

(By the order of)

{His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and of the Religion}

(The Just and Righteous Ruler)

The Excellent Book, the Lamp of Histories, which has drafted a record of  
events thanks to the concern of the ineffable royal personage.

*2 Fayz Muhammad*

Printed at the Hurufi Press, Kabul, the capital

In the year 1331

(translated R. D. McChesney)

He is God, the Most High

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praise be to God, who made the stories of the good and evil people of the past a lesson to those who come after and are perceptive. Full and perfect prayers and praises on our Lord, Muhammad the Chosen, and on his virtuous family and pious Companions as long as day follows night and night follows day through all ages and epochs.

To begin:

The worshipper of the Creator of sun and moon, the one who gives thanks to the Lord, giver of crown and rank, and the protector of all those who reside and dwell in the community of reciters of the good words, “There is no god but God; Muhammad is the Messenger of God” His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, Amir Habib Allah Khan, the independent ruler of Afghanistan and (Afghan) Turkistan, clearly expresses himself to those who read of the doings of previous generations, “For a long time I have had it in mind and deemed it necessary to write down the events and circumstances of Afghan rulers beginning with His Highness, Ahmad Shah Durrani and proceeding down to our own day. As the reins of the office of the amirate of Afghanistan have now come into the capable grasp of this worshipper of the Creator Most Glorious, thanks to His grace and favor, a decision has been made

to proceed with the recording of those events. But since I consider myself excused from this because of my involvement in state matters and in improving the army and the lot of the subjects, I have appointed Fayz Muhammad Katib, the son of Sa'id Muhammad Mughul, known as a Hazarah of the Muhammad Khwajah, to write a narrative account of the Afghan rulers and to compile a book which would remain a memorial through time. Notwithstanding my deep involvement in the affairs of Afghanistan, I myself have reviewed the book, section by section, as it has been written. Having made deletions and corrections, I now give permission for its publication. Whatever errors are noticed should be blamed only on my pre-occupation with state affairs.

“Mortal man becomes eternal when he lives a life of good repute,  
For after him, remembrance of the good makes his name immortal”

In accordance with these exemplary lines, His Highness, whose refulgent light is always directed towards the improvement of the army and the citizenry and whose world-adorning attention is always turned towards rebuilding the nation and the kingdom, one day summoned this most humble of sinners /3/ and bestowed on him his favor, honoring him by elevating him from the dust of humbleness to the zenith of glory through the felicitous direction of such an illustrious command. He ordered (this humble servant) to compile a book on the reigns and conquests of Afghan sovereigns and to record therein the former boundaries of the territory of Afghanistan even though this might differ from what is found in history books and to give as well the ranges of temperature and the latitude and longitude of each region of this territory. Having compiled a true representation of these and having correlated them with the present demarcated borders of the country by means of measuring instruments and then after assembling a genealogy of the Afghan clans and an enumeration of their luminaries, this humble servant was to make them an appendix to this book.

Rulers prior to Ahmad Shah were not to be included because history books already mention them and including them would be repetitious and lengthen the book to no end. After saying, “I hear and obey” to the felicity-causing orders of the noble one, this humble servant began to write. First, in order to allay the doubts of his contemporaries, he assembled the historical works which are in use and which go some way towards explaining Afghan events. These include: 1) *Jahān Gushā-yi Nādirī*, 2) *Tārīkh-i Sir John Malcolm* 3) *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī*, 4) *Khizānah-yi ʿĀmirah*, 5) the Qajar volume of *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, 6) the Arabic treatise of Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghanistani, 7) *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, 8) the treatise by ʿAli Quli Mirza-yi Iʿtizad al-saltanah-yi Irani, 9) *Risālah-i muḥārabah-i Kābul wa Qandahār*, 10) *Kitāb-i manẓūmah* of Hamid-i Kashmiri, 11) the journal of His Highness, Shujaʿ al-Mulk, 12) *Kitāb-i Ḥayāt-i Afghānī* by Deputy Hayat Khan, 13) *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, 14) the Arabic work, *Mirʿat al-waḍīyah* by the American, Cornelius Joseph Van Dyck, 15) *Pand-nāmah-i dunyā wa dīn*, by the Paradise-dwelling ruler, His Highness, Light of the Nation and the Religion, the late (ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan), and 16) *Jām-i jam* by Farhad Mirza. Next, the writer compared all the events and attributed the variant accounts to the authors of each. (Finally) he collected and recorded descriptions of famous events related by reliable senior figures like Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the son of the late Amir-i Kabir, His Highness Dust Muhammad Khan; Sardar Nur ʿAli Khan, the son of the late Sardar Shir ʿAli Khan Qandahari; the Chief Qazi, (Qazi al-quzat), Saʿd al-Din Khan, son of the late Chief Qazi, ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan, the “khān-i ʿulūm”; and others. Some of these stories they had heard from their fathers and grandfathers and some events they had seen for themselves. Now, at the royal behest, they told them (to the author). The author named the work “The Lamp of Histories” (*Sirāj al-tawārīkh*) for its namesake (the amir, Habib Allah, whose throne title is “Lamp (*Sirāj*) of the Nation and the Religion”).

*THE FORMER BOUNDARIES OF AFGHANISTAN: HOW THE COUNTRY WAS  
NAMED, ITS FAMOUS REGIONS, AND THEIR TEMPERATURE RANGES*

According to Hayat Khan, this territory was known as Kabulistan and Zabulistan in the time of Kayan and the Pishdadiyan. When Alexander the Great conquered it, it became known in Greek as Bactria, i.e. Bakhtar. Later it came under the sway of Islam and was divided into two sections, a western and an eastern. The western part was called Khurasan, the most famous city of which is Herat; it extended from Kabul and Qandahar as far as Iran. The eastern part was called “the land of Roh”, that is the mountainous region located east of the Indus River and extending as far as Hasan Abdal. During the time of Muhammad Akbar Padishah, this region was one of the districts of India and was registered as a sub-district of Kabul. At the time of Ahmad Shah, who came to the throne after the collapse of Nadir Shah’s regime in 1747, corresponding to the Hijri year 1160, it came to be more often designated “Afghanistan”. The simplest way to explain this is that in view of the large number of Afghans who lived in this territory, the phoneme (*lafz*) “-istan”<sup>1</sup> is added to the word “Afghan” hence the name “Afghanistan”. This is analogous to “Arabistan” (Arabia), “gulistan” (flower garden), etc. which are so named because of the abundance of Arabs in the former and flowers in the latter. According to the author of *Jām-i jam*, the territory (of Afghanistan) is larger than France. From east to west, it is one thousand miles long and from north to south, seven hundred and eighty miles wide. It includes all the eastern part of Iran (today) and the northwestern part of India. In the east it is bounded by the Indus (2) River.<sup>2</sup> Lengthwise, this vast territory stretches from the eastern boundary of Kashmir, which is at the longitude 77 degrees east to the western part of Herat which is 61 degrees east of Greenwich. From north to south it extends from Balkh to Baluchistan.

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<sup>1</sup> FM: *-stāns* a place abounding in something.

<sup>2</sup> FM: The Indus is the roiver of Sind and is also called the Attock.

This region at times has been called “the sultanate of Kabul” after its capital and at other times “the sultanate of Qandahar” when that was the capital. Long ago it was called “the sultanate of Ghaznah” or “Ghaznin,” another of its capitals. This sultanate, in particular, includes Afghanistan, and generally comprises parts of Khurasan, Balkh, Sistan, Kashmir, a small piece of Lahore, and a large section of Multan. The population of the various communities, in all these provinces, amounts to fifteen million: Afghans—4,500,000; Hindus—5,500,000; Tatars—1,500,000; Iranians—1,500,000; and others—2,000,000. This figure differs from what the author of *Kitāb-i Hayāt-i Afghānī* says. After stating that the land area of the territory is 300,000 square miles and that there are twenty-eight people per square mile, he writes that the population is 8,400,000. The author of *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, on the authority of the work of the Englishman, (Sir Frederic) Goldsmid, has written that the area of the country is 294,000 English (square) miles and that its population amounts to 14,000,000. According to the author of the *Mirʿat al-waḍīyah*, its area is 150,000 square miles and its population is 4,000,000.

#### *THE FAMOUS CITIES AND RENOWNED REGIONS OF AFGHANISTAN*

##### *KABUL*

According to Hayat Khan, Kabul’s latitude is 33 degrees 10 minutes north and its longitude is 67 degrees 15 minutes east. It is 6,250 feet above sea level and the built-up area of the city covers three square miles. It has 70,000 inhabitants. This contrasts with the description given by the author of *Jām-i jam* according to which Kabul lies at latitude 34 degrees 27 minutes north and at 69 degrees east longitude and has a population of 50,000.

##### *QANDAHAR*

According to the author of *Kitāb-i Ḥayāt-i Afghānī*, the city is approximately 200 miles southwest of Kabul. It is 3,500 feet above sea level and has a population of about 60,000 people. However, the author of *Jām-i jam* says it has a population of 80,000 and is located at 32 degrees 35 minutes north latitude and 66 degrees 20 minutes east longitude.

#### HERAT

According to the *Jām-i jam*, Herat is one of the oldest cities of the Orient. It has strong square fortifications each wall of which is 1,800 paces (*gām*) long. There are five gates and the walls include a moat, three sets of earthworks (*khākrīz*) and two ramparts (*shayr-ḥājīr*).<sup>3</sup> Its population does not exceed 40,000. Hayat Khan writes however that Herat is somewhat less than 500 miles west of Kabul and that its population numbers 50,000. Again, according to the author of *Jām-i jam*, the city is situated at 34 degrees 45 minutes north latitude and 61 degrees east longitude. This is (partly) contradicted by the *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī* where it is written that the city is located at 35 degrees north latitude but at the same longitude (given in the *Jām-i jam*)./5/

#### GHAZNIN

According to the *Kitāb-i Ḥayāt-i Afghānī*, this city stands 70 miles south of Kabul and its population numbers 15,000. According to *Jām-i jam*, it is the most famous city of Afghanistan. Once it was the capital of a rich and powerful state. It has been called a second Medina because of the great number of learned people buried there. It lies at 33 degrees 37 minutes north latitude and 68 degrees 48 minutes east longitude.

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<sup>3</sup> It's well-known that this is a contraction of *shahr-ḥājib* (RM: "city-protector"?)



*BALKH*

According to the author of *Jām-i jam*, from whose book the information about all the cities from here on is taken, the city of Balkh, which was ancient Bactria and formerly part of Khurasan, has a population of Afghans, Uzbeks, and Tabakhts<sup>4</sup> (1), some of whom live in towns and villages and some in tents. In ancient times this city was one of the great cities of the Orient. Now it is in ruins. It is situated at 36 degrees 40 minutes north latitude and 67 degrees 23 minutes east longitude.

*MAYMANAH*

Some consider Maymanah part of Gharshistan and others consider it part of Juzjan. Juzjan is a region which lies east (sic) of Balkh. Its capital is Shibarghan, located at 36 degrees 35 minutes north latitude and 66 degrees 21 minutes east longitude. They also call that town Ushburqan. Another of its towns is Andkhud, at 36 degrees 50 minutes north and 66 degrees east. It is 66 miles from Andkhud to Balkh. Maymanah, according to Arrowsmith is at 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude and 65 degrees 18 minutes east longitude. On Black's map, it lies at 35 degrees 47 minutes north and 60 degrees 32 minutes east.

*TUKHARISTAN, NOW KNOWN AS QATAGHAN*

Some spell it "Qazaghan" and some spell it "Qadaghan." This region is divided into two sections, an upper part and a lower one. The upper part is east of Balkh and west of the Oxus River, and 30 farsangs from Balkh. The lower

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<sup>4</sup> FM: I.e., Tabats. (RM: It is not clear to whom the author is referring. Qirghiz, perhaps. Tibetans seems unlikely.)

part lies east of the upper and also is west of the Oxus. The seat of its government is Taluqan, situated at 36 degrees 42 minutes north latitude and 69 degrees 38 minutes east longitude. Another of (Qataghan's) cities is Andarab at 35 degrees 41 minutes north latitude and 69 degrees 30 minutes east longitude. Another is Samangan, the Arabized form of which is Samanjan, at 36 degrees 52 minutes north and 70 degrees 6 minutes east. Lower Tukharistan is larger than Upper Tukharistan. In atlases the region of Tukharistan is now called "Kunduz", or, in the local dialect, "Qunduz." Once called "Kuhan Duz", i.e. "old citadel", that name was probably transformed into the present one. Qunduz is at 36 degrees 45 minutes north latitude and 69 degrees 10 minutes east longitude. Another city of Tukharistan is Khulm, or Tashqurghan. It lies between Balkh and Qunduz at 36 degrees 39 minutes north latitude and 68 degrees 8 minutes east longitude. /6/

*BADAKHSHAN, THE NAME OF WHOSE CAPITAL WAS ONCE JUZUN AND  
IS NOW FAYZABAD*

This region is located at 36 degrees 28 minutes north latitude and 71 degrees 22 minutes east longitude. In the past it was one of the independent Tatar provinces.

*JALALABAD*

This city is northwest of Peshawar and east of Kabul at 34 degrees 8 minutes north latitude and approximately 67 degrees east longitude.

*FARAH*

Farah is located at 34 degrees 50 minutes north latitude and 62 degrees east

longitude.

*KASHMIR, ONE OF THE PROVINCES CONTROLLED BY EARLIER AFGHAN  
RULERS*

This region is mountainous and one of the most beautiful parts of the world. It is called “India’s Paradise.” Its latitude and longitude are 34 degrees 30 minutes north and 74 degrees 45 minutes east. In former times it was under the sway of the Moghul sultans and was considered part of India. Later, His Highness Ahmad Shah Durrani occupied it. It remained under the control of Afghan sovereigns and leaders until the death in 1238 (1822-23) of Sardar Muhammad ‘Azim Khan the brother of the late Amir Dust Muhammad Khan. After his death, Maharajah Ranjit Singh seized it. At the end of the reign of his son, Maharajah Vilip Singh, it passed into the hands of Maharajah Gulab Singh of the Dugrah clan. Now the chiefship of that region, subject to the British government, belongs to Maharajah Partab Singh, a grandson of Maharajah Gulab Singh. The population of the region is approximately 180,000.

*LAHORE*

(Lahore) is located at 31 degrees 35 minutes north and 74 degree 10 minutes east. Along with Peshawar (34 degrees 8 minutes north by 71 degrees 30 minutes east), Multan (30 degrees 10 minutes north, 71 degrees 12 minutes east), Shikarpur (27 degrees 56 minutes north 68 degrees 50 minutes east), Derajat, Sind, Shalkut, and Fushanj, it is under the control of Great Britain.

*SISTAN*

To the north Sistan borders on Herat and a section of Khurasan. Its western

boundary is the Yazd Desert. To the south it borders Baluchistan and to the east Afghanistan. It is part of this territory (Afghanistan). The present dividing line (separating it from Afghanistan) is the Helmand River.

*A QUOTE FROM MIR<sup>3</sup>AT AL-WADIYAH*

Since the American, Cornelius Joseph Van Dyck, has described Afghanistan and its former boundaries in his book *Mir<sup>3</sup>at al-wadiyah* more clearly and correctly than anyone else, it is unnecessary to add the notices given by other writers, which would be redundant. What follows is taken *in toto* from his work. /7/

*EASTERN PERSIA, NOW CALLED AFGHANISTAN*

This land and its provinces are bounded on the north by Balkh, one of the independent Tatar states, on the east by China and India, to the south by the Indian Ocean and to the west by Kirman and Khurasan of the state of Iran. The area so defined is divided into four parts: 1) Herat, the northwestern part of this country; 2) Kabul, which is in the northern part of the middle of the country; 3) Sistan in the west; and 4) Baluchistan, in the southern part. The total area of the territory is 400,000 square miles. Until the tenth century of the Christian era, the entire region was subject to the caliphs in Baghdad. Then in 997 A.D., Sultan Mahmud came to the throne. Taking Khurasan and Turkistan, which had been under the rule of the Samanid state, he considerably expanded the size of the country. In addition, he occupied and annexed a large part of India. After the fall of his state in the twelfth century, the Saljuq state held sway, seizing Ghaznin and its dependencies. Later, the Khwarazmian state (successor to the Saljuqs) fell as a result of the conquests and depredations of Chingiz Khan and the region was divided into several parts under various local rulers. All of these local rulers

waged war on, and attempted to subdue, one another. This state of affairs continued until Ahmad Shah Durrani established himself on the throne and brought into being the independent nation of Afghanistan. He included in it the four regions mentioned above but after him, as a result of the differences between his descendants, only Herat remained for his posterity.

### *HERAT*

This region is a part of eastern Persia. Its northwestern section and (other) parts touch on the Khwarazmian Desert. On the southern edge of this desert is a chain of mountains stretching eastwards. East of Herat, the mountain chain is quite extensive, some two hundred miles wide and three hundred miles long. To the east these mountains connect up with the mountains and highlands of the Kabul region. They contain abundant springs and streams and in the level places and valleys, wheat, barley, and other foodstuffs are cultivated. The Herat River (Hari Rud) is one of the rivers of this region. It emerges (from the mountains) near Herat city and bypasses it to the east. The Qaysar, Murghab, and Tejend Rivers flow northwestwards and empty either into the Caspian Sea or the Oxus River or disappear into the desert sands. The climate of the region is excellent. Due to the average elevation of five thousand feet above sea level, the winter cold and summer heat are both severe. The famous ancient cities of this region, most of which are now in ruins, include Shahrīstan, Marvushah Jahan, Marvarrud, Badghis, and others, individual mention of which would take too long. Herat is situated in a lovely spot with mountains surrounding its outskirts. The cultivable land of the villages and hamlets which are located in the area ringed by mountains is three hundred miles in length and fifteen in width and is watered by the (Hari Rud) river.

### *MARVISHAH JAHAN*

This city is located on the Murghab River. Although it was the seat of the caliph, Ma'mun, during his Khurasan stay, it is now in ruins and hardly worth consideration. It is said that Yazdegird was killed in this city.

#### *SISTAN*

To the west (of Sistan) lies the Kirman Desert and to the north Herat and Khurasan. Afghanistan is to the east and Baluchistan to the south. On its southwest edge there is a vast desert, part of which lies between Kirman and Baluchistan. They call that area Kuhistan. Sistan is mostly sand desert. Its western part has the Zarah Lake whose circumference is 150 ~~/8/~~ miles. Several of Afghanistan's rivers flow into this lake, the largest being the Helmand (Hirmand). The (lake) water is saline. In the middle of the lake is a small island on which stand the ruins of a fortress. The total area of Sistan is 25,000 square miles. Its capital is Jalalabad, located on the shores of the Zarah Lake. Amir Timur destroyed that town and carried out a general massacre of its population.

#### *THE TOWNS AND REGIONS INHABITED BY AFGHAN TRIBES AND KNOWN AS AFGHANISTAN*

The region is bounded on the south by Baluchistan, on the east by the Indus River, on the west by Sistan and Herat, and on the north also by Herat and the Hindu Kush. The lattermost chain separates Afghanistan from Balkh, Badakhshan, and Tukharistan. The area of this region (i.e. Afghanistan) is 150,000 square miles. Its population numbers forty laks or four million persons.

#### *THE TOWNS OF AFGHANISTAN*

One town of Afghanistan is Qandahar, at 32 degrees 20 minutes north by 66 degrees 30 minutes east. During the reign of Ahmad Shah Durrani, Qandahar was the capital of Afghanistan. After him, his son, His Highness Timur Shah, made Kabul the capital. The commercial streets (*bāzārḥā*) of this city, each of which is fifty cubits wide, converge at the city center at a plaza which is fifty cubits on a side. Another (of the towns) is Kabul City, located at 34 degrees 10 minutes north and 69 degrees 15 minutes east. Because of earthquakes its buildings are mostly of wood. It has a population of 60,000 people. Another town is Peshawar. In 1810 A.D., Shah Shujā<sup>c</sup> made the city the capital of his government. It stands on somewhat uneven land. The circumference of the built-up part of the city is five miles around. The population numbers 100,000 souls. It is located at 34 degrees 6 minutes north and 71 degrees 13 minutes east and is 210 miles from Kabul. Jalalabad is another town. It lies west of Peshawar on the southern bank of the Kabul River. Another is Ghaznin, located at 33 degrees 10 minutes north, 68 degrees 57 minutes east on the banks of a river which has four or five water-driven mills on it. It is 80 miles from Kabul. Another town is Farah, eleven stages south of Herat on the Farah River. It has a population of 4,000.

#### *BALUCHISTAN*

Baluchistan is bordered by the Indian Ocean on the south, Sind on the east, Afghanistan on the north, and Kirman and Luristan on the west. It has 600 miles of coastline on the Indian Ocean. The province is some 350 miles wide and its total area is about 146,000 sq. miles. The region is divided into several districts. One is Kuhistan in the northwestern part of the province. The southernmost district is Makran. Between these two lies Baluchistan (proper). The entire region is under the rule of the chiefs of various tribes between whom there is seldom any agreement. The most powerful of the chiefs is the Khan of Qalat.

The length of the Kuhistan Desert part of Baluchistan is 300 miles and its width is 80 miles. The people who inhabit this region include Persians, Hindus, Tatars, Afghans, and Kurds. They speak a variety of dialects akin to Hindi and Persian. Most are Muslim. The population of all the tribes resident in this region is 2,000,000. /9/

#### *SOUTHERN TURKISTAN BELONGING TO AFGHANISTAN*

This (region) includes Badakhshan and Tukharistan which lie south of the Oxus River. It also includes Balkh, mention of which has already been made based on other sources. It is not given again (here) because of the similarity of Col. Joseph Van Dyck's account to the others.

#### *AFGHANISTAN' S CLIMATE*

The authors of the books mentioned above all agree that the climate of this country varies according to whether the locales are in the uplands or lowlands. The country's northern and western regions experience freezing winter temperatures. The temperature usually goes down to 20 degrees and on rare occasions to 12 degrees, which is difficult to believe. Summer temperature in the eastern and southern parts of the country does not exceed 105 degrees while the cold there ranges from 50 down to 35 degrees and does not go any lower. Similarly summer's heat in the northern and western areas of the country does not go higher than 60 or 70 degrees although very infrequently it has risen as high as 99 degrees in some years. But the latter case is difficult to credit and should be considered a very remarkable occurrence. Whenever such (a phenomenon) occurs, it will be noted, God willing, in the course of relating the events of that particular time. The distances between the towns of Afghanistan are recorded variously in (these) history books. Brief reference has already been



made to each of these and up to now what has been written here concerning the former extent of Afghanistan, latitudes and longitudes, distances between towns, populations, and the weather is entirely from these previous works. The verification and careful calculations which His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, (Habib Allah Khan), has requested on all issues including the surveyed borders and the present area of the country as well as a map showing each border individually will be published as a final appendix to this book so that readers will be given a sound method and a real basis of comparison with that which these (authors) have written.

*A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS OF HIS HIGHNESS AHMAD SHAH  
THAT HAPPENED PRIOR TO HIS REIGN<sup>5</sup>*

Ahmad Shah's ancestors lived in Multan. His own birth took place there but, due to certain events, while still a child, he moved with his father, Muhammad Zaman Khan, first to Qandahar and then to Herat where they settled. After some time, he was taken captive by the Ghilja'i, along with his brother, Zu'l-Faqar Khan, and the two were imprisoned in Qandahar until Nadir Shah Afshar captured Qandahar and released them from prison. He granted certain favors to Ahmad Shah and sent him to Mazandaran with an adequate stipend. Ahmad Shah achieved distinction in Nadir Shah's service, constantly performing commendable deeds. He was frequently in Nadir Shah's company and earned his approval and favor so that at many of his public audiences, the shah would say, "In Iran, Turan, and Hindustan, I have yet to see Ahmad Khan's like when it comes to good qualities and good deeds." He used to keep him and three or four thousand horsemen of the Abdali tribe—now known as the Durrani—close to his tent and the tents of his women and children. When signs of greatness became apparent on Ahmad Khan's face, Nadir Shah summoned him

<sup>5</sup> FM: According to the author of the *Tārīkh-i Aḥmad(ī)*.

one day and said, “The signs of leadership are evident on your forehead and you will ascend the throne of sovereignty after me.” After uttering this, he grasped Ahmad Khan’s ear so that he would remember his words and said, “When I am gone, you must repay the favor I have done you by being friendly with, and behaving fairly towards, my children.” In the end, according to the dictum, “The lords of nations are inspired” everything happened just as Nadir Shah had predicted. /10/

*THE REIGN OF HIS HIGHNESS AHMAD SHAH SADUZAI OF THE DURRANI  
CLAN<sup>6</sup>*

When Nadir Shah’s son, Riza Quli Mirza, was blinded, the shah was filled with rage and each day put to death many Qizilbash and Afshar. His own people were deeply angered by his behavior and they conspired with his brother, °Ali Quli Khan, the governor of Herat, to assassinate the shah. On Sunday, the 11th of Jumadi al-Thani 1160/20 June 1747, while Nadir Shah’s camp was at Fathabad, two farsangs from Khabushan, one of the districts of Mashhad, Muhammad Khan Qajar Irawani and Musa Beg Irluy Afshar Urumi, with the help of Salih Khan Qirghiz Abiwardi, Muhammad Quli Khan Urumi, the head of the household bodyguard, and others of the permanent bodyguard who were on duty at Nadir Shah’s private quarters, entered his chambers at midnight, decapitated him, and hung his head up in the army camp. One of Nadir Shah’s harem attendants immediately informed Ahmad Khan. With 3,000 troopers from the Abdali battalion and other troopers from the Uzbek battalion, he stood guard until morning over the royal harem. At dawn he clashed with a group of Qizilbash renegades and evil Afshar who were plundering the royal coffers, routed them, and took charge of all the money and valuables. As a reward for this service, the first lady of Nadir Shah’s harem gave Ahmad Khan the Kuh-i

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<sup>6</sup> FM: According to *Tārīkh-Jahāngushā-yi Nādirī*.

Nur diamond, one of two diamonds—the other being the Darya-yi Nur—which Nadir Shah had gotten from Muhammad Shah Gurgani and which had been under lock and key in the harem, along with a peerless ruby. Ahmad Khan then left for Qandahar with the Abdali Afghan cavalry and reached Nadirabad in Qandahar with no interference from the governor of Herat.<sup>7</sup> There, with the support and approval of the Abdali tribal leaders, especially Hajji Jamal Khan Barakzai whose power and influence were unsurpassed, he put on the mantle of leadership. At the moment of installation, Sabir Shah, a fakir, attached a sprig of green herbs to his turban and said, “This is your (royal) plume. You are the padishah of the time” (*tū pādshāh-i dawrānī*). From then on, His Highness Ahmad Shah called his clan, which had been known as the Abdali, the Dawrani. He ascended the throne and assumed the responsibilities of rule. He gave Begi Khan Bamizai the honorary title (*laqab*) “Shah Wali Khan, Ashraf al-wuzara” and appointed him to the position of wazir. He gave Sardar Jahan Khan Fufalzai the title “Khan-i khanan” and “Mir Bazan” as well as the post of commander-in-chief of the army. He named Shah Pasand Khan general of the army (*mīr-i lashkar*). In similar fashion he bestowed high positions and ranks on all of the leaders of the Durrani clans. One of the fortuitous events that occurred at the time Ahmad Shah was announcing his reign was that Taqi Khan Akhtah-begi, one of Nadir Shah’s sardars, arrived in Qandahar accompanied by Nawwab Nasir Khan, the governor of Kabul and Peshawar. They were bringing Nadir Shah several years worth of the tax revenues of those two provinces amounting to 26 crores of rupees.<sup>8</sup> Ahmad Shah deemed this treasure to be bounty from God and seized it. Nasir Khan was kept under surveillance for several days and was then admitted into the presence of Ahmad Shah. Somewhat later, either because of an official order or a rumor, he fled Qandahar and went to Peshawar. There he rallied the troops stationed all over that region and became the cause of

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<sup>7</sup> FM: According to the author of *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*.

<sup>8</sup> FM: According to *Ātishkadah-i Āzar*.

a good deal of trouble with plundering, pillaging, and promoting his own cause.

*THE COINAGE AND SEAL OF AHMAD SHAH AND HIS MARCH ON KABUL  
AND PESHAWAR*<sup>9</sup>

When Ahmad Shah got his hands on that enormous cash windfall, he melted it down and minted and circulated new coins bearing his own name and this verse: “Sovereignty came from the Unparalleled Empowerer to Ahmad Shah, “Mint coins of silver and gold (as the ruler of) earth and heaven.” /11/

On his seal-ring was engraved the phrase: “Sovereignty belongs to God, o Conqueror—Ahmad Shah, Durr-i Durrani.” He had the great seal made in the shape of a peacock’s fan, round and elongated like a flask, and it was used on *farmāns* and *ḥukms*.

After dealing with business in Qandahar, the shah set out with a sizeable force for Kabul and Peshawar aiming to conquer those regions and punish Nasir Khan. He soon reached Ghaznin where the governor, an appointee of Nasir Khan, resisted but was defeated. Ahmad Shah conferred the government of Ghaznin on one of his confidants and then proceeded to Kabul. The governor of Kabul, (also) an appointee of Nasir Khan, decided resistance would be futile and fled to Peshawar. Ahmad Shah entered the Kabul citadel and, after setting the affairs of that province in order, headed for Peshawar, his army by his side. He was en route when Nasir Khan, having readied for battle, first decided to attack °Abd al-Samad Khan Muhammadzai, one of the important zamindars of Peshawar and the chief of Duabah and Ashnagar, or Hasht Nigar, located 16 kuruhs north of Peshawar. He attacked him and a brief fight ensued. °Abd al-Samad Khan, who had learned of Ahmad Shah’s march on Peshawar, then fled Duabah and turned hopefully to the Afghan shah. Nasir Khan killed most of the people °Abd al-Samad Khan had left behind and then returned to Peshawar.

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<sup>9</sup> FM: According to *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*.

Near Jalalabad, °Abd al-Samad Khan joined up with an advance force under Sardar Jahan Khan, the “Khan-i khanan” and field marshal and accompanied it to Peshawar. When the force arrived near Peshawar, Nasir Khan, realizing he did not have the capability to resist, fled the city, crossed the Attock River, and took refuge in Hazarah-yi Chaj. Ahmad Shah, whose goal was to conquer Peshawar, took the city without a fight and stayed there long enough so that the leaders of the Malik and the sardars of the Afghan tribal groups of that region could present themselves to him. They swore allegiance and offered their obedience. During the re-organization of affairs in Peshawar he ordered Sardar Jahan Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, to pursue Nasir Khan with an adequate force. So, while Ahmad Shah was occupied with administrative matters in Peshawar, the commander-in-chief headed for Hazarah-yi Chaj and crossed the Attock River. Nasir Khan suddenly felt insecure and he once more retreated, this time to Lahore. His possessions and wealth were seized by (Ahmad Shah’s) army. Sardar Jahan Khan, content with the booty, now returned to Peshawar and rejoined the royal army. During the campaign, Ahmad Shah, after satisfying himself with establishing his sovereignty over the territory which Nadir Shah had severed from India and annexed, appointed reliable individuals as governors for each locale and established garrisons at each place. With the remainder of his troops he then left Peshawar for Qandahar in order to take care of certain matters there. After dealing with all those affairs, he resolved to conquer Lahore and so set out in that direction.

*AHMAD SHAH’ S SECOND CAMPAIGN TOWARDS LAHORE AND INDIA  
WITH GOD’S ASSISTANCE*

In 1161/1748 the shah set out to conquer Lahore and India by way of Kabul and Peshawar, accompanied by 30,000 brave cavalry and infantry. After crossing the Attock and Jilam Rivers, he arrived at the outskirts of Lahore. The

FM: (1) According to the  
*Khizānah-i °Āmirah, Tārīkh-i*  
*Aḥmadi*, and *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*

Nazim of Lahore, Mir Pahlawi, the son of Zakariya Khan, called Shah Nawaz Khan, learned of Ahmad Shah's intentions before his arrival near the city, and requested aid from Muhammad Shah Gurgani. But prior to the approach of Ahmad Shah's army, the star of the nazim's fortune had not yet ascended from its perigee nor shed any beams of light on his dire condition. Compelled by his inability to resist, he fled Lahore for Shah Jahanabad /12/ and Ahmad Shah entered the city with his army. More accurate accounts say that Mir Pahlawi Hayat Allah Khan, whose title was Shah Nawaz Khan did come out to defend the city after requesting help from the capital (*dār al-khilāfah*) through the offices of his uncle, the wazir, Qamar al-Din Khan, and positioned his troops along the banks of the Chinab River. At the first false light of morning, Ahmad Shah marched with 10,000 cavalrymen, crossed at a ford a few farsangs downstream of both (main) armies, and then moved forward on Lahore. As a consequence of this bold move, Shah Nawaz Khan chewed the lip of confusion, abandoned all his materiel and provisions, and fled with several of his confidants to Shah Jahanabad near Delhi. That same morning his soldiers learned of his escape and wanted to take the road of flight themselves when Ahmad Shah came upon the scene, seized all the belongings of Shah Nawaz Khan's force including the artillery and ammunition stores, and scattered Shah Nawaz's confused and demoralized troops to the winds. The next day Ahmad Shah entered Lahore with the rest of his army which had now crossed the river. His power and renown now increased greatly thanks to the unlimited quantities of materiel and equipment which fell into his hands. All the rajahs of the Punjab presented themselves and obtained the favor of kissing the royal stirrup. Muhammad Shah Gurgani, meantime, responding to the pleas of Mir Pahlawi Shah Nawaz Khan, had sent his own son (who happened to also be named) Ahmad Shah from Shah Jahanabad along with the prime minister (*wazīr al-mamālik*), Qamar al-Din Khan, the I'timad al-dawlah; Nawwab Abu'l-Mansur Safdar Jang, and other amirs and rajahs of the district of Ajmir, the total number

of those forces being some 250,000, to drive off Ahmad Shah. Once the army was en route Kisra Singh, the rajah of Jaypur, and the zamindars of Sihhind<sup>10</sup> like Jamal al-Din Khan Talpuri; Ray Kalah, the zamindar of Chagar and Anwalah; Singh Jit, the zamindar of Patyalah; and others, joined the prince at the order of Muhammad Shah. Similarly, °Abd Allah Khan and Fayz Allah Khan, the sons of the governor of Sirhind, °Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhillah, both of whom were in Shah Jahanabad as hostages, were ordered to join the Prime Minister, Qamar al-Din Khan, I°timad al-Dawlah, and they too advanced against Ahmad Shah. The prince was advancing with the contingents under his command when Shah Nawaz Khan, the Nazim of Lahore, retreating from the Afghans, suddenly met up with the prince's forces. He told the story of his defeat and of the courage of the Afghan soldiers with such embellishments—in order not to make them ascribe cowardice, irresolution, and stupidity to him—that the leaders of the Gurgani army, thanks to his exaggerations, fell into anxious confusion. On another front, °Ali Muhammd Khan Ruhillah, the governor, now abandoned Sirhind, and fled in the face of the might and awesomeness of Ahmad Shah. He crossed the Jun River via Saharnipur<sup>11</sup> heading for Anwalah and Basuli Kar, his native land. As a consequence, the fear of the Gurgani amirs increased. The prime minister, Qamar al-Din Khan, I°timad al-Dawlah, sent his family and all the possessions he had with him to Sirhind because of his apprehensions about the Afghan army. He appointed °Ali Muhammad Khan's sons who, as mentioned above, had been held as hostages in Shah Jahanabad and whom he had brought with him, to take their father's place and defend Sirhind and to guard the property he was sending there. With the prince and contingents of foot and horse, he himself bypassed Sirhind entirely in order to fight Ahmad Shah, stopping at the Satlaj River at the Bahi Warah Ford and there made camp. Ahmad Shah, after reviewing his troops in camp, rode for

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<sup>10</sup> FM: Now called Sirhind.

<sup>11</sup> FM: Sārānpūr.

Sirhind with 30,000 stalwart troopers via Ludhiana which lay downstream of the prince's forces. On the 13th of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Awwal 1161/13 March 1748, he entered Sirhind, plundered the city, and killed anyone who put hand to sword. He captured the sons of Ali Muhammad Khan and seized the household and goods of the prime minister, Qamar al-Din Khan, along with much other booty. The prince learned of this and turned from the Satlaj River towards Sirhind. Thus the eastern army became the western and the western the eastern. From the 15th of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Awwal to the 28th/15–28 March—a period of 14 days—a battle raged at Malupur.

On Friday the 22nd/22 March, the eighth day of the conflict, a cannonball struck Qamar al-Din Khan's tent /13/ while he was performing Friday prayers, and killed him. Because of this catastrophe, the belt of resolve was undone for Rajah Kisra Singh, the son of Jai Singh Sawai, and the other rajahs of Ajmir who (altogether) commanded a 12,000 man force, and they all turned their backs on the battle and left for their own homes. Despite these two great fissures which had appeared in the solid fortress of the prince—the death of the prime minister and the disintegration of the 12,000-man force and its disappearance from the field of battle—he was not dismayed but prepared himself to do battle aided by (Mir Manu) the Mu<sup>c</sup>in al-Mulk and other sons of Safdar Jang, the wazir.

Then a very strange disaster overtook Ahmad Shah Durrani's army. It happened thus: several wagons of projectiles (*'arrādah-i bān*)<sup>12</sup> from Lahore had come into Ahmad Shah's hands and he had them with him at this battle. At the height of the conflict, the shah brought them out to use but due to inexperience and a lack of expertise on the part of his men they were fired in his direction and killed and wounded many of the people around him. Consequently, despite the fact that the signs of victory were clearly visible in the blood shed by Afghan

<sup>12</sup> FM: In Hindi, *bān* is something which is filled with powder and is fired at the enemy force. It takes the form of a "bird" (*hawā'ī*), a kind of pyrotechnics, (12?) from *Ghiyāth al-lughāt*—that which the Franks call a rocket (*rākat*).



swords, a sense of despondency overtook the shah and he felt that the cause could not be advanced. So, looking ahead, he decided to seek a peaceful settlement and then withdrew his hand from battle. Agreeing that the Indus River would be the dividing line between the two states, he returned to Qandahar through Peshawar and Kabul and the prince (Ahmad Shah Gurgani) returned home to Shah Jahanabad. In light of the death of the prime minister, Qamar al-Din Khan, and because of the steadiness and stalwart behavior of Mir Manu, Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>in al-mulk, and others of his family who had taken part in the battle, Muhammad Shah Gurgani, conferred on Mir Manu, Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>in al-mulk, the position of *shūbah-dār* of Lahore and Multan by proclamation (*manshūr*). Muhammad Shah himself, one month after concluding the peace, bade farewell to the mortal world and hastened off to his everlasting abode. The prince learned of his father's death en route home and entered Shah Jahanabad with a grief-stricken heart. After performing the funeral ceremonies, he ascended the throne and appointed Safdar Jang as his *wazīr*.

*THE THIRD CAMPAIGN OF AHMAD SHAH AGAINST LAHORE AND THE  
TRIBUTARY STATUS OF MIR MANU*<sup>13</sup>

In 1162 the intention of world conquest once again encompassed the heart of Ahmad Shah. He raised his banners at Kabul for Lahore, engaged in a brief struggle with Mir Manu, Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>in al-mulk, and then negotiated a peaceful settlement. Ahmad Shah was content to receive the lands which Nadir Shah had occupied. The revenues of the four regions of Siyalkut, Gujarat, Awrangabad, and Barsarya Amritsar became tribute and were made the sworn responsibility of Mir Manu who was to submit these revenues to officials from the royal diwan (*dīwān-i a<sup>ʿ</sup>lā*) on a regular basis. The shah returned to Kabul and (then) Qandahar. After his arrival in Qandahar, certain amirs, the edges of whose

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<sup>13</sup> FM: According to *Khizānah-i ʿĀmirah*, *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī*, and *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*.

hearts had been contaminated by the impurity of envy, conspired to assassinate him. Discovering their plot, he identified Mir Muhammad Khan °Alizal, the *mīr-i Afghān*; Abu Khan; Mahabbat Khan Fufalzai; Uthman Khan, the *tūpchī-bāshī*; and a few others as the masterminds of the conspiracy. During the time his headquarters were at Tapah-i Maqsud Shah, northwest of Qandahar, the shah ordered them punished and called for their execution. All were accordingly dealt with except for °Uthman Khan whom the hand of fate wound in an elephant's trunk and flung at the foot of the throne. This saved him from perdition. All the others were executed and Ahmad Shah was relieved of the disquiet their evil scheming had brought.

#### *AHMAD SHAH MARCHES ON KHURASAN<sup>14</sup>*

At the time Nadir Shah was assassinated, the people around him looked to Shah Rukh Mirza to succeed him. He was a handsome man and his paternal grandfather was Nadir Shah while his maternal grandfather was Sultan Husayn. However, because of the uncertainties of the time, one Sayyid Muhammad took it into his head to covet the throne. Because his father, Sayyid Da'ud, was a holy man and the husband of Sultan Husayn Mirza's sister, he considered his noble birth to be the essence of leadership and so he became a rival claimant (to the throne). At first /14/ in order to attain his end, he spread the rumor that Shah Rukh Mirza, like Nadir Shah, his grandfather, had turned away from Shi'ism. Since in fact Shah Rukh Mirza did behave in a cordial manner towards those who were not Shi'ite, especially Christians, Sayyid Muhammad used his behavior as the pretext for his own claim (to the throne) and began to agitate and sow dissension. By virtue of his own reputation for religious steadfastness, he appealed to the Shi'ites who all joined him. A large group gathered around him

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<sup>14</sup> FM: According to *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī*, *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, °Ali Quli Mirza-yi I'tizad al-saltanah-i Irani, and Sir John Malcolm.

and began to create strife. Before Shah Rukh could assemble his forces, they fell on him, seized and blinded him, and then incarcerated him. They conferred the throne name “Sulayman” on Sayyid Muhammad and declared him king. But before he could begin his rule, one of Shah Rukh’s loyal sardars, Yusuf °Ali Khan, having buckled the belt of revenge, retaliated and defeated him in battle. Yusuf °Ali Khan captured Sayyid Muhammad and killed him. Shah Rukh was released from prison, installed on the throne, and gathered the reins of power into his own hands. In the meantime, two other amirs, Ja°far Khan, the leader of the Kurds, and Mir °Alam Khan, the commander of the Arabs, joined forces against Yusuf °Ali Khan and murdered him. Once again Shah Rukh was imprisoned. After several days the two amirs fell out and set up battle lines outside the city. Mir °Alam Khan emerged victorious from the fray. Ahmad Shah, who had been informed of the strife among the amirs of Khurasan and the imprisonment of Shah Rukh, raised his banners for Herat and Mashhad with the aim of annexing Herat to his own dominions, releasing Shah Rukh from prison, and re-instating him on the throne (at Mashhad). When he arrived in Herat, Mir °Alam Khan, the Arab, who had come to Herat after incarcerating Shah Rukh and had taken over the government, resisted Ahmad Shah. For four months the city was under siege. In the end the residents became desperate because of the scarcity and high price of food and sought a truce from Ahmad Shah. They surrendered the Burj-i Khakistar and a group of Afghan braves climbed to its top. Despite learning of the treachery of the city’s residents and their joining forces with the Afghans, Mir °Alam Khan still refused to give himself up but stood fast and fought until he was killed. Ahmad Shah occupied Herat and then sent a force of 5,000 cavalry under Sardar Jahan Khan Fufalzai to intercept the troops coming from Khurasan. The Khurasanis learned of the death of Mir °Alam Khan when they reached Turbat-i Shaykh-i Jam as well as the fall of Herat and Sardar Jahan Khan’s march against them. They promptly reversed course and rode back to Khurasan. Sardar Jahan Khan attacked the Khurasani’s

train, looted it, and then returned to Herat.

Ahmad Shah gave the government of Herat to Darwish °Ali Khan Hazarah and left for Mashhad with his army. Scarcely had he reached the city and put it under siege, when the princes, Nasr Allah Mirza and Nadir Mirza, emerged from the city accompanied by a few Khurasani cavalrymen and a number of ghulams and attacked Ahmad Shah's flanks. As soon as the Afghans would counter-attack, they would withdraw and attack at another point. Whatever plan Ahmad Shah devised had no effect on the two princes. After the siege had gone on for four months, both sides agreed to a truce. Ahmad Shah received his wife and his son, Prince Timur, who had been in Mashhad since the time of Nadir Shah as well as a sum of money paid in lieu of plunder. Shah Rukh was again released from prison and the government given to him. (Ahmad Shah) then marched off to Nishapur. °Abbas Quli Khan Bayat the governor there, shut the gates of the city, fortified the towers and ramparts of the walls, and undertook to defend the city. But because he thought himself likely to be defeated by Ahmad Shah, he consulted with his uncle, Hajji Sayf al-Din, and at the latter's suggestion outwardly agreed to negotiations while inwardly, he procrastinated intentionally, thereby delaying Ahmad Shah until winter arrived and snow blanketed the land from the mountaintops to the plains. Because of the amount of snow and the severity of the cold, Ahmad Shah's army was forced /15/ to relinquish its siege. Ahmad Shah realized that °Abbas Quli Khan's efforts at negotiation were deceitful and were aimed at the destruction of his army and him. Nonetheless, he had no choice but to withdraw from around Nishapur and return to Herat. But because of the severe cold, his army was unable, despite its best efforts, to carry away its equipment, tents, and artillery. It abandoned all its supplies, dropped its artillery pieces down *qanāt* shafts, and left for Herat. At every stage along the way, a number of soldiers perished from the cold. When they reached Kafir Qal°ah, fate decreed a doubling of the intensity of the cold and 8,000 men died. A group of men, wanting to get to the inhabited areas of Kusuyah or Kuhsan,

two farsangs from (Kafir Qal'ah), died while attempting to cross the Herat River. Those who survived took shelter from midnight until dawn in the slit-open bellies of their pack camels. As these turned cold, they shifted to the abdomens of newly killed camels until, saved by this means from the hand of death, they made it to Herat. Darwish 'Ali Khan Hazarah, on whose forehead the signs of treachery and tyranny had appeared, was dismissed by Ahmad Shah as governor of the city. Another loyal retainer was appointed in his stead and Ahmad Shah, with his remaining army, returned to Qandahar. There he devoted himself to replenishing and re-organizing his force and occupied himself preparing the means for punishing 'Abbas Quli Khan Nishaburi.

*AHMAD SHAH'S SECOND CAMPAIGN TO KHURASAN IN 1164<sup>15</sup>*

In brief, after re-organizing the army and equipping it for travel and battle, the sublime banners were raised the following year for Nishapur. The shah ordered every trooper to carry one *mann* of cast iron. At Nishapur they were to hand these ingots over to royal artisans so that they could fabricate siege mortars which would then reduce the enemy's defense-works to rubble. After arriving in Nishapur, a large iron gun was cast by skilled Hindustani master craftsmen. It battered the walls of the city with citadel-splintering projectiles and threw the people into panic. Due to the resulting turmoil and popular dissension, 'Abbas Quli Khan saw no escape except through surrender. So he brought the face of supplication to the threshold of His Highness Ahmad Shah and expressed his penitence and shame. Ahmad Shah accepted his apology and being pleased with the courage of the Bayat tribe again conferred the government of Nishapur, in accordance with the former practice, on 'Abbas Quli Khan. He also ordered Sardar Jahan Khan along with Nasir Khan, the governor of Baluchistan, to go chastise 'Ali Mardan Khan Zangui, the governor of Tun and Tabas, while he

<sup>15</sup> FM: Based on *Khizānah-i 'Āmirah* and *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*.

himself left Nishapur and went to Mashhad. The two sardars went off to Tun and Tabas and did a good deal of killing, looting, and destruction. The upshot was a violent battle that took place at Kakhak and Gunabad between °Ali Mardan Khan and Sardar Jahan Khan and Nasir Khan in which the two sides dismounted and fought each other hand-to-hand with knives, daggers, and fists. Much blood was shed before °Ali Mardan Khan was killed and the resolve of his companions was broken. Defeated, they then abandoned the fray. Sardar Jahan Khan and Nasir Khan remained there awhile and after tidying up the affairs of that region, returned to Ahmad Shah's camp.

Meanwhile, the shah, when he set foot on the sacred grounds (of Mashhad), was prevented from entering the city by its people. He put the city under siege and sent a force of 5,000 cavalry under Shah Pasand Khan to attack Shahrud-i Bastam and Sabzawar. The latter raided the districts of those two towns, loaded himself down with cash and goods, and returned to Mashhad and the camp of Ahmad Shah. By now, the siege laid by Ahmad Shah had lasted six months and the Mashhadis were in extreme straits. Out of dire necessity, Shah Rukh dispatched his sons with a group of sayyids and ulama to sue for peace. Calling to mind the favors conferred by Nadir Shah on the Rizavi shrine, Ahmad Shah agreed to make peace on condition that the coinage and the invocation be in his name /16/ while the seals for official documents (*farmāns*, *raqams*, and *hukms*) would be in the name of Shah Rukh. Thus, after the conclusion of peace, Shah Rukh put this verse on his seal:

“By the favors of Ahmad Padishah”

“Shah Rukh has found himself on the royal throne”

Jam, Bakharz, Turbat-i Haydariyah, Khwaf, and Turshiz, located between Mashhad and Herat, were severed from Shah Rukh's domains and annexed to the territory of Afghanistan. At this time Ahmad Shah had so much power that

he could contemplate the extension of his authority over all of Iran. However, due to the following factors—the absence of any pressing need at a time when ruin and confusion had beset all the territories of Iran; the fact that the people of that country considered the Afghans as the origin and source of all the disasters which had befallen them; the fact that the zealousness which had caused them to change their religion once again had rekindled old animosities with the Afghans; and above all, the fact that Nadir Shah himself had seized power and usurped the throne by force, and that after his death each person imagined that power resided in his own hand, and wherever there was the governor of a township or the amir of a tribe there burned a lust for power—due to all these factors, Ahmad Shah realized that it was better to be satisfied with sovereignty over Afghanistan and not vainly plunge himself into destroying and being destroyed but rather devote himself to strengthening his authority in his own territory. So he concluded matters in Khurasan through negotiation. The fact of the matter is that the perceptiveness of his policies deserves approbation for among other things, he established kingship in his own line. Moreover, he made Afghanistan independent with its own authority and he gave to the Afghans a prestige and respect in the eyes of other nations that they had not had before. To sum up, Ahmad Shah, bearing in mind that whoever became ruler of Iran would find Khurasan a barrier between Afghanistan and Iran, undertook to guarantee the independence of Khurasan and then returned to Afghanistan. Shah Rukh, despite being blind and being left only nominally in charge, extended his authority over Khurasan and the periphery of it that did not belong to the Afghan state. Some of those amirs who recognized his authority sent him yearly presents. Ahmad Shah, meanwhile, arrived in Herat and there ordered Wazir Shah Wali Khan to subjugate Turkistan.

*AHMAD SHAH SENDS AN ARMY TO TURKISTAN UNDER THE COMMAND*

*OF WAZIR SHAH WALI KHAN<sup>16</sup>*

Ordered by Ahmad Shah to conquer and occupy the region this side (south and west) of the Oxus River, the wazir departed Herat. Ahmad Shah himself returned to Qandahar. Bypassing Marw, Shah Wali Khan, subjugated Maymanah, Andkhud, Shibarghan, Balkh, and Bamyan, as far as Badakhshan and in each of these regions either an Afghan or Uzbek governor was appointed. The wazir then lifted his banners in the direction of Qandahar. There he bent his knee before Ahmad Shah, and the latter, as a reward for his great victory, made him the object of royal gifts and favors and honored him with appointment to the office of the wazirate of the royal diwan.

*AHMAD SHAH'S FOURTH CAMPAIGN TO LAHORE IN 1165<sup>17</sup>*

In this year, desire for Lahore once again seized hold of Ahmad Shah's mind and he left Qandahar for that region. Mir Manu, Mu<sup>c</sup>in al-Mulk, came out to defend Lahore and for four months engaged the shah's army. But the end of the affair came when Adinah Beg and Kur Amal, two of his most trusted and pivotal supporters, deceitfully and hypocritically undermined his firm stand and he had to sue for peace and beg forgiveness for his sins. Ahmad Shah overlooked his misdeeds, pretended his behavior had not happened, and appointed him as his own viceroy (*nā'ib al-ḥukūmah*) in Lahore. Then, by way of Kabul, Ahmad Shah returned to Qandahar. /17/

*EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN LAHORE AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF  
AHMAD SHAH CAUSING HIM TO MARCH ON LAHORE AND INDIA<sup>18</sup>*

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<sup>16</sup> FM: According to <sup>c</sup>Ali Quli Mirza

<sup>17</sup> FM: Based on *Khizānah-i 'Āmirah* and *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī*.

<sup>18</sup> FM: Based on *Khizānah-i 'Āmirah*, *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī*, and *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*.



When, thanks to the inestimable favor of Ahmad Shah, Mir Manu Mu'īn al-Mulk became viceroy of Lahore, he embarked on the path of sincere and devoted service to the shah. Up until the beginning of 1167, he thus occupied himself. But then, in Muharram 1167/November 1753 after blinding Ahmad Shah Gurgani and his mother for excessive disobedience, he died, either as the result of a fall from his horse or because of contracting cholera. After his death, Ahmad Shah issued a farman appointing his son, Mir Mu'min, to the governorship of Lahore. But as Mir Mu'min was a mere infant, his mother, Mughlani Begum, assumed the reins of government with the assistance of Tarah Baz Khan who had been an agent for her husband. The amirs were all disgusted at the way in which she behaved. In particular, Bakari Khan Rustam Jang, who had been chief wazir (*mukhtār-i kull-i umūr*) became very upset. After a short while, Mir Mumin died and Khwajah Musa Ahrari, the son-in-law of Mir Manu Mu'īn al-Mulk, was installed in his place. Rustam Jang, worried about the influence of Mir Mumin's mother and, desiring to get the subah-darship of Lahore for himself, accused Tarah Baz Khan of poisoning Mir Manu and threw him in prison. Then he had him treacherously killed and made himself the independent subah-dar.

Mughlani Begum learned of Rustam Jang's treachery and invited him to come visit her. She then ordered her slavegirls to beat him to death with clubs and they rendered his body soulless. After some time, Khwajah 'Abd Allah Khan, the son of Nawwab 'Abd al-Samad Khan, Sayf al-Dawlah gained power and put Mughlani Begum under arrest. By petition, he asked Ahmad Shah Durrani to confer on him the subah-darship of Lahore. But, contrary to his request, Ahmad Shah sent Aman Khan, the brother of Sardar Jahan Khan, to Lahore.

After his arrival in Lahore, he began to oppress and tyrannize people indiscriminately. Among other things he issued a bill for a sum of money against Khwajah 'Abd Allah. Being unable to pay or to answer for the

imprisonment of Mughlani Begum, the khwajah fled. The government of Lahore, as before, was again placed in the hands of Mughlani Begum. Subsequently a certain Khwajah Mirza Jan, one of the Mu<sup>c</sup>in al-Mulk's leading cavalry commanders again detained Mughlani Begum but eventually this was resolved peacefully.

In the meantime, while these events were taking place between the Mu<sup>c</sup>in al-Mulk's family and the notables of Lahore, Ahmad Shah Durrani ordered Ishik Aqasi <sup>c</sup>Abd Allah Khan, to conquer Kashmir. Having removed Kashmir from the hands of the officials of <sup>c</sup>Alamgir II, he left (another) <sup>c</sup>Abd Allah Khan, known as the "little khwajah" with a garrison in Kashmir as viceroy. A certain Sakjiyun of the K(h)atri people, Hindus resident in Kabul, was put in charge of financial affairs in Kashmir. Formerly, Sakjiyun had been in the wazir, Shah Wali Khan's, employ and Ahmad Shah had sent him to collect funds from Mu<sup>c</sup>in al-Mulk, the subah-dar of Lahore, a service he had performed well. <sup>c</sup>Abd Allah also appointed Wazir Khan Mohmand to the governorship of Sirhind and then returned to Qandahar where he was accorded royal honors.

After his return, Mir Shihab al-Din <sup>c</sup>Imad al-Mulk who was the son of the Amir al-Umara, Fayruz Jang, the son of Nawwab Asaf Jah and the grandson on his mother's side of the Prime Minister, Qamar al-Din Khan who, as noted above, was killed in the campaign of 1161 on the 22nd of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Awwal/22 March 1748 by a shot fired by one of Ahmad Shah's own cannoneers, became involved in the conflict (in Lahore), interfered in the affairs of the diwan, deposed Mughlani Begum as subah-dar of Lahore, and installed Adinah Beg Khan. Moreover, Sakjiyun, the fiscal officer of Kashmir, seeing Lahore lost to the officials of the Afghan state, raised the head of insolence to the point of sedition, and had the commander of the Afghan garrison killed. He (also) imprisoned the "little khwajah", the governor of Kashmir, and then drove him out of the region. Then by sending some gold to Mir Shihab al-Din, <sup>c</sup>Imad al-Mulk, he obtained a decree from <sup>c</sup>Alamgir II conferring on him the subah-

darship of Kashmir. The coin insignia and the Friday sermon invocation /18/ were (now) performed in (°Alamgir's) name. The wickedness of °Imad al-Mulk and the malfeasance of Sakjiyun as well as the other aforementioned circumstances were especially galling to Ahmad Shah. Ready to supply for a campaign to Lahore and India, he resolved to take punitive action against those mutinous officials.

*AHMAD SHAH' S FIFTH CAMPAIGN FROM QANDAHAR TO LAHORE AND  
INDIA IN 1170<sup>19</sup>*

In 1170/1756–1757, Ahmad Shah again departed Qandahar for Lahore by way of Kabul. Adinah Beg meanwhile had set out for Lahore from one of the mesopotamian (*dūābah*) provinces. Heartsick and frightened Mughlani Begum had sought help from Sardar Jahan Khan. Just then Ahmad Shah approached the city and Adinah Beg, unable to oppose him, fled to the Hansi Hisar plain. After entering Lahore, Ahmad Shah put affairs to rights and then, in view of the weakness of the Mughal state, raised the banner of conquest towards Delhi. En route he won over most of the Moghul amirs by correspondence. One of them, Nawwab Najib al-Dawlah, came forward in the land near Gernal in a friendly way and was given full honors. Similarly, when the shah pitched camp at Basunit, twenty kuruhs from Delhi, °Imad al-Mulk, Ghazi al-Din Khan, appeared and asked and received pardon for his misdeeds. Granted the pleasure of kissing the royal foot, he was then given leave to return to Delhi. At Narilah, ten kuruhs from Delhi, he came again to greet the shah, this time with °Aziz al-Din, the brother of °Alamgir II, and the son of Jahandar Shah, the son of Bahadur Shah, the son of Awrangzeb. Both were shown every consideration. On Friday, 7 Jumadi al-Awwal 1170/28 January 1757, they entered Delhi in company with the shah, and there Ahmad Shah met with °Alamgir II.

<sup>19</sup> FM: According to *Khizānah-i °Āmirah* and *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*.

*AHMAD SHAH'S ARRIVAL IN DELHI AND HIS NEGOTIATIONS AND  
MARITAL ALLIANCES WITH THE MOGHUL HOUSE<sup>20</sup>*

When Ahmad Shah rode into Delhi, he strictly forbade his troops from looting and harming the residents and commanded them to behave with civility and solicitude. He stayed for a month, during which a sum of fifty laks of rupees was requested from Nizam al-Dawlah, the son of the (late) Prime Minister, Qamar al-Din Khan, as a tributary gift (*pīshkash*) with the approval of °Alamgir II and through the mediation of Sardar Jahan Khan. In return, an announcement would be made that he (Nizam al-Dawlah) was to be wazir of the land of India. But due to his mean nature, Nizam al-Dawlah (at first) declined the post. A eunuch, Muharram Khan, was then assigned to audit his cash accounts. After all his gains were brought to light, no sympathy was shown and two crores of rupees were seized and deposited in Ahmad Shah's treasury. As a result, Ghazi al-Din Khan, °Imad al-Mulk, became very frightened and fled (Delhi). Ahmad Shah sent Sardar Jahan Khan in pursuit but although he went as far as Farrukhabad he was unable to capture him. At Ahmad Shah's order, the sardar carried out a general sack of the Maratha Hindus (in Farrukhabad) and then for some matter of a fiscal register he was recalled by the shah and in his place Shah Wali Khan, the wazir, was ordered to destroy the Marathas. After achieving that object he returned and was received with all due honors. At this point His Highness Ahmad Shah arranged the marriage of his son, Prince Timur, who was with his father, to the daughter of °Aziz al-Din, the full brother of °Alamgir II. After the joyous occasion, Ahmad Shah put °Aziz al-Din Muhammad the son of Muhammad Shah, the son of Muhammad °Alamgir, in charge of Delhi and gave Nizam al-Dawlah, the son of Qamar al-Din Khan, the post of wazir, in accordance with the announcement made earlier and the sum that had been

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<sup>20</sup> FM: According to *Khizānah-i °Āmirah* and *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*.

collected. Najib al-Dawlah was also honored with the title “amir.” /19/

*AHMAD SHAH TRAVELS TO AKBARABAD TO CHASTISE SURAJ MAL JAT*<sup>21</sup>

The shah now marched to take revenge on Suraj Mal Jat who had occupied the district (*ṣūbah*) of Akbarabad by force a long time earlier. In the first days of Jumadi al-Sani 1170/late January 1757, the shah left Delhi. He laid siege to Yalim Kadah which is located 15 kuruhs from Delhi and was part of the territory occupied by Suraj Mal Jat. By the end of three days he had leveled the fortifications with his artillery. The key to victory in his grasp, he then slaughtered the defenders and took their money and belongings. After concluding matters, he went on to destroy Mathura which is an ancient shrine of the Hindus. To this end, he showed no restraint in the massacre, destruction of the idols, and pillage of the wealth and goods of the people living in that region. Even those a safe distance away, now fled in utter terror and sought refuge elsewhere. Ahmad Shah entered Akbarabad in triumph. But Mirza Sayf Allah Khan, the former royal castellan, refused to bow his head in obedience and continued to resist, keeping up his artillery fire and allowing no one to penetrate into his vicinity. Ahmad Shah meantime had ordered Sardar Jahan Khan to reduce the fortresses of Suraj Mal Jat while he went on to Akbarabad. The former was deeply engaged in battering the enemy and destroying his fortifications when, through God’s ineffable decree, an epidemic swept through Ahmad Shah’s forces which were by then near Agra. The epidemic was so widespread that it became impossible to stay there and so Ahmad Shah cancelled his plans to subjugate Suraj Mal Jat and, abandoning his goal, decided to return to Afghanistan. When he arrived near Delhi, °Alamgir II and Najib al-Dawlah came out to Sar Talab-i Maqsudabad to meet him and a meeting was held. While resting at Delhi, Ahmad Shah married the daughter of the late

<sup>21</sup> FM: Based on *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*.

Muhammad Shah (Gurgani) and then set out on his return trip to Afghanistan. When he reached Sirhind he promoted ʿAbd al-Samad Khan Ashnighari Muhammadzaʿi to the post of governor. He then proceeded on to Lahore where he named Prince Timur viceroy (*nāʾib al-ḥukūmah*) of Lahore, Multan, Tatab, Kashmir, Jammu, and the other provinces of the Punjab and assigned Sardar Jahan Khan the commander-in-chief, as his principal advisor. He also issued an order for the sacking of the Sikhs resident in Amritsar who had often been the source of trouble and sedition. Once the Sikhs were plundered and ravaged and their reservoirs filled with stones and dirt, the shah took the Kabul road back to Qandahar and there sought rest and relaxation.

*THE INSURRECTION OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA AND THE PUNJAB AFTER  
THE DEPARTURE OF AHMAD SHAH<sup>22</sup>*

After Ahmad Shah returned to Qandahar, Sardar Jahan Khan sought to placate Adinah Beg because the latter had a complete knowledge of the finances of the country. Adinah Beg was then in hiding in Laki Jangal. The sardar sent him a letter (*raqam*) and robe of honor and conferred on him the government of Miyan-i Duabah. Adinah Beg, for whom this was an answer to a prayer, deemed it very advantageous and plunged into the administration of the Duabah region. Some time afterwards he received a farman requesting he present himself before the prince. Worried about the consequences of his earlier activities, recounted under the events of 1170, he did not put in an appearance as ordered but fled instead to Kuhistan. With Sardar Jahan Khan's approval, Prince Timur appointed a certain Murad Khan to the government of Duabah in (Adinah Beg's) place and named Buland Khan and Sar Faraz Khan his assistants. Adinah Beg caused an insurrection in Kuhistan, instigating a group of Sikhs /20/ whom he sent with a contingent of his own men against Murad Khan, the new governor of

<sup>22</sup> FM: According to *Khizānah-i ʿĀmirah*, *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī*, and *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*.

Duabah. There was a battle and Buland Khan was killed. Murad Khan and Sar Faraz Khan now powerless, fled back to Sardar Jahan Khan and the prince. At Adinah Beg's instructions, the Sikhs plundered all the districts (parganahs) of Duabah, in particular Jalandar.

Meantime, Kanatay Rav and Shamshir Bahadur, the brothers of Balarji Rav, with Bahulgar and other Hindu leaders lit the fires of insurrection and marched from the Deccan to conquer India. When they reached Shah Jahanabad, the bud of Adinah Beg's ambition burst into full flower. Sending them letter after letter he laid claim to the Punjab. The backers of this sedition now turned their evil faces towards Lahore. When they drew near Sirhind, the governor, °Abd al-Samad Khan, having prepared to defend the city, engaged them in battle but was taken prisoner. Sardar Jahan Khan, in view of the great number of Hindus and his own small forces, decided that staying in Lahore was not a good idea. So he and the prince left Lahore for Chahar Mahall and Zaynabad where they erected defensive earthworks and remained in a state of readiness. Thus the Hindus, with no difficulty whatsoever, occupied Lahore and then left for Chahar Mahall in pursuit of the prince.

In the end, Sardar Jahan Khan was overcome by fear at the thought of the enormous numbers of Hindus. Worried that he and the prince might be taken prisoner in some pre-ordained catastrophe, he (first) prepared his brave troops by (falsely) telling them that they would make a night assault. But then at the time of the night prayer, he took the prince and fled the camp, not stopping until he got to Attock Fort. Crossing the river there, he reached Peshawar where they informed Ahmad Shah in writing of what had happened.

As a result of the escape of the prince and Sardar Jahan Khan, Adinah Beg boldly advanced with the Marathas against the earthworks (at Chahar Mahall). They breached them and massacred the prince's troops. Then their scouts pursued the prince as far as the Jilam River but turned back when they did not find him. They took their prisoners in degrading circumstances to Amritsar

where they buried them under the dirt and rubble with which Ahmad Shah had clogged their reservoirs. A certain Taptal was then ordered to station himself with several thousand horsemen along the banks of the Indus River to guard the fords and the plains against a surprise incursion by Ahmad Shah's army.

In brief, all the lands from Dera Ghazi Khan to Multan and the Chinab River that had been under the control of Ahmad Shah's officials were now occupied by Adinah Beg and the Sikhs. During the monsoon season, the Hindu leaders gave Lahore to Adinah Beg and charged him with the responsibility of an annual payment of seventy-five laks of rupees as (*pīshkash*) tribute. The Marathas themselves returned to Shah Jahanabad. After a stay of a few days there, a certain Jangu who had been assigned to subjugate the territory of the rajahs of Ajmir was appointed to Delhi while the rest returned to the Deccan. A general uprising now began to run its course in India. A Sindhi named Data laid siege with °Imad al-Mulk and others to Najib al-Dawlah at Sakartal. The latter requested aid by letter from the *wazīr al-mamālik*, Shuja° al-Dawlah the son of Jalal al-Din Haydar Abu'l-Mansur. °Imad al-Din Khan (who was besieging Najib al-Dawlah) also sought the wazir's assistance. Shuja° al-Dawlah at first hesitated to help either side but finally, deciding that the most appropriate course was to help Najib al-Dawlah, set off for Sakartal. He entered it at the height of the conflict and routed those despicable Marathas. Thereupon Shuja° al-Dawlah and Najib al-Dawlah, along with other rajahs and Afghans who found the hegemony of the Marathas painful, sent a letter to Ahmad Shah expressing concern for the defense of Islam as well as the safeguarding of life and their own territories and asked him to campaign again in India. In the course of these events, Adinah Beg, the source and well-spring of all the trouble, reached his appointed hour and, in Muharram 1172/September 1758, departed for the next world.

After his death Jangu Ray gave the post of *fawjdār* of Sirhind to Siddiq Beg. Duabah he presented to Adinah Beg's wife. He also appointed a certain Saba to



the position of subah-dar of Lahore. After going to Lahore, the latter assigned an army to the region around Attock to guard the border while he himself set to work dealing with the administration of Lahore. /21/

*AHMAD SHAH'S SIXTH CAMPAIGN TO INDIA TO EXTINGUISH THE  
FLAMES OF TURMOIL<sup>23</sup>*

As a result of Prince Timur's flight and the petition of the rajahs of Hind, Ahmad Shah was well-informed of the sedition and insurrection of the Marathas and he set out again for India in 1173/1759–1760, as fully prepared as possible. He fought a skirmish on the banks of the Attock River either with the subah-dar of Lahore, Saba, or with his representative, Taptal. The Hindus were defeated, withdrew to Lahore, and there, seeing no hope of resistance, left for Delhi. Likewise, Adinah Beg's wife and Siddiq Beg, the subah-dar of Duabah and the fawjdar of Sirhind respectively, took flight in the face of the royal entourage's might. In Safar 1173/September-October 1759, Ahmad Shah entered Jammu, one of the districts of Lahore, and received the customary tribute from the rajahs there. Without stopping to repair the devastation wrought by the Sikhs, he set out for Delhi, assigning Prince Timur and Sardar Jahan Khan to head the reconnaissance force. Elsewhere, 'Imad al-Mulk Ghazi al-Din Khan, who had sided with the rebels and been driven from Sakartal by Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah, learned of Ahmad Shah's plan and without delay entered Delhi and put 'Aziz al-Din Muhammad 'Alamgir II and Nizam al-Dawlah the son of Qamar al-Din Khan to death on the charge that they had been in correspondence with Ahmad Shah. He then emerged from the city to fight the Afghan ruler. He sent Jangu Rav, the Maratha, at the head of an advance force while he followed with an enormous army. Meantime, Data,<sup>24</sup> who had begun negotiations with Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-

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<sup>23</sup> FM: According to *Khizānah-i 'Āmirah*, *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadi*, and *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*.

<sup>24</sup> FM: "Data" among the Hindus is the name for "sardar."

Dawlah after the retreat of the Hindus from Sakartal but had yet to conclude them, heard of Ahmad Shah's advance from Lahore. He gave up hope of a settlement with Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah and marched against Ahmad Shah with 80,000 cavalymen. The latter, reflecting on the numerous comings and goings of the Maratha army, realized that there would be very little forage and few provisions on the road that lay ahead. So after crossing the Juman (Jumna) River he entered Antarbīd, a town located between the Ganges and Jumna Rivers. The beginning of this territory (between the two rivers) was the foot of the Kamayun Mountains and its furthest extent was Allahabad. The waters of the two rivers rise in the Kamayun Mountains and converge at Allahabad.

Ahmad Shah proceeded from Antarbīd to Sirhind. There Sa<sup>c</sup>d Allah Khan, Najib al-Dawlah, Ahmad Khan Nabkash, Rahmat Khan, and Dundi Khan, whose lands were at the edge of the territory of Antarbīd, came forward to offer their allegiance and be duly honored. Elsewhere Data, with his 80,000 cavalymen, encountered Ahmad Shah's scouts sent ahead from Antarbīd. A fight took place and Data was defeated. He retreated to a large open area (*maydān*) called Dani near Shah Jahanabad and there he was beset on all sides by Ahmad Shah's forces. He made his nephew, Jangu Rav, get away with a few horsemen and then with the rest of his troops he threw himself into the fray. The Durrani firmly planted the feet of courage and with gun and sword reddened the ground with Hindu blood. Data and all his followers were slain. Of the 80,000 men, only the few under Jangu Rav, who had escaped before the battle began, survived. All the rest were killed. This glorious victory occurred in Jumadi II 1173/ January-February 1760 and in the book *Khizānah-i ʿāmirah*, which relates the exploits of the shah, there is a two-verse chronogram which gives that date.

The sultan of the Durrani era,  
Slew Data with the enemy-reducing blade.

The date of the victory is,

The “triumph of the exalted padishah”—1173

/22/ In short, after finishing off Data and his companions, Ahmad Shah’s army marched that same day in pursuit of Jangu Ray. They covered 15 kuruhs, getting as far as Saray Allah Wirdi Khan where they dismounted. Unable to lay hands on Jangu Rav, they camped the next day at Narnul. In the midst of all this, a certain Hulkar who was living at Makandarah learned of Data’s death and the destruction of his army and hastened off to Suraj Mal Jat, to whom he suggested that they oppose Ahmad Shah together. But the latter replied, “I don’t have the strength to confront Ahmad Shah at this time. If he sets foot on my territory, then I will be compelled to fight.” While that was going on, the Afghans who lived in the region where the territory of Antarbid begins had supplies for the shah’s army which they were transporting in the army’s train. At Makandarah, twenty kuruhs east of Delhi, Hulkar’s men attacked them. When the Afghans learned that Hulkar had gone to see Suraj Mal Jat, they brought the bulk of the stores to the near side of the Ganges. But unable to achieve their purpose fully, a certain amount had to be abandoned on the far side. Informed of Hulkar’s provocation, Ahmad Shah sent Pasand Khan and Qalandar Khan with 15,000 troops to punish him. The two reached Delhi during the night and they spent the next day there. In the middle of the next night they crossed the Juman (Jumna) and the following morning arrived in Sakandarah (Makandarah) to the great surprise of Hulkar, who, in total confusion, managed to get away with 300 men riding on unsaddled horses. The rest of the officers and soldiers of his army were put to the sword. All Hulkar’s goods were seized and any of his people who survived were taken prisoner. Later, Ahmad Shah moved out of Narnul and made camp at Shah Jahanabad. He then made his summer quarters in Makandarah on the near side of the Jumna opposite Shah Jahanabad for the duration of the rainy season. When news of Data’s death and the destruction of

Hulkar's army reached the Deccan, Sad Amal Su Rav, who was known as Badu and was the cousin of Balaji Ray, left there with his officers, a huge army, and a first rate artillery corps to fight Ahmad Shah. When this force reached the environs of Akbarabad, through the offices of Hulkar and Jangu, Suraj Mal Jat, went to meet Badu and as a token of respect went as far as one kuruh to welcome him. Similarly, 'Imad al-Mulk, also through Suraj Mal Jat's mediation, joined Badu at Wathara. Badu's hopes, however futile, now increased because of the large size of the army and his alliance with these rajahs. FM: (3) Jumna

#### *BADU'S BATTLES WITH AHMAD SHAH'S FORCES AND HIS ERADICATION AND DEATH*

After being joined by the rajahs of Hind and gaining some of the amirs as allies, Badu's resolve was strengthened and he prepared himself for battle. Realizing, however, that it would be reckless to cross the Jumna River to fight Ahmad Shah since the river was then in flood, he first decided to occupy Shah Jahanabad and with its fortifications as support thereby perhaps advance his cause. On Tuesday, the 9th of Dhu'l-Hijjah 1173/23 July 1760, he entered the city along the road. At the saray of Sa'd Allah Khan, he called a halt and ordered his troops to assault the citadel. The army made its main assaults at the Burj-i Asad Tower and the Khidr Gate while diversionary assaults were mounted against the Delhi Gate. Twenty Mughals fought off the attack beneath the citadel walls until Jangu's force could reach the intervallum below the government buildings (*dīwān-i khāṣṣ*). Hulkar and Jangu meanwhile were busy at the Khizr Gate making strenuous efforts to break it down. But because of its solid construction of brass plates and iron bands, they spent four hours of effort in vain. Meanwhile 500 men of Baital with Hulkar and Jangu Rav's followers right behind them had surmounted the walls overlooking the intervallum on the Burj-i Asad Tower side and had carried the fight as far as the complex of

government buildings. The money and goods that fell into their hands they threw down from the walls (to their companions). But they were so busy looting they failed to secure the citadel and twenty Mughal followers of Ya'qub 'Ali Khan, the man in charge of the fortification and the brother of the wazir Shah Wali Khan, /23/ (emerged) from the Salim Gadab fortress to give battle. With musket and sword their twenty men killed twenty Hindus and by their courage dealt the followers of Badu and Hulkar an entirely new hand. The latter now had to come down off the walls and thus lost control of the citadel which had been at first so easily taken. They were forced to re-group at the saray of Sa'd Allah Khan beside the walls, where they began to dig entrenchments and at the same time to try and breach the walls. 'Imad al-Mulk and Suraj Mal Jat, both of whom were opportunists and at this time were with Badu, did not commit their forces but instead observed from a distance. It was Badu's soldiers who laid siege to the citadel walls; one of them, Ibrahim Kardi, brought up three siege mortars, set them up on the sandy area at the foot of the walls, and began to shell the fortifications. The government buildings, the necropolis (*mawtā mahall*) and the Shah Tower were heavily damaged by the shelling. But the citadel walls themselves were undamaged thanks to their solid construction. However, as the supplies of the defenders were exhausted and no reinforcements had arrived, Ya'qub 'Ali Khan was forced to request security for the lives, possessions, and families of the defenders, promising that if his request was accepted he would surrender the citadel to Badu. The latter agreed and after a treaty was ratified, Ya'qub 'Mi Khan came out of the citadel with his people and their belongings, stopped at the 'Ali Mardan Khan saray and then crossed the Jumna River by boat and went to Ahmad Shah's camp.

On the 19th of Dhi Hijjah 1173/2 August 1760, Badu occupied the citadel, took control of the government buildings, and appointed Narushangar Brahmin as castellan. After naming a garrison to the citadel, he opened negotiations, through the mediation of a Brahmin, with Shuja' al-Dawlah who was then in

FM: (1) Jumna

FM: (2) Jumna

FM: (4) The idea behind calling it the alighting place (of the prophet) is because a righteous person dreamed in that place of His Holiness the Messenger—prayers and praises of God be upon him—hence the reason for calling it his alighting place.

Ahmad Shah's camp. Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah went straight to the heart of the matter in a very relevant answer,

For a long time, the Brahmins and Marathas of the Deccan have held sway over the territory of Hind. The amirs and rajahs of Hind have suffered the bad faith, greed, and corruption of the (Deccan) notables and the oppression and arbitrariness of their officials. To protect the lives, wealth, and honor of their people, they had no choice but to seek the help of His Highness Ahmad Shah. He has arrived here to protect us and as soon as the opportunity presents itself he will make his summer quarters on that side of the Jumna River.

Although the Brahmin emissary went several times more to Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah in the camp (*urdū*) of His Highness Ahmad Shah on Badu's behalf, and offered a preliminary basis for peace, no further negotiations materialized because of the distorted perceptions and arrogance of the Maratha leaders. Eventually, Suraj Mal Jat considering the result of the talk and behavior of the Marathas to be outrageous and with Badu's permission took his force and returned to Yalim Kadah. Badu, who was sovereign over the Deccan, was so avaricious that he melted down the silver from the roof of the *dīwān-i khāṣṣ* and minted coins from it. He also expropriated the gold and silverware—censers, candlesticks, and candelabras—which were endowments of the alighting place (*qadamgāh*) of the Prophet Muhammad, the shrine of the “greatest of Sufi leaders,” Nizam al-Din Awliya, and the tomb of the late Muhammad Shah (Gurgani). After a while life became very difficult for Badu's force because of a shortage, in fact a total lack, of food and he was forced to come out of Shah Jahanabad to raid the surrounding countryside.

On the 29th of Safar 1174/10 October 1760, he dismissed the son of Muhyi al-Sunnah, while he was out of the city, and installed Mirza Jawan Bakht, the

son of Shah ʿAlam ʿĀlī Gawhar, as viceroy. Also thinking that Ahmad Shah might harbor some suspicions vis a vis Shujaʿ al-Dawlah and would send him on ahead, he let it be known that the wazirate was in Shujaʿ al-Dawlah's name, in absentia. He also ordered Narushangar Brahmin to remain in Shah Jahanabad while he went to Shaykh Purah with the rest of the army. ʿAbd al-Samad Khan Durrani, whose capture at Sirhind at the hands of the Hindus has already been discussed and who was eventually set free, at this time had occupied the fortress at Ganjpurah out of fear of Badu and barred its gate against him. With him were Qutb al-Din Ruhillah and Najabat Khan, zamindars of that region who had been supplying Ahmad Shah.

On the 7th of Rabiʿ al-Awwal 1174/17 October 1760, Badu placed the fortress under siege and eventually captured it after smashing its walls with an artillery barrage. He aided both ʿAbd al-Samad Khan /24/ and Qutb al-Din Khan in achieving martyrdom. He also looted the district of Ganjpurah, overlooking nothing in the way of oppression. Hearing this Ahmad Shah became extremely angry and despite the fact that the Jumna River waters had not yet receded from flood stage, ordered his men, with God's help, to plunge in and cross. On the 18th of Rabiʿ al-Awwal/28 October, Afghan braves drove their horses into the water at the Bakpat ford near Shah Jahanabad and managed to get across, some wading and others swimming. One group, whose time had come, was swept away and drowned. Ahmad Shah spurred his own horse into the river and made it across.

The crossing completely surprised Badu. Hoping to block the army of Islam he set out for Sirhind with 40,000 horsemen from his own army as well as men from Ganjpurah. He traveled two stages and then halted at Panipat. There, realizing he could not cope with the Durrani army in open combat, he was obliged to arrange his artillery batteries as a breastwork around his army on a field north of Panipat. On the 21st of Rabiʿ al-Awwal/31 October, His Highness Ahmad Shah drew up opposite his redoubt and the struggle began. They battered

and pounded each other with musket and cannon fire until the Afghans succeeded in cutting off Badu's supply routes except for the route that lay directly behind his position. There a certain Alajat, one of the well-known *zamīndārs* and *marzubāns* of Sirhind, had been getting supplies through from Lahore. When the Afghans learned about this, they attacked (that route) as well.

After seven days of inconclusive fighting, Ahmad Shah came to realize that notwithstanding the difficult position the Marathas were in they could not be defeated as long as they stayed within the defensive ring of the artillery with which they had surrounded themselves. So, on the 28th of the month/7 November he issued an order for a (massive frontal) attack. He arranged his troops as follows: in the forefront, Sardar Jahan Khan, Sardar Pasand Khan, and Najib al-Dawlah; behind them, Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah with his army and retinue including Ahmad Khan Bunkash, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dundi Khan, and Fayz Allah Khan the son of <sup>c</sup>Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhillah. The shah himself, with his wazir, Shah Wali Khan, occupied a position at the rear. When the ranks of the Durrani army were all in position, Badu also emerged from his redoubt. He stood as firm as the proverbial "iron barrier" and the battle was joined just after noon on the 28th. It raged until evening when 10,000 Ruhillah infantry troops under Najib al-Dawlah poured over Badu's earthworks. Balunit Ray, Badu's brother-in-law, the commander there, was felled by a musket ball and died. By nightfall the Ruhillah troops were winning. But unable to tell friend from foe, in the dark, they withdrew to their own positions. But for this, the Marathas would have been finished that same day. During all of this, a certain Goband Pandit reached Shah Darrah coming from Qal<sup>c</sup>ah-i Ata, on the other side of the Jumna River. He had 10,000 cavalry with him, a treasury, and a large quantity of provisions. His aim was to attack the Marathas under Najib al-Dawlah and then, traveling via Antarbid and the ford at Ganjpurah, to link up with Badu's force. Following his plan he marched from Shah Darrah,<sup>25</sup> reached the parganah of

<sup>25</sup> FM: This Shah Darrah is not the Shah Darrah of Lahore.



Jalalabad, twelve kuruhs from Shah Jahanabad, and there made camp. But before he arrived, Ahmad Shah had learned of his plans and sent Ata Ki Khan with the son of °Abd al-Samad Khan Durrani and 5,000 cavalry to intercept him. They crossed the river at the ford of Ram Rah and Bakpat and in two days reached Shahid Rah. There they put the viceroy, Narushangar, and his men to the sword and then pressed on after Goband Pandit. After they entered Ghazi al-Din Nigar, some six kuruhs from Shah Jahanabad, and executed the Marathas they found there, they proceeded on to Jalalabad and fell upon Goband Pandit on the same day he arrived. They killed him and his companions and made off with a good deal of loot in the form of cash, goods, and livestock as they had been ordered to do. They cut off Goband Pandit's head, brought it along with the booty to Ahmad Shah, and threw it in the dust at his feet. /25/

Meanwhile the siege against Badu dragged on. Matters had become increasingly difficult for him because of the excess of human and animal waste, the lack of proper sanitation, and the scarcity of provisions. Each day, a number of men and animals fell mortally ill because of filth and malnutrition. In light of the (verse) "(they) can devise nothing and are not guided to a way" conditions became extremely onerous for the besieged. Badu was finally forced to conclude, after much thought, that he and his men would all die of hunger inside the breastworks, without a fight, and that it was better to rush out all at once and attack Ahmad Shah. Perhaps, in this way, they would wipe the mark of anguish from the face of the contemplation of death. So on Wednesday, the 6th of Jumadi al-Sani 1174/13 January 1761, he and his forces, accompanied by an artillery corps, emerged from their positions and made straight for Ahmad Shah. Like fierce lions, the Afghan warriors lay in wait for their prey. They held their fire for so long that the Hindus, like unsuspecting game, got within two bowshots of their entrenchments before the Afghans, shouting "God is Great" fell on them. In the blink of an eye, the Afghans cut (Badu's) army to pieces. The first of its leaders whom they killed was Wiswas Rav. They beheaded many

of the Hindus and afterwards Badu, as proof of the text “They will be laden with the burden of God’s anger” disappeared from sight. Jangu Ray and other leaders were also put to death. Ibrahim Kardi was taken alive, locked in a cage, and eventually executed. The battlefield was red with the blood of slain Marathas. Twenty-two thousand Deccan-born male and female prisoners fell into Afghan hands and were made slaves. An uncountable quantity of booty—cash, goods, jewelry, cannons, 50,000 horses, 200,000 cattle, several thousand camels, and 500 elephants—also came into the possession of the courageous Afghan ghazis. The Hindu survivors who got away were forced to take the path of ignominy. Villagers fell upon them and plundered them and most were either killed or taken prisoner. A small number saved themselves only after many trials and tribulations. One of the Hindu leaders, Shamshir Bahadur, a half-brother<sup>26</sup> of Balaji Rav, was killed on the road. Aside from two or three others, like Hulkar who escaped to Malwah and then, with much difficulty, to Poonah, none (of the leaders) survived. On the 19th of Dhi Qa’dah 1174/22 April 1761, Balaji Rav, died of grief.

Having achieved this great triumph, Ahmad Shah left the battlefield, the plain of Panipat, and planted the banner of victory on the outskirts of Delhi. There he conferred its government on the Prince Gawhar, the son of ‘Aziz al-Din (‘Alamgir II), whose honorary title was Shah-i ‘Alam (Shah of the World). Since Gawhar was in the Bengal, Ahmad Shah gave Mirza Jawan Bakht the honor of serving as his father’s deputy. The wazirate was given to Shuja‘ al-Dawlah and command of the army (of Delhi) to Najib al-Dawlah. Prior to handing the wazirate over to Shuja‘ al-Dawlah, he had first intended to take him to Qandahar. But because of pleas from the people of Delhi he appointed him immediately as wazir. The shah himself now set out for home. At Lahore, he named Zayn Khan Mohmand governor and then marched triumphantly to Qandahar by way of Kabul.

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<sup>26</sup> FM: Half brothers (*barādar-i ‘alāī*) share the same father but have different mothers.

*AHMAD SHAH'S CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES IN QANDAHAR*

After the shah's return, the idea came to him to demolish the city of Nadirabad because its climate was unhealthy due to nearby swamps and canebrakes, and to erect a city bearing his own name on a spot with good water and air. Consequently, he ordered the digging of a wide deep canal into the west bank of the Arghandab River to draw water off towards the arid plain where he planned to build. But the Al(i)kuzai who owned those lands stopped him. This forced Ahmad Shah to discard his plan and, indeed, he abandoned all work on it. But sometime later, his noble mother was committed to God's mercy and he had her body interred there. The place became known as "Her Shrine." At about the same time, he decided to build a city to the west of the village of Marw Qal'ah. This time it was the Barakzai who said no. Because of his tolerant and upright nature, the shah did not rebuke or condemn those two tribes for their refusal to cooperate. /26/ But then the pride engendered by close tribal ties prompted the Fufalzai to make an offer to the shah of any of their lands, telling him that it would create no hardship for them if he were to build himself a city. The shah was surprised and delighted by their offer. After commissioning the necessary engineering studies, he laid the city's foundations on the site of the present city. Its area was equal to twelve *qulbahs* of land, or approximately 600 *jaribs*. During 1174/1760–1761, work commenced with all the Durrani tribes assuming some responsibility. It was decided, according to a fair division, that each clan (*qabīlah*) would construct a quarter and street in its own name. Very strong walls and towers were raised by master artisans who came from Iran and India. In the middle of the city, which is the central marketplace, the shah built a large domed shrine. After construction of the walls and towers and the excavation of a moat, all the scholars, shaykhs, sayyids, and the poor and orphans performed public prayers and were invited to a feast. After the distribution of favors and

the consumption of the festival meal, all those assembled performed a prayer and invoked the blessing of the Omniscient and Omnipotent on the inhabitants of this city by reciting these words from the Quran. “My Lord, make this a land secure and provide its people with fruits, such of them as believe in God and the Last Day.” The (new) city was named Ahmad Shah City (Shahr-i Ahmad Shahi). In the same year (1174) that the foundations of the city were laid, Prince Timur was sent by his father to govern Herat, where he remained for the rest of his father’s days. Those subsequent circumstances will be related in due course, God willing.

#### *AHMAD SHAH MARCHES TO THE PUNJAB AND HIND FOR THE SEVENTH TIME*

When Ahmad Shah returned from India, the Sikhs living in the Punjab, according to the author of *Khizānah-yi ‘āmirah*, began to cause trouble, incite insurrection, and tyrannize those who were not of their sect. They overthrew the viceroy appointed by Ahmad Shah and named Jisa Singh, one of their own, as sovereign, and they occupied Lahore and the surrounding region. Coins were minted and circulated bearing Jisa Singh’s name and the Sikhs began to oppress God’s creatures, especially the Muslims, using every form of tyranny they knew. News of this spread, and eventually reached the attentive ears of Ahmad Shah. Aflame with indignation, he set out for that region with a vengeance-minded army. When he neared Lahore, he heard that 200,000 Sikh cavalry and infantry had gathered at Ruhi, a place difficult to pass, and in the vicinity of Sirhind and at a district belonging to a certain Ala Jat, the *marzubān* of that place and were attacking him.

Hearing this, His Highness Ahmad Shah committed himself to God’s care, put the spurs of boldness to the steed of resolve and in two days covered ninety *kuruhs* and reached those condemned to die. On 11 Rajab 1175/5 February 1762

a battle was fought. The Afghan braves strenuously exerted themselves and killed 20,000 Sikhs. A great deal of booty fell into their hands and a tremendous victory was won. Ahmad Shah marched back to Lahore on the seventh of Sha<sup>°</sup>ban 1175/3 March 1762. From there he dispatched Nur al-Din Khan, the cousin of Shah Wali Khan, to Kashmir with a force of Durrani, Qizilbash, and Khurasani troops to suppress Sakjiyun for whom Ahmad Shah had done many favors, as noted above. The shah (meanwhile) occupied himself with the administrative affairs of Lahore.

When Sakjiyun learned that a force had been sent against him, he looked to the mountain ranges and hilltops as his allies and alternately confident and uncertain, he took up defensive positions. Meanwhile Durrani and other Afghan stalwarts drew near and both sides opened fire. The fight went on until most of the Kashmiris had had a taste of Afghan steel. Those who survived fled in panic with the Durrani in pursuit. During the battle, Sakjiyun and a group of men with him /27/ put up a fierce fight but eventually had to quit the field. They and their families were captured and the Afghans occupied Kashmir. By manshur-proclamation Ahmad Shah conferred its government on Nur al-Din Khan who had won the day. After completing administrative matters relating to Lahore and Kashmir and their respective territories, the shah returned to Qandahar where he relaxed.

Four years later, he learned from his officials in the Punjab that the Sikhs of Amritsar were again in open rebellion and had begun to pillage and loot. Their depredations had put Zayn Khan, who lived in the village of Kub and represented Ahmad Shah, in a tight spot. When the shah heard this, he prepared for another campaign. According to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, he left for Hind and the Punjab in 1179/1765–1766. After arriving in Lahore and punishing the aforementioned Sikhs, he continued on to Ambala (Anbalah). Shuja<sup>°</sup> al-Dawlah, his subah-dar in Lucknow, pretended to be sick and did not appear in person but sent gifts. Najib al-Dawlah presented himself before the shah and was given the

government of Sirhind. At Shah Wali Khan's suggestion and because the Sikhs were a continual source of trouble, the governorship of Lahore was conferred on Amr Singh, a member of that sect. He was unswerving in his loyalty and service and (even) referred to himself, in reference to the great kindness which Shah Wali Khan had done him vis a vis the government of Lahore, as Amr Singh Bamiza'i.<sup>27</sup> To sum up, Ahmad Shah then returned to Qandahar after seeing to business in the Punjab.

*DEFINING THE BORDER OF TURKISTAN BELONGING TO AFGHANISTAN  
WITH THE RULER OF BUKHARA AND RECEIVING THE PROPHET'S  
CLOAK*

In 1182/1768–1769, His Highness Ahmad Shah dispatched Wazir Shah Wali Khan, and a force of 6,000 horsemen to put down the activities of troublemakers in Balkh and Badakhshan. The ruler of Bukhara, Shah Murad Bi, found out about the expedition and prepared to assist the Balkhis and Badakhshanis. Shah Wali Khan informed to His Highness Ahmad Shah about this by letter and he then set out from Qandahar for Bukhara by way of Herat. He crossed the Marv River and marched through Maymanah, Balkh, Andkhund, and Shibarghan. He ordered Shah Wali Khan to go Badakhshan while he headed towards Bukhara. Murad Bi readied an army, sallied forth to defend Bukhara and made camp at Qarshi. Ahmad Shah was willing to negotiate rather than fight because of his zeal for Islam. Negotiations were successfully concluded, the outcome being that the Oxus River was established as the border separating the two countries. According to what the author of *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī* has noted, it was also decided that the Bukharan ruler, as a show of esteem for His Highness Ahmad Shah, would give him the holy cloak of the Prophet then kept in

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<sup>27</sup> FM: Bamiza'i is the name of a tribe of the Durrani to which the vizier, Shah Wali Khan, belonged.

Bukhara so that he might enjoy the felicity of performing religious visits (*ziyārat*) to it. This cloak had first passed (from the Prophet) to Uways-i Qarani and then over the centuries had somehow found its way to Bukhara. Now Murad Bi, with all due reverence, sent it to His Highness Ahmad Shah. The latter viewed the cloak as the producer of future victories and certain blessing. He distributed alms and votive gifts, and performed a *ziyārat*-pilgrimage to the cloak, and obtained, through its *barakah*-grace a perfect inner joy. He then took the cloak back to Qandahar.

The most reliable and correct tradition and account concerning the Prophet's cloak is this: One day, in the presence of His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Amir Habib Allah Khan), the one who laid the foundations of this book and the source of this accurate narrative, some mention or other was made (of the cloak). His Highness opened his pearl-scattering mouth and said,

Of all the stories I have heard about the beautiful cloak and the one I believe to be true is that Amir Timur brought the sacred cloak of the Prophet and those who were the guardians of this precious treasure /28/ from 'Iraq-i 'Arab to Trans-Oxiana, built a structure to house it in Samarqand, and appointed some sayyids whose genealogy was indisputable to administer the shrine. He also made an endowment of the village of Dahpid so that its income would provide the stipend of those charged with responsibility for the sacred garment. That domed building (in Samarqand) is now called Khwajah Khizr and is in a thriving and sound state. In 1297/1879, I saw with my own eyes how prosperous it is. It is possible that after Amir Timur's death, because of the intervention of the rulers of that land and the descendants of Amir Timur, the cloak was moved to Bukhara along with its caretakers. It was then later moved to Juzun by one of that amir's descendants. Shah

Beg Khan Wali was the chief caretaker (*mutawallī-bāshī*) at the time and at the order of the Timurid who had brought it there, a domed building was erected for it outside the city walls. By virtue of the abundant blessings (*fayẓ*) which that cloak brought the city, it came to be known as Fayzabad (Blessing's Abode). Until Ahmad Shah brought it to Qandahar, it had remained in Fayzabad. He conveyed it with such reverence and esteem that at every stage where they stopped with the cloak, His Highness Ahmad Shah would have an "alms-deed" written out. He would then hang that deed around the neck of the camel which had carried the cloak that stage of the journey and set it free. The camel would then belong to the person who caught it. When the procession reached the mountains north of Kabul, it had to stop two or three days at every stage along the route because of the throngs of people coming to perform *ziyārat* to the cloak. When the party reached Kabul, they set the cloak down at a place two *kuruhs* northwest of the city and east of °Aliabad at the foot of the mountains. There it stayed for seven to nine months during which time, the custodian, due to the great crush of pilgrims, would at various times, remove the cloak from its box and spread it out on a black rock on the northern edge of that stopping place. The pilgrims would then perform the ritual of the *ziyārat* around the rock. That spot, along with all the other places where the cloak stopped, is now known as "the alighting place of the Lord of Men" (*qadamgāh-i Shāh-i Mardān*). While the cloak stayed in Kabul, a temporary building to house it was constructed in Qandahar by order of the shah. The cloak was then transported from Kabul and safely deposited there. State officials were assigned (to build) a great domed edifice in Qandahar specifically for the cloak and as a mausoleum for Ahmad Shah. They erected a high domed building (*gunbad*) two stories tall, the lower story of which was in the form of a *sardābah* and was to



be the shah's burial place. The upper floor was the place to walk by (and view) the beloved cloak. After Ahmad Shah's death, he was buried, according to his instructions, in a corner of the lower story. But the cloak was never brought to its designated spot. It is conjectured that the cloak was not removed from its temporary quarters because of a *fatwā* from the ulama that (the cloak) should not be a plaything of sultans and moved from place to place. Otherwise that is what would happen.

In 1325/1907, His Highness, Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, left Kabul on a tour of the country. When he got to Qandahar he saw with his own eyes that Ahmad Shah's tomb was on one side of the downstairs floor of the domed building. He then knew for certain that the domed building (*gunbad*) had been erected as described above to house both the cloak and the sepulcher of the shah. Had that not been the case, then the shah's tomb would have been centered under the dome. (Also) the fact that on each floor, the upper and the lower, the crypt (*qabr*) and the cenotaph (*surat-i qabr*) (of the shah) are located to one side. This is a clear indication that the domed building was intended for the cloak. The end.

After the above story was related, this humble servant, the author of this memoir, was ordered to ascertain the facts of the matter and obtained and includes here in this book, the seventy-fourth of the epistles written by Miyan Faqir Allah Shikarpuri Naqshbandi, God rest his soul, corroborating the explanation given by His Highness and even more firmly verifying that the cloak is indeed that of the Prophet. It came about this way. Some questioners wrote Miyan Faqir Allah a question (about the cloak) and he wrote a reply.

First the question:

Regarding the cloak which the Prophet and also the 'People of the

House' had sewed with their own hands and which ʿAli had given to Uways-i Qarani after the death of the Prophet in accord with the latter's behest, it was worn by Uways and then, after his death, was brought to Mecca and placed in the Ghar-i Hara (*ghār-i ḥarā*) where it remained for many years. Then Shaykh Dust Muhammad, announcing the glad tidings that this was the Prophet's cloak, brought it with him to Baghdad from where his sons brought it to Bukhara. There it stayed for eighty years after which Shaykh Agha Muhammad and Nazar Muhammad brought it from Bukhara to Balkh where it stayed thirty-five years. Then Shaykh Muhammad Diya and Shaykh Niyaz carried it on Sunday, the 24th of Muharram 1109/12 August 1697 /29/ to the *khanagah* of Juzgun:

“The pure cloak of the Arab lord  
 Given as a token of the Garden of Paradise  
 In 1109 after the Hijrah  
 Was carried to Juzgun  
 Juzgun became, as the recipient of this blessing,  
 Called, thus, the Abode of Blessing (Fayzabad)

On the ninth of Rabiʿ al-Awwal 1182/24 July 1768, the wazir Shah Wali Khan Bamizai brought it to Qandahar. What do you say to this?”

#### *THE REPLY IN BRIEF*

Several students of hadith from among the *ḥāfīz*s and Sufi shaykhs believe in its concrete existence. The late hafiz, al-Suyuti, in his book *Ithāf al-firqah bi-rafʿ al-khirqah* says that a number of hafizs favor affirming its existence. Shaykh Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Muhammadan

(sic) al-Khatib al-Qastallani in his book, *al-Mawāhib al-Ladunīyah*, after relating the views of those who scoff at the tradition by connecting the wearing of the cloak to al-Hasan al-Basri says, in fact, that the Prophet's wearing it comes from information provided by one of the Companions of the Prophet, Kumayl b. Ziyad al-Nakha'i. He was (also) a companion of 'Ali b. Abi Talib and amongst hadith scholars his information is incontrovertible. In some traditions about the cloak, it is linked to Uways b. 'Amir al-Qarani, the best of the second generation (after the Prophet). He was an associate of 'Umar b. al-Khattab and 'Ali and there is no dispute about (the reliability of) his information.

*THE DEATH OF AHMAD SHAH AND AN ACCOUNT OF A FEW OF HIS  
ACHIEVEMENTS*

In 1186/1772 the gangrenous ulcer which had afflicted the shah for many years recurred. According to the account of 'Ali Quli it had already eaten away his nose and a diamond-studded artificial one was attached in its place. The ulcer had ravaged his brain, spread to his chest and throat, and incapacitated his limbs. Holding no hope of recovery through the treatments of his physicians, the shah could only turn to the saints for a cure. First he made a *ziyarat*-pilgrimage to the tomb of Mulla Nasr and Sahib in Dahlah located north of Ahmad Shah City. There he performed the pilgrimage rites and after distributing alms and benefactions, he returned to the city. His doctors pleaded with him to get a change of air, and so the shah moved to Kuh-i Tubah, a place famous for its clean air and sweet waters. But since his time had come, the change of climate provided no relief and the disease worsened. His son, Prince Timur, who held the government of Herat, had meantime returned to Qandahar, intending to see his father. But the wazir, Shah Wali Khan, wanted to secure the throne for

Prince Sulayman, who also happened to be his own son-in-law, by clever scheming, managed to instill in the shah such a fear of his son, Timur, that he ordered out his own bodyguard to force the prince, then four kuruhs from Qandahar, to return to Herat.

According to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, an order was issued forbidding the prince from appearing at court. It reached Prince Timur when he was at the stopping-place of Washir, eighty kuruhs from Qandahar, and so he turned around and retraced his steps to Herat. Subsequently, just as the Qur’anic verse tells us “Every soul shall taste of death then unto us you shall return,” death appeared on Ahmad Shah’s face and on Friday eve, 20 Rajab 1186/17 October 1772, /30/ the bird of his soul flew out of his body’s cage and joyously joined the dwellers in Paradise. Yaqut Khan, one of the shah’s eunuchs and personal servants, kept his death a secret and transported his coffin, his personal treasury, and his wives back to the city so that no one would know the shah was dead. The wazir, Shah Wali Khan, and Prince Sulayman there undertook to wash and enshroud the body. After performing the funeral services, they buried the shah in a garden in the middle of the city on the west side of the citadel at the place which he had designated in his last will and testament, as mentioned above.

#### *HIS GOOD QUALITIES AND PRAISEWORTHY ACHIEVEMENTS*

Never did that Paradise-dwelling mighty ruler show contempt for the weak. He esteemed the noted men of religion and punished the tyrannical. He considered the ordinary soldier as the equal of his highest officers. He never approved any act which the illustrious Shari‘ah deemed blameworthy and in his religious practice he trod the path of the fakirs. He was very solicitous of scholars and sayyids and he put the divine commands and prohibitions into practice. He dealt justly with the oppressed and was always diligent in giving life to the truth and putting falsehoods to rest. He set the scholars and sayyids

along with the fakirs at his right hand at public audiences and placed the nobles at his left. He provided adequate stipends and livings for scholars and sayyids and throughout his life, whether during his time in service (to Nadir Shah) or while shah himself, he never engaged in illicit or forbidden activities and his chaste nature was a model for all Afghans. He appointed men and women of integrity to serve him as intelligence agents and they reported both the good and bad behavior of their own people. Whenever the committer of some evil deed or the utterer of some foul speech denied what he had done or said, then the shah himself would set forth the actual facts of the case and censure the one who was claiming to have done no wrong. In addition, he required all scholars to issue *fatwas* in his presence with full candor based on the ordinances of the Shari'ah and they would never be reproved (regardless of what they said). One day, as a test of one man's piety and true worth as a scholar, the shah called for musical instruments to be brought and played. Mulla Iradat, known as Shahu, and another man who was present rose to leave because the music troubled them. Mulla Shahu spoke forthrightly and well and declared in a bold and courageous manner, "Oh, Ahmad, what sort of thing are you perpetrating?" His Highness Ahmad Shah replied, "So, what is wrong with it?" The mulla responded, "By these words of yours it would appear that you consider licit what is illicit. The consequence of considering the illicit licit is unbelief." With that he turned to leave. The shah then said, "My staging this and my saying what I said were in order to find out how righteous you scholars are, not because I consider the illicit licit." Mulla Iradat then said, "Having been subjected to such a test, henceforward, I will never again attend a padishah's public audience." So he went to Kuh-i Surkh and lived a hermit's life for the rest of his days. Yes, the shah was extremely amiable in both word and deed to young and old alike and since he treated older people as if they were his brothers and young people as his children, other people of the kingdom and the Durrani tribes in particular now think of His Highness Ahmad Shah as "Baba" and gladden his soul with calls on

God for its immortality. Among the good deeds and pious acts of that devout, law-abiding ruler were a canal which he gave as a *waqf* endowment on behalf of the tomb of his mother, a congregational mosque which he built in Qandahar, and the sacred cloak which he brought to the city. Among his more noteworthy public works were the walls of the city, the citadel, and the marketplace (*chārsūq*) of Qandahar which remain as testimony to that ruler who now dwells in Paradise.

#### *THE MESOPOTAMIAN DISTRICTS OF THE PUNJAB*<sup>28</sup>

Owing to the fact that reference to the Punjab is repeatedly made in connection with His Highness Ahmad Shah's domains, it is necessary to record in detail each of the mesopotamian regions of the Punjab with its villages so that people of perception will know the problems which beset His Highness Ahmad Shah in his numerous conquests of those districts to make them part of the territory of Afghanistan. All for nought, however, for they ultimately ended up in someone else's possession. /31/

#### *THE FIRST MESOPOTAMIAN REGION FROM AFGHANISTAN*

Between the two rivers of the Attock and Jilam (Jhelum) is the town of Hasan Abdal. It is on the road to Kashmir and in the time of which we are speaking marked the beginning of the lands under the fiscal and political control of the Sikhs. Rawalpindi is another town (in this region) and Rahtas is another fortress. These latter two were built by the Suri Afghan Shir Shah. Outside these three districts there are many other population centers most of which are located in the mountains and forests. Another road crosses the Indus at the Qal'ah-yi Attock ford where the British now have built a sturdy double-decker bridge. The

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<sup>28</sup> FM: Based on *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadi*.

lower deck is for caravans, the upper for the state railway which goes to Peshawar and beyond to the present-day border of Afghanistan. Another route links Dahani Kib to the Jilam River. This road crosses the Attock at the Nilab ford thirty-five kuruhs from Peshawar. Dahani Kib is twenty kuruhs further along the road. The people who inhabit this mesopotamian region are generally Muslim. They boldly dispose of the cash and agricultural revenues of their district amongst themselves, giving the Sikhs nothing. Superb horses, worthy of the saddle and bridle of the noblest of men, come from there. The people are tall and powerfully built. The boundaries of this region, according to the *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī*, from which all this information comes, include high mountains and difficult passes. The Namaksar Mountains are situated near Pand Dawar Khan and the Jilam River. All the peoples of this region have built structures along the ridges and peaks of the mountains. With one such structure commanding the adjacent roads, just one man residing in it can make passage very difficult. He can call himself a rajah and bend his neck to no one. However, they did recognize the sovereignty of the Durrani rulers. Pand Dawar Khan has a city proper and a large wall around it. The Jilam River flows under the wall. The revenue produced by this town and its outlying districts includes 50,000 rupees from salt mines belonging to the Sikh rajahs. During the reign of Shah Zaman, the grandson of Ahmad Shah, this mesopotamian region came under the control of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. Subsequently, the Maharajah took all the Punjab, Multan, Kashmir, and some other areas by force before he died in 1250/1834–1835. This will be covered in the appropriate place, God willing. A third ford on the Attock River is near Kali Bagh and Dera Ismail Khan. When one crosses the river there one goes on to Multan.

#### *THE SECOND MESOPOTAMIAN REGION*

This lies between the Jilam and Chinab Rivers. It is thirty-one kuruhs

across. The population centers include the town of Wangiyan, the three villages of Shadi Waland the residents of which are Muslim, and the city of mesopotamian Gujarat. There are a number of other towns and hamlets located in the region. The Chinab is the largest river of the Punjab. It is as large as the Ganges but its water is sweeter.

### *THE THIRD MESOPOTAMIAN REGION*

It lies between the Chinab and Rawi Rivers and extends some thirty-two kuruhs on a straight line (from river to river). The city of Wazirabad lies on the edge of the region on the banks of the Chinab. There are other towns—1) Nasu Darrah, 2) Gujran Walah, 3) Tanudi Musa Khan, 4) Siyalkut, 5) Mabardwal—as well as hamlets and villages and the Chahar Mahall of Aymanabad. The route through this region goes to Lahore. The Rawi River ford is just below the walls of Lahore. Travellers crossing at the Mabardwal ford are on the road to Amritsar.

### *THE POPULATION CENTERS OF THE FOURTH MESOPOTAMIAN REGION*

These include the lands and townships lying between the Rawi River and the Biya River. The district is thirty-four kuruhs across and comprises: 1) the city of Lahore, 2) Amritsar, 3) Chandalah, 4) Khawaspur, and 5) Birun Wal. These five are inhabited by Afghans. /32/ Amritsar is the choicest of these places. The Sikhs originated in Malik Manjahah in which Amritsar is located. Because of the large number of (Sikh) nobles and notables in Amritsar, everyone was a leader and every house a court. They lived off the income from shops in the bazaar which they built for themselves. Among the leaders in the city, Kulab Singh Bahnaki, the son of Chanda Singh, had the highest status. He was the one to whom most of the city people and market folk used to turn for



advice. Amritsar is (also) the name of a lake around which stone and brick buildings have been built. In the middle of it is a domed building which is a Sikh shrine and the object of their adoration. Sikhs, both men and women, go there at all times of the day or night to listen to readings from the Book of Granth. This is the book written by Nanak in which are his own insights into the question of “oneness” and the necessity of choosing good behavior and avoiding bad acts. After the reading of that book, the Sikhs used to raise their voices all day long reviling and insulting the Muslims and the religion of Islam. This practice continued until His Highness Ahmad Shah Durrani, as has been related above, filled in the lake with dirt, trash, and bones, and gave the people of the city and the marketplace security from the torment and distress caused by the Sikhs. The city of Lahore is eighteen kuruhs southwest of Amritsar. The people of this mesopotamian region are a mixture of Muslims and Hindus.

#### *THE FIFTH MESOPOTAMIAN REGION*

It lies between the Biya and Satlaj (Sutlej) Rivers and is thrity-three kuruhs across. It is the only such region actually called “Mesopotamia” (Duabah) by the Punjabis who overlook the fact that the others are also mesopotamian. There are numerous towns and hamlets in the region. In former times, 12,000 cavalry and foot troops, both Muslim and Sikh, used to live here. East of the Sutlej are the farthest limits of the Punjab and the beginning of Haryanah and Badani at the edge of India proper.

To sum up, between the Attock and Jumna Rivers thousands of Sikh sardars reside. They refuse to acknowledge the authority of anyone but themselves. The reason for the large number of sardars is that whenever a man gets hold of two or three horses, he acquires grandiose ambitions and proclaims himself a sardar. But on the day of battle he could stand against a thousand opponents because other Sikhs would support him. Yet, despite the large number of cavalrymen in

the region, they were unable to resist the forces of His Highness Ahmad Shah, as has been duly recorded in the campaigns of that conquering monarch.

*A FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE RISE OF THE SIKHS AND OF THEIR  
CREED*

Sikh means “disciple” or “follower” and the sect is called “Sikh” because it follows Nanak. According to the author of *Siyar al-muta’akhhirīn*, Nanak’s father was a well-to-do grain merchant from a small clan. Nanak acquired most of his learning while serving a certain Sayyid Hasan, a dervish and mystic who supervised his education. Nanak received instruction in the truths and insights of the books of Sufi Islam and then translated the contents of the sayings of Muslim adepts into Punjabi, versified them in book form, and called it the Book of Granth. He easily gained many followers and much authority during the reign of the Moghul ruler, Babur. The book has remained extremely popular up to the present among his followers. They constantly recite from it and praise it. Since his words derive from a sound origin, they contain a certain quality and profundity. The devotees of this sect model their behavior after that of Muslim fakirs. In the hamlets and villages where the adherents of this religion live, hostels have been built which they call “sikant,” in Afghan terminology “*dar-i missāl*.” There a teacher and other fakirs who are his disciples live.

In short, Nanak had two sons, one called Sari Chand, the other Lakhmi Chand. The second son earned a great deal of money and lived a life of luxury. His sons and posterity followed his example and lived more or less like him. Sari Chand chose a dervish life and celibacy and did not succeed his father. Thus it came about that Angad, one of Nanak’s attendants, took his master’s place and spent thirteen years in the temple of Nanak. Because he had no sons, / 33/ he was succeeded by one of his disciples, Amr Das. Amr Das led the sect for twenty-two years and although he had a son, it was his son-in-law, Ram Das,

who was appointed to succeed him when he died. Ram Das lived for seven years (after Amr Das) and then his son, Arjan, succeeded him. Arjan was the leader for twenty-five years and was succeeded by his son, Guru Har Goband. For thirty-seven years the latter followed in his father's footsteps. His successor was Guru Har Ray, his grandson, and the latter led the followers of that religion for seventeen years. After him came his son, Han Kishan (Krishan), who was then only a child, and who lived but three years. He in turn was succeeded by Tigh Bahadur, the youngest son of Guru Har Goband. But he was opposed by Guru Ram Ray, the brother of Har Kishan. The conflict between them lasted until Tigh Bahadur was imprisoned by the amirs of the Moghul ruler, °Alamgir. In 1080/1669–1670, °Alamgir sentenced him to death.

In brief, the details are as follows: Bahadur, the eighth successor to Nanak, had gained a large number of followers and become very influential. With his followers he had begun to embezzle money and property from the people. He also took money from Hindus under the rubric "teacher and disciple." °Alamgir's intelligence agents informed the ruler of this state of affairs telling him, "It will not be long before Tigh Bahadur, once he has gained power by plundering and seizing people's wealth, rebels against the padishah." On the basis of these reports, °Alamgir issued a decree to the *shūbah-dar* of Lahore to arrest Tigh Bahadur. A few days later, by a second order, Tigh Bahadur was put to death and his body was drawn, quartered, and hung in the market. After his death, his now unarmed followers reverted to a life of mendicancy and lived in dread of royal power. Guru Ram Rao who had been Tigh Bahadur's rival<sup>29</sup> died in 1095/1683–1684, 15 years after Tigh Bahadur. According to Hindu rites, he was cremated and in the middle of Dera Dun, at the foot of the Mansuri Mountains, a tomb was constructed for him with gilt and jeweled ornamentation. Because there is a monastery (dinah) there which was one of Ram Rao's projects, called by the Muslims "Qabr" (tomb) and by the Hindus, "Samad" and

<sup>29</sup> FM: According to *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī* and *Khizānah-i °Āmirah*.

as the area where it is located is between two mountains which is called “dun”, the place came to be known as a Dun Monastery (Derah Dun). It is said that Guru Ram Rao took as his epitaph the words “May God forgive us” for building it on the model of the Ka’bah. His ashes are located inside the middle tower and they placed the bed on which he slept throughout his life adjacent to his tomb. They also raised his (personal) standard which is thirty-six cubits high, at the gate of the tomb and draped it with a piece of red cloth. All Sikhs, men and women alike, praise and extoll that flag. Their day of rejoicing, the first of the month of Waysak, corresponds to the eleventh of April by the Gregorian calendar and the twenty-second of Hamal by the solar calendar. The stone plaque on which the date of Guru Ram Ray’s death is inscribed is mounted on the east side of his tomb.

To return to our story, after ‘Alamgir’s death, during the reign of Bahadur Shah—some say in the last days of ‘Alamgir’s reign—Guru Gobind, the son of Tigh Bahadur, assumed his father’s place, gradually reassembled the dispersed followers of the sect, and little by little rearmed and reactivated them. State officials conspired to do away with him and in fear of his life, Guru Gobind fled. Although he found a safe hiding place, his two sons were killed by the government. After the suppression of his rebellion, Guru Gobind left his hiding place to return home. Because the governors and other officials of Sirhind made it difficult for him to pass through their territory, he hired Afghans to escort him to his family and promised them gold for doing so. After dressing him in blue in the style of the Afghans of that region and letting his hair and beard grow long, they set off with him. En route they would say to anyone who asked who he was, “Do you think he’s the son of a pir?” When he arrived home he kept the same dress and outward appearance which had been his salvation and his disciples too permanently adopted that style.

Ultimately, after rejoining his family and friends, his mind became disturbed and he acted befuddled and witless. Nonetheless he remained intent on

avenging the blood of his sons right up to the day he died. Unable to fulfill that vow, however, he carried it out of this world with him. His Sikh followers do not cut their hair and do not shave. Most wear blue clothing and go about armed. Although they are very distinct from other religious sects, /34/ they do not avoid and shun others as the ancient precepts of the Hindus require. In the last days of the reign of His Highness, Awrang Zib, this group re-emerged and its (new) founder was Guru Gobind. He was succeeded by a certain Banda, a man of great power and influence. As he was determined to exact vengeance for the killing of Tigh Bahadur and the two sons of Guru Gobind, he plundered the Muslims of every village and hamlet within the reach of his oppressive hand. He killed whomever he found, sparing not even the young children. Even this did not satisfy him and he cut open the wombs of pregnant women and slew their babies.

This went on until Bahadur Shah heard of his tyranny and vowed to punish him. He dispatched Mun'im Khan "Khan-i Khanan" with 30,000 horsemen. They trapped Banda in Kuh-i Girrah. But by some ruse, he managed to escape. Subsequently, Muhammad Amin Khan, Aghar Khan, Rustam Dil Khan, and others again brought him to bay but were unable to put an end to him. Meanwhile, Banda's ability to confront the royal forces increased little by little, and he spent a good deal of time in highway robbery and night raids, holing up during the day without establishing a permanent base. He killed and robbed Muslims with impunity, destroyed their mosques, and desecrated their graves. By the time Bahadur Shah died, this kind of activity had spread virtually unchecked. In Lahore, there were disputes between the (Moghul) princes and no one was sent to punish the Sikhs.

Gradually Banda's strength grew until Farrukh Siyar came to the throne and assigned Aslam Khan, the *ṣūbah-dar* of Lahore, the job of dealing with Banda. Aslam Khan engaged Banda in a battle but was defeated and had to retreat to Lahore. This victory made Banda even more arrogant. He now extended the arm

of revenge and covetousness to disrupt the lives and threaten the property of the Muslims even more than before. The *ṣūbah-dar* of Sirhind, Bayazid Khan, then marched with a large force to deal with him. But despite the size of his force, one of Banda's followers, like one of Hasan-i Sabbah's fedayeen, slipped into Bayazid's tent undetected one day while everyone was engaged in evening prayers, assassinated Bayazid in the midst of his prostrations, and got away unscathed to rejoin his companions. The stony spread and finally reached Farrukh Siyar who named °Abd al-Samad Khan Bahadur, a brave Turani fighter and *ṣūbah-dar* of Kashmir, with several thousand Moghul horsemen, to put an end to Banda. He also appointed Zakariyya Khan, °Abd al-Samad's son, *subah-dar* of Lahore, replacing the murdered Bayazid Khan. Also sent to assist °Abd al-Samad Khan were Qamar al-Din Khan, the son of Muhammad Amin Khan I°timad al-Dawlah, and Aghar Khan with another Moghul force, regular cavalry, and an artillery corps. °Abd al-Samad Khan meantime left for Lahore where he appointed °Arif Khan to serve as his son's deputy. He then set out to eradicate the problem of Banda. He engaged him in battle, a fierce fight ensued, and Banda was defeated. He fled to the fort at Gurdaspur where he was put under siege.

As the siege stretched on, his army suffered shortages and was reduced to eating cows, horses, and other things forbidden by their religion. Finally, when most had starved to death, the survivors sued for peace. °Abd al-Samad Khan agreed to their petition, planted his banner in the fort's parade ground, and decreed that they should leave their weapons beneath his banner and enter the camp of the Muslims. It was done and when all had assembled at his camp they were handed over to officers of the army who lined them up on the bank of the river flowing through Gurdaspur and had their men decapitate them. The leaders were mounted bareback on camels and donkeys with chains around their necks and feet. Wearing paper hats on their heads, they were driven ahead of the army into Lahore. Several days later, °Abd al-Samad Khan sent them in the custody of

Qamar al-Din Khan and his son Zakariya Khan to Delhi as instructed. When they neared Delhi, the I‘timad al-Dawlah, Muhammad Amin, was ordered by Farrukh Siyar to paint Banda’s face black, sit him on an elephant and the others on donkeys and camels, with the heads of their followers impaled on spears. In such fashion, they entered Delhii.

When they came before Farrukh Siyar they were in a state of total humiliation. The ruler jailed Banda and his son in the citadel along with two or three of his most prominent supporters and ordered the others executed in the bazaar under the aegis of the *kūtwāl*’s court at a rate of one hundred a day. When all prisoners had been put to death, Farrukh Siyar ordered Banda and his son brought in and had the latter kneel before his father. Then with his own hand he executed Banda. /35/ After the father, the son was blown to bits by an artillery piece. A royal decree was then issued that said, “Wherever any member of this sect is found, the people should immediately kill him.” As a result of this decree, the Sikhs all fled into the high mountain ranges and sought refuge in the narrow defiles and crevices. They lived in hiding in places where the terrain was very rugged until the structure of the Moghul state collapsed and disintegrated with the onset of Nadir Shah’s campaigns. Then, once again, that sect regained its strength, came down from the mountains, and, becoming militant once more, seized power in India and the Punjab, raiding, plundering, and destroying the homes and lands of the people.

Ahmad Shah took upon himself the task of protecting Muslims (from their depredations) and, as has been often mentioned, frequently campaigned in that region in order to exact vengeance on the Sikhs. The subsequent conquests and usurpations made by this group during the reigns of His Highness Timur Shah, Zaman Shah, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, and the sons of Sardar Payandah Khan will be recorded in due course.

*THE REIGN OF HIS HIGHNESS HIS HIGHNESS TIMUR SHAH THE SON OF*

*AHMAD SHAH DURRANI*

When, as has been already mentioned, Ahmad Shah passed away, he left six sons: 1) Timur, 2) Darab, 3) Sulayman, 4) Shihab, 5) Sikandar, and 6) Parwiz. Of them, only Timur and Sulayman came to the throne. The rest were unremarkable. This dynasty was called Saduza'i because 1) the late Ahmad Shah was the son of 2) Muhammad Zaman Khan, the son of 3) Sar Mast Khan, the son of 4) Shir Khan, the son of 5) Khwajah Khidr Khan, the son of 6) Sadu. According to the author of *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī*, Sadu was born in Zi Hijjah 965/September-October 1558 and was named Asad Allah by order of Shaykh Aku-yi Zahid. He lived to be ninety-eight years old and was known by the common folk as Sadu. He was the son of 7) °Umar, the son of 8) Ma°ruf, the son of 9) Bahlul, the son of 10) Kuni the son of 11) Bami, the son of 12) Habib, the son of 13) Fufal, the son of 14) Zirak. Here Barak, Aliku, and Fufal branch off. All were the sons of Zirak, the son of 15) °Isa, the son of 16) Rajar, the son of 17) Af°al, the son of 18) Tarin, the son of 19) Sharaf al-Din, called Sharkhabun, the son of Sarah, the son of 20) °Abd al-Rashid, whose nickname was Patan.

To return to the story, the wazir, Shah Wali Khan, wanting to see Prince Sulayman, his son-in-law, come to power, installed him on the throne at the end of the mourning period for Ahmad Shah. Prince Timur, who held power in Herat, outfitted an army and marched on Qandahar. In the meantime, Madad Khan (Ishaqza'i) and several other amirs who were offended by the pre-eminence and ambition of Shah Wali Khan left Qandahar for Herat and joined Prince Timur. Shah Wali Khan was worried by Prince Timur's march towards Qandahar and after consultations and agreement with Shah Sulayman, the wazir left Qandahar with 150 horsemen, ostensibly to welcome the prince. But in fact it was his idea to see if by ingratiating himself he might gain the prince's friendship. He neared Prince Timur's force at Farah and without sending advance word entered the camp and dismounted. When the prince and the



leaders of the army heard of his arrival, the prince's associates, in consultation with Qazi Fayz Allah Khan, persuaded the prince to have the wazir killed before meeting with him lest his glibness and eloquence lead them to believe that matters were of an entirely different hue than they were. Because the prince was angry with the wazir for installing his younger brother on the throne, he gave an order to Angu Khan Bamiza'i at the *manzil* of Siyah Ab west of Bagwa to kill Shah Wali Khan. With the help of Aslam Khan, Angu Khan assassinated the wazir, his two sons, and two of his sister's children.

His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, (Amir Habib Allah Khan) has given an explanation of this incident which is accurate, conforms to the facts, and is here written down. It is this.

The wazir, Shah Wali Khan, was afraid that certain trouble-makers might plunder the royal storehouses and workshops during Prince Timur's absence from Herat and thus besmirch the nation's honor. Therefore /36/, he put Prince Sulayman on the throne in order to stave off any insurrection. Then he himself, as mentioned, set out to welcome the prince, harboring no thought of duplicity or deception. But because of the resentment and envy they secretly felt towards the wazir, amirs in the prince's entourage turned the prince against him in hopes of having him killed. For if he were to live, he would climb ever higher on the ladder of success and would gain ever greater power. In short, they did him in by treacherous means. Thus, neither Prince Timur nor the wazir was to blame for the outcome of the incident, because the wazir only had in mind safeguarding the honor of the nation. But thanks to fate, he experienced the opposite of what he intended. The prince was in the position of having no other support except from those amirs who favored the wazir's assassination. In matters of policy he was unable to do anything other than what they approved. After the murder of the

wazir and his sons and nephews, the prince left that stopping-place and moved on stage by stage to Qandahar. Shah Sulayman, the wazir's protege, came out to welcome the prince and offer his apologies. He surrendered the throne and became a loyal supporter of Prince Timur. He was the object of (the new shah's) favors and his fear and dread disappeared under brotherly blandishments.

#### *THE ACCESSION OF HIS HIGHNESS TIMUR SHAH TO THE THRONE*

His Highness Timur Shah ascended the throne in 1186, which corresponds to 1773 A.D. The stone of his signet ring was inscribed with this verse:

Through God's solicitude, the flag of the felicitous sovereignty of Timur Shah flew over the world"

while his gold and silver coins were ornamented with this:

The gold of the sun and the silver of the moon will circulate,  
When struck in the form of Timur Shah's coins

After completing the formalities of the coronation, His Highness Timur Shah fulfilled the expectations of his amirs with gifts of magnificent robes of honor, disappointing no one. Those who had held office under His Highness Ahmad Shah were left in their former positions. Then, after a short residence at Qandahar in which his authority gained luster and he fully resolved all matters of concern to that city, he left for Kabul to spend the summer there and to put affairs there to rights. Upon his arrival, he purged the Durrani amirs who, troubled and downhearted because of the killing of Wazir Shah Wali Khan, had openly as well as secretly declared hostility towards him. Aware of their

FM: (1) *Mulul wa sangin bar*  
*wa 'ajiz wa khastah wa dil*  
*tang wa bi-sutuh amadan*  
*diltang shudan* (Sick,  
overstressed, weakened,  
fatigued, depressed, to come  
to the end of the rope is to be  
deeply distressed.)

opposition, he summoned then all to a tribunal, along with the diwan-begi who had urged sedition, and had them all executed. When this happened, (other) Durranis who had been upset by the assassination of Shah Wali Khan became even more fearful and now plotted a coup. They prevailed upon ‘Abd al-Khaliq Khan Saduza’i (in Qandahar) who thought of himself as an uncle to Ahmad Shah and made him their leader. Foolishly thinking that the large number of Durranis was sufficient strength for him, he laid claim to the sultanate. In no time at all, 60,000 mounted troops had gathered behind him and he left Qandahar to conquer Kabul and bring down His Highness Timur Shah’s regime.

His Highness Timur Shah at this point had no more than 6,000 horsemen with him. Moreover, some of them had fathers in Qandahar while they were in Kabul and vice versa. Nevertheless, he still raised the banners of defense and marched forth from Kabul. Meantime, divine favor was with His Highness Timur Shah. For Payandah Khan Barakza’i, Mihrab Khan Shirzai, and Dilawar Khan Ishaqza’i defected from ‘Abd al-Khaliq with a body of their own people and hurried to join the shah. A fierce battle took place when the two sides met. The Qandaharis were defeated and ‘Abd al-Khaliq Khan and a number of his officers were taken prisoner. By order of the shah, ‘Abd al-Khaliq was blinded. The rest were ransomed by amirs in His Highness Timur Shah’s retinue and sent home. After this victory, Sardar Payandah Khan Barakza’i and Dilawar Khan Ishaqza’i, both of whom had abandoned ‘Abd al-Khaliq and thrown in their lot with His Highness Timur Shah, were singled out and given, respectively, the honorary titles “Sar Faraz Khan” and “Madad Khan”.

His Highness Timur Shah then left the battlefield and went back to Qandahar. There /37/ he investigated and uncovered (other) conspirators, arrested them, and put them to death. From that time on, the Qizilbash and the Mongols, (the latter) known as Hazarahs, who were assigned to the ghulam corps became the people on whom His Highness Timur Shah relied and in whom he trusted. The Durranis, who claimed to be the peers and equals of the

shah, fell out of favor. In short, His Highness Timur Shah returned from Kabul after punishing the malefactors of that region. The author of *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī* writes that from the day Payandah Khan was given the honorary title “Sar Faraz Khan” his star rose while his elder brother’s, Rahimdad Khan, fell. He offers as evidence the fact that people say that when Rahimdad Khan was promoted to the rank of sardar of the Barakza’i tribe by His Highness Ahmad Shah and was made the guardian of His Highness Timur Shah both at home and abroad, he behaved insolently. Although the prince found his words and deeds intolerable, he kept quiet, being mild-mannered by nature, with the forbearance of a king. He bided his time until several of the leaders of the noble tribe of the Barakza’i such as Mihrab Khan, Kadu Khan and others, deeply distressed by Rahimdad Khan’s ill temper and rude speech, petitioned Qazi Fayz Allah Khan Dawlatshahi for some legal remedy. He forwarded their petition to the shah. Since the shah was also fed up with his behavior, he listened sympathetically to the petition of the Barakza’i chiefs and gave them the welcome news that they should come to the public audience and there state their grievances in the presence of all. Accordingly, they presented themselves and filed their complaints against Rahimdad Khan. In their presentation they also asserted that (if the shah granted their request), “it would be the nearest in terms of kindness and the farthest in terms of harm for your humble servants.” The shah, who understood the limits of the case, said, “God forbid that I should put the reins of control of my people into the hands of a ghulam. But if Rahimdad Khan has a son or a brother who deserves the chieftainship bring him forward so that he would neither lose his rights of service, nor the people be deprived of protection”. As Payandah Khan was present they brought him forward in a show of unanimity and said, “This is Payandah Khan, his younger brother, who has shown signs of greatness and who is totally free of the taint of insolent behavior.” His Highness Timur Shah then conferred on him the honor of the sardarship of the Barakza’i tribe.

Rahimdad Khan, meanwhile, had been summoned to the capital because of the grievances against him. When he learned what had happened he said not a word. Like the recently mentioned Sardar Payandah Khan and Dilawar Khan, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Latif, a grandson of Shaykh Ahmad Zandahpil, was appointed to the offices of the wikalat and collector of the diwani revenues. Iltifat Khan, a eunuch, was named treasurer and Nur Muhammad Khan Baburi obtained the post of manager (*ṣāhib-i kār*) of the protected territories and was given the title “Amin al-Mulk”. His Highness Timur Shah married the latter’s daughter, thereby admitting her to the corps of ladies of the royal harem. Fath Allah Khan, who had just come from Multan and presented himself to the shah, was made a special advisor (*nadīm-i khāṣṣ*). Mir Hazar Khan Alkuza<sup>30</sup> was promoted to the sardarship of his tribe. Qazi Fayz Allah Khan Dawlatshahi was confirmed as advisor on state affairs. Bureaucratic matters and record-keeping were entrusted to the Qizilbash. Mulla ʿAbd al-Ghaffar Khan “Jadid al-Islam” who was a Hindu and had converted to Islam then came to Afghanistan with Ahmad Shah where he studied the religious sciences, was appointed *mustawfī al-mamālik*. Having made these nominations for the country’s highest offices, His Highness Timur Shah departed for Peshawar, there to spend the winter.

*THE INSURRECTION OF FAYZ ALLAH KHAN KHALIL<sup>30</sup> IN  
PESHAWAR AND HIS MURDER*

This fellow was the leader of the zamindars and the one to whom the country people around Peshawar turned for advice. In the vain hope of gaining the throne, he began to look for followers. He was joined by Yaqut Khan, a eunuch and a man on whom the shah relied, as well as by other sardars, and together they plotted to assassinate His Highness Timur Shah. In league with

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<sup>30</sup> FM: Khalil is a large tribe (*qawm*) of the Afghans residing on the periphery of Peshawar. The tribal lineage and genealogy of the tribe connects it to the Durranis.

another of the leading zamindars of Peshawar, Asad Allah Khan, the conspirators /38/ sent a message to the shah that said, “The Sikhs have joined forces and are harassing the Muslims of the Punjab. If permission is granted we, together with a group of Khalil, Mohmand<sup>31</sup> and other tribesmen, will disperse them, purge the Punjab of their presence, and put it back into the hands of (Afghan) officials. Unaware of their evil intent, His Highness Timur Shah agreed to this request. Pretext now in hand, Fayz Allah Khan, according to the author of *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, assembled 20,000 foot and horse troops (but according to *Tarikh-i Ahmadi*, 25,000) from the Muslims of Peshawar and Kashmir. He then waited for an opportune moment.

One day, after lunch, the shah went to the Bala Hisar (citadel) and stretched out on his bed to take a nap. Fayz Allah Khan Khalil and his fellow conspirators decided that this was the moment they had been waiting for. They entered the citadel claiming that the shah was going to review their troops. The shah’s guard and the guards of the women’s quarters came forward to stop them. Although the guards remonstrated with them and told them that the shah was asleep, they refused to listen and kept insisting, “The shah summoned us for a review.” But since the guard had not been given instructions to let them pass, they had to draw their weapons before reaching their object (the shah’s quarters). They killed the guards and also wounded several Afghans and the head chef who were eating in the royal kitchen. Just then, Mongol, Jamshidi, and Qalmaq slaves who were on duty in a guardhouse near the royal harem noticed the mob of Afghans with Fayz Allah Khan Khalil and woke the shah. Frightened by the assault of these evil men, he climbed to the top of a building which stood at the edge of the area between the ramparts on the south side of the Bala Hisar. He had the ladder pulled up and ordered the corps of ghulams, a Qizilbash group, and others guarding the perimeter of the Bala Hisar, to kill the rebels. The guards attacked the rebels but also killed several city people who were dressed like the

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<sup>31</sup> FM: Mohmand is like Khalil, mentioned above.

conspirators in the *dathār* of evildoing.<sup>32</sup> They drove the members of the rebel force a distance of eight *kurūhs* from the city and killed so many that one could not find a place to walk on the citadel parade ground or in the area around the royal harem without stepping on a body. In all six thousand dead were counted. Fayz Allah Khan Khalil and his son were taken prisoner and executed. It was also believed that Pirzadah Miyan Muhammad, the son of Shaykh ‘Umar, was one of the rebels and so an order was issued to raid his home village of Chamkani, one of the districts of Peshawar. After a brief period of looting, the fighting was halted through intercession by the sardars. Yaqut Khan, the eunuch, one of Fayz Allah Khan Khalil’s fellow conspirators, had agreed to lay a trail of rice from the main entrance of the citadel to the place where the shah slept so that by following it (Fayz Allah Khan) could carry out what he had set out to do. Now Yaqut Khan was arrested and put to death. The author of *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī* adds something which the *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī* omits, namely that most of the rebels were slain by Aslan Khan Javanshir, a man who had been imprisoned for squandering state funds. (At the time of the battle) he had emerged from prison and courageously thrown himself into the fray. The shah had noticed him and at the end, when he came down from the citadel, he embraced Aslan Khan and pardoned him for all the money he had wasted. He also gave him a robe of honor. Asad Allah Khan Mohmand fled towards La<sup>o</sup>lpurah and the mountains of Bajawur and thereby saved himself. After dousing the flames of this mutiny, His Highness Timur Shah returned to Kabul from Peshawar.

At this point His Highness Timur Shah made Kabul his capital instead of Qandahar. He did this for two reasons: first because he had placed administrative matters into the hands of the Qizilbash, whom he favored (and who lived in Kabul) and secondly, because Kabul was situated in the center of Afghan territory and it was easier to deal with problems from there no matter

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<sup>32</sup> FM: A *dathār* garment is any dress which is not tight against the body and which is worn over other garments.

where they arose.

*HIS HIGHNESS TIMUR SHAH MARCHES AGAINST MULTAN AND  
PUNISHES THE SIKHS*

After the death of Ahmad Shah, the Sikhs rebelled and occupied the city of Multan and its surrounding districts. /39/ Although His Highness Timur Shah was aware of this he had to ignore it because of more pressing domestic problems and he put off punishing them to a more opportune time. Then when he left Kabul to make his winter quarters in Peshawar he heard that 60,000 Sikhs had joined forces, crossed the Chinab and Rawi Rivers, and were on their way to occupy Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, and other places. Another of their objects was to conquer the derajat of Sind, wresting them from officials of the Durrani state.

In accordance with the Shari'ah of rule, His Highness Timur Shah first sent a certain Sardar Hajji 'Ali Khan to the Sikhs as an ambassador to win them over with gracious words and kindness. But, because of their numbers, their arrogance, and their pride, they tied the shah's envoy to a tree and used him for target practice. They said to themselves, "His Highness Timur Shah is trying to scare us but the fact of the matter is that he is afraid of us." When those companions of Hajji 'Ali Khan who had managed to escape brought the news to His Highness Timur Shah, he became extremely angry and donned red clothing, a sign of blood-lust. He ordered the generals of the army to present themselves in battle gear and he then proceeded to verify that the rank and file were all in battle order. Seated on an elephant, the shah was reviewing the troops arrayed before him in two files when his eyes fell on Sardar Madad Khan and the *wakīl-i ru'āyā*, who between them commanded 15,000 horsemen. They were resting on the ground in the shade cast by their horses and the shah ordered one of his bodyguards (*nasaqchī*) to punish each one with ten stripes of a cane. Anyone



else found resting in the shade was similarly punished with canes and whips. A leading scholar who was an intimate of the shah ventured to remark on this discipline saying, “This way of punishing a sardar with a cane . . . well, of course, wisdom demands it and it is an indisputable part of admonishment.” The shah replied,

Absolutely so. The whole army has to stand in this heat. If these men who are their commanders try to rest, the soldiers of the army will, of course, stray from duty. Especially now, when the object before them is ghaza and jihad, they cannot ask to rest. On the contrary, they must be ready to endure hardship. Hence my call for punishment. But tomorrow I will console them with gifts of robes of honor.

In short, the shah chose 18,000 Afghan, Mongol, and Qizilbash horsemen, placed them under the command of Zangi Khan, a *chārchī bāshī*, and sent them off on jihad against the infidel. He counseled them to speak with no one en route and allow no abuse or reproach to pass their lips for that would negate the reward of the holy war (*ghazā*). Zangi Khan then walked three times around the elephant on which the shah sat and departed when night fell. The shah himself followed soon after. Zangi Khan crossed the Nilab River and kept on riding through the night and the next day until the following evening he had reached a point eight kuruhs from the enemy army. There he dismounted, the horses were fed and watered and guards were posted at points two kuruhs apart so that no traveller, headed in the direction of the Sikhs, could pass the Afghan army. Instead, any such were to be detained so that the enemy force would remain ignorant of the arrival of the Afghans. The shah waited until the final third of the night and then, having rested his men and their mounts, he posted the Qizilbash and Mongol troops on his right flank and the Durrani on his left. He himself took the center with 5,000 Yusufza’i cavalry and the rest of the Qandahari

Durrani, and advanced in this formation. By the time dawn's first light appeared, Zangi Khan had reached a point two kuruhs from the Sikhs. Morning prayers were performed and then the Afghan army attacked. Because of the distance to Peshawar and the difficulty of crossing the Attock River, the Sikhs were (completely) unaware of the approach of the army and careless of their own fate when the Muslims fell on them like a sudden calamity.

The Sikhs managed to get only one hundred paces from their camp and then gave themselves up to the swords of the ghazis. Warriors for Islam set to with a will, wielding sword and spear and fortified by their religion and by the help of God. In just one assault they killed many of the followers of Brahman. While the flames of the conflict still blazed brightly, Zangi Khan bared his head, touched his brow to his saddle horn (1), and asked divine assistance. Then he urged his brave soldiers to lay into the enemy until the foe was routed and fled from the fray. /40/ The Muslim pursued and killed so many Sikhs that the number of dead was put at 30,000. Some of the fleeing cavalry drove their horses into the river and were shot dead or drowned when wounded by their pursuers' bullets. Only 2,000 Sikh cavalry escaped; the rest were all slain. The heads of the dead were cut off and loaded on camels.

FM: (1) In Persian, a *qārbūsi* (pommel) is a high thing at the frint of the saddle.

Four days after the army's departure from Peshawar, it returned and saluted the shah. Thirty thousand heads were thrown at his feet which was the occasion for congratulations and felicitations. Robes of honor were conferred on Zangi Khan; Shah Wali Khan, the son of Fath Khan Kamalza'i; Bahadur Khan, the son of Fayz Talab Khan Muhammadza'i; the leaders of the Yusufza'i tribe; and the Mongol and Qizilbash notables—all of whom participated in the victory. His Highness Timur Shah, who had also marched (at the same time as the above force), now entered Multan and put the city under siege. When the Sikhs realized they did not have the power to resist, they sued for peace. They gave the shah's officials the keys to the citadel and in return were granted security for their lives and possessions. After completing business there, His Highness

Timur Shah turned Multan over to Shuja<sup>c</sup> Khan Saduza'i and returned to Peshawar. Some time later, at the request of the governor of Shikarpur, His Highness Timur Shah appointed Sardar Madad Khan Ishaqza'i to punish the Sindis who had staged an uprising in that city. He arrived in Sind and after eradicating the dissidents and placating the rest, referred them all to the governor of Shikarpur and then rejoined the shah. Afterwards, His Highness Timur Shah left Peshawar and returned to Kabul which he entered with all due pomp.

*HIS HIGHNESS TIMUR SHAH MARCHES AGAIN TO MULTAN AND  
CONQUERS BAHAWULPUR*

The details are as follows. Rukn al-Din Muhammad Bahawul Khan Bahadur <sup>c</sup>Abbasi and Nusrat Jang Hafiz al-Mulk, head of the Da'ud Putarah tribe, had seized many districts in Sind and Multan. Without interfering with the other, each man set himself up as the governor of a *pargānah*-district.<sup>33</sup> Both then suspended payment of tribute and taxes to the shah's officials and declared their independence. Angered at this action, His Highness Timur Shah resolved to punish them and bring the districts they had occupied back under his jurisdiction. So he marched with a formidable force into Multan. When he learned of the shah's arrival, Bahawul Khan left the town of Bahawulpur, approximately thirty-five kuruhs southeast of Multan, headed with his family and possessions for a barren plain on which he had built a fortress for just such a day, and there took refuge. In the meantime, a scouting force from His Highness Timur Shah's army had gone into Bahawulpur and begun looting the town. The scouts set fire to several buildings and burned them to the ground. Timur Shah himself entered the town in their wake and had the *dīwan-i khāṣṣ* expropriate the rest of Bahawul Khan's property. He then dispatched Sardar Madad Khan

<sup>33</sup> FM: A *pargānah* is land from which they collect money (*māl*) and the *kharāj*-tax.

Ishaqza'i and 20,000 horsemen with provisions enough for three days to lay siege to the fortress in which the khan had taken refuge. The plan was for Sardar Madad Khan to conduct the siege for three days and then be relieved by another force. But before the initial period ended Madad Khan managed to dig a well and solve the problem of water. His force then stayed to continue the artillery bombardment of the fort. The heavy barrage started a fire in the arsenal inside the fort and powder stored there exploded and blew a hole in the walls. With the key to victory in their hands, the soldiers of the royal force then stormed the fort. Bahawul Khan's property was sacked but he and his son rubbed the forehead of abasement in the dust of repentance and were pardoned. The taxes of that locale were collected under treaty and it was formally agreed that he would deliver the *kharāj*-taxes annually to officials of the crown. It was also agreed that whenever the shah had to march to Lahore to deal with the Sikhs, Bahawul Khan would lend his help. After the agreement was concluded, the khan received a robe of honor and the governorship of Multan. His Highness Timur Shah now left for Kabul and with as much pomp and ceremony as possible made a grand entrance into the city. /41/

#### *REPRIMANDING SHAH MURAD BI, THE SOVEREIGN OF BUKHARA*

During the events already recorded, Shah Murad Bi took advantage of the fact that His Highness Timur Shah was entangled in the Punjab and Sind and made Afghan Khurasan and Turkistan his field of operations. He raided and looted those regions, creating a good deal of turmoil. His Highness Timur Shah turned a blind eye to his activities, trusting ultimately to the fact that they were both of the same religious persuasion, and continued to devote himself to other matters. But when he marched against Bahawulpur, Shah Murad Bi raised an army to invade Khurasan again. He occupied and plundered Marw and moved 30,000 of its residents to Bukhara. To replace them, he ordered local leaders in

Shahr-i Sabz and Bukhara to send groups of people to Marw and he rebuilt and renovated the city for them.

The shah learned of this after his return from Multan. At first, with the consent of the leaders of his regime, he drafted an admonitory letter and sent it to Murad Bi in the hopes that the latter would turn from the path of ignorance and would not lead an army in His Highness Timur Shah's direction again. But Shah Murad paid no attention to the letter and did not even bother to reply. His Highness Timur Shah then let it be known that he intended to march on Turkistan. He headed north, moving at a very deliberate pace thinking that Shah Murad might hear of the expedition's approach, be ashamed of himself, and, without bloodshed, put his feet on the path of felicity and fortune. Proceeding slowly, the shah arrived in Aqchah in the month of Zi Hijjah. Shah Murad Bi, however, prepared to fight back. He drew up his 50,000 horsemen in battle formation and faced the shah. Each day skirmishes between the scouts<sup>34</sup> and advance guard<sup>35</sup> took place. Then one day Shah Murad Bi sent his brother across the Oxus with 30,000 cavalry to launch a night assault. His plan was to circle around behind His Highness Timur Shah and surprise him during the night. But His Highness Timur Shah got wind of the plan, made sure his braves were on the alert, and when evening came made a stand astride the route (of the Bukharan force). The two sides clashed in a fierce fight and a good deal of blood flowed on both sides. In the end, the Afghans gained the upper hand and the Bukharans were defeated. Six thousand Uzbeks and a number of Afghans were killed. Shah Murad Bi, concerned by this defeat, summoned one of the most prominent scholars of Bukhara and sent him to His Highness Timur Shah to beg forgiveness with a message that said that henceforward he would not be the cause of anything which necessitated the shah's inflicting punishment nor would

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<sup>34</sup> FM: The scout (*qarāwul*) goes ahead of the army and it is also a unit that determines the site of the battlefield.

<sup>35</sup> FM: The advance party (*harāwul*) is a unit that marches ahead of everyone else.

he stray from the path of obedience and duty. The shah accepted his apology subject to the condition that as long as Shah Murad Bi drew breath he should remain true to his word and not deviate from or renege on it. Otherwise the punishment for his deeds would inevitably be dealt him. Shah Murad Bi accepted these terms and sent a treaty document with many gifts and precious objects as tribute. His Highness Timur Shah thereupon conferred a robe of honor on him. The border points separating their two countries were also demarcated and then the shah returned to Kabul. While traversing the Hindu Kush on the return march, bitter cold killed most of the animals as well as a few of his soldiers.

*THE REBELLION OF AZAD KHAN THE SON OF HAJJI KARIMDAD KHAN,  
THE SUBAH-DAR OF KASHMIR*

Hajji Karimdad Khan *‘arz-begi* had been named by Ahmad Shah to the governorship of Kashmir. After his death his youngest son, Azad Khan, was confirmed by the throne as his successor. Azad Khan then expelled from Kashmir his other brothers who came to the shah and were well received. Azad Khan, while governing Kashmir, diverted tax revenues into his own purse. He courted the army leaders with cash gifts and robes of honor. He drafted 3,000 Sikhs and others into the army as *nawkars*. Then he stopped altogether remitting revenues from Kashmir and straightened the neck of disobedience. This upset His Highness Timur Shah and the first thing he did was send Mir Muhammad <sup>‘</sup>Ali Khan, called Kifayat Khan Musawi, to advise and gently persuade so that matters would not degenerate into armed conflict. Arriving in Kashmir, Muhammad <sup>‘</sup>Ali Khan boldly began to counsel Azad Khan, despite the latter’s reputation for insolence and violence, warning and admonishing him about the consequences of his actions. /42/ He then seized some three laks of rupees in both cash and kind to make up for the tax arrears of Kashmir which Azad Khan

had not remitted.

Outwardly, Mir Muhammad °Ali Khan now began preparations to return to Kabul and secretly, according to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, he informed the shah of the evil apparent in Azad Khan's demeanor. The shah then dispatched 30,000 soldiers with Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan, Azad Khan's older brothers, both of whom were angry with him for expelling them from Kashmir. Mir Muhammad °Ali Khan was still in Kashmir when this force arrived and made camp at the town of Bakali not far from Kashmir. At this moment Azad Khan was in the same town, at the home of his father-in-law. When he learned of the arrival of the army, he came to the bank of the river which separated him from the royal force and gazed across the water. The shah's troops called out to him, "Who are you and what are you here for?" Azad Khan answered, "I am your lord and master," told them his name, fired three shots at them and withdrew. The following day a violent skirmish occurred in which Mulla A°zam Khan, Azad Khan's army commander, was killed. The royal troops carried the day: Azad Khan's followers were defeated and 2,000 of his men drowned in the Muzaffarabad River. Azad Khan wanted to escape by boat but he was prevented from doing so by his own cousin, Pahlawan Khan, who said to him, "At the time you decided to rebel, you put on the demeanor of insincerity and wouldn't listen to my advice. Now you must stand and make a determined fight so that perhaps with a courageous effort on your part, I might yet retrieve matters." Having prevented his escape, Pahlawan Khan now regrouped the army, prepared its weapons, and again clashed with the royal force, this time defeating it. He captured Burhan Khan Fufalza°i, raised the banners of victory, and returned to Kashmir with Azad Khan. Now it was the royal army's turn to regroup. It launched a full-scale assault but was defeated again. In the retreat from the battlefield, three sardars and many soldiers were taken prisoner and put to death.

During all this, a sayyid who lived with the Yusufza°i tribe had stood firm and fought resolutely (against the Kashmiri forces). Azad Khan had been

favorably impressed with his stalwartness and ordered him taken alive and brought to him. But no matter how hard Azad Khan's men tried to convey Azad Khan's wishes to the sayyid, he refused to give up. Finally a brave sword-wielding Hindu struck and wounded him. But the sayyid again picked up his sword and refused to quit. He shouted at Azad Khan's men, "I will never give up unless you let me be taken to Azad Khan with my bloodied sword in my hand." They had no choice but to let him do so. So, mounted and carrying his unsheathed sword, he went before Azad Khan, saluted him, and stood before the drawn-up ranks of the army. In answer to Azad Khan's inquiry as to his name and position, he said, "I am a sayyid and 'Ulul Shah is my name. My home is in the Yusufza'i village of Atman Khayl." The celebrated Najib Allah Khan verified the authenticity of his sayyid-hood and Azad Khan assigned him a monthly stipend of one hundred rupees and ordered a surgeon to treat his wounds. When he recovered he was given another five hundred rupees. Azad Khan also promised him that if, through his offices, any other Yusufza'i desiring employment were to come forward, he would receive a salary. Azad Khan also tried through the sayyid to recruit 1,500 of the prisoners but they rejected his overtures. He then outwardly gave them leave to return to their homes but secretly ordered the boatmen on the Muzaffarabad River to throw these men overboard while ferrying them across and so all were drowned.

*HIS HIGHNESS TIMUR SHAH MARCHES ON KASHMIR IN PERSON; THE  
SUPPRESSION OF AZAD KHAN'S INSURRECTION AND THE OUTCOME OF  
THE WHOLE AFFAIR*

When the shah learned of the collapse of his force, he himself left for Peshawar at the head of a large army. From there he sent Sardar Madad Khan Ishaqza'i with a number of other sardars on to Kashmir leading a sizeable contingent to root out Azad Khan's rebellion. This force crossed the Attock and



camped near Kashmir. Azad Khan actively resisted and the advance parties of both sides fought skirmishes. Eventually, however, Madad Khan managed to induce several of Azad Khan's supporters such as Ahmad Khan and others to join him, using the sweet sound of gold as well as warnings of the dire punishment that would befall them as a result of their treachery to the shah. /43/ Meanwhile, Azad Khan had assigned Shadi Khan to make a night attack. But Madad Khan found out about it and put his troops on alert. When the attack came a fierce fight broke out. Azad Khan came up behind his force and joined the fight. But unable to make any headway, he abandoned the field without achieving his objective. Conflicts now kept turning out this way and the outlook was gloomy with neither side managing to gain the upper hand. Then Azad Khan got wind of collusion and negotiations between the leaders of his force and Sardar Madad Khan. At this he turned his back on the fray and hurried to Bunish. With several of his associates he entered the rugged mountainous region (of Bunesh), and took refuge with his father-in-law, Rajah Rustam Khan. The latter welcomed him with open arms and spared no effort to show respect and honor.

However, in the end, Rustam Khan received a daunting message from Sardar Madad Khan that the latter would wind the two of them up in one kilim if he continued to harbor Azad. Moreover, Rustam Khan was apprehensive that Azad Khan might usurp the territory that belonged to him. So, by careful planning, he collected all of the weapons belonging to Azad Khan's men as well as his own, except for one pistol which Azad Khan kept in his waistband. Then one day when Azad Khan was napping in his room, Rustam Khan closed and locked his door from the outside and sent a messenger to Sardar Madad Khan informing him of what he had done. The latter dispatched 2,000 horsemen under Islam Khan to arrest Azad Khan and bring him back. When the latter awoke and found the door locked, he decided to commit suicide and shot himself with his pistol to avoid the torture that awaited him. Islam Khan arrived just before he

died and opened the door to his room. Azad Khan managed to open his eyes and curse Islam Khan saying, “If I were able, I would not leave you among the living.” Islam Khan gave him no further chance to speak but cut off his head and sent it to His Highness Timur Shah. Despite all the trouble Azad Khan had caused him, the shah admired his courage and regretted his death. He ordered him buried and then invited Azad Khan’s mother to come from Qandahar, awarded her two laks of rupees from her son’s property, and granted her royal favors. He also offered to take on the duty of husband to her and counseled her, according to the Shari’ah of the Prophet, of the wretched state of a woman no longer a virgin, or of any woman for that matter, not wanting a husband. But she rejected his overtures and he then set a stipend for her of an amount adequate to support her. She then received permission to return to Qandahar with Azad Khan’s young son, Fath Jang. Eventually however, she did become one of the ladies of the royal harem and received the honor of sharing the shah’s bed.

#### *ARSALAN KHAN MOHMAND’S UPRISING AND DEATH*

According to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, this Arsalan Khan, really Asad Allah Khan, was the man appointed *ṣūbah-dār* of Sirhind in the time of Ahmad Shah. But by now, he had chosen treachery and become a wayfarer in the valley of error. In his own fort at Dakkah, located at the mouth of the Khyber Valley, he had assembled Afridis and Mohmands and they were intercepting and stopping the shah’s troops as well as caravans attempting to transit the Khyber. Those who paid him the toll that he demanded would be safe, would be escorted by one of his men through the pass, and could continue safely along any other road that lay ahead. But those who refused to pay did not get through. On several occasions, royal troops had been sent to punish him but because of the extreme ruggedness of the route through the high mountains they had never succeeded in doing so. Eventually, angered at the lack of control over those highway

brigands, His Highness Timur Shah chastised and rebuked his officials saying, ‘What does it mean when, with all the instruments of the state, you can’t capture one thief?’ Qazi Fayz Allah Khan, hoping to calm his anger, knelt before the shah, spoke to him, and swore to bring in Arsalan Khan. By promising Arsalan personal safety, he persuaded him to come to see him and when he did he put him in leg-irons. The qazi then took him to His Highness Timur Shah who, because of the qazi’s guarantee of personal security, did not at first put him to death. But later, because of all the complaints of those who had suffered at his hands, an order was issued for his execution. Afterwards, his body was tied to the leg of an elephant and dragged around the city.

Fath Khan Yusufza’i, who had gone astray in a similar way, succeeded to the chieftainship of Muzaffarabad and closed the Kashmir Road to the shah’s officials. In his case too, armies had gone out to punish him /44/ without success until, through the offices of Fayz Talab Khan Muhammadza’i, he was brought to the royal darbar and there, either by hanging or by suffocation, was put to death. Zafar Khan assumed his father’s place (as chief of Muzaffarabad) and until 1213/1798–99 remained obedient, causing trouble to no one. The area under his control stretched from Muzaffarabad to Hasan Abdal and he used the diwani revenues as his own salary (*jāygīr*) remitting nothing to the officials of the diwan. Nor did he ever come to see the shah in person, being wary because of the punishment that had befallen his father.

#### *THE DEATH OF HIS HIGHNESS TIMUR SHAH, THE SON OF AHMAD SHAH*

As the ravages of time inevitably lacerate the faces of all, whether good or bad, with the talons of misfortune, and since for no one, be he shah or beggar, has there ever been nor will there ever be hope for immortality, when the shah was in winter quarters in Peshawar with all the younger princes in his entourage —Prince Humayun was in Qandahar as governor, Prince Mahmud in Herat, and

Prince Zaman, the heir-apparent, in Kabul—his constitution underwent a change because of an extreme obsession he had with what he was eating and he developed hypochondria for which his physicians could find no cure. They blamed their inability to treat his illness on the unwholesomeness of the Peshawar climate and so, showing the symptoms of fever, he left for Kabul. When he reached the Chahar Bagh in Jalalabad, Prince Zaman, who had come there on hearing of the shah's illness, arrived and kissed his father's hand. The shah in turn kissed Zaman's forehead and gave him two of his own *yazak* horses outfitted with gold trappings to replace the two riding horses which had died as a result of the exhausting trip he had made from Kabul. They left Jalalabad together. One night at a stopping-place the shah had a dream which he described to Prince Zaman and Qazi Fayz Allah Khan who were both at his bedside. "In the dream, some men came forward, lifted the crown from my head and placed it on the head of this son of mine." He also told them his interpretation of the dream. "It is the sunset of my life and the bird of my soul has been called to fly from my body's cage." When he recounted and interpreted his dream, the prince and the others present became distraught and began to weep, at which a tear also ran down the shah's face. He gave his son some counsel and then moved on to Kabul. On Sunday, the 7th of Shawwal 1207/18 May 1793, his life was completed and his soul entered Paradise. After a reign of twenty-two years, he said farewell to crown and throne. The date of his death and the accession of Shah Zaman is versified in a chronogram composed by Mirza Muhammad Isfahani, whose pen-name was Furughi.

Two images have come to rest, the one yearned  
 For the other, inspiring dread.  
 The sun has risen from the horizon, the moon has sunk to rest.  
 Like the cycle of sun and moon, Timur the throne descends,  
 And now the regent Zaman Shah ascends.

His Highness Timur Shah left twenty-four sons: 1) Humayun, 2) Mahmud, 3) Ahmad, 4) Zaman, 5) Sultan, 6) Nurdah, 7) Malik Gawhar, 8) Akbar, 9) Husayn, 10) Hasan, 11) °Abbas, 12) Buland Akhtar, 13) Shahrukh, 14) Shahpur, 15) Jihan Wala, 16) Firuz al-Din, 17) Ibrahim, 18) Farrukh, 19) Shuja al-Mulk, 20) Khawar, 21) Ayyub, 22) Mirza Miran, 23) Mirza Kuhandil, and 24) Nadir. The late shah modeled his government on that of the great rulers. He wore a diamond-studded brooch on his turban and a bejewelled sash over his shoulder. His overcoat was ornamented with precious stones and he wore the Kuh-i Nur diamond on his right forearm and the Fakhraj ruby on his left. Ahmad Shah, as mentioned above had received these two gems from the wife of Nadir Shah. His Highness Timur Shah also mounted another encrusted brooch on his horse's forehead. Because he was a man of short stature, a bewelled stepstool was also made for him. Whenever he rode, /45/ he would use it to mount his horse. He was a great one for enjoying life. Nonetheless, he was always attentive to the state of his subjects and the army and gave people the chance to petition him in person. He did not think it necessary to be deliberate and to delay when it came to matters of state and his subjects. He would straightaway order something be done. The functionaries of his regime, in accordance with the instructions he had given them, had wide discretionary powers.

#### *HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN'S REIGN*

When the amirs (of the court)—including Qazi Fayz Allah Khan Dawlatshahi, Sardar Payandah Khan “Sar Faraz Khan’ Barakza’i, Nur Muhammad Khan Amin al-Mulk Baburi, Mulla °Abd al-Ghaffar Khan “Jadid al-Islam,” Fath Allah Khan Saduza’i Multani, Akhtar Muhammad Khan Nurza’i, Amin Aslan Khan Jawanshir, Ja°far Khan Qizilbash, and others—learned of His Highness Timur Shah’s death, they agreed to keep it secret until

all notables, court figures, and army leaders could be summoned. When all were present they announced the shah's passing. They then shut the gates of the Bala Hisar citadel and bound themselves to a covenant of unity and harmony. They then buried the shah in the *chahār-bāgh* park in the center of the city, performed the reading of the *fātiḥah* and the *ta'ziyah* service with the princes in the *dīwān-i khāṣṣ*. Then as they had agreed, they spoke as one to the princes and said,

The issue of authority is tied to one person and the acceptance of that person's sovereignty by the most illustrious people of the land. This means you and the amirs. Whichever of the princes you choose, then he will be, without question, the one deserving the solemn responsibility of monarchy.

The princes were unaware of the amirs' preference for Prince Zaman and each one who had some power began to stoke a vain lust for authority. Prince °Abbas who had been assigned Peshawar during the last days of his father's reign had the greatest desire for power of all of them.

In short, all the princes began to speak on his own behalf and the amirs soon became aware of the factionalism that existed. After much discussion, the princes went into the palace (*kūshk-khānah*) while Prince Zaman returned to his own house. The others reached agreement that Prince °Abbas should succeed to the throne, left the palace, and went to his place to put their decision into effect. The amirs, thinking the moment opportune, locked the doors of Prince °Abbas's residence where the princes had now gathered and appointed men of the Jawanshir, followers of Amir Aslan Khan, to guard the house and keep the princes from leaving. Then the amirs went to Prince Zaman, who had just reached the age of twenty, and put him in power. He recognized each of the amirs with an award according to his merit and he bestowed robes of honor and high rank on all of them. The faces of the dinars and dirhams were now

inscribed with this verse:

By the command of the God of the Two Worlds, the coinage of the realm was embroidered with the name, Shah Zaman.

His great seal (for farmans) was decorated with this piece of *sajʿ* (rhymed) prose:

Established by the favors of the Eternal Being,  
Rule of the world in the name of Shah Zaman

The efforts which Sardar Payandah Khan exerted to secure the throne for him will be recorded, God willing, in volume two of this book. There the services which he performed with loyalty will also be described) as will his reward.

*HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN CHOOSES HIS AMIRS AND GIVES THEM  
TITLES*

When Zaman Shah ascended the throne, he transported all those who were not happy with his coming to power, including the princes and their allies, to the Bala Hisar citadel where he imprisoned them. He gave his uterine brother, Prince Shujaʿ al-Mulk, the following command. “Although you haven’t yet reached the age of maturity and I still have the right (to keep you in custody), I want you to live at court and not elsewhere.” He also summoned the amirs /46/ who backed him and showed his appreciation to them by the conferring of titles. To Rahmat Allah Khan Kamran Khayl Saduzaʿi he gave the title “Muʿtamid al-Dawlah,” and the honorific “Wafadar Bahadur;” to the wazir Shayr Muhammad Khan, the son of Shah Wali Khan, who after his father’s murder had stayed in

seclusion, the title “Ashraf al-Wuzara.” Nur Muhammad Khan “Amin al-Mulk” Baburi kept the same post and title he then held. His daughter was also taken in marriage by Shah Zaman and thereby he achieved the honor of becoming the shah’s father-in-law. Qazi Fayz Allah Khan, for some reason, was imprisoned and all his property confiscated.

During this time, Muhammad Husayn Khan Qaraguzlu-yi Hamadani arrived with a message of congratulations from Agha Muhammad Khan Qajar, the ruler of Iran. The envoy was indulged with royal favors and Gadu Khan, who had been dispatched on a diplomatic mission to Iran, returned with gifts and royal largesse.

*THE REBELLION OF PRINCE HUMAYUN, REGENT OF QANDAHAR, AND  
HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN’S CAMPAIGN THERE*

When Shah Zaman had finished putting the affairs of Kabul in order he issued a manshur-proclamation to Prince Humayun, the regent (*wālī*) of Qandahar, in which he told him to acknowledge his sovereignty and fasten the belt of obedience around the waist of submission. In reply, the prince wrote that Qandahar had been conferred on him by his father, the king. Moreover, by virtue of the fact that he was older than the shah, he was the one, according to the rules of inheritance, who should be wearer of the crown and therefore he would not bind himself to obedience. Provoked by this letter, His Highness Shah Zaman marched on Qandahar with a large force. Prince Humayun, for his part, prepared to defend himself. The two sides met and drew up battle formations at the manzil of Bagh-i Babur, two kuruhs from Qalat. The first thing that happened was that Sardar Payandah Khan “Sar Faraz Khan” and the chief equerry (*mīr ākhūr*), Mihr °Ali Khan, were sent by their respective sides leading the advance forces. When they met, Sardar Payandah Khan persuaded Mihr °Ali Khan to accept allegiance to His Highness Shah Zaman.



As a result, Prince Humayun's resolve faded and he retreated to Qandahar in the company of his father-in-law, Dildar Khan. They did not stay there long, however, but continued on to Baluchistan where they sought protection from Nasir Khan Baluch. His Highness Shah Zaman took possession of all of Humayun's weapons and materiel and assumed command of his armed forces and then entered Qandahar, where he proceeded to deal with the enemies of his regime, reprimanding and rebuking them for their misdeeds. After re-organizing affairs to his own satisfaction there, the shah conferred its government on his own young son, Prince Qaysar and appointed 'Abd Allah Khan Nurza'i as vice regent. The shah wanted to pursue Prince Humayun to Baluchistan but before he could move, a letter arrived from Nasir Khan interceding on the prince's behalf and expressing the latter's apologies and shame. The letter said that the prince had cast his nobility and integrity to the wind at the instigation of his associates, had sought refuge in the house of the servant of the shah, (Nasir Khan) and that there was nothing preventing him sending the prince back to the sublime threshold. Still, it would not be very chivalrous to do so and so a royal pardon was requested for his crimes. In view of the good services earlier rendered by Nasir Khan, the shah dropped his plans for Baluchistan and headed instead for Herat.

#### *HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN MARCHES TO HERAT*

According to the author of *Rawzat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, when Prince Mahmud, the governor of Herat, heard of Shah Zaman's march against him, he strengthened his defenses, put Qilij Khan Timuri in charge of the citadel, and marched out to do battle with the shah. On the way, he learned that Qilij Khan had declared allegiance to Shah Zaman and opened negotiations with him. The prince immediately returned to the city but as he approached Herat, Qilij Khan / 47/ closed the city gates in his face and remained inside the walls, now

defending them against the prince. This lasted until the prince broke his resolve by siege. Seeing himself beaten, Qilij Khan fled to Narin Hisar. The prince re-occupied Herat and sent a petition to the shah expressing his submission and contrition. The petition was read at the manzil of Kushk Nukhud and at that point the royal force turned around and went back to Kabul. Out of brotherly kindness, the shah left Herat to Prince Mahmud and now made plans for a campaign to India.

*SHAYR MUHAMMAD KHAN, ASHRAF AL-WUZARA, IS SENT TO  
BALUCHISTAN WITH ORDERS TO DELIVER A STERN WARNING TO  
PRINCE HUMAYUN*

When His Highness Shah Zaman reached Kabul, he learned from the reports of intelligence agents in Baluchistan that Nasir Khan Baluch had died and that his nephew had a burning ambition to make himself chief by exiling Mahmud Khan, Nasir Khan's young son and only child. He also had encouraged Prince Humayun, telling him, "You deserve the throne. You ought to gather the Durrani tribes and try to capture Qandahar." When he heard this, Shah Zaman immediately dispatched Hafiz Shayr Muhammad Khan "Ashraf al-Wuzara" along with Sayyid Khudadad Khan Fushanji and a well-equipped army towards Baluchistan. He instructed them to use any trick, wile, or scheme to cause Prince Humayun to drop his guard and then bring him back to Kabul. The shah himself left Kabul for winter quarters in Peshawar. The Ashraf al-Wuzara arrived in Baluchistan, re-assured Humayun, and put his fears to rest concerning the shah, and then, taking him along, headed back for Kabul. En route Sayyid Khudadad Khan conspired with the prince against the shah. The sayyid excited the prince with the prospect of the crown with himself, after the accession, as chief advisor and wazir. The two thus laid their plans. The Ashraf al-Wuzara learned of their scheming but he knew that it was difficult to punish them because of their

respective status as prince and sayyid. So he feigned ignorance of what was going on, meanwhile writing to the throne,

Sayyid Khudadad is bringing the prince with him slowly and with many delays. If it is permitted, this servant of the court will ride day and night to get himself to the foot of the throne because there is nothing that can be done while we are en route.

Shah Zaman agreed and having extricated himself from this difficult situation by an official sanad-document, the Ashraf al-Wuzara rode to court, informing Shah Zaman of the substance of Prince Humayun and Sayyid Khudadad's double-dealing when he arrived.

*PRINCE HUMAYUN ARRIVES IN QANDAHAR AND INCITES AN  
INSURRECTION THERE*

When the Ashraf al-Wuzara had left the two conspirators and gone on to the shah, they now believed the wine of their ambition was already in the cup—even more, that it was actually in their mouths—so they summoned the men of that region, formed an army, and set out for Qandahar. On the shah's side, Sardar Payandah Khan Barakza'i and Gadu Khan, both of whom were in Qandahar, discovered their intent. They put Yar Muhammad Khan Saduza'i in charge of the city while they took Prince Qaysar, the regent of Qandahar who had just turned seven, and marched out to stop Humayun and the sayyid. In the words of the *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī*, at the moment the two sides met, Yar Muhammad Khan, who had been given orders to guard the city, according to *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, put himself under Prince Qaysar's banner with five hundred horsemen to guard the prince while the others were attacking and routing Prince Humayun, plundering his baggage, and pursuing the remnants of his fleeing army. But in the midst of

all this Prince Humayun whose position was opposite Prince Qaysar's /48/ had still not given up hope despite the collapse of his army and succeeded in getting his own men close to Prince Qaysar. The people who were standing around the prince suddenly recognized Humayun and not daring to kill him because he was a prince, instead withdrew, leaving Prince Qaysar all alone. That hardhearted pitiless person then approached Prince Qaysar, struck him on the head with his sword, injuring both his head and the fingers of his hand. At this moment, Prince Ahmad, Humayun's son, burst into tears and implored his father, "It is inhuman and shameful to hurt this little child, who is your nephew and like a son to you." Prince Humayun, reining in his anger, was filled with remorse, dismounted and embraced the boy. He kissed his face and ordered the surgeons to close and dress the wounds. The sardars who had been engaged in looting Humayun's possessions and pursuing those who had been defeated now learned of the wounding and capture of the prince. The reins of victory slipped from their grasp and they began to retreat. Sardar Payandah Khan Barakza'i, his son Fath Khan, °Abd Allah Khan Nurza'i, Yahya Khan *nasaqchī-bashī*, and Gadu Khan Barakza'i rode to Peshawar to see the shah. All the other army leaders recognized Prince Humayun's authority and entered Qandahar with him. After his arrival in the city, Prince Humayun called himself "padishah" and had his name placed on the coinage and invoked in the Friday sermon.

During this, Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurza'i, en route to Peshwar to pay his respects to the shah, was halfway from Herat to Qandahar when he received word of Prince Humayun's insurrection and the capture of Prince Qaysar. He proceeded straight to Qandahar, intending to fight Prince Humayun. The latter came out of the city to drive him off but by a ruse, Sardar Ahmad Khan entered Qandahar by a another route, planning to occupy the city. However, °Abd al-Karim Khan, the son of Rahimdad Barakza'i, who had been assigned by Humayun to guard the city, stood in his way. Prince Humayun, notified of this turn of events, immediately came back to Qandahar. At Kuhgaran he

encountered Sardar Ahmad Khan and his army, now frustrated in their attempt to get into the city. The two sides fought in hand-to-hand combat. Of Prince Humayun's allies, Sayyid Khudadad Fushanji and Mulla Khudadad were wounded. On Ahmad Khan's side Yusuf Khan, the *mihmāndār-bāshī*, was wounded and taken prisoner. Prince Humayun wanted to execute him but some of his sardars interceded on Yusuf Khan's behalf. Sardar Ahmad Khan himself was wounded by two shots—one from a rifle and the other from a pistol—and left the field. He retreated (not so much because of these wounds but) because most of his followers were high-ranking Durrani and colleagues of the associates of Prince Humayun. He was afraid they might hand him over to the prince. He managed to ride six kuruhs but because of the blood he had lost, he lost consciousness and fell from his horse. A dervish, Mulla Hasan, picked him up and carried him to his house. Prince Humayun pursued Sardar Ahmad Khan for two kuruhs but did not find him. He then returned to Qandahar and established his authority there. The day after the battle, he received word that Sardar Ahmad Khan was at the home of the dervish and had him brought to Qandahar. At first he ordered him put to death but after the intervention of the sayyids, scholars, and fakirs of Qandahar he spared his life. Apparently in response to this favor but actually because he feared for his life, Sardar Ahmad Khan pledged obedience to the prince and gave a solemn oath that he would follow no other path but that of friendship and sincerity towards the prince and would say nothing hostile or false about him.

*HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN LEAVES PESHAWAR FOR QANDAHAR TO  
SUPPRESS PRINCE HUMAYUN'S INSURRECTION*

Shah Zaman was extremely disturbed by his brother's activities and, planning to reprimand and discipline him, left Peshawar for Kabul. In the meantime, a number of Qandaharis had secretly pledged their support for Shah

Zaman. /49/ After arriving in Kabul he marched for Qandahar with a large well-equipped force. Forty kurus from Qandahar he sent Sardar Payandah Khan “Sar Faraz Khan” on ahead of the army. On the Qandahari side, Prince Humayun prepared to defend the city and sent out an army under the command of Sardar Ahmad Khan, who had not yet fully recovered from his wounds, as his advance force. Because of the pledge Sardar Ahmad Khan had given him, Humayun had full confidence in him. Keeping the rest of his supporters by his side, he took up a position in his army’s rear. When both advance forces met, Sardar Ahmad Khan, who had dissembled when he made his pact with Humayun, defected and went with Sardar Payandah Khan to see Shah Zaman. Humayun’s resolve now vanished. That same night he withdrew towards Prince Mahmud in Herat. When news of his retreat reached Qandahar, the wife of Sardar Payandah Khan, who was as brave and resourceful as the most fearless soldier, took a sword, put on her burqa-veil, mounted a horse, released Prince Qaysar from prison, and installed him as governor. It is fitting that this noble woman was the mother of brave warriors and bore men of honor and integrity.

A woman braver than many men/Purer than a river-washed gem

After installing the prince in office, she ordered heralds to carry the news of His Highness Shah Zaman’s sovereignty to the ears of the people of the city and the bazaars. Meanwhile, Murtaza Khan, Sardar Payandah Khan’s son-in-law, wanted to create a disturbance and loot the city’s shops but that redoubtable woman struck his thieving hand with her sword and shackled his devious foot in leg-irons. Later, however, at the entreaty of °Abd al-Sattar Shah, a fakir, she released him. The next day, His Highness Shah Zaman entered Qandahar after sending Fath Khan, the chief equerry and son of Sardar Payandah Khan, in pursuit of the prince (Humayun). This is according to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*. But as the prince had slipped out of reach, the party gave up, after travelling some

distance, and returned empty-handed to Qandahar. Shah Zaman sent a proclamation to Prince Mahmud, the *wālī* of Herat, ordering him to hand over Humayun. But Prince Mahmud replied in a humble manner and asked to be excused from sending Humayun back. Again according to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, Prince Humayun changed course at Farah, headed for the desert, and eventually reached Baluchistan, later going on from there to Multan. His mind at ease, Shah Zaman re-organized the political and administrative affairs of Qandahar and its environs. He named his son, Prince Qaysar, as heir-apparent and vice-regent (*wālī*) of Qandahar, as he had been before.

At this point, His Highness Shah Zaman sent Hafiz Shayr Muhammad Khan, “Mukhtar al-Dawlah”, to Baluchistan with a military force. This came about because of petitions from Mahmud Khan, the son of Nasir Khan Baluch, whose cousin had overthrown him and taken power in Baluchistan. Mahmud Khan sent several requests for assistance to His Highness Shah Zaman who (finally) sent Hafiz Shayr Muhammad Khan to wrest control (of Baluchistan) from Nasir Khan’s nephew and restore it to Mahmud Khan. The shah himself now left Qandahar for Kabul. Shayr Muhammad Khan arrived in Baluchistan and after some fierce fighting, entered Qalat-i Nasir. There he re-instated Mahmud Khan on his father’s throne, forced all the Baluchi rebels to submit, put the affairs of Baluchistan in order, and then brought Mahmud Khan to Kabul to meet Shah Zaman. Mahmud Khan was the recipient of royal favors and attention and was then given leave to depart. He returned to Baluchistan, undertook the governing of his patrimony, and assembled a force of 6,000 Baluchi cavalry to serve the shah and be a part of his army. For as long as Mahmud Khan lived, he never strayed from the path of obedience to the Durrani sovereigns.

*HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN MARCHES TO THE PUNJAB AND THE END  
OF HUMAYUN AT THE HANDS OF MUHAMMAD KHAN BALUCH*

Because Shah Zaman had been tied down by the Prince Humayun affair and other problems mentioned above, the Sikhs in Lahore lit the flames of insurrection. In 1210/1795–1796 the shah left Kabul to deal with them. He crossed the Attock River at the ford and entered Hasan Abdal /50/ and the region of Rahtas where he spent a few days hunting and relaxing. He ordered Ahmad Khan, *shahinjī-bashi* and a member of the Barakza'i, and Bahadur Khan Muhammadza'i to occupy the mesopotamian district between the Jilam and Chinab Rivers with 7,000 horsemen.

Meantime, Prince Humayun, worried about the consequences of his activities (in Qandahar), left the place he had been staying and fled with his son Sultan Ahmad Khan and 100 horsemen towards the desert region of Liyah. Liyah is situated some twenty-five kuruhs from Multan towards Dera Ismail between the Chinab and Indus Rivers. The prince's plan was to get to Kashmir by whatever means possible. On the way, he and his sons stopped to rest beneath some trees. At that moment, Muhammad Khan, the governor of Liyah, who was an ally of His Highness Shah Zaman and was aware of the farmans calling for the capture of Prince Humayun, discovered that he was in Liyah and rode out to arrest him with five hundred horsemen. When they rode up, Muhammad Khan suggested that the prince come into town and rest there. But Humayun read in Muhammad Khan's face the exact opposite of his words so he quickly mounted the horse of conflict and buckled the belt of battle and fought with Muhammad Khan and his men. The majority of Prince Humayun's followers, however, were either killed or wounded. His son was hit by a musket ball, fell from the saddle, and died. Seeing his son's body lying bloody on the ground Humayun surrendered and was taken into custody. Muhammad Khan brought him into Liyah and sent word to His Highness Shah Zaman. The shah then gave Hasan Khan Qizilbash, chief attendant (*pīshkhidmat-bāshī*) an order to blind Prince Humayun and then send him to the shah. The latter did as ordered, and brought the prince to Shah Zaman who had him sent to Kabul to be incarcerated with the



other (Saduza<sup>3</sup>i) princes.

Meanwhile, the sardars and cavalry sent to the mesopotamian region (between the Jilam and Chinab), crossed the Jilam and engaged the Sikhs in a fight. Several times, they scattered the Sikhs but each time the Sikhs regrouped until a major battle finally occurred near Gujarat-i Miyan-i Dawlah. There Ahmad Khan made a supreme effort but because of the failure by the Durrani force to exert every effort and the inability of its leaders to work together harmoniously, it eventually became clear that no headway would be made. So Ahmad Khan withdrew his men from the battlefield and rejoined the shah.

In the meantime, a letter arrived from Shah ʿAlam ʿAli Gawhar, the son of ʿAziz al-Din ʿAlamgir II, requesting that His Highness Shah Zaman come to Delhi. But since the shah had word from his agents that Prince Mahmud was marching with a large force to avenge the blinding of his uterine brother, Humayun, he excused himself in his reply to the shah of Delhi, citing India's extreme heat as a reason. He then returned through Hasan Abdal to Kabul.

*HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN MARCHES TO QANDAHAR TO DO BATTLE  
WITH PRINCE MAHMUD*

As a result of Prince Mahmud's sedition, which had aroused Shah Zaman's wrath, the latter immediately left for Qandahar after arriving in Kabul and then, without stopping there, continued on towards Herat. When he reached Maywand or Maymand, Prince Mahmud who had already crossed the Helmand sent out a force under Muhammad ʿAzim Khan the son of Mir Hazar Khan Alkuza<sup>3</sup>i as his advance unit. On Shah Zaman's side, an advance force was assigned to the command of the chief equerry (*mīr-ākhūr*), Mihr ʿAli Khan. These two contingents met at Khakriz. Prince Mahmud's men attacked, defeated the shah's contingent, and seized its artillery. Shah Zaman came up then and, seeing things in such a state, replaced the jewelled, diamond-encrusted crown with the four

brooches which he was wearing, with a plain turban. Then raising the hands of humility to God, he pleaded for victory. Those with him were distressed by this behavior and thought that the shah was about to retreat. They felt compelled to ask him why he was changing his clothing. /51/ He answered, “The reason for changing clothes is so that during the battle it will be hard for the enemy to recognize me. Don’t lose heart but bravely give your best effort.” At that very moment the prince’s army charged and swept the shah’s force before it. His Highness Shah Zaman cried out, “Will no one help me?”<sup>36</sup> Hearing the shah’s cry, Nawwab Khan, *īshīk-aqāsī* of the Alkuza’i tribe, and Tawakkul Khan and Kishn Khan Qalmaq, two sardars of the ghulam-corps, both of whom had become Muslims during the reign of His Highness Timur Shah, came up to help. Tawakkul Khan said forthrightly, “This defeat is due to the shah’s removing his headgear.” The shah repeated the answer he had given earlier. They uttered prayers for victory and spurred their horses forward into the fray, giving Muhammad °Azim Khan and his troops such a defeat that in the confusion into which he was thrown, he forgot which way it was to Herat and fled towards Qandahar. At the village of Dhakard, five kuruhs from the city, he took refuge at the home of Miyan °Abd al-Hamid, a dervish. Once the fighting was over the latter sent his son, Mulla Jan Muhammad, with Muhammad °Azim to His Highness Shah Zaman. His son was supposed to intercede on Muhammad °Azim Khan’s behalf. When they entered the shah’s presence, Muhammad °Azim, with a sword in one hand and a winding sheet draped over his shoulders, spoke, “My just desserts are for you to cut off my head with this sword and wind my body in this shroud.” But the shah pardoned him for his misdeeds and accorded him the honor of a robe, a horse, and a sword.

To return to the story: After Muhammad °Azim’s flight, Prince Mahmud knew he was defeated and in some trepidation sought the advice of Muhammad

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<sup>36</sup> RM: The question is quoted in Arabic “*hal min nāṣir yanṣurunī*” and FM in the marginalia simply translates it into Persian.

Khan Hazarah, a prominent sardar, in hopes of finding a negotiated solution. The sardar provided some reassurance and together they returned to Herat. But other leaders and sardars who had now decided to ally themselves with the shah's people, refused to go back to Herat with him. Yalangtush Khan Jamshidi, who was unaware of their decision, asked them why they were not following the prince back to Herat. Before they could reply, Nur Muhammad Khan "Amin al-Mulk," as ordered by Shah Zaman, rode towards them. By waving a shawl in the air, he gave them to understand that he was not attacking them. He rode up and escorted Zaman Khan and other sardars back to the shah. The shah pardoned them all and received a sworn solemn pledge from them that they would never again cause any trouble for his regime. Only Yalangtush would not swear an oath on his pledge saying, "Without an oath, I will be absolutely steadfast in the pledge I have given. The others, who have affirmed their pledges with sworn oaths may well be swearing falsely." They answered, "We are committed to our pledge and we promise that this brother of ours will not deviate from the course we have agreed to."

His Highness Shah Zaman then gave them robes of honor and leave to return to their homes. He told them that after they visited their families and had a chance to rest, they should be ready to join him on receipt of a summoning farman. They then invoked the long life of his regime and together paid a visit to the sacred shrine of the khwajahs of Chisht. On the evening they arrived there they sent a message to Prince Mahmud in which they renounced the oath they had sworn to His Highness Shah Zaman and again pledged obedience to him, telling him that the pledge they had made to Shah Zaman was merely a trick. It had not been made sincerely because they were servants of the prince and free from the constraints of any other pledge. The prince was delighted with their message and summoned his colleagues to again renew their former pledge to him. Yalangtush Khan here again refused to take an oath on the pledge. Afterwards, each of the amirs went to his own home.

Prince Mahmud sent his mother to the shah with petitions expressing apology and contrition and requesting pardon for his intolerable behavior. The shah granted it. Also at the prince's request, he gave one of his chaste, noble, peerless daughters to be married to the son of Prince Mahmud and took in marriage (for himself) Prince Mahmud's daughter. With regards to his daughter, he stipulated that Prince Mahunud's son should first come to court where his nuptials would take place. The mother (of Prince Mahmud) agreed and after getting a manshur-decree conferring Herat on Prince Mahmud, was given permission to return there. She advised Prince Mahmud, "Be satisfied with this favor which the shah has done you and don't embark on any other course but pleasing God and obeying the shah." He accepted his mother's good advice and devoted himself to the affairs of government.

His Highness Shah Zaman was aware that the unfriendly activities of Prince Mahmud were provoked and inspired by Agha Muhammad Khan, /52/ the Qajar ruler of Iran. He therefore revealed plans, hitherto secret, to punish (the latter) and spread a rumor that he would personally lead an army to Iran to chastise Agha Muhammad. This rumor reached Agha Muhammad and he sent an embassy under Muhammad Husayn Khan Qaraguzluy Hamadani. This is not the account given by the author of *Rawzat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* who describes this incident from the perspective of his own bias towards Iran. The aforementioned (Muhammad Husayn Khan) was sent to Afghanistan with a message of unity and various kinds of gifts and there was the object of honors bestowed by the throne. Before the arrival of the ambassador, His Highness Shah Zaman equipped a force with weapons and artillery and then held a review in the envoy's presence so that the latter, after seeing the royal army, would inform Agha Muhammad Khan of the power and numbers of the Afghans. In addition, Gadu Khan was appointed envoy to Iran and was sent back with the Iranian shah's ambassador. He carried a document (*raqam*) intended to set Agha Muhammad's mind at ease and appropriate royal gifts. (In Tehran), he allayed

the fears of the Iranian shah and then returned home.

After dispatching his envoy, His Highness Shah Zaman left Qandahar for Kabul where he declared his intention of conquering India. His advisors, however, were not happy about going to India for at the back of their minds was worry about the seditious tendencies of Prince Mahmud, and so they advised the shah not to undertake the campaign. But, His Highness Shah Zaman, as a result of Prince Mahmud's having sent his mother to him, disagreed and refused to call off the campaign to India, saying, "Prince Mahmud will never set foot on the path of disobedience."

#### *HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN' S CAMPAIGN TO THE PUNJAB AND INDIA*

The shah was forced to campaign again to the Punjab and India because the Sikhs had once more rebelled and become the source of trouble and turmoil. Leaving Kabul with a large force, he arrived in Peshawar from where in Jumada al-Sani, 1211/November 1796, he sent an army made up of 20,000 cavalry commanded by Shayr Muhammad Khan Mukhtar al-Dawlah as an advance force. Its orders were to march twelve kuruhs ahead of the main army and to refrain from any pillaging or forays against the farms and irrigated lands along the route. Shayr Muhammad crossed the Attock at the Attock ford and continued on through Hasan Abdal, Rawalpindi, and Rahtas to the bank of the Jilam River where he made camp. The main army under the shah followed behind, according to plan. Shayr Muhammad then crossed the Jilam and Chinab Rivers, marched through Gujran Walah and Aymanabad, and approached Lahore and camped at Shah Darrah, three kuruhs from the western edge of the city and separated from the city by the Rawi River. With the arrival of the royal army, the Sikhs realized their position was now deteriorating. They abandoned Saray Kali and the mesopotamian region between the Jilam, Chinab, and Rawi and, in fear of the royal forces, broke up and dispersed. Some of them sought asylum at Laki

Jangal in the middle of the mesopotamian region between the Bujah and Satlaj River, taking their families and possessions into the mountain fastnesses there.

When Hafiz Shayr Muhammad Khan crossed the Rawi and camped at the edge of the city, Lahna Singh, governor of Lahore, gave the citadel keys to Miyan Shah Chiragh Sahib Sultanpuri, a direct descendant of the Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qadir Jilani and himself fled. Hafiz Shayr Muhammad Khan Mukhtar al-Dawlah, decorated the city after entering it, according to His Highness Shah Zaman's instructions, and for three days and three nights illuminated the city and the bazaars with lights. On the first of Rajab 1211/31 December 1796, the shah himself arrived in Lahore. He ordered 15,000 horsemen to patrol the approaches to the city at a distance of ten kuruhs in order to repel any enemy. On the second or third day after the arrival of the royal entourage it came to the shah's ears from his officials /53/ that both Hindus and Muslims living in the city had shut up their shops and gone into mourning. Angered, the shah declared, "Anyone engaged in such an unworthy act is liable to a "general massacre" (*qatl-i ʿāmm*). But since such a response is beyond the pale of responsible government behavior, the jizyah-tax will be collected instead." The shah's officials then dispatched heavy-handed collectors to take in the jizyah. They began extracting it from both Hindus and Muslims until the shah heard about it and exempted the Muslims. Because of the harsh treatment the Hindus received from the collectors, several committed suicide by throwing themselves down wells.

As the people of the Punjab got wind of the shah's arrival, several prominent Muslims—such as Jalal Bahti; Nizam al-Din Khan, the *raʾīs* of Qusur; and other zamindars of the various parts of that region—presented themselves at court and saluted the shah. Royal honors and favors were heaped on them and they in turn pledged their loyalty and enrolled their people under the banner of the Mukhtar al-Dawlah.

Some of the men under Mukhtar al-Dawlah's command took part each day

in raids and forays, killing forty Sikhs and sending their heads to the shah. This continued until news of Prince Mahmud's rising reached the shah. He called off a planned raid against the Sikhs of Amritsar and instead waited to hear more about Prince Mahmud's activities. At that, the Sikhs, believing the shah had suspended military activities because of some incapacity, gathered two to three thousand men at the fortress of Shaykhpurah fifteen kuruhs west of Lahore and raised the banners of rebellion. Mukhtar al-Dawlah was ordered to destroy the fortress with his artillery and he surrounded it and put it under siege. Eventually the Sikhs inside were reduced to desperate straits and sued for peace. Thanks to the mediation of °Abd al-Ghaffar, a recent convert to Islam (*jadīd al-Islām*), their petition was accepted. They then emerged from the fort, agreed to pay the *bāj* and *kharāj* taxes, and accepted the shah's authority. At that point, having suppressed the Sikhs, it was His Highness Shah Zaman's intent to go to Shah Jahanabad, discipline the Jats and Marathas, and then return to Afghanistan. But he was unable to align his plans with what fate had in store and as a consequence of the insurrection of Prince Mahmud he had to leave Lahore for Kabul.

*THE RETURN OF HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN BECAUSE OF THE  
TROUBLE CAUSED BY PRINCE MAHMUD*

The details of Mahmud's rebellion are as follows: When the shah left for the Punjab, °Ata Muhammad Khan °Aliza'i seized the opportunity to leave Qandahar with 5,000 (°Aliza'i) households and join Prince Mahmud in Herat. There, with glib and sweet words, he incited the prince to proclaim his own regime. He promised him that he would turn the Durrani people and the royal army away from Shah Zaman using whatever means necessary, and then ally them with the prince. Consequently, he was able to assemble 20,000 men for a campaign against Qandahar in a short time.

As the flames of this insurrection flared up, some of the shah's loyal partisans, like Zaman Khan the son of Hajji Karimdil Khan, and others, sent word to the shah. On the first of Sha'ban 1211/30 January 1797, the shah left Lahore, crossing the Rawi by bridge and fording the Chinab on horseback at Sudarra, two kuruhs from Wazirabad. At the manzil of Gujarat he disemboweled four Durrani when they looted the village of Sadat. Immediately after crossing the Jilam he made camp and stayed there three days. He appointed Ahmad Khan Barakza'i to govern the mesopotamian region between the Jilam and Indus and assigned Muhammad Khan Muhammadza'i with 500 horse, Bustan Khan with 1,000, Nur Allah Khan Khotak with 500 horsemen from his own tribe and 300 from the people of Bungash-i Kuhati, 200 Yusufza'i, and 2,000 of the shah's own gushadah horse—7,000 cavalry in all—with 100 swivel guns (*zanbūrak*), four field pieces, and 100,000 rupees in cash to garrison the region. The shah also ordered Hasan Khan Qizilbash, who commanded 4,000 ghulam cavalry, /54/ to straighten out affairs in the region between the Rawi and Chinab, reduce the fortress of Pand Dawar Khan located on the bank of the Jilam, and then rejoin the shah.

He himself proceeded onwards, entering Peshawar on the 27th of the month/15 February and Kabul on the 18th of Ramadan/17 March 1797. There he began preparing an army for Qandahar and was gathering arms and material when again officials in Qandahar wrote and told him of 'Ata Muhammad Khan's march on the city. His Highness Shah Zaman ordered Muhammad Zaman Khan to send someone covertly to make 'Ata Muhammad Khan pay for his misdeeds and so he sent an Afghan named Dalak. The shah meanwhile marched from Kabul towards Qandahar. With a few other Afghans, Dalak entered 'Ata Muhammad's camp and when night fell crept up to the place where 'Ata Muhammad was sleeping and with a stroke of the sword of vengeance dispatched him from this world.

News of the assassination deeply troubled Prince Mahmud who had left the



Herat citadel in the hands of Qilij Khan Timuri and was himself en route to Qandahar. He quickly sent a humble and abject petition (to the shah) including a request that the annual sum of two laks of rupees which had been set as his stipend during the time of His Highness Timur Shah but which was later suspended, now be restored retroactive to the day it was cut off. If so he would submit and abandon the path of sedition. The shah accepted his terms as of the day of the arrival of his petition but refused retroactive reimbursement. This did not satisfy Prince Mahmud and he chose to maintain his opposition, hoping that most of the Durrani would join him. His Highness Shah Zaman now had no alternate but to fight.

He assigned an advance force to his son Prince Qaysar and Sardar Ahmad Khan *mīr ākhūr* and other prominent men and ordered him to go to Farah and establish a position there. Prince Mahmud also armed an advance force. These two contingents confronted each other and fought a battle and until His Highness Shah Zaman arrived in Farah it was not clear which side would win and which lose. This despite the fact that the royal army had suffered considerable hardship because it was short of provisions and its pay had not arrived.

#### *THE PRINCE FLEES AND SEEKS REFUGE IN KUHISTAN*

When the shah made camp at Farah, Prince Mahmud's mother came to him to apologize for her son. It was her intention to seek a pardon for her son's failings and thereby get his affairs back in order. But she did not get what she wanted, for Qilij Khan Timuri, the man her son had put in charge of Herat's defences, had moved to oppose the prince and was negotiating with the shah. After sending his mother, the prince tried to return to Herat only to find that his castellan (*qal'ah-begī*) would not permit him entry into the city. Eventually, however, thanks to the collusion of the commander of the prince's army, Sadiq

Khan, and Mirza Ibrahim Khan *mukhtār*, the prince was induced into entering the city and then arrested. When his army, which was still outside the walls, learned of his fate, it began to disperse, each soldier heading for home. The prince meantime, somehow managed to escape his incarceration, flee the city with his uterine brother, Prince Firuz al-Din, and their families, along with 200 cavalymen and take refuge in the mountains. Shah Zaman now moved out of Farah and entered Herat where he assigned Hafiz Shayr Muhammad Mukhtar al-Dawlah the task of pursuing the prince and capturing him. But he could not find the prince and so returned to Herat. Prince Qaysar, Shah Zaman's heir-apparent, was given the government of Herat; Mushki Khan, a eunuch (*khwājah sarā*), was appointed superintendent of the workshops; Sardar Muhammad Khan Nurza<sup>3</sup>i and Zaman Khan were placed in charge of the Herat garrison, while control of the citadel was given to Qilij Khan; and other prominent people were singled out for robes of honor.

During this period, Gadu Khan, who had gone as an emissary to Agha Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Iran, now returned /55/ and obtained the honor of kissing the royal hand. He related stories to His Highness Shah Zaman of Agha Muhammad Khan's love of leisure and his natural inclination towards indolence and the neglect of his duties. He recommended that Shah Zaman send 12,000 horsemen under him to conquer Iran and annex it to Afghanistan. They were still discussing this issue when news arrived that Agha Muhammad Khan, at a signal given by his nephew Baba °Ali Khan, had been assassinated by one of his own ghulams. This incident occurred on the 14th of Muharram 1212/9 July 1797 near the fortress of Shishah on the borders of Iran and Russia.

On hearing this news, His Highness Shah Zaman instructed Hafiz Shayr Muhammad Khan to go to Mashhad and there install on the throne Prince °Abbas Mirza and (Prince) Nadir Mirza, the sons of Shah Rukh Mirza and grandsons of Nadir Shah, who earlier had fled from Mashhad because of Agha Muhammad Khan's tyranny and taken refuge at the court of the shah. Shayr

Muhammad escorted both of them to Mashhad, installed them, and returned to Herat. Shah Zaman also obtained a pledge from the Uymaq, Hazarah, and Taymani people that if Prince Mahmud ever again attempted to set foot on Afghan soil, they would make every effort to stop him and should they fail to do so, they would be held fully liable. The shah then left for Kabul, transporting 10,000 households who had been partisans of Prince Mahmud. He arrived in Rajab 1212/December 1797–January 1798.

During this time, Nawwab Ghulam Muhammad Khan, the son of Fayz Allah Khan son of ʿAli Muhammad Khan Ruhillah-i Rampuri (an account of the latter of whom was given during the narrative of Ahmad Shah's campaigns to India) arrived in Kabul through the good offices of Wafadar Khan Bahadur. Earlier, he had somehow managed to escape from a battle with the Franks, had made the pilgrimage to the Kaʿbah, and then returned (to India). He travelled to Kabul by way of the Deccan, Jinagar, Multan, Makhad, Kuhat, and Peshawar, accompanied by 200 foot and mounted soldiers and fifty camels loaded with his belongings. He was admitted to an audience with the shah and received royal favors including a robe of honor. He was put up at the residence of the Wakil al-Ruʿaya and after a period of rest petitioned the shah to help him regain his government. His pleas fell on receptive ears and the shah issued an order for royal troops to march to India by way of Peshawar. But since the army was exhausted from the Herat campaign and had just entered Kabul, he then suspended the order on the advice of his advisors until such time as the army had recovered from the effects of the campaign and could march again. At this point the shah also dispatched officials and tax-collectors to gather the revenues of Kashmir and Sind. He emphasized to them that they should also prepare military supplies in those regions so that when the army marched on India, they would be able to join without delay.

*THE RANKING OFFICIALS OF HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN'S TIME*

The first was Rahmat Allah Khan Saduza'i Kamran Khayli who was the leading advisor to the throne and who was given the title "Wafadar Khan, Mu<sup>c</sup>tamid al-Dawlah." His father, Fath Allah Khan, who died in the middle of the reign of the His late Highness Timur Shah, had been honored with the title "Wafadar Khan" in Ahmad Shah's time. Rahmat Allah Khan's daughter shared Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk's conjugal bed.

Another was Hafiz Shayr Muhammad Khan, the son of Ashraf al-Wuzara Shah Wali Khan Bamiza'i. After the assassination of his father by His Highness Timur Shah's order, as has been recounted, he remained out of the limelight until Shah Zaman's time when he was given the title "Mukhtar al-Dawlah," the rank of wazir and the office of sardar of all the Durrani tribes.

Another was Nur Muhammad Khan "Amin al-Mulk" Baburi who since His Highness Timur Shah's time had been supervisor of all the daftars and diwans and was also chief of 4,000 ghulams. His daughter was a lady of Shah Zaman's harem. Another was Mirza Riza <sup>c</sup>Ali Khan of the Qizilbash who had been mustawfi of the *diwān-i a<sup>c</sup>la* ever since Ahmad Shah's regime.

Another was Mirza Mir Ibrahim Khan Musawi, the *mushrif*. He had been given the honorary title "Mushrif Khan."

Another was Mir Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Ali Khan Musawi, the son of Mirza Hadi Khan, who had the title "Kifayat Khan." His father too had been a competent and discerning munshi during the reigns of His Highnesses Ahmad Shah and Timur Shah. /56/ After the death of his father during Shah Zaman's regime, Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Ali was given the title "Kifayat Khan" and the position of chief munshi (*munshī-bāshī*). He was appointed at one point to Peshawar and Kashmir. He behaved scrupulously and made the people there content and happy. He was also a pleasure-loving man, well-spoken, and generous. In the royal darbar he was second to none in his (scribal) art. But because of his candor, outspokenness, and impertinence to Wafadar Khan, his influence

diminished. Then in 1212/1797–1798 through the patronage of the mother of His Highness Shah Zaman, Maryam Durrani, he again ascended the ladder to his former prominence and came to be called “Khanahzad Khan.” Others were Mirza Mir Ahad, brother of the abovementioned Mir Muhammad °Ali Mirza Sharif Khan Qizilbash, a *munshi-bashi*, and Mir Hutak the son of Zaman and nephew of Sardar Jahan Khan, “Khan-i Khanan.” He held the position of *dārūghah* of the daftar and the *akhbār* (intelligence) and was chief of all internal affairs.

Another was Iltifat Khan, chief (*sar kardah*) of the palace eunuchs. One of his assistants (*dast giriftagān*) was the eunuch Yusuf °Ali. Iltifat Khan was from the family of Nawwab Shuja° al-Dawlah Hindi. (Because of his) being chief of the eunuchs and other services, he received the title “Iltifat Khan.”

#### *HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN’S MILITARY FORCES AND THEIR PAY*

The essence and core of the royal forces were the 12,000 troopers of the ghulam squadrons. Most of them were either Mughul (Hazarah) or Qizilbash. A minority were from other ethnic groups. Ahmad Shah brought the Qizilbash from Iran to Afghanistan and gave them the designation “ghulams of the house.” Up to Shah Zaman’s time, they were relatively few in number. Their numerous off-spring have since gone mostly into government service. The Qizilbash and Mughul horse soldiers rode under the banners of Nur Muhammad Khan “Amin al-Mulk,” Hasan Khan, Sadiq Khan, Iltifat Khan the treasurer (*khizānah-dār*), and Mushki Khan. Most of them received salaries in cash from the military paymaster (*daftar-i niẓām*). Their minimum salary was ten to fifteen tuman per annum. There were another 12,000 cavalry from these two ethnic groups under the command of other sardars. They always stay with the royal entourage. They guard the private chambers of the shah and the women’s quarters, always setting up their camp 300 *zar*° from the women’s quarters. Most of these 12,000

received all of their salary in cash. However, a few received half in cash and half in the form of a revenue grant *jāygīr*. Their officers are *dahbāshīs*, *mangbāshīs*, and *qullar aqāsīs*. These latter hold land grants of *tiyūl* and *suyūrghāl*.

Another 30,000 horsemen of Shah Zaman's army were from the Qandahar Durranis and other tribal groups living in that region and served under the sardar of their own clan. Other cavalry who spent their period (of service) in the shah's entourage were from the Tarin, Baluch, Hutak, Tukhi, Taraki, Andari, and °Ali Khayl. In toto, the army numbers 86,000 battle-ready horse troopers, not counting the camel troopers, and 30,900 infantry. In addition, there were 15,000 militia cavalry in Sind, Multan, and the Derahjat made up of people from those regions who joined the Afghan shah whenever he campaigned in India. The size of the army on Indian campaigns, not counting infantry, approached one lak (100,000) of well-armed and battle-ready troopers.

*THE GOVERNOR, VICEROYS, AND REVENUES OF HIS HIGHNESS SHAH  
ZAMAN'S TIME*

°Abd Allah Khan "Mukhlis al-Dawlah," governed Kashmir and remitted twenty-four laks of rupees to the state from the tax-rent (*ijārah*) of that region, most of which was spent on the salaries of fiscal officials. Six or seven laks actually reached the royal treasury. Muzaffar Khan Bahadur Safdar Jang Saduza'i governed Multan. During His Highness Timur Shah's time, as has been mentioned already, many of the districts of Multan were occupied by Bahawul Khan while other sections were usurped by the Sikhs. The income from the district of Jahanak Siyan, one of Multan's districts, the revenues of which amounted to a few laks of rupees, also went into the pockets of the Sikhs. The remaining districts of Multan were *jāygīr* of the Saduza'i. Three laks of rupees were remitted annually to the royal treasury. Dera Ghazi Khan /57/ produced a tax-rent revenue of 700,000 rupees including the salaries of the

officials there which were paid from its revenues. Dera Ismail Khan was farmed out to ʿAbd al-Rahim Khan Hutaki for 200,000 rupees. His daughter was one of Shah Zaman’s wives.

Mir Fath ʿAli Khan Sindi, the governor of Tahtah and Bahgar, the capital of which was Haydarabad, used to send a *kharāj* (tributary) payment. Likewise, the governor of Baluchistan acknowledged the authority of the Durrani rulers by minting coins and reading the Friday sermon (*khuṭbah*) in their names. In lieu of *kharāj* payment from there, the governor used to supply the shah with 6,000 cavalry. Up until 1212/1797–1798, Peshawar and its districts produced seven laks of rupees in the form of *ijārah* revenue. In that year Zar Dad Khan Fufalzaʿi was appointed governor there by the shah. ʿAbd Allah Khan, who was called “Jan Nithar Khan,” was named governor of Kabul; and Muhammad Khan “Amin al-Dawlah” Saduzaʿi was appointed governor of Liyah. A number of Durrani sardars who had been allies of Prince Humayun were put to death by this Muhammad Khan. As a result, many Durrani had vowed to kill him in revenge. As a result of their protests, the shah, after an inquiry, banned him from court.

The government of Herat was given to Prince Qaysar and Qandahar to Prince Haydar. The districts of Qandahar became the *jāygīr* of leading Durrani. Balkh and its territory, although within the territory (of Afghanistan), remitted nothing to the royal treasury because of the ruined state into which it had fallen. Whatever revenue there was was spent by the mīrs of the region. In addition, a certain amount of money had to be sent from the royal treasury to provide enough to cover the cost of the government there. Shah Zaman himself, despite the fact that he had reached thirty years of age by 1212, was still in the full vigor of youth. He responded to the pleas of every oppressed person, won their approval with his even-handed justice, and demanded impartiality and good administration from his governors. He ripped open the bellies and cut off the noses of oppressors and one might say he spoke the only language they

understood.

*THE ADVENTURES OF HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN FROM 1212 UNTIL  
THE END OF HIS REIGN*

When Prince Mahmud fled Herat and took refuge in the mountains, he saw no prospect of recovering his fortunes and so made his way to Mashhad. His Highness Shah Zaman meantime, in accordance with the promise he had made to Nawwab Ghulam Muhammad Khan with respect to the return of his territory and the restoration of his governorship, on the 14th of Sha'ban 1212/1 February 1798 departed Kabul to punish Mahabat Singh and other Sikhs and headed for Lahore by way of Peshawar. When Mahabat Singh, who had no means of resistance heard of the shah's march on Lahore he quickly left where he had been staying and escaped to the mountains of Sawalak. With the field abandoned by the enemy, Shah Zaman appointed 'Abd Allah Khan "Mukhlis al-Dawlah" Alkuza'i governor of Kashmir and left Lahore to Ahmad Khan as before. But the shah realized he did not have the power to liberate Nawwab Ghulam Muhammad Khan's district from the Franks and so he returned to Kabul. After reaching the capital, it came to his ears by petition from Prince Qaysar and Zaman Khan that Prince Mahmud was on his way to re-conquer Herat with the aid of Fath 'Ali Shah and that they had mobilized the forces garrisoned in Herat and had left the city in order to repel the attack.

*HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN GOES TO HERAT TO STOP PRINCE  
MAHMUD*

The details are as follows: When Prince Mahmud entered Mashhad, he applied to the Iranian throne for assistance. His request, according to the *Rawzat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, met with the approval of the shah, Fath 'Ali Khan. The latter



appointed Ismaʿil Aqayī Mukri as special court escort (*yasāwul-i darbār-i khāṣṣ*) and /58/ sent manshurs to the governors of Isfahan and Kashan telling them to convey the prince to Tehran with all due honor and regard. As the shah had commanded, Prince Mahmud reached Tehran with full honors on the 28th of Ramadan 1212/16 March 1798. Chiragh ʿAli Khan was sent on the shah's behalf to welcome the prince, Firuz al-Din, and Kamran, his brother and his son. Nearer the city, the prime minister Hajji Ibrahim Khan Shirazi "ʿIṭimad al-Dawlah," accompanied by a party of notables, welcomed the prince. They stopped at one of the royal palaces where the Afghan princes were to make their residence. All the amirs of the court came to meet them and fulfill the obligations required by courtesy and protocol. A few days later, the Afghans met with the shah and were the recipients of his favors. After a month's stay in Tehran, they were asked to settle in Kashan. There the governor, Asad Allah Khan, the son of the prime minister Hajji Ibrahim Khan, extended his hospitality. Prince Mahmud, who still had aspirations to rule, sent a petition to the shah after he had rested in Kashan and sought his permission and backing for a march on Herat. His wish was granted and he obtained leave to go to Herat. Agha Baba Khan *yasāwul-i lak*, was assigned as his major domo (*mihmāndār-bāshī*). Orders were also given to Mir Hasan Khan Tabasi, Amir ʿAli Khan of the Khuzaymah 'Arabs, and Mustafa Khan and Ishaq Khan of Turshiz to each select 1,000 horsemen, join the prince, and place themselves and their men under his command. According to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, the prince rode from Yazd with these khans to Herat by way Farah. He took possession of Farah and then proceeded to Isfizar. Prince Qaysar, who had come out of Herat with Zaman Khan to stop Mahmud, advanced to meet him and the two sides clashed at ʿImarat, south of the fortress of Isfizar. Prince Qaysar was defeated and fell back to Herat. Prince Mahmud established headquarters one farsang from the city and laid siege to it.

Consequently, as has been indicated, His Highness Shah Zaman left for

Herat in response to Prince Qaysar's petition and soon drew near the city. Muhammad Zaman Khan, who believed that all the Qizilbash of Herat sided with Prince Mahmud because of their support for Fath °Ali Khan Qajar, devised the following strategy. He wrote a letter addressed to Amir °Ali Khan Qa'ini and Mir Hasan Khan Tabasi, who were assisting Prince Mahmud under orders from the Qajar shah, and said, "Here is the pledge you requested vis a vis the arrest of Prince Mahmud." Then on the margin of a Qur'an he wrote a note in the handwriting of Prince Qaysar and sealed it with the prince's seal. The note said that in accordance with his (i.e. Prince Qaysar's) request, they should seize Prince Mahmud, put him in irons, and hand him over. As a reward they would be the recipients of his generosity and would be granted the government of Khurasan. Then Muhammad Zaman Khan instructed the bearer of the Qur'an to travel by night and to create enough of a disturbance that the guards at the private quarters of Prince Mahmud would be certain to detain him. In this way, the arrow would find its intended mark. As he hoped, the courier was picked up by Prince Mahmud's bodyguard at the edge of Pul-i Malan and was taken to the prince. The latter read the above document and became very worried. He conferred with Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan and asked him what he should do. The two of them assumed that the words of the document were true and concluded that they ought to extricate themselves from this impending danger. Amir °Ali Khan and Hasan Khan, who had been appointed by the shah to aid the prince, now learned of the ruse. But no matter how they swore to him that the words were false, they were unable to convince him. Then, in accordance with the maxim, "when fate arrives, the eye is blinded," Prince Mahmud, under cover of darkness, fled that same night with his brother, Firuz al-Din and his son, Kamran, towards Puzah-yi Kabutar Khan. From there he sent his son and brother to Fath °Ali Shah and turned the face of his own hopes towards Bukhara.

When they learned of Prince Mahmud's escape, Prince Qaysar and Zaman Khan marched out of the city and attacked Amir °Ali Khan, Hasan Khan, and

their followers, killing or wounding most of them. Those who survived escaped towards Qa'in with their leaders. Shah Zaman, who had come from Kabul to put an end to this disturbance, entered Herat and heaped favors on Zaman Khan for the strategem by which he had driven Prince Mahmud out of the country.

Prince Mahmud, meantime, reached Bukhara, met Shah Murad Bi, the ruler there, and was accorded every honor. /59/ His Highness Shah Zaman hearing of Shah Murad Bi's reception of the prince thereupon sent a certain Mulla °Abd al-Haqq with a manshur to Bukhara which said that his colleague should send Prince Mahmud "to the threshold where the world takes refuge" (i.e. Kabul). But if he considered such to be a shameful act then he should at least expel him from his territory. On receipt of this directive, Shah Murad's first inclination was to imprison Prince Mahmud. But after some of the ulama interceded on the prince's behalf and the prince himself expressed his own intention of making the pilgrimage to Mecca, the Bukharan ruler gave him permission to leave. The prince left Bukhara and travelled to Urganj and the court of Muhammad Rahim Khan. But seeing no hope of protection from him either, Prince Mahmud continued on to Tehran. Shah Zaman's messenger, after accomplishing his purpose in Bukhara, was dismissed by Shah Murad and returned to Kabul. When Prince Mahmud reached Tehran, he again enjoyed the favors of Fath °Ali Shah and was given residence at the home of the prime minister, who was now Mirza Muhammad Shafi° Khan. All of these circumstances will be recorded in due course, God willing.

*HIS HIGHNESS SHAH ZAMAN'S CAMPAIGN TO LAHORE TO PUT DOWN A  
SIKH INSURRECTION*

While the previously discussed events were taking place, the Sikhs, instigated by Mahabat Singh, had embarked again on the path of rebellion. They had come to blows with Ahmad Khan Barakza'i, the governor of Lahore, killed

him, and taken control of the city. Shah Zaman was apprised of this in letters from his intelligence agents and functionaries in the Punjab and so he returned to Kabul from Herat. Before leaving, he sent his baggage on ahead via Qandahar, left Prince Qaysar as governor of Herat and appointed Mir Afzal Khan, the son of Madad Khan Ishaqza<sup>3</sup>i, as his deputy. Then taking the former deputy, Zaman Khan, with him, he traveled back to Kabul by way of the Hazarahjat. From there he left for Lahore. When the Sikhs learned of his approach, they became fearful and scattered. After arriving in Lahore, the shah was forced to give the problem serious consideration in light of the fact that the Sikhs were a constant source of trouble and were continually laying waste the Punjab. He finally decided that the best thing to do was to give the government of Lahore to someone from that very group so that the claws of Sikh corruption would never again lacerate the unblemished face of the country. He therefore summoned Maharajah Ranjit Singh, an enemy of Mahabat Singh, and appointed him governor. The shah then devoted himself to re-organizing affairs in the Punjab and afterwards returned to Kabul.

While crossing the Jilam River, most of his artillery, baggage, and arsenal was lost. In total disarray and having endured a completely unmerited outcome (to the campaign), the shah finally reached Kabul. While there, he conferred the government of Peshawar on Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk, his brother, and then left for Qandahar where the foundations of his regime were demolished. This was probably due in the main to the killing of the Durrani sardars but in particular it was caused by the murder of Sardar Payandah Khan, as will be discussed below.

#### *THE MURDER OF PROMINENT DURRANI SARDARS*

This unfortunate event occurred as a result of the pride and conceit of Rahmat Allah Khan Saduza<sup>3</sup>i, the son of Fath Allah Khan. After the death of his father, he had become a regular attendee at court through the good offices of

Sardar Payandah Khan. When the sardar was first giving him entree to the court, other prominent figures tried to block his attaining high rank and kept saying, “Don’t let him into court for he will be the cause of trouble for others.” But Sardar Payandah Khan, his mentor and protector, would smile and say, “What does he have the power to do?” In the end, it turned out as the others had said. Gradually, Rahmat Allah’s star rose and he attained the position of chief advisor (*wazīr* and *mukhtār*) for all matters of the regime. He then treated other sardars with contempt, especially Sardar Payandah Khan. He showed no one any esteem nor did he listen to anyone’s advice. And he did nothing to act on the concerns of the great amirs, forcing them to go en masse to the shah to complain. But there too they would not receive the answer they wanted to hear. Subsequently, they decided what they would do.

According to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, they went to the mosque (*‘ibādah-gāh*) of Miyan Ghulam Muhammad Hindustani who had come to live in Qandahar and to whom most of the amirs were bound by the ties of discipleship. There it was unanimously agreed to assassinate Rahmat Allah Khan, depose the shah, and install Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk as sovereign. All of those present at the meeting, including Sardar Payandah Khan “Sar Faraz Khan,” the “Amir of Amirs;” Islam Khan, *zabt-begi*; Hikmat Khan Sarkani; Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Azim Khan the son of Mir Hazar /60/ Khan Alkuza<sup>’i</sup>; Amir Aslan Khan; Ja’far <sup>c</sup>Ali Khan Jawanshir; the eunuch, Yusuf <sup>c</sup>Ali Khan; Mirza Sharif Khan, *munshi*; Nur Muhammad Khan Baburi; and others swore solemn oaths on the Qur’an and decided what each one’s responsibilities would be. They set the next day as the time to take action and told Sar Faraz Khan to summon the Barakza<sup>’i</sup> people from the countryside. On Thursday, when Rahmat Allah went hunting out towards his own estate which lay two kuruhs east of Ahmad Shah City and is now known as Tur-i Wazir, Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Azim Khan Alkuza<sup>’i</sup> was to follow and kill him. Amir Aslan Khan Jawanshir with other bodyguards of the shah were then to arrest the shah. So every one set himself to fulfilling his part in the conspiracy.

Sardar Payandah Khan summoned all the Barakza'i while Amir Aslan Khan and his companions, all armed to the teeth, stood ready to act. But before the plot could be carried out, Mirza Sharif *munshī* went to Rahmat Allah Khan with Ahmad Khan Barakza'i and told him what was going on. He immediately took the two men to the shah to relate to him what was happening. Rahmat Allah did not go hunting and spent a very anxious night. The next morning he presented himself before the shah who, at his suggestion, then called the amirs one by one to the citadel on the pretext of some matter of interest. When they were all inside, he locked the citadel gates and put them to death.

It is said that Sardar Payandah Khan, thanks to the poor opinion His Highness Shah Zaman had formed of him from Rahmat Allah Khan, had quit the shah's court and chosen to follow the voluntary path of continual fasting, piety, and asceticism and in his place his eldest son, Fath Khan, had been appointed to the court. So it was that on this day he was at home performing some supererogatory prayers and other religious observations when the court attendant, Hasan Khan, arrived with the shah's order that he come and attend public audience. As it was nearly sunset, he delayed until night fell. Then Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, his seven-year-old son, at his father's instructions, brought him water to drink, thus breaking his fast. As the boy was young, the cup of water shook in his hand and some of it spilled. His father took the cup, sipped from it, and uttered a prayer for his son saying, "May God not humble you in this world or the next but place you in a high position and make you the envy of the people of the time." After breaking his fast and performing the evening prayer, he accompanied the court messenger and presented himself before the shah. Then, as already mentioned, he was slain and his body buried at Dhakard. After the killing and burial of the sardars, Rahmat Allah Khan was honored with the title "Wafadar Khan". This all occurred in 1214/1799–1800. A poet has composed a chronogram commemorating the murder of the sardars and had it inscribed on a plaque on the tomb of Sardar Payandah Khan. Two of the

poem's distiches are reproduced here:

An eminent man of the world fell  
Lamentations and grief from all Afghans.  
When I queried my mind for the year of his death  
It answered, "Say, 'they are the sacrifice of God.'"

Fath Khan fled to the fortress of Nad 'Ali with his brothers and other relatives. Some had climbed the walls of Qandahar to escape, others got out through the gates. But, realizing that residence at Nad 'Ali would entail a hundred difficulties, Fath Khan went on to Iran and, travelling by way of Bam and Sistan, eventually joined Prince Mahmud. By some accounts, the dervish, Miyan Ghulam Muhammad, was killed at the "majlis of the sardars." Others say, however, that he was spared, and left Qandahar with several of his disciples and made for India. On the way, however, he was murdered on instructions from Rahmat Allah Khan and is buried near the Herat Gate of the city.

During this time, Shah Zaman learned in letters from Prince Qaysar and his deputy, Mir Afzal Khan, that Fath 'Ali Shah Qajar was on his way to conquer Khurasan and had put Nishapur under siege. With the approval of Rahmat Allah Khan he sent Turah Baz Khan as ambassador to the shah of Iran. The envoy reached the Iranian camp just as the shah opened his siege of Nishapur and he presented the gifts and letter sent by His Highness Shah Zaman. The arrival of this embassy, which sought to forestall Fath 'Ali Shah's plans to conquer Khurasan, brought a message from Shah Zaman that he still held by the former agreement and had not tried to conquer Iran. The embassy was taken as a convenient pretext by Fath 'Ali Shah, who knew he did not have the capability to conquer Nishapur, to return to Tehran. Turah Baz Khan was also now dismissed and sent home with appropriate presents /61/ and was received by the shah at Qandahar. At this point Prince Shuja' al-Mulk informed Shah Zaman by

letter that the Sikhs were again rebelling and so the shah left for Peshawar to punish them. Before doing so he conferred the government of Qandahar on Mihr °Ali Khan, whose honorary title was “Shah Pasand Khan” and who was generally known as “Mir Akhur-i Ishaqza°i.” The shah then proceeded to Kabul en route to the Punjab where he intended to ensnare Mahabat Singh in the coils of punishment. But fate, which opposed his plans, poured poison into the cup of his hopes.

*PRINCE MAHMUD AND FATH KHAN MARCH ON AFGHANISTAN FROM  
IRAN*

At the time Fath Khan, fearing for his own life after his father’s murder, went to Prince Mahmud in Iran, and proposed a plan for the prince to take Qandahar. Now, Fath Khan got word that His Highness Shah Zaman had returned to Kabul, intending to campaign in the Punjab, and he calculated that staying in Iran would make it impossible to avenge his father’s death. So, with Prince Mahmud, he set out for Qandahar on the route through Sistan. When they arrived near Qandahar, the governor, Mihr °Ali Khan, came out of the city with 5,000 horsemen to stop them. The governor made a stand at Bagh-i Mariz but in the course of things was defeated by Prince Mahmud and Fath Khan and retreated into the city. The Durraniis deemed the outcome of the confrontation a clear triumph for Prince Mahmud and Fath Khan and so they joined forces with them. This army now crossed the Helmand River and placed Qandahar under siege. After forty-two days, the besieging force launched a major assault and with the backing of the Qizilbash inside the city, took control of the city. Mihr °Ali Khan put to death Imam Bakhsh Khan and Hasan Khan whom he believed to be the cause of the city’s fall. He then escaped from Qandahar, speedily rejoined Shah Zaman, and told him what had happened.

The shah now abandoned his plans to march on the Punjab and punish the



Sikhs and headed for Qandahar to expel the prince. When he got to Ghaznin, he sent Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurza'i and a contingent of 10,000 horse ahead as an advance force. Two days later, the shah then marched. Prince Mahmud, meantime, had borrowed some money from the merchants to pay for war supplies and had left Qandahar to confront the shah. Between Muqur and Qalat-i Ghilja'i he met up with Ahmad Khan, who, full of resentment over certain uncalled-for actions on the part of Rahmat Allah Khan, now turned his back on His Highness Shah Zaman and joined forces with Prince Mahmud. At this, Shah Zaman lost heart and retreated to Kabul. But the shah was unprepared to remain there and at the suggestion of Rahmat Allah Khan, who was on his way to Peshawar to enlist the aid of Prince Shuja' al-Mulk, he set out for Jalalabad. There joined by Rahmat Allah Khan, Zaman Khan Bamiza'i, and fifteen troopers from a ghulam unit, the shah rode on to Peshawar.

Exhausted by the trip, he stopped over at the fortress of a certain Shinwari named 'Ashiq, to get some needed rest. At first, 'Ashiq showed every sign of respect and fulfilled all the obligations of host. But just as the shah was feeling comfortable, 'Ashiq summoned two hundred Shinwaris in the middle of the night and locked the gates of the fortress so that no one could get out. After manning the towers and ramparts with Shinwari musketeers, 'Ashiq sent his son as fast as he could ride to Prince Mahmud, by now in Kabul. He brought this welcome news and obtained a reward from the prince for this service. Shah Zaman, meantime, now aware of his host's perfidy, tried every way possible to find the key to escape but was unable to unlock the door of 'Ashiq's hard-heartedness and deception.

When Prince Shuja' al-Mulk, in Peshawar, learned what had happened, he sent 'Abd al-Karim Khan Ishaqza'i with one hundred horsemen to free the shah from the clutches of the Shinwari blackguard. But before these men could arrive, Prince Mahmud, who had arrived in Kabul and bolstered the spirits of the Qizilbash, who had been deeply distressed by Shah Zaman's killing Amir Aslan

Khan and Ja'far Khan Jawanshir, immediately after the arrival of °Ashiq's son, dispatched Nawwab Asad Khan, son of the late Sardar Payandah Khan to Shinwar. Nawwab Asad Khan, who nursed a bitter grudge because of the murder of his father, took custody of the shah and brought him to Prince Mahmud. Prince Shuja° al-Mulk's officers, after crossing the Khyber Pass, heard the news and passed it on to the prince in Peshawar, asking his permission either to continue or to turn back. As the matter was now moot, they withdrew as soon as his order arrived.

According to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, during his incarceration in °Ashiq's fort, His Highness Shah Zaman hid two precious gems. One was the Fakhraj ruby and the other the Kuh-i Nur diamond. He hid the diamond in a crack in a wall and threw the ruby into the river. When he was brought before Prince Mahmud, he was blinded in retaliation for his blinding Prince Humayun and was ordered held in the Bala Hisar. Rahmat Allah Khan, the wazir, who had been given the title "Wafadar Khan" at the time of the killing of the sardars, was now put to death along with his brothers, Muhammad Khan and Zaman Khan Bamiza°i. This was to avenge the murders of Sardar Payandah Khan and Hazir Khan, brother of Muhammad Akram Khan, the first having been killed in Qandahar, the second in Herat. By one account, this event (the blinding of His Highness Shah Zaman), occurred in 1216/1801–1802, by another, in 1217/1802–1803. The days of Shah Zaman's reign now came to an end and Prince Mahmud ascended the throne.

#### *THE REIGN OF SHAH MAHMUD THE SON OF HIS HIGHNESS TIMUR SHAH*

According to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, Prince Mahmud ascended the throne on Thursday, the 13th of Rabi' al-Awwal 1216/24 July 1801. According to the *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, it was in 1217/1802–1803. His great seal was inscribed:

By God's favors, the world was graced,  
With the banner of Mahmud Shah's reign.

He summoned each of his supporters and conferred an office on him. Fath Khan, who was the primary cause of his now being the sovereign, was made wazir and given the title "Shah Dust (shah's friend)." His seal bore the legend:

For the felicitous reign of Mahmud, thanks not to me but Him,  
Who ennobles kingship and the fortune of the shah's friend.

The most reliable information about Fath Khan's being named wazir is that he was given the post at the time of the second accession of Shah Mahmud to the throne (that is, not at this time). This will all be discussed in due course.

To return to the story: Shayr Muhammad Khan, the son of Wazir Shah Wali Khan Bamiza'i was singled out and given the title "Mukhtar al-Dawlah." 'Abd Allah Khan Alkuza'i whom Shah Zaman had dismissed as governor of Kashmir and imprisoned in the Bala Hisar was now accorded royal honors and (again) appointed governor of Kashmir. Mulla Muhammad Sa'id Khan Barakza'i was named Chief Justice (*qaẓī al-quḏāt*). His official seal bore this legend:

Muhammad Sa'id, attested to by God's favor,  
Has become chief justice to Shah Mahmud.

When Prince Qaysar, the wali of Herat, learned of the blinding of his father, he handed the city over to his uncle, Prince Firuz al-Din, and left for Fath 'Ali Shah's court. At Simnan he joined the Qajar royal entourage which had camped there on its way back from Khurasan. He presented an elephant and other things to the shah and was himself gratified with royal favors—an expensive robe of

honor and an inlaid sword—and the leaders of Khurasan were instructed not to withhold help from him. At this time Prince Muhammad Wali Mirza was given the government of Khurasan and instructions concerning Prince Qaysar.

*PRINCE SHUJA<sup>c</sup> AL-MULK'S TURBULENT QUEST FOR POWER*

When Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk was told of the blinding of his brother, His Highness Shah Zaman, he was deeply troubled and vowed revenge. Bent on seizing power he readied an army and was in the midst of his preparations when Zar Dad Khan Fufalza<sup>3</sup>i appeared on the scene. The latter had fled during the regime of His Highness Shah Zaman and disappeared among the Yusufza<sup>3</sup>i. When he heard the good news of His Highness Shah Zaman's fall from power he came to Attock Fort with Yusufza<sup>3</sup>i Afghans and from there, accompanied by 400 horse and foot from Khuttak, marched (towards Afghanistan) proclaiming his support for Shah Mahmud. He arrived at the village of Bidih Bir, 5 kuruhs from Peshawar, prepared for a battle with Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk, /63/ and began tyrannizing the people of the region, thinking thereby to show his solidarity with His Highness Shah Mahmud. Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk sent a force under Gul Muhammad, Fayz Talab Khan Bamiza<sup>3</sup>i, and Yar Muhammad Khan *nasaqchi-bashi* to crush him. They marched with 200 cavalry and several hundred infantry. When they arrived in that region (Bidih Bir), Zar Dad Khan withdrew, realizing he did not have the strength to fight them.

Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk once again turned his attention to his plans for dealing with His Highness Shah Mahmud. First he succeeded in winning over the Durrani of Qandahar and the Qizilbash of Kabul who had sided with the new shah by sending them gifts of gold, silver, and fine fabrics. As a consequence of this, Mihr<sup>c</sup> Ali Khan *mīrākhūr-bāshī* now joined the prince. He had earlier fled from Shah Zaman and gone to Jalalabad and now he brought sixty horsemen with him to Peshawar. In a similar fashion, Muhammad Akram Khan Bamiza<sup>3</sup>i “Amin al-

Mulk,” who had been serving Shah Mahmud, now defected with sixty horsemen. Accompanied by Muhammad Khan *nasaqchī-bāshī*, he offered his services to the prince. In addition, other Durrani men came each day, bringing cavalry and infantry to the prince until his position had become considerably stronger and his campaign preparations were complete. He sent his wife, the daughter of the assassinated wazir, Rahmat Allah Khan, to Rawalpindi by way of Malik Yusufzaʿi with his brother, Muhammad Siddiq Khan, so they would be well away from the battlefield. He left his mother with His Highness Shah Zaman’s harem in Peshawar and then set out for Kabul at the head of the army, sending an advance force of 500 horsemen under Mihr ʿAli Khan *mīrākhūr-bāshī* on ahead. The prince followed hard on his heels and arrived at the manzil of Basawul.

His Highness Shah Mahmud, too, sent out an advance force under ʿAbd al-Wahid Khan Barakzaʿi, ʿAta Allah Khan ʿAlizaʿi, and Baluch Khan Achakzaʿi. When this force reached Jalalabad, the two sides clashed and His Highness Shah Mahmud’s scouts were driven from the field, some fleeing back to Kabul, others joining forces with Prince Shujaʿ al-Mulk. Mihr ʿAli Khan sent off the glad tidings of his victory and asked whether he should pursue or stay where he was. An order was issued to stay where he was and he did so.

The prince now arrived in Jalalabad and from there proceeded on to Ashpan. There his force was in the process of establishing camp—some setting up their tents, some out foraging—when suddenly the main force under His Highness Shah Mahmud, Prince Kamran, and Fath Khan came marching up the road. Despite the fact that the prince’s forces were scattered, they re-formed battle ranks and prepared to fight. Both sides opened fire with cannons and muskets and the battle soon reached fever pitch. In the midst of the combat, the Durrani khans and the khans of the ghulam corps who were partial to Prince Shujaʿ al-Mulk, because of the money and fine textiles they had received from him, now defected from His Highness Shah Mahmud. At the same time, Salih

Muhammad Khan Ishaqza'i *mīrākhūr-bāshī* withdrew from the battlefield, crossed the Surkh Rud, and retreated to Kabul.

Meantime Prince Kamran, Wazir Fath Khan, and Khwajah Muhammad Khan launched an attack against Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk's Khalil and Mohmand infantry forces. But because the Bagh-i Ashpan blocked his path, the prince was unable to extend those infantrymen any assistance. Muhammad Khan Hashtnigari and Allah Yar Khan Bajawuri, the leaders of the Khalil and Mohmand infantry forces, were both killed and the survivors of the fight fled the field. As a result of this defeat, the props were knocked out from under Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk's army and the battle turned into a rout. His Highness Shah Mahmud pressed forward and surrounded the prince. But the prince's appointed hour had not yet come, for the shah's men began looting the jewelry and money chests which the prince had with him. This gave the former an opportunity to escape and he did so, taking fifty horsemen with him into the Safid Kuh. They rode for three days until they reached the district of Garm where the people felt privileged to guard the prince and escort him to Tira.

Twenty of the party's horses died because of the rugged terrain over which they had to travel, combined with a lack of fodder. So it was that, with extreme difficulty, the prince finally arrived at the house of Sayyid Muhammad Riza, one of the sayyids of Tira, and there stopped. The sayyid extended his full hospitality, as the situation required, and the prince in turn gave him an inlaid saddle with all the trappings. But despite this gift, the sayyid, incited by some despicable trouble-makers, began to evince hostility towards the prince within a few days and tried to detain him in order to hand him over to His Highness Shah Mahmud for a reward. /64/ But the prince read scheming on his face and was in the process of devising a plan to thwart him when Muhammad Amir Khan Khaybari and Yar Muhammad Khan *nasaqchī-bāshī* joined the prince with a band of their own people. He then ceased worrying about Sayyid Muhammad Rida's intentions, left Tira with an untroubled mind, and settled in at

Muhammad Amir Khan's fortress in the Khyber Valley. The prince spent a period of time there, fully backed by the Khaybaris whose leaders had been in the prince's party at the battle of Ashpan and who therefore had no hope of being treated well by His Highness Shah Mahmud. While there, a certain Mulla Ja'far and Abu'l-Hasan Khan came and offered their services to him.

After the victory at Ashpan and while Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk was in Garm and Tira before going on to the Khyber Valley, Prince Kamran arrived in Peshawar where he stayed awhile. He named <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Wahid Khan Barakza<sup>3</sup>i to the government of Peshawar and Khwajah Muhammad Fufalza<sup>3</sup>i as commander of the garrison. Then he returned to Kabul and was received by his father. After resting from the rigors of the Peshawar trip, Prince Kamran was given the government of Qandahar.

*PRINCE SHUJA<sup>c</sup> AL-MULK's BATTLE AT SANGU KHAYL WITH <sup>c</sup>ABD AL-WAHID KHAN AND KHWAJAH MUHAMMAD KHAN*

When <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Wahid Khan, the new governor of Peshawar, and Khwajah Muhammad Khan, the commander of its garrison, discovered that Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk was living in the Khyber Valley, they decided to attack him with a large force of cavalry. Following several minor skirmishes, a number of the prince's partisans who engaged in a fierce fight at Sangu Khayl broke and fled to the Khyber. Many of them died of heat prostration. After this defeat, the prince spent about a year in the Khyber enjoying the generosity and protection of the Khybaris. Throughout this period, petitions arrived from Durrani and Qizilbash leaders inviting him to come to Kabul and assuring him of their support. But the prince had lost most of his power and did not dare move on Kabul. Instead, he decided that even if the Durrani and Qizilbash people were of one mind and purpose with their leaders who kept sending these letters of good-will, he still should go to Qandahar and there prepare the military necessities for a march

against Kabul.

So he left the Khyber Valley with 200 horse and a number of foot soldiers and entered the Waziri district. Amongst the Waziris there are always feelings of enmity and hostility for they believe everyone else is an enemy. Their first reaction was to fight the prince's party but when they approached and recognized him, they immediately apologized for their insolence and offered him their services. From that point he used Shayr Muhammad Khan, the chief of the Waziris, and a number of maliks as guides as far as the district of the Kakar people there giving them robes of honor and dismissing them. The prince spent two months among the Kakars, sending out spies in every direction. They gathered information about all the roads and he then continued his journey through Ghuysari (Ghawaysri?) and into the Ghilja'i district. Upon his arrival, Shukr Allah Khan, the grandson of Ikhlas Quli Khan Hutak; Fath Khan Babakrza'i; and Shihab al-Din Khan Tukhi came to the prince and said,

"We entertain no hopes as far as His Highness Shah Mahmud is concerned, because of the many conflicts we have had with him. So we now request that the prince accept in marriage the chaste virgin daughter of Fath Khan and by concluding this conjugal bond, we would then consider ourselves pledged to him by a tie of kinship and would embark on the path of true loyalty."

The prince listened with favor to their proposal, married the girl, and then continued towards Shalkut with his 200 cavalry. He spent the winter in Shalkut and while there borrowed money from the merchants who transported goods between Qandahar and Shikarpur, passing through Shalkut en route. He promised to repay the loans when he came to power. As he has recorded it in his journal<sup>37</sup> /65/ eventually, when he did come to power, he discharged his debts

<sup>37</sup> RM: Published as *Wāqī'āt-i Shāh Shujā'* (Kabul: Anjuman-i tarikhi, 1333/1954).



with many additional favors besides.

*PRINCE SHUJA<sup>c</sup> AL-MULK' S BATTLE AT KUZHAK WITH SALIH  
MUHAMMAD KHAN GHILJA<sup>o</sup>I*

When, thanks to the loans, the prince had prepared the materiel necessary for his campaign, he left Shalkut for Kuzhak. For his part, Shah Mahmud sent out Salih Muhammad Khan with 1,000 horsemen to stop him. The two sides met at Kuzhak and battle was joined. The prince and his companions, with their 200 cavalry, stood fast, and during the fray the prince himself cut off the hand of one of his attackers with his own sword. The others then became afraid to attack the prince and, despite their numerical superiority, they quit fighting and withdrew all the way back to Qandahar where Prince Kamran was governor. Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk marched into Arghistan, the home of the Fufalza<sup>o</sup>i clans, in triumph.

Prince Kamran, the viceroy of Qandahar, meantime, had asked Hajji Firuz al-Din, the governor of Herat, for assistance. This was before Salih Muhammad Khan Ghilja<sup>o</sup>i's defeat. In response, the hajji sent his son, Prince Malik Qasim, to Qandahar with 2,000 riders. Just as the defeated force got to Qandahar, the Herati force also arrived. So Prince Kamran and Prince Malik Qasim, with the combined Qandahari and Herati forces numbering 5,000 cavalry, rode out of Qandahar and made camp two farsakhs from Arghistan.

Meanwhile, despite the fact that people from the tribes of that region were coming forward each day by twos and by tens in a continual stream to join Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk, still the size of his force never increased beyond 500 men. As a result, some of his well-wishers who outwardly sided with Prince Kamran but secretly supported Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk advised him not to destroy himself needlessly but to avoid a confrontation with Prince Kamran whose forces, in terms of their fighting spirit and numbers, were ten times greater than his. Instead they suggested he go elsewhere. Heeding their advice he left

Arghistan and took a route into Ghilja'i territory. Riding from dusk until just before dawn he reached Ghilja'i lands and put considerable distance between himself and the enemy. He dried his rain-soaked clothes and then came to the lands of °Abd al-Rahim Khan Hutak. There he picked up three-days worth of provisions and continued on to Minah, one of the territories of the Kakar where he spent several days and was joined by Prince Qaysar, the son of Shah Zaman, and Madad Khan, a brief reference to whose departure at the time of the blinding of the prince's father was given above.

The details of the prince's expulsion are based on the account given in Shuja'°s journal. (According to it) Mir Afzal, Prince Qaysar's vice-regent, shut his eyes to the loyalty of His Highness Shah Zaman and, ambitious for the position of courtier to Shah Mahmud, summoned Firuz al-Din Khan, Shah Mahmud's uterine brother who was in Yazd at the time, to Herat. He then deposed Prince Qaysar at Herat as unworthy (of the regency) and installed Firuz al-Din as head of the government, making himself deputy. Prince Qaysar now chose exile in Iran. After receiving word there of Prince Shuja'° al-Mulk's rising star, he returned to Afghanistan full of hope and, as was mentioned, joined Prince Shuja'° al-Mulk's party at Minah. Later the two left Minah and, with the consent of all, Prince Qaysar, Madad Khan *mīrākhūr-bāshī*, Shadi Khan Achakza'i, and other khans rode for Qandahar while Prince Shuja'° al-Mulk headed for Kabul, the idea being that the two groups would operate on two separate fronts.

Prince Shuja'° al-Mulk sent the precious jewels in his possession to Dera Ghazi Khan with one of his trusted supporters so that they could be sold there and the money used to obtain materiel for his campaign. He also gave a few of these gems to the Kakar maliks for them to sell and buy weapons. In addition, he sent letters to each of the Durrani khans, the khans of the ghulam corps, the Qizilbash khans, and the khans of Kuhistan and Kabul in which he called for the overthrow of His Highness Shah Mahmud's regime. As soon as the money and

supplies (from the sale of the gems) reached him he embarked on the course he had set for himself. Meantime, the Ghilja'i tribes had turned against the government (of Shah Mahmud) and had raised the banners of rebellion.

In 1218/1803–1804, His Highness Shah Mahmud sent Wazir Fath Khan and Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurza'i with 10,000 men to punish the rebels. They caught the rebel force at an opportune moment and the two sides fought several skirmishes. Each time, a score of the Ghilja'is would be dispatched to the next world. The whole affair came to a close at Shibar west of the Tarank River where 6,000 /66/ Ghilja'is were killed. Their heads were cut off, sent to Kabul, and there piled in a tower to serve as a warning to other malefactors. When Shah Mahmud's force had won this victory and restored the government's control over the lands and homes of the Ghilja'i rebels, it went back to Kabul. But in the course of things, there was another incident connected to the suppression of this uprising which led to the downfall of His Highness Shah Mahmud's government.

*THE WIDESPEAD RIOTING OF THE CITIZENS OF KABUL AND ITS  
SURROUNDING REGION*

In 1219/1804–1805, a Qizilbash rogue seduced a young Hanafite boy who lived in Kabul into going home with him. He invited some other pederasts to take part in this loathsome business and they performed a number of obscene acts on the helpless lad. At the end of several days during which they plied him with drugs and alcohol, they threw him out in the street. The boy went home and told his father what had happened. His father, in turn, went to His Highness Shah Mahmud and demanded justice be done. The shah, who looked with a favorable eye on the Qizilbash, referred the matter to the Shari'a court. When the accused denied the charge the chief justice, Mulla Muhammad Sa'id Khan Barakza'i called for the evidence. But when the plaintiff was unable to establish

proof, there was no other course but for the boy's family to assemble at the Pul-i Khishti Mosque on Friday, with their heads and feet bared, and their pockets turned inside out. They stood the boy beneath the pulpit and called on the chief preacher to redress the wrong done them. He then declared a pogrom against the Qizilbash. The common folk of the city and the bazaar took his order as a religious obligation and a large mob made for Chandawal. There they killed whoever stood in their path and stole whatever they could lay their hands on. Houses owned by Qizilbash outside Chandawal were set ablaze and burned to the ground. Having given up hope of escape, the Qizilbash of Chandawal mounted a desperate resistance. They barricaded the gates of the quarter with rocks and earth and withstood the siege for several days until news of the pogrom spread and people from the suburbs joined the attack. Twenty thousand men from Kuhistan and Lahugard surrounded Chandawal, climbed Shayr Darwazah Mountain which overlooks the Qizilbash residential district, and made life very difficult for the Qizilbash.

Although His Highness Shah Mahmud tried very hard to quell the uprising, his efforts were in vain. Finally, with no other avenue left open, he appointed Shayr Muhammad Khan "Mukhtar al-Dawlah" and Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurza'i to put down the uprising. But because of their communal sympathies with the mob, they turned their backs on the concerns of the state and encouraged the slaughter of Qizilbash. As a consequence of their provocative actions, many people were killed each day on both sides. Finally, as the Qizilbash were nearing annihilation, Wazir Fath Khan and his brothers stepped forward in order to safeguard the regime's honor and prevent its being irretrievably besmirched. They worked hard to put an end to the fighting on both sides and managed, finally, to quench the fires of the conflict and thereby save the Qizilbash from total destruction.

During all of this, Prince Shuja<sup>e</sup> al-Mulk managed to reach Zurmat where he stopped, awaiting news of the outcome of the trouble in Kabul. He heard

there that the Sunni leaders had been greatly angered by the actions taken by Wazir Fath Khan to protect the Qizilbash.

*THE SUNNI LEADERS AGREE HIS HIGHNESS SHAH MAHMUD' S REGIME  
SHOULD FALL*

Distressed by Wazir Fath Khan's defensive actions taken to protect the interest of His Highness Shah Mahmud's government, certain Sunni leaders—such as the chief preacher (*mīr wā'iz*); Shayr Muhammad Khan “Mukhtar al-Dawlah;” Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurza'i; and others—met and agreed to get rid of His Highness Shah Mahmud and Wazir Fath Khan. Determined to carry out their plan, they awaited an opportune moment. It came when the shah sent Wazir Fath Khan, the right-hand man /67/ of his government, to the Hazarah(jat) and Bamiyan to collect revenues due to the state. When he left, the men of Kabul unfurled the banners of disobedience, drove His Highness Shah Mahmud from the throne, and placed him under seige in the Bala Hisar.

Prince Shuja° al-Mulk, marking time in Zurmat, immediately set out for Kabul when he heard this news. He arrived in Altamur and there was joined first by Hajji Rahmat Allah Khan Fufalza'i and then by Gul Muhammad Khan and Ata Muhammad Khan Bamiza'i, who had renounced their ties to Shah Mahmud. Similarly, Shayr Muhammad Khan “Mukhtar al-Dawlah,” the father of °Ata Muhammad Khan, and other khans who had suffered under His Highness Shah Mahmud came one after another to join the prince. He left Altamur and camped next near Lahugard by which point he had 3,000 horsemen. Beleaguered in the Bala Hisar, His Highness Shah Mahmud heard of the prince's arrival near Lahugard and became even more worried. But since he still had authority as (nominal) ruler, he had not yet given up all hope. Backed by the Arabs in the Bala Hisar, he now began to bombard the city and threw its population into a panic. They (in turn) appealed to Prince Shuja° al-Mulk to hurry to Kabul. The

prince entered Lahugard spent the night there, and next morning marched to Kabul, making camp at the tomb of Babur Shah. Here 150,000 foot and mounted soldiers assembled under him. But it was decided that since such a number of men could not be housed there, they should move on that same day and camp at the estate (bagh) of Sardar Madad Khan which they did. The prince ordered the men from Kuhistan-i Kabul to take up positions around the Bala Hisar and prevent anyone from escaping. Each day Prince Shuja 'al-Mulk would ride around the Bala Hisar, inspect the positions of his men, and then return to the main army camp. This was to be his routine until a hole could be bored into the arsenal in the Shah Tower in order to set it on fire and blow a hole in the walls of the citadel. They had not yet finished this task when the prince learned of the arrival of Wazir Fath Khan with a large force of Hazarahs and men from Bamiyan at the manzil of Maydan and prepared his defenses.

Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk moved his headquarters from the garden estate of Sardar Madad Khan to Qal'ah-i Qazi. Wazir Fath Khan meanwhile proceeded forward and battle was joined. The struggle lasted until evening with a number of men killed and wounded on both sides. Eventually Wazir Fath Khan was defeated and withdrew towards Qandahar to Prince Kamran, the viceroy there. Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk returned to Kabul in triumph. His Highness Shah Mahmud, who had depended on Wazir Fath Khan's help, now saw the sun of his good fortune sink below the horizon. In hopes of reconciliation, he sent a letter to Prince Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk in which he expressed his regrets and asked forgiveness for his bad conduct. Out of respect for the Qur'an (which accompanied the letter), the prince forgave him. He ordered his officials to take Shah Mahmud up into the Bala Hisar, treat him courteously, but put him in irons. According to the author of *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, he also ordered him blinded in retaliation for the blinding of His Highness Shah Zaman. But because Shayr Muhammad Khan "Mukhtar al-Dawlah" interceded on the deposed shah's behalf, this order was not carried out and His Highness Shah Mahmud was

merely kept in chains. The next day, Prince Shuja<sup>°</sup> al-Mulk made his entry into the Bala Hisar, his mind now freed of all anxiety.

*THE REIGN OF HIS HIGHNESS SHAH SHUJA<sup>°</sup> AL-MULK*

When the prince entered the great citadel, he forthwith ascended the throne. After the accession ceremonies, he appointed Abu'l-Hasan Khan, who had joined his service in the Khyber Valley, to be the treasurer of all jewels, cash, and kind. He named Prince Haydar, his own son, governor of Qandahar where Prince Kamran was still in full control. He bestowed on Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurza<sup>°</sup>i; <sup>°</sup>Ata Muhammad Khan, son of Shayr Muhammad Khan “Mukhtar al-Dawlah;” and Saydal Khan, the honor of assisting the prince (in taking Qandahar). Because Prince Qaysar was also in Qandahar, as will come below, the new shah sent 5,000 Durrani and (some) cavalry from the ghulam corps with Prince Haydar and allocated a sum of money to be given as gifts to the prominent people of the Qandahar region. When this force reached the manzil of /68/ Jakan, two stages from Qandahar, Prince Kamran, His Highness Shah Mahmud's son and the governor there, decided he did not have the power to resist and so decided to retreat to Farah. He was accompanied by Wazir Fath Khan who had just arrived from Kabul. The prince established his residence at Farah but the wazir decided to go his own way and ultimately went into hiding in the district of Ma<sup>°</sup>ruf.

The author of *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī* says that they fought with Prince Haydar and his companions at Jakan and then fled in defeat through Farah to Herat and (the protection of) Hajji Firuz al-Din, the governor there. At the request of his own mother, Firuz al-Din named Prince Kamran governor of Farah. Fath Khan at first tried to incite Firuz al-Din against His Highness Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup> al-Mulk but when his words went unheeded, he went to Farah with those of his brothers who were with him and rejoined Kamran. However, seeing no favors forthcoming

from him, he went on to the district of Ma<sup>c</sup>ruf and settled there. Meanwhile, after the victory at Jakan, Prince Haydar moved on to Qandahar and took over the government. Prince Qaysar, who as previously noted had tried without success to march on Qandahar from Minah and who at this point was homeless and wandering in the vicinity of Qandahar, learned of the arrival of Prince Haydar in Qandahar and petitioned the throne to be given control of the city. The shah agreed to the request and, after summoning Prince Haydar back to Kabul, issued a manshur for the government of Qandahar in Prince Qaysar's name. He also sent several high-ranking khans from Kabul to take charge of administrative affairs there.

During this, Shayr Muhammad Khan "Mukhtar al-Dawlah" and other khans who enjoyed access to the shah and held high positions at court, petitioned the shah to pardon Wazir Fath Khan. At the same time, a petition arrived from the wazir himself. So the shah sent Gul Muhammad Khan "Nizam al-Mulk" to reassure the wazir and to bring him back to Kabul. Thus the wazir returned to court, accompanied by the shah's envoy, and there was honored by appointment to the rank held by Sardar Payandah Khan. After forgiving the wazir's misdeeds, a squadron of cavalry was sent to Shinwar to punish <sup>c</sup>Ashiq Shinwari and members of his clan for what they had done to His Highness Shah Zaman, which was recorded above. The cavalry force rode out and looted his property as well as that of his relatives and followers who had abetted him in the seizure of Shah Zaman. The troops then brought <sup>c</sup>Ashiq and his wife and children to the shah. He sentenced <sup>c</sup>Ashiq to be blown to bits with a grenade and the others thrown in prison.

*HIS HIGHNESS SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup>'S MARCH ON PESHAWAR AND THE ESCAPE  
OF WAZIR FATH KHAN*

When His Highness Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> had finished re-organizing the government



in Kabul, he left for Peshawar intending to straighten out affairs in Kashmir and Derajat. At Bagrami, Wazir Fath Khan, who had obtained permission to go back to Kabul for a few days on the pretext of readying equipment for the campaign, set off towards Qandahar instead. The shah learned of his escape at the Jagdalak manzil and in his own hand sent orders to the governors, garrison commanders, and fiscal officials along the wazir's route to capture him and bring him in shackles to the shah. The shah himself then continued on towards Peshawar. There he sent one of his court attendants to ʿAbd Allah Khan, the governor of Kashmir, appointed by Shah Mahmud, to request from him the (back) revenues as a test of his loyalty. If he acceded to the request, well and good. If not, then the shah planned to send an army to punish him. However, the governor did not reject the royal command and sent back the revenues of that province along with appropriate gifts and a letter of apology. In return, the shah sent him a robe of honor, gave him the title "sardar," and issued a manshur confirming the government of Kashmir on him as before. Likewise, he honored the governors and local leaders of the Derajat by reconfirming their authority and chiefship of their clans in return for their remitting the tax revenues.

*WAZIR FATH KHAN'S INSURRECTION AND HIS INCITEMENT OF PRINCE  
QAYSAR*

After Wazir Fath Khan fled Kabul for Qandahar, he began urging Prince Qaysar, the governor there, /69/ to oppose His Highness Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>. The two of them prepared an army and marched north to occupy Kabul. This news quickly reached the shah who resolved to stave them off at the beginning of spring. First, he sent persuasive and conciliatory messages to the Durrani who were well-wishers of his but who were under the prince's banner. Then he left Peshawar for Kabul. As the army under the prince and the wazir approached the shah, he gave up the idea of going into the city and stopped instead at Deh

Mazang. From there he advanced to Qal'ah-i Qazi where he made his headquarters. Meanwhile, the prince and Wazir Fath Khan arrived at Maydan and camped. That night Fayz Allah Khan Fufalza<sup>3</sup>i left the camp of the prince with his followers and some others and joined the shah. They were the ones whom the shah had won over with messages of affection and had only been waiting for the right moment to abandon the prince. As a result of these defections, Prince Qaysar and Wazir Fath Khan realized their star had set and so they withdrew to Qandahar. The shah found their retreat sufficiently satisfying and, leaving the fortress, returned to the city, relaxed, and once again established himself.

*THE ARRIVAL OF A LETTER AND AN AMBASSADOR FROM AMIR HAYDAR,  
THE RULER OF BUKHARA, AND FROM QILIJ KHAN, THE GOVERNOR OF  
KHULM*

In 1220/1805–1806, an envoy came to the throne with a letter from Haydar Shah, the amir of Bukhara, and Qilij Khan, the governor of Tashqurghan. Their gifts included seven camels with reddish humps, twenty horses, fully liveried with gold and silver trappings, several white falcons, various kinds of fine Chinese, Russian, and Tatar fabrics, well-trained horses from Yarkand, and sable pelts. The letter was cordial and friendly. The gifts met with the shah's approval as did the letter which included a request that the virgin daughter of Haydar Shah be joined in marriage to Shah Shuja<sup>e</sup>. Dismissing the embassy for Bukhara with various kinds of gifts, the shah also sent along several of his courtiers to see to the conclusion of the marriage. They travelled to Bukhara and escorted the lady with all due respect back to Kabul, where she was united with His Highness the fortunate shah.

*THE PUNISHMENT AND CHASTISEMENT OF PRINCE QAYSAR AND WAZIR*

*FATH KHAN*

After conclusion of the above, it fell to the shah to punish Prince Qaysar and Wazir Fath Khan who had fled the manzil of Maydan and become advocates of opposition and wickedness in Qandahar. He left Kabul with a large force and marched to Qandahar. When he reached Tup,<sup>38</sup> Prince Qaysar was informed and abandoned Qandahar, fleeing on irresolution's path into the valley of ignominy. Those who had supported him up to this point now came forward and placed their heads under Shah Shuja's farman. The royal party entered Qandahar where the shah undertook to put affairs to rights. After a while, when matters were once again in hand, His Highness the blind Shah Zaman, who was with the royal party on this campaign and for whom Shah Shuja had a high regard, interceded on his son, Prince Qaysar's, behalf and asked the shah to forgive him. The shah did so and deputed Shayr Muhammad Khan "Muhktar al-Dawlah" to carry the good news of the pardon to the prince. The Mukhtar al-Dawlah escorted him back at which point the shah lavished favors on him, re-appointing him governor of Qandahar as he had been before the rebellion. His blind father, His Highness Shah Zaman, was also assigned residence in Qandahar so that he would keep his son from heeding the instigation of ambitious people and chastise him if he swerved from the path of obedience. /70/

*THE SHAH MARCHES AGAINST SIND AND DERAJAT IN ORDER TO  
COLLECT THEIR REVENUES*

As several years worth of revenues from Sind had not reached diwan officials because of the turmoil mentioned earlier, His Highness the shah himself marched from Qandahar towards Sind, without first appointing a governor there. Mustafa Khan, the son of Nasir Khan Baluch, came to the shah

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<sup>38</sup> FM: Tup is a manzil sixteen kuruhs from Kabul in the direction of Ghaznin.

in Qandahar with one Mulla Fath Muhammad when he heard of the shah's intentions. Mustafa Khan declared that he would place himself at the shah's disposal with 6,000 regular (*muqarrarah*) cavalymen and another 6,000 paid for out of his own pocket in accordance with the agreement current between him and the throne. He also asked that the daughter of his eldest brother, Mahmud Khan, be married to the prince, Muhammad Timur. The shah approved the request and after the contractual procedures of "offer" and "acceptance" were carried out by agents of the bride and groom, His Highness the shah showered them (Mustafa Khan and Mulla Fath Muhammad) with gifts of money and "robes of honor" and then dismissed them with instructions to join him with their cavalymen en route. He himself headed for Sind.

At the manzil of Shir Surkh, envoys from the mirs of Sind arrived. They pleaded with His Highness the shah to cancel his campaign and not trample the land of Sind with his force. They promised to hand over to his treasury the sum of 800,000 rupees without his having to endure the rigors of a campaign. But in view of the large amount of arrears in the revenues of Sind, His Highness Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> did not agree to their plea and sent them away. Similarly, at Shalkut, agents of the mirs of Sind came with another proposal. They pledged they would pay 1,200,000 rupees if the shah turned around and went home. Again he rejected the offer and continued on. When he reached Gundabah, he was joined by Mahmud Khan, son of Nasir Khan Baluch, leading 12,000 horse and numerous infantry. In the tradition of his forebears, he presented His Highness the shah with an array of gifts including horses with gold and silver trappings, superb camels with gold inlaid howdahs, gold embroidered fabrics, and many woolen goods. In return, he was presented with robes of honor and an elephant equipped with a howdah and was given leave to stay there four days in order to prepare himself for the campaign. After that, he was to rejoin the shah, which he did at a manzil near Dasht-i Bist. This desert (*dasht*) is about twenty-five kuruhs across and in it there is no habitation. Stage by stage, His Highness the shah

travelled on until he reached Shikarpur where agents of the mirs of Sind and the khans of Talpur accompanied by sayyids, scholars, and spiritual leaders (*pīrzādahs*), came forward holding the Word of God as intercession. They humbled themselves before the shah, kissing the ground, and pleaded for a reduction of the diwan arrears. Because of his respect for the Qur'an and the sayyids, scholars, and pirzadahs, the shah forgave them ten laks of rupees (1,000,000) but collected twenty laks. Beyond that sum, the agents also presented pleasing gifts such as horses with gold and silver trappings, golden filigreed rifles, swords with inlaid hilts, and fine fabrics. Also entered in the account books was the sum of an additional six laks of rupees which the Sindis had given as *ta'āruf* (get-acquainted) presents to His Highness the shah's secretaries (*munshīs*) and officials. For their part, the Sindis received robes of honor.

During this time representatives of the Maratha rajahs arrived with letters expressing regrets for past shortcomings as well as numerous gifts—three elephants, Arabian horses with gold and silver trappings, strings of pearls, bolts of embroidered cloth (*kimkhwāb*), *bādilah* cloth, golden *yaktārah*, and Deccan *dūpatahs*<sup>39</sup> (a velvet cloth) and other silk goods and fabrics. In return, they were accorded royal favors and then dismissed. From Shikarpur, the shah made his way towards Derajat, entering Kut and Multahan. There Bahawul Khan °Abbasi sent him an elephant, several horses with gold and silver-inlaid livery, a sum of cash, several hunting falcons, fine camels, and silk goods and goldware. The khan's representatives received robes of honor and were given leave to return home which they did in a pleased frame of mind.

About this time rumors began to circulate of brigands and highwaymen along the borders of the mesopotamian region subject to Bahawul Khan, Kiji and Liyah, and came to the ear of the shah. /71/ He assigned Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurza°i, °Abd al-Ghafur Khan Fufalza°i and 9,000 horsemen to rip the

<sup>39</sup> FM: *Dūpatah* is called *qaṭīfah*.

heart out of that evil group's lawlessness and instructed them to go to Attock Fort after they had exterminated that errant mob. The shah then left (Multahan). When he reached Dera Ghazi Khan, he learned in a letter from Bahawul Khan that the mesopotamian region under his jurisdiction was now being devastated by the royal army, the brigands having already fled in fear of their lives. He also stated in the letter that he would accept responsibility for suppressing that wayward band of miscreants if only the royal army would be withdrawn. The shah agreed and issued a manshur calling on Sardar Ahmad Khan and °Abd al-Ghafur Khan to return to the royal entourage.

After issuing the order, he stayed eight days more in Dera Ghazi Khan, performed the worship services and sacrifice of the °Id-i Qurban of 1221/18 February 1807, and then left. On the road, the two sardars joined the shah and together they rode into Dera Ismail Khan. There, representatives of Muhammad Khan Saduza'i, the governor and sardar of Kiji and Liyah, arrived with the revenues of those two provinces as well as gifts. They were sent away with robes of honor. From here the royal party proceeded on and eventually came to Karak and Lachi where Sayyid Ata, the qazi of Kabul and a member of the shah's retinue, received permission to visit the region's salt mines. Near one of the mines he was accosted by thieves and killed. His Highness the shah found out the same day and sent Muhammad Sharif, *ẓabt-begī*, with 1,000 horsemen to seize the murderers. When he approached that miserable band, intending to wreak vengeance on them, a group of Waziris, seeing the cloud of dust raised by the cavalry, to the everlasting shame of the Afghans now gave aid to the brigands, and proceeded to attack. Muhammad Sharif Khan assaulted them, killing many thieves and Waziris both, decapitated the dead, and carried the heads back to Shah Shuja°. The eye of His Highness the shah fell on one of the heads, that of Shayr Muhammad Khan Waziri who, as mentioned above, had formerly rendered services to the shah. The shah felt some remorse and he wrapped the head in a shawl and sent it to the deceased's home with a quantity

of gold coin. He also summoned the man's son and gave him a robe of honor and a permanent *jāygīr*. The shah then continued on to Peshawar.

Meantime, through petitions of grievance filed by the people of the city and outlying areas of Kashmir, the shah had been apprised of the tyranny and oppression of its governor, ʿAbd Allah Khan, who still owed two or three years worth of revenues. The shah appointed a collector and told him to put a stop to the governor's oppression, obtain from him the diwani revenues, and remit them to the treasury. But the governor spurned the shah's order and entered into open rebellion. When this news arrived, Shayr Muhammad Khan "Mukhtar al-Dawlah" asked the shah to let him deal with ʿAbd Allah Khan by sending him to Kashmir with a well-equipped force. The shah listened to this request with approval but as a month had passed since New Year's Day/20 March 1807 and the weather in Peshawar was hot, he moved the time for such a campaign back to the fall and returned to Kabul. After his arrival, he gave a three-month leave to the forces with him, including the Durrani, Ghilja'i, Hazarah, and Qizilbash troops who had been in service for a year, so that they could go home. They were to rejoin him after the three-month leave was up.

As some imbalance had occurred in his physical constitution, His Highness the shah then betook himself, with his officials and functionaries, to Shakar Darrah and made his summer quarters there. After recuperating, he returned to the city at the end of the summer. The furloughed army also returned and regrouped and the shah sent decrees to the people of Peshawar, Tarkalan, Khuttak, and Bajawur telling them to prepare for a campaign against Kashmir and be ready when the mighty forces from Kabul arrived.

*SENDING SHAYR MUHAMMAD KHAN "MUKHTAR AL-DAWLAH" TO  
KASHMIR TO PUNISH ʿABD ALLAH KHAN*

In 1222/1807–1808, according to the vow made in Peshawar, the shah

called on Shayr Muhammad Khan “Mukhtar al-Dawlah,” gave him a *khilʿat* and the governorship of Kashmir and sent him off with 8,000 men. As for the shah himself, he left later for Peshawar taking precautions to make sure that if the former should run into any trouble he would be near at hand and able to give him help. When he got to Peshawar, the shah set up his winter quarters. ʿAbd Allah Khan found out what was going on and prepared to repel Shayr Muhammad. He threw up breastworks (*langar*) on the banks of /72/ the Muzaffarabad River and, with numerous riflemen, secured the ford against the royal army’s crossing.

When the Mukhtar al-Dawlah arrived he paid no heed to either the waves of the river or the waves of the enemy, plowing through the former like a boat. Some of his men drowned and some were shot and killed but he made it across. Then drawing his sword, he led a charge against the enemy emplacements. The Kashmiris abandoned their fortifications and fled to the mountains but not before many of them had perished beneath the swords of (his) braves. Afterwards, the Mukhtar al-Dawlah sent the good tidings of his victory to the shah. Then, despite the extreme cold and heavy snow, he proceeded on to the district of Supurah. He was there for two days during which ʿAbd Allah Khan arrived with a well-equipped force and fought a battle. After heavy fighting, the Mukhtar al-Dawlah managed to drive ʿAbd Allah Khan from the field. The latter retreated to a strong fortress, which he had built in another district for just such a contingency. Shayr Muhammad pursued him and put the fortress under siege. He made life very difficult for the occupants of the fortress and eventually, after ʿAbd Allah Khan died of diphtheria, it was easily taken. The shah issued a formal decree conferring the governorship of Kashmir on ʿAta Muhammad Khan, the Mukhtar al-Dawlah’s son, whom he sent to Kashmir from Kabul to take over the government. The Mukhtar al-Dawlah himself was summoned by the shah for honors in recognition of the service he had performed. But because of the uprising which Prince Kamran meantime had just



staged in Qandahar, he refused to appear before Shah Shujā°.

*THE INSURRECTION OF PRINCE KAMRAN,  
THE SON OF THE IMPRISONED SHAH MAHMUD*

The details of this are as follows: Prince Kamran, who as noted above, was appointed governor of Farah—thanks to the patronage of Hajji Firuz al-Din, the governor of Herat—during the time Shah Shuja was in Peshawar, led an insurrection and marched against Qandahar. He was accompanied by Wazir Fath Khan, the men of the Barakza°i, and other Durrani. He joined battle with Prince Qaysar who had come out of the city to oppose him and defeated him. Prince Kamran then occupied Qandahar and made it his headquarters. This news soon reached Shah Shujā° in Peshawar and he straightaway marched back up the road to Kabul intent on suppressing the prince’s revolt. At Tut, the first stage on the route, where he spent a few days, he sent off several farmans to the Mukhtar al-Dawlah recalling him from Kashmir. But the latter, having already decided on a mutinous course and sensing an opportunity in Prince Kamran’s rise, refused to return. So the shah gave up on him and left Tut. When he reached Kabul, he did not stop in the city but made his headquarters at Dih Mazang. There he remained for several days preparing supplies and weapons for the campaign. He assembled a force and assigned Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurza°i to lead a large advance party made up of cavalry and gave him a robe of honor. It was agreed that the sardar would stay just two days march ahead of the royal entourage but no more. So two days after the vanguard moved out, the shah raised his banners and departed. When he reached Ghaznin and made camp, he spent ten days performing pilgrimage ceremonies (*ziyārat*) at the tombs of the saints buried there. He also sent off Muhammad Akram Khan “Amin al-Mulk” and Sardar °Abd al-Ghafur Khan Fufalza°i with 5000 cavalry to reinforce Sardar Ahmad Khan who had stopped at Qarabagh. The prince, hearing the news of the

approach of the royal army, lost heart and abandoned Qandahar.

This welcome news reached the shah in letters from Sardar Ahmad Khan, Muhammad Akram Khan, and °Abd al-Ghafur Khan. After performing prayers and circumambulation of the tombs, the shah moved out of Ghaznin. At the manzil of Shahr-i Safa, he heard from Prince Qaysar who had been defeated by Kamran and had taken refuge at the shrine (*mazār*) of Miyan Mir Muhammad. The shah then sent Sardar Ahmad Khan to bring the prince to court. The sardar did as instructed and was rewarded for his service. The prince was ordered to remain permanently at court. Even though the mother of His Highness Shah Zaman humbly pleaded that he again be given the government of Qandahar, His Highness (Shah Shuja°), in view of all the risks and foreseeing that ambitious people might lead him (Shah Zaman) astray and /73/ cause him to betray the state, refused her request. He did, however, relent on the issue of permanent residence at court and named him to the government of Kabul. Also in this period, Muhammad Akram Fufalza°i and other khans who were at court took the opportunity to ask for a pardon for Wazir Fath Khan. A petition from him in which he expressed repentance and asked forgiveness for his misdeeds was also received and read by the shah, who accepted it. He directed Muhammad Akram Khan to fetch the wazir. The wazir was brought back from Girishk and presented to the shah. Again the shah bestowed favors on him, naming him to the post held by his father. At this point, Prince Muhammad Yusuf received Qandahar and Mir °Alam Khan was named his deputy.

The shah then turned his attention to Shikarpur where a disturbance had broken out. He had not yet put his foot in the stirrup when he heard from the khans of Kabul that Shah Mahmud and the princes imprisoned in the keep of the Bala Hisar had tricked Jan Fashan Khan, their guard, on some pretext and killed him. This had been carried out at the suggestion of the Chief Preacher (*Mir Wā°iz*). Then they had opened the gates of the Bala Hisar, scattered in all directions, and were now in hiding. Shah Mahmud hid in Kabul for three days

and then escaped to Farah by way of the Hazarahjat. The other princes were caught and returned to prison. According to the author of *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, Shah Mahmud and the princes escaped with the aid of a tailor named ʿAli Muhammad who had access to Shah Mahmud. One night he managed to get them out of prison. Some escaped and others were recaptured while the shah and the tailor made for Farah. Whatever the case, Shah Shujaʿ, on hearing the news, dispatched Muhammad Aʿzam Khan *pīshkhidmat*, to Kabul to guard the Bala Hisar and stand watch over the princes. The shah then left for Shikarpur and Sind. When he entered Baluchistan, Mahmud Khan and Mustafa Khan, sons of Nasir Khan, with their mother and the permanent standing army, joined the shah’s party and presented appropriate gifts. They were honored by the shah and his retinue then proceeded from Baluchistan and entered Shikarpur. There the shah received *dīwānī* funds and accepted gifts and permanent *taʿārufāt* presents and busied himself putting the region’s affairs in order.

*THE DISTURBANCE CAUSED BY PRINCE QAYSAR  
AND SHAYR MUHAMMAD KHAN, MUKHTAR AL-DAWLAH*

The Mukhtar al-Dawlah’s rejection of the shah’s summons and Prince Qaysar’s appointment as governor of Kabul have already been noted above. At this time, while the shah was in Shikarpur engaged in administrative matters, the Mukhtar al-Dawlah saw his chance and, leaving his son to govern Kashmir, rode for Kabul. Because of the ambitions he nurtured and the envy he felt towards Muhammad Akram Khan “Amin al-Mulk” due to the latter’s influence at court, he persuaded Prince Qaysar to rebel against Shah Shujaʿ. Then (the Mukhtar al-Dawlah) ordered Khwajah Muhammad Khan Fufalzaʿi and some other khans and some of the royal forces stationed in Kabul to take Peshawar. The prince would accompany them.

Hearing that the prince and Mukhtar al-Dawlah were marching on

Peshawar, Gulistan Khan, its governor, sent the shah's harem, which was in residence there, off into the Khyber hills so as to be out of harm's way. Along with other supporters, he also sent the shah a report of what was going on. When matters were concluded in Shikarpur, the shah made for Dera Ghazi Khan where the news reached him of the open hostility of the prince and the Mukhtar al-Dawlah. When this became general knowledge, Wazir Fath Khan who was with the royal party and who had been given three laks of rupees from the treasury during the course of the campaign, turned away the face of loyalty and defected. Accompanied by the Barakza'i cavalry who had marched with the royal party, he went to Qandahar where Mir 'Alam Khan, deputy to Prince Muhammad Yunus, the viceroy, gave him reassurances, quieted his anxiety, and kept an eye on him. The shah harbored no bitterness at his flight. Marching two stages without stopping, he entered Kut. From there he continued on to Tini, a village two kuruhs from Peshawar, and made camp. Khwajah Muhammad Khan, Yahya Khan Bamiza'i, and Fayd Muhammad Khan who had come to the Peshawar region on behalf of the prince (Qaysar) learned of the arrival of the royal army at Tini and beat a hasty retreat to the prince's camp. /74/ They rejoined it at the manzil of Shabb-i Qadar which is situated in the mesopotamian region the prince intended to cross. They told the prince and Mukhtar al-Dawlah of the shah's power and might. That night Suhbat Khan Fufalza'i with the ghulam corps of Peshawar, the leaders of the Khalil and Mohmand tribes, and others deserted the prince and went over to the royal army. They told His Highness the shah of the prince's state of affairs and were treated to royal favors and robes of honor. Then the royal army marched from Tini to the immediate environs of Peshawar. Bypassing the city, they camped at the Shah 'Alam ford some four kuruhs farther on. The shah thought it inadvisable to cross because of high water and so he waited there. By manshur, he (again) called on Shayr Muhammad Khan "Mukhtar al-Dawlah" to tender his obedience. But, by virtue of an unfortunate spirit of dissension, the latter refused to enter into any pact with the

shah.

On Friday, the third day after the shah's force reached the ford, Shayr Muhammad Khan crossed the river and made camp near the territory of the Khalil tribe. The shah also crossed the river and marched from the ford and camped in the vicinity of Kut-i Ja'far Khan. The two armies met the following day and blood began to flow. But thanks to the success of Khwajah Muhammad Khan and to other courageous assaults launched by the prince's associates, the shah's forces, made up of Mohmand and Khalil tribesmen and men from the ghulam corps of Peshawar, abandoned the fray and were routed. Just at that moment however, some Durrani sardars like Madad Khan Ishaqzai, Muhammad A'zam Khan *nasaqchī-bāshī*, Muhammad Akram Khan "Amin al-Mulk" and 'Abd al-Ghafur Khan Fufalza'i, who had stood firm with banner and drum on the shah's flanks, now all retrenched and fought back, along with the shah himself and several of his personal attendants (*pīshkhidmats*). The shah struck Khwajah Muhammad Khan with his sword but because he was wearing a well-made mail shirt, he did not fall. But then he was hit with a musket ball fired by one of the shah's personal attendants and so departed on the road to the next world.

Niku Khan, a eunuch and the *qullar aqāsī* (superintendent of the slave corps), stripped the body of weapons and armor, took his horse, cut off the khwajah's head, and tossed it at the feet of His Highness the shah's mount. In like manner, Shayr Muhammad Khan "Mukhtar al-Dawlah," with his brothers and other relatives launched an attack on Sardar Madad Khan and Muhammad A'zam Khan, killing both. Hajji Mir Ahmad Khan, the Mukhtar al-Dawlah's brother, was taken prisoner and executed. Because of the way the battle was turning out, Prince Qaysar fled the field and returned to Kabul. The shah returned to Peshawar in triumph but then, although he had intended to straighten out the problems in Kashmir, left for Kabul instead. Before he arrived, Prince Qaysar spent one night in the capital and then, at the advice of the Mir Wa'iz,

took refuge in the mountains. When the shah arrived, he sent some khans after the prince. After assuaging the latter's fears, they brought him before the shah. The shah again pardoned the prince but this time issued an irrevocable order that henceforward the prince was not to reside away from the royal court nor be appointed to any governorship.

*MUHAMMAD WALI MIRZA, REGENT (WALI) OF KHURASAN,  
LEADS AN ARMY AGAINST HERAT*

The reason for the Qajar prince's campaign is this. Sometime earlier, as a result of the disorders which had beset the royal family, Husayn Khan Qajar, had seized and occupied the fortress of Ghuriyan eight farsangs from Herat at the behest of Muhammad Wali Mirza. Muhammad Wali Mirza then entrusted the fortress to Ishaq Khan Qara'i and named his nephew, Yusuf °Ali Khan, governor there. The latter had been in secret correspondence with Hajji Firuz al-Din, the governor of Herat, and was encouraging him to conquer Khurasan.

During 1222/1807–1808, Hazrat Sufi Islam, who three years before had fled in fear for his life from Beg Jan Uzbek, taken up residence at Karkh, and there won as disciples both prominent and common people of that region and of the environs of Herat. At this point, Firuz al-Din, one of his disciples, assembled a 50,000 man force from the tribal groups around Herat for a jihad. He seated Sufi Islam in a golden howdah and made him the figurehead of the army. /75/ He also placed 366 battle-ready warriors, corresponding to the number of days in a year, as a bodyguard around the howdah. He then set out from Herat, heading for Mashhad with °Abd al-Wahid Khan Barakza'i, Abdal Khan Fufalza'i *mustawfi*, Jabbar Khan Nurza'i, Mulla Ahmad Khan, leaders of the Hazarah, Jamshidi, and Taymani peoples, and Mulla Hakim Kakari. Six farsangs from Herat he made camp at Shakiban.

On the other side, Muhammad Khan Qajar, at the instructions of His

Highness Fath °Ali Shah and with leave granted by Muhammad Wali Mirza, reached the fortress of Shah Dih with a well-equipped force and made camp. On Thursday, the 22nd of Rabi° al-Sani 1222/29 June 1807, the two armies faced each other. A battle was fought and many on both sides were killed. In the end, the Iranians launched a frontal attack and surrounded the howdah carrying the Hazrat Sufi. His bodyguards fought to the death and when all had been slain, the Iranians then martyred the pure Hazrat Sufi and slashed his corpse to bits. Not content with that, however, they also built a fire and burned him to ashes. Six thousand of the participants in the jihad made their way to Paradise while 150 of the valourous ghazi leaders including Abdal Khan Fufalza°i, Gadu Khan, Mahmud Khan, and the brother of Yalangtush Khan also turned their faces towards eternity. Three thousand of the men and 200 of their leaders survived but were captured by the Iranians. Among these were °Abd al-Ghiyath Khan Fufalza°i, Barkhurdar Khan Ishaqza°i and another brother of Yalangtush Khan Jamshidi. In short, the ghazis were handed utter defeat and their goods, arms, and artillery fell into the hands of the Iranians.

Muhammad Khan Qajar now boldly made his army headquarters outside Herat City and put it under siege. Hajji Firuz al-Din agreed to a negotiated settlement largely because of the disastrous jihad. He sent two years worth of kharaj-revenues to Muhammad Khan and also ransomed the prisoners with cash. According to the *Tārīkh-i Sulṭānī*, the siege lasted forty days. During it such prominent Heratis as the brother of Ishaq Khan Qa°ini, Muhammad Khan *beglarbegi* Hazarah, Qilij Khan Taymuri, Mir °Alam Khan Qa°ini, and Mir Hasan Khan Tabasi conferred and decided to try and keep the Qajar hand of occupation off the city of Herat by whatever means possible. After reaching agreement among themselves, they forced Hajji Firuz al-Din to agree to their plan to offer an elephant, 100 bolts of Kashmiri shawl-cloth, and 100,000 rupees cash and to send his own son, Prince Malik Husayn, as a hostage in order to get free of the strictures of the siege. Subsequently, Muhammad Khan (Qajar)

returned to Mashhad and sometime in Jumada al-Awwal (July 1807) set foot in its holy precincts. He then sent on to Fath °Ali Shah 500 lance heads, the kharaj-revenues of Herat, and various gifts which Hajji Firuz al-Din had sent him, all accompanied by Prince Malik Husayn. The prince reached the shah's camp at Chaman-i Sultaniyah and was received with full honors and then given leave to return home.

*THE DISTURBANCES CAUSED BY SHAH MAHMUD  
AND HIS BEING DRIVEN TO FLIGHT*

The circumstances of Shah Mahmud's escape from the Bala Hisar prison, his taking up residence at Farah, (Wazir) Fath Khan 's escape from Dera Ghazi Khan, and his residence at Qandahar under the vigilant eye of Mir °Alam Khan, deputy to Prince Muhammad Yunus, all of which was narrated above, created a good deal of trouble. At Qandahar, Fath Khan soon made himself the prince's favorite and turned the prince (Muhammad Yunus) against Mir °Alam Khan. Fath Khan acquired such a hold over the prince that the latter took him into his own house and then invited Shah Mahmud to come to Qandahar from Farah. Mir °Alam Khan learned of this scheme but as he had no way to counter it, he came back to Kabul bringing his own infantry and cavalry troops.

With Qandahar vacated by his rival, Fath Khan now brought Shah Mahmud to the city. He coerced the merchants of the city into making cash loans, whether they were willing to or not, and (with the money) he made preparations for war and marched towards Kabul. For his part, His Highness Shah Shuja° exited Kabul with a revenge-minded force to drive off Shah Mahmud. He made his first camp at Dih Mazang and then on the third day (after leaving the city) set off on the road to Ghaznin where he spent a day visiting tombs before continuing on. When the shah's army camped at Pul-i Sangi, Shah Mahmud had just reached Bagh-i Babru which lay one *kurūh* away from Shah Shuja°s camp.



Thanks to messages of support from khans who were with Shah Mahmud but were loyal to him, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> /76/ was encouraged to stand firm.

Meantime, Nur Muhammad Khan Baduza<sup>o</sup>i abandoned Shah Mahmud, taking his banner and his followers to join the shah. Consequently, the power of Shah Mahmud and Wazir Fath Khan evaporated and they retreated to Farah where they again tried to establish themselves. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> marched into Qandahar and, after resting from the rigors of the trip, decided that since trouble was always flaring up in Farah and Herat he ought to seal up that breach. And so off he went in that direction. When Hajji Firuz al-Din learned of His Highness the shah's march towards Farah and Herat, he sent him a copy of the Holy Quran as intercession along with fine gifts and a letter replete with expressions of regret and repentance. The text of the letter was to the effect that if the shah intended to occupy Herat and make him a wandering vagrant, then there was no need for him to come all the way to Herat. He would be happy to turn the city over to the shah's representatives and come himself to kiss the royal foot. If, in light of the actions of Shah Mahmud, his uterine brother, he is shut away from the shah's compassion, then he would spend his days in exile in the desert of adversity. But if Herat is occupied by the supporters of the state and one of the servants of the state will be named its governor then he (the shah) should consider him as one of those servants of the state. He would be steadfast in following instructions and would always show gratitude for the favors His Highness Timur Shah had shown his father and his own posterity would be grateful (for the favors shown him). As a token of appreciation for such bounty, he would stand as guarantor for his brother Shah Mahmud so that the latter would never be the source of trouble and dissension again.

The shah agreed to his proposal, conferred the governorship of Herat on him along with one lak of rupees from its revenues, and returned to Qandahar where he named Prince Muhammad Yusuf as viceroy. Since his thoughts were occupied with wresting control of Kashmir away from <sup>c</sup>Ata Muhammad Khan,

he appointed Muhammad A<sup>°</sup>zam Khan *nasaqchī-bāshī* and Mir <sup>°</sup>Alam Khan to serve Prince Muhammad Yusuf and then returned to Kabul where, after a stay of a few days, he decamped for Peshawar.

*THE MARCH OF THE ROYAL ENTOURAGE TO PESHAWAR WITH THE  
INTENTION OF REGAINING KASHMIR*

When the shah revealed his plan to go to Peshawar, he notified the leaders of the Mohmand, Khalil, BajaWur, and Khuttak tribal groups by manshur-decree, ordering them to present themselves in Jalalabad for a military review with all their foot and mounted troops whence they would march to Kashmir. The royal entourage left Kabul and camped for a few days in the Chahar Bagh in Jalalabad. After assembling the khans and soldiers from these tribal groups and reviewing the troops, he went on to Peshawar.

Simultaneous with the royal arrival, which corresponded to the Iranian siege of Herat, the shah learned in messages from <sup>°</sup>Abbas Khan Bahawulpuri, Muzaffar Khan Multani, and others that Mountstuart Elphinstone and Richard Strachey (*Astarjī*) and several other British officials had arrived at the borders of (Multan) and planned to see the shah as an official delegation. Should their arrival meet the shah's approval (the letters stated) and he not forbid it, then, of course, they would act according to his sublime command. Otherwise, if he thought that the arrival of these Englishmen was deceptive and duplicitous and connected with the siege of Herat, then they would not allow them to pass. The shah, not knowing what lay hidden in the minds of the English, gave permission for them to proceed and ordered that everyone should provide a courteous and respectful passage for them through his own area so that they could reach Peshawar without suffering any harm.

*THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH ENVOYS AND THE DISPATCH*

*OF PRINCE MANSUR TO KASHMIR*

When the shah reached Peshawar and began to prepare the equipment for his campaign, he first ordered his troops to assemble at the village of Chamkani. He then went out to the village, reviewed the troops, and assigned Prince Mansur with Muhammad Akram Khan Amin al-Mulk, Sardar Madad Khan Ishaqza'i, and other Durrani and Qizilbash khans to lead a force of 12,000 troopers to Kashmir. The shah himself returned to the palace (*dawlatkhānah*) in the Bala Hisar in Peshawar. There he was told that the British embassy had reached Kuhat whereupon he sent a number of his most perceptive and intelligent attendants to welcome them. He also instructed Muhammad Akram Khan "Amin al-Mulk" /77/ first to receive the envoys of the great English government of the English and then rejoin the army heading for Kashmir. The latter thereupon left the army camp and performed welcoming ceremonies with the others (assigned by the shah). He escorted (the Englishmen) into the shah's presence and then departed to rejoin the Kashmir-bound army.

The envoys were granted the privilege of an audience with the shah and they presented him with such gifts as muskets, double- and six-barreled pistols, watches, telescopes, full-length mirrors, crystal dishes, and music boxes, the like of which had never been seen by anyone in this region up to this time. They also gave him two elephants with howdahs worked in red gold and white silver and a gold-embroidered topcoat all of which they had brought on behalf of the king of England. All of these items were of royal quality. The Europeans, in turn, were given ceremonial robes and polite and courteous attendants were appointed as their hosts. It was emphasized to these hosts that they should do all they could to render service to the British and do nothing which was contrary to their natures or caused them distress.

*THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT AND A COPY OF THE TREATY*

When the British emissaries had rested from the rigors of their journey, discussions were held about an alliance between the two nations. Through the offices of Messrs. Elphinstone and Strachey, the two English agents, the threads of friendship and harmony were closely interwoven and a protocol was drafted which read:

Because of the manifestation of the preliminary signs of friendship by the French (*qawm-i parsīs*) towards the ruler of Iran with the aim of bringing turmoil to the territories of the great government of the Durrani ruler and thence to the territories of the British which are annexed to the country of India, the great amir, Mr. Elphinstone Bahadur, has been appointed in this regard to draw up, in consultation with representatives of the magnificent padshah of Kabul, an arrangement for the protection of the territories of the two states from any harm caused by the disorders planned by the French and Qajar peoples. For this purpose he (Elphinstone) had come to the court of the estimable shah to lay before him these amiable plans on behalf of the noblest of amirs, Lord Minto Bahadur governor-general, the one in charge of all financial, civil, and military affairs in the British territories of India.

The shah himself, seeing some advantages in an accord of friendship and cordiality and perceiving what was best, ordered his officials to interrogate the aforementioned ambassador. Then, having determined the advantage to, and welfare of, both sides, they should make a binding pact of friendship, perfumed and sealed with the unanimity of the two mighty nations. In this manner, a treaty containing a number of stipulations was drafted, approved, and sealed with the shah's own seal by his officials and the aforementioned British envoy. The latter

sent a copy to the governor-general for his seal and signature. The stipulations set forth in it were approved by him without change or alteration of the intent or meaning. In fact, several copies of the treaty (as detailed below), signed and sealed by the (governor-general) as well as by the amirs who were involved in such affairs, were sent back (to Peshawar). Those obligations, the fulfillment of which would be necessary and requisite for all time as a solemn duty on the leaders of both these two nations, in good times or bad, are here extracted and defined for the sake of the sense and meaning of the words written in the codicil (*zayl*) of the agreement : /78/

- 1) First, if the French and Qajars should combine in league against the Durrani nation, the servants of the (Afghan) throne will block their path should they attempt to cross into Afghan dominions and, as long as it is in their power, will prevent their passage towards British India.
- 2) If the French and Qajars, according to the terms of their mutual alliance, should march on the padishah's domains, the officials of the English nation will not fail to oppose them nor excuse themselves from the expenses connected with such an endeavor. And whenever the agreement of mutual alliance between the French and Qajars is not in effect, still these two items written above are in effect and exist for both parties (Afghan and British).
- 3) Friendship and concord being always in effect between these two governments, the veil of alienation should be lifted from between them and they should never interfere in any way in each other's domains. And the (Afghan) padshah should admit no Frenchman into his territory. Only.

When the representatives of the two nations had drafted the treaty in this way and the two sides had come to a firm agreement, these protocols were fully

engrossed on June 17, 1809 (sic), corresponding to 2 Jumada al-Awwal 1222/8 July 1807 and signed and sealed by the shah and the other amirs who participated in the proceedings.

Meanwhile, Prince Mansur, Muhammad Akram Khan “Amin al-Mulk” and the others sent to Kashmir with the army crossed the Muzaffarabad River and took control of the mountains of Kashmir up to the Chinese (Kitay) and Bilbasah borders. An enemy force built defense works at the top of a mountain pass which the army had to traverse. When the force assaulted the entrenchments, the defenders were routed, many were killed, and the position seized. It was at this moment, when the breeze of victory was just blowing across the banner of the heroic soldiers, that some matter or other became a point of contention between Muhammad Akram Khan and Sardar Madad Khan. The latter, in the middle of the night, left the camp and returned to the shah (in Peshawar). The very next morning, Muhammad Akram too headed for Peshawar together with the other people accompanying the prince. Muhammad Akram crossed the Muzaffarabad River only with extreme difficulty and reached Peshawar in a state of total disarray, all his arms, supplies, and the horses of his colleagues having been lost. Seeing the army disintegrate this way, the prince was forced to abandon the battle that had already been won, because of the dissension between the two sardars, and return to Peshawar.

*MIR ‘ALAM KHAN’S DISAGREEMENT WITH MUHAMMAD A‘ZAM KHAN  
AND SHAH MAHMUD ‘S COMING TO QANDAHAR AS A CONSEQUENCE  
OF THEIR DISAGREEMENT*

During these events, hostilities developed between Mir ‘Alam Khan and Muhammad A‘zam Khan, the former conspiring with the supporters of Shah Mahmud to bring him and Wazir Fath Khan to Qandahar. Prince Muhammad Yusuf and Muhammad A‘zam Khan consequently abandoned the city, and went

to Peshawar through the Derahjat where they explained to the shah how the situation had come about. One day, Muhammad A°zam Khan, alone in his house doing something or other, closed the front gate, stationed a doorkeeper, and gave him clear orders not to allow anyone in to disturb him. Mir °Alam Khan had come to see him on some matter but the guard forbade him entering. He became enraged, struck the guard in the mouth with his fist, knocking out his two front teeth, and then forced his way in.

Outwardly, he (Mir °Alam Khan) said nothing of the incident but inwardly he seethed and later began to speak ill of Muhammad A°zam Khan to his friends. Moreover, now aware that Muhammad A°zam Khan would on occasion go into seclusion, Mir °Alam Khan laid plans to destroy him. In secret, he invited Mulla Muhammad Sa°id, who was a relative of and deeply loyal to Wazir Fath Khan, to come and see him and told him of his own aspirations. He then sent the mulla off to Wazir Fath Khan with a message to bring Shah Mahmud from Farah to Qandahar. Shah Mahmud and Wazir Fath Khan, who had kept hoping for just such a turn of events, were delighted at Mir °Alam Khan's message and without hesitation set off for Qandahar with their Barakza'i supporters.

Mir °Alam Khan, who was in collusion with them, went out of the city with 6,000 men on the pretext of defending it against them and made camp at Sanjari. Shah Mahmud, however, now suspected that perhaps Mir °Alam Khan had lured them (from Farah) deceitfully and so sent the messenger, Mulla Muhammad Sa°id, to bring Mir °Alam alone so that he would know if his words were true or false depending on whether he came or not. Since his words were sincere, /79/ he went to Shah Mahmud and professed his loyalty as soon as Mulla Muhammad Sa°id reached him. He relieved Shah Mahmud's anxiety and then, calling up his army, he put himself and it at Shah Mahmud's disposal.

Prince Yusuf and Muhammad A°zam Khan at this point escaped to Peshawar and related all this to the shah (Shah Shuja°). When he heard it, he

was outraged and began to prepare his army. For his part, Shah Mahmud occupied Qandahar, after making an alliance with Mir °Alam Khan and after the flight of the prince and Muhammad A°zam Khan. He named Fath Khan wazir as before, and Mulla Muhammad Sa°id as chief justice (*qāẓī al-quḏāt*). Wazir Fath Khan gave his half-sister (a daughter by another wife of his father), a uterine sister of Sardar Shirdil Khan, to Mir °Alam Khan in marriage. But despite this close tie, a rivalry soon developed between the two men. Mir °Alam Khan had had hopes of achieving prominence by bringing Shah Mahmud to Qandahar, had wanted the wazirate himself, and was disappointed when it was given to Fath Khan. But Shah Mahmud was loyal to Wazir Fath Khan in view of all the services he had rendered and he therefore put Mir °Alam Khan under arrest. Then, after naming Prince Ayyub to the government of Qandahar and Asad Khan, Fath Khan's brother, as his deputy, Shah Mahmud left for Kabul with Wazir Fath Khan, taking along Mir °Alam Khan who was kept in custody. The shah occupied Kabul and then marched against Peshawar. Meanwhile Shah Shuja° had left Peshawar with a well-equipped army to stop Shah Mahmud. He made camp at Bagh-i °Ali Mardan, dismissed the British envoys, then packed up his harem and sent it, along with the royal coffers and the state treasurer, Abu Hasan Khan, to Attock Fort. Shah Mahmud, meantime, camped at the manzil of Jagdalak. Shah Shuja° now marched from Bagh-i °Ali Mardan with a vengeance-minded force intent on confronting Shah Mahmud and giving him a sound thrashing.

#### *THE BATTLE OF NIMLAH AND THE DEFEAT OF SHAH SHUJA°*

Shah Mahmud proceeded on from Jagdallak. At Surkh Pul he had Mir °Alam Khan, who was still under arrest, put to death. This came at the suggestion of Wazir Fath Khan who had won over the Qizilbash of Kabul as allies. Mir °Alam was executed at a place now known as Mir °Alam-i Kushtah



(Mir °Alam the Slain). Wazir Fath Khan, pursuing a scheme of his own devising, opened friendly correspondence with amirs in Shah Shuja°s retinue and by means of cash gifts induced them to abandon their loyalty to Shah Shuja°. One of those suborned was the man in charge of the force sent in advance of the army. Persuaded by a large bribe, he agreed to march three stages, instead of one, ahead of the main army without stopping so that the force would be exhausted and in disarray.

Shah Shuja°, unaware of Wazir Fath Khan's scheme, sent four thousand men as the advance force from Jumrud under Sardar Madad Khan and Muhammad A°zam Khan. His orders to them were to reach Nimlah in four days. They decamped and then halted when they reached the manzil of °Ali Bighan. Shah Shuja° now heard from Muhammad A°zam Khan *nasaqchī bāshī*, that Madad Khan fears for his life because of his betrayal of and flight from Prince Mansur in Kashmir and he says that the shah will punish him after he takes care of Shah Mahmud. He has thus made common cause with the enemy for it is well-known from the mouths of his own servants that he is in constant correspondence with Shah Mahmud and his supporters, who tell him that he should come as quickly as possible and assist him (Shah Mahmud) in achieving his goal.

Shah Shuja°, now informed by Muhammad A°zam of Madad Khan's treachery, sent the latter a written order not to advance beyond where he was and to stay there until the shah's own party could arrive. Madad Khan, learning of the swift approach of the shah's retinue and before this order arrived, moved the army from °Ali Bighan that same day. Either out of fear or because he had made common cause with Wazir Fath Khan, he bypassed Jalalabad, traveling twenty-four kuruhs, before making camp at Nimlah. There he sent a messenger to Shah Mahmud and Wazir Fath Khan that they should come to Nimlah with their forces. They had nothing to be afraid of because Shah Shuja° and his army would not arrive for another three days.

Following the execution of Mir °Alam Khan at Surkh Pul and the arrival of this news, Shah Mahmud now saw victory within his grasp and he made camp at Gandamak. Madad Khan /80/ came out of Nimlah on the pretext of defending it, made a pact with Shah Mahmud, and then in a kind of mock battle, fired his guns in the general direction of Shah Mahmud's army and returned to Nimlah. From there he notified Shah Shuja° that the advance force has had an encounter at Gandamak and it has now retreated to Nimlah anxiously awaiting the arrival of the royal retinue.

Shah Shuja° received this message while en route from °Ali Bighan to Chahar Bagh. Although he knew of Madad Khan's disloyalty, still, because of the latter's allegedly difficult straits, he immediately dispatched Muhammad Akram Khan "Amin al-Mulk," and °Abd al-Ghafur Khan with the horsemen under their banners to help Madad Khan, informing them that he would follow hard on their heels. But before this relief force could arrive, Madad Khan bolted with his 4,000 horsemen and put himself under Shah Mahmud's flag. Muhammad Akram Khan and °Abd al-Ghafur Khan, who were coming to assist him, now arrived on the scene. The former immediately set off in pursuit of Madad Khan with 500 horsemen. Unexpectedly encountering Fath Khan he fired a shot at the wazir which missed but struck and killed one of his men. Infuriated, Fath Khan struck off Muhammad Akram's head with his sword and then raised it in the air on the tip of his lance. °Abd al-Ghafur was also captured and killed. With the deaths of these two sardars, defeat descended on their force. Its soldiers had just turned to flee when Shah Shuja° arrived. Realizing his luck had run out, he escaped towards the foothills of the Safid Kuh and made his way back to Peshawar under the worst possible circumstances. Shah Mahmud seized Shah Shuja's artillery, arms, and military supplies and triumphantly entered Jalalabad from where he assigned his son, Prince Kamran, to make for Peshawar with a band of cavalry.

When the news of this spread, Abu'l-Hasan Khan, Shah Shuja's treasurer,

and Mulla Ja'far, both of whom were with the royal harem in Attock Fort, perfidiously appropriated the cash and jewels in their charge, abandoned the ladies of the harem, and rode to Lahore where they offered their services to Ranjit Singh, who had been named governor there by His Highness Shah Zaman.

Because of Prince Kamran's approach, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> realized he did not have the wherewithal to remain in Peshawar and so, on a Friday, after performing the Friday worship, he mounted a horse and set out for the land of the Khattak. But because of an exceptionally heavy rain, streams were at flood stage and the river between Bidah Bir and Tini was so full as to make crossing inadvisable. The shah spurred his horse into the water anyway, but since the water was up to the pommel of his saddle, he forbade his companions from attempting a crossing and he forded the river by himself, spending the night alone in Tini. The next day, the rest of his entourage crossed the river, although a number were drowned in the attempt. From Tini, he rode to Kuhat whence, by way of Bungash and Hazar Dirakht, he reached Muqur, in bitter disappointment. From there he turned the face of despair towards Qandahar.

En route, at a *manzil* called Tazi, there was an incident. Nur Muhammad Khan, who nursed a secret grudge against Muhammad A<sup>c</sup>zam Khan, crept up on him in the dead of night, plunged a dagger between his shoulder blades, and killed him. He himself then escaped into the mountains of that region. The next morning, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> sent the body to Ghaznin and paid 4,000 rupees out of his own pocket for the winding sheet and the burial. He then continued on to Qandahar.

Meantime, Prince Kamran reached Peshawar, appointed Sardar Ata Muhammad Khan, the son of Sardar Payandah Khan, as governor and then rejoined his father (in Jalalabad). Subsequently, Shah Mahmud retraced his steps to Kabul. He appointed Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan governor of Jalalabad.

*THE SHAH (SHUJA<sup>c</sup>) OCCUPIES QANDAHAR  
BUT AGAIN LOSES IT*

As Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> approached Qandahar, Prince Ayyub, son of His (late) Highness Timur Shah, who held the city in the name of Shah Mahmud, came out and attacked the shah. He was accompanied by Nawwab Asad Khan, his deputy, and Prince Muhammad Yunus Khan, son of Shah Zaman. In the midst of the fighting, Prince Muhammad Yunus defected from Prince Ayyub to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>. In addition, some of the leading amirs—Shah Pasand Khan Ishaqzai, Gulistan Khan (Achakzai), and Bustan Khan Achakzai, all three of whom were angry at Shah Mahmud's arrest and execution of Mir <sup>c</sup>Alam Khan—went over to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s side. /81/ When this betrayal occurred, Prince Ayyub and Asad Khan's ability to continue the fight dissipated and they withdrew from the battlefield, heading for Kabul.

Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> entered Qandahar and began equipping an army. He took money and goods from the Hindu and Muslim merchants of the city on loan and prepared supplies for 3,000 horsemen. He was in the midst of assembling this force when Shah Mahmud with Prince Kamran, Sardar Purdil Khan, Wazir Fath Khan, and 6,000 troopers reached the manzil of Jakan en route to Qandahar.

Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> took up a defensive position, the two sides met and twice Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> broke Shah Mahmud's army, killing several of its leaders. On his side, Gulistan Khan was killed. During the battle Salu Khan Ishqzai, who had broken with Shah Mahmud because of the execution of Mir <sup>c</sup>Alam Khan, joined Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, and been given the rank of (commander of) 700 horse as well as a banner and drum, now rejoined Shah Mahmud's army with his cavalry force. On hearing this news, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> realized that the star of his fortune was setting and so he rode off to Arghistan and Qandahar (again) came under Shah Mahmud's control. Prince Kamran was given its government and Shah Mahmud

returned to Kabul.

Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> spent one night in Arghistan and then went on to the Derahjat by way of Ghuwaysiri and Waziri. He crossed the Attock River and reached northern Bikchi and Liyah, lands subject to Muhammad Khan Saduza<sup>i</sup>, where he was received with honors and given a riding elephant, numerous tents, dishes, carpets, gold and silver coins, and gold-brocade and silk goods. Muhammad Khan also invited the shah to move his harem, which had gone from Attock to Rawalpindi, from Rawalpindi to Dera Ghazi Khan. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> postponed fulfilling this request until the right moment. He went to Rawalpindi, spent fifteen days there and then decided to take his harem to Multan and make it his residence.

The harem had not yet departed when a letter arrived from Ranjit Singh in Sai Wal informing them that when they crossed the borders of the latter place, it would greatly please him to meet them. In accordance with the message, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> left Rawalpindi for Sai Wal. Ranjit Singh deemed his arrival a great honor and presented appropriate gifts. In return, the shah gave him several precious gem stones. As it was the shah's intention to continue on to Multan, Ranjit Singh offered to accompany his party there. If the governor of Multan attempted to bar Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> he (Ranjit) would punish him and conquer the territory on Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s behalf. Thinking that Ranjit Singh perhaps would enter Multan under the guise of escorting him and then seize it for himself, the shah made some excuse and gave up the idea of going to Multan. He then bade Ranjit Singh farewell and returned to Rawalpindi to re-establish residence there.

*THE SECOND REIGN OF HIS HIGHNESS SHAH MAHMUD AND WAZIR  
FATH KHAN'S APPOINTMENTS OF HIS BROTHERS AS GOVERNORS*

When Shah Mahmud again ascended the throne, Wazir Fath Khan, who had acquired the reputation of a Hatim-i Tayy because of his extreme generosity,

made the Durrani and Qizilbash people sing his praises. From this point on, he took his responsibilities with all due seriousness and set about establishing a good name for himself. Shah Mahmud deemed him fully competent in administrative matters and put all governmental affairs into his hands including the right of proxy over his own private affairs. For the wazir's part, he gradually elevated the position of advisor (*wizārat*) to that of commander (*imārat*) first by his perspicacity and shrewdness and then because Shah Mahmud was a playboy and indifferent to state affairs. As it turned out, the wazir appointed each of his brothers as governor of a major city and province: Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan to Peshawar to replace Sardar °Ata Muhammad Khan; °Abd al-Jabbar Khan with the title "nawwab" to the district of the Derahjat; and in similar fashion to Ghaznin, Qandahar Jalalabad, Lamqan, and Kuhistan-i Kabul, one brother after another.

Some of the khans like Baluch Khan Achakza°i, Yahya Khan Bamiza°i, and Dilasa Khan Ishaqza°i, who together accounted for some 1,000 horsemen, were distressed by Shah Mahmud and Wazir Fath Khan's policies, and now defected to Shah Shuja° in Rawalpindi. Their arrival led Shah Shuja° to consider himself powerful once again and he launched a campaign to bring the Derahjat under his control.

In the meantime, Ghulam Ahmad Khan /82/ the son of Shayr Muhammad Khan "Mukhtar al-Dawlah" who had fallen out with his brother, °Ata Muhammad Khan, the governor of Kashmir, and was living among the Yusufza°is, came to Shah Shuja° and begged forgiveness for himself because his brother had been disloyal to the shah. The shah did not hold the misdeeds of his brother against him, but reassured him and treated him well. Because of his arrival, the shah changed his mind about a campaign to the Derahjat and instead decided to conquer Peshawar. Ghulam Ahmad Khan, notwithstanding the fact that his brother had wronged him, now wrote him out of brotherly regard and requested he send 1,000 horsemen so that Shah Shuja° would become pleased

with him again and the resentment occasioned by his disobedience would be assuaged. So ʿAta Muhammad Khan sent 1,000 horsemen, who together with Ghulam Ahmad Khan and his men, now joined the shah's force. With that, the shah embarked for Peshawar.

*THE SHAH'S PLANS FOR BATTLE WITH SARDAR MUHAMMAD ʿAZIM  
KHAN AND THE SARDAR'S RETREAT*

Intent on taking Peshawar, Shah Shujaʿ laid plans for crossing the Attock River. He heard from people who had (recently) travelled through that region that the ford at Bazarak was an easy crossing. Giving them a few pieces of gold for the information, he made the crossing at that point, camped in the district of the Khattak clan, and made his headquarters there. Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan, the governor of Peshawar, accompanied by his brother, Purdil Khan, and a sizeable army, marched out to stop the shah and set up camp at Chamkani. The next day the shah advanced to Naw Shahrah. Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan also moved forward to the village of Pir Pani. At this point the two armies were only three kuruhs apart. They postponed battle for a few days during which time some people of base nature, in the hope of gaining a loaf of bread, each day abandoned Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan and joined Shah Shujaʿ. When these were rewarded with cash and ceremonial robes, most, if not all, of the (sardar's) army then abandoned him for the shah. Consequently, the sardar was unable to put up a resistance and decided to retreat to Kabul. Shah Shujaʿ entered Peshawar and took control of the city. He worked at straightening out its administrative problems until the end of summer, four months later.

Despite Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan's decamping, Shah Mahmud still treated him kindly, named him to lead a force of khans and soldiers of the ghulam corps of Kabul and ordered him back to Peshawar.

*SARDAR MUHAMMAD °AZIM'S BATTLE WITH SHAH SHUJA°  
IN PESHAWAR AND HIS VICTORY*

When Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan made camp at Jumrud on his way back to Peshawar, Shah Shuja° came out of the city to stop him. The shah set up his camp at Tih-i Kal and the next day the two armies met. Shah Shuja°'s infantrymen had set up an ambush at his instruction. When Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan 's forces attacked, the ambushers leapt out and poured musket fire into their ranks. Some 300 of his horsemen perished but despite those losses, Muhammad °Azim's braves held fast. Swords drawn, they attacked and killed one of Shah Shuja°'s allies, Bahadur Khan Hashtnigari, and drove his men from the field. Shah Shuja°, seeing the situation now turn perilous, retreated towards Attock Fort with the defeated remnants of his army. He did not stop there very long but went on to Rawalpindi. Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan triumphantly re-entered Peshawar, settled in, and (again) began to govern it. /83/

*HAJJI FIRUZ AL-DIN'S ATTEMPT TO REGAIN CONTROL OF GHURIYAN  
BUT IN VAIN*

During the above struggles, Hajji Firuz al-Din, much encouraged by the rise to power of his brother Shah Mahmud, embarked on a campaign to retrieve Ghuriyan. He also renounced payment by Herat of the kharaj-tax to Iran, which had been agreed to at the time of the killing of Sufi Islam. The Qajar prince, Muhammad Wali Mirza, governor of Mashhad, thereupon marched against Herat with an army. He rode as far as Pul-i Nuqrah, three farsangs from Herat where he made camp. He put Hajji Firuz al-Din into increasingly tight straits until the latter was compelled to send the kharaj to the prince. He also sent his son, Prince Malik Husayn, who, on the first occasion, had been sent on to Fath °Ali Shah and then allowed to return. Satisfied, the Qajar prince informed the



court of the outcome and then returned to Mashhad.

*PEOPLE GATHER AROUND SHAH SHUJA<sup>°</sup> AND HIS OCCUPATION OF  
PESHAWAR*

After Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup> retreated to Rawalpindi, he was approached there by elders and (members of) the ghulam corps of Peshawar as well as other people living in the city and its suburbs, including maliks of the Khalil and Mohmand tribes. They came to him because of the oppression and injustice they were suffering at the hands of Wazir Fath Khan's brothers. Unable to get redress they now petitioned the shah to occupy Peshawar. Meantime, Jahandad Khan, a brother of <sup>°</sup>Ata Muhammad Khan, the wali of Kashmir, Samandar Khan Bamiza<sup>°</sup>i, Nur Muhammad Khan Fufalza<sup>°</sup>i, and Musa Khan Alikuza<sup>°</sup>i offered (Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup>) their support. Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup> was encouraged by both the petitions and the arrival of these sardars and embarked on a campaign against Peshawar. First he entered Hasan-i Abdal where he intended to muster his forces and then march into battle. But Jahandad Khan said to him, "Here are three thousand battle-ready horsemen. Lest their weapons be dulled by delay, the best thing is to move speedily towards the goal." Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup> found his words agreeable and proceeded on to Bidih Bir.

Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad <sup>°</sup>Azim Khan and his brother, <sup>°</sup>Ata Muhammad Khan, came out of Peshawar to defend it and halted facing the shah's camp. Despite the fact that there was a deep ravine separating the two sides, fighting erupted and a fierce struggle ensued. At the battle's height, a small musket ball hit Sardar <sup>°</sup>Ata Muhammad Khan in the mouth, wounding him. On Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup>'s side, Musa Khan was mortally wounded by a bullet in the chest. The tumult of the conflict lasted from daybreak until evening with many on both sides being killed or wounded. Because of the wounding of Sardar <sup>°</sup>Ata Muhammad Khan, his brother, Sardar Muhammad <sup>°</sup>Azim Khan, retired to

Peshawar. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> too withdrew, after gathering up his dead and wounded. At midnight he reached the tomb of Shaykh Rahimgah—on him be God's mercy—and stopped there, continuing on the next morning to Attock Fort. Several days later he returned to Rawalpindi and once again took up residence.

He remained there for a year during which time some hypocritical khans who had become disenchanted with Shah Mahmud joined Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> bringing 1,000 horsemen. Also <sup>c</sup>Ata Muhammad Khan, the governor of Kashmir, sent Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> an army under the command of an advisor of his, Nand Ram. Now with a force of 2,500 foot and mounted men, the shah again cast covetous eyes on Peshawar and marched (from Rawalpindi) with Ghulam Ahmad Khan, a brother of <sup>c</sup>Ata Muhammad, making camp at Maydan-i Nachah. Sardar Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Azim Khan again advanced to repel the threat, sending an advance force of 400 regular horsemen under Mustafa Khan, a retainer of his. He himself followed right behind. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s companions met Mustafa Khan (and his men) and put them to the sword. /84/ A few were spared but the slain were decapitated by the shah's followers who returned in triumph and dumped the heads at his feet. As a consequence, Sardar Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Azim Khan's resolve was shattered and he bolted for Kabul via the Kuhat road. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> occupied Peshawar and there undertook preparations for another campaign.

*SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup> SENDS PRINCE HAYDAR OFF WITH ORDERS TO GET RID  
OF NAWWAB <sup>c</sup>ABD AL-JABBAR KHAN*

A month after the shah entered Peshawar, by which time its affairs were for the most part well in hand, he sent Prince Haydar to the Derahjat with <sup>c</sup>Ata Muhammad Khan and 1,000 horsemen to expel Nawwab <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbar Khan from Dera Ghazi Khan and to seize control of that district. When they neared Dera Ghazi Khan, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbar Khan came out to meet them with a force of foot and mounted soldiers and artillery. The two sides clashed, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbar

Khan withdrew, and then attacked again. During the fight, several hundred of the prince's cavalry abandoned him and went over to 'Abd al-Jabbar. Consequently, the prince retreated and by letter informed the shah of what had happened. The shah thereupon summoned him home and he returned, defeated and disappointed.

*SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup> SETS HIS SIGHTS ON KABUL BUT IS PUT IN CHAINS  
BEFORE HE CAN MARCH*

Since Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> was firmly committed to a campaign against Kabul, Prince Haydar's defeat and return did not alter his resolve. He put the army's worn-out horses out to pasture on Khalil, Mohmand, and the mesopotamian lands so that after their strength was built up again, they could be brought back and the march on Kabul begun. The shah also dismissed many of the khans who were in attendance on him to return to their own homes and outfit themselves for the campaign.

During this time, while Peshawar was empty of any loyal soldiers, the governor of Kashmir, 'Ata Muhammad Khan, saw fortune favoring his plans and, through his brother, Jahandad Khan, as well as Nand Ram Hindu, Samandar Khan Bamiza<sup>o</sup>i, Nur Muhammad Khan (Fufalza<sup>o</sup>i) and other ill-advised malcontents, seduced most of the army and the populace with promises of gold and urged them to seize hold of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> by any means they could and send him to Attock Fort. They joined in a conspiracy (against the shah) and wrote a fraudulent letter to the shah asking him to review their cavalry troops in order to choose participants for the Kabul campaign. Unaware of the plot, the shah agreed. Through Jahandad Khan's and Samandar Khan's offices he reviewed and inspected the khans' cavalry forces one by one. Towards that end they asked him to hold a review of the entire army drawn up in battle formations, saying it would be good for him to inspect each of the troops. He

had not yet answered yes or no to the request when, using the review as an excuse for being there, they all marched in to the palace of the Bala Hisar and arrested the shah. He was placed in the custody of Jahandad Khan who sent him to Attock Fort. Later, he was moved from there and handed over to ʿAta Muhammad Khan in Kashmir who incarcerated him in a fortress located on Kuh-i Maran.

Despite having put the shah behind bars, he would go to see him from time to time, apologize for his disloyalty and falsely offer reassurances. He also kept asking the shah for the Kuh-i Nur diamond which had come into Shah Shujaʿs possession after the blinding of Shah Zaman, either after being retrieved from the river or from the crevice in the wall.

Apprised of all this, Shah Mahmud, moved by brotherly feelings, sent 1,000 horsemen from Kabul to Dahlah, ʿAta Muhammad Khan’s own home. Their orders were to liquidate ʿAta Muhammad’s kith and kin. The raiders spared neither young nor old and brought those who survived back to Shah Mahmud, along with the goods and property which had escaped destruction. After wiping out ʿAta Muhammad’s clansmen, the shah sent Wazir Fath Khan with 30,000 horsemen to free Shah Shujaʿ. /85/

#### *WAZIR FATH KHAN’S FORAY TO KASHMIR AND THE EVENTS WHICH TRANSPIRED*

When the peerless wazir set out for Kashmir at Shah Mahmud’s order, he entered Gujarat by way of the Punjab because the Muzaffarabad River was in flood. There he met with Ranjit Singh, agreed to bring Shah Shujaʿ to Lahore after releasing him, and to reunite him with his family. It was also agreed that Ranjit Singh would participate in this commendable service. The two thus became colleagues. Wazir Fath Khan also pledged that he would give Maharajah Ranjit Singh one-third of the revenues of Kashmir as a reward. The maharajah

named Mahkam Chand to command his own army and, joining it to the wazir's, they set off for Kashmir.

When they reached Shabiyān on the borders of Kashmir, °Ata Muhammad Khan's army approached to drive them off. But unable to wear down Wazir Fath Khan's braves, this force eventually withdrew. Seeing no further capacity for resistance, °Ata Muhammad Khan now became extremely apprehensive of the consequences. Each day 200 or 300 troopers would desert and offer their allegiance to Wazir Fath Khan, who received them with dignity and respect. Consequently, fear and dread gripped °Ata Muhammad Khan all the more and he withdrew to the maydan of Tapah Malu at the foot of the Shirgar Fortress, there set up breastworks, and sat anxiously waiting.

Finally, fully cognizant of his inability to fight, and with the consent of the Bamiza'i khans, he sought negotiation using the Qur'an as intercession. He hung his sword and draped a winding sheet around his neck and went before Shah Shuja° at Kuh-i Maran. In deference to the holy scripture, the shah overlooked his crimes and gave him cause for hope.

Wazir Fath Khan occupied Kashmir and began to put its administrative affairs in order. At Shah Shuja°'s suggestion, °Ata Muhammad Khan went to the Shirgar Fortress and locked himself inside. After a while he realized he could not hold the fortress so he went to Wazir Fath Khan in an abject state, begged forgiveness for his misdeeds and asked for a guarantee that if he left Kashmir to Wazir Fath Khan, he would be allowed to go wherever he wanted with his family and money. The wazir agreed, (°Ata Muhammad Khan) secretly gave him a box full of jewels and with that the wazir freed him. He then left Kashmir with his family and fortune and disappeared into obscurity. Later, Wazir Fath Khan discovered that the box was full of colored glass, not precious gems, but since °Ata Muhammad Khan was out of reach there was nothing to be had but regret.

With Mahkam Chand, Ranjit Singh's delegate, the wazir went to see Shah

Shuja<sup>c</sup> and, in accordance with the agreement with Ranjit Singh concerning his residence in Lahore, Mahkam Chand, on his master's behalf invited the shah to Lahore. But Wazir Fath Khan proposed instead that he take up residence in Multan and consider the Derahjat his domain and cause no further distress to Shah Mahmud. Because his family and belongings were in Lahore, however, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> decided on it and left Kuh-i Maran with Mahkam Chand.

Having put Kashmir's affairs in order, Wazir Fath Khan entrusted its government to one of his brothers, Sardar Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Azim Khan, and returned to Kabul via Bar Mulah. While Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> was en route to Lahore, he too stopped at the manzil of Bar Mulah and there was met by Rajah Ghulam <sup>c</sup>Ali Khan Bamah, Rajah Zabardast Khan, Rajah Sar Buland Khan, and other rajahs who were the principal allies of Ruh Allah Khan, the rajah of Panuch, and Diwan Nand Ram, the majordomo (*ṣāhib-i kār*) of the former governor of Kashmir, <sup>c</sup>Ata Muhammad. They asked him to allow them to meet him at the manzil of Kachah-yi Hamah where they would welcome him in a more appropriate fashion. He agreed and three days later, at the appointed place, they gave him gifts and offered tokens of allegiance and loyalty. They asked him to agree to the conquest of Kashmir for which they would aid and assist him. But Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, who knew he had been freed from <sup>c</sup>Ata Muhammad's detention by Shah Mahmud and Wazir Fath Khan, found their request totally unacceptable. Outwardly, however, he agreed that after he had had a chance to see his wives and family he would venture forth to Kashmir when the time was right.

After the shah's leaving /86/ and then stopping at Panuch, Rajah Ruh Allah Khan, the governor there, paid his respects, treated his arrival as a great honor, and gave appropriate presents. From there Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> travelled on stage by stage, eventually arriving at Shah Darrah of Lahore. Ranjit Singh, the governor, had been hand-picked by Shah Zaman and had been the recipient of considerable largesse from this (royal) family. He sent his eldest son, Girk Singh, and his strongest backer, Ram Singh, with other worthies of Lahore to

welcome the shah. With full dignity and pomp, they escorted him into the city from Shah Darrah. He took up residence in the palace of Sadah Singh and housed his harem in a separate palace.

*RANJIT SINGH'S MALTREATMENT OF HIS GUEST, SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup>*

Once Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> had settled in, with his family in separate quarters, Ranjit Singh failed to show him due respect. He raised obstacles to visits between the shah and his harem and prevented their seeing each other. On the day after (he stopped communications between the shah and his wives), he sent Ram Singh to the shah and demanded the Kuh-i Nur diamond. The shah refused to hand over the priceless object and said, "It will be given at that time when the ties of cordiality between us are concluded and a binding agreement reached." Ranjit Singh would not yield and continued to make one request after another for the diamond. The shah kept giving him the same answer until matters reached the point that (Ranjit Singh) began interfering with the comings and goings of the shah's retainers, sometimes letting them pass on matters of necessity, other times not.

For a month things remained thus, with Ranjit Singh making life difficult for Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s people but not getting what he wanted. Finally he tried the path of deception. He sent a number of the notables of his court to the throneless shah. His message was that he would reject no requests from the shah or his servants for whatever he had in the way of favors and grants to bestow. But the shah proved obdurate and when deception gained Ranjit Singh nothing he tried another tack and began sending the shah money. First he sent 40,000 rupees and after doing so sent worthies from his court to ask for the diamond. But again to no avail for the shah repeated the same answer. Two days after that response, Ranjit Singh himself went to the shah to ask for the diamond. This time he brought with him a written treaty which the shah had made a condition for

handing over the diamond. It was a document expressing eternal friendship and unity and Ranjit Singh gave it to the shah to examine. Ranjit Singh then endorsed the document, pressing his little finger smeared with saffron, in place of a seal and to confirm the pact, swore coarse powerful oaths which in his religion were in the name of Nanak and the Granth. Then laying his hand on his sword he solemnly pledged that the revenues and produce of the Sind districts of Kut-i Kamaliyah, Jang Siyal, and Kala Nur would be the shah's and that he should spend the revenues on his own subsistence. He also agreed to give the shah as many soldiers as he might require, as well as their campaign expenses, whenever he decided to march on Afghanistan. Ranjit Singh in turn received a document from Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> that said that once he retrieved his ancestral lands he would never swerve from the path of friendship nor cast covetous eyes on Ranjit Singh's territory.

When the negotiations reached this point, he put his turban on the shah's head and taking the shah's cap placed it on his own head. The shah then gave him the Kuh-i Nur diamond. When Ranjit Singh had gotten what he wanted, he removed the guards stationed around the shah and the harem and his retainers. He allowed the shah freedom to travel about and enjoy himself. So it was that the shah would go out every day to the tombs of such saints as Shaykh <sup>c</sup>Ali b. <sup>c</sup>Uthman Hujwiri, later Ghaznawi, the author of the *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, and others, seeking their intercession. He would make a circumambulation of the tombs and return home. This went on until Ranjit Singh invited him one day to Shu<sup>c</sup>lah Mah (Moonbeam) Park and received him as an honored guest. The next day he sent a man to the shah and again invited him to that park telling him he wished to consult him and seek his approval on a certain matter. As he had been invited to do, the shah went into the city the day following and met with him. During the course of the meeting, the shah noticed signs in Ranjit Singh's demeanor which signaled the violation of their agreement and he realized that Ranjit Singh was going to keep him prisoner in Lahore. After the meeting, when



the shah attempted to make his customary excursion (to the tombs) /87/ Ranjit Singh assigned Mulla Zaman Shadi Khan to keep an eye on him and make sure he did not escape.

Meantime, the shah learned from the people he had appointed to manage the income of the districts which Ranjit Singh, under the terms of their agreement, had assigned him, that the Sikh's officials would not hand over the promised places. The shah now sought to find out why Ranjit Singh was not living up to the agreement. The answer he received was that it was only this year's revenues which the shah's functionaries would have to give up. Thenceforward, the revenues would be permanently under his control. Beyond the fact that Ranjit Singh was already violating the agreement with various excuses, he now accused the shah's prayer leader, Mulla Shayr Muhammad, of having written to Muhammad °Azim Khan, the governor of Kashmir, suggesting he march against Lahore. As proof of his accusation, he showed the shah several pieces of correspondence. Although the mulla was completely innocent of such duplicity and swore several oaths to that effect, Ranjit Singh ignored his protestations and put him in irons.

The truth of the matter is that Ranjit himself had the letters forged at the suggestion of Mulla Ja'far, the same man who had brought the shah's treasury from Attock to Lahore and had become one of Ranjit Singh's retainers, as mentioned above. Ranjit Singh had dispatched the letters by three Lahore Afghans to Kashmir, then had them arrested en route and brought back, and arrested Mulla Shayr Muhammad on the charge. They tortured the mulla by various means, including the bastinado, and tried to make him confess that Shah Shuja° had written and sent those letters with his help. This innocent man was totally unaware of any such plot and no matter how much punishment was meted out he would not confess. Shah Shuja° later managed to get him out of prison by paying a 20,000 rupee ransom.

The shah spent some time in such circumstances and eventually asked

permission to go elsewhere. But Ranjit Singh turned down his request, allowing him to go only to Shu'lah Mah Park, and posted guards to prevent him from going anywhere else.

*RANJIT SINGH COMES TO BLOWS WITH THE GOVERNOR OF KASHMIR,  
SARDAR MUHAMMAD °AZIM KHAN, AND LOSES*

As was mentioned above, Wazir Fath Khan had pledged one-third of Kashmir's revenues to Ranjit Singh. Up to this time however, he had not fulfilled his pledge and Ranjit Singh became angry and led an army towards Kashmir. He met Muhammad °Azim Khan in battle but 6,000 of his men were slain and he retreated to Lahore in defeat, his weapons and equipment falling into Muhammad °Azim Khan's hands. After the retreat, Ranjit Singh, due to the bitter taste of his defeat, began to lay plans for the conquest of Peshawar.

News of this got about, reaching Shah Mahmud, who sent Wazir Fath Khan with a sizeable army to Peshawar. When the latter reached Peshawar, Ranjit Singh arrived in Rawalpindi. At Rahtas, he sent Shah Shuja° a message asking him to join him on the campaign, for he was fearful that the shah might foment trouble in Lahore during his absence. Despite some pain in his throat, Shah Shuja° left his harem at Shu'lah Mah Park and joined Ranjit Singh. From there they traveled together to Rawalpindi. Wazir Fath Khan moved out of Peshawar and made camp at the edge of the Attock River where both sides clashed and blood flowed.

At the height of the battle, the army of Islam was prostrated by thirst because of the extreme heat and the heavy fighting and finally, in a state of delirium, broke ranks, and made for the water. Ranjit Singh's army then managed to gain the upper hand and defeat the forces under Wazir Fath Khan. Wazir Fath Khan was the only one who considered running away to be a stain on his honor and he stood fast with 3,000 horsemen in the face of 40,000 of the

enemy and continued to fight until, faint from thirst, he fell from his saddle. One of his attendants picked him up, placed him in front of him over the saddle, /88/ and rode off the battlefield. The rest of his army also withdrew. Many died of thirst while a few were felled by musket and artillery fire. They reached Peshawar in defeat and from there rode back to Kabul accompanied by the wazir. A victorious Ranjit Singh returned to Rawalpindi where he ordered Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and Ram Singh to proceed to Peshawar. He then rode back to Lahore where he busied himself with his own affairs, enjoying peace of mind.

*ISMA<sup>c</sup>IL KHAN DAMGHANI LEADS AN ARMY AGAINST HERAT*

During these preceding events, a number of prominent leaders of Khurasan had become disaffected with Muhammad Wali Mirza, the viceroy (wali) of Mashhad. Ibrahim Khan Hazarah was delighted by the growing antagonism of those people towards the prince at the time he was in residence at the village of Abdalabad in Jam. He had cordial relations with Hajji Firuz al-Din and now encouraged him to undertake the conquest of Ghuriyan. Hajji Firuz al-Din sent his son, Prince Malik Qasim, with Hajji Aqa Khan Harati and a well equipped force, against Ghuriyan. The besieged keeper of the castle, Muhammad Khan the son of Ishaq Khan Qara<sup>o</sup>i, who along with his father was at odds with the Iranian state, had made overtures to Prince Kamran, the governor of Qandahar. To affirm their sincerity, both affixed their seals to a Qur'an and sent it to the prince, asking him to march with an army from Qandahar towards Mashhad. For while the people of Khurasan are in such a state of opposition to the Iranian state, they asserted, he could occupy the region with no trouble at all.

The prince accepted the invitation of father and son and embarked on the campaign. Hajji Firuz al-Din, meantime, got wind of the conspiracy and, considering Prince Kamran's passage through Herat to Khurasan to be wholly unacceptable, summoned his son, Prince Malik Qasim, back from Ghuriyan with

the force he had. By letter he also invited Sardar Isma'îl Khan Damghani to come to Herat to help him prevent Prince Kamran from entering the territory and proceeding towards Khurasan. As compensation for that assistance, he promised to remit to Iran 250,000 gold coins from the Herat treasury. He also wrote that in accordance with the former agreement he would send the (agreed-to sum of) Herat tax revenues and would put the Iranian padishah's name on the coinage and have it announced from the pulpit.

Following his invitation, Sardar Isma'îl Khan in 1229/1814 sent his brothers, Zu'l-Faqar Khan and Matlab Khan towards Herat with an army. When they reached Pul-i Nuqrah, they left their baggage and heavy equipment there and rode on to Pul-i Malan. Establishing the army's base there, they settled in, their mind full of expectations about what Hajji Firuz al-Din had promised. Prince Kamran, who was camped at this moment at Rawzah Bagh three manzils from Herat, decided, because of the arrival of Isma'îl Khan, that there was nothing to be gained by hostilities with Iran and so sent a letter of apology via Nasir Khan Hazarah to Isma'îl Khan. He then turned Kamran's withdrawal, Hajji Firuz al-Din had Sardar Isma'îl Khan and his brothers escorted into Herat and then and there fulfilled his promise, after which they returned to Mashhad in the middle of Rajab 1229/early July 1814. /89/

#### *HAJJI FIRUZ AL-DIN'S ENVOY AND LETTER TO HIS HIGHNESS FATH 'ALI SHAH*

As a result of the good relations Hajji Firuz al-Din had cultivated with officials of the Iranian state, at the end of 1229 he sent his wazir and principal advisor, Hajji Aqa Khan, to His Highness Fath 'Ali Shah in hopes of bringing his aspirations to fruition. On the 26th of Muharram 1230/8 January 1815, the envoy arrived at the shah's court in Tehran. He complained of the activities of Shah Mahmud and asked for help to defend (Herat) against him. The shah of

Iran sent back a letter and a robe of honor and assigned Mirza Muhammad Sadiq, a news writer, as envoy to Hajji Firuz al-Din, at the same time dismissing the latter's envoy. On receipt of the robe, letter, and ambassador, Hajji Firuz al-Din was considerably encouraged and, in light of the letter which contained hints of support and assistance, he began to think it would be easy to overthrow Shah Mahmud. In an optimistic frame of mind, Hajji Firuz al-Din sent °Abd al-Rashid Khan Durrani, bearing suitable gifts, back to the shah of Iran while keeping the shah's envoy in Herat for his own purposes. In Zi'l-Qa'dah 1230/October 1815, the envoy reached Tehran where the house of the prime minister was assigned as his residence.

In the meantime, Prince Muhammad Wali Mirza, the governor of Mashhad who had executed Ishaq Khan Qara'i and Husayn °Ali Khan, his son, because of their insurrection, now grew fearful that Ishaq Khan's people would encourage Hajji Firuz al-Din. So he sent Mirza °Abd al-Karim, his *mustawfi*, as an ambassador to the hajji. But Hajji Firuz al-Din ignored the emissary and made plans (again) to conquer Ghuriyan. He ordered Fath °Ali Khan Marwazi, a resident of the village of Shakiban, to take Ghuriyan with 300 horsemen, which the latter succeeded in doing.

When Mirza Muhammad Wali heard of the incident, he sent off Iskandar Khan, governor and beglarbegi of the Hazarabs, to attack Ghuriyan. The latter first raided Ghuriyan and then defected from the Iranian side, joining forces with Bunyad Khan Hazarab. Bunyad Khan, who had hoped for just such a set of circumstances, now assembled a force of Jamshidi Hazarabs, people from the Firuz Kuh, and summoned his brother, Nasir Khan, from Qandahar. He also opened a cordial correspondence with Hajji Firuz al-din. Notwithstanding the exchange of envoys and notes mentioned above, the latter now turned his back on the shah of Iran and prepared for battle at Ghuriyan.

Muhammad Khan, deputy governor of Khurasan, found out what was going on and despite the fact that he was preoccupied with a difficult assignment in

Dawlatabad, headed for Ghuriyan. At this, Hajji Firuz al-Din (quickly) devised a strategem, telling Mirza Muhammad Sadiq, the envoy and intelligence agent, "I am sending a force from Herat to launch a night attack on Muhammad Khan, the *nā'ib* Khurasan and annihilate him." Thinking this was true, Muhammad Sadiq obtained permission to leave, on the pretext of meeting Muhammad Khan to tell him Firuz al-Din's plan, and negotiate a peaceful settlement. As it turned out, he got to his camp, warned him about the impending night raid by the Heratis, and then returned to the city. Muhammad Khan had a healthy respect for Hajji Firuz al-Din and now put on his guard, decided it would be prudent to return to Mashhad. Relieved, the hajji now sent his son, Prince Malik Qasim, to Ghuriyan with no difficulty at all.

Bunyad Khan was encouraged by the arrival of Prince Malik Qasim in Ghuriyan and began raiding the people around Khwaf. Once again Prince Muhammad Wali Mirza sent his deputy, Muhammad Khan, this time with 2,000 Afshar horse and foot, to put a stop to the raids. The latter combed the area around Ghuriyan for booty. With a great quantity of loot, he stopped at Turbat-i Shaykh Jam on his way back in order to divide up the goods. From there the army dispersed, every man making his way back to Mashhad or his home on his own.

Meantime, Muhammad Khan Qara<sup>3</sup>i; Iskandar Khan, the Hazarah governor; Bunyad Khan; and Nasir Khan found out what had happened, and aware that Muhammad Khan had only a few men with him now, pursued and surrounded him. Muhammad Khan put up some resistance and managed to escape but one of his confederates, Mustafa Khan Astarabadi, was captured. /90/ The Qara<sup>3</sup>is acquired a good deal of power and influence by of this victory and sent a man to Hajji Firuz al-Din inviting him to conquer Mashhad. In response, he dispatched an army under Madad Khan, the *nā'ib* of Herat; Hajji Aqa Khan, his wazir; and Dust Muhammad Khan Durrani. In a short while they had gained control over the districts around Ghuriyan, Jam, and Bakharz and re-settled the leaders of

those regions in Herat.

Mirza °Abd al-Karim *mustawfī*, Muhammad Wali Mirza's envoy, was given leave to return empty-handed to Mashhad and Mirza Sadiq, the intelligence agent sent by the Qajar shah, was imprisoned in Herat which caused grave concern to the one who had sent him. Because of this, His Highness Fath °Ali Shah dismissed Muhammad Wali Mirza from his post in Mashhad and named the prince, Hasan °Ali Mirza, to succeed him. Hasan °Ali Mirza reached Mashhad on the 17th of Muharram 1232/7 December 1816 and put the affairs of Khurasan, once again, in order. Hajji Firuz al-Din, who was also interested in peace, recalled Prince Malik Qasim from Ghuriyan and sent °Abd al-Rashid Khan, who had earlier been sent to the shah, to Mashhad with congratulations for the new viceroy. Firuz al-Din also freed Mirza Muhammad Sadiq, the intelligence agent, after nine months in prison, gave him a ceremonial robe, and sent him off to Mashhad with the envoy.

*SHAH MAHMUD AND WAZIR FATH KHAN MARCH ON LAHORE TO  
PUNISH RANJIT SINGH*

As mentioned earlier, Wazir Fath Khan was defeated by Ranjit Singh's forces and returned to Kabul. Shah Mahmud immediately equipped an army and in 1232/1816–17 left Kabul for Lahore with the wazir. Ranjit Singh also readied his forces and rode out to the Attock River in a defensive maneuver. With him were Ram Singh and Shah Shuja°, both of whom were at Rawalpindi at his orders, their purpose being to take Peshawar. Ranjit Singh camped beside the river and erected a sturdy earthworks. Shah Mahmud and Wazir Fath Khan camped for awhile facing him across the river but then, unable to cross, gave up the idea of punishing the Sikh and marched to the Derahjat, collecting the tax revenues of Sind and Multan from their governors. One of Wazir Fath Khan's brothers was appointed governor to each of the districts of the Derahjat and then

the shah and the wazir returned to Kabul.

Ranjit Singh returned to Lahore leaving Ram Singh and Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> in Rawalpindi with the same object as before (i.e. taking Peshawar). One night Ram Singh hired some hoodlums to murder Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>. Some thirty or forty broke into his sleeping quarters carrying torches. The shah, waking in confusion, tackled one of the torch-bearing thugs and threw him to the ground and shouted, "Seize them." Allahdad Khan, one of his first bodyguards to appear on the scene, grabbed another of the toughs and quickly wrestled him to the ground. The others attacked him but no matter how many times they struck him on the back and shoulders, he would not release the man he had hold of. When other servants arrived they tied the man's hands behind his back and stood him before the shah.

Through interrogation it came out that Ram Singh had instigated these men to kill Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and steal his belongings so the shah then sent the would-be assassin off to Ram Singh with Allahdad, his personal servant, and the facts of the case were laid at his feet. The morning after the incident, Ram Singh gave Allahdad Khan some money as a reward and sent an even larger sum to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> as a benefaction (*khayrat*). He also went himself to the shah, apologized for the incident, denied any part in it saying, "I had absolutely no knowledge of this plot," and swore solemn oaths to that effect. The shah listened in silence.

After the incident, he decided to send his harem to Lahore. As he had few mounts or means of transport, he left some of his furnishings in Rawalpindi and, in order to expedite matters, selected only the absolutely necessary tents which his available transport could accommodate. At this point Girk Singh came to see the shah and asked for a tent. Out of generosity, the shah gave him one known as a "kala batuni (embroidered) tent" with two inlaid canopies, furnishings and equipment of Iranian craftsmanship, woodwork, dishes, and other accessories. Later on, after he had sent his harem on to Lahore, Ram Singh and Girk Singh together came to see the shah and told him, "Ranjit Singh has ordered us to



Lahore and the shah too must /91/ come with us.”

En route from Peshawar they were intercepted short of the manzil of Pashandur by 1,000 horsemen who surrounded the travellers and kept them hemmed in until they reached the manzil. Meanwhile, they made off with much of the shah’s personal effects (which were bringing up the rear). His entourage eventually caught up and told him what had happened. Dispirited and upset and left without even the clothes on their backs, they were sent back to Ram Singh and Girk Singh. These two denied having had anything to do with the attack and after a long while brought Shah Shuja° the empty trunks and bags which had been originally filled with pearls, Iranian and Sindi muskets chased with gold, inlaid Iranian daggers and swords, inlaid pieces of armor, and silk, wool, and gold-embroidered stuffs. All the trunks had been looted. The two men said, “Here is the property of yours which we’ve removed from the thieves. Look and see if anything is gone or if it is still all there.”

From that manzil, they continued on to the next stopping-place where Ram Singh again came to Shah Shuja° and, acting as if he were doing the shah a favor, said,

Ranjit Singh has obliged us to harass and persecute you. But we have treated you kindly and generously and have abstained from the kind of harassment that he insisted on. Now I’m coming to you with your best interests in mind to tell you what his plan is. After you arrive in Lahore, you are to give Ranjit Singh half of all your cash and goods. The other half will be for your living expenses. Should you try to hide a single speck or even one dinar, you’ll regret it.

Since his harem was in Lahore, the shah was forced to write and seal a letter to them in which he said that they were to hand over half of whatever they had to Ranjit Singh’s agents. He gave the letter to Ram Singh who, out of regard for

the shah's honor, did not send the letter before the shah reached Lahore but kept it in his pocket. Two days after his arrival in Lahore, the letter was delivered. The ladies of the harem, each left with only one piece of cloth to wear around them and one for their heads, were moved to another house. All the property of the shah's harem as well as his own possessions were piled in wagons and carted away to Ranjit Singh. He and his sardars removed everything of value, put the rest back in the wagons, and sent it back to the shah.

Because of this and other despicable things that had been inflicted on him, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> grew very depressed. He sent a man to Ranjit Singh asking that he either let him go or give him a place to stay in Lahore. Mubarak Hawili, a place within the city limits of Lahore, was then assigned as the shah's residence. He moved his wives and children there from Shu'lah Mah Park and spent five months in a state of some misery with no communication at all with Ranjit Singh.

*PRINCE HASAN 'ALI SHAH MIRZA-YI SHUJA<sup>c</sup> AL-SALTANAH MARCHES  
AGAINST HERAT*

Prince Hasan 'Ali Mirza's sense of patriotic honor had been affronted by Hajji Firuz al-Din's incursion into Ghuriyan and Jam which was discussed above and so on Tuesday, the 26th of Jumada al-Sani 1232/13 April 1817, he left Mashhad for Herat with a well-equipped force and punished the rebel Qara'i and Hazarabs who would not bend the neck of obedience. When he got to Turbat-i Shaykh Jam, Hajji Firuz al-Din's envoy, 'Ata Muhammad Khan, came to the prince and gave him the message that Hajji Firuz al-Din would give up his plans to occupy Ghuriyan on condition that the prince not advance a step beyond Jam nor covet Herat. But the prince rejected the terms and dismissed the emissary. He then moved out of Jam and camped in Kuhistan. There he was joined by Amir Hasan Khan, the governor of Tun and Tabas, with his own men. From

Kuhistan they marched to the edge of Pul-i Nuqrah where camp was again made and headquarters set up.

For his part, Hajji Firuz al-Din deployed detachments of soldiers to defend the Musalla and the Tall-i Bangiyan while he readied the city's defenses. The next day, the Qajar force came as far as the edge of the Anjil Canal (*nahr-i anjīl*), driving the Heratis out of Tall-i Bangiyan and killing most of those stationed there. A few managed to set back to the city. The next day they put the city under seige and placed its residents in dire straits.

After awhile Hajji Firuz al-Din, considering his prospects, decided it was better to settle peacefully so he sent a document in which he agreed to yield Ghuriyan and to pay 250,000 rupees to /92/ Prince Hasan °Ali Mirza. Recognizing how difficult it was going to be to capture Herat, the latter accepted this as satisfactory. He had the coinage and the *khuṭbah* executed in the Iranian shah's name and then returned to Mashhad via Qal°ah-i Naw and Badghis. The roads at times were so difficult that he and his chief amirs had to put ropes over their shoulders and drag the cannons along. For ten days they travelled with extreme hardship (only) reaching Qal°ah-i Naw on the eleventh day. En route many of his men perished at the hands of Bunyad Khan Hazarah and his brother Nasir Khan and the Iranian force had to fight continually until it reached the manzil of Shakiban. There Madad Khan Durrani, who had fallen out with Prince Hajji Firuz al-Din, attached himself to the (Qajar) prince who was then in camp at the village of Pushang. Madad Khan was given an expensive *khil°at* and an inlaid dagger and the prince assigned him to his own entourage. At the manzil of Chaman-i Barni, °Ata Muhammad Khan, whom Hajji Firuz al-Din had sent with gifts (to the prince) after the latter's withdrawal from around the city, now arrived. After receiving a robe and favors from the prince, he returned to Herat. On Saturday 10 Ramadan 1232/24 July 1817, the prince reached Mashhad.

WAZIR FATH KHAN MARCHES FROM KABUL TO KASHMIR

When Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, as noted above, won his battle with Ranjit Singh, he became overweeningly conceited and withheld the revenues of Kashmir from the royal coffers. So his brother, Wazir Fath Khan, left Kabul for Kashmir at the head of an army, intending to give him guidance and show him the error of his ways. Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan came out to repel the Kabul force and closed all the roads. As it was difficult to get fodder and provisions, Wazir Fath Khan was finally forced to go by himself in a litter to see his brother without letting anyone else know what he was doing. When he drew near his brother's defensive works, Sardar Muhammad °Azim heard (his brother had come) and ran to the litter in amazement. He showed the wazir every courtesy and all deference and walked in front of the litter back to the trench works. After brotherly greetings, Wazir Fath Khan called up his army and the two brothers with their two armies entered Kashmir. The government of Kashmir, as before, was reconfirmed on Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan and the wazir returned to Kabul with the tax revenues.

*SHAH MAHMUD SENDS AN ARMY UNDER THE COMMAND OF WAZIR  
FATH KHAN TO HERAT*

When Hasan °Ali Mirza withdrew from around Herat, Hajji Firuz al-Din sent his son, Prince Malik Husayn, and Nazir Hasan Khan to Shah Mahmud. He requested reinforcements to help him retake Ghuriyan from the Iranians. In addition, he said that if he were able to acquire sufficient power he would stop sending Herat's revenues to the shah of Iran. For some time Shah Mahmud had focussed his thoughts on the subjugation of Herat. He took this request as a good sign and, at the end of 1232/November 1817, he sent Wazir Fath Khan to Herat with those of his brothers who had no official duties and a force of 30,000 horsemen. As an aside, Wazir Fath Khan was so liberal in his gift-giving during

this campaign, that it was estimated that in six months he gave away ninety-six laks of rupees. But back to the story.

When Wazir Fath Khan reached Farah he was greeted by Hajji Aqa Khan, Hajji Firuz al-Din's wazir, who considered it highly undesirable for Wazir Fath Khan to enter Herat. Convincing him to give priority to the conquest of Ghuriyan over entering Herat, he got him to make his camp outside the city. After several days in which Wazir Fath Khan won people over by distributing cash, he invited Hajji Firuz al-Din to meet with him on the pretext that they needed to consult. They met together for a while and when the hajji left the meeting, the wazir gave orders for his arrest and the detention of the notables with him. He sent Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan and Sardar Kuhandil Khan, / 93/ both brothers of his, into the city to seize the hajji's assets.

Without much regard for niceties, these two sent retainers to the citadel with orders to enter Prince Malik Qasim's house. There they spilled the blood of a number of innocent people, including Mir Zaynal Khan and Hasan Khan, two prominent amirs. Abandoning any interest in (saving) his property, the prince fled from the citadel. All Hajji Firuz al-Din's belongings were then confiscated along with those of the prince. The latter, who had fled the citadel, now returned to fight but after being wounded in several places was taken prisoner. Hajji Aqa Khan and °Abd al-Rashid were both killed in the fray.

Wazir Fath Khan now entered Herat and shipped Hajji Firuz al-Din off to Qandahar with his wives and children. Setting up his own residence in Herat, the wazir dispatched Sardar Kuhandil Khan to take Ghuriyan. By letter he concluded alliances with Ibrahim Khan and Bunyad Khan Hazarah and other Jamshidi and Hazarah leaders and also allied himself with Muhammad Rahim Khan, the ruler of Khwarazm. Rumors now began to spread that he would conquer Iran. Meanwhile, Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran had left Kabul for Herat after learning of its fall to the wazir.

Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, meantime, was worried that because of the

great rise in his brother, Wazir Fath Khan's, influence and authority an envious Prince Kamran would turn his father against the wazir, topple him from his position and perhaps even have him thrown in jail. He decided that the best thing for him to do was to go stay with another brother, Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, in Kashmir. So now Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan fled Herat for Kashmir, either for this reason or because of the fact that when he entered the haram saray of Hajji Firuz al-Din and Prince Malik Qasim to seize booty, he had also assaulted their women and now feared retaliation from Wazir Fath Khan or Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran, all three of whom had a high regard for the sanctity of the harem of their brother and son-in-law. En route he met up with Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran, gave them details of the victory, and continued on to Kashmir. But Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan suspected something was amiss because his brother had no letter or message from Wazir Fath Khan and so detained him at Kuh-i Maran.

*SHAH SHUJA° MOVES HIS WIVES FROM LAHORE TO LUDHIANA,  
EXPERIENCES HARDSHIPS, AND ESCAPES FROM LAHORE*

During these events, Shah Shuja°, who had taken up residence at Mubarak Hawili in Lahore and had spent five difficult months there, finally came to the realization that his best interests lay in escape. He secretly purchased a number of horse-drawn wagons through some Indian women whom he had gotten to know because it was the custom in the homes of the great for them to come and go with goods for sale. They had access to the shah's harem which he wanted to smuggle out of Lahore to Ludhiana, the next nearest city where he also had a number of supporters. But Ranjit Singh learned of the shah's plan through Mulla Ja°far and forbade it. This mulla had, on a number of occasions, blocked the hapless shah's attempts to escape. Then one day, the shah summoned the mulla and sealed his lips with a bribe. Another (informant) was Mir Abu'l-Hasan

Khan whom the guileless shah considered a fellow “unitarian” Muslim because he wore a turban and cloak. But until the shah expressly forbade him from revealing any information to the mulla, he had not kept the shah’s secrets.

Finally, the shah instructed his retainers to move his wives from Lahore to Ludhiana and they did so in the following way. In four trips, ten persons at a time, the women left the city dressed in the clothes of Hindu women as if they were either going to swim in the river, a custom of Hindu women, or to have an outing in the desert. His retainers delivered his wives to Ludhiana just as he had ordered. On the fifth trip they were to take Prince Muhammad Timur and some female servants. But Ranjit Singh discovered this and summoned the prince. The latter, being just a child and full of innocent candor, said, “Except for a few servant girls, everyone else has gone.” /94/ So certain was Ranjit Singh of his vigilance over Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> that he did not at first believe the prince. He sent some women to Mubarak Hawili and they verified the prince’s remarks.

Ranjit Singh now became very worried and increased his guard over the shah, stationing 4,000 men at the gates of the city, around the city, and around the shah’s residence. He even put guards on his sleeping quarters, stationing twenty-eight rough and ready men right in the house where he slept so they could report on him hour by hour. But even these measures did not satisfy him and he assigned four men with torches and four with weapons to stand at the foot and head of the shah’s bed and keep watch over him through the night. This went on for several months. During the day, they kept a cauldron of hot fat boiling in front of him and would say, “Give us the jewels you have. Otherwise we will burn your back, sides, head and face with hot fat.” Ranjit Singh also had an iron cage built into which they would put the shah. Wherever Ranjit Singh went, he carried the shah along in the cage. The shah considered himself as good as dead and pleaded escape from these circumstances into God’s hands, according to the Quranic verse, “My Lord, deliver me from the people of the evildoers.”

At the very depths of his despair, God showed kindness and saved him from destruction. It happened this way. One of his retainers cut a hole in the floor under his bed and from the room beneath gradually dug through seven walls, one after another until he reached the outside. Then one night, the shah sent his servant, Hajji Rajab Kakari, to his own room to sleep and ordered two other servants to take water to the hajji as was customary and to place the meal prepared for the shah before him so that the guards would think he was the shah. The shah then stained his body a dark color with a *gulrang* leaf, smeared himself with dirt and disguised himself. He tied around his neck the kind of rosary of black and white beads that the dervishes carry, grasped a dervish's cane, and escaped with Mir Abu'l-Hasan Khan and Abu Talib Khan, an auditor (*mushrif*). They exited the city walls through an aqueduct and when they reached the Rawi River, they were ferried across by a boat which had been arranged in advance. They stopped at Jammu on the road to Siyalkut, where exhausted by the sun's heat, the shah passed the midday hours in the house of a dyer. Just by chance, a physician who had attended him in Lahore happened to enter the house. Worried about the shah's lingering there, (the physician) said, "This is still Ranjit Singh's territory and harm could befall the shah." So, after performing the noon prayer, the shah rode to the banks of the Biya River where he stopped until three in the afternoon. At this stop, he gave the boatmen some money and they put together a raft made of skins for him on which he crossed the river that evening. A farsang away, he could see a fortress which Ranjit Singh had seized from the rajah of Bunir. At this moment, the Muslim followers of the rajah had the fortress under siege.

The shah soon reached the Chakkah Ford, crossed, and came to Kishtwar. The governor there, Tigh Singh, treated the shah's arrival as a great honor and rolled out the red carpet, presenting all kinds of royal gifts. The shah enjoyed his hospitality in full measure for three months, during which time he raised the possibility of a joint campaign against Kashmir. When both men agreed on a



plan, the shah dispatched a man to Lahore to ask for the 150,000 rupees that he had deposited with the money-changers of the city. Ranjit Singh found out about this, intercepted the money, and deposited it in his own treasury. Despite losing this money the shah still planned to conquer Kashmir. But when Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan learned of his plans, he constructed a series of strong redoubts (*sangars*) at strategic places and garrisoned them. Shah Shuja° approached these fortifications with his forces and those of Rajah Tigh Singh and stormed the first one, taking it in one assault. He dealt with the second redoubt in the same fashion, putting most of its defenders to the sword.

The occupants of the other *sangars* fled when they heard what had happened at the first two. Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan grew apprehensive, marched out of Kashmir with a vengeance-minded army aiming to stop Shah Shuja°, and made camp at Sa Kam, six *kuruhs* from Shah Shuja°'s headquarters. The shah led a force to the top of a (nearby) mountain but then was forced by a heavy snowfall and bitter cold to spend two days and nights there. /95/ On the third day, realizing he had lost the ability to fight, he returned to Kishtwar, where he stayed for three months before moving on to Ludhiana via Tabatha.

*SHAH SHUJA°S RETURN FROM KISHTWAR AND ARRIVAL AND  
RESIDENCE IN LUDHIANA*

Frustrated in his attempt on Kashmir, Shah Shuja° now headed for Ludhiana by way of Tabatha, taking with him one of Rajah Tigh Singh's principal retainers and 100 horsemen. After travelling six *manzils*, he gave the retainer a robe of honor and dismissed him. The shah then crossed the mountains on very treacherous roads and arrived in Tabatha. At Baladil, the people thought the party was made up of Gurkhas because the shah's followers were all "red-skinned" and so they prepared to fight them. As a result, the shah was unable to proceed for several days and finally he had his men put away their weapons in

exchange for which the folk of Baladil let them buy provisions. The headman of Baladil came to the shah and when he saw who it was, he chastised his people and as compensation had them shoulder the shah's provisions and carry them to Kalu without charge.

The rajah of Kalu gave Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> five horses, 5,000 rupees cash, one hundred pieces of *ashrafi* gold, several musk bladders, a number of pieces of Bulgarian leather, and some fine locally-made cloth. In return, the shah confirmed his title of "rajah" and gave the rajah's sons two bolts of Kashmiri shawl-cloth and a Iranian sword. He also gave them a *raqam* document bearing his privy seal. The shah then rode on to Ludhiana where he was re-united with his wives and children and where a high-ranking British general came to see him. The proper formalities were observed and the general departed. Sometime later, an Englishman named Murray came to meet with Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and have discussions. The shah remained in Ludhiana for two years.

*WAZIR FATH KHAN LEADS AN ARMY TOWARDS MASHHAD  
TO CONQUER IRAN*

Some indication was given earlier of Wazir Fath Khan's intention of conquering Iran and of his sending Sardar Kuhandil Khan to Ghuriyan. News of this spread and eventually reached Fath <sup>c</sup>Ali Shah who readied an army and issued orders to Prince Hasan <sup>c</sup>Ali Mirza "Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Saltanah," the viceroy of Khurasan, to keep a vigilant watch over the borders. The viceroy then sent Muhammad Amin Khan Yazuki Kurd and Qilij Khan Timuri to man the fortresses at Ghuriyan and Mahmudabad and also assigned a force to raid Bakharz and Turbat.

Wazir Fath Khan in return, began to assemble a large army of Afghans and Qizilbash from Kabul and Qandahar, people from Herat, Baluchistan and Sistan, and the Jamshidi, Hazarah, and Firuz Kuhi tribal groups. On the 8th of Rajab

1233/14 May 1818, Prince Hasan ʿAli Mirza marched from Mashhad for Herat. At the *manzil* of Kal Yaquti, he was joined by Mirza ʿAbd al-Wahhab Khan, “Muʿtamid al-Dawlah,” Zuʿl-Faqar Khan, and Matlab Khan.

Meantime, Muhammad Rahim Khan, the ruler of Khwarazm, declared his support for Wazir Fath Khan and advanced on Sarakhs. Muhammad Khan Qaraʿi and Ibrahim Khan Hazarah (also) came to Herat and joined the wazir. As a result of all this military activity, Riza Quli Khan Zaʿfaranlu, Najaf ʿAli Khan Shadlu, Beglar Khan Japaslu (Jabashlu), and Saʿadat Khan Baghayirlu barricaded themselves in their own strongholds, anxiously waiting to see which way the conflict would go.

Nothing happened until the prince entered the *manzil* of Kafir Qalʿah having meantime re-established some control over the hinterland. Wazir Fath Khan’s army, 30,000 strong, left Herat on the 28th of Dhi Hijjah 1233/29 October 1818 and marched into Kuhsan ready for battle. The Iranian prince also advanced with his 10,000 horse and foot and camped near Kuhsan. The wazir sent him a message to yield Ghuriyan to Shah Mahmud and Turbat and Bakharz to Muhammad Khan Qaraʿi and Ibrahim Khan Hazarah /96/ lest the situation degenerate into open warfare. If he refused, then the territory of Iran would become the plunder ground for his Afghan braves.

The prince dismissed the wazir’s messenger, sending back this reply. “If you want peace, send to me, hands bound, those Qaraʿi and Hazarah renegades who turned their backs on Iran and went over to you. Otherwise let there be war.” With this message, the situation moved from negotiation to confrontation. Wazir Fath Khan set his troops in battle formation: on the right wing was his brother Sardar Shirdil Khan with the Sistani cavalry and infantry and the Firuzkuhi and Jamshidi fighters. On his left wing, he placed another brother, Kuhandil Khan, with the Herati, Taymani, and Darazi forces. He also ordered Bunyad Khan Hazarah to take his cavalry and position himself on the left wing’s flank and Muhammad Khan Qaraʿi with his men and the men of Isfizar to

position themselves in the van of the right wing. The wazir himself took the center with the Afghans of Qandahar, Ibrahim Khan Hazarah, and the artillery corps.

On the Iranian side, Prince Hasan ʿAli Mirza's formations appeared thus: his right wing comprised Mirza ʿAbd al-Wahhab Khan, the Mu'tamid al-Dawlah; Faz (Fayz) ʿAli Khan Qawanlu-yi Qajar with the Khwajahwand and ʿAbd al-Maliki cavalry. In front of the right wing, he placed the Astarabadi infantry with one artillery piece. On the right wing's flank he positioned Husayn Quli Khan Bayat Nishapuri with the Khurasani infantry. The left wing included Zu'l-Faqar Khan, the governor of Simnan, with the Simani infantry and the Qarachurlu horse troopers. In the van of the left wing, the prince assigned Matlab Khan, the governor of Damghan, ʿAli Asghar "Khan-i 'Ajam" of Bastam and the Damghani infantry. The prince himself took the center with the Mani<sup>40</sup> and ghulam cavalry.

The battle then began and the two sides clashed. Sardar Shirdil Khan and a contingent of Afghans were particularly valorous causing blood to flow left and right. He fought his way right up to the prince, the Shujaʿ al-Saltanah, who was holding the center. The cavalry around the prince abandoned the fight but thanks to the steadfastness of Zu'l-Faqar Khan the prince withstood that onslaught and did not retreat. But then Sardar Shirdil Khan's cavalry broke through the prince's infantry, Sultan Muhammad Khan Kakari reached the prince and swung his sword at his head, missing the prince but striking his horse in the mouth. One of the prince's attendants, showing considerable skill, managed to unhorse and dispatch Sultan Muhammad Khan. Sardar Shirdil Khan meanwhile had fought his way to the Iranian batteries, conveying his reputation by the sword's tongue to the very mouths of the cannon, his horse sustaining four wounds.

The Shujaʿ al-Saltanah showed perfect resoluteness and killed five men

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<sup>40</sup> FM: Rhymes with *dānī* and means rare, something without peer or equal, unique and singular. It is also the name of a famous painter in the time of Ardashir. (See *Burhān-i qāṭi*)

with his own sword, but the rest of the Iranian army turned its back on the battle and retreated after witnessing the courage of Wazir Fath Khan's men. One of the prince's colleagues, Zu'l-Faqar Khan, withdrew to the banks of the Herat River. But just then, due to the ineffable hand of God, a musket ball struck Wazir Fath Khan in the mouth. This took all the heart out of the Afghans and despite having victory in their grasp, they turned and ran. One of the prince's men, Mirza ʿAbd al-Wahhab Khan "Mu'tamid al-Dawlah" had retreated towards Kuhsan but was captured by Bunyad Khan who had halted his own withdrawal and taken a stand there.

The prince spent that night in Kafir Qalʿah. Muhammad Khan Qaraʿi, a colleague of Bunyad Khan's, strongly urged him to send Mirza ʿAbd al-Wahhab to the Afghans in Herat. But, concerned about the consequences, Bunyad Khan, at the advice of his prisoner, turned instead to Prince Hasan Ali Mirza and through ʿAbd al-Wahhab's intercession was pardoned for his failings and given the governments of Ghuriyan, Bakharz, and Kuhsan. In return for this favor, Bunyad Khan freed Mirza ʿAbd al-Wahhab and some other prisoners he had taken. By releasing the mirza, Bunyad Khan showed himself to be a servant of the Iranian state.

Those who had sided with Wazir Fath Khan, including Muhammad Khan Qaraʿi, Qilij Khan Timuri, Nadr Muhammad Khan the brother of Bunyad Khan Hazarah, Yalangtush Khan the brother of Saʿid Muhammad Khan Jamshidi and others, now were brought before the Qajar prince. With Mirza ʿAbd al-Wahhab testifying (to their loyalty), they were received with full honors. Other matters concerning them were deferred until the shah could arrive. Muhammad Rahim Khan, the Khwarazmian padishah, who had advanced as far as Sarakhs in support of Wazir Fath Khan, returned to Khwarazm when he learned of the arrival of Fath ʿAli Shah. Wazir Fath Khan returned to Herat exhausted from the campaign and there began again to prepare men and equipment for a new campaign, thinking that if he were better prepared he would be able to subjugate

Iran. But due to the vicissitudes of fate, things turned out otherwise. /97/

*PRINCE KAMRAN BLINDS WAZIR FATH KHAN*

It was previously mentioned that when Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran heard the news of the fall of Herat (to Wazir Fath Khan) they immediately left for that province. When they departed Qandahar, Prince Kamran was assigned to go on ahead while the shah had to spend some time in Farah to straighten out affairs in Sistan and Qa'in, before proceeding to Herat. Before his father arrived, Prince Kamran sent Mansur Khan to the Qajar prince, Hasan °Ali Mirza, to convey his apologies and explain to him that Wazir Fath Khan's campaign had not been sanctioned by the state but that he had acted on his own initiative. The envoy, accompanied by the abovementioned khans who had been assigned to welcome the shah, were honored to be admitted to the presence of Fath °Ali Shah as he neared Mashhad. All received ceremonial robes and other tokens of esteem. Mansur Khan was especially singled out and was given a letter to take to Prince Kamran which said, "If your words were uttered sincerely, then either send Wazir Fath Khan to Mashhad, or put his eyes out." According to Shah Shuja°, the wazir had hoped by some trick to turn Shah Mahmud against his son and have the prince thrown in prison. The prince, however, was aware of what was in the wazir's heart and held on to the note from the Iranian shah as a kind of security for the long-standing grudge which he held against the wazir and thus laid a trap for him.

For three months after the prince arrived in Herat, the wazir served him with a complete show of loyalty. At any time, whether convenient for him or not, he would come and pay his respects to the prince. Although his close friends tried to warn him of the prince's malicious plotting, he thought that as long as he was a true and faithful servant, there was no reason to exercise caution. He therefore refused to listen to his friends' advice and placed himself

in the hands of fate. Then one day, when the wazir went to pay his respects, the prince, at the instigation of some of his more unscrupulous amirs, arrested him, and straight away deprived him of his eyesight. He also had him put in neck and leg-irons and incarcerated. The wazir's brothers, Sardar Shirdil Khan and Sardar Kuhandil Khan, who were at that moment at the bath, heard what had happened, quickly ran from the steam room, and fled. They laid hands on two horses belonging to people who did business in the city markets, and rode off towards Qandahar. At the fortress of Nad 'Ali, they joined the wazir's mother and resolved to avenge their brother's excecation. Immediately after this, Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran took control of the administration of Herat, appointed one of their own people as governor there and returned to Qandahar. They were still en route back when the flames of insurrection flared up.

*SARDAR MUHAMAD 'AZIM KHAN AND HIS BROTHER JOIN TO AVENGE  
THE WAZIR*

When news of the wazir's blinding reached Sardar Muhammad 'Azim Khan in Kashmir, he was grief-stricken and vowed revenge and sent off a letter expressing submission and obedience sealed by the most solemn oaths to Shah Shuja' who was now living in Ludhiana. In the letter, he wrote,

Henceforth, I will follow the path of sincere loyalty and render obedience to the shah with all my brothers and the Barakza'i clan. The only condition is that the shah forgive my actions on behalf of Shah Mahmud and let nothing affect his feelings towards me. Let him march on Peshawar and I will serve and assist him without question.

Because of the wazir's blinding, Shah Shuja' believed him and allowed himself to speculate on the possible consequences of having the resolute support

of the sons of Sardar Payandah Khan and being able to count on their eternal loyalty. He sent Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan's letter to Murray and other British officers in Delhi and asked their advice. Murray himself came to see the shah and said, "What this man says is utterly false, for the lamp of his pledge sheds only darkness. He will never serve (you) faithfully but if the shah believes what he says and decides to return to his ancestral kingdom, that is his choice." The shah believed his own view of the matter was more accurate /98/ and so made ready to travel. He wrote a letter in his own hand to Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan saying, "I will be coming to Peshawar by way of Bahawulpur and the Derahjat. You, too, should come from Kashmir to Peshawar." After sending this letter, he borrowed several thousand rupees from the money-lenders of Ludhiana and then left. When he reached Bahawulpur, Muhammad Sadiq Khan °Abbasi, to celebrate his visit, gave a formal reception with full honors. As *pīshkash* presents he offered twelve purses of minted white silver, 101 (gold) *ashrafi* pieces, an elephant, four horses outfitted with gold and silver trappings, fifty of the best camels, several hunting falcons, some bolts of fine Gujarati brocade (*kimkhwāb*), and other fine textiles. The shah, in return, presented him with a robe of honor and a horse equipped, with a gold and silver harness and asked him for 2,000 cavalry troops. Muhammad Sadiq assigned him the 2,000 under the command of Muhammad Ya°qub Khan.

In the meantime, a revised order issued by Shah Mahmud reached Samandar Khan Bamiza°i who had been named governor of the Derahjat after the dismissal of Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, instructing him to arrest and imprison his predecessor. Shortly after the order was executed, the province was thrown into turmoil. Shah Shuja° crossed the river and entered the Derahjat region whereupon Samandar Khan went out to fight him. The shah's followers had not yet pitched their tents when Samandar Khan appeared and a battle ensued. The shah mounted his horse and plunged into the fray. His followers proved stalwart, cutting off the heads of several of Samandar Khan's men and



tossing them at the shah's feet. Carrying the assault right to Samandar Khan's batteries, they killed a number of the artillerists and captured their pieces. Samandar Khan's props were knocked from under him and he retreated, taking refuge with Hafiz Muhammad Khan, the governor of Lahiyah (Liyah).

Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> entered Dera (Isma<sup>c</sup>il Khan) and a few days later dismissed the cavalry of Muhammad Sadiq Khan of Bahawulpur sending back with them some fine robes. During the forty days he was in Dera, he organized and equipped four field batteries. Samandar Khan then again attacked the shah. The encounter took place one manzil from Dera, and most of Samandar Khan's followers were killed. Badly defeated, the khan quickly retreated to Wajal, with Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> in pursuit. He did not try to make a stand there but continued fleeing with a few followers towards Qandahar. His now leaderless horse and foot contingents apologized to the shah and offered their services, which were accepted.

As Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s power gained widespread notice, many of his supporters who had withdrawn into the corners of hopelessness, now rode to join him, coming from Qandahar and other places. The first of these included Sardar Madad Khan, Sardar Purdil Khan, and Sardar Sar Buland Khan (sons of the wazir, Fath Khan) who arrived from Qandahar with 900 men. Elsewhere, Prince Muhammad Hashim and Prince Sultan Asad had deserted Shah Mahmud and joined Sardar Shirdil Khan and Sardar Kuhandil Khan at Nad <sup>c</sup>Ali. Those two sardars put together a large force of both prominent and ordinary people and now marched against Qandahar.

Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> in the meantime reappointed Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan governor of the Derahjat and left for Peshawar. There, at the request of the mirs of Sind, he named Prince Muhammad Timur viceroy and sent him with a garrison of 500 cavalry to Shikarpur. The prince left and there occupied himself with the administration of Sind.

*SARDAR MUHAMMAD °AZIM KHAN SENDS AN ARMY FROM KASHMIR TO  
PESHAWAR AND THEN HIMSELF MARCHES*

Sardar Muhammad °Azim, who had invited Shah Shuja° by letter to come from Ludhiana and conquer Peshawar freed Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan who till now had been held at Kuh-i Maran just as the shah was preparing to leave Ludhiana. He sent the sardar with Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan and a force of some 4,000 battle-tested soldiers first to Peshawar and then to Kabul. They occupied Peshawar and, since at this time there was still no sign of Shah Shuja°, they /99/ crowned Prince Ayyub shah and placed him on the throne in Peshawar and then left for Kabul.

Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, marching in their wake towards Peshawar, rode into Chach and Pakli just as Shah Shuja° entered Dera Isma°il Khan where a messenger from Hafiz Ahmad Khan Saduza°i, the governor of Lahiyah, arrived bringing many fine gifts including Turkish horses, the best Baluchi camels, and woolen and silk stuffs, all of which met with the shah's approval. The shah dressed the messenger in a ceremonial robe and then dismissed him, sending another robe with him to the governor of Lahiyah. From Dera Isma°il Khan Shah Shuja° then proceeded to Peshawar where Shah Ayyub, who did not have the power to oppose him, left the city and escaped to the lands of the Yusufza°i. Shah Shuja° entered Peshawar unhindered and established himself. From the Yusufza°i territory, Shah Ayyub eventually made his way to Chach and Pakli where he told Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan what had happened and placed the following request before him.

Through the good offices of your brothers, I had myself declared padishah but now that Shah Shuja is in Peshawar and has raised the flags of his government, my hope is that with your help and strength that title will not remain his for very long.

Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan assured Shah Ayyub of his support and rode with him towards Peshawar. When he got to Shahabad, five kuruhs from the city, he sent three of his most trusted men with a message to Shah Shuja° asking the shah to meet him alone, away from his entourage, for he was worried about his own safety if he should meet the shah with others present. The shah deemed the request fraught with peril and that same night he took a force from Peshawar and made camp at Tahkal in order to assay the fineness of Muhammad °Azim's coin. If he were honest and sincere he would come forward and declare his obedience. If not, it would show he was hostile to the shah and matters could be settled in battle. The shah then penned a letter to the sardar,

We have never contemplated selfish ends but have always kept in mind the welfare of all people, noble and commoner alike. Whenever you wish to meet me, do it without fear or anxiety, for you yourself know that for me to do something which goes against custom would only lead to sorrow. That would be especially true if I were to send my retainers away and meet alone with you.

Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan did not reply but instead sent, as an advance force, some detachments of local infantry militia under Mir Akhur Wali. Having sent his letter, Shah Shuja° left Peshawar for Tahkal and at Bagh-i °Ali Mardan clashed with the troops dispatched by the sardar. With no preliminary negotiations, the battle began and Mir Akhur Wali was promptly killed by a cannon ball. At the height of the fighting, a fire erupted in Shah Shuja's munitions, killing 200 of his infantrymen. Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan's followers were considerably heartened by this and routed Shah Shuja's men. Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan's cavalry launched an assault and seized the shah's ordnance and weapons. The shah managed to fight his way to the

foothills of the Khyber Mountains, elude his pursuers, and reach the Khyber Valley.

Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan then entered Peshawar and occupied it. For two months, while the shah was in the Khyber Valley, the sardar sent him messages inviting him to come to Peshawar and then go back to the Derahjat. But the shah did not trust him and in the end, following his own counsel, made his way to Dera Isma°il Khan by way of Kohat and Bannu. There a considerable quantity of gifts arrived from the governor of Lahiyah, Hafiz Ahmad Khan. The shah then left Dera Isma°il Khan and went to Wajal where, because of a shortage of supplies, he had to sell several sets of gold-filigree harnesses and spend the money on necessities. He then continued on to Shikarpur where he made his residence.

#### *SARDAR DUST MUHAMMAD KHAN TAKES KABUL*

Earlier it was mentioned how Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan and his brother, Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan, after placing Prince Ayyub on the throne at Peshawar, had gone off to conquer Kabul. Up to now, they had stayed in Jalalabad because while the abovementioned events were taking place, Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran returned from Herat to Qandahar. After their arrival there, /100/ they had sent Prince Jahangir with °Ata Muhammad Khan to Kabul in view of the disturbances in Peshawar and the oath of revenge sworn by the brothers of Wazir Fath Khan to fortify the city and prevent the sons of Sardar Payandah Khan from taking it.

This °Ata Muhammad Khan was the former governor of Kashmir who, as described earlier, had duped Wazir Fath Khan with a box of paste jewels, gone to Qandahar to Shah Mahmud with the help of Prince Kamran, and there had enjoyed considerable influence despite Wazir Fath Khan. So it was that when Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan with his brothers Yar Muhammad Khan and Pir

Muhammad Khan entered Jalalabad and heard of the arrival of Prince Jahangir and °Ata Muhammad Khan in Kabul, he (Dust Muhammad) decided to stay put for awhile. But then °Ata Muhammad Khan, who still held a grudge against Shah Mahmud for having been dismissed as governor of Kashmir, decided the time was right to settle the score. He sent a message in secret to Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan urging him to come to Kabul as fast as possible and telling him he (°Ata Muhammad) would put the prince in chains and hand him over and Dust Muhammad could then easily occupy the city. In order to make his message as credible as possible, he sent a Qur'an with it on which he impressed his seal.

Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan thereupon left Jalalabad for Kabul. For appearances sake, °Ata Muhammad marched out as if to defend the city, making his headquarters at Dih-i Khudaydad but when Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan neared Kabul, he withdrew into the city without challenging him. Prince Jahangir now became worried, barricaded himself in the Bala Hisar with Baqir Khan Kurd, who was known as (Baqir Khan) Qurt, and a contingent of Qizilbash, and wrote to Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran telling them what was happening.

Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan entered Kabul unopposed and put the Bala Hisar under siege. During the course of the siege he invited °Ata Muhammad Khan to come visit him. Because Dust Muhammad believed that °Ata Muhammad was the instigator of Wazir Fath Khan's blinding, he had Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan put his eyes out in retaliation and imprison him. He then began to make life very difficult for the men in the Bala Hisar. Under the Shah Burj on the eastern side of the fortress, a sapper from Kuhistan named Buland dug a tunnel, planted a charge, and blew a hole in the tower. Because it was not entirely destroyed, an assault that same day did not succeed. But Prince Jahangir now realized that he was as good as captured so he escaped from the citadel that night with Baqir Khan Qurt, went to the village of Hindaki, and from there made

his way to Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran in Qandahar. After a forty-day siege, the citadel fell and was occupied by Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan.

*SHAH MAHMUD AND PRINCE KAMRAN CAMPAIGN FROM QANDAHAR  
AGAINST KABUL BUT ARE DEFEATED*

When Prince Jahangir informed the shah what had happened, he and his son Prince Kamran prepared to drive Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan from Kabul. He appointed his deputy, Gul Muhammad Khan Fufalza<sup>3</sup>i, to govern Qandahar and then in 1234/1818–19, with 30,000 veterans, he took the now sightless Wazir Fath Khan who had been living at the saray of Madad Khan Ishaqz<sup>2</sup>ai and set out for Kabul. At Ghaznin, thanks to the compassion of Qazi Mulla Muhammad Sa<sup>6</sup>id Khan, Wazir Fath Muhammad Khan was able to wash the dust from his head and body in a bath set up under a tent and to change his clothes. On the road, he began to talk with the mulla about his impending death, speaking in such a way that one might have said his words were divinely inspired for things turned out just as he predicted. But let us not digress.

Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran now left Ghaznin. At Lurah, one of the sayyids of Darrah-i Pich Kunar petitioned Prince Kamran to release Wazir Fath Khan. Not only did he not comply, he took the occasion to carry the wazir's punishment even further. At Sayyidabad, he summoned all the Durrani leaders and ordered them to kill the wazir all together so that the hands and skirts of all Durranis would be stained with his blood and no one could then ally himself with the sons of Sardar Payandah Muhammad Khan. Although most had no desire to do so, nevertheless all these leaders now carried out the murder of the wazir, each one striking a blow and bringing his life to an end. This took place in 1234/1818–19. He was buried at the shrine of °Ali Lala Razi al-Din. A poet composed a chronogram on his death which subtracts the numerical value of the letter "m" in the word *muhr* (seal), which is forty, from the numerical value of

the last hemistich of the chronogram (which is 1,274). /101/

The date of his martyrdom

I've derived as follows:

Take the first letter of the 'seal of silence' from

'He came to Sayyidabad and was killed for no reason'

In addition, a chronogram of his death is inscribed on his tombstone next to the resting place of °Ali Lala Razi al-Din in Ghaznin.

A guardian angel of eternity (*hātīfī*) long mourned the year of his death

Like his father that great martyred nobleman.

The like of that rare amir and the uniqueness of this date

Whether high- or low-born, none has seen nor composed in this world

*THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN SARDAR DUST MUHAMMAD KHAN  
AND SHAH MAHMUD AND THE LATTER'S DEFEAT*

After the murder of the wazir, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, his brother, came out of Kabul at the head of 2,000 regular soldiers, 3,000 foot and mounted tribal militia, and four artillery batteries to stop the force from Qandahar. At Qal°ah-i Qazi, he set up his positions on both sides of the road and waited. At the Bandar Arghandah junction, he also built a redoubt and manned it with brave fighters. Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran made camp at the manzil of Maydan with their 30,000 troops. Realizing how difficult it would be to pass the above crossroads, they changed course and hurried towards the village of Chahar Asyab along the Bazak River where they made camp.

Seeing this, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan hastily moved from Qal°ah-i

Qazi and the redoubt at Arghandah towards the village of Hindaki and secured that route. The next day, in the hills between Hindaki and Chahar Asyab, the two sides drew up in battle formations. During the preliminary maneuverings, the *ishik-āqāsī*, Dilawar Khan Alkuza'i, resentful of Prince Kamran's rudeness to him, defected to Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan. The two armies spent a day without engaging each other and passed the night close to their own bases. Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan now devised a plan. He summoned 'Ata Muhammad Khan whom the shah had sent to Kabul and whom he (Dust Muhammad) had blinded and said to him, "Either make up your mind to be killed or do as I say." As 'Ata Muhammad put a high value on his own life, he said, "Whatever my lord commands is the best thing." So Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan asked him to disclose the signals and secret codes between Shah Mahmud and him. He then drafted a letter in the handwriting of Ghulam Ahmad Khan, his ('Ata Muhammad's) brother, which said, after the appropriate passwords had been given, "the generals of the army accompanying the shah are in league with Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan and have been corresponding and negotiating with him. When the battle is at its height, they plan to seize the shah and prince and hand them over to the sardar."

The letter was then sealed with 'Ata Muhammad's seal and sent to Prince Kamran by courier in the middle of the night. When he reached the prince, (the latter) was seated at table, just having washed his hands before eating. The letter was handed to him, he opened it, and read it from beginning to end. He immediately pulled his hand back from his food in fear. After telling his father, the two men, without informing anyone else, fled to Qandahar. The next morning this was discovered by the army which promptly retreated in complete disarray on the heels of the prince and the shah. At the manzil of Shash Gaw, the army overtook the two men. Thinking that the horsemen coming up on them belonged to Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, the shah and prince galloped away in panic and did not loosen their reins until they reached Qalat-i Tukhi where



they learned that Sardar Shirdil Khan and Sardar Purdil Khan, brothers of Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, had now occupied Qandahar. So from Qalat they were forced to take the road to Dihrawad. They stayed there until Sardar Kuhandil Khan marched out of Qandahar with Prince Malik Qasim intending to do away with them.

As has been noted earlier, Prince Malik Qasim had been sent from Herat to Kabul with his father, Hajji Firuz al-Din, at Shah Mahmud's behest and later had been transferred to Qandahar. As Kuhandil Khan and he approached Dihrawad, the shah and Prince Kamran escaped to Herat where they re-established their authority. Hajji Firuz al-Din who had been in Shah Mahmud's custody until the latter left Qandahar decided that the moment was opportune and left Qandahar with (Prince Malik Qasim), his son, his family and his entourage /102/ and headed for Iran. At Mashhad he was greeted by Prince Hasan °Ali Mirza the "Shuja° al-Saltanah."

*SARDARS SHIRDIL KHAN, KUHANDIL KHAN AND PURDIL KHAN TAKE  
OVER QANDAHAR*

The details are as follows: after the execution of their brother, the wazir, these sardars had made their headquarters at Nad °Ali and vowed to exact revenge for the loss of his eyesight. They stayed at Nad °Ali waiting for the right moment which came when Shah Mahmud left his deputy, Gul Muhammad Khan Fufalza°i, to govern and guard Qandahar and left for Kabul with Prince Kamran. The sardars, with other members of the Barakzai clan, then immediately marched against Qandahar. Gul Muhammad Khan barricaded himself inside the city and prepared for a siege. Eventually, realizing that he could not withstand the Barakza°i force, he sent them a humble message hoping thereby to put them off. It read,

Until it is known whether Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan wins or loses, they should refrain from the conquest of Qandahar. If Shah Mahmud is defeated, I will hand the city over to you forthwith. Otherwise, you lack the power to face the padishah. He will fight for this city which you will only be able to take with a great deal of bloodshed. The best thing to do, therefore, is refrain from combat and wait.

Outwardly, they agreed to his proposal, but secretly, according to the maxim, “all’s fair in war” they committed themselves to overcoming his defenses. Lulled by their answer, Gul Muhammad Khan let down his guard. Equipped with assault ladders, they then launched a night attack. When they had leaned their ladders against the walls and towers of the city, the order was given to climb. The first person over the the walls was Mir Dad Khan, the son of Mulla Bazar Barakza’i. He climbed the walls of the Shah Burj Nurza’i and dropped down into the city. Others followed and soon began to pillage and loot the property of Shah Mahmud’s supporters. Deputy Gul Muhammad Khan managed to escape, bringing the news to Shah Mahmud and Prince Kamran at the manzil of Khurzanah.

As already mentioned, they then went to Herat, travelling via Darrah-i Buri, Dahlah, Tirin, Dihrawad, Kutal-i Kuhandilan, and the Ghurat. After the sack and occupation of Qandahar, Sardar Shirdil Khan gave everyone who had shown valor a robe of honor and cash and named Mir Dad Khan to the post of *ishik āqāsī*. Peshawar, the Derahjat, Kabul, and Qandahar—all the cities except Herat—were now under the control of Wazir Fath Khan’s brothers, each of whom now governed one of these cities.

#### *SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup>’S TREATY WITH THE MIRS OF SIND*

Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, who as described above had fled Peshawar and was in

Shikarpur during the struggle for Qandahar, now concluded a treaty with the mirs of Sind. He first crossed the Indus with 50 retainers and visited Mir Suhrab Khan at Khayrpur. The latter received him with respect and gave him various *pīshkash*-gifts. Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup> proposed that he offer him his allegiance and assist him. The mir agreed and the two decided that he would abide by whatever terms the mirs of Haydarabad accepted. The shah gave robes of a royal quality to him, his sons and his relatives as well as horses, rifles, and Iranian swords and then crossed the river on his way to Haydarabad.

The amirs of Haydarabad, who had no inkling of the shah's intention until he arrived, were somewhat surprised, but out of courtesy sent him provisions by the hand of the son of Mir Ghulam <sup>°</sup>Ali Khan and a message which said, "Mir Karam <sup>°</sup>Ali Khan and Mir Murad <sup>°</sup>Ali Khan request the pleasure of His Highness' company and with high expectation are awaiting permission to see him." The shah lavished favors on their envoy and said he would meet them the next day. Pleased by his readiness to receive them, /103/ they came and laid before him 500 pieces of *ashrafi* (gold coin) and 20,000 rupees. In return, they were given robes of honor. Setting a second meeting as the time that he would reveal his plans, he gave them leave to return home.

At the second meeting, they asked the shah to tell them what lay hidden in his mind. In view of their apparent sincerity, the shah received them kindly, set another meeting for the following day, and then dismissed them. The following day, all the mirs of Sind attended his court and were addressed by the shah,

Despite flooded rivers and the sun's heat, the royal entourage has come to this country with one aim. That is that you unite in obedience to the royal command, draft a binding agreement, and submit it to our officials so that by taking the path of service and uprightness, you will keep yourselves distant from Shah Mahmud, Sardar Muhammad <sup>°</sup>Azim Khan, and the sons of the late Sardar Payandah Khan.

They held off responding to the shah and returned to their homes until they could confer with the Baluchi khans. When they met with the Baluchi khans and found them amenable to the proposal, they once again went to see the shah and said to him, “We accept this agreement with our hearts and lives and will walk the path of service and obedience. We will seek to do nothing but what the shah commands and prohibits.”

In accordance with this declaration, a treaty was penned in the margins of a Qurʾan and was affirmed by invoking the names of the prophets, the saints, ʿAli Murtaza, the rest of the Twelve Imams, and Hazrat-i ʿAbbas. They sealed the treaty and handed it to the shah and promised that if Shah Mahmud or Sardar Muhammad ʿAziim Khan and his brothers attempted to conquer Sind and Shikarpur, they and the Baluch would rise up to drive them off, and would spare neither money nor life in doing so. Likewise, if the shah were to embark on a campaign to retrieve Qandahar, they would not refuse to provide money and troops. Thirdly, they would take Dera Ghazi Khan, and restore it to the Shah’s people. In addition, whenever the shah’s harem came to Sind, they would gladly provide it with whatever gifts and presents they could. In return for the above, they requested that when the throne of the ancestral lands came into the possession of the shah and his supporters, the revenues of Sind and Shikarpur would be assigned to them and would be taken from the jurisdiction of (Afghan) state officials.

The shah agreed and wrote a deed of exemption (*raqam-i ʿināyat*) for them. After ending the talks and concluding this treaty, the mirs presented many fine gifts—numerous gold and silver coins, fine woolen, silk, and gold-embroidered textiles, a telescope, a clock, crystal and china, finely chased guns, Qurʾans, religious tokens (*wazāyif-i madhhab*), two elephants, tents, rugs, two mobile swivel guns, etc.—and were themselves the recipients of royal largesse.

Afterwards, the mirs appointed their own representatives to attend the shah

along with Mir Ismaʿil Khan and then all were excused. These representatives were to accompany the shah to Shikarpur. After the mir left, the shah and Mir Ismaʿil Khan set out for Shikarpur. En route, Mir Suhrab Khan came to welcome them and placed his seal on the treaty and became party to it. At Shikarpur, the shah again made his residence there.

*SARDAR MUHAMMAD ʿAZIM'S CAMPAIGN TO SIND AT THE REQUEST OF  
THE MIRS THERE WHO WERE NOT PARTY TO THE TREATY*

When all of Afghanistan except Herat had come under the authority of Wazir Fath Khan's brothers, Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan, the next eldest to the wazir, handed Kashmir and Peshawar over to two of his brothers, brought Shah Ayyub, whom he had put on the throne, to Kabul, imprisoned him, and then put the latter's son, Prince Muhammad Ismaʿil, to death. He gave Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan an artillery salute and the government of Ghaznin as reward for his defeating Shah Mahmud and occupying Kabul.

Meanwhile, letters from certain mirs in Sind reached Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan, inviting his intervention. The circumstances behind these letters were as follows: After concluding a treaty with some of the mirs, Shah Shujaʿ had spent all of 1235/October 1819–September 1820 in Shikarpur and raised a force of 5,000 cavalry, some infantry, and two pieces of artillery in order to regain control of Afghanistan. He had yet to set out when trouble erupted in Sind instigated by bandits. The Englishman, Elphinstone, came from his own territory with a force to suppress the troublemakers. At the same time, the mirs of Sind had assigned some Baluch to put a stop to these thieves.

The arrival of the British on their soil alarmed them and they sent an emissary, Mir Ismaʿil Khan, to Mr. /104/ Elphinstone with the message saying that he should not interfere in the district on the pretext of curbing the brigands. The appearance of the British also raised the mirs' suspicions about Shah Shujaʿ

and rumors began to spread. Eventually they believed their suspicions were well-founded and said,

The shah annually takes 130,000 rupees from the revenues of Sind for his living expenses. But not satisfied with that, it is more than likely that he has made some agreement with the British to seize and jointly occupy the territory of Sind and to reduce us to a conquered servile status.

Under these apprehensions, the mirs broke their covenant with the shah and sent the letter and messenger referred to above to Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, inviting him to Sind and saying that if he did not come as soon as possible the entire territory would pass to English control, thanks to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>.

The sardar thereupon left Kabul for Sind by way of Qandahar. He took with him Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan and a large force and named Sardar Amir Muhammad Khan, Dust Muhammad Khan's uterine brother, as governor of Ghaznin in Dust Muhammad's place. Once in Qandahar, he stayed three months and then, in 1236/1820–1821, set off for Sind via the Boland Pass route, also accompanied now by another brother, Sardar Shirdil Khan. While on the road, he sent Sardar Shirdil Khan off through the Mostang Pass to conciliate the Baluch who were involved at the time in certain rebellious activities. The Baluchis blocked the pass with wood, earth, and rocks and took up positions, like Gog, behind that solid wall. Sardar Shirdil Khan, advancing along the road, ordered his army to divide into three columns, two to ascend the mountains on either side of the pass. He too climbed to the top of a mountain and the attack began. In one assault, the Baluchis were driven from their redoubts. The sardar killed many of them, meted out appropriate punishment (to the rest), and then continued on towards Shikarpur where he rejoined Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan.

When the mirs of Sind got word of the arrival of Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan's army, they came from Haydarabad to welcome him, crossing the Indus River and halting for a time at the town of Larganah where Mir Suhrab Khan joined them with a contingent of his own. Nominally, at least, they were still allied with Shah Shuja° but in reality they were (now) acting in concert with Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan and messages passed back and forth between them. This continued until Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan entered Kachi and Shah Shuja° came out of Shikarpur to fight him.

Hearing of the movement of the shah's force, people from the surrounding region deserted Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan each day by tens and twenties and joined the shah. As a result, the sardar had to defer his plans for Shikarpur and march instead towards Larganah where the mirs of Sind had assembled. He wanted to forestall the uniting of their forces or their linking up with Shah Shuja°. When the shah found out about his detour to Larganah, he too rode there, stopping twenty kuruhs away where detachment after detachment of Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan 's cavalry defected to him. Because the sardar seemed to be showing a lack of proper respect for them, the mirs, too, began to be disenchanted and sent their seals to Shah Shuja° by the hand of a trusted retainer along with a message which said, "Our path to the shah is blocked. Consequently, the witness to the claim is out of sight of the desired object (i.e. the shah is unable to ascertain the sincerity of their earlier agreement) so on the morrow he should head for Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan's base, knowing that our people are with him."

The shah took the message of the Sindis as the key to victory and seeing light on night's dark road, the next morning he reached the camp of the Baluchis. Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, apprehensive about the opposition of the Sindi mirs, quickly sent his son, Habib Allah Khan, and his brother, Nawwab °Abd al-Jabbar Khan to placate them. The message they delivered said,

I want whatever you want. I've spent a great deal of money to come here at your request. Had it not been for that, I would have had no interest other than the reward of following God's path and preventing British seizure of Muslim lands. I had, and have, no other thought in mind than this. Now that you are of two minds and two voices, you ought to decide to observe your own obligations and give me protection. Or, tie my hands and turn me over to the shah.

When they received this message, the Sindi mirs sent a certain Wali Muhammad to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and informed him, 'The son and brother of Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan have come to us and delivered this message, the answer to which we refer to you for your approval and advice as to how we should deal with him.' Well aware of Sindi double-dealing and their violations of the pact with him /105/ the shah dismissed their messenger without a reply. The next day, their envoy again came to the shah and said,

We ask the shah to stay awhile at Darazah on the banks of the Indus because of the Baluchi trouble which lies heavy on our necks. We ask pardon for (having involved) Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan and will send him back to Afghanistan. The most reasonable thing would be for the shah to enter Shikarpur, rest there, and carry out those things which now lie hidden in his heart.

Once again, the shah did not respond to their message but, bearing in mind their duplicity, decided to spare himself trouble and so rode back to Ludhiana. When he crossed the Indus, the mirs of Sind learned of his departure and sent him a sum of a few thousand rupees and a message which said, "We confer on the shah Kut-i Sabzal which produces (an income of) one lak of rupees so that



he may go and reside there. Then, at an appropriate time, he should ask us for Shikarpur.”

Knowing their words to be false and misleading, the shah did not agree. From (the Indus) he pushed on towards Ludhiana. When he arrived in Jashilmir, the local rajah, deeming his appearance a high honor, showed him all deference, sparing no expense in giving *pīshkash* gifts. In return, he himself was the recipient of the gift of a robe and an elephant. When the shah reached Pu Karan he stopped for two days to allow those who had been left behind to catch up. The rajah there showed no regard whatsoever for the shah and even sent out thieves one night to steal two of his horses. But later he had them returned. At the manzil of Judpur, the rajah was a decent man.

From Judpur the shah headed for the shrine of Khwajah Mu‘in al-Din Chishti in Ajmir. There he performed a ziyarat-pilgrimage at the saint’s grave and gave 1,000 rupees to the attendants of the shrine as alms. Thence to Jaynigar, where the rajah received him with full honors. When he arrived six kurus away from Shah Jahanabad, he stopped for a while and Akbar, the padishah of Delhi, gave him a very cordial and respectful welcome. From there he traveled on to Ludhiana which he made his residence for the next few years.

Sardar Muhammad ‘Azim Khan, having now taken control of Sind, appointed one of his brothers, Sardar Rahmdil Khan, its governor and then hoisted the banners of departure. He re-appointed Sardar Shirdil Khan governor of Qandahar and then marched north to Kabul with Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, where he began to govern with full discretionary powers.

The British force which had entered Sind on the pretext of suppressing the brigands also withdrew at this point.

During this same period, Prince Hasan ‘Ali Mirza “Shuja‘ al-Saltanah” marched from Mashhad to punish the rebellious khans of Khurasan and straighten out affairs throughout the area. When he arrived in Turbat-i Haydariyah, Mirza ‘Abd al-Wahhab Khan “Mu‘tamid al-Dawlah” was sent to

Qal'ah-yi Naw, at his own request, to bring Bunyad Khan Hazarah, who had laid siege to the stronghold, in submission before the prince. When Mu'tamid al-Dawlah arrived, Bunyad Khan lifted the siege but would not go to the prince and instead went to Qal'ah-i Kariz in Bakharz.

The prince then made for that fortress with 3,000 veteran fighters, in order to eradicate Bunyad Khan. On Friday, the 24th of Ramadan 1236/25 June 1821, he clashed with Bunyad Khan who had with him Jamshidi, Hazarah, and Firuz Kuhi infantry and cavalry. The fight raged from morning until noon at which point Bunyad Khan withdrew. The prince pursued him as far as Kuhistan but Bunyad Khan, without halting there, took refuge among the Jamshidi. The prince seized his money and belongings, freed the Iranian prisoners he had taken, and appointed Ibrahim Khan Hazarah governor of Qal'ah-i Naw and Bakharz. He then marched towards Herat, making camp at Barni.

Shah Mahmud sent a man to him telling him to stay out of Herat. The prince, in turn, sent Mirza Musa Gilani as envoy to the shah. The shah gave the envoy 50,000 rupees from the revenues of Herat which Hajji Firuz al-Din had bound himself by treaty to remit. Along with the money, Shah Mahmud sent 100 bolts of Kashmiri shawl cloth as a gift. The envoy brought these things to the prince, who, now satisfied, returned to Mashhad by way of Barni. /106/

#### *THE DEATH OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD 'AZIM KHAN AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS*

In 1238/1822–23, after Sardar Shirdil Khan had led an army against Herat, put Shah Mahmud under siege, and then, because of a dreadful calamity which occurred—all of which will be recounted below—returned to Qandahar without having achieved his end, Sardar Muhammad 'Azim Khan came to the end of his days at the age of 38 and was buried on the western side of the Mazar-i 'Ashiqan wa 'Arifan in Kabul. A verse producing the date of his death is

inscribed on his tombstone. When they ask the year of his death, say “God has made a place for him in Paradise” (the numerical value of the letters totaling 1238).

His son, Habib Allah Khan, succeeded him as head of the Kabul government. Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, who had been appointed to the government of Kuhistan-i Kabul after his return from Qandahar with the late sardar, was there when he heard of his brother’s illness. He returned to Kabul and was at the shrine of Sayyid Mahdi when word came of his brother’s death, whereupon he traveled to Ghaznin via Afshar Nang Chi to join Sardar Amir Muhammad Khan who had been named governor there in his stead. After assembling an army, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan marched back to take Kabul. Sardar Habib Allah Khan rose to the challenge and the two clashed at Sayyidabad, with Habib Allah Khan emerging the victor and Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan retreating to Ghaznin. Again he outfitted an army to conquer Kabul and the two sides again clashed, this time at Qariyah Aghah known popularly as Qarghah. This time it was Sardar Habib Allah Khan who suffered defeat and so Kabul came under Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan’s control.

Meantime, Sardar Shirdil Khan, who had put Herat under siege, called it off after learning of Sardar Muhammad ‘Azim Khan’s death. Mindful of the fact that the Kabul treasure contained 900,000 rupees in cash and also that Sardar Habib Allah Khan was not a wholly responsible person, he marched on Kabul to prevent the squandering of this sum. He sent Sardar Mihrdil Khan on ahead with all speed to closely supervise Sardar Habib Allah Khan’s management of the treasury until he himself could arrive via the Qandahar route. At Qandahar, he re-provisioned his forces and then continued on to Kabul. Some of his other brothers heard of his campaign, and somewhat resentfully said, “He wants to depose Sardar Habib Allah Khan and place himself on the throne.”

Then, when Kabul came under Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan’s control, the other brothers who held various provincial governorships, all set out for Kabul.

Sardar °Ata Muhammad Khan sent Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan and Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan with an army from Peshawar. Ostensibly, they were sent to help Sardar Habib Allah Khan but in fact they were after the money accumulated by Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan. They joined forces with Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan who reached Kabul ahead of them and conferred about what to do concerning Sardar Shirdil Khan's imminent arrival. It was decided that Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan and Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan would act in concert with Sardar Habib Allah Khan but only subject to Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan's approval. They also agreed to oppose Sardar Shirdil Khan, using force if need be.

So it was that Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan and his brothers in Kabul came out of the city with Qizilbash and Kabuli forces and secured the road at Chahar Dahi against Sardar Shirdil Khan. When the latter reached Qal°ah-i Qazi and saw the road blocked, he headed for Qal°ah-i Fazil Beg in order to enter Kabul through the village(s) of Afshar (and) Nang Chi. But Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan had already gone to secure the roads there as well and the two sides met on the open plain between Qal°ah-i Qazi and Qal°ah-i Fazil Beg. After a good fight, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan and the brothers on his side were defeated and withdrew into Kabul. In the flush of triumph Sardar Shirdil Khan first stopped at Qal°ah-i Fazil Beg and then continued the next day through Afshar to the vicinity of Nang Chi where another skirmish was fought. Again victorious, the sardar rode to the village of Pustin Duz-ha where he made his headquarters.

Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan now fortified the eastern side of the city which faced the enemy's camp. From Murad Khani to the Lahuri Gate /107/ he stationed Qizilbash and Kabuli troops with orders to keep the buildings of the city at their backs. Sardar Shirdil Khan, realizing that the conquest of the city would be very difficult because of the way the defenders were dug in, left Pustin Duz-ha and went to the Bala Hisar. He posted men beneath the walls of the

citadel and around the grounds of the Hushmand Khan fortress and then entered the (Bala Hisar) fortress through the Khuni Gate. With the help of people living inside the citadel who had opened the gates for him, he took Sardar Habib Allah Khan into custody. Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan meantime was securing every alley and Street of the city with the help of his brothers and posted troops on the Shir Darwazah heights as well as on the Burj-i °Uqabayn (which also) is called Burj-i Yak Laghu. For some time the two sides engaged in a bitter struggle until their supplies were exhausted. They then agreed to settle the issue once and for all on Marinjan Hill (Tapah-i Marinjan) and so withdrew from the Bala Hisar and the city to the hilltop. There they clashed, blood flowed, and La°al Muhammad Khan *mīrākhūr*, one of the most trusted men in Sardar Shirdil Khan's entourage, struck Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan down with his sword. He also inflicted a wound on Sardar Mihrdil Khan's horse, and unseated the sardar who was then captured. The two sides fought through the day and then retired to their respective camps for the night. At dawn, Sardar Shirdil Khan, foreseeing the consequences of the conflict, went to Nawwab °Abd al-Jabbar's house with a single rider in order to negotiate a peaceful solution. Nawwab °Abd al-Jabbar was the eldest of the brothers and when Shirdil Khan asked him to use his good offices he assembled the other brothers under his roof. They were in the midst of negotiations when Sardar Shirdil Khan began to versify:

We are five brothers, all of one line  
Like five fingers on the hand of time  
When each to himself, we are like fluttering pennants to the eye  
But when we close ranks, like a fist to the mouth.

These verses referred to the fact that he and Sardar Kuhandil Khan, Sardar Purdil Khan, Sardar Rahmdil Khan, and Sardar Mihrdil Khan, were all sons of Sardar Payandah Khan by the same mother and implies their potential authority

(if all five were united). In short, because of the good fortune which smiled on them all, fighting turned to peace-making and they agreed that they would recognize Sardar Shirdil Khan as *primus inter pares* but would still consult on all matters and would try to avoid disputes. They also agreed that they would not act contrary to the opinion of any one of them who might be more correct. In order to eliminate discord such as that shown by Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan who had twice or three times fought with Sardar Habib Allah Khan for possession of Kabul, marriage ties were contracted between Sardar Habib Allah Khan's sister and Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan's son, and between Muhammad Akbar's sister and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, son of the late Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan.

*THE TYRANNY OF KHUDAY NAZAR KHAN AND GHIYATH AL-DIN KHAN  
OVER THE PEOPLE OF KABUL*

After concluding the agreement and extinguishing the flames of battle, Sardar Shirdil Khan appointed Khuday Nazar of the Sahhak clan of the Ghilja'i and Ghiyath al-Din Khan Akhundzadah-i Alikuza'i as his deputies to find and collect any missing cash and goods of the late Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, an uncle on his mother's side. He was also careful to emphasize that they were not to take a single thing from anyone without proper documentation. But those two fellows, fruits of the tree of tyranny and oppression, opened the gates of unaccountability and extended the hand of arbitrariness, seizing money and possessions from the people of Kabul. They confiscated the belongings of everyone who had anything at all and, as a result, the people became thoroughly disgusted with Sardar Shirdil Khan, spoke of his injustice and partiality and recited his oppressive acts until gradually the idea of a rebellion began to form. Even though he knew what was going on, Sardar Shirdil Khan preferred to turn a blind eye, pretending that things were other than they were and refused to

inquire into the matter. Notwithstanding the fact that he should have been salving the wounds of those who had suffered ill-treatment, instead he decided to chastise and punish those who had complained. But Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan warned him /108/ against adopting such a course and tried to deter him. In view of the large numbers of the people of Kabul and the small amount of weapons at his own disposal, he gave up the idea (of punishing the complainants) until a more opportune time when he had the capability. At this time and with the approval of all the brothers, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan was appointed to the governorship of Kuhistan-i Kabul, Sardar Amir Muhammad Khan to Ghaznin, Nawwab °Abd al-Jabbar Khan to Lamqan, Nawwab Muhammad Zaman to Jalalabad, and Sardar °Ata Muhammad Khan, Nawwab Asad Khan, and Sardar Rahmdil Khan as before to Peshawar, the Derahjat, and Sind respectively. Each man then left for his own region.

*SARDAR SHIRDIL KHAN GOES BACK TO QANDAHAR AND SARDAR °ATA  
MUHAMMAD KHAN DIES*

After these assignments, Sardar Shirdil Khan let it be known that he was going to return to Qandahar. The people of Kabul were delighted and believing they would be secure once he left, they refrained from doing what they had planned to do. In 1239/1823–1824 Sardar Shirdil Khan appointed his brother, Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan, to whom he had the closest attachment, governor of Kabul and then raised his banners for Qandahar. Soon afterwards, Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan received a letter from his brother in Peshawar, Sardar °Ata Muhammad Khan. The letter informed him that the wound Sardar °Ata Muhammad Khan had suffered in battle with Shah Shuja° at Badah Bir (Dah Bir) had recurred, pus had flowed from it to his extremities and his overall condition was now very grave. Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan immediately left for Peshawar, leaving another brother, Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, in

charge in Kabul. By the time he reached Peshawar it was clear that Sardar °Ata Muhammad's time had come, no matter what treatment he received. He died in 1239 at the age of 39 and was buried at the shrine of Shaykh Habib, near Peshawar. Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan now assumed control of Peshawar.

*THE UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE OF SIND AND THE DEATH OF SARDAR  
SHIRDIL KHAN*

At the end of 1241/June 1826, the mirs of Sind rebelled, assembled a huge army with contingents from every ethnic group there, and rose against their governor, Sardar Rahmdil Khan. When Sardar Shirdil Khan received word, he left Qandahar with a large force intending to put down the uprising. Sardar Rahmdil Khan, frightened by the masses of Sindis who had risen against him, appointed Na'ib Sultan Khan, the son of Allah Dad Khan Angiza'i as his replacement, and set his face towards Qandahar to solicit help from Sardar Shirdil Khan. En route, at the manzil of Dhakard, he met the latter who upbraided him asking, "Why have you left your district instead of standing firm there?" Sardar Rahmdil Khan apologized but since nothing could be done about it now, Sardar Shirdil Khan swallowed his anger and together they rode into the abovementioned manzil. There, by God's ineffable will, Sardar Shirdil Khan came down with a high fever. He returned to Qandahar, still in a feverish condition, and on the 25th of Muharram 1242/29 July 1826, at the age of 41, he died. He was buried at the shrine of Hazrat-i Ji Sahib, near the Shah Burj at the Bardarani Gate of Ahmad Shah City. Thanks to his death, the ship of Sindi hopes reached the shore of salvation and Na'ib Sultan Khan was expelled from the soil of Sind.

*SARDAR DUST MUHAMMAD KHAN TAKES KABUL*



After Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan's death and Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan's departure for Peshawar, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan who was ensconced as governor of Kuhistan-i Kabul and had been aware of Kabuli anger at Khuday Nazar's oppression, was now concerned that the people there would rise up at the news of Sardar Shirdil Khan's death and rebel against Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan because of all their grievances. So he left Kuhistan for Kabul. Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, annoyed by his march on the city, took a force out to stop him and demanded he turn back. Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, concerned by this show of force, first rallied /109/ the Qizilbash of Kabul behind him and then with their help and the help of the Kuhistanis with him, he prepared to meet Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan in battle. He entered Kabul by force but then, despite Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan's hostility, summoned him in a brotherly way and treated him with great kindness, saying, "Let us deal with the administration of the affairs of Kabul together and let us both live in brotherly harmony." As Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan now considered himself virtually a prisoner, he had no choice but to agree to Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan's proposal. However, as soon as the opportunity presented itself, he escaped to Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan in Peshawar.

*THE TROUBLES CAUSED BY SAYYID AHMAD AND MAWLAWI ISMA°IL*

*HINDI*

In India there lived a certain Sayyid Ahmad, a regular cavalryman in the British army, who sometime prior to this period had been proclaimed "the promised messiah" by a certain Mawlawi Isma°il and a number of the ulama of Delhi. Large crowds of people had flocked to him and the British authorities, worried that the congregating of such masses of people threatened to turn into an uprising against the government, had expelled these two men from India. They had gone to Mecca by sea and after performing the hajj-pilgrimage had arrived

in Qandahar via Musqat and Baluchistan.

During this time (1242/1826–27), they came to Kabul where Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, a son of Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, had offered them lodgings at his garden-estate. Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan and Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan deemed their arrival a great honor, as one was a sayyid and the other a scholar and received them both with great deference and respect. During their stay, the two men exhorted the sardars to proclaim a jihad against the Sikhs who had taken control of Kashmir and the Punjab, but to no avail. The reason the sardars gave was that they did not have the military strength to face the Sikh army for they were only newly in power. And no matter how much thought they gave to the question of a jihad, they still could foresee no other result but the killing of Muslims.

So the two religious figures left Kabul, having failed to get what they wanted, traveled to Peshawar, and there urged Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan to undertake the jihad. This time their mission succeeded. The sardar summoned the men of Swat, the Yusufza'i, Khuttak and Mohmand tribes, and the people living in Kuhat and the Derajat to a holy war and they prepared to fight Hari Singh, Ranjit Singh's commander-in-chief. When the battle formations were drawn up, Sayyid Ahmad sat astride an elephant whose four legs were securely fastened together with chain. To those who asked why the elephants legs were shackled, he would say,

Since it is forbidden (*harām*) to turn one's back in jihad, I have had the elephant's legs chained. If defeat comes to the army of Islam, I will not be able to flee, whether it is my own personal desire to do so or because of the whisperings of Satan which have a grip on man's heart right up to the moment of death.

The resolve of the men was strengthened by these words and when the

market of battle opened for business, trade in the goods of strife was brisk. However, before one could tell winner from loser, the sayyid jumped down from the back of the elephant, mounted a mare which one of his companions had, fled the scene, and rode off to Kuhat. As a result, the army of Islam gave up the fight after many had been killed. After this debacle anyone with common sense would not go near the sayyid. Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan, also turned from him, but eventually was killed at the hands of the sayyid, as will be related below.

During this time, Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, aggrieved by Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan's occupation of Kabul, fled the city and joined Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan in Peshawar.

*SARDAR PURDIL KHAN LEADS A FORCE TO AVENGE SARDAR SULTAN  
MUHAMMAD KHAN*

When Sardar Purdil Khan learned of Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan's seizure of Kabul and Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan's escape to Peshawar, he left Qandahar with a military force to fight Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan in Kabul, in accordance with the pact which Sardar Shirdil Khan had had all the brothers agree to. When he learned of his approach, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan left Kabul to intercept him. Just as he was leaving, cholera broke out in the city and gradually spread through his army. By the time he reached the manzil of Sar Chashmah-i Muqur, it had become epidemic. Sardar Purdil Khan had also reached that manzil and the two sides camped facing each other. But instead of both sides falling on each other and shedding each other's blood, the wind of cholera's destruction began to blow with such force /110/ that both armies (soon) found themselves completely occupied burying their own dead. In groups of fives and tens, they threw the dead into one hole and shoveled earth over the bodies.

This went on until the ferocity of the cholera combined with brotherly

concern changed confrontation into negotiation. The two brothers discussed an accord and then drafted a covenant to which they appended a list of terms including: Sardar Purdil Khan would be content with the government of Qandahar and not cast covetous eyes on Ghaznin and Kabul; similarly Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan was to consider Kabul and Ghaznin sufficient and not attempt to expand his authority beyond Qalat-i Tukhi; in addition, the revenues of the following villages were to be the stipends (*tankhwāh*) of the men listed, all of whom were supporters of Sardar Purdil Khan—Sad Murdah-i Maydan in Kabul was to belong to Saydal Khan Payar-i Khay; Beg Samand with Khurd-i Kabul was to go to Khuday Nazar Khan and Mawla Dad Khan Mama; Kudah was to be the stipend of Mulla Mu<sup>3</sup>min; Tirah Khayl was *suyurghāl*-grant for Ishik-aqasi Khangul Khan, and the village of Nani in Ghaznin was to belong to Hajji Zala Khan. In like manner, a number of villages around Qandahar were to provide *jāygīr*-grant stipends for some of Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan's military supporters (*nawkar*) who were from that region. The two men drafted and formalized the agreement, both sides put their seals to it, and each took a copy. Thus Qalat-i Tukhi became the dividing line separating the two sides and neither was to overstep it. Each side now returned home and turned its attention to its own administrative affairs.

*PRINCE KAMRAN HAS A FALLING-OUT WITH HIS FATHER, SHAH  
MAHMUD, AND THE WALI OF MASHHAD LEADS AN ARMY TO HELP THE  
PRINCE*

During all of this, Shah Mahmud began to detect signs of hostility in Prince Kamran's behavior and, afraid that he might be taken into custody, the shah left Herat. He then assembled a force made up of people from around Farah and Isfizar and resolved to depose his son. The prince, in turn, averted the filial face and sought help from the "Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Saltanah," Prince Hasan <sup>c</sup>Ali Mirza, the

regent of Mashhad who sent Muhammad Amin Pazuki with 500 horse to Herat to help the grateful prince. With his throng of followers, Shah Mahmud marched towards Maymanah, Murghab, Badghis, and Gharjistan where he raised some 4,000 cavalrymen before heading back to Herat. Prince Kamran assigned his son, Prince Jahangir, to undertake the city's defense. Muhammad Amin Khan Pazuki, who had come to help, made his base at Bagh-i Shah. Leaving the manzil of Sar Chashmah-i Badghis, Shah Mahmud rode to the edge of Herat territory through the low hills known as Kamar-i Kalagh. En route he assigned a group to deal with Muhammad Amin Khan.

The latter, leading 500 Khurasani horse, raised his battle flags and the two groups clashed, The outcome was still in the balance when Shah Mahmud attacked his grandson, Prince Jahangir, and routed him, At the same time, Muhammad Amin Khan abandoned the fight and retreated with the prince to Herat. Shah Mahmud pursued them and placed the city under siege. Fearing that the citizens would revolt and let his father into the city, Prince Kamran wrote Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Saltanah a letter explaining how matters stood and asking him for more help. The Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Saltanah, who was in Nishapur at the beginning of Dhi Hijjah 1241/August 1825 just at the time of the Sindi uprising and Sardar Shirdil Khan's campaign to suppress them, departed for Herat and made his camp at the edge of Ghuriyan.

Prince Kamran was encouraged by his arrival and emerged from Herat to confront his father directly, After much fighting, Shah Mahmud gave up and withdrew. The Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Saltanah now moved his camp to Chaman-i Sang Bast. There Prince Kamran, waited on him with other worthies of the city and his own principal advisors and was graciously received. In return for his help and kindness, the prince escorted him into the city as his guest and gave him the keys to the city and its treasury. Of everything that was offered to him, the Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Saltanah took only a ring set with a precious stone. During the first ten days of Muharram 1242/5–14 August 1826, Prince Hasan <sup>c</sup>Ali Mirza left Herat

for Mashhad after leaving his son, Arghun Mirza, in Herat with 5,000 cavalrymen. As we have already said, it was during the last ten days of this month that Sardar Shirdil Khan died. /111/

*THE KABUL QIZILBASH SEND A LETTER AND EMISSARY TO FATH °ALI  
SHAH AND THE INSURRECTION OF SAYYID AHMAD*

As a result of the disturbances that took place in Afghanistan beginning in 1234/1819 which followed the blinding and murder of Wazir Fath Khan, some of which has been recounted and the rest still to come, the Qizilbash of Kabul found themselves in agreement with the separate establishment of the sons of Payandah Khan in each city and opposed to the establishment of a single autocratic ruler. When they heard about Arghun Mirza's residence in Herat, they wrote a letter to Fath °Ali Shah Qajar, sending it by one of their own, Husayn Quli Khan Jawanshir, in which they said that if the shah would send one of the princes into Afghanistan, they would show their loyalty as soon as he approached by seizing Sardar Payandah Khan's sons and handing them over to him. But as the shah's relations with the British government were now friendly and because of trouble in Hindustan, he forbade sending a army into Afghanistan, and thus held back from responding to the requests of the Qizilbash. But at Husayn Quli Khan's request, he did write to the mirs of Sind and then gave the envoy permission to return to Kabul by way of Sind, an account of which will come in due course, God willing.

During these events, Ranjit raised the flags of conquest and occupied the Punjab, Kashmir, and Attock. Sayyid Ahmad, whose decamping (during battle) has already been described, had gone to Bunir and incited the people there in order to seize Attock Fort from Ranjit Singh. Shadi Khan Mohmand, Ranjit Singh's castellan, came out to stop Sayyid Ahmad. Assisted by Mir Babu and others, Sayyid Ahmad attacked Shadi Khan but was unable to make any

progress until Shadi Khan was lured out, through the mediation of Mulla °Abd al-Ghafur, under the guise of negotiations, and killed.

From Bunir, the sayyid then went into the Khadu Khayl Mountains and with the approval of Fath Khan (of?) Panjtar, was put in charge of the Yusufza'i tribe. However, the Yusufza'i did not like his governing them at all for he would force Yusufza'i girls to marry his newly-converted Indo-Muslim allies. Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan was angered by the sayyid's behavior and left Peshawar for Yusufza'i country with 3,000 soldiers and six artillery batteries. On the sayyid's side, his advisor and disciple Mawlawi Isma'īl, prepared defenses backed by 600 Hindustanis. As the size of his army was so much smaller than that of Sardar Yar Muhammad's, however, he quickly realized that he could not confront him in open battle and so, devising a trick, called for a night assault on Yar Muhammad. He cut a long rope into many small pieces and had his men light one end of each piece, carrying it as they advanced on Sardar Yar Muhammad's camp. They did as ordered, ignited the wicks, grasped them in their hands, and moved out. Seeing these lights, the enemy was terrified, and, in a state of considerable confusion, drew their weapons. But the night was so dark that it was impossible to tell a path from a deep well and when the cannon and muskets opened up, friend and foe alike were shot. At the height of the tumult, Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan was suddenly killed by a bullet. His army picked up his body and retreated towards Peshawar in complete disarray. Many were killed but a few managed to reach safety. This incident took place at the beginning of 1244/summer 1828 when the sardar was 39 years old. He was buried at the shrine of Shaykh Habib, beside the final resting place of his brother, Sardar Ata Muhammad Khan.

*SARDAR SULTAN MUHAMMAD KHAN'S REGIME IN PESHAWAR AND  
SAYYID AHMAD'S LETTER TO HIM*

After Sardar Yar Muhammad's death, his brother Sardar Sultan Muhammad, who as earlier noted had come to Peshawar from Kabul, now ascended to the seat of Peshawar's government and vowed to avenge his brother, setting a course for war against Sayyid Ahmad. He sent an army to crush him under °Abd al-Rasul Khan, son of Sardar Rahimdad Khan and husband to Sardar /112/ Dust Muhammad Khan's sister. But °Abd al-Rasul was killed and his vanquished army returned to Peshawar. Sayyid Ahmad's power and influence grew because of these victories, and he marched into Tanul in triumph. Once again, Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, at the head of a revenge-minded force and assisted by Sardar Habib Allah Khan, son of the late Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, advanced against Sayyid Ahmad but again suffered defeat. Sayyid Ahmad then proceeded from Tanul and entered Hasht Nigar. There on the 24th of Shawwal/29 April 1829, he sent a letter to Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, which he dictated to Mawlawi Isma'il, a transcription of which follows:

To the great sardar, Sultan Muhammad K, (after greetings),  
 As the concern (*pāsdārī*) of Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan turned into mental distress, and consequently the path of communications has been closed, he (Sayyid Ahmad) has been content with prayers to the Invisible One. But at this time, when he (Sultan Muhammad) has reached the rank of sardar and assumed the reins of authority in Peshawar, there is no escape from renewing the ancient credo (*da'wat*), according to the verse "You are the best community ever raised up for mankind, enjoining the good and forbidding the evil" as well as the verse "and the believers, the men and the women, are friends one of the other, they bid to honor and forbid dishonor." Oh, noble brother, hear this advice with an intelligent ear and give it your most profound consideration for the world and worldly affairs are all transitory. All



this might and power, glory and honor are as substantial as the wind. The prudent man is he who does not harbor in his heart vainglory based on these virtually worthless worldly trappings and does not stake his life on this perishable world.

Seek no fulfillment in this impermanent world  
For this old woman is wife to many husbands

You saw how proud Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan was of pomp and greatness! Love of self so filled his head that in several uprisings, he tied the belt of corruption and evil with great effort in opposition to the Lord of the Worlds merely because of a concern for the damnable infidel. How many days did he spend far from home marching with his armies against the poor *muhājirīn* and the *mujāhidīn* who abandon the world and seek after the next, following the laws of God and the *sunnah* of the Lord of Prophets! And how often did he tread the road of enmity and ill-will towards them! He was proud and vain of his sword, cannon, and hunting falcon. Whereas I am content with the help of my Master until the day when the power of the Almighty is brought to wrath and the succor of the Eternal spills over. With the eye of impartiality look how law is manifested in a twinkling by the sleight of hand of Heavenly Predestination and how He changes in the blink of an eye the day of fortune into the night of ignominy. In the end, one stands absolutely alone in the light of God's presence. There no infidel will help nor will anyone's most intimate friends. It is necessary for you to be prudent, and to wake from the sleep of negligence for eventually one day God's angel of death will come for you too and you will stand before the Judgment Seat. There neither the friendship of the accursed infidel nor the camaraderie of the religious hypocrite nor the glibness

of the evil nor the favors of lapsed mullas will be of any benefit. Although you have spent most of your life in enmity to God, in the flattery of irreligious hypocrites, and in friendship to the accursed infidel and though you have now, for the sake of your brother, broken the solemn agreements and promises made before God, despite all this, I, who am the deputy of the Prophet and who busy myself night and day in reciting this verse to get people back on the true path— “Say , oh my people who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of God’s mercy; surely He is the All-Forgiving, the All-Compassionate. And follow the fairest of what has been sent down to you from your Lord, ere the chastisement comes upon you suddenly while you are unaware.” I tell you that it is necessary for you to join with me, contrary to your brother’s policy, and together we will set out on the path of jihad. With my blessing you will succeed in achieving God’s pardon for your sins, for His Sublime Threshold is not a threshold of hopelessness. If you sin and repent even one hundred times over, still you can come again to Him for forgiveness. The end.

After sending this letter he left Hasht Nigar and went to Michni. Because of his arrival there and because of the letter, Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan lost heart and quit Peshawar in fear. Sayyid Ahmad entered and took possession of the city and its surroundings. He gave Duabah and Hasht Nigar as *jāygīr*-grant to Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan and himself assumed the administration of Peshawar and its dependencies. After a short time, he appointed a certain Mulla Mazhar °Ali /113/ as his deputy in Peshawar and went off to the Mahabin Mountains where he chose to reside.

It became his custom to take the tax revenues of Kuhat to Tanul until the people of Peshawar and Hind there (in Kuhat) were so overburdened that they rebelled. Under the leadership of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, who was

living in Duabah, they took Peshawar by force, killed Mulla Mazhar °Ali and other colleagues of Sayyid Ahmad, and put Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan back in charge of the government.

On hearing of this, Sayyid Ahmad's head was again filled with contentiousness and wickedness and he marched against Peshawar. He spent some time engaged in fighting at the Bala Kut of Hazarah-i Chach until, in 1849, he had collected a large force and stationed himself at Astanah at the edge of the Mahabin Mountains. Choosing the west bank of the Indus River as his battleground, he clashed with a combined force under Ranjit Singh and Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan. Finally at Bala Kut, at the edge of Hazarah-yi Chach, he was killed by a group of Sikhs.

After his death, the eastern section of Afghanistan, except for Peshawar, all came under the control of the Sikh usurpers. Eventually, they fell out with Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan and took Hasht Nigar and Duabah away from Peshawar, handing Kuhat over to the sardar in exchange. They stationed their troops everywhere and so Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan invited Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan to come from Kabul to join him in a holy war (against the Sikhs)—which will be discussed in due course, God willing.

*THE DEATHS OF SHAH MAHMUD AND SARDAR PURDIL KHAN AND THE  
RETURN OF THE KABULI QIZILBASH ENVOY FROM IRAN*

During this, Shah Pasand, a very prominent Afghan and a strong supporter of Shah Mahmud, went from Herat to Mashhad to negotiate an agreement with the viceroy of Khurasan for help in ousting Prince Kamran from Herat and installing Shah Mahmud. After his departure, Shah Mahmud, whiling away his days in ignominy, thanks to Prince Kamran's tyranny, and imploring God in his prayers and ritual observances to grant him death, finally in 1244/1828–29 died of an intestinal problem and was buried in Herat. °Ata Muhammad Khan

Alikuza'i, Prince Kamran's wazir, died of the same illness.

The prince named Yar Muhammad Khan, son of °Abd Allah Khan, the former governor of Kashmir and °Ata Muhammad Khan's brother, to take his uncle's place as wazir. This done, the prince, now in a relaxed frame of mind, returned to the task of governing Herat. On Saturday, the last day of Dhi Qa'adah 1245/23 May 1830, Sardar Purdil Khan died of asthma and emphysema. He was buried at the shrine of Hazrat-i Ji in Qandahar. The government of Qandahar then was assumed by the triumvirate of Sardar Kuhandil Khan, Sardar Rahmdil Khan, and Sardar Mihrdil Khan

About this same time, °Abd al-Samad Khan Tabrizi, one of the personal attendants of Muhammad °Ali Mirza, son of Fath °Ali Shah Qajar, left Iran after the death of his prince and went to Hindustan, joining Ranjit Singh in Lahore. Unable to find suitable employment there, he came to Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan in Kabul where he obtained a position. He created a regular army in Afghanistan, organizing a 1,000-man infantry brigade and training it according to military principles. Up to this point, the armies of the rulers of Afghanistan had been comprised of militia (*gushādah*) cavalry and (*sākhilū*) infantry and it is generally believed that the regular army was the creation of Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan.

Also during this time, Husayn Quli Khan Jawanshir arrived in Sind carrying a letter from Fath °Ali Shah Qajar and there, before Mir Murad °Ali Khan Sindi, pretended to be an Iranian ambassador, declaring to the mir, "Iranian officials have decided to conquer Afghanistan and soon they will launch a campaign. Sind, too, will not be untouched nor secure from the operation." Mir Murad was extremely disturbed by his remarks and appointed Mirza Mir Muhammad °Ali, a Shirazi, and a number of other noteworthy figures, to go to Iran as his emissaries. They went to see the shah of Iran at which point it became clear to them that Husayn Quli Khan had lied. Husayn Quli Khan now went back to Tehran by sea through Bombay, and eventually he returned to his home in Kabul

in 1246/1830–31 without achieving his objectives. /114/

*THE REBELLION OF YALANGTUSH KHAN JAMSHIDI AND THE MURDER  
OF HAJJI FIRUZ AL-DIN*

In these days, Yalangtush Khan Jamshidi and Muhammad Khan Qara<sup>ʿi</sup>, who at times had been allies of the government at Herat—as has been noted here and there in the preceding pages—developed secret ties to the ruler of Khwarazm, Allah Quli Turah while (still) nominally subject to the (Iranian) government of Khurasan. Yalangtush Khan eventually entered the Khwarzmian ruler’s service and became the commander of the border with Turkistan. Later, he incited the Saruq Turkomans to raid the districts subject to Mashhad. Ahmad <sup>ʿ</sup>Ali Mirza, the governor at Mashhad, engaged the Turkomans at Pul-i Khatun near Sarakhs, and defeated them. Some were killed while others were captured, one of whom was an envoy of the Khwarazmian ruler to Muhammad Khan Qara<sup>ʿi</sup>. Prince Ahmad <sup>ʿ</sup>Ali Mirza allowed him to return to Khwarazm, as a result of which friendly gesture, Allah Quli Turah felt somewhat ashamed and returned to the path of cordiality towards the prince. He sent Tekke and Turkoman nobles to convey his greetings to the latter. They entered his camp and offered their allegiance, whereupon he then freed his prisoners. Yalangtush Khan and Muhammad Khan Qara<sup>ʿi</sup> also humbly offered their obedience.

Meantime, Hajji Firuz al-Din had been residing at Turbat-i Haydariyah for quite some while. At the time Shah Pasand Khan was on his way to Mashhad on behalf of Shah Mahmud, he heard the news of the shah’s death and without bothering to notify the wali of Khurasan, set off for Turbat-i Haydariyah to see Hajji Firuz al-Din. He then escorted him to Turshiz to see <sup>ʿ</sup>Abbas Mirza “Na<sup>ʿ</sup>ib al-Saltanah,” who had come to Mashhad intent on conquering Turkistan and Afghanistan. Together they sought his help in throwing Prince Kamran out of Herat and restoring it to Hajji Firuz al-Din. At this time, too, Khusraw Mirza

had taken an army to Turshiz at the order of the Na'ib al-Saltanah to punish Muhammad Taqi Khan Mish Mast, the governor of Turshiz, because the latter had refused to present himself to the Na'ib al-Saltanah. As fate would have it, on the night that Khusraw Mirza reached the Sultanabad Fortress, one of Hajji Firuz al-Din's entourage stepped outside in the darkness looking for water. It was a most inopportune moment for he was seized by Khusraw Mirza's scouts (*qarawulān*). As soon as Hajji Firuz al-Din learned of this, his Afghan courage caused him to attack the scouts with drawn-sword and failing to recognize him, they killed him. This incident took place in Ramadan 1246/February–March 1831.

#### *THE EVENTS OF 1247/1831–1832*

This year the idea of conquering Afghanistan crossed the mind of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> who then had been in residence at Ludhiana for some time. He sent a letter to the governor of Sind, Mir Murad <sup>c</sup>Ali Khan, and asked his help. The latter agreed and so on 6 Ramadan 1247/8 February 1832, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> left Ludhiana, stopping at a place called Judi. There, despite the depleted state of his finances, he began assembling an army.

Ranjit Singh, the viceroy of the Punjab, learned of his intentions and, trying to make amends for the past, sent Mulla Muhammad Hasan Khan, the *khān-i 'ulūm*, with a message which said that now that the idea of regaining the ancestral lands had become fixed in the royal head, if he could draw the pen of forgetting, in a spirit of goodwill, across his past actions and write instead a pledge of friendship then he would send the shah 120,000 rupees cash as aid. The shah agreed, whereupon Miyan <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Samad Juy Kashmiri and Muhammad Sharif Khan *zabt-begī* who were on business in Lahore and Amritsar on behalf of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, were sent by Ranjit Singh to the shah. After a renewal of the former agreement was drawn up, the shah dismissed those two

to return to Ranjit Singh sending with them °Abd al-Shukur Khan Ishaqza'i to act on his behalf. In a similar fashion, other rays and rajahs concluded agreements of friendship and offered assistance (to the shah).

The shah left (Judi) and entered Malir Katalah where all its people, being Afghans, joined him in a spirit of tribal and clan loyalty. When he reached /115/ Firuzpur, Miyan °Abd al-Samad Khan, Ranjit Singh's emissary, appeared before the shah with Ray Kashn Chand and °Abd al-Shukur Khan, the shah's representative, and told him that the promised sum of money (120,000 rupees) would reach him after he crossed the Indus. Dismissing Ranjit Singh's two emissaries, the shah marched on to the Mamrut Plain where Nawwab Jamal al-Din Khan Qusuri and Pir Ibrahim Khan arrived and were graciously received. Here too the British captain, Claude Martine Wade, the political agent in Ludhiana, and Capt. Mackeson also were received in audience and offered the shah many assurances. At Ratadtu, Mulla °Abd al-Shukur saw the shah and was permitted to return to Ludhiana to take care of certain matters there. At Bahawulpur, Bahawul Khan, because of his youth, was somewhat shy and asked to meet alone with the shah. The shah agreed and met with him and a few of his advisors at a distance of some two or three kuruhs from his entourage. The latter presented the shah with gifts that included a camel, gold and silver coins, expensive fabrics, and an artillery piece, for which the shah gave him a robe of honor in return. While the shah was journeying through Bahawulpur, Bahawal Khan did not stint on supplies.

When he set up camp at Kut, a place under the jurisdiction of both the mirs of Sind and Khayrpur, the mirs of Sind came to see him and pledge obedience. They held a reception and welcomed him and requested that he not stop in Shikarpur lest the Baluchis or others become fearful and cause trouble in the land. The most prudent course, they argued, was for the shah not to consent to permanent residency in Shikarpur but to settle in some other place "at which point all the cash and goods which the people there pay us he could consider as

his own.”

*THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE MIRS OF SIND AND THEIR INTREPID  
REFUSAL, IN THE FACE OF BRITISH PROVOCATIONS, TO AGREE TO ALLY  
WITH THEM*

Not having much power at this time, the shah saw no alternative but to accept the Sindi proposal and so he agreed to stay in Shikarpur only fifteen days. The mirs collected 48,000 rupees in fulfillment of their pledge and agreed to transfer that sum to his treasury in two installments. Meanwhile, an Englishman named Dick arrived with an entourage and a party of commissioners. He had come in fulfillment of the guarantee Capts. Claude Martine Wade and Mackeson had given the shah on the Mamrut Plain, as noted above, that a small English force would come under the guise of a peace commission but in reality to assist the shah. He and the shah crossed the river and set up camp at Bagh-i Shah in Shikarpur from where they moved their camp to Bagh-i Shahzadah-i Sulayman. The date agreed to by the Sindis for paying the first installment passed and not a thing came into the shah’s treasury, which was now completely empty. The shah thereupon summoned the representatives of the mirs and asked that the promised sum be paid but he received a rather rude and impertinent reply. These impolite remarks as well as the fact that the mirs were taking advantage of him came about because of European instigators who had misled the Sindi mirs. It happened because of an apparent rivalry between Dick and Campbell, both Englishmen, one of whom was a supporter of the shah and an officer in one of his units and the other an aide to the Sindi mirs. This will be explained below.

To make a long story short, Mir Murad °Ali Khan, a man of foresight and no one’s fool, addressed the shah in conciliatory terms through Qazi Mulla Muhammad Hasan saying,



I tread the path of service and I will not let the foot of obedience stray from this course. Still, I do not think it wise for the shah to hurry towards Afghanistan at the height of the (summer) sun's heat. I also advise the shah to ignore the ill manners and rude speech of these representatives, make his camp within the territory of this suppliant, and quit the territory of the mir of Khayrpur who has broken his word.

What he said was agreeable to the shah who said no more until the date for the second installment came and went and again nothing was forthcoming. If that were not bad enough, the fiscal officials of the mir of Khayrpur now began to harass the shah, among other things refusing to let him slaughter animals. He endured a thousand hardships in order to get the funds from the two promised installments and said nothing about all that was said and done to him. /116/ Moreover, the size of his army swelled so much that the monthly salaries reached 100,000 rupees. Disappointed by the non-payment of the pledged funds, the shah was forced to borrow 90,000 rupees from the money-changers of Shikarpur through the good offices of Sardar Samandar Khan and Muhammad Sharif Khan *zabt-begī*. Another 90,000 rupees promised by Ranjit Singh also arrived and the shah was much relieved and paid out this sum to the army.

But then, because of provocation by the mirs of Sind and Khayrpur, trouble reared its head in his army and (his soldiers) made a pact with the Englishman, Dick, to remove the shah as their commander. Dick also sought the cooperation of Campbell, the leader of one contingent of the shah's forces who had not yet sided with the dissidents. But in view of the loyalty of the troops under his command towards the shah, Campbell found his proposal completely inappropriate and indeed thought it detrimental to his own nation's interests. He felt this way because his government had not yet acquired much influence in those districts nor had the power of their political agents penetrated there. Jutah (?), another Englishman, agreed with Dick and opposed Campbell.

Meantime, Mir Murad ‘Ali Khan, one of the shah’s supporters, died. With that, many of the Europeans who were officers in the shah’s regiments made common cause with the Khayrpuris, whose insolence now became unendurable and they whipped up contention and strife. Anyone who sided with the shah, they considered fair game and robbed and stripped them bare. The shah was outraged and issued an order for the seizure of any Sindis they could lay their hands on in or around Khayrpur. But his functionaries, most of whom, as has been indicated, were secretly in league with the Khayrpuris, brought no one in. Rather, when they saw how angry the shah was, they scattered to find safe refuge. Eventually, Allah Dad Khan *pīshkhidmat* was sent with 200 horse to guard Kubarmi and later, at his request, Hajji Hidayat Allah Khan Lahugirdi, another *pīshkhidmat*, with 500 troopers and Gul Muhammad Khan *risālah-dār* with 1,000 infantrymen, were sent to join him.

On the day they arrived, the First and Second Sindi Regiments engaged them in a fight. Many of the latter were killed and the rest routed. On the shah’s side, Hidayat Allah Khan was killed. At this, the shah ordered out Sardar Samandar Khan Bamiza’i with 1,000 of his own militia horsemen, some squads (*risālah*), and a few infantry regiments to punish the Sindis.

The latter now appeared in full force and built a redoubt near Bakhar, against which the sardar was unable to make any headway. A period passed in which no fighting took place but then Sayyid Kazim Shah arrived on the scene with the Haydarabad army to assist the Sindis. At this the shah ordered his army to attack. The fighting was intense and many soldiers died. The number of Sindi dead exceeded one thousand, and included Sayyid Kazim Shah. The Sindis were completely defeated while on the shah’s side only a handful of men were killed. The royal forces regained possession of four pieces of royal artillery which earlier had been seized by the Sindis as well as all of their supplies and then retired in triumph to their base. Each army leader who had performed some noteworthy service was rewarded with a robe of honor and gold. Among the

Sindis, the sons of the late Mir Murad °Ali Khan, whose father's loyalty to the shah was well-known, received royal favors. However, they (later) betrayed the shah, as will be seen.

*°ABBAS MIRZA NA°IB AL-SALTANAH RESOLVES TO CONQUER HERAT  
AND AFGHANISTAN*

During the events in Sind, it was mentioned earlier that °Abbas Mirza, the Na°ib al-Saltanah of Iran, entered Khurasan planning to conquer Herat and Turkistan. He raided Sarakhs, freed the Iranian prisoners held by the Turkomans, and brought turmoil and confusion into the heart of Turkoman country. Prince Kamran, the governor at Herat, wanted to ally himself with the Na°ib al-Saltanah and so sent him the letters of Muhammad Khan Qara°i. These letters, which had previously been sent to the prince, said,

This intervention of the Na°ib al-Saltanah in the Turkoman districts is not just to suppress disorder among the Turkomans and the khans /117/ of Khurasan nor is it just a conquest of Qara°i fortresses. Rather, what is ultimately in that man's heart is the conquest of Herat and Afghanistan. If you can, get an army together and send it to Turbat-i Dani (Haydariyah) to defend the Qara°i fortresses. I will then send to Herat a group of people who I am not certain are completely loyal to me.

The letters were sent by the hand of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan. When he reached the Na°ib al-Saltanah and the latter had read the letters, Muhammad Khan Qara°i was immediately arrested and imprisoned along with his brothers, despite his plan to flee when he heard what had happened. The government of Turbat-i Haydaniyah was given to Suhrab Khan, one of (°Abbas Mirza's)

*pīshkhidmats*. °Abbas Mirza appointed Ibrahim Khan as Suhrab's deputy and then took Muhammad Khan with him to Mashhad, where he kept him in custody. He also detained Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan, Prince Kamran's courier, under a guard of 50 of regular infantrymen until the business of Herat could be completed.

At the same time, Shah Pasand Khan, who had gone to Nishapur after the murder of Hajji Firuz al-Din, in opposition to Prince Kamran and in order to meet with the Na'ib al-Saltanah, now presented himself to °Abbas Mirza and proceeded to exaggerate the importance of arresting Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan in order to effect the conquest of Herat. Meantime, Prince Kamran, hoping to free Yar Muhammad by a ruse, sent a man to the Na'ib al-Saltanah with a letter which said, "The people of Herat have total and perfect trust in Wazir Yar Muhammad to the point that when he is around they make it difficult for me to carry on the government. I will be very grateful for however long you keep him under arrest." Wazir Yar Muhammad, aware of Prince Kamran's strategy, told the Na'ib al-Saltanah, "Prince Kamran and I are enemies. If you allow me, I will go to Herat and will hand over to Iranian authorities the entire city, lock, stock, and barrel without a fight." Intuitively, °Abbas Mirza realized the two men were trying to deceive him and so he kept the wazir under arrest. After dismissing the prince's messenger, he again summoned Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and said,

In olden days, Afghanistan was part of Iran. But following the assassination of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Saduza'i established an independent regime there. Up to now Herat has been in Saduza'i hands, presently Prince Kamran's, but the rest of the kingdom is under the control of the sons of Sardar Payandah Khan. The prince, therefore, ought to vacate Herat and come to the shah of Iran. Or he should have the *khutbah* read and the coinage minted in the name of the shah of Iran and should collect and send the revenues agreed on by treaty and also

send his son as bond. He would thereby obtain peace of mind.  
Otherwise, we will take Herat by force.

Yar Muhammad Khan, through one of his retainers, informed Prince Kamran about the Na'ib al-Saltanah's message. At the end of 1247/late spring 1832, the prince again sent a letter and emissary to 'Abbas Mirza saying that he would continue to show the same civility he had shown his uncle in Iran and that "in the future, I will send to Mashhad 75,000 rupees—equivalent to 15,000 *tūmāns*—as a *pīshkash* gift, on the condition that he stay his hand from the conquest of Herat." Otherwise, he would fight.

The reply angered the Na'ib al-Saltanah and he resolved to carry out the conquest of Herat, ordering the Azarbayjan, Mazandaran, and Astarabad forces to assemble in Mashhad for a campaign. But at this point, the Na'ib al-Saltanah was summoned back to Tehran. In his place, Prince Muhammad Mirza was sent to Mashhad with 15,000 foot and horse to prepare for a campaign against Herat and Mirza Musa Khan Rashti was appointed his deputy and wazir.

The Na'ib al-Saltanah brought the mutinous khans of Khurasan to Tehran. Muhammad Khan Qara'i and his two young sons were sent to live in Azarbayjan while others were assigned residences in Tehran. Each was punished according to the extent of his misdeeds although some were pardoned. After meeting with the shah, the Na'ib al-Saltanah was granted leave and on the 19th of Rabi' al-Awwal 1248/16 August 1832 he left Tehran for Mashhad.

*THE EVENTS OF 1248 AND THE ARMY OF IRAN'S MARCHING ORDERS  
FOR HERAT*

While on the road to Khabushan, the Na'ib al-Saltanah ordered Prince Muhammad Mirza to begin the campaign against Herat. So the prince set out for Herat with Prince Khusraw Mirza, the army of Azarbayjan, Najaf 'Ali Khan

Shadlu, Amir °Ali Naqi Khan ‘Arab /1118/, and Amir Asad Allah Khan among others while the Na°ib al-Saltanah was still en route to Mashhad. Prince Malik Qasim, son of the late Hajji Firuz al-Din, and Shah Pasand Khan, both of whom were hostile to Prince Kamran, joined the Iranian force.

When the Na°ib al-Saltanah reached Mashhad he sent Mirza Abu’l-Qasim Mirza with horse and infantry from his own entourage hard on the heels of Prince Muhammad Mirza who had meanwhile arrived in Kuhsan and there was confronted by Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan’s people. Despite the latter’s being in custody in Mashhad, his people held the fortress of Kuhsan and at first blocked the prince’s path. But soon the prince took the fortress by storm, assigned a group of Khurasani infantry to man it, and continued his march towards Herat. Bypassing the fortress at Ghuriyan, the prince proceeded on to Pul-i Nuqrah, three farsangs from Herat and there set up camp.

Prince Kamran came out with 5,000 Afghan cavalry to defend the city and the two sides clashed at the edge of Pul-i Nuqrah, shedding copious amounts of each other’s blood. They fought all day and then repaired to their respective bases for the night. The next morning Prince Muhammad Mirza moved from the Pul-i Nuqrah and established a new base half a farsang from the city. Mirza Abu’l-Qasim Khan, who had left Mashhad on the heels of Prince Muhammad Mirza detached 2,000 foot and horse for the capture of the Ghuriyan fortress and then, with the remainder of his force, joined the prince at his headquarters. Like a ferocious lion, Prince Kamran now made repeated forays against the Iranian army, notwithstanding the small size of his own army. But, unable to make any headway against it, he eventually retired into the city and prepared for a siege.

Meantime °Abbas Mirza (the Na°ib al-Saltanah) died in Mashhad. When the leaders of the Iranian force heard this, they tried to negotiate a peace with Prince Kamran, sending Mirza Musa Khan and Najaf °Ali Khan to Herat as their representatives. The two concluded a ceasefire and Mirza Musa Khan returned to army headquarters while Najaf °Ali Khan stayed in Herat in order to see the

treaty put into effect.

Prince Muhammad Mirza now withdrew from Herat and returned to Mashhad. He ordered Amir Asad Allah Khan to move 200 households who were residing in Kuhsan to Mashhad. The prince himself arrived there at the end of Jumada al-Sani 1248/September 1832. Later, Najaf °Ali Khan, who had stayed awhile in Herat, arrived with an ambassador sent by Prince Kamran. They delivered a message from the prince which said, “Any item to which Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan agrees is acceptable to us.” In conformity with the message, Prince Muhammad Mirza summoned the wazir from his place of detention, first apologized for having kept him in custody, and then negotiated the following agreement: Prince Kamran would perform the *khuṭbah* and strike coins in the name of the shah of Iran and would send 70,000 rupees and 50 bolts of Kashmiri shawl-cloth as *pīshkash* tribute. The pact was agreed to, the wazir notified Prince Kamran by messenger of the terms, and the latter sent the cash and fabrics to Mashhad. Thus strife ended and both sides obtained peace of mind.

*THE REBELLION OF THE SONS OF THE LATE MIR MURAD °ALI KHAN  
AND THE TROUBLE CAUSED BY SHAH SHUJA°’S ARMY IN SIND*

In 1249/1833–34, the sons of Mir Murad °Ali Khan betrayed Shah Shuja°, a fact already alluded to. Despite all the favors the shah had shown them, they joined forces with the Nazim of Haydarabad and other mirs who were contaminated sources of corruption and disobedience and marched to attack the shah’s forces. When they reached the manzil of Larganah, the shah learned of their plan and moved out of his own camp on the 14th of Ramadan 1249/25 January 1834 to repel them, making camp one manzil from Shikarpur. Mir Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Nasir Khan, sons of Mir Murad °Ali Khan who were supporting the Mir of Khayrpur and others because they were relatives, but now anxious about the consequences of their actions, sent the

Sirhindi sahibzadahs, the spiritual advisors of noble and humble alike, to the shah and through their mediation petitioned the shah to pardon them. But the shah refused to do so and they then requested that he send Muhammad Sharif Khan *ẓabt-begī* to settle matters to the satisfaction of both sides. In these negotiations, /119/ they agreed on Sardar Samandar Khan as mediator and he persuaded the shah to send Muhammad Sharif. The latter, at the shah's order, then set out for their camp, taking with him the Sirhindi sahibzadahs. There he learned what was on their minds and returned to the shah accompanied by Nawwab Bahadur Khan, a man trusted by the mirs of Haydarabad and by the Baluchis. Nawwab Bahadur Khan made a satisfactory disposition of the matters of mutual concern and dampened the fires of the shah's anger.

The latter then forgave the sons of Mir Murad °Ali Khan and agreed to a sum of 400,000 rupees as their obligation to him, ordering them to remit it to the royal treasury so that the land of Sind would not be ravaged by his army and so that he could unfurl his army's banners in the direction of Qandahar. When this order was issued by the shah, his army, which had looked forward to looting and pillaging the Sindis, grew resentful and angry and the Hindi and Ruhillah troops mutinied. The force was close to complete disintegration when the shah finally managed to bring things under control, after which he was careful not to allow Ruhillah or Hindi troops again into his army.

#### *THE SHAH DECAMPS FROM SIND AND HEADS FOR QANDAHAR*

Because the move of °Abbas Mirza's army against Herat was worrisome to the British who were concerned that the Iranian shah's conquest of Afghanistan would prove harmful to India, Mr. John McNeill, the British ambassador in Tehran, sent his first deputy to Mashhad to dissuade the Na'ib al-Saltanah from his expedition. But under the Anglo-Iranian treaty the envoy had no grounds (*ḥujjat*) for doing this and his efforts were in vain. But then, because of the

FM: (2) in the terminology of the people of Afghanistan they call a civilian force (*fawj-i mulkī*), i.e. an irregular lashkar without salary, an *ayljārī*.



Na'ib al-Saltanah's death, matters in Herat were settled, as recorded above. English officials were still worried by the answer given by the late Na'ib al-Saltanah and so gave more encouragement to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>. He, in the meantime, bent on retrieving his ancestral lands, had left Ludhiana and come to Sind on his way to Qandahar. Early in Dhi Qa<sup>c</sup>dah 1249/March 1834, he marched from Sind heading for Qandahar with 30,000 battle-ready soldiers and reached the territory of Mihrab Khan Baluch. The shah prepared to meet him and drew up a list of needs so that his army would not be short of supplies. As news of the shah's campaign spread, his well-wishers were heartened and regiment by regiment and detachment by detachment, they came to join him. His army grew to such a size that as he himself would write, "Thinking about the huge numbers of my army, it occurred to me to ask what ruler will ever have such a sea under his banners and if so how will anyone be able to stand up to him?" But despite the numbers, problems arose because the whole army was volunteer (*ayljārī*) (2) and knew nothing of the rules of military organization.

In brief, Mihrab Khan Baluch sent some of his people to the court of the shah as his forefathers had done and presented this request.

The Baluchi leaders are quite intractable and I cannot get them to obey me. If at this point you would first deal with them, that would be for the best. For then I could come in peace of mind to offer my services to the shah.

The shah issued the following order:

You yourself ought to appear and offer your services so that the (rest of) the Baluchis seeing the closeness of your attachment to the royal retinue would then, because of the royal might, be bound to your authority. Otherwise, whatever is in your mind to do, you will be duly

punished for it.

But thanks to the guile of his chief advisor, Dad Khan Ghilja'i, who had close ties to the sardars of Qandahar, Mihrab Khan refused to come and see the shah. The shah then spent several days at Shal and Mustang trying to win over Mihrab Khan meantime ordering Prince Muhammad Timur to move out with an advance force (towards Qandahar). As Mihrab Khan would not offer the shah his allegiance, the latter finally set out after the prince leaving the punishment of Mihrab Khan to a more opportune time.

While on the road, he learned in a letter from Prince Muhammad Timur that those Ruhillahs and Hindustanis who were still with the army were again mutinous and on the verge of open strife. Riding as fast as he could through the night, the shah overtook the prince, quenched the fires of mutiny, and discovered that the instigator was Jahandad Khan Bamiza'i who envied Sardar Samandar Bamiza'i for his position as confidante to the shah and wanted to make trouble. But in the face of the royal power and might, he was unable to do anything. Likewise, those who were the tainted sources of corruption were unable to bring their foolhardiness into play. Although the shah was fully aware of what they were up to, he said nothing, first because he was a forbearing man / **120**/ and secondly, because of the circumstances of the time. If anyone publicly refused a royal order, he would deal with him summarily, teaching him good manners with the stick.

One such case was that of Payandah Khan, the son of Sardar Madad Khan Ishaqza'i, who got into an argument one day with one of the khans near the royal audience chamber and without thinking put his hand on the hilt of his sword. When the shah heard this, he ordered him put to death but then spared him at the intercession of the Durrani khans and ordered him held in custody, later exiling him from his land.

To return to the story: Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> left the locale where all this occurred at

the end of Dhi Hijjah 1249/early May 1834 and rode on to Band-i Dhakard, two kuruhs from Qandahar, where he made camp.

*SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup>'S FIGHT WITH THE SARDARS OF QANDAHAR AND HIS  
SIEGE OF THE CITY*

At noon on the day the shah made camp at Band-i Dhakard, an advance force rode out from Qandahar. They appeared like a dense black cloud and the shah made ready to drive them back. But they withdrew to the city without engaging the shah. The next day, which happened to be the first day of Muharram 1250/10 May 1834, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> left Band-i Dhakard and made camp next to the citadel at Nadirabad so that if the sardars of Qandahar decided to fight him, his army could use the walls of the citadel for defense. But the Qandaharis showed no intention of fighting and after sunset, the shah rode to within artillery range of the city where he drew up his battle lines. He waited a bit but his soldiers were impatient to attack. However, as the enemy had its back to the walls, the shah was worried that difficulties would arise if he attacked and so restrained his men.

Nevertheless, a number of warriors from both sides made forays against each other and some Qandahari men and horses were killed. This injured the pride of the Qandahari sardars who now marched out to fight, a battle taking place during the evening. Sardar Samandar Khan commanded the left flank (of the shah's army) and the Durrani khanzadahs the right. Many from both sides perished but with each assault, they managed to drive the Qandaharis back. The fighting went on like this until daylight ended, darkness prevailed, and the two sides retired to their respective places. Once they had retreated into the city, the Qandahar sardars did not re-emerge but instead fortified it against a siege.

The shah's forces meanwhile secured the city's perimeter and commenced a siege. Each day, the shah would mount his horse, ride up to the open plain near

the city, review the troops, and then return to headquarters. After securing the roads, his soldiers moved in close to the walls and erected breastworks. They were able to get close enough to the walls that both sides could hear the other and they would talk and argue back and forth. The siege went on. With all access for the people inside the walls closed off, their livestock were forced to eat the straw in the (mud brick) walls. In dire straits, the sardars drove the residents and artisans out of the city and began to confiscate and consume what the propertied classes possessed. Despite their very difficult position, from time to time they would make forays out of the city, attack the shah's positions, and then withdraw.

One day after sunset, they ventured out through the Herat Gate and struck like a bolt of lightning at the redoubt manned by Muhammad Sharif Khan Mohmand who had been sitting there peacefully, without a care in the world. But he did not panic and instead put up a stiff resistance, killing several of the attackers. The people inside the city maintained steady musket and cannon fire from the ramparts against the redoubts (during this raid). At the sound of the cannons and muskets and the soldiers' cries, the shah mounted his horse and ordered his army to prepare for battle. He sent a few contingents of regular cavalry to aid Muhammad Sharif Khan while he himself rode up to the field close to the redoubts and exhorted his men to be calm and stand fast. When the people of the city saw the shah's pennants, those who were attacking Mir Muhammad Sharif withdrew into the city. Some were killed during the retreat and others were wounded, some of whom made it back into the city.

A unit of the Qandahar cavalry surrendered to the shah and offered him their allegiance. The shah gave robes of honor to them, as well as to the braves of his own army who had fought so courageously. He ordered the dead buried and those who had been wounded, treated.

Later the shah's troops were angry and wanted revenge because of the number of men who had been killed and wounded. /121/ So he gave the order to

attack and seize the shrine of Hazrat-i Ji and the garden-estate (*bāgh*) of Sardar Rahmdil Khan which the defenders had managed to re-occupy. At the command, the entire army assaulted those two places. Although cannons and muskets rained death down on them from the parapets, they did not turn away but managed to capture both places. Some of the infantry and cavalrymen stationed there fled back into the city along with part of the city's garrison which had come out to assist them in repelling the shah's forces. The others surrendered or were captured. Those who voluntarily submitted were treated kindly and entered the shah's service.

After the shah's victory, the sardars of Qandahar had to give up the fight. They opened negotiations by correspondence with Mulla Muhammad Hasan Khan, *khān-i ʿulūm*, with whom they had a longstanding tie. Meantime, Shah Shuja's entire army—Durrani, Ghilja'i, Ruhillah, and Hindustani, each one of whom considered himself an intrepid fellow—begged the shah to let them make an attack that night and take the city. But the shah, who had a fair idea of the present and future consequences of what they were asking, said no, for he knew that his own cannon fire would have no effect on the walls, the defenders would fight tooth and nail, and the whole outcome would be other than what was desired. His army's braves would not back down, however, but became more insistent until the shah finally gave them permission to attack.

One night they crept forward and took up positions all around the walls. After the first and second cannon salvos, which had become a regular practice, both of which came at the expected (time) to their impatient ears, silence fell and peace again descended. The soldiers, en masse, worked their way to the edge of the walls and put their feet on the first rungs of the assault ladders, ready to climb. But thanks to informers, the defenders had been apprised of the night assault and had laid an ambush. Just as the first of Shah Shuja's men reached the top of the walls, the defenders opened up with muskets and cannon and flung back the attackers. Using bricks, stones, and boiling water, they knocked many

of the men who were swarming up the ladders like ants head over heels to the ground. Despite the fact that the shah's army had no chance of success, , they kept up the attack until dawn broke, unwilling to lose face because they had insisted on the assault. At that point, frustrated and exhausted, they returned to their redoubts. One of the many brave men killed in this assault was Muhammad Riza Khan, the nephew of Sardar Samandar Khan. The dead occasioned grief and regrets on the shah's part.

When the siege had lasted forty-nine days, the Ghilja'i informed the always attentive ear of the shah that the (Qandahari) sardars had sent a letter and Qur'an to their brother, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, asking his help. He, in turn, obtained an oath from the Qizilbash and Kabuli leaders to support him in his effort to help his brothers, left Kabul, and would soon reach Qandahar. Therefore, the Ghilja'i advised the shah of the need to send one of the princes with part of the army to block (Dust Muhammad's) route and prevent his coming to Qandahar. The rest of the army could then calmly devote itself to the conquest of Qandahar. The shah, the purse of whose resolve was almost empty of gold coin, believed that he did not have the wherewithal to send such a force, despite having 50,000 horse and foot in his army. So he left the matter in God's hands.

*SARDAR DUST MUHAMMAD KHAN ARRIVES IN QANDAHAR AND SHAH  
SHUJA<sup>c</sup> WITHDRAWS*

As news of the approach of Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan spread through the army, the shah, to be on the safe side, moved his troops from Chaman-i Shir Surkh on the edge of Nadirabad first to Qushkhanah and Chashmah-i Saduzai. But then, worried that the force from Kabul would arrive and pin his troops between it and the Qandaharis, he moved to Bagh-i °Abbasabad and stationed his army between Sar Puzah-i Dih-i Mu°assas and Chihil Dukhtaran, thereby

removing his forces from between the two opposing groups. He then put them to work building assault ladders and made plans to attack the city again.

At dawn at the end of the night of the 50th day (of the siege) he again attacked. His soldiers placed their ladders against the walls and towers and swarmed up them. The first to reach the top ascended at the Shah Burj Nurza'i (tower). There one of the Barakza'i guards—who had all been fast asleep—/122/ awoke, grabbed a jug of water and hit the attacker on the head, knocking him back over the wall. As he tumbled down, he struck the next man climbing the ladder, knocking him into the next and so on, sweeping every man on the ladder to the ground. Immediately a great clamor was raised and both sides opened fire. In the midst of this, a bullet fired from the shah's side struck and killed the *īshīk āqāsī*, Hazir Khan Fufalza'i, who was inside the city but whose sympathies lay with the shah. The sardars of Qandahar were delighted by his unexpected death and said, "the bolt of fate does not distinguish friend from foe." In short, many members of the assault force were killed and wounded and they finally withdrew in frustration.

The next day Sardar Mihrdil Khan, at the order of his brother Sardar Kuhandil Khan, slipped the bonds of the siege with a few men and attacked the shah's redoubts which had been set up in the vicinity of Bagh-i Sardaran. He pressed his attack until the end of the day and then retired into the city. Since the sardars were unaware of the approach of Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, they conferred among themselves and decided to leave the city en masse and attack the enemy. Then whomever God should side with, his star would be in the ascendant.

On the fifty-first day of the siege, they sent a detachment of cavalry out of the city to test the shah's strength. It emerged just as one of the shah's troopers was passing on his way from the edge of the city to Bagh-i °Abbasabad. They attacked him, a major skirmish soon followed, and the Qandaharis, unable to withstand the cannon fire, retired into the city. Despite this encounter, they still

considered the shah's army weak and, on Tuesday 22 Safar 1250/30 June 1834, the fifty-second day of the siege, Sardar Rahmdil Khan rode out of the city with his own horse and infantry troops and made for Kutal-i Baba Wali—on whom be God's mercy. Passing through the *kūtal*, he reached Marghan and Kandagan via Jaliran, these locales being behind enemy lines. There he lay in wait.

Sardar Mihrdil Khan, likewise, exited at the Shikarpur Gate with his retainers and made his way to Burj-i ʿAli and Bagh-i Bala to the east of the enemy army and set up his positions there. Sardar Mir Afzal Khan and his retainers mounted up and rode towards Tal-i Surkh and Puzah-i Pirpayi Mal which was north of the shah's forces, where they took up positions. Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, the son of Sardar Kuhandil Khan, with the second regiment of his father's forces, followed in the tracks of Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, Saydal Khan Payaru Khayl, along with Khanaji Khan and other members of the Payaru Khayl, most of whom were officers in the artillery corps, made Kuh-i Surkh his position and manned it with field guns. Khuday Nazar Khan Mama climbed Kuh-i Nigar and set up his position there with two pieces of artillery.

Meanwhile, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, according to what Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> has written in his memoirs, arrived with a large force and made camp at the bagh-estate of Sardar Rahmdil Khan. Just prior to that, he had met, embraced, and shaken hands with Sardar Kuhandil Khan who had left Qandahar in the wake of Sardar Mir Afzal Khan accompanied by all the leaders of the Durrani clans, his Sistani attendants, and twelve artillery batteries, traveling by way of the Ziyaratgah-i Kabuli Shah. The two sardars met at the foot of the Tupkhanah Gate tower.

As time was short they did not linger there and as soon as Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan made camp, the flames of battle were lit by all those who had been assigned specific positions. Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan urged his army forward and they set to with a will, firing cannon and muskets. At the height of the battle, Dust Muhammad's force retreated, in spite of the fact that one of



Shah Shuja's cannons had exploded on firing. In his private quarters, the shah now called a meeting of the Durrani, Ghilja'i, Baluchi, and Sistani army leaders and said to them, "Now, when the army is scattered over a distance of one farsang, it would be the height of imprudence to engage the enemy in open battle." Those assembled remained silent. The shah himself devised the idea of a night action and so ordered the army to attack the enemy after nightfall.

Sardar Samandar Khan, whose views reflected those of most of the army leaders, responded, "It is better to attack by day than by night for the army rests at night from the exertions of the day. If a night assault is carried out, the soldiers will not have a chance to recover from their fatigue." The shah agreed and decided on daytime combat. On the day set for the attack, although he thought it an inauspicious one and although his army's positions were spread out all the way from the old city of Shah Husayn and Chihil Zinah up to the Kutal-i Murchah, he nonetheless hoisted battle flags and focused his mind on combat.

Since his army was spread out, he chose the middle of the lines for his own position so that wherever any vulnerability might appear, /123/ he could quickly send help. The two sides met and shed copious quantities of each other's blood. Several times, either one side or the other would attack. The sardars' army came up short each time, would regroup and try again, but finally was so overwhelmed that it broke and retreated from the city past the bagh-estate (*manzil-i bāgh*). No matter how Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan exhorted his troops to stand and fight, his words went unheeded. The shah's forces now approached the walls of Qandahar in triumph and seized four artillery batteries. They also captured several fine Shahing camels with their drivers, decapitating some of the latter and sending their heads as well as some of the heads of the leaders of the sardars' force to the shah. In the eyes of all those present, the shah had won the day and achieved his heart's desire. As he himself has written, "Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan considered the thread of his hopes imperceptible, the Qandaharis saw the day of their fortune darken, and he (Dust

Muhammad) withdrew far from the city walls while they fled with their families.”

But just then, the sardars and leaders who had established positions on the periphery, now drew their weapons and attacked the shah’s army. Sardar Mir Afzal Khan attacked the shah himself who at that moment had just returned from the battlefield and was sitting in his quarters at the Bagh-i °Abbasabad. Mir Afzal drove the shah out of the *bāgh*. Afraid of being taken prisoner, the shah fled. When his army saw him ride off, it stopped fighting and every soldier abandoned the field for his own home. One of the respected British officers in the shah’s regular forces, General Campbell, who considered himself the shah’s personal protector, was taken prisoner by Mir Afzal Khan, the son of Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan. The shah’s equipment, livestock, tents, and cannons were all seized by the sardars of Qandahar and Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan.

Accompanied by only 100 horsemen, Shah Shuja° rode night and day towards Herat where he hoped to rebuild his power and again make the conquest of Qandahar his goal. Nursing this hope, he crossed the Helmand and turned his reins towards the aqueduct, (*karīz*) of the Ishaqza°i where he camped in the shade of some trees. Rested, he proceeded the next day to the manzil of Dusang, spent a day at the fort of Madad Khan Ishaqza°i, and then, riding by night, made no more stops until he reached Washir Fort. After obtaining necessary supplies and provisions there, he entered the territory of °Ali Khan Baluch on the borders of Sistan.

From there, with the help of the Baluchi *kadkhudās*, he got as far as the fort at Lash where he stopped for five days. After leaving there and while en route, he was met at the first manzil by °Ali Khan Baluch, the viceroy (*wali*) of Sistan, and Ghulam Rasul Khan, the son of Salu (1) Khan Ishaqza°i, the governor of Lash and Juwayn. They travelled with him as far as Kadah where °Ali Khan himself arrived and met with the shah. After three or four days, Salu Khan also appeared and proposed to the shah that he come to Lash and Juwayn. The shah

FM: (1) In Afghan dialect, Salih is shortened to Salu.

gave an expensive *khilʿat* to ʿAli Khan as well as permission to return to Sistan. Then at the suggestion of Salu Khan, he went on to Lash and Juwayn. From there he sent Allah Dad Khan, a *pīshkhidmat*, to Prince Kamran in Herat with a letter containing an account of the events in Qandahar.

The prince was disheartened and sent a reply carried by Hajji Firuz, a eunuch, who as one of the prince's intimates enjoyed a higher standing than other notables (in Herat). He also gave the shah's messenger gifts to take back.

His letter said, 'Since there is no line of division (even) imagined between us, and as the subjects are all obedient, the shah should go to Farah, reside there, and if my own coming there meets with his approval, I will not fail to do so.' The shah spent two months in Lash and Juwayn, during which time many of the sons of Durrani notables came to him to offer allegiance. These included ʿAlim Khan, son of Mir ʿAlam Khan Nurzaʿi with his uncles and nephews; Muhammad ʿAzim Khan the son of Zar Muhammad Khan Fufalzaʿi; Sayf al-Din Khan the son of Yahya Khan Bamizaʿi; Aqa Jan Khan son of Mir Akhur Mihr ʿAli Khan Ishaqzaʿi; Ghulam Nabi Khan, the son of ʿAlam Khan ʿAlizaʿi; and others both famous and unrenowned.

After that a stream of letters came from Prince Kamran concerning the shah's residence in Farah and, at his insistence, the shah eventually left Lash and Juwayn and entered Farah. There he resolved to gather a group of people to make another attempt on Qandahar, this against the advice of those who were urging him to take Herat away from Prince Kamran. Meanwhile, letters from Khusraw Mirza, the viceroy of Khurasan, were coming from Mashhad to Salu Khan telling him /124/ to bring the shah to Mashhad in order to realize the goal he had in mind. Salu Khan urged the shah to go to Mashhad but he refused because he was secretly receiving messages from Durrani and Uymaqi khans telling him to set his sights on Herat and seize control of that region.

The shah was aware that, because of the self-interest of the Durrani and Herat khans, quite a different carpet would be spread, which could lead to Prince

Kamran's downfall. He worried that people would think he was too weak to take on his own enemies and was setting out to destroy his own house (i.e. the Saduza'i). At length, he rejected the idea of going either to Mashhad or Herat and instead set out through the sands of Sistan towards Kij and Baluchistan so that he might consolidate his strength and again set his sights on Qandahar. He crossed the desert through Bakwa and in fourteen days reached Mankuchar, not far from Kalat-i Nasir which belonged to Mihrab Khan Baluch. He passed the heat of the day at the farthest edge of that place, spent the night traveling, and camped at midday the next day in a date grove about one mile from Kalat.

When Mihrab Khan Baluch heard of the shah's approach he rode out to meet him and invited him to his own house. The sardars of Qandahar, meantime, learned of his trip to Baluchistan and sent Sardar Rahmdil Khan with 500 horsemen after him. It happened that just when the shah was arriving and dismounting at Mihrab Khan Baluch's, he (the sardar) had reached Garg, six kurus from Kalat, a fact which greatly disturbed both the shah and Mihrab Khan. The shah ordered the riders he had with him to get ready for a fight and said to himself, "Mihrab Khan must know something, otherwise, why is he inviting me to his house?" Mihrab Khan restrained the shah's horsemen from fighting and said, "If he (Sardar Rahmdil Khan) goes back the way he came, that is what we want. If not, then I will force him to retreat." Having said this, he rode out to mediate the matter with Sardar Rahmdil Khan. When the two met, the discussion was sharp. Mihrab Khan prevented the sardar from arresting Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> by agreeing that he would not let the shah stay any longer as his guest. Sardar Rahmdil Khan spent six days there enjoying Mihrab Khan's hospitality and receiving appropriate gifts. He then returned to Qandahar.

Mihrab Khan returned home with considerable relief and asked a favor of the shah in return for the services he had rendered.:

Shahnawaz Khan and Fath Khan were both here in my custody. They

both escaped, went to the tribal groups (*ayl wa ulūs*) of the Kij region and with the help of Sardar Samandar Khan hoisted the banners of mischief-making. My hope is that with your royal attention to the problem the fires of that disorder will be extinguished.

The shah excused himself (for the time being) saying he had no means whatsoever to carry out the request but reassured Mihrab Khan (that he would try to solve the problem as soon as he could). Several days later he rode off by way of Darrah-i Mulah and nine days after leaving, set up camp in Kutar. There, by letter, he summoned Sardar Samandar Khan who was in league with Shahnawaz Khan and Fath Khan and creating disturbances and whom Mihrab Khan wanted suppressed. He also sent a message to the other two, now engaged in fighting in Bahhak, telling them to refrain until the royal entourage arrived.

In accordance with the shah's request, Sardar Samandar Khan came to see Shah Shuja° but the other two did not stop fighting and paid no heed to the shah's message until the latter reached Bahhak. Then, for the sake of Mihrab Khan and the promise he had made him, he mollified those two men and some other Baluchi trouble-makers using royal ingenuity (*tadābīr*) and immersed himself in the task of raising an army. Samandar Khan, who opposed the shah's plan, said,

It is very difficult to mobilize an army in such a state of unreadiness. The tribal peoples and militia of these parts have a habit of coming in huge numbers one day and then wandering away the next. Large sums will be spent on them and (in the end) they won't help. When the enemy hears of this, he will be after us and we will have to take to the hills. Moreover, as soon as the defeated regular troops of Qandahar hear of this they will not remain loyal but will prepare to fight. Facing a valiant enemy with tribal levies can only lead to disaster.

In the face of this argument, the shah gave up his plan and dismissed Sardar Samandar Khan, who, in the course of his declamation, had become ill. The sardar went home to Siway, to his family and relatives, and there his soul took leave of his body. The shah gave orders for his burial and himself displayed considerable sorrow at the loss. He gave instructions for his family to reside in Bahhak and then with a heavy heart he himself left for Ludhiana. At Larganah he rested for several days and rid himself of exhaustion. During his stopover, the mirs of Khayrpur and the leaders of Haydarabad came to the shah, each one extending an invitation for him to come and stay. The shah chose Haydarabad / **125**/ in order to make a ziyarat-pilgrimage to the shrine of La<sup>c</sup>l Shahbaz there. On the 29th of Ramadan 1250/29 January 1835, he dismounted at the Zayn al-<sup>c</sup>Abidin garden-estate on the banks of the (Indus) river. After getting a good rest, performing the pilgrimage observances, and receiving presents from the mirs of that district, he moved on to Ludhiana via Jalmir and Bikanir. On the 17th of Dhi Qa<sup>c</sup>dah 1250/17 March 1835 he reached (Ludhiana) and began to give thought to assembling another army.

#### *RANJIT SINGH SEIZES PESHAWAR AND ITS ENVIRONS*

In this same year, Ranjit Singh, an ally and supporter of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> in his attempts to regain his ancestral lands and an enemy of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, sent an army to Peshawar. He fought the sardar and took the city by force. Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan escaped to Bajaur. Hari Singh, Ranjit Singh's commander-in-chief, assumed the administration of Peshawar and those eastern regions of Afghanistan which up to this time had not yet fallen into the grasping hands of the Sikhs. Now everything was brought under Sikh control.

Following the defeat of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan spent two months in Qandahar. From there he deported Na<sup>ib</sup> <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Samad Khan

Tabrizi, who, as earlier mentioned, was the founder of the regular army in Kabul. He was expelled when, during the fighting with Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, one of the regular soldiers had tried to decamp before his very eyes and he had blown his head off.

After two months Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan bid his brothers farewell and returned to Kabul. He was deeply pained by the news of what had happened to Peshawar and was determined to retrieve the city. He therefore made considerable efforts to equip an army, news of which soon began to circulate in Peshawar.

Meantime, Sardar Amir Muhammad Khan died at the age of forty-one. He was buried on the western side of the 'Ashiqan and 'Arifan cemetery in Kabul. A verse inscribed on his tombstone, following several other verses, gives the date of his death.

FM: The numerical value of the last hemistich is 1270. If you subtract 20, the value of the letter "k" the "heart" (middle letter) of h-k-m (authority), from the value of the last hemistich, you get 1250.

He said, 'Take the heart out of authority then say,  
Amir Muhammad departed this world for the Garden

His death set off a period of mourning by Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan who, for the moment at least, set aside his plans (for Peshawar) and pre-occupied himself with the funeral and mourning observances. From then until 1253/1837, he bided his time and made no move to mobilize a force. But then the wind of vainglory blew through the upper stories of the mind of Hari Singh, Ranjit Singh's commander-in-chief, who was also governor of Peshawar, and he resolved to conquer Kabul. He sent a letter to Dust Muhammad Khan in which he stated,

In the scripture of the Hindus it is written that in this period, the Sikh army will invest Kabul and conquer that land. Whoever fails to heed and obey (the Sikhs) will burn in the fire of punishment according to

his rank. What you ought to do, so that your affairs do not turn out like those of your brother, Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, is come forward in obedience and hand Kabul over to me; if not, all you will succeed in doing is rending the veil of your own honor and biting the back of your own hand with the teeth of regret. And at that time, you will have no standing whatsoever with me.

Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan was enraged when this letter was read to him.

*SARDAR DUST MUHAMMAD KHAN SENDS AN ARMY TO PESHAWAR  
UNDER THE COMMAND OF HIS BROTHER AND SONS*

In 1253/1837–1838, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan answered Hari Singh's letter and declared war on him. He sent a large force from Kabul towards Peshawar under Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and Muhammad Akbar Khan, his sons, and Nawwab 'Abd al-Jabbar Khan, his brother. For his part, Hari Singh, after reading Dust Muhammad's declaration of war, set out from Peshawar for Kabul to do battle. At the moment he made camp at Jumrud, one manzil from Peshawar, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan with his brother, uncle, and army camped at Lawarak in the Khyber Valley. /126/

Meantime, Hajji Khan Kakari pinned his hopes on Hari Singh and through a Khyberi Afghan sent him a secret message saying that when the day of battle came and the armies were engaged, he would desert the army of Islam and defect to Hari Singh's side so that a breach would occur in the sardars' front and they would abandon the fight.

The next day, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan with Muhammad Akbar Khan and a contingent of braves took the right wing of the battle formation while Sardar Shams al-Din Khan brought up the rear (of the right wing). The center



was commanded by Nawwab ‘Abd al-Jabbar Khan with a huge force and the left wing, made up of many battle-tested veterans, was under Hajji Khan Kakari. It was decided that when Hari Singh and his army attacked, Hajji Khan from the left and the sardars from the right would descend with swords drawn on the center of Hari Singh’s army. And as long as they were not killed and as long as the Sikhs stood their ground, they were not to turn from the fray. The two armies then closed and fighting erupted. Just then Hajji Khan sent a man with a message to Hari Singh informing him that he was on the left wing and reassured him that the Sikh could attack and have no fear from his quarter. Hari Singh considered this in perfect keeping with his own wishes and so fearlessly stormed (the Kabuli formations). The sardars—Muhammad Afzal Khan, Muhammad Akbar Khan, Shams al-Din Khan, and Nawwab ‘Abd al-Jabbar Khan—each of whom was ready for battle—placed their hands on the sword hilt of attack. But Hajji Khan, just as he had told Hari Singh he would do, maintained his position and did not advance. The others came to grips with the enemy and blood flowed. At the height of the contest, Nawwab ‘Abd al-Jabbar’s resolve ebbed and he retreated from the battlefield. Seeing him withdraw, Muhammad Akbar Khan fought his way over to help and reinforce him.

For eleven days, the battle went on from morning until evening and it was impossible to tell who was winning and who losing. On the twelfth day a fierce fight took place and for a while defeat overtook the army of Islam. Hari Singh boldly attacked with his advance forces and drove the army of Islam before him. At the very instant the army of the sardars began to fall back, Muhammad Afzal Khan glanced back and saw the enemy fighting and slashing its way through the Islamic infantry and cavalry. Out of a passionate sense of pride, he stopped retreating, attacked left and right and on all sides threw men and mounts to the ground. Seeing his brother fighting, Muhammad Akbar Khan also turned his reins from flight and fell upon the enemy. In the heat of this furious combat, he encountered Hari Singh. Without recognizing each other, they exchanged blows

and after much thrusting and parrying, Muhammad Akbar Khan won out, knocking Hari Singh to the ground, (and killing him).

At this time, Sardar Shams al-Din Khan who was fleeing was upbraided by a certain Mulla Isma‘il, an officer of the Sakhlu infantry who shouted, “Oh, sardar, you are sinking Islam! Pull up!” Muhammad Akbar Khan answered for him and said, “Give it your best and don’t give up the fight. The brave lads are standing firm even though the noise of musket and cannon fire is still going on.”

Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan too firmly planted his feet and was joined by many of those in retreat who followed his example and returned to the fray. After dispatching Hari Singh, Muhammad Akbar Khan attacked the rest of his army and routed it. With their commander dead and the army (of Islam) rolling towards them like a tide in flood, the Sikhs abandoned the field in total frustration. They were pursued by the sardars as far as Jumrud Fort where they barricaded themselves inside. (The Muslims) then slaughtered a few head of cattle and threw them into a pond from which the Sikhs drew their water so that the Sikhs would not be able to drink from it and would be forced to surrender the fort because of thirst. But in the evening, thanks to the immeasurable favor of God towards both good and evil alike who turn the face of hope (towards Him), a very heavy rain fell and filled a pond near the Sikhs. Through God’s abundant favor, the Sikhs now found their position much stronger. But the next day when both sides were apprised of Hari Singh’s death, the Sikhs abandoned the fort and withdrew to Peshawar. Delighted at the victory, the sardars now decided to invest Peshawar. But Nawwab ‘Abd al-Jabbar Khan stopped them and said,

The best thing to do is wait here in the place we have conquered, notify Dust Muhammad Khan by letter of what has happened, request permission either to attack Peshawar or to return to Kabul, and then act in conformity with whatever order is issued. So that if something goes

awry, we will not be held accountable.

The others agreed with him, sent a victory proclamation /127/ and asked permission either to advance or to return to Kabul. When Dust Muhammad Khan received this welcome news, he first dispatched a letter to Ranjit Singh containing expressions of censure for, and proof of, his having sent an army and its having received its just desserts. The letter said, "In view of the misbehavior you have engaged in, it is necessary you be punished. So prepare your army, for on the heels of this letter another army will be on its way from Kabul to make your life miserable."

Ranjit Singh apologized profusely, humbly attributed those misdeeds to Hari Singh, and wrote that he had been completely unaware of what had happened. He also proffered expressions of friendship and self-abasement. Nonetheless, it was just a pretence that he was unaware of the conquest (of the former Afghan holdings) of Peshawar, the Punjab, Kashmir, and the Derajat by force. For the moment however, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan was satisfied with his seeking forgiveness and expressing humility and so summoned the sardars back to Kabul. He expelled Hajji Khan (Kakari) because of his treachery and the conspiracy he had entered into with Hari Singh and Hajji Khan went to Sardar Kuhandil Khan in Qandahar.

*SARDAR DUST MUHAMMAD KHAN ASCENDS THE THRONE OF THE  
AMIRATE IN KABUL*

In 1254/1838, Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, who as earlier mentioned had fled Peshawar when Ranjit Singh took it by force and gone to Bajaur, learned of the victory of the sardars' army and of the letter of apology sent by Ranjit Singh and headed for Kabul with hope in his heart that Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan would help him retrieve Peshawar. Arriving before his

brother, his coming helped wipe the dust of resentment from the mirror of Dust Muhammad Khan 's mind that had accumulated because of Sultan Muhammad's earlier flight from Kabul. The two enjoyed a warm conversation together and after the discussions, Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan agreed to help him regain Peshawar. Calling the men of the surrounding region into Kabul, he declared a jihad and announced that the Punjab, Peshawar, and the other regions would be regained. The religious scholars who called for jihad as a permanent obligation to God and who considered killing and being killed on the path of religion the catalyst of a better age and the way to obtain life itself, gathered in joy and declared that:

the command to jihad is dependent on the existence of an amir and the establishment of an amirate. Such a person then deserves to have the coinage and the *khutbah* in his name and to raise the banner of jihad so that whoever should turn away from his command or prohibition, it would be like disobedience to the order of God and the Prophet. For others, it is absolutely essential that they render him obedience and punish those who disobey or fail to heed his commands and prohibitions. In accord with the proof-text, "Obey God, the Prophet, and the worthiest of command amongst you," they should not be disobedient towards him nor throw themselves into the abyss of disgrace and ignominy. At this time, the person worthy of this position is you, for you have good common sense and crystal-clear ideas.

Thus Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, thanks to this declaration by the religious scholars and the approbation of a group of the nobles (*shurafā*) who were well-wishers of the people of Islam and the leaders of the people, began laying the foundations of his amirate. In a short time, he had put everything in order, ascended the throne, and his name embellished pulpit and pecunia. The

following *saḥ*<sup>c</sup> verse was inscribed on the coinage:

Amir Dust Muhammad resolved to wage jihad,  
And to mint coins—May God grant him victory.

After his enthronement, he decided to fulfill the jihad. He left Kabul for Peshawar with an army made up of 60,000 men—royal horse and foot as well as irregular tribal forces. On the Sikh side, Ranjit Singh, hearing what was happening, gathered nearly 100,000 soldiers and 400 artillery pieces from Lahore, Amritsar, Kashmir, and other regions of his and marched from Lahore to Peshawar. The Amir-i Kabir (1) arrived in Shaykhan, one of the suburbs of Peshawar and set up camp. Ranjit Singh also came into the area and camped facing the amir. The two sides waited for a few days until the Amir-i Kabir grew apprehensive at seeing that huge army, the preparations for war, and the number of cannons Ranjit Singh had and decided that it was (too) early in his amirate and he had insufficient materiel. If he were successful well and good. But if not and he were defeated, the Hindu army would follow him all the way to Kabul. So the best thing to do was to retire to Kabul /128/ and there to work on achieving his objective by stocking up on weapons and (properly) equipping the army for jihad. With these concerns in mind, he returned to Kabul.

RM: (1) This title is how Dust Muhammad Khan is henceforth known in Afghanistan.

Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan and his uterine brothers Sardar Sa'id Muhammad Khan and Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan, now prevented from regaining Peshawar by the return of the amir to Kabul, had no choice but to make amends with Ranjit Singh. Through the mediation of the Frenchman, Abu Tawilah (Abbotville), whose story appears above, they negotiated an agreement with Ranjit Singh. Although he guaranteed their welfare, they were forced, with no leverage of their own, to accept his terms. Perhaps having in mind the example of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> from whom he forcibly extracted an investiture document (an official consignment of lands), he took them to Lahore and made

them reside in Shah Darrah with the hope of getting from them a similar deed surrendering their rights to the Derajat and Peshawar. Although Ranjit Singh had taken Ashnagar (Hashtnagar), Duabah, Naw Shahrah, and Kuhat as far as Tall-i Buland by force of arms, (the sardars) still officially held these lands as *jāygīr*. In Lahore, he allocated a sum of 70,000 Nanak-Shahi rupees as a living allowance for them. They remained in Lahore until 1266/1849–50, when they returned to Kabul. That will be recounted in due course, God willing.

#### *MUHAMMAD SHAH QAJAR MARCHES AGAINST HERAT*

During 1254/1838–39, Muhammad Shah Qajar decided to conquer Herat. Dovetailing nicely with his plan were separate letters that he received about this time from Kabul from Sardar Dust Muhammad Khan, who had his mind set on regaining Peshawar, the Punjab, Kashmir, and Sind; from Sardar Kuhandil Khan in Qandahar; and from Sardar Shams al-Din Khan in Herat who was with Prince Kamran at this time. The letters requested that the shah not delay his conquest of Herat and the destruction of Prince Kamran. The shah received the three emissaries graciously and gave them written replies to carry back.

In the meantime, Prince Kamran had made up his mind to conquer Sistan. Afraid of him, the governor of Sistan decamped and went to the shah. Seeing all these incidents as coinciding neatly with his own secret ambitions, the shah sent Qanbar °Ali Khan Mani as an envoy on the heels of the three Afghan emissaries to Sardar Kuhandil Khan in Qandahar. Along with him the shah sent a sword with a diamond-studded grip. Then on the 14th of Safar 1254/9 May 1838, he himself left Tehran intending to march on Herat and made his staging area in Bagh-i Nigaristan. There Hajji Mirza Aqasi, his chief advisor, began preparing for the campaign, as did all the princes and leading figures of Iran, who pitched their tents all around the same bagh. Mirza Aqa Khan, wazir of the shah's army, undertook to equip the Azarbayjani, °Iraqi, and Mazandarani forces and to

prepare food and forage.

Prince Kamran, discovering the shah's goal, sent one Fath Muhammad Khan as ambassador with 150 bolts of Kashmiri shawl-cloth and 15 horses. He waited on the shah at Bagh-i Nigaristan, presented the gifts he had brought, and conveyed the prince's request that the shah consider him a well-wisher and not give credence to those trouble-makers who had falsely represented him to the shah. He promised, in any event, to put the shah's name on the coinage and in the *khutbah* and not to stray from the path of obedience on condition that the shah consider the trouble of a campaign inadvisable for his army and himself.

Muhammad Shah rejected his proposal out of hand and sent a message back with the prince's envoy which said, "If Prince Kamran is speaking the truth, then when the army approaches, he should come forward to greet it, at which point he will be confirmed in the government of Herat." After dismissing Prince Kamran's emissary, the shah, on Sunday the 19th of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Sani/12 July 1838 left the Bagh-i Nigaristan and arrived in Simnan on Sunday the 26th/19 July. He spent seven days there. On Saturday, the 10th of Jumada al-Sani/31 August he camped at Bastam where he stayed for twenty days so that the leaders of the country could join him with their cavalry and infantry forces. There Asif al-Dawlah, the regent of Mashhad, waited on the shah and with various proofs and arguments tried to dissuade him from the campaign. But since word of the campaign had spread, the shah did not listen to him and marched from Bastam to Khayrabad. From there he continued on to Nishapur where he stopped another twenty days. Then, foot in stirrup, he rode to Turbat-i Shaykh Jam—God have mercy on him—and from there delegated Allah Yar Khan, "Asif al-Dawlah" to march towards Badghis with 12,000 regular foot and horse and nine cannons. He also had Iskandar Khan Qajar accompany him with the Qarai cavalry. The shah himself made camp at Sar-i Jam, stayed there seven days and then marched into Ghuriyan. At the moment of his arrival, a group /129/ of Afghan braves who were garrisoned there to guard the fortress, came out to

fight, clashing with °Abbas Quli Khan Irawani who was scouting for the main army. As the Afghans were few in number, they were defeated, withdrew into the fortress and prepared for a siege. °Abbas Quli Khan took a few prisoners whom he paraded before the shah along with the heads of some of those killed.

On the 7th of Sha°ban/26 October, the main army camped near the Ghuriyan walls. Shayr Muhammad Khan, the brother of Yar Muhammad Khan who had been stationed there with an Afghan garrison to guard the place, closed and barred the gates. Muhammad Shah was willing to by-pass the fortress and continue on to Herat, but at the plea of army officers, who wanted to reduce it, and said that if the fortress does not fall there will be an obstacle between the royal army and anyone who might come from Mashhad, he relented and ordered the fortress taken.

The artillery then laid down a bombardment which placed the defenders in such dire straits that they sued for peace. The shah agreed and on Tuesday, the 14th (of Sha°ban)/2 November, Shayr Muhammad Khan came out of the fortress along with Muhammad Hakim Khan and Muhammad Tahir Khan. They were received by the shah and pardoned. Muhammad Shah occupied the fortress and assigned Asad Allah Khan Qa°ini to garrison it with a detachment of Khurasani troops. On the 23rd of Sha°ban/11 November the shah reached Herat and camped near the Musalla and the shrine of Abu'l-Walid where he set up his headquarters. Prince Kamran bolted the city gates and sat tight.

*ENGLISH POLICY VIS A VIS THE RUSSIANS; THEIR PLANS AND THEIR  
SENDING EMISSARIES TO THE AMIR-I KABIR*

The details are as follows. Mr. McNeill, the representative of the British government, believed that the Russians were behind the shah of Iran's campaign against Herat. Moreover, because Amir Dust Muhammad Khan and the sardars of Qandahar had sent the shah letters and envoys, he felt a danger was posed to



India should the Afghans ally with the Iranians, take back Kashmir, Lahore, the Punjab, and Peshawar from Ranjit Singh, and then enter and devastate India as Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah had done. So at the time of the shah's move towards Herat, McNeill went to see him along with Ellis, the British ambassador, who had been sent to Tehran to try and eliminate the aforementioned dangers (to India). Together they tried to talk the shah out of the Herat campaign. On the surface they spoke of the turmoil it would create in India, but secretly their aim was to prevent an Iranian-Afghan alliance. The issue was discussed at length, the British advancing numerous arguments. But in view of the letters and envoys sent by the Amir-i Kabir and the sardars of Qandahar, the shah reassured them on the treaty question (concerning India's security) and declared that his only goal was the conquest of Herat. Then, as already mentioned, he departed for Herat.

In search of a solution, Mr. McNeill kept sending off one note after another to British officials and then he himself departed with the Qajar shah. In response to McNeill's notes, the British sent Alexander Burnes as ambassador to the Amir-i Kabir, telling him to use any means at his disposal to forestall the Amir-i Kabir from uniting with the Iranian shah and to win him to the British side. Mr. Leech was sent to the Qandahar sardars on a similar mission. On another tack, the British went to see Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> in Ludhiana and promised they would assist him in regaining Afghanistan which was his rightful legacy from the Amir-i Kabir and the Qandahar sardars and would give him all possible help. An explanation of all this will come in due course-God willing.

Sometime earlier, a certain Mr. Pottinger went to Herat dressed as an Islamic mulla. There, calling himself an Indian mawlawi, he opened a school, and began teaching students. He so ingratiated himself with Prince Kamran and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan that whatever he suggested they listened to with the ear of acceptance and whatever he proposed they would not reject but would carry out. Besides conducting classes, he became the prayer leader (*muqtada*) at

the Congregational Mosque of Herat and would guide the people in their prayers. He also demonstrated certain miraculous powers thanks to letters which reached him clandestinely. For example, from the day the shah left Tehran until his arrival outside Herat, Pottinger would announce the news of every stage of his journey, stop by stop. He warned Prince Kamran and suggested he prepare himself for a siege. In addition, since he knew the British government was bound and determined to stop the shah of Iran, he reassured the prince that the British were not seeking hegemony or conquest. /130/

The prince then followed his suggestion, assembled large quantities of supplies and sent Mulla Fayz Allah the son of Mulla Shams al-Din Mufti, Baqir Khan the *mīr-ākhūr* and *īshīk āqāsī*, and Prince Nadir Mirza to Allah Quli Khan Turah, who ruled Khwarazm, to Mizrab Khan, the regent of Maymanah, and to Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah and asked their help, proposing that the latter two raise a tribal force of Taymani and Jamshidi and send them to Herat.

During this time, a Russian, Vitkevich, arrived in Kabul with gifts and presents. He had an audience with the Amir-i Kabir who accepted the offerings. Talks on friendship and cordial relations had not yet begun when an emissary with a note from Muhammad Shah arrived and was admitted to an audience. As the shah of Iran had written an account of Alexander Burnes' double-dealing and had candidly stated that because of his duplicity there would be no peace until his impostures were exposed, and (as) the Amir-i Kabir had thought it prudent (up to this point) to foreswear all ties with the Russians, he now concluded such ties and expelled Alexander Burnes from Kabul. Burnes returned to India, his hopes dashed. After concluding the friendship treaty with the Russians, Amir Dust Muhammad Khan gave the Russian and Iranian emissaries leave to return home.

Soon after, he contracted a marriage between Ghulam Ahmad Khan's daughter and his son, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. and the joyous nuptials were performed.

*THE BATTLES OF PRINCE KAMRAN WITH HIS HIGHNESS MUHAMMAD  
SHAH QAJAR*

As mentioned above, on the day the Iranian shah arrived in Herat, Prince Kamran sent out 6,000 men to fight him. Before the shah could reach the shrine of Abu'l-Walid and camp, at Puzah-i Kabutar Khan this force met Muhammad Wali Khan Tunukabuni *sartīp* and Fath Allah Khan Mani, who, with their respective retinues, made up the vanguard of the Iranian force. A skirmish was fought and many men died. One of the Iranian leaders, Baqir Khan, was wounded. But when the vast numbers of the main Iranian army hove into view, the Heratis were unable to continue the fight and retired into the city.

During this, several heroic Afghans attacked the Iranian rear, killed an elephant and its tender, and then returned to the city. In a similar way, on the first night of the siege, a group of Afghan braves left the city on a night raid, attacked (the Iranian army), and then withdrew into the city. The next day the Qajar shah chose the open field of Sang-i Safid as his headquarters. When he was settled there, Afghan braves left the city to attack him. They clashed with Hajji Khan Amir Bahadur and his men, spilled much blood, and then returned to the city.

On Saturday, the 27th of Sha'ban/15 November, seeing no hope of resisting the Iranians in the open field because of the size of their army, the prince devoted all his efforts to the defense works. The shah's forces, like the waves of the sea, lapped against and enveloped the four sides of the city. The siege placements were as follows: on the east side opposite the Qandahar Gate, Muhammad Khan Makui, *amīr tūmān*; in that same spot Musa Semenov, a French engineer, was put in charge of building a strong redoubt. He also instructed the regular troops in entrenching and moving the redoubt closer to the walls. Their task was ultimately to breach the defensive walls. Muhammad Wali

Khan, the Tunukabuni *sartip*, with the detachments from Qazwin and General Berowski, another engineer, were sent to another side of the city. Hajji Khan Amir Bahadur Jang, with the chief engineer, Mirza Riza Tabrizi took a position facing the Burj-i Khakistar. Meanwhile, as fate would have it, a fight broke out between the Qazwini infantry and the Shaqaqi contingent engaged in digging the entrenchments and they began pelting each other with sticks and rocks. Engrossed in their fight, the Qazwini soldiers raised their heads out of the trenches whereupon the defenders on the Burj-i Khakistar shot thirty of them. The others (quickly) took cover again behind the breastworks. Samsam Khan *sartip*, and his men built a redoubt opposite the °Iraq Gate and Habib Allah Khan, an artillery amir, hit and dislodged a gun emplaced on top of the Burj-i Khakistar.

In short, the city was surrounded. The contingent closest to the walls was under the command of Muhibb °Ali Khan. He set up a position with 120 men inside a ruined mosque which stood near the Qandahar Gate. Three times the defenders sent a force of 500 men at night to assault the mosque and each time they inflicted casualties before retiring to the city. In much the same way, other parties attacked the Iranian positions every night, harassing and tiring them. Finally Prince Kamran and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan, their hopes pinned on Khwarazm, Maymanah, /131/ and the other places they had sent the prince (Nadir Mirza) to seek help, opened negotiations. Their thought was that under the guise of negotiating, they could forestall the shah from reducing the city to extreme hardship and eventually, when the (hoped-for) relief forces arrived, they would catch the Iranian forces in a pincers. So they sent a man to Muhammad Shah and asked for a truce. The shah replied,

Prince Kamran and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan should acknowledge that Herat is Iranian soil. In exchange, I will give them the district of Khwaf and then return to Tehran. This is all on condition that either

Prince Kamran or Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan, in deference to my authority, will come and meet with me. They should also release the calligrapher, Mir °Abd al-Rahman for whom life is very difficult in Herat and let him come to Iran where he can accomplish his work in an atmosphere of respect and appreciation and in a state of comfort.

The two men accepted the condition proposed by the shah who only offered it out of fear of the British who were determined to prevent his capture of Herat. They agreed that Prince Kamran would come to the shah. Mir °Abd al-Rahman, the calligrapher, refused to go to Iran, however.

At this point, Pottinger, the Englishman who had been living in Herat for a long time disguised as a mulla, shed his Islamic garb, donned his official dress and presented himself before Prince Kamran and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan. Having thought of him up to this moment with some reverence as a mulla and a Musulman, they asked him, with great amazement what was going on. He said that he was an Englishman named Pottinger and dissuaded the prince from going to the shah and agreeing to his conditions. He also asked them about the state of readiness of the defenses, that is, how long they thought they could hold out, so that he could remedy (any weaknesses) in the city's defenses. They said, "We can resist for seven months but we haven't the strength for any longer than that." Pottinger listened and urged them to stand fast. He said, "If you can hold out, in seven months I can drive the shah of Iran away from Herat." As proof of his words he added, "Tomorrow a white flag will be raised and lowered three times from the midst of the Iranian army. If it then remains flying, it means the Qajar shah is returning to Iran. If not, it means he hasn't given up yet." Just as he predicted, the next day General McNeill, who knew the shah's plans, raised a white flag three times, lowered it, and did not raise it again. Prince Kamran and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan now knew Pottinger was speaking the truth. So they reneged on the agreement they had made with the shah and decided to

resist. No longer waiting for help from Khwarazm and Maymanah, they authorized Pottinger to begin spending money for the defense of Herat. He thereupon borrowed a large sum from the Jewish merchants of the city.

General McNeill, who had accompanied the shah's army from Tehran, departed at this point for India. At the same time, the shah named Shah Husayn Khan ambassador to London to carry congratulations on the coronation of Queen Victoria and to dispel the suspicions which McNeill had raised in his correspondence. The shah's envoy was also to restore relations based on the treaty in effect between the two countries. But he returned from London having failed in his mission and relations between the two nations became hostile, as will be related below, God willing.

Meantime, the shah of Iran, angered at Prince Kamran's refusal to accept his terms, intensified the siege and bent all his efforts to capturing Herat. Amir Bahadur Jang asked permission to lead an assault on the city in response to the shah's order to step up the siege. The shah answered neither yes nor no, in fact gave no answer at all. Interpreting his silence as assent, the amir launched an attack. Moving forward a trench which he and his followers were in charge of, he reached the moat. Then, in the dead of night, he filled the moat with earth under instructions of Mirza Riza, the engineer, and attacked. He led the charge with his men right behind but in crossing the ditch was hit and wounded. His men picked him up and retreated. Similarly, another force which had dug its way up to the ditch retreated when Muhibb ʿAli Khan (their leader) was wounded.

One day while this was going on, a group of Afghan braves went out of the city and laid an ambush at a point beside the walls in order to intercept those carrying supplies for the Iranian army. But Mahdi Khan Qarapapaq (1) learned of the ambush and attacked them, killing or capturing twenty of the Afghans. Meanwhile, the defenders had heard that 25,000 rupees of revenues from Tabas and Tun were being shipped to Muhammad Shah along with fuse material for

FM: (1) Qarapapaq is a tribe. The word means "black cap." Perhaps the symbol of the tribe was a black cap or simply that this is the name by which they are known.

the arsenal (*fuyūs-i-qūrkhānah*). A group of Afghan braves were assigned to capture the treasure train. They attacked it, killed thirty of the guards, made off with all the cash and materiel, and returned to the city.

After this incident, Mirza Jan Mustawfi and Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, who earlier, as has been mentioned, had sent a note to the shah requesting that he come to Herat, /132/ now, notwithstanding the fact that Shams al-Din's sister was the wife of Prince Kamran, both defected to the Qajar side. The shah ordered them to requisition provisions for the army from the villages and farms of the Herat region and to give the farmers vouchers against government (*dīwānī*) revenues.

Up until the night of the 15th of Ramadan/2 December 1838, things went on as before. But that night, as the noise of cannon and rifle fire had intensified, Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan climbed to the top of the citadel tower (*burj-i ḥiṣār*) and called for a truce. He shouted out, "Send an Iranian into the city to reassure us about the safety of our lives and property and then we will come to do obeisance to the shah." The shah called a halt to the fighting and as the wazir requested, sent °Aziz Khan, the chief (*sardār-i kull*) of the army, into Herat. He stayed two days in the city and on the third day returned to the army camp accompanied by a group of city notables. He brought with him a letter from Prince Kamran and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan containing expressions of cordiality and concord and mentioning the sending of a large sum of cash. It also asked that the (Qajar) army return to Tehran. All of this was put before the shah.

The latter, who knew full well how the Heratis had duped °Aziz Khan, dismissed the notables and then ordered a full-scale assault. This time, concurring with a suggestion of Hajji Aqasi, he withdrew his forces from around half of the city so that if the people inside grew tired of the siege and wished to escape, they could. But using Hajji Aqasi's idea to their own advantage, the Afghan defenders launched a night raid from the city through the unprotected sector and painted their swords with Iranian blood. Night after night they

bedeviled the Iranians until the shah's forces were driven to distraction by the daring of the Afghans. Mirza Aqa Khan, the wazir of the army began to criticize Hajji Aqasi for his policy of not securing all four sides of the city and said,

You have ensured that three of the city gates are not under pressure from the army. This can drag on until Judgment Day because they can get supplies into the city and are not suffering. Moreover, if reinforcements arrive to help them you will not be able to prevent them from linking up with the people in the city.

Most of the army leaders agreed with the wazir. At first, Hajji Aqasi did not yield or retreat from his position but produced evidence and said,

Even if the entire circumference of the city were under a tight siege and the people inside could neither come nor go, they would still sacrifice themselves to protect the city, especially the Afghans who, until they actually die, will keep on fighting and killing. So, even in that case, victory will not be easy and things will drag on and on. But if an outlet for escape is left open, when the situation becomes truly difficult, they will abandon the city and flee.

But in the end, after he had stated his case, he finally agreed with the others and sealed the periphery of the city and pressed the attack.

While the struggle was proceeding an incident involving 2,000 Taymani foot and horse soldiers occurred. They were on their way to Herat because of the intervention of Prince Nadir, Prince Kamran's son, who as already mentioned had gone to seek their help. En route, they suddenly came upon a party of foragers under Nasr Allah Khan, *sar kushkchī-bāshī* and a battle ensued. Ultimately, the Taymani force fled for home, several of its members dead or



captured. Also at this point, 500 select horsemen which the Khan of Khwarazm, at Prince Nadir Mirza's request, had dispatched under the command of Khalifah °Abd al-Rahman Turkoman, arrived with him in Maymanah.

*THE BATTLE OF PRINCE NADIR MIRZA, KHALIFAH °ABD AL-RAHMAN  
TURKOMAN, AND MIZRAB KHAN WITH ASAF AL-DAWLAH*

When Prince Nadir Mirza and Khalifah °Abd al-Rahman Turkoman reached Maymanah with their horsemen, the wali there, Mizrab Khan, gathered 6,000 horse from Andkhud, Shibarghan, Maymanah, and elsewhere and joined them. In addition, Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah sent 4,000 foot and horse from the people of Daraz, Firuz Kuh, and the Jamshidi to Khalifah °Abd al-Rahman. Thereupon the prince, now fully prepared, marched to do battle with the Iranians.

On the Iranian side, Allah Yar Khan "Asaf al-Dawlah" at that point appeared on the scene. As mentioned above he had been sent by the Qajar shah from Turbat-i Shaykh Jam towards Badghis with 12,000 horsemen and nine guns. He arrived in the Badghisat and the yurt-lands of the Jamshidi by way of Kariz, Kuhsan, and Qush Ribat and made camp at Qara Tapah. At the time /133/ of his arrival there, all the inhabitants fled except for Zaman Khan Jamshidi who stood his ground with 6,000 warriors. But 200 of his men were killed and he retreated and his men scattered.

Asaf al-Dawlah stopped for three days and then proceeded to Qal°ah-i Naw where he spent another ten days before heading for Bala Murghab. Just before reaching Padah Kach, Zaman Shah, Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah, and Shah Pasand Khan Firuzkuhi attacked Asaf al-Dawlah with a large force. For four hours, both sides stood their ground and the fighting was of such ferocity that no one could recall having seen or heard its like before. (Even) the author of *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh* admits that the Afghans fought with great courage. For four hours

they put their all into the fight but in spite of their bold efforts in the end they had to retreat. In that battle 250 Afghans and many of Asaf al-Dawlah's men were consumed by the sword.

After overcoming the Afghans, Asaf al-Dawlah entered Padah Kach and from there sent two regiments of regular infantry (one Maraghi, the other Qara'i) and one of Qara'i cavalry under his nephew, Iskandar Khan, as an advance force. But as he was a stranger to that region, Iskandar Khan got lost. As he entered a narrow pass, Hazarahs and Jamshidis suddenly closed the road behind him while Firuzkuhis blocked his advance and his access to water. These forces had climbed the mountains on both sides of the defile and opened fire on the Iranian force. They killed a number of Iranians and made life very difficult for the rest. Even Iskandar Khan was wounded and many horses were shot dead. Though injured, Iskandar Khan ordered a redoubt of dead horses and bloody corpses thrown up around his army's center. As his retreat route was blocked he had no choice but to fight.

Moving up behind him, Asaf al-Dawlah set up camp at the manzil which had been earlier designated (as the rendezvous). Seeing no sign of Iskandar Khan at the camping ground, he suddenly heard the sound of musket fire and realized the former must have strayed from the right road and been pinned down. Although Asaf al-Dawlah ought to have gone to Iskandar Khan's aid and freed him from the enemy's clutches, it was nearly dark and for that reason he did not think he could help him.

Asaf al-Dawlah spent a very restless and troubled night and early the next morning assigned Ja'far Quli Khan Qarajah Daghi, Nabi Khan Qaraguzlu, Kalb Ali Khan Afshar, and Ja'far Quli Khan Shadlu with a contingent of horse and foot to aid Iskandar Khan. They managed to reach him in the nick of time. He had just about given up all hope but they rescued him. Jointly they then attacked and scattered the group of Hazarah, Jamshidi, and Firuzkuhi from the slopes and summits of the mountains. While they were defeating them, fate sent 3,000

horsemen to assist those who were on the brink of retreat.

As a result, the Hazarah, Firuzkuhi, and Jamshidi turned their faces from flight and plunged again into the fray. In one fell swoop they killed twenty Khurasani and Shadlu cavalry. At the height of this battle, Rahimdad Sultan Hazarah sustained a mortal wound which led to the retreat of the others. The Iranians took several prisoners and killed a number of them. But lacking boldness, they rejected the idea of pursuit and returned to base.

Later, Asaf al-Dawlah set out (again) this time with a local guide, Hajji Beg, who had deliberately defected from Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah according to the latter's instructions, joined the Iranian leader, and headed with him for Bala Murghab. The guide waited for an opportune moment and the arrival of (Afghan) warriors. He led Asaf al-Dawlah's army along a road through a narrow gorge with heights on either side where the Turkomans had laid an ambush. When the army reached the middle of the gorge they became the target of their bullets. A force led by Kalb 'Ali Khan Afshar, which tried to scale the heights, was beaten back and the Iranians were trapped in the gorge. Lacking the ability either to fight or escape, they were forced to take cover behind their riding and pack animals. Many of them nonetheless perished under the hail of bullets. The hajji, who had put them on a road which now seemed in every direction to lead only to destruction, disappeared at this point.

The next day, Asaf al-Dawlah, in a totally desperate, perilous and disordered state, tried to move forward. Iskandar Khan, despite his wounds, was sent on ahead leading an advance force. When he reached the manzil of Khwajah Kandu, the Turks fell on him, overran his force, and took several prisoners. When Asaf al-Dawlah reached that manzil and learned of the Turks' assault, he ordered his army to help Iskandar Khan. Two hundred men managed to reach Iskandar Khan ahead of the rest of the army. When the Turks saw those two hundred /134/, they pounced on them like lions, surrounded them and closed the door of escape. Finding themselves on the brink of destruction, the Iranians

dismounted, used their horses as shields, and defended themselves until Asaf al-Dawlah and the rest of the army caught up. When the army arrived, the Hazarahs decided they could no longer continue the struggle and so abandoned the field.

The Iranians mounted up and rode on to the banks of the Bala Murghab River and camped. There they regained some of their strength and began forays which brought in 5,000 sheep as booty along with 20 shepherds who were tending those flocks. In the midst of this, 37,000 households of Jamshidis and Firuzkuhis, fearing despoliation, took themselves off and away, crossed the Marv River and made their summer quarters in the territory of Bala Murghab. Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah, Zaman Khan Jamshidi, and Shah Pasand Khan Firuzkuhi, each with a body of his own followers, headed for Maymanah where they joined forces with Mizrab Khan, the wali of Maymanah, Khalifah °Abd al-Rahman Turkoman, and Prince Nadir Mirza, the three of whom had already assembled there and taken up positions to fight the shah. In four places, they built redoubts (*sangars*).

As Asaf al-Dawlah was en route towards the Bala Murghab River, one of Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah's pishkhidmats took his master's sword and rode off to tell Asaf al-Dawlah that some 20,000 Uzbeks from Sar-i Pul, Andkhud, and Shibarghan, and the Salur and Saruq Turkomans and the Chahar Uymaq were two farsangs from his army, that they had erected a redoubt and were ready for battle. Hearing this news and having seen and experienced their valor and courage, Asaf al-Dawlah grew apprehensive. But despite his fears, out of consideration for the authority of the shah he did not throw in his hand. (Instead), he left Muhammad Ibrahim Qajar with 12,000 foot and horse and ten field guns to guard the baggage and supplies while he himself set forth to engage the enemy with seven guns and the rest of the army, the majority of which had come up reinforce him after the victory of the Turks. Such a reinforcement must have occurred for it was noted earlier that Muhammad Shah ordered him

towards Badghis from the manzil of Turbat-i Shaykh Jam with 12,000 foot and horse and nine guns, most of them casualties by now.

In short, when he approached the redoubt, the Uzbek, Jamshidi, and Uyumaqi braves attacked him like beasts of prey. They made four assaults, each time leaving several men dead before withdrawing. This went on until cannonfire drove them all back into the redoubt. Emboldened, the Iranians now charged the redoubt. They took 700 prisoners and killed them. Because of the mass of Iranians, the defenders could not hold but fell back, abandoning the earthworks and their baggage. Asaf al-Dawlah captured the redoubt and spent three days there. The glad tidings of his victory, particularly sweet after all the reverses he had suffered, were delivered to the shah by Baqir Khan, the disloyal *mīr ākhūr* of Prince Kamran, who had gone at the latter's request with his son, Prince Nadir Mirza, for help (but had abandoned him) As a result, Baqir Khan was the object of much largesse and was given a place at court.

After three days, Asaf al-Dawlah left the redoubt area and entered the manzil of Chahar Shanbah and from there moved on to Qaysar via Chichak Tu and Altin Khwajah. There the leaders of Maymanah, Sar-i Pul, Andkhud, Shibarghan, and the Chahar Uyumaq came to offer him their obedience and to don the necklace of allegiance. Then Asaf al-Dawlah sent Ja'far Quli Khan Kurd Shadlu to Maymanah. Somewhere near the manzil of Almar, Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah and Zaman Khan Jamshidi welcomed him with 1,000 riders. They entertained him as their guest for a night at the fortress in Almar, treated him hospitably, and the next day saw him depart for Maymanah by way of Tuquz Kutal which are nine hills (mountains) which Nadir Shah had cut and levelled. When he arrived in Maymanah, all the people of the city and the environs came out to meet him and together the throng proceeded into the town. The wali, Mizrab Khan, played host to Ja'far Quli Khan for sixteen days then entered into negotiations as a result of which he handed over his son Hukumat Khan who would always stay with the shah as a surety. Similarly, all

the tribal leaders surrendered their sons—Rustam Khan Shibarghani, Shah Wali Khan Andkhudi, Zu'l-Faqar Khan Saripuli, Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah, Zaman Khan Jamshidi and others—and sent them all to the shah as hostages. Zaman Khan Jamshidi also sent his cousin, Mir Ahmad Khan, with other sons of nobles and 100 head of horses as pishkash (tribute). Messages of obedience were all dispatched and brought by Ja'far Quli Khan to Asaf al-Dawlah who forwarded them on to Herat. After that the door of buying and selling goods was opened up and easy access was opened up for the Iranians. On the heels of the others, 'Abd Allah Khan Qipchaq, the brother of Shah Pasand Khan, hastened to offer his obedience to Asaf al-Dawlah and was treated generously. The latter then moved 12,000 households of Qipchaq, Mawdudis, and Firuzkuhis who were subject to him out of Qaysar, eight farsangs back to /135/ their homes. Mizrab Khan, the wali of Maymanah, sent his nephew separately with a note and pishkash gifts to Muhammad Shah and requested that he withdraw Allah Yar Khan "Asaf al-Dawlah" from Maymanah and remove his boot from the people's necks.

*THE SCHOLARS OF HERAT PROVOKE AND INSTIGATE THE PEOPLE  
THERE TO WAGE JIHAD AGAINST THE IRANIANS*

According to the author of *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, when news of the Maymanah victory—the submission of the Jamshidi, Firuzkuhi, Hazarah, Chahar Uymaq, and Uzbek peoples, the residents of Shibarghan, Andkhud, and Sar-i Pul's swearing obedience, and the flight of Nadir Mirza—reached Prince Kamran, he consulted with Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan on how to find some way out. With the assent of these two men, Mulla 'Abd al-Haqq, one of the city's leading scholars, composed a tract which declared the Iranians to be in a state of unbelief (*kuf'r*) and the legality, therefore, of shedding their blood and plundering their possessions. He adduced various proofs in his tract, invited the

sayyids of Pushtaki into the city, and assembled the townspeople at the Congregational Mosque. After the Friday services were over, Mulla °Abd al-Haqq ascended the pulpit and, according to the author of the above book, read his pamphlet aloud. He then called to the people,

O men, this was the command of God and the Prophet that you heard. Here is the Qajar army present and ready for battle. If it defeats you and occupies the city, your lives, property, and honor will be subject to devastation with impunity. Your duty is to defend your lives, property, and honor. Fighting the Qajars is a jihad on the path of God. If you are killed you become a martyr and enter eternal paradise. If you kill any of them you become a ghazi and make Paradise for yourself out of that.

Hearing his words and the contents of his broadside, the audience performed their ablutions, clipped their fingernails, and wound themselves in their burial shrouds. The sayyids of Pushtaki raised their banners in front and the men of the city followed them out the Khushk Gate. They first encountered scouts of Muhammad Khan, *amīr-i tūmān*, and attacked them. At the very outset, a bullet struck a certain °Ali Muhammad of the Qajar army and he was killed. One of the ghazis ran over to cut off his head but another Iranian, °Ali Naqi Khan, stood in his way, wounding five men and preventing them from reaching the body. Though himself wounded, he (°Ali Naqi) still managed to make off with the body. When the Iranians saw what had happened, they wailed and trembled.

Muhammad Wali Khan, the (Tunukabuni) *sartīp*, Muhibb °Ali Khan, and General Berowski, the Frenchman, came up to beat back the Heratis with their scouts and the two sides fought a sharp battle. On the Herati side, thirty-eight men were killed, as well as four of the Pushtaki sayyids and the cousin of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan, forty-three men in all. Fifty-six were wounded, some of

whom were also taken prisoner. Many Iranians were also casualties. In the end, the Heratis broke and retreated to the city. On the Iranian side, General Berowski sustained a wound. After this episode, Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan called out to the men sitting in Hajji Khan's redoubt and asked for a truce. Whereupon, Muhammad Shah sent one of the army officers into the city. After much negotiating, Prince Kamran and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan (still) refused to offer their allegiance and so dashed the shah's hopes. Instead, they fortified their positions inside the walls.

In the meantime, Prince Nadir Mirza arrived on the scene with the 500-man cavalry force sent by Allah Quli Turah of Khwarazm. He first encountered Habib Allah Khan, the *amīr-i tūpkhānah*, who had left the Iranian base to meet a shipment of money being sent from Tehran. The two sides clashed and as the Iranians were both numerically superior and better-prepared, they killed thirty-four of the Khwarazmians and captured fifty-six men and fifty horses. The next day, at the shah's order, they decapitated all the prisoners.

As the siege had now dragged on for a long time and winter was approaching, Muhammad Shah ordered Mustafa Quli Khan, one of the army leaders, to collect 5,000 kharwars of grain from the Badghisat and deliver it to Herat. At the same time, the army units built shelters against the cold weather. A munitions factory was also set up. There they cast large guns and carved cannonballs out of stone. Because of the abovementioned petition to the shah sent by Mizrab Khan, wali of Maymanah, the shah now summoned Asaf al-Dawlah from Maymanah. He returned to Herat, arriving in early Dhi Hijjah 1254/late February 1839 and presented the noblemen's sons taken by him as surety. The shah received them with kindness and favor. Then Asaf al-Dawlah was dismissed to return to Mashhad. But before he left, he went up to the foot of the city walls, with the shah's permission, and spoke with Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and advised him to reach a settlement. However, because of the incitement of Pottinger, who urged the wazir and the prince to stand fast



behind the walls of the city, Asaf al-Dawlah did not hear the answer he wanted to hear and so returned to the shah. He then left for Mashhad so that business there would not suffer.

*SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup>'S CAMPAIGN TO AFGHANISTAN WITH BRITISH  
ASSISTANCE*

During 1254/1838–39, Amir Dust Muhammad Khan sent a courier and message to the Qajar shah in Herat encouraging him in his conquest attempt and reassuring him that there would be no trouble from his quarter. The shah received the messenger with honors and then permitted him to return. As a result of this cordial exchange between the Qajar shah and the Afghan amir and because of the unceremonious exit of Alexander Burnes from Kabul, as mentioned above, the British now addressed themselves to the problem.

After Burnes' arrival in India, Lord Auckland, the governor-general of India, sent a letter to the Amir-i Kabir saying,

With respect to the treaty concluded between the British government and Ranjit Singh and with respect to the fact that this government deems it an obligation to assist and support him, therefore what is pertinent to your situation is as follows. You should guard and protect those cities over which you have authority and not interfere in the regions of western Afghanistan, that is Herat, southern Afghanistan, i.e. Qandahar, or eastern Afghanistan, that is Peshawar and the rest of the region to the Indus River.”

The Amir-i Kabir, who harbored an ambition to retrieve the eastern part of Afghanistan as far as Lahore and Kashmir, did not reply. This affair was another point which bore out the memoranda of McNeill to the British authorities that

the shah's advance on Afghanistan was intended to disrupt India and to create an alliance between him and the sardars of Qandahar and the Amir-i Kabir. The British began to worry that if Herat came under the control of the shah of Iran, all the western region of Afghanistan would accept allegiance to Russia, at which point it seemed likely that India would be thrown into turmoil by internal agitation. Furthermore, it had now occurred to the amir, Dust Muhammad Khan, as a result of his antipathy for Ranjit Singh, that with the help of the shah of Iran he could recapture Peshawar, Lahore, and Kashmir and that too would create havoc in India. British officials came to believe that alliance with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> would be a cure for these three issues (i.e. forestalling the Iranians at Herat, preventing the spread of Russian influence south-wards, and keeping Dust Muhammad out of the Punjab).

On the 26th of June 1838, corresponding to the 23rd of Rabi' al-Sani 1254 [sic—the 26th of June corresponded to the 3rd of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Sani] and the 15th of the month Harismat 1895 of the Indian calendar, Mr. William Hay Macnaghten, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, and Ranjit Singh concluded a treaty at Karmajit in Lahore, drafting a document which read:

Earlier a treaty was concluded between the Khalsa Ji and Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> comprising four articles excluding the prologue and conclusion. For various reasons it has been in abeyance. But at this time, Mr. William Hay Macnaghten, at the direction of George Lord Auckland, the governor-general, has come to Khalsa Ji to affirm and implement the above-mentioned treaty in a manner consistent with the long-standing and true friendship between these two parties, that is Khalsa Ji and the English Company (Kampani Ingilis Bahadur). A few new paragraphs of friendship have been added as well as four new articles of terms. Altogether the treaty now includes eighteen articles. With the cordial approval of, and in friendly concert with, the English Company, it is

hereby attested and affirmed that deviation from, and violation of, these stipulations neither is, nor will be, contemplated.

1) The territories on both banks of the Indus River are subject to Khalsa Ji and include the district (*ṣūbah*) of Kashmir with its eastern, western, southern, and northern borders; Attock; Chachallah; Hazarah; Kuhandil; Anat; and the sub-districts of those places; Peshawar and the Yusufzai (lands); Khuttak, Hashtnigar; Michini; Kuhat; and Hangu. In addition, the rest of the districts of Peshawar as far as the Khaybar, Bannu, Wazir, Tang, Kirang, Kalah Bagh, Khushhal Kadah, and their sub-districts; Dera Ismaʿil Khan and its sub-districts; Dera Ghazi Khan, Kut Mithan, ʿUmar Kut, etc. with all their sub-districts; Singhar; Arwatmand; Ajal; Hajjipur; Ruhpur; and the three Kichis; the territory of Maysangarah along with all their border regions; and the district (subah) of Multan—on all these lands, the government (*sarkār*) of the aforementioned shah (Shah Shujaʿ) and the rest of the Saduzaʾishall have no claim or business, generation after generation.

2) The shah shall allow no one from his side of the Khaybar to perpetrate theft or highway robbery or any other crime on this side. Should any officials of either of the two governments (Sikh or Afghan) carry out some act of malfeasance and flee /137/ (the respective governments) should extradite them. No one should dam the waters of the Khaybar River which since ancient times have provided the wherewithal for Fathkadah Fort.

3) Crossing the Sutlej River in accordance with the friendly protocol established between the two illustrious administrations of Khalsa Ji and the English Company requires a passport (*chīt*) from, and the permission of, the administration of Khalsa Ji. In the same fashion, groups crossing the Indus River below the confluence of the Sutlej will be stopped for a passport and permission from the said government.

The shah will not cross without such a passport and permission from Khalsa Ji.

4) Concerning Shikarpur and the territory of Sind lying this side (southwest) of the point where the Sutlej flows into the Indus, the said shah will observe what has been agreed to in accordance with the dictates of friendship and unity and the genuine custom of the two governments of Khalsa Ji and the English Co. (and) in accordance with the expertise of Capt. Claude Martine Dade (Wade) the political agent (of Shikarpur) as he establishes (those facts).

5) Once the shah has put affairs in order in Kabul and Qandahar he shall send fifty head of young, sturdy, and tall horses, of a good color and gait; eleven durable Iranian swords; seven Iranian daggers; twenty-five tall and strong mules; large quantities of native fruit both fresh and dried to be sent in all seasons by raft to Peshawar and to include seedless grapes, pomegranates, pears, apples, quinces, almonds, and raisins. In addition, (he is to send) pieces of satin of every hue, *bakras*-cloth (1), fur tunics, gold brocade, and Persian carpets—in all, one hundred and one pieces per annum. All these items are to be sent to Khalsa Ji annually and in perpetuity.

(6) Titulature in the intergovernmental correspondence will reflect the equality of the two nations.

7) Horse dealers and other traders from (Afghanistan) on their way to Amritsar Jiv, Lahore, or any other place within the territory of Khalsa Ji will not be harassed or hindered by the shah. Moreover, a total affirmation (of their freedom of travel) will be put into effect. A similar regulation shall apply to Khalsa Ji (vis a vis traders wishing to go to Afghanistan).

8) The government of Khalsa Ji shall annually send to the shah gifts of friendship such as woolen cloth, etc., in accordance with the detailed

FM: (1) *Bakras* is not found in dictionaries (*lughāt*). I once (? *yaktar*) saw it as a garment worn on the day of battle and that of iron links (*tāb-hā-yi āhanī*) which they use as the basis for (?) brocade and *banāt* (jewels?)

list herein appended: of wool cloth—55 pieces; muslin—25 pieces; brocade—5 folds (bolts?— *tahān*); Benares *dupattah* cloth—25 folds; Peshawar and Saharanpur muslin—5 folds; white turban cloth—5 folds; Barah rice—55 *sīrs*.

9) Officials of Khalsa Ji's government sent to the *willāyat* (of Afghanistan) to purchase horses or other things or on other business and officials sent by the shah to the Punjab and elsewhere in the (maharajah's) domains to buy and sell up to 11,000 rupees worth of white cloth (cotton?), wool or other kinds, will be treated with due consideration by the governments of the shah and Khalsa Ji respectively.

10) Whenever units of Shah Shuja's and Ranjit Singh's armies should be in the same place at the same time, the shah should in no way desecrate cattle (by slaughtering them).

11) Whenever the shah contracts for the expenses (of a force) from Khalsa Ji as auxiliaries, then whatever the shah should acquire (by force of arms) from the Barakza'i clan or anyone else in the form of money, jewels, goods, horses, and weapons should be divided equally with Khalsa Ji. If the shah obtains such things without the use of these auxiliaries then he should (just) send such gifts as fine horses, choice weapons whether large or small, jewelry, etc. by the hand of a trusted agent.

12) The shah's and Khalsa Ji's officials will be delegated on a frequent basis to travel to each other's courts to exchange gifts and correspondence.

13) Should Khalsa Ji request an armed force from the shah, the shah must send one with high-ranking officers in order to fulfill the terms of this treaty. Likewise for Khalsa Ji, who should send Muslim regiments with high-ranking officers as far as Kabul. When Khalsa Ji graces

Peshawar with his presence, the shah will send one of the princes to meet him. The prince will be received with the greatest respect and honor.

14) The friends and foes of all three governments, i.e. that of Khalsa Ji, the English Company, and the shah, are one and the same (that is the friend of one is the friend of all and the enemy of one is the enemy of all).

15) The shah will send two laks of Nanak-shahi or kaldar rupees annually as required, commencing with the mustering of Khalsa Ji's troops for the purpose of reinstating the shah on the throne. (The sum is) for the assignment of **/138/** a 5,000-man Muslim foot and cavalry force to Peshawar to aid the shah whenever such support is deemed necessary by both Khalsa Ji and English Company officials. Whenever any major problem should appear from the west, the remedy for that will be based on what both Khalsa Ji and the English Company deem necessary. In the event that Khalsa Ji should request forces from the shah, a sum prorated on the length of time the troops are serving Khalsa Ji will be deducted from the total sum defined (above—i.e. the two laks). As long as no violation of the treaty provisions arises, the government of the English Company guarantees the payment of said sum annually without interruption to Khalsa Ji.

16) To those territories now under the control of the Mirs of Sind, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk and the rest of the Saduza<sup>o</sup>ifamily, generation after generation, shall have no claim either to sovereignty or to arrears of revenues now or in the future. The territory is and will remain the domain and the property of the Mirs of Sind, from generation to generation, This is on condition that the mirs pay Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> thirty laks of Nanak-shahi Amritsar or kaldar rupees accordingly as the English Company may deem appropriate. Of that total the shah will

keep fifteen laks for himself and send fifteen laks cash to Khalsa Ji. Whenever the entire sum is paid in full, then article four of the treaty written by the shah on the second of Jit Sunbat 1890 (12 March 1833), an account of which has been set forth based on the original, will be abrogated. Then the customary diplomatic exchange of letters and presents between Khalsa Ji and the mirs of Sind will resume.

17) When Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> gains full control over Kabul and Qandahar, he will in no way interfere or meddle in the lands subject to his nephew, the wali of Herat.

18) Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk and the rest of the Saduza<sup>3</sup>family shall have no dealings and no relations with any other government, that is with other rulers, without first seeking and receiving the consent of the governments of Khalsa Ji and the English Company. Should some other government plan to invade the domains of Khalsa Ji and the English, he should undertake to resist such a move to the fullest extent possible.

These articles drafted herein are approved by and agreeable to the governments of Khalsa Ji, the British, and Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>. This treaty, on condition of the ratification of its articles, will remain in full force and effect. After ratification and the signing and sealing by all three parties, the terms of this treaty will come into force. Written on the 15th of Har Sunbat 1895 (26 June 1838) in Lahore.

On the 13th of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Sani/5 July 1838 [sic], before the treaty was engrossed, the British representative, Macnaghten, offered some supplementary language to the treaty. He said,

If Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk should give his eldest son, Prince Muhammad Timur, permission to join the army of Maharajah Ranjit Singh then, of

course, the prince will receive from the maharajah a position of the highest distinction. The prince will be able to choose which of all the British officers attached to the maharajah's army is to be attached to him. He will be with that part of the maharajah's army which is Muslim and will participate in the expeditionary force to Kabul. In the event that the mass of Afghans side with Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, the prince's going in advance to Kabul along with the maharajah's officials who, in accordance with his order, are advisors and participants (in this force) has much to recommend it from the standpoint of the British. If Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> succeeds in getting the sardars of Afghanistan to again hold him in esteem and wants to have Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan go to Qandahar in order to achieve his goals and the object of the governments involved, then the maharajah will not withhold permission from that sardar to join the shah. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk should have regard for the nobility and dignity of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan If he deems it appropriate and has the consent of British sahibs that contingents of the maharajah's army should cross into Afghanistan, in that case, the approval of the British officials accompanying the army /139/ who are in touch by letter with the officials in Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s force is to be observed.

Even though all this had been agreed to previously by the maharajah, still, to remove doubt and ambiguity it was appropriate to put it in writing and submit it to him. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> also made several requests of Macnaghten who put them all in writing and kept them with him. They were as follows:

- 1) Whereas we (the shah) are sole arbiter and adjudicator on matters of salary payment or nonpayment and on questions of good and evil with regards to the descendants of the Shah-i Durran (Ahmad Shah) and to



our subjects whether military or civilian, officers or chiefs of the Durrani, young or old, no (British) official (sahib) or anyone else shall interfere.

2) Once we have established our authority in Kabul and Qandahar, if we should lead an army to Balkh or Sistan or Baluchistan or the environs of Kabul, Qandahar, and Shikarpur in order to deal with any problem, there shall be no obstacle raised against us in this.

3) Once we re-establish control over Kabul, Qandahar, and Shikarpur, it is incumbent that the regions subject to jurisdictions of those (three) places during the time of the saltanat be registered to us as well.

4) Once we are established in Kabul and the (British) sahibs then depart leaving one sahib as their representative, if it should be our desire that others stay in order to conduct the affairs of our army the sahibs will raise no objections.

5) There should be no dealings between the sahibs and the people of the country, be they military or civilians, without our approval and consent.

6) Concerning the payment to us of two laks of rupees and other things by Shikarpur, the matter is clearly burdensome and one of considerable difficulty. First, that district (*mulk*) does not have the capacity to produce revenues to cover our and our army's expenses. Another thing relating to this issue is that in the eyes of the people revenue payment is under the jurisdiction of the British sahibs. When they see that the district has the capacity or deem it appropriate (then it will be done) for our own administrative constraints stem from the British sahibs.

7) Our authority (*salṭanat*) has been in a state of ruin such that male slaves (*ghulām*) revolt and plunder the country and the Sindis have placed their people in Shikarpur. But when we have reestablished ourselves the Mirs of Sind must surrender Shikarpur because it is royal

territory and belongs to us.

8) With regard to fugitive female slaves (*kanīzān*), although returning them is illegal according to the laws of that country (Britain), still there is no other alternative for it is impossible for people of nobility and substance not to have servants. Even though this law is applicable to other people, it should not be applied to a guest. Slaves who flee from our territories should be returned to our government.

9) After reading the terms of the second article of the treaty and listening to the advice of our officials, it seems right that mention of Shikarpur should (not) be included in the body of the written text. It is regrettable that the payment of two laks of rupees to Maharajah Ranjit Singh for military assistance is written in the article. But since we do not imagine that it will harm us, reference to that may be left in. Now, being fully satisfied with everything, we sign and seal it.

With Macnaghten's approval, this memorandum (of nine points) (1) was collated with the articles set out above. Then the whole was redrafted and submitted to Wade. In the redrafted form it read:

FM: (1) Since this treaty was copied directly from the text of the late Shah Shuja's book (his memoirs), the words are his and could not be checked and verified.

1) Everyone in the country (of Afghanistan)—whether descendants of the Shah-i Durran (Ahmad Shah) or our own children or dependents, civilian or military, officer, or Durrani chief, old or young—is subject to us in all matters, especially with regard to whether they are paid or not. (British) officials have no right to interfere for they do not know of the consequences (of interference). Once we have fully consolidated (our authority) in Kabul and Qandahar and then should be forced by circumstances to campaign in Balkh, Sistan, Baluchistan, or in the environs of Kabul and Qandahar up to the borders of Shikarpur, or should bring those regions under our authority, no obstacle should be

placed in our path (by the British). And when Kabul and Qandahar are under our jurisdiction, their sub-districts as in former times should be under our administration as well.

2) When we are in power in Kabul and the sahibs decide to depart, one such sahib will remain as a representative. Should we request others in addition to assist in military affairs, the sahibs will not create difficulties.

3) There shall be no intercourse between the sahibs and the citizens of the country, be they military or civilian, without our approval and consent.

4) Since authority (*salṭanat*) has fallen on hard times and even slaves are in rebellion and plunder the country and the Sindis have put their own people in Shikarpur, it is particularly galling to us that the Sindis have usurped royal authority. /140/ It has been our constant plan to take this domain out of their hands. Now the illustrious (British) sahibs have, for reasons of self-interest and notwithstanding their expressions of support for us, refused to permit mention of Shikarpur in the (treaty's) articles. Further, they will not allow us to be exempted from the two-lak payment to Maharajah Ranjit Singh which is also burdensome for us. In view of the preeminence (*yagānagī*) which the illustrious sahibs enjoy, they have been able to delete any reference to these two issues. The remaining five requested items are now ratified (signed and sealed) as part of the body of the treaty. As there is harmony and singleness of purpose between the illustrious sahibs and us and even one iota of divergence (of views) is not to be imagined, therefore we take comfort and solace in ratifying and signing these (added) articles lest otherwise some matter give rise to suspicion in the minds of the two friends.

*THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S ANSWERS TO THE ISSUES RAISED BY SHAH  
SHUJA<sup>c</sup>*

When these points were submitted by Wade to the governor-general of India, he responded in writing on the 6th of August 1838, corresponding to the 15th of Jumada al-Awwal 1254 [correct correspondence]. An exact copy follows:

Regarding article one in the second version submitted to Wade, on this point the royal mind should rest easy for originally it was not the desire of the British government to interfere in the payment or nonpayment (of stipends) or in matters of good or evil done by the sons or relations of that essence of the house of glory. In such matters you have complete discretion.

Article 2, second version, regarding the deletion of reference to Shikarpur (from the first version).

Your mind should be absolutely certain of the fact that the intent and desire of the British Government will always be well-disposed towards the establishment of the foundations of your authority, you who are an old and sincere friend of this government. Every means and way which are obligatory as impartiality requires will be done according to the exigencies of the time and through negotiation between the two governments.

Mention of Shikarpur had been removed from the third article as set forth by Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk and written down by Macnaghten and (the governor-general) wrote,

The British Government has no other wish than to see that illustrious house regain authority in all its power and luster. It should be self-evident to the shah that in the course of time's tumult, changes occur in the affairs of governments. In some periods, the territories of one sultan have been vast and then at other times all his lands pass into the hands of another. Such is the case of the illustrious representative of that glorious line who remarks that he will regain control over territories formerly ruled by the Afghans, but now in the control of the rulers of the Sind and the Punjab.

In answer to article two of the version given to Wade (concerning the leaving of both a representative and military advisors in Kabul after the shah regained his throne), he wrote,

It is agreed that (both) a representative and military advisors will stay in Kabul.

In answer to article three of this version (on the question of contacts between Afghans and the British representatives), the governor-general wrote,

It is agreed in a spirit of complete sincerity and good-will that no intercourse between the sahibs and the people of Afghanistan, whether military or civilian will occur without the consent of that essence of glory and sublimity.

In response to the sixth of Shah Shuja's points (on the issue of paying the two-lak tribute to Ranjit Singh), he wrote,

The royal mind should rest assured that in no way and at no time is it the wish of the British Government to impose unnecessary burdens on that representative of the noble dynasty or to occasion any question which troubles and vexes the royal mind.

In response to the shah's reference to an inability (to pay the two laks),

the shah should know that on the issue of the execution and fulfillment of the terms of the treaties with the shah, the British Government will never be witness to the shah's falling into difficulties and dire straits.

Concerning the payment to Maharajah Ranjit Singh,

whatever revenues are registered as income (to the shah), in the view of the people that amount is sufficient to cover the contracts for the army (of Ranjit Singh) under the existing treaty. Indeed it is probably more than enough, for most notables are in agreement that /141/ the shah's government (*sarkār*) has the wealth and ability to pay the expenses of the other's (i.e. Ranjit Singh's) forces. Moreover, a major government (i.e. Afghanistan) often transacts for such services with a lesser government (i.e. the Punjab). There is no point in dwelling at length on this matter for that royal personage having already approved it and ratified all the terms of this treaty, and signed it and sealed it, has expressed his full agreement and satisfaction."

In answer to the seventh point (about the Mirs of Sind relinquishing control of Shikarpur), the governor-general noted,

"Concerning Shikarpur, it suffices as it is now included in the treaty.

The issue is settled and the shah is in agreement. This issue which pertains to Shikarpur is now resolved, as set forth in another fashion in this treaty.”

On the eighth of the shah’s points (regarding the return of fugitive slaves), the governor-general responded,

This is a very delicate matter and the following brief response will have to suffice. As far as is possible, the terms which are seen to be beneficial and the rules which uphold integrity and the best rules of conduct will be observed (in this matter). Every effort will be made to fulfill the wishes of the shah in this regard. On (the specifics of) this article, matters will be referred to British officials in Ludhiana.

On the ninth point raised by Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> (reiterating his complaints about Shikarpur’s deletion from the treaty and the two-lak payment), the governor-general wrote back,

In your conclusion, you have shown a fine recognition of what is in your own best interests, over and above what is obviously so, and what promotes your welfare. Nothing else is of any relevance. The end.

In fact this treaty was at variance with the eleven-point treaty which the British had concluded with the Iranians in Tehran on the 25th of November 1814, corresponding to the 12th of Dhi Hijjah 1229, and introduced some discord into the relations between these two nations. For example, problems would arise over points 8 and 9 of the Anglo-Iranian treaty. Point 8 states that whenever Afghan tribes should attack or be in dispute with the British, the leaders of Iran would, in the best interests of both countries, send an army to

help the British. They would be reimbursed by the British for their expenses based on what officials on both sides determined to be appropriate. Point 9 states that if there were hostilities between Iran and Afghanistan, the British would remain neutral and only get involved if both sides sought their mediation.

*SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup> MARCHES FROM LUDHIANA TO SHIKARPUR WITH THE  
BRITISH ARMY*

When a treaty agreement had been reached between Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, Ranjit Singh, and the British government, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> marched out of Ludhiana with British forces bound for Shikarpur on the 22nd of Sha<sup>c</sup>ban 1254, at the time Muhammad Shah Qajar was besieging Herat. On the march route, he received appropriate gifts and messages from the Maharajah of Patyalah and from Maharajah Ranjit Singh which were brought to him at the borders of their respective territories. Each sent his own representative with these tokens. Also, at Bahawulpur, Muhammad Bahawul Khan <sup>c</sup>Abbasi presented the shah with various *pīshkash*-gifts. These included horses and camels with gold and silver harness, gold bullion and goldware, silken and woolen stuffs, 30 *zarb-i shahīng* along with camels with gold brocade and *banātī* saddle cloths and headstalls. Muhammad Bahawul hosted all the khans of the shah's army and the officers of the British force, giving each a present of fine fabric or clothing according to his rank. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, too, presented ceremonial robes to the (maharajahs') representatives and then gave them leave to return home with answers to the letters they had brought.

He himself arrived in Shikarpur in Dhi Hijjah 1254/February-March 1839. There British officers who had been sent from Calcutta and Bombay to join the shah's force asked his permission to distribute weapons to the Calcutta and Bombay contingents and they began preparations for the forthcoming campaign. They mustered the force according to military principles and instilled in the shah



a sense of confidence. In return for their organizing his force, he gave them various gifts. The officers all received elaborate woolen *khil'ats* and the soldiers gifts of cash. Five platoons (*paltan*) of infantry and two regiments of cavalry which had only recently arrived were formed up and paraded before the shah who signaled his approval.

Then the British sahibs turned their attention to administrative matters in Sind. They wanted /142/ to include the mirs of Sind in the treaty, in accordance with their own interests, thereby making them party to its terms. Then, in accord with the terms they had imposed on Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and Maharajah Ranjit Singh, the British tried to collect a sum of money from those mirs on behalf of both *sarkārs* (i.e. Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s). But the mirs balked and were ready to resist by force, thinking that the British officers would be frightened by the vast numbers of soldiers they could muster and would relent on this point. But on the contrary, the British reacted quickly against the mirs on land and sea. In light of this response, the mirs of Sind had no choice but to submit. The terms of the Tripartite Treaty were imposed on them and they had to pay twenty-eight laks of rupees. But they were not otherwise obligated. In accordance with the agreement to which he was party, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> handed over fifteen laks of that sum to Ranjit Singh's officials and put thirteen laks in his own treasury.

*SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup> LEAVES SHIKARPUR AND MARCHES TOWARDS*

*QANDAHAR AIDED BY THE BRITISH ARMY*

In 1255, corresponding to 22 February 1839 [sic 1255 actually began on 17 March), Sir William Hay Macnaghten was appointed wazir to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> as the representative of Auckland, the governor-general of India. The British regiments of infantry and cavalry with the shah now numbered some 9,300 men. With Macnaghten's approval, the shah sent several detachments of horse and foot under the command of Prince Muhammad Timur towards Kabul via the

Punjab and Peshawar while he himself left Shikarpur for Qandahar with the British army and 6,000 men in his own army, 15,350 soldiers in all.

At the Bulan Pass, the shah summoned Mihrab Khan Baluch. But the latter, intoxicated with a sense of his own self-importance, refused to heed the summons and even sent out Baluchi brigands to raid the army's baggage train. Eventually, the Baluchis of Afghanistan received their comeuppance which, God willing, will be described in due course.

Through the Bulan Pass, the shah rode into Kadni, three *kurūhs* from Qandahar. Sardar Kuhandil Khan sent his brothers, Sardar Rahmdil Khan and Sardar Mihrdil Khan, and some of the city leaders out with a large force to defend the city while he himself stayed behind to guard the city proper and its environs. The Qandahari force rode out to the Fath Allah Khan Fort, three *kurūhs* from Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s army. There they set to work. First they cut the water supply to the British forces with the shah and prevented them from moving out of their camp for several days. They would launch daily attacks, kill many men and horses, and then return to their camp. They managed to seize both the baggage and livestock which the British had left outside their camp. For example, the day the enemy arrived at that stopping place, Kadu Khan Mohmand launched the first raid against them and captured an elephant belonging to Sir William Macnaghten himself. Ultimately, when the British failed to display any courage in repelling these attacks, the two sardars decided to launch a major night action and wipe out the British force in the dark. But British officers got wind of the plan and prepared to defend their base. They brought inside the camp the tents of those pitched on the perimeter and awaited the sardars' attack.

But the sardars abandoned their plan and retreated to Qandahar for two reasons. First, they were deterred by the readiness of the British forces and second, they were disquieted by the defection of Hajji Khan Kakari who went over to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and the British in much the same way that he had conspired

with Hari Singh, as previously mentioned, at the battle of the Khaybar Valley for which he had been exiled. Likewise, Taj Muhammad Khan Kakari (now) turned his back on the sardars and defected to the British with his horsemen. He approached their camp, spent the night close by, and then early the next morning went to them and was graciously received by Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>. The shah gave him the honorific “Nasir al-Dawlah Kish.”

Proceeding on, the shah made camp at the Fath Allah Khan Fort, recently vacated by the sardars. On the other side, Sardar Kuhandil Khan removed his family and belongings from Qandahar after the return of his brothers and turned the face of hope to the Qajar shah, who was then besieging Herat. Accompanied by five hundred horsemen Sardar Kuhandil Khan rode to Herat and was courteously received by the shah. /143/ On Sunday, 12 Safar 1255/12 April 1839, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> camped just outside Qandahar, met no resistance, and the next day entered the citadel with Macnaghten and his associates. Then he ordered the British and his own army to prepare the appropriate ceremonies for his (re-) installation on the throne.

*THE SECOND REIGN OF SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup> AL-MULK THE SON OF HIS  
HIGHNESS TIMUR SHAH*

On Monday, the 13th of Safar 1255/28 April 1839, when the army was ready, the shah was reinstated on the patrimonial throne and then began to address the problems of those who had suffered oppression (under the previous regime) as well as the needs of his partisans. He conferred high positions on every prominent person in Qandahar who had remained true to him and who had suffered at the hands of the Qandahari sardars. The coinage and *khutba* were issued in his name. Among those singled out for special attention was Hajji Dust Muhammad Khan Ishaqza<sup>o</sup>i who had been living in difficult circumstances in Garmsir.

During this time, Macnaghten, who thought of himself as the shah's proxy, drafted a new treaty according to what seemed fitting to him and signed and sealed it with the shah's seal and signature. A true copy follows:

1st: Let it be perfectly clear that all the stipulations set forth in the treaty of 26 June 1839 (sic) between the British government, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and Maharajah Ranjit Singh will be fulfilled, realized, and implemented. The three governments will be bound to the terms of those treaty provisions.

2nd: In the interests of tying together and rendering permanent real unity between the British government and the shah, a British sahib will remain as permanent emissary to the shah on behalf of the British government and the shah will designate someone to be permanent envoy to represent his interests before the governor-general.

3rd: In compensation and exchange for the longstanding help and co-operation and in view of the unity and totally unswerving friendship which the British government has manifested and in view of that government's having brought the shah to such a position, and in view of the harmony and common purpose of the two governments, the shah will never admit any foreigners to the ranks of his advisors. Nor will he allow any foreigner to set foot on the territory of Afghanistan without informing the British government and seeking its consent.

4th: Military contingents trained and led by British officers will be permanently stationed on Afghan soil to defend the regime and the person of the shah as well as to repel foreign enemies. Any service deemed necessary may be performed by these forces subject to the approval of both the shah and the English envoy.

5th: The cost of that force will be future as it is now. The number of British officers attached to it will not exceed fifty men unless the shah

requests more.

6th: Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Mulk will pay the monthly salaries (for these contingents) out of his own treasury to the extent that he can.

7th: With regard to the question of trade, the shah will remove any unwarranted obstacles that may arise. The shah, with the advice of the British ambassador, will take whatever steps he deems necessary to insure the welfare of merchants.

8th: The shah will undertake to fulfill these seven articles as long as he and the Saduza<sup>o</sup>i family reign.

Written on the 7th of May 1839, corresponding to 22 Safar 1255, at Qandahar.

*MUHAMMAD SHAH QAJAR STEPS UP THE SIEGE OF HERAT AND THE  
CONVERSATION OF MR. MCNEILL*

During Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s stay in Shikarpur, Muhammad Shah Qajar who had Herat under siege, exhorted the leaders of his army to intensify the siege and place the inhabitants of the city /144/ in the direst possible straits. At this moment, according to the author of *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, Britain's minister plenipotentiary, Mr. McNeill, had stopped in Tehran where he emphasized as much as he could the danger to India (of an Iranian occupation of Herat). This account is contradicted by reliable sources in Herat who record his having been in the shah's entourage.

In any event, because of his memoranda, the British government made Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> the stalking horse of their own interests and sped his return to Afghanistan. On the 13th of Dhi Hijjah/27 February 1839 of the previous year (1254), Mr. McNeill left Tehran for Herat. Behind him came Simonich, the Russian minister plenipotentiary, who departed (Tehran) on the 24th. Mr. McNeill arrived in Herat after New Year's Day of the Year of the Pig (Tanguz

Yil) which fell on the 5th of Muharram 1255/21 March. Ten days later, the Russian minister arrived. McNeill was received by the shah and asked permission, which he was granted, to enter the city and lead Prince Kamran to the path of obedience. Once inside the city, the thought occurred to him that,

Herat has not yet fallen to the shah and the outcome is by no means settled. Nonetheless, it is possible that Amir Dust Muhammad Khan and the sardars (of Qandahar) will make common cause with the shah. By the conquest of Herat, Afghans and Iranians might be united. Then the Muslims of India, too, might join with them out of religious solidarity, turn against the British government, and expel it from India.

So McNeill made up his mind to send the shah home without achieving the conquest of Herat and to use any scheme he could devise to bring it off. He gave Prince Kamran, whom he was supposed to conciliate and escort back to the shah, the glad tidings that the British would assist him. "The British army is on its way from Shikarpur to Qandahar with Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>," he said. "Tomorrow at dawn it will arrive there. Prince Muhammad Timur likewise is en route to Kabul via Peshawar with another army. You should hold out for a few more days and not go to the shah."

Prince Kamran was cheered by what McNeill had to say. The Englishman then returned to the shah's camp where he explained to the shah, "although I instilled both fear and hope in the heart of the prince, he saw no advantage in acceptance and will never leave the citadel and tender his allegiance."

Muhammad Shah was angered by this and redoubled the siege. He ordered that all copper utensils be collected from the army and be used to cast several siege guns, the bores of which were large enough for a young boy to fit into. Shot was also manufactured and the shah designated three sites where the guns were to be emplaced. With heavy winches and ropes, the guns were maneuvered

into position and a bombardment of the city walls and towers began.

In the early part of Safar 1255, about the time Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> was entering Qandahar, matters finally became so intolerable for the Herat defenders that a delegation went to Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and asked that he either give them food so they would have the strength to fight, or let them leave the city so that if they were taken prisoner at least they would get some bread and their lives might be spared. As he had no other choice, Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan allowed them to go. Over a period of four days, 12,000 men, women, and children left Herat in a state of extreme hunger and made their way to the shah's camp. He gave them bread and water and ordered them to make new homes in and around Mashhad.

In the midst of this, Hajji Khan Amir Bahadur Jang, who earlier had been wounded, began to drink too much and grew careless about the readiness of his forces. Two Shaqqi regiments under his command became involved in some misbehavior and fraternized with a group of Afghans. Although unaccustomed to drink, the Afghans joined their general carousing, drinking, playing and horsing around. Despite being the Iranians drinking companions, the Afghans one night agreed among themselves that half of them would sit and get drunk with the Iranians while the other half would attack and wipe the face of the earth clean of the pollution of those drunks. As planned, they decapitated 150 members of the Shaqqi regiment and seized one artillery piece which they took back into the city.

During these goings-on, Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan began to incur Prince Kamran's vexation. "How long are we going to go on destroying the country and throwing the people of the city into turmoil?" the prince asked. "The right thing to do is negotiate peace with the shah of Iran."

The wazir answered in a humble fashion, saying, "We should first send someone to the shah, put his mind at ease, begin negotiations, then go to his headquarters and conclude a peace treaty." /145/ Prince Kamran was satisfied

with his answer and wrote a letter to the shah. As its heading, he wrote this verse:

Oh gardener, when you drive all the birds from the garden,  
Don't disturb the nightingales whose nests have long been there.

At the end of the letter he asked the shah to send one of his deputies into the city so that he (Kamran) could meet the shah with complete peace of mind. He then sent the letter to the Qajar ruler by the hand of one of the city's nobles. The shah, who had fervently prayed for just such a turn of events, immediately sent one Hajji ʿAbd al-Muhammad to Prince Kamran. The prince met with the hajji and afterwards, his anxieties now allayed, wanted to go to see the shah. But Mr. McNeill somehow found out and secretly sent one of his servants to the prince with a message which said, "Don't leave the city. Stand fast a little longer until I can work things out in the way you want them to be."

He then went to Muhammad Shah and said, "The conquest of Herat is the key to Afghanistan's lock and the cause of the disruption of India. Because of the friendship between the British and Qajar states you should abandon the idea of conquering Herat and go back to Tehran. Otherwise, the issue will become a point of contention. "

The shah paid no attention to McNeill's words and refused to deviate from the course on which he had embarked. Prince Kamran meantime had come to have second thoughts about what he had written to the shah, first because of the message from McNeill and second because of the promptings of his counselor, Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan. So he sent the Qajar shah's emissary back empty-handed.

On 5 Safar 1255/20 April 1839, Mawdud Khan and Ibrahim Khan Firuzkuhi turned their backs on their benefactor (Prince Kamran) and sent Nadir Beg, Sahib Nazar Beg, and Asad Allah Beg with presents to the shah. He confirmed



Qal'ah-i Naw and Badghis as their *tiyūl*. Gratified, their representatives returned home.

At this point, since the Iranian shah did not have a cannonball left in his arsenal and as it was difficult to ship them from Iran to Herat, Prince Sultan Muhammad Sayf al-Dawlah found that stone projectiles cut from tombstones were suitable for firing from the cannons. As a result, one hundred stonemasons were put to work fashioning cannonballs. On the 8th of Safar/23 April the amir of artillery, Habib Allah Khan, Ja'far Quli Khan *sartip*, and Baqir Khan Kurd accompanied by a detachment of infantry and cavalry foraged as far as Karkha and its environs, requisitioning livestock and goods by force, taking sixty Heratis prisoner who had gone there to buy horses, and then returning with them to base.

Meantime, 600 Afghans from Qandahar had left for Herat to fight the Iranians. Reaching the outskirts of the city and seeing entrance into it blocked by the besiegers, they installed themselves in a fort near the city so that as the opportunity arose they could raid the Iranians and generally cause havoc.

The commander of artillery for the Qajar shah (Habib Allah Khan) learned of their presence and rode out with 100 horsemen, 300 infantry, and ten guns to deal with them. He put the fort under siege and a serious fight occurred. Eventually, the Iranians managed to level one wall of the fort with an artillery barrage and then stormed it. They killed 599 men and took one prisoner whom they escorted back to the shah along with the heads of the dead. The shah permitted the lone prisoner to return to Qandahar to carry the news of the dead to their next of kin as a warning against involving themselves in the struggle. He also erected several towers of the heads of the slain.

It was during these days that Qanbar °Ali Khan and Allah Dad Khan, couriers for Sardar Kuhandil Khan who had sent them to the Iranian shah seeking help when Shah Shuja° approached with the British army, returned empty-handed to Qandahar, the shah having rejected the request. Finding the

city under Shah Shuja's control, they turned around and headed back for Herat. When they reached Lash Fort, they were joined by Shah Pasand Khan Ishaqza'i and Shah Pasand Khan, the brother of 'Ali Khan Chakhansuri. Together they all continued on to Herat where they presented themselves before Muhammad Shah. Likewise, Khudadad Khan, another messenger from Sardar Kuhandil Khan, had been sent to the Qajar shah to whom he delivered a message from Sardar Kuhandil Khan which said, "I am on my way with the Qandahar army to help the Iranians." This was before Shah Shuja's arrival in Qandahar. On the 12th of Safar/27 April, the day Shah Shuja entered Qandahar, Khudadad Khan arrived in Herat and delivered Sardar Kuhandil Khan's message. The shah then directed the sardar to lead his forces to Farah and Isfizar and take that region from Prince Jalal al-Din, the son of Prince Kamran.

Just before he sent his armies to try and halt the British advance, Sardar Kuhandil Khan had dispatched his son Muhammad 'Umar Khan to Herat with 4,000 men to assist the Qajar shah. Not long after that his messenger, Khudadad Khan, en route back from Herat met up with Sardar Kuhandil Khan who had, in the meantime, fled Qandahar with family and belongings. /146/

Meantime, Prince Kamran had learned of the shah's plans for his son in Farah and so sent 300 cavalry from Herat to reinforce Jalal al-Din Khan. As fate would have it, earlier the father had asked for assistance from Jalal al-Din and he had sent off 500 horsemen to Herat. The two forces, unaware of each other, suddenly collided during the night. Each thought the other was either the force from Qandahar or the cavalry of the Iranian shah and so drew swords and fought until morning with many casualties. When they finally recognized each other, the damage had been done and other than apologize there was nothing either could do. Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan entered Herat towards the end of Safar with 4,000 horsemen and then, at the shah's order, proceeded to Farah and Isfizar, taking those two districts away from Jalal al-Din Khan. Muhammad 'Umar's father, Sardar Kuhandil Khan, also established himself in Farah and

when the shah of Iran eventually withdrew from Herat, he accompanied him to Tehran. There he was granted an annual stipend of one lak of rupees, equivalent to 20,000 Iranian *tūmāns*.

Due to Sardar Muhammad ‘Umar Khan’s taking Farah and Isfizar, Prince Jalal al-Din was forced out and with the *kalāntar*, Isma‘il Khan, turned hopefully to the Qajar shah. The latter sent Prince Muhammad Riza out to welcome him, gave him a place to camp that befitted his rank, received him graciously, and soothed his fears.

#### *MUHAMMAD SHAH EXHORTS HIS ARMY TO STORM HERAT*

As the siege of Herat had gone on for a long time and Prince Kamran still continued his defense of the city, Muhammad Shah grew restless at his long drawn-out stay there. So (one day) he mounted his horse, rode to the summit of the Tall-i Bangiyan (where he had emplaced the big siege guns) and ordered the artillerymen to bombard certain spots on the other side of the walls. He urged his men to make an all- out effort against the city and then retired to his private quarters. For ten days the guns strove to open breaches in the wall.

Meanwhile, a number of princes took stations at the redoubts which surrounded the city: Prince Muhammad Riza at the redoubt (*sangar*) of Iskandar Khan; Prince Sultan Muhammad Sayf al-Dawlah at the redoubt of Muhammad Wali Khan Tunukabuni; Prince ‘Ali Quli Mirza at the redoubt of Ahmad Khan, the leader of the ‘Iraqi forces; and Hamza Mirza, brother of Muhammad Shah, at the redoubt of Kalb ‘Ali Khan Afshar. These royal personages then each encouraged the men of his own redoubt to push forward, which deeply worried the residents of the city. It was decided that two hours before sunrise (on the designated day), they would launch a simultaneous assault in order to seize control of the walls. Learning of the Iranian plan, Mr. McNeill went to the shah in a state of some agitation and asked him to call off the attack for three days so

that he could go into the city and escort Prince Kamran and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan to him under a pledge of personal safety. The shah agreed and told Prince Muhammad Riza to allow Mr. McNeill and Mahdi Khan Qarapapaq to enter the city with four cavalymen via the Khushk Gate. But once McNeill got into the city he set certain matters afoot which were directly contrary to what he had told the shah.

Once again he urged Prince Kamran and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan to keep up the defense of the city and to use the three-day truce to repair breaches in the walls. He gave them 50,000 rupees to spend on repairs and to help them hold out for two months more by which time British warships would enter Iranian waters through the Straits of Oman. Then the shah would be forced to raise the siege and go to Fars to stop the British. Having relayed this message, McNeill left the city. Mahdi Khan reported his duplicity to the shah who ordered his immediate expulsion from the court and from Herat. McNeill returned to Tehran and from there headed for London. On instructions from British officials he sent his deputy Stoddart to Herat before leaving for London.

After his departure from Herat, the army built two mounds of earth and stone on either side of the Khwajah °Abd al-Misr Tower beside the Qandahar Gate (on one side of the city) and beside the Khushk Gate (on the other). On each of these mounds they placed ten 72-pound guns. Each pound is equivalent to 96 *mithqāls* and (the 72 pounds) is equal to 6 Kabuli *sīrs*. The army then zeroed in on the city itself and inflicted heavy damage on its buildings. During the bombardment, Muhibb °Ali Khan, a Maku'i sartip, arrived with a detachment of infantrymen to help and took up a position at the redoubt of Nabi Khan Qaraguzlu.

Meanwhile, Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah, sensing an opportunity, attacked with 1,000 horsemen and made off with 600 horses /147/ which the Iranians had put out to graze. Sulayman Khan, who was guarding them with 1,000 troopers, pursued and clashed with Shayr Muhammad Khan. In addition to

Sulayman Khan's force, the Kurdistan cavalry rode out of the army base in pursuit. Despite their heroic efforts, they were only able to retrieve 50 horses and Shayr Muhammad Khan made off with the rest.

Also at this time, Prince Tahmasp Mirza, the Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah, arrived in Turbat-i Shaykh Jam with some government funds and other things and was continuing on towards the Iranian court at Herat when some Afghans, alerted by the villagers of Shakiban, hurried to block his path and relieve him of the funds. But Muhammad Shah found out about the plan of this band of 600 cavalymen and sent Habib Allah Khan, amir of artillery; Muhammad Taqi Khan Bayat, Mahdi Khan Qarapapaq, and Jahangir Khan, amirs of the regular army along with 500 horsemen and two field guns out to help the prince. They met up and clashed with the Afghan cavalry at Shakiban. The Afghans were defeated, because the Iranians had artillery with them, 250 were killed and 150 taken prisoner. The rest managed to escape. The Iranians took their prisoners to the shah and at his command executed all of them. Two asked to be spared through the intercession of Shayr Muhammad Khan, the brother of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan, who ever since the conquest of Ghuriyan had been with the shah. They said (through their intercessor), "We will each remit 5,000 tumans, which is 25,000 rupees, to the treasury to save our lives." But the shah refused and also had them put to death, too.

Another of the prisoners managed to get near the shah, ostensibly to petition him for justice, but in reality to kill him with a dagger. But the chamberlains of the court seized him, knife in hand, and killed him on the spot. After this incident, Muhammad Shah again called on the army leaders to make an all-out attack on the city and said, "Which one of you is it who will attack the city and bring an end to this business?" Of all the leaders only Sar Khush Khan Afshar took the shah's words to heart and responded; the others remained silent. The shah commended Sar Khush Khan and ordered Iskandar Khan, *sarhang* of the Khamsah contingent, and Mustafa Quli Khan, *sartip* of the Simnani force, to go

with him. These three leaders crossed the moat, to the sound of musket and cannon fire, and traversed three intervalla (*faṣīl*) and the outer works (*shīr-ḥājjī*). They captured forty arquebuses and fifty muskets from the infantrymen manning the *shīr-ḥājjī* and killed thirty of the defenders. The attackers took shelter behind the wall of the third intervallum keeping their heads down against the hail of bullets fired by the defenders. Eventually, when they could advance no farther, they withdrew at the shah's order. During the retreat, Iskandar Khan was wounded while crossing the moat and died three days later.

#### *THE IRANIANS STORM THE FORTRESS OF HERAT*

After the attack and retreat of Sar Khush Khan, whose name was now spoken of with admiration, others too sought the same honor and the shah saw that his army was ready to cover itself with glory. So he issued a general order to prepare assault gear. With everything ready, he ordered an advance on the city. With the guidance of some Afghans who had joined the Iranian army, six-runged wooden ladders were constructed which were high enough to scale the walls. When all was ready, the decision was made to storm the walls. Berowski, the son of the Polish king who was in the shah's service, stationed himself at Samsam Khan's *sangar*. Other officers stood at their respective redoubts. In addition, each redoubt had its own prince to encourage and exhort the troops and to keep the shah informed about the progress of the battle. Their positions were: Prince Muhammad Riza at Iskandar Khan Qajar's redoubt; Prince ʿAli Quli Mirza at Muhammad Khan's redoubt; and Prince Muhammad Sultan, Sayf al-Dawlah, on the flank of Muhammad Wali Tunukabuni's position. Fourteen artillery batteries were in place between the Qandahar Gate and the Khushk Gate and ten grenade launchers (*khumpārah*) were also positioned around the periphery. Another ten artillery pieces were also scattered in various places. Farrukh Khan Ghaffari, *pīshkhidmat*, was sent by Muhammad Shah to run back

and forth between the right and left wings and urge the army on as well as to report to the shah about anyone who either displayed initiative or, to the contrary, was reticent about fighting. Iskandar Khan Qajar, along with his son Jaʿfar Quli Khan *sarhang* and the Maraghah contingent, was first into battle. Next came Jaʿfar Quli Khan *sartip*; Shayr Khan and Ahmad Beg *sarhang* with the Qarajah Dagħ contingents. /148/ Nabi Khan Qaraguzlu *sarhang* and ʿAbd Allah Khan, his aide (*yāwar*), also sallied forth from their positions to the attack. Elsewhere, Muhibb ʿAli Khan, *sartip* of the Khuy Regiment, and Rashid Khan, *sarhang* of the Mukhbiran Regiment, the Garrus Regiment, and the Third Maraghah Regiment, gave free rein to their horses and plunged into the fray.

Early Saturday morning, 8 Jumadi al-Awwal 1255/20 July 1839 they all took up their weapons. A 40,000-shot artillery barrage was laid down, opening holes in the walls. At noon the assault began. The defenders fiercely resisted, inflicting many casualties on the Iranians. But then Muhammad Wali Khan made it past the dry moat and the (outer) earthworks and planted his banner atop the third *shūr-ḥājjī*. Leaving 100 men to defend this position, he withdrew but was decapitated by a cannonball on his way back. Berowski, too, was killed by cannon fire. When Sar Khush Khan saw Muhammad Wali Khan’s body lying on the battlefield, he ordered his men to retrieve it but because of the deadly hail of bullets they did not dare do so. Sar Khush Khan then stood up with a stick in his hand in order to whip his men into going and getting the body. But as he did so, a bullet struck him in the right side and killed him. The forces of those two leaders, the *sartip* and the *sālār* (Muhammad Wali Khan and Sar Khush Khan), witnessing such death and destruction, retreated from the battlefield.

Kalb ʿAli Khan Afshar advanced as far as the third *shūr-ḥājjī* but likewise lost many of his men. Each one that fell would roll to the bottom of the moat. Seeing no possibility of continuing to fight, he too withdrew. Like him, Amir Bahadur Jang soon realized the difficulty of staying face to face with the Afghan braves and pulled back from beneath the walls. Only Iskandar Khan Qajar, who

considered retreat a disgrace, got past the dry moat, the earthworks, and all three *shūr-ḥājji*s with his two Qarajah Dagħ regiments. But his men were prostrate from thirst. Shayr Khan *sarhang* asked permission to get water for them but when he reached the edge of the moat, he was shot and one of the defenders ran out, cut his head off, and took it back. The men of the two regiments, now in dire need of water, withdrew. During their withdrawal, Jaʿfar Quli Khan *sartīp* was wounded.

After the retreat of these two contingents, the rest of Iskandar Khan’s force, which was attacking the fortress from another point, believed themselves incapable now of continuing the struggle and also withdrew. On another front, where Nabi Khan Qaraguzlu, Muhibb ʿAli Khan, and Muhammad ʿAli Khan Makuʿi, all *sartīps*, were assaulting the Khwajah ʿAbd al-Misr Tower, but Afghan braves stopped their advance when they reached the middle of the dry moat and engaged them in hand-to-hand combat. Many Iranians were wounded and killed. Among the more prominent casualties was Muhibb ʿAli Khan who sustained a mortal wound. The survivors pulled back. Only Nabi Khan passed the three intervalla of the *shūr-ḥājji* and placed his assault ladders against the Khwajah ʿAbd al-Misr Tower. He and two hundred infantrymen had climbed to the top of the tower and there sounded the drum of victory and sent news to the shah that the day was won. But what sort of victory was it when he was only able to maintain his position until sunset at which time the Afghans counter-attacked and shot and killed him? His followers then withdrew, taking his body with them.

Similarly, Muhammad Khan *sardār* whose responsibility was forcing the Qandahar Gate with the ʿIraqi army, fought his way as far as the third *shūr-ḥājji* but lost many of his men, including two of the ʿIraqi force’s highest ranking officers. He too then turned and withdrew. Jaʿfar Quli Khan Qaraguzlu of the Qarajah Dagħ contingent was wounded in the abdomen and died. ʿAbd Allah Khan *yāwar* sustained a sword wound and two *yāwars* of the Maraghah force



were killed. Rashid Khan, *sarhang* of the Mukhbiran Regiment, was wounded in the leg. Ismaʿil Khan took a bullet through the chest. Khanlar Khan, *sarhang* of the Afshar Regiment; Iskandar Khan Qajar, *sarhang* of the Khamsah Regiment, and Muhammad Wali Khan, *sarhang* of the Sarbandi regiment were all killed. ʿAbd al-Husayn Khan Beg *yāwar* was wounded in the head and abdomen. ʿAli Murad Khan, *sarhang* of the Garrus regiment was wounded twice. Mahdi Quli Khan *sarhang*, while trying to climb to the top of the walls, was killed. His son Baqir Khan, commander of the cavalry, was also killed. Beyond all these disastrous casualties, a fire broke out in the shah's munition stores, seriously affecting his situation.

By the time the sun set seven hundred Iranians were dead. The rest were exhausted by the fighting and had withdrawn into their redoubts. There they tended the festering injuries of the wounded who numbered about one hundred. According to the author of *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, there were 1,450 casualties among the defenders. /149/ This is an exaggeration. There were no more than one hundred.

During this time, the shah learned that some people from Karkh were supplying foodstuffs to the city. In order to warn them off, he sent Muhammad Khan with 5,000 men and five cannons. After exacting cash and goods from those people as a fine, the force returned to base.

Meantime, word reached the shah from Shiraz and Kirman that British warships had sailed from the Straits of Oman up to Kharg Island. There the British had established themselves, winning the people over with money and other favors. In order to build up grain stocks, they were buying at four times the market price and storing it away. Muhammad Shah was greatly disturbed by this news and realized that it was Mr. McNeill's doing. He now pondered the best course—to return to Iran or to stay and fight at Herat—for his attacks on the Afghans had left him with hardly any strength. He had not yet made up his mind when Stoddart, who up to now had kept his intentions hidden, declared to

officials in Tehran, "The British government has no choice but to stay and fight as long as the Iranian government continues its siege of Herat because the situation in Herat threatens India. As a consequence, British warships have sailed to Kharg Island." He also declared hostilities stating, "If the shah does not give up on Herat, he had better prepare himself for war in Fars."

Iranian officials recorded his words and sent them off to Muhammad Shah. Left with no alternative, the shah sounded the drums of march on the night of 16 Jumada al-Sani 1255/27 August 1839 and withdrew from Herat. After a siege of ten months and six days, he retired from the scene empty-handed. At the manzil of Sihr Khizan, he released Shayr Muhammad Khan, brother of Yar Muhammad Khan, who had been in his custody and sent him back to Herat. To Tehran he took Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan, the son of Sardar Kuhandil Khan; Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, Sardar Kuhandil Khan himself, and his brothers who had fled from Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and to this point had been residing in Farah. He also took the Qandahar notables who were in Sardar Kuhandil Khan's retinue. As was mentioned, the shah entered Tehran in Ramadan and there allocated annual stipends of one lak of rupees for the living expenses of the Qandaharis.

#### *ENGLISH ARROGANCE IN QANDAHAR AND SHAH SHUJA'S ADVANCE ON KABUL*

After Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> had been installed on the throne in Qandahar, concluded a new treaty with Mr. William Hay Macnaghten, and begun to perform his duties according to what the (British) sahibs approved, he spent a short time in Qandahar and put its affairs in order. One day during his stay, a soldier of the Gurah (Gurkha) Regiment accosted the daughter of one of Qandahar's prominent citizens on the road, forcibly dragged her off to the side, and violated her virginity. Passersby heard the screams of the poor girl, saw the foul deed with their own eyes, and ran off to find her relatives. Her family went to the

shah with a party of sayyids and scholars to demand justice be done. The shah in turn appealed to the British and although they regretted the incident they tried every device known to them to dampen the flames created by the episode (without bringing the malefactor to justice). But the outraged plaintiffs who knew that a great wrong had been done them would not be appeased and continued to demand redress. Although the British wished to lay the matter to rest, the seeds of revenge had been planted in the fertile breasts of that honor-conscious and brave group of Afghans and they eventually bore fruit, as will be seen below, God willing. As a consequence of the incident, tribal leaders began to change their attitudes and started thinking,

Here it is the very outset of the advent of the shah with the British army and such a disgraceful affront to the honor of noble people has occurred that one could hardly imagine occurring even over a long period of time. This is because the padishah only wants wine from the cup of authority with no regard for his own good name.

Indeed, the majority of Durrani khans, notably Hajji Khan Kakari and Hajji Dust Muhammad Khan Ishaqza'i were alienated from the shah by this incident. But they said nothing openly in view of the British army's power. Instead, they secretly nursed their grievance /150/ until an opportune moment arrived.

After the incident, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> left Qandahar for Kabul. He did so after Prince Muhammad Timur had reached Jalalabad via Peshawar with a British force and a force belonging to Maharajah Ranjit Singh on the 11th of Jumada al-Thani/22 August, the same day the British landed on Kharg Island. The shah left Qandahar despite the fact that Muhammad Shah still held Herat under siege because his British advisors assured him that there was no likelihood of danger from Herat and that Muhammad Shah would inevitably return to Iran. He left Prince Fath Jang as governor (*nā'ib al-ḥukūmah*) in Qandahar with a European

named Leech. Some of the khans did not accompany the shah when he left Qandahar but postponed their departure. These included Hajji Khan Kakari, Dust Muhammad Khan Ishaqza<sup>o</sup>i, Muhammad Naqi Khan Wakil, Nur al-Din Khan, the son of Yahya Khan Bamiza<sup>o</sup>i, and others who were angry about the incident involving the young girl. Beyond that, Hajji Khan was upset because he had not been given the wazirate, a post he desired. En route to Kabul, the shah learned what was bothering these khans but gave no hint that he knew.

On the 17th of Rabi al-Thani 1255/28 August 1839 he entered Ghaznin and camped at the foot of the two minarets which stand as a memorial to the sultans of the “Al-i Nasir” [the Ghaznavids 997-1117]. Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, son of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, who held the city in his father’s name, closed and barred the gates and prepared to withstand a siege. The day the shah arrived, British officers rode around the city and inspected its walls and towers. When they saw how solid and impregnable it was, they regretted not having brought the siege guns which they had left in Qandahar. The next day, after the leaders of the British force had decided to take the fortress by force, Mihtar Musa Khan Ghilja<sup>o</sup>i, who lived in the district of Zurmat, suddenly appeared on the scene at the head of a force of 12,000 men. These latter had assumed the duty of jihad and now took up positions in the mountains near Ghaznin.

From Kabul, Amir Dust Muhammad Khan marched out to defend the city and erected a strong earthworks at Arghandah where he sat tight waiting the British advance. He dispatched his illustrious son, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, towards Ghaznin with 2,000 cavalry to intercept Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and the British, thinking that perhaps the Durrani khans who were fed up with Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and had dropped out of his entourage might join Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. The latter went as far as two kuruhs from Ghaznin where he stationed himself in hopes that the defections might materialize. He waited there until Mihtar Musa Khan Ghilja<sup>o</sup>i’s foot soldiers had climbed the hills north-east of Ghaznin. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> sent out his own foot and horse before the British

opened their assault on Ghaznin.

The two sides clashed and the fight was waxing hot when a British force under Capt. Nicholson arrived to help the shah and together they routed the ghazis. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> ordered his men to pursue the fleeing ghazis telling them, “Whoever brings me a head or a prisoner will get a one-*ashrafi* reward.” As a result, his army returned with numerous heads and prisoners, for each of which they received one *ashrafi* coin. At the shah’s order, the prisoners, numbering some eighty men, were all beheaded.

In the middle of the following night, Sir William Hay Macnaghten requested the shah’s permission to attack (the Ghaznin citadel) saying, “I will reduce the fortress in four hours,” and asked the shah to observe the attack from the Mazar-i Hazrat-i Buhlul Hill. The shah gave his permission and then rode up the hill whereupon the guns opened up and sappers began tunneling beneath the footings of the citadel walls. The gate on the side where the Bahlul shrine stood was blown open and forty of its defenders were killed or wounded. The fortress was stormed and taken, the army began plundering and the entire city was sacked.

Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan was captured along with his family and retainers. After they had pillaged the city, the British officials sent the sardar to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>. There he asked forgiveness for his disobedience. With the encouragement of the English, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> spared his life and handed him back to the British. The shah assigned Yaqut Khan, a eunuch (*khwājah-sarā*), to guard the sardar’s wives and children and named several other eunuchs to assist Yaqut Khan to ensure the safeguarding of the esteemed sardar’s honor.

Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan now returned to Kabul and, at the fortifications erected at Arghandah informed his father, the amir, of the loss of Ghaznin and the capture of /151/ Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan. The amir then sent his brother Nawwab <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbar Khan to Ghaznin. The year before, the Amir-i Kabir had assigned Nawwab <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbar as host to the British

ambassador, Alexander Burnes, to whom he had shown every consideration. The amir now sent him to Ghaznin ostensibly to arrange for the release of Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, his family, and his retainers, but secretly to find out what the real intentions of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and the British were. The latter went, negotiated with the British officers, and discovered part of their secret plan—that they intended for Amir Dust Muhammad Khan to go to India with his family and retainers and there receive an annual pension of one lak of *chihrah-shāhī* rupees. The nawwab learned nothing else and so returned to Kabul and told the amir what he knew.

*THE TROUBLE CAUSED BY MIR MA<sup>c</sup> SUM, BETTER KNOWN AS HAFIZ JI,  
SON OF THE LATE MIR WA<sup>c</sup>IZ, AMONGST THE PEOPLE OF KUHISTAN  
AND AMIR DUST MUHAMMAD KHAN'S FLIGHT*

Meantime, the people of Kuhistan-i Kabul had learned of the British arrival and capture of Ghaznin and rose in rebellion at the instigation of Mir Ma<sup>c</sup>sum, better known as Hafiz Ji, the son of the late Mir Wa<sup>c</sup>iz, a supporter of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>. Hafiz Ji installed as leader a Saduza<sup>i</sup> whom he claimed was a prince. The mob marched against Sardar Shayr<sup>c</sup> Ali Khan, son of the Amir-i Kabir and governor of Charikar on behalf of his father, and put him under siege.

Despite other constraints, the Amir-i Kabir sent Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, who was just back from Ghaznin, to Charikar with 300 horsemen to relieve Sardar Shayr<sup>c</sup> Ali Khan. There, he rescued his brother from the noose which Hafiz Ji and the Kuhistanis were tightening around his neck and took him back to his father. At this point, the Amir-i Kabir, beleaguered on all sides, was forced to leave Khanshirin Khan with his Qizilbash followers to man the redoubt which had been erected at Arghandah while he and his sons and brothers entered Kabul to gather up the women of the harem and leave.

Meantime Hafiz Ji and his Kuhistani followers had pursued Sardar

Muhammad Afzal Khan and Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan from Charikar towards Kabul, plundering the property of the Amir-i Kabir and his supporters as they went. On another front, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, summoned by the amir, had abandoned Jalalabad as Prince Muhammad Timur approached from Peshawar and, sick with fever, was carried by litter to Kabul. While he was setting off from Jalalabad, the Amir-i Kabir was ordering Nawwab °Abd al-Jabbar Khan earlier sent from Arghandah to move the wives and children out of Kabul, now to move them far away. The amir himself intended to take Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan in his litter and his other sons and leave Kabul immediately for the Hazarahjat via Arghandah intending to get to Iran, the “guest-house” of the leaders of Afghanistan. But Nawwab °Abd al-Jabbar dissuaded him, urging him to go to Bukhara instead saying,

First, because of Prince Kamran’s war with the Iranians it will be impossible to make it through Herat. Secondly, Sardar Kuhandil Khan has already gone there and if the shah gives help to him that means he will also be a supporter of the amir’s. And if the amir of Bukhara also offers help, I would say that with the support of both of them victory is ours. In case of no help from either, it is better for us to be in Bukhara.

The Amir-i Kabir was of two minds about Nawwab °Abd al-Jabbar’s words and took an augury from the *Maṣnawī*. This verse came to hand:

If you go to Bukhara you’re mad/You’ll wind up in chains and prison

Nonetheless, because of Nawwab °Abd al-Jabbar’s insistence, the amir decided to go to Bukhara. Meantime, Khan Shirin Khan Jawanshir was notified of the amir’s plan and with his permission blew up the munitions stored at the Arghandah redoubt. Before the amir reached Arghandah, on his way out of the

country, Khan Shirin Khan's cavalry, as soon as the munitions were put to the torch, plundered the baggage and supplies and then scattered to their respective homes. This seemingly negative act had a positive outcome and was the cause of his (Khan Shirin Khan's) being honored by Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, as will appear below, God willing.

The Amir-i Kabir left for Turkistan accompanied by a throng of wives, infants, brothers, sons, and servants and arrived in Tashqurghan where Mir Muhammad Amin Beg received him graciously and proved a kind and generous host. At this moment, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> /152/ learned of the Amir-i Kabir's departure for Turkistan and with the consent of the British officers sent Capt. Outram and Hajji Khan Kakari with all the militia (*gushādah*) cavalry he had with him in pursuit of the amir. Hajji Khan along with the khans of Qandahar had at first abandoned the shah but then rejoined him after the victory at Ghaznin. The hajji and Outram rode hard but as they neared the Amir-i Kabir, intending to take him prisoner, Hajji Khan Kakari deliberately slowed the force and it returned to the shah emptyhanded.

The shah and the British marched from Ghazni, arriving in Kabul on the first of Jumada al-Thani 1255/12 August 1839, fifteen days before the shah of Iran withdrew from Herat, as described earlier. There Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> began to put the administration in order and to establish his authority. At the recommendation of Col. Claude Martine Wade, the British sahib accompanying Prince Muhammad Timur to Kabul via Peshawar and Jalalabad, the shah appointed Mirza Haydar °Ali Khan, the military clerk (*lashkar nawīs*), to act as liaison between him and the British officers.

The shah now imprisoned Hajji Khan Kakari and Dust Muhammad Khan Ishaqza<sup>o</sup>i, two of the unreliable Qandahari khans, as well as Na<sup>o</sup>ib Amir, Mulla Rashid Barakza<sup>o</sup>i, and Agha Husayn Qizilbash—these latter three being intimates and top advisors to the Amir-i Kabir—and a few other khans of Kabul. He repealed two laks of rupees worth of Kabul tax revenues recently introduced



(*bidʿat*). When he learned of Khan Shirin Khan's destruction of the Amir-i Kabir's baggage and supplies, he thought that this was a service rendered on his behalf and appointed the khan to the rank of septicenturion (*haftṣad-bāshī*) of cavalry.

*THE AMIR-I KABIR'S TRIP FROM TASHQURGHAN TO BUKHARA AND HIS  
ADVENTURES THERE*

The Amir-i Kabir left his wives and young children in Tashqurghan, assigned some 1,500 people, including his third eldest son Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan and Nawwab ʿAbd al-Jabbar Khan to take care of them, and then with the rest of the princes—Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, Sardar Muhammad Aʿzam Khan, Sardar Shayr ʿAli Khan, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, nephews on his brothers' side: Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, Sardar Muhammad ʿUmar Khan, and Sardar Samandar Khan, the sons of the late Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan, and Sardar Shayr Muhammad Khan, the son of Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan, ʿAbd al-Ghani Khan, the grandson of the late Sardar Rahimdad Khan, and Sardar Madad Khan, and ʿAbd al-Raʿuf Khan, nephews on his sisters' side—and other noteworthy persons in his employ numbering some 2,000 people in all left Tashqurghan for Bukhara.

There, Amir Nasr Allah Khan, the regent (*wālī*) of Bukhara, without providing an official welcome, summoned the Amir-i Kabir to his court and failed to show the requisite respect and deference. He offered the Amir-i Kabir living quarters adequate for guards of the court but unsuitable for a sovereign and he fixed a stipend on him which would have been insufficient for his servants, let alone for the amir himself. After spending some time in such straitened circumstances, the amir sold his and his followers' weapons and armor and survived a while longer until he became so hard-pressed that he was

forced to ask the Bukharan ruler's permission to leave and go elsewhere. After a lengthy period, he did receive such permission. At the same time a decree was issued which said he was not to go back the way he came but that officials of the Bukharan court would escort him out of the region. Not satisfied with humiliating the Amir-i Kabir in this way, the Bukharan amir also issued strict orders that the people living along the route were not to sell him any food or supplies, even as little as a nail.

In sum, the Amir-i Kabir left Bukhara in these conditions, accompanied by the princes and his retainers. Seven thousand infantry and cavalry were assigned to escort him. In addition, the Bukharan amir secretly instructed the escort that when the party crossed the Oxus River they were to scuttle the boat in which the Amir-i Kabir and the princes were riding and so cause them to drown. The Afghans were thus taken under guard to the banks of the Oxus and put in boats. A hole was surreptitiously opened in the skiff in which the Amir-i Kabir chose to sit. When the boats moved off, one of the Bukharan amir's men who was unaware of his master's plot sat as the Amir-i Kabir's escort in the same boat. He planned to cross the river with him and then return. Another man who did know what was going on, spoke to him in Turkish and told him /153/ to get out of the boat so that he would not drown with the Amir-i Kabir. The amir, whose mother was the daughter of one of the leading Qizilbash of Kabul and was herself a Turk, knew Turkish. When he heard what the man said, he got out of the boat and refused to cross the river. No matter how hard the Bukharan amir's people tried to persuade him to get back in and cross he refused and said to his companions, "It is better to roll in my own blood than to die by drowning. For to die by the sword's edge will remain as a reminder of the undeniable injustice of the Amir of Bukhara. But if I were to drown, no one would speak of the ill-treatment which he has shown me, his guest."

So the Amir-i Kabir returned towards Bukhara with his associates, again under guard. But a very severe snowstorm blew up which brought everyone to

the brink of death. Many of the younger princes were unable even to talk because of the extreme cold. The amir ordered his personal servants to each take one of the princes and warm them by breathing heavily on them so that they would not die.

In short, they reached Bukhara but only after great difficulties. And now even the inadequate stipend which had been allotted the first time, a sum too small to provide enough food, was withheld by the amir of Bukhara. He ordered that the Amir-i Kabir and his sons be held on their parole while the rest of the party be permitted to go wherever it wanted. But the others refused to break trust with the Amir-i Kabir and would not leave Bukhara. Finally, some seventy of the group, including Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan, and Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan, sons of the Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan and other sons of his sisters, fled from Bukhara in the direction of Chiraghchi. The khans, Mirza 'Abd al-Razzaq Khan *mustawfi*, Mirza 'Abd al-Sami' Khan Qizilbash, and several others, stayed with the Amir-i Kabir in Bukhara. Amir Nasr Allah Khan learned of their escape and ordered seven thousand cavalry to pursue with orders to cut off their escape and, if the sardars chose to fight, then to shed their blood; if not, then to bring them back in chains. At Chiraghchi, they overtook the sardars, surrounded them, and attacked. While bullets and powder lasted, the Afghans held the Bukharans off and spilled much of their blood. But in the end, when they had exhausted their ammunition, the Bukharans fell upon them and took them prisoner. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan were all wounded in the fight. Sardar Samandar Khan and Jihan Gul Khan Nasiri were killed and many of the rest sustained wounds. The Bukharans transported them back to Bukhara and at the amir's order put them all in prison.

*THE MISFORTUNES BEFALLING SHAH SHUJA'S GOVERNMENT IN*

*KABUL AFTER THE FLIGHT OF THE AMIR-I KABIR*

When Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> was installed on the throne of Kabul, Qandahar, Ghazni, and Jalalabad, he appointed Mulla <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Shukur Khan, who for thirty years had had power of attorney over his affairs (*mukhtār-i kārash*) and had been in Prince Muhammad Timur's entourage, as governor (*nā'ib al-ḥukūmah*) of Kabul. Despite suffering from acute asthma which was very difficult to treat, the governor still concerned himself with every poor and needy person. He listened to the petitions of his subjects and acted to improve their lot.

During this time, the people of Zurmat refused to pay the diwani revenues and rebuffed the royal officials (who came to collect). In addition, they allied themselves with the Ghilja<sup>i</sup> of that region who had not made obeisance to the shah at the time of his arrival in Ghaznin and Kabul but instead had turned to banditry. With the approval of the British, the shah sent Capt. Outram with a regiment, some artillery, and the Qandahari khans who had received permission to return home with the militia (*mulkī*) cavalry from there, to destroy those Zurmatīs. Once this service was performed, he told the khans they could go back to Qandahar. The force entered the mountains of Zurmat, punished the troublesome and disorderly people there, killed many of the miscreants, and destroyed their forts. Afterwards, the Qandahari khans headed home. Capt. Outram put matters in Zurmat to rights using the British detachment from Bombay. Then, by way of Shalkut in Baluchi territory, he returned to India. When he arrived in Baluchistan, Mihrab Khan Baluch, who had, as earlier mentioned, been insubordinate at the time Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s entourage was on its way to Qandahar, did not come forward at this time and Outram responded by wreaking havoc on the Baluch khan's territory. From this day onward, until his sons and grandsons came under British protection /154/ they never again sniffed the breeze of tranquility.

After the submission of the tribes in the hinterland, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> being but a

puppet of the British government, continually praised it and spoke to everyone of his gratitude to it for its help. This became widely known and the Afghans began to think badly of the shah and say, “Why does he have to praise the British so?” In the midst of all this, while Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> was vaunting his preeminence thanks to British protection, he did not expropriate the lands of the Barakza<sup>o</sup>i who were hostile to his regime and thus gave some hope of safety and security to the fugitive Muhammadza<sup>o</sup>i, especially the brothers and nephews of the Amir-i Kabir, each of whom had ambitions to be shah. Among them, Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, with his sons and nephews like Sardar Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Uthman Khan, the son of Nawwab <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Samad Khan, and the sons of Sardar Amir Muhammad Khan, came back without apprehension and were greeted with regard and respect. They then carried on their affairs through the mediation of the British officials with whom they had a political rapport. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, not wanting to upset the British sahibs, kept quiet about the behavior of their people towards the family of the late Sardar Payandah Muhammad Khan. This, despite the fact that the shah’s own supporters often spoke about the sons of the late sardar with a sense of foreboding. They would say to each other that “soon those sons (of Payandah Khan) will again raise their banners.”

But the shah pretended not to notice and kept silent on the subject. The Frenchman, Abbotville (Abu Tabilah), whose employment under Maharajah Ranjit Singh has been recorded by His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Amir Habib Allah Khan), and recounted above and who at this time held Peshawar on the maharajah’s behalf, inquired one day of someone who knew the state of affairs in Kabul as to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>’s government and his behavior towards the civilian and military leaders. From the man he learned that the Muhammadza<sup>o</sup>i and others of the Barakza<sup>o</sup>i had developed extremely good relations with the shah and the British officers and were in attendance at every one of the shah’s audiences and sessions. On hearing this Abu Tabilah uttered,

“May his God absolve Shah Shuja°.” Those present were somewhat surprised and asked him, “Shah Shuja° is still alive. Why do you refer to him with an invocation used for the dead?” He replied,

A person of high repute who puts his enemies at his side and treats them with respect and honor, makes it difficult to imagine that he will go on living, for as Firdawsi put it:

You killed a father and sowed the seeds of revenge/When will he  
whose father was killed have peace  
You killed a viper and are raising its son/This is foolishness in the  
extreme.

In the same way, neither the murders of Sardar Payandah Khan and Wazir Fath Khan nor the flights of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan from Kabul and Sardar Kuhandil Khan from Qandahar will ever be erased from the memories of the son and grandsons of Sardar Payandah Khan. Eventually the fruits of all the enmity will ripen.

#### *SHAH SHUJA° LEAVES KABUL TO WINTER IN JALALABAD*

When four months had passed after the shah’s arrival in Kabul, winter swept in with its cold breath. On the 24th of Sha°ban 1255/2 November 1839, the shah left Kabul for Jalalabad intending to winter there. Some of the British, including Alexander Burnes, remained in Kabul. On his departure, the shah left Mulla °Abd al-Shukur, *na°ib al-hukūmah*, in charge along with Prince Muhammad Timur who was given the title Vice-Regent (*na°ib al-salṭānah*). At the bagh-park at the manzil of Nimlah, one of Shah Jahan’s monuments, Prince Muhammad Akbar, who was from the womb of a sister of Amir Dust

Muhammad Khan, died of some illness. His body was carried to Lamqan and buried at the shrine of Hazrat-i Mihtar Lamk.

Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup> (subsequently) arrived in Jalalabad where he opened his winter quarters. While there he summoned Sayyid Hashim Kunari, an appointee of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan. But the sayyid refused to appear which infuriated the shah who thereupon sent out a contingent of British troops with some artillery and 100 Afghan cavalry /155/ under the command of <sup>°</sup>Abd Allah Khan Achakzai and George Macgregor to Kunar. Their assignment was to overthrow Sayyid Hashim and to hand the territory over to another local sayyid, Sayyid Baha al-Din Khan. Sayyid Hashim heard about the expedition and prepared his defenses. The British, sent there by order of the shah, entered Kunar, surrounded the fortress, and put Sayyid Hashim under siege. Several days were spent fighting and when no victory ensued, the besieging force turned to tunneling under the walls intending to set powder charges, blow a gap in it, and take the fortress by storm. But that first night there was a heavy rain and high winds and in the darkness they were unable to begin their tunnel. The assault party was forced to return to the siege lines. But as Sayyid Hashim saw no possibility of withstanding the royal army for long, he immediately left the fortress and crossed the Kunar River by raft. George Macgregor installed Sayyid Baha al-Din as governor of Kunar and returned to Jalalabad.

Also during this time, a force of British regulars were sent to destroy a fortress belonging to <sup>°</sup>Abd al-<sup>°</sup>Aziz Khan Jabbar Khayl, a brother-in-law of the Amir-i Kabir, who had originally presented himself to Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup> and been given favors. But later he had refused to heed a summons and so the force was sent.

Meantime, the Khugyani people grew rebellious and refused to remit their taxes. The shah sent a British officer, Conolly, with a force of regulars from Jalalabad to punish them. The Khugyani submitted without a fight and begged the shah to lower their taxes. He agreed to reduce their obligation by 1,200

rupees.

Also during this time, the shah secured the Kabul-Peshawar road for merchants and caravans by means of guard posts. Commercial traffic had always been vulnerable to the threat of Ghilja'i highwaymen. From each tribal chief he exacted a written pledge (*khatt-i iltizām*) that should any robbery occur within his district, his tribe would take the responsibility and compensate the victim. Later, the shah set out on a ziyarat-pilgrimage from Jalalabad to Lamqan and the shrine of Hazrat-i Mihtar Lamk. The Mihtar Lamk is famous among the people there as the father of Noah. According to what His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, (Habib Allah Khan) has written, which is here recorded word for word,

He is not the father of Hazrat-i Nuh (Noah)—on him be peace—because the father of Noah had died before the Flood and no other corpse except Adam's was put on board Noah's boat. Therefore, the grave of Mihtar Lamk was submerged by the Flood. So this shrine is that of Lamk, the founder of the line of the Lamkan. The name "Lamqan" came from Lamk of Lamkan and over time became Lamqan. Today there are several places in the Lamqan region with such names as Nur-i Lamk, Pur-i Lamk, Logar-i Lamk, and Shutur-i Lamk. These names were perhaps those of the sons of this Mihtar Lamk. But only God knows the answers to such mysteries.

At Lamqan, Mirza Ibrahim Khan, the *munshī-bāshī* who was governor there, bore the expenses of the entire party and was deeply gratified by the shah's pleasure. After seeing Lamqan, the shah returned to Jalalabad and then on the 17th of Safar 1256/13 April 1840, having once again set out for Kabul with the British officers and their forces, entered the capital.



*EVENTS WHICH LED TO DISRUPTION IN THE SHAH'S AFFAIRS AND THE  
DECLINE OF HIS POSITION*

After the shah arrived back in Kabul, he sent out Prince Muhammad Timur and a British force, with British consent, to erect and garrison a strong fort at Ulang Ribat on the Ghaznin-Qandahar road. The prince made his way there and over the course of several months in 1256/1840–1841 constructed a solid fortress, stationed a regular force in it, and then returned to Kabul.

Meantime, some immoral women had found their way to the British camp. Displaying all the signs of being adulterous women, they mounted horses and rode to the British camp. The shah's well-wishers, who were adherents of the Shari<sup>c</sup>a of the Prophet and knew that this disgraceful affair ripped the veil of religious honor and breached the impregnable walls of the fortress /156/ of those things prohibited by the Prophet, went to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and said,

“These indecent women have adorned themselves and are going to the British camp. It's unknown whether they are from noble families or are simply whores (*fusaqā*). Although the perpetrators are impudent and godless, still, they give the regime a bad name and in the end such unworthy goings-on will provoke people of honor and pride into a great uproar.”

The shah spoke to Sir William Hay Macnaghten about this, but only in an allusive and oblique fashion, asking him to stop the British troops from engaging in such acts. But the latter completely unaware of the consequences and of the burning anger and the valor of the people of this area answered, “Whenever soldiers are prevented from having sexual relations with women, they become susceptible to all kinds of disease.”

“That may be,” responded the shah, “but the spread and continuation of this

business will make it extremely difficult for the honor-worshipping Afghans to remain quiet. Better that you should stop the traffic in this market's goods by punishment. Otherwise, this tree of wickedness is going to bear disruptive fruit." But Sir William Hay Macnaghten did not heed the shah's words and soon forget all about them. And as long as Mulla °Abd al-Shukur, as governor of Kabul, and Mirza Haydar °Ali Khan, as liaison (*wakīl*) between the two countries, supervised routine affairs, the shah was unwittingly kept in the dark about what was going on. It was not generally known that when it came to affairs of state and the execution of matters affecting the army and the civilian population, the shah had no influence. The Barakza'i and their relatives and retainers who were hangers-on and associates of the British sahibs went about revealing the way things really stood saying, "The shah is shah in name only and has no hand in state matters." Moreover, for their own purposes, they would play up the role of the British, and strike awe into the hearts of the people concerning the power of the British. Dangerously flirting with the fire of sedition they even said, "Your women do not belong to you."

Mulla °Abd al-Shukur tried to keep this troubling issue under wraps and was so vigilant and careful that no one knew of the subordination and powerlessness of the shah. For instance, when it came to the price of grain or fodder, it was customary for a town crier to call, "Such and such a quantity of grain is available for sale at such and such a price, in its entirety." If a person with close ties to Alexander Burnes violated these regulations and either lowered the weight or reduced the price of a transaction, he would be arrested by the market inspector (*shahnah*) and convicted of the crime. Then people would say to themselves, "If the shah doesn't have control over state affairs then why did Mulla °Abd al-Shukur show no special regard to Alexander Burnes in this?" But then when Burnes would find out, he would send a message to Mulla °Abd al-Shukur, "the convicted person is one of my friends. Why has he been detained?" Answering, "I didn't know he was one of your friends," Mulla °Abd

al-Shukur would then hand the man over. In this way he maintained the pretence of the shah's power and repaired the leaks in the ship of state until Macnaghten and Burnes, without thought to the consequences, became annoyed with the mulla and began to undermine state affairs. Muhammad °Uthman Khan, who out of ambition had turned away from the shah and put his foot in the British camp, began to carry out certain matters according to British wishes despite Mulla °Abd al-Shukur's (superior) position.

Meantime, there came to Kabul Mirza Imam Wirdi Khan Qizilbash who was, according to Shah Shuja's own account, a loyalist of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan and had gone to Bukhara with him. At the amir's suggestion, the mirza pretended to be insane and on that basis was freed by the amir of Bukhara. Still feigning madness, he returned to Kabul to act as a spy and to try and win the leaders of Kabul to the Amir-i Kabir's cause. Although he tried hard, he was unsuccessful at first in gaining Mulla °Abd al-Shukur's ear and informing him of his secret mission. But then he went to see Muhammad °Uthman Khan who had recently been put in charge of the "thirds," i.e. the *sih-kūti*, of the *khālīshah* taxes. He struck up an acquaintance with him and in a short time created a situation in which all the Durrani people and other citizens were speaking harshly of Mulla °Abd al-Shukur. Eventually, Macnaghten and Alexander Burnes told Shah Shuja that Mulla °Abd al-Shukur Khan was incapable of discharging his duties according to the rules of state and that he should appoint someone to take his place who had the full confidence of the people. Despite this description of the mulla, the shah rejected their suggestion and then heard them out while they rebutted his remarks. Nothing transpired from this exchange until Muhammad °Uthman Khan, the son of Wafadar Khan Saduzai, was given the title "Nizam al-Dawlah" at British behest and he then dismissed Mulla °Abd al-Shukur.

The newly ascendant Nizam al-Dawlah now forbade all petitions to Mulla °Abd al-Shukur, in the interests of both the British and himself, and took away

the infantry and cavalry that the mulla had at his disposal./157/

*THE AMIR-I KABIR'S ESCAPE FROM BUKHARA TO QATAGHAN AND  
TASHQURGHAN AND RELATED EVENTS*

Because the Amir-i Kabir, as has been related above, was living in such hardship in Bukhara, after some time and by various means he obtained permission from the Amir of Bukhara to send his young sons—Sardar Muhammad A<sup>c</sup>zam Khan and Sardar Shayr <sup>c</sup>Ali Khan—with other young princes like Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan to their mothers in Tashqurghan and to Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan who was also there. In addition, he gave orders for them to go to Kabul, notwithstanding the fact that Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> was a political enemy, because he (believed that he) would in any event treat them with civility in view of the shah's protection and care of the family of Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan in Ghaznin. So it happened that Nawwab <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbar Khan and Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan escorted the young princes from Tashqurghan to Kabul. When they reached Maydan-i Kabul, the British sahibs learned of their arrival and sent General Crawford Chamberlain and Major Neville Chamberlain to welcome the party. The British escorted them to Ghaznin and housed them with the family of Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan who himself was in Bombay.

The Amir-i Kabir now ceased to worry about his wives and young sons. In consultation with his supporters it was decided that the best plan was for him to escape from Bukhara and go alone to another country. If those left behind in Bukhara suffered the wrath of its amir as a consequence, he ought not to be upset, for the primary goal was to save him so that perhaps some good might come of it all. The amir agreed with his supporters' advice, obtained a horse, disguised himself as a dervish, and escaped. When the ruler of Bukhara found

out he sent a large party of horsemen in pursuit. He also incarcerated Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan with the others left behind, throwing them into a pit. The Amir-i Kabir rode night and day and eluded capture. His pursuers eventually gave up and returned empty-handed to Bukhara. At Shahr-i Sabz, the Amir-i Kabir dismounted before a ramshackle hostel for dervishes where a few were sitting around drinking tea with milk. He was very hungry and with an eye to perhaps getting some tea from them, he sat down near the door of the hostel. But those inconsiderate people, who call themselves qalandars but certainly did not have the character of a qalandar, said not a word to him, and offered him nothing. With stomach still empty, he then went into the city. Holding his horse's reins, he dismounted in front of a shop in the bazaar thinking to ask for a certain merchant named Mulla Kabir who was from Dih-i Afghanan in Kabul and had a family here in Shahr-i Sabz. He asked a man about the mulla and since the latter knew him, the amir prevailed on the man to bring the mulla to him. When he saw the amir, Mulla Kabir kissed his hand and escorted him to his house. As they entered the house, the mulla was overcome with compassion at seeing the amir dressed as a dervish and wept. He put himself at the amir's disposal and did everything it was in his power to do.

After resting, the Amir-i Kabir sent Mulla Kabir to the governor of Shahr-i Sabz with whom he was acquainted to inform him of his arrival. As soon as he heard the news, the governor came to Mulla Kabir's house and showed the amir the highest regard, moving him into the royal guesthouse. After performing the duties of host, he spoke about the ignominious behavior of the amir of Bukhara and offered to send an army there to exact revenge. The Amir-i Kabir thanked him for the offer but, because of what he himself had in mind, dissuaded him and asked him instead to provide 700 horsemen to accompany him across the Oxus as far as Qataghan. The governor agreed, prepared the necessary supplies and equipment and assigned 700 troopers as escort. After crossing the Oxus and reaching the edge of Qataghan, the amir dismissed the troopers and then entered

Qunduz. There he asked Mir Murad Beg Ataliq to “assemble as many soldiers as he could from Qunduz and other places so that we may march against Kabul”. Murad Beg raised 5,000 horsemen and sent them from Qunduz to Aybak with the amir intending to augment the number of troops there as well. Mir Wali Khan, the governor of Tashgurghan, joined the Amir-i Ka-bir at Aybak with 5,000 horsemen and they rode together by way of Sar Bagh and Khuram /158/ to Bamiyan. There they skirmished with the Englishman stationed at Bamiyan, Dr. Lott who had some cavalry, infantry, and several artillery pieces. Three or four times they bravely attacked the British and drew blood, but eventually the Amir-i Kabir, whose troops were militiamen, was unable to make a stand against the regular (British) forces and was forced to retreat.

He retired to Tashqurghan, his force dispersing before he reached there. The amir now stopped for a while in Tashqurghan. His followers, scattered hither and yon by the tyranny of the Amir of Bukhara, heard he was there and in ones and twos began to rejoin him. With some 300 men, he then traveled to Kuhistan-i Kabul via Khanjan having heard that the men of the Kuhistan were waging ghaza and jihad against the foreigners. When he reached Gulbahar, where the Kuhistan region begins, Mir Masjidi Khan, son of Khwajah Ishaq learned of his arrival and by letter invited him to come to Kuhistan where he himself was fighting.

Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> meanwhile sent Prince Muhammad Timur from Kabul to Kuhistan with General Sheil, Alexander Burnes, a British force, and some Fufalzai cavalry to punish Mir Masjidi and the other Kuhistanis. A battle broke out at Khwajah Khidri, Mir Masjidi's fortress, which was defended by the mir and 50 warriors. The British razed one wall of the fortress with cannon fire and then stormed the fort. Mir Masjidi and his men resisted fiercely and the two sides locked in hand-to-hand combat striking each other in the chest and abdomen with knives, daggers, and bayonets. The British, realizing that a prolonged fight would be disastrous, eventually withdrew. Fifty-one of their

men ran away, even though they were members of regular infantry, cavalry, and artillery units. Of the officers, Conolly was killed along with a number of his soldiers. Among the Kuhistanis, Mir Masjidi was wounded and several others were killed or wounded. The mir, knowing it was suicidal to confront the shah, left his base the night after the conflict and went to Rizah-i Kuhistan and from there to Najrab.

In the meantime, the Amir-i Kabir was marching from Gulbahar towards Kuhistan. At Parwan, which is today called Jabal al-Siraj, he suddenly ran into a British force of 800 cavalry sent out to stop him. A stiff fight ensued in which Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and Sardar Muhammad ‘Umar Khan, who had left Bukhara before the Amir-i Kabir, come to Tashqurghan, and were now in the Amir-i Kabir’s party, bravely attacked the British force, stopped it in its tracks, and forced it to withdraw. They then pursued and harried the retreating British force. The Amir-i Kabir also joined the pursuit along with Na’ib Sultan Muhammad Khan Angiza’i and Qadir Khan Masihza’i and others followed his example. But in the course of the chase, the Amir-i Kabir was separated from his sons and suddenly another British force appeared, cutting off the amir and his sons and preventing further pursuit of the retreating force.

Before his sons could rejoin him and in light of the precariousness of his position, the Amir-i Kabir with two companions turned his reins towards Najrab where Mir Masjidi had also gone. As a result, he was separated from the sardars (i.e. Sardar Muhamad Afzal Khan and Sardar Muhammad ‘Umar Khan, his sons). He joined up with the mir who received him with all deference and asked that the amir and his entourage stay awhile in Najrab in order to rally the Kuhistanis to fight the enemy. But given the small number of people in Kuhistan, the amir did not accede to the request but instead voiced a desire to go to Zurmat saying, “Since Shah Shuja<sup>e</sup> is established on the throne, if the struggle against him makes no headway, it will only bring destruction on the people of Kuhistan and on the lives and property of Muslims.”

The amir then departed Najrab. When he neared Kabul, he gave his personal attendants, Qadir Khan and Muhammad Aslam Khan Barakza<sup>3</sup>i, some money and sent them on into the city to buy horseshoes as well as two or three shod horses and then rendezvous with him at the tomb of Babur Shah from where they would ride for Zurmat. The amir himself continued on with Na<sup>3</sup>ib Sultan Khan Angiza<sup>3</sup>i and dismounted in a field near the fort of Hajji Sahib Pay Manari. There he waited awhile to let his two men put some distance between themselves and him. As he waited he began to ponder his present circumstances when the following idea suddenly occurred to him.

My wives and children are in custody and safe in Ghaznin and Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> is happy with his position (for the moment). If the Waziri, Taraki, Andari, and Ghilja<sup>3</sup>i tribes united and raised the banners of jihad he would not be able to withstand their massing against him. At that moment, having suffered a thousand indignities alone, /159/ I will be unable to remain in the corner of obscurity and to wander in the wilderness of failure like some hermit. The best thing, therefore, is to go to Sir William Hay Macnaghten and accept any course he thinks beneficial and wind my foot in the skirt of patience.

The amir consulted Na<sup>3</sup>ib Sultan Khan who approved the plan and so the Amir-i Kabir headed for Kabul. Near the fort of Mahmud Khan Bayat on the site of which His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Amir Habib Allah Khan) has today erected a fine building, he crossed a bridge and near the Bala Hisar ran into Sir William Hay Macnaghten who had left the citadel to take a leisurely ride escorted by regular cavalry who rode in front of and behind him as well as on both sides. Just at that moment he was returning to the Bala Hisar. Na<sup>3</sup>ib Sultan Khan, riding up slowly behind the British officer's party, asked the troopers at the rear of the escort when they passed through the Shah-i Shahid



Gate into the Bala Hisar, who was astride the lead horse, riding in such a pompous manner. They replied, "It is Sir William Hay Macnaghten." Then, at a signal from the Amir-i Kabir, the Na'ib conveyed the news of the amir's arrival to Sir William. The latter was completely nonplussed by this because the British had pursued the retreating sardars deep into Kuhistan and had made things difficult for them there. So he asked Na'ib Sultan Khan whether the amir had come with an army. The na'ib was about to reply when the amir himself rode up. Sir William Hay Macnaghten recognized him and both men dismounted. After exchanging formal greetings, the Englishman took the Amir-i Kabir by the hand and led him to an estate (bagh) which the Amir-i Kabir himself had developed and planted with trees and herbs. Together they then went indoors. Macnaghten put a chair in the place of honor and seated the amir on it and then, positioning his own chair somewhat lower, began to converse with the amir in a respectful and deferential manner.

*MACNAGHTEN'S CONVERSATION WITH THE AMIR-I KABIR AND HIS  
BEING ASSIGNED TO RESIDE IN INDIA*

Before the conversation began, the Amir-i Kabir, in accordance with the royal custom which calls for the handing over of one's sword at surrender, drew his sword from his belt and handed it to Macnaghten. The latter rose from his chair to acknowledge the honor, grasped the sword and then began to speak. "Amir-sahib, you will go to India." The Amir-i Kabir replied, "Now that I have come to you, I will accept whatever you say." Then Macnaghten asked, "Right now Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan is engaged in combat with our forces. Would you write and ask him to end the fighting and come to you?" The amir sent his dagger and his eyeglasses as identification by the hand of a cavalryman and his son (Muhammad Afzal Khan) then joined him.

On the first night after the meeting with Macnaghten, the amir stayed in a

tent specially erected for him on the estate grounds. The next day, Macnaghten asked the Amir-i Kabir to meet with Shah Shuja°. But the Amir-i Kabir refused and said, “I have no business with Shah Shuja°. I have not come to offer an oath of allegiance to him.” Macnaghten answered, “In view of the concern for the state that he has, it would be appropriate for you to see him.” The amir replied,

It is you who have put him on the throne, not the great mass of those who “loose and bind.” If this is not true, then you should cease propping him up. When you do, it will be clear to you and to other intelligent people which man deserves to be sovereign and whom the leaders of the country and the subjects will obey. If he has anything to say (to me) let him come forward and state it in your presence.

Sir William Hay Macnaghten outwardly was silent and said nothing more. But inwardly, the bud of his mind blossomed with joy at the words of the Amir-i Kabir that he would have no other dealings with Shah Shuja° but hostile ones.

After this exchange, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan was sent to Ghaznin to fetch the harem. The amir, without waiting their return, set out for India, with British permission, taking with him one of his wives, the daughter of Nazir Khayr Allah Khan °Arab, who was in Kabul. He was escorted by one regiment of horse and one of foot.

During these events, Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan, Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan, who were in Ghaznin with the harem prior to the Amir-i Kabir’s arrival in Kuhistan, had donned the *iḥrām*-clothing of the jihad at the time of the battle at Bamiyan. They now decided that Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan should stay in Ghaznin and the other two should go to the Andari, Taraki, Sulayman Khayl, /160/ Waziri and other tribes of the Ghilja’i and rally them, the Tajiks of Ribat, Ramak, and Tasan, and the people of Charkh, to wage ghaza and shed the blood (of the foreigners). It was

decided that they would go to the village areas of Ribat, Ramak, and elsewhere and work to assemble an army. Then he (Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan) would join them.

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The two princes left for that region and there began to incite the people to ghaza. When the British stationed in Ghaznin learned of this, they placed Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan under surveillance. When the other two found out, they decamped and rode to Zurmat. There, although they exhorted the people to wage jihad, they could see little sign of boldness on the people's part and so left emptyhanded for Khust. From there, again having elicited no response, they went to Hangu to Sardar Khwajah Muhammad Khan, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, Sardar Yahya Khan, and Sardar Zikriya Khan, the sons of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan to whom Maharajah Ranjit Singh had given that region as *jāygīr*. They spent some time there until the Amir-i Kabir reached Lahore and summoned them by letter at which point they joined him.

Sent to Ghaznin to escort the harem, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan eventually reached Lahore via Kabul and Peshawar accompanied by Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan and the ladies of the harem. With wives and princes, the Amir-i Kabir then departed Lahore for Ludhiana where he took up residence in the palace formerly occupied by Shah Shuja's harem. He was granted an annual subsidy of two laks of *chihrah-shāhī* rupees by the British for his expenses. After recovering from the fatigue of the journey, he went on to Calcutta with British permission, leaving behind his wives and some of the princes and taking with him a group of about one hundred people including: Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan; Sardar °Abd al-Ghani Khan, the grandson of Sardar Rahimdad Khan; Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, the keeper of the seal (*muhr bardār*); and other retainers such as Faramurz Khan, Nazir Suhrab Khan "Jadid al-Islam;" Raz Muhammad Khan; Baz Muhammad Khan; Tarah Baz—a Kashmiri tailor; Baba Karam, *saqqābāshi*; Nazir Khan Jan; Muhammad Nabi Khan Kashmiri; Shayr Muhammad Khan, *farrāshī-bāshī*; and others. He settled

in Calcutta and made his summer residence in the Mansuri Mountains in Dera Dun. In winter he lived in Calcutta.

*THE DISMISSAL OF PRINCE FATH JANG AS GOVERNOR OF QANDAHAR;  
SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup> FALLS ON HARD TIMES THANKS TO THE NIZAM AL-  
DAWLAH, MUHAMMAD <sup>c</sup>UTHMAN KHAN*

During 1256/1840–1841, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> summoned the governor of Qandahar, Prince Fath Jang, to Kabul because Major Leech was angry (with Fath Jang). In his place he appointed Fath Jang's brother, Prince Safdar Jang. Then, leaving Prince Muhammad Timur in Kabul, the shah went to Jalalabad to spend the winter. When he arrived, the Sangu Khayl tribal group had stolen several flocks of sheep from the Shinwari because of some tribal dispute and were in a state of rebellion. So the shah dispatched a detachment of British infantry along with a detachment of royal cavalry and some artillery. When the Sangu Khayl learned of the approach of the force, they fled their homes and forts and went up into the mountains. Despite the difficulty of maneuvering in the mountains, the army managed to punish them satisfactorily and then returned (to Jalalabad).

During this time, three forged *tughhrā*-farmans bearing the seal and signature of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> came into the possession of the Englishman, Macgregor, who showed them to the shah. The farmans were addressed to the people of Kuhistan and called on them to unfurl the banner of ghaza. The shah could find nothing wrong with the seal or handwriting (*dastkhatt*) on those documents and somewhat chagrined called in Mirza Ibrahim Khan, *munshī-bāshī*, to examine them thoroughly. To him it appeared that the handwriting was authentic and the seal was in the right place but that some lines of the original had been erased and other words inserted in their place for there were traces of some of the erased letters and words. The shah was considerably relieved and immediately called

Macgregor and informed him that the documents were a result of the conniving of his enemies and told him of the *munshī-bāshī*'s findings. Macgregor then acknowledged that the documents were forgeries. He showed them to all the regular officers and told them the truth of the matter so that no suspicions would arise in their minds (about the shah). /161/ Speaking to the British sahibs, the shah then said,

These disorders are a result of the favors the British have done for the Barakza'i. Those people have produced these fraudulent things and this sort of thing will happen more and more. It is known that Barakza'i leaders like Nawwab 'Abd al-Jabbar Khan, Muhammad 'Uthman Khan, Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, and others like them are constantly lighting the fire of trouble. This is especially true now that Nizam al-Dawlah has chosen such supporters of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan as Mirza Imam Wirdi Khan and Mirza 'Abd al-Razzaq Khan, *mustawfi*, who only recently have come to Kabul, and Mirza Ahad Khan, Na'ib Amir Barakza'i et. al. to carry out state affairs. They spread the rumor that other than his title, Shah Shuja' has achieved nothing and has no control over state affairs. Now that we have affirmed, in the protocols of the solemn bilateral accord at Ludhiana, that British officials would not interfere in any way in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the partner to this accord agreed and signed it, (it should be recalled that) the original intent of this paragraph of the treaty was the Barakza'i clan who lay claim to the government. Now everything is topsy-turvy and before some major disturbances break out, we ought to remedy this.

But the British, being supporters of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, would not listen to Shah Shuja' nor attempt to rectify matters. Because of the British

attitude, the shah, too, now said no more. He left Jalalabad, made a ziyarat-pilgrimage to Mihtar Lamk in Lamqan and offered a prayer of lamentation at the grave of his mother. Mirza Ibrahim Khan, the *munshī-bāshī* and governor of Lamqan, pleased the shah with his excellent hospitality and reception of the entourage. The shah's warm feelings for him became the occasion of envy and jealousy on the part of Sardar Muhammad °Uthman Khan, the Nizam al-Dawlah. He expropriated the *khālīṣah* lands of Lamqan which the mirza rented and appointed another fiscal agent and supervisor. Although the mirza produced his lease contract (*sanad-i ijārahdārī*), no one listened or paid him any heed. Like Mulla °Abd al-Shukur, who was dismissed as governor of Kabul, his control over Lamqan was drastically reduced. The Nizam al-Dawlah got away with all of this because Macnaghten was a friend of his. In short, Shah Shuja° returned to Jalalabad from Lamqan and thence to Kabul in the company of the British sahibs.

*MATTERS EMANATING FROM THE NIZAM AL-DAWLAH WHICH LED TO  
PROBLEMS FOR SHAH SHUJA°*

When Shah Shuja° reached Kabul in 1257, he appointed Prince Muhammad Timur governor of Qandahar with Macnaghten's consent .

During this, members of Shah Shuja°'s harem, whose former residence was now occupied by Amir Dust Muhammad Khan's wives and who had been en route from Ludhiana to Kabul under the escort of Major Broadfoot arrived in Kabul in Rabi° al-Sani 1257/April-May 1841.

Now, because Macnaghten supported the Nizam al-Dawlah, the latter's power grew. He denounced a number of people who held high rank in the shah's durbar and turned him against them. Not satisfied with that, he worked to reduce the *tankhwāh*-stipends paid to the Durrani khans. As a consequence, khans who had supported Shah Shuja°'s government against the regime of Amir Dust

Muhammad Khan, appealed to the shah and asked that he stop their salaries from being reduced lest it lead to a rebellion on their part. After hearing them out, the shah forbade the Nizam al-Dawlah and told him to keep his hands off the stipends of the tribal leaders so that no one would cause an injury to anyone else. The Nizam al-Dawlah paid no attention to the shah's order and did not abandon his policy.

One day Samad Khan, the grandson of Zal Beg Khan Baduzai Fufalzai, told the shah in durbar that he had not received his stipend. The shah referred him to the Nizam al-Dawlah who remarked, "Samad Khan is lying and is embarking on a course of opposition." Samad Khan, who was sick and tired of the Nizam al-Dawlah's behavior, became angry and said, "It is you who are lying and injuring all the servants of the state. And you are courting the Barakza'i who are the enemies of the state." The shah found this coarse and angry exchange depressing and frustrating and without saying a word /162/ he left the audience hall which was tinged by discord and went to the palace (dawlat-saray). The Nizam al-Dawlah complained to Macnaghten about what had happened and requested that Samad Khan be dismissed. Macnaghten wrote the shah and the shah, following Macnaghten's note, barred Samad Khan from court. This incident became another bit of evidence for the Barakza'i who would say to people, "Aside from his title, the shah has no say in the affairs of state."

To sum up, the Nizam al-Dawlah would do whatever the Barakzai instructed him to do. The shah himself was well aware that their unremitting intention was to cause people to lose all respect for him and to introduce corruption and trouble into the workings of government. The Nizam al-Dawlah acted according to their wishes to remove control over the tax revenues from the shah's hands. He even went so far as to usurp (control of) the waqfs of the Mazar-i 'Ashiqan wa 'Arifan which were registered in *sijills* from the days of bygone rulers. The shah was unable to undo this. Similarly, if the shah wanted a horseman to perform some service he would ask the Englishman, Trevor, but

without the Nizam al-Dawlah's consent, the shah's wishes would go for naught. Also if a soldier or peasant who had been wronged or oppressed came to the shah and asked for justice, he would receive nothing but words.

At this time an order was issued by the British authorities recalling Macnaghten who prepared for his journey to India. His departure deeply worried the shah who wanted to have a frank discussion with Macnaghten and let him know what was troubling him. But because he could not (bring himself to) tear the veil of the nation's honor, he was unable to bring words to his lips. So it was that in his own journal Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> wrote,

I was made melancholy by Macnaghten's departure and Alexander Burnes' taking his place. For if my lot was to be disgrace and infamy, it would have been better that I take the road to the Sacred House of God. But I did not reveal these feelings of mine to the British functionaries lest they be angered.

In addition to all the Nizam al-Dawlah's usurpations mentioned above, he extended his hand even to distant lands. For example, at the time Prince Muhammad Timur Khan was named governor of Qandahar, the Nizam al-Dawlah sent his own son, Sardar °Abbas Khan, along with the prince without the permission and knowledge of the shah. He wrote Major Lawrence who was resident (in Qandahar) that he should leave all administration of the district to Sardar °Abbas Khan and give no more than 3,000 rupees to Prince Muhammad Timur for his monthly expenses. One day he also wrote a *manshūr*-decree which corresponded to the items in the letter and sent it to Mirza Ibrahim Khan munshi for him to affix the shah's seal. The shah was annoyed when he read the manshur and said, "Were all of Qandahar to be handed over to °Abbas Khan what was the need of Muhammad Timur's going there?" He told Macnaghten about this but as the latter was an ally of the Nizam al-Dawlah, he pointed out in



his response the arguments (for what the Nizam al-Dawlah was doing) and so silenced the shah.

*THE NIZAM AL-DAWLAH REDUCES THE STIPENDS OF THE GHILJA'I  
KHANS AND THE SHAH'S RETAINERS*

Since the Nizam al-Dawlah considered the British to be backers of both his words and deeds, he told Macnaghten that the civilian (*mulkī*) khans unnecessarily made off with thousands of rupees in pensions which it would be good to end. Oblivious of the people's resentment, Macnaghten gave his approval to the Nizam al-Dawlah's self-serving suggestion. Armed with Macnaghten's permission, the Nizam al-Dawlah first suspended 40,000 rupees in stipends to the Ghilja'i khans. He (also) sent a bill (*hawālah*) to each of them telling them to return their stipends and obtain a receipt from the treasury. Although they protested that "these stipends were assigned to us to protect merchants and caravans on the roads and in the commercial districts from despoliation and never have been reduced or cut off before," the Nizam al-Dawlah paid no heed and did not back down from his policy of ending such payments. In frustration, these khans went home, opened the doors of sedition, and engaged in highway robbery and looting the property of merchants and travelers.

One such incident involved George Macgregor and a British force who were pinned down in the Tangi Khurd-i Kabul nine kuruhs from Kabul on their way to Jalalabad. There was a sharp skirmish, with the British eventually gaining the upper hand and getting to Jalalabad and safety. Meanwhile, the Nizam al-Dawlah was creating another situation which was the cause of even more resentment amongst the Ghilja'i. It was this: he dismissed their governor and appointed his own seven-year-old son, Muhammad Akbar /163/ in his place. If this were not enough, he wrote a letter in Macnaghten's name and sent it to

Shah Shuja<sup>e</sup>. It said,

Several mischief- making Durrani khans such as Ghulam Ahmad Khan the son of Shayr Muhammad Khan Bamiza<sup>i</sup> “Mukhtar al-Dawlah;” <sup>e</sup>Abd Allah Khan Achakzai; Muhammad ‘Ata Khan, the son of Sardar Samandar Khan Bamiza<sup>i</sup>; Sikandar Khan, his uncle; and Sardar <sup>e</sup>Abd al-Salam Khan, son of Muhammad Akram Khan, “Amin al-Mulk” should be exiled to a place of their own choosing.

Shah Shuja<sup>e</sup>, who had witnessed nothing but loyal service from these men, was distressed. But he said nothing and ordered the expulsion of those khans lest he upset the British. When the order was issued these men were baffled and addressed the shah saying, “Each of us has wealth, possessions, wives, and children. How can we leave them here and take ourselves off to another land?” The shah, who sought the good opinion of the British, said nothing but did reveal the matter to Macnaghten. Thinking the shah was interceding on their behalf, the latter became angry and sent a message saying, “They must be exiled. They have three days in which to sell their goods or remove them from Kabul and go anywhere but Peshawar.” The khans were even more disturbed by the contents of Macnaghten’s note and said to each other, “They are sending us as prisoners to India.” Compelled to consult with their friends, they saw it was hopeless to expect any protection from the shah and came to the conclusion that what was best was to resist. So they agreed to speak with the edge of the sword and answer their enemies with the tip of the spear.

*THE GENERAL UPRISING BY THE RESIDENTS OF KABUL AND THE  
CATASTROPHES WHICH BEFELL THE BRITISH ARMY*

As rebellion had now been decided on, someone seized the opportunity to

write letters, all with the same message, and to attach them in the dark of night to the doors of some well-known city leaders like Mir Hajji and Hafiz Ji, sons of Mir Wa'iz, and Amin Allah Lahugardi and others. The letters read as follows: "O people, give thought to your situation for today or tomorrow you may be sent to India like prisoners." The perpetrator of this was never discovered but Shah Shuja° notes in his journal that "the instigator was instructed by the Barakza'i." In any event, the next morning, when the householders saw the letters posted on their doors they became worried and as they talked it over with each other everyone gradually found out about it. The rebels (now) gathered by night and swore solemn oaths to struggle as long as life remained and to take on the enemy with courage. They chose Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan son of the late Sardar Payandah Khan as their leader. The Nizam al-Dawlah, the man behind the expulsion of the prominent khans, remained oblivious despite all the activity and conspiratorial goings-on. He gave no thought to nor did he even look for a plot. Even though he was told on the eve of the 17th of Ramadan 1257/2 November 1841 that on the following day the flames of revolt would flare up and consume the nation he did not think it likely and failed to inform the shah so that the latter could snuff out the flames.

To sum up, early in the morning of the 17th fighting broke out, brave men began killing the British and plundering their goods and with swords drawn marched on Alexander Burnes' house which was in the middle of the city. Shah Shuja° now heard the news and sent some *jārchis* from the Bala Hisar. Although they tried to stop the mob, the people would not listen to them. Soon all the residents of the city and the habitués of the bazaar had gathered and surrounded Burnes' house. Shah Shuja° sent the Hindi Talangah regiment with Prince Fath Jang and some field guns to drive off the ghazis and rescue Burnes from his house. He also sent Burnes a message either to leave the city and come to the Bala Hisar, or go to the British cantonment (in Shayrpur). But because of the volatility of the situation and because of the rampaging mob, there was no

opportunity to rescue Burnes. Prince Fath Jang reached his house with his artillery but the mob which had surrounded Burnes in his house would not back away and turned on the prince instead, fighting him between the houses and in the alleys and lanes of the city. Blood flowed and seven hundred of the prince's men were killed. The rest, along with the prince, gave up the fight and made it back to the Bala Hisar only barely alive. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, /164/ in light of the defeat suffered by the prince's force, now deemed Burnes' situation hopeless. He sent Mirza Ibrahim Khan *munshī* to Macnaghten in the British cantonment with a message telling him to send forces from four directions into the city and immediately "while the rebels are as yet not firmly in control and while they have not yet cut the cord of Burnes' life. Perhaps if the outbreak were quelled, peace would return and the people of the city would remain in fear of an army attack." Macnaghten, thinking that fear had gotten the better of the shah, sent another Talangah regiment with eight cannon to the Bala Hisar to restore the shah's confidence and guard the citadel.

Meantime, spoiling for a fight, braves in the city poured into Burnes' house, killed him, looted his possessions, and burned the house to the ground. They (also) plundered the government treasury which was in a house near Burnes' and his treasurer, Johnson's, house and made off with 115,000 *chihrah-shāhī* rupees. The people of the surrounding region heard the news and group by group unfurled battle standards, beat the drum of ghaza, and headed for the city. Within a short time, while Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and the British officers were still trying to devise a plan, many people had gathered in the city. Their leaders wrote out solemn covenants (*‘ahd-nāmahs*) on Qur'ans and sent them to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> which said,

This holy Qur'an is a testament to our solemn pledge that you should cease protecting the British, consider yourself independent, join with us in driving them out of the country, and devote yourself to fighting them. Otherwise, we will not refrain from killing you yourself.

But because of the treaty he had with the British, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> would not accede to their request. Since a jihad could not be declared without a (proper) leader, they now named Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, cousin of the Amir-i Kabir, as their head, pledged obedience to him and began a daytime routine of raids against the British, and returning home at night. They attacked the fort of Nishan Khan which stands midway between the city and Dih Afghanan, where the British army had stores of food. The guards there were incapable of mounting a defense and managed to escape from the fort and make their way to the British cantonment with the help of the people of Chandawal whose leader, Khan Shirin Khan, was a supporter of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and had been given the rank of *haftṣad-bāshī*. The ghazis took control of the fort and carried off all the grain and other British supplies which were there. The ghazis also surrounded Trevor, who was stationed in the Wazir Fath Khan tower on the northern side of the Chahar Bagh and abutting the southern bank of the Kabul River. They wanted to kill Trevor just as they had killed Burnes but with help from the people of Andarab, he escaped from the tower and made his way safely back to the British cantonment. Everything he had was looted. No other British officer or soldier was now left in the city. All had now gathered at the British base and, along with the small force now with Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> at the Bala Hisar, they were under siege.

The next day, the ghazis, full of bellicose feelings, stormed the fort of Ja<sup>c</sup>far Khan which stood near the British cantonment and took it in one assault, making off with the British supplies stored there. Then on Tuesday, the 24th of Ramadan/9 November, the eighth day of the rebellion, a contingent of regular British cavalry in the evening bravely climbed the hill overlooking the village of Bibi Mahru near the cantonment. They were reconnoitering it when the ghazis attacked. Since the main British army was nearby, the ghazis eventually pulled back and returned to the city.

On another occasion they (the ghazis) attacked at the Khiyaban-i Bagh-i

Shah, a project built by the Mughal Shah Jahan of which no trace remains today. Later it became a field which continued to be called by the same name. Several times they launched attacks between the walls of the bagh-estate and the trees which grow outside the walls. But because of the large number of trees and the obstacle created by the walls they were unable to make any headway and had to withdraw. This went on up until the final assault when the Ghilja'i people who had come to the city with the intention of joining the fight immediately joined in without hesitating even a moment to unpack their belongings—the infantry with their bags of food still on their backs, and the cavalry with theirs in their saddlebags. They made matters very difficult for the British and drew the siege more tightly around them.

The British officers, proud of their nation's honor and unwilling to see it disgraced, sent their regular forces and some cannon out of the cantonment. Thinking themselves as good as dead, they gave themselves the name of death, planted their feet, and fought ferociously, /165/ defeating the ghazis in whatever direction they turned. This went on until the Ghilja'i took a strong stand inside the Rikabashi Fort east of the British cantonment. The British tunneled beneath the walls of the fort and blew down one wall with explosives and cannonfire. They then stormed it and killed many of the ghazis inside. The rest escaped back to the city. The next day the people of Kuhistan-i Kabul decided to slip into the village of Bibi Mahru at night and lay an ambush. The next morning they attacked the British cantonment. At this, the regular British regiments seeing them immediately outside, placed their backs to the walls and drew up battle formations. Cavalry climbed the hill overlooking the village of Bibi Mahru taking some field pieces with them and from there opened fire on the ghazis who held the northern side of the hill. The ghazis were held at bay by the artillery fire until other ghazis arrived on the eastern side of the hill. On the western side as well a party of ghazis gathered and they pinned down the British force between them. Meanwhile, another group of mujahidin slowly made its way to a mound

near the British battery by a route which was invisible to the British force. From this elevation they brought the gunners under musket fire and forced them to abandon their guns. The ghazi horsemen then attacked and seized one of guns. Witnessing this bold thrust by the ghazis, the British realized they could not hold them back and so retreated with their other guns. The ghazis pursued them as far as the cantonment but as the British infantry was drawn up with its back to the walls of the fortifications, the ghazis turned back, unable to summon up the daring needed to force their way inside.

#### *THE AMIR-I KABIR' S ACTIVITIES IN INDIA*

During all this, while the Amir-i Kabir was en route from Ludhiana to Calcutta, he was met by a delegation of Indian Muslims devoted to the cause of Islamic solidarity. In the vicinity of Saharanpur, the amir's gaze fell on Mulla °Aziz Allah Qandahari, one of the delegates, whom he recognized as an Afghan from both his bearing and his dress. The amir called him forward and discovered that he was the son of Mulla Dust Muhammad, that he had come to this foreign land to learn the wonders of the sciences, that he was studying astrology with Mulla Ghulam Husayn, the author of *Kitab-i Jāmi°-i Bahādur Khānī*, and that he was happy with what he was doing. With the man's consent, the amir asked the British to let him join his entourage. After questioning the mulla, the British gave their permission. The amir then took him to Calcutta where he asked Mulla °Aziz Allah to cast his horoscope and foretell his future. The latter did so and presented it to the Amir-i Kabir. It said, "After a year and ten months the knot of your affairs will be untied and you will be freed from your bondage. And God knows best."

As previously reported, the Amir-i Kabir spent the winter in Calcutta and the summer in the Mansuri Mountains. At his arrival in Calcutta, he asked British authorities (to send to him) his son, Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, whom

they had arrested in Ghaznin and shipped to Bombay. After he joined his father and kissed his hand, the latter sent him to live with his mother in Ludhiana giving him the responsibility of serving her and seeing to her needs.

*THE RELEASE OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD AKBAR KHAN FROM THE  
CUSTODY OF THE AMIR OF BUKHARA AND HIS ARRIVAL AT AN  
OPPORTUNE MOMENT FOR THE GHAZIS OF KABUL*

In the midst of the events of 1257/1841, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, son of the Amir-i Kabir, and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, son of the late Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, both of whom had been subject to the “black hole” of the wrath of the amir of Bukhara, Amir Nasr Allah Khan, were released, thanks to the intercession of their estimable uncle, the very orthodox (*sharī°at-iyāb*), °Abd al-Shukur, the Hazrat-i Sahib-i Butkhaki who was in Bukhara and for whom the amir of Bukhara had absolute devotion. They then left for Kabul with their colleagues and servants who had also been in custody. They arrived in Kuhistan-i Kabul via Bamiyan, Hazarah-i /166/ Shaykh °Ali, and Ghurband. As the fires of the rebellion were in full flame, they went on to Kabul without stopping.

With Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan’s arrival, the rebels’ strength was considerably enhanced. All now left Muhammad Zaman Khan who had been given the position of leader because there were no sardars—for he bore (only) the title of nawwab—and flocked to Muhammad Akbar Khan, offering him their allegiance.

The British, meanwhile, hard at work preparing their defenses against the ghazis and, as noted above, taking pains to secure their own safety, on the eleventh day of the uprising, the 27th of Ramadan/12 November, decided to capture the village of Bibi Mahru in order to get provisions. They proceeded according to a plan devised by Muhammad °Uthman Khan, the Nizam al-



Dawlah, and Macnaghten. Those two had urged the Englishman Shelton to capture the fortress of Bibi Mahru and said to him, "There are two foreseeable benefits from seizing this fort. One is to obtain supplies. The other is to bring the hill which overlooks our cantonment under our control and by emplacing artillery there keep the enemy from gaining the upper hand." Between morning and evening on the 27th, they sent five platoons of the Hindi Regiment out of the cantonment along with 100 engineers, two and a half platoons of regular cavalry, and an artillery battery. These ascended the hill behind the village of Bibi Mahru and began bombarding it with cannon and musket fire despite the fact that inside the Bibi Mahru fort there were only the residents of the village and forty Kuhistani braves. Since the guns were quite close, the fort came to look like a furnace with the smoke of the British guns and the musket fire from both sides obscuring it. Majors Kershaw and Swain who had been assigned to capture the fort were unable to distinguish the gates of the fort from the wooden palisades which stood opposite the gate because of the heavy dark smoke. With their men they stormed those standing planks which stood several steps from the gate and set fire to them. The defenders, having heard of Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan's arrival and heartened by the news, put their reliance in God and struggled to defend their position, shooting most of the assaulting force and routing the rest. Major Swain was wounded and retired from the field.

At this juncture, Major Kershaw, assigned three platoons of the Hindi Infantry Regiment attached to him who had survived being shot, with an engineer to protect the rear of those who were retreating so that if the ghazis pursued they would not be able to threaten the cantonment or the British army. These three platoons had not yet positioned themselves to protect the retreat when 10,000 ghazis who had been lying in wait suddenly charged the retreating force and the cantonment with flashing swords. Colonel Claude Martine Wade was astounded to see them, formed the regular regiments into battle lines by sounding a fife, and gave the regiments the order to face the ghazis. They

immediately formed up with the cavalry also taking up its position behind them. The ghazi horsemen courageously attacked from the right. An English lieutenant who was assigned to that position was driven back into the cantonment with his men.

In the course of this assault, which took place on the 27th, °Abd Allah Khan Achakzai was wounded by a shot fired by the Englishman, Sheil, according to the inscription on his gravestone, and died of that wound on the 14th of Shawwal 1257/29 November. Pir Dust Khan, his cousin, was also killed in the battle.

To return to the story, as the ghazi cavalry attacked from the right, those in the center and on the left also attacked, pressing the (British) army from three sides. They killed many British and scattered the rest. The regular cavalry, which was assigned to stop the blood-thirsty ghazis, collapsed and fled. The ghazis seized the arsenal which the British army had brought to the battlefield and then, because of the wounding of °Abd Allah Khan and the killing of his cousin and because the day had come to an end, the ghazis, stricken with grief, abandoned their offensive and retired to the city in triumph. Because of their withdrawal, the British, who had had no hope of surviving, were given a second chance, went out to the battlefield, and retrieved the cannons they had left there. With another ammunition store from the cantonment, they rode after the ghazis planning to fight them again. But like enraged lions, the ghazis turned, attacked the field battery, and killed all the gunners. They then went straight for the infantry regiment and drove it back. The British were so badly routed that at the time of the retreat two men who were unable to keep up the pace were left behind, as military procedure required.

On this occasion, an arsenal including several pieces of artillery /167/ fell into the ghazis' hands. The British, with great difficulty, humiliated and with sagging reins and exhausted bodies, managed to get back to the cantonment in the dark of night. The ghazi horsemen pursued them towards their base. But

Major Kershaw (Kershad) set up a road-block and prevented them from getting inside. Muhammad °Uthman Khan, the Nizam al-Dawlah, along with his supporters, had exerted himself on this day against the ghazis but had made no progress and so returned to his home, exhausted and discouraged.

Also during this fighting, Harvey Mann Walker and Colonel Wheeler who had remained outside the breastworks, were struck down with swords and killed when the ghazis returned. Similarly, those who had survived the battle and fled back towards the British base but had lost their way and tried to hide out for the night in byways and crannies were rounded up one by one and executed. For the British, the calamities of this day took away whatever control they might have had over events and they were rendered virtually helpless.

#### *THE BRITISH DRAFT A TREATY AND ARE BESET BY DIFFICULTIES*

When the British became unable to face the Afghans they soon realized that they were in the clutches of destruction. They considered the letter of advice from Shah Shuja°, Captain Conolly, and other officers which had been sent from the Bala Hisar where they were stationed, that the cantonment should be abandoned and they should come to the Bala Hisar from where they could safely negotiate terms with the ghazis. All the officers in the cantonment were unanimously in favor of leaving it and entering into negotiations except for Shelton who rejected the idea of going to the Bala Hisar. But other Britons who wanted a settlement because they feared the ghazis persuaded him that perhaps they might find a way to save their lives and at the same time not disgrace the nation's honor.

During this time, Muhammad °Uthman Khan, the Nizam al-Dawlah, sent (the British) a message about Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, the cousin of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, around whom people had rallied and raised the banner of sedition prior to the arrival on the scene of Sardar Muhammad Akbar

Khan. Now, because of his arrival and the rallying of people around him, Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan was offended and according to the letter had become a British supporter. The letter went on,

he says that the Afghans are all of one mind and it is widely rumored that the English will be driven out and will leave us to our own devices for we know our own situation better. Whoever is elevated to the position of sovereign, we will obey (they say). We have no need of the British. In view of what the nawwab is saying, one ought to assemble people of sound opinion from both sides and conclude an agreement so that no more blood will be shed and the two sides can get together amicably.

The British, who sought safety from the sharp edge of Afghan swords, considered the Nizam al-Dawlah's letter good news from heaven and embarked on a course of (seeking) peace. Sir William Hay Macnaghten met with two Afghans and talked with them of cordial relations and the advantages of peace. They answered his words with arrogance and made impossible demands. As Macnaghten could not accept their excessive demands, those two men stood up and declared, "This matter will shortly be (settled) on the field of battle." Macnaghten replied, "The Day of Judgement is at hand and soon all will be able to tell the difference between the evil and the good." They then separated and at the first light of dawn on the first day of Shawwal 1257/16 November, a group of ghazis, thinking that the English, on the pretext of negotiating, would get their affairs in order and then attack, stormed the Bala Hisar to prevent the defenders from preparing to fight. Major Everett who was in command of the garrison in the Bala Hisar exhorted his men to repel the ghazis. They managed to prevent the ghazis from investing the citadel and drove them back.

On the 4th of Shawwal/19 November, lion-hearted ghazis climbed the hill

at Bibi Mahru and began firing cannons in the direction of the British cantonment. They fired all through the day and at night attacked the British manning the Muhammad Sharif Fort but were stymied. At dawn's first light, on the 5th/20th, they destroyed a bridge which the British had built over the Kabul River at a point opposite their cantonment. On the 6th, the Afghans overwhelmed the Muhammad Sharif Fort and the 44th British Regiment quickly withdrew from it. While retreating towards the cantonment, they were joined by another force. On the 7th, realizing the hopelessness of their position, all the British officers urged Macnaghten to negotiate a truce. They decided on a plan / **168**/ to sow dissension among the Afghan sardars in order to achieve their ends. Without informing Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, the British tried to open friendly relations with Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan son of Nawwab Asad Khan, Sardar Mu-hammad °Uthman Khan son of Nawwab °Abd al-Samad Khan, and Na°ib Amin Allah Khan Lahugardi, sending them a message saying, "We would like to make peace with you and will accept whatever terms you propose."

At the same time, unbeknownst to this latter group, the British sent a similar message to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. After the messages reached the sardars, Na°ib Amir Khan Barakza°i, who at various times had gone to the British on Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan's behalf, again undertook to serve as courier between the two sides. Despite the fact that there was now discussion of a truce and an end to hostilities, sporadic fighting continued until Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan was felled by a fever and had to take to his bed. The British, meantime, drafted a document (*sijill*) on the abovementioned day (the 7th) which was signed and sealed by Shelton, D. Maktal, and Chamberlain. The contents of it read:

The British army will withdraw from Qandahar, Ghazni, Jalalabad, and any other place on Afghan soil on condition that a sardar come as bond

so that the food and pack animals of the British not be stolen and (on condition that) they be able to safely leave the country. After leaving Afghanistan they will send Amir Dust Muhammad Khan back. The Afghans should annually remit to Shah Shuja<sup>e</sup> as a stipend a sum of one lak of rupees whether he stays in Kabul or Ludhiana. If the latter, the Afghans would also give him pack animals and provisions. Another point is that anyone who has committed a crime during the fighting will be pardoned. Henceforth the British army will not cross Afghan territory unless the Afghan leaders request it. For between them there exists the basis of friendship and this friendship will grow. The end.

On the eleventh of Shawwal/26 November, after a place had been designated for the two sides to sit down together, Captain Lawrence took that treaty with him and, together with Trevor, Macgregor, and a number of other soldiers, left the cantonment and went and stood at the Siyah Sang Hill, a short distance away. Soon a few leaders of Islam also came and they all sat down together. Capt. Lawrence read the treaty to the Islamic leaders and much discussion between the two sides ensued. In the end it was decided that “when Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan recovers from his fever, the treaty will be sent to him and after he reviews and approves it, they would sign.” With the consent of both sides, the treaty was sent by the hand of Imam al-Din Khan *munshī* who had already been in secret communication with Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. The British also sent a message which said, “the British nation will be friendly towards Amir Dust Muhammad Khan and will give him a large house to live in wherever he wants.”

When Imam al-Din Khan rode towards the city, he was intercepted by Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and a force which had been engaged in the fighting. The sardar was not privy to the treaty discussions. As Imam al-Din was a Muslim and said, “I am going to see Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan” the sardar

accompanied him. Without going home to shed his weapons, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan went straight to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan to inquire about the latter's health and then went to his own quarters. At that point the *munshī*, Imam al-Din Khan, gave Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan the British draft and relayed the message they had sent. They were talking in earnest and at some length when Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, having shed his weapons, reappeared in Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan's room. He asked what they had been talking about and Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan revealed that the munshi had come from the British to ask for a peaceful settlement and had brought a draft treaty.

The two sardars summoned Muhammad Shah Babakr Khayl Ghilja'i for consultation. Together they carefully analyzed the treaty piece by piece, weighing its advantages and disadvantages. Then they sent the munshi back with a message to the British minister plenipotentiary which said, "We accept the forging of ties of unity with the British state vis a vis those things which are for the good of both sides. After the agreement is in effect, we will never resort to hostilities as long as British officials do not violate its terms." They also emphasized to the munshi that he was to convey to them whatever the British minister might say "so that we would know what his real intentions are and can sit down to peace negotiations with him with some sense of confidence." They also told him to return by a secret route when he came back and designated a rendezvous where he should wait until they could send someone to meet him. So Imam al-Din delivered the treaty and the message and returned in the manner prescribed.

From Macnaghten he relayed these words,

As agreement has been reached with other Afghan leaders /169/ except for Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan who is ill with fever and for whom it is difficult to attend the peace conference, but without whom a peace agreement cannot be finalized, therefore, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan

ought to attend the conference on the former's behalf, as his wakil, and conclude the agreement.

Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan responded,

Thanks to God's favor I am now well. You and the Afghan leaders and sardars who have discussed peace and agreed on certain terms should assemble at a certain place where I too will come. There we will transform enmity into amity and draw up the terms of the treaty.

In short, such a meeting was arranged and a decision was eventually reached that:

the friendship of the British state with the people of Afghanistan and their rulers is governmental and not personal so that if anyone calls himself a friend of the British but is hostile to the Afghan government, the British will give him no help. An example of this is Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> who is a friend of the British but an enemy of the Afghans. He must cut all his ties with this country and go to India. If he refuses, then no matter what danger threatens his life and property, the English will do nothing to interfere. Once the British army leaves Afghanistan, it should not set foot (again) on Afghan soil except at Afghan request in order to repel an external enemy. As for the matter of asking for a British force in times of need, since the defense of Afghanistan is in fact (for) the protection of India, the salaries and wages of such an army will be paid by the British and there will be no burden on the Afghans aside from (providing) food and fodder. That too the British will buy from the Afghans through someone appointed as a grain broker. He will buy from the people and deliver to the British army.



Another thing: no one shall ask for anything (of the Afghans). The avenue for British commerce in Afghanistan is closed and without a license from the head (*sar khayl*) of the Afghan people, no trade goods should be sent to Afghanistan. Another thing: Any citizen of Afghanistan who should embark on a path of hostility (to the Afghan government) and set foot on or go to British territory should receive no stipend or living allowance from the British. If he should wish to return to Afghanistan they should not allow him. And if the Russians or others wish to cross Afghanistan in order to invade India, the British will give the Afghans money and weapons sufficient to defend themselves. The Afghans will then resist the invaders and not let them cross Afghan territory. Now as long as the British army is in Afghanistan, the Afghans will provide food on a daily basis and collect the cost of it from them in cash. The English may stay in the cantonment for three more days and then will surrender it to the Afghans. The end.

Macnaghten, Trevor, Major Barnes, Mackenzie, and others at the meeting accepted the agreement and in the presence of Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, Sardar Muhammad °Uthman Khan, Na°ib Amin Allah Khan Lahugirdi, Muhammad Shah Khan Babakr Khayl, Mulla Mu°min Ghilja°i and others—but not Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan who was not present—Macnaghten affixed his signature along with a Persian phrase and he and the others put their seals to the document. They then handed it to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. Macnaghten then stated, “Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan should escort the forces stationed in the Bala Hisar to the cantonment without allowing them to be molested and then we will vacate and hand over the cantonment.” His request was met with consent and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan received his orders. The next day he brought the British forces out of the Bala Hisar through the Shah-i Shahid Gate with 5,000 men of his own and set off for

the British encampment.

At this time more than 20,000 ghazis lined the route and were milling about. Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan asked why they were gathered in such numbers and they replied, "We are just out for some air, that's all." As the circumstances of the day were not opportune, the party and its escort were not able to get to the cantonment and spent the night outside the Bala Hisar in a state of heightened vigilance and anxiety. At the first light of dawn, the column again proceeded forward. Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan rode his horse shoulder to shoulder with the British and when they neared the cantonment a great uproar suddenly arose behind them. Immediately turning around, the sardar saw that a group of ghazis was attacking the rear of the column and was making off with the cannon and the wounded who were strapped to the gun carriages. Enraged, he struck down two ghazis with his sword and stopped their preying on the column. With considerable difficulty he managed to get the British inside the cantonment. Then he too entered and met with Macnaghten who summoned a number of British officers to a secluded area to confer with Sultan Ahmad Khan, locked the door to the room, and posted a guard outside. /170/

*SIR WILLIAM HAY MACNAGHTEN'S VIOLATION OF THE PACT AND HIS  
RECEIVING HIS JUST REWARD*

As soon as Macnaghten took his seat and dismissed the others, he began to mouth words which were contrary to the pact he had signed and sealed only two days before. He said to Sultan Ahmad, "I have several requests of you." The sardar gave him permission to state his requests and Macnaghten began to speak about the wording of the codicil (to the agreement). He explained,

Many benefits will accrue to the people of this country by the presence of our troops here. Therefore you ought to cease oppressing and

injuring us and allow us to stay and secure you from enemy attack. If another country makes an attempt on Afghanistan we would put a stop to its ambitions. Another point is that your forces ought to disperse from around us. You should arrest Na'ib Amin Allah Khan Lahugardi and hand him over to British officials so that he will not cause another uprising. If you agree to these terms you will receive many favors from the British government. If you wish, I will enumerate them one by one.

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan responded, "Allow me not to answer at this point so that I may consult Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan and then give you a firm reply." At that he arose, went to see Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan and revealed all that had transpired. The latter said, "Why didn't you let him spell out the benefits and favors he had in mind for us so that we could then knowledgeably accept or reject them?" To this Sultan Ahmad replied, "I was afraid that he would deceive me with both true and false promises and I would agree to what he asked, thereby introducing deficiencies into matters pertinent to my religion." This reply impressed Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan and he immediately relayed it all to Muhammad Shah Babakr Khayl who just then entered the room. These three men then discussed the whole issue and decided, "Since Macnaghten is now deviating from the agreement he concluded only two days ago, we too may outwardly accept the points he is making vis a vis breaking the pact but inwardly we will bend every effort towards eradicating that group." Up to this point, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan had refrained from sending the grain broker promised in the pact saying, "As long as you have not evacuated all the forts and cantonments in your possession and handed them over to us, there is no reason for sending foodstuffs and fodder nor the pack animals for carrying (your) belongings."

The British now drafted a new treaty with Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, notwithstanding their intention of breaking the pact. On the 18th of Shawwal/3

December there was a heavy snowfall and the British situation suddenly became acute. On the 19th they sent an account of their circumstances to the troops stationed in Ghaznin and told them to leave there and make for Kabul. They sent this message thinking that perhaps Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan would deliver the (promised) food. Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, with the agreement of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Shah, sent Macnaghten a message and on the 20th of Shawwal, accompanied by several Afghan leaders, met him at a predetermined site. There Muhammad Akbar told him, "You must hand over to us half the artillery and half the munitions which you have in your cantonment." Because of his complete powerlessness and helplessness, Macnaghten agreed. He then summoned Stewart, an engineer, and said, "How long must we endure these indignities? We must start marching as a group towards Jalalabad so that whatever fate has in store for us will become evident." But no one would listen to him. On that particular day that was all that was said.

Once again Macnaghten came to see Muhammad Akbar Khan and Sardar Muhammad 'Uthman. He also sent Capt. Conolly and Capt. Henry as hostages. At Muhammad Akbar's express wish, he also gave him a carriage (*kalāsikah*), that is the "buggy" (*bagī*) of Capt. Grant along with its horses and an Arabian horse valued at 3,000 rupees, and a brace of pistols and other things. On the 22nd of Shawwal, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan sent an Englishman, Mr. Skinner, who had been taken prisoner in the earlier fighting with Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, to the British cantonment with a message saying, "Tomorrow he (Macnaghten) should meet us with a group of the leaders of the British army. A group of Ghilja'i will also be present. We will then conclude a new agreement." He also told Macnaghten, "We are meeting your requests and now you should list the gifts and favors which you earlier mentioned to Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan but about which you have since then said not a word." Macnaghten sent this reply,

From the Bolan Pass to the Khyber Pass in the east to whatever place / **171**/ in the west is within Afghanistan will be under the dominion of Shah Shuja<sup>°</sup> and the office of wazir will belong to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan The British government will send Amir Dust Muhammad Khan to Kabul with all due deference and respect. Then either father or son, together as partners or one or the other individually, will fulfill the function of wazir and no one else would have the right to interfere. Twelve laks of *chihrah-shahi* rupees would be remitted immediately by the British government and thenceforward he can count on an annual sum of two laks of rupees to be remitted by the British to him permanently.

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan knew by the expression on his face that Macnaghten would give them whatever they asked for since he had reached the end of his rope. So he agreed to his terms and said, "In return for Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan's shouldering the burden of the wazirate, the British government should immediately pay thirty laks of rupees and then an annual sum of four laks." (The author of *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh* attributes the demand for this sum to Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan. He also dates all these aforementioned events of Shawwal to the month of Ramadan. The fact is that I myself have established the date of the day of the abovementioned battle as the 27th of Ramadan because <sup>°</sup>Abd Allah Khan Achakzai was wounded during the course of it and the date he was wounded along with the date of his death are inscribed on his gravestone. The author of *Nāsikh al-tawārīkhī*, perhaps because he has translated and recounted all the events on the basis of the writings of Lieutenant Eyre, an officer of the British artillery and munitions corps who was in Kabul and wrote an account of the events, confused the events of Shawwal occurring after the wounding of <sup>°</sup>Abd Allah Khan Achakzai with those of

Ramadan.)

In any event, Macnaghten (now) had to reject in toto Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's demands because he had not the means to consent to them. He said, "At this time it is impossible to pay such a sum." Instead he gave the sardar a voucher on the treasury of two laks of rupees. But as the latter did not have the transport to carry the money away, he left it until the next night and returned (to the city).

Macnaghten had had to listen to his demands in total impotence. He kept secret from his colleagues all the conditions he had agreed to with the Afghan leaders both out of fear and out of shame. Despite the fact that Trevor, Lawrence, and others instinctively knew, by the handwriting on the wall, that the Afghans would attack again, they still had no choice but to negotiate with Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. The following night, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan with his brother Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan rounded up twenty camels, and with Sardar Muhammad Akbar's approval, loaded them with flour, led them to the cantonment, and exchanged the flour for the two laks of rupees. Then he and his brother met with Macnaghten and asked for a final draft of the new agreement. Macnaghten, who had not yet been brought down to total ignominy, wrote a few lines of a new treaty, sealed it, and gave it to them. They took the document and said, "You must meet once with Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan in the same sort of meeting that we are having now so as to confirm the pact and place the structure of friendship on a firmer foundation."

Macnaghten replied,

On the surface it does not seem at all prudent for me to meet Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan when you, Nawwab Zaman Khan, and other leaders whose names appear on the document will not be present. Even more, it might lead to rancor and enmity on the part of the others because they do not know about the discussions that have been going

on between you, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, and us. Therefore you should go and obtain a letter to me from the others which says, “Your meeting with Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan would be the basis for ending hostilities and would lead to the path of peace and therefore you should meet with him.” You ought to get such letters so that the others will bear no grudge towards me and will feel secure.

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and his brother at that returned to the city and relayed Macnaghten’s words verbatim to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. Since the disclosure of these secret talks would not have set well with the others, the two men (Muhammad Akbar and Sultan Ahmad) decided first to ask for an oath of secrecy on this matter (of the talks with Macnaghten) from the others (who knew of them) and then tell Na’ib Amin Allah Khan (Lahugardi) about them. They would then get a letter to Macnaghten from him to which the others also would impress their seals. After agreeing on this course of action, they explained it to the Na’ib and told him of Macnaghten’s request that they either arrest him or hand him over to the British who would kill him. They also produced Macnaghten’s draft of the (new) treaty which included the same paragraphs (as before) as well as the new ones Macnaghten had written and given to Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and showed it to everyone so that “By this treaty draft you will not think ill of us nor think that we are acting against you.”

Na’ib Amin Allah Khan was disturbed at seeing his own fate set out in Macnaghten’s new draft and he removed his turban. With bared head, he asked support from the sardars saying, “What do these people have in mind and what should I do?” They then revealed to him what was in their hearts, that is to seize Macnaghten and restore the Amir-i Kabir. They reassured the Na’ib and set his mind at ease and they then wrote a letter in accordance with **/172/** Macnaghten’s re-request, sealed it and sent it to him with a message saying, “Tomorrow you should come out of the cantonment and meet with Sardar Muhammad Akbar

Khan at a place nearby.”

After sending the letter, they conferred and decided, “We should seize the minister plenipotentiary (*waz̄ir-i mukhtār*) Macnaghten along with the people with him and bring them back to the city. We will then keep them (as hostages) until the British hand over the Amir-i Kabir and his sons and retainers.” Muhammad Shah Khan argued, “If things do not turn out as you intend and the arrow misses the mark, then matters will worsen for the Amir-i Kabir who is a prisoner of the British.”

Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan retorted,

Even supposing that things turn out as you say—which is contrary to what we intend to accomplish—and those of us held by the British are even worse off and a bad name is ascribed to us, still this is a thousand times better than Muslims being subjugated and defeated by Christians and the sanctity of the Shari‘a being cast to the winds and the Christian dogma imposed on this country. It is a thousand times better than Muslims being subject to a people who would propose a treaty violating an-other treaty concluded only two days earlier. In any event, in view of the fact that you’ve witnessed Macnaghten’s violation of the treaty and his secretly writing another, it is now obligatory to fall upon the British and make their blood and our blood flow until the consequences of broken treaties become clear to all mortals.

*THE ARRANGEMENT OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, THE  
MURDER OF MACNAGHTEN AND OF THOSE WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM  
TO THE MEETING*

When the Afghans’ letter reached Macnaghten, the British discussed it and said, “General Elphinstone and the 54th Regiment under the command of Major



Everett should ready their weapons. The Sixth Royal Regiment must stand prepared for battle with two batteries of artillery. Sir William Hay Macnaghten should form up for battle with an advance force at a distance 500 meters (*zar*<sup>٤</sup>) from the cantonment and there wait for Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. If something should go wrong, they could then attack and destroy the sardar and his companions.”

As he had said in his letter, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan left the city accompanied by Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, Muhammad Shah Khan, Muhyi al-Din Khan and others as well as 200 horsemen. He rode to where Macnaghten stood and drew rein. Macnaghten, with Lt. Eyre, Trevor, Mackenzie, Lawrence and others, detached himself from his force and came forward. Sultan Ahmad met them and reassured Macnaghten by saying, “Everything is in good order and, God willing, will turn out as desired.”

Engaging Macnaghten in conversation, he escorted him towards Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. They exchanged formal greetings and then Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, keeping the Englishman occupied in conversation led him little by little away from his men. When Macnaghten wanted to sit and open negotiations, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan would use the excuse of the wet ground and the snow and would say, “This is not a suitable place for sitting.” This went on until he had Macnaghten some 200 paces away from his force. Then, on a spot where there was no snow or dampness, he spread a woolen cloak, which in colloquial Afghan is called *patū* on the ground and they sat down on it. Macnaghten, Trevor, and Mackenzie on the British side sat while Lawrence stood with a pistol in his hand behind Macnaghten. Four regular soldiers stood at the ready with muskets cocked and the reins of the horses in their hands. A short distance away, two others stood and then another sixteen men some twenty paces beyond them. On the Afghan side, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, and Muhammad Shah Khan were seated while Dust Muhammad Khan, the brother of Muhammad Shah Khan,

Khuda Bakhsh Khan, and Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan Ghilja'i stood behind the sardars. Beyond them stood several men, muskets at the ready and holding the horses.

Then Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan addressed Macnaghten, "Why have these agreements of yours been issued at such variance with each other? And what is your purpose in this?" The conversation lasted for fifteen minutes and voices on both sides were raised. In the midst of it, Muhammad Shah Khan spoke to Muhammad Akbar in Afghani (Pashto) and said, "Time is short." The latter, understanding his meaning, gave a sign to him to seize the English. Without warning, he suddenly stood up himself and began berating Macnaghten saying to him in Afghani, "This is no place for discussion. We should conclude matters in the city." Macnaghten was perplexed by the sardar's harsh words. Muhammad Shah Khan who was worried that Lawrence, pistol in hand, might shoot Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, threw his arms around Lawrence as soon as Muhammad Akbar stood up, and wrestled him to the ground. /173/ But no matter how hard Muhammad Shah struggled to get the pistol out of Lawrence's hand he could not. Finally, after Lawrence had emptied the gun, Muhammad Shah did not give him a chance to reload but drew a knife (*silāwah*) which he was wearing on his belt, and placed its tip against Lawrence's side, prepared to thrust it in. Lawrence, in fear of his life, said, "Enough!" Muhammad Shah replied, "Then march!" Holding the knife against his side, he marched the Englishman back to the city. Likewise, Dust Muhammad Khan and Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan turned on Trevor and Lieutenant Eyre respectively and drove them towards the city.

The four infantrymen holding the horses' reins were gunned down. The horses were taken and led back to town. Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, who had pounced on Macnaghten, began dragging him off to the city. Macnaghten did everything in his power to escape but was unable to. The sixteen men standing off at a distance attacked the Afghan infantrymen who were making off

with the British officers' horses. Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan intervened, shot two of them, and attacked the rest, killing one of Macnaghten's personal attendants. The other thirteen escaped. It was at this moment, while Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan was distant from Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan and Macnaghten and busy repelling the British party, that Macnaghten saw his chance. He drew a dagger which he had (concealed) between two pieces of wood, intending to stab Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. But the latter, who was on guard, seized the dagger from his hand and threw it in the river. Meantime, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan finished driving off the British and just then rejoined Sardar Muhammad Akbar.

Afraid for his life, Macnaghten now turned his back on Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan and towards Sultan Ahmad. Sardar Muhammad Akbar, realizing that it would be very difficult to get him back to the city alive, shot him in the back with one of the brace of pistols Macnaghten had earlier presented him. Simultaneously, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan ran Macnaghten through with his sword. They then caught up with their companions at which point Sardar Sultan Ahmad killed Trevor whom Dust Muhammad was carrying behind him on his horse by running him through with his sword. They also decapitated Lawrence. But Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan who had taken the lieutenant (Eyre) as his prisoner and was carrying him behind him on his horse, did not let the others kill him.

When he brought him into the city to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, the latter looked at him with hostile eyes and said, "You were the ones who desired our territory. Now you will receive a just reward for your actions." But he refrained from killing Eyre and turned him over to Mulla Mu'min who placed both Eyre and Skinner in custody. At the same time, many other British taken prisoner in various battles were put to death.

A number of Muslim notables were in the cantonment at this point. They included Afghans such as Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, Nasr Allah Khan

brother of Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, and Na'ib Amir Barakza'i, Qizilbash such as Mustawfi 'Abd al-Razzaq Khan, Muhammad 'Alam Khan *arż-begī* Jawanshir, and others, some of whom had served Shah Shuja' before the arrival of Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan in Kabul and some of whom, were, as already mentioned, well-wishers of the Amir-i Kabir. These latter had, at the sardar's arrival, all joined him and become colleagues with the ghazis and then gone to the British camp for the negotiations.

*THE BRITISH PREPARE TO SEEK PEACE AND THEIR REQUEST FOR A  
NEW TREATY*

After this alarming turn of events, the leaders of the British army sent a message from the cantonment to those whom Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan had in custody and asked the cause of the disaster. Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan learned of the letter and immediately sent Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and several worthies to the lieutenant and John Conolly who were in the city and told them that they should tell the British messenger exactly what happened, in the presence of this Afghan delegation. So Sultan Ahmad went to the prisoners and showed Lieutenant Eyre the two treaties which contradicted each other and were written and sealed by Macnaghten. Thus it was disclosed that the architect of hostilities and the cause of the troubles was Macnaghten, not the Afghan leaders. Then the lieutenant and John Conolly wrote down what had happened, laying the blame at Macnaghten's feet and sent the description of events off to the cantonment.

Acknowledging the errors made by their envoy the British /172/ asked Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan for a new treaty to be drawn up and signed. The sardar drafted terms for a new agreement and sent them to Pottinger who had taken Macnaghten's place. The sardar sent instructions that the British should write down the terms according to this draft, put their seals on it, and return it so

that the bonds of peace be tied tight and the ropes of enmity cut. The terms are as follows and are in addition to those of the original treaty:

1) You must surrender your artillery to us, taking no more than six pieces with you; 2) you are to hand over all the goods, silver, and gold which you have in your stores and your treasury; 3) you are to send a number of your leaders as hostages along with their wives and children; and 4) the fourteen laks of rupees which Macnaghten undertook to pay at our request, you will have to pay now that he is dead. The end.

Although acceptance of these terms was extremely onerous for Pottinger, still he was in no position to refuse. At wits end, he sat down with General Elphinstone and asked his advice. The general said,

As the Afghans put little trust in pledges, because of Macnaghten's bad faith, their own pledges are (likewise) not to be trusted. But if after we accept these harsh terms they should stand by their agreement and provide security for us—well and good. But since by past evidence they are not about to uphold their pledge, why should we impose such burden on the government? What we ought to do is find a way to get to the Bala Hisar which is still in Shah Shuja's possession—better yet is still under our control—and there make a stand. Either that or we should leave for Jalalabad. Then whatever happens, happens and we should bow our heads to fate and not drag the country's name down into infamy.

Pottinger answered, "But we do not have the ability to fight the Afghans in this winter's cold."

In short, Pottinger, in his reply to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, accepted the conditions. On the 29th of Shawwal 1257/14 December, he sent Captains Walsh, Drummond, Warburton, and Dobb along with their families as hostages to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. In response to British request and as a means of reassuring them, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan then freed two prisoners held in the city. They were sent off to the cantonment while the British hostages were housed at Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan's along with Captain Conolly and (Lt.) Eyre. Lieutenant Buckton (Haughton?) brought the (British) sick and wounded into the city for treatment and regimental doctors were left to tend them. Five of the shah's batteries were (now) handed over to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan.

On the 5th of Dhi Qa<sup>c</sup>dah/19 December, at the time the British had planned to evacuate the cantonment, it was fate's decree that a heavy snow should fall, placing them in even direr straits. On the sixth, they set out for Jalalabad. However, the Afghans would not let them move. According to the final agreement, the British were to turn over the entire artillery and munitions stock but aside from the five guns mentioned above, they had not yet done so. Eventually, 4,500 of the regular army began moving again with a very small supply of food and nine guns. As there was no bridge over the Kabul River it took them until nightfall to get across. The Afghans meantime taunted and ridiculed them. Up to this point, the British had suffered no casualties but on the day the army crossed the river, fifty soldiers under Hardyman died from exposure to the cold.

In short, the entire Indian army had now lost all sense of order and many died. With much difficulty, the army made its way to Begrami, three kuruhs from Kabul. There it camped in the ruined fortress of Taj Khan. Here too a number of people died of exposure.

*THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH  
ARMY ON THE ROAD TO JALALABAD*

On the Afghan side, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan and the ghazis flanked the route of the British force from the time it began its march until it reached Begrami. The Afghans displayed their forces and then at night retired to the city. On the seventh of Dhi Qa<sup>o</sup>dah 1257/21 December 1841, the British left Begrami for Butkhak. Half the Indian army was unable to march because of the cold. Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan rode in their wake towards Butkhak as far as Saff-i Midar as did the ghazis. The latter plundered the army's baggage and seized a gun which they brought to the sardar. After reaching Butkhak, the British /175/ sent a message to the sardar saying, "You are seriously violating your word." To this the sardar replied,

One of the most commendable tenets of Islam as illustrated by the word of God, "those who preserve their trusts and their covenants" is fulfilling and standing by pledges. I have not been party to a new treaty agreement. You have broken the first agreement and likewise you have not observed the terms of the third agreement but have violated both the oral and written protocol that called for you to hand over all your artillery and munitions stocks. Of the recent four-point agreement, you have upheld one point and sent us hostages, but the other three points have been completely ignored. We will now keep our side of the bargain on condition that you send us another six of your ranking leaders as hostages. Once the Amir-i Kabir reaches Kabul, you will get back your hostages. In addition, you should not open fire on us again.

The British, who considered their fate sealed, handed over Pottinger, the two prisoners who had earlier been released, and three others as hostages. On the 8th of Dhi Qa<sup>o</sup>dah/22 December, when the British departed Butkhak on the road towards Khurd-i Kabul, the ghazis again began attacking and pouring a

shower of bullets down on the column. Major Thain, an officer of the 44th Foot Regiment came out to push the ghazis back but was unable to produce any effect on them. Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan again took several more people as hostages for the British had pledged they would not open fire again on the ghazis, a pledge violated by Maj. Thain. Things continued like this until the British entered the Khurd-i Kabul Pass which is five miles long. Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Shah Khan, who after the last hostage-taking were marching in advance of the British force as scouts, noticed that the heights flanking the pass were covered with ghazis who knew nothing of the agreement. The sardars asked the ghazis why they were there. They replied that they had come to watch. When the sardars heard this they said nothing more.

But all at once the ghazis opened fire and closed the road. They seized a field piece and killed the gunners who were marching with it. Before the British emerged from the pass and reached the cantonment at the mouth of the pass, three thousand of them had been killed and all their baggage and stores lost. Moreover, a severe snowstorm hit them at this stage. The British had no more than four tents with them, one of which was General Elphinstone's, two others were for the women and children, and the fourth for the wounded. Many of the latter perished here.

On the ninth of Dhi Qa'dah/23 December as the British moved out, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan sent a message to General Sale to take the women with him, leave the wounded, and halt for one day in order carry this out. The general relayed the message to the survivors, who would have preferred death at this point, and brought the army to a halt. The women, who had eaten very little since Kabul and had only the clothes on their backs, were pleased by Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan's message, hopeful that perhaps they might survive. Many of them had no one to protect them—their husbands and servants either dead or having fled—and many had nursing infants at their breasts.

At this point, as if to prove his words and to reassure the British, the sardar



sent one of the captured British women with a boy and a girl whom he had taken from the hands of the ghazis. They brought a message from him which said, “Look, I have freed and sent you the objects of your honor (*nāmūs*) so that you may take them along with you.” But since the British lacked the wherewithal to take them, they were reassured by this act of his and (now) entrusted all the women, children, and wounded to him. Except for one woman, the British kept no others with the column.

Because of this one-day delay, the British army was in a state of anxiety and on the tenth of Dhi Qa<sup>°</sup>dah/24 December demanded to move on. By this time, the European force had virtually no fighting ability left and the Indian sepoy were rendered totally hors de combat by the snow and cold. The Afghans commanding the heights had effectively blocked the road with enfilading fire. The Indians were beginning to throw down their weapons and run because of ghazi attacks when the British army began to march again. As it did so, the Afghans attacked and here the entire Indian army was killed and the treasury and most of the stores fell into Afghan hands. When the British reached Khak-i Jabbar all that remained of the force were fifty horsemen from the artillery corps, one twelve-pound gun, seventy infantrymen of H. M.’s 44th Regiment, 150 regular cavalry and a number of camp followers. The rest had all been killed or wounded.

In sum, from the day they left Kabul until they reached Khak-i Jabbar, a distance of fifteen kuruhs, fifty high-ranking officers and 2,000 soldiers perished, according to the author of *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, who translated the information from the journal of Lieutenant Eyre. /176/ Reduced to this state, they complained to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan and asked for security. But since he did not have the Ghilja<sup>°</sup>i under his command and they would have followed their own initiative in attacking in any event and would have paid no attention to his efforts to stop them, he was compelled to answer, “I do not have the power to stop the Ghilja<sup>°</sup>i.” Notwithstanding the facts that the Afghans kept

up their fire on them and that it was very difficult to march at night, the British could not halt at Khak-i Jabbar but managed to get as far as the Tizin River. In the dark, they were less harassed on the route from Khak-i Jabbar. At the edge of the Tizin, it was so cold that they burned all kinds of things to stay warm, including clothes, trunks, and so forth.

There it was decided to abandon the things they still had with them along the route so that when the Afghans saw the goods, they would assume the force was nearby and would not march ahead and block their retreat. So they marched by night. But a number of Afghan nighthawks had prepared an ambush near the British camp and discovered their plans to march at night. While two or three of them went off to (notify) Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, both of whom had now reached the Tizin, the others immediately attacked the British lest Sardar Muhammad Akbar try and stop them, as he had the Ghilja'i the day before. At this news, Sardar Muhammad Akbar arose and set out after the British. Before he could overtake them, the Afghans seized the one field piece still in British hands, routed the rest of the column, and took Drs. Cardew and Duff prisoners.

Eventually, the British reached Katah Sang on the road to the manzil of Barikab and Jagdalak and there, unable to go on and in total exhaustion, they made camp. On the 11th of Dhi Qa'dah/25 December, they moved out of Katah Sang heading for Jagdalak. Shelton, with some of the regular cavalry and foot in the army center marched ahead and fought his way to Jagdalak. Elphinstone was wounded in the foot. At Jagdalak they camped on a high hill. For food they killed three calves they had with them and ate them raw.

The Afghans advanced up the hill and attacked their position. The British sent (Maj.) Thain to Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan seeking a truce and saying, "Whatever you desire and ask for, if it is at all within our power we will agree to it on condition that the Afghans cease their killing and looting. Then once we reach Jalalabad, we will fulfill whatever you desire and what the government is

obliged to do.”

Muhammad Akbar Khan agreed to their proposal, summoned Skinner and told him to tell the general (Elphinstone) that Shelton and Johnson must be handed over as hostages, all weapons surrendered, and two laks of rupees paid to the Jabbar Khayl tribe which lives around Jagdalak after arrival in Jalalabad so that he could convince them not to harm the British while they made their way to Jalalabad. When Skinner went back to the general and presented the demands, he accepted them all except the one concerning surrender of weapons. That he refused to do. A message was sent by Skinner (to Muhammad Akbar) which said, “We will not surrender our weapons for that would sully the name of the British nation. But we will set fire to the munitions store and the powder used in the muskets and then we will keep our empty weapons with us. All the other conditions we accept.”

After receiving Sardar Muhammad Akbar’s agreement, Skinner left Gen. Elphinstone, Gen. Shelton, and Johnson with him as bond for the two laks of rupees. He then returned to the army. But en route, he was shot by an Afghan who was unaware of the agreement. The British were shaken when they saw this and, abandoning their sick and wounded, departed without orders. They reached the Chashang Pass which the Jabbar Khayl (tribesmen) had blocked with rocks and trees. With no choice but to clear it, the British set to work but the Afghans who held the hilltops flanking the pass now opened fire. The British scattered in all directions leaving behind all their belongings except for 50 Arabian horses.

Here even more men were killed than in the Khurd-i Kabul. Twelve officers were slain as the others tried to push forward. One by one and two by two, the Afghans rounded the soldiers up and killed them. Moreover, officers who tried to run away were shot by their own men. Before the army reached Surkh Pul, the Englishman Souter was taken alive along with three or four others who had been wounded. At Surkh Pul, which is the border between /177/ Khugyani and Jabbar Khayl territory, the Khugyani had gathered, taken control of the bridge

and there attacked the British.

On the morning of the 13th of Dhi Qa<sup>c</sup>dah, the British threw themselves into the Surkh River and managed to get across that way. With the British now in front and the Afghans right behind, everyone headed pell-mell for Gandamak. From there, the cavalry, considering the infantry as good as dead at this point, left them behind and rode away. In their flight, the infantrymen strayed from the right road and ascended a hill to the left of the road east of Gandamak. The pursuing Afghans hunted them down. The situation was so desperate that the British kept firing until finally consumed by the bloodthirsty sword.

As for the forty cavalymen who had fled Gandamak and ridden on to Nimlah, several were killed by the farmers (*dihqānān*) there. The survivors managed to get to Bala Bagh, nine kuruhs from Jalalabad, where Sardar Khayr Allah Khan and Fath Muhammad Khan, the son of Sa<sup>c</sup>adat Khan Mohmand, who were out riding with a number of horsemen suddenly encountered them and killed all but four. Then when these four were within 300 paces of the city (of Jalalabad), the son of Aqa Jan Makri who had gone with two mounted companions to perform a ziyarat-pilgrimage at the shrine of Shah Mardan to the south of the city and was now on his way back, unexpectedly met up with them and killed three. The fourth, Dr. Brydon, though wounded, made it into the city and informed the Europeans there of the events. In the above encounter, the son of Aqa Jan was also killed.

The total British dead and their (other) losses, according to Lt. Eyre whose work the author of *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh* translates and cites in his own book were as follows:

Never before had such a disgrace as that which overtook the British army in Afghanistan happened to anyone in Asia. Six regular regiments (of infantry), three platoons of marksmen, a number of European gunners, a regiment of regular cavalry, four regiments (squadrons) of

irregular horse, and 12,000 camp followers perished at the hands of the Afghans. Twenty crores of rupees, each crore being 100 laks, were plundered from the state treasury. One hundred and four high-ranking officers of the British army were felled by the ghazis' swords.

A poet also composed an elegy on these events in praise of Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan of which this one verse is here written down:

Century after century, feed to the Bird of Paradise  
the bones of the foolish Franks.

#### *THE BATTLE OF JALALABAD AND OTHER ENMITY CREATING INCIDENTS*

When the wounded Dr. Brydon reached the British stationed in Jalalabad and told them what had happened, a sense of dread settled over all the soldiers and officers. Day became night and the world grew constricted before their very eyes. They had no time to devise a plan before Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan approached with a force of ghazis and made camp in villages near the city. As the British had cut the cords of the treaty agreement which they had concluded with him and had now witnessed the consequences of that act, they prepared to hold the city against a siege by reinforcing the towers and walls. Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan removed the women, children, and the hostages to Lamqan where he placed them in the fort of Muhammad Shah Khan Babakr Khayl under guard. The fort is called Badi<sup>°</sup>abad. He then returned to Jalalabad with 10,000 warriors to begin the fight. When he arrived one-half farsang from the city, Generals Sale and Macgregor, who had sometime earlier been ordered to Jalalabad from Kabul and had 5,000 regulars stationed inside the city, now expelled the residents, Muslim and Hindu alike, and positioned them like a breastwork around the walls of the city.

The British then sent Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan the following message,

You have achieved a great victory by your courage and manliness. You have emerged triumphant on every field of battle and captured the British flag on which the image of Queen Victoria is depicted. If you have the heart of a lion and the claws of a leopard, plant that standard on the battlefield so that the figure of the Queen will be in the view of the men of the British army and they will be encouraged to fight. At the moment of battle /178/ you will see European men of honor and repute. Then it will become clear to you who is really courageous and what constitutes real manliness.

Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan who had always harbored a desire for a fight on an open battlefield planted the abovementioned flag on the sandy area west of the city so that the British army would be gripped by patriotism and would undertake to exert every effort in battle.

In short, after he raised the flag, both sides formed battle formations and many were killed on both sides. Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan was wounded in the hand. Eventually, the British force was defeated, withdrew from the field of battle, and reentered the city. Cols. Dennie and Nott were killed in this battle and Broadfoot, the leading officer of the Jalalabad garrison, was wounded.

Once back inside the city, the British were incapable of further forays and fell under a total siege. They despaired of receiving help and now hatched plots against the sardar's life. At their instructions, Shah Shuja<sup>e</sup> sent a letter with 25,000 rupees through them to Payandah Khan, a Kakar *pishkhidmat* of Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan. Secretly, they passed the money and letter on to him and promised him another 25,000 if he assassinated Muhammad Akbar. With no regard for the favors extended him by his master, this ungrateful wretch

promised to murder him as soon as the right moment came along. One day, the sardar climbed to the top of the old walls of Jalalabad which are approximately one thousand *gaz* from the citadel in which the British forces were besieged. There as he was observing the defenders and looking for a weak spot against which an assault might be made, Payandah Khan fired at him with a double-barreled gun. As fate would have it, the bullet missed the point at which Payandah Khan was aiming and struck the sardar in the hand. Some of those present immediately grabbed that ingrate and after dressing the sardar's wound they brought the *pishkhidmat* before the wounded sardar who reproached him and demanded an explanation. (Payandah Khan) expressed repentance, kissed the ground, produced Shah Shuja's letter and revealed that the shah and the British had given him 25,000 rupees and promise of another 25,000 for the assassination. The sardar kept Shah Shuja's letter and, since Payandah Khan had spoken truthfully, forgave him. But the ghazis and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan summoned him and another man who was a co-conspirator and killed them both.

As the siege dragged on, news arrived of the approach of General Pollock with 20,000 regular horse and foot and an artillery corps. Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan forthwith dispatched Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and a large contingent of ghazis to the Khyber Pass to secure the road and stop Pollock. Despite a hand wound and not being in very good health, Sultan Ahmad Khan proceeded to the Khyber and set up a strong position. But when General Pollock drew near, the sardar realized he did not have the strength to resist and so returned to Jalalabad.

Meantime, Generals Sale and Macgregor, encouraged by the news of Pollock's approach, tunneled under the northern and southern gates of the city and sent 400 infantrymen with four field guns out through those tunnels, leaving the gates of the city locked. When dawn broke they attacked Muhammad Akbar's entrenchments. In the bitter fight that followed, the sardar's forces were defeated and withdrew. Still suffering from his gunshot wound, Sardar

Muhammad Akbar Khan went to Lamqan, there gathered together the British women, children, and other hostages and went on to Tizin to organize another army.

General Pollock now entered Jalalabad without resistance and relieved its defenders. He settled in at Jalalabad, unable at this point to undertake a foray against the sardar at Tizin. General Elphinstone, who as earlier noted had been wounded en route from Kabul to Jalalabad, had gone to see Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan at Jagdalak with two laks of rupees, and had stayed as a hostage, now died at Tizin. On his deathbed, he gave his last will and testament to Muhammad Akbar asking the latter to send his body to Pollock in Jalalabad. Accordingly, the sardar placed his body in a coffin, loaded it on a camel, and sent it there. /179/

*THE UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE OF KABUL LED BY NAWWAB  
MUHAMMAD ZAMAN KHAN AS A CONSEQUENCE OF SARDAR  
MUHAMMAD AKBAR'S WOUNDING*

When Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan and the leaders of Kabul learned of the wounding of the sardar, the letter of the shah, and the story of Payandah Khan Kakari, they gathered together in a spirit of remorse and decided to get rid of Shah Shuja<sup>e</sup> who was the protector of the British and the destroyer of Islam. A huge mob then marched against the Bala Hisar. The people living in the citadel consulted with some of the shah's supporters and concluded that as long as the shah did not have Na'ib Amin Allah Khan Lahugardi on his side, the flames of insurrection would not die down. This was because most perceptive people believed that Shah Shuja<sup>e</sup> was a British puppet and dealing with Muslims under false pretences and that no solution to the problem would be realized without the na'ib's participation.

Frightened by what his supporters were now saying, the shah tried to make



friendly overtures to Na'ib Amin Allah Khan Lahugardi. He sent his son, Prince Shahpur, to the na'ib's home, won him over with various promises and inducements, and won from him a pledge of obedience. Then through the na'ib's good offices, the shah came to terms with the leaders of Kabul and the Qizilbash who had begun to show signs of hostility. He agreed to their demands and promised to give Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan a gift of two laks of rupees from the treasury. He also pledged to seek Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan's forgiveness for the sin he had committed against him, to placate him, and to join in the ghaza against the British. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> was forced to accept all the demands made. Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, however, refused to take the two laks of rupees saying, "I have a claim on the amirate and am not someone (merely) looking for a bribe. Until I remove Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> from the Bala Hisar, I am not participating in any negotiations."

Na'ib Amin Allah Khan (Lahugardi), who had been won over to Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>'s cause by his son the prince, replied,

Your amirate will be valid and acceptable and submission will be required of the entire nation only when the padshah withdraws his hand from protecting the property and honor of the common people and the army. But now that he has shouldered that responsibility and has assumed all affairs (of state), we have no need of any other amir than him. If you have lofty ambitions in mind and are following the path of religion and patriotism, the post of wazir is a high-ranking position which we can obtain for you from the padshah. Otherwise not.

Most of the other khans who had come to support Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> and his son Prince Shahpur, by virtue of his dispensing ceremonial robes and promises of high office, seconded what Amin Allah Khan said and agreed to give the wazirate to Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan on condition of the shah's appro-

val. All the Durrani, Qizilbash, Ghilja'i, Kuhistani, Kabuli, and other khans, accompanied by Prince Shahpur, Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, and Na'ib Amin Allah Khan, who attended the session at which this agreement was reached, then entered the Bala Hisar in a delegation, presented themselves before Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, explained to him what had taken place, and were showered with gifts and congratulations. The office of wazir was assigned to Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan and from then on the khans held daily consultations with the shah. The civilian khans who had at their command militia cavalry, drums, and banners, paraded their horsemen every day in review. The shah, observing the common people and the soldiery in a state of obedience, now enjoyed some peace of mind. He brought all the notables under his edict by appointing them to offices and giving them cash. He thus began to realize the fulfillment of plans he had had in his mind all along. He wrote George Macgregor in Jalalabad, "You should rest easy for the potential source of trouble will be eliminated."

Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, stationed in Tizin in order to continue the struggle, now learned of the inclination of the people towards the shah, realized his own position had weakened, and devised another plan. He sent letters to the people of the surrounding and outlying regions and incited them with the message, "If the shah is dealing honestly with the people of Islam, has no love for the British, and is discharging the duties of state and religion in your best interests, you should call for him to proclaim jihad so that united we may all attack the British and rid the country of their existence." The sardar kept repeating to the people the call for jihad until scholars and their students, at his instructions, placed Qur'ans on their heads, went among the people of both the surrounding and more distant regions, and village by village and hamlet by hamlet, got prayer leaders and muezzins to begin to exhort their people to jihad. /180/ So, in large groups and small, people gathered at the gates of the shah's palace and clamored for him to proclaim a holy struggle. They cried out, "Let us

drive the British out of the country.”

But since the shah sympathized with the British and believed that violating the treaty would lead to great hardship, he said to himself,

Although no relief force has yet arrived it is inevitable that the British will send one. And when it comes it will mean hundreds of thousands of men brought to the fray. Twenty or thirty thousand (Afghans) will never be able to stand up to it. If I go to Jalalabad simply to convince the ghazis that I am with them, it will mean both violation of the agreement with the British and destruction of the belief of the ghazis in the foundation of my authority.

So the shah made excuses and said, “If Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan gives up his plan of war and comes to Kabul, then clearing Jalalabad of the British will be a much easier matter to effect. If they then do not leave, I will march on that place with a vast horde.” Sardar Muhammad Akbar’s supporters were not satisfied with the shah’s excuse and told him that the correct thing at this time was for Sardar Muhammad Akbar to remain where he was and for the shah to send the British both public and private messages to quit Jalalabad and return to India. The shah did not like this proposal and delayed putting it into effect in the hope that the British might be reinforced and be able to attack and kill Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan.

But the Kabulis and the ghazis persevered, not giving the shah the respite he sought. Every day they would repeat the demand that he send a letter to the British until, finally forced to do so, the shah first dispatched Sardar Inayat Allah Khan Bamiza’i to Jalalabad and then, after him, his own personal attendant, Din Muhammad Khan. Ostensibly, their assignment was to convince the British to evacuate Jalalabad but secretly they were instructed to tell the British to be on guard against Muhammad Akbar’s duplicity and not to rely on

his word. They went to British headquarters in Jalalabad and made them more eager than ever to bolster the city's defenses and their own positions.

The shah, meantime, knew that everyone wanted war and was looking for any pretext. So he continued his delaying tactics. He sent another letter to George Macgregor and asked him to suggest a solution to the problem. Macgregor told him that he should stand firm for fifteen days using whatever means he could think of and under no circumstances to march against Jalalabad with the ghazis. By that point a powerful British force should have arrived and gained the upper hand. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> was relieved by Macgregor's answer and for two months put off departing for Jalalabad by feeding the ghazis lies and half-truths. Because of his stalling, the Barakza'i began to say publicly, "Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> is an Anglophile. Don't be misled by his words, which contradict his deeds. If this is not true, why hasn't he started for Jalalabad yet and why haven't the British left yet, in conformity with the document he sent them?"

Nonetheless, by giving extravagant sums of money to high- and low-born alike, the shah managed to put off his departure until it became clear to everyone that Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> would never put on the sanctified garment of jihad. At that point, at Barakza'i exhortation, everyone raised the banners of holy war, placed Qur'ans kept at the shrines of saints on their heads and settled on Mir Darwish, known as Mir Hajji the son of Mir Wa<sup>c</sup>iz, as leader of the ulama, and finally left Kabul for Jalalabad.

During this time, a letter from Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan in Lahore came to Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan. It said, "The son of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan killed Macnaghten. If you are willing to put on the clothes of courage and place the turban of honor on your head, then you should not allow your Macnaghten, i.e. Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, to remain alive. And you would gain a good name for yourself in this world."

In sum, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, confused by the massing of people and their march against Jalalabad, became more apprehensive and thought, "If I am no longer

friends with the ghazis and do not go to Jalalabad, my peaceful days are over.” Left with no alternative, the shah, having sent his son Prince Fath Jang as head of the advance force to Dih-i Khudaydad en route to Jalalabad, sounded the drums of march.

*SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup> LEAVES KABUL FOR JALALABAD AND IS KILLED*

At the moment when Prince Fath Jang pitched his tent at Dih-i Khudaydad, Sardar Muhammad Uthman Khan, the son of Nawwab <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Samad Khan, acting on the letter sent him by Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan from Lahore which proposed the assassination of Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, /181/ conferred with Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah Khan the son of Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan and Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah Khan took upon himself the responsibility for killing the shah. On Tuesday, the 22nd of Safar 1258/4 April 1842, the shah left the Bala Hisar and accompanied by an armed guard set up his pavilion at Siyah Sang to review the troops. He was watching them parade in front of him and was saying to his attendants, “We will reach Jalalabad in a month and if in that time British help does not arrive, then we must escape from these people and make our way to the British army. By linking up with the British, we will achieve what we desire and those people will be frustrated.” He was talking in this manner when the time came for Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah Khan and his cavalry troops to pass in review before the shah. Suddenly, he broke ranks and rode towards the reviewing stand. Before he reached it, the shah spotted him and asked his identity. When he discovered that it was Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah Khan, he was deeply worried and ordered his attendants to drop the sides of the pavilion and prevent him from entering. A guard (*qābūchī*) stood in Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah Khan’s way and would not let him in to see the shah.

Later, angered and frustrated, Shuja<sup>c</sup> al-Dawlah Khan told Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Uthman what had happened and said, “Lest our secret become known and bring

trouble down on us, I must find a way to kill him before orders are issued for my punishment.” Although he too was a conspirator, Sardar Muhammad °Uthman Khan tried to dissuade him and said, “It is not a good idea to carry out the plan at this time.” Displeased at this attempt to stop him, Shuja° al-Dawlah Khan said to himself, “I will carry out the assassination and say not a word about it to anyone, including my father, who might try to stop me.”

The shah was not aware of Shuja° al-Dawlah’s vengefulness and at noon held a public audience in the same pavilion which was set up beside a low hill at Siyah Sang. He named Prince Shahpur as governor (*nā°ib al-ḥukūmah*) for Kabul and assigned Nasr Allah Khan the son of Amin Allah Khan as his deputy. He then arose and went to his private quarters. After performing the evening prayer, he got into his litter, with Prince Shahpur accompanying him and, unbenownst to anyone, returned to the Bala Hisar.

Since he had informed the gatekeepers that Prince Shahpur would be entering the Bala Hisar at night on business and then would be returning to the army camp, they did not bolt the gates for the night but awaited the arrival of the prince. Father and son arrived together, entered the citadel, and went to the women’s quarters.

His life now in the hands of divine decree, Shah Shuja° slept not at all that night but paced the floor of his room. From minute to minute and hour to hour he would ask the eunuchs to tell him what time of the night it was. He selected a group of the best jewels he owned, worth some 40 or 50 laks of rupees, and put them in a purse. At daybreak, he performed a supererogatory prayer (*namāz-i sunnat*). Planning on performing the obligatory worship (*ṣalāt-i farz*) at the army base he got into his litter and headed there. Once on the road, he repeatedly told his bearers to hurry.

That night Shuja° al-Dawlah Khan had learned from an informant of Shah Shuja°’s going to the Bala Hisar, and he now lay in wait just outside it. With him were the *ishiq āqāsī* Ja°far Khan Qizilbash, a very close confidant of the

late Wazir Fath Khan who now was in his (Shuja° al-Dawlah's) service, as well as a number of other retainers. When the shah came opposite them, they opened fire on his litter. Slightly wounded, the shah jumped to the ground in some confusion and tried to run away. The litter bearers also scattered. Shuja° al-Dawlah suddenly had second thoughts and wanted to back out of the whole business but Ja°far Khan Qizilbash said to him, "Just imagine you are hunting and the game is wounded. How can you turn away and leave it? Finish him off."

Shuja° al-Dawlah was abashed and went over to the litter with Ja°far Khan. Not immediately seeing the shah, they searched until they found him wounded and rolling on the ground beside a canal near Siyah Sang. Then and there they hacked him to pieces with their swords. They took the inlaid crown he was wearing and went back to the army camp.

Soon after, Shahnawaz Khan, a *pīshkhidmat* who had fled the scene thinking they were being attacked by thieves, came back to the shah's body and took the purse which was full of precious jewels. But he did not dare keep it and instead placed it in a niche in a wall whence it (later) came into the possession of Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan. Shah Shuja° was buried in the middle of the Char Bagh of Kabul on the 23rd of Safar 1258/5 April 1842 in the mausoleum of his father, His Highness Timur Shah. Ghulam Muhammad, a dervish with the nickname Shahji and the grandson of the jurist Baqir Shah, from his abundant talent composed a chronogram on the shah's death, which it is appropriate to include in this book.

In the twinkling of an eye the plan unfolded in Kabul  
Beyond the center point of what may be thought reasonable  
The glorious reign of Shah Shuja°al-Mulk  
Who put faith in reliance on God  
Early one morning set forth on ghaza,  
With a few men all unsuspecting

On the way, by the hand of God  
He came face to face with his assassin and his men  
That Alexander of nature, Plato of intellect  
Was engaged in the dialogue of negligence  
When by fate or man's free will all heard  
As if from some hidden place the cry "Kill him!"  
They opened the hand of such tyranny,  
It was beyond the limits of his endurance  
The shah's fair and delicate stalk  
Was cut down by the sword like a flower  
From this humble world be passed to sublime eternity  
And became possessor of glory and splendor  
The hair on his head, by dint of the work of the women  
of the harem,  
Was made like a sweet-smelling flower  
To reckon the date (of his death)  
The mind should first be cleared  
My secret caller said, "Raise the cry of woe and lamentation  
The candle of the nation guttered out early one morning."

This padishah, all of whose doings have been recorded, had a predilection for poetry too, and a divan of his, which has been printed, remains as a memorial to him.

*THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND TROUBLES ARISING AFTER THE  
ASSASSINATION OF SHAH SHUJA<sup>c</sup>*

In light of this tragic event, Prince Shahpur immediately set about fortifying the Bala Hisar and prepared to hold it against assault. Mir Darwish, known as



Mir Hajji, returned to the city with those who had raised the banners of jihad and (earlier) gone out to Siyah Sang. In the city, they raised the cry, “The ‘great lord’ (*lārd-i buzurg*) has joined the ‘little lord’ (*lārd-i kūchak*). As long as seedlings of love for the British are not uprooted from the land, we shall work with all our might to pull them up.”

Prince Fath Jang, en route to Jalalabad, had pitched camp at Dih-i Khudaydad. Now (with the news of his father’s assassination), he abruptly departed for the fortress of Mahmud Khan, afraid for his own life. He was escorted by Ghulam Haydar Khan, the son of Mahmud Khan Bayat. Father and son (Ghulam Haydar and Mahmud) wished either to do away with him to avenge the blood of Amir Aslan Khan Jawanshir or to hand him over to Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan so that he could kill him in compensation for the blood of the late Sardar Payandah Khan whom Shah Zaman had killed. But Na’ib Amin Allah Khan forbade them, an account of which will come in due course, God willing.

Meanwhile, the blinded Shah Zaman, Prince Haydar, and other members of the royal family, who were now in dire straits, gathered around the besieged Prince Shahpur and proposed to place him on the throne, mend the breach which existed (between his family and theirs), and put matters to rights until Prince Fath Jang could be freed from the clutches of Mahmud Khan Bayat, and assume the throne. Prince Shahpur responded to their offer saying, “I am only interested in avenging my father’s murder not in (sitting on) the throne.” He then directed Na’ib Amin Allah Khan, “Go and free Prince Fath Jang so that matters should conform to what perceptive people agree on (i.e. that the eldest son should succeed to the throne).”

Along with Khwajah Khanji and some Fufalzai khans, Na’ib Amin Allah Khan sent off a cavalry force which retrieved Prince Fath Jang from Mahmud Bayat by force and brought him to the Bala Hisar. The day after (he was returned) a conference was held in the Bala Hisar attended by (Na’ib) Amin Al-

lah Khan, the Durrani and Kabuli leaders, Mir Darwish the son of the late Mir Wa'iz, and the Qizilbash chiefs all of whom were on good terms with each other, and there it was decided to make Prince Fath Jang the sovereign.

*THE ACCESSION OF PRINCE FATH JANG AND THE EVENTS OF HIS  
TROUBLED REIGN*

After the notables seated him on the throne and cried out, "Long live the shah and long may he reign," they all returned to their homes. Some time later, Shah Fath Jang asked for personal pledges from everyone—khans, peasants, and soldiers alike—including the Durrani, Ghilja'i, Qizilbash, and Kuhistani leaders. /183/ They recorded their pledges of allegiance, according to the promises they had given, swore solemn oaths on these documents, sealed them, and handed them to the shah. Aside from a few of Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan's supporters who refused to offer allegiance to Shah Fath Jang, everyone submitted to his authority. They were honored with ceremonial robes and later, with Na'ib Amin Allah Khan at their head, set out to punish Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan for his failure to tender allegiance. They ordered the nawwab to leave the country with his people. He in turn sent Mir Darwish, better known as Mir Hajji, to Na'ib Amin Allah Khan asking that the latter give him two days to pack his belongings and go. But the na'ib not only refused to accept the mediation of Mir Darwish who was the spiritual guide of the ulama, but, because of the insistent and obstinate way in which the latter sought to intercede (on the nawwab's behalf), Amin Allah Khan went so far as to strike him in the face. People were outraged and attacked Na'ib Amin Allah's house. Finding himself the target of religious retribution, the na'ib fled to Shah Fath Jang in the Bala Hisar. Matters were now suddenly reversed. Men who had been with the na'ib in trying to oust Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan now marched on the Bala Hisar as his enemies. He and Shah Fath Jang locked the gates of the

citadel and found themselves under siege. They dispatched Prince Shahpur with a force of foot and horse out to the village of Bini Hisar to get food supplies so that they could maintain a defense of the citadel and not be placed in difficult straits.

Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan and his supporters rode out through Hindaki and Char Asyab to intercept the prince. Coming from the direction of Mus<sup>ṣ</sup>i in Lahugard (Logar), they attacked him at Bini Hisar. The two sides clashed and the fighting was very heavy when suddenly Sardar ʿAbd al-Salam Khan the son of Sardar Akram Khan Bamiza<sup>ṣ</sup>i took his men and quit the prince for Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan. The prince then turned and ran, returning to the Bala Hisar in utter disarray. Shah Fath Jang again bolted all the gates against attack. But the defenders did not reinforce one of the gates with earth so that they could go in and out through it. In addition, they left it unlocked but posted guards at it. With the reins of victory in his grasp, Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan had pursued the prince back to the city and now the two sides settled in for a fight. The defenders, including the shah, the princes, Na<sup>ṣ</sup>ib Amin Allah Khan with the Logari men supporting him, and the residents of the Bala Hisar guarded the fortress by night, and by day fired down into the city streets from the walls. This went on until Shah Fath Jang wearied of the struggle, conferred with Na<sup>ṣ</sup>ib Amin Allah Khan, and decided to settle the issue once and for all in open battle. They sent Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan a message which read, “The people of the city and the Bala Hisar are going to suffer greatly as long as the fighting in the streets and markets continues as it has. The two sides ought to meet on the battlefield and decide the issue one way or the other.” To this Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan replied, “Let us ascend Marinjan Hill tomorrow and there settle the matter.” So the next day, the two sides climbed to the top of Tapah-i Marinjan and engaged each other.

In the midst of the conflict, the positions of Shuja<sup>ṣ</sup> al-Dawlah son of Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, Shah Dawlah Khan, and Sardar Muhammad

‘Uthman Khan—the three of whom held the center (for Nawwab Muhammad Zaman) began to weaken. They were about to pull back when Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan suddenly arrived, accompanied by Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan. Up to this point those two men had been engaged in the jihad at Tizin but had returned to Kabul when they heard the news of what was going on there. They attacked Shah Fath Jang’s army with their 300 cavalrymen and threw it into disarray. Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, on the verge of retreating, was now encouraged, and with a new resolve and with help from Sardar Muhammad Akbar’s force, he defeated Shah Fath Jang’s army. The shah escaped to the Bala Hisar with Na’ib Amin Allah Khan and was again put under siege. Some 300 to 400 or more men from both sides were killed or wounded in the course of this battle. The victors pursued the shah right up to the gates of the citadel, captured his guns and then marched into the city.

Na’ib Amin Allah Khan was extremely apprehensive now that Sardar Muhammad Akbar had appeared. He tried, through the mediation of Muhammad Shah Khan Babakr Khayl, to lay the groundwork of friendship, promised the latter his daughter in marriage and so managed to ease the sardar’s anxieties about him. The na’ib then slipped out of the Bala Hisar and sent his daughter to Sardar Muhammad Akbar, /184/ thereby forging and reinforcing the bonds of unity and cordiality between himself and the sardar.

As a result, Shah Fath Jang found himself powerless and in distress. But he was comforted and encouraged by some people to think that perhaps a British army might come seeking vengeance for its dead. Therefore, his own will stiffened and he did not abandon his defense of the Bala Hisar. While he had the means to defend the citadel, he sent one letter after another to General Pollock in Jalalabad inviting him to come to Kabul.

In these circumstances, Mirza Ibrahim Khan, *munshī-bāshī*; Mirza Haydar ‘Ali Khan, the comptroller of the army (*lashkar-nawīs*); the Durrani khans; the Indian regiment; and the people of the Bala Hisar, including ‘Arabs, men of the

*ghulām-khānah*, and Ethiopians, were all kept busy bolstering Shah Fath Jang's resolve. Darwish Muhammad Khan, the son of Hajji Khan, Muhammad Hashim Khan °Arab and other khans of the Bala Hisar came every day to Shah Fath Jang's audience to reassure him. The shah drew strength from their declarations and with the help of Sardar °Inayat Allah Khan, °Azim Gul Khan *arż-begī*, Sardar Sikandar Khan, Samad Khan Baduzai, Muhammad °Umar Khan Bamiza°i, Khwajah Khanji known as Shaykh-i Mazar, (i.e. of the Mazar-i °Ashiqan wa °Arifan of Kabul), and his sons; Mir Aftab; the Indian regiment, and the (other) residents of the Bala Hisar, he established the foot of existence in the world of non-existence (that is, his despair turned to hope).

Consequently, the siege went on for forty days. During that time Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, aided by Qizilbash, Kabuli, Kuhistani, and other elements, would attack the Bala Hisar each day. They succeeded in occupying the Burj-i °Uqabayn, known as Bala Burj, which overlooked the Bala Hisar and from there they could continue the fighting until dark. In addition, Na°ib Amin Allah Khan and Muhammad Shah Khan would go to the Bala Hisar each week as mediators and urge the shah to agree to a truce. There they would meet with Mirza Ibrahim Khan *munshī bāshī* and Mirza Haydar °Ali Khan *lashkar nawīs* who were acting on Shah Fath Jang's behalf. They would negotiate and, after resolving one or two issues, would leave. But eventually, the munitions of the citadel were completely depleted and there was still no sign of the British.

When the people in the city learned this, strict orders were given by Muhammad Akbar Khan and Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan that no one was to take even a *misqāl* of powder or lead into the citadel. An Indian munshi disobeyed this order by delivering small quantities of powder to the Bala Hisar. When it was discovered, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan had the man jailed. After his imprisonment, the Indian converted to Islam and was immediately freed. Later Nawwab Shaja°at °Ali Khan *dīwān-begī*, a descendant of Nawwab

Najib al-Dawlah, attempted to manufacture powder. He obtained nitrate and charcoal inside the citadel and began to produce small quantities. He was in the process of setting up a workshop for making fuses but had not yet produced any when Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, using the services of Hajji °Ali Khan, a Panjshiri miner (*naqb-zan*), tunneled under the foundations of the Burj-i Bajanju and blew a hole in its walls with explosives. The sardar then stormed the citadel. But when Shah Fath Jang immediately moved to seal the breach and block it up with wood and stone, the sardar was stymied and withdrew. But he ordered the siege stepped up.

Seeing his sphere of action increasingly constricted, Shah Fath Jang was (finally) forced to accept a ceasefire. Through the mediation of Na'ib Amin Allah Khan, Muhammad Shah Khan, and Qadi Sayyid Ahmad Khan Bala Hisari, it was agreed that Fath Jang would remain as padishah and Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan would be his wazir and together, by mutual consent, they would undertake to administer the country peacefully. The sardar agreed to the decision, wrote an attestation to that effect in the margins of a Qur'an and sent it to the shah. It read,

In this auspicious time when the Sultan Fath Jang Khan has appointed this humble servant, Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, son of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, to the illustrious position of wazir, out of concern for his tranquility of mind and his complete reassurance, I pledge and solemnly swear by the one Inimitable God, by His Prophet, by all the prophets, the Four Caliphs, and by the Pure Imams that I recognize the praiseworthy sultan as ruler with my heart and soul, that I consider obedience to him obligatory and that I will recognize none other than him as padishah. I shall follow no path but that of serving religion and the state. I will not stint the sultan of my property or life, as far as service to him is concerned. I will undertake no affair which the sultan

considers unfit. Being bound by the order of the praiseworthy sultan, not only do I consider his command to pertain to me, to the country, and to the army; even more, I recognize his command as an absolute obligation. Anyone who does not recognize the praiseworthy sultan as ruler and refuses to heed his command, I, Muhammad Akbar, son of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, will be the enemy of his life, /185/ his property, and his soul and honor. Should I ever evince hostility towards the property, life, and honor of the sultan, or act contrary to his command, either outwardly or secretly, directly or indirectly at the suggestion or inspiration of another, or take the path of betrayal or excuse, may I be stricken by the wrath of God, His angels, the Prophet, his Companions, the imams and the mujtahids in the law. Should I ever fail to abide by these terms or to adhere firmly to them, may I be deprived of God's mercy and the intercession of the Prophet Muhammad and his Family. The end.

He put his seal to the document and signed it. Similarly Na'ib Amin Allah Khan and Muhammad Shah Khan wrote a separate bond and submitted it to the shah. Following that, the gates of the Bala Hisar were opened and Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan entered. The shah had a group of *yasāwuls*, macebearers, and bodyguards who were surrounding him step back and he bade the wazir approach him. He banished the apprehensions the wazir had about these attendants and the shah placed the Indian regiment and other parts of his army—horse, foot, and artillery—under the wazir 's command. The wazir then took possession of two laks of rupees as pay for the army and incidental expenses. There was no more than that amount in the treasury.

In this way, Muhammad Akbar began to discharge the responsibilities of the office of wazir and to straighten out the affairs of Shah Fath Jang's regime. Matters proceeded in this fashion until the letter Shah Fath Jang had sent Gen-

eral Pollock happened to fall into the hands of one of Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan's supporters while it was en route and he turned it over to the wazir. Muhammad Akbar considered this letter to contravene all traditions of honor and to violate the shah's pact with him. He thereupon took the shah into custody and expropriated all the jewels and fine things which the shah had acquired. Still not satisfied, the wazir wanted to punish the shah with a whipping, then confiscate everything he owned, and finally put him to death. But the shah found out about his plan and at some point, with the help of Muhammad Zaman Khan °Arab Bala Hisari, he broke a hole through the roof of his cell and escaped. He slipped out the Khuni Gate, escaped to Chandawal, and there hid in the house of one of the Qizilbash. He sent the owner of the house, a relative of Mirza Ibrahim Khan *munshī-bāshī*, to the latter and to Mirza Haydar °Ali Khan *lashkar-nawīs* to tell them of his circumstances. As these two men were under surveillance by Na°ib Amin Allah Khan, they were delighted to hear of the shah's escape and straightaway they devised a plan. By bribing Sar Afraz Khan and Khwajah Khanji, they procured a horse and weapons for the shah and escorted him from Chandawal to Lahugard with a few men. Then from there they conveyed him to General Pollock in Jalalabad via Mazgin and Surkhab.

The now powerless shah discussed with Pollock the treaty that had existed between his father, Shah Shuja°, and the British and said,

A British campaign into Afghanistan had no other purpose aside from what the British thought might ultimately benefit them. They never helped or even gave a thought to my murdered father, the shah, who had resided for a long time in Ludhiana until the Shah of Iran put Herat under siege. Alexander Burnes, the British envoy, was treated with contempt by Amir Dust Muhammad Khan and returned to India in humiliation. Then the British tried to make his embarrassment the cause of hostility on the part of my father's government towards Dust



Muhammad Khan and his friendship towards them. They then concluded a pact with him to protect the security of India and launched a campaign into Afghanistan. Notwithstanding the fact that the entire force was annihilated when the Shah of Iran abandoned his siege of Herat, they neither sought revenge nor did they abide by the agreement they had formulated. If this is not so, then I still consider myself bound to this treaty which was concluded between the British government and my father and have come to you so that if you still stand by your agreement, you will assist me and march on Kabul. Otherwise, there is no obligation on the part of the British government on my behalf and your ambitions and your hostility will be revealed to all.

Shah Fath Jang's words were very embarrassing to General Pollock and he prepared to aid the shah out of a sense of decency so as to banish from people's lips the bad name ascribed to the British.

*THE BRITISH ARMY'S MARCH AGAINST KABUL IN SUPPORT OF SHAH  
FATH JANG*

When Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan heard about the shah's arrival in Jalalabad and his request for help from General Pollock, he quickly rode towards Jalalabad with a force of brave men. At Tizin he made preparations to stop the British force. On the other side, General Pollock notified the British contingent stationed in Qandahar, by way of the authorities in India, that they should leave Prince Muhammad Timur as governor of that city and march against Kabul. He then left Jalalabad for Kabul with a force under his command and accompanied by Shah Fath Jang.

When Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan saw the enemy forces converging on Kabul from two directions his resolve began to fade. In addition, he received a

letter from the Amir-i Kabir, to be discussed below, which caused him to abandon his plans to fight and to retreat from Tizin to Turkistan instead. Bypassing Kabul, he arrived in Kuhistan, left a force at Istalif under Na'ib Amin Allah Khan and then pushed on towards Tashqurghan. On the 18th of Sha'ban 1258/24 September 1842, accompanied by General Pollock and the British army, Shah Fath Jang entered Kabul unopposed and was restored to the throne. Three days later, Generals Pollock and Macgregor suggested to the shah through the *lashkar-nawīs*, Mirza Haydar °Ali Khan, that he install a Durrani khan as wazir to begin to put state affairs back in order. The shah then draped the mantle of the wazirate over the shoulders of Ghulam Ahmad Khan, son of Shayr Muhammad Khan Bamiza'i the Mukhtar al-Dawlah. He did this with the consent of leading supporters of his regime such as Khan Shirin Khan Jawanshir and others. These were men who, out of opportunism, had chosen not to accompany Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan at the time of his withdrawal to Tashqurghan but rather to stay and serve the shah and see what the British intentions were.

Some time later, several squadrons of cavalry and foot accompanied by Qizilbash and Durrani khans as well as artillery under the command of Prince Shahpur were dispatched to Istalif to deal with Na'ib Amin Allah Khan and his ghazi force. The contingent marched to Istalif, drove out the ghazis, and put the buildings and houses of the town to the torch. After burning Istalif and dispersing the ghazis, Pottinger and Mackenzie, both out of a sense of prudence and because they approved of Prince Shahpur, recommended that he be named governor of Kuh Daman and Kuhistan to keep the inhabitants of those regions from engaging in rebellious activities. But because Shah Fath Jang, who was depressed by the news of the British (plans to) return to India, had decided to abdicate and go there too, Prince Shahpur put off accepting their recommendation and instead returned to Kabul with the British force.

Meanwhile, the British, aided by Shah Fath Jang's supporters, were trying to dissuade him from abdicating. But he could not be swayed, no matter how

much they tried, and said,

Once orders for the return of the British army are issued and it leaves, it will be very difficult for me to stay in Kabul. If I follow your advice, it is absolutely essential that you leave four regular regiments in Kabul to back me, or five laks of rupees, or a loan from the British government, so that I can repair the shattered foundations of my regime. Otherwise, I know that I do not have the capability to stay here.

Generals Pollock and Macgregor, who believed that Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan was a person of integrity because he had returned Elphinstone's body and protected the British women and children, told the shah, "None of us is authorized either to leave a force or to provide cash." Shah Fath Jang showed them the written pact and oath which he had been given by Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, the Qizilbash and Afghan chiefs, and the Kabul notables and charged them all with bad faith. But he made no reference to the letter which he had written to the British, in violation of his own pledge, in which he asked them to come from Jalalabad to Kabul, but which had fallen into Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan's hands. The British told him, "Right now, it makes no difference whether you stay in Kabul or go to India for you know best the circumstances of the people of this region and what is good or bad for yourself."

Shah Fath Jang thereupon gave up the government, left the Bala Hisar with his wives, and joined the British force to return to India. In his place, the British installed Prince Shahpur and were gratified by his acceptance of the throne. / 187/

*PRINCE SHAHPUR'S REGIME AND SARDAR KUHANDIL KHAN'S RETURN  
FROM IRAN WITH HIS BROTHERS*

The details of all this are as follows: When Prince Shahpur saw his brother, Shah Fath Jang, abdicate and go into exile, he thought it shameful to abandon the patrimonial crown and throne and said to himself, "It is better, following the example of my murdered father, Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup>, to strive to achieve authority and not let the duration of my regime go for naught than to look for an easy life off in some corner." While he was thinking along these lines, George Macgregor came to him and said, "The best thing would be for you to stay in Afghanistan and not relinquish the throne. The British sahibs will be more gratified and appreciative if you do so. Otherwise, we will blow up the Bala Hisar and return to India."

Finding Macgregor's remarks to accord with his own thinking, Prince Shahpur was delighted and replied, "Even though the people of this region are unworthy of trust, still one ought not forsake the well-intentioned concern of the steadfast British officials. Nor should one reject that which they approve. Therefore, in consideration of the wishes of the British officials and in view of my deserving it, from the standpoint of my lineage, I accept (the throne) and agree to stay in Kabul."

George Macgregor brought this news to General Pollock who was very pleased. The next day, the latter sent his aide, Shakespear, to the Bala Hisar and installed Prince Shahpur on the throne. Everyone was invited to a public audience and an artillery salute was fired. After that it was decided that Khan Shirin Khan Jawanshir would be the principal administrator (*madār al-mahāmm*) of state affairs and Ghulam Ahmad Khan would remain as wazir. At the audience, all the Durrani, Qizilbash, and Kabuli leaders, most of whom supported Amir Dust Muhammad Khan and Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, wrote out a pledge, put their seals on it, and one by one confirmed it by placing their hands on a Qur'an and swearing to uphold it. They then left the audience. The text of this pledge is:

At this happy moment when the sultan son of the sultan and the khaqan son of the khaqan, Sultan Shahpur Shah is our sovereign, we swear and certify by God... and His Prophet... and all the prophets, the Four Caliphs, all the Emigrants and Helpers, and the Holy Family... that we will not choose as sovereign anyone but this illustrious sultan; with heart and soul we will not stint in our service to him; we consider obligatory that his orders be carried out by us, by the country, by the soldiery, and by the general populace. Anyone who does not accept this laudable sultan as sovereign, all of us present will be the enemies of that person's life, property, and honor. Should we ever harbor illwill or evil intentions towards the sultan's property, life, sovereignty, or nobility, or should we oppose or betray his regime either openly or covertly, explicitly or implicitly, then may we fall under the wrath and curse of God, the Prophets, the Companions, the Emigrants, the Helpers, the imams of the religion and the mujtahids of the law. The end.

These words were written as an affidavit (*iqrār-nāmah*) on the 27th of Sha<sup>°</sup>ban 1258/3 October 1842. Of all the khans one, Ghulam Jan the son of Muhammad A<sup>°</sup>zam Khan, would not swear to the pact but said, "I am going with the British army to India." Angered by his refusal, Shakespear retorted, "Then we will not provide for you." He then turned to the shah and said, "It is surprising that your own brother, Prince Muhammad Timur, also went to India when our army marched from Qandahar to Kabul and no matter how our officials tried to persuade him to stay in Qandahar he refused. Likewise, another brother of yours, Shah Fath Jang, gave up his regime for India." Shahpur did not reply. Instead he gave the officer a Turki horse and dismissed him. Then, in accordance with the agreement which either Ellenborough or Auckland, whoever was governor-general of India, reached with the Amir-i Kabir, Dust

Muhammad Khan, the British regiments prepared to return to India, as will be noted in due course.

Earlier, as already discussed, Sardar Kuhandil Khan had gone to the court of Muhammad Shah Qajar when the British (first) entered Qandahar. He had been accompanied by his brothers, Sardar Rahmdil Khan and Sardar Mihrdil Khan as well as Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan, and other sons and nephews, and 500 retainers. There the shah had given him one lak of rupees and a *tiyūl* grant of the district (*bulūk*) of Marus. The sardar had settled in the town of Babak with his followers. /188/ On several occasions he had requested permission from the shah of Iran to return to Qandahar where he planned to take up arms against the British. But because of the long-standing mutual regard of the British and the Iranians and their concern for each other's welfare he had been unsuccessful. But now that the British were withdrawing from Kabul and had made a treaty with Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, as will be set out below, after the installation of Prince Shahpur over the government of Kabul, and had retrieved all the (British) prisoners and hostages, °Abbas Quli Khan, the wali of Kirman, wanted to support Sardar Kuhandil Khan's plan. Since the sardar had received permission to return home (because of the British withdrawal), he sent his brother, Sardar Rahmdil Khan to °Abbas Quli to inform him of the fact. °Abbas Quli Khan was the first person to order that food and other supplies be prepared at every stage of Sardar Kuhandil Khan's route from Narmashir to the border of Afghanistan and Sistan. He also ordered Isma°il Khan, the commander of a camel brigade and governor of Barn and Narmashir to load 100 camels with supplies and travel with the sardars every stage of the way so they would have food and transport. He also assigned to them several well-diggers so that whenever water was needed these watermen could tunnel down and find it for them. °Abbas Quli also dispatched a letter to the governor of Sistan, Muhammad Riza Khan, ordering him to provide them with an adequate armed force to escort them to Qandahar and then return.

Sardar Kuhandil Khan now left Babak for Qandahar. When he reached Sistan, the governor, Muhammad Riza Khan, augmented his entourage with a force of 3,000 cavalry under his own son, Lutf ʿAli Khan. The governor of Sistan offered his services as far as Qandahar and received a certificate of satisfaction from the sardar which he sent on to ʿAbbas Quli Khan in Kirman. It read, “In accordance with your order, your officials have escorted me to Qandahar and I have reestablished myself as its governor. I have assigned Lutf ʿAli Khan, the son of Muhammad Riza Khan governor of Sistan, who accompanied me and served me en route, to guard the citadel.” As a reward, ʿAbbas Quli Khan sent Muhammad Riza Khan a dagger and an inlaid knife as well as other precious objects.

*THE BRITISH TREATY WITH AMIR DUST MUHAMMAD KHAN AND WAZIR  
MUHAMMAD AKBAR KHAN’S RETURN FROM TASHQURGHAN*

During the time Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan had been in Tizin with the ghazis intending to wage jihad and had sent Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan son of the late Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan to block the route of the British force going from Qandahar to Kabul, Lord Auckland or Ellenborough, the governor-general of India, who was concerned about the release of the British prisoners and hostages held by Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan in Kabul and Badiʿabad in Lamqan, drafted an agreement with the Amir-i Kabir. In the agreement it was proposed that the Amir-i Kabir send a letter to his son, Wazir Muhammad Akbar, ordering him to cease hostilities against the British and to hand over his prisoners and hostages to the commander of the (British) force in Afghanistan. In return, the British would evacuate Afghanistan and turn it over to the Amir-i Kabir at which point the latter could return to Kabul from India and assume the administration. Alternatively, the wazir could cease his warmongering and go to Khulm, that is, Tashqurghan, so that British forces would be secure from his at-

tacks, and could then march from Jalalabad and Qandahar to Kabul, retrieve the national honor, rescue the hostages and prisoners, and soon return to India. At that point Afghanistan would be left to the Amir-i Kabir.

The Amir-i Kabir agreed to the governor-general's proposal and wrote to his son. The letter reached the wazir at Tizin and, as mentioned earlier, he chose to go to Tashqurghan. By letter the wazir also instructed Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan to stop fighting the British and not obstruct their line of march to Kabul. So it came about that the British army marched to Kabul from Jalalabad and Qandahar, encountering no resistance, and placed Fath Jang on the throne, as discussed above. Also as noted, Fath Jang (later) abdicated on learning of the letter sent by the governor-general to Pollock in which he ordered him to withdraw the army from Afghanistan, in accordance with the agreement with the Amir-i Kabir. Prince Shahpur, succeeding Fath Jang on the throne, /1819/ sent Prince Haydar the son of Shah Zaman with 1,000 horsemen off to Bamiyan so that he could block any attempt at a return by Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan. As stipulated by the agreement between the governor-general and the Amir-i Kabir, the British retrieved their prisoners and hostages and returned to India. Prince Fath Jang, with his people, was given a place to live in the Punjab.

In November 1842, corresponding to Ramadan 1258, the British evacuated Afghanistan. At that moment, people who only a few days before had signed oaths of allegiance to Shahpur, people like Ghulam Ahmad Khan his wazir, Muhammad Riza Khan the son of Baqir Khan Murad Khani, Khan Shirin Khan Jawanshir, Qurban °Ali Khan Bagh-i °Ali Mardani, Mirza Imam Wirdi Khan Khwafi, Mirza °Abd al-Razzaq Khan *mustawfi*, and Agha Husayn, all of whom were Qizilbash, now repudiated their oaths at the urgings of partisans of the Amir-i Kabir and Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan. Seeing this, the Durrani khans and others joined the Persian and Qizilbash khans and sent Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan a letter asking him to come back to Kabul from Tashqurghan. Their message said that since the British army had now arrived in



the Punjab, the bud of his supporters' desire had blossomed in the breeze which blows the happy prospect of the Amir-i Kabir's return. He ought to return to Kabul, embrace the bride of rulership, and lift the hearts of his servants and supporters.

When Muhammad Akbar saw Ghulam Ahmad's seal, and because he was aware of their pledge of obedience to Shahpur, he did not at first put much stock in what they had written. It was not until several messengers had been sent to him and put his mind completely at ease that he went to Kabul. He left Tashqurghan, taking the road that passed through Bamiyan. He traveled with a number of horsemen but carried no supplies. At every place he stopped for the night, he was joined by one or two hundred Durrani, Ghilja'i, or Qizilbash. When he approached Bamiyan, the cavalry force that had been with Prince Haydar, deserted the prince at a word from Ghulam Ahmad, the wazir, and joined Muhammad Akbar Khan.

Prince Haydar withdrew to Kabul as soon as he realized that he could not stay there. After he reached Kabul, Shahpur, similarly seeing that he no longer had the capacity to fight off Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, departed for Jalalabad in the company of Na'ib Sar Faraz Khan, °Azim Gul Khan, °Abd al-Majid Khan, and other retainers, his children, and his wives. But the party strayed from the proper route and was overtaken at Karakchah by Muhammad Akbar's horsemen who had been sent in pursuit. They incited the Jabbar Khayl Ghilja'i of that region to rise up against Shahpur and all his belongings and money were looted. The Jabbar Khayl Ghilja'i surrounded Shahpur and prevented him from continuing on towards Jalalabad until Wazir Muhammad Akbar could send word as to what was to be done with him, whether to imprison or execute him, either of which decision they were prepared to carry out on the spot. But °Azim Gul Khan who was with Shahpur made contact with some of his relatives who were on the other side and managed to escape the jaws of destruction (with Shahpur) and get to Jalalabad.

Muhammad °Uthman Khan, the Nizam al-Dawlah, who was still governor of Jalalabad and had 2,000 foot and horse, was not able to take the two men into custody. °Azim Gul Khan and a close companion, Miyan °Abd al-Rahman Khan helped the shah escape towards Peshawar. °Abd al-'Aziz Khan of the Jabbar Khayl Ghilja'i tribe, a generous and honorable man, treated Shahpur's wives and children with great respect and deference, put them on a raft and ferried them safely to Peshawar.

From that day onward, the descendants of Ahmad Shah (Saduzai) who came to India never again achieved fame or status but remained as they arrived.

#### *THE ADVENTURES OF PRINCE KAMRAN, GOVERNOR OF HERAT*

When Muhammad Shah Qajar withdrew from Herat as recorded above, Prince Kamran was relieved and set about repairing the damage done to the city walls by the artillery bombardments. Although he sought the help of Major Pottinger who had been there throughout the siege encouraging the prince to stand fast to rebuild the city, the latter turned a deaf ear. To make matters worse, one day the Englishman remonstrated with Shayr Muhammad Khan the brother of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and insulted him. The wazir and the prince both drafted a letter of complaint about Pottinger's rudeness and /190/ sent it to the British in Qandahar, asking that he be replaced. The British sent a man named Tate and recalled Pottinger. Eventually they sent him with the army to Kabul. Since the British had given Tate permission to rebuild Herat, Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan considered him to be his subordinate and told him that whenever one of the residents of Herat should ask him for funds to rebuild devastated property, he (first) should get an affidavit (*hujjat*) from the petitioner and then give him the money so that repairs could be quickly carried out. By his obtaining such affidavits, the state would not incur the smallest loss (from fraudulent claims).

Accordingly, Tate disbursed money to those who produced affidavits. This continued until the citizens of the city had received five or six laks of rupees and spent them on living costs, rather than on repairs. By this time, Prince Kamran had handed over actual day-to-day administration of Herat to Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and was himself living a life of ease. The wazir had come to consider the presence of Tate a problem for himself and a source of trouble for Prince Kamran. He used every trick he knew to get Tate out of Herat and managed to have him sent back to India. He then prevailed on the prince to give him a free and exclusive hand in running the government in order to remove the prince from all affairs of state.

The prince was distressed by the preeminence of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and in 1256/1840, while Shah Shuja<sup>c</sup> was still reigning in Kabul, and while Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan was in residence at the Bagh-i Kartah, the prince entered the Ikhtiyar al-Din Fortress, raised the plank bridge over the moat and prepared to contest with Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan (for control of the city). The wazir entered Herat with his own forces and at first called for a truce. He sent Naju Khan Barakza<sup>3</sup>i to the prince and demanded terms which would have given him the pretext he was looking for. But the prince did not respond to his overtures and the whole matter moved closer to outright war. The wazir surrounded the fortress and placed the prince under a tight siege. By the end of fifty days, the wazir had tunneled under the eastern tower of the fortress and blown it up with an explosive charge. His men then stormed the citadel and seized it. The sons of Prince Kamran were taken hostage and imprisoned. The wazir sent the prince to Kuhsan on the pretext that it was a *jāyḡīr* of his and forced him to reside there. Secretly, the wazir assigned Sardar Taju Khan and Dawud Khan <sup>c</sup>Alikuzai to murder the prince. They traveled to Kuhsan and assassinated him in 1256. They then carried his body back to Herat and buried it at Rawzah Bagh south of the city.

*WAZIR YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN Alkuza'i 'S AUTONOMOUS RULE IN  
HERAT*

As the reign of the sovereigns of the Saduzai, one of the great clans of the Durrani, had already come to an end as recounted in full in this volume of *Sirāj al-tawārīkh*, Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan assumed the throne of Herat without a rival. Most of the °Alikuzai people who were related to him by tribal ties now left Qandahar for Herat. There the most common and worthy people were elevated to high rank. In 1257/1841–1842, when the citizens of Kabul rose and were trying to expel the British army, Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan sent a force to Ghur which invaded the region as far as Karz and Nizli and then returned to Herat.

In 1258/1842–1843, the drums of war were sounded in order to punish Karim Dad Khan Hazarah who had shown himself to be obstinate. He was (soon) made obedient and submissive. Tax revenues were collected and he was reaffirmed in his former post (as governor of his region). In the spring of 1258, the wazir led a force to Maymanah. He punished Hikmat Khan, the wali of Maymanah, compelled him to remit that region's revenues to Herat, took his son to Herat as a guarantee of his good behavior, and held the son there in custody, treating him with respect and deference.

*THE AMIR-I KABIR'S RETURN TO AFGHANISTAN FROM INDIA AND HIS  
REINSTATEMENT ON THE THRONE*

When, as stipulated in the governor-general's agreement, the British army left Afghan territory for India in Ramadan 1258, corresponding to (October) 1842 /**191**/ at the same time that the Amir-i Kabir, the princes, and other members of his entourage had gone to Mansuri Mountain\* from Dehra Dun to spend the summer, all the officers, officials, and British notables summering in

RM:\* Present-day Mussoorie.

Mansuri Mountain who learned of the governor-general's agreement, came to congratulate the amir, doffed their hats, cheered his return to Afghanistan, and spread the glad tidings of his amirate. They addressed him and said, "It is up to you now whether you spend the night here on the mountain or go down to Dera Dun and then depart for Calcutta. There you will meet with the governor-general. He will bid you farewell and then you will be off for Kabul." The amir chose to leave and so the British immediately brought forty or fifty litters. The amir and the rest of his party got into them and were carried down the mountain to Dera Dun. After three days there he traveled on to Calcutta.

When he arrived, Lord Auckland or Ellenborough, the governor-general of India, came to meet him. After formally welcoming him, they sat down for discussions. The governor-general opened the talks and said, "The British government desires the friendship of the Amir-i Kabir to be eternal and steadfast so that it will be distinguished from all other nations. (The Amir-i Kabir) should not distance himself from the British Government nor forge any agreements or ties with any other nation." Accepting his words, the Amir-i Kabir acknowledged the friendship of the British government. Then the two men arose, bid each other farewell, turned and walked a few steps away from each other but had not yet parted when a two-volume set of the *Taf sīr-i Husaynī* enclosed in a silk cover was brought out and presented (to the amir). Taking this as a good omen, the amir gladly received it, kissed it, placed it against his eyes, and then handed it to one of his attendants to care for it with reverence. After he had walked a few more steps, he was given two elephants with howdahs and riding horses with gold trappings. After taking leave of the governor-general, the Amir-i Kabir wrote to his wives and young children now in Karnal telling them that they all would return to Kabul by way of Ludhiana. He then mounted an elephant on which he was to travel back to Afghanistan. He was accompanied by several detachments of government troops who were to escort him as far as the Punjab.

The latter region belonged (at this time) to Maharajah Shayr Singh, the son of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. When the amir arrived in Ludhiana, his wives and children had by now also arrived from Karnal and were reunited with him. The British escort was dismissed and returned to Calcutta. Then with his harem, children, retainers, and relatives, he set off. He was somewhat apprehensive that Maharajah Shayr Singh, perhaps harboring some enmity towards him because of the killing of Hari Singh and because of his campaigns against the Sikhs, might block his route and cause him trouble.

But the maharajah, a generous and noble man, showered royal favors and kindnesses on the amir from the moment he set foot on his territory. All that he could ask for and more—like purses of gold and silver coins, food, beverages, sweets, and ices fit for a king's table—were prepared and sent to the amir, the princes, the notables of the retinue, the officers and the soldiers. At each stopping place they had to discard leftover sweets, food, and drink when it came time to leave. People walking by could pick the food up off the ground by the *mann* and by the *sīr*.

When the entourage was one day's march from Lahore, Maharajah Shayr Singh himself came out to greet the amir with an escort of foot and horse of a sufficiently modest size so as not to alarm the amir and brought him appropriate welcoming gifts. The formal welcome was performed, gifts were given, and the amir expressed his deep appreciation. The maharajah spent the night at the amir's camp and the next morning the two rode together into Lahore. Near the city, regiments of cavalry and infantry, artillery, a corps of swivel guns, musicians, and *bajah*-beaters were all lined up at Shayr Singh's orders to celebrate the amir's arrival. As soon as the amir reached the spot where they were stand-ing, the musicians and *bajah*-beaters began to play. The soldiers dipped their colors and after firing salutes escorted the amir into the city with all possible pomp and ceremony. He was housed at the royal palace which had been decorated with simplicity and good taste. All food, clothing, and furnishings /

**192/** including gold-embroidered and ornamented tents, chaprakats and chairs with gold and silver legs, were readied so that the honored guest had no need to ask for anything.

For twenty days the maharajah tended to the Amir-i Kabir in Lahore, every morning presenting gifts and every evening giving presents. Each night, the sum of 1,100 Nanak-shahi rupees would be slipped under the amir's pillow as alms (*ṣadaqah*) and as the means to dispel fatigue and exhaustion. In the morning, (the amir) would distribute this money to the poor and orphaned.

When the time came to say good-bye, Shayr Singh mustered 60,000 armed cavalry and infantrymen stationed in and around Lahore for a military review. He outfitted the men with uniforms woven with gold thread and equipped the officers with jewel-encrusted belts and with sashes studded with the finest of jewels. They formed up in ranks for the review and Shayr Singh, wearing official dress of a royal style, came to the Amir-i Kabir and suggested that he go with him to the reviewing stand. The amir, accompanied by the princes and his personal attendants, set off for the army's parade ground and reviewing stand. As they were to ride there, Shayr Singh took the Amir-i Kabir by the arm as one who leads a head of state, placed him in a howdah on the back of an elephant, and sat in it beside him. Two of the princes were seated in another howdah and together they entered the parade ground. The army began playing music in the manner prescribed for greeting a head of state and fired cannon and musket salutes. Except for getting down from the elephant to perform the four prescribed prayers during the course of the day, the amir spent the entire time from eleven o'clock until the evening prayer reviewing the army. He congratulated Shayr Singh on his troops' discipline and order. After the review, everyone retired to his respective quarters.

On the day of departure, Shayr Singh, still not satisfied that he had done all he could for the amir, presented him with four elephants equipped with gold howdahs, a personal howdah that had belonged to his father Maharajah Ranjit

Singh, tents of a quality suitable for a king, and two laks of rupees. To each of his wives and princes he gave brocade outfits of Kashmiri weave and other fine fabrics, pearl necklaces and anklets, studded bracelets, sashbands of red gold coins, gold finger rings set with diamonds, turquoise, and rubies, studded pendants and sapphire and emerald earrings. Nor did he overlook the amir's servants, down to and including the lowliest stable hand and sweeper. All of these gifts were worth some fifty or sixty laks of rupees. The Amir-i Kabir then said goodbye to Shayr Singh and departed for Kabul.

*NAWWAB MUHAMMAD ZAMAN KHAN AND SARDAR SULTAN AHMAD  
KHAN'S SUBVERSIVE PLANS*

After the departure of the British army and Shahpur for India and the final end to the reign of the house of Ahmad Shah Saduza'i and while Afghanistan was without a protector and leader during the Amir-i Kabir's return from India and stops en route, every chief became a sovereign and every house a court. Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, nephews of the Amir-i Kabir, made alliances with a group of corrupt-minded trouble-making khans in spite of Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan's presence, and rose in opposition to claim leadership of the country. A group of impudent men gathered around them and planted the flag of insurrection. Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan wisely decided to stamp out this flareup and summoned Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan in secret. He struck a bargain with him saying,

Since you were my ally in fighting off foreign enemies and have been helpful in all matters, then you have a right to some share in leading the country. But that is conditional on the arrival of the Amir-i Kabir who will (have to be the one to) bestow on you a share of the territory and gladden your heart, because he is the ruler and lord of the country. I



will explain and attest to your service and will strive to see that you get your due.

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan agreed to Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan's proposition and split off from the others, taking no further part in the conspiracy. Later, Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan similarly contacted Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan through Sardar Muhammad 'Uthman Khan /193/ and, by telling him that Jalalabad would be his, won him over. Having diverted him from rebellion, he blandished him with (reassuring) words. Others, now seeing those two men quiet, abandoned the mutiny and expressed their support for Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan. They saw no other alternative now but to keep silent about the ambitions they harbored.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan, whom the Amir-i Kabir, at the request of Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, had, en route, sent ahead to Kabul to put down Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's uprising, now arrived in Kabul and found all the malcontents placated by Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan's deft handling. The wazir then went to Jalalabad to welcome his father, his concern about the rebels erased by the arrival of his brothers. He left Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan in charge of administration in Kabul as a way of reassuring him about the bargain they had struck.

When he (Muhammad Akbar) arrived in Jalalabad, the Amir-i Kabir, who was en route from Lahore to Kabul, had just reached Shah Darrah, the burial place of Jahangir and at this time the residence of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan. The latter received the amir with brotherly affection and respect and all sign of the trouble which had previously existed between the two men was wiped away. The amir's pleasure was expressed by giving two of his daughters and two of his grand-daughters—one the daughter of Sardar Muhammad Akram

Khan and the other of Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan—in marriage to Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan's four sons, Sardar Yahya Khan, Sardar Khwajah Muhammad Khan, Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan, and Dilawar Khan known as Dalw Khan. Three of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan's daughters were married off to three of the Amir-i Kabir's sons—Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan. Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan presented the amir and each of the sardars and wives with appropriate gifts. Then the two men bade each other farewell and the amir went on to Peshawar. There he fell victim to a high fever which prevented him from continuing his journey for twenty days. Finally, thanks to the True Healer, he recovered and continued on towards his destination.

He notified the leaders of Kabul and Jalalabad as well as Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan and his servants and supporters of the good news of his imminent arrival in Jalalabad, sending to each a separate letter. Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, Nawwab °Abd al-Jabbar Khan and the Durrani and Ghilja'i leaders, as well as members of the noble Muhammadza'i and the Qizilbash and Kabuli leaders all came from Kabul, Jalalabad, and elsewhere along the route traveling from Jalalabad with suitable gifts towards the Khyber Pass to welcome the amir. When he reached the stopping place called Lawarak in the Khyber Pass, he ordered a halt. Group by group, the welcomers sought to be the first to greet him; they presented their gifts and were the object of royal favors. This went on all the way from Lawarak to Jalalabad both on the road and wherever the amir camped, people coming forward to welcome and meet with him. Everyone entered Jalalabad with him and the people of the city and its surroundings, both near and far, came forward with money, cattle, and sheep as thank-offerings and alms. Everything was distributed among the poor, indigent, and the orphaned.

The amir spent a short time in Jalalabad. After resting and distributing largesse and alms to the delight of the citizens of the town, he departed for

Kabul. The residents of that city lined the route as far as Kutal-i Yak Langah, a distance of two kuruhs from the city. Old and young alike cheered his arrival and the eyes of his supporters were dazzled and their breasts swelled with pride at the sight of him. With joy increasing, they sang his praises and together entered Kabul in a state of complete euphoria. For seven days and nights there were joyous celebrations. The nights were brightened with lights and the days with the sounds of people reciting ghazals and singing. Joy and festivity rang out and everywhere there was gladness and cheer.

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We praise God for the benefit of His kindness and we thank Him for His help that under the felicitous auspices of His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Siraj al-Millah wa'l-Din), the first volume of *Sirāj al-tawārīkh* which encompasses the events of the reign of the Saduza'i padishahs is now finished. From beginning to end it has been read by His Highness and it wears the garb of acceptability. Having verified its contents, he made corrections in his own felicitous hand and then gave the order for printing so that it may be said the author of this book is in truth His Highness himself and not this completely ignorant one who was commissioned to do it. This is because, in accordance with the noble order, /194/ after this praise-scattering humble one, Fayz Muhammad Katib, finished writing, the noble Mawlawi °Abd al-Ra'uf Khan, professor in the Madrasah-i Shahi (Royal College) and the most excellent Mirza °Abd al-Latif Khan, *munshī* to His Highness, Shadow of God, both of whom know the true from the apochryphal and the weak from the sound and are among the most prominent scholars and *munshīs* in Afghanistan, scrutinized the work and signed and affixed their seals to the end of each section. Then it went to His Highness for his own review despite his being preoccupied with affairs of state and government. Page by page and section by section he erased and corrected in

his own round hand and then (the manuscript) went to press. In all events, knowledgeable people and intelligent readers are asked to cover the eye of blame for any shortcomings in the words or expressions and to excuse and forgive this humble writer because aside from writing in a scholarly and clerical way, he has written this work without following the dictates of meter and rhyme and has kept it free of literary words, subtleties, and elegant rhetoric in order that the common person might understand it and at the same time the educated reader not find it objectionable. The end.

Written on Tuesday, the 29th of Jumadi al-Awwal 1331/6 May 1913.