru*.
 Sans doute apparenté au syn. *izar* $\sqrt{zhr, hzr}$.
 $\sim āwr \sqrt{whr}$?? (F). *h < z*
- 438) $\div/ihwewərən$ «corde de derrière de selle» \sqrt{zwwr}
W: *išəwərwər* (?) / *išəwiwərən* (AB); **Y:** $\div/iz[w]iwrən$ (AB). *h < z*
- 439) *əhwy* «oindre» \sqrt{zwy}
NW: *əšwy* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *əzwy* (AB); **Y:** *əzwy*, -ž- (AB); **Gh:** *əžwy* (AB). *h < z*
- 440) *həwywy* «ê. aéré (lieu)» \sqrt{hwywy} ? *h₂- (?)*

T. mér. non att. Probablement onomatopéique avec *h* primitif, \sim BN: (Fezzan) *təhwiwit* «éventail» (F).

La parenté avec Gh: *tăżəżwɪt* «éventail» (F) est probablement à écarter, ce mot étant plutôt un n. instr. de kab. etc. *əzwi* «gauler, secouer».

- 441) *əhy* «chasser devant soi très rapidement»

$\sqrt{h_2 h_1 y}$?

Peut-être att. W: pf. int. *ihay* «venir» (Nic. IV. 137).

\sim NWY: *huyyət* «chasser» (AB, Ma.).

- 442) *ăsihəy/isihəyən* «fois» $\sqrt{h_2 h_1 y}$

T. mér. non att. \sim 445) *huyyət* ?? (F).

\sim 441) *əhy* ? Si *h* < *z*, *S* doit nécessairement être un préfixe, à cause de l'incompatibilité de *S* et *Z* dans une même racine. Or dans ce cas *S* devrait changer en *z* (v. sect. B). *h* doit donc être primitif. *S* peut alors être un préfixe ou une radicale. Dans le premier cas il peut (rarement) rester *s* ou devenir *z*.

- 443) *tăşəmhoyt/tisəmhay* «saison» $\sqrt{h_2 h_1 y}$

T. mér. non att. Pour l'établissement de la racine, les mêmes considérations sont valables que dans le cas de 442) *ăsihəy*, avec lequel il peut être apparenté (F), bien qu'on ne puisse pas écarter la possibilité d'une racine \sqrt{mhy} .

- 444) $\div/tihay$ «ténèbres» $\sqrt{h_1 h_2 y}$

NW: $?/tihay$ (AB, Ma.); Y: *tihay*, *tiyay* (AB); Gh: *čhay* (Neh.).

- 445) *huyyət* «é. égal en âge (avec)» $\sqrt{zyh_1}$

W: *zəyyət* (pf. int. *əzziyətnət* Nic. VII. 571).

À distinguer de 441) NWY: *huyyət*, H: *əhy* «chasser».

- 446) *məhiyət* «se rencontrer (réc.)» $\sqrt{zyh_1}$

Gh: *məziyət* (AB). Probablement dérivé à préf. M de 445) *huyyət*.

- 447) *əlhīb* «poche» \sqrt{zyb}

W: *əlžib* (AB, Nic.); Y: *alžib* (AB); Gh: *əlžib* (AB), < ar. *ğayb*.

h₂₋ (?)

$-h_{2-}$ (?)

$-h_{2-}$ (?)

$-h_{2-}$

h < z

h < z

h < ž

448) <i>əhyəd</i> «av. la gale», nv. <i>ăhiyod</i> , \sqrt{zyd}	$h < z$
W: <i>əsyəd</i> , <i>šayyəd</i> (?), <i>əzzəd</i> (AB); Y: <i>əzzəd</i> , <i>əzzəd</i> (?), -d (AB); Gh: <i>žiyəd</i> (AB), nv. <i>ažiyud</i> (AB, Neh.).	
449) <i>čheyłəl</i> «longue crinière (d'an.)» \sqrt{zyll}	$h < z$
Gh: <i>iżayłəl</i> (AB).	
450) <i>tshayhayt</i> «sac en peau à longues franges» $\sqrt{zyzy}?$	$h < z (?)$
W: <i>tušayhať/t[i]šayhādin</i> (Nic. I. 768, V. 52, (AB) «sac, musette»; Gh: <i>təzayzayt</i> «corde» (AB).	
451) <i>ăhayif/ihuyâf</i> «sangle» \sqrt{zyf}	$h < z$
W: <i>aša[y]if</i> (AB); Gh: <i>aža[y]if/ižuyaf</i> (Neh.).	
452) <i>ăhəyyâf</i> «chevelure non tressée» \sqrt{zyf}	$h < z$
W: <i>ažay[y]ūf</i> (Nic. IV. 130, VII. 574). ∼ 165) <i>tăhiffa</i> (F).	
453) <i>eheyəfyəf</i> «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{?yfyf}$?
T. mér. non att.	
454) N: <i>tehəyne</i> , v. 644) <i>tēyne</i> .	
455) N: <i>tahayne</i> , v. 645) <i>tāyna</i> .	
456) <i>həynəna</i> «esp. de rythme poétique» $\sqrt{?ynn}$?
T. mér. non att.	
457) <i>ăhoyyay</i> «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{?gy}$?
T. mér. non att.	
458) <i>ăhyar</i> «faon de gazelle» et fém. $\sqrt{?yr}$?
T. mér. non att.	
459) <i>tăhyast</i> «esp. de selle de méhari» \sqrt{hys}	<i>h₂C</i>
W: <i>tahiyast</i> (AB); Gh: <i>ahyas</i> (AB).	
460) <i>həytəl</i> «tenir à distance» $\sqrt{hytl}?$	<i>h₂- (?)</i>
Probablement att. dans Y: <i>həytəl</i> «è. assuré (?)» (AB). Cp. 417) <i>zəhhətəl</i> .	
461) <i>ahaya/ihəyawən</i> et fém. «petit-fils» et vb. dénom. <i>zəhhəyw</i> \sqrt{hyw}	<i>h₂-</i>
W: <i>ahaya</i> , <i>ahayaw/ihayāwən</i> «beau-fils» (Nic. VII. 573); Y: <i>ahaya</i> «grand-père (?)» (AB); <i>ayaw</i> «petit-fils» (JNic.).	
La parenté avec 445) <i>huyyət</i> (F) est à écarter.	
462) <i>ăhayoy</i> «chameleon empaillé» \sqrt{zyg}	$h < z$
W: <i>azəyōz</i> \sqrt{zyz} (Nic. III. 641, 642).	
463) <i>ahəz</i> «è. proche de» $\sqrt{h_1h_2z}$	<i>-h₂-</i>

NW: *ahəz̥* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *ahəz* (AB); **Y:** *ahəz̥* (AB); **Gh:** *ahəz* (Neh.).

Connu en **BN:** kab. Sus *aż̥*.

- 464) *čhezzal/ihezzálən* «lieu spacieux et aéré» et vb.
dénom. *zizzzol* $\sqrt{h_2 z l}$ (?)
T. mér. non att. L’alternance *h–y* indique *h* primatif.
- 465) *ak* «chaque» d’un sens prim. «totalité» $\sqrt{hk(k)}$
N: *hak* (Ma.).
Connu en **BN:** kab. *akw*, *lakw*, Sus *akkw*.
- 466) *əkf*, impf. *ihákk*, nv. *tehəke/tihəkk*, *tihəkiwín*
 $\sqrt{kfh_1}$, $\sqrt{h_2 kh_1} < \sqrt{kh_2 h_1}$ (v. sect. O)
NW: *əkf//ihakk* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *əkfu//ihakku* (AB)
nv. *tehakke* (Nic. Dict. 809); **Y:** *əkfu*, *əffu//ihakku*,
itaffu (AB); **Gh:** *əkf//itakk* (AB).
- 467) *ekahi/ikəhâñ* et fém. «coq; poule» $\sqrt{kz h_1}$
N: *ekəz*, *əkəši* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *ekəži*, *tekəžit* (AB,
Nic.); **Y:** *ekəzi/ikəzan*, *tekəzit/tikəzatin*, -ž-, -š-
(AB); **Gh:** *ikayi/ikayan*, *tikə[y]it/tikayatin* (AB,
Neh.).
NWY indiquent *h < z*, **Gh:** indique *h* prim.
alternant avec *y*. *ikayi* est probablement secondaire
(emprunt à **H** altéré ? terme différent ∼ Sus
akiyaw «poussin» ?). Cf. AB: Le nom du «coq»
en berbère, Mélanges Vendryès pp. 41–54 (1925).
- 468) *ikham* «ê. noir à ventre brun rouge (an.)» $\sqrt{k?m}$
T. mér. non att.
- 469) *ekahəm/ikahmán* «caverne» et fém. dim. \sqrt{kzm}
W: *ekazəm/ikəzman* (Nic. VI. 50).
- 470) *kuhəmni* «esp. de gomme comestible» $\sqrt{k?mn h_1}$
T. mér. non att. < soud. (F.).
- 471) *kələhləh* «av. une forte barbe ; av. le visage gras»
 $\sqrt{k l ? l ?}$
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour que
h final provienne de *z*, et qu'il s'agisse d'un tri-
litère aux deux dernières rad. répétées.
- 472) *takəlləlahət* «chatouillement» $\sqrt{kll?h_1}$
T. mér. non att.

- 473) *zəkkəmbəh* «av. le visage entièrement voilé d'une étoffe» \sqrt{knbz}
Y: *šək[k]əmbəš* (AB, avec assourdissement de finale). Syn. de *səkkəmbəb* \sqrt{knbb}
- 474) *ukmah* «ê. gratté», nv. *ukmah/ukmāhən*, caus. *zukməh*, \sqrt{kmz}
W: *zukməz*, *χukməχ*, *šukməš* (AB); **Y:** *zəkməz* (AB); *əkməz* «se gratter», nv. *ukmaz/ukmazən* (Neh.).
 Connu en **BN**: kab. Sus *əkməz* act. & pass.
- 475) *ăkəmhur/ikəmhár* «très bon chameau» $\sqrt{km?r}$
 T. mér. non att. ?
- 476) *kənihər* «av. en horreur extrême» $\sqrt{kn?r}$
 T. mér. non att. ?
- 477) *ăkərbuh/ikərbuhən* «école (primaire) » \sqrt{krbz}
 T. mér. non att. < ar. dial. *ḥarbūš* «(tente d') école».
- 478) *əkrəh* «acquérir» \sqrt{krz}
NW: *əkrəš* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *əkrəχ* (AB); **Gh:** *əkrəž* (Neh.).
 Probablement id. à **BN**: kab. Sus *əkrəz* «labourer», ep. 479) *azəkrih*.
- 479) *ăzəkrih/izəkrah* «jardin, champ» \sqrt{krz}
ND: *ăšəkrəš/išəkraš* (Ma., F).
 Probablement n. instr. de 478) *əkrəh* «acquérir (sc. les produits de la terre)».
- 480) *ekərhəy/ikərhəyən* «voile de femme», fém.
tekərhəyt/tikərhəyîn «ceinture ou turban en laine rouge (des hommes)» \sqrt{krzy}
W: *ikəršəy* (AB); **Y:** *ikəršəy* (AB); **Gh:** *ikəržəy* (AB).
- 481) $\div/ikərnənnəhən$ «proéminences rugueuses de la peau (d.an.)» \sqrt{krnn} ?
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z \sim səkkərnən$ «ê. rude» \sqrt{krnn} (F).
- 482) *ul/ulawən* «coeur» $\sqrt{h_1lh_3}$, $\sqrt{wlh_3}$?
N: *ulh/ulhawən* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *ul* (AB); **Y:** *ul*, *əwəl* (AB); **Gh:** *ul* (AB)/*ulawən* (Neh.), *yul* (AB, Neh.). Ch₃

	Connu en BN: kab. Sus <i>ul/ulawn</i> ; Sus fém. dim. <i>tulff/tulawin</i> (<i>ff</i> < <i>tt</i> qui indique l'assim. de la désinence fém. - <i>t</i> avec une rad. tombée), B. Snus <i>äl</i> , Cf. sect. P.	
483)	<i>ulu</i> «ê. pareil», caus. <i>sulu</i> $\sqrt{lh_3h_1}$ N: <i>aləh</i> , caus. <i>siləh</i> , caus. de caus. <i>səs[s]iləh</i> «comparer» (Ma.).	<i>Ch</i> ₃
484)	<i>älbəbhuh/ilabbuhən</i> «datte encore verte» $\sqrt{lb?}$ T. mér. non att. < ar. (F).	?
485)	<i>älidlid/iliḍḍidən</i> «jeune poussé», vb. (dénom. ?) <i>luḍḍad</i> $\sqrt{h_3ldlq}$ N: <i>təhələḍḍət</i> «jeune poussé» (AB).	<i>h</i> ₃₋
486)	<i>lugdəh</i> «ê. las» $\sqrt{lqd?}$ T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour <i>h</i> < <i>z</i> .	- <i>h</i> < <i>z</i> ?
487)	$\div //ihāll$ impf. int. «pleurer bruyamment», nv. <i>tāhala</i> $\sqrt{lh_2h_1} > \sqrt{h_2lh_1}$ (cp. sect. J) N: <i>əlh/ilha/ihāll</i> , nv. <i>tahala</i> (Ma., AB); W: <i>əlh/ilha/ihāll</i> (AB), <i>itāll</i> , <i>itāllu</i> (F), <i>tāhala</i> (AB); Y: <i>əlh/ilha/ihāll</i> , <i>əlhu//ihāllu</i> , <i>əl//itall</i> , <i>əlu//itallu</i> (AB); Gh: nv. <i>tala/talawin</i> (Neh., AB). Probablement $\sim allən$ «yeux» $\sqrt{hl(I)}$ (kab.) (v. AB Études de Géographie Linguistique, 1929, pp. 29–31).	<i>h</i> ₂₋ méth. ₂
488)	N: <i>ulh</i> , v. 482) <i>ul</i> .	
489)	N: <i>aləh</i> , v. 483) <i>ulu</i> .	
490)	<i>ullah</i> «ê. secoué fortement», caus. <i>zələh</i> , Y: <i>zələz</i> (AB).	- <i>h</i> < <i>z</i>
	Connu en BN: kab., B. Menaşer <i>əzəz</i> , Ghad: <i>ziliz</i> (?)	
491)	<i>elehe</i> «air humide provenant de pluie» $\sqrt{lh_2h_1}$ W: <i>ēlehe</i> «rosée» (Nic. IV. 134).	- <i>h</i> ₂₋
492)	<i>təlāhit/tilīha</i> « ^{2/3} ou moitié de la contenance (d'un sac)» $\sqrt{l?h_1}$ T. mér. non att.	?
493)	<i>allahi</i> «par Dieu» $\sqrt{lh_2(h_1)}$ T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>wa-llāhi</i> . Contenu aussi dans les expressions: <i>wa-llahi = allahi, in-na li-llahi, bi-llahi llazi.</i>	- <i>h</i> ₂₋ < <i>h</i>

494) <i>əlhah/əlhahən</i> «marchandise» $\sqrt{lh_2z}$?	$Ch_2 < h$ (?)
T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>hâǵa</i> (?). La chute de la désinence fém. fait difficulté.	- <i>h</i> < <i>z</i> (?)
495) <i>əlhəm</i> «é. solide et poli» $\sqrt{l?m}$?
T. mér. non att.	
496) <i>zəlhəm</i> caus. «charger (qq'un) de» \sqrt{lzm}	<i>h</i> < <i>z</i>
T. mér. non att. Transformation de l'ar. <i>'alzam</i> (4. forme) en caus. berbère.	
497) <i>t̄lahəssat</i> , v. 263) <i>t̄haləssat</i> .	
498) <i>l̄hwəd</i> «av. une légère faiblesse passagère»	<i>h₂C</i>
$\sqrt{lhw̄d}$ W: nv. <i>alīhwəd</i> «évanouissement» (Nic. VII. 576).	
499) <i>əlhy</i> «av. de l'embonpoint» $\sqrt{l?y}$?
T. mér. non att.	
500) <i>elahəy</i> «mouton à laine» $\sqrt{l?y}$?
T. mér. non att.	
501) <i>əlkū</i> «mépriser» $\sqrt{lkh_3}$	<i>-h₃</i>
N: <i>əlkəh</i> (Ma.); Ghad. <i>əlkəb</i> «ne pas répondre» (Lan.).	
502) N: <i>əlkəh</i> , v. 501) <i>əlkū</i> .	
503) <i>ālkah</i> «esp. de plante» \sqrt{lkz}	<i>h < z</i>
Gh: <i>alkaž</i> , <i>talkaht</i> (?) (AB).	
504) <i>ālakoh/iləkohən</i> , <i>ilkah</i> «boisson froide (eau, dattes pilées)» et vb. (dénom. ?) <i>ləkuhət</i> .	<i>-h < z</i> ?
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour <i>h < z</i> .	
505) <i>āləs</i> «homme» $\sqrt{h_3ls}$	<i>h₃-</i>
N: <i>ahaləs</i> , <i>haləs</i> (Ma., AB); W: <i>aləs</i> (AB); Y: <i>aləs</i> , <i>eləs</i> (AB).	
506) <i>t̄mādē/timādiw̄în</i> «termite» $\sqrt{mh_3d}$	<i>Ch₃</i>
N: <i>temədhe</i> (AB); W: <i>tamadəy</i> (AB).	méth.,
H: représente une métathèse par rapport à N ($\sqrt{mdh_3}$).	
507) N: <i>temədhe</i> , v. 506) <i>t̄mādē</i> .	
508) <i>t̄madahət/timədah̄în</i> «dispute en paroles» et caus. dénom. <i>zəmmədəh</i> \sqrt{mdz}	<i>-h < z</i>
W: <i>tamadašt</i> (AB).	
≈ 41) <i>adəh</i> ? (F).	

- 509) *ămûdhu/imûdhâ̄n* «mesure de capacité (30 l)» $\sqrt{md?h_1} = \check{ămûlhu}$.
T. mér. non att. < ar. ? (F), à distinguer de *mûda/mûdâ̄tən* «1 litre» < ar. *mudd/midâd* (avec réfection à partir du pl.).
 ~ B. Snus *adžu* (\sqrt{dzw} ?) «mesurer» ?
- 510) *tămâ̄ghe/timâ̄ghiwî̄n* «esp. de plante»
T. mér. non att. ?
- 511) *əmmah/əmmahâ̄tən* «prunelle de l'oeil» $\sqrt{mh_2}h_1$?
 $\sqrt{mmh_2(h)_1}$? = ~ *məmma/məmmâ̄tən*.
Gh: *məm[m]a* (Neh.).
 À cause de sa disparition complète dans *məmma* apparenté, *h* paraît être primitif.
- 512) *əmmah/÷* «baiser (enf.)» $\sqrt{m?(h_1)}$
T. mér. non att. Peut-être id. à 511) *əmmah*. ?
- 513) *ămuh/ămuhə̄n* et fém. syn. *tămuht/tămuhî̄n*
 «angle saillant» $\sqrt{h_1mz}$
 Syn. de *tămušt/tămušî̄n* (emprunt à W ?)
T. mér. non att. À cause du syn. avec š et de la position comme dernière rad., probablement *h < z(s?)*.
- 514) *mihî/mihî̄tən* «doute ; risque» $\sqrt{mzh_1}$
N: *miši* (Ma.). *h < z*
- 515) *tamhit* «sac en peau» $\sqrt{mzh_1}$
W: *tamšit* (AB). *h < z*
- 516) *muhə̄d* «réciter, prier» nv. *ămud/imaddə̄n*,
 $[i]muhdə̄n$ \sqrt{mhd}
W: *muq*, impf. int. *itimuq* (Nic.); *amud/imaddə̄n* (AB); **Y:** *mud* (*immud/immud/itimud* (AB)); *amud*, *imud* (AB); **Gh.** *muhə̄d* (AB, Neh.), *amud/amudə̄n*, $[i]muhdə̄n$ (Neh.). *-h_{2-}*
h_{2-} > h_1
- 517) *ăsəmmâ̄hə̄d/isəmmâ̄hâ̄d* «rasoir» \sqrt{mhd}
NW: *asəmmahə̄d* (AB); **Gh:** *asəmmâ̄hə̄d/isəmmuhaq* (Neh.). *-h_{2-}*
- N. instr. de 516) *muhə̄d* (F), à cause de son emploi à la circoncision.
- 518) *əmhə̄l* «pousser (tr.); aller (plus) vite» \sqrt{mhl}
Y: nv. *aməhal* (*aləm n-əməhal* «cham. marchant à pas longs» JNic.); **Gh:** *əmhə̄l* (Neh.); **W:** *əmhə̄l* (P). *Ch_2*

- 519) *măhəllaw/măhəllawən* «La voie lactée» $\sqrt{?lw}$?
 T. mér. non att. Composé avec ma «mère» ?
 Adj. vb. à préf. M ?
- 520) *ămâhay/imûhay* «Touareg» et fém. $\sqrt{mzγ}$ $h < z$
W: *ămâžəy/imâžəyən* «Touareg noble» (F, AB);
D: *ămâšəy/imûšay* «Touareg noble» (F); **Y:** *amazəy, amâžəy/imažəyən* «Touareg noble» (AB, F); **Gh:** *ămâžəy/imûžay* et (rar.) *ămâziy/imâziyən* «Touareg» (F), *tamažəq* (Neh.).
- Forme prim. *ămâziy*, connue aussi en BN. Probablement pris en H pour un adj. vb. de 333) *ahəy*, par une étymologie populaire prise au sérieux par F. (NB. Un adj. vb. de ce verbe a été relevé en N.). L'explication sémantique offerte par moi-même et fondée sur cette étymologie est donc à écarter (v. L'origine du mot *amâziy*, Acta Orientalia XXIII/3–4, pp. 197–200).
- 521) *əmhər* «av. la syphilis» et nv. *ămahar*, \sqrt{mzr} $h < z$
W: *əmžər* (Nic. VII. 575), *aməžar*, -š- (AB); **Y:** *amažar*, -š- (AB); **Gh:** *amožar* (AB).
- 522) *tămahart/timihâr* «place abandonnée d'un ancien campement», \sqrt{mzr} $h < z$
W: *tamazart, tamîžart/timîzar, ?/imîžar* (Nic. Ind. 68, FT. 32, V. 953); **Y:** *aməžir* (AB).
- La parenté avec 352) *ahər*, 353) *ăsihar* (F) est à écarter. $\sim izar$ «précéder» ?
- 523) *amhur* «esp. de dattier» (AB), \sqrt{mzr} $h < z$
Gh: *amžur*.
- 524) *əmhəs* «donner en retour» $\sqrt{m?s}$?
 T. mér. non att.
- 525) *muhəs* «é. entravé», caus. *zəmmuhəs*, nv. *ămahus/ imuhâs* \sqrt{mhs} $-h_2-$
Gh: *muhəs, səmmuhəs* (AB).
- Connu en BN: Meṭm.: *mawūs/imuwaṣ*, *mūwaṣ*, Zemmur: *amawīṣ/imiwaṣ*.
- 526) *tămhayyut/timhayyūtīn* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{mh_2yh_1}$ Ch_2
Gh: *tamhiy[y]ut* (AB; emprunt à H?).

- 527) *amrəh/imrəhən* «faucille à dents» \sqrt{mrz}
W: *amrəz*, *amariz* (Nic. Ind. 84).
 Probablement \sim **BN:** kab. *əmgər* «moissonner
- amgər* «faucille» et **H:** *ămâris* «époque de la moisson».
- 528) *tămərrəhənt* «forte journée de marche» $\sqrt{mr?n}$
T. mér. non att. Probablement à préf. M.
 ?
- 529) *nubət* «ê. coquin», adj. vb. **DY Gh:** *ănibo/iniba* et fém. «coquin; bâtard» $\sqrt{n\text{h}_3\text{bh}_1}$
W: *tanhībat*, *tanībot*, *tanībət* (Nic. FT. 186)
 Probablement à préf. M.
- 530) *ənfəh* «commencer à former des épis» $\sqrt{nf?}$
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour
 $h < z$.
 -*h* < *z* ?
- 531) *enəd/inədən* et fém. «artisan» $\sqrt{n\text{dh}}$
N: *enhəd* (AB); **W:** *enəd*, *enəd* (AB), *enəd/enədən* (Nic. I. 767–68); **Y:** *enəd/inədən* (AB, JNic.).
 \sim *ənnəd* «tourner» ?, 540) *nəhəd* «décider» ? (F), 142) *səhəd* «souffler (le feu)» ?
enəd représente une métathèse par rapport à **N.**
 -*h*₃-
 méth.₃
- 532) *ənəh* «ê. incliné en avant» $\sqrt{n\text{h}_1z}$
WY Gh: *ənəz* (AB).
 -*h* < *z*
- 533) *əñh* «ê. vendu, acheté», caus. *ziñh(i)*, $\sqrt{n\text{zh}_1}$
NW: *ənš* (Ma., AB); **W:** *ənz* (AB, F); **Y:** *ənz*, *ənzu* (AB, F), *zənz*, *zənzu* (AB); **Gh:** *ənz* (AB, F, Neh.).
 Bien connu **BN:** *ənz*.
h < *z*
- 534) *eməñhi/iməñhān* et fém. «avant-coureur (d'une expédition etc. en retour)» $\sqrt{n\text{zh}_1}$
T. mér. non att. \sim 554) *iñhy* ? (Dallet); \sim 533) *ənz* ?? (F). $h < z$ assuré par *ñ* (v. sect. B). Cf. kab. *amənzu* «qui arrive le premier».
- 535) *enəhi/inəhān* «partie de la tige des jeunes pousses de *tahle*» $\sqrt{n?h_1}$
T. mér. non att.
 ?
- 536) *ănəhu/inha* «excédent de partageants (dans un partage par groupes égaux)» $\sqrt{n?h_1}$
T. mér. non att. \sim 537) *ənnəhat* (F).
 ?

537)	<i>ənnəħət</i> «part de butin due au noble, receveur habituel de tribut de la fraction razziée» $\sqrt{n?h_1}$?
T. mér. non att. \sim 536) <i>ħnəħu</i> (F).		
538)	W: <i>tanhībat</i> , v. 529) <i>nubət</i> .	
539)	N: <i>enhəd</i> , v. 531) <i>enəd</i> .	
540)	<i>nəħəd</i> «décider», réc. de caus. <i>məzənnəħəd</i> , nv. <i>tānaħ</i> , <i>tānaħ/tinaħdīn</i> (ann. t-) \sqrt{nhd}	$-h_2-$
	N: <i>məsən[n]ħəd</i> (Ma.). La disparition de <i>h</i> dans le nv. indique <i>h</i> primitif.	$h_2 > h_1$
541)	<i>ăñħəf/iñħifən</i> : <i>iñħāf</i> «bâton gros, long» \sqrt{nzf}	$h < z$
	Għ: <i>anżəf</i> «(trou de) pivot» (AB); <i>anžəf/inžəfən</i> «tison» (Neh.). <i>h < z</i> garanti par <i>ñ</i> (v. sect. B).	
542)	<i>ənhəġ</i> «ê. sans bon sens», nv. <i>unħəġ</i> , adj. vb. <i>amənħuġ</i> \sqrt{nhg}	<i>Ch₂</i>
	Għ: <i>ənhəġ</i> , <i>unħəġ</i> , <i>amənħuġ</i> (Neh.). <i>h</i> primitif garanti déjà par <i>n</i> non palatalisé (cp. sect. D fin).	
543)	<i>inhal</i> , pf. <i>nəħil</i> «ê. facile», nv. <i>tənħəle</i> $\sqrt{nħl}$	<i>Ch₂</i>
	Għ: pf. <i>ənhil</i> , nv. <i>tanhili</i> (Neh.). <i>h</i> primitif garanti déjà par <i>n</i> non palatalisé (cp. sect. D fin).	
544)	<i>anhēl/inħäl</i> et fém. «autruche» \sqrt{nhl}	<i>Ch₂</i>
	W: <i>anhil</i> (AB), <i>anil</i> (AB, Nic.); Y: <i>anhil/enħal</i> (AB, JNic.), <i>anil</i> , <i>inil</i> (AB); Għ: <i>anhil/inħal</i> , <i>tanhilt/ċinħal</i> (Neh.).	
	Connu en BN: B. Snus <i>anhil</i> , <i>panħilt</i> (emprunt au touareg?).	
545)	<i>muñħay</i> «ê. jaloux de», nv. <i>tāmañhiq</i> , adj. vb. <i>enəmməñħay</i> et <i>ănməñħay</i> , réc. <i>nəməñħay</i> $\sqrt{nzγ}$	$h < z$
	N: nv. <i>tamanšəq</i> (Ma.); W: adj. vb. <i>anəmmə[n]zəγ</i> (Nic.); Y: réc. <i>nəmmənzəγ</i> (AB).	
546)	N: <i>enhər</i> , <i>enħir</i> , <i>anħar</i> , v. 560) <i>enər</i> , 559) <i>enir</i> .	
547)	<i>əñħər</i> «ê. installé aux portes (de)» \sqrt{nzs}	$h < z$
	T. mér. non att. <i>h < z</i> garanti par <i>ñ</i> palatalisé (v. sect. B). Probablement \sim 548) <i>tēñħərt</i> , c.-à-d. «ê. installé aux narines (de)» (F).	
548)	<i>tēñħərt/tiñħár</i> «narine/nez», m. augm. $\div/ăñħárən$ \sqrt{nzs}	$h < z$
	W: $?/tinzar$, -ż-, -ś- (AB); Y: <i>tenžər[t]/tinžar</i> , <i>śinžar</i> , -ś- (AB); Għ: <i>tanzərt/ċinzar</i> (Neh.).	

	Bien connu en BN: Sus <i>tinzərt/tinzar</i> , kab. masc. augm. <i>inzər/anzarən</i> .	
549)	<i>ăñhər/ăñhərən</i> «(sang d'un) saignement de nez» \sqrt{nzr} Y: <i>anzər, inzər, -ž-</i> (AB); Gh: <i>anzər</i> (AB), <i>anzar</i> (AB, Neh.).	$h < z$
	Dérivé de 548) <i>těñhərt</i> , comme 315) <i>huñhər</i> , 60) <i>fuñhər</i> .	
550)	<i>tănharmayt</i> «partie supérieure du dos» \sqrt{nzrmy} W: <i>tanəzərmayt</i> , -š- (AB), <i>tanəzərmīt</i> (Nic. III. 646); Y: <i>tanəzzərmay[t]</i> (AB).	$h < z$
	Le T. mér. paraît montrer qu'il n'y avait pas primitivement contact entre <i>n</i> et <i>h</i> , ce qui ex- plique la palatalisation non avenue de <i>n</i> (cp. sect. B). <i>n</i> probablement préfixe.	
551)	<i>anhi/inhiwən</i> «proverbe» \sqrt{nhw}	<i>Ch₂</i>
	T. mér. non att. <i>h</i> primitif garanti par <i>n</i> non palatalisé (cp. sect. D fin).	
552)	<i>iñhw</i> «s'en aller en descendant et en glissant».	$h < z$
	T. mér. non att. <i>h < z</i> garanti par <i>ñ</i> palatalisé (cp. sect. B).	
553)	N: <i>ənhy</i> , v. 563) <i>əny</i> .	
554)	<i>iñhy</i> «aller de grand matin à, nv. <i>tañhit</i> ,» \sqrt{nzy} N: <i>tanšit</i> (Ma.); W: <i>ənzy</i> (Nic. FT. 48, 120).	$h < z$
	Connu en BN ?: kab. <i>ənzy</i> , <i>ənzu</i> «aborder en priorité, faire passer le premier» (Dallet). Cp. 534) <i>eməñhi</i> .	
555)	<i>ənkəh</i> «se déplacer», caus. <i>zənkəh</i> \sqrt{nkz} NW: <i>ənkəš</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>zənkəz</i> (Nic. FT. 236); Y: <i>zənkəz</i> (AB); Gh: <i>zənkəz</i> (Neh.).	$-h < z$
	≈ BN: kab. <i>nkikəz</i> «remuer» (Dallet).	
556)	<i>zunyəh</i> «amener les mucosités du nez dans la bouche avec un bruit rauque de la gorge», nv. concr. <i>tăzunyiht/tizunyah</i> \sqrt{nyz} W: <i>zənyəz</i> , \div / <i>šizənyaz</i> (AB); Y: <i>zənyəz</i> , <i>təzanyiz[t]/šizanyaz</i> , <i>təzunyis[t]/÷</i> (AB); Gh: <i>zunyəz</i> (AB), <i>tazunyiz[t]/čizunyaz</i> (Neh., AB).	$-h < z$
557)	<i>zənyirəh</i> «crier de toutes ses forces», \sqrt{nyrz} Probablement att. dans W: <i>tază[n]gārəz[t]</i> «ronfle-	$-h < z$ (?)

- ment» (Nic. V. 953) cp. 558). Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
- 558) *tāzənyəriht/tizənyərah* «danse de nègres accompagnée de sons gutturaux». Sans doute \sim à 557). Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
- 559) *enir/inírən* et fém. «antilope *mohor*» $\sqrt{nh_3r}$
N: *tinhirt* (AB); **W:** *inir, tinirt, anər* (AB); **Y:** *enir/inírən, anir* (AB).
- 560) *enər/ănářən* «sourcil» $\sqrt{nh_3r}$
N: *inhər, anhar* (AB); **W:** *inər, anar, anir, anirəh* (AB); **Y:** *anar* (AB).
 Déclinaison prim. probablement comme *ěskər/ăskárən*.
- 561) *enərih* «gémissements plaintifs», vb. dénom. *zənnərəh* \sqrt{nr}
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
- 562) *əntəh* «arracher» \sqrt{ntz}
N: *əntəš* (Ma.); **Y:** *əntəz* (AB); **Gh:** *əntəž* (AB).
- 563) *əny//impf. int. ihânnəy*, «voir» nv. *ăhanay*, adj. vb. *ămanay//* «Celui qui voit tout» $\sqrt{nh_3y}$
N: *ənhy//ihannəy* (AB, Ma.) nv. *ahanay*, $\div/$ *šimanhayin* «lunettes» (Ma.); **W:** *əny//ihannəy* (AB); **D:** *ənhy* (F); **Y:** *ihannəy, itannəy* (AB), *təmənhayt* «lunettes» (AB); **Gh:** *əny//ihannəy* (AB, Neh.).
 L'impf. int. et l'inf. représentent une métathèse par rapport à l'impf./pf. (v. sect. J).
- 564) *hənyhəny* «aller en tous sens en cherchant à voir», $\sqrt{?ny?ny} = kənykəny$.
 T. mér. non att. Probablement dérivé de 563) *eny* par répétition complète, dans quel cas il y a encore métathèse comme à l'impf. int. de ce dernier.
- 565) *əγəh* «creuser» $\sqrt{\gamma h_1z}$
NW: *əγəš* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *əγəz, -χ* (AB); **Y:** *əγəz* (AB); **Gh:** *əγ(γ)əz* (Neh.).
 Bien connu en BN: kab. *əyz*.

566)	<i>ăγəhi</i> «tubercule de chiendent» $\sqrt{\gamma z h_1}$ W: <i>aγəši</i> ; Y: <i>aγəži</i> (AB, Nic.). \approx 565) <i>əγəh</i> ? (F).	$h < z$
567)	<i>tăγəħħut/tiħħa</i> «vase pour manger» $\sqrt{\gamma z h_1}$ W: <i>aγəžu</i> , <i>tayəzut</i> , -š- (AB); Y: <i>aγəzu</i> (AB, JNic.), <i>tayəzut</i> (AB). \approx 565) <i>əγəh</i> ? (F) avec métathèse ?	$h < z$ méth. ₃ ?
568)	<i>əγħad</i> «abîmer» nv. <i>uγħad</i> , $\sqrt{\gamma z d}$ N: <i>əγħad</i> , <i>uγħad</i> (Ma.); W: <i>əγħad</i> (Nic.); Y: <i>ərħad</i> (!AB); Gh: <i>əħħad</i> , -d (Neh.).	$h < z$ (s?)
569)	<i>əlyahəd</i> «foi» $\sqrt{\gamma hd}$ T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>εahd</i> .	$Ch_2 < h$
570)	<i>əγħal</i> «aimer, vouloir» $\sqrt{\gamma ?l}$ T. mér. non att.	?
571)	<i>tăyahamt/tiħħamîn</i> «maison» $\sqrt{\gamma zm}$ NW: <i>tayaħamt</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>tayəzamt</i> (AB); Y: <i>tayazamt</i> , -ż- (AB, JNic.); Gh: <i>tayaħamt/čiħżeamin</i> , <i>čiħżeamin</i> «chambre» (AB, Neh.).	$h < z$
572)	<i>eyahar/iγħħar</i> «vallée» $\sqrt{\gamma z r}$ NW: <i>eyəšər/iħxašran</i> (AB, Ma.); W: <i>eyəzər/iħxašran</i> , <i>teyəzərt</i> (AB); D: <i>eyāšər</i> (F); Y: <i>eyazər</i> (F), <i>eyəzər</i> (AB); Gh: <i>iħxašər</i> (AB), <i>iħxašər/iħxašran</i> (Neh.). Connu en BN: kab. Sus <i>iħxašər/iħxašran</i> .	$h < z$
573)	<i>γəħirət</i> «ê. mélangé avec une forte quantité d'eau (sorgho)», adj. vb. <i>ăγħħāra</i> «esp. de boisson» $\sqrt{\gamma z rh_1}$ W: <i>aγaħħera</i> (Nic. VII. 567, FT. 272); Y: <i>aγaħħira</i> (AB, JNic.); Gh: <i>γəħħira</i> (AB) tous syn. de H: <i>ăγħħāra</i> .	$h < z$
574)	<i>γəħwħħw</i> «gronder» $\sqrt{\gamma ?w?w}$ T. mér. non att.	?
575)	$\div iγələħħwahən$ «esp. de maladie des narines» $\sqrt{\gamma lnγw?}$ T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.	$h < z$?
576)	<i>təyimmaħt</i> «son <i>ħəm</i> , <i>ħəm</i> » et caus. dénom. <i>zəqqəmməħ</i> $\sqrt{\gamma m?}$ T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.	$h < z$?
577)	<i>ăγaħħha/iγaħħān</i> «cou de chameau servant de récipient à beurre» $\sqrt{\gamma nzh_1}$ T. mér. non att. $h < z$ assuré par <i>ħ</i> palatalisé	$h < z$

	(cp. sect. B); probablement id. à BN: B. Snus <i>ayənza/iyənzayən</i> $\sqrt{\gamma nzy}$ «cuiller».	
578)	<i>tayiñhərt/tiyiñhár</i> «esp. de furoncle» $\sqrt{\gamma nzr}$ T. mér. non att. $h < z$ assuré par \tilde{n} palatalisé (cp. sect. B).	$h < z$
579)	<i>əlyəñhər</i> «sabre» $\sqrt{\gamma nzr}$ T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>ḥanğar</i> .	$h < \check{z}$
580)	<i>ăqquñharəq</i> «fruit de <i>tēhaq</i> » $\sqrt{\gamma nzry}$ T. mér. non att. Probablement composé. $h < z$ assuré par \tilde{n} palatalisé (cp. sect. B).	$h < z$
581)	<i>ayər/iyrâ̄n</i> «bouclier» $\sqrt{\gamma rh_3}$ N: <i>ayərh/iyərhan</i> (AB, P); W: <i>ayər</i> (AB). $\sim iyar$, <i>əqqar</i> «ê. sec, dur» $\sqrt{\gamma hr}$, <i>hyr</i> ? (F). Sans doute à séparer de Ghad.: <i>ayuruf/iyurfan</i> «bouclier» (nv. de <i>əyrəf</i> «tendre une peau (sur tambour etc.) (kab.)»).	$-h_3$
582)	<i>əyrəh</i> «serrer, enfermer» $\sqrt{\gamma rz}$ Gh: <i>əyrəž</i> (Neh., AB), <i>əyrəğ</i> (Neh.).	$-h < z$
583)	N: <i>ayərh</i> , v. 581) <i>ayər</i> .	
584)	N: <i>yurhəs</i> , v. 585) <i>yərəs</i> .	
585)	<i>yərəs</i> «ê. figé, glacé» $\sqrt{\gamma rh_3s}$ N: <i>yurhəs</i> (AB), de même racine, mais de con- jugaison différente. $\sim iyar$, <i>əqqar</i> «ê. sec, dur» $\sqrt{\gamma hr}$, <i>hyr</i> ? (F).	<i>Ch₃</i>
586)	<i>yəwihət</i> «crier (cham.)» $\sqrt{\gamma w?h_1}$ T. mér. non att. Peut-être $\sim səqqiwət$ $\sqrt{\gamma wh_1}$ «crier <i>haw</i> , <i>haw</i> à (des chèvres)», <i>əyw</i> $\sqrt{\gamma wh_1}$ «bêler» (par adjonction d'une 4") ? (F), ce qui pourrait indiquer <i>h</i> primitif.	$-h_{2^-} ??$ $h_2 > h_1 ??$
587)	<i>ar</i> «jusqu'à» $\sqrt{h_3r}$ NW: <i>har</i> (Ma., Nic.). Connu en BN: kab. <i>ar</i> .	h_{3^-}
588)	<i>ər</i> «aimer, vouloir» nv. <i>təra</i> , adj. vb. <i>eməri/</i> <i>imərâ̄n</i> $\sqrt{rh_3h_1}$ N: <i>ərh</i> (AB, Ma.) <i>tərha</i> , <i>emərh[i]</i> (Ma.); W: <i>ərhu</i> , <i>əru</i> (AB); Y: <i>ər</i> , <i>əru</i> (AB). Impf. int. non att. Cp. sect. J et 612) <i>sərho</i> .	<i>Ch₃</i>
589)	<i>tarut/tirutlın</i> «milieu du jour» $\sqrt{rh_3h_1}$ N: <i>tarahut</i> (AB); Y: <i>tarut</i> (JNic.).	$-h_{3^-}$

- 590) *ărabuh* «visite galante», caus. dénom. *zərrəbəh*,
adj. vb. *ăzərrəbəh*, \sqrt{rbh}
W: adj. vb. *azərrəbāh* (Nic. VII. 572).
- 591) *rəğəh*, *ərğəh* «marcher au pas» \sqrt{rgz}
NW: *ərgəš* (AB, Ma.), *argəš* (AB); **Y:** *rəgəz*, *argəz* (AB); **Gh:** *rəğəz* (AB), *ərğəz* (Neh.).
- 592) *ârğəh* «fruit de *tēhaq*» \sqrt{rg} ?
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.
- 593) *zirəh* «ê. arc-bouté sur ses talons» $\sqrt{h_1rz}$?
T. mér. non att. Probablement apparenté à 594)
azrəh, *irəz*. \sim 595) *arəh* ?, 596) *arəh* ? (F).
- 594) *azrəh/izrəhən* «talon» $\sqrt{rh_1z}$?
T. mér. non att. Sans doute \sim à : **WY:** *irəz* (AB);
Gh: *irəz/irəzan* (AB, Neh.) $\sqrt{h_1rz} \sim$ 593) *zirəh* (?) (F).
Connu en **BN:** comme *awrəz/iwərzən* \sqrt{wrz} (kab. Sus), *inərz/inərzən* $\sqrt{rh_1z}$ (Meṭm., Ghad.).
- 595) *arəh* «ê. déplacé», caus. *zirəh*, $\sqrt{h_1rz}$
W: *śirəš* (AB). \sim 593) *zirəh* ?, 596) *areh* ? (F).
- 596) *arəh* «donner en retour», nv. concr. *măruhət* $\sqrt{h_1rz}$
N: nv. inf. *iriš* (pour *irəš*?) nv. concr. *marušət* (Ma.); **Gh:** *maruzət* (Neh.).
Id. à 595) *arəh* au sens transitif et figuré? (F).
- 597) *turha* «esp. d'arbre» $\sqrt{h_1rz}$
W: *turša* (AB); **Y:** *turza* (JNic.); **Gh:** *turža* (AB).
- 598) **N:** *ərh*, *emərh[i]*, v. 588) *ər*.
- 599) *ruhu* «dégringoler», $\sqrt{rzh_1}$?
T. mér. non att.
 $\sim =$ 34) *bərəhrəh* \sqrt{brzzz} , $\sim bərəzzət$ «s'ébouler» $\sqrt{brzh_1}$ (F).
- 600) *zurhu* «pleurer en se lamentant» $\sqrt{r?h_1}$
Peut-être apparenté à un vb. syn. **W:** *rəžiwət* $\sqrt{rzwh_1}$ (Nic. FT. 88).
- 601) *tərahit/tirha* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{r?h_1}$
T. mér. non att.
- 602) **N:** *tarahut*, v. 589) *tarut*.
- 603) *ərhəd* «expulser (excréments)» $\sqrt{r?d}$
T. mér. non att. Syn. de 609) *ərhəm*.

- 604) *érhəd* «période de l'hiver» $\sqrt{rh\bar{d}}$ *Ch₂* (?)
 T. mér. non att. Sans doute composé de *èr «le mauvais» et 145) *ehod*. Pour le premier élément cf. BN: kab. *ir*, *yir*.
- 605) *ərhəf* «av. qqch. de disloqué», nv. *ărahaf*, caus. *zərhəf* \sqrt{rhf} *Ch₂*
 W: nv. *arəhāf*, nv. caus. *asərhəf* (Nic. VII. 577).
- 606) *ərhəg* «parcourir» \sqrt{rzg} h < z
 W: *ərzəg* (Nic. FT. 92) (P).
- 607) N: *surhəg*, v. 373) *hurəg*.
- 608) *ərhəh* «ê. paralysé par la peur» $\sqrt{r??}$ *Ch₂* ??
 T. mér. non att., à moins qu'il ne soit id. à Y: *ərəz* «ê. fini, s'arrêter», nv. *tərrəza* «lâcheté» $\sqrt{rh_1z}$ (F), dans quel cas on aurait $\sqrt{rh_2z}$. Probabilité statistique pour que *h* final provienne de *z*.
- 609) *ərhəm* «expulser (excréments)» $\sqrt{r?m}$?
 T. mér. non att. Syn. de 603) *ərhəd*.
- 610) *ərhən*, v. 617) *ərnəh*.
- 611) N: *irhan*, *turhəna*, *emərhin*, v. 616) *iran*.
- 612) *sərho/sərhōtən* «considération, fait d'ê. honoré» $\sqrt{rh_2h_1} < \sqrt{rh_2w}$ *Ch₂*
h₂ > h₁
 W: *sərho*, *sərhaw*, *sərhəw* (Nic.); Y: *sərhaw* (AB). Probablement nv. caus. de 588) *ər*, c.-à-d. «fait d'inspirer de l'amour».
- 613) *ərku* «ê. pourri» $\sqrt{rkh_3}$ -h₃
 N: *ərkəh* (AB); W: *ərkəh* (Nic. I. 798).
- 614) *ěrkah* «relief de terrain couleur foncée» $\sqrt{rk?}$ -h < z ?
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour h < z.
- 615) *təramhe* «plaine couverte de *těrahit*» $\sqrt{rm?}$?
 T. mér. non att. ∼ 601) *těrahit*? (F).
- 616) *iran* «ê. malade», nv. *turna*, adj. vb. *emîrən* $\sqrt{rh_3n}$ *Ch₃*
 N: *irhan*, *turhəna* (AB, Ma.), adj. vb. *emarhin/ [i]marhinən* (Ma.); Y: *iran*, *turna*, *tu[w]ərna* (AB). Gh: *iran*, *turna* (AB, Neh.).
- 617) *ərnəh* «attacher légèrement» $\sqrt{rn?}$ -h < z ?
 T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour

- h < z.* Syn de 610) *ərhən* qui en est sans doute issu par métathèse (F).
- 618) *zərnəh* «se faire tirer (an.)» \sqrt{rn} ?
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour *h < z*. Probablement caus. de 617) *ərnəh* (F).
- 619) *ēryəh* «pierre qui s'émette» \sqrt{ryz} ?
 Probablement att. au fém. dans **W**: *tiryašt* «caillou blanc (?)» (AB). Probabilité statistique pour *h < z*.
- 620) *əssa*, fém. *əssâhət* «sept» $\sqrt{h_1sh_2}$
N: *əssayət* (Ma.); **Y:** *əssayət* (AB); **Gh:** *[əs]sahət* (Neh.).
 Connue en **BN**: Sus, Ghad. *sat*.
- 621) *esəbat/isəbatən* et fém. «NP de peuple antique» $\sqrt{sh_3bt}$
N: *eshəbat/ishəbatən* (P).
- 622) *əššəd* «ê. mauvais», nv. *āhūd*, adj. vb.
āmûhəd/imûhədən, caus. *zuhəd* \sqrt{wzd} (*wsd?*)
N: *əššəd* «ê. insensé», adj. vb. *amušəd/[i]mušədən* «lunatique» (Ma.).
 Probablement id. à **BN**: kab. *əžžəd* «ê. mal venu».
- šš* provient plutôt de *ss* (v. sect. C).
- 623) *suhət* «ê. fort; en bonne santé» nv. *əssahət* $\sqrt{sh_2h_1}$
N: *suhət*, *şuhət*, nv. *əssahat*, *əşşahat* (AB, Ma.), adj. vb. *aməşšehe* (Ma.), *şuhət*, *əşşahat* (P); **Y:** *sahət*, *səhət*, *əsəh* (pf. *isha*), *əsəh* (pf. *isħa*), nv. *əssahət*, *əssahət*, *-ħħ-* (?) (AB); **Gh:** *suhət* (AB).
 $<$ ar. *ṣīḥḥah*.
- 624) *əssâhət*, v. 620) *əssa*.
- 625) **N:** *eshəbat/ishəbatən*, v. 621) *esəbat*.
- 626) *ašək/iškān* «plante; arbre» $\sqrt{sh_3k}$
N: *ahəšk*, *ahəkš* (AB); **W:** *ašək* (AB); **Y:** *ašək*, *išək/iškan* (AB).
ahəšk représente une métathèse par rapport à *ašək*.
- 627) *təhənnu* «ê. tranquille» $\sqrt{th_2nh_1}$
T. mér. non att. $<$ ar. *tahannu'*.
- h < z ?*
- h < z (?)*
- h₂-*
h₂ > h₁
- h₃-*
- h < z (s?)*
- h₂- < h*
- h₃-*
méth.₂
- h₂- < h*

- 628) *ătənkəh* «fruit de *ləwliwən*» \sqrt{tnk} ? -*h < z* ?
T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour *h < z*.
- 629) *təz̥za*, fém. *təz̥zāhət* «neuf» \sqrt{tzh}
Y: *təz̥sayət*, *təzzayət*, -*z-*, -*z-* (AB); **Gh:** *təz̥zahət* (AB), *təzahət* (Neh.). -*h₂-*
h₂ > h₁
- Connu en **BN**: Sus *t̥at*, Ghad. *t̥sut* (Mot.).
- 630) *təz̥zāhət*, v. 629) *təz̥za*.
- 631) *iwi*, pf. *iwā* «naître», nv. *t̥wit*, $\sqrt{wh_3h_1}$ *Ch₃*
En **WY** correspondent des verbes apparemment méth.₁
apparentés, mais de racine divergente $\sqrt{h_3h_1w}$ ($\sqrt{h_1h_3w}$?) qui peuvent représenter une métathèse par rapport à *iwi*, soit:
N: *iwi* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *ahw* ? (F); **Y:** *əhw* (pf. *ihu*, *huwən*), nv. *t̥hūt* (AB). Ici appartient **W:** *əsəho* «natif (de)» (F) i.e.
«qui se dit naître» = **H:** *esəssērw*. ~ **W:** $\div /iwan \sqrt{h_1wh_1}$ «boeufs» ? (F). AB paraît en avoir relevé un sg. **W:** *hawu*, *hawwu* «vache» $\sqrt{h_2wh_1}$, qui rend ce rapprochement encore plus séduisant (sens prim. «ce qui est né, portée»?).
- 632) *wəhlət* «ne pas s'occuper de» $\sqrt{w?lh_1}$?
T. mér. non att. ~ = 634) *zəwwəhlən*. ~ 223) *əhəl* ??, 234) *məhəlhəl* ??, 235) *hulhəl* ?? (F).
- 633) *wəhilət* «tenir les yeux fixés vers» $\sqrt{w?lh_1}$?
T. mér. non att. ~ 214) *əhəl* etc. ? (F).
- 634) *wahlən* «fait de ne pas s'occuper de», et caus. dénom. *zəwwəhlən* $\sqrt{w?ln}$?
T. mér. non att. ~ = 632) *ăwəhli*, *wəhlət*, q. v.
- 635) *ăwhim/iwhimən* et fém. «faon de gazelle» \sqrt{wzm} *h < z*
W: *awžim* (Nic. VI. 55); **Y:** *awžim* (AB); **Gh:** *awžim* (Neh.).
- 636) *əwhən* «peser» \sqrt{wzn} *h < z*
Gh: *[ə]wzən* (Neh.). < ar. *wazan*.
- 637) *wəhəñhən* «frapper l'odorat» \sqrt{wznnz} *h < z*
T. mér. non att. *h < z* assuré par ñ palatalisé (v. sect. B). *h < z*

Sans doute trilitère aux deux dern. rad. répétées.

- 638) *ăwhəntēt/iwhəntāt* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{w?n\ddot{t}}$?
- 639) *iwhar/pf. wəss̥r* «ê. vieux», nv. *tuh̥re* \sqrt{wsr} $h < s$
NW: *iwšar/wəss̥ār* (AB); **Y:** *iwšar/wəss̥ər* (AB);
Gh: *iwšar/wəss̥ər, wəss̥ar* (Neh., AB), nv. *tawšəri* (Neh.), adj. vb. *awššar/iwššarən* (Neh.).
- Bien connu en **BN**: kab. *iwsir/wəssər*, Sus. *assər/iwssər*, adj. vb. *awssar*.
- Pour $h < s$ v. sect. C.
- 640) *wəñhət* «esp. de maladie» $\sqrt{wnz\ddot{t}}$ $h < z$
T. mér. non att. $h < z$ assuré par \tilde{n} palatalisé (v. sect. B).
- 641) *ăwrhəd* «esp. de plante» $\sqrt{wr?\ddot{d}}$?
T. mér. non att.
- 642) $\div/\partial lužhən$ «coups de feu (d'arme)» \sqrt{wzh} $Ch_2 < h$
T. mér. non att. < ar. *waḡh* dial. «coup de feu».
- 643) *ĕghed/ihĕdān* et fém. «âne» $\sqrt{yzd/zyd}$ $h < z$
N: *tešət* (Ma.); **W:** *išiđ* (AB), *ažad/ězdan, tāžał/tēždin* (Nic. Tam. 11); **Y:** *ĕyžəd* (JNic.); **Gh:** *ižžid/ižžađan, čižžiř/čižžađin* (Neh.).
- 644) *tēyne/tēyniwin* «datte(s)» $\sqrt{h_3yn}$ h_{3^-}
N: *tehayne* (AB, Ma.); **W:** *tinəy* (AB); **Y:** *tayni, tayni, tini, tinəy* (AB); **Gh:** *tini* (AB), *čini/činawin* (Neh.).
- Connu en **BN**: Ghad. *čina, təčinawt*, Sus *tayni, taynił, tayniwt*.
- 645) *tāyna/tāyniwin* «gencive» $\sqrt{h_3yn}$ h_{3^-}
N: *tahayne, tehayne* (AB); **W:** *taynəy* (AB).
- 646) *yungoh* «juin» \sqrt{yngz} $-h < z ?$
T. mér. non att. < lat. *yunius*. S'oppose par la forme à *yulyuz* «juillet» < lat. *yulius* et d'autre part à *mayyu* «mai» < lat. *mayus*. Cette opposition est un phénomène panberbère (v. AB: Six notes de linguistique berbère, Annales de l'Inst. d'Ét. Orientales V, 16–40 (1939–41)). Il est doux qu'on puisse parler ici d'un passage $z > h$ en **H**, car la forme en *-h* est connue en **BN** et il est possible que le Touareg ait emprunté les

noms des mois latins au BN. La différence de traitement de la finale remonte probablement à un mélange de formes empruntées directement au latin et d'autres prises par l'intermédiaire de l'arabe (avec ou sans *-h* de pause). Cp. 35) *ābərnuh*, où le passage *z > h* est clairement limité à la seule *tāhaggart* et ne se retrouve pas en BN.

647)	<i>izzağ/pf. həddiğ</i> «ê. pur» \sqrt{zdg} W: <i>išdağ/šəddiğ</i> (AB); Gh: ?/ <i>zəddiğ</i> (Neh.). Connu en BN: kab. <i>izδig/zəddig.</i>	$h < z$
648)	<i>ězzəh</i> «terre chaude» $\sqrt{h_1z?}$ T. mér. non att. Probabilité statistique pour $h < z$.	$-h < z ?$
649)	<i>žuhəd</i> «faire le <i>əlžihad</i> contre» \sqrt{zhd} T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>ŷâhad</i> , <i>ŷihâd</i> .	$-h_{2^-} < h$
650)	<i>əžħəl</i> «ê. ignorant de la loi divine», adj. vb. <i>āmāžħal</i> et <i>əlžahil</i> , \sqrt{zhl} T. mér. non att. < ar. <i>ŷahil</i> , <i>ŷâhil</i> .	$Ch_2 < h$ $-h_{2^-} < h$
651)	<i>ăzahalağ</i> «esp. de rythme poét.» $\sqrt{?lg}$ T. mér. non att. Puis qu'il n'est pas passé à <i>h</i> , <i>z</i> paraît être un préfixe du caus. (v. sect. B). On s'attend alors à un adj. vb. du type <i>ăsəqqəday</i> , dans lequel une 1" <i>zz</i> devrait se conserver, une 1" <i>hh</i> pouvant s'abréger en <i>h</i> . Si cette explication s'avère, la parenté avec 231) <i>əhləğ</i> (F) est à écarter.	$-h_{2^-} ?$

R. Statistique.

Pour conclure, nous donnerons ci-après quelques chiffres intéressants ressortant de la liste qui précède :

La liste comprend	651 numéros,
dont	\div 43 renvois,
ce qui revient à	608 ex. effectifs,
dont	+ 28 ex. avec 2 <i>h</i>
Nous avons donc traité de	636 cas de <i>h</i> .

Le nombre des numéros ayant reçu une	
solution sûre s'élève à	347 (sans marque)
solution hautement probable	54 (marqués: (?)
solution probable	50 (marqués: ?)
solution possible	17 (marqués: ??)
restent insolubles	<u>140</u> (marqués: ? nu)
	608

Il s'est révélé que des 636 cas de *h*

201 proviennent sûrement	} de *z ou d'une autre
20 proviennent très probablement	
131 proviennent sûrement	} de *h ₂ ou d'une laryngale
29 proviennent très probablement	
34 contiennent *h ₃ (tombé en <i>tāhaggart</i> , conservé en <i>tānəsləmt</i>)	
74 reçoivent une solution seulement probable ou possible	
147 restent insolubles	

636

Les 160 cas sûrs ou hautement probables de *h₂ se répartissent sur les différentes positions phonétiques avec :

78 cas de <i>h₂-</i> (initial prévocalique, abstraction faite du préfixe d'état des noms)
46 cas de <i>-h₂-</i> (intervocalique)
4 cas de <i>-h₂</i> (final postvocalique)
25 cas de <i>Ch₂</i> (entre consonne et voyelle)
7 cas de <i>h₂C</i> (entre voyelle et consonne)

160

Les 4 cas de *-h₂* s'opposent à 47 cas sûrs ou très probables de *-h* final issu de *z etc. Cette prédominance très accusée de *h < *z* nous a permis de marquer tous les autres cas de *-h* final d'origine berbère comme probablement issus de *z etc. Noter que, des 34 cas de *h₃, pas moins de 8 sont de *-h₃* final, donc *h* finaux tombés en *tāhaggart*.

Des 608 ex. effectifs 37 sont des emprunts à l'arabe, dont 19 contiennent *h₂* issu d'une laryngale arabe (surtout *h*), 14 d'une sifflante/chuintante arabe, 2 ex. recevant une solution non sûre,

2 autres restant insolubles. 2 ex. sont des emprunts aux langues soudanaises (Foucauld). Ceci revient à dire que des 160 cas de h_2 141 sont d'origine berbère, et des 221 cas de $h < *z$ 207 sont d'origine berbère – ou encore que des h d'origine berbère de la *tāhaggart* environ $\frac{2}{5}$ sont des h primitifs, $\frac{3}{5}$ proviennent de $*z$ etc. Hors de la position en finale la répartition oscille même autour de $\frac{1}{2}$ et $\frac{1}{2}$, selon la position.

Les indications en marge permettent des calculs ultérieurs analogues.

Liste des abréviations

AB	André Basset (v. p. 31)	Ghad.	dial. de Ghadamès
ABV	AB: La langue berbère, le Verbe (Paris 1929)	(ghadamsi)	
act.	actif	H	tāhaggart (dial. T)
adj.	adjectif	<i>h</i> ₁	* <i>h</i> = zéro panberbère
an.	animal	<i>h</i> ₂	* <i>h</i> = zéro partiel
ar.	arabe	<i>h</i> ₃	* <i>h</i> = zéro sauf N et Ghad.
assim.	assimilation	h.	homme
att.	attesté	hébr.	hébreu
augm.	augmentatif	id.	identique
av.	avoir	imp.	impératif
Awdj.	Awdjila	impf.	imparfait (AB aoriste)
Beg.	F. Beguinot	inf.	infinitif
BN	Berbère du Nord	init.	initial
B.Snus	Bəni Snus	Ind.	Industries (v. p. 31)
caus.	causatif	interj.	interjection
cham.	chameau	instr.	instrument
comp.	compensatif	JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
concr.	concret	JNic.	Johannes Nicolaisen (v. p. 31)
conj.	conjugaison	kab.	kabyle
D	tādyaq (dial. T)	Lan.	Jacques Lanfray
décl.	déclinaison	lat.	latin
dém.	démonstratif	lib.	libyque
dénom.	dénominal	lit.	littéralement
dern.	dernier	loc.	lieu
dial.	dialecte	Ma.	Matthieu (v. p. 31)
Dict.	Dictons (v. p. 31)	masc.	masculin
dim.	diminutif	mér.	méridional
dom.	domestique	méth. ₁	métathèse avec avancement de h postconsonantique
être	être	méth. ₂	métathèse avec avancement de h intervocalique
ég.	égyptien	méth. ₃	métathèse avec recul de h
enf.	enfantin	Mot.	A. de Calassanti Motylinski
esp.	espèce	N	tānəsləmt (dial. T)
F	Ch. de Foucauld (v. p. 31)	n.	nom
fém.	féminin	nef.	dial. de Djebel Nefousa (nefousi)
fig.	(au) figuré	Neh.	Nehlil (v. p. 31)
fr.	français		
FT	Folklore Touareg (v. p. 31)		
gém.	gémination		
Għ.	dial. T de Ghât (et Djānat)		

Nic.	Francis Nicolas (v. p. 31)	sect.	section (de ce livre)
n. instr.	nom d'instrument	sém.	sémitique
n. loc.	nom de lieu	sg.	singulier
nv.	nom verbal	som.	somali
P	Karl-G. Prasse (v. p. 31)	soud.	soudanais
part.	participe, particule	subst.	substantif
pass.	passif	suff.	suffixe
pers.	personne	Sus	tašəlhít du Sous (Ida ou Səmlal, Maroc)
pf.	parfait (AB préterit)	syn.	synonyme
phén.	phénicien	T	Touareg
pl.	pluriel	Tam.	Taməsna (v. p. 31)
préf.	préfixe	tig.	tigrê
prim.	primitif	vb.	verbe
pun.	punique	voc.	vocatif
rad.	radicale	voy.	voyelle
réc.	réciproque(ment)	W	tăwlləmmət (dial. T)
réfl.	réfléchi	Y	tăyrt (dial. T)
rempl.	remplacement	zén.	zénaga
resp.	respectivement		
RSO	Rivista di Studi Orientali		

1", 2", 3"	première, deuxième, troisième radicale
=	synonyme de; même que; correspondant à
≠	différent de
*	forme reconstruite (protoberbère)
\sqrt{V}	racine
~	apparenté à
? (isolé)	insoluble
? (ajouté)	probable
?? –	possible
(?) –	hautement probable

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1. Greek

When Kretschmer published his study *Objektive Konjugation im Indogermanischen*¹ in 1947, he caused great surprise among comparatists by attributing an Indo-European age to the oppositions we find in Greek between sigmatic and strong aorist (such as ἔφυσα : ἔφυν). The common assumption had been and is that these oppositions represent a Greek innovation. Kretschmer's theory was very bold, indeed, and his argumentation was far from being convincing. Nevertheless I find, as will be apparent from the following pages, that the oppositions in question may be older than usually assumed, and at any rate I find that the problems concerning the semantic differentiation between the various types of aorists in Greek deserve more attention than has hitherto been bestowed on them.

The relationship between the aorists in Greek is complicated. A clear opposition between the sigmatic aorist and the strong aorist (i. e. root aorist or non-reduplicated *e/o*-aorist) is found only when the two aorists are formed from the same root: in case of semantic differentiation the sigmatic aorist is transitive (or factitive, causative) in contradistinction to the strong aorist (ἔφυσα : ἔφυν, ἔπεισα : ἐπιθόμην, etc.). In those cases, however, in which the verb forms only one of these aorists, and in which consequently there is no direct opposition to another aorist, it seems rather difficult to attribute any special function to the different aorist formations, the sigmatic aorist then being not necessarily transitive, just as the strong aorist is not exclusively intransitive. In Old Greek the sigmatic aorist, as we know, is the generalized, near-universal aorist, and we can exclude the possibility that this aorist formation should be associated with a

¹ Sitzungsberichte der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl., 225,2, Vienna 1947.

specific meaning valid for all verbs forming a sigmatic aorist. The strong aorist, on the other hand, is formed only by a limited number of verbs, and this might suggest that the strong aorist, apart from the meaning of all aorists, the aoristic aspect, has also a meaning of its own. We shall attempt to encircle the specific meaning the strong aorist may be assumed to have by examining the distribution between the strong aorist and the voice endings. Already the fact that a strong aorist which is intransitive, as opposed to a transitive sigmatic aorist from the same verb, is always incorporated in a middle paradigm (φύομαι ἔφυν, πείθομαι ἐπιθέμην as opposed to φύω ἔφυσα, πείθω ἔπεισα), suggests that what we are concerned with here is not so much a matter of actual transitivity but more a matter of voice, possibly a special type of voice.¹

The Strong Aorist.

In the following examination of the strong aorist in Greek we shall give an account of the distribution between this aorist and the voice endings. Starting from the assumption that the middle form is the marked member of the voice opposition and, wherever it occurs, explicitly indicates the presence of the middle meaning,² while the active form, as the unmarked member, does not necessarily involve the active meaning, we shall try to discuss the problem whether the strong aorist may be considered a special voice formation that in itself, regardless of the voice endings with which it is combined, shows a middle value. Our interest will be centered on the Homeric material.³ At the first stage of the examination the perfect will not be considered.

¹ A. Marguliés in his treatment of the Greek aorists ("Verbale Stammbildung und Verbalidiathese", *KZ* 57, 1930, pp. 201 ff., and 58, 1930, pp. 79 ff.) did not succeed in keeping clearly apart transitivity and voice.

² I have utilized this assumption only as a working hypothesis. It may be questioned whether it really applies to all cases of middle forms. According to H. Grosse, "Beiträge zur Syntax des griechischen Mediums und Passivums, Fortsetzung", *24. Jahresbericht des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Dramburg*, Dramburg 1891, pp. 12 ff. (cf. p. 5), middle forms occasionally do appear in active meaning. We must keep in mind, too, that nobody has proved the thesis that linguistic entities are opposed to each other as marked and unmarked, see my article "Bemerkungen über die semiotische Valenz der tschechischen Phoneme", to appear in *Scando-Slavica*.

³ I have examined the Mycenean aorists, but have not found additional material of interest to this study.

The strong aorist is distributed as follows:

- (1) The verb occurs only in the middle, and also the strong aorist belonging to it is attested only with middle endings.

Examples: γίγνομαι γενήσομαι ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι αἰσθήσομαι ἐγενόμην.

Here the strong aorist has a middle meaning, according to our basic assumption that middle endings involve the middle meaning. As the middle meaning in these examples may be considered sufficiently expressed by the middle endings, it is obvious that they cannot be cited in support of our tentative hypothesis, that the meaning of the strong aorist lies within the frames of the middle meaning. On the other hand, it would be only natural to expect that the middle meaning of the strong aorist is frequently emphasized by adding the middle endings, and I presume this is what we are concerned with here.

- (2) The verb appears only with middle endings, with the exception of exactly the strong aorist, which takes active endings.

Examples: δέρκομαι ἔδρακον, πέρδομαι ἔπαρδον, ἔρεύγομαι ἔρυγον.

As an opposition of voice between different forms of the verb is out of the question here, the aorist must be considered to have a middle meaning. The apparent discrepancy between form and meaning may be explained by assuming that the strong aorist had in itself a middle meaning and that the addition of middle endings to the strong aorist consequently was superfluous. Hardly many examples reveal this, but the few examples that do exist are valuable.

- (3) As in the two preceding cases the verb occurs only in one voice. The present and the strong aorist have active endings, whereas the future shows middle endings.

Examples: Θνήσκω θανοῦμαι ἔθανον, πίπτω πεσοῦμαι ἔπεσον.

This configuration is practically the normal one, represented by quite a few verbs. The school grammars treat the future as deponent, i. e. a middle form with an active meaning, but “active meaning” here, of course, is only a reference to the translation of the heading of the entry in the dictionaries. Otherwise it is a deep-rooted practice in linguistics, wherever one comes across

middle endings, to explain them on the basis of a middle meaning, and applying our basic view, that middle endings involve the middle meaning, whereas active endings do not necessarily indicate an opposite, active meaning, we can account for the facts without committing any contradiction. We assume, then, that the future with middle endings really conveys a middle meaning. If the future conveys a middle meaning, then the other forms of the verb, despite their active endings, must have a middle meaning as well, and in consequence a strong aorist associated with a middle future must be considered middle as regards its meaning. At any rate, if the strong aorist has in itself a middle value, there has been no need to add middle endings, and in a similar manner it may be assumed that certain present formants, particularly *-νω*, *-άνω* and *-σκω* (without reduplication), in themselves indicated, or at least tended to indicate, the middle meaning. The correspondence between active present, middle future, and active strong aorist has then probably grown into a directly productive pattern, so that the present may lack the middle endings, also where the present enlargements mentioned above do not occur.

(4) The verb shows two series of forms opposed in voice. The forms are consistently kept apart by the voice endings, but the strong aorist occurs only in the middle. The active aorist is of another formation, mostly sigmatic.

Examples: πείθω πείσω ἔπεισα : πείθομαι πείσομαι ἔπιθόμην, ἔγείρω
ἔγερῶ ἔγειρα : ἔγείρομαι ἔγεροῦμαι ἔγρομην.

As was the case with the verbs registered sub (1), the strong aorist of the verbs in question is attested only with middle endings, but its middle meaning appears more clearly owing to the opposition of voice. The strong aorist with middle endings is contradistinguished from a differently formed aorist in the active; hence the two aorists are kept apart by endings as well as by formation. As the strong aorist does not appear with active endings, it is fairly clear that the addition of the middle endings only pleonastically emphasizes the middle meaning which the strong aorist possesses in itself.

(5) Here again the verb exists in both voices. In spite of the fact that it occurs only with active endings, the strong aorist is

incorporated in a pattern of middle forms: the proper active aorist is formed differently.

Examples: φύω φύσω ἔφυσα : φύομαι φύσομαι ἔφυν, τρέφω θρέψω
ἔθρεψα : τρέφομαι θρέψομαι ἔτραφον.

The verbs concerned correspond with those sub (2), but have still greater weight as evidence, owing to the opposition of voice that exists here. The strong aorist has a middle meaning, but this is indicated solely by its formation, the endings being active. In this case it is evident that the strong aorist in itself indicates a middle meaning.

(6) The verb occurs in both voices. The strong aorist appears only in the middle, but has active endings; in the middle only the future shows middle endings.

Examples: βιβάσκω βήσω ἔβησα : βαίνω βήσομαι ἔβην, δύω δύσω
ἔδυσα : δύνω δύσομαι ἔδυν.

It should be noted that δύνω, in the latter example, is equivalent to δύομαι with middle endings. In all likelihood we are once again concerned with the fact that the middle endings are not obligatory, when the present is enlarged with such formants as had in themselves a tendency to express the middle value. The case is then analogous to the preceding one, and it is unquestionable that the strong aorist here, in spite of active endings, has a middle meaning.

(7) The verb occurs in both voices, which are consistently distinguished by the voice endings. The strong aorist, too, appears both with active and with middle endings.

Examples: ἔχω ἔξω ~ σχήσω ἔσχον, βάλλω βαλῶ ἔβαλον, δίδωμι
δώσω ἔδωκα (ἔδομεν), λείπω λείψω ἔλιπτον.

This “normal” paradigm actually is not normal at all, but it does exist. One might believe that the strong aorist with active endings in this case conveyed a real active meaning as opposed to the same aorist with middle endings. But the question is whether there is really anything active about the active forms here. If we adopt the view that active endings do not guarantee the presence of an active meaning, we cannot exclude the possibility that the active forms we are concerned with here, actually have a

middle meaning. Considered on this basis verbs taking both active and middle endings without any differentiation in meaning ($\epsilon\varphi\theta\eta/\varphi\theta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$, $\xi\lambda\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon/\xi\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau(\circ)$, $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{\iota}\nu\bar{\iota}/\epsilon\bar{\iota}\delta\bar{\iota}\nu\tau\bar{\iota}$, $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\bar{\iota}\nu/\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\bar{\iota}\nu\tau\bar{\iota}$) do not cause any difficulties; such verbs then have simply the same middle meaning throughout the paradigm. But is it legitimate to apply this view also in case of semantic differentiation between the active and the middle forms, as in the examples given above?

In order to speak of oppositions in linguistics it is of course necessary that one and the same formal distinction in identical surroundings corresponds to a constant semantic distinction; to take the opposite view would be to deny the sign function of language. But there can be no objection to the view that one formal distinction, in different surroundings, may represent different semantic distinctions. This is in itself a purely logical consideration, but in my answer to a question asked at the Congress of Slavicists in Sofia I have attempted to demonstrate that it really applies to linguistic material.¹ Here I shall cite an interesting example from Czech: the semantic contrast in *sáhnout* : *sahat* ‘reach out’ is not identical with that in *táhnout* : *tahat* ‘draw’, in spite of the fact that the phonic distinction is exactly the same in both oppositions: *sáhnout* is perfective as opposed to the imperfective *sahat*, whereas *táhnout* and *tahat*, both imperfective, are semantically differentiated in another opposition, *táhnout* being determinate as opposed to the indeterminate *tahat*.

Consequently I find it theoretically possible that the contrast between active and middle endings may in some contexts correspond to the ordinary semantic contrast active: middle, in others, however, in combination with special verbs whose active forms in themselves have a middle value, to another semantic contrast.

(8) Watkins attaches great importance to oppositions in which the strong aorist occurs with active endings and the sigmatic aorist has middle endings. He finds evidence for such oppositions in Greek ($\epsilon\bar{\iota}\alpha\delta\bar{\iota}:\dot{\alpha}\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma,\dot{\alpha}\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\omega\bar{\iota}:\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\bar{\iota}<\ast\pi\alpha\lambda\sigma\tau\bar{\iota}$),² but his material is highly controversial. As regards the opposition $\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\omega\bar{\iota}:\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\bar{\iota}$, I want to stress that $\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\omega\bar{\iota}$ is not a regular strong aorist, but represents the reduplicated aorist, which

¹ *Slavjanska filologija* I, Sofia 1963, pp. 155f.

² C. Watkins, *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb, I. The Sigmatic Aorist*, Dublin 1962, pp. 52ff.

semantically has nothing in common with the non-reduplicated *e/o*-aorist and rather holds the same position as the sigmatic aorist (see below, p. 14).

In the preceding outline no attention has been paid to the distribution between the strong aorist and the perfect. The problems concerning the voice of the strong aorist in many respects resemble those which scholars have had to solve in defining the Homeric perfect. As we know from the pioneering studies of Chantraine, Stang, and Kurylowicz,¹ the Homeric perfect has, even with active endings, a meaning that lies entirely within the framework of the middle meaning; according to these studies the active endings of the Greek perfect are actually middle from an Indo-European point of view, but since in Greek they recur as active endings in other paradigms,² they are to be regarded as active, when viewed synchronically. So we have in the Homeric perfect a formation that irrespectively of the voice endings has in itself a middle meaning. We now expect, if the strong aorist is likewise a formation that in itself involves a middle meaning, that the two forms to a very great extent show the same distribution, and this holds good.

As for the configurations treated above sub (1)–(3) we may state that the active perfect (*γέγονα*, *δέδορκα*, *τέθνηκα*, etc.) is associated with middle forms in the present and/or in the future, just as is the strong aorist. In case of a paradigm of two voices we also find that the strong aorist and the perfect active are concomitant in being incorporated in the middle scheme; πείθομαι ἐπιθόμην πέποιθα, ἐγείρομαι ἡγρόμην ἐγρήγορα, ὅλλυμαι ὠλόμην ὅλωλα (4); φύομαι ἔφυν πέφυκα, ἵσταμαι ἔστην ἔστηκα, σβέννυμαι ἔσβην ἔσβηκα, ἐρείπομαι ἤριπον ἐρήριπα, τρέφομαι ἔτραφον τέτροφα (5); βάινω βήσομαι ἔβην βέβηκα, δύνω/δύομαι δύσομαι ἔδυν δέδυκα (6). The constellation dealt with sub (7) is somewhat special, as we have pointed out, but λείπω ἔλιπον λέλοιπα might be quoted as an example of coexistence of the strong aorist

¹ P. Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec*, Paris 1927, Chr. S. Stang, “Perfektum und Medium”, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap* 6, 1932, pp. 29 ff., J. Kurylowicz, “Les désinences moyennes de l’indo-européen et du hittite”, *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique* 33, 1932, pp. 1 ff.

² See A. Meillet & J. Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, Paris 1924, pp. 294 ff.

and the active perfect. It seems possible to establish as a general rule that if a strong aorist coexists with an active perfect from the same verb in Homer, then the two forms show the same voice. But at the same time it must be emphasized that we have strong aorists without any active perfect attested to them in Homeric Greek; the lack of a perfect in the Homeric material may be accidental, of course, but the particular instances must be examined carefully; we shall have occasion to treat the problem more thoroughly below.

So far we have dealt with the distribution of the strong aorist and the active and the middle endings, and we have found nothing, from a purely formal standpoint, telling against the view that the strong aorist conveys a middle meaning, no matter whether it appears with active or middle endings. The next step in the examination is to verify this assumption from a semantic standpoint. Only a semantic analysis can give us a closer understanding of the material.

First of all a semantic analysis reveals that the semantic sphere of the strong aorist does not fill up the whole area of the semantic sphere of the middle endings. Neither the strong aorist nor the Homeric perfect can express the special nuance of the subject's interest in the action. If this nuance is the only feature justifying us to consider an aoristic action middle, it can be indicated only by using the middle form of the sigmatic aorist: ἐστησάμην, ἐθρεψάμην, etc.

It is most expedient, then, to define the voice of the strong aorist (and the Homeric perfect) negatively: It denotes that the action is of no consequence to an object lying outside the subject. Mostly the strong aorist is simply intransitive: ἔδραμον (δέδρομα), ἔμολον (μέμβλωκα), ἔθανον (τέθνηκα), etc. The strong aorist can, however, occur with an object, also with an accusative object, but if so, no effect upon the object is involved: ἔλαχον (λέλογχα), ἔδρακον (δέδορκα), εἶδον (ὅπωπτα), ἔπαθον (πέπονθα), or the object does not lie clearly outside the subject, the action taking place in the subject itself: ἔδακον, ἔφαγον (ἔδήδοκα), ἔτεκον. To be sure, this semantic sphere belongs to the middle, but in order to emphasize that the meaning of the strong aorist is narrower than that expressed by the middle endings I should find it convenient

to use a special term for this narrower meaning and call it “in-effective”. Analogously we shall refer to actions that are of consequence to an external object as “effective”.

Among the examples mentioned above sub (7) λείπω ἔλιπτον λέλοιπα should particularly be emphasized. The forms also occur with middle endings and then have an intransitive meaning. The active forms, and here we may include the perfect, have a transitive meaning, but still belong to the middle voice, as the action does not influence the object. Only slightly different is the case of εύρισκω, aor. ηὗρον, whose perfect, presumably by chance, is not attested in Homer. The active and the middle forms seem to be synonymous, and neither of them indicate any effect upon the object. Compare the discussion sub (7).

I do not intend to enumerate the whole material of strong aorists in Greek. It is sufficient to refer to the concordances and detailed grammars. But an examination of the material will reveal that with extremely few exceptions the strong aorists can be accounted for according to the definition given above, and apart from those exceptions it may be considered a matter of pure chance if no corresponding middle future and active perfect are attested in Homer. We shall have a closer look at the exceptions. Characteristically, they belong to the “normal” paradigm given sub (7). It is my impression that what we have to do with here is not actual exceptions, but more likely only border-cases, where it cannot be decided unambiguously whether the action is effective or not.

(a) Some transitive verbs indicating a change of place (including change of ownership), such as δίδωμι, τίθημι, τρέπω, αἱρῶ, βάλλω, have the active strong aorist, and the present and the future belonging to it have active endings as well. It must be admitted, I think, that the active forms of these verbs, in particular those denoting a removal of the object from the sphere of the subject ('give', 'throw', 'send' as compared with 'take', 'steal', etc.) have a really active meaning,¹ but in whatever direction the movement takes place, we must realize that a transitive verb of motion does not indicate an effective action in

¹ Ed. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* 2, Munich 1950, p. 226, gives δίδωμι sub the activa tantum, which according to him exhibit the same meaning as the media tantum (i. e. a middle meaning?).

the truest sense: the action, which can perfectly well be considered active, neither results in the creation of an object, nor does it involve any real change of the object; the object is in principle the same before and after the action, it has not been modified in any respect. On the other hand, a change of place is a change, and a vacillation in the choice of aorist type is understandable; compare ἔτραπτον/ἔτρεψα in the same meaning. Probably the sigmatic aorist is more recent here, and ἔστησα appearing as effective in opposition to ἔστην shows its productivity.

The shade of meaning we are faced with here lies, from a synchronic point of view, outside the middle, and outside the semantic sphere of the Homeric perfect as well. In Homer no perfect of the verbs concerned is attested, and as some of the verbs occur very frequently, this is hardly accidental. But still circumstances are quite extraordinary, as seen in the special flexion of the aorists from δίδωμι, τίθημι, θῆμι. I find no reasons to deny that their aorists ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, ἔκα are based on strong aorists (pl. ἔδομεν, ἔθεμεν, εἴμεν), but the terminations of the singular recur in the active perfect of other verbs, e. g. in ἔστηκα. It is difficult to tell whether the κ-element has spread from the perfect to the aorist or inversely, but whatever the explanation of these special aorists may be, it seems plausible that they could hardly exist, if they deviated too much from the original meaning of the perfect. It may be assumed, then, that at the time of that expansion the aorists in question did not differ in voice from the perfect, and I find it probable, too, that transitive verbs of motion originally did form also a perfect. In this connection I call attention to the fact that the Old Armenian perfect, though genetically unrelated to the Greek perfect, has a semantic sphere that is completely identical with that of the Homeric perfect, with the characteristic exception that transitive verbs of motion ('donner', 'poser') are not excluded from forming the perfect.¹ We are faced with a similar situation in Old Lithuanian: to the group of athematic verbs belong ordinary ineffective verbs, but also verbs denoting a change of place of the object.²

¹ S. Lyonnet, *Le parfait en arménien classique*, Paris 1933, pp. 96 ff.

² Cf. Chr. S. Stang, "Die athematischen Verba im Baltischen", *Scando-Slavica* 8, 1962, pp. 161 ff.

(b) Another exception is represented by the very few transitive verbs that denote a destruction and take the strong aorist. At first sight there seems to be no doubt about the effect of the action, and if anything, one would expect the sigmatic aorist to be used in this case. Characteristically, most of the verbal roots concerned have both a strong aorist and a sigmatic aorist, without any difference in meaning: ἔταμον/ἔτμαγον/ἔτμηξα, ἔτορον/ἔτόρησα/ἔτρωσα, ἔκταν/ἔκτανον/ἔκτεινα, ἔπραθον/ἔπερσα, οὔταν/ούτασσα; compare also ὠλόμην : ὠλεσσα. This might indicate that a destructive action stands on the very periphery of the sphere of effective actions. What causes the vacillation is perhaps simply the negative character of the effect of destructive actions.

The meaning of the strong aorists dealt with here does not decisively lie outside the semantic sphere of the middle endings. We have ἤλιτεν/ἀλίτοντο in the same meaning. Compare also the media tantum denoting destructive actions: δηλέομαι, βιάζομαι. Likewise it may be stated that there is no divergence as to voice between the strong aorist and the perfect on this point. In Homer we do find active perfects denoting destruction, as shown by Chantraine: πεπληγώς, κεκοπώς, βεβίηκεν, βεβλήκει.¹

From the examination of the strong aorist in Greek it follows that the relationship between the action and the object plays a decisive role for the application of this aorist. It seems obvious that the strong aorist is ineffective, i. e. cannot be used where the verb unambiguously denotes an effect upon the object (creation or change of state). When the effect for one reason or another appears less clearly, the strong aorist does occur, but with rather a restricted frequency. The voice of the strong aorist shows a narrower sphere of use than that of the middle endings and is almost identical with that of the Homeric perfect.

Caution should be taken against projecting onto Indo-European the definition put forward here. Already the negative character

¹ P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique, Tome II, Syntaxe*, Paris 1953, p. 199: “Il n'est pas sans intérêt de constater que les parfaits qui ont commencé à prendre la valeur résultative sont tirés de racines exprimant l'idée de ‘battre, faire violence’”, cf. as for the question of an old active perfect of τάμνω Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec*, p. 42. The connection that possibly exists between these Greek perfects and o-grade presents meaning ‘schlagen, stechen, graben’ deserves further examination; see Chr. S. Stang, *Das slavische und baltische Verbum*. Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademii i Oslo, II. Hist-Filos. Klasse, 1942, No. 1, Oslo 1943, pp. 39 ff.

of the definition invites prudence. In addition, due attention should be paid to the specific circumstances under which the strong aorist appears in Greek. As long as we have no further indications, it is even possible to assume that the strong aorist was originally, in Indo-European, neutral as to voice and has acquired its ineffective meaning only in Greek after other new aorists with an originally marked effective meaning had ousted it from their specific semantic sphere. The possibility of a semantic assimilation to the perfect must also be allowed for.

The Reduplicated Aorist.

At this point I want to add some remarks on the reduplicated aorist in Greek. As we know, the reduplicated aorist shows a somewhat greater frequency only in Homer, but has already there rather a restricted sphere of use: it appears only with a limited number of verbs, which are often attested with another aorist type as well. We know, too, that the reduplicated aorist is very frequently transitive, and in advance one would be prepared to believe that the reduplicated aorist would be the aorist formation most suitable for rendering the effective meaning, and that we should here, perhaps, be concerned with an aorist type contradistinguished directly from the non-reduplicated strong aorist in an opposition of voice. We must admit that the reduplicated aorist often occurs precisely in the effective meaning, in cases, such as ἥκαχον, ἐπέφραδον, etc., where the strong aorist could scarcely be used, and also in direct opposition to the strong aorist: λέλαθον: ἔλαθον, λέλαχον : ἔλαχον, τέτυκον : ἔτυχον, πέπιθον : ἔπιθόμην. We cannot preclude, then, that the reduplicated aorist had primatively a more pronounced effective meaning. But synchronically this aorist holds a somewhat different position. The reduplicated aorist occurs not only alongside of the sigmatic aorist πέπιθον/ἔπεισα, ἐπέφραδον/ἔφρασα, etc., but also alternates with the strong aorist, and in those cases no change of the object is involved: κέκλυον/ἔκλυον, κέκυθον/ἔκυθον; it also competes with the aorist in -την, which is pronouncedly intransitive: κεχαρόμην/ἔχαρην. Among the factors conditioning the application (and the survival) of the reduplicated aorist one factor is predominant, a factor which has no direct connection with the distinction between effective

and ineffective verbs: The application of this aorist in the great majority of cases presupposes a person, respectively an animate being, as object, or at least presupposes that the verb concerned frequently appears with a personal object. This object need not be an accusative object and may be suppressed if the verb is used reflexively. Since alternating with other aorist formations, the reduplicated aorist has scarcely been an obligatory means of rendering this specific function; also other aorist formations may of course appear with a personal object. As particularly interesting examples I quote: ὅπότ' ἄν σε δόμοι κεκύθωσι καὶ αὐλή 303, κέκλυτέ μεν Γ 86 and elsewhere, τόν γ' εἴ πως δύναιο λοχησάμενος λελαβέσθαι δ 388. We may also note that the meaning is often an abstract one. Further examples from Homer: ἀλαλκον, ἥπαφον, ἐνένιπον, ὁροφον, κεχαρόμην, ἥγαγον, ἔπεφνον.

The Sigmatic Aorist.

From a synchronic point of view the sigmatic aorist does not exhibit any specific meaning valid for all verbs taking this aorist. But in the same manner as the reduplicated aorist, only on a much wider front, the sigmatic aorist enters in opposition with the strong aorist, being employed where the strong aorist does not occur, i. e. where the action is effective. There also exist quite a number of direct oppositions between sigmatic and strong aorists from the same root, such as ἔθρεψα : ἔτραφον, ἔπεισα ἔπιθόμην, ἔφυσα : ἔφυν. Provisionally we have dealt with such oppositions already when analyzing the strong aorist; now we want to have a closer look at them.

We are accustomed to speak here of oppositions between transitive and intransitive actions, but the term is not adequate, as it may lead to the belief that it should be possible, in principle, to form from any transitive aorist an intransitive one by changing the aorist type. From a transitive aorist with active endings we cannot, however, if it has an ineffective value, arrive at an intransitive aorist by changing the aorist type; our texts give no evidence for that. On the contrary, we find that a transitive strong aorist, provided that its meaning is ineffective, may be opposed to a sigmatic aorist, also transitive, but with an effective meaning: ἔπισα : ἔπιον, ἔστυξα : ἔστυγον. Considering this, some scholars

use the term “causative”, which is indeed more appropriate, but still quite unsatisfactory. If saying that the sigmatic aorist, when opposed to a non-sigmatic aorist, is causative, it may give rise to serious misconceptions. First of all, the term “causative” in its ordinary sense is used only of direct oppositions between formally and semantically related verbs or verb constructions, but in Greek a term is needed applicable also outside such direct oppositions. Moreover, by using the term “causative” of one member of the opposition, the other member is automatically placed as the unmarked member; the term “causative” implies nothing for the other member, the correlative term “incausative” not even being used. In Greek, however, the sigmatic aorist is not, at any rate taken synchronically, the marked member of the opposition. We note, too, that such oppositions as Goth. *satjan* : *sitan* or Slav. (*po)saditi* : *sěděti*, normally referred to as oppositions of causation, are more complex and might be compared more adequately with Gk. ἔστησα : ἔστηκα than with ἔστησα : ἔστην. Also otherwise we may state that this term is used of highly different relationships. In itself the term “causative” says very little, and I think there are good reasons for avoiding it, speaking of the opposition between the sigmatic and the strong aorist in Greek. I maintain that what we actually have to do with here is a semantic contrast between effective and ineffective actions.

What age can we attribute to the oppositions between sigmatic and strong aorists from the same root? As we shall see below, we may be concerned with an Indo-European principle, as Slavic and Baltic show evidence for similar oppositions. The utilization of the principle, however, must be considered specifically Greek, in the sense that we are scarcely legitimate in attributing an Indo-European age to the particular instances of sigmatic aorists opposed to strong aorists from the same root.

From a synchronic standpoint we may set up the rule that a strong aorist, ineffective in contradistinction to the present ind. act., presupposes the existence of a sigmatic aorist in an effective meaning (τρέφω ἔθρεψα : ἔτραφον), but historically the reverse seems to be the case, at least in the great majority of cases. The sigmatic aorist, and the present associated with it, are likely to be more recent than the strong aorist in such direct oppositions. Even if the transitivity or voice of a verbal root may vary from

one Indo-European language to the other, it seems justifiable, on the basis of data from other Indo-European languages, to regard roots as **bhewə-* or **stā-* as originally only intransitive and, in consequence, to consider ἔφυσα and ἔστησα secondary as compared with ἔφυν and ἔστην, and this is indeed the view commonly accepted. Here, however, arises a question of particular importance. Is it possible to understand the creation of such correlative sigmatic aorists in a clearly effective function, if the sigmatic aorist was at that time the unmarked member of the voice opposition? Perhaps it is, but one may find it more likely that the sigmatic aorist originally had a marked meaning and appeared in an effective meaning only; such a situation would be more favourable for the productive derivation of sigmatic aorists in that meaning. I suggest, however, another explanation, which I find more plausible: We may assume that the sigmatic aorist in the correlations under examination has replaced the reduplicated aorist and that this aorist originally had a clear-cut effective meaning; compare ἔπεισα/πέπτιθον : ἔπιθόμην (and the reduplicated aorist as the aorist of causatives in Sanskrit).

The Aorist in -ην.

The ē-aorist is semantically closely related to the strong aorist; this fact is not surprising, for the ē-aorist, as we know, has arisen precisely from the strong aorist of the so-called disyllabic roots. The reason why we have not dealt with it as a strong aorist is that its semantic sphere in Greek is somewhat displaced in relation to that of the strong aorist. It is more exclusively intransitive, the only transitive form being the ineffective ἔδάην. The aorist in -ην presupposes that the verb concerned also has a sigmatic aorist, which is always effective; the only exceptions are ἔχάρην and ἔφρύην, which might be accounted for as genuine strong aorists, their roots being obviously disyllabic. The passive value, with which this aorist often appears, in a sense is only a shade of the ineffective meaning, but must be recorded as a distinctive trait, as the strong aorist does not show a passive value as opposed to a sigmatic aorist from the same verb. The passive meaning, as we know, is rather seldom attested in Homer, and it is worth noting that when in Homer the verb is also attested

with an active perfect differing in voice from the present ind. act., the aorist in -ην follows the active perfect in voice, being like this intransitive but not passive; in such cases the aorist in -ην takes the same position as a strong aorist: πήγνυμι ἔπηξα : ἐπάγην πέπτηγα, σήπω ἔστηψα : ἐσάπτην σέστηπα, τήκω ἔτηξα : ἐτάκην τέτηκα, τρέφω ἔθρεψα : ἐτράφην τέτροφα, φθείρω ἔφθειρα : ἐφθάρην ἔφθορα et al.

The meaning of the Greek ē-aorist, comprising only intransitive, inclusively passive, applications, may be considered more “modern” than that of the strong aorist, and the opposition between the s-aorist and the ē-aorist in so far is an opposition of transitivity. Yet, it deserves to be emphasized that the derivation of ē-aorists from transitive s-aorists is confined to verbs whose present ind. act. and sigmatic aorist are at the same time transitive and effective. From ineffective meanings, such as ‘find’, ‘see’, etc., one cannot arrive at intransitive meanings by forming an ē-aorist (the instance λίπεν in Homer is obscure).

The exclusively intransitive and passive function of the ē-aorist in Greek is presumably a Greek innovation. The ē-formations in other Indo-European languages with which the Greek ē-aorist is conventionally compared, are, it is true, mostly intransitive, but may also show a transitive value, provided that the verb is at the same time ineffective; the typical example is Lat. *habeo*, Slav. *iměti*, Balt. *turēti*.

The account given above is not, of course, to be considered an exhaustive account of the voice phenomena in Greek. We have confined ourselves to the oppositions of voice between certain preterites with a view to the existence of similar oppositions in Slavic and Baltic.

2. Slavic

We shall now deal with the question whether the strong aorist and the sigmatic aorist have been differentiated as to voice also in Slavic. Other Slavic preterite formations (the imperfect) will be discussed later, in connection with the examination of the Baltic material.

The Root Aorist.

Owing to the generalization of the sigmatic aorist, it is difficult to trace the root aorist in Slavic. Stang, however, has suggested seeing a continuation of the root aorist in the Old Church Slavonic aorists ending in the 2. and 3. sg. in *-tъ*,¹ an assumption that has been generally accepted. It may be difficult to explain the strange ending *-tъ*, but this can hardly influence Stang's determination. Other aorists, without this ending in the 2. and 3. sg., are ambiguous; thus it seems obvious that 2–3 sg. aor. *sta* intr. 'took a stand' must continue a root aorist (compare Gk. ἔστη in a similar meaning, Skt. ásthāt), but taken purely phonically, it might represent a sigmatic aorist as well. For this reason we must center our attention on the verbs the aorist of which ends in the 2. and 3. sg. in *-tъ*.

Although the aorist in *-tъ* is attested with a rather scanty number of verbs only, I do not preclude that it has been productive to some extent, and has been used beyond its original sphere of application. As far as 2–3 sg. aor. *pětъ*, *žitъ*, *bystъ*, *dastъ*, and *jastъ* (to the presents *pojо*, *živо*, *bоdо*, *damъ*, and *jambъ*) are concerned, I think we must acknowledge these forms without discussion; they are attested in isolated archaic paradigms. In the same way we may acknowledge 2–3 sg. aor. *pitъ* and *vitъ* (pres. *pijo*, *vijо*) as old root aorists, since we have other roots in *-i-* that do not take the ending *-tъ* in the aorist: 2–3 sg. aor. *bi*, pres. *bijо*. But when it is established as a rule that *all* the verbs of the types *jeti imо* and *mrěti mbrо* have an aorist in *-tъ*, circumspection is needed; in this case we may be concerned with a generalization on a purely phonic basis; in addition the rule is somewhat illusory, as some of the verbs pertaining to these types are not attested in the 2. and 3. sg. aorist in our oldest texts, and we must also pay due attention to the fact that besides *prostrětъ* also *prostrě* is convincingly documented in relevant texts.

The flexion of the verbs having an aorist in *-tъ* in Old Church Slavonic also shows other peculiarities: the past participle passive in *-tъ*, and a particular pattern of accentuation. We might ask, then, whether we should not succeed, by thoroughly examining these accessory phenomena, in encircling those aorists in *-tъ* which

¹ Stang, *Verbum*, p. 65.

do not result from phonic generalizations and may be assumed to be inherited root aorists. Thus, for example, corresponding to Old Church Slavonic aorists in *-tъ*, we usually find end-stress in the feminine gender of the *l*-participle in Russian: OCS *žitъ*, Russ. *žilá*, *bystъ bylá*, *dastъ dalá*, *pitъ pilá*, *vitъ vilá* (but OCS *bi*, Russ. *bila*). And examining the applicability of this correspondence to the verbs of the types *jeti imъ* and *mrѣti mѣrъ*, it turns out that the rule, tentatively set up, that these verbs originally always had an aorist in *-tъ*, is *not* confirmed by the accentuation of the *l*-participle in Russian. We have, it is true, *jetъ* in accord with *vz’alá*, *kletъ* in accord with *kl’alá*, and also *začetъ* in accordance with *začalá*. However, *pětъ* does not agree with the stress in Russ. *rasp’ála*, and in addition we find root-stressed *l*-participles (*po)m’ála* (pres. *mnu*) and (*po)žála* (pres. *žmu*), where the corresponding aorists are not attested in Old Church Slavonic. In the same way *mrětъ* agrees with the end-stressed *l*-participle in Russian: *umerlá*. But corresponding to *prostrětъ/prostrě*, we have in Russian *prostěrla*, always with root-stress. The *l*-participle from *peréť* shows end-stress, when the meaning is ‘shut’, respectively ‘open’: *zaperlá*, *otperlá*; but in the meaning ‘press’, *peréť* has unvariably root-stress in the *l*-participle: (*pod)pěrla*; compare also Russ. dial. *zavérла*. A closer look at these verbs reveals that those having “exceptionally” root-stress in the feminine gender of the Russian *l*-participle, *pěti* ‘stretch’, *měti* ‘rub’, *žeti* (*žbmъ*) ‘squeeze’, *streći* ‘spread’, *prěti* ‘press’, all denote a modification of the object; they pertain to a narrower group of transitive verbs, the effective verbs, as we have defined that term when explaining the Greek aorists. If the state of affairs should be analogous to that found in Greek—and so far we have no reasons to expect anything else—we must assume that these effective verbs took the sigmatic aorist in Proto-Slavic rather than the root aorist; in all likelihood they had not, originally, any 2–3 sg. aor. in *-tъ*, and consequently we shall not even expect any end-stress in the feminine gender of the *l*-participle.

The guaranteed root aorists should then show affinity with the ineffective meaning. Since there is no sharp border-line between the effective and the ineffective meaning, we might be in doubt in isolated cases; *viti* in my view most likely belongs to the effective verbs, the meaning being ‘wind, wrap’. But otherwise

the ineffective meaning appears clearly. Some of the verbs are simply intransitive: *žiti* ‘live’, *mrěti* ‘die’, *byti* ‘be’, *-nrěti* ‘plunge’, all with convincingly documented aorists in *-tъ*. *gniti* ‘rot’ may be added, on account of *gnilá* in Russian, and furthermore *plyti* ‘float’, *slyti* ‘be known’ (OCS *pluti plovq*, *sluti slovq* must be considered secondary as compared with ORuss. *plyti plovu*, *slyti slovu*) on the basis of Russ. *plylá*, *sylá*. The remainder of the verbs with guaranteed root aorists are transitive, but do no involve any real change of the object: *jeti* ‘take’, *dati* ‘give’, *kleti* ‘curse’, *pěti* ‘sing’, *-četi* ‘begin’. As for *jasti* ‘eat’, *piti* ‘drink’, *žrěti* ‘swallow’, a change of the object is involved, but the object does not lie distinctly outside the subject; the process takes place in the subject itself. All these verbs with guaranteed root aorists are ineffective. We are concerned with a small group of verbs only, but what we have found is confirmed by the fact that Greek verbs of a similar meaning take the strong aorist, or a middle future at least.

The opposition of stress *zaperlá* : *upěrla* is interesting; *zaperél'* ‘shut’ does not denote any real influence upon the object, and *zaperlá* may indicate the original existence of a root aorist, but what we are dealing with here is probably nothing but a very recent shift of meaning, the original meaning of the verb having been, to all appearance, ‘exert a pressure against, barricade’. However, we have another opposition of stress, that between *bylá* and *zabýla*, which beyond all doubt is old, as a corresponding opposition is attested in Old Church Slavonic in the 2. and 3. sg. aorist: *bystъ* : *zaby*. This opposition has by Stang been suggested to reflect an old opposition between root aorist and sigmatic aorist,¹ an explanation I find completely convincing. This opposition seems to be comparable to Gk. ἔφυν : ἔφυσα, not only formally, but also semantically. We might object one thing, of course: *zabyti* is transitive, but the meaning ‘forget’ is as ineffective as it can be. Apparently, however, we shall not give too much weight to the special meaning of the prefixed verb, as it would be an entirely unique phenomenon that the prefixation of a verb should affect its flexion. I find it most appropriate to assume the existence of an aorist **by* going back to a sigmatic aorist and having an effective (or at any rate transitive) meaning

¹ Stang, *Verbum*, p. 72.

in contradistinction to *bystə* ‘factus est’, and from this transitive **by*, which, in competition with the causative *baviti*, did not hold its ground, *zaby* may have arisen by prefixation; compare Czech *vybaviti si* (*v paměti*) ‘recall (to one’s mind)’. In the present there is no differentiation apart from the prefix: *zabqdø* as *bqdø*. Perhaps there originally also existed a different flexion in the present; in this connection it must be borne in mind that Slavic does not, in historical time, distinguish between active and middle endings, but also other possibilities of an original distinction between present forms may be allowed for. At any rate I find the correspondence between Gk. ἔφυσα : ἔφυν and Slav. -*by* : *bystə* guaranteed. Machek gives a different explanation.¹

In a previous article² I have suggested the identity between the Slavic endings -*tə*, -*stə*, and the Hittite endings -*ta*, -*sta* in the 2. and 3. sg. preterite from the *hi*-verbs. The same has been suggested by V. N. Toporov.³ But this identification of course does not settle definitively the questions that have been put forward as to the provenance of the ending -*tə* in the 2. and 3. sg. aorist in Slavic (or of the corresponding Hittite endings). If the considerations we have developed above are correct, the ending in view is most likely a middle ending, and it is noteworthy that previous scholars, without being aware of the middle character of the verbs concerned, have operated precisely with middle endings to explain the ending -*tə* in the 2. and 3. sg. aorist and suggested a connection with the ending of the 2. sg. perfect⁴ or with the secondary middle ending of the 3. sg.⁵

The above interpretation of the root aorist is based on the assumption that it may have been generalized, in Old Church Slavonic, to all verbs of the types *jeti imq* and *mrëti mbraq*. I want to remark that the criterion I have utilized in order to screen out some of the aorists in -*tə* as generalized is not, perhaps, quite conclusive, as we find discrepancy, also elsewhere, between the Old Church Slavonic aorist and the stress in the feminine gender of the *l*-participle in Russian. Despite 2–3 sg. aor. *jastə*, *pětə*, we

¹ V. Machek, *Etyologický slovník jazyka českého a slovenského*, Prague 1957, sub *zabyti sč.*

² “Die e/o-Verba im Slavischen”, *Scando-Slavica* 7, 1961, p. 284.

³ V. N. Toporov, “K voprosu ob évoljucii slavjanskogo i baltijskogo glagola”, *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija* 5, 1961, p. 69.

⁴ Stang, *Verbum*, p. 222.

⁵ R. Nahtigal, *Slovenski jeziki* I², Ljubljana 1952, p. 91, 97.

have in Russian *éla*, *péla* with root-stress, and conversely *li* (*liti* ‘pour’) does not agree with Russ. *lilá* (Serbo-Croatian shows root-stress *lila*, but end-stress is attested in the dialect of Dubrovnik, and also in Slovenian; the application of the verb in the intransitive meaning ‘pour, rain’ is probably irrelevant in this connection). The accentuation of older Russian texts unfortunately has not been examined to a desirable extent, but L. L. Vasil'jev gives the stress *rasp'alá*.¹

I expressly call attention to the fact that the root aorist in *-tō* cannot be a main argument of our thesis that the strong aorist was a formation having in itself an ineffective meaning, as this meaning might be said to be expressed already by the ending, if *-tō* represents a middle ending.²

The e/o-Aorist.

According to Stang, the verbs with the thematic aorist have “eine relative klare Gebrauchssphäre: die medial-intransitive und perfektive (bzw. determinative)”.³ In an earlier study⁴ I followed Stang in this determination, but I left the middle meaning out of account, finding it possible to define the Slavic *e/o*-aorist as the aorist of intransitive and (or) terminative verbs. To operate with a middle meaning appeared to me to be a superfluous complication and still appears to me to be so, as far as only a description of the Slavic state of affairs is concerned. In what precedes, however, I have pointed out that the Greek strong aorist, including the *e/o*-aorist, is not always intransitive, but still, even in a

¹ L. L. Vasil'jev, “Zametka ob akcentovke nesklonjaemogo pričastija na -ó”, *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija* 360,8 = 1905, avgust, p. 465.

² From recent years' investigations of the Slavic aorist in *-tō* I want to cite C. Watkins, “Transitive and intransitive in the Celtic preterite passive, Slavic root aorist, and Germanic weak preterite”, *Ériu* 19, 1962, pp. 25ff. (connects the aorist in *-tō* with the IE *to*-participle), V. A. Dybo, “O drevnejšej metatonii v slavjanskem glagole”, *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1958, No. 6, pp. 55ff., id., “Udarenie slavjanskogo glagola i formy staroslavjanskogo aorista”, *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija* 30, 1961, pp. 33ff., id., “Sokrashenie dolgot v kel'to-italijskikh jazykach i ego značenie dlja balto-slavjanskoj i indoevropejskoj akcentologii”, *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija* 5, 1961, pp. 9ff., id., “O rekonstrukcii udarenija v praslavjanskem glagole”, *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija* 6, 1962, pp. 3ff. (on accentuation), R. Aizetmüller, “Über Präfixe bei nicht-durativen Verben vom Typus *mrěti*”, *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 30, 1962, pp. 310ff. (considers the verbs of the types *mrěti mřgo*, *jeti imo* non-durative).

³ Stang, *Verbum*, p. 63.

⁴ *Scando-Slavica* 7, p. 269.

transitive function, to a very great extent is middle and that it follows the Homeric perfect in being ineffective. So it would be desirable to examine to what extent the verbs taking the *e/o*-aorist in Slavic are middle, respectively ineffective.

Leaving out for a moment the verbs with the infinitive in *-nötī*, we may state that the verbs which in Slavic take the *e/o*-aorist are really ineffective. *idō*, *jadō*, *legō*, *sědō*, *lězō*, *padō* are the aorists of intransitive verbs (the respective present forms are: *idō* ‘go’ and *jadō* ‘go, ride’ with a dental enlargement lacking in the infinitive *iti*, *jachati*; *legō* ‘lie down’ and *sēdō* ‘sit down’ with nasal infix; *lězō* ‘creep’, *padō* ‘fall’). *-rěsti* with a nasal infix in the *je/o*-present *-reštō*, aor. *-rětō*, probably, as a simplex, has been an intransitive verb of motion;¹ the prefixed verb is transitive but still ineffective: *obrěsti* ‘find’, *priobrěsti* ‘win, gain’, *sørěsti* ‘meet’. *mošti*, pres. *mogō*, aor. *mogō* ‘be able’ is ineffective, whether considered transitive or not. *vrěsti vržgō vržgō* ‘throw’ and *krasti kradō kradō* ‘steal’ are transitive, but do not involve any change of the object (compare *krasti* with *dati* ‘give’ and *jeti* ‘take’, cited above for their root aorists). The meaning is throughout ineffective, and the corresponding Greek verbs have the strong aorist or, in any case, a middle future.

The verbs with the infinitive in *-nötī*, in their turn, are always, as far as consonantal roots are concerned, capable of appearing with the *e/o*-aorist, and this aorist is also the one most frequently met with. The vocalic roots, as we know, maintain the nasal element in the aorist, and in the past participles; the consonantal roots may also maintain the nasal element throughout the flexion. From an Indo-European point of view the nasal element, a present formant, has nothing to do in the aorist, nor in the infinitive. The aorist in *-nočhō* must be an innovation, but on the other hand it is questionable whether it always takes the place of an earlier strong aorist, a fact which to some degree complicates our problem.

I find it expedient, at this point of our examination, to take a look at the role played by the nasal elements in the present. It is indisputable that originally we had only one nasal element *-n-* (conventionally referred to as an infix; according to Benveniste to be regarded as an “élargissement” inserted between root and

¹ A. Vaillant, “L'imparfait slave et les prétérits en *-ě-* et en *-ā-*”, *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique* 40, 1938, p. 25.

suffix).¹ And corresponding to this unity of form we might assume the existence of one general meaning, say the terminative. As far as the individual languages are concerned, we must, however, operate with different nasal suffixes such as *-nā-*, *-neu-*, as well as a nasal infix, and this differentiation may reflect a late Indo-European development. As to voice the different nasal formants seem to me to have taken up a different position. Kronasser treats the various nasal formations as equivalent and assumes that they have originally been transitive throughout the Indo-European area,² but this theory does not apply to the languages dealt with here, Greek, Slavic, and Baltic. In Greek the verbs in *-νυμι* and *-ημι* rather manifestly tend to be transitive, and their aorist is regularly sigmatic, e. g. κεράννυμι/κίρνημι ἔκέρασα. The verbs in *-νω* and *-άνω*, in their turn, show an equally pronounced tendency to appear in an intransitive function, or ineffective meaning at least, e. g. δύνω/δύομαι ἔδυν : δύω ἔδυσα, τυγχάνω ἔτυχον : τεύχω ἔτευξα, λαμβάνω/λάζομαι ἔλαβον, ἐρυγγάνω/ἐρεύγομαι ἤρυγον.

In Slavic the verbs with a nasal infix are ineffective (see above), whereas the *ne/o*-present apparently represents a fusion of different nasal formations. Verbs with the *neu*-suffix may have played a role here, as suggested by the past participle passive in *-nov-enə*. I find it probable that it is the same suffix *-nov-* which, in the form *-nq-*, appears in the other past participles, in the aorist and in the infinitive, being generalized from presents with this suffix. In Slavic, exactly as in Greek and other Indo-European languages, this suffix probably was characteristic of transitive verbs. The fact that it occurs in a passive participle suggests transitivity, and the consonantal roots more constantly appearing with *-nov-/nq-* in the aorist and the past participles, *drəznoti* ‘venture’ (past part. pass. *drəznenaja*), *kosnoti* ‘touch’ (past part. pass. *neprikosnoveny*), *sěknотi* ‘hew’, are in so far transitive, but—note—also perfective. The vocalic roots, which with the exception of *stati stang* ‘take a stand’ obligatorily maintain the nasal element in

¹ E. Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen* I, Paris 1935, p. 159ff.

² H. Kronasser, *Die Nasalpräsentia und Kretschmers objektive Konjugation im Indogermanischen*, Sitzungsberichte der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. 235,2, Vienna 1960.

the past participles and the aorist, are likewise first of all perfective. Stang, too, stresses the perfective value of the verbs with a nasal element throughout the flexion.¹ Nasal verbs, such as *sěknǫti* ‘hew’, *gryznǫti* ‘bite’, *tl̥knǫti* ‘strike’, arisen as perfectivizations from imperfective verbs with *e/o*-present and sigmatic aorist (*sěkø* *sěchz*) and conveying specially the single, non-iterated action consistently retain the nasalization throughout the flexion; without the nasal element in the past participles and the aorist it would not have been possible, in those forms, to distinguish them from the corresponding imperfective verbs. These nasal verbs are, like their imperfective counterparts, transitive (and effective), but it is highly questionable whether they have had any *e/o*-aorist; their aorist (*sěknochz*) appears to have been derived from the sigmatic aorist (*sěchz*) by simply suffixing *-nq-* to the root. A similar state of affairs is represented by a few other effective nasal verbs: *tɔknǫti* pf. ‘thrust’ from *tɔkati* *tɔkø*, and *gɔnqti* pf. ‘bend’, apparently formed on the basis of *gɔbatı* (*sɔgɔbalz*), whose present fails to be attested and whose aorist was scarcely an *e/o*-aorist; in these verbs, however, the nasal element was not compulsory in the past participles and the aorist, as the forms were still distinguishable from the corresponding forms of the primary verbs having the suffix *-a-*, and we do find in the aorist *potɔkø* alongside with *potɔknqšø*. The verbs cited here, *sěknǫti*, *gryznǫti*, *tl̥knǫti*, *tɔknǫti*, and *gɔnqti*, seem, besides *trɔgnqti* ‘tear’ (see below), to be the only Old Church Slavonic nasal verbs showing a more pronounced effective meaning, but they are to be considered recent.

On the other hand, we find that the intransitive nasal verbs denoting a change of state do not maintain the nasal element in the aorist and the past participles, as far as the verbs with a nasal infix (*legø*, *sedø*) and *stang* are concerned, respectively are not attested or, less frequently, occur with this formant in the aorist and the past participles, as far as the consonantal roots with *ne/o*-present are concerned. In the latter group we have to do with quite a few verbs, *vyknqti* ‘get used to’, *gybnqti* ‘perish’, *sɔchnqti* ‘get dry’, *gasnqti* ‘cease to burn’, *zebnqti* ‘sprout’, etc., and as a rule they are imperfective. These verbs, or at any rate the majority of them, originally, as has been convincingly de-

¹ Stang, *Verbum*, p. 56.

monstrated by Tedesco, took the *je/o*-present, and the replacement of the *je/o*-present with the *ne/o*-present may be followed in Old Church Slavonic itself.¹ Consequently aorists with *-nq-* are very recent and do not, in this case, indicate an originally sigmatic aorist; we may conclude that the *e/o*-aorist, the most frequently attested aorist, is also the original aorist. This agrees with the intransitive function of the verbs in question.

We have also a few transitive verbs with a consonantal root and *ne/o*-present that more constantly occur without nasal enlargement in the aorist and the past participles. If the less frequent appearance of the nasal enlargement in those forms is to be considered to indicate that the *e/o*-aorist was the original aorist, they, too, must be expected to show an ineffective meaning. *stignqtì* pf. ‘attain’ is pronouncedly ineffective, but *dvignqtì* pf. ‘raise’ and *tēgnqtì* ‘pull’ do not involve any modification of the object either, denoting only a change of place. *tēgnqtì* is imperfective, and the combination of transitive and imperfective value is suspicious; the verb, however, also appears in an intransitive application ‘be heavy’, and this might be the primary meaning; compare ON *bungr* ‘heavy’. To be sure, *trzgnqtì* pf. ‘tear’ is an effective verb, but may be accounted for on a phonic basis: all the roots mentioned end in *-g-*.

The fact that some consonantal roots retain the nasal element in the aorist and the past participles, and others do not, should not, indeed, be considered decisive; these forms in my view are in themselves perfective, and the suffixation of *-nq-* to convey the perfective aspect ought to be superfluous, apart from such cases as *sēknqtì*, in which the verb indicates more specially the single, non-iterated action. Which of the forms is used, the short or the long one, often seems to be a matter of chance. It may be added that *kosnqtì* ‘touch’ and *drzsnqtì* ‘venture’, even though they frequently show the suffix *-nq-* in the forms in question, do not indicate a modification of the object. In the same way *rygnqtì* ‘belch’ is ineffective. In these cases the *e/o*-aorist may be considered old; compare Gk. ἐρυγγάνω ἔρυγον.

All these reflections lead us to the conclusion that the *e/o*-aorist was ineffective to the same extent as the Greek *e/o*-aorist,

¹ P. Tedesco, “Slavic *ne*-Presents from Older *je*-Presents”, *Language* 24, 1948, pp. 346 ff.

and as a verb in Slavic has in principle only one aorist, this determination is valid also for the verb as a whole, when it takes the *e/o*-aorist. The verbs concerned have usually a nasal present. The nasal verbs are, roughly, ineffective, but certain, apparently very recent perfectivizations, *sěknǫti*, *gryznǫti*, *tl̥knǫti*, *gžnǫti*, are effective; their aorist seems to have been an aorist in *-nǫchъ* from the very beginning; these perfectivizations in all likelihood originate from effective *neu*-verbs, with extension of the suffix to the aorist; primitively they had scarcely any connection with the *e/o*-aorist, being associated more likely with the sigmatic aorist.

As the Greek *e/o*-aorist is rather often associated with presents in *-vw*, *-ɔvw*, which also in general show a pronounced tendency to appear with an ineffective value, I am inclined to believe that the Slavic *ne/o*-present is to be compared with precisely those nasal formations in Greek, plausibly closely related also from a phonic point of view. Stang assumes that the verbs with an *ne/o*-present and short forms in the aorist go back to verbs with the *nā*-present, and refers to the Germanic intransitive nasal formations.¹ In Germanic, however, the *nā*-suffix appears to have been generalized to the detriment of other nasal suffixes. We cannot trace the Germanic development in details, but judging from the languages exhibiting also other nasal suffixes, the *nā*-element was not primitively associated with an intransitive or middle value.

The Sigmatic Aorist.

The sigmatic aorist has been generalized to a very high degree, in Slavic just as in Greek, and in the historically documented period it shows no specific meaning in addition to the aoristic aspect. As consonantal roots may occur in Old Church Slavonic both with the sigmatic aorist and the *e/o*-aorist, to the effect that some of them have the sigmatic aorist and others the *e/o*-aorist (a vacillation between the two types of aorists is extremely rare), an analysis of the sigmatic aorists from consonantal roots may reveal the original semantic sphere of this aorist. As I have pointed out previously,² consonantal roots taking the *e/o*-flexion

¹ Stang, *Verbum*, pp. 58f.

² *Scando-Slavica* 7, p. 266, 271.

in the present and sigmatic forms in the aorist (apart from the 2. and 3. sg. aorist, which has the *e/o*-flexion and root-stress as the present) are, with very few exceptions, transitive. My material comprises the verbs with documented sigmatic aorists and the verbs that in Serbo-Croatian have the corresponding root-stressed *e/o*-form in the 2. and 3. sg. aorist. The exceptions are *grësti* 'go' (S-Cr. 2–3 sg. aor. *grëde*), which was originally defective and did not form any aorist, *rasti* 'grow' (S-Cr. *râste*), probably an old *st*-verb (compare the Baltic *st*-presents), and *tešti* 'run' (OCS *těchъ*) and *cvisti* 'bloom' (OCS *cvisъ*), which to all appearance had originally an ē-aorist (compare Lith. *tekēti tekū*, Russ. *bežáť* *begú*, Latv. *kvitēt kvitu*, Upper Sorbian *kéć*, and OCzech *ktvieti* as infinitive from the *e/o*-present). The exceptions can, then, be accounted for as recent innovations.

Otherwise the verbs concerned are transitive. A closer look at the meanings manifested by them reveals that they are nearly all at the same time effective, in the sense we have assigned to this term in our analysis of the Greek aorists. First of all I list the verbs denoting a manufacturing, such verbs being incapable of forming the *e/o*-aorist in Greek: *skubq* 'pluck', *peko* 'bake', *mlbzq* 'milk', *prędq* 'spin', *vęzq* 'tie, wreath, knit', *pletq* 'plait', *vręchq* 'thrash', and *dłzbq* 'chisel'. The following verbs may also be said to indicate a processing of the object: *gryzq* 'gnaw', *bodq* 'pierce', *strigq* 'shear', *grebq* 'dig', *sěkq* 'hew', *żegq* 'burn', *zębq* 'tear', *tlękq* 'beat', *tepq* 'beat', *gnetq* 'press', *lękq* 'bend', *vręzq* 'tie', *metq* 'sweep'. Likewise *metq* 'confuse' involves an influence on the object, even if the influence need not be intended, and *legq* 'hatch' denotes an action with consequences for the state of the object. Others of the verbs in view denote only a change of place: *tręsq* 'shake', *kladq* 'put', *nesq* 'carry', *vedq* 'lead', *vlękq* 'drag', *črąpq* 'draw (water)', *vezq* 'convey'. As to *pasq* 'pasture' and *bljudq* 'watch', they have their place in the very periphery of the effective verbs, as we can here at most speak of an occasional intervention,—not to mention *čyłq* 'read, count' and *rekq* pf. 'say', which I find directly ineffective. However, in the main the verbs are effective, and it may be assumed that the transitive group in question has arisen from a group of effective verbs. We notice that the distribution of the sigmatic aorist in Slavic may suggest that the sigmatic aorist was once the marked member of a voice opposition.

Direct oppositions between sigmatic and *e/o*-aorists from the same root may be found in Slavic, but not to the same extent as in Greek. First of all we must mention the opposition *bljusъ* : (*vъz*)*bъdъ* ‘watched’: ‘got awake’ with a parallel opposition in Greek: πούσας ‘wer Kunde gegeben hat’ Malla Coll. 5100,3,¹ as against ἐπυθόμην. Since there are no specific middle endings in Slavic, the intransitive present is acquired, as occasionally also in Greek, by nasalization (δύνω beside δύομαι as the present to ἔδυν versus δύω ἔδυσα, τυγχάνω ἔτυχον : τεύχω ἔτευξα, cf. πινθάνομαι/πεύθομαι ἐπυθόμην : πεύθω πούσας), and the opposition appears in the present as *bljudъ* : *-bъnqъ*. The opposition is guaranteed also in *vęzъ* : *vęzъ*, pres. *vęzqъ* tr. ‘tie’ : *vęznqъ* intr. ‘catch’, and most likely we have to do with a similar opposition of voice in *lęchъ* : *lękъ*, pres. *lękqъ* tr. ‘bend’ : *lęknqъ* (*sę*) ‘shrink back’, and in *zębqъ* tr. ‘tear, break up’ : *zębnqъ* ‘sprout’, even if the semantic contiguity is less striking here. Finally we may assume the existence of an opposition *-nisъ* : *-nъzъ*, *-nъzъ* being attested in intransitive application as against *-nъzqъ/-nъznqъ* tr. ‘penetrate’.²

3. Baltic

It has long been recognized that transitivity plays an important part in the Baltic conjugation. Already Bielenstein and Leskien saw and utilized this in treating the Latvian and Lithuanian verb.³ Their description of the verbal system was somewhat brief and summary owing to a restricted scope. Their aim was only that of classifying the verbs, and the present form was their point of departure. As the formation of the preterite is to a large extent dependent on the form of the present stem, the voice of the preterite stems had in the main, by this classification, been defined, too. Endzelin, however, was the first to state explicitly that also the preterite was differentiated according to transitivity.⁴ The

¹ E. Fraenkel, “Zur *eu*-Erweiterung indogermanischer Wurzeln”, *Mélanges Émile Boisacq 1 = Annaire de l’Institut de philologie et d’histoire orientales et slaves* 5, 1937, p. 370.

² A. Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave 1*, Paris 1948, p. 279.

³ See A. Leskien, *Der Ablaut der Wurzelsilben im Litauischen*, Abhandlungen d. philol.-hist. Cl. d. Königl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 9,4, Leipzig 1884, p. 409.

⁴ J. Endzelin, “Zum lettischen Präteritum”, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* (= *KZ*) 43, 1910, p. 34.

different flexion of transitive and intransitive verbs furthermore became the leitmotif of Stang's thorough examination of the Baltic verb¹ and has been subject to a continued discussion in recent research.²

In Baltic we very often find a contradistinction between two related verbs, one of which has the ē-preterite and the other the ā-preterite. As a rule we are then concerned with an opposition of transitivity, so that the verb with the ē-preterite is transitive, the verb with the ā-preterite intransitive. In the present the opposition regularly manifests itself as a contrast between *je/o*-present (transitive) and a nasal or *st*-present (intransitive). Examples: *baudžiū* *baudžiaū* tr. 'chastise' : *bundù* *budaū* intr. 'awake', *lenkiū* *lenkiaū* tr. : *linkstù* *linkaū* intr. 'bend'.

Some scholars regard the ē-preterite as a special form of the ā-preterite. On the basis of the association between the ē-preterite and the *je/o*-present, the advocates of this view assume that the present formant *-j-* has penetrated into the preterite and caused a change *-jā- > -ē-*.³ I find it highly improbable that exactly this present formant, and no others, should spread to the preterite, where in principle the present formants have nothing to do, and in addition it would be difficult to account for the ē-preterites from *e/o*-presents, such as *vedžiaū* from *vedù*. I therefore follow Endzelin and Stang in assuming that the ē-preterite and the ā-preterite represent two genetically disparate preterite formations.

On the semantic level the Baltic opposition of transitivity between two preterites from the same root bears resemblance to the opposition of voice we have found in Greek and Slavic between the sigmatic and the strong aorist. From a formal point of view, however, there seems to be no conformity between the Baltic and the Greek data, nor between the Baltic and the Slavic

¹ Chr. S. Stang, *Das slavische und baltische Verbum*, Oslo 1943.

² P. Arumaa, "Von der Eigenart des Ablauts und der Diathese im Baltischen", *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 26, 1957, pp. 118ff., Chr. S. Stang, "Die athematischen Verba im Baltischen", *Scando-Slavica* 8, 1962, pp. 161ff. In his *Vergleichende Grammatik der Baltischen Sprachen*, Oslo 1966, Stang has changed his view on some points; I have not been able to benefit from that book, but some of Stang's new thoughts concerning the preterites have been known to me from correspondence and oral communications. See also W. P. Schmied, "Baltische Beiträge", *IF* 71, 1966, pp. 286ff., and 72, 1967, pp. 116ff.

³ Cf. Fr. Kurschat, *Grammatik der litauischen Sprache*, Halle 1876, § 1077, A. Vaillant, *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique* 42, Comptes rendus, pp. 156f., W. R. Schmalstieg, "Baltic *ei* and Depalatalization", *Lingua* 9, 1960, pp. 265–266.

ones, otherwise so often related: Lith. *baudžiù je/o-present*, Slav. *bljudø e/o-present*; *baudžiaū ē-preterite*, *bljusz̄ sigmatic aorist*; *bundù present with nasal infix*, *-bənq̄ present with nasal suffix*; *budaū ā-preterite*, *-bəd̄ e/o-aorist*.

It might be assumed that the Baltic oppositions of transitivity had arisen without any genetic connection with the corresponding Slavic phenomena, either entirely independently or as the result of a merely structural influence from Slavic. But the question of a genetic connection ought to be examined more closely. As long as also Slavic shows a *je/o-present*, a present with a nasal infix, an *ē-* and *ā-preterite*, it is necessary to examine to what extent there is a functional agreement between those formants in Baltic and Slavic. Only such a comparison can provide us with more cogent arguments to settle the question whether the Baltic distinction may date back to a distinction between the sigmatic and the strong aorist. As we have no direct attestation of these aorists in Baltic,¹ it goes without saying that what we shall be able to present as a solution will be only a more or less probable, tentative hypothesis.

The ā-Preterite.

Examining the possibility of a genetic connection between the oppositions of transitivity in Slavic and Baltic, we have a fairly firm point of departure in the nasal present. In Baltic the nasal element is infixated, but nasal infixes are found in Slavic, too, and in the same function as the nasal suffix, ordinarily met with in Slavic. *legø* 'lie down' and *sqdø* 'sit down' do not differ in voice from *lbnq̄* 'cling', *-bənq̄* 'awake', *vəznq̄* 'stick', etc., see pp. 24 ff. Consequently the question of infixation or suffixation can be left out.

In Baltic the nasal presents as well as the *st*-presents, which are equivalent to them, show a more pronounced ineffective meaning than the nasal presents in Slavic do. This is probably due to the fact that in Baltic the nasal element has not the

¹ Some scholars assume that the "short" forms of the preterites existing both in Lithuanian and Latvian dialects reflect old non-sigmatic aorists. These preterites, however they are to be explained, are of little importance for the argumentation of the present study. See J. Kazlauskas, "Ostatki formy 3-go lica aorista i imperfekta v baltijskikh jazykach", *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1962, No. 6, pp. 92 ff., with references to further literature.

additional function of perfectivizing the verb, a function which is so predominant in Slavic that even effective verbs may be perfectivized by nasalization (*tl̥knq* : *tl̥kq* ‘beat, knock’). The Baltic nasal and *st*-presents are in an overwhelming majority simply intransitive, as is apparent from any list of Baltic verbs, and in most cases they are at the same time inchoative; compare *švintù švitaū* ‘grow light, break as the day’ as opposed to *švitēti* ‘be bright’. But some are transitive, or occur with an object at least. These transitive nasal and *st*-verbs, however, as far as my knowledge goes, never show an effective meaning, and we are not even faced with border-cases in which there would be doubt as to whether the action is ineffective or not. The transitive verbs concerned denote perception, oblivion, change of ownership, and the like, and are clearly ineffective. Examples: *juntù jutaū* inch. ‘feel’, in OLith. also intr. ‘awake’, *iš-girstù -girdau* inch. ‘hear’, *mirštù miršaū* ‘forget’, *randù radaū* ‘find’, *mēgstu mēgau* ‘like’.

The verbs with a nasal or *st*-present all have the ā-preterite. Provided an ā-preterite is associated with a nasal or *st*-present—and this is most frequently the case—it has consequently always an ineffective meaning. But the ā-preterite also occurs with other present formations.

First of all the peculiar conjugation of the type *kertù kirtaū* should be considered. With regard to voice, these verbs seem to have at least a peripheral contact with the nasal and *st*-verbs. A number of the verbs are simply intransitive: *sniēgti/sniēga* ‘snow’, dial. *bredù* ‘wade’, *slenkù* ‘crawl, creep’, *lendù* ‘creep in, force one’s way’, *telpù* ‘get in, find room enough’, *sergù* ‘be ill’, Latv. *pērdu* (*pirdu*). Signifying slow motions, or restricted mobility, rather than inchoation in the proper sense, they deviate from the majority of the nasal and *st*-verbs, but some of them also occur with a nasal or *st*-present: *sniñga*, *brendù*, dial. *slinkstù*, dial. *tilpstù*. Other representatives of this class deviate from the majority of the nasal and *st*-verbs in being transitive, but are still ineffective. Thus *liekù*, dial. *linkù* ‘remain’, Kurschat also ‘zurücklassen’ (cf. *paliekù* ‘leave’; Latv. *lieku* ‘let, order’, with *pa-* ‘remain’), *perkù* (Širv. *pirku*) ‘buy’, *persù* ‘match, offer in marriage’, *renkù* (OPruss. *senrīnka*) ‘gather’, and *velkù* ‘drag’ do not denote any reshaping of the object; the object is the same

before and after the action. Further *kremtù* 'gnaw, crunch', *kerpù* (Širv. *kirpu*) 'clip, shear', and *kertù* (Širv. *kirtu*) 'hew' denote destructive actions. Clearly effective are *kemšù* (phonically associated with *kremtù*) 'stuff', dial. *mélžu mélžau* (liter. *mélžiu mélžiau* or *mélžiu mélžau*) 'milk', and *trenkù* 'wash (hair)'.¹

It seems out of question that verbs with a nasal or *st*-present may originally have taken the *e/o*-aorist, as they are clearly ineffective. The Slavic nasal presents are regularly associated with the *e/o*-aorist: *sədq*, aor. *sədž*.² In the same way it would be possible, I think, to assume that the verbs of the type *kertù kirtaū*, at least as far as the majority of them are concerned, may originally have had the *e/o*-aorist, as verbs with a similar meaning in Slavic and Geeek occur with the *e/o*-aorist. On the formal level it is difficult to make a comparison with Slavic, because Slavic has not preserved the Indo-European conjugation with a full-grade present and a zero-grade *e/o*-aorist. We may, on the basis of the unstable vocalism of *bredq* 'wade' (*brvbd-* being also attested) and on the basis of Polish *brnqć*, Slovakian *bídnut'*, assume the existence of a zero-grade *e/o*-aorist **brvbdž*.³ This assumption may be said to be supported by the fact that a verb of cognate meaning but with evidence for a root aorist exhibits the apophonic alteration concerned: *plyti plovo*, Russ. *plylá* 'float, swim' (see p. 21). However, *bredq* is not attested with any simple aorist (other than 2–3 sg.), neither the *e/o*-aorist, nor the sigmatic aorist, and we must also keep in mind that *žegq/žbgq* tr. 'burn' shows a similar unstable vocalism and has a documented sigmatic aorist. So the assumption of a flexion *bredq* **brvbdž* remains uncertain. In Greek, of course, we have a greater possibility of tracing the verbs with a full-grade *e/o*-present and a zero-grade *e/o*-aorist, and precisely the model example *λείπω* *ἔλιπτον* justifies our believing that the Baltic verb *liekù likaū* must have originally had an *e/o*-aorist. In addition we may quote *πέρδομαι* *ἔπαρδον*, to be compared with Latv. *pē̄du pīdu*. Verbs

¹ For a detailed discussion of this type see Stang, *Verbum*, pp. 107 ff., and Arumaa, *ZfslPh* 26, pp. 127 ff.

² The various instances of etymological accord between nasal presents in Baltic and Slavic have been recorded by I. Němec, *Genese slovanského systému vidového*, Rozpravy Československé akademie věd, řada spol. věd, 68,7, Prague 1958, pp. 41 ff.

³ Cf. V. Jagić, "Ueber einen Berührungspunkt des altslovenischen mit dem litauischen Vocalismus", *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 3, 1879, p. 96.

with a similar meaning in Baltic and Greek may be compared, too: *kerpù*, *kertù*, Gk. ἔταψον (cf. CS *načrətn̩ti* and Skt. *kr̩ntáti*, 2. sg. aor. *ákṛtaḥ*); *kremtù*, Gk. ἔδακον. The fact that *liekù* in Old Lithuanian had an athematic present (*liekmì*) is scarcely relevant in this connection. Also others of the verbs in question show a clearly secondary present form. Stang assumes, and I agree with him, that the pres. *perkù*, *persù*, with *-er-* instead of the *-re-* to be expected (compare *prekià*, *prašýti*), are renewals on the basis of zero-grade aorists.¹

From what has been said, it is legitimate to conclude that verbs which originally in Indo-European took the *e/o*-aorist in Baltic to a large extent had their present forms regulated according to the meaning; they preserved or obtained a nasal or *st*-present in inchoative meaning, but preserved or obtained a present of the type *kertù* in peripheral ineffective meaning. In this connection it should be kept in mind that presents of the type *TeRT-e/o-* in Baltic have been transformed into presents of the type *TeRT-je/o-*, as far as verbs with effective meaning are concerned (see below).

Closely attached to the flexion *kertù kirtaū* are the following verbs with apophonic alternation. Intransitive: dial. *i-delu -diliau*² for liter. *dylù dilaū* ‘wear away’, Latv. *dēlu/dilstu dilu* (ā), dial. *iš-sveli iš-sviliaū*³ for liter. *svylù svilaū* ‘scorch’, Latv. *sviļstu/* 3. pers. *svēl svilu* (ā), Latv. *dēmu/diņstu dimu* ‘dröhnen’, *-gemū/gimstu gimiaū* (Mielcke *gimau*, Latv. *dzimu* (ā)) ‘be born’, **sravù sruwaū*, provided that *srawanczio* (Daukša) is an older present formation to *srūvù sruwaū*⁴ ‘flow’ rather than to *sravēti sraviū* ‘id.’, Latv. *slavu sluvu* ‘get known’. Transitive: *menù miniaū* ‘remember’⁵ and *genù giniaū* (Latv. *dzinu* (ā)) ‘drive, turn out to grass’, both ineffective, and *vejù vijaū* ‘pursue’ and ‘twist’ (in the latter meaning the verb may be considered effective). The verbs quoted, to judge from corresponding Slavic verbs, originally had the strong aorist,—not the *e/o*-aorist, it is true, but the alternate form of the strong aorist to be expected in case of roots with a final sonant or vowel, viz. the root aorist; compare *vejù vijaū*, OCS 2–3 sg.

¹ Stang, *Verbum*, p. 108.

² Compare Arumaa, *ZfslPh* 26, p. 124.

³ Compare Arumaa, *ZfslPh* 26, p. 127.

⁴ See J. Endzelin, *Lettische Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1923, § 626.

⁵ Stang, *Verbum*, p. 111, emphasizes the middle meaning of this verb.

aor. *vit̄s*, and Latv. *slavu sluvu*, Russ. *slylá* (see p. 21). An original root aorist may be admitted also for *vérdu viriaū* (Latv. *viru* (ā)) intr. & tr. 'boil', and for *mìrštu miriaū* (Latv. *miru* (ā)) 'die', compare OCS 2–3 sg. aor. *mrět̄s*, for *būvù buvaū* 'to be' (OCS 2–3 sg. aor. *byst̄s*), and for *gjyù gjijaū* 'recover health' (OCS 2–3 sg. aor. *žit̄s*). In some cases the ā-preterite has been preserved only in Latvian, but it is generally agreed that also the Lithuanian ē-preterites, with unlengthened zero-grade in the root, date back to older ā-preterites.

The ā-preterite furthermore occurs with some verbs with the *e/o*-present and a deviating acute root vowel. Intransitive are *áugu áugau* 'grow', *bēgu* (*bēgmi*) *bēgau* (Slav. *běgnø běgø*) 'run', *púolu púoliau/dial. púolau*, Latv. *pulu* (ā) 'fall' (compare Slav. *padø padø* with a similar meaning), *sēdu sēdau* (OPruss. *sindats*, *syndens*, Slav. *sēdø sēdø*) 'sit down', *šóku/-šókstu šókau* 'jump'. *kándu kándau* 'bite' is transitive, but the object is not clearly situated outside the subject, the action taking place in the subject itself; compare Gk. δάκνω ἔδακον of a similar meaning. With *je/o*-present we have *léidžiu* (*léidmi*) *léidau/dial. léidžiau* 'let, let go' (Latv. *laīžu laīdu* (ē)), which takes an object, but does not involve any change of it; the verb is clearly ineffective. The Slavic and Greek aorists quoted suggest that these verbs originally had the *e/o*-aorist.

In many instances, however, we must assume the ā-preterite to have been generalized on the basis of phonic features, independently of the meaning of the verb. This explanation is commonly accepted as far as vocalic roots with a *je/o*-flexion are concerned and applies to all secondary verbs as well, with reservation for the type *sakýti sakau sakiaū*.¹ A generalization is likely to have taken place also in the flexion of the verbs with a zero-grade *e/o*-present: *mýgu mýgau*, *dírbu dírbau*, *brukù brukaū*, etc.; since already the present shows the zero-grade, the ā-preterite, which itself requires the zero-grade, may be considered predisposed for penetrating here; in Lithuanian dialects, however, we often find verbs of the type *brukù brukaū* attested with the ē-preterite.

Furthermore it appears that we are faced with a special Latvian generalization of the ā-preterite in cases in which the root ends in *-n-* and takes the *e/o*-present: Lith. *minù mýniau*,

¹ I agree with Stang, *Verbum*, p. 151, that this type has the ē-preterite.

Latv. *minu* (ā), Latv. dial. **mīnu* (ē). On the other hand, we must assume a corresponding Lithuanian generalization of the ē-preterite, when in this language, under similar conditions, we meet with preterites like *gimiaū* from -*gemù/gimstu* (see above) and *bariaū* from *barù* (see below).

Due attention must be paid to irregularities and exceptions, above all to the vacillation in the formation of the preterite stem from verbs with *a* as root vowel. We are faced here with ā-preterites which cannot be accounted for according to the above-mentioned semantic principles, nor as generalizations on a phonic basis.

Examples:

lakù lakiaū/Univ. *lakaū* 'lap up', Latv. *lòoku laku* (ā)

rakù rakiaū 'scratch, pick' / Kurschat *rankù rakaū* 'durch Stochern, Picken öffnen' / Lalis *rankù rakaū* 'dig, rake', Latv. *ròoku raku* (ā) 'dig'

kasù kasiaū/Univ. *kasaū* 'dig', Latv. *kašu kasu* (ā) 'rake'

ariù ariaū 'plow', Latv. *áru aru* (ā)

barù (bárm̥i) *bariaū*/dial. *baraū* 'scold', Latv. *baŕu baru* (ā)/
bāru (ē)

kalù kaliaū/dial. *kalaū* 'forge', Latv. *kal'u kalu* (ā)

malù maliaū/dial. *malaū* 'grind', Latv. *mał'u malu* (ā)

aunù aviaū/Mielecke *avaū* 'put on (shoes), put shoes on', Latv.
āunu ávu (ē)/avu (ā)

káunu kóviaū/Širv. and dial. *kavaū* 'beat', Latv. *kańju kávu* (ē)/
kavu (ā)

šáunu šóviaū/dial. *šavaū* 'shoot, push', Latv. *śańju śávu* (ē)

jáunu jóviaū 'mix', Latv. *jáńju jàvu* (ē)/javu (ā)

The verbs listed¹ have all the ē-preterite in the Lithuanian literary language, but the ā-preterite, attested by old grammarians and in dialects, as well as in Latvian, are doubtless older.² From

¹ The following variations are of a somewhat different character: *tampù* Univ. and liter. *tapaū*/dial. *tapiaū* 'become', Latv. *tòopu tapu* (ā) (for an explanation of this verb, see Chr. S. Stang, "Zum baltisch-slavischen Verbum", *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 4, 1961, p. 70); *żagiū žagiaū* / dial. *żagù žagiaū* or *żangù żagaū* 'sully' (see Arumaa, *ZfslPh* 26, p. 123), Latv. *zùogu zagu* (ā) with deviating meaning 'steal'; *ptakù plakiaū* 'whip', Latv. *płiòoku plaku* (ā) again deviates in meaning 'become flat'; *suskantù suskataū*/Mielcke *suskačiaū* 'leap up', *śqtù śalaū*/Klein 3. ps. *śálę* 'freeze'.

² For *baraū*, *kalaū*, and *malaū*, see Stang, *Verbum*, p. 107, and for *kavaū* and *šavaū*, *ibidem*, p. 48.

a semantic point of view the verbs are remarkable; they are not only transitive (effective), but at the same time denote a repeated action. We are here concerned with the meaning characteristic of primary *o*-grade verbs: the continued, rhythmically repeated action,¹ and the *ā*-preterite seems to be dependent on this specific meaning.

Some anomalies in the *je/o*-flexion, liter. *mélžiu mīlžau* ‘milk’, dial. *grúdžiu grúdau* ‘pound’, dial. *gréndžiu gréndau* ‘scrape’, dial. *grindžiū grindaū* ‘board, pave’, are to be recorded here, too. Exactly as the *o*-grade verbs mentioned they denote a long-continued, rhythmically repeated action. On the other hand we cannot entirely leave out of account that such anomalies may be due to contamination.²

Finally I want, in connection with the *ā*-preterite, to mention the verbs with a “second” stem in *-ā-*, as a second stem in *-ā-* may be supposed to result from a generalization of a preterite stem in *-ā-*. In Baltic there exist only five such verbs: *miegóti miegjù* (*miegmi*) *miegójau* ‘sleep’, *giedóti giedu* (*giemi*) *giedójau* ‘sing, crow’, *raudóti ráudu* (*ráumi*) *raudójau* ‘lament, wail’, *ieškóti ieškau* (Univ. *ieszku*) *ieškójau* ‘seek’, *sáugoti sáugau* (*sáugmi*) *sáugojau* ‘watch’. Their *ā*-preterite, ending in *-ojau*, is that expected when the infinitive stem ends in a vowel; compare also *tekēti tekù tekējau*, *séděti sédžiu sédějau*. The verbs all show the full grade throughout the flexion and denote a state as opposed to the zero-grade inchoative verbs with a nasal or *st*-present: *mingù*, *pra-gýstu*, dial. *su-rústu*, dial. *su-yškù*. Once again we have thus to do with verbs denoting continuance.

The flexion with a second stem in *-ā-* recurs in Slavic, and corresponding with *ieškóti ieškau* (Univ. *ieszku*) *ieškójau*, we have in Slavic *iskati iskɔ̄ iskachz̄*. As the number of such verbs is far greater in Slavic, it would be useful to have a closer look at the Slavic material. In a previous study³ I have pointed out that Slavic verbs with an *e/o*-present and the second stem in *-ā-* denote actions requiring a rather long time, and in some cases even perseverance, to lead to the result desired: *r̄vati* ‘tear’, *d̄brati* ‘flay’, *kovati* ‘forge’, *snovati* ‘wind’, *p̄yvati* ‘tread’, *s̄sati*

¹ See Stang, *Verbum*, pp. 39ff.

² See Endzelin, *KZ* 43, p. 32.

³ “Die *e/o*-Verba im Slavischen”, *Scando-Slavica* 7, 1961, p. 275.

'suck', *ž̄dati* 'wait for', *z̄vati* 'call', *iskati* 'seek', *ḡnati* 'chase'. All these continuative verbs are at the same time transitive, but it does not mean that the *ā*-stem as such is transitive. The transitive value of the verbs probably results only from the co-existence with the *e/o*-present.¹ With another present form the verb may be intransitive: *s̄pati s̄pljō s̄p̄iši* (: -*s̄noti*) 'sleep'. As for the regular association of a second stem in -*ā*- with the *je/o*-present, it must be admitted to be due to a generalization, to a large extent; but also in this class we very often meet with verbs signifying a long-continued, respectively rhythmically repeated action: *p̄sati* 'write', *lbzati* 'lick', *tesati* 'hew', *česati* 'comb', *orati* 'plow', *zobati* 'peck up', *alkati* 'starve', *stenati* 'groan', *dr̄mati* 'doze', etc., and I suppose that precisely this continuative value, formerly perhaps even more characteristic of this verb class, has been the basis for creating imperfective verbs with the *je/o*-present and the infinitive in -*ati* from perfective verbs with the strong aorist, e. g. *imati emljō* from *jeti* 'take', *d̄chatī dušō* from *d̄chnōti* 'breathe, blow', *l̄egati l̄ěžō* from *l̄esti l̄ěgō* 'lie down'.

In Slavic the second stem in -*ā*- very often shows the zero grade, a vocalism expected also from an Indo-European standpoint, and it seems strange that only full-grade *ā*-stems, such as *miegóti*, have been reflected in Baltic. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Baltic representatives occur as stative verbs, and here the full-grade vocalism, alternating with the zero-grade vocalism of the corresponding inchoative verbs, plays a role.

We may, of course, regard the very restricted number of verbs with a second stem in -*ā*- in Baltic as the last residuum of a group originally more widely extended, but it is also quite possible that second stems in -*ā*- have not been developed in Baltic to the same extent as in Slavic and that the Baltic verbs which from a Slavic standpoint might be expected to have had a second stem in -*ā*-, in many cases show a more primitive flexion with suffixation of -*ā*- only in the preterite itself. Several scholars also maintain that the Baltic preterite stem in -*ā*-, in some cases at least, corresponds with a second stem in -*ā*- in Slavic.

I find this view correct. It may be assumed that the second stem in -*ā*-, in Slavic and in Baltic the basis of the non-present

¹ The present of *sr̄ati serg* and Russ. *vrat'* 'vru' 'lie' probably goes back to an earlier *je/o*-present, compare Russ. *serú/sefú* and Slovenian *sérjem*.

forms of the verb, represents a generalization of an *-ā-* found originally in the preterite indicative only. Sometimes, in Slavistics, we refer to this preterite, an asigmatic predecessor of *žbdachz*, *szsachz*, etc., as an *ā*-aorist, but the term can be misleading. There are no indications that the *ā*-preterite existed in Indo-European as an aorist, nor can we speak in the earlier stages of Slavic, before a new imperfect came into existence, of an aoristic application. It is difficult to tell whether the *ā*-preterite has at the very outset had a meaning of its own, but since in Slavic as well as in Baltic, verbs with a second stem in *-ā-* denote a long-continued action, as pointed out above, continuance has probably been a dominant semantic feature of the *ā*-preterite, too. I assume, then, a Balto-Slavic *ā*-preterite with a continuative value.

It is doubtful, however, to what degree the Baltic *ā*-preterite, as the direct successor of that Balto-Slavic *ā*-preterite, may be said to be continuative. We can state, of course, that the *ā*-preterite of the *o*-grade verbs, which denote a rhythmically repeated action, the verbs of the type *lakù lakaū* mentioned above, is fully understandable as a continuative preterite. Some of these verbs have etymological parallels in Slavic with a second stem in *-ā-*, compare Balt. *káju kavaū*, Slav. *kovɔ/kujɔ kovati*; *šáju šavaū, sujɔ sovati*; Latv. *arú aru (ā)*, *orjɔ orati*; *lakù lakaū*, ORuss. *loču lokati*; *kasù kasaū, češo česati*. But inasmuch as the verbs concerned are transitive at the same time, they may in Slavic also have the sigmatic aorist: *koljɔ*, 2–3 sg. aor. *kla* (without *-tɔ*), to be compared with Balt. *kalù kalaū*.

Also many other verbs with the *ā*-preterite denote continuance. The *o*-grade is not, of course, to be understood as a necessary precondition for the occurrence of this meaning, which, then, may be responsible for the *ā*-preterite in other cases, too. This explanation is particularly probable in instances in which Slavic cognates show a second stem in *-ā-*. Thus we have Latv. *dženu dzinu (ā)*, comparable with Slav. *ženɔ gənati*. As for *sukù sukaū*, ordinarily equated with Russ. *sku skat'*,¹ I see no grounds for

¹ The Russian present form is scarcely old; compare Russ. *Igu* for OCS *lvɔžo*. A. Vailant, *Manuel du vieux slave* 1, Paris 1948, p. 262, gives the flexion *suče-skati*. In Czech, too, the flexion *súču skáti* has probably been the original one, as J. Gebauer, *Historická mluvnice jazyka českého* 3,2³, Prague 1958, adduces no examples for the present stem sub *sku*, *sčeš* (*ščeš*) ... *skáti* and conversely sub *sukati* gives evidence for the present stem only.

denying that the *ā*-preterite here corresponds with a Slavic *ā*-stem, but it should be noticed that in Lithuanian dialects we also find the *ē*-preterite *sukiaū*. The durative value also, of course, exists with some intransitive verbs: *álkstu* (*álkmi*) *álkau* 'hunger', Slav. *alčq alkati*.

However, the great majority of Baltic verbs showing the *ā*-preterite, viz. all the verbs with a nasal or *st*-present which indicate inchoation rather than continuance in action or state, must be accounted for in a different way. How can we explain that these verbs, which must be supposed originally to have had an *e/o*-aorist, regularly show the *ā*-preterite in Baltic? I see no reasons for speaking of any transformation or enlargement of the *e/o*-aorist into an *ā*-preterite, nor of a replacement of the *e/o*-aorist by the *ā*-preterite. We must assume that the *e/o*-aorist and the *ā*-preterite once existed side by side, that these verbs took both the *e/o*-aorist and the *ā*-preterite, and that there existed a semantic contrast between the two preterites, as long as the *e/o*-aorist was intact. Only after the *e/o*-aorist had disappeared, perhaps owing to phonic circumstances,¹ and the *ā*-preterite remained as the only preterite of those verbs, it became a preterite capable of rendering all preterite functions. As for the concrete character of the opposition which I assume to have existed between the two preterites, I believe it has been a special aspectual opposition on the preterite level, an opposition very similar to the opposition known in other languages as an opposition between aorist and imperfect. In this connection I attach no weight to a possibly inherited aoristic meaning of the *e/o*-aorist, which must be highly questionable in view of the slight traces left by the Indo-European imperfect in Balto-Slavic. What leads me to posit an aspectual opposition is the continuative value of the *ā*-preterite; if opposed to another preterite, *in casu* the *e/o*-preterite, it has most likely played the role of an imperfect.

At this point a question of particular interest arises: Is the

¹ Compare Endzelin, *Le. Gr.*, § 679. There is certainly a connection between the fact that Baltic does not distinguish between present and preterite personal endings and the loss of the *e/o*-preterite. But it is difficult to decide what is cause and what is effect. It is possible to imagine, too, that the difference between present and preterite personal endings has been abandoned only after the special preterite stems in *-ē-* and *-ā-* having wholly occupied the preterite, and that it was their clear formal contrast as against the present stems that rendered superfluous a distinction in the personal endings.

assumption of an opposition aorist : imperfect supported by Slavic data? A comparison between the Slavic opposition aorist : imperfect gives us an impression that the preterites known in Slavic as aorists have been abandoned in Baltic and that what has been preserved in Baltic is former imperfects closely related to the Slavic imperfects. Thus, as many scholars have pointed out, Balt. *ieškójau* and *sédéjau* are more similar to the Slavic imperfects *iskaachъ*, *sěděachъ* than to the aorists *iskachъ*, *sěděchъ*, and in the same way the ē-preterite *vedžiaū* bears resemblance to the Slavic imperfect *veděachъ* (: aor. *věsъ*). But precisely in the case of verbs with the strong aorist (the *e/o*-aorist or the root aorist), things are rather complicated in Slavic.

In Slavic the imperfects from verbs with the strong aorist do not end in *-aachъ* as might be expected if the point of departure were the ā-preterite, but end in *-ěachъ*. On the other hand, I think there are all grounds for questioning the ancientness of these imperfects. We are here often concerned with perfective verbs, and their imperfects have a most restricted frequency; in the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Gospels, *daděachъ* is the only sure example. Imperfects from perfective verbs, such as *děchněachъ*, *paděachъ*, show, to the extent they occur, an entirely special meaning and signify the non-accomplished reiteration of an accomplished action. This function, to all appearance, has come into being only after the distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs had been established.¹ Moreover, the very form of the imperfects from verbs with the strong aorist gives rise to doubt concerning their ancientness. In forms like *děchněachъ*, *iděachъ*, and *daděachъ* elements (nasal infix, *d*-enlargement, present reduplication) which were originally present formants, are linked up with an element *-ē-*, which was not a present formant. I suppose that such imperfects were possible only after the nasal element and the *d*-enlargement had been generalized so as to occur also in the aorist. As for the type *sěchněti*, the occurrence of the imperfect cannot be surprising, these verbs being imperfective, but none the less the very form *sěchněachъ* is very late, as the nasal present has here replaced,

¹ J. S. Maslov, "Imperfekt glagolov soveršennogo vida v slavjanskich jazykach", *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija* 1, 1954, p. 137.

in most cases at least, an older *je/o*-present.¹ In my opinion, then, the Slavic imperfects in *-ěachъ* attested from verbs with the strong aorist are all more or less recent and do not disprove our assumption of the *ā*-preterite as a former imperfect in Baltic.

However, we need not content ourselves with this statement. We should not overlook the fact that what functions in Slavic as the normal imperfect to an aorist from a perfective verb is, in virtue of the Slavic aspect system, the imperfect from the corresponding imperfective verb. Consequently we must examine the question whether the Baltic *ā*-preterite does not more likely agree with the imperfect from the imperfective counterparts of perfective verbs with the strong aorist.

A connection between the Baltic *ā*-preterite and Slavic imperfective verbs has already been suggested by Leumann.² He compares the Baltic *ā*-preterites *-stójau* (pres. *-stóju*), *sédau* (pres. *sédu*), *běgau* (pres. *běgu*) with the infinitive stem in *-ā-* of *stajati stajo*, *sědati sědajø*, *běgati běgajø*, i. e. the imperfective counterparts of *stati stang* ‘rise’, *sěsti sědø* ‘sit down’, and *běžati běgø* ‘run’. It may be difficult to acknowledge Leumann’s comparison, as the examples given by him do not show zero grade, so characteristic of the *ā*-preterite, but for that matter parallels with zero-grade verbs can be adduced, too: Balt. *dūstù dusañ*, Slav. ipf. *džchati duš* from pf. *džchnøti*, aor. *džchz*. At any rate the correspondence assumed by Leumann deserves a closer examination.

In this connection due attention must be paid to the fact the verbs acting in Slavic as imperfectivizations of perfective verbs exist in Baltic, too, although in a somewhat different function. I shall discuss them below.

(1) First of all we shall mention the verbs with a second stem in *-ē-*, Balt. *buděti* ‘be awake’ (: *bùsti*), Slav. *bžděti* (: *vøz-bžnøti*). Semantically they are ineffective exactly as are the verbs from which they are derived. In Baltic they regularly denote the state resulting from the inchoative action indicated by the nasal or *st*-verb (respectively the primary verb with *ā*-preterite). Occasion-

¹ P. Tedesco, “Slavic *ne*-Presents from Older *je*-Presents”, *Language* 24, 1948, pp. 346–387.

² M. Leumann, “Baltisch und Slavisch”, *Corolla Linguistica Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer*, Wiesbaden 1955, p. 159.

ally, however, the verb in *-ěti* do not denote a state subsequent to the action indicated by the basic verb; thus Lith. *mérdēti*¹ (: *miřti* 'die') does not mean *'be dead', it refers to the premortal phase 'be dying' (but *miřti* is not perfective and occurs in the same sense as *mérdēti*). In other cases the inchoative verb more specially denotes the initial point of the state, and in such cases the Baltic opposition inchoative action : subsequent state comes very close to oppositions conventionally classified in Slavic as oppositions of aspect. So the opposition *iš-giřsti* : *girděti* 'come to hear' : 'hear' may be compared with Slav. *uslyšati* pf. : *slyšati*. In Slavic the verbs in *-ěti* are as a rule stative, too, but the situation is complicated precisely because of the differentiation of verbs according to aspect, and as a consequence of this differentiation, the nasal verbs signify, when perfective, only the initial point of the state, the development of the inchoative action being indicated by specific imperfective verbs. In the series *sědati* : *sěsti* : *sěděti*, *sědati* denotes the action in its course of development 'be sitting down', *sěsti* the final point of the action, respectively, as compared with *sěděti*, the initial point of the state 'have sat down', *sěděti* denotes the state 'sit'. We have here to do with an opposition of three members imperfective : perfective : stative verb, and in this light it turns out that the opposition mentioned, *uslyšati* : *slyšati*, equivalent to *sěsti* : *sěděti*, is actually an opposition between a perfective and a stative verb. But in Slavic the verb in *-ěti* may occasionally assume the meaning of an imperfective verb. This applies to oppositions such as *dyšati* : *děchnoťti* 'breathe, blow', *kričati* : *kriknoťti* 'shout', known in Russian and other Slavic languages, but not attested in Old Church Slavonic. It has been objected that *kričati* : *kriknoťti* does not represent a purely aspectual opposition, but an opposition between a repeated and a single action; this, however, does not hold good. In Czech, at least, *křičet* may refer to one or more cries, and the same is true of *kříknout*. In my view the opposition Czech *křičet* : *kříknout* is comparable with that of *sědati* : *sěsti*, cf. Czech *Křikl*: "Ticho" 'He cried: "Silence"' vs. *Slyšel jsem, jak křičí*: "Ticho" 'I heard him cry: "Silence"'. On the other hand me must admit that *kričati* lacks the idea of development otherwise characteristic of imperfective verbs.

¹ See Stang, *Verbum*, p. 24.

(2) Next I shall discuss the verbs with an ā-suffix and lengthened zero grade throughout the flexion, represented in Baltic by the type *kýboti kýbau kýbojau* intr. ‘hang’ (: *kimbù kibaū* intr. ‘catch’). In Baltic these verbs are all intransitive, and they have a pronounced stative value, as they denote a remaining in a particular position. They are also, with a somewhat inappropriate term, referred to as “intensive”; in this connection I want to reproduce Leskien’s definition of that term: “*Intensiva. So möchte ich die intransitiven Verba nennen, die ein gewissermassen energisches Verharren in einem Zustande bedeuten, z. B. rýmau rýmoti dauernd aufgestützt dasitzen*”.¹ The corresponding Slavic formations with the ā-suffix and lengthened root vowel (preferably lengthened zero grade) mainly occur as imperfectivizations of perfective verbs, e. g. *sědati sědajø* from *sěsti* or *dychati dychajø* from *dzechnøti*. This function does not presuppose a specific voice of the basic verb, and particularly in reimperfectivizations we often meet with this derivation also when the basic verb is effective, compare *søžešti* pf. : *søžidzati* ipf. ‘burn up (tr.)’. However, if the basic verb is ineffective, the verb derived from it is not always imperfective in the proper sense of this term, but may stand for a state as well. Thus *kasati sç* ‘touch’ may be used not only referring to the action preceding the turning point denoted by *kosnøti sç*, but also referring to the state following that turning point ‘be in contact with’; *kasati sç*, then, represents a neutralization of the two meanings, the imperfective one and the stative one, kept apart in the series *sědati* : *sěsti* : *sědëti*. From a synchronic point of view the imperfective function must be regarded as the specific value of the verbs under examination, but historically it is probably the stative meaning, found also with the corresponding Baltic verbs, that is the primary function.

(3) A third group of stative verbs in Baltic is constituted by the verbs with a full-grade *je/o*-present. Their preterite is the ē-preterite, which, however, need not be old, as we must assume the ē-preterite to have been generalized with verbs taking the *je/o*-present. These verbs have as a rule an animate subject and denote a long-continued internal function. The stative meaning is not, perhaps, very pronounced, but the semantic contrast between the derived and the basic verbs is the same as in the

¹ Leskien, *Ablaut*, p. 430.

preceding cases; the basic verb denotes a phase preceding the phase referred to by the derived verb. In principle we are not concerned with oppositions of aspect here. The Baltic oppositions of inchoation may frequently, it is true, bear resemblance to oppositions conventionally classified in Slavic as oppositions of aspect, compare *su-bliūwù* : *bliáunu* ‘begin to bleat’: ‘bleat’ with Russ. *zablejat'* : *blejat'*, but here again we actually in Slavic have the same relation as in *sěsti* : *sěděti* rather than the opposition imperfective : perfective met with in *sědati* : *sěsti*. As further examples I adduce: *šviečiù* ‘shine’ to *švintù* ‘grow light, break as the day’, *jaučiù* ‘feel’ to *juntù* ‘notice’, *snáudžiu* ‘nod, doze’ to *snástu* ‘doze off’, *verkiù* ‘weep’ to *pra-vírkstu* ‘burst into tears’, *klykiù* ‘scream’ to *su-klinkù* ‘begin to scream’.

The corresponding Slavic derivatives with full-grade *je/o*-present have a zero-grade second stem in *-ā-*. Examples: *døchatì* *dušq¹* ‘blow’ to *døchnøti*, *trødzati* *trøžø* ‘tear’ to *trøgnøti*, *pløzati* *pløžø* ‘crawl’ to *pløzøti*, *zijati* *zějø* ‘yawn’ to *zinøti*, *pløvati* *pljužø* ‘spit’ to *plinøti*, *køvati* (*kjøjø*) ‘nod’ to *kynøti*, *imati* *emljø* ‘take’ to *jeti* *imø*, 2–3 sg. aor. *jøtø*. The second stem in *-ā-* might be due to generalization, as nearly all *je/o*-presents have a second stem in *-ā-*, but in the present case it may be said to be motivated by the imperfective meaning of the verbs. We usually record them as imperfectivizations, but this determination should not be taken too rigorously. They are used obligatorily when the phase preceding the maximum denoted by the basic perfective verbs has to be expressed, but may also stand for the state following that maximum. So OCS *imati* : *jeti* normally renders a distinction between the course of development of the action and the final point of the action, but in the context *imati věrø* : *jeti věrø*, verbatim ‘take belief’, *imati* expresses the state resulting from *jeti* and is equivalent to the stative verb *iměti* ‘have’. In younger texts we also frequently find *iměti věrø* as a substitute for *imati věrø*. This case is consequently analogous to the preceding case (2), and once again I assume that the imperfective function found in Slavic historically represents a secondary evolution.

Previous scholars have already operated with the hypothesis that the Slavic opposition of aspect is genetically related to the

¹ The attestation of this verb is feeble, see Vaillant, *Manuel 1*, p. 262.

opposition inchoation : state.¹ In my opinion this idea is correct,² and at any rate I find it striking that we so often are faced with an opposition of aspect in Slavic, where we have an opposition inchoation : state in Baltic, as pointed out above. Very characteristic in this respect is a case in which all three formations mentioned above are attested to one and the same root: Slav. *dyšati* (1), *dychati dychajo* (2), and *dzechati dušo* (3) (secondarily also *dychati dyšo*) are all imperfective in contradistinction to *dzechnɔti* ‘breathe, blow’, whereas the corresponding Baltic formations *dūsēti* (1) ‘breathe hard’ and *dvesiù dvēsiaù* (3) ‘perish’, Kurschat: “eigentl. *hauchen*; gewöhnlich vom Sterben der Thiere, *verenden*”, Latv. *dvešu dvēsu* ‘blow, breathe hard’, are stative as compared with *dūstù dusaù* ‘lose one’s breath’.

Reverting now to the problems concerning the relationship between the Baltic ā-preterite and the special Slavic imperfective verbs in *-ati*, we may state that the imperfectivizations of the third type *dzechati dušo* actually have a second stem *dzech-* comparable, also in vocalism, with the preterite stem in *-ā-* of the nasal and *st-* verbs in Baltic, cf. *dūstù*, pret. *dusaù*. As the corresponding Baltic *je/o*-verbs, such as *dvesiù dvēsiaù* (3), agree with them only in the present, their preterite being an ē-preterite, the second stem in *-ā-* of Slav. *dzechati* need not have belonged originally to the *je/o*-present, but may be supposed to be the reflex of the posited imperfective ā-preterite, or ā-imperfect, of the inchoative verb, reflected in Baltic as *dusaù*; the simplest solution is that this imperfective ā-preterite has been associated, in Slavic, with the *je/o*-present of the stative verbs only after these verbs had been reinterpreted into imperfective verbs.

We may now set up a tentative hypothesis explaining the creation of special imperfects in Baltic and Slavic. I suppose that the initial stages of the development were common to the two language groups. The ā-preterite, originally the preterite of continuative verbs (Balt. *ieškoti*, Slav. *iskati*) only, spread and was used also in a more special sense, as an imperfective preterite,

¹ See J. Kuryłowicz, “La genèse d’aspects verbaux slaves”, *Prace filologiczne* 14, 1929, pp. 644–657 (cf. *Sbornik prac I sjezdu słowiańskich filologów* 2, 1932, pp. 572–576, and *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa naukowego we Lwowie* 9, 1929, pp. 70–74), Stang, *Verbum*, p. 19, and Němec, *Genese slovanského systému vidového*, passim.

² See my article “Aspekt und Diathese im Slavischen”, *Scando-Slavica* 12, 1966, pp. 75 ff.

or imperfect (*dusaū*, *dɔcha-*), as opposed to the strong aorist (*dɔchz*) of the inchoative nasal verbs (*dūstù*, *dɔchnq*). Then the continuatives, after the distinction aorist : imperfect had been established among the inchoative verbs, became themselves subject to aspectual differentiation on the preterite level; their preterite in -ā- bifurcated into an aorist *iskachz* and an imperfect *iskaachz* (Balt. *ieškójo*), the latter form created by adding once more the suffix -ā-¹ (compare the equation Balt. *dūsti* : *dusaū* = *ieškótí* : *ieškójau* = Slav. *iskati* : *iskaachz*). In Slavic, however, the association of the ā-preterite (*dɔcha-*) with the je/o-present (*dušq*) caused it formally to lose its character of an imperfect and to become the preterite of an independent (imperfective) verb. The outcome of this, besides the creation of a second stem in -ā-, was that imperfective verbs of the type *dɔchati dušq* followed the continuatives and developed their preterite in -ā- into a clear imperfect form in -āā- : *dɔchaa-chz*. Specific Slavic is also the sigmatization of the imperfect. It must be due to influence from the aorist, where the sigmatization is obligatory precisely after stems ending in a long vowel. As for the thematic flexion of the Slavic imperfect (3. sg. *dɔchaasē*) I assume, following a hypothesis advanced by Kurylowicz,² that there was an intercrossing between the athematic predecessor of *dɔchaasē* (to pres. *dušq*) and a preterite, 3. sg. **dychaje(t)* (sigmatized into **dychasē*), representing the continuation of the Indo-European imperfect to the thematic present 3. sg. *dychajetz*. I find that the preterites of these two semantically closely related types of verbs, *dɔchati* and *dychati*, both appearing in Slavic as imperfectivizations, may easily have influenced each other and have exerted an influence on the forming of the imperfect. The intercrossing resulted in

¹ I give the terminations of the Slavic imperfect as -ēachz, -aachz in accordance with the spelling in our Old Church Slavonic texts, which give no testimony of an intervocalic *j* in this case, as emphasized by M. Weingart, *Rukověť jazyka staroslověnského* 2, Prague 1938, p. 349. The Proto-Slavic terminations, in my opinion, may well have been *-ējachz, *-ajachz, compare Balt. *sédějau*, *ieškójau*; in Old Church Slavonic an intervocalic *j* was lost to a very great extent, especially between vowels of the same timbre (cf. such spellings as *děati*, *daati*); in the case of the imperfect no morphological restitution of the *j* was possible in Old Church Slavonic, because in the imperfect terminations there were no other positions than ē-a, a-a.

² J. Kurylowicz, "Imperfectum i aspekt w języku staro-cerkiewno-słowiańskim", *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 24, 1960, pp. 7 ff. The article has also appeared in French in the *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 1–2, 1959.

imperfects in *-aaše*, clearly distinct from any aorist: *døchaasē*, *dychaaše*, *iskaasē*, etc. To sum up the prehistoric evolution I have posited: **dus-e-* **eisk-ā-* → **dus-e-* : **dus-ā-* → **eiskā-* : **eiskā-ā-* → **døch-e-* : **døch-aa-* × **dychaje-* → *døše* : *døchaasē/dychaaše*.

Our Old Church Slavonic texts offer a situation in which all verbs with infinitives ending in *-ati* have aorists in *-achz* and imperfects in *-aachz*. Here, of course, we must realize that the attestation of the preterites depends on the meaning of the verb. The meaning of the continuatives, such as *iskati*, is not incompatible with the meaning of the aorist, and we do find both aorists and imperfects (*žbdachz* : *žbdaachz*). However, the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Gospels does not offer any sure attestation in the aorist of imperfectivizations, provided that they are really imperfective (in the simplex *døchatī*, *dychatī*, or as reimperfectivizations *søbirati*, whereas perfective prefixations such as *prě-dajati* do occur in the aorist).¹ Thus the type *døchatī dušo* is attested only in the imperfect (*imaachz*), the aorist being taken from the paradigm of the perfective verb (*jesz* from *jeti*).

Leumann in his treatment² identifies the Baltic *ā*-preterite, 3. p. *stójo*, with the 3. sg. aor. from the Slavic imperfective verb: *staja* from *stajati*. This identification is formally quite correct, but in the case of imperfectivizations, such as *døchatī*, *imatī*, *stajati*, etc., the attestation of the aorist is so feeble that it is difficult to assume the *ā*-preterite to be continued as an aorist in Slavic. As apparent from the considerations above, I believe it is the imperfect (in *-aaše*) from those verbs which continues the Balto-Slavic *ā*-preterite represented in Baltic by *dusaū*.

The ē-Preterite.

Verbs with *TeT*-root and with pure *e/o*-present and *ē*-preterite constitute in Baltic a special transitive class: *bedù* *bedžiaū* ‘dig’, *degù* ‘burn’, *kepù* ‘bake’, *lesù* ‘peck up’, *metù* ‘throw’, *mezgù* ‘tie, knit’, *nešù* ‘carry’, *pešù* ‘pluck’, *rezgù* ‘knit, net’, *segù* ‘pin’, *sekù* ‘follow’ and ‘tell’, *tepù* ‘smear’, *vedù* ‘lead’, *vežù* ‘convey’. With the exception of *sekù*,¹ these verbs all denote a creation or

¹ Cf. my article “Vidové problémy v staroslověnštině”, *Universitas Carolina* 1957, Philol. 3,1, p. 81.

² Leumann, *Corolla Linguistica*, p. 159.

³ As for *nùseku* *nùsekau* intr. ‘sink’ I consider this flexion secondary as against *nusenku* *nusekau*. See Arumaa, *ZfslPh* 26, p. 124.

change of the object (although we must admit that the change in some cases, such as *nešù*, is only a change of place). Therefore this transitive class may be assumed to originate from a class of effective verbs. Above (p. 29) we arrived at a similar conclusion in the case of Slavic. The corresponding verbs with *e/o*-present in Slavic, *bodø*, *žegø*, *pekø*, *nesø*, *tepø*, *vedø*, to mention only the etymological cognates, show, apart from *bodø*, the same vocalism. Their aorist is sigmatic (see p. 29), and nothing prevents us from assuming that the verbs in question had originally the sigmatic aorist in Baltic, too.

Previous scholars, as far as I know, have not explicitly stated that the verb class in question is transitive. We are concerned with a restricted number of verbs only, it is true, but the corresponding, somewhat more numerous Slavic group legitimates the assumption of a transitive group also in Baltic. Endzelin, however, was not far from the correct view: “Ja saknē ir *e*, tad tīrajiem tag. *o*-celmiem atbilstošie pag. celmi pa laikam beidzas ar ē (piem., *vedē-*, *nesē-*), atskaitot vienīgi intransitīvo *dēgā-* un dial. *tēkā-*; no trans. un intrans. *cept* pa laikam *cepē-*, bet izloksnēs ar intrans. nozīmi arī 3. p. -*cēpa* Pas. III 478, IX 322”.¹

Direct oppositions of transitivity between verbs with the ē-preterite and verbs with the ā-preterite are not numerous, as far as the *Tet*-roots are concerned, this root type admitting alternation between full and zero grade only in special cases, but *mezgū* *mezgiaū* : *myzgū* *mizgaū* and *rezgū* *rezgiaū* : *ryzgū* *rizgaū* may be quoted. Without apophonic alternation it would be difficult to keep apart the pair verbs in the infinitive (and some other forms) as seen in the case of *kēpti* *kepū* *kepiaū* tr. ‘backen, braten’ : dial. *kēpti* *kempū* *kepaū* intr. ‘gebacken, gebraten werden; gerinnen (vom Blute)’, cf. *keñpti* *kempstū* *kempaū* ‘hart werden (vom Brot), trocknen’.² The opposition *kepū* : *kempū* is scarcely old. Old is here, to all appearance, only the opposition in the preterite *kepiaū* : *kepaū*, recurring in Latvian as *cepu* (ē) : -*cēpa* (ā).³ As for *dēgū* *degiaū* (dial. also *dengū*, and in the preterite also *degaū*, Latv. *dēgu* *dēgu/dedzu*), which is used mostly without object, Slav. *žegø* and further cognates (Alb. *djek*, Skt. *dáhati*) suggest

¹ J. Endzelin, *Latviešu valodas skaņas un formas*, Riga 1938, p. 190.

² Cf. Arumaa, *ZfslPh* 26, p. 125.

³ Cf. the quotation above.

that it is the transitive function which is the older one, and in so far the flexion *degù degiaū* is the one expected. But as shown by Endzelin, the *ā*-preterite is attested in intransitive function, in OLith. (Univ.) *degù degaū* ‘gorę’, and in Latv. dial. (Lizums) *dagu* (: tr. *dadzu*).¹ Here again we are faced with an old opposition of transitivity in the preterite.² Otherwise language has resort to lexical contrasts: *vedù : einù* ‘lead’ : ‘go’, *vežù : jóju* ‘convey’ : ‘ride’.

The *ē*-preterite is furthermore the nearly obligatory preterite of verbs with the *je/o*-present. These verbs are for the most part transitive. This statistic fact, however, cannot be decisive for us; the number of exceptions is so great that it is impossible to speak of a pronounced transitive group. It does not mean that we do not attach weight to the verbs with *je/o*-present and *ē*-preterite functioning as transitive counterparts of verbs from the same root with a nasal or *st*-present and an *ā*-preterite. Such direct oppositions exist, as we know, in not a few cases: *baudžiù baudžiaū* tr. ‘chastise’ : *bundù budaū* intr. ‘awake’, *verciù verčiaū* tr. : *virstù virtaū* intr. ‘turn, tumble’, etc. It should be emphasized, however, that even if the Baltic *je/o*-verbs are often opposed to corresponding nasal or *st*-verbs in an opposition of transitivity, they may, in other cases, show the same voice as the correlates with nasal or *st*-presents, the opposition being then an opposition between state and inchoation: *jaučiù jaučiaū* ‘feel’ : *juntù jutaū* ‘notice’, *verkiù verkiaū* ‘weep’ : *pra-virkstu -virkau* ‘burst into tears’ (cf. p. 46). What is essential here is of course the fact that the nasal and *st*-verbs are characterized by two semantic features, normally present at the same time, viz. intransitive (ineffective) value and inchoation. This causes the derivatives among the *je/o*-verbs to differ in meaning according to the semantic feature that is the starting point of the derivation; they appear, then, in diametrically opposed meanings, denoting either a transitive action or an intransitive (ineffective) state. A question of great concern is the distribution of the two meanings. In our considerations above concerning Greek (see p. 8) we have developed the thought that one and the same formal distinction need not anywhere

¹ Endzelin, *KZ* 43, pp. 18f., *Le. Gr.*, § 606. Klein gives an opposition in the present *degù* ‘ardeo’ : *degiù* ‘accendo’.

² Compare also Latv. *dzešu dzēsu* (*ē*) tr. ‘extinguish’ : *dziēstu dzisu* (*ā*) intr. ‘cease to burn, go out’, cf. Lith. *gestù gesaū* intr. ‘id.’.

represent the same semantic distinction, but may be utilized to render different semantic distinctions, provided surroundings are different. In the present case the two semantic oppositions should, then, occur under different contextual conditions, which seems to hold good. If a nasal or *st*-verb appears preferably with a personal subject or at any rate with an animate subject, then the corresponding *je/o*-verb is stative: *juntù* 'notice' : *jaučiù* 'feel', *-virkstu* 'burst into tears' : *verkiù* 'weep', etc., although an opposition of transitivity or causation would have been conceivable, too (if the meaning of the *je/o*-verbs had been *'make feel' or *'make weep'). And inversely, if the subject of the nasal or *st*-verb is normally inanimate or passive (e. g. a sleeping person), the corresponding *je/o*-verb is transitive: *plýštu* intr. : *plěšiu* tr. 'tear', *lážtu* intr. : *láužiu* tr. 'break', *bundù* intr. 'awake' : *baudžiù* tr. 'chastise', etc., even if oppositions of inchoation would also be conceivable (if the *je/o*-derivatives had meant something like *'be in pieces', *'be awake'). Of course, in some instances there may be doubt as to whether the subject is to be conceived as animate or inanimate, and in an isolated case, under special phonic conditions, a nasal verb is attested both with a transitive verb and a stative verb: *švintù* 'grow light, break (as the day)' : *šveičiù* 'polish' (opposition of transitivity) and *švintù* : *šviečiù* 'shine' (opposition of inchoation). The rule given here for the repartition of the two oppositions applies to most cases, but ought to be formulated with more accuracy as far as details are concerned. In any case, the problems concerning the semantic divergence attached to the distinction between *je/o*-verbs and nasal verbs would deserve greater attention than hitherto given to them.

As for the flexion, the *je/o*-present of the stative derivatives is old, cf. Slav. *emljø*, *dušø* (p. 46). Perhaps they have originally had the sigmatic aorist, if this has been unmarked in meaning. The corresponding Slavic derivatives have a second stem in *-a-(imati, džchati)*, but an *ā*-preterite need not have come into existence until the verbs concerned had been reinterpreted into imperfective verbs; we have no secure indications that the *ā*-preterite was used especially frequently as a preterite of stative verbs.

The transitive *je/o*-verbs at the same time are usually effective and may be assumed originally to have had the sigmatic aorist,

as corresponding Slavic verbs show the sigmatic aorist; compare *bljudø bljusø* tr. 'watch' : *vɔz-bɔnø -bɔdø* intr. 'awake' with the same apophonic alternation as Balt. *baudžiù baudžiañ* : *bundù budañ*, and Slav. *lèkø lèchø* tr. 'bend' : *lèkno sè lèkø* intr. 'shrink back', Balt. *lenkiù lenkiañ* : *linkstù linkañ*.

We may find it surprising that these transitive verbs take the *je/o*-present in Baltic. From an etymological point of view we must assume that the roots concerned in many cases had the *e/o*-present in Indo-European, compare *baudžiù*, Slav. *bljudø*, Gk. πένθομαι, Skt. *bódhati*; *verčiù*, Lat. *verto*, Skt. *vártate*. Here the structure of the root plays a role. In Slavic both *TeT*-roots and *T(e)RT*-roots are represented among the verbs with an *e/o*-present and *s*-aorist: *nesø nèsø*, and *bljudø bljusø, vrøzø vrøszø*. In Baltic the verbs with the *ē*-preterite retain the *e/o*-present only if the root is of the type *TeT*,¹ whereas the *T(e)RT*-roots take the *je/o*-present (provided the *ē*-preterite is preserved): *nešù*, but *baudžiù, veržiù*. The background of the differentiation of the present stem has apparently been the different attitude of the roots towards apophonic alternation. The *TeRT*-roots change easily to the zero grade, while the type *TeT*, as pointed out, was in principle incapable of this vocalic alternation. This is of importance for the occurrence of pair verbs distinguished in transitivity. We may assume, then, that the opposition of voice in the preterite, the contradistinction between the *ē*-preterite and the *ā*-preterite (*verčiañ* : *virtañ*), respectively between the sigmatic and the strong aorist, motivates a differentiation also of the present stem. If the intransitive verbs never had a present of the type *T(e)RT-e/o*, as is practically the case in Slavic (exceptions: *cvøtø* 'bloom', *grødø* 'go'), there should be no serious problems; the transitive verbs might then take the *e/o*-present (Slav. *bljudø*). But in Baltic we have also, besides the nasal presents and the *st*-presents, intransitive presents such as *švitù* to *švitěti* 'be bright', and some intransitive presents belonging to the type *kertù kirtañ*, cf. Latv. dial. *vørtu virtu* intr. 'become', and under these circumstances the *je/o*-flexion of the transitive verbs is at least equally appropriate (Balt. *baudžiù, veržiù*).

¹ We disregard here the tendency existing in Latvian to replace the *e/o*-present by the *je/o*-present, when the first *T* in a *TeT*-root is an occlusive or *s*: *bežu, tepju* et al.

It seems doubtful to me that the *je/o*-present should have been associated with a transitive value from the very beginning in Baltic. On the contrary, the frequency with which this present appears with a transitive value may be due to the fact that quite a number of roots, when transitive, replaced their original *e/o*-present by a *je/o*-present and that this present became a productive model for shaping transitive counterparts of intransitive nasal or *st*-verbs.

On the other hand, it should be emphasized that the Indo-European sigmatic aorist in all likelihood did not directly require the *e/o*-present, but also, and very often, was associated with the *je/o*-present; compare the Greek primary verbs in *-jω*, which regularly take the sigmatic aorist and are transitive to a very great extent (πλήσσω ἔπληξα et al.). We must assume, then, that several of the transitive *je/o*-verbs are of Balto-Slavic age, as also appears from some etymological parallels: Balt. *liežiù* 'lick', Slav. *ližq*, Gk. aor. ἔλειξα; Latv. *tešu* 'hew', Slav. *tešq*; Balt. *júosiu* 'gird', Slav. *-jašo*, Gk. aor. ἔζωσα; Balt. *žiedžiù* 'form', Slav. *ziždq*; Balt. *piešiù* 'sketch, draw', Slav. *pišq*; Balt. *rěžiù* 'cut', Slav. *rěžq*, Gk. aor. ἔρρηξα; Balt. *plékiu* (liter. *pliekiu!*) 'whip', Slav. *plačq* (*sę*), Gk. aor. ἔπληξα. The early existence of such transitive verbs within the *je/o*-flexion is, of course, a precondition of verbs like *verčiù* being transferred to it from the *e/o*-flexion.

A precious indication how the replacement of *e/o*-flexion by *je/o*-flexion took place is afforded by Slavic. Here we have, as opposed to the intransitive *vęzno* 'get entangled', two transitive verbs from the same root, one with the *e/o*-present, *vęzq*, and the other with the *je/o*-present, *vęžq* 'tie'. All three verbs are imperfective, so that it is impossible to consider *vęzati vęžq* an imperfectivization of *vęzti vęzq*, nor can it be considered the iterative verb of *vęzti vęzq*; compare Dostál's semantic determination of *vęzati vęžq*: "Lexikální význam, jako u mnohých jiných sloves, lze si dějově představit tak, že se několikrát za sebou opakuje jistá činnost. Někdy se však u *vęzati* myslí na vázání a poutání jediné, nelze proto viděti v tomto slovese významové iterativum".¹ The same may perhaps apply to *lękq* 'bend, stretch' and *lęčq* as against *lęknq* (*sę*) 'shrink back'; cf. Balt. *lenkiù : linkstù*.²

¹ A. Dostál, *Studie o vidovém systému v staroslověnštině*, Prague 1954, p. 185.

² See also Endzelin, *Le. Gr.*, § 625d.

We must assume that there was some difference in meaning between *vęzq* and *vęžq*, and between *lękq* and *lęčq*, but the difference has scarcely any connection with aspect or iteration. It is thinkable that similar doublets have existed in Baltic, too, a verb with *e/o*-flexion side by side with a verb with *je/o*-flexion, both showing transitive value and differentiated at most in shades of that value. At any rate, it deserves to be stressed that the opposition of voice between *je/o*- and nasal present is not a specific Baltic phenomenon, but is represented also in Slavic by *vęžq* : *vęzno*, a fact that has been overlooked in previous investigations.

Finally some isolated cases of the ē-preterite: *ědu* (*ědmi*) *ědžiau* ‘eat’ and, with a deviating vocalism in the preterite, *díodu* (*dúomi*) *daviaū*, dial. *deviaū*, Latv. *devu* (ē) ‘give’, and of opposite meaning *imù ēmiaū* ‘take’. The somewhat obscure vocalism may cause uncertainty towards these preterite forms, but in my opinion their ancientness cannot be questioned. All three verbs are transitive, and in so far the ē-preterite is the preterite to be expected. However, the verbs mentioned are not effective, and in Slavic the corresponding verbs, *jamb*, *damb*, *imq*, form the root aorist: 2. and 3. sg. *jastv*, *dastv*, *jētv*. Consequently, besides the ordinary correspondence between Baltic ē-preterite and Slavic *s*-aorist, it would be prudent to take into consideration also a correspondence between the Baltic ē-preterite and the Slavic root aorist with the 2. and 3. sg. in -(s)*tv*.

The fact that two of the verbs in question are old athematic verbs claims attention.¹ I find it highly probable that the athematic verbs were the group in which the ē-preterite, as a preterite with a stem in -ē- found only in the preterite itself, came into existence

¹ I conceive the Lithuanian athematic verbs as a group of ineffective verbs. Stang has dealt with the Old Lithuanian athematic verbs, and according to him we are to distinguish between an old group of athematic verbs, with cognates in other Indo-European languages and without distinct meaning as to voice, and a group developed in Baltic itself and showing intransitive or stative value (see Chr. S. Stang, “Die athematischen Verba im Baltischen”, *Scando-Slavica* 8, 1962, pp. 161 ff.). I believe there was no sharp semantic contrast between those two groups. The athematic verbs inherited from Indo-European, *būti* ‘be’, *dúoti* ‘give’, *děli* ‘put’, *eili* ‘go’, *ěsti* ‘eat’, *raudóti* ‘lament, wail’, 3 ps. pres. *velli* ‘wishes’, do not indicate any creation or reshaping of an object lying outside the subject; they are ineffective, and this meaning joins all the Old Lithuanian athematic verbs. Cf. p. 12. That they have been productive only in a narrower meaning, in intransitive function, may be compared with the fact that the nasal and *st*-verbs, as to voice ineffective, too, have likewise been productive only in intransitive function.—Also the Slavic *mi*-verbs may be considered ineffective (*byti* ‘to be’, *dati* ‘give’, *iměti* ‘have’, *jasti* ‘eat’, *věděti* ‘know’).

and had its first spread. The reason why I assume this, is that in Slavic we have one ē-preterite, viz. *běchъ* ‘eram’ from *byti* ‘esse, fieri’, with an ē-formative found nowhere else in the flexion of the verb. The corresponding present, *jesmъ* ‘sum’, is athematic. In the preterite we observe an opposition between *běchъ* and the root aorist *bychъ*, 2–3 sg. *bystъ*, classified as an opposition imperfect : aorist; *běchъ* suggests, then, that also the Baltic ē-preterites formerly, as long as the aorists were intact in Baltic, functioned as imperfects. However, at the same time the opposition *bychъ* : *běchъ* ‘factus sum’ : ‘eram’ also represents an opposition inchoation : state, and this gives rise to some remarks concerning the special character of the Slavic opposition aorist : imperfect.

It must be borne in mind that the Slavic opposition between aorist and imperfect has only these very members, whereas the Greek opposition has three members, viz. present stem : aorist stem : perfect stem, cf. ἔσταμαι ἔστησα ἔστηκα. Also the Slavic opposition of aspect has three members, viz. imperfective verb : perfective verb : stative verb, cf. *sědati* : *sěsti* : *sěděti*. The formal distinction between the three members normally refers to a semantic distinction, action in its course of development : critical point : state. In Greek a state may be expressed markedly by the perfect stem, but by virtue of the unmarked character of the present stem, also the present stem can stand for a state, and in this case the aorist may denote either the attainment of the final point of that state, e. g. βασιλεύω ‘I am a king’ : ἔβασιλευσα (τριάκοντα ἔτη) ‘I was a king (for 30 years)’, in the same way as ἔστην denotes the final point as against ἔσταμαι, or the initial point of the state, βασιλεύω ‘I am a king’ : ἔβασιλευσα ‘I became a king’, in semantic concurrence with the relation ἔστηκα : ἔστην. The basic function of the Greek aorist as compared with the present, is the signification of the final point of an action, whereas the signification of the initial point of a state results from a comparison with the perfect, or with a present functioning as a perfect. The same applies to the aspectual opposition between verbs in Slavic. The perfective verb signifies in principle, as opposed to an imperfective verb, the final point of an action, e. g. *sěsti* : *sědati* ‘have sat down’ : ‘be sitting down’, but if a special stative verb does not exist, the imperfective verb may be used in a stative sense, and then the opposition, e. g. *kosnوتi* *sę* : *kasati* *sę* ‘have come in contact with’ : ‘be in contact with’, is equivalent

with that of *sěsti* : *sěděti* 'have sat down' : 'sit'. Owing to the fact that it has only two members, the nature of the opposition between aorist and imperfect in Slavic is different. The two semantic contrasts mentioned, final point : preceding action and initial point : following state, are not kept apart formally, being only two manifestations of the distinction critical point : phase. The marked member of the opposition is the imperfect, as, precisely in the case of stative verbs, the aorist need not refer to a critical point. So the imperfect *iměachъ* always denotes the possession as a phase, as a state we are in, whereas the aorist *iměchъ* may refer to the initial or final point of the phase, or to the phase itself.¹ Under these circumstances I find it legitimate to regard *bychъ* : *běchъ* as an opposition between aorist and imperfect.

The stative imperfect *běchъ* formally agrees with the aorist of the stative verbs in -*ěti*, e. g. *sěděchъ* from *sěděti*, and thus clearly points to a model. In order to explain the evolution leading to the creation of imperfects in -*ě-*, we must start from the opposition between inchoative verbs and stative verbs with a second stem in -*ě-*, Slav. *sěsti* : *sěděti*, Balt. *sěsti* : *sěděti*. Their aorists, the strong aorist *sědъ* and the (later sigmatized) ē-aorist *sěděchъ* were probably originally only preterites without aspectual status, opposed to each other as the other forms of the verbs, i. e. in an opposition of inchoation as Balt. *sěsti* : *sěděti*. Following the pattern *sědъ* : *sěděchъ*, *byti* then develops a stative preterite *bě-chъ* to the root aorist *bychъ*, 2–3 sg. *bystъ*, but here, probably owing to the existence of the stative present *jesmь*, a special stative verb in -*ěti* did not arise, and the opposition *bychъ* : *běchъ* was interpreted as an opposition aorist : imperfect. Baltic seems to have had a similar ē-preterite from the verb 'to be', compare OPruss. *ast bēi/bē/be*.² From this verb the imperfect in -*ě-* had probably a first spread to other verbs with the athematic present and root aorist, cf. Slav. *jambъ*, 2–3 sg. aor. *jastъ*, impf. *jaděachъ*, Balt. *ēdmi* *ēdžiau*, Slav. *dambъ*, 2–3 sg. aor. *dastъ*, impf. (*daděachъ*), Balt. *dúomi* *daviaū*.³ From these transitive verbs, then, a further

¹ Cf. V. V. Borodič, "K voprosu o vidovych otноšenijach staroslavjanskogo glagola", *Učenye zapiski Instituta slavjanovedenija* 9, 1954, pp. 73f.

² Stang, *Verbum*, pp. 197f.

³ In view of the mi-present *imamъ* 'have', it cannot be entirely excluded that the relations between *imamъ*, aor. *iměxъ*, *imъ* 'take', 2–3 sg. aor. *jětъ* were originally the same as between *jesmь*, impf. *běxъ*, "perfective" present *bđđo*, 2–3 sg. aor. *bystъ* and that the second stem in -*ě-* (*iměti*, etc.) to the present *imamъ* has been developed only later. Compare Balt. *imù émiaū*.

expansion took place, so that also verbs with old sigmatic aorist developed a special imperfect in *-ē-*, Slav. *vedo*, aor. *věš*, impf. *vedě-achz*, Balt. *vedù vedžiaū*. As verbs with old sigmatic aorist are transitive, the *ē*-suffix, in being utilized to form the imperfect to the sigmatic aorist, loses its contact with the intransitive (ineffective) meaning characteristic of the stative verbs with a second stem in *-ē-*. Furthermore, the shift of voice involves a shift of phase: the imperfects to old sigmatic aorists do not denote the phase resulting *from* a maximum but the phase resulting *in* a maximum, because in the case of an effective verb it is the latter phase that is of primary interest (In Homeric Greek effective verbs have present and aorist but no perfect; in Slavic effective actions may be expressed imperfectively or perfectly, but not by a stative verb). The *ē*-suffix was certainly the mark of the non-present forms of stative verbs in Balto-Slavic, but what we must keep in mind here is that stativeness actually consists of three components: ineffectiveness, continuativeness, and consecutiveness, and that it was the continuativeness which was deciding for its spread as a mark of the imperfect. It must be considered normal, I think, than when a formative expands in one semantic direction, it loses, in the new sphere of application, the contact with possibly other semantic features characteristic of its original sphere of application. The posited development was in brief: **sēd-e-* **sēd-ē-* → **bū-* : **bē-* → **vēd-s-* : **ved-ē-*.

As in the case of continuative verbs with a second stem in *-ā-*, I assume that also the stative verbs with a second stem in *-ē-*, after being the point of departure for the creation of the *ē*-imperfect, became themselves subject to aspectual differentiation in the preterite, so that besides the aorist *sěděchz* we get an imperfect *sěděa-chz*, created by adding the *ā*-suffix; compare Balt. pret. *sědějau* (**eiskā-* : **eiskā-ā-* → **sēdē-* : **sēdē-ā-*).

In Slavic, then, also the *ē*-imperfects redundantly obtained the *ā*-suffix: *jaděachz*, *veděachz*, and in this way they clearly became distinguishable from aorists in *-ě-*. This, however, does not apply to *běchz*, which shows the longer form with *-ěa-* only in the third person, besides the shorter one (*bě/běaše*). The archaic flexion *běchz bě* is certainly due to the special position the verb *byti* takes up in the verbal system.

As for sigmatization and thematization, see above p. 48.

It remains to deal with some problems concerning the vocalism of the Baltic *ē*-preterite and the Slavic imperfect in *-ěach̥*. Assuming that the *ē*-suffix used in forming those preterites originates from the *ē*-suffix of the stative verbs, we should have expected them to have the zero grade just as the stative verbs (compare Balt. *budēti*, *švitēti*, Slav. *bōdēti*, *svitēti*), but the Baltic *ē*-preterite has in case of *T(e)RT*-root the full grade (*baudžiū* *baudžiaū*, *veržiū* *veržiaū*), and the full grade is also partly attested in the Slavic imperfect in *-ěach̥* (*bljudq* *bljuděach̥*, but *vrz̥zq* *vrz̥ěach̥*).

As emphasized by Stang,¹ the Slavic imperfect in *-ěach̥* exhibits the same vocalism as the present: *bljudq* *bljuděach̥*, *vrz̥zq* *vrz̥ěach̥*, *vedq* *veděach̥*, *klbñq* *klbněach̥*, etc. This rule applies after all, when we disregard entirely isolated cases as *imù ēmiaū*, to Baltic as well: The *ē*-preterite has the full grade or the zero grade in agreement with the vocalism in the present, with the sole modification that the full grade as well as the zero grade is lengthened according to special rules. So we have, with lengthening in the preterite, *ginù gýniau*, *lekiù lékiaū*, etc., whereas *TeT*-roots with an *e/o*-present and *TeRT*-roots with a *je/o*-present show no lengthening: *vedù vedžiaū*, and *veržiū veržiaū*.

When the *ē*-preterite so frequently shows the full grade, it must consequently be seen in connection with the fact that the corresponding present equally frequently has the full grade. The question is how primitive the vocalism of the present is. In some cases of *T(e)RT*-roots, such as *veržiū*, the old age of the *e*-vocalism of the present must be questioned, since corresponding Slavic presents have the zero grade (*vrz̥zq*). In other cases, however, the full grade seems to be primitive in the present (*baudžiū*, Slav. *bljudq*, Gk. πεύθωμαι), and from such presents the full grade may have spread to the preterite, and to other verbs as well.

The generalization of the *e*-vocalism of the *ē*-preterite (from *TeRT*-roots) may, after all, easily be explained, if we take into account the derivation that takes place between the various classes of verbs. If we confront derivates from the same root, we see that if it were not for the distinction in vocalism, some forms (the infinitive and other forms based on it) from the transitive verb (Balt. *baūsti*, Slav. *bljusti*) would not differ from the corresponding forms of the inchoative verb (*bùsti*, *-bənøgti*) or the stative verb

¹ Stang, *Verbum*, p. 83.

itself (*buděti*, *bzděti*); compare oppositions such as Balt. *baūsti* : *būsti*, Slav. *bljulž* : *-bžlž*, *bljuděachž* : *bzděachž*. Slavic has remained at this stage: the transitive *T(e)RT*-roots require the *e*-vocalism only if they are opposed to intransitive formations from the same root (*bljudq* : *-bžnq* as *baudžiù* : *bundù*). In Baltic the derivation plays a far greater role, and the *e*-vocalism has spread to most *je/o*-verbs (*veržiù*, *gráužiu* versus Slav. *vržq*, *gryzq*).

Conclusion

In his classic study “Sur l'aoriste sigmatique”¹ Meillet arrived at the conclusion that the sigmatic aorist is a late Indo-European innovation. Since then, new important material, the sigmatic formations in the verbal paradigm of Tocharian and Hittite, has been included in the discussion of the origin of the sigmatic aorist, but the investigation of this new material has, generally speaking, rather confirmed Meillet’s view than modified it. Yet the correctness of his view may be questioned: Meillet, and his followers as well, have built up their hypotheses almost exclusively on the basis of formal criteria.

Only Watkins has more concretely dealt with problems concerning the meaning of the sigmatic aorist.² The idea that the sigmatic aorist, as an innovation, may be expected originally to have had a clear-cut sphere of use is in itself plausible, and the hypothesis would only gain in certainty, if we could determine the primitive sphere of use on the basis of languages with a more limited use of sigmatic preterites. No doubt Watkins’ observation of the fact that the sigmatic element, in certain languages, Tocharian, Hittite, and Sanskrit, first of all appears in middle forms is significant. In my opinion, however, it is somewhat bold to conclude from this fact only that the *s*-morpheme ‘had a distinct affinity with middle or intransitive value’,³ in so far as we may assume that the middle endings were sufficient to signalize the middle value; a comparison between sigmatic and non-sigmatic

¹ *Mélanges de Saussure*, Paris 1908, pp. 81 ff.

² C. Watkins, *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb, I. The Sigmatic Aorist*, Dublin 1962.

³ Watkins, *ibidem*, p. 97, cf. Vjač. Vs. Ivanov, *Obšeindoevropejskaja, praslavjanskaja i anatolijskaja jazykovye sistemi*, Moscow 1965, pp. 139 ff. (stresses the fact that the Hittite iteratives in *-šša-* are incorporated in the *hi*-conjugation).

forms within the same voice would have been more conclusive. In the case of *s*-preterites to Hittite *hi*-presents, whose endings, as we know, correspond with the middle endings of other Indo-European languages, a special association with the middle meaning seems more probable.¹ However, the question is whether these Hittite *s*-preterites, attested only in the 2nd and 3rd singular, actually are the predecessors of the classical sigmatic aorist. Watkins follows Burrow and compares the Hittite 2. and 3. sg. preterite form ending in -š with Sanskrit 2. and 3. sg. aor. *dhās*;² I find this equation correct, but it must be borne in mind that *dhās* appears in the paradigm of a root aorist, not in that of a fully developed sigmatic aorist. In Slavic, too, we are probably faced with an *s*-element in the 2. and 3. sg. aor. *bystv*³ from *byti*, with an ending -*tš* indicating an original root aorist, cf. Gk. ἔφυν.

Watkins' hypotheses concerning the derivation of the sigmatic aorist open new vistas to the problem whether the various types of aorists in Indo-European have been semantically differentiated. In the present study I have not been able to take up this problem on a large scale. My aim has been to elucidate the Slavic aorists on the basis of data from language groups showing similarities with Slavic as regards the use of the preterites. However, a comparison of those languages, Slavic, Greek, and Baltic, suggests that the strong aorist rather than the sigmatic aorist was the preterite showing "affinity with middle or intransitive value".

In Greek the strong aorist is middle (ineffective) to approximately the same degree as the perfect in Homer, and the sigmatic aorist is obligatorily used to express the opposite meaning. This opposition makes itself felt particularly in cases of a derivational rapport between the sigmatic and the strong aorist, as ἔστησα : ἔστην.

It has been a common assumption that such sigmatic aorists as ἔστησα are due to a Greek innovation, but a similar derivational rapport is attested in Slavic, too; compare *bljusn* : *vñz-bždž* and the feebly attested Gk. opposition πούσας : ἐπιθόμην, or *za-by* : *bystv* and Gk. ἔφυσα : ἔφυν. In Slavic the perfect disappeared as well as the distinction between active and middle endings; thus

¹ According to Watkins, *op. cit.*, p. 79, the *hi*-conjugation forms reflect "the Indo-European stative-intransitive perfect and a diathesis lost in Hittite itself".

² Watkins, *ibidem*, p. 99.

³ But Stang, *Verbum*, p. 71, assumes *bystv* < **byd-tš*.

there was little support in the Slavic conjugation for a preservation of the opposition as an opposition of voice in the strictest sense. This might be the explanation why the opposition we are faced with in Slavic is rather an opposition of transitivity (*bljasti* tr. 'watch' : *vz-bənqti* intr. 'awake', *za-byti* tr. 'forget' : *byti* 'to be'), but at any rate it seems possible to deduce the Slavic opposition from an opposition of voice as that in Greek.

It seems to me that the agreement between Greek and Slavic in the application of the aorists is too special to be the result of a parallel development in either language group. Moreover, it is impossible to explain the agreement as a common innovation: no one regards those language groups as especially closely related, they seem never to have been in close contact with each other. We must thus assume that the agreement represents a common inheritance of an interdialectal opposition. Whether the opposition has been known originally throughout the Indo-European area or only in a part of it is another question; perhaps future investigations including also other language groups and other preterite formations may put more light to that problem.

The opposition of voice found in Greek and Slavic then to all appearance is very old. However, even if the opposition as such may be of considerable age, we cannot exclude the possibility that the utilization of the sigmatic aorist as a member of that opposition is a comparatively late phenomenon. Semantically the Greek reduplicated aorist shows some similarity with the sigmatic aorist (cf. ἔπεισα/πέπιθον : ἔπιθόμην), and when we take into account the very restricted use of the reduplicated aorist in Greek, and its absence in Slavic, it seems possible to conclude that the sigmatic aorist to no small extent has replaced the reduplicated aorist. Hence there are no strong reasons for questioning Meillet's view that the sigmatic aorist has been generalized to a very great extent, in Greek as well as in Slavic.

A somewhat different case is the relation between Slavic and Baltic. As generally known, Meillet rejected the theory of a Balto-Slavic unity,¹ and from this standpoint it is of course possible to account for the non-existence of the sigmatic aorist in Baltic without special difficulties. If the sigmatic aorist existed in Indo-European only as brittle sprouts, then it may simply

¹ A. Meillet, *Les dialectes indo-européens*, Paris 1908, pp. 40ff.

be assumed that those sprouts were stifled in some language groups (Baltic), but were subject to further development in others (Slavic). Now, things are more complicated. In Baltic (and in Germanic as well) we are faced with a situation where no aorists are attested at all, and we cannot disregard the possibility that the sigmatic aorist may have developed and flourished also in Baltic and have existed there side by side with other aorist formations and then ultimately have disappeared together with those other aorists (in a similar way as the aorists have got lost in the neighbouring Slavic languages). Already the late documentation of Baltic may make us take this alternative into account. It seems to me, too, that Slavic and Baltic show so many similarities that we cannot ignore the possibility of a correspondence in the development of the aorists.

In Baltic we have an opposition of voice that gives the impression of being of a considerable age, viz. the opposition between verbs with *e/o-* or *je/o*-present and *ē*-preterite on the one hand and verbs with nasal or *st*-present and *ā*-preterite on the other. In case of direct opposition between etymologically related verbs, we record the semantic contrast as a contrast in transitivity, e. g. *baudžiū* *baudžiaū* tr. : *bundū* *budaū* intr. But to all appearance this contrast is based on a distinction between effective and ineffective actions. We have observed (p. 50) that verbs with a non-generalized *ē*-preterite, i. e. the *TeT*-roots that have the *e/o*-present, are, with a single exception, all effective; they presuppose a change of the object and thus show a meaning narrower than transitiveness, and reversely we may state (see p. 33) that the nasal and *st*-presents are to be defined as ineffective, since some of them are not intransitive, but still do not denote a reshaping of the object. From a purely semantic point of view there is thus no reason for separating the Baltic opposition from the one found in Slavic.

From a formal point of view there are also points of support for a comparison. In both language groups the verbs involved in the opposition are “primary”, i. e. either pure *e/o*-verbs or *e/o*-verbs with some enlargement. The intransitive nasal verbs in Baltic (*bundū*) parallel nasal verbs in Slavic (*vəz-bənq*), and the present of the transitives also agrees, provided the root is a *TeT*-root: Balt. *vedū* as Slav. *vedq*. If the root is a *TeRT*-root, then

the Baltic transitives always show the *je/o*-present *baudžiù*, *lenkiù*, whereas Slavic usually has an *e/o*-present: *bljudq*. This disagreement, however, is scarcely essential. We may assume that the Baltic *je/o*-presents in some cases go back to *e/o*-presents; compare *baudžiù*, Slav. *bljudq*, Gk. πένθομαι, and on the other hand we may observe that the *je/o*-present is not unknown in Slavic: some of the Slavic transitives are attested also with *je/o*-present, cf. *lēkq/lēčq*, *vēzq/vēžq*.

In the preterite the situation is not so clear. If we regard the Baltic preterites as former imperfects opposed to aorists which were lost already in a prehistoric period, we may assume that the *ā*-preterite was associated with the strong aorist (compare Balt. *bundù budaū*, Slav. *vəz-bənq -bədə*) and the *ē*-preterite with the sigmatic aorist (Balt. *baudžiù baudžiaū*, Slav. *bljudq bljusə*). Moreover, it seems possible to assume that the Baltic preterites are genetically related to the Slavic imperfects, which end in *-aachə* or *-ěachə*. We should expect, then, an accord in distribution between the Baltic preterites and the Slavic imperfects. This seems to hold good. In any case the *ē*-preterite regularly corresponds with the imperfect in *-ěachə*: *vedžiaū*, *baudžiaū* as *veděachə*, *bljuděachə*, and the *ā*-preterite may be considered reflected in Slavic as the imperfect of a special type of verbs (*imati emljo*) serving as imperfective counterparts of perfective verbs with the strong aorist: *dusaū* (pres. *dūstù*) as *džchaachə* from *džchatı dušo*, imperfective of *džchnq*, aor. *džchə*. Imperfects such as *džchněachə* I consider to be late, and I explain the limited frequency of imperfects such as *džchaachə* by the fact that another more productive type of imperfectivization, *dychati dychajq*, has spread to the detriment of the type *džchatı dušo*.

Viewed in this way the formatives of the Baltic opposition of voice are comparable to those of the Slavic opposition. In the present we meet with an opposition between *e/o*- and *je/o*-presents on one hand and nasal presents on the other; in the preterite (imperfect) the formant *-ē-* was opposed to a formant *-ā-*. In Slavic we have furthermore a contrast in the aorist, that between the sigmatic and the strong aorist; this contrast is to be considered older, as we find it also in Greek; nothing prevents us from assuming that a similar contrast existed in Baltic.

I conclude, then, that the Baltic opposition of voice rests on

a distinction between the sigmatic and the strong aorist and that the opposition as such is as old as the opposition found in Slavic or Greek. I suppose that this triad of language groups has inherited an old opposition of voice in the aorist.

I emphasize that the assumption of a common opposition of voice in Baltic and Slavic between the sigmatic and the strong aorist by no means involves particularly intimate relations between these two language groups, as the same opposition is found in Greek. On the other hand the firm establishment of a corresponding opposition in the present between *e/o-* and nasal presents may be considered a Balto-Slavic innovation; even if some nasal presents show a tendency to express the ineffective action also in Greek, the situation in Baltic and Slavic is none the less different: the old distinction between active and middle endings was lost, and therefore the distinction in the present stem attains a greater weight than it has in Greek. In the same way the development of *ē-* and *ā-* preterites in both languages may be considered a specific Balto-Slavic feature, as pointed out already by previous scholars.

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