

By the Honorable Order of

His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion

The Just and Pious Ruler

Volume Two

Of the Excellent Book, *Sirāj al-tawārīkh*

the events of which have been penned under the auspices of His Royal Personage.

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/196/ In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,

We praise You, O God, the Sovereign of all sovereignty, You give kingship to whom You will; You take it from whom You will; You ennable whom You will and You humble whom You will. We pray for Your beloved, the best of men, Muhammad, the Chosen One, and we pray for his pure, noble family and his pious, wise, and peerless Companions. And so on.

Since with God's help and with the aid and support of the mighty sovereign, I mean the Amir, son of the Amir, son of the Amir, son of the Amir, son of the Amir, His Highness, Siraj al-Millah wa'1-Din, Amir Habib Allah Khan—may his reign endure—this humble writer, Fayz Muhammad Khan, completed his record of the events of the reign of the Saduza'i clan and his writing of volume one of the *Sirāj al-tawārīkh* and now embarks on the writing of volume two. In this volume he will record the circumstances of the kings from the noble Muhammadza'i clan of the Barakza'i branch from the inception of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan's reign up to the beginning of the reign of His Highness, the Light of the Nation and the Religion, Amir ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan. Seeking God's guidance and the favor and grace of the padishah's acceptance, the (real) creator of this book, the author deems himself the object of their benevolence.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE MUHAMMADZA'I CLAN OF THE BARAKZA'I

The head and founder of the line is Muhammad Khan, the son of 'Umar Khan. Hence the eponym, Muhammadza'i. 'Umar Khan was the son of Khizr Khan, the son of Isma'il, the son of Nik, the son of Daru, the son of Sayfal, the son of Nur al-Din, the son of Barak—whence the eponym, Barakza'i. Barak was the son of Sulayman (known as Zirak) the son of 'Isa, the son of Razār, the son of Abdal. Before the reign of Ahmad Shah, all the Durrani tribes were known as Abdali by virtue of descent from this man. But as discussed under the events of Ahmad Shah's reign, the designation was changed to Durrani in his honor. Abdal was the son of Tarin, the son of Shar Khabun (known as Sharaf al-Din), son of Sarah, son of Qays ʻAbd al-Rashid, nicknamed Patan.

We will go no further here first because the *Makhzan-i Afghān* traces the genealogy name by name with the variant traditions all the way back to Adam and secondly because this work is a repository of the events of the (various) regimes and not an encyclopedia of the nation's genealogies.

In short, Muhammad Khan, founder of the Muhammadza'i line left four sons' Hajji Khudaydad Khan, Ikhtiyar Khan, Gangi Khan, and Mazar Khan. Ikhtiyar Khan left one son, Muhammad Ya'qub Khan, who had one son, Muhammad Sarwar Khan. He also left one son, Hajji Muhammad Yusuf Khan. This contradicts what the author of *Hayāt-i Afghānī* says. He says: Hajji Muhammad Yusuf Khan was the son of Yaru, son of the aforementioned Muhammad Khan (founder of the line). Hajji Muhammad Yusuf Khan had two sons, Hajji Jamal Khan and Zabir Khan. Hajji Jamal Khan was one of the

fourteen sardars of the Durrani clans who enjoyed influence and prestige at the court of Nadir Shah Afshar. He was the first to recognize Ahmad Shah as padishah and to swear obedience and allegiance to him. Others, in view of the size of his clan and his power and influence, followed his example and acknowledged Ahmad Shah's sovereignty. As a reward for this favor, Ahmad Shah bestowed the title sardar on him. Since Jamal Khan had made the circumambulation of the House of God (the Ka'bah in Mecca), he was called hajji not sardar. In 1174, at the age of 86, his life came to an end. He left four sons: Hajji ʿAbd al-Habib Khan, known as "Sakhi" (the generous one)—his generosity was without equal during his time and he was also an adherent of mysticism; 2) Hajji Darwish Khan; these two are pearls from the same oyster (i.e. full brothers); 3) Sardar Rahimdad Khan and 4) Sardar Payandah Khan. These latter two were also two gems from one jewelry box and two stars from the same constellation (i.e. full brothers).

At the age of eight, Sardar Payandah Khan lost his father and was raised by Sardar Rahimdad, his elder brother. When he reached sixteen, as mentioned in volume one, he was promoted to sardar by Timur Shah, at the request of his own clan. After a while, as a consequence of his excellent service, he was accorded the title "Sar Faraz Khan."

In 1207/August 1792–August 1793, the Unique Creator gave him (a son) Amir Dust Muhammad Khan. **/197/** In 1214/June 1799–May 1800, as mentioned in volume one, Shah Zaman put to death the thirty-six-year-old Sardar Payandah Muhammad Khan along with Amir Aslan Khan Jawanshir and a number of other people. He (Sardar Payandah Khan) had twenty-one sons of whom only one, Islam Khan, aged twelve, died during his lifetime. The political careers and deaths of the rest are as follows:

Name	Date of Birth	Length of Life	Length of Rule	Date of Death	Place of Burial
Wazir Fath Khan	Muharram 1192/ February 1778	42 yrs		1234/1818-1819	Mazar-i ^c Ali Lala, Ghaznin
Nawwab Asad Khan	Rabi ^c al-Sani 1192/ April 1778				
Na ^o ib Timur Quli Khan	1195/1781	43 yrs		Muharram 1238 / Sept-Oct. 1822	Mazar-i Mihtar Lamk Lamqan
Nawwab ^c Abd al-Jabbar Khan	1197/ 1783	73 yrs		1270/1853-54	Mazar-i ^c Ashiqan wa ^c Arifan, Kabul
Sardar Muhammad ^c Azim Khan	1200/1785-86	38 yrs	4 yrs	1270/1853-54	Beside Mazar-i ^c Ashiqan wa ^c Arifan
Sardar Purdil Khan	1200/1785-86	45 yrs	3 yrs	Sat., 30 Zi'l-Qa ^c dah 1245/ 23 May 1830	Mazar-i Hazrat Ji, Qandahar
Nawwab ^c Abd al-Samad Khan	1200/1785-86	44 yrs		1244/1828-29	Gandamak on the Kabul-Jalalabad Road
Sardar ^c Ata Muhammad Khan	1200/1785-86	39 yrs	1 yr and several months	1239/1823-24	Mazar-i Shaykh Habib-Sahib, Peshawar
Sardar Shayrdil Khan	1201/1786-87	41 yrs	8 yrs	Friday, 25 Muharram 1234/Nov. 24, 1818	Mazar-i Hazrat Ji, Qandahar
Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan	1205/1790-91	39 yrs	4 yrs	1244	Mazar-i Shaykh Habib, Peshawar
Amir Dust Muhammad Khan	Fri. 8 Jumada al-Awwal 1207/22 December 1792	72 yrs, 7 mos, 22 days	14 yrs (1st reign) 24 yrs (2nd reign) total 35 yrs	Tues, 21 Zi'l-Hijjah 1279/ 9 June 1863	Mazar-i Khwajah ^c Abd Allah Ansari, Herat
Sardar Kuhandil Khan	1208/1793-94	63 yrs	26 yrs	Tues., 7 Zi'l-Hijjah 1271/ 21 August 1855	Mazar-i Hazrat Ji, Qandahar

Sardar Amir Muhammad Khan	1209/1794-95	42 yrs		1250/1834-3-5	Northwest side of Mazar-i ḨAshiqan wa ḨArifan, Kabul
Sardar Tarah Baz Khan	Safar 1210/Aug-Sept 1795				Mazar-i Mihtar Lamk, Lamqan
Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan	Rabi ^c al-Awwal 1210/Oct-Nov 1795	68 yrs	5 yrs	Thurs 18 Rabi ^c al-Sani 1278/ 23 Oct 1861	Puzah-i Siyah Sang on Tepe Marinjan, Kabul
Sardar Rahmdil Khan	1211/1796-97	64 yrs	2 months	Rajab 1275/ February 1859	Wadi al-Salam, Holy Najaf
Sardar Sa ^c id Muhammad Khan	1212/1797-98	65 yrs		1277/1860-6-1	Mazar-i Hazrat Ji, Qandahar
Sardar Mihrdil Khan	Muharram 1212/July 1797	59 yrs		27 Jumada al-Sani 1271 /15 February 1855	Mazar-i Hazrat Ji, Qandahar
Sardar Jum ^c ah Khan	Zi Qa ^c dah 1214/April, 1800	74 yrs		1288/1871-7-2	Mazar-i Khwajah Hasan Maymandi
Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan	Zi Hijjah 1214/ May 1800	64 yrs		Rabi ^c al-Awwal 1288/ May-June 1871	South side of Qal ^c ah-i Mulla Firuz in Kabul

/198/ One of them, Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, born on the eighth of Jumada al-Awwal 1207/22 December 1792 ascended the throne of the amirate of Afghanistan in 1254/1838 at the age of forty-seven. As a consequence of the English occupation he went to India under terms of the agreement set forth in volume one, returned to Kabul in 1258/1842 and again was enthroned.

*THE ACCESSION OF THE AMIR-I KABIR TO THE THRONE
OF THE AMIRATE OF AFGHANISTAN*

After the seven-day celebration and festival of light which marked the joyous occasion of the Amir-i Kabir's arrival in Kabul, another celebration was arranged and at an auspicious hour at the beginning of 1259, which is equivalent to 1843, he was again crowned, gracing the throne and fulfilling the regulations of the Shari^cah. His coins (dirhams and dinars) were minted with these verses:

By the grace and favor of the Great Creator,
Amir Dust Muhammad Khan again strikes gold coins.

At the moment when his enthronement took place and the amirate was again made lustrous, Afghan, Hazarah, Qizilbash Turk, and Tajik leaders came forward with gifts to render their obedience. Each was confirmed as head of his tribe and, in a state of satisfaction, then was given permission to return home. He pardoned all those, the dust of whose deceitful actions had clouded the mirror of his heart and caused him displeasure, leaving their final punishment to God and cleansing his rancor-free breast with the water of forgiveness. All except for Amin Allah Khan Lahugardi who was skilled at the arts of duplicity and trickery and, at one moment befriending one party would raise the dust of disorder, then aiding another, would pour the dirt of enmity over the heads of the people of peace and reconciliation. Him he did not forgive but instead imprisoned him for life. Amin Allah Khan died of a stroke while in prison. But no one else was compelled to suffer punishment inflicted by the sovereign.

THE EVENTS OF 1259/FEBRUARY 1843–JANUARY 1844

In the first year of his reign, the Amir-i Kabir took it into his head to conquer Bajawur. He dispatched an army there under two of his sons, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan. The force was made up of Durrani, Ghilja'i, Kuhistani, and Qizilbash horse and foot as well as a number of mule-drawn fieldpieces. The people of Bajawur rose to resist this army and in a fierce battle many on both sides perished. Eventually, due to the difficult mountain terrain and the agility of the brave men there, the two sardars retreated to Kabul, without having achieved their goal.

*THE CONQUEST OF BAMYAN AND THE HAZARAH REGIONS OF
BEHSUD, DAY ZANGI AND DAY KUNDI AS FAR AS HERAT*

Following the return of the sardars sent to Bajawur, the Amir-i Kabir unconcerned (for the moment) that the Afghans of that mountainous region would not submit and had taken the path of opposition, decided to subdue Bamyan and the Hazarahjat. He directed Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan to rest and assigned another of his sons, Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan, to go to the Hazarahjat. The region had withdrawn its obedience to Kabul and gone its own way during the confusion of the events surrounding Shah Fath Jang, Shahpur, and the English occupation. The amir provided him with a force and he left Kabul. Within a short time, he had compelled the submission of the Hazarahs of Bihsud, Day Zangi, and Day Kundi, and the residents of Bamyan and the land all the way to Herat and Turkistan. He returned to Kabul with quantities of oil (clarified butter), flat-

weave rugs, horses, cows, and sheep as well as the tax revenues owed in both cash and kind. He handed all of it over to the Amir-i Kabir, accepted his approbation and was the object of royal and fatherly kindness. /199/

*SARDAR SULTAN AHMAD KHAN CLAIMS A SHARE IN THE GOVERNMENT
AND IS EXPELLED FROM KABUL*

During these events, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, who harbored a desire to lead and to rule, showed his dissatisfaction with the generous salary (*tankhwāh*) which the Amir-i Kabir had fixed on him. His discontent arose from the agreement, mentioned earlier, which Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan had negotiated with him and in which he had been promised a share in the government. Heedless of the maxim “ten dervishes may sleep on one mat, but the entire world, by law, custom, and reason, is too small to hold two amirs,” he opened his mouth and began telling everyone, stranger as well as friend, what was on his mind. The Amir-i Kabir found out and tried to advise him, in a friendly fashion, to cease such talk but the sardar paid no attention. Eventually, having decided to leave the territory under the Amir-i Kabir’s control, he left Kabul accompanied by his family. Three kuruhs west of the city, he temporarily halted in order to prepare what he would need for a long journey.

The Amir-i Kabir sent his two sons, Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan and Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, whose uterine sister was married to Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, to see their sister and through her mediation try and dissuade the sardar from the course on which he had embarked. But he refused to listen and went to Sardar Kuhandil Khan, his uncle, in Qandahar. The latter received him with kindness and showed him all due respect and placed no obstacles of any kind in his path. Sardar Sultan Ahinad took his kindness and generosity as signs of his power and might and spoke to him of the injustices he himself had suffered. Then he made a request of him.

You are so far superior to your brother Amir Dust Muhammad Khan in majesty and power,” he said, “that you deserve to be the amir. If you would send an army with me to Kabul, you would soon have kingship over this region within your embrace. And if it should happen that he (Dust Muhammad) is unable to gain control over the country as far as Qandahar, then it would mean, that he would never be capable of fighting you.

Because of these words, Sardar Kuhandil Khan, decided to march against Kabul.

*SARDAR KUHANDIL KHAN SENDS AN ARMY AGAINST KABUL AND THE
(SUBSEQUENT) RECONCILIATION OF HIS BROTHERS WITH THE SONS OF
THE AMIR-I KABIR*

When, at the instigation of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, Sardar Kuhandil Khan prepared for the campaign, he selected four or five thousand cavalrymen and sent them to Kabul under Sardar Mihrdil Khan, Sardar Rahmdil Khan, and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan.

On learning this, the Amir-i Kabir, issued a farman to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan in Ghaznin and Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan in Kabul instructing them to take regular (salaried) Durrani, Ghilja'i, and other contingents of horse and infantry without wasting time assembling (other militia) forces, in order to prevent the Qandahar army from reaching Kabul. As quickly as they could, those two brothers departed Ghaznin and Kabul and made their base at Sar Chashmah-i Muqur.

From the opposite direction the sardars of Qandahar approached and pitched their tents facing the Ghaznin and Kabul force. The two sides spent several days getting ready to fight but ultimately, with no blows being struck, the Qandahari force sought reconciliation. Although Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan urged them not to make peace, they ignored him and put aside thoughts of combat. They suggested to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan and Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan that Sardar Kuhandil Khan and they would be happy with the government of Qandahar and its environs and would not meddle in any other affairs. The Amir-i Kabir in turn would not interfere with them.

After this, each side returned home, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan returning empty-handed to Qandahar with Sardar Rahmdil Khan while Sardar Mihrdil Khan went on to Kabul with Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan and Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan in order to remove any suspicion from the mind of the Amir-i Kabir. Thanks to their interceding on his behalf, he was granted a personal audience with the amir. He asked forgiveness for his and his brothers' misdeeds saying,

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan is to blame for this impudence; it was through his provocation that our actions threw dust on the bright mirror of the Amir-i Kabir's mind. Had it not been for him, we would never have given a thought to anything other than obedience. For this reason I have come to reaffirm my allegiance to the throne.

Accepting his apologies, the Amir-i Kabir, /200/ his mind cleared of the rubbish and detritus of suspicion, kissed him on the temple and put his mind at rest with brotherly reassurances and kingly kindness. He gave him leave to depart, sending him off to Qandahar with a warm letter.

Then, he named each of the sardars to a governorship of one of the provinces of Afghanistan. He named Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan governor of Zurmat and Katawaz. Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan and Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan he sent off to Kurram with an army first to win over the people there, and then Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan to govern after the population had submitted. He gave Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan the governorship of the Hazarah region of

Day Zangi, Day Kundi, and Bihsud. Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan he named governor of Lahugard. Ghaznin was given to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, Kuhistan-i Kabul to Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, and Jalalabad and Lamqan to Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan.

The tax revenues of each of those places was assigned as the *jāygīr* stipend of each of those princes. Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan appointed some people to govern Jalalabad and Lamqan in his name so as not to leave the service of his father. He did, however, lay out a garden-estate (*bāgh*) (in Jalalabad) as a winter home which exists to this day and which His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Habib Allah Khan) renovated and improved. A description of the renovation will be given in the volume devoted to his life, God willing. The wazir planted orange and other types of trees along all its avenues.

To sum up, each prince departed for his designated post and busied himself with governing it. The Amir-i Kabir (then) decided to organize a regular army. He created two infantry regiments, each of 800 men, in Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan's name; one 800-man infantry regiment in the name of Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan; and similar regiments in the names of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan and Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan. All told then five regiments, that is, five *gundak*, were organized and established. He (the amir) provided the salaries of these over and above the princes' *jāygīrs* so that each one would pay the salaries of the regiments attached to him.

THE EVENTS OF 1260 TO 1263/JANUARY 1844–DECEMBER 1847

During this year (1260), there occurred the auspicious birth of His Highness, the Light of the Nation and the Religion, the late Amir ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. The birth occasioned great joy for the Amir-i Kabir and all the royal family and a birthday celebration and feast were arranged. Only pleasant things happened in this year and, untroubled by problems, the amir spent the year attending to the affairs of government.

In 1261/1845, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan was born. This event too was the occasion for royal joy.

In 1262/1846, the people of Tikab, incited by Mu^cadh Allah Khan—better known as “Madhu Khan”—and Sahibzadah Janan, refused to obey the amir's edicts and attempted to withhold their taxes. This arose because for several years, as a result of the turmoil created by the English army and Shah Shuja^c as related in volume one, it had been impossible either to collect or assess taxes. Instead, people had remitted a few head of livestock to the leaders of their tribes in lieu of the tax revenues.

The people of Tikab had sent goats and sheep to Madhu Khan and become accustomed to not paying their taxes. But now that the Amir-i Kabir was firmly ensconced on the throne and fiscal officers of the *dīwān-i a^clā* were demanding payment of all fees and taxes (*bāj wa kharāj*), Madhu Khan and Sahibzadah Janan, who had come to like being given goats and sheep, resisted the demands of the officials and urged their people to rebel.

At first, the Amir-i Kabir sent his brother, Nawwab [°]Abd al-Jabbar Khan, to punish them. But they attacked the government at night and defeated the nawwab. The Amir-i Kabir then assigned the task to Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan and Sardar Shayr [°]Ali Khan and the three infantry regiments under their commands, as well as several artillery pieces, and some militia (Gushadah) cavalry. Once again, the government force was attacked during the night but this time Sahibzadah Janan was killed and the rebels were unable to advance their cause at all. The two brothers (Wazir Muhammad Akbar and Sardar Shayr [°]Ali Khan) then occupied Tikab and put Sahibzadah Fath to death beneath an elephant's foot. They also punished Mu[°]adh Allah Khan as he deserved, collected the *diwāni* revenues, named a reliable person from their own entourage as governor, and then returned triumphantly to Kabul.

THE EVENTS OF 1263/DECEMBER 1846–DECEMBER 1847

This year the Mulki Khayl tribe, which resided in Mama Khayl and Ashpan in the Jalalabad region turned their backs on the royal command and set off on the path of insolence. The Amir-i Kabir sent Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, who was suffering at that time from a fever, to punish them.

Meantime /201/ the [°]Id al-Fitr holiday came. The Amir-i Kabir, in the company of the nobles and common folk of the city, performed the holiday prayers on the Siyasang (sic Siyah Sang) field thus ushering in the celebration. On his return (to the city), as the festival guns were booming out a salute, there was an outbreak of cholera. Several of the soldiers who had been drawn up in ranks for the festival were struck down and took to a fatal sickbed. As quickly as possible, the Amir-i Kabir gathered up his princes, wives, and retainers and took himself away from the city to the village of Chahar Asya. During this, Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan died of the disease and was buried beside the [°]Ashiqan and [°]Arifan Cemetery. This obituary chronogram was chiseled into his marble tombstone:

A sigh from the mind, the heart out of patience cried
What a pity, the chosen of the age, Muhammad Zaman, has died

Shortly, thanks to the many prayers of the pious and to the mercy of God, the epidemic passed. The Amir-i Kabir returned to the city and offered up a *fatiḥah* as a prayer for his servants who had perished.

Meanwhile, Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan entered Mama Khayl and Ashpan, punished the rebels, and then, since winter was near, went to Jalalabad to spend the winter at the palace inside the garden-estate he had built there. But winter had not yet arrived when he was again afflicted by the same fever he had been suffering from when he left Kabul for Mama Khayl. But this time, the illness did not go away. His whole constitution changed and the signs of death appeared on his forehead. His officers sent word to the Amir-i Kabir of the

seriousness of his illness and the amir sent back to Jalalabad the wazir's mother and (his brother) Sardar Shayr ^oAli Khan to care for him. In their wake, the amir also dispatched Sardar Ghulam Haydar from Ghaznin so that if anything should happen, he would be there to deal with it in an appropriate manner.

After Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan's arrival, Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan's soul departed his body. He was thirty-one years old. In accordance with his last testament (*wasiyat*), uttered on his death-bed, they conveyed his body by elephant to Mazar-i Sharif in Turkistan and buried it at the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful, ^oAli—May God honor him. Because the death of that country-conquering wazir had occurred in 1263, one of the wordsmiths of Kabul found the obituary date in the phrase “Akbar’s sorrow.”¹

When the mirs of Turkistan learned of the burial of the wazir there, they began to spread the word that Turkistan would come under the jurisdiction of the Amir-i Kabir. The latter, after the period of mourning, named Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan as his heir-apparent (*walī-‘ahd*) and assigned him the two infantry regiments of the late wazir as well as the districts of Jalalabad and Lamqan which had been the wazir’s *tiyūl*-territory. The amir then named Sardar Shayr ^oAli Khan to replace Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan as governor of Ghaznin.

At this time, Muhammad Shah Khan Babakr Khayl Ghilja^oi, the lord of the Badi^oabad Fortress in Lamqan, began to stir up trouble. From time to time in the past, he had been the source of disloyal actions but the Amir-i Kabir, out of consideration for the late wazir who was married to Muhammad Shah Khan’s daughter, had taken no action against him. But now, however, with the wazir dead, Muhammad Shah Khan, worried about the consequences of his earlier deeds, fortified himself inside the Badi^oabad Fortress and began to incite the Ghilja^oi. Assembling a band of Ghilja^oi highwaymen, he told them,

It is going to be very difficult for the Ghilja^oi to live in a Muhammadza^oi state. So it is quite proper for us to give some thought to the future and to try and throw off the Amir-i Kabir’s authority over us. Let us knock down the foundations of his regime with the strong right arm of tribal solidarity and then seize the throne of sovereignty.

The Ghilja^oi, with their corrupted beliefs, approved of his words and began to attack and rob merchants and travelers.

The Amir-i Kabir left Kabul with a large force for Jalalabad, intending to quench the flames of the Ghilja^oi uprising. Until he reached the manzil of Barikab, the amir’s plan had been to enter the Lamqan district by way of the Adrag Badrag Pass and Kaj-i Muhammad ^oAli Khan and then bring destruction down upon the Ghilja^oi malcontents. But at that manzil, the amir learned through some of his supporters in that region, that Muhammad Shah Khan and a group of Ghilja^oi stalwarts had blocked the pass, which under any circumstances

¹ RM: The chronogram “*ghamm-i akbar*” also can be read “the greatest sorrow.”

was extremely difficult to traverse, /202/ and were planning to launch a night assault on the amir's force at Barikab.

On hearing this and knowing it would be imprudent to stay at Barikab, the Amir-i Kabir set off towards Jagdalak without bothering to stop at Barikab. Nor did he stay at Jagdalak but continued on to Surkh Pul. Having thus forestalled the threat of a Ghilja'i surprise night attack, he proceeded on manzil by manzil to Jalalabad. There Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan welcomed him with appropriate formality and ceremony. The Ghilja'is, their hopes frustrated, returned to the Badi'abad Fortress in Lamqan.

During all this, the mother of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan sent a letter to her brother, ^cAziz Allah Khan of the Jabbar Khayl. Apprehensive of the consequences of his behavior towards the late Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, whose direct command he had disobeyed, ^cAziz Allah Khan had fled, taken refuge in Kashmun and then joined forces with Muhammad Shah Khan. His sister's letter advised him that either he disavow Muhammad Shah Khan and come pledge his obedience (to the Amir-i Kabir) or he eventually would be punished by the amir along with (Muhammad Shah Khan) at which time her mediation would have no effect.

Before his sister's letter reached him, he had tried to persuade Muhammad Shah Khan not to spend time preparing his fortifications for a defensive stand but to have his brother, Dust Muhammad Khan, undertake the defensive preparations. He himself should put pressure on the periphery of the Amir-i Kabir's army so that it would have a difficult time re-provisioning itself, be unable to stay, and be forced to abandon the campaign.

At his advice, Muhammad Shah Khan marched out of the fortress of Badi'abad—so named ("Abode of Inventiveness") for the perfection of its plan—and began skirmishing with the forward units of the amir's force.

The Amir-i Kabir, meantime, placed Muhammad Shah Khan's brother under a very tight siege and in extremely dire straits. When the letter of the Amir-i Kabir's wife finally reached her brother, ^cAziz Allah Khan, he was relieved and first wrote a letter begging forgiveness for his misdeeds. In the course of his remarks, he also let it be known that

because of the fortress's impregnability, its conquest will prove very difficult. The Amir-i Kabir, therefore, should assign Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan to continue the siege while he himself concentrates on destroying Muhammad Shah Khan.

In reply, the Amir-i Kabir sent a note of reassurance and summons. ^cAziz Allah Khan then went to the court, touched the forehead of humility to the ground of the sublime threshold and was royally rewarded.

Following his suggestion, the Amir-i Kabir stepped up the siege and intensified the effort to capture Muhammad Shah Khan. When the latter found out about ^cAziz Allah Khan's submission to the amir and of the Amir-i Kabir's

plans for him, he fled up into the Kuh-i Kashmun. Leaving Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan to continue the siege, the amir set out in pursuit with both cavalry and infantry. At the foot of the Kuh-i Kashmun, he made camp. There he ordered his soldiers to bake three-days worth of bread rations and then climb the mountain and not come down until they had captured Muhammad Shah Khan. Realizing that the amir's men would eventually take him, Muhammad Shah Khan petitioned the amir to guarantee his personal safety. The Amir-i Kabir granted the request with the proviso that Muhammad Shah surrender the Badi^{ab} fortress to state officials. The latter, now ashamed of his previous behavior, agreed and petitioned the amir saying, "the fortress will be surrendered on condition it be spared demolition." His request was agreed to and then, by letter, Muhammad Shah Khan told his brother Dust Muhammad Khan to hand over the fortress to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan and then join him. Dust Muhammad Khan thereupon surrendered the fortress and joined his brother. With their families the two then left Kuh-i Kashmun for Farajghan. They established residence in the mountains between Kafiristan, which is now known as Nuristan, Lamqan, Najrab, and Tikab. They remained there for some time, still apprehensive of the consequences that might befall them for their actions. But as the Amir-i Kabir had given them immunity (*amān-i jān*) he did not bother them again but instead returned to Jalalabad to spend the winter.

*EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED AFTER THE DEATH OF MAHARAJAH
RANJIT SINGH AND LED TO ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF HIS TERRITORY*

When Maharajah Ranjit Singh died in 1839, he was succeeded by Gurk Singh, the first of his three sons (the other two were Shayr Singh and Dilip Singh). At that moment, Shayr Singh, his second son /203/ was stationed in Watalah, one of the sub-districts of the Punjab near Lahore. Gurk Singh was handicapped and sickly but his own son, Naw Nihal Singh, who was sufficiently intelligent and perceptive, was endowed with both wisdom and cunning, and had been a favorite of Ranjit Singh while the latter was still alive, knew that his father could not carry out the obligations of governing. Little by little he removed his father's hand from government affairs and gradually assumed power himself. This continued until Gurk Singh died in November 1840. His son, accompanied by his wazir, cremated his body as Hindu belief prescribes. As they were returning to the city, Naw Nihal Singh and his wazir were walking hand in hand and approaching the Saman Burj Gate of the walls when, through God's divine decree, their days came to an end. Without warning, two parapets over the gate collapsed landing on the heads of the shah and his wazir killing them. The flames of his father's funeral pyre had not yet died down when his own body was carried to the burning ground and cremated. As a memorial, the two parapets were left untouched and today remain unrepaired.

After Naw Nihal's death, his mother, Rani Chandar Kawr ascended the throne of her son with the consent of the country's leaders and ruled for four months subject to the approval of an advisory council.

During the rani's reign, her wazir, Rajah Dihyan Singh of the Dugrah tribe, wrote Shayr Singh, "Affairs of state are not turning out as they should under the hand of Rani Chandar Kawr. You should come to Lahore and ascend the throne." In similar fashion, all the notables at court separately addressed letters to Shayr Singh inviting him to Lahore. As a result, Shayr Singh, in a confident frame of mind, departed Watalah and entered Lahore. The people of the city and the prominent figures of the court welcomed him and escorted him to Sarnan Burj. As soon as he arrived, he took the reins of power and placed Naw Nihal's mother, whose reign had lasted four months, under house arrest in the palace where she lived.

Some time afterwards, he ordered his own servants to go secretly in the night and suffocate the rani with her own pillow. After that was done, Shayr Singh ruled without a care until he grew displeased with the wazir, Dihyan Singh, and decided to replace him.

It happened that he let Sardar Lahna Singh and Ajit Singh, the walis of Sind, in on what he wanted to do. But the wazir realized what he had in mind by interpreting what appeared on his face. He then conspired with Lahna Singh and Ajit Singh telling them, "there is no apparent difference between your own power and capability and that of Shayr Singh. You should dethrone him and assume control of the government yourselves." In their inexperience (rawness) they thought his words to be sound (well-cooked) and so awaited the right moment. In 1844, Shayr Singh departed Lahore for a time, going to a summer place in the suburbs to relax. At his departure from the city, he ordered Lahna Singh and Ajit Singh to take 166 horsemen each, bring them to his camp, and parade them on review. On the night after they had assembled these troops, they told Dihyan Singh, "when Shayr Singh is reviewing the troops tomorrow we will kill him."

On the appointed day, Dihyan Singh remained in the Saman Burj instead of joining Shayr Singh. The other two, determined to kill Shayr Singh, formed up their troops and led them before Shayr Singh. Leaving the troops some distance away, they entered the royal pavilion. Shayr Singh, admiring Lahna Singh's rifle which he held in his hand for the review and which, according to plan, was loaded, asked to see it. Lahna Singh placed the barrel in Shayr Singh's hand and gently drew back the hammer and fired. The bullet struck Shayr Singh in the chest, killing him. Lahna Singh immediately cut his head off, grabbed it by the hair, left the pavilion with Ajit Singh and then, accompanied by their troops, entered a garden-estate near Shayr Singh's court where Purtab Singh, his ten-year-old son, was staying. Him too they killed. Ajit Singh cut his head off and picked it up by the hair. Then they set out for the city with their troopers. When they approached the Saman Burj Gate, Dihyan Singh, according to the promises they had made, welcomed them amidst much celebrating. The two murderers of Shayr Singh and his son then dismounted and proceeded towards the gate. When they reached the gate, Lahna Singh and Dihyan each tried to get the other to go in first. /204/ Finally Dihyan Singh, at Lahna Singh's insistence entered first.

Lahna Singh then shot him in the back with the same musket with which he had killed Shayr Singh, killing him as well. The two men then entered the fortress. But news of this episode spread, eventually reaching Hira Singh, son of the murdered Dihyan Singh. Barefoot, with a rope around his neck, he went to the military cantonment at Miyan Mir Sahib seeking revenge for his father's murder. There he revealed to the assembled officers what had happened and with tear-filled eyes called for vengeance for the blood of the ruler, his son, and his own father. The regiments were all outraged by the calamity and like ocean waves, rolled inexorably towards the Saman Burj fortress to kill and plunder. They demolished the locked gate and poured into the citadel. Following a brief skirmish, they killed Lahna Singh. They searched for Ajit Singh and found him hidden in one of the furnaces used to heat the bath. Wood near the furnace door was lit and the fire killed him. Later his corpse was pulled from the furnace and decapitated. The remains of the two men were then placed in a room and every person going in would spit on them, curse them, and beat them.

Those events took place in 1844. Afterwards, Hira Singh put Dilip Singh, the (third) son of Maharajah Ranjit Singh on the throne while he himself assumed responsibility for the wazirate. Similarly some while later, Jawahir Singh, uncle of Dilip Singh, incited the army to assassinate Hira Singh whereupon he himself took the wazirate reins. Some while later he too was put to death at the hands of the army and La'l Singh, a box wallah (*tūshah-khānah-dār*), i.e. a quartermaster was given the title "rajah" and the office of wazir. Then, fearful that he would wind up dead like his predecessors, proclaimed general hostilities with the English, and ordered the army to Firuzpur.

On November 23, 1845, one thousand eight hundred and forty-five on the Christian calendar, the Sikh army having marched through both gentle and rough terrain, forded the Sutlej River. When Lord Harding, the Governor-General of India learned the news, he issued a proclamation on the thirteenth of December that since the Sikhs had violated the Treaty of 1809 and crossed the Sutlej, it was incumbent on the English to send troops to stop them. After issuing the proclamation, he mustered the Indian regiments available for such emergencies as quickly as possible and declared war. On December the nineteenth, the two sides met at Madaki. Seventeen Sikh field pieces fell into English hands and the Sikh army was beaten and driven from the field.

On another occasion, the Sikhs, gripped by the collar of pride, attacked the English at Firuz Shahr. much blood was spilled (on both sides) but in the end Rajah La'l Singh was captured along with seventy-three field guns.

On January 27, 1846, corresponding to 1262, the two sides again clashed. The site this time was 'Ali Wal, which is better known as Ili Wal, and again the Sikhs, under their general Ranjur Singh, were defeated. Many of them drowned in the sea of annihilation and fifty-nine of their guns fell into English hands.

Later, on February tenth that same year, a battle between the two sides took place at Sarakun. Sardar Sham Singh and a number of his soldiers were killed and the rest were soundly defeated. After this, they did not venture into battle with the English again. The English achieved their several victories because the

Sikhs lacked unity. Had it been otherwise, the English with their meager forces would never have been able to defeat the masses of Sikhs.

Whatever the case, the Governor-General of India, Lord Harding, entered Lahore after winning the war. Rajah Dilip Singh, the son of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, blamed the rebelliousness and sedition of his troops for all the trouble and asked pardon for his mistakes. He was forgiven and on March 9, 1846, a new treaty was drafted. In compensation for the costs of the war and for the insolence of the Sikhs, the territories of Jalandar, Duab, Kashmir, Hazarah-i Chach, and other parts of the mountain regions (*kūhistān*) were ceded to the English. The rest of the Punjab was left to Maharajah Dilip Singh. In addition, at the latter's request, a "resident," that is an agent for political affairs, was stationed in the Punjab. A number of "assistant residents," i.e. deputy agents for political affairs, were also sent to the central region of the Punjab to put matters there in order and to improve the welfare of the subject peoples.

One of these agents, George Lawrence, was sent to Peshawar while another, Herbert Edwards, was dispatched to the Derajat and ^{/205/} Bannu as wazir and hakim. Each one went to his designated place, began to organize affairs according to political law (*qānūn-i siyāsī*) and by spending vast sums of gold won the hearts of their subjects to the English government. No wine was left in the cup of Sikh authority and they ruled in name only. Having recently concluded the agreement, the Sikhs were unable to set foot on the path of opposition, until they were driven to extremes by English officiousness and the English regime, as will be discussed below.

*EVENTS OF 1264, ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOUR
(1847-48)*

This year, corresponding to 1849 (sic), the Sikhs hoisted the flags of assertiveness in the Punjab as a result of the resentment they harbored towards the English. Most prominent in the Sikh resistance was Diwan Mul Raj who led an uprising in Multan in which two Englishmen were killed. As news of the trouble spread, Chatr Singh rose in Chach-i Hazarah and led a Sikh army against General George Lawrence in Peshawar. The general escaped from Peshawar with his wife and sought the protection of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan in Shah Darrah-i Lahore for whom Sir Henry Lawrence, the general's brother, had once done a favor. But Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, with his Afghan sense of honor, weighed the favor done him by the general's brother against the immense favors done him by Ranjit Singh and his sons and reckoned the former as nothing. On December 3, 1849, equivalent to 1264 (sic), he handed the two, husband and wife, over to the Sikhs. Consequently, Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan acquired great prestige in Sikh eyes and through him they asked the Amir-i Kabir, with whom he was very close, for assistance (against the English). They also told him:

If the Amir-i Kabir helps us fight the English, we will cede back to him Peshawar and the Derahjat as well as the Punjab districts which in the past had been annexed to Afghanistan. We will give him these lands as a settlement (*na'l-i bahā*) after the resolution of the claim on them so that once again they may be a part of Afghanistan.

These declarations and statements were all laid before the Amir-i Kabir.

**THE AMIR-I KABIR LEADS AN ARMY TOWARD THE PUNJAB TO ASSIST
THE SIKHS**

When the letters of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan had been scrutinized by officials of the throne, the Amir-i Kabir decided upon a campaign, in view of the fact that up until this time the districts of the Punjab were under Sikh occupation and in view of the fact that there was nothing set out in the treaty of friendship between Afghanistan and the English government concerning their occupation of, or intervention in, those districts. He mustered an army and departed Kabul in the company of Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan and Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan, summoned from Jalalabad and Turkistan respectively, as well as Sardar Shams al-Din Khan and Sardar Shah Dawlah Khan. They reached Peshawar in record time and without stopping there headed for Fort Attock. When he reached it, he halted and advanced no further.

Colonel Sir Herbert Edwards in the meantime had been busy with the conquest of Multan. After three assaults he managed to take it and was now en route towards Gujarat. Chatr Singh and Shayr Singh asked the Amir-i Kabir at this point to send support to Gujarat to stop him. Choosing Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan, Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, and Sardar Shah Dawlah Khan, the Amir-i Kabir sent them with 5,000 cavalry to Gujarat. Before Sir Herbert Edwards approached and made battle preparations, the Afghans entered Gujarat and were given a warm welcome by Shayr Singh and Chatr Singh.

The Sikhs suggested to Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan:

The assistance rendered by the Amir-i Kabir in coming to Fort Attock and sending you here with 5,000 cavalrymen is more than enough and no further imposition is called for. As for you, you and your horsemen should stand off to one side when the battle takes place and just observe.

Because of his innate courage, Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan found this suggestion difficult to accept. When the battle lines were drawn on both sides, he was unable to stand back and decided to take part. /206/ Although Chatr Singh had advised him not to get involved, Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan refused to pay heed and plunged into the fray. On the twenty-first of February 1849, corresponding to the early part of 1265, he attacked the English in the company of the Sikhs. A fierce and bloody fight ensued. But in the end, due to a

lack of steadfastness on the part of his companions and associates, Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan had to turn his back on the enemy and flee. As a consequence of his rout, the Sikh army also suffered defeat and the English carried the day. Chatr Singh and Shayr Singh escaped to Rawalpindi and there put the earring of obedience on the lobe of acceptance. The English assumed control of all the localities and districts governed by the Sikhs and from that day forward they have governed the Punjab, Peshawar, and other places without hindrance or opposition.

Seeing control of that area pass into English hands, the Amir-i Kabir departed Fort Attock for Shah Darrah-i Lahore without saying or doing anything to oppose them. There he removed Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan, Sardar Sa^cid Muhammad Khan—all brothers of his—and their families and returned to Kabul.

When he reached Jalalabad, he ordered a halt, being apprehensive that the English might use his aid to the Sikhs as a pretext for conquest and invade Afghanistan. But after some time, during which no moves were forthcoming from the English side, he left Jalalabad for Kabul.

From this date onward, the eastern districts of Afghanistan came under English control and it has now been sixty-seven years that they have governed the Punjab, a former possession of Afghanistan, Kashmir, Peshawar, and the Derahjat with no resistance.

EVENTS OF 1265 AND THE CONQUEST OF LESSER TURKISTAN

Following his return from Fort Attock, the Amir-i Kabir turned his attention to the conquest of Lesser Turkistan (*Turkistān-i Ṣaghīr*). He assigned his son, Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan, to subdue the region and gave him a sizeable army including the two regular infantry regiments of the late Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan which had been re-assigned to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan. Sardar Muhammad Akram left Kabul and by the time he reached Bamyan, the mirs of Turkistan had learned of the campaign. They assembled a large force with contingents from Balkh, Mazar-i Sharif, Shibarghan, Andkhud, Tashqurghan, and other towns and tribal regions (*aylāt*) and rode towards Bamyan to stop the army from Kabul. At Siqan, they fortified and garrisoned the Sar Sang fortress and waited there, ready for battle.

On the Kabul side, Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan gave orders to Mirza ^cAbd al-Sami^c Khan and Na^oib Zu'l-Faqar Khan to climb to the top of the high ridges flanking the road with the infantry regiments while he himself with the Durrani, Ghilja^oi, and Qizilbash militia cavalry held the road directly in front of the enemy. The men on the ridges began firing cannons and muskets as Sardar Muhammad Akram pressed forward. The maneuver placed great pressure on the Turkmen and Uzbeks. Unable to hold their ground they were defeated and scattered, each to his own home.

After gaining the victory, Sardar Muhammad Akram entered Turkistan

unopposed through Darrah-i Suf and sent news of his triumph back to the court. A victory proclamation (*fath-nāmah*) was signed and issued by the amir in his name. The sardar chose Balkh as his headquarters. Every one of the mirs of Turkistan now came to Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan with gifts and were made welcome. All the most prominent figures like Ishan Uraq, the mir of Balkh and Nimlak; Ishan Sudur, the mir of Aqchah; Mir Hakim Khan, the wali of Shibarghan; Mir Baba Beg, the *ra'īs* of Ay Beg (Aibek); Ghazanfar Khan, the salar of Andkhud; Ganj 'Ali Beg, the mihtar of Khulm, i.e. Tashqurghan; Mahmud Khan, the dawar of Sar-i Pul; Shah Murad Beg, the *marzubān* of Qataghan—all came, signed their names to the farman and agreed to be obedient. They left their gifts with the sardar and returned enrobed and honored to their homes.

Since it was the first conquest of that territory taxes on lands and immovables were gradually assessed and portions of each region's revenues were assigned to the mirs as *jāygīr* which satisfied them all.

Sardar Muhammad Akrarn Khan governed Turkistan in an excellent manner /207/ in accordance with instructions issued by the Amir-i Kabir.

EVENTS IN HERAT AND THE STORY OF WAZIR YAR MUHAMMAD KNAN

During 1264, in the month of Shawwal (September 1848), the life of Muhammad Shah Qajar came to an end and the heir-apparent, Nasir al-Din Shah, succeeded to the throne. At this juncture, between the end of the reign of one ruler and the beginning of that of another, Hasan Khan Salar and Ja'far Quli Khan Kurd, both of whom had been the source of trouble during the late shah's lifetime, again hoisted the banners of independence and drew the sword of opposition to the viceroy (*wālī*) of Mashhad, Hamzah Mirza. Ultimately, however, after realizing they lacked the wherewithal to fight the man who had been given orders to punish them, they escaped from Mashhad and sought refuge with Arad Khan, the *ra'īs* of Sarakhs. They then decided to wait for the right moment to take advantage of the death of Muhammad Shah Qajar. When that time came, they incited the Turkmen people to assist them and they (again) moved against Mashhad. As the salar (Hasan Khan) made his way towards Mashhad, Ja'far Quli Khan, as Hasan Khan had directed, approached Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan in Herat to obtain his backing just as they had secured Arad Khan's. Meantime, as the salar approached Mashhad, mutinous Afshar and Hamadani infantry regiments began to loot the residential and market areas of the city. Consequently, the religious scholars and notables of the city sent Hasan Khan *sālār* a letter asking him to enter Mashhad so that perhaps he could put an end to the pillaging by Hamzah Mirza's regiments.

So it happened that Hasan Khan, realizing the letter perfectly suited his own goals, entered Mashhad unopposed in the company of Arad Khan, Qushid Khan Sarakhs and 2,000 Turkmen cavalry.

Meanwhile, at Ja'far Quli Khan's request, Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan, the viceroy of Herat, departed for Mashhad with a large contingent. The two men

entered the city suburbs together. However, the wazir, who outwardly supported Hasan Khan Salar and Ja^cfar Quli Khan, yet inwardly inclined towards the (Qajar) state, dispatched Mirza Buzurg Khan in secret to Hamzah Mirza who was under siege in the citadel. He carried a message from the wazir which said, "I have not come here to help Hasan Khan Salar. Rather I am here to assist you and to put an end to his insurrection."

While sending that message he also composed a guileful letter which he sent to Hasan Khan. It read, "I plan to enter the city tomorrow. Please assign me a place where I may camp." Hasan Khan *sālār* designated the Chaharbagh inside the city as his base and deputed Yazdan Baksh Mirza and the scholars and leaders of the city to welcome the wazir.

But when rumors spread that Wazir Muhammad Yar Khan was forging an alliance with Hamzah Mirza, Hasan Khan sent an armed force with the welcoming party with orders that if he should make for the inner part of the city they were to treat his arrival with honor and respect and see him settled at the headquarters assigned to him. But if he tried to get to the citadel and to show any signs of friendship toward Hamzah Mirza, they were to use force to stop him from joining up with him.

Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan, proceeding on the plan he had devised, said to Ja^cfar Quli Khan, "I must first go to the citadel and take possession of it. Only then can I enter the city with an easy mind." Unaware of the wazir's strategy, Ja^cfar Quli Mirza (sic) consented, making no attempt to dissuade him. Together they rode as far as the place where the road to the citadel diverged from the road to the city and turned off on it.

Hamzah Mirza ordered Ibrahim Khalil Khan and ^cAbd al-^cAli Khan out to welcome the wazir but when the people of the city saw this, they threw themselves at Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan as Hasan Khan had ordered them. But the wazir managed to get his men and the welcoming party safely to the citadel. Hasan Khan *sālār* and the people of the city were unable to prevent the wazir from linking up with Hamzah Mirza. Frustrated, they returned to the city, hope having turned to ashes in their mouths.

Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan placed Ja^cfar Quli Khan under arrest and set up a separate base for his force alongside Hamzah Mirza's. Two days later, because a shortage of provisions had put Hamzah Mirza's forces in dire straits, the wazir took some Afghan horsemen who had accompanied him from Herat and went out to the village of Gulistan to forage for supplies. There they acquired a quantity of grain. This act caused Hamzah Mirza to place increasing trust in Yar Muhammad. Several days after this, /208/ the wazir again left the citadel in search of grain. But this time Hasan Khan *sālār* sent a party of city people to attack him and caught him far from his base. After a fierce skirmish Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan's party was defeated and fled. When he heard this, Hamzah Mirza immediately sent an infantry regiment and an artillery unit to aid him and they managed to get him safely back into the citadel.

Following this setback, it was clear that Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan's

further stay in Mashhad was going to be difficult. He and Hamzah Mirza consulted each other and decided to leave Mashhad and go together to Herat and winter there. Then, once Nasir al-Din Shah got his affairs in order, they would equip and arm themselves and again march on Mashhad.

So they left Mashhad for Herat. Meantime Ja^cfar Quli Khan, who was held in custody, thought that this turn of events might lead to his own release. So he sent Hamzah Mirza a message in which he swore solemn and binding oaths that if the latter freed him, he would send the mirza 500 camel loads of provisions as well as 100 horses and 100 mules to ease his passage to Herat.

Because of all the difficulties he had labored under, Hamzah Mirza accepted Ja^cfar Quli's terms and set him free. With the approval of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and Ibrahim Khalil, he also bestowed a robe of honor on Ja^cfar Quli Khan and sent him off to the city. But when he was unable to fulfill his part of the bargain, the wazir and Hamzah destroyed as many of the buildings in the citadel as they could. The cannons they could not take with them were removed from their carriages and the carriages burned to prevent their being of use to Hasan Khan *sālār*. They then marched out of Mashhad. Hasan Khan and Ja^cfar Quli followed them for a while but then turned back. From Mashhad, the two then went to Ribat-i Nishapur where they established a base with the intent of blocking any army sent from Tehran to Khurasan.

Hamzah Mirza and Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan reached the outskirts of Jam. There they besieged Bahadur Khan who had captured and imprisoned several of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan's men at the time he marched from Herat to Mashhad. By way of revenge, they kept him penned up in the Fariman Fortress until the fifteenth of Zi Hijjah (1264)/15 November 1848 when Bahadur Khan sued for peace and in exchange agreed to supply their army with provisions. Hamzah Mirza in turn pardoned him and extended him guarantees of safety.

From there the wazir and the mirza continued on towards Herat. At the manzil of Shabash, Hamzah Mirza advised Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan that he would like to stop and winter there because of the abundance of wood and trees. When the latter agreed, the mirza made it his winter quarters. Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan then continued on to Herat from where he sent Hamzah Mirza a loan of 25,000 rupees and 1,000 *kharwārs* of grain. From the middle of Muharram 1265/mid-December 1848 until the end of Rabi^c al-Sani 1265/late February 1849, Hamzah Mirza remained at Shabash. At that time, Nasir al-Din Shah sent Sultan Murad Mirza "Husam al-Saltanah" from Tehran to punish Hasan Khan. When word of this reached him, Hamzah Mirza left for Mashhad. When he did, Wazir Yar Muhammad assigned Jabbar Khan Alikuzaⁱ and 1,000 Afghan cavalrymen to accompany him. The wazir's actions pleased the shah of Iran who sent him four cannons and bestowed on him the title "Zahir al-Dawlah." Amicable relations commenced at this time the two parties.

*EVENTS IN 1266/NOVEMBER 1849-NOVEMBER 1850 AND THE
DISTURBANCES RAISED BY THE MIRS OF TURKISTAN*

When, thanks to the good government of Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan, the tyranny, despotism, and depredations of the mirs of Turkistan had been curbed, these men assembled in Aqchah and began A sedition. They agreed on a strategy for opposing Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan and for fighting Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, who, at the order of the Amir-i Kabir, had been sent from Kabul. They then began repeated attacks and raids and generally bedeviled the sardars to such a degree that they were forced to send to the Amir-i Kabir for reinforcements. In response to the pleas of his sons, the Amir-i Kabir dispatched Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan /209/ as well as Sardar Muhammad Amir Khan, Sardar Shuja^c al-Dawlah Khan and a large force of horse, foot, and artillery from Kabul toward Turkistan. When they reached Ay Beg and set up camp, the local elders (*aqsiqālān*) of Qataghan who had not yet presented themselves before Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan and accepted his authority as they should have, at this time, showing more foresight, sent a delegation of elders with gifts to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan. They apologized for not having presented themselves to Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan and asked to be forgiven. Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan accepted their gifts, rinsed the dust of fear from their minds with the water of reassurance, presented the envoys with robes of honor, and gave them leave to depart carrying a manshur of friendship.

Discovering what was going on, the rebellious and corrupt mirs became apprehensive and their coalition fell apart. They returned to their homes, gathered together some presents, took themselves to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, and sought pardon for their misdeeds. After reassurance and the receipt of robes of honor they went home.

Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan wanted to keep in custody a number of them—Mahmud Khan, the former wali-governor of Sar-i Pul; Ishan Sudur, the *hukumrān*-governor of Aqchah; and Ishan Uraq, the mir of Balkh, all three of whom had, more than anyone else, been the instigators of the trouble. Then when he returned to Kabul he wanted to take them with him. But Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan, without commenting on his keeping two of the men, objected to his custody of Mahmud Khan and said,

Although Mahmud Khan engaged in enmity and hostility and has bedeviled and annoyed us, nevertheless it is better that he stay in Turkistan than be taken to Kabul. This is because now that he has entered through the door of peace-making he will no longer be a source of hostility and opposition. Moreover, he is an experienced man and ought to stay in this region.

To sum up, those two brothers (Muhammad Akram, and Ghulam Haydar) appealed to the Amir-i Kabir each asking that his position be upheld. The Amir-i Kabir issued a manshur which said, “

Since Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan will be returning to Kabul after straightening out affairs in Turkistan, while Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan will stay to govern, therefore whatever the latter decides is best will be, undoubtedly, most appropriate to the conduct of state and the safeguarding of the people of the country.

Following receipt of this order, Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, who had received no objections to transporting the other mirs, moved Ishan Uraq and Ishan Sudur with their families and retainers to Kabul. The Amir-i Kabir provided them with residences and adequate living allowances.

As soon as Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan departed, the people of Qataghan lit the fires of insurrection.

THE UPRISE IN QATAGHAN AND THE DEATH OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD AKRAM KHAN

When Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan gave orders for the return to Kabul, the people of Qataghan, who had earlier sent him gifts and put their necks under the yoke of his farman simply out of fear, now rebelled against paying the *dīwānī* revenues. Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan marched from Mazar-i Sharif with a large force to punish them. When he entered Tashqurghan, he was greeted by its governor, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, and accorded brotherly hospitality. While there he was stricken by the trio of pneumonia, consumption (tuberculosis), and pleurisy some of which he suffered from chronically. But this time it brought an end to his life. He passed away at the age of 33 in 1266/1849–1850 and was buried beside the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful (‘Ali b. Abi Talib) in Mazar-i Sharif. Because of his demise, the punishment of the people of Qataghan was postponed.

His twelve-year-old son, Sardar Shahsawar Khan, assumed his father's place as wali-governor of Turkistan. Through his uncle's, Sardar Muhammad Akram's, good offices, he performed the administrative duties until the Amir-i Kabir learned of Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan's death. Then when the mourning period was over and the voices of the *fātiḥah*-reciters stilled, the amir appointed the thirty-six-year-old Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, his eldest son, to be governor of Turkistan. Because the revenues of Zurmat, which at this time were assigned to him as his stipend, were insufficient /216/ to cover his expenses, some of the revenues of Turkistan were also allocated to him.

Sardar Shahsawar Khan received a farman of summons, traveled to Kabul, and kissed his grandfather's hand. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan entered Mazar-i Sharif and took up the duties of governing Turkistan.

THE UPRISE OF MAHMUD KHAN SAR-I PULI AND THE RETURN OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD SHARIF KHAN

In the meantime, Mahmud Khan Sar-i Puli realized that the Qataghanis

were bent upon a rebellion. He also noticed that the officials of the crown, involved as they were in other issues of state, were not particularly concerned with punishing those people. He thereupon set his mind on making himself amir and with a group of mutinous Uzbeks seized Aqchah. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan raised the flag of suppressing him and with the help of Mir Hakim Khan Shibarghani and Ghazanfar Khan Andkhudi undertook to crush him. A number of fierce encounters then followed but eventually Mahmud Khan was taken captive and as punishment for his activities was executed. The insurrection he had fomented now totally died out.

As a consequence of the glad tidings of victory sent by Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan at the end of which he spoke of the assistance rendered by Mir Hakim Khan Shibarghani and Ghazanfar Khan Andkhudi, the Amir-i Kabir was made mindful of their services. On Mir Hakim Khan he bestowed a robe of honor, the title "Nizam al-Mulk" and a patent for the government of Shibarghan. To Ghazanfar Khan he gave a robe of honor, the title "Amin al-Dawlah" and a patent for the government of Andkhud. Also to Ghazanfar Khan a signet ring was sent as another kindness inscribed with this verse:

From the kindness of the Just Amir
Mir Ghazanfar became Amin al-Dawlah

Later, Sardar Muhammad Sharif left for Kabul. Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan was sent from Kabul to Tashqurghan as his replacement. It had been Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan's plan to appoint Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan to a two-year term as governor of Tashqurghan after which Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan would take his place for two years. Two years after that Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan would return for another two years and so forth. Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan arrived in Kabul and was favored with an audience with the amir.

*THE APPOINTMENT OF EACH OF THE PRINCES TO THE GOVERNORSHIP
OF A REGION AND THEIR BECOMING ACCUSTOMED TO THE DUTIES*

After a brief respite, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan was sent by the Amir-i Kabir, to govern Hazarah-i Bihsud, contrary to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan's plan concerning the government of Tashqurghan. The governorships of Hazarah-i Day Zangi and Day Kundi as far as Duab-i Shah Pasand and including Bamyan was conferred on Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan. At the request of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, governor of Turkistan, that Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan and Sardar Zaman Khan be assigned to Turkistan to assist him should trouble from the mirs of Turkistan ever raise its head again, the Amir-i Kabir sent those two off to Turkistan. There Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan assigned Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan to the governorship of Aqchah and Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan at first to the district of Nimlak

and then sometime later to the governorship of Sar-i Pul. The three performed their administrative duties in brotherly harmony.

*EVENTS OF 1267/ ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN
HIJRI/NOVEMBER 1850-OCTOBER 1851; WAZIR YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN
AND THE OUTCOME OF HIS AFFAIRS*

During the aforementioned events which fell in this year, Wazir Yar Muhammad “Zahir al-Dawlah” learned that Ahmad Khan Ishaqza’i had allied with Sardar Kuhandil Khan, the governor of Qandahar, and had incited his brothers and him to occupy Lash and Juwayn. Ahmad Khan brought Sardar ‘Ali Khan, /211/ the son of Sardar Mihrdil Khan, and an armed force from Qandahar and had installed him at Lash. The other Qandahari sardars, at his urging, embarked on the conquest of Herat and arrived in Girishk. Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, the son of Sardar Kuhandil Khan entered Chakhansur with a sizeable force and occupied it. Wazir Yar Muhammad, meantime, was thrown into confusion and distress on learning of this. He raised an army of his own and prepared for the defense of Herat. A letter was sent to the Qandahari sardars which said,

Since we both are enemies of the Saduza’i we ought to be friends with each other and not exhaust ourselves fighting each other. We ought to stop the real instigator of all this trouble, Ahmad Khan Ishaqza’i, from any further provocations.

Immediately after sending this letter, he himself moved on to Lash. He swept Ahmad Khan from there with the broom of retribution, drove him far away, and occupied Lash himself. Despite the fact that Sardar Shayr ‘Ali Khan might cause him trouble, with gentleness and moderation, he removed him from Lash and sent him to Qandahar.

But during this, Wazir Var Muhammad Khan was stricken with fever and, leaving the army in Lash with his son Sa‘id Muhammad Khan, he took himself back to Herat. At the moment he entered the marizil of Ribat-i Mir, on the last day of Sha‘ban 1267/29 June 1851, his own life came to an end. His companions carried his body to Herat and buried it beside the resting place of Mawlavi ‘Abd al-Rahman Jami.

*THE GOVERNORSHIP IN HERAT OF SAFIID MUHAMMAD KHAN, THE SON
OF WAZIR YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN*

After the wazir’s demise and burial, his son, Sa‘id Muhammad Khan returned to Herat from Lash with his forces. The residents of Herat came out to welcome him and although he had not an ounce of intelligence, they escorted him into the city with full honors and acknowledged his authority. In addition, through an ‘arīzah-letter to Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar under whose protection

Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan had deemed the governor of Herat to be, they asked that Sa^cid Muhammad Khan be recognized in the governorship of his father. Sa^cid Muhammad Khan sent Mirza Buzurg Khan, a grandson of ^cAbd al-Ghaffar Khan, to the shah in Tehran. He carried gifts as well as the aforementioned *arizah*-letter which had been penned by the renowned calligrapher, Mir ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. The shah accepted Sa^cid Muhammad's gifts and concurred with the Heratis' petition. He sent Mirza Ahmad Khan "Nazim-i Diwan" back to Herat along with the Herati emissaries. The nazim carried condolences on the death of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and congratulations on the new government of Sa^cid Muhammad Khan. As gifts he brought a horse with gold trappings and a dagger studded with gems.

During this, a number of Heratis who had grown dissatisfied with Sa^cid Muhammad Khan because of his foolish behavior secretly corresponded with Sardar Kuhandil Khan and invited him to take Herat. At their request, he readied an armed force and left Qandahar for Herat, taking control of Farah and Isfizar en route. When Sultan Murad Mirza, the wali of Mashhad and the "Husam al-Saltanah," got wind of Kuhandil's movements, he ordered Sam Khan Ilkhani to take 700 (regular) cavalry to Herat accompanied by ^cAbbas Quli Khan *mīr-i panj*, three Khurasani regiments, six field pieces, and 1,000 Mashhad Gushandah cavalry. They were to camp near Herat and be on the alert. The wali also gave Sam Mirza permission to leave ^cAbbas Quli Mirza behind whenever he wanted to enter Herat. ^cAbbas Quli was to remain at the place chosen for their base and there await orders. Whatever Sam Mirza directed him to do he was to do. The two men thereupon rode to a spot two manzils from the city where ^cAbbas Quli Khan, after drawing rein and dismounting, decided to set up his base. Sam Khan, accompanied by his forces, entered Herat.

On the other side, Sardar Kuhandil Khan, following the victories of Farah and Isfizar, left contingents of the Qandahar army as garrisons, and with a sufficient number of troops proceeded on himself to a point four kuruhs from Herat. There he set up camp, drew up battle plans, and engaged in daily skirmishes with the Heratis and the horsemen from Khurasan. The two sides would engage and blood would flow until eventually Sam Mirza was exhausted by Sardar Kuhandil Khan's assaults and sent a message to ^cAbbas Quli Khan to leave the base and set up a new camp one manzil from Herat so that when Sardar Kuhandil Khan saw the army so close to Herat his vigor would be sapped.

At the moment when ^cAbbas Quli Khan made camp one manzil from Herat, Sam Khan's plan converged with what fate had in store. The conviction now grew in Sardar Kuhandil Khan's mind that the Iranian government would not withdraw its support of Sa^cid Muhammad Khan and would continue to send one army after another, if need be. He therefore decided the proper thing to do was to return to Qandahar. He sent a letter to the Iranian officials saying,

I came here at the request of some of the people of Herat. I was

unaware of the Shah of Iran's intention not to cease his support of Sa'īd Muhammad Khan, his commitment to extend assistance to him, and his desire to see him govern Herat. Now that I fully understand the way things are, I am returning to Qandahar.

After his withdrawal, ḡAbbas Quli Khan retired to Mashhad while Sam Khan spent a few days in Herat along with Mirza Ahmad Ishan who had brought congratulations from Tehran on the new government of Sa'īd Muhammad Khan. Sa'īd Muhammad Khan had a number of gold and silver coins minted with the name of Nasir al-Din Shah and gave them to the two men as gifts along with several bolts of silk and Kashmiri shawl and then gave them leave to return to Tehran.

EVENTS OF 1268/OCTOBER 1851–OCTOBER 1852

Because the Tukhi and Hutaki people living around Qalat along the Qandahar-Ghaznin road were a constant source of trouble and unseemly behavior and continually plagued merchants and travelers, they had effectively succeeded in closing the route to caravans, despite the fact that it was a heavily used road. As a result, merchants sent a petition to the Amir-i Kabir and asked him to reopen and then permanently secure the road. The Amir-i Kabir instructed his sixth son, Sardar Shayr ḡAli Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, to take an army and an artillery corps to Qalat, punish those two tribes, and then conciliate them. With a regiment of infantry, four field guns, and some militia and personal cavalry, he set out for Qalat. At Ulang Ribat, the Tukhis gathered and vowed not to submit but to bravely fight Sardar Shayr ḡAli Khan, as long as breath remained. They bound themselves to this decision with solemn oaths and a pact and readied their weapons for the upcoming battle.

As soon as Sardar Shayr ḡAli Khan arrived on the scene, fighting began. Combat raged until nightfall and no one could tell who had won and who had lost. Many on both sides were killed or wounded. Muhammad Afzal Khan, the son of Muhammad ḡAlam Khan Tukhi was one of the leaders from Sardar Shayr ḡAli Khan's side who was wounded. When darkness fell, the two sides disengaged. Sardar Shayr ḡAli Khan made his headquarters at Ulang Ribat and worked through the night to erect a strong breastworks (*sangar*) around his force. From then on, he would venture out of the *sangar* during the day to fight and then return to it at night until at last he gained the upper hand and defeated his enemy.

He collected the diwani revenues and a fine imposed on them for rebelling and decreed appropriate punitive measures. He also obtained a covenant from them in which they agreed that if merchants' or travelers' property should ever be despoiled, the village elders of that region would either make good the losses or hand the thief over to the governor and fiscal officials for inquiries. Moreover, they would (henceforth) not oppose the government nor engage in any activities that overstepped the bounds of obedience.

The sardar then withdrew, went to Kabul, kissed the hand of the Amir-i Kabir, and, after resting from the rigors of the campaign, was given leave to return to Ghaznin.

THE AMIR-I KABIR SENDS SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN TO TURKISTAN AT HIS FATHER'S REQUEST

While these events were going on, in response to a request from Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, the governor of Turkistan, the Amir-i Kabir sent Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan the latter's son there accompanied by his retainers. Because Mir Hakim Khan Shibarghani had, through ignorance, drawn his head through the collar of rebellion and Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan had him under siege in Shibarghan, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman went to Balkh and spent two months there without seeing his father. After the victory at Shibarghan and the humbling of Mir Hakim Khan, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan came out to welcome his father and greet him at Dasht-i Arzhanah on his return to Balkh. / 213/ From there he accompanied his father on the five-kuruh trip back to Balkh. There his father placed him, at the age of nine, in the care of a tutor.

EVENTS OF 1269/OCTOBER 1852– OCTOBER 1853

This year the governor of Qandahar, Sardar Kuhandil Khan, irritated by the fact that Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan had punished the Tukhi and Hutaki of Qalat—Qalat being the boundary separating the jurisdictions of Qandahar and Ghaznin—had made off with their taxes, concluded a pact with the Amir-i Kabir, and showed an interest in intervening in Qandahar and ultimately taking control of it, (because of all this) (Sardar Kuhandil Khan) sent his younger brother, Sardar Mihrdil Khan, with 4,000 battle-ready men towards Qalat. He also dispatched several field pieces and directed his brother to fortify the Qalat citadel so that if the Amir-i Kabir attempted to take Qalat, he could stop him there.

When he learned of Sardar Kuhandil Khan's plan, the Amir-i Kabir again dispatched Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, with orders to proceed to Qalat. On his heels, he sent Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan from Kabul with an army. En route the two brothers joined forces. When they approached Qalat, Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan's cavalrymen rode up to the walls but Sardar Mihrdil Khan drove them off with cannon fire. Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan then sent Shah Mard Khan to the foot of the walls to ask Sardar Mihrdil Khan the reason for opening fire on them. He answered, "I have stationed myself in this fortress at the order of my brother, Sardar Kuhandil Khan. I have opened negotiations with you through the mouth of my cannons to let you know that as long as I live I will resist you and prevent you from seizing control of Qalat.

Sardar Ghulam Haydar conveyed this message by letter to the Amir-i Kabir who realized that until he himself went in person and put out the fires of

dissension, enmity and hostility would never abate. Therefore he designated his fifth son, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan to govern and defend Kabul in his absence and, along with Nawwab ^cAbd al-Jabbar Khan, Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan, Sardar Sa^cid Muhammad Khan, a sizeable force and fire-belching artillery, he departed Kabul for Qalat. By the time he arrived near Qalat and joined his sons' combined forces, Sardar Mihrdil Khan had become even more entrenched and had blocked entry through the citadel gate by banking earth against it.

The Amir-i Kabir bypassed the citadel, intending to make his base on the flat top of a hill overlooking it from which his artillery could make life very difficult for the defenders once battle began. As the Amir-i Kabir marched past the citadel, Sardar Mihrdil Khan and his colleagues opened fire from the top of one of the higher battlements with a cannon which could reach the men marching by. Several of the amir's infantry and cavalrymen were killed by this fusillade. When he reached a place out of range of the cannon, the Amir-i Kabir made camp. He ordered his men to ascend the hill and fortify it and then he turned a watchful eye towards the Qandahar road in anticipation of the arrival of Sardar Kuhandil Khan who had left Qandahar intending to reinforce Sardar Mihrdil Khan and repel the Amir-i Kabir.

When the Qandaharis reached the manzil of Jaldak and made camp, Nawwab ^cAbd al-Jabbar Khan, who wished all his brothers well and tried to reconcile their differences, before fighting could erupt took Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan who was unaware of his intentions with him and rode off to see Sardar Kuhandil Khan, hoping to make peace. They held discussions with Sardar Kuhandil Khan, sowing the seeds of reconciliation in the field of his mind. The latter, realizing that he was no match for the Amir-i Kabir in terms of power and capability, even more, now considered his cause as good as lost, used as a pretext his regard for Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan who was the heir-apparent and said, "Out of respect for him, I will summon Sardar Mihrdil Khan, leave the Qalat fortress, and voluntarily return to Qandahar."

On hearing this, Nawwab ^cAbd al-Jabbar Khan replied,

Even though you would leave Qalat and end this strife still, since the Amir-i Kabir from Kabul and you from Qandahar have both come this far prepared to do battle with each other, it is only right that you meet with each other and do more to transform the feelings of ill-will into feelings of sincere friendship.

Sardar Kuhandil Khan would not agree to Nawwab ^cAbd al-Jabbar's suggestion and excused */214/* himself by saying, "The Amir-i Kabir has gotten what he wanted. He won't be any happier to meet with me nor will his feelings be changed." But Nawwab ^cAbd al-Jabbar Khan jumped up, grabbed him by the hand, forced him to his feet, made him sit with Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan in a howdah on the back of an elephant, and headed off to the Amir-i Kabir's camp with him in tow. Going on ahead, Nawwab ^cAbd al-Jabbar reached the Amir-i

Kabir after nightfall before either Sardar Kuhandil Khan or Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan arrived and told the amir that he was bringing Sardar Kuhandil Khan. Since it was pitch dark outside, the Amir-i Kabir took a torch and went out of his tent with his officers in order to welcome the sardar. When he saw the torchlight, the sardar dismounted and advanced on foot until the brothers met. The formalities of welcoming and greeting were performed and then hand in hand they walked for a ways before parting. Then Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan took Sardar Kuhandil Khan to his tent and showed him every courtesy and the two men sat down together and talked. The Amir-i Kabir and the others went to their own tents.

Sardar Kuhandil Khan thought, according to the protocol of Afghan honor, that just as he had surrendered the Qalat citadel out of deference to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan who had come to him so would the Amir-i Kabir, out of regard for his coming to visit, gracefully give way (and go home). But the Amir-i Kabir acted contrary to what he expected and when the subject of Afghan honor (*nang*) was brought up and Sardar Kuhandil Khan revealed his thoughts on the matter, the Amir-i Kabir said to his courtiers and intimates,

Whenever someone withdraws his head from obedience to the padishah and rebels, then asks for his own territory and the padishah gives it to him, it won't be long before the reins of government are broken and blood is shed. Every beggar will be an amir and every no-good a wazir. The country will be a shambles. If Sardar Kuhandil Khan does not give up these ideas of his, peaceful negotiations will turn to open hostilities and the matter will eventually have to be settled on the battlefield by the sword.

Hearing this, Nawwab ^oAbd al-Jabbar realized that matters were leading up to permanent hostility and so said to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan,

I took you to him and brought matters to where they are now. If I hadn't, Qalat would still be in his hands, and its conquest, had he not permitted it, would have been exceedingly difficult. If things should now turn out contrary to what Sardar Kuhandil Khan thinks they should, it will be a blot on your integrity. No one ever again will turn the face of hope in your direction on the basis of Afghan honor nor put trust in you.

Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan gave Nawwab ^oAbd al-Jabbar's words serious consideration and although it was the middle of the night took Sardar Shayr ^oAli Khan and went to see the Amir-i Kabir. He addressed him in this fashion.

Since Sardar Kuhandil Khan is the Amir-i Kabir's brother and has also come seeking refuge at the threshold of Islam in obedience and thinks

himself to be the object of favor and forgiveness, it is best if the citadel of Qalat be demolished and, on behalf of true reconciliation between both sides, not be occupied.

The Amir-i Kabir outwardly agreed to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan's proposal so as not to upset him and ordered the demolition of the citadel as being in the best interests of the time. But inwardly, in conformity with the law of politics that says one country cannot have two rulers, he laid plans for rebuilding it when the opportunity came along. The story of this will come in due course, God willing.

The next day Sardar Mihrdil Khan, who had already sent his troops out of the citadel at Sardar Kuhandil Khan's order but had himself remained behind, now abandoned it and it was demolished. Thereupon, the Amir-i Kabir gladdened the heart of Sardar Kuhandil Khan with fine ceremonial robes and they bade each other farewell. The two parties then returned to the centers of their respective governments.

SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN BUILDS THE CITY OF TAKHTAH PUL²

Because the city of Balkh had, with the passage of time, fallen into ruin, because its water and climate were also unhealthy, because Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan considered Friday *ziyārat*-pilgrimages to the shrine of the Amir al-Mu'minīn 'Ali where he would prostrate and humble himself an obligatory duty, and finally because of the distance between Balkh and the shrine, the sardar decided to build a city near the noble shrine (*mazār-i sharīf*). In 1269/1852–1853, he created the town of Takhtah Pul and supervised its construction over a period of three years. He completed residences, workshops, and markets. He laid out gardens and orchards and built a school for his son, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, to study in. He moved his residence to the new city and busied himself even more than before in the administration (of Afghan Turkistan). /215/

THE EVENTS OF 1270/OCTOBER 1853–SEPTEMBER 1854

This year the Tukhis and Hutakis reverted to their unruly ways and again began raiding merchants and caravans and committing highway robbery. The Amir-i Kabir, who had harbored the idea of rebuilding the citadel at Qalat said openly that it was essential to erect a fortress which could be garrisoned in the Tukhi district in order to give merchants and travelers protection.

Having prepared the groundwork, he dispatched Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan

² RM: This section is based on Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan's autobiography, *Pand-nāmah-i dunyā wa'l-dīn*, (Kabul: Matba'ah-i Dar al-Saltanah-i Kabul, 1303/1885–1886), p. 4. The *Pand-nāmah* is partly preserved in *The Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan* by Sultan Mahomed Khan (London, John Murray, 1900), vol. 1, p. 2 and in subsequent Persian translations of the English.

from Kabul at the head of a large force ostensibly to take punitive action against the Tukhi but in reality to rebuild the citadel he had demolished the year before. Before the sardar left, the amir revealed his secret plans to him telling him he was going there ostensibly to deal with the Tukhis but actually to rebuild the citadel as well. After his arrival in the vicinity of Qalat, he was to make his headquarters at the site of the razed fort and there proceed to rebuild it. Should Sardar Kuhandil Khan get wind of Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan before the latter arrived there, he would not be made wary (thinking he was only coming to punish the Tukhi). But if at some point, he should discover the real plan and try to stop Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan (from rebuilding the fort), it would be necessary to resist him. If he should then gain the upper hand, the sardar should plant the foot of resolve and await the arrival of the royal retinue.

In short, Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan set off with army and artillery. Arriving at his destination, he began rebuilding the citadel of Qalat on its old foundations and in as short a time as was possible had erected a solid fortification complete with sturdy towers and ramparts.

Meanwhile, Sardar Kuhandil Khan found out what was going on and began to assemble an army. While he worked to raise a force as quickly as he could, Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan meanwhile completed work on the fortifications, stationed his forces inside, and sat tight. Learning this, Sardar Kuhandil Khan temporarily postponed his departure in order to cast a large siege gun to breach the citadel walls. He cast such a weapon and had it mounted on a gun carriage. It was large enough for a four or five-year-old child to easily crawl into. While the gun was being cast, the sardar kept passionately vowing, "I will not abandon the struggle nor will I rest until I have razed the walls of the new fort with this gun and reduced it to rubble." On the day it was tested, however, the gun burst, the shot missed its target, and fifty people were killed or wounded by the flying shrapnel.

As the gun was being cast, Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan learned of the sardar's intentions and wrote him a letter of apology.

Since the Tukhis and certain brigands from the Hutaki tribe have injured travelers and businessmen en route between Kabul and Qandahar and stolen their property, in order to erase this problem, promote the well-being of both sides (i.e. Kabul and Qandahar), put a stop to the tyranny of the two abovementioned groups and end their despoliation of the property of the subjects of both sides, I have, at the order of His Highness, my noble *qiblah*, rebuilt the Qalat fortress and made it strong and secure. I who am a nephew to you but consider myself like a son, if you are content with my being in the fortress, then that is what is desired. If not, if an army has been assigned to drive me out of the fortress, well then that is your choice. The end.

When Sardar Kuhandil Khan finished reading the letter, he grew apoplectic,

especially in light of the bursting of his siege gun. This anger would give rise to a fatal illness and, as will be mentioned, he would abandon all hostility, and (eventually) die. Because of the bursting of the gun, he was unable to respond to Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan's letter. Instead, he pretended that the letter did not exist.

*SARDAR FATH MUHAMMAD KHAN IS NAMED GOVERNOR OF QALAT;
THE TREATY BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE AMIR-I KABIR; AND THE
DEATH OF NAWWAB 'ABD AL-JABBAR KHAN*

Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan spent an uneventful winter in Qalat. In the spring, as ordered by the Amir-i Kabir, Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan assigned Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, son of the late Wazir Muhamad Akbar Khan, to govern Qalat. He sent General Faramarz Khan and a regiment of regular infantry with Fath Muhammad Khan to garrison the fortress and guard it and the surrounding region. After their arrival in Qalat, Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan answered a farman of summons and greeted the amir.

Meanwhile, since the government of Great Britain had achieved complete mastery over Hindustan, enemies of Britain spread an incredible rumor which made Muslims and Hindus alike turn against that nation. /216/ The rumor was as follows: In place of the wax which sealed the end of the paper cartridge containing the powder and bullet which soldiers would tear open with their teeth during battle to pour its contents into their muskets, the English had smeared the cartridge end with pork fat for Muslim soldiers and beef fat for Hindus. As the rumor gained considerable currency, the two groups fell upon the English in unison and shed much blood. They rid much of India of their existence and took control themselves. The English, fearful lest the Amir-i Kabir ally with the Muslims and Hindus and invade India, conceived a plan and drew up a new treaty with the Amir-i Kabir. They sent him a letter and invited him to favor them with his presence at Jamrud, six kuruhs from Peshawar in order that he might forge a new treaty of friendship with the English government.

In response to their request, the Amir-i Kabir sent the heir-apparent, Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan to Jamrud accompanied by a number of other sardars and notables of the land as well as costly presents. But he himself did not go. When the prince arrived in Jamrud, the English came forward to welcome him, treated his arrival with great deference, and lavished favors on him. After the formalities were fulfilled, a new treaty was concluded between the two parties in 1855. It asserted that the friends of either nation were the friends of the other and the enemies of one, the enemies of the other. Amity between the two parties would be eternal and would never be broken for any reason. Neither side was to show consideration for a third party who was the cause of harm to the other party to the agreement.

This brief treaty was signed and sealed, each side presenting the other with a copy; then all parted and returned to their own quarters. In exchange for the gifts which Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan had given them, the English presented

several Arabian horses, an elephant, crystal plates and vases, and other valuable presents. Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan then returned to Kabul and was granted the pleasure of seeing the Amir-i Kabir.

During this time, due to Fate's ineffable decree, Nawwab ^cAbd al-Jabbar's life came to an end. He was a little more than seventy-four years old. He was buried beside Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan in the ^cAshiqan and ^cArifan Cemetery. An obituary chronogram, devised by Mirza ^cAbd al-Wasi^c Khan, a Kabul physician, was copied down for this book from his headstone.

First he took the head from (his) life and said /
Jabbar Khan's place is in the midst of Paradise.³

THE EVENTS OF 1271/SEPTEMBER 1854–SEPTEMBER 1855

In this year, Mir Muhibb Beg, an Hazarah from Day Zangi living in Yakah Ulang, rebelled against Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Day Zangi, refused to pay the diwani revenues, and fought him openly. Since Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, with only one regiment of Sakhlu infantry, did not have adequate forces to put down his rebellion, the sardar retired from the field after considerable struggle and was besieged in the fortress where he lived. He sent the Amir-i Kabir a sketch of the state of affairs and an account of the siege and the tyranny of Mir Muhibb Beg Hazarah. The Amir-i Kabir was grieved by the account and, turning to those seated at court, said, "Go and help Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan who is now facing battle and is under a tight siege." No sooner had he uttered these words than those who were present arose and departed for Yakah Ulang without even bothering to assemble in a group. The first to arrive (at Day Zangi) was Sardar Shah Dawlah Khan who was friendly with Mir Muhibb Beg. Because of that friendship he forthwith and with no discussion took him to Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan. He obliged Mir Muhibb Beg to make good on the diwan-i revenues and, after reassuring him and restoring him to obedience, Sardar Shah Dawlah Khan returned to Kabul. On the way he met Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan who was going to assist Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan. Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan upbraided him, asking him why he had not waited until he arrived before settling the matter and reaching an agreement with Mir Muhibb Beg. If he had done so, then he (Muhammad Sharif) would have gotten some of the credit. Sardar Shah Dawlah Khan had nothing to say in reply and they returned to Kabul together. /

217/

SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN COMES FROM TURKISTAN TO VISIT THE AMIR-I KABIR

³ FM: The numerical value of the last half of the verse is 1273. The numerical value of the 'j' which is the "head" (*sar*) of the word "life" (*jān*) is three which is subtracted from the total leaving a remainder of 1270 which is the date of his death.

At the same time that the men sent to Yakah Ulang were returning to Kabul, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, having completed the construction of Takhtah Pul, named Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan who had just turned twelve as his *locum tenens* (*qā’im maqām*) and left for Kabul to visit His Highness the Amir-i Kabir. He took with him many gifts including fast horses, Bactrian (*kūh kūhān*) transport camels, expensive Tatar, Chinese, and Bukharan objects, and gold coins. He was honored to be received in audience by his justice-instructing father, enjoyed the happiness of paying him homage, and all his gifts were accepted.

After he had left for Kabul, Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan set to work governing Turkistan following the instructions his upstanding father had left him. Without the guidance of a tutor (*lālā*) or mentor (*mu’addib*), he worked on his studies every morning until nine,⁴ by the twenty-four hour reckoning of the day in which the hour of twelve is the middle of the day and the night. This system is contrary to the system oriented to sunrise and sunset so that in some countries the hour of twelve is used for one of two times of day. From nine o’clock⁵ in the morning until two in the afternoon he would hold court and dispense justice to both civilian and military victims of tyranny as well as carry out other administrative matters. After closing court and eating, from three o’clock on was set aside for a nap. His schedule from evening until nighttime was: After rising from his nap, he would wash his face and hands then ride out with his retinue and courtiers through scenic parks, orchards, and gardens in order to take the air and clear his head. This was his regimen for six months. The amir was informed of his political skill from the reports of the intelligence agents in Turkistan and conferred on him the government of Tashqurghan which had been held up until this point by Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan.⁶

The Amir-i Kabir had Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan write and send a congratulatory manshur to Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman on the appointment. Then the amir sent a *hukm*-order to Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan to come to Kabul after Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan reached Tashqurghan. As soon as [◦]Abd al-Rahman saw the signature of his noble *qiblah* (i.e. his father, Muhammad Afzal Khan) and the instructions written for him, he left Takhtah Pul for Tashqurghan with 1,000 cavalry, 2,000 *khāssahdār* infantry and six field guns. Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan welcomed him as warmly as if he had been his son, conducted him with full honors to the seat of government, and then himself departed for Kabul where he paid homage to (kissed the hand of) the Amir-i Kabir.

During this auspicious time, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan appointed

⁴ RM: *Pand-nāmah*, p. 4 says “eight o’clock.”

⁵ RM: See preceding note.

⁶ RM: This and subsequent sections in this volume dealing with Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan’s life are largely, but not completely, based on the *Pand-nāmah-i dunyā wa’l-dīn*. A full comparison of the three works, *Sirāj al-tawārīkh*, *Pand-nāmah-i dunyā wa’l-dīn*, and *The Life of Abdur Rahman* remains to be done.

Haydar Khan son of Mahmud Khan Bayat to serve as his son's deputy and advisor in Tashqurghan. Haydar Khan was one of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's most trusted confidants and commanded 200 horse with drums and banner. Haydar Khan was sent from Kabul. Because his new advisor was a person with close ties to many people, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan held him in the highest esteem. In Tashqurghan, the sardar followed the same schedule of study, audiences, rest, and riding for pleasure that he had followed in Takhtah Pul. In addition to his daily schedule, he would spend most of his Fridays and any spare time hunting. He never spent his nights away, however, but would always return to the city. After he had been living this way in Tashqurghan for five months, his father was given leave to return to Turkistan. He stopped first in Tashqurghan and after seeing his son he had his ('Abd al-Rahman's) mother move her residence to Tashqurghan to put the domestic affairs of her son to rights. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan then returned to Takhtah Pul and his administrative duties.

Besides settling disputes and investigating the claims of plaintiffs and petitioners, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, threw wide the door of generosity and began reducing taxes on the lands and improvements of people who had endured some hardship. He also bestowed robes of honor, presents, and *tankhwāh* salaries on his retainers and other people. /218/

THE DEATH OF SARDAR MIHRDIL KHAN AND SARDAR KUHANDIL KHAN AND DISSENSION AMONG THE QANDAHAR SARDARS

On Friday, the 27th of Jumada al-Thani 1271/17 March 1855, after fifty-nine years Sardar Mihrdil Khan's life came to an end. He was buried at the Mazar of Hazrat Ji Sahib.

On Tuesday, the 7th of Dhu'l-Hijjah in the same year/21 July, Sardar Kuhandil Khan also passed away. He was sixty-three years old. His death was caused by dropsy. He too was buried at the Mazar-i Hazrat Ji Sahib which is located just outside Qandahar. He passed from the world, exchanging his throne for the tomb. After his burial, a dispute over the question of who should govern Qandahar arose between Sardar Rahmdil Khan and the sons of Sardar Kuhandil Khan among whom were Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, Sardar Sultan 'Ali Khan, Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan, Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Uthman Khan. Sardar Rahmdil Khan believed that he deserved the government and so wanted to succeed to the throne and put the region's affairs in order.

But the sons of Sardar Kuhandil Khan were resolved to confer the nominal power of the government on Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan in their father's stead, based on the right of inheritance, with the other sons holding their own places independently under his aegis. This led to dissension between the two sides. Each returned home in a rancorous frame of mind and began preparing the instruments of war.

THE EVENTS OF 1272/SEPTEMBER 1855–SEPTEMBER 1856

The two sides spent a few days hurling invective and generally spoiling for a fight. Neither would accept the other's authority and both prepared for battle, weapons readied. Sardar Muhyi al-Din in Dahrawad of Tirin, learning of his father's death, joined his brother in Qandahar. At that moment fighting broke out between the sons of Sardar Kuhandil Khan who were inside their father's house in the Qandahar citadel (*arg*) and the sardars who supported Sardar Rahmdil Khan who were also inside the citadel at his house. Fighting also occurred outside the citadel between backers of the two camps.

Inside and outside the citadel the two sides opened fire on each others' houses. Inside the citadel were Sardar Rahmdil Khan and his sons, Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan and Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan Tarzi. Outside were Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, Sardar 'Abd al-Rasul Khan, and Sardar 'Abd al-Ahad Khan, the sons of Sardar Purdil Khan; Sardar Khushdil Khan, Hajji Munawwar Dil Khan and Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan, the sons of Sardar Mihrdil Khan; and Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan, the son of Sardar Mir Afzal Khan. These were all backers of Sardar Rahmdil Khan. Their homes were between the citadel and the Chahar Suq and closer than other buildings to the citadel. From there they attacked their opponents inside the citadel, firing from the roofs of their homes at the houses of their enemies and in turn being fired upon. This house-to-house fighting raged for several days during which Sardar Muhammad Ghulam Khan, the son of Mir Afzal Khan, was killed. The townspeople lived in fear of stray bullets hitting their houses. Finally the scholars and sayyids placed Qur'ans on their heads and offered their mediation to put an end to the strife. With prayers and calls for peace, they succeeded in getting the two sides to put an end to the overt hostilities.

After the shooting stopped, the religious leaders set out to secure an accord and with the agreement of the two sides opened negotiations with the following proposal:

Since Sardar Rahmdil Khan is an experienced older man and the brother of the late Sardar Kuhandil Khan, the government ought to be entrusted to him. The sons of Sardar Kuhandil Khan should have no right to interfere. However, each of them should receive an adequate allowance from the diwani revenues.

The sons of Sardar Kuhandil Khan rejected the terms at first. But eventually, after Sardar Rahmdil Khan had won over Sardar Muhyi al-Din Khan with kind and conciliatory words and turned him away from his brothers, they had no choice but to accept the terms proposed by the religious scholars under the auspices of the Qur'an. Outwardly, they agreed to the terms, removed their hands from the rope of resistance and their feet from the arena of contention, and closed their lips. But inwardly, unhappy with the terms of the peace, they

seethed. Both sides finally left the decision to the the Amir-i Kabir and requested that /219/ he come from Kabul to Qandahar. They promised to accept whatever he decided was appropriate to end the discord. In short, after calling a truce and sending petitions to officials at the court, Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan, and Sardar Muhammad 'Usman Khan left Qandahar for Pusht-i Rud, their *jāygīr*, to straighten out affairs there and then return to Qandahar when the Amir-i Kabir arrived.

HIS HIGHNESS THE AMIR-I KABIR'S JOURNEY FROM KABUL TO QANDAHAR

After the letter of the Qandahar sardars reached Kabul, Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan, governor of Ghaznin, was ordered by his father to proceed to Qandahar. Before the Amir-i Kabir's own entourage began its march from Kabul, the sardar left Ghaznin with an armed force and several field guns. Shortly after him, the Amir-i Kabir left Kabul. When Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan arrived near Qandahar, the sardars of the city came to welcome him and show him their fullest esteem. They then escorted him and his entourage to the English cantonment at the northwest corner of the city and then returned to their homes inside the city. Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan then set about his business in a competent and able manner. Each day when he entered Qandahar to meet and to pay return visits to the Qandaharis, he would be accompanied by 100 men from the regular infantry regiment in the style and manner of princes and great men. He would spend a day meeting with one of the sardars and then return to his base for the night. When he did so he would leave fifty men at Sardar Mir Afzal Khan's and take fifty back with him. In this way he introduced 880 regular infantrymen into the city and no one knew it. He also smuggled six mule swivel-mount guns into the city, wrapped up in gilims and bedding.

The Qandahari sardars did not consider the terms proposed by the scholars to be very substantial. As a result, the partisans of both sides spent their days patrolling the city's alleys and streets armed to the teeth, on the alert, and ready to fight if need be.

This situation coincided with Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan's plans and he asked the sardars in a solicitous fashion,

My soldiers have to come into the city to buy necessary supplies. Since you all do not yet trust each other, a key to one of the city's gates should be given to my men so that if your people start trouble with any of my soldiers because of mistaken identity, they could open the gate, return to the base, and avoid injury.

The Qandaharis agreed and handed over the key to one of the gates. During this time, news circulated of the approach of the Amir-i Kabir with an army. The Qandahari sardars, in anticipation of the arrival of the amir, had provisioned

every stopping place between Kalat and Qandahar with the most delicious wholesome foods and sweets possible, all fit for a king.

When the amir reached Qal'ah-i A^czam, all the sardars, khans, and notables of Qandahar came out to welcome him and together they marched into the city. The Amir-i Kabir made his headquarters at Dih-i Khwajah and his welcomers returned to their homes.

The next day, the Amir-i Kabir summoned the “Khan-i ‘Ulum,” Qazi Muhammad Sa^cid Khan, to be brought in a litter. The latter had received the title “Khan-i ‘Ulum” from Shah Mahmud but at this time had been dismissed from the office of qazi-judge. The Amir-i Kabir honored him with a robe of silk brocade from the Royal Wardrobe and conferred the office of qazi-judge of Qandahar on him again. He placed him in his litter and instructed that a herald proceed him into Qandahar and declare the dismissal of Qazi Mulla Ghulam who up until now had sat in the qazi’s seat. The herald was to proclaim the appointment of Qazi Muhammad Sa^cid Khan and so inform the entire populace of the fact.

The Amir-i Kabir also sent a message at this time to Sardar Rahmdil Khan saying, “I am coming into the city to recite a *fātiḥah* for the late sardars, Kuhandil Khan and Mihrdil Khan.” Once he entered the city he called out the regular infantrymen whom Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan had (surreptitiously) brought into the city and who to this point had been moving about the city incognito. / 220/ They formed up in ranks and he ordered them to stay where they were.

Back at the amir’s headquarters were many of his sons, nephews, and grandsons. These included his sons Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan; Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan; Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan; Sardar Ahmad Khan; Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan; Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan; Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan; Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan, the commander of the artillery corps; Sardar Muhammad Karim Khan; Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan; Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan; and Sardar Sayf Allah Khan, his *wakīl*; his grandsons (the sons of Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan), Sardar Muhammad Khan and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, the latter of whom because of some grievance had gone to Qandahar on the pretext of reciting a *fātiḥah* for his father but had then turned again to the throne, been forgiven, and come to Qandahar with the amir; Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan; and Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan; Sardar Shahsuwar Khan, son of the late Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan; and Sardar Shah Dawlah Khan. All these men had traveled with the Amir-i Kabir from Kabul. At this time, he left them at his headquarters, taking only Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan with him into the city. Once inside the city, Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan also joined him. After performing the evening prayer, he left Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan in the city as before and returned to base with Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan. The next day the sardars of Qandahar turned over all the keys of the city gates to the amir’s officials. Then, in accordance with the amir’s wishes, guards chosen from the Kabul force were posted at all the gates to prevent the people inside the city from causing injury to any of the men from Kabul.

Later the two contending parties attended an audience conducted by the Amir-i Kabir and each one was given the chance to speak on his own behalf. When each had stated his claims and the discussion had gone on for a long time, the Amir-i Kabir found himself fed up with it all. In addition, winter was approaching. So the amir addressed the sardars and said,

1 have come here at your request to put an end to the dissension. It is not clear how much time will be needed to sort out the right from the wrong and to conclude a peace between the two sides. The roads are already closed because of heavy snow and severe cold so that in no case can I entertain the thought now of returning to Kabul. Therefore you are to clear the citadel and prepare a residence there for me. I will make it my home until I am able to end the conflict between you and restore the peace. I will try to do what is best for you keeping your welfare always uppermost in my mind.

Agreeing to the amir's order, they lodged him in the citadel. Eventually, when the thread of concord could not be tied nor the wounds of discord bandaged by the amir's capable ministrations, he was driven to decide,

The reins of the administration of the city being in the hands of the government, whatever number of soldiers is necessary should be assigned from the Kabul force currently present to protect the city and the region and to be stationed here. Their salaries are to be drawn from the tax revenues of the districts of Qandahar. Any surplus remaining after the troops are paid will be allotted to the sardars of Qandahar.

The Qandahar sardars, unable to do anything but agree because of their internal bickering, were compelled to acknowledge and accede to the amir's authority. Then the Amir-i Kabir examined the revenue accounts of the Qandahar districts and compared them with the salaries of the soldiers to be stationed there. The review revealed a surplus of 16 laks of rupees which was allocated as follows:

Sardar Rahmdil Khan	5 laks
Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan	2 laks
Sardar Khushdil Khan	1.7 laks
Sardar Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan	1.2 laks
Sardar Shayr ^o Ali Khan	1 lak
Sardar Sultan Sa ^c id Khan	1 lak
Hajji Munawwar Dil Khan	.7 laks (70,000 rupees)

These amounts were recorded and allocated as annual stipends (*tankhwāh*). The remaining two laks, 36,00 rupees (sic) laks were distributed amongst the

rest of the sardars according to status.

Now the Amir-i Kabir had to deal with Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan, and Sardar Muhammad 'Uthman Khan. As mentioned above, they had gone to Pusht-i Rud but had not come to pay their respects to His Highness the Amir-i Kabir. He sent them another farman telling them that if there were surplus revenues beyond what was sufficient for their expenses the revenues allocated to them would be decreased by that amount and the surplus would be appropriated to employ *nawkars* in Pusht-i Rud. But they refused to come see him and were not at all pleased with the idea that their *jāygīr*-grant might be reduced.

Their failure to come did not bother the Amir-i Kabir and he began re-organizing the region's finances according to this plan. The plan aroused a number of the Qandahar sardars who said to each other,

By this strategem, the Amir-i Kabir is taking our territory and placing it under his control. /221/ By allocating *tankhwāh*-stipends, he has effectively stopped our tongues from demanding our rights. If his plan is gradually implemented and his control over Qandahar becomes stronger he will also take our *tankhwāh*-stipends away.

Thus one day Sardar Rahmdil Khan voiced a complaint to the Amir-i Kabir saying,

The *kulāh*-caps which were on our heads fell to the ground in our childish games and we asked you to come from Kabul and put them back on our heads. But now, contrary to what we had in mind, those hats have been cut into little pieces and handed out to others. Moreover, it has led to your taking up residence here.

The Amir-i Kabir replied with a smile,

Your caps were torn to pieces in your own childish play. Had I not stayed in Qandahar but returned to Kabul, then it goes without saying that your nephews would not have offered you their obedience but would have again caused you trouble.

These remarks worried the sardars of Qandahar even more. Sardar Rahmdil Khan, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, and Sardar Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan wrapped their feet in the skirt of patience but the others fled in fear towards Shurabak. There they set themselves up, drew the sword of opposition from its scabbard, and began to plunder the property of the people.

At the Amir-i Kabir's command, Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, the heir-apparent, assigned his brother, Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan, and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, son of the late Sardar Muhammad 'Azim Khan, with his own personal force along with their horsemen to pursue the fugitives. When

those two sardars reached the edge of Shurabak, the fugitives, knowing they did not have the power to resist, withdrew towards Malkhan, in Garmsir, where they stopped and regrouped.

Sardar Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan and Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan found Shurabak vacated by the fugitives and so returned to Qandahar. But before they reached Qandahar, the Amir-i Kabir, who had learned that the fugitive sardars had chosen Malkhan as their base, immediately sent off Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, his son, along with Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan, son of the late Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, and a sizeable force to Malkhan through Pusht-i Rud and along the banks of the Hirmand River. He instructed them to reconcile those people and direct them from the path of vanity to the highway of good behavior. When the Amir-i Kabir's representatives neared Malkhan, the fugitives shut and barred the gate of the fortress where they were ensconced and prepared for a siege. Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan and Sardar Jalal al-din Khan laid siege and made matters very difficult for the defenders who were so hard-pressed that they (soon) sought a truce. Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan offered them immunity and by means of solemn oaths quieted their fears. He told them if they came out of the fort they could choose either to go to the Amir-i Kabir or to any other place they wished. If they decided on Qandahar, the stipend that the Amir-i Kabir had already assigned to them would be confirmed. They relied on his oath and surrendered the fortress. Three of them—Sardar Shayr [◦]Ali Khan, Sardar Sultan [◦]Ali Khan and Sardar Muhammad [◦]Alam Khan—decided to go to Iran; the others returned with Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan to Qandahar where through his mediation they were pardoned and honored with the *tankhwāh*-stipend already assigned to them.

**SARDAR SULTAN AHMAD KHAN AND SARDAR SULTAN MUHAMMAD
SEND A LETTER TO THE SHAH OF IRAN AND THE EXPULSION OF
SARDAR SULTAN AHMAD KHAN**

After the return of the fugitive sardars, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, whose mind had not been cleansed of the contamination of rancor and hostility, persuaded Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan to join forces with him and together they sent a petition to Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar. In it they proposed that if he assisted them with an Iranian army they would get rid of the Amir-i Kabir, annex Afghanistan to Iran, and put themselves at his service. But en route, the letter fell into the hands of a partisan of the Amir-i Kabir and through him was brought to the attention of the amir's officials. When the amir himself learned about it, he immediately exiled Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan to Iran. He chastised Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan,

For a while in Shahdarrah-i Lahore, you were a partisan of the Sikhs who killed your older brother and took Peshawar and the Derajat from you. Pleased with the *tiyūl*-grant they offered, you became one of their

supporters. Now, despite the fact that you are my brother and despite the fact that I have assigned you as *jāygīr* a share of this country which God has entrusted to me /222/ and freed you from dependence on the Sikhs, despite all that you have taken the path of enmity.

After saying this, he criticized his brother for his behavior and then forgave him and again stated,

Despite these acts of yours, I will never harbor hatred or enmity in my heart towards you. I have always and will always put myself in God's care. Whenever you are troubled by the travails of travel, come to Kabul, and there rid yourself of your fatigue."

Embarassed by being treated so kindly Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan went to Kabul.

Meanwhile, Sardar Shah Dawlah Khan, without noticing the anger on the Amir-i Kabir's face on his account, went to Kabul at the urging of his own conscience. From there he traveled to the Hazarahat and thence by way of Herat to Iran.

Also during this period, Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan because of a fever he was suffering from, received permission from the Amir-i Kabir to return to Ghaznin, the seat of his government.

*THE MURDER OF SAFIID MUHAMMAD KHAN, SON OF WAZIR YAR
MUHAMMAD KHAN, THE GOVERNOR OF HERAT*

During these events, Sa°id Muhammad Khan, who as already noted had become nominal governor of Herat following the death of his father, was forced by circumstances to carry out the duties of governor under the aegis of his mother. Because of his intellectual shortcomings, he had opened the hand of profligacy and dispensed a great deal of cash and goods to every wretch and beggar. In addition, he had perpetrated acts which exceeded the bounds of reason. On one occasion, he was rebuking his mother who had a residence in the citadel. Deranged, he aimed a cannon at the walls of the citadel and began shooting holes in it meantime dancing with glee every time the cannon went off.

On another occasion he was seated, holding a public audience, when he spotted a cat walking along the top of a wall. Losing all self-control he began cackling with laughter and said, "If this cat were to turn into a cow, how could it walk on top of the wall?" To make a long story short, the Durrani khans and the people of Herat despaired because of his madness and mental incapacity and, as mentioned earlier, invited Sardar Kuhandil Khan to take control of the government of Herat. But after leading an army to Herat, he withdrew from its environs when the shah of Iran sent help to Mir Sa°id Muhammad Khan.

Later, Na°ib °Isa Khan Bardarani waited for the right opportunity and then secretly summoned to Herat Prince Muhammad Yusuf son of Prince Malik

Qasim son of Hajji Firuz al-Din son of Timur Shah, who resided in Mashhad. On the evening of Tuesday, the 3rd of Muharram 1272/15 September 1855, he arrived in Herat with 100 cavalrymen and claimed its government. The Alkuza'i khans, having imbibed the cup of sleep, fallen unconsciousness, and let their heads be where their feet should be, were brought to their senses and rudely awakened by the drums proclaiming his rule. Placing their feet in the valley of ignominy, they abandoned their support of Sa'id Muhammad Khan shutting their eyes to the obligations of those favors which (his father) Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan had done for them. With the exception of one person, a certain Hajji Khayr Allah who boldly went out to fight but was mortally wounded, no one raised a finger to help and the next morning Sa'id Muhammad Khan was taken prisoner and put to death. The Alkuza'i leaders were punished by Prince Muhammad Yusuf (for their partisanship towards the Qandaharis) and gold and silver was expropriated from them by the *sir* and by the *mann*.

When Nasir al-Din learned what the prince was up to, in deference to the assistance which Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan had given Hamzah Mirza at the time of Hasan Khan Salar's rebellion and to his faithful service and allegiance to the government of Iran, he decided to take revenge and so issued an order to "Husam al-Saltanah," Sultan Murad Mirza, his uncle and the governor of Khurasan, to march from Mashhad to Herat. There he put Prince Muhammad Yusuf Khan and 'Isa Khan under siege. For a while he surrounded the citadel and made life difficult for the prince and the Heratis.

The prince, backed by the people of Herat, petitioned the Amir-i Kabir for help. But the latter, even though he had been thinking about the conquest of Herat, was forced by his involvement in administrative problems in Qandahar to turn him down and postponed the conquest of Herat until a more favorable moment. Na'ib 'Isa Khan, failing to get the help from the Amir-i Kabir on which he had counted and tired of the reproachable behavior and words of Prince Muhammad Yusuf Khan, expelled him from the city and sent him to the Husam al-Saltanah. In retaliation for the blood of Sa'id Muhammad Khan, the latter had him killed. After that, Na'ib 'Isa Khan, finding himself in disaster's grasp because of a famine and a shortage of food, /223/ surrendered the city to the Husam al-Saltanah. A day later he went to the camp of the latter to pay his respects. At the instructions of Husam al-Saltanah, a man approached him, ostensibly to challenge him and find out what he wanted. But as soon as he drew near he shot the na'ib. The city of Herat then passed under the control of Iran.

EVENTS OF 1273/SEPTEMBER 1856–AUGUST 1857

When the English government saw Herat pass into the hands of the shah of Iran, they deemed India to be endangered and felt compelled to begin discussions with Nasir al-Din Shah on the subject of Herat via their minister plenipotentiary in Tehran. They informed the shah of the accord reached by the nations of Europe not to interfere in Afghanistan and told him that no nation had

the right to occupy or intervene in Afghanistan. Therefore he should withdraw the Iranian army from the territory of Herat and give the city back to the Afghans. Nasir al-Din Shah rejected the English minister's suggestions and paid them no heed. As a consequence, the English officials grew distressed, recalled their minister in Tehran to India, and declared war on Iran. They dispatched a number of warships to Bandar-i Bushahr by way of Samandar. According to plan, they seized the port of Bushahr and two or three strong fortresses. On hearing this news, Nasir al-Din Shah realized Iran was in danger, withdrew his hand from Herat, appointed Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan governor of Herat, and brought to English attention the fact that he was an Afghan and a grandson of Sardar Payandah Khan.

THE SHAH OF IRAN ASSIGNS OTHER AFGHAN SARDARS TO HERAT

After Herat was conferred on Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan, the son of Sardar Rahmdil Khan, and Sardar Sultan 'Ali Khan, son of the late Sardar Kuhandil Khan, who had earlier fled Qandahar and turned hopeful faces towards Iran, were now appointed to accompany Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan back to Herat from Tehran. The idea was that once they reached Herat they would all share in the tax revenues while the reins of government would be held by Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and the others would not meddle in the government. In addition, they were to provide adequate regular and uninterrupted allowances for Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan's sons and grandsons.

In short, having agreed to the shah's instructions, the sardars left Tehran for Herat. En route, Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan, who thought he deserved being governor himself and found the thought of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's governorship wholly distasteful, split with them and returned to Tehran.

On the last day of Ramadan 1273/24 May 1857, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and Sardar Sultan 'Ali Khan reached Herat and commenced their duties, according to instructions. After their arrival, the Qajar army left for Mashhad. Likewise, the English forces handed over Bushahr and the fortresses they had occupied in accordance with the treaty concluded between them and the shah of Iran and then returned to India. Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan struck coins and had the *khutbah* proclaimed in the name of Nasir al-Din Shah. After a time, he barred Sardar Sultan 'Ali Khan and the sons and grandsons of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan from any share in Herat's revenues. He expelled them all from Herat and undertook to lead, govern, and assess and collect all the taxes (*bāj wa kharāj*) of the region by himself. Then the shah of Iran gave him the title "sarkār" and gave his son, Shahnawaz Khan, the rank of *amīr-i panj*.

Sardar Sultan 'Ali Khan and the dependents of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and his son, Sa'īd Muhammad Khan, banished from Herat at the order of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, were received by the Amir-i Kabir in Qandahar and lavished with royal favors. Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan, who en route to Herat had turned around and gone back to Tehran, was set upon by some cold-

blooded highwaymen at the manzil of Ilhak on the 17th of Shawwal 1273/10 June 1857 /224/ and was killed by a sword blow.

THE APPOINTMENT OF SARDAR GHULAM HAYDAR KHAN AS GOVERNOR OF QANDAHAR; THE AMIR-I KABIR RETURNS TO QANDAHAR

Also during this time, the Amir-i Kabir, after completing the reorganization of the administration of Qandahar and its districts, appointed Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan governor there and assigned Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan and Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan to advise him. To the khans of his court and to the civilian leaders, he handed out permanent and sufficient *tankhwāh*-stipends and then pointed the sublime banners in the direction of Kabul. He took with him to Kabul the sardars of Qandahar, leaving behind not a single one lest they become the cause of future disturbances. When the royal party stopped at Ghaznin, Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan, who sometime before this as mentioned earlier had come from Qandahar to Ghaznin after contracting a fever, now came forward with the notables and leaders of the city and its surroundings to fulfill the obligatory ceremonies of welcome and pay homage (kiss the royal stirrup). In return he was honored with a kiss on his forehead. From there, he accompanied His Highness, his glorious *qiblah* to Kabul.

On the day of the Amir-i Kabir's arrival in Kabul, its leaders and sardars—including Sardar Muhammad 'Uthman Khan, the governor of the city, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, who had come to Kabul from Turkistan while the Amir-i Kabir was on his way to Qandahar as well as nobles and commoners alike—all came out to the field at Dih Mazang⁷ to welcome him. They were deeply honored by his asking how they were and by his allowing them to kiss the royal stirrups. With shouts of praise and thanksgiving, they all entered the city and the Amir-i Kabir alighted in the Bala Hisar.

THE AMIR-I KABIR GOES TO JAMRUD AT THE REQUEST OF THE ENGLISH AND THE TREATY BETWEEN THEM IS RENEWED

After the Amir-i Kabir had recovered from the fatigue occasioned by his trip back from Qandahar, he received a letter from the English government inviting him to Jamrud. The English, now seeing all of Afghanistan and Turkistan from the border of Baluchistan to the banks of the Oxus River under the Amir-i Kabir's control, had formed a deeper appreciation of his power and capabilities. They invited him to Jamrud because India was still not as closely tied to Great Britain as they would have liked and they were worried that with the consolidation of the Amir-i Kabir's regime, he might precipitate disturbances in India.

The Amir-i Kabir accepted the invitation and left for Peshawar with a party that included sons, brothers, and nephews—Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan,

⁷ FM: Dih Mazang is the name of a village adjacent to the city of Kabul.

Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan, Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad 'Usman Khan, Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, and Ghulam Muhammad Khan Mukhtar—some of Kabul's leading citizens—Mir Darwish (also known as Hafiz Ji), son of the late Mir Wa'iz; Sayyid Baha' al-Din Khan Kunari; Qazi Muhammad Sa'id Khan Barakza'i; Mirza 'Abd al-Razzaq Khan *mustawfi*; Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, the son of Mirza 'Abd al-Sam'i Khan Qizilbash; Mirza Sayyid Husayn Khan, the son of Mirza Sayyid Muhsin Khan; Mirza 'Askar Khan; Ishik Aqasi Shir Dil Khan; and Muhammad Rafiq Khan Ludi—and a well-armed escort.

At a place called Sarmak Walah on the road between the manzil of Lawargi in the Khyber Pass and Jamrud, (Mssrs.) Chamberlain, Lumsden, and Edwards, who had come from Peshawar at the head of a party of regular cavalry to welcome the amir, met him, dismounted, and extended a formal welcome. The Amir-i Kabir decided to make camp there and had the tents pitched. The English also camped next to the Amir-i Kabir's party. With the sardars and accompanying notables the English officials repaired to his pavilion for a royal feast and were all seated on chairs and occupied in confidential discussions when the chief commissioner, John Lawrence, accompanied by several English officers, entered the royal camp to pay his respects to the amir. He was graciously received and a cordial meeting was held after which the English retired to their own camp. They all spent one more day there and on the third day traveled together to Jamrud. The English stationed there awaiting the amir's arrival formed up all the regiments /225/ and the artillery and when he arrived in Jamrud an official 21-gun salute was fired. Several minutes later, there was more firing of cannons and rifles which continued until the amir dismounted.

After his dismounting and the convening of meetings of unity and concord, discussion concerning friendship began. In the end they agreed, vis à vis their mutual ties, that the Amir-i Kabir being in harmony with English aims would tread no other path but that of friendship and would forge no ties of friendship with any nations hostile to Great Britain. In compensation for his friendship, the English would consider paying (*wāṣil . . . dānistah*) the annual sum of twelve laks of *chihrah-shāhī* rupees to the Kabul treasury and and supposed (*angārand*) they could deliver 12,000 muskets to Kabul and 4,000 to Qandahar.

It was also requested of the Amir-i Kabir that he allow Lumsden and Dr. Bellew to accompany him to Kabul where they would reside for a time and then return to India. But because of the impudence of the people of the Kuhistanat, the Amir-i Kabir did not agree to the proposal lest some harm befall them in Kabul. Instead he granted them permission to go to Qandahar.

To sum up, both sides having set down those terms and stipulations in the protocols of a bilateral treaty, they agreed to sign and seal the document and say their goodbyes the following day. The Amir-i Kabir then retired to his pavilion. But the following day, the amir suffered a severe attack of gout, a chronic problem of his. So in his stead he sent his son Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan to Jamrud to handle the treaty-signing formalities. Muhammad A'zam was accompanied by Muhammad Rafiq Khan, Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan

Qizilbash and other experienced and reliable advisors.

His son went to Jamrud, endorsed the treaty document, and returned to camp. The Amir-i Kabir thereupon decided to return to Kabul but the English again imposed on him to come to Jamrud. The amir, however, asked to be excused because of the pain in his leg. The English sent the amir and his party presents including elephants, inlaid swords, clocks, bolts of silk brocade (*kimkhwāb*), rifles, pistols, and other fine objects fit for royalty. These were all for His Highness the Amir-i Kabir. Appropriate gifts were sent as well for the individual sardars and for his army officers from the rank of *panj-sawārī* on up, to each according to his status. The Amir-i Kabir then set off on the return trip, entering Kabul with all due pomp and ceremony.

In accord with the terms of the treaty, the English supplied the weapons and the money to the amir's officials sending the 4,000 muskets to Qandahar with Lumsden. He journeyed there, stayed for a while with the governor, Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, then received leave to return home and did so.

*SARDAR SHAYR FIALI KHAN SON OF MIHRDIL KHAN'S RETURN FROM
IRAN AND SARDAR GHULAM HAYDAR KHAN'S RE-INSTATING THE
TANKHWĀH-STIPEND WHICH THE AMIR-I KABIR HAD ALLOCATED FOR
HIM*

This same year, Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan, son of the late Sardar Mihrdil Khan, who had turned his face from the Amir-i Kabir, having left Qandahar for Iran but having received no benefits as a result, now turned the face of hope towards Afghanistan and came to Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan in Qandahar. The latter treated his return with great deference and, acting as if his former behavior had not occurred, reinstated the same sum fixed by the Amir-i Kabir as his annual stipend— one lak, 12,000 rupees— letting bygones be bygones.

*SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN GOES FROM TAKHTAH PUL TO
TASHQURGHAN AND AUDITS ACCOUNTS THERE*

Also this same year, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan the governor of Turkistan, went to Tashqurghan to investigate its tax records and to see his thirteen-year-old son, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan. He stayed three months and as a result of his investigations issued bills for the recovery of a sum of one lak of rupees, part of the abatement and reduction in taxes which Sardar °Abd al-Rahman had made. /226/ In a short time, thanks to heavy-handed collectors, the sum was remitted to the treasury. He then returned to Takhtah Pul. At the time of saying farewell, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan, distressed by the recovery of taxes that he had reduced, asked his father to take him back to Takhtah Pul with him. When his father asked him why he wanted to leave the governorship of Tashqurghan and return to Takhtah Pul he heard this reply, "Who wants to be governor in a place where one doesn't have the right to give

things away?" His father consoled him by saying,

The return of your abatements is not a form of punishment nor so outside the canons of accounting that it should cause you to lose face. Quite the contrary, it is because of inadequate income to meet expenditures, a veil never to be lifted from face of governmental affairs and so that the army's salary is maintained as set. If the income of the state is spent elsewhere it would be impossible to maintain the army. To reduce either of the two (taxes or the army) leads to the disappearance of authority and the ruin of the country.

After uttering these words of advice, he did not let his son accompany him when he went back to Takhtah Pul. After his father left, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, who considered breaking his word completely repugnant even though he was still a minor (and could not be held accountable), appointed Haydar Khan the son of Mahmud Khan as governor of Tashqurghan and set off himself for Takhtah Pul on the heels of his father. His father, out of paternal love and affection, said nothing to his son about the matter. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman placed himself under his father's protection and custody and again turned as before to his studies and to learning about affairs of state.

EVENTS OF 1274/AUGUST 1857–AUGUST 1858

In this grief-filled year, Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, the heir-apparent and governor of Qandahar, named Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan governor of Pusht-i Rud, and leaving Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan in his place as governor of Qandahar set out for Kabul to visit his father, the Amir-i Kabir, carrying numerous presents and tokens of esteem with him.

On the day of his arrival, the entire city's inhabitants including all the nobles and the notables came out to welcome him, as instructed by the Amir-i Kabir, and to escort him with all possible pomp and ceremony into the city where he paid his respects to his father. He was then conducted to his quarters where he unpacked, presenting the Amir-i Kabir with the gifts he had brought the following day.

The sardar spent several days at leisure but then through God's ineffable decree, contracted a brain fever which laid him on his death-bed. The full rosy flush of life turned a sickly yellow and at the age of thirty-nine, on Friday the 21st of Zi'l-Qa'dah 1274/13 July 1858 his life came to an end. He was buried in the sepulcher of the late Sardar Muhammad ^cAzim Khan situated on the western side of the Mazar-i ^cAshiqan wa ^cArifan.

After performing the funeral ceremonies and changing out of mourning clothes, the Amir-i Kabir summoned Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan, another of his sons who had been like a pearl from the same shell and a star from the same firmament as the late Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan and the deceased Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan. Out of respect for the great services his (Sardar Shayr

[°]Ali Khan's) brother, the wazir, had performed for him (the Amir-i Kabir) in taking the throne from the line of Ahmad Shah by force, as mentioned previously, and in driving the English army out of Afghanistan by the sword, he now named him to the government of Qandahar in the place of his brother (Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan), sending him there at the end of Dhi'l-Hijjah/early August 1858.

EVENTS OF 1275/AUGUST 1858–JULY 1859

Sardar Shayr [°]Ali Khan gave his son Sardar Muhammad [°]Ali Khan Ghaznin, which had been his own *jāygīr* up to this point and went to Qandahar. Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan, governor of Pusht-i Rud, had come to Qandahar after Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan's death and, unbeknownst to the Amir-i Kabir had taken two of Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan's concubines to his own residence in order to make them his own after the waiting period.

On the day of Sardar Shayr [°]Ali Khan's arrival /2271/, he grew apprehensive and fled to Shalkut. Sardar Shayr [°]Ali Khan immediately dispatched a group of horsemen led by Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan Ludi and Ishiq Aqasi Muhammad Akbar Khan Tarah Khayl to pursue, find, and bring the fugitive back to Qandahar by whatever means necessary. They caught up with him beyond the jurisdiction of the government of Qandahar and although they tried several schemes to get him to return with them, their words did not calm his fears and he would not accompany them. Instead he headed for Karachi. Sardar Shayr [°]Ali Khan's deputies, operating outside their jurisdiction, were unable to force him to return. From Karachi Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan took ship to Bombay and from there to [°]Arabistan and then on to Constantinople where he was received by the Ottoman sultan [°]Abd al-Majid Khan. He decided to remain there and associate with the Turks of Anatolia.

Sardar Shayr [°]Ali Khan took up the duties of governor of Qandahar, seeing to the training of the army and the guidance of his subjects.

MIR SULTAN MURAD KHAN ATALIQ REJECTS AN ORDER OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN AND SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN IS SENT TO PUNISH HIM

Meantime Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, the governor of Turkistan, invited Sultan Murad Khan *atālīq*, the mir of Qataghan (known as Mir Ataliq), to submit to his authority. He sent him a farman to have the *khutbah* adorned from the tops of the minbars with the name of the Amir-i Kabir. In addition, he was to collect the region's taxes with the assistance of royal finance officials as a token of his allegiance. The mir of Qataghan rejected the farman and sent his brother to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan with many gifts and a message that said he should be content with these gifts and give up any other ambitions that he might have. Otherwise he would be subject to numerous sorts of dangers.

Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan courteously received the mir's brother and the impertinent message he carried and with judicious words and persuasive counsel won him over to his side. He placed on him the responsibility of leading his brother out of the desert of ignorance to the highway of obedience and bring him to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan.

The latter returned to Qataghan and advised his brother to proffer his obedience. The latter was infuriated and wanted to throw his brother in prison. But his brother learned of the mir's intention and fled towards Tashqurghan in order to reach Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. Mir Ataliq sent a number of horsemen in pursuit. They caught up with him at Dasht-i Abdan where he and his followers prepared to fight off their pursuers. He also sent a rider to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan to ask his help. The latter speedily selected some stalwart fellows and sent them off to Dasht-i Abdan. But before the arrival of the relief force, the *atāliq*'s brother was killed. Then the men sent by Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan encountered Mir Ataliq's horsemen, killed several of them, and finally routed and scattered them. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's men returned to Tashqurghan with the body of the *atāliq*'s brother and buried him there.

When the affair of Mir Ataliq had reached this point, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan sent an appeal to the Amir-i Kabir for instructions as to whether he should punish Mir Ataliq and deliver a severe reprimand to the people of the Qataghan region or should be patient and wait for an opportune moment. His letter reached the Amir-i Kabir as he was just about to leave Kabul for Jalalabad for the winter. The Amir-i Kabir sent Sardar Muhammad Afzal a farman telling him to raise the war flags and proceed without delay to Qataghan. Simultaneously, he sent a farman to the governor of Kurram and Khust, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, to present himself and then march to Turkistan. After those two farmans were issued, the Amir-i Kabir went on to Jalalabad.

At the manzil of Tang-i Turki on the route through the Kabul Gorge (Khurd Kabul) and Khak-i Jabbar, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan arrived from Kurram, greeted the amir and accompanied him as far as the manzil of Barikab. There he was given leave to proceed to Turkistan. At Kabul, the sardar prepared campaign gear and then marched for Turkistan.

The Amir-i Kabir meantime arrived in Jalalabad and chose the bagh-estate of the late Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan as his residence. /228/ Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, en route to Turkistan, was met at Ay Bik by Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan who had come four manzils from Tashqurghan to welcome him. From there they proceeded on together to Takhtah Pul where he joined his older brother. The two brothers clasped hands and embraced, overjoyed at seeing each other. They then decided to postpone the tasks of campaigning and enemy-slaying until spring.

THE AMIR-I KABIR RETURNS FROM JALALABAD; HE DISPATCHES AN ARMY TO QATAGHAN; SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN SENDS AN ARMY FROM TURKISTAN AND TAKHTAH PUL TO QATAGHAN UNDER THE

COMMAND OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD A'ZAM KHAN AND SARDAR 'ABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN

When the days of Day/December-January had passed and spring had arrived, the Amir-i Kabir returned to Kabul from Jalalabad to spend the summer. From there he dispatched an army led by Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan towards Qataghan by way of Charikar. It was made up of two infantry regiments, six guns, and a large number of horse and foot. On its heels, he sent another force under Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, son of the late Sardar Amir M. Khan and after this contingent he sent out yet another force led by Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan. These three forces marched at one-manzil distance from each other towards Qataghan.

From Turkistan, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan prepared a large force, placed it in the hands of Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan who in turn was subject to Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan, and gave it its marching orders for Qataghan. At the time of its departure, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan came to the staging area to review the troops. As Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan had organized and equipped all the troops to the utmost degree, they met his full approval and he presented his son with an inlaid sword and a horse with gilded trappings. Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan was ordered to take his force to Tashqurghan and wait there until Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan who had not yet completed all the preparations necessary for the campaign should finish them up and catch up with him. Then they would continue together towards their destination. In accordance with his father's order, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan marched his army out of Takhtah Pul, and reached Tashqurghan.

The nobles and commoners from the city and its suburbs came out to greet him. Out of the love and affection they felt for him from his days as governor, they thanked God, offered up their prayers and praises, and received his arrival with all esteem and respect. In return, he inquired warmly as to how they all were and spoke affectionately and sympathetically with them. He had the army set up its camp on the 'Idgah, which is a spacious field. The following day he invited the leaders of Tashqurghan to be his guests in order to repay his obligations to them. He served them graciously and respectfully. They, too, as a way of discharging their obligations for these courtesies, behaved in a straightforward and sincere manner towards the army.

Fifteen days after his arrival in Tashqurghan, Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan caught up with him. They stayed two days more and then departed Tashqurghan. At Ay Bik they spent three days reprovisioning the forces. On the fourth day they decamped for Ghuri. After traveling five manzils they approached the fort of Ghuri, the ramparts and towers of which workmen and soldiers had reinforced at the orders of Mir Ataliq. The joint force found it very well defended.

SIEGE OF THE GHURI FORTRESS THE ARRIVAL OF MIR ATALIQ TO AID

THE DEFENDERS AND HIS DEFEAT

When they discovered the fortress well-defended and its defenders resolute, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan was compelled to put into effect a plan he had devised. Before the army pitched its tents and made camp, the sardar marched the force, comprising 20,000 men and 40 guns, up to the walls of the fort, drew it up in formation, and had it stand there for an hour so that /229/ the defenders could see it with their own eyes and be made uneasy and fearful. After this display, he broke up the formations in a military manner and led them to the camping place. After performing the evening prayers, the sardar left the army camp with some of the regular officers and a few of his own servants and surveyed and located a number of good locations around the fort for placing guns and digging tunnels. He then assigned those tasks.

Having given the tunnelers their orders, he instructed the army to dig in and construct a breastworks (*sangar*). Tunnelers and *sangar*-builders worked through the night. The former drove their shaft up to the banks of the moat where they then built a solid entrenchment. After completing this work they returned to the campsite and rested until noon. They were relaxing when suddenly Mir Ataliq approached with 40,000 horsemen to support the defenders of the fort. He hoped that as soon as defenders and enemy alike saw him, the former would be heartened and the latter thrown into confusion. Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman was concerned that Mir Ataliq might attack the army base and so decided it was essential to engage the enemy at some distance from the camp so that no harm would come to the army's supplies. As quickly as he could, he selected 2,000 regular cavalrymen, twelve horse-drawn guns, and four battalions of regular infantry and took them with him to repulse Mir Ataliq. Taking a secret route, he surprised Mir Ataliq and his cavalry who were busy watching the army base but were unaware of the departure of Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan and his force from the camp.

Once they approached the mir's force from the rear, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan gave his gunners orders to open fire; his musicians and *bajah*-players sounded the call to attack; and the cannons opened up and threw Mir Ataliq and his army into despair. As he was unaware of the small numbers Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan had on his side and because of the fierce roar of cannons and muskets making it sound as if multitudes were attacking, Mir Ataliq's world collapsed around him and he withdrew towards Kariz. The defenders of the fortress, witnessing this turn of events, lost the will to resist and sat in despair behind the walls. Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan returned in triumph to his camp. Then, until eleven o'clock in the evening, he inspected the tunnels and trenches and seeing his troops on the alert and fully engaged in the job at hand, he commended them all and then returned to his quarters to rest. His army remained on alert through the night. At sunrise, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan inspected the army and assigned 2,000 horsemen as an advance force to go eight kuruhs from the army base and patrol the area so that if enemy troops should attack, they could defend the livestock and army personnel who were

spread out around the camp and might be unprepared for danger. The advance force could also warn the brave lads of the army if the enemy should launch an attack on the army camp itself so that they could defend themselves and prevent the enemy from gaining the upper hand.

THE BATTLE OF CHASHMAH-I SHIR AND THE DEFEAT, WOUNDING, AND CAPTURE OF THE QATAGHANIS

Three days after their departure, the patrolling troopers learned that 8,000 Qataghani cavalry had assembled at Chashmah-i Shayr, five farsangs from the royal army camp. Their mission was to ambush and steal the army's livestock. When Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan was informed of this, he immediately sent out 4,000 horsemen and two field guns under the command of Ghulam Muhammad Khan Fufalza^oi and Muhammad ^oAlam Khan Muhammadza^oi to repel them. These men got themselves to Chashmah-i Shayr and attacked the enemy. With hardly any effort at all, they drove them off, killing, wounding and capturing some 200 men. One thousand cavalrymen pursued the retreating remnants and entered Baghlan hard on their heels. There, they turned back without plundering it, and rejoined the main army corps. The fleeing troopers joined Mir Ataliq, who, as noted earlier, had already retreated and established himself at Baghlan. Hearing from them how things stood vis à vis the superiority of the Afghan troops, he realized that staying in Baghlan, only nine farsangs from the royal camp, was impossible and so he speedily marched off to Khanabad and Qunduz.

Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan's cavalrymen returned to base with the prisoners they had taken at Chashmah-i Shir. The sardar placed the prisoners in custody, /230/ and then led the victorious troops to his uncle Sardar Muhammad A^ozam Khan and obtained for them what they deserved for their services. Others who had earlier shown bravery and valor were rewarded with *khil^oats*. Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan then turned his attention to reducing the fortress of Ghuri.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN ENDS HIS ARGUING WITH THE DEFENDERS AND CONQUERS THE FORTRESS

On the afternoon of the day the triumphant cavalry returned from Chashmah-i Shayr, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan resolved to take the Ghuri fortress. From behind the walls of the entrenchments near the fort he first tried to counsel the defenders, inviting them to offer their obedience because of their common Islam so that blood would not flow on either side and the dust of war would not be spread over the heads and faces of brave men. He called out, "If you are afraid for your lives, then whatever oath will set your fears to rest, I will give you and you'll find your way to salvation and prosperity by the path of peacemaking and reconciliation.." But the defenders gave no reply at all. The

sardar was annoyed and returned to his headquarters. That evening he decided to launch the assault. He instructed the regular and militia soldiers to place the fort under continuous bombardment from evening until daybreak and give the defenders no rest. Then they should cease the cannonade so that the defenders realizing how tired they were from lack of sleep would neglect their defenses and go off and rest. Then at dawn's first light, the army, raising the battle cry "O Four Friends!" would attack the fortress en masse. The defenders would be completely confused, would find themselves attacked from all sides, and would be prevented from launching a counterattack on any one salient.

So it happened that the army did as instructed and at dawn launched its attack. They assaulted one side of the fortress while the cries of "O Four Friends" and "God is Great" were raised on the other three sides. They so confused the defenders that they withdrew from the outer walls of the citadel and went into the large (inner) fortress. The outer defenses, erected around the inner citadel as a *shīr-hājjī*, fell into the hands of the royal army which straightaway turned its attention to reducing the inner fortress.

The royal army now noticed, thanks to the clarity of the water in the moat, a bridge made of woven pieces of thin wood lying one *zar*^c below the surface of the water. It had escaped their notice at the time of the assault. The moat was ten *zar*^c deep and twenty-three *zar*^c wide and would have been otherwise impassable but for this bridge. They now used it to cross over to the fortress. Taking possession of the shops in the bazaar, they tore down their walls (on the fortress side) and through cracks and crevices began shooting at people inside the fort.

At this moment, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman arrived on the heels of his forces and there, amidst the occupied area of the market, he drafted a truce and sent it to the defenders by the hand of one of the prisoners taken at Chashmah-i Shayr. In it he told them,

I offer you security for your lives and property on condition that you surrender before the army overwhelms you. Otherwise the instruments of killing and plunder are all prepared. My brave men stand waiting for you to respond as to which alternative you consider best.

The sardar then held his troops back until an answer came. The defenders agreed to the generous terms of the sardar's letter, surrendered the fortress to his officials, and were forgiven. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan put all of these men battalion by battalion—some 10,000 in all—into the custody of his own men and sent them back to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan at the army base. He too spoke reassuringly to them, presented their leaders with robes of honor and gave them leave to return to their homes with their kinsmen. As a consequence of Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's exemplary conduct, people who had fled their homes with their families in fear of the Afghans now returned and settled again in their homes. In a similar way, those people who had supported and associated with Mir Ataliq turned from him and

hastened to the protection of the two sardars.

Mir Ataliq, without allies or assistance, was forced to flee from Khanabad to Rustaq with a few of his seditious colleagues and some 1,000 households of inconsequential and low-class people acting at his instigation. In Rustaq, one of the sub-districts of Badakhshan, he sought refuge with the mirs of Badakhshan and settled there soliciting their help against the royal army. / 231/

*THE KABUL REGIMENTS JOIN THE TURKESTAN ARMY; THE
ADMINISTRATIVE RE-ORGANIZATION OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM
KHAN; HIS APPOINTEES AS GOVERNORS IN QATAGHAN; THE
DESTRUCTION OF THE TALUQAN FORT*

In the meantime, after learning that Mir Ataliq had escaped and taken asylum in Rustaq, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan departed Ghuri for Baghlan. There they were joined by Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan and Sardar Shams al-Din Khan who had marched from Kabul with an army as noted above. The numbers of the army were now greatly swelled. Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan began persuading the people of Baghlan and Andarab who had fled their homes to return. Accepting royal authority they returned to their homes and again occupied themselves with agricultural pursuits. He appointed a governor to every district of Qataghan and assigned each one a contingent of cavalry. Likewise, he appointed a qazi and a mufti to each governor's district to administer the Shari^cah law and sent robes of honor to the leading citizens of those places.

After organizing the administration of that district, he left Baghlan and entered Khanabad. He camped on the banks of the river there and sent off to Taluqan two regular infantry regiments, 1,000 Uzbek militia cavalry, 500 horsemen belonging to the Afghan khans, 5 battalions of Sakhlu infantry and six field guns. The whole force he entrusted to the command of Muhammad Zaman Khan, son of the Amir-i Kabir. Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan established his own headquarters at Khanabad with Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, and the remainder of the army.

When Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan arrived in Taluqan, he destroyed the fort there, established camp on an elevated piece of ground near the ruins of the fort, and raised earthworks around the camp to secure his position. In Khanabad, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, having re-organized administrative affairs, had the Amir-i Kabir's name pronounced in the Friday *khu \ddot{u} bah*. He honored the civilian leaders there with *khil^cats* and sent each of the leaders of the large villages back to their settlements accompanied by a governor and a qazi. He was engaged in such activities, reshaping the region's administrative structure, when the people of Khust and Andarab, incited by Mir Ataliq and the mirs of Badakhshan, and contaminated by sedition and disturbances, rose against their

governors.

Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan immediately raised the banner of punishment and sent 4,000 horse and foot of his main army from Khanabad under the command of Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan Barakza*'i* and a number of regular officers to chastise those people.

THE ARMY UNDER SARDAR MUHAMMAD SHARIF KHAN JOINS THE FORCE SENT TO ANDARAB AND TOGETHER THEY ENJOY VICTORY

At Buzdarrah, the army from Kabul led by Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan and consisting of two regular infantry regiments, 1,000 foot, 1,000 militia horsemen, and six guns, met the force sent to punish the rebels in Andarab and joined it. After reaching Andarab, they were victorious, inflicting 2,000 casualties on the rebels. Later, because of the lack of appreciation shown by Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan became angry and returned to Kabul. When he reached the capital, the Amir-i Kabir scolded him and ordered that his regiments be taken from him and that he be treated with contempt. However, Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan now interceded. He himself had come to Kabul to see the amir, after summoning Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan to Qandahar and leaving the city in his care. He managed to convince the Amir-i Kabir to forgive Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan and appoint him governor of Pusht-i Rud.

After the withdrawal of Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan Barakza*'i* re-organized the Khust and Andarab administrations, assigned 5,000 Sakhlu infantry there /232/ and with the remainder of the army himself left for Khanabad and joined Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan.

THE FLIGHT OF MIR ATALIQ FROM RUSTAQ TO KULAB AND HIS ATTEMPTS TO PROVOKE INSURRECTIONS

Mir Ataliq meantime heard of Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan's destruction of the Taluqan fort and of his establishing himself there. He realized his own position in Rustaq was now threatened and so fled across the Oxus River. Reaching Sayyad, one of the districts of Kulab, he decided to stop there. Mir Sarah Beg Khan Kulabi welcomed him, because of their common blood and ties of friendship, and offered his help. He gave him 10,000 horsemen ,and thus the force necessary to retrieve his territory. With these 10,000 and 2,000 of his own horsemen and 10,000 others from Badakhshan who were with him, for a total of 22,000 men, he began to create trouble and turned the face of attacking and plundering in the direction of Taluqan where Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan was stationed with his troops. He would take captive men from the sardar's army who would venture out each day to forage for supplies—men like grooms, muleteers, and camel drivers—and steal everything they had. He kept this harassment up and from time to time the pickets and scouts of Sardar

Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's army would confront the rebels and skirmishes would ensue. On each occasion, each side would suffer one or two hundred casualties. At Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's order, any rebels taken alive would be lashed to the mouth of a cannon and be blown to bits. The two sides spent two years in this manner and the royal army got no peace day or night.

EVENTS OF 1276/JULY 1859–JULY 1860

Exhausted by Mir Ataliq's constant attacks, Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan finally had no recourse but to send a letter to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan asking for help. He wrote,

Having been sent with a small force to face 50,000 households from Badakhshan and elsewhere, I am spending very trying days and nights simply defending myself. Either send an adequate force to fight and protect the territory or allow me to withdraw my beleaguered forces.

After sending this letter, he realized his scope for taking action was growing increasingly tight. Unable to wait for an answer to his letter, he entrusted the army in Taluqan to his deputies and left for Khanabad. As a result of the letter and Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan's inability to withstand the pressure, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan summoned Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and discussed with him the problem of protecting Taluqan and whether or not to send a general for the army there. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan himself accepted responsibility for the conquest of Badakhshan and the defense of Taluqan with the army stationed there as well as six mule-drawn guns and 500 more horsemen. Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan agreed and said, "God forbid that you should fail for you may have proposed something beyond your capabilities because of your youth and inexperience."

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan then selected six guns and 500 cavalry from the force which he had with him in Khanabad and marched for Taluqan. En route he met Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan and admonished him, "You have disgraced the name "son of the Amir-i Kabir." Other than that he said nothing to him. He reached the army camp at Taluqan in the middle of the next night and assumed Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan's place. The latter reached Khanabad and, realizing that Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan would ignore him, then left for Sar-i Pul which was his own *jāygīr*. There he busied himself with his own private affairs.

THE VICTORIES OF SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN AND HIS ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES IN BADAHKSHAN

Two days after Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's arrival in Taluqan, 3,000

horsemen sent to raid by Mir Shah Khan, governor of Fayzabad in Badakhshan, and Mir Yusuf ^cAli Khan, the wali of Rustaq, lay in wait at the entrance to the Rustaq Valley /233/ and there attacked the mule, camel, and horse drovers escorted by 200 *khāṣṣahdār* foot and fifty cavalry who had gone to forage for the army. The escort put up a stiff resistance and also sent a message to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan to let him know what had happened. Immediately he dispatched 400 horse and 300 foot. Each horseman was ordered to carry one infantryman behind him on his saddle in order to move as swiftly as possible and reach their colleagues in time. When they approached, as the Badakhshani and Rustaqi cavalry caught sight of them, they wasted no time in turning their backs to the battle and retreating to Rustaq. Two days later those same horsemen attacked several winter campgrounds occupied by people subject to the padishah. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan ordered out the Gushadah cavalry and the *khāṣṣahdār* infantry to drive off that band of evildoers. They routed them and took ten men prisoner and captured one hundred of their horses. The force then returned to Taluqan.

It was like this for three months with continual fighting. But one day, a certain sayyid who held the position of spiritual mentor(*murshid*) to Mir Ataliq and was devoted to him and had not fled his home, devised a strategem. He instructed the mir to send him a large number of horsemen who would hide near his house. He would then invite Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan to be his guest and when he entered the house and was at ease the horsemen would attack from their hiding place and put an end to the sardar and his companions.

So the sayyid invited Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan to be his guest. (The sardar) set out for the house of that treacherous sayyid accompanied by 300 regular and 200 Sakhlu cavalry. On the way, he ordered one hundred cavalry to deploy themselves secretly around the house so that if the sayyid had some trick up his sleeve and something should happen they could warn the sardar. With the other 400 cavalrymen, he himself reached the sayyid's house. There they waited while food was prepared. The cooks brought the food and the table was spread. Those seated had not yet begun to eat when one of the cavalrymen deployed by Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan came in and told the sardar that a large number of horsemen were riding towards the house. They encountered the sardar's men and a sharp fight occurred. The sardar's men now had their backs to the house and the attackers were very close.

Hearing this, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan arrested the host and his retainers and without wasting a moment went out to fight, at the same time sending a rider to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan with a message to send one infantry regiment, 1,000 horsemen, and two guns. He then engaged the enemy, whose numbers totaled 10,000. The blood of many was shed during the dark of that night. The enemy, unaware of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's strength, thought that the battlefield was full of (his) soldiers because of the valiant resistance they met. So, even before help arrived, the horsemen of the mirs of Rustaq and Badakhshan sought peace and retreated.

A victorious Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan sent a message to the relief

force informing them that the enemy was defeated and had fled and that they should therefore halt wherever they were, wait for him, and then return to Khanabad.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan 's men suffered 100 casualties in the fighting while the enemy sustained 500. The bodies of the enemy dead were left on the battlefield. The sardar rounded up the enemy wounded and 400 prisoners and went straight back to the sayyid's house where he finished the now cold meal. Ten or twelve of the white beards (*aqsiqālān*) among the prisoners denounced the sayyid and lifted the veil from the secret which he had hitherto concealed from the sardar. They said,

We have suffered this fate thanks to the sayyid because he sent a message to the mirs and invited their participation in this affair and prepared them by saying, 'I will invite Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan as my guest; you /234/ should send horsemen to detain him at my house.' So we came at his invitation. Many of us were killed and those who survive are now brought to this sorry state.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan returned with the sayyid and the Badakhshani prisoners to the army base, treated their wounds and then sent off the sayyid with a letter describing his perfidy to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan. To each of the rest he gave five tangahs for expenses and, in addition, gave robes of honor to their leaders. Then he gave them permission to return home so that they would win over other people to the government's side. But he did not release the prisoners from Taluqan and Badakhshan whose homelands had not yet been subjugated. Instead he sent this message to their relatives:

As soon as you go (back) to your homes in a state of obedience (to the government), you will see the prisoners set free. If you don't, they will be put to death.

He also instructed the prisoners to send letters to their kinsmen and tell them to do as his letter said. As a result of the sardar's and the prisoners' letters, 2,000 households accepted government authority having first sent religious scholars and sayyids to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan who gave them reassurances. They returned home and all bowed their heads to the government with the exception of Mir Yusuf ^cAli Khan who refused to offer his allegiance. He consulted his brother, Mir Shah Khan, and Mir Sarah Beg and then decided to launch a major assault on the regiments of the Afghan sardars at two places simultaneously, Chal and Taluqan.

They assembled a large force, half of which they gave to Sultan Murad Khan, the son of Mir Ataliq, and Baba Beg the son of Nasr Allah Allah Khan and dispatched it to Chal to face the force under Sardar Muhammad ^cAlam Khan son of Sardar Sa^cid Muhammad Khan They placed the other half under

the command of Mir Allah Wirdi Khan, a nephew of Mir Ataliq, and sent it towards Taluqan, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman's headquarters. This latter force marched quickly and soon neared Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman's camp where it bivouacked in an orchard. On a Friday, when the army's transport camels had been turned out to pasture, 100 men left the bivouac and drove off all these animals. The camel drovers notified the commander of the cavalry force guarding the perimeter of the camp. He sent out 200 men to retrieve the camels. When Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan heard this, he reprimanded the commander saying,

To send 100 men to carry out such an affair is to send them to their deaths for an attack on the royal army without a large force in reserve is very dangerous. It is very possible that they have a large army behind them who have put them up to this. Otherwise, they would not have done such a rash thing.

He thereupon ordered all the regiments to see to their weapons and remain on the alert until information could be gathered when suddenly the cavalry sent out by the commander of the camp guard appeared in total disarray. In their wake could be seen 30,000 horsemen heading straight for the army base. Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan forthwith positioned several guns and 200 infantry militia on a hill called Urah Tapuz which was in the enemy's direction but near the camp. With the remainder of the army and artillery, the sardar himself took up a position outside the defense works.. The defeated horsemen arrived and linked up with the army. Of the 100 original men, forty, including an officer who was a grandson of the late Mulla Mu^omin had been killed. The other sixty returned unharmed. The attackers entered the field hard on their heels, exposed themselves to Sardar Abd al-Rahman's musket and cannon fire and engaged him and his men in a fierce struggle.

At the battle's height, the sardar put into effect a scheme to outflank the enemy. He secretly sent one regular infantry regiment with three cannons in one direction and 500 Sakhlu infantry in another. He himself pushed forward with the rest of the army. Just as things became very hot, the two flanking parties struck the enemy and routed them. When the Badakhshani had fled the battlefield, a triumphant Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan sent Qizilbash and Afghan militia cavalry in pursuit. In their wake he also ordered the regular cavalry to attack. After nine hours of battle, the sardar carried the day. Three thousand enemy troops were killed, their bodies left on the battlefield. A tower was erected of their heads as a memorial. Six hundred men, most of whom were wounded, were taken prisoner. The sardar's army also seized 5,000 horses. /235/ Since his artillery corps and his army were made up of regular troops, it suffered only a few casualties.

As for the cavalry which had ridden towards Chal, it attacked Sardar Muhammad ^oAlam Khan and his force on the same Friday and was defeated. One hundred of the horsemen were killed and the rest fled, abandoning the

bodies of their compatriots on the field. It is not known how many were wounded. Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan lost two killed and ten wounded.

Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman composed a victory declaration and sent it to Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan. Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan also spread the good news of his triumph.

*THE AMIR OF BUKHARA HEADS FOR LESSER TURKISTAN TO SOUND
OUT THE INTENTIONS OF THE SARDARS*

During this same period, Amir Muzaffar Khan, the ruler of Bukhara, left Bukhara with a large army and made camp at Karki. It was his wish to find out what the mighty Afghan sardars were up to vis à vis the people and mirs of Qataghan and Badakhshan, which policy they had decided on, and which path they would take. From Karki he marched on via Charjui, crossed the Oxus, and then halted at Charjui as was his plan.

When he learned of the Bukharan amir's arrival, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, the governor of Turkistan at Takhtah Pul, was concerned that the amir planned to conquer Turkistan and that because of tribal and ethnic ties most of the people of Turkistan would support him and cause large-scale unrest. He therefore by letter instructed Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan to send "General" 'Abd al-Rahman and eight thousand of the twenty thousand men in Qataghan and elsewhere under his command to Takhtah Pul without delay for in Takhtah Pul and its surroundings he had fewer than 10,000 men to keep the padishah of Bukhara from being the cause of considerable trouble for Afghan Turkistan.

Alarmed, Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan by letter immediately summoned Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, who according to his father's letter now held the rank of general, from Taluqan to Khanabad. Although his territory had only been recently conquered and was not yet brought under the kind of control necessary to keep it from becoming a hotbed of dissension, under compulsion Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman reluctantly prepared for the journey from Taluqan to Khanabad. As he did not have adequate transport, he ordered each of his soldiers to take as much as they could carry from the arsenal (*qūrkhanah*) before setting out. He picked out 100 men and sent them to round up 15,000 sheep pastured in the vicinity of the *qishlāq* (winter camp) below the Ur(ah) Tapuz hill because there was no other source of food available between Khanabad and Takhtah Pul. Then he assigned a contingent of cavalry to Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, son of the late Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, and assigned them to be the advance party. The rest of the militia cavalry and infantry and four field guns constituted the army center and he ordered it to proceed. He himself formed the rearguard with the other regular cavalry and infantry units and embarked for Takhtah Pul.

When the people living in Takhtah Pul and its environs observed this unexpected move by Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan they attributed it to weakness and decided to attack and plunder the army van. But before they could

overtake the force and turn their hands to looting and plundering, the men assigned had rounded up the 15,000 sheep and rejoined the army at Khwajah Changal. There the Taluqanis too caught up with the army. They fell in behind it and showed no signs of turning around and going home. The sardar was angered by their trailing his force and decided to attack them. Without a moment's hesitation he turned the face of fury towards that group of 6,000 horsemen. He had one infantry regiment conceal itself in a ditch three *zar*'s deep by 1,000 long near a crossroads.. He told them to let the enemy pass and sit quietly until they heard a cannon fired. Then they should emerge and, catching the Taluqanis between them and the army, assault them from both sides with rifles and cannons. /236/

The Taluqanis passed the force hiding in the ditch and were proceeding along the road when General ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan halted and opened fire with his swivel guns and field pieces. Immediately the concealed force joined battle from the enemy rear while the sardar's army attacked from the front. Five hundred Taluqanis were killed. The rest fled, most of them jumping into the river, others climbing nearby mountains to escape.

In a somewhat easier frame of mind, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan continued on towards his destination. En route to Khanabad, while crossing a river, one of his guns fell in. No matter how his men tried, they could not drag it out of the water. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan himself dismounted, waded into the water, and with a number of other men managed, with considerable difficulty, to get the piece back on the road. They continued their march immediately for the sardar realized that the cold posed dangers to his men. At dawn they neared Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan's army. Cannon fire was heard from the direction of the latter's position and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan ordered his men to halt. He sent a messenger off to his uncle to inquire what was going on for if the enemy were attacking he would immediately lend his support.

His uncle, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, replied,

Ghulam ^cAli Khan, one of your father's *pīshkhidmats*, was sent to the banks of the Oxus as a frontier guard. As fate would have it, when he rode to the border region of Karki and Busaghah, he encountered a party of the Bukharan amir's scouts and skirmished with them. He routed the Bukharan horsemen who returned to the amir and told him of the bravery of Ghulam ^cAli Khan's men. The story so alarmed the amir that he abandoned most of his supplies and equipment and returned to Bukhara. All the abandoned things were appropriated by Ghulam ^cAli Khan. They included the padishah's own pavilion. Ghulam ^cAli Khan rode back to Takhtah Pul and presented all the Bukharan amir's things to your father. He accepted the pavilion, which could be put to use by the government, and let Ghulam ^cAli Khan's cavalrymen have everything else. Then he sent me the good news of this victory and we were just firing some celebration salutes. Otherwise

there is nothing else to alarm or concern you and your companions.

Hearing this welcome news, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and Sardar Shams al-Din Khan left the place where they had stopped and marched to Sardar Muhammad A^czam's camp, dismounting at the edge of the breastworks. After attending to the formalities of meeting and greeting each other, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan asked his uncle's permission to send the Taluqan army back home to suppress any attempts by the people there at sedition. Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan assented and referred the matter to him to carry out. Thereupon Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan marched his forces into Khanabad. He kept them there with him so they could rest from the arduous journey and dispatched to Taluqan two regular infantry regiments from the Khanabad garrison, 500 militia infantrymen, and twelve guns with a high-ranking officer. Then the sardar himself established his residence at Khanabad, first in order to repair weapons and military equipment of the Khanabad garrison which he had not seen for some time, and then to re-organize military affairs. He reassured the officer assigned to Taluqan that if there was any trouble in Taluqan he was to know that he would come in time and would exert every effort to eradicate the problem.

*SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM IS BETROTHED TO THE DAUGHTER
OF MIR SHAH*

When the royal army arrived in Taluqan for the second time and garrisoned it, the mirs and other trouble-makers were denied the opportunity to create trouble. Forced to show obedience, they wrote Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and expressed their interest in a marital union, although he had made no such request. Specifically, they requested that the sardar /237/ marry Mir Shah's daughter and by so doing turn the face of hope of the Badakhshani towards the path of allegiance. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan advised his uncle to reject the offer and said,

That family is unworthy of marriage into a line of princes. If the purpose of this is to win over the Badakhshani mirs then it is even less desirable. It is unnecessary anyway, for come summer I will take a battle-tested force there, win them over, and if they try to rebel I will punish them.

But as fate would have it, the words of the sardar fell on deaf ears and his uncle concluded the marital contract. The initial formalities of the betrothal and marriage were performed and the mirs of Badakhshan gained peace of mind. The most troublesome one of them, Mir Yusuf ^cAli Khan, came to pay his respects to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and with charm and cunning dissuaded him from his plan to conquer Badakhshan. As a consequence of the

betrothal, the hardships which Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan had endured and the blood shed by some 15,000 people in the numerous battles that had taken place, all turned out to have been for naught. Mir Yusuf ʻAli Khan succeeded in achieving his goals and returned to Badakhshan in a contented frame of mind.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN IS SUMMONED FROM KHANABAD TO TAKHTAH PUL

After the occurrence of these affairs, at the request of Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan's mother, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan sent a farman summoning him from Khanabad to Takhtah Pul. At his revered father's farman, he donned pilgrim's garb to see his father and mother and was accompanied by 400 regular cavalry. He stopped for five days at Tashqurghan where, during his stay, the people of the surrounding area brought him many presents. From Tashqurghan he rode to the shrine of the Amir al-Mu'minin ʻAli at Mazar-i Sharif to perform the *ziyārat*-pilgrimage. After performing the ceremonies and prayers at that sanctified spot he continued on to Takhtah Pul where he enjoyed the honor of seeing his father and mother. In thanksgiving for his good health, they distributed alms to the dervishes there.

After he had rested from the trip, he inspected the army's arsenal, the quartermaster's supply, and the army base. As everything was in good order he commanded that the salaries of the officers be increased by an appropriate amount. Employees and officials of every station and rank were gladdened by the conferral of robes of honor. He then busied himself with producing the materiel and weapons which were in short supply for his army in Qataghan. In one month, he had prepared everything and sent it off to Qataghan. He himself remained at Takhtah Pul for a year content to wait on his parents.

THE AMIR-I KABIR SENDS AN ARMY TO TURKISTAN AND SARDAR MIR AFZAL KHAN REFUSES THE AMIR-I KABIR'S ORDER AND GOES TO SARDAR SULTAN AHMAD KHAN IN HERAT

During this year, the Amir-i Kabir mustered and dispatched another army to Turkistan as precautionary reinforcements. This was in case the Amir of Bukhara, because of the loss of his personal pavilion and the resulting blow to his pride, should try to conquer Afghan Turkistan in winter when the roads between Kabul and Turkistan were closed by snow and cold. He named Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, son of Sardar Purdil Khan, to command the force. But the latter tried to excuse himself from going to Turkistan. So the Amir-i Kabir appointed someone else in his stead and said nothing to Sardar Mir Afzal Khan about his refusal and disobedience. But Sardar Mir Afzal Khan nevertheless became apprehensive of the consequences of what he had done and, on the pretext of going to Iran, turned his back on the Amir-i Kabir and headed for Herat. The amir left punishment for his behavior in the hands of God and despite his power still said nothing to him. Mir Afzal Khan left Kabul for Herat with Sardar

Ghulam Muhyi al-Din, the son of his uncle, Sardar Kuhandil Khan. /238/ They went to Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and incited him to enmity towards the amir, the consequences of which will appear in due course.

EVENTS OF 1277/JULY 1860–JULY 1861

In this year Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, the governor of Farah, Pusht-i Rud, and Girishk, appointed his brother, Sardar Sayf Allah Khan who was known as "Wakil," as vice-governor while he himself, at the order of his father, the Amir-i Kabir, undertook to conquer Ghur, Sakhir, and Tayurah. The reason for this campaign lay in the fact that ^cAbd al-Ghafur Khan, sardar of the Taymani tribe, had not submitted to the amir's authority up to this point, and besides that, continually preyed on the people of that region, causing injury and loss. This behavior was particularly unpalatable to the Amir-i Kabir and so he dispatched Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan. After leaving Ghulam Muhammad Khan Malik Dinzaⁱ in charge of Farah and subject to Sayf Allah "Wakil," Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan left for Ghur and Sakhir. With the assistance of God he brought those regions under control and ended ^cAbd al-Ghafur Khan's depredations. He did this before Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, the governor of Herat, who had also planned to conquer the region, could act. When the Herat governor learned what had happened, he realized that Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan's occupation and consequent preeminence in the region would cause problems for Herat and so he sent his wife, a sister of Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, along with his son, Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan to ask that in deference to him, he (Sardar Muhammad Sharif) abandon his conquest and leave ^cAbd al-Ghafur Khan alone. Mother and son met Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan in the village of Girishk. With sisterly affection, she asked him to end his occupation of Ghur, Sakhir and Tayurah and said,

As I have come in hope, seeking your benevolence, you should heed Afghan honor, give the aforementioned places to us, and assent to what I am asking so that they may be annexed to Herat.

Outwardly, the sardar agreed to his sister's request and gave her permission to return to Herat. But after her return he marched via Gulistan for Tayurah with two regular infantry regiments and with General Khayr Muhammad Khan, the son of Shayr Muhammad Hazarah; Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, who had arrived from Qandahar at this juncture with some Durrani cavalry; and Sardar Jum^cah Khan, a brother of the Amir-i Kabir. When he entered Gulistan, ^cAbd al-Ghafur Khan saw it was hopeless to resist and fled Tayurah for Herat and the protection of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan. From Gulistan, Sardar Muhammad Sharif proceeded to Ghur and Sakhir which he occupied. In Gulistan, General Khayr Muhammad Khan was killed by some of his own men whom he had treated harshly.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S RETURN FROM TAKHTAH PUL TO QATAGHAN AND AN INCIDENT THAT OCCURRED WHICH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, CAUSED HIM NO INJURY

During this time, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan took leave of his parents and returned to Qataghan from Takhtah Pul. At a manzil called Qazuvi Yuz, i.e. “the girls’ playground” a rather remarkable incident occurred. On the evening of his arrival, he went out alone for a walk. At the foot of a hill he squatted down behind a rock to relieve himself. When he stood up again, he noticed that one of the army’s transport camels, grazing in the wadi, was eyeing him. He gave a shout so that the camel would turn his head away and resume grazing. But at the sound of the sardar’s voice, that ill-starred Bactrian (*bakhtī bad bakht*) charged. The sardar had no other weapon but a short dagger with which to defend himself and so had no choice but to take refuge behind the rock. The camel went for his head and the sardar saw his only escape in keeping the rock between him and the camel and so he kept running around it, the camel in hot pursuit. Eventually exhausted and in fear of his life, the sardar stopped, picked up a stone, and struck the camel behind the ear. The blow was effective and the camel fell to the ground. Quickly cutting the camel’s throat with his dagger, /239/ the sardar saved himself. His hands, face, and clothes were smeared with blood and for an hour he lay unconscious from exhaustion. When he came to and saw the dead camel and himself covered with blood, he rejoiced. Up to this time none of his personal servants were aware of any of this. When he managed to get himself back to his entourage, they were distressed by the state he was in and asked him what was going on. He reprimanded them for having waited so long before going to see what had happened to him. In order that they be made more fully conscious of their responsibilities as his servants each was given thirty strokes with a stick. Afterwards all were warned and he ordered that two or three of his closest confidantes (? *mahrabs*) must always attend him wherever he goes on foot.⁸

Continuing on from there, he arrived in Khanabad where the resident regiments gave him an official welcome. He inquired kindly about them and they responded with praises and prayers for him. He then met his uncle and afterwards retired to his own residence. The army leaders organized a festival to celebrate his coming to Khanabad. A day was spent feasting and that night a festival of lights, fireworks, and music were held. The next day he inspected the army’s weapons and armor, the equipment of the artillery corps, and the arsenal. He found everything in good order and was satisfied. After a week’s stay, he went to Taluqan where he found the troops also in excellent condition.

Meanwhile, Mir Shah and Mir Yusuf ^oAli Khan sent as gifts to Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan six silvery-cheeked young boys, six moon-faced maidens, nine horses with silver trappings, nine leather bags of delicious honey, and five

⁸ RM: Cf., *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 26.

hunting falcons of a rare species. He accepted all the gifts and in return sent the mirs of Badakhshan via their emissaries gifts appropriate to their rank. He also wrote them a letter which said,

During my previous residence in Taluqan you made a promise concerning the mines and diggings of Badakhshan that you would hand over the ruby mine, five gold mines, and the lapis lazuli and jasper mines to government representatives. Up to this point that promise has not been fulfilled. No statement from me has gone to my uncle and no written document pertaining to the matter has been drafted or recorded. You should forthwith write down the reasons for the delay and explain your doing the opposite of what you promised so that once this is understood, whatever comes to mind to do about this will be done.

They apologized for their forgetfulness and failure to heed their word to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, drafted a conveyance of ownership (*tamlīk-nāmah*) for the Badakhshan mines along with a letter of apology and sent them to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. He then sent the deed for the mines along with some other gifts to his father.

EVENTS OF 1278/JULY 1861–JUNE 1862

This year dysentery was epidemic in Kabul. For the people of the city there was widespread anxiety because of the fear of cholera and an outbreak of this deadly killer. Many people from the city and its suburbs were stricken and died. One of them, Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan, the cheeks of whose life were flushed by the epidemic, died on Sunday, the twenty-second of Rabi^c al-Awwal 1278/27 September 1861 at the age of 64. He was buried south of the Mulla Fayruz Fort in Kabul. Another victim was Sardar Sultan Muhammad, brother of the deceased who was stricken and then died on Thursday the eighteenth of Rabi^c al-Thani/23 October at the age of 68. He was buried on Siyah Sang Hill east of Kabul.

THE AMIR'S SON, MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN, COMES TO KABUL WITH HIS FATHER'S PERMISSION

During this time, by his own request, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan left for Kabul. He placed Sardar ^cAbd al-Ghiyath Khan, the son of Nawwab ^cAbd al-Jabbar Khan, in charge of Qataghan, and traveled first to Takhtah Pul to pay a visit and say goodbye to his brother, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. From there he donned the sacred garb (*iḥrām*) of pilgrimage to see his father. When he reached the manzil of Ghuri, /240/ by letter he summoned Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan who at this point was residing at Khanabad. After a meeting, they said their farewells and the latter returned to Khanabad. There he entrusted

military affairs to his officers and went off to Takhtah Pul to visit his father. At Ay Bik, he met his father who was there on business and after greeting each other they proceeded together to Tashqurghan and thence to Takhtah Pul where they relaxed and enjoyed themselves.

Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan meanwhile arrived in Qara Bagh in Kuh Daman. As soon as the Amir-i Kabir learned of his arrival, he ordered him to stop there because of the epidemic raging in Kabul and to stay until it had run its course.

So after the deadly epidemic waned, he entered Kabul, had the privilege of seeing his upstanding father, and was inseparable from his brothers who were at court. The Amir-i Kabir then left him in Kabul to attend to the marriage of his son, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, while he himself (the amir), accompanied by Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Sardar Muhammad Karim Khan, and Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan went to Jalalabad to spend the winter. Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan's son, Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan, was put in charge of Kabul while the Amir-i Kabir and other sardars wintered in Jalalabad.

When Amir-i Kabir reached the winter resort, he stopped at the garden-estate of (the late) Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan and used the Chihil Sutun Palace, which he had earlier constructed opposite the estate, for holding public audiences.

SARDAR SULTAN AHMAD KHAN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST FARAH AT THE INSTIGATION OF SARDAR MIR AFZAL KHAN

It was noted above that at the time of Sardar Mir Afzal Khan's departure from Kabul he had turned his back on the Amir-i Kabir and gone to Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan in Herat. There he encouraged him to attempt the conquest of Farah and added force to his words by reminding him that when he had asked Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, governor of Farah, through the mediation of his wife, the Farah governor's sister, that he desist from the conquest of Ghur and Sakhir and leave ^cAbd al-Ghafur alone in Tayurah, his request had been ignored. Instead Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan had sent the emissaries back to Herat empty-handed and further had occupied the district, which was part of Herat's jurisdiction.. He went on to say, “^cAbd al-Ghafur Khan has fled here to Herat fearing for his life. Now while Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan is busy with Ghur, you should go and seize Farah.”

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan paid heed to what he was saying and marched from Herat with his sons, Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan, Sardar Sikandar Khan, and Sardar ^cAbd Allah Khan; his brother, Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan; and Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, son of the late Sardar Purdil Khan. They were accompanied by a substantial force recruited from the Herat region.

Sardar Muhammad Sharif soon learned of his intentions and returned to defend Farah after posting a governor and a small garrison at Ghur. But Sardar

Sultan Ahmad Khan was the first to arrive and surrounded the Farah fortress. Defending it were Sardar Sayf Allah Khan with Ghulam Muhammad Khan Malik Dinza'i, his deputy; General Muhammad Sarwar Khan; and several *şadbâshîs* of the *khâşşahdâr* battalions.

But by cunning, Sikandar Khan suborned Jabbar, a watchman (*küt hawâlah-dâr*) from the *‘Aliza’i* tribe who was guard and keykeeper of the citadel gate. In return for promises of gold, the guard agreed to open the citadel gates. He was to collect his reward once victory was secured. As promised, the traitor swung open the gates on the following day and the assault was launched. Thus the fortress passed into the hands of Sardar Sikandar Khan. Sardar Sayf Allah fled the city and met up with Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan and his army at Girishk on their way back to Farah.

On the occasion of the conquest of Parah, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan improvised by his own hand the hemistich (chronogram):

Alexander (Sikandar) seized Faridun's palace. /241/

SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN GOES TO JALALABAD; THE AMIR-I KABIR HEARS OF SARDAR SULTAN AHMAD KHAN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST FARAH; HE DISPATCHES AN ARMY TO FARAH AND THEN FOLLOWS ON ITS HEELS

During the above-mentioned events, after fulfilling the ceremonial obligations entailed by the wedding of his son, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan left Kabul and went to see his father in Jalalabad. After his arrival, the Amir-i Kabir got wind of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's campaign against Farah and immediately ordered Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan to march from Kabul to Herat via Qandahar without delay. He was to take with him Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan and the Durrani, Ghilja'i, Qizilbash, and other cavalry forces there. He was to get himself to Qandahar with lightning speed so that Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan would not be able to cause problems for the governor of Qandahar, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, nor for Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan in his capacity as governor of Pusht-i Rud.

But for some reason, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan delayed and begged off making the trip to Qandahar and Herat. So Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan, along with Sardar Nazar Muhammad Khan, son of the late Sardar Amir Muhammad Khan, and other leaders in Kabul, proceeded to Qandahar with their followers in accordance with the Amir-i Kabir's farman. There they joined Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan and awaited the arrival of the Amir-i Kabir's own party, for he had written in the farman that his own marching banners would be flying hard on their heels. So they waited for him in Qandahar. The Amir-i Kabir marched out of Jalalabad in Ramadan 1278/March 1862 heading for Qandahar with Farah and Herat his ultimate goals. At Gandamak he learned

the news of Farah's fall and so hurried on as fast as he could travel. On the holiday of the Breaking of the Fast (*‘Id al-Fitr*) which happened to coincide with the New Year's holiday (Nawruz) of the Turkish year Yit Yil (sic—the *‘Id al-Fitr* occurred on April 1, 1862; Nawruz should have been March 20) he reached Kabul. For his arrival, the governor of Kabul, Sardar Muhammad ‘Ali Khan, had designated the maydan area at Siyah Sang as the holiday prayer ground (*namāzgāh*) for the Amir-i Kabir to perform his prayers. But because of his haste, the ruler bypassed both the maydan and the city itself, made camp at the edge of Dih Mazang, and excused himself from the prayers because he was on a journey. He stayed there for seventeen days outfitting his forces for the coming campaign and reprimanded Sardar Muhammad Wali Khan who had begged off going to Qandahar, forbidding him from traveling to Qandahar. He also sent the governor of Qandahar, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, a farman to take a force to Kushk Nakhud and await there the arrival of the Kabul army. He also ordered Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan to the (districts of) the Hazarahjat which were held by his brother Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan as *jāygīr* and *tiyūl* sending along as his private secretary, Mirza ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Khan, a descendant of Mirza ‘Abd al-Ghaffar Khan, the man who had held the position of *mustawfi* of the diwan under Nadir Shah Afshar. He also entrusted him (Mirza ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Khan) with diwan responsibilities there (in the Hazarahjat) telling him to go with the army to La‘l which is near the territories under the control of Herat and stay there so that if there should be some task for him in Herat he could travel directly from there.

To Qandahar, the amir sent Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan to give Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, now waiting at Kushk Nakhud, orders to march to Farah.

Of all the sardars, Sardar Muhammad A‘zam Khan and Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan stayed behind in Kabul preparing equipment and supplies for the campaign. They were under orders to follow the Amir-i Kabir as quickly as they could. The Amir-i Kabir himself left the plain beside Dih Mazang on the seventeenth of Shawwal 1278/ April 17, 1862, his army at his side. With the arrival of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan's large contingent at Kushk Nakhud and news of the Amir-i Kabir's departure from Kabul, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan found his strength ebbing and his ability to attack any other place beyond Farah now gone. He therefore left two Herati infantry regiments and a number of horsemen with Mir Afzal Khan, the man who had incited all the trouble in Farah, to engage the Amir-i Kabir and block his route past Farah, and allow him time to get Herat's defenses in order.

In short, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan returned to Herat planning to work on the city's defenses and began to prepare the supplies needed in the event of a siege. On the fifth of Zi‘l-Qa‘dah/4 May, the Amir-i Kabir arrived in Qandahar / 242/ and ordered a short halt there in order to tend to various matters. He named Sardar Muhammad Isma‘il Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, governor of the city and Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah Fushanji, to be his deputy. He then selected Sardar Shayr ‘Ali Khan, the heir-apparent, and sent

him towards Farah with his forces two days prior to the Amir-i Kabir's own departure.

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, to whom Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan had conveyed the amir's order to proceed from Kushk Nakhud towards Farah, did not advance as ordered because Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan had returned to Herat from Farah, but set off for Qandahar to welcome his father. He was given an audience, along with Sardar Muhammad Sharif who had also arrived, and both were now ordered to march to Farah.

Also at this time, Qazi ^cAbd al-Salam Khan, son of Qazi Muhammad Sa^cid Khan, the Khan-i ^cUlum, was dismissed from the position of qazi of Qandahar at the Amir-i Kabir's order. His place was taken by Qazi Sa^cd al-Din Khan, the son of Qazi ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, Qazi ^cAbd al-Salam Khan's brother.

The Amir-i Kabir (now) left for Farah. The two sardars (Muhammad Amin and Muhammad Sharif) marched to Farah and laid siege to the citadel which was in the hands of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's people, before the Amir-i Kabir arrived. They made life very difficult for Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, but then Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan, two days ahead of the Amir-i Kabir, appeared. Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, who was related to Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan by marriage (his daughter was Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan's wife) saw in his arrival hope for his own salvation and sent a message to the besiegers in which he said,

Now that Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan has arrived, my mind is at ease. I am not worried about his attitude towards me and will straightaway leave the citadel and come and surrender it to you.

On the heels of his message, he left the citadel and surrendered. Sardar Muhammad Sharif and Sardar Muhammad Amin assumed control of the Farah citadel and command of the troops garrisoned there.

At this time, the Amir-i Kabir, two days behind Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan, arrived at the manzil of Siyah Ab. From there he pushed on to Khurmaliq, en route to which he received the news of the capture of Farah from Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan who sent it via Mir Akhur Madad Khan. The amir was delighted and proceeded on in a good frame of mind. When he neared Farah and camped, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan spread the carpet of hospitality and erected a large pavilion and private quarters for the amir. By letter he invited the Arnir-i Kabir to accept his hospitality and take up residence in his private lodgings. The amir accepted his invitation and stopped at the quarters prepared for him.

At this same time, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, who as previously noted had remained in Kabul, now arrived and paid their respects. Each one repaired to a separate tent erected for his use, with the exception of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan who stayed with the Amir-i Kabir.

After unpacking, the Amir-i Kabir gave leave to all the sardars and army leaders to attend an audience. Each one did so, sitting in his proper place. The

sardars in attendance included: Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan; Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan; Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan; Sardar Muhammad Karim Khan; Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan; Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, son of the late Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan; Sardar Shahbaz Khan, son of Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan; Sardar Khushdil Khan, son of Sardar Mihrdil Khan; Sardar Amin al-Dawlah Khan, son of Sardar Shuja^c al-Dawlah Khan; Sardar Shah Dawlah Khan; Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan, son of the late Sardar Mihrdil Khan and a retainer (*ta^calluq-dār*) of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan; Sardar Nazar Muhammad Khan and Shad Muhammad Khan, sons of the late Sardar Amir Muhammad Khan; Sardar ^cAbd al-Ghani Khan, son of the late Nawwab ^cAbd al-Jabbar Khan; Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan Tarzi, son of Sardar Rahmdil Khan; Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, son of the late Sardar Muhammad 'Azim Khan; Sardar Ata Allah Khan, the nephew of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, governor of Herat; Sardar Yahya Khan and Sardar Zakariya Khan, sons of the late Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan; Sardar Shad Muhammad Khan and Sardar Shayr Muhammad Khan, sons of the late Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan; Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, son of Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan; and Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan and Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, sons of Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, the son of Sardar Kuhandil Khan.

The khans and notables attending included Ghulam Muhammad Khan *mukhtār*; Qazi ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, the Khan ^cUlum; Mir Darwish also known as Hafiz Ji Sahib; Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan; Mirza ^cAbd al-Razzaq Khan *mustawfī*; Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, son of Mirza ^cAbd al-Samī^cKhan; Habib Allah Khan, Amir Muhammad Khan and Fath Muhammad Khan, the sons of Khan Shirin Khan Javanshir; and 'Ismat Allah Khan Jabbar Khayl. /243/

Since the Amir-i Kabir was blessed with a commendable moral sense and never strayed from doing good, he made no attempt during the course of the durbar to reprove or punish either those close to him or those who were not intimates, even though they had behaved in a hostile manner, instead leaving punishment up to God. For example, Mir Afzal Khan was thoroughly embarrassed by his own conduct and in his heart knew he deserved whatever punishment was meted out. But in dealing with him, the Amir-i Kabir sent his son Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan with the royal litter to carry him to court so that the shadow of his dignity would not be shortened. When he was brought before the amir, he stepped down from the litter to pay his respects and the amir likewise rose to pay respects to him. He moved three or four steps forward to greet Mir Afzal and then led him into the audience tent where all the formalities of welcome were accorded him. The Amir-i Kabir took him by the hand and sat him down at his own side. He then made a few remarks intended to alleviate the shame which was evident in Mir Afzal's demeanor and with the water of reassurance washed the dust of humiliation from his face.

Food was then brought to all the attendees and after spending an entire day in audience each returned to his own tent. The army spent several days in Farah resting from the rigors of travel.

THE CELEBRATION IN TURKISTAN AT THE NEWS OF FARAH'S RESTORATION AND THE APPOINTMENT OF SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN BY HIS FATHER TO BE GOVERNOR OF QATAGHAN⁹

During this time, news of the victory and restoration and restoration of Farah reached Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan in Turkistan. He ordered salutes fired and feasts spread.

At this time he also appointed his son Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan governor of Qataghan to replace Sardar [‘]Abd al-Ghiyath Khan who had died of plague (*tā‘ūn*) and named him commander in chief of the forces there as well. Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan departed Takhtah Pul and when he arrived in Khanabad the garrison there counted his arrival a great honor and welcomed him with much ceremony. After resting, he took upon himself the task of reorganizing civil and military matters. First he paid the army eight months salary owing from the previous year and four months salary due from the current year. Then he audited the accounts of all the district tax officials (*‘ummāl wa žubbāt*) and assessed each of them sums ranging from forty to fifty and one hundred thousand rupees which they had embezzled unbeknownst to Sardar [‘]Abd al-Ghiyath Khan. These people found it very painful to raise the funds they had stolen and so they incited the two infantry regiments and the 400 regular cavalry who belonged to Sardar Muhammad A[‘]zam Khan, were stationed in Khanabad, and had cooperated with the previous governor and clerks in looting state funds, to raise the banners of disobedience.

During a council of war, Amr Allah Khan and [‘]Azim Khan, the commanders of the infantry foot regiments, and Baqir [‘]Ali Shah, commander of the cavalry unit, responded to the exhortations of the tax collectors by saying,

We have our own commander, that is Sardar Muhammad A[‘]zam Khan.
Now that Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan has demanded restitution from us we have no alternative but to take Sardar Muhammad [‘]Aziz Khan, the eleven-year-old son of our master, and go to Kabul.

These three officers were joined by the captains and adjutants of the three regiments who had also taken part in plundering the wealth of the subjects and the state as well as by Sardar Muhammad [‘]Aziz Khan's tutor and instructor. Day in and day out the conspirators worked to put the plan into operation.

In deference to his uncle, Sardar Muhammad A[‘]zam Khan, to whom these regiments belonged, Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan did not devise a counterplan nor did he say anything to them but simply waited for the right moment when, if they did anything overt, he could immediately confront them with the consequences.

⁹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 28–30.

EVENTS OF 1279/JUNE 1862–JUNE 1863

In Muharram/June–July 1862, the Amir-i Kabir, after spending several days in Farah, left that town and marched toward Herat. He travelled via the manzils of Saj, Khushkabah, Khusaf, Gilah, Mashu, ¹Imarat, and then Isfizar where he spent five days provisioning his force with supplies which were unavailable between there and Herat. During his stopover in Isfizar, he sent out 500 to 1,000 man regiments of cavalry with supplies to a distance of some 3-4 kuruhs /244/ from the main force to serve as pickets and reconnaissance patrols. When the cavalry were deployed around the main army in this fashion, three thousand cavalry were dispatched from Herat by Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan to launch a surprise attack. They were under the command of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, a grandson of the late Wazir Fath Muhammad, who was his wazir and advisor; Muhammad Akram Khan, the son of the martyred ²Abd Allah Khan Achakza*i*; and Sar Faraz Ishaqza*i*.

They established themselves at Kah Dang near Isfizar. Then suddenly one night they had a skirmish with Sardar Muhammad ³Alam Khan son of Sardar Sa*id* Muhammad Khan and Sardar ⁴Ismat Allah Khan Jabbar Khayl Ghilja*i* who had been sent out as pickets to Kah Dang with 500 troopers. Part of the Herat force engaged the pickets while about half began to plunder the heaps of harvested grain which were standing in the fields. ⁵Ismat Allah Khan, fearing for his own safety, abandoned his station, leaving behind tents and equipment, in order to flee the fighting. At just that moment two of his men opened fire on the Heratis and as fate would have it their bullets struck and killed Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, son of Sardar Muhammad Quli Khan, and Muhammad Akram Khan, the son of ⁶Abd Allah Khan. Their horsemen took the bodies from the field in the dark of the night and headed for Herat, having failed in their mission. They arrived in Herat exhausted and in a state of complete disarray.

The Amir-i Kabir meantime, having provisioned his force, marched from Isfizar six days after his arrival there. He travelled via the manzils of Mughlan, Adraskan and Rud Guz. At this last camping ground, Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, who again forgot the favors shown him by the Amir-i Kabir, conspired with a number of the sardars who had developed feelings of envy and resentment towards Sardar Shayr ⁷Ali Khan, and broke with the amir. He obtained letters expressing unity with him from each of the disgruntled sardars and secretly sent them to Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan in Herat. Similarly he got depositions (*wathīqah-nāmahs*) from them and then fled to Herat. The letters that he brought bolstered the spirits of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and the Heratis and he further reassured them by saying, “Most of the army leaders are displeased with the Amir-i Kabir and support and side with the Heratis.” He kept asserting things like this and so strengthened their resolve that they swore an oath that as long as they drew breath, they would fight to defend the city.

The Amir-i Kabir ascribed no importance to Sardar Mir Afzal Khan’s defection but proceeded on to the manzil of Shah Bid and from there to the manzil of Mir Da*ud* situated some eight kuruhs from Herat. At this point there

was a skirmish between an advance party of the Arnir-i Kabir's army led by Shah Nawaz Khan, Sardar Sikandar Khan, and Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan, the sons and brothers of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, who had advanced from the city in a defensive maneuver. Qanbar 'Ali Khan and a number of other Heratis were killed or wounded in the fight and several horses fell into the hands of the Amir-i Kabir's army. Ultimately, the Herati force gave up the fight and retreated and joined the main force which was just behind it.

It was nearly night when the combined force of the Herati sardars approached and its dark mass became visible to the Amir-i Kabir. But cannon fire scattered them and forced their retreat. By the time the last light of day had disappeared, both sides had disengaged and withdrawn to their respective bases to await the coming day with vigilance and dread.

At dawn, the Amir-i Kabir positioned his son, Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan, with part of the army in front of the main force. He placed Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, his uterine brother, with part of the army and a number of guns on the right wing and he assigned Sardar Yahya Khan, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, and Sardar Shams al-Din Khan with another part of the army on the left wing. He himself, mounted on an elephant, took the center along with the supply corps, an artillery corps, and the infantry regiments. He assigned Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan with the remainder of the army as the rearguard.

The veteran Herati cavalry, some 12,000 of them, were unable to withstand the barrage from Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan's artillery which was pounding them from the front and they broke in two. Half under Sardar Shahnawaz Khan crept off in one direction and the rest under Sardar Sikandar Khan and Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan slunk off in another.

At that point, several khans in His Highness the Amir-i Kabir's immediate entourage /245/ wanted to attack the Heratis in a joint operation with the Durrani and Ghilja'i khans. These included: Ishik Shayr Dil Khan, Shah Pasand Khan, Qadir Khan, the chief equerry Qasim Khan, and other khans of the court like Ghulam 'Ali Khan Hazarah, Habib Allah Khan, Amir Muhammad Khan, Fath Muhammad Khan, the sons of Khan Shirin Khan Jawanshir, and Husayn Khan Shahi Savand.

But because each had ridden only one horse from Jalalabad and those horses were exhausted, the Amir-i Kabir did not allow them to attack the Heratis and told them,

My idea is to flush all the Heratis from every nook and cranny like partridges and drive them within the walls of Herat. My braves will attack, the prey will fall into the net, and we will bag it.

While he was saying this, the sound of cannon and musket-fire from the right and left wings of the army arose and many of the enemy horsemen were killed. The army of the Herat sardars, unable to hold its ground, retreated before the Amir-i Kabir's force. At Rawzah Bagh, the Amir-i Kabir dismounted from

his elephant. Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, on the other side, ordered all the troops he had with him to man the earthworks which had been erected from the Qandahar Gate to the banks of the Herat River. Their orders were to hold these fortifications, attack the Amir-i Kabir the moment he crossed the river, and prevent him from advancing beyond that point.

But the amir learned about the preparations and changed the crossing point he had earlier decided on. Passing through Siyakushan, he crossed the river at a place five kuruhs away from where Sultan Ahmad Khan's troops were concentrated, made overnight camp at Naw Badam, and on the following day reached Ghizan on the east side of Herat.

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, finding his plan ineffectual, returned to the city and devised another strategem. On the same day the Amir-i Kabir marched from Ghizan to Chaman-i Karizak and made camp, he sent a group of sayyids and ulama out to express his regrets and to request that the amir stay for a day (at Chaman-i Karizak) so that he could prepare the things necessary for a proper reception, and then he would come forward and offer his obedience.

But the Amir-i Kabir sensed that this was merely a ploy and knew that the sardar wanted to spend the day he was waiting in Karizak regrouping his forces in order to continue the struggle. Therefore he did not accede to the request but sent a message back which said,

If your words are sincere then the approach of my army to the walls of Herat should not be seen as an obstacle to your setting foot on the path of obedience. Rather its coming will offer you the means to eradicate strife and dissipate trouble.

He then conferred ceremonial robes on Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's emissaries and granted them leave to go home. On the next day he marched out. En route he met a vengeance-seeking army under Sardar Shah Nawaz which blocked his path. The stalwarts of the Amir-i Kabir's army serving under Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan's banner attacked and opened the market of combat for business. Eventually, the Heratis pulled back but Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan took 500 of their men prisoner. Returning (to the main force) in triumph, he presented the prisoners, their hands bound, to the Amir-i Kabir. From there they were removed to Chaman-i Kuhdastan. There the amir gave honorary robes to those deemed worthy. After paying five rupees each, the rest were set free with warnings and friendly advice.

On the second of Safar 1279/31 July 1862, Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan marched towards Gazargah with a part of the army. Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan and Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan and a sizeable force of soldiers headed for the south side of the Herat walls. The two forces then opened the offensive from those two directions.

Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan drove the Heratis back and occupied Tall-i Bangiyan where he planted his victorious banner. Meantime, the Heratis were pushed back to the Qandahar Gate. There, two of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's

most trusted supporters, the brothers Shayr Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Ayaz Khan Alikuza^oi, were killed. Hearing this news, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan moved from the Charsuq of Herat where he had gone on some matter towards the Qandahar Gate. The Kabul sardars, who had managed to gain a foothold inside the walls, learned of his approach and, realizing they did not have the strength at this point to confront him, beat a speedy retreat.

The Heratis then closed the gates and turned the city into a fortress. The sardars took up positions near the walls and spent the night raising earthworks. By sunrise, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan was stationed with his forces in the entrenchment while Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, with another party of braves, left the sangar and took up a position on the /246/ on the western side of the city. Sardar Shayr ^oAli Khan remained stationed on the north side which he had already seized. With the amir at Kuhdastan, which he had made his headquarters, the whole city was now surrounded; travel in and out was very restricted, and the Kabul force sat biding its time.

***SARDAR JALAL AL-DIN KHAN IS RECEIVED IN AUDIENCE AND THE
AMIR-I KABIR FALLS ILL THEN RECOVERS***

During this time when Herat was in the grip of the siege, Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan who, as earlier recorded, at the death of Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan had taken two of the latter's concubines and then fled all the way to Constantinople in fear of the consequences, now entered the Amir-i Kabir's camp hopeful of forgiveness. The Amir-i Kabir was very solicitous and kind and the gifts of cash and goods which were forthcoming from His Highness and the princes, including a pavilion, carpets, dishes, and other things amounted to some three laks worth of rupees.

Towards the end of Rabi al-Sani 1279/late October 1862 the physical condition of the Amir-i Kabir was affected by asthma and shortness of breath and he grew weak. But, thanks to the inimitable favor of God, he recovered although a "flaccidness" (*rikhwat*) appeared in his nerves, viscera, and limbs and he did not recover to the extent desirable. In Jumada al-Thani/December, weakness made him susceptible to fainting. Day by day he grew more and more emaciated and never fully regained his health.

***THE DEATH OF SARDAR SULTAN AHMAD KHAN'S WIFE AND THE
RECEIPT OF A LETTER FROM THE ENGLISHMAN STUBACK
(STOBAUGH?)***

At the same time that the Amir-i Kabir was suffering from an attack of this chronic illness, the wife of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan died during the month of Rajab/January 1863. Her young son, ^oAbd Allah Khan, along with Mulla Rahimdad and Nazir Mahmud, carried her body out of the city. Because she was a daughter of the Amir-i Kabir, her brothers—Sardar Shayr ^oAli Khan, Sardar

Muhammad Amin Khan, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan, Sardar Muhammad Fath Khan, Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan, Sardar Sayf Allah Khan, and Sardar Shahsawar Khan—along with other worthies in the Amir-i Kabir's army, carried her bier with all due pomp and ceremony to Gazargah to a grotto (*sardābah*) which had been built for her son, Shayr Ahmad Jan, and there they buried her. After her interment, the two sides again occupied themselves with the job at hand, the Heratis strengthening their defenses, the force under the amir tightening the siege.

During this, a certain Mirza °Abd al-Ghaffar brought a letter from the Englishman, Stuback (Stobaugh), to Kafir Qal°ah from where a courier delivered it to the Amir-i Kabir. Stuback (Stobaugh) had negotiated with Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar in Tehran concerning the treaty between Great Britain and Iran vis a vis non-intervention (in Afghanistan) and non-interference in its domestic disputes, specifically not siding with any particular faction of sardars. He had also succeeded in keeping Nasir al-Din Shah from his plan of sending aid to Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan. The gist of the message to the Amir-i Kabir was that the English government had kept Iran from helping Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and therefore he could press his offensive without fear that Iran would step in.

The mirza, who had stopped at Kafir Qal°ah and sent the message from there, returned to Mashhad. Another letter corroborating the contents of Stuback (Stobaugh's) letter had also been sent by Husayn °Ali Khan, an agent for Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan who lived in Mashhad. Near Kuhsan, it fell into the hands of officials of the Amir-i Kabir. Its message was that Sardar Sultan Ahmad should expect no help from the Qajar shah but instead take the path of obedience so that blood not be spilled and the dust of enmity not be spread.

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan thereupon sent the amir a single verse:

Never mind if there be no captain (*nākhudā*) in our boat,
We have God (*khudā*) and therefore need no captain. /247/

In reply, Mirza Muhammad Muhsin Khan, a secretary (*dabīr*), composed and sent off a verse on the Amir-i Kabir's behalf:

There is no beacon in front¹⁰ of the boat
Either danger is far away or the shore is very close.

Without disclosing the news from Mashhad, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan kept up the spirits of the Heratis by assuring them of the imminent arrival of help from Iran. He told them, "Be brave and continue to man the defenses."

¹⁰ FM: The meaning of this verse in the form of a query is contradictory. Either danger is far away or the shore is close. Both can't be true because there is no light ahead of the boat showing the way.

With these words, which were a denial of reality, he kept Herati hopes alive and prolonged the siege for eight months. Then, before the breeze of victory could fill the Amir-i Kabir's banners, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's life ended. Early in Ramadan 1279, equivalent to the sixth of April 1863, he died.

SARDAR SHAH NAWAZ KHAN'S FAILURE TO CONCEAL HIS FATHER'S DEATH AND THE AMIR-I KABIR ALLOWS HIM TO BE BURIED BESIDE HIS WIFE

After Sardar Sultan Ahrnad Khan's demise, his son, Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan, performed the ritual ablution on the body and wrapped it in a shroud. He wanted to conceal the death so that it would appear to the Amir-i Kabir that he was simply carrying on the defense of the city on his father's behalf and he placed the body in the Masjid-i Jami^c for safekeeping. But one of Herat's regular soldiers was captured by Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan's men and he told them of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's death. They led him to the Amir-i Kabir who thought that what he was saying arose from his fearing for his own life and that if he told them Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan was dead he might win his own freedom. So he sent him to Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan with instructions to get to the bottom of the matter. Then if it turned out that Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan was indeed dead, he should request the body so that it could be given a proper burial. If it turned out otherwise, then he was to keep the prisoner in custody in case he were a spy. Sardar Shayr ^cAli carried out his orders and sent a person to the walls of the city to see if he could find out what was going on.

At first the defenders refused to answer his inquiries but then Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan gave them permission to do so and they confirmed the news. Once the secret was out, the Amir-i Kabir ordered all the princes and notables in his entourage to go to the Bagh-i Murad, carry the body of the deceased out of the city, and bury it.

So, as ordered, they asked for the body and the Heratis sent it out, carried by ^cAbd Allah Khan, the late sardar's youngest son; Mulla Rahimdad; Nazir Mahmud; and a few others. The sardars buried him beside his wife. Afterwards, the amir gave ceremonial robes and gifts to the pallbearers as well as to ^cAbd Allah Khan, Mulla Rahimdad, and Nazir Mahmud. He then gave the latter three leave to return to the city. Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan, after rolling out the carpet of grief and mourning, decided it was prudent to embark on the path of reconciliation.

SARDAR SHAH NAWAZ KHAN OPENS NEGOTIATIONS AND THE AMIR-I KABIR'S OFFICIALS REJECT HIS TERMS

As it happened, the sardar sent a message to his glorious grandfather, the Amir-i Kabir, asking him to send Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan along with a number of other leaders to the city so that he could discuss the things he had in mind and

if these were acceptable he would come and kiss the amir's feet. The Amir-i Kabir agreed to his proposal and in his reply said, "I will send anyone you want except Sardar Shayr [‘]Ali Khan and Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan for whom sessions with someone like you, like wedding feasts (or other gatherings), are beneath them."

Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan agreed to these terms and opened the [‘]Iraq Gate, designating the intervallum (*fasił*) between the *shīr-hajji* outer defenses /248/ and the walls of the city near the gate as the meeting place. A large awning was erected beneath which the carpet of peace-making was spread. There he awaited the Amir-i Kabir's delegation. It included Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, Sardar Muhammad [‘]Usman Khan, Sardar Khushdil Khan, Sardar [‘]Abd al-Ghani Khan, Sardar Yahya Khan, Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan Tarzi, the Khan-i [‘]Ulum Qazi [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan, Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, Safdar [‘]Ali Khan, and a number of other Durrani, Ghilja’i, and Persian (Farsi) dignitaries.

They went to the city and began negotiations with Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan. After much discussion, Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan stated,

I consider myself just a minor servant (*kahīni chākir*) of the throne and I will hand over Herat to officials of the regime. But since the governorship of Herat will be conferred on one of the (amir's) servants, I think I am the one to whom it should be given.

But because the amir's delegation lacked the authority, they demurred and said, "Unless you present yourself in person before the throne and make this same request, it cannot be considered."

Consequently Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan did not get what he wanted. Refusing to present himself before the amir, he abruptly walked out of the negotiating session and all the parties returned to their own places.

SARDAR SHAH NAWAZ KHAN EXPELS SARDAR MIR AFZAL KHAN FROM HERAT

After his return to the city, Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan decided to get rid of Sardar Mir Afzal Khan lest the latter betray him, reach a separate agreement with the Amir-i Kabir, and hand Herat over to him. So he ordered him and Sardar Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan, the son of Sardar Kuhandil Khan, to leave the city. Sardar Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan, whose loyalties were really with the Amir-i Kabir, was happy with the order. But Sardar Mir Afzal Khan refused to leave and protested his loyalty to Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan. He sent him a letter saying that the sardar ought to think of him as one of his own and not expel him. Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan penned this verse and sent it back to Sardar Mir Afzal Khan by the hand of his brother, [‘]Abd Allah Khan:

Stop talking and start walking,
Sweets are for parrots; carrion for vultures (i.e you don't belong here)

When he read this, he immediately left the city with Sardar Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan. When the Amir-i Kabir heard they were on their way, he instructed Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan and Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan to take the royal sedan chair and go welcome those two and bring them to the royal presence with all due honor and respect. Accordingly, they carried out the appropriate formalities, seated Sardar Mir Afzal Khan in the litter, and had him carried to court. The Amir-i Kabir treated him with great cordiality and with the water of compassion washed away the dust of shame for his previous behavior towards the amir. He was given a place to reside along with furnishings, pack animals, servants, and all necessities. No allusion was made to his earlier disloyalty or his siding with Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan. Rather he was abashed by the amir's generosity towards him.

THE AMIR-I KABIR'S ORDER FOR AN ALL-OUT ASSAULT AND THE CAPTURE OF HERAT

When the siege had dragged on for a long time and the Amir-i Kabir had no alternative but to order a full-scale assault, he first shut off all means of access to the city and ordered his sappers to dig entrenchments all the way around the city. In a short time, trenches were driven to the edge of the moat and in some places right up to the foot of the walls. /249/ The tunnelers then placed charges and blew holes in the walls and gates of the city and many defenders were killed by the flying debris. The inhabitants of Herat seeing all hope now cut off were compelled to show goodwill towards the Amir-i Kabir. Group by group, they exited the city and presented themselves before him. Finally, on Thursday, the eighth of Zi Hijjah 1279, corresponding to the twenty-seventh of May 1863, the amir ordered an all-out attack. Thanks to the bravery of his troops and the treachery of the people of the city, Herat was occupied. The amir's troops then sacked it and obtained a considerable amount of booty.

Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan and his brothers, fearing for their lives, withdrew to the citadel and, all hope gone, barricaded themselves inside. After the flames of sedition, tumult, and confusion were extinguished, Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan went before the Amir-i Kabir with Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan and Sardar Sikandar Khan. Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan, a nephew of Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan acted as intermediary. Through him the three men expressed their apologies and abject humility.

The Amir-i Kabir first addressed Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan, reminded him one by one of the favors which he had granted him and reproached him for his ingratitude. Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan agreed that the amir's words were the truth and then himself recounted all the favors he had received from the Amir-i Kabir and asked forgiveness for his misdeeds saying,

I have been a loyal servant, first to my brother, Sardar Sultan Ahmad

Khan, and after him to his son, on the model of the servant who remains true to his master under any and all conditions. I have spent my life loyally serving them because to reject their command would be a kind of betrayal and would give rise to a bad reputation. I therefore have had no alternative but to try and carry out their wishes and not close my eyes to the obligation to be true to my salt. I continued to do so until right now when circumstances beyond my control have me in their grip. Now I have no other goal than to ask the Amir-i Kabir's pardon for those misdeeds for which the Amir-i Kabir might pardon me and again look favorably on me.

The Amir-i Kabir remained silent in the face of his commendable speech and said nothing more to him. But he reprimanded Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan and, using the contemptuous diminutive form of address, rebuked him, saying:

Shah Nawaz, you little man, it was you who used to say, 'I won't die like my father but will fight to the end.' What ill fortune now brings you to seek peace?

Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan answered in kind, hurling invective and abuse at the amir. But then Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan, lest the name-calling and impudence sink to truly indecent language, grabbed him by the shoulders and forcibly threw him, Sardar Sikandar Khan, and Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan out of the majlis. Then at the amir's order all three were placed under arrest.

During this Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan was sent by his father, the Amir-i Kabir, to Qandahar. Not long after, the amir was afflicted by various illnesses. The pillars of his body's fortress were undermined and the sun of his life set.

THE PASSING OF THE AMIR-I KABIR TO PARADISE AT THE ETERNAL COMMAND

As illness had taken the Amir-i Kabir into its fatal grip and the time for his journey had come, on Tuesday, the twenty-first of Zi Hijjah 1279, corresponding to the ninth of June 1863 and equivalent, in turn, to the fourteenth day after the conquest of Herat, the days of his life were brought to completion and he was buried beside the sepulchre of the saint, Khwajah 'Abd Allah Ansari. His sons, accompanied by the leaders of the army, performed the funeral rites and commenced the appropriate period of daily readings of the *Fātiḥah*.

Likewise, Sardar Muhammad 'Ali Khan in Kabul and Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan in Turkistan, both of whom had at first held celebrations at the news of Herat's fall, now replaced the carpets of joy with ones of mourning. In Kabul, Qandahar, Turkistan, /250/ Ghaznin, Jalalabad, and elsewhere, funeral rituals and the *Fātiḥah*-recitations were conducted.

In brief, this paradise-dwelling padishah was endowed with praiseworthy

qualities and was guided by high morals. He did not set only a single day for hearing complaints and redressing grievances. Instead, every day after morning prayers and a reading of one section of the Qur'an he would hold public audience, inquire into the circumstances of persons weak and powerless, and right the wrongs done them. Indeed, most of the women and men who sought to petition him to redress their grievances did so at the door of his private quarters or while he was traveling. And he would dispense justice to them while leaning on his walking stick. He assigned most of the country's revenues as *jāygīr*-fiefs to the royal princes and to tribal leaders and made this system universal.

He was seventy-two years old when he died. The private secretary (*dabīr*) Mirza Muhammad Muhsin Khan composed a series of verses which celebrated that great man's life without resorting to poetic exaggeration and included an obituary chronogram in them.

The sun, O friends, the House of authority held
 The world in envy of the perfection of its beauty was held
 A candle went out; the smoke of its tragedy
 Became the fire of grief by all the kin beheld
 Kingship has gone from time; always in mourning
 Afghans young and old by grief beset.
 That is Amir Dust Muhammad whose sword
 Sunlike the world from end to end has held.
 To such a degree did he befriend noble and kin,
 The pen of its meaning and explanation cannot describe.
 It was not his way with the great and small of his kin
 To impinge on the great in any way their rights to seize.
 He never in his life was displeased with anyone
 No matter what befell him.
 Mankind slept in the cradle of security under his reign
 A hundred guarantees for which from people of the time he got.
 To cleanse the roads of the filthy highway robbers
 The caravan, the reward of an escort against the thief, got.
 He conquered the world with his excellent morals
 Indeed with his excellent morals, the world could be taken.
 As long as his foot stepped upon the throne of rule
 His hand the cap of sovereignty from sovereign removed.
 No one ever took from him the reins of his intention
 Except for Eternity which at life's end the reins did seize.
 He ruled in such a way that the reed of his intuition
 The justice of Anushirwan, his finger did hold.
 For his great modesty they've made his tomb in Hari (Herat)
 From the land of Maymanah to the mountains held.
 He conquered the city of Herat and gave it justice.
 To the city of Herat did he give his all.

Muhsin asked of young and old
How the lament of this holy warrior shah's obituary date to get.
In answer, a houri offered 'take the head from Paradise (*sar az janān*),'
And said, 'It can be taken from the holy warrior Amir.'¹¹

This padishah left twenty-seven sons and twenty-five daughters born to sixteen wives. In addition, there was another son and daughter who died as infants during his lifetime.

Sardar Shayr ^oAli Khan was the first to succeed to the throne. During his amirate, Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan and Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan also sat on the throne of Afghanistan, as will be discussed in due course. Sardar Shayr ^oAli Khan was forty-one years old when he took the throne. The date of his birth, the length of his life, the date of his death, and his place of burial as well as those of his brothers are listed below:

¹¹ FM: The numerical value of "Holy Warrior Amir" (*amīr-i jāhid-i ghāzī*) is 1282. The value of the letter 'j' (the 'head' of *janān*) is three giving 1279, the date of his death.

/251/

No.	Name	Date of Birth	Length of Life	Date of Death	Place of Burial
1	Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan	1230/1815	45 yrs	1284/1867-8	Kabul, Qal ^c ah-i Hushmand Khan
2	Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan	1232/1817	31 yrs	1263/1847	Mazar-i Sharif, Turkistan
3	Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan	1233/1818-19	33 yrs	1266/1849-50	Mazar-i Sharif
4	Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan	1235/1819-20	39 yrs	Friday, 21/XI 1274/3/VIII 1858	Kabul, Mazar-i ^c Arifan wa ^c Ashiqan
5	Amir Muhammad A ^c zam Khan	1236/1820-21	50 yrs	1286/1869-70	Mazar-i Bayazid Bastami
6	Amir Shayr ^c Ali Khan	1238/1822-23	58 yrs	1296/1879	Mazar-i Sharif
7	Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan	1241/1825-26	72 yrs	1313/1895-96	Lahore, Mazar-i Shah Muhammad Ghaws
8	Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan	1242/1826-27	40 yrs	1282/1865-66	(Mazar-i) Khirqah-i Sharifah, Qandahar
9	Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan	1243/1827-28	65 yrs	1308/890-91	Baghdad-i Sharif
10	Sardar Ahmad Khan	1245/1829-30	70 yrs	1315/1897-98	Peshawar, Mazar-i Shaykh Habib
11	Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan	1247/1831-32	42 yrs	1289/1872-73	Lahore, Mazar-i Shah Muhammad Ghaws
12	Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan	1248/1832-33	39 yrs	1287/1870-71	Kabul, Bagh-i Shah
13	Sardar Muhammad	1249/1833-34	47 yrs	1296/1879	Kabul, Bagh-i Shah

	Hasan Khan				
14	Sardar Muhammad Karim Khan	1249/1833-34	64 yrs	1313/1895-96	Rawalpindi, Mazar-i Bari Imam
15	Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan	1254/1838/39	33 yrs	1278/1861-62	Kabul, Bagh-i Shah
16	Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan	1255/1839-40	29 yrs	1284/1867-68	Kabul, Mazar-i Sayyid Mahdi
17	Sardar Muhammad [◦] Umar Khan	1256/1840-41	66 yrs	1322/1904-05	Kabul, Mazar-i [◦] Ashiqan wa [◦] Arifan
18	Sardar Sayf Allah Khan	1259/1843-44	23 yrs	1282/1865-66	Kabul, Mazar-i [◦] Ashiqan wa [◦] Arifan
19	Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan	1261/1845			still living (in 1331/1913)
20	Sardar Muhammad Qasim Khan	1263/1847	28 yrs	1291/1874	Mazar-i [◦] Ashiqan wa [◦] Arifan
21	Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan	1263/1847	37 yrs	1300/1882-83	Mazar-i [◦] Ashiqan wa [◦] Arifan
22	Sardar Habib Allah Khan	1268/1851-52	47	1315/1897-98	Sirhind-i Sharif
23	Sardar Muhammad Rahim Khan	1270/1853-54	10 yrs	1280/1863-64	Mazar-i [◦] Ashiqan wa [◦] Arifan 24
24	Sardar Nik Muhammad Khan	1271/1854-55	29 yrs	1300/1882-83	Mazar-i [◦] Ashiqan wa [◦] Arifan
25	Sardar Muhammad Sadiq Khan	1271/1854-55	18 yrs	1289/1872-73	Kabul;, Mazar-i Baba Kadani
26	Sardar Muhammad Shu [◦] ayb Khan	1272/1855-56	30 yrs	1302/1885-86	Lamqan, Mazar-i Mihtar Lamk
27	Sardar Muhammad [◦] Azim Khan	1273/1856-57			still living (in 1331/1913)

*ACCESSION OF AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN TO THE THRONE OF
AFGHANISTAN*

In the same place where the Amir-i Kabir passed away, the Bagh-i Mirza Jan, Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan /252/ mourned and grieved until the fourth day of his father's passing, the twenty-fourth of Zi Hijjah 1279/12 June 1863. On that day, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan entered the great Congregational Mosque in Herat and just before the performance of the Friday services, invited both civilian and military leaders to offer their allegiance and an oath of loyalty to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. All accepted him as the amir and agreed to obey his commands and prohibitions. Later that same day, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan introduced Shayr ^cAli Khan's name into the khutbah and performed the formalities of congratulating him on his amirate. A gold coin was struck with his name and the bezel of his seal was engraved with the verse:

The beauty of the everlasting fortune is an eternal portion given by God
The heir (*waṣī*) of Dust Muhammad is Amir Shayr ^cAli.

Farmans proclaiming his amirate were issued from the Bagh-i Mirza Jan and sent to every governor, tax official, and leading khan of every town and district. Among them was a manshur sent by courier to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, the regent of Turkistan, and addressed as well to the civilian population there. Sardar Muhammad A^czam also sent a letter by the hand of the same courier. Ostensibly it contained congratulations, but in fact it was meant for his brother, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, and it advised him that if he had ever desired power, there was no better time than the present to prepare to travel to Kabul and seize the capital from Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan, the son of Shayr ^cAli Khan, before the latter's arrival there.

Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, however, turned the suggestion down and took no action, for he felt it would bring him a bad name and might have disastrous consequences. He contented himself with the government of Turkistan, accepted Shayr ^cAli Khan's amirate and sent a letter in which he expressed his allegiance.

After concluding the succession question, Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan busied himself with administrative matters and began to establish his regime in the manner of the great rulers. For example, he would become renowned for the reforms he instituted in the military.

THE EVENTS OF 1280/JUNE 1863–JUNE 1864

At the beginning of this year there was an uprising of the troops garrisoned in Khanabad and nominally subject to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan. As noted above, these regular cavalry and infantry regiments had been incited by the tutor and teacher of Sardar Muhammad ^cAziz Khan and their officers were

only waiting for the right opportunity, which came with the death of the Amir-i Kabir. One cavalry and two infantry regiments mutinied and marched against Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. They pelted the door and walls of his house with stones and destroyed the property of the residents of Khanabad. When his followers heard of their commander's situation, they moved in with artillery to stop the mutineers.

Worried that the uprising might spread and the situation deteriorate, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan told his troops not to approach too close to his house. The rebels were frightened by the sudden mobilization of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's men and retreated from his house back to their own base. From there, they fled to Kabul leaving behind bags and baggage.

At one of the manzils en route, at the order of the tutor and teacher of Sardar Muhammad ^cAziz Khan, who knew full well the awful consequences of what had happened, they all drew their reins and stopped for awhile. After a three-day stay, the soldiers came to the conclusion that they had been duped by these two men and by their own officers. They therefore sent a letter of apology to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan asking forgiveness for their misdeeds. In reply he wrote,

Those who have sponsored rebellion and have lead the army into error should be brought back in chains. Then of course the request (for forgiveness) will be granted. Otherwise, no matter where they go, or what they do, their petition will never be accepted.

Those who had sent the letter had been sincere and now shackled eight of the eight captains and *hawālah-dārs* who had been the principal force behind the mutiny at the instigation of the commissar of sedition and oppression. They were sent to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan with a message that said,

These are the ones who through our commandants brought us by deception before the tutor and the teacher of Sardar Muhammad ^cAziz Khan and had us swear an oath on the Glorious Qur'an.

At that, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan sent several of his own officers /253/ to those soldiers. They summoned the men, in order to reassure them, and they confronted the officers who had led the mutiny in order to punish them. By virtue of the proofs presented by the soldiers, the eight detained officers were put to death by firing squad as a warning. Other rebellious officers were spared out of deference to Sardar Muhammad ^cAziz Khan to whom they belonged (as ghulams) but they were stripped of their rank. In their stead, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan appointed officers from his own cavalry and infantry regiments.¹²

In like manner, each of the soldiers who was (proven to be) one of the sedition-seekers and mischief-makers was stripped of his position as nawkar.

¹² RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 30–31.

Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan also pardoned the tutor and teacher of Sardar Muhammad 'Aziz Khan because of his affection for the latter and decreed no punishment for either of them.

MIR ATALIQ'S UPRISEING AND HIS INCITING THE PEOPLE OF QATAGHAN¹³

During this time, while Amir Shayr °Ali Khan was still in Herat, Mir Ataliq received the news of the Amir-i Kabir's death and proceeded to gallop headlong into the wasteland of error and began to carry out what had always been at the back of his mind. By various means and strategems and by sending out messengers, he aroused the people of Qataghan and plunged them into misguided behavior. He sent his son, Sultan Murad Khan, out among the people of the Qataghan region to visit every tribe and clan and kindle the fire of insurrection. Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan, flying the pennants of warning and threatening those people in order to damp down the flames, sent Sardar Muhammad °Alam Khan and Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Khan with three infantry regiments, 1,000 horse troopers, twelve field guns, and twenty battalions (of 100 men each) of *khāṣṣah-dars*. He ordered them to march to Qataghan by way of Baghlan while he himself would travel via Shurabak into Nahrin where the bulk of the enemy had assembled.

But the army sent through Baghlan reached Nahrin before Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan had moved out. Sardar Muhammad °Alam Khan, with no advance scouts, was riding out ahead of his army with 200 cavalry. Although his men had warned him against riding out in front with no scouts he paid no attention until his 200 horsemen rode into an ambush of 2,000 enemy cavalry who charged down onto Sardar Muhammad °Alam Khan and his men. His cavalry were driven back except for a few men who stood firm with him. Although he struggled valiantly, he and his companions were all killed. When his main force, coming up from behind, learned what had happened, they drew their swords and charged the enemy, fighting their way through to the body of their brave sardar. They battled hand to hand with the enemy who were determined to make off with the slain sardar's head and much blood was shed. The enemy sustained 300 casualties, the rest turning and running. Prevented from decapitating the sardar and making off with his head, the defeated force fled to Nahrin and for the time being at least refrained from further fighting.

The next day the army of the slain sardar marched on Nahrin. The enemy force of some 40,000 men stood in their path and the two sides clashed. The battle lasted into the evening but in the end the Afghan army closed ranks and formed a fortress-like square of four sides with their backs to each other and their faces towards the enemy, thus protecting themselves from enemy attack. No matter from which direction the enemy attacked, it would first be held off by cannon and musket fire. Then if it managed to get near, with swords. About

¹³ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 31–32.

10,000 enemy were killed or wounded while the royal army suffered no more than ten wounded thanks to its battle formation. Besides these ten wounded and Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan and his twenty companions, or thirty-one men in all, no one else was either wounded or killed.

The Qataghanis eventually retreated. Sultan Murad Khan, with 2,000 men who had earlier fled with him and were now assisting him in this venture and another 3,000 horsemen of a total of 6,000 men whom the mirs of Badakhshan had secretly sent to help him, all took the road of flight. The other 3,000 Badakhshani cavalrymen and a few others of Sultan Murad Khan's followers, were held briefly as prisoners following the killing and wounding of 10,000 of their companions and then they too escaped to the valley of adversity. It was a glorious victory that this small force had obtained by standing fast against 40,000 cavalrymen.

A man named Ghanam, a *mingbāshī* whom Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman had sent out as a spy and whom Sultan Murad Khan had arrested, managed to escape after the victory, /254/ find a horse and, after riding at top speed, reach Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan at daybreak. When he dismounted he passed out and when he came to Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman asked him why he had fainted. The answer was, "By Sultan Murad Khan's order they flogged me 400 times every single day." The army surgeons examined his back, sides, and limbs and corroborated his statement saying, "Except for his face, every part of his body is as black as the face of Sultan Murad Khan's fortune." When Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan had seen and verified for himself the torture Ghanam had suffered, the latter addressed him and said, "Because of fear of turmoil and danger, everyone in the region is fleeing into the mountains and abandoning their homes."

Hearing this, the sardar immediately ordered out 2,000 regular cavalry with six horse-drawn guns and six mule guns under the command of Na'ib Ghulam Muhammad Khan, the son of Na'ib Amir Barakza'i, with instructions to proceed to Ahan Darrah, a point through which the refugees would pass, and prevent them from fleeing beyond that point.

He likewise ordered the infantry and cavalry regiments stationed at Taluqan to join Na'ib Ghulam Muhammad Khan at Ahan Darrah, the border between Badakhshan and Qataghan. Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan also sent the qazi-judge of Qunduz via Shurabek with two or three of the mirs of Balkh like Baba Beg and others who were dependable men of some stature. Their task was to reassure the people of Qataghan and give them guidance.

When the refugees reached Ahan Darrah, they found their route blocked by the army. They were forced to give up all hope and so, in desperation, they devoted themselves to killing and looting. At that moment, the army which had fought with them at Nahrin approached from the rear, cutting off hopes of retreat. Then the qazi of Qunduz, Mir Baba Beg, and others went among the clans, reassured them, and won them over. All the *mingbāshīs* and *aqsiqāls* who had escaped the Afghan sword at Nahrin now came to Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman to offer their allegiance, largely because of their confidence in the qazi of

Qunduz and Mir Baba Beg and the other 'ulama and sayyids. In return for excusing them from punishment for their behavior, he demanded payment of ten laks of rupees. As they had abandoned all hope regarding keeping their money and possessions, they were delighted with the terms and volunteered to pay twelve laks of rupees. At that they were pardoned.

Then the sardar had a document drawn up with the stipulation that:

After this they would listen to no words of their mirs which advocated hostility towards the Amir of Afghanistan so that as long as the Afghan nation remains standing, they would not turn their backs on the amir or his successors nor side with anyone else. Another stipulation is that they will, without fail, hand over twelve laks of rupees, as agreed, to the amir's treasury. He in turn would protect and care for them as he protected and cared for all his subjects. Using the cane of his authority (*siyāsat*), he would stay the hand of the oppressor from taking the money and property of the weak and the indigent (dervishes). The end.

The two sides pressed their seals to the document and the sardar then gave ceremonial robes to all the *āqsigāls* and gave them leave to return home. They went to their homes and began to spread the news of the character of the sardar and of the treaty he had concluded with them. Then, due to the general satisfaction with these terms, another treaty containing similar terms was drawn up on behalf of all the subjects of the region and sent to the sardar. In it they pledged:

that they would obey every command and prohibition of the state and (in return) would suffer no hardship from Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, when it came to their lives and property. They would always hold his descendants in warm regard; his friend was their friend and his enemy their enemy.

With the treaty document, they sent an accompanying letter which said,

Since he has secured our lives and property from the danger of destruction, out of consideration for this kindness there will never be a failure to submit the twelve laks of rupees because two crores of rupees worth of cash and goods which we considered as good as lost were spared. Naturally, the aforementioned sum will be quickly remitted with thanks and gratitude for this bounty. And after this, we will never be steered by our mirs onto the path of disobedience.

Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan sent the treaty and the accompanying letter on to his father and informed him of the arrangements he had made. At the same time, he replied to the Qataghanis in agreeable and reasonable terms. They in

their turn within a month remitted to the sardar's treasury the designated sum of twelve laks and received a receipt for it.

Once Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan cleared his mind of all concerns, a statement of accounts was produced, fifteen laks of arrears in the tax revenues of districts of Qataghan were collected, and unpaid military salaries /255/ for the previous year and for the first four months of the present year were paid out. The sardar brought order and contentment to the army and the civilian populace and kept busy governing efficiently and well.

BADAKHSHANI THIEVES WHO ENTERED THE ARMY CAMP DRESSED AS MERCHANTS AND CREATED HAVOC¹⁴

In the midst of these events, it happened that a group of Badakhshani bandits had been coming to the army camp for some time disguised as merchants and bringing Badakhshani textiles to trade. After leaving the army base, they would pick up weapons which they had concealed near the camp and then waylay and kill any soldier whom they encountered, stealing his weapons and clothes. The people thought that they were only merchants and not the ones doing these evil deeds. Whenever such an incident occurred and an investigation was launched, these men, thought to be genuine merchants were never suspected. Although it came out during the investigations that only these men were ever seen on the road, still no one confronted them. When the investigators found no one else, they would return to the camp. Things went on in this fashion for a period of two years from the time of the late Sardar ^cAbd al-Ghiyath Khan until this point. But now Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan ordered the commandant of the regular cavalry along with the commander of the Uzbek militia cavalry to send every day at sunrise 1,000 cavalrymen in groups of ten or twenty to a point some 6,000 paces (*kām*) from the army base where they would lie in ambush. In addition, the entire army was warned that if anyone, while out on some business or other, encountered the bandits, he was to wave a piece of his clothing like a flag to signal the assigned cavalrymen to attack from their hiding places and fend off the highwaymen. If possible, they were to take these men prisoner and bring them to the army camp. Twenty days passed with the patrols going out as ordered. Two or three times during this period there were also market days but still nothing was heard of the brigands.

Nonetheless, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan did not give up this plan. One day, at the edge of the territory of Taluqan, four horse-herders (*mihtarān-i aspān*) out for forage were set upon by those renegade merchants. One, who had a very fast horse, spurred it to the top of a nearby hill and waved his cloak in the air and shouted for help. The cavalrymen deployed in that area quickly galloped up to find fifty merchants from Badakhshan and Kulab attacking and plundering the horse-herders. After a struggle, they managed to take them all into custody and bring them before Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. He confiscated from them

¹⁴ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 33–34.

10,000 rupees in cash which he deposited in the treasury. He also took their weapons and belongings, including their saddles, bridles, and other trappings. These he gave to the horsemen who had brought them in. Their horses were turned over to the artillery corps. The prisoners then acknowledged that they had been the ones who had committed the acts of highway robbery. When that was ascertained, all were sentenced to death. Seeing themselves about to become non-existent, they told the sardar that if they were spared, each would pay a ransom of 2,000 rupees to the treasury and would repent and renounce their criminal misdeeds. Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan rejected their plea and on market day had them all executed by cannon.

MIR JAHANDAR SHAH SENDS A COURIER TO SARDAR 'ADD AL-RAHMAN KHAN ASKING FOR THE RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS BUT THEY HAD ALREADY BEEN EXECUTED¹⁵

Twenty days after the execution, Mir Jahandar Shah learned of their arrest and sent a man who earlier had been sent to the late Sardar ʻAbd al-Ghiyath Khan, former governor of Qataghan, to secure the release of someone then in custody and who had managed to get the person freed using flattery and glib words. This man now came with a letter to Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan which said that when this letter arrived he should free the prisoners and hand them over to the bearer of the letter without looking for a pretext or giving an excuse. Otherwise a letter would be sent to his "noble *qiblah*," his father Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan in Balkh, about his oppression and tyranny telling him that his son has made the people of of Badakhshan heartsick and fearful.

Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan read through the letter which was replete with reprimands and expressions of indignation. Moreover, the emissary /256/ began to make impolite and rude remarks and thoroughly outraged the sardar, to the extent that he ordered his beard and mustache plucked out, thus rendering him beardless. They then put kohl around his eyes and indigo on his eyebrows and handed him his beard in a small yellow purse. The sardar then said, "Here is the answer for your mir, now get lost!" He also showed the emissary the killing ground where the prisoners had been executed and gave him permission to leave. Simultaneously he dispatched to Taluqan from Khanabad two regular infantry regiments of 800 men each, 2,000 regular cavalry, twenty units (banners-*bayraq*) of Sakhlu infantry of one hundred men each, 1,000 Uzbek militia (*mulki*) cavalry and twelve mule guns—all under the command of Commandant Muhammad Zaman Khan, Commandant Sikandar Khan, and Naʻib Ghulam Ahmad Khan. Their orders were to take the shaven courier and deliver him to Mir Jahandar Shah. He also assigned them to take from the regiments stationed in Taluqan one cavalry and one regular infantry as well as some militia (Sakhlu) infantry and six mule guns.

When they arrived in Taluqan, they gave Mir Jahandar Shah's emissary

¹⁵ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 34–37.

leave to return to his master and then, taking the designated regiments from there moved into Farkhar. At about this time, the emissary reached his mir and related what had happened, placing before him the purse which contained his beard and mustache. The mir was furious and called for horse and arms and mobilized his cavalry, intending to ride on Khanabad. But his horsemen had not yet assembled when a mounted courier arrived and told him “a large Afghan force has entered Farkhar and the people there have welcomed it peacefully and accepted the authority of its officers. And just as the mountain torrents follow on the heels of the rain clouds of spring, they will soon arrive here.”

Mir Jahandar Shah did not believe the courier’s words and was busily preparing his forces when a letter arrived from the commander of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan’s army. Written in a mocking tone, it said, “Good news! We have come to save you who would have gone to save the prisoners. Soon we will be in your guest-house.”

Realizing that the army had indeed arrived, M^cir Jahandar Shah was now filled with fear. His *āqsiqāls* gathered and chastised him saying,

Your father saved himself from Afghan attack by giving his daughter away in marriage. You instead wrote and sent an impudent letter to that very person who was just looking for a pretext. By doing so, you have thrown yourself to the winds. Because of one uncivil message you put their backs up and an army has been sent that you can now see for yourself. Now you must get us out of this.

Mir Jahandar Shah, finding himself beset by a hundred kinds of trouble, asked his *āqsiqāls* for suggestions and said,

You were my father’s closest confidants and used to resolve such unpleasant affairs. Now it’s up to you to think up another scheme for extricating us from this mess.

They advised him that the best thing to do was:

send your brother and twenty prominent people of Badakhshan to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan with 2,000 horses, forty slave girls, forty slave boys, and other fine things such as Chinese and Khitay textiles including silk carpets and satin, dishes, and utensils—as much as you have. Send them all as gifts. Also draft and send a letter of apology and give him as well one of the sisters or daughters of your father’s brother’s line, if she agrees to be his spouse so that the land of Badakhshan will remain secure from the depredations of the Afghan army. Otherwise we are going to wind up as homeless vagrants like Mir Ataliq.

With the *āqsiqāls*’ approval, the mir then sent his brother with the gifts

mentioned above along with numerous horsemen, servants, the *āqsiqāls*, and mounted infantrymen, in all some 3,000 people, sending them from Fayzabad to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan in Khanabad. He also sent a letter individually with gifts to the officers who had arrived in Farkhar telling them that they should halt wherever they happened to be until his brother reached Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and the result of his initiative became known. Then they should carry out whatever Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan might order.

His brother met up with the royal army at the manzil of Kalafkan or Kalukan, which is the third manzil after entering the territory of Badakhshan (from the west). At Mir Jahandar Shah's request, the army stopped there and wrote Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan informing him of its halt and the arrival of Mir Jahandar Shah's brother. It awaited his orders. Fifty men were assigned to escort the mir's brother from there. When he reached the sardar, he was graciously received. He placed the letter of apology very courteously on a chair, kissed the ground, and stood. The sardar then opened the letter. One of the apologies /257/ which it contained went as follows, "Although I have acted out of the rashness of ignorance, I hope for your forgiveness." For this very apology, the sardar pardoned him, gave his brother and companions the pleasure of receiving robes of honor and gave them leave to return. He also sent a *khil'at* to Mir Jahandar Shah and issued an order recalling the army.

At the time of its return, a number of aqsiqals went to Na^oib Ghulam Ahmad Khan and requested that a marriage connection be formed between Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and one of Mir Jahandar Shah's cousins. He in turn informed the sardar by letter of the suggestion. The Na^oib received this answer,

The marriage tie they made with Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan is sufficient for the purpose of friendship. There is no need for another kinship tie which is what a marital contract would be.

THE THEFT OF SHEEP FROM THE PEOPLE OF QATAGHAN BY HORSEMEN OF MIR SARAH BEG KULABI AND THEIR RETURN¹⁶

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During this time Mir Sarah Beg Kulabi raided the livestock of people who paid taxes to the Afghan government. Having assembled 2,000 horsemen he ordered them to make off with the flocks and herds of Qataghanis living along the banks of the Oxus. As a consequence, they succeeded in stealing 30,000 head of sheep.

When Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman learned of this, he assigned 2,000 horsemen to retrieve the sheep from the raiders. But by the time those men could get near to the Kulabis they had already crossed the Oxus. Without a second thought, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's men spurred their horses into the river and fell upon Mir Sarah Beg's men on the far side. They killed, wounded, or captured

¹⁶ RM: Cf., *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 40.

500 of the Kulabis and retrieved the sheep. They stayed on the far side of the river for two days and on the third day sent the sheep and prisoners back across the river, requesting from Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan permission to conquer Kulab. But since he did not have his father’s permission he refused the request and summoned all the men back. Ten of them drowned while re-crossing the river. When they had gotten back to the Afghan side of the river, all the sheep were returned to their original owners at the sardar’s order. According to a long standing tradition regarding the return of stolen property, the owners sent one-fifth of the value of the property to Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan via their governor and the *ra’is al-mulk*. The value of the 6,000 sheep (representing one-fifth of the total) was 8,000 *misqāls* of gold coins (*tilāyi maskūk*) which they paid the sardar. He in turn gave 3,000 of it as “exertion fee” (*haqq al-sa‘y*) to the cavalrymen who had retrieved the sheep. The other 5,000 he deposited in his own treasury.

Then he wrote Mir Sarah Beg a letter which said,

If after this, your people should ever do such a thing (again) to the subjects of the (Afghan) padishah, the district of Kulab will be trampled beneath the feet of my victorious army.

In response, the mir wrote a humble letter of apology saying, “I will never perpetrate such an unworthy act again.” He also sent off numerous gifts along with the apology. Later he returned the captured Kulabis for 5,000 *tilās* collected from their relatives. He put that money along with the 5,000 for the sheep for a total of 10,000 in his treasury. Then for security and to improve matters he purchased 3,000 pack ponies and several camels to bring to 2,000 the number of camels he now had and thereby set his mind at ease concerning adequate transport for the army and its ordnance.

During this time a letter from Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan reached his son, Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan, in which he told him that he would be coming to Qataghan. He also wrote that when he decided to leave Takhtah Pul he would give him a month’s notice before his departure. Placing the finger of acceptance on his eyes, the sardar answered that his coming would make his humble servant extremely happy.

AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN TRAVELS FROM HERAT TO KABUL AND THE FLIGHT OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN

When the amir, Shayr [‘]Ali Khan, as was mentioned above, placed the crown of sovereignty on his head, he first spent some time in Herat and then, having accomplished the reorganization of business there, returned to Kabul. He appointed his third son, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, /258/ who was just fourteen years old, as governor of Herat, and assigned a military garrison comprised of General Faramarz Khan and General Wali Muhammad Khan with

two 800-man infantry regiments from the Kabul regiments, 3,000 Durrani, Ghilja'i, Qizilbash, and other cavalry, twelve small guns, one nine-pounder, and a Chahar Yar (Four Friends) gun. These were in addition to the guns already in Herat, the eight Herati regular infantry regiments, and the militia khans and cavalrymen formerly under Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan.

He appointed Qazi °Abd al-Salam Khan as the qazi-judge and Mulla Shah Muhammad the mufti of the Shari'ah court there. He also named Sardar Muhammad °Alam Khan, the son of Sardar Sa'id Muhammad Khan, as well as Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Nasiri, Nazir Muhammad Na'im Khan, Ishik Aqasi °Ata Allah Khan, Ishik Aqasi °Ata Muhammad Khan, and °Abd al-Zahir Khan Barakza'i to serve Sardar Muhammad Ya'qub Khan. Mirza Ghulam Siddiq Khan was promoted to the office of *sar daftar* and all matters pertaining to the diwan were entrusted to him. Amir Shayr °Ali Khan himself then left Herat for Kabul accompanied by all his brothers and the rest of the army.

One of his brothers, Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan, stayed behind in Herat contemplating some act springing from the enmity he felt towards Amir Shayr °Ali Khan. He offered excuses (for not departing with the amir) and said he would catch up with him on the road to Kabul. The amir, who harbored no suspicions, waited three days for him at Pul-i Malan so that they could travel together to Qandahar. Then after he arrived, the drum roll signalling the start of the march was sounded.

According to what His late Highness, the Ziya al-Millah wa'1-Din, Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan, wrote in his own journal,

Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, because of their envy of the amir, Shayr °Ali Khan, for the worthy services he rendered on behalf of his illustrious father during the siege of Herat, had all made friendly overtures to Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan. As a consequence, they provoked the Amir-i Kabir's wrath. They in turn took it out on Amir Shayr °Ali Khan and pursued the path of hostility towards him.

So it happened that after Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan reached Pul-i Malan (Malan Bridge) he received permission from the amir and made camp at Rawzah Bagh which was two kuruhs from the bridge. When the amir departed, the sardar did not wait for him but marched instead to the manzil of Mir Da°ud from whence he sent the amir this message, "I have camped at this manzil and will join the amir when he and his party arrive here."

Amir Shayr °Ali Khan took the message at face value and made no reply but when he arrived at Mir Da°ud, the sardar had already proceeded on to the next manzil without waiting for him. To dampen Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's suspicions, he sent him another message saying, "Because there are no supplies between here and Isfizar, I am compelled to proceed another stage without stopping so as to obtain some."

Having sent the message, he then left all his companions and all the equipment they had brought at Isfizar when they arrived there and taking 250 horsemen and sufficient supplies and fled for Kabul via back roads through Ghur and the Hazarahjat guided by Baldi Muhammad Husayn, a Herati and former retainer of the late Sardar Muhammad 'Azim Khan. When he reached Kudah in the district of Day Mirdad Hazarah he did not have the courage to enter Kabul, being afraid of Sardar Muhammad 'Ali Khan, the son of Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan and governor there, but instead went by way of Shaykhabad in the Wardak district, to Barki Rajan in the district of Lahugard.

Learning of this, Sardar Muhammad 'Ali Khan, the governor of Kabul, dispatched contingents of horse and foot from the militia of the Chahar Dahi district and other suburbs of Kabul, from the city itself and from Chandawal, under Arslan Khan Ghilja'i and other Kuhistani, Kabuli, and Qizilbash leaders. But before the arrival of this force, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, at the request of the khans and maliks of Lahugard who had come and warned him either to leave Lahugard and so spare it government retribution or be delivered hands bound to Sardar Muhammad 'Ali Khan, realized it would be difficult to stay in Lahugard and so set his face for Khust, Zurmat, and Kurram, which made up his *jāygīr*. The army dispatched by Sardar Muhammad 'Ali Khan entered Lahugard after Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan had left. They stayed there as a matter of precaution so that if Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan should prove to be a source of trouble and start an uprising they would block him and prevent him from setting foot in the arena of battle.

Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan, who had continued on to Qandahar, did not dwell on his brother's flight but instead took all those whom Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan had left behind in Isfizar, reassuring them, and removing any fears they might have had. /259/

SARDAR MUHAMMAD ASLAM KHAN 'S FOLLOWERS PLACE HIM UNDER ARREST BUT HE ESCAPES

Following Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan's example, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan also chose to march ahead of the royal party. He also reached Isfizar ahead of it and from there with his companions intended to enter the Hazarahjat, his *jāygīr*, by way of Ghurat and there make his plans for opposing Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan. But his own followers turned from him when they learned of his unworthy scheme and placed him under arrest. They told him, "We will never be party to an act of treason nor take the path of opposition to the padishah." After putting him in chains, they informed the amir what had happened. He sent Ishiq Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan and 3,000 horsemen with orders to bring him in custody to the royal presence. If any of his retainers interfered, they were to put them all to the sword. The *īshīk aqāsī* brought the sardar from Dih-i Mughlan near Isfizar to Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan who at first ordered him punished but then, out of brotherly kindness, was conciliatory and re-established him in his former place. But Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan never abandoned him.

the enmity he felt for the amir and when the royal party left Isfizar for ^cImarat, he slipped away at night with four horsemen, leaving left behind all his money and possessions and escaped to Herat. Then by way of Ubah and Khwajah-i Chisht, he entered the Hazarahjat and joined his uterine brother Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan placed his regiment, equipment, and things in the care of Sardar Muhammad ^cUsman Khan. After that, other sardars, who were present at the urging and pleas of Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, rose to intercede for Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan. They petitioned the amir that the sardar, either out of ignorance or apprehension, had strayed onto the path of idle vanity and that he should grant his brother Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan a boon and send him to the Hazarahjat to counsel and reconcile the sardar before the royal retinue reached Kabul and to escort him there when it did.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan acceded to the request and gave Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan permission to go to the Hazarahjat by way of Qandahar. At the mazar-shrine of Mulla ^cUsman in the district of Farah, the governor of Farah, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, came to welcome the royal party and see the amir. After spending the evening at the amir's reception (*mahfal*), he was given leave the next day to return home.

Stage by stage, the amir travelled on. At the manzil of Washir, he was still somewhat troubled by the flights of Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan. Moreover, he was also apprehensive that Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor of Qandahar, might actively oppose him. Worried that the governor might create an incident and resist his entry into Qandahar, he was compelled to send Sardar Khushdil Khan and the Khan-i ^cUlum, Qazi ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, from Washir to Qandahar so that if the governor had a mind to cause trouble, they could advise and persuade him otherwise.

So they rode their horses from Washir traveling through the evening and late into the night to reach Qandahar. They found Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, as Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan had feared, prepared to oppose the amir. But by persuasion, they kept him from what he intended to do and encouraged him to go out and welcome the amir. So he came out to greet Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, meeting him at ^cAshiqah, seven kuruhs from Qandahar. From there the two men rode together and when they entered Qandahar, the amir dismounted at Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan's garden estate, while the sardar went on to the citadel. The following day, at breakfast time, when Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan sat down with Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan and Mustawfi Mirza ^cAbd al-Razzaq Khan in a *zirkhānah*, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan came to pay his respects and meet with the amir. When he arrived at the door he was stopped by a guard and told to wait a moment until the guard could get permission to let him enter. Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan was furious at this treatment and returned to the citadel. As a result of this and because of the envy he had previously nurtured, he began to form a full-scale enmity towards Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan and he planned to

send his younger brother, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, a letter summoning him from Farah to play the instrument of opposition to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan.

When the amir learned of these plans, /260/ he again sent Qazi ^cAbd al-Rahman, the *khān-i ‘ulūm*, to sooth the sardar and advise and counsel him. The *khān-i ‘ulūm* visited the sardar at night, again gave him sage advice, and forestalled his disobedience.

Although he fomented no uprising, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, still extremely indignant, sent messages to the people living along the route between Kabul and Qandahar not to provide Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan’s army with any food or supplies.

Consequently, when the amir traveled towards Kabul, not only did the people refuse to give him any food, they moved far away from the road as well. In light of the fact that it was the beginning of his reign and concerned lest his brother give him a bad name, the amir postponed punishing Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan until a more opportune time.

He was upset by the refusal of the people to provide food and by their fleeing from him and so he ordered his army to confiscate the crops along the road and use them. Once they had left Qandahar soil and arrived in Ghaznin territory, the expropriations ceased.

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN AND AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN¹⁷

A certain Musa Khan Shahi Savand arrived in Ghaznin and was received by the amir. He was carrying a letter of apology from Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan who by now was residing in Zurmat. Since the messenger had the honor of being a cousin of the Amir-i Kabir on the amir’s mother’s side he was the recipient of many favors and his mission was treated with all due respect. Na^zib Sultan Khan Ankizaⁱ was appointed to return with him to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, carrying a reply to the latter’s letter. He delivered the message that as long as Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan failed to present himself at court, his repentance would not be accepted. Otherwise, if he refused to come and see the amir, then, as a matter of course, the conquering banners (of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan) amir would cleave the air toward Zurmat.

After receiving this declaration, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan refused to present himself and so Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan marched out of Ghaznin towards Zurmat. When he reached Kalal Ku, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan grew apprehensive, then frightened, and sent a man to tell Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan that if he would designate and send some of the sardars from the royal retinue to ease his concerns, then he would certainly come to court. Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan agreed to the request and sent a group of sardars to him. He himself stopped two days in Kalal Ku to see if Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan still refused to come. On the third day he heard from the sardars he had sent that Sardar Muhammad

¹⁷ RM: Cf. *The Life of Amir Abdur Rahman*, 45.

A^czam Khan would come and so he proceeded forward and camped at Yusuf Khayl. Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan now came to see the amir at Yusuf Khayl in the company of the sardars who were with him. After greeting each other, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan began to address him saying,

At the time of the Amir-i Kabir's death you were the first person to offer the hand of allegiance and to recognize my amirate. Similarly, you were also the first to rise in opposition. Now that you have placed your foot once again on the path of right guidance, thanks to the efforts of several members of the royal family, I am still speaking with the tongue of candor and sincerity. I would like to know whatever feelings you harbor, so that if you are not happy with my being amir and with obedience to me than become the acting amir (*masnad-i imārat kafīl shaw*) so that I may walk the path of service (to you) and so that I may say nothing but good things (about you). Otherwise, be as one both outwardly and inwardly and stay off that path of opposition that you've been on.

Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan opened his mouth to reply and said,

God, the Peerless One, has conferred the state on you and to me he has given the path of obedience. If error has occurred, the hope is that through love and affection, pardon will be granted so that henceforth, without setting foot on the path of opposition, the dust of deceit would be washed away with the water of kindness.

Seeing that his words were at one with fraternal feelings, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan said,

You must stay with me in Kabul, take under your own discretion the organization of administrative matters for the regime, and put the country's affairs to rights so that the people of the world will know that the sons of the one strolling in Paradise, the Amir-i Kabir, are united, without shortcomings, and are in accord on the question of government. The oldest and best of the brothers is Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, the governor of Turkistan. You shall share with me the task of governing in Kabul. None of the other brothers have the disposition or temperament to foment of rebellion and insurrection.

Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan asked to be excused from accompanying Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan to Kabul and sought leave to spend three months in Gardiz. He left his son Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan at the court and agreed that after the expiration of that period of time he would come to court. At first Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan did not accede to his request but then at the intercession

of his brothers he consented. They drew up an agreement to which all the sardars and prominent court figures affixed their seals. /261/ Then the amir gave Sardar Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan a royal robe of honor as well as his own horse named Chabdar and 8,000 rupees for its trappings. Then the two bade each other goodbye.

Sardar Muhammad A[◦]zam rode to Gardiz and Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan set his banners for Kabul. According to the terms of the agreement, he took Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan along with him. When the amir reached Lahugard, he was greeted at the foot of the Katal-i Altamur (Altamur Pass) by Arslan Khan Ghilja[◦]i and others whom the governor of Kabul, Sardar Muhammad [◦]Ali Khan, had sent out to arrest Sardar Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan as mentioned above and who, after the sardar's going on to Zurmat and Gardiz, had stayed there to block his path to Kabul.

Also at every manzil, group after group from the city and its surroundings came to welcome and meet the royal party. Among the welcomers was Sardar Muhammad [◦]Ali Khan, who had been advised by farman not to leave the city and to forego welcoming Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan. He met the amir at the village of Hindaki, now known as Chihil Sutun, and after he paid homage, the entourage entered Kabul. The amir began dispensing justice and investigating complaints of oppression and his reputation for impartiality rose to felicitous heights.

THE DEATH OF AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN'S MOTHER

During this time, when government business and the organization and disposition of the affairs of the country were acquiring a new luster, sovereignty and the nation (*mulk wa millat*) were gaining a new prosperity, and what had been ruined was being repaired, the mother of the amir turned her face away from this world and hastened off to eternal paradise. She was buried in the Mazar-i 'Ashiqan wa 'Arifan and funeral ceremonies were held for her.

Sometime thereafter, Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan, in view of Sardar Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan's flights and the disrespect of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, all of whom were his brothers and all of which has been mentioned above, and in light of his fear that all of his brothers but most especially Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, the regent of Turkistan, would try to put an end to his regime, decided to try and disrupt whatever ties of unity they may have had with each other and turn them away from Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and towards himself. So he instructed Sardar Muhammad [◦]Umar Khan using the good offices of Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan to invite two of his brothers to come from Turkistan on his (the amir's) behalf. Sardar Muhammad [◦]Umar Khan called upon the amir and was given a farman instructing him to write Sardar Ahmad Khan and Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan, his uterine brothers who were then residing in Sar-i Pul under the aegis of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and invite them to Kabul.

In accordance with the order, Sardar Muhammad [◦]Umar Khan invited the

two brothers to come to Kabul. Notwithstanding the favors Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan had rendered on their account and despite the fact that he could have prevented their going to Kabul had he wished, they were unmindful of his favors to them and without his permission they left for Kabul with their own forces. Since he had recognized and accepted the authority of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan did and said nothing lest he acquire a bad name with his brothers and with the people in general. To sum up, the two reached Kabul, were received by the amir, and were allocated adequate stipends. But since these stipends were less than the income from their *jāygīrs* in Turkistan, they were resentful and regretted that they had come to Kabul.

THE REFUSAL OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN TO COME TO KABUL AND OTHER EVENTS

During the above occurrences, the period of time fixed in the agreement between Sardar Muhammad A^czam and Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan came to an end but circumstances mitigated against the sardar's coming to Kabul. Nonetheless, the amir still considered the agreement valid and in effect and repeatedly said to himself, "Since the time is now up and my mother has passed away, he should come to court and pay his respects." But contrary to what Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan thought, the sardar had already turned his back on the agreement and the promise he had given and refrained from going to Kabul.

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, who was with Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, conspired with Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan in Kabul to assassinate the amir. The two agreed /262/ to kill him when the first opportunity arose. The amir, however, learned of the plot and sent Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan back to his father in Gardiz and also expelled Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan from the city.

As already mentioned, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan had fled the royal entourage and gone to the Hazarahjat by way of Herat and his brother, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, had pledged to the amir to bring him back. At about this same time, before Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan actually reached the Hazarahjat, one of his 800-man regiments under its leader, Commandant Najm al-Din Khan, had opened the hand of plundering in Bamyan, looted the arsenal and go-down (*gudām*) there and then had gone on to Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan, the governor of Kabul. Not long after Sardar Muhammad Aslam reached the Hazarahjat, his brother Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, also arrived and as promised tried to persuade him to go with him to the amir. As a result of his brother's counsel and the defection of his regiment to Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan, the sardar was uncertain what to do. So he sent Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan, his brother, to intercede with the amir on his behalf. Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, however, did not accept the mediation and responded,

Until I have awarded his *jāygīr* to someone else and have punished or

admonished him in the way I would like, I will not be free from his deceit.

Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan left the amir and returned with his answer to Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan telling him all that had taken place. Two infantry regiments stationed in the Hazarahjat heard what was going on and turned from Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan and his brothers. They left for Kabul without orders, presented themselves to Amir Shayr °Ali Khan and were enrolled in the regular army.

When the Hazarahs, who in a short period had come to lament the heavy-handedness and tyranny of Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, learned of the army's defection, they seized the opportunity and turned on him. In fear of his life, he sent to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan for help telling him that with his aid, the veil of the honor of his wife and daughter would not be ripped asunder.

The governor of Turkistan sent 1,000 horsemen to protect the sardar's women. At Dasht-i Safid, the force met the wives and children of Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan who had come from Kabul to join him in the Hazarahjat and escorted them all, along with Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan himself, Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan and Sardar Muhammad Qasim Khan, to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan, governor of Qataghan and Badakhshan, heard the news and sent a letter to his father urging him not to harbor Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan because of the disobedience and insurrection that was endemic to his nature. His father wrote in reply, "He has already come to me out of hope and I have no choice but to take care of him." Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan said and wrote nothing more on the matter.

**SULTAN MUHAMMAD KHAN THE SON OF SAFIADAT KHAN MOHMAND
CLASHES WITH THE ENGLISH AND ENGLISH OFFICIALS SEEK HELP
FROM AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN**

During the events discussed above, Sultan Muhammad Khan, the son of Sa°adat Khan Mohmand gathered masses of people from far and wide and laid plans to attack the English stationed in Peshawar. He began raiding and stealing English property and livestock and sounding the harp of combat and the dulcimer of conflict. The English believed that Amir Shayr °Ali Khan was behind all this and wrote him saying,

According to the treaty that existed between us and the late amir, one side's friend was the friend of the other and the enemy of one was the enemy of both. Now that the son of Sa°adat Khan has drawn the sword of dissension from its scabbard and has raised the banner of injury against the English government, it is suspected by officials of the English government that he has been encouraged to tyrannize and oppress by the Amir of Kabul. If this is not so then stop him from

mischief and misdeeds and restrain him from hatred and hostility.

In order to ease English suspicions, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan sent Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan and Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan to Jalalabad with six infantry regiments and an artillery corps. They were to warn the son of Sa°adat Khan and the Mohmand people and others who were the cause of rancor and regret and to punish them as was deemed appropriate. After reaching Jalalabad and resting, the force marched towards La°Ipurah. Upon its arrival there, Sultan Muhammad Khan marched towards it with a large number of the Mohmand and readied his forces for battle on the far side of the La°Ipurah River. Commanding the artillery corps, Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan joined battle, targeting the Mohmand with his cannon fire. As fate would have it, one shot hit between the legs of Sardar Muhammad Khan's mount and he was thrown to the ground by the impact. In fear for his life he withdrew from the fray and hid behind a tree. An hour later, he re-mounted and retreated with his colleagues towards Bajawur.

At that point, Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan named Murtaza Khan Mohmand /263/ to be khan of the tribe, returned to Jalalabad, and dispatched Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan to Peshawar to put English anxieties to rest. His instructions were to allay English fears and then return to Jalalabad. He went to Peshawar, conferred with the English, and, on behalf of the government of Afghanistan, reassured them that:

if any of the ignorant people living in the mountains caused trouble, it was not directed or instigated by the Afghan government. Rather it was due to their ignorance of the terms of the treaty. Had they been aware of them they would not have withdrawn the head from obedience to the amir of their *millat*. Whenever anyone, from ignorance, takes it into his head to do whatever he wants to do and the government learns of his activities, it will immediately crack down as it did in the case of Sardar Muhammad Khan in order that the bilateral friendship will remain firm and constant.

After declaring this sort of thing, he re-affirmed the treaty's terms of harmony and friendship with the English and then returned to Jalalabad and rejoined Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan.

***PUNISHING 'ATA MUHAMMAD KHAN NAJILI WITH THE HELP OF GOD,
THE ETERNAL EMPOWERER***

While Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan was in Jalalabad, he sent a group of intrepid fellows from there to Lamqan to take action against °Ata Muhammad Khan Najili, the source of some trouble there. When they reached Najil they had a sharp skirmish with °Ata Muhammad Khan. In the end, three regular infantrymen, deceived by tribal forces (*iljārī*) of Lamqan who outwardly sided

with the royal force but in fact were with the rebels, were wounded. ^cAta Muhammad Khan emerged from his fort and escaped to Farajghan.

After his flight, the maliks of Lamqan who had secretly supported him, came to Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan in Jalalabad and, at least outwardly, took the path of service. They made what were, in fact, false promises that they would hand over ^cAta Muhammad Khan as soon as the army was recalled to Jalalabad in order to spare the people of Lamqan from being injured by the army. Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan sent their proposal on to his father, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, for approval. The answer sent back by the throne was to the effect that in places where a firm hand is necessary, people do not believe that the pillars of authority exist unless the royal army is there to protect the people who work the land. Thus it was essential that he himself (Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan) go to Najil and bring in ^cAta Muhammad Khan, either peacefully or by force. If he failed to do so, then the royal entourage itself would go.

After receipt of this order, Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan departed Jalalabad for Lamqan and in a short time drove ^cAta Muhammad Khan by force from a fortress and took him into custody. The fort was levelled and in the course of a month a new fort was built next to where the old had stood. Several battalions of *khāṣṣah-dārs* were left there and Sardar Muhammad ^cAli returned to Jalalabad taking ^cAta Muhammad Khan with him.

EVENTS OF 1281/JUNE 1864–MAY 1865

In this year, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan sent to the court a letter expressing his loyalty along with expensive gifts by the hands of Mirza Ahad Khan Kashmiri, his principal minister, and Nazir Haydar. The two men entered Kabul and presented Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan with the letter and gifts, both of which delighted him.

During this time, a letter written by Sardar Muhammad ^czam Khan while on its way was intercepted by Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's officials. After the officials read it, they showed what he had written to the throne. The letter was to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and read,

I sent a letter to you from Herat and told you that if you had any desire for sovereignty there was no better time and that you should bring a force from Turkistan and take Kabul. My letter was in vain. You didn't heed my words and except for your submission to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan you didn't write or say anything. Now once again I'm telling you that Amir Sahyr ^cAli Khan's amirate is not yet firmly secure and as organized as it needs to be. The time is now to head for Kabul with armies from two directions and take the throne for ourselves. The end.

After reading the letter, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan ordered that Mirza Ahad Khan and Nazir Haydar Khan, the emissaries from Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, be brought and he informed them of what was up, /264/ saying,

It's understood from Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan's letter that you have been sent to Kabul as spies and troublemakers so you must not stay any longer in Kabul but leave now for Turkistan.

When those two men had prepared the provisions for their return to Turkistan, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan secretly summoned Mirza Ahad Khan, showered him with royal gifts and turned his heart away from Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and towards himself. He obliged him to undermine the work of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and keep him (Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan) continually informed of the sardar's intentions.

After this, the two men set out, traversing the stages and passing the waypoints to Turkistan.

AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN ASSIGNS AN ARMY TO GO TO KHUST AND ZURMAT AND THE FLIGHT OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN

When Mirza Ahad Khan and Nazir Haydar Khan set out for Turkistan, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan sent a force off towards Khust and Zurmat to punish Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan. It was led by his son, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, and by Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan, who, after his return from Peshawar, had come to Kabul with General Da^oud Shah Khan and General Mir Haydar Khan, 6,000 battle-tested veterans, and an artillery corps.

Realizing he did not have the means to stand and resist, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan retreated towards Kuhat with 150 men. There he met with Major Huggams, the Commissioner of Peshawar and its environs. He in turn informed the Government of the Punjab of the sardar's arrival. He then showed him the courtesies appropriate to his standing and sent him on to Rawalpindi so that resolution of this domestic dispute could be handled there. There the sardar was allocated a substantial per diem allowance of 100 English (*chihrah-i shāhī*) rupees. After a time most of his associates drifted away and the allowance was reduced to fifty rupees. The sardar spent some time in somewhat straitened and melancholy circumstances.

SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN LEADS AN ARMY FROM TAKHTAH PUL TOWARDS KHANABAD

While Mirza Ahad Khan and Nazir Haydar Khan were en route to Turkistan and about the time Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan arrived in Rawalpindi after an army was sent to Khust and Zurmat, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan took a large force from Takhtah Pul and Mazar-i Sharif and set off for Khanabad. The reason for this campaign, according to the assertions of the late Ziya al-Millah wa al-Din (^cAbd al-Rahman Khan) (in his book),¹⁸ was Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's

¹⁸ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 43 ff.

sending an army (to Khust and Zurmat), Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan's exile, and the arrival of Mirza Ahad Khan and Nazir Haydar Khan in Turkistan.

Consequently, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan elected to lead an army to Khanabad. He wrote Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan,

Earlier, I told you that I would come to Khanabad and a month before I left here I would let you know I was coming. So I hereby inform you that I am coming to Khanabad from where I will raise banners for the conquest of Kabul.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan began preparing the provisions his father's army would need. When his father entered Khanabad, Mirza Ahad Khan there informed Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan of the situation. Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, despite the cold of the winter month of Day (December/January) recalled Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan from Jalalabad and ordered that dirt be spread on the *maydan* at Siyah Sang so that the snow would melt off before Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan's arrival. When Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan reached the spot, he made it his headquarters and went to see his father. Having left Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan at the head of two 800-man infantry regiments commanded by General Mir Haydar Khan and General Da^{ud} Shah Khan in Kurram, he came to Kabul with the rest of his army plus the two infantry regiments belonging to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan now began preparations for a campaign to Turkistan and sent Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan ahead with most of the army via Charikar and Ghurband. He himself marched in its wake. At this point, Sardar Madad Jan appeared before the amir with a letter from Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor **/265/** of Qandahar. In it he requested permission to raise and lead an army to Turkistan as a service to the amir. Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan then began to disparage the sardar publicly saying,

Since I came from Herat to Qandahar and thence to Kabul, I have never forgotten the humiliation I suffered at his hands. How could I think him now to be a friend and supporter? No, I have no need of his help.

After uttering this, he gave Sardar Madad Jan leave to return to Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan saying:

if he still has ambitions, then there is no better time than now, while the royal banners are heading for Turkistan and thereby achieve his heart's desire. Otherwise, he should be aware that after affairs are finished in Turkistan, the penalty for his acts will be dealt him and he will get his just deserts.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan himself then left Kabul and camped at Charikar

intending to gather information there on Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's activities so that he could make his plans with full knowledge of what was going on.

Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan came to Kabul from Farah to help with a regiment of infantry and 3,000 cavalry and Amir Shayr °Ali Khan ordered him to stay there (in Kabul).

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan learned of Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's departure for Turkistan. With Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan were Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, °Abd al-Ra°uf Khan, and Amir Khan, all three of whom were mischief-makers who prayed to God for such circumstances to arise. They had such a hold over Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and he was so taken by them that Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan, notwithstanding the fact that he was Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's son, had no influence with his father whenever those three were at his father's audience (*mahfal*). They now spoke with hostility of Amir Shayr °Ali Khan and urged Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan to fight him. Mir Ahad Khan Kashmiri backed them and said, "The people of Kabul support you and despise Amir Shayr °Ali Khan. For example when you sent me to Kabul, I saw that they are all united behind you."

To prove his words, he cited a number of letters from sardars which he had brought from Kabul. He thus gave his lies a place to sit in a chair of veracity. These men brought matters to such a head with their ambition-tainted talk that Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan summoned Mir Ataliq, the former chief of Qataghan from whom Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan, with great difficulty, had wrested control of the district of Qataghan. He gave Qataghan back to him and ordered Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan to Takhtah Pul. No matter how he argued against his return to Takhtah Pul and against fighting Amir Shayr °Ali Khan, he did not get his way and went to Takhtah Pul as his father had instructed.

Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan then waited in Khanabad long enough to build chests to carry the fourteen laks of rupees that Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan had collected there. Afterwards, he left to prepare his defenses against Amir Shayr °Ali Khan. As a vanguard, he sent Na°ib Ghulam Ahmad Khan, Niyaz Muhammad Khan, General Muhammad Zaman Khan, Colonel Suhrab Khan, Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan, and a group of army veterans. He himself marched one manzil behind them. Before Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan began his march, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan dispatched four or five thousand *khāṣṣahdār* infantrymen under Mir Akhur Ahmad Khan, Sar Afraz Khan Babakr Khayl, and Mir A°zam Shah Kuhistani to Darrah-i Bajgah where they erected earthworks.

THE BATTLE OF BAJGAH AND THE RETREAT OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN

When Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's advance force stopped in Madar and camped, Niyaz Muhammad Khan Babakr Khayl opened a correspondence

with Sar Afraz Khan who was in Bajgah and with whom he shared a common clan and tribal tie. By this exchange of letters, he won him away from Amir Shāykh ^oAli Khan. Sar Afraz Khan then refused to fight, closed his eyes to the fact that he had partaken of the amir's salt, and made plans to establish friendly relations with Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's army. Consequently, the *khāṣṣahdār* force entrenched at Darrah-i Bajgah (Bajgah Valley) now began to disperse. In view of this, Mir Akhur Ahmad Khan abandoned Bajgah and retreated to Siqan. On the day of his arrival, Sardar Muhammad ^oAli Khan entered the manzil of Kāhmarād /266/ and there learned of the loss of Bajgah and its occupation by Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. With the approval of the leaders of the army, he camped for a night at Payān Bagh amidst gardens, at a distance three kuruhs from Bajgah. The next morning he prepared his weapons and headed for Bajgah. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's soldiers, according to the instructions he had given them, had left Darrah-i Bajgah and occupied its entrance and the surrounding heights and now dug in waiting his arrival. But that night Na^oib Ghulam Ahmad Khan went to bed without taking sufficient precautions in posting pickets.

Sardar Muhammad ^oAli Khan, who was advancing to fight, assigned an infantry battalion control of the mountains located on the northern side of the Bajgah Valley. He himself ascended the heights with the remainder of his force and at dawn, when Na^oib Ghulam Ahmad Khan's head was still on the pillow, he swooped down on his force firing cannons and rifles. The crack of the muskets, roar of the cannons, and the cries of the soldiers woke Na^oib Ghulam Ahmad Khan from the sleep of negligence. Finding himself in the grasp of total destruction, he mounted the horse of escape and fled off into the wastes of adversity. His men, likewise seeing no chance of resistance, retreated from the battlefield.

Coming up from the rear, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan heard the roar of cannon and musket fire and with lightning speed dispatched Colonel Suhrab Khan with a large number of regular cavalry to help. They galloped forward and on their way met their routed force. But because of their own bravery they did not draw rein but galloped their horses along the Kāhmarād River in order to get past the vantage points held by Sardar Muhammad ^oAli Khan's men and outflank them.

Sardar Muhammad ^oAli Khan ordered his infantry and artillerymen to open fire on them from the rear and make them the targets of life-taking shot and shell. Some (of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's men), in fear, threw themselves into the river. Others, in total disarray made their way back to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan who was at the foot of Qarah Kūtal (the Qarah Pass).

In the encounter many of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's men lost their lives or were wounded. Colonel Suhrab Khan suffered a minor wound. Sardar Muhammad ^oAli Khan won the day while Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan with his defeated troops pulled back from the Qarah Pass and made camp one manzil beyond their previous camp at Ru^oi or, as some say, Du Ab. There he threw up earthworks and dug in.

The triumphant Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan moved out of Payan Bagh and camped at Bajgah where he sent the glad tidings of his victory to his father. The news reached Amir Shayr °Ali Khan at Burj-i Gul Jan and made him very happy.

With a joyous heart, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan then marched from there and, covering one manzil after another, arrived at Bajgah. There he joined his son and together they crossed the Qarah Pass and camped at Du Ab-i Shah Pasand where a letter arrived from Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, °Abd al-Ra°uf Khan, and Na°ib Amin Khan who had been on Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's side but now were leaning towards Amir Shayr °Ali Khan. The letter said,

Your army lacks the power and strength to confront Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's army directly. You should deceive him with an oath on the Qur'an and then seize him. Otherwise he will break the foundations of your power.

Amir Shayr °Ali Khan concurred with what they said and gave no thought to the bad name it might give him.

AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN DEALS FALSELY WITH SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE NOBLE QUR'AN

In the margins of a Qur'an, the amir penned these words,

I consider you to be of the same status as my father and think of myself as if I were your young son. As such I request that, in reverential deference to the glorious Qur'an, we neither be the enemy of each other nor do ill to our exemplary father by acting wickedly to one of our own relations. We should be united and in harmony together when it comes to the question of sovereignty and carrying out the responsibilities of government so that the people (*jihāniyān*) do not bind their sons to us in vain.

He wrote this down and affixed his seal to it, making it binding on him. Then he sent it to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan by the hands of Sardar Sultan °Ali Khan and Safdar °Ali Khan Qizilbash.

Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan lifted the Qur'an with great reverence and touched it to his forehead, kissed it, and then opened it. He read what the amir had written, put his trust in the Qur'an, and then, with a mind free of suspicion, decided to go to Amir Shayr °Ali Khan. When the army learned of his plans / **267/** they tried to dissuade him from going, telling him, "As long as life and breath remain in our bodies, we will not give up the fight." But mindful of the sanctity of (an oath taken on) the Qur'an his mind was made up and he told them, "I will not fight nor will I stain the earth with the blood of Muslims."

His army was downcast and returned to its tents with heavy hearts. In a brotherly and peaceable fashion, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan set off for Amir Shayr [°]Ali Khan's camp accompanied by a small mounted escort. When he neared the camp, Amir Shayr [°]Ali Khan ordered all the regular regiments and the artillery, Sardar Muhammad [°]Ali Khan, and all the officers, sardars, and khans of his retinue out to meet Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. A full military welcome was accorded him and an artillery salute was fired. After the formalities, Amir Shayr [°]Ali Khan emerged from his private quarters, walked on foot out of the camp, and welcomed Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. After shaking hands and embracing, they went together into the amir's private quarters, walking hand in hand. The amir seated the sardar in his own place and stood next to him as if he were his servant. Both expressed their gratitude to God and said to each other, "Praise be to God that there has been no bloodshed." Then Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan recited:

If you incline toward trust, here are my heart and soul,
But if your aim is tyranny, here is my head and a bowl.

After uttering this verse, he returned to his own camp. He sent the amir 7,000 sheep, 2,000 *kharwārs* of flour and barley as the gift of a guest to his host, along with oil, wood, straw, and other things. For if such supplies were not available to the amir, his army would have disintegrated before any conflict or confrontation could have occurred. The following day, Amir Shayr [°]Ali Khan paid a return visit to the sardar, met and talked with him, and then returned to his own camp. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan then went a second time to visit the amir and stayed with him. He sent for his kitchen and other supplies and utensils used for daily life. Then he dismissed his army from the manzil of Ru[°]i sending them back to Takhtah Pul via Darrah-i Suf. In his own entourage he kept 300 foot and horse. Then he and Amir Shayr [°]Ali Khan marched on together.

His army arrived back in Takhtah Pul and went under Sardar [°]Abd al-Rahman Khan's banner. Sardar [°]Abd al-Rahman Khan sent a letter to his father which said, "You made a grave mistake separating yourself from your army."

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan, who was stationed in Kurram, marched like the wind and the scudding cloud to join Amir Shayr [°]Ali Khan with a regiment of infantry and was warmly received by the amir. Amir Shayr [°]Ali Khan then sent him on to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan to sound him out on a proposal of the amirs which was:

If we bid each other farewell at this point and I return to Kabul, things will be hard for the army since harvest time has not yet arrived and food will be in short supply. Therefore, the best thing to do is for me to go to Tashqurghan, then make a *ziyārat*-pilgrimage to the shrine (at Mazar-i Sharif) of the Commander of the Faithful [°]Ali—May God ennoble him—with a few personal retainers and then go to Ay Bak. From there I would return home to Kabul via the route through Ghuri.

Thinking this overture to him was truthful, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, answered in a straightforward way, approving the idea. The two brothers then left Du Ab-i Shah Pasand for Ay Bak together. There, since the amir's baggage animals were exhausted by the extensive traveling they had endured, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan rounded up 1,000 pack-ponies. From there the group proceeded to Tashqurghan.

Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan meanwhile had suborned some of Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's soldiers and gotten them into his own camp in order to uncover exactly what Amir Shayr °Ali Khan had in mind. The amir, who was aware of his purpose, overlooked (the defections) and said not a word about them. But little by little things accumulated. He bided his time, however, until an opportune moment would come for him to act—all of which will be discussed in due course, God willing.

**SARDAR MUHAMMAD FIALI KHAN RECEIVES PERMISSION TO MAKE A
ZIYARAT-PILGRIMAGE AND THE ZIVARAT OF AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN
HIMSELF AFTER MUHAMMAD FIALI KHAN'S RETURN FROM MAZAR-I
SHARIF**

During Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's stop in Tashqurghan, Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan obtained permission to make a *ziyārat*-pilgrimage to the shrine of the “King of Mankind” (*shāh-i mardān*, °Ali) and entered Mazar-i Sharif. He thought that Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan would come from Takhtah Pul to welcome and meet him. But the latter did not greet him and instead sent a letter saying that he should stop and meet with him at Takhtah Pul after performing the pilgrimage rituals and before returning to Tashqurghan. Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan, who considered himself superior to Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan / **268/** wrote in reply, “If God wills it, we will meet. But for now I only have permission from my father to make the pilgrimage to Mazar-i Sharif, not to go to Takhtah Pul.” After sending this letter, and performing the *ziyārat*-pilgrimage rituals at the shrine of the saintly “Abu Turab,” (°Ali ibn bi Talib) he then returned to Tashqurghan.

After his arrival back in Tashqurgan, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan himself then decided to make the *ziyārat*-pilgrimage. A day before his departure for Mazar-i Sharif, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan arrived in Mazar-i Sharif, both to make the pilgrimage and to play host to the amir. Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan came from Takhtah Pul to see his father and pay his respects. While his father was engaged in reading aloud from the Qur'an, he addressed him saying that if he would give permission, he would seize Amir Shayr °Ali Khan the moment he set foot in Mazar-i Sharif and keep him in custody. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan interceded with the Qur'an from which he was reading and forebade him from carrying out what he proposed. The following day, the amir arrived in Mazar-i Sharif and after performing the pilgrimage to the shrine of 'Ali, the Commander

of the Faithful, he returned to Tashqurghan. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan repaired with his son to Takhtah Pul and both sent appropriate gifts to the amir in Tashqurghan. Because Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan, as earlier noted, had said that he would return to Kabul after completing the pilgrimage, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan left for Tashqurghan two days after dispatching the gifts to say farewell. Although Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan tried to persuade him not to go, he refused and said, “After I go to see him, I will accompany him as far as Kabul.” He then departed Takhtah Pul with all due pomp and ceremony and marched to Tashqurghan.

AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN ARRESTS SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN

When Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan reached Tashqurghan, Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan used a number of pretexts to place him under surveillance. One of these was Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan’s letter to his father which had put him on his guard vis à vis his pact with the amir. Another was Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan’s having treated Sardar Muhammad ^oAli Khan with disrespect when the latter visited Mazar-i Sharif. In addition, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman had enrolled in his own force soldiers who had defected from Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan. Finally, there was the question of Mir Hakim Khan’s confiscated property which the amir had ordered restored but which Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan had not returned to its owner. Considering these reasons sufficient pretext, Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan broke his pact and placed Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan under surveillance. But this detention was respectful and the amir did not cast covetous eyes on the sardar’s money and equipment but left these things alone.

Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan learned what had happened and left Takhtah Pul with all of his armed forces ready to fight. When Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan heard this, he wrote his son and told him to stop. His letter said, “It would be disloyal to foment an insurrection.” Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan informed his army of the letter’s contents and because the army was unwilling to submit to Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan, the soldiers disbanded and headed for Kabul. The sardar was left with some 500–600 men. The others, disheartened, all abandoned his service.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN FLEES TO BUKHARA¹⁹

Of all his officers, only two—^oAbd al-Rahim Khan Tukhi and Na^oib Ghulam Ahmad Khan—did not abandon Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan. They advised him to go to Bukhara but he refused. Instead he ordered them to escort the emissary from the padishah of Bukhara who had come to see Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and was in Takhtah Pul at this time safely back to Bukhara. Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan himself postponed leaving Takhtah Pul until one night he received another letter from his father which said, “Don’t

¹⁹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 48–53.

delay any longer but go to Bukhara with any of the retainers still with you." That very moment Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan left Takhtah Pul. On the Dawlatabad road, the sun of his salvation rose. Since it was the last part of Asad (August/September), as the sun rose higher in the sky its heat became unbearable and Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan escaped it when he entered Dawlatabad. At this time he noticed a few horsemen on the summit of a hill there and another 2,000 men on horseback around the hill, some moving about, others standing still. He sent someone to investigate and learned that the horsemen were Uzbeks of Balkh and had gathered there for a wedding. The sardar, who had been somewhat uneasy thinking that these men were after him, / 269/ now relaxed and rode over to them. He sent a message up to the horsemen on the hill asking, "Who are you and what are you standing there for?" They replied, "We are Afghan cavalrymen and are lost in this wasteland." Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman thought they might be ʻAbd al-Rahim Khan and the others he had earlier sent to Bukhara. So he sent one of his men to find out who they were. Suspicious, they refused to come down to see the noble sardar without some kind of written proof (of who he was). As soon as he wrote and sent proof to them, they joined him, and set forth for the banks of the Oxus River. At this time, ʻAbd al-Rahim Khan who had gotten separated from them in the night, caught up with them and obtained the blessing of joining (the sardar).

The Uzbek horsemen who had gathered for the marriage ceremony also joined up pledging, "We hereby embark on the path of service to you." But Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan observed signs of hypocrisy in their demeanor and felt obliged to refuse to allow them to accompany him. Later their villainy became clear.

With his companions, Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan proceeded on and at the farthest extent of the Hizhdah Nahr region came upon a melon field adjacent to a sand desert. There he ordered the horsemen in the entourage to each take two watermelons and two Persian melons (*hinduwānah wa kharbūzah*) to use to quench their thirst when necessary. He himself picked four Persian melons and like the others strapped them to his saddle and they rode into the desert. Soon many of the men with him stopped to eat their melons and although the sardar remonstrated with them and tried to keep them from stopping, it was to no avail.

Among them, Naʻib Ghulam Ahmad Khan, who had always been something of a shirker, responded to the sardar's remonstrations, "You go on. We will have our midday break (*chāsh*) and then catch up with you." In short, they draped their overcoats and ponchos (*qatīfah wa chadar*) over shrubs to make some shade and there they rested. Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan kept going with thirty men and the cash he had with him. Those who stopped included Ghulam Ahmad Khan; Nazir Haydar Khan; ʻAbd al-Rahim Khan; Colonel Suhrab Khan; Colonel Nasir Khan; Commandant Sikandar Khan Charkhi; Commandant Haydar Khan, the son of Sikandar Khan Urakza'i, and other *risālah-dārs* and captains as well as 200 cavalrymen. The rest of the force which had left Takhtah Pul broke up and disbanded at this point.

Of all the regular officers and militia khans who had been under Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's command, only one man of Sikandar Khan Uragza'i (sic) and Ghulam 'Ali Khan the son of Nazir 'Abd al-Wahhab Khan had stayed in Takhtah Pul at Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman's order to protect his wives and children and those of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. The rest, who had deemed submission to Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan unpalatable, now left for Kabul. These included 'Ali 'Askar Khan Qart who had his own "drum and banner," was the leader of 120 Qizilbash horsemen, and to whom is attributed the tower at Nimlak made up of the heads of Turkmen dissidents. They left a three-year old son, 'Abd Allah Jan, of Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan in Takhtah Pul with other relatives of his.

To return to the story, after Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan left his companions behind and had ridden three farsakhs, a rider overtook him and gave him the news that "those same Uzbek horsemen we met earlier have attacked the men who stayed behind resting in the shade and you should return and rescue them." The sardar smiled bitterly and said,

I tried to dissuade them from stopping and resting but they refused to listen and as a result are now in trouble. Now they want to involve me in a fight but I will never fight in such futile circumstances. For as long as someone escapes the clutches of the enemy, he can always wait for the right moment to again advance his cause. But when he is powerless and does not escape, then he can do nothing. Therefore to turn one's back on issues which are beyond one's capabilities is always and everywhere to safeguard one's physical well-being.

He did not therefore turn back but proceeded forward with his thirty companions saying to himself, "I was unprepared for battle when I had 30,000 fighters and was forced to retreat by order of my father. How then is it now possible with 30 men to go back and fight?"

Of the officers who had stayed behind, overcome by fatigue and exhaustion, Nazir Haydar Khan and Colonel Nasir Khan did not tarry long but soon set off after the sardar and had just joined him when the messenger arrived with the news (of the Uzbek attack). Colonel Nasir Khan now turned back because Colonel Suhrab Khan was still behind. Nazir Haydar Khan however did not leave the entourage and, considering service to the sardar with thirty men better than any other alternative, continued on with him to the banks of the Oxus River (Jayhun). There, ordering the others to stay where they were, /270/ Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, accompanied by a lone Uzbek rider, approached a boatman to hire a boat for the crossing. He acted thus so that the boatman would not be frightened off by the approach of a mass of horsemen riding towards him.

The two men rode up to a small boat which Turkmen merchants had loaded with raisins and almonds which they were carrying from Balkh to Bukhara. The sardar and his Uzbek companion got into the boat holding their horses by the reins. Besides them, the boat carried two boatmen, three Turkmen merchants,

ten camels, and ten sacks (*bār*) of raisins and almonds. One of the men asked Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan who they were and he replied, “We are merchants.” The other then asked, “Where are your goods?” To which he responded “They’re coming up behind me and will arrive shortly.” Meanwhile the Turkmen [sic!] horseman who was with the sardar was acting as translator. After this exchange, Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman said to the merchants that they should unload some of their goods so that if his merchandise arrived some of it could also be loaded aboard and cross with him. But they refused. Then the sardar sent his horseman off on the pretext that he would be bringing up some of his goods, but in fact to bring up the rest of the men whom he had told to stay and wait. The Turkmen merchants were alarmed and the two boatmen wanted to launch their boat and get away. But Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan raised his rifle and said, “As soon as you cast off the line you will die.” Dumbfounded, they turned to a fellow from Balkh and asked, “Who is this man and what is his name?” He told them, “It’s General [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan the son of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan.” At this they immediately began to apologize, “This was all due to our not knowing who you were. Had we known, we would have been at your service. We are ashamed of our behavior and beg your forgiveness.” He accepted their apologies and ordered them to remove their camels and goods from the boat. Then they too got out and the sardar and twenty of his men boarded with all their goods. He directed the ten who could not fit in the boat to spend the night on the banks of the river. They were to commandeer shovels and other implements from the Turkmen who had abandoned the boat and dig defenseworks. They could cross in the morning when the boat returned. So the ten occupied themselves erecting earthworks.

Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan launched the boat and set out across the river. About half-way across, he noticed another boat which was moving with considerable speed. He ordered one of his men who was skilled in the art of swimming to swim over and find out who the people in the boat were. The man swam over and then returned accompanied by another swimmer, a companion of an envoy of the padishah of Bukhara, with word that the passengers were the envoy and [‘]Abd al-Rahim Khan. Both men sent greetings. The sardar was delighted with the news and kept the boat on its heading.

They completed the crossing two hours before midnight. It was a six-hour trip from shore to shore. On land, the boatmen invited Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan and his companions to be their guests but he demurred, saying, “Until the men we left on the other side are safely across, I am not going anywhere.” He gave one of the boatmen ten *filas* to buy fodder. Since [‘]Abd al-Rahim and the Bukharan envoy had proceeded on ahead to the boatmen’s lodge, he sent 200 tangas for him so that having bought ten sheep, he would prepare a meal. Then, having baked 300 loaves of bread, they would have a meal of *khūrīsh* (meat and vegetable stew) with bread.

By letter, he informed the governor of Shirabad of his arrival and of the companions left behind so that he would facilitate their crossing the river. In a

spirit of hospitality, the governor sent 400 horsemen with several boats from the Shirabad crossing point. The sardar waited vigilantly through the night until dawn's light appeared. The others were in the grip of sleep's stupor when suddenly the sound of musket fire could be heard from the other side of the river and the flash of powder igniting could be seen. The sardar awoke Nazir Haydar Khan and, with regard to the sound of the shooting, said, "The men we left behind will be coming down to the shore." He then summoned the leader of the boatmen who came with twenty men, each of whom demanded twenty tulas as his hire. They said, "There's fierce fighting going on over there. In fact, we really can't sail our boats over there and save those who were left behind." The sardar said nothing more to the boatmen but woke one of his pages (*ghulām bachchah*), a fellow named Hasan, and told him to bring him all the tulas that remained. Hasan produced a purse, lit a candle, and counted out the gold which totalled 1,000 tulas. Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan then said to the chief boatman, "If you bring the boats, all these tulas will be yours."

/271/ The chief replied, "But if I bring them, how do I know you will give me the money?" The noble sardar then pushed all the gold over to him with the back of his hand and said, "Take it and now go get the boats." As quickly as he could, he rounded up thirty boats and sent them across the river. By the time they reached the middle of the river, the dawn light had become much brighter. On the far bank, the cavalrymen, who had become embroiled in a fight with Uzbeks, managed to make their way down to the river. The Uzbeks passed the night without pressing the fight thinking that next morning Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan's troopers would find themselves with the river in front and Uzbeks behind and they would then be able to capture them all.

The next morning, even though boats now appeared, the Uzbeks swooped down on the men who had (originally) been unable to get into the boats and had erected, as instructed, a breastworks (*sangar*). The men in the sangar fired a volley but the Uzbeks, who wanted to storm the earthworks and capture its defenders, were not deterred. But the defenders resisted stubbornly and a second time threw back the Uzbeks, providing several of them the cup of death from which to drink. Finally, another thirty cavalrymen came up from the rear to reinforce the defenders. Now numbering forty men, they charged the Uzbeks on foot and in a fierce fight killed and wounded several of them.

Meanwhile the Shirabad governor's cavalry, who were supporting [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan, also arrived on the scene to fight the Balkh Uzbeks. Together they scattered the Uzbeks and drove them off. Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan's men, now in an easy frame of mind, embarked in the boats and crossed the river. Since each group had spent two days and a night without food, they did not wait for the others to arrive but immediately pitched into the food which [‘]Abd al-Rahim Khan had prepared. By evening all had crossed and eaten and then they moved from the shore to the dwellings of the boatmen where they joined the sardar. The next day they traveled on to Shirabad. En route, the governor appeared to welcome them, paid respects to Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan, and treated his arrival as a great honor. He had him spend twelve days as his guest at

his own home in Shirabad and did not fail to attend to a single one of his needs.

A LETTER ARRIVES FROM THE RULER OF BUKHARA FOR SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN REQUESTING HE COME TO BUKHARA

After the noble sardar had spent twelve days as a guest in Shirabad and had completely recovered from the exhaustion of the trip, a letter arrived from the Amir of Bukhara respectfully inviting him to come to Bukhara. The sardar left Shirabad for Bukhara and travelled by way of the manzils of 1) Shurab, 2) Sirab, 3) Bilaq, 4) Chakchak Duzgalah and 5) Chashmah-i Hafizan. Thence on to Bibi Qara Sakh and then Kharaz. After a two-day stop there he proceeded to Qadaqli and Qarshi. He stayed there five days then mounted up and rode to Kasan. Since the next stop after Kasan is Bukhara, the wazir, qazi, and mir-shabb accompanied by a number of other dignitaries, came out to greet him at Kakan, a short way out of the city. They formally welcomed him and then escorted him to the place where he was to stay. The qush-begi then stepped forward to be his host and for nine days showed him every kindness and respect. One by one gifts were given to the sardar and his entourage—a *khil^cat* of Chinese embroidered cloth and Kashmiri silk, Russian velvet and satin, nine Adras garments (*jāmah-i adras*), four pieces of Bukharan shawl-cloth, three tunics, and undergarments. The qushbegi also presented as a hospitality gift (*ta^cāruf*) 10,000 tangahs in cash for the sardar himself, 1,000 for each of his senior officers, and 500–600 tangahs for his junior officers. Those ranking below the junior officers were given 400 tangahs and all the rest of the servants received 200 tangahs each. The noble sardar also received two sets of goldwork harnesses (*zīn wa yarāq-i tilā*).

On the day of his arrival, the sardar himself distributed the following gifts (to the Bukharans): a sword with a solid gold handle weighing 500 *misqāls*, a bridle with goldwork weighing 1,500 *misqāls*, a dagger with a gold sheath weighing 200 *misqāls*, a royal sash (*kamarband*) inlaid with pearls, precious gems worth 4,000 *tilās*, as well as two Arabian horses, English saddles with gold pommels weighing 200 *misqāls*, nine bolts of embroidered cloth, nine pieces (*tāqah*) of Kashmiri cloth for the outside of a garment (*abrah*), nine pieces (*takhtah*) of Rizaⁱ double-sided shawl-cloth, nine pieces of Khalil-Khani shawl-cloth, /272/ nine pieces of white muslin (*sahn*), and nine gold *kulāh*-caps.

In short, when Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and his companions had donned their ceremonial robes, an emissary from the Amir of Bukhara arrived and handed the sardar a message to come meet the amir in the citadel.

A SKETCH OF THE RULER'S COURT²⁰

When the amir's message that they meet was handed to the sardar, he immediately proceeded to the citadel (Arg). Inside the Arg, the qush-begi greeted him and conducted him to the door of the audience hall. There he saw

²⁰ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 54–55.

the amir sitting inside a large hall (*sarāy*) with two young *mahrāms*. The court officials and dignitaries sat on long, not very wide, platforms which had been built around the foot of the walls of the audience chamber. The sardar also noticed that two chamberlains stood outside the door of the great hall where the amir was sitting and from time to time would put their heads inside and look to see if the amir was beckoning to them. If he was they would approach him, take his message by hand (if written) and by ear (if spoken) and carry it to the “*bidichi*” (*bitikchi*), that is, the head chamberlain (*ishik-aqāsī*). The two chamberlains would also convey written questions and answers between the court and the amir’s secretaries who occupied a third room (*khānah*).

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman approached one of the chamberlains and, as was customary, revealed his business. The chamberlain in turn went in to the amir and returned with the amir’s order and informed the *bidichi*. He then instructed the sardar to hold the reins of the two horses he had brought as gifts, strap to his waist the tangahs he had also brought as a gift, and go forward and make the presentation. When he approached the amir he was to speak hesitantly and bow his head. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan refused to do so and said,

It is a task for two men to present the horses and for one man to carry in the tangahs. The two together would be very difficult for me. Moreover, to speak deferentially and to bow down before a servant would be beneath my dignity.

The chamberlain was dumbfounded. But the sardar commanded him to go in and tell the amir exactly how things stood. The qushbegi and the *bidichi* said something to the chamberlain in Turkish which caused him to hurry immediately over to the padishah, then come back and say to the sardar, “Go and comport yourself before the amir according to your own Afghan customs.” So Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman entered the hall, uttered salaams and shook the amir’s hand. In return, the amir treated him with esteem and gave him a place to sit at his side. After an hour of conversation, the sardar returned to the place he was staying and there with his companions and servants busied himself with those matters which had brought them to this alien place.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN’S ADVENTURES IN BUKHARA AND HIS REFUSAL TO BECOME A VASSAL OF THE AMIR²¹

After two months had passed, the amir sent a man to the sardar who, after tallying all the kindnesses and favors the padishah had done for him said, “It would be a good idea if you brought the amir one lak of gold *tilas* and three of your lovely moon-faced boys and offer them to him.”

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan replied,

²¹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 55–58.

These boys are like sons to me and the gift of one lak of gold *tilās* is the kind of gift a king would give and not one to be expected from strangers. I have given the amir all I can afford to give and now it is my turn to be hopeful of the amir's bounty.

The other man said nothing more but went back to the padishah. Ten days later, the amir's chamberlain presented himself before the sardar, conveyed the amir's greetings, and said, "The amir has given you permission to attend his court every day in the hope that you will become a loyal servant (*nawkar*) of his." The sardar demurred but the chamberlain tried to persuade him by saying, "If you would become his *nawkar*, you would receive money and a *tiyūl* from him." The sardar, however, still refused and so the chamberlain spoke more solicitously saying, "If you don't agree, things may become very difficult for you."

As he had not yet become the cause of anything which could lead to his own disgrace, the sardar did not let these words bother him but only remarked, "Short of becoming a *nawkar* of the amir, I will happily offer any service he might command of me."

To this the chamberlain said, "If you choose not to be a *nawkar*, you will be arrested." At this, the sardar became angry and replied,

How can someone who has rebelled against serving his own uncle, the ruler of Afghanistan, bend his neck in service to anyone else? Moreover, by agreeing to serve, I would either have to do it sincerely or hypocritically. In the latter case I would be no different from other courtiers. In the former case, every leader and prominent figure (here) would despise me, /273/ for my loyalty to the padishah would make their treachery apparent. Out of jealousy they would then bring accusations against me and I would be in constant danger from two sides. Another thing is that I entered this country with a great deal of hope that I would find a safe place from which I could develop friendly contacts with the people of Afghanistan. Then, when the time was right, I would get His Highness's permission to return to my own land. Should I become his *nawkar*, I would have to curtail communications with Afghanistan because it would give rise, vis a vis His Highness, to a bad name for me. People would say, 'A vassal (of someone else) is meddling in the affairs of another country by his own volition.'

The amir's official was annoyed at these words and said, 'You should not respond with such coarseness to what His Highness feels is appropriate. Instead, you should comply in a spirit of obedience and willingness.'

But the sardar, in accord with the thought expressed in this verse, offered it by way of analogy:

1 don't ride on camels, nor like a donkey, bear a load
I'm neither the caliph with subjects nor the slave of a king.

In the end, the amir emissary's drew up a memorandum of the discussions and departed.

Meantime, for no apparent reason, Na^zib Ghulam Ahmad Khan with thirty-eight men and Commandant Sikandar Khan with twelve of his men deserted Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman for service with Amir Muzaffar.

The month of Ramazan also having begun, the sardar passed the days observing the fast during daylight hours and the nights under the mir shabb's watchful eye because of his refusal to agree to become a *nawkar*. For the time being he allowed himself no hopes or plans. He did not speak with his retainers about his situation lest they become depressed. But when Ramazan came to an end and the celebration of the breaking of the fast neared, on the eve of the holiday the amir sent him a *khil^cat*—two complete outfits, a turban, and a hand towel (*dast-māl*) from the amir's own wardrobe—along with a message saying he should attend court at sunrise to celebrate the holiday.

At the appointed hour, the noble sardar arrived and noticed that forty people had taken seats in a large pillared hall (*tālār*). Muhammad Khan Sar-i Puli, who as mentioned earlier had deserted the army of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and fled to Bukhara, was also present. A place had been designated for Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan twenty places below that of Muhammad Khan Sar-i Puli. He went to his place and sat down. Then the amir entered, took his seat, and all those present filed up to kiss his hand. When they had all returned to their seats, the amir stepped out of the room. Halvah and sweets were brought in and the majlis began.

The noble sardar then went to the holiday prayer ground (*īdgāh*) where he was treated with great scorn by the retainers who had deserted him for the Amir of Bukhara. At the *īdgāh* he took his place until Amir Muzaffar entered the prayer ground and all stood to begin the prayers. After the prayers were finished the amir retired with all his subjects and army. The noble sardar too went back to his residence and began passing days filled with humiliation.

Subsequently, the amir, because of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's refusal to agree to be one of his *nawkars*, instructed his mir-shabb to accuse the sardar of fornicating with prostitutes. However, the mir shabb said, "It is going to be extremely difficult to charge him with this because forty or sixty people are always with him." Frustrated, the amir devised another scheme and ordered his mir shabb to put pressure on the sardar's retainers so that they would desert him and make him more vulnerable. So the mir shabb harassed and threatened the sardar's servants and agitated and distressed the sardar himself until the time came when the Russian government occupied Tashkent. Word spread that it intended to conquer Bukhara, and the amir left Bukhara for Samarqand to mount a defense. Only then did the sardar find relief from the harassment and oppression.

**AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN MARCHES FROM TASHQURGHAN TO TAKHTAH
PUL AND THEN RETURNS TO KABUL**

Six days after Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman left Takhtah Pul for Bukhara, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan arrived in Takhtah Pul with Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan who was still under arrest. There the amir summoned the remaining regiments belonging to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan who had not departed, spoke warmly to them, assured them of his goodwill, and enlisted them in his army. He also gave Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan and the latter's regiment permission to return to Kabul. This sardar had conspired at Kabul with Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan /274/ the son of Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan to assassinate Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan and had then allied himself with Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan in Turkistan and conspired against Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. Angered at his conduct, the amir now sent him back to Kabul so that he would not be part of the royal camp (*urdū-yi mu^calla*).

He honored Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, son of the late Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, with the governorship of Takhtah Pul and named Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, son of Mirza ^cAbd al-Sami^c Khan Qizilbash, to be the *sar-daftar*. He conferred the governorship of Aqchah on Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan and appointed loyal followers as governors and administrative officials to every province and town. He sent the wives and children of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan to Kabul via the Hindu Kush and taking Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan as his prisoner, made his way back to the capital, Kabul, via Bamyan.

Before the arrival of the royal entourage in the capital, Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan, embarrassed by his earlier behavior, fled Kabul and went to Qandahar joining Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan who was on hostile terms with Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. After him, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan gradually sent the troopers in his service out of Kabul and then followed in their wake, (also) escaping to Qandahar.

After His Highness Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan alighted in Kabul and freed himself from the burden of the campaign, a marriage took place between Sardar Shahbaz Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan and a daughter of Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan. The bride's father was party to a conspiracy with Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan to assassinate Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan on the night of the wedding procession at the moment the bride was to be received by the husband. They would kill Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan when he was at the celebration. Either that or they would imprison him and take the reins of power into their own hands.

Through an informant, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan learned of the plot and arrested and exiled the two conspirators to India. From then on he placed no trust in his brothers and he took away the regiments belonging to Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan, Sardar Ahmad Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan. His reason for doing so was based on the fact that Sardar Muhammad

[◦]Umar Khan had summoned Sardar Ahmad Khan and Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan to Kabul by letter and they had turned a blind eye to the favors done them by Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and had come and their regiments were enrolled among the royal forces. Having rendered them powerless, (the amir) told them, "Since you did not have due regard for the kindness of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan how can I expect that you will show any sense of obligation towards my rule?" Even though these men were furious at being humiliated in this way, they could not say anything and so kept silent.

SARDAR MUHAMMAD AMIN KHAN'S UPRISING

When Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan and Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan had fled Kabul as mentioned and reached Qandahar, they incited Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan to rise in opposition to the amir. He was open to such provocation because of the resentment he felt towards the amir who, at the time of his campaign to Turkistan, had castigated him in a letter sent via Sardar Madad Khan. So Sardar Muhammad Amin now instructed Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan, Sardar Shayr [◦]Ali Khan Qandahari, and Sardar Madad Khan to march to Qalat with 6,000 infantry and cavalry and several field guns to seize the fortress there. He himself followed with another large force.

When he learned what was going on, Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan immediately sent off a farman to the governors and loyal subjects along the route (between Kabul and Qalat) to clear the snow from the road so that an army could be sent. Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan reached the vicinity of Qalat and laid siege to the fortress which was occupied by Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, his family and retainers, Mirza Habib Allah Khan, and Khwajah Muhammad Khan —the latter two of the Wardak people—Sartip [◦]Azm al-Din Khan of the Ibrahim Khayl, several squads of *khāṣṣah-dārs* and a few guns.

Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, unable to further his cause at Qalat, retreated empty-handed to Qandahar with the onset of spring. Disturbed by these events, Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan assigned [◦]Ismat Allah Khan and Arsalah Khan of the Jabbar Khayl Ghilja'i to defend Kabul and Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan to govern it, leaving several of his most trusted retainers as well to assist him. Then with his son, Sardar Muhammad [◦]Ali Khan, and a select force, the amir himself set out in Zi'l-Hijjah 1281/May 1865 to punish Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan.

He made his first camp at Chashmah-i Changhar near Qal[◦]ah-i Qazi. One of the sardars in his entourage, /275/ Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, had sent off his baggage with the campaign force but had himself remained behind to say goodbye to his mother and other relatives. A day later he left Kabul and at Dih Mazang received a manshur from the amir telling him to stay in Kabul and assist Sardar Muhammad Wali Khan so that the latter would not entertain ideas of treachery nor of introducing disorder into governmental matters. But Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, who could not bear the thought of not taking part in the campaign, did not return to Kabul but joined the amir, asking him how it was possible to stay behind and be denied the rewards of such service.

The amir made no reply but when evening came and no one else was around, he said,

I assigned your maternal uncles 'Ismat Allah Khan and Arsalah Khan to protect Kabul, thinking that they were loyal friends of yours so that should Sardar Muhammad Wali ever become the source of trouble, you and they together would forestall him from launching an uprising. On the other hand, if he holds to the straight and narrow you would have shown him every courtesy and respect just as if he were an elder brother. Besides this, I did not think anyone but you was suitable to protect my harem. In all events, your being in Kabul would have been better than your going to Qandahar.

Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan swelled with pride at such service and after traveling another manzil with the amir, he was given leave and returned to Kabul. By order of the amir, (before leaving) he handed over his pack animals to officials of the royal stables, an order was issued to the treasurer of Kabul for their value, and when he returned to Kabul he collected the sum.

Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan now arrived in Ghaznin and was welcomed by Nazir Wali Muhammad Khan, its governor. From there he continued his march. En route to Sar Chashmah-i Muqur, at the manzil of Chashmah-i Pankal (P-n-k-k? P-n-k-l-b?), Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, who earlier had turned his face from his father for some reason or other, and joined Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan, now fled from the latter and rejoined his father. Similarly, Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan and Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the son of the late Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, both escaped to Qandahar, each at a different halting place. They informed Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan of the strength and capability of Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan. (Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan) then a force to defend Qalat under Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan son of Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan whose father had sent him to Qandahar by way of Waziri (Waziristan). These three made camp at Jaldak. Amir Shayr 'Ali bypassed Qalat and established his base at Kaj Baz. The two sides then prepared their battle formations.

EVENTS OF 1282/MAY 1865–MAY 1866

Until the eighth of Muharram 1282/3 June 1865 the two sides kept busy with preparatory maneuvers, each attempting to display the overwhelming size of his army to the other. In the midst of this, at Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan's command, Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, the son of Sardar 'Abd al-Ghafur Khan left the manzil of Sar-i Asp on a reconnaissance patrol with his own 500 horsemen. At the manzil of Bagh-i Babru, he and his troopers were caught unawares by the Qandahar army and were all taken prisoner.

At about the same time, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, whom Amir Shayr [‘]Ali Khan had under guard, wrote the amir from his place of custody,

No one knows the reason why you have embarked on a path of hostility towards me and cut the ties of brotherly love. To be hostile to one’s own uterine brother is to make oneself the object of reproach amongst the people. You ought neither to shed the blood of Muslims nor fight with your own brothers.

The amir paid no attention to the letter and continued his preparations for battle. He left his tent in order to survey the battlefield and plan maneuvers and climbed a nearby hill where they had emplaced some elephant swivel guns (*atwāp-i pīlī*).

Late in the evening of 9 Muharram/4 June, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan launched a night assault on the amir’s army. But his men were ready and at Kaj Baz the two sides clashed. The shedding of blood lasted until dawn when each side retired to its own base. Then when the sun came up, Sardar Muhammad [‘]Ali Khan donned arms, armor, and an iron helmet and with sword drawn rode up the hill to his father. The amir looked at him and said,

You’ve dressed for battle in a way as to make yourself a prominent target for the enemy. You ought to change what you’re wearing so as not to be recognizable when you enter the field of combat.

So the sardar changed his clothes and then positioned himself some distance away from his father. But as he thought it might be best to negotiate an end to the fighting, he sent a man to Sardar Muhammad [‘]Usman Khan who was at his father’s side and asked him to come see him. When he did /276/ he told him of a dream he had had, “Two rabid dogs attacked me; each seized hold of one of my legs and tore at it.”

He also told Sardar Muhammad [‘]Usman Khan, “The entire army is exhausted by the night battle. It would be for the best if you were to ask the amir to refrain from further fighting today.” The sardar returned to the amir and at an appropriate moment related those two remarks of Sardar Muhammad [‘]Ali Khan to the amir. Amir Shayr [‘]Ali Khan was angered and replied, “It is absolutely clear to me that Muhammad [‘]Ali has no intention of fighting. Let him stay here today, rest, and watch how I will fight.”

On hearing Amir Shayr [‘]Ali Khan’s answer, Sardar Muhammad [‘]Ali Khan felt chagrined, rushed forward, knelt at his father’s feet, and said, “Here I am ready for battle. I am completely at your service and with your leave offer my life as a sacrifice for you.” He then asked and was given permission to take part in the fighting and prepared for battle sending Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan with six regular infantry regiments, most of the militia cavalry, and several guns to the left wing to confront Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan. With a contingent of horse and foot he positioned

himself then on the right wing, face to face with Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan. He left his father, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, to hold the center formation.

On ^cAshura/5 June, the flames of battle flared up and the fighting raged until nightfall.

On the 11th/6 June, the two armies, maintaining the same formations, again clashed. Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan advanced on the breastworks occupied by Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan. Because his father's words had touched his pride, he recklessly plunged forward into a struggle at close quarters with Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan. The fighting raged with each side inflicting many casualties. Then at the battle's height, the two sardars suddenly came face to face with each other. Just then Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan was struck in the temple by a pistol shot and in the arm by a sword wielded by one of Sardar Muhammad Amin's partisans and fell dead from his horse. Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, too, was shot through the upper abdomen, the bullet fired by a member of the La^cl Kurti regiment. He too was killed. Then, because of the assault led by General Shaykh Mir and the La^cl Kurti regiment, his troops quit the fight and fled.

At this point, Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan's horse was galloping back and forth across the battlefield, its reins hanging loose and its saddle stained with blood, when it caught the Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's eye. A cry of consternation escaped his lips and he said, "That's Muhammad ^cAli's horse. Something awful must have happened for his horse to be running about like this." Those with him tried to calm him saying, "Perhaps in all the excitement he was careless, was thrown, and is now riding another horse that he had been leading."

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan then attacked and captured an emplacement containing a large artillery piece which Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan had placed on top of a hill overlooking Asyab-i Hazarah. From there he began bombarding Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan's troops with the gun until the entire Qandahar force had retreated. At that time he learned of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan's death and stopped firing. But now he grew more alarmed than ever at the fact of Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan's riderless horse. He immediately began to inquire from those with him until he received word that his son had suffered a minor wound in his arm and had dismounted because of it. At this he became extremely agitated and sent out rider after rider to try and find out what had happened. From each he only learned that his son had sustained a minor wound and was in no danger. He then ordered that the royal sedan chair be sent and his son brought in. He then sat anxiously awaiting his arrival. When those with him were told that Muhammad ^cAli had been killed, they said to the amir,

If he is brought here wounded, there will be difficulties in opening and binding up his wounds because of the heat. It would be better to take the wounded man to Your Highness's tent where he can be examined before surgery.

The amir concurred and returned to his headquarters and dismounted outside Sardar Muhammad ^cAli's tent. He called for the latter's bed to be brought and then made it up with his own hands. He also called for his own surgical instruments which up to now had never been used and laid them out. He then sat expectantly awaiting his son. When the sedan chair in which his son's body was hidden came into view, he instantly inquired as to why they had drawn the shades on the windows of the vehicle. He had yet to receive an answer when the sedan chair drew up and he saw the feet of the dead sardar hanging out. Involuntarily he rose and went forward to greet his son. Just then, General Wali Muhammad, better known as Walu, who was accompanying the body, said in a grief-stricken voice with tears streaming down his face, "You've ruined your house and the house of the stranger." As soon as he said this, all those present raised cries of grief, in particular Mirza ^cAbd al-Rafiq Khan *mustawfi* who began striking his head and face and pulling out his beard. /277/

When Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan's body was lowered to the ground at the entrance to the tent, Ishiq Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan, at the amir's order, drove everyone else out of the tent, while Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan himself sat next to the body of his brave son and wailed and wept until his voice was gone and his tormented heart was exhausted. Then Mirza ^cAbd al-Razzaq Khan knelt before him and said, "There is nothing now but to endure. We should transport his bier as quickly as we can so that the hot weather will not cause his body to putrefy."

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan made no reply but did send the body back to Kabul escorted by Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, son of the late Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, and Muhammad Amin Khan, his own maternal uncle, along with 600 horsemen for burial on the western side of the ^cAshiqan and ^cArifan Cemetery. At the proper time it would be eventually transported to Herat and interred next to the resting place of the Amir-i Kabir (Dust Muhammad Khan) in the cemetery of the Hazrat-i Khwajah ^cAbd Allah Ansari.

Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan's body was placed on the back of an elephant and sent to Qandahar to be buried, in accordance with his last will and testament, beneath the canopy (*nāwdān*) of the Holy Cloak (*khirqah*). However, at the time of his burial, being unaware of his final wishes, those who were attending him interred him on the grounds (*sahn*) of the Holy Cloak instead.

Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan was interred in the place his father had indicated but then partly because it is a sacrilege to exhume bodies and partly because he had left no last will and testament, his body was never moved to Herat.

Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan's son, who had been taken captive during the campaign was held in custody.

After the dispatch of the two bodies, the fighting died down, and the amir with a heavy heart raised his banners towards Qandahar. At the manzil of Qal^cah-i A^czam, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan; Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan; Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan; and Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan, the son of Sardar Mihrdil Khan, all of whom had fled to Qandahar, now came forward to

welcome the amir, accompanied by Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan and Sardar Madad Khan. They were all pardoned for their misdeeds and were given royal reassurances.

***AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN ABDICATES BECAUSE OF THE DEATH OF
SARDAR MUHAMMAD FIALI KHAN***

Amir Shayr °Ali Khan marched from Qal°ah-i A°zam and made camp at the garden-estate of the late Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan which was situated outside Ahmad Shah City. There he renounced the throne and spent all his time in religious devotions and reading the Qur'an. For seven months he lived an ascetic life, ate no meat, and would not sleep in a soft bed. He memorized eight sections (*juz'*) of the Qur'an (*qur°ān-i majīd wa furqān-i hamid*).

As news of his abdication spread, disturbances broke out. For example, Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan, who was exiled in Rawalpindi, entered the turbulent region of Khust and Zurmat, his former *jāygrī*, with his associates, intending to regain leadership. He addressed a letter from there to Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, who was governing Kabul on Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's behalf, and asked him to join forces and allow him to enter Kabul and take possession of the throne. He actually sent the letter to his own daughter, who was engaged to marry Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan but was residing in Kabul, telling her to send it, along with a Qur'an, to her uncle, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan and also to talk to him and persuade him to hand Kabul over peacefully. She sent her father's letter at night to the governor along with the Qur'an and conveyed to him what her father had asked her to. Because of long-standing feelings of affection and warmth for Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan, the governor agreed on the condition that he would first consult with his friends. So he convened a group of his loyal supporters and they decided to send Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan to Khust and Zurmat with an armed force under other pretences. The leaders of the army, however, were told to march as far as Lahugard as if they were going out to defend Kabul against Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan and there they were to halt. Then when the latter arrived they were to give him a warm welcome. When Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan realized how things were going, he would have to offer Sardar Muhammad A°zam his allegiance and together they would enter Kabul. The governor and his supporters thereupon informed Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan of their plan via Muhammad Mahdi Shah-i Sevan, the man who had initially brought the sardar's letter to Kabul.

As for Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, he found out what was planned before anything could be implemented and angrily declared,

As long as I have a spark of life in me, I will never separate myself from the royal harem nor will I set foot on a path leading to the destruction of the amir. First /278/ with the help of my maternal uncles,

°Ismat Allah Khan and Arsalah Khan, I will try to dissuade Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan from this course of action and then I will undertake to protect the city from Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan myself.

The governor was apprised of all that Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan was saying and now backed out of the plot in which he was involved. He sent Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan a message contradicting what he had said earlier and wrote,

The plan we devised does not look propitious because Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan knows about it and is up in arms against us. So now we must abandon the whole scheme. You ought to give up your ambitions and take the path of assisting (the throne).

When he received the governor's message, the sardar departed Khust and Zurmat and moved into Tirah.

**SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN'S LETTER FROM BUKHARA REACHES
SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN**

During this time, Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan received a letter from Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan sent from Bukhara urging him to take himself to Balkh by way of Sawad—better known as Swat—Chitrar, and Badakhshan. Likewise, he should begin corresponding with the regiments stationed in Turkistan and win them over to his cause. Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan left Tirah for Swat as Sardar °Abd al-Rahman had advised, and arrived at the halting place (or home? *manzil*) of Akhund Begi Sahib. He asked for and received information (? *khabar* for *khabar*?) about the route and then proceeded on to Badakhshan via Bajawur and the Nuqsan Pass.

Also at this time, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan decided it was a good moment to leave Bukhara and so he asked for permission to depart and to enter Afghan Turkistan and thence go on to Kabul.

**SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN ASKS PERMISSION TO RETURN TO
AFGHANISTAN FROM AMIR MUZAFFAR OF BUKHARA²²**

The details of this are as follows: Life had become extremely difficult and depressing for Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan because of his long stay among strangers and because he had not seen his father and mother for a long time. He therefore sent a letter by the hands of Nazir Haydar Khan and Commandant Nasir Khan to Samarqand and Amir Muzaffar to obtain permission from him to return home. The mir-shabb, the qazi, and the ra'is of Bukhara all heard of the letter and his request and sent him a note filled with reproach. They asked him

²² RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 58 ff.

why he had written to the ruler without their permission. In reply he said, “I am not interested in seeking advice and permission from anyone but the padishah himself when it comes to my own affairs.” The messenger replied, “As you have no regard for the padishah’s officials, they have sent men to bring back your envoys.” The sardar was furious and responded,

If you send back my couriers, I will leave (Bukhara) with or without the padishah’s permission and then the mir shabb, qazi, and ra’is of the city will have to answer for their own contemptible message.

The messenger relayed this to his masters but they had already intercepted the sardar’s envoys and escorted them back to the city gates. But because of his strongly-worded retort, they allowed Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan’s people to carry his letter to Samarqand. The padishah made no immediate reply to the petition and, moreover, kept the messengers waiting until the sardar sent another petition, this time by the hand of Sergeant-Major ʿAli ʿAskar Khan Bayat. At this point, permission was finally obtained.

After extending his permission, the padishah issued a manshur to the qushbegi instructing him to query the sardar’s retainers whether they would be accompanying their master or would accept employment in the amir’s own entourage and stay in Bukhara. Due to the fact that the padishah’s private secretary (*munshī huzūr-i pādshāh*) had not drawn a distinction (in the manshur) between the retainers in general and particular ones the qushbegi drafted a farman, sent a man with it to Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan, and summoned all of his nawkars who had (already) left the sardar’s service for the amir’s. They approved the farman. He also sent for the others still with the sardar to communicate to them the contents of the padishah’s instructions. But the sardar was worried that his followers would be taken from him and he himself would be arrested. So he responded to the message of Muhammad Shah Khan, the qushbegi, as follows. “You must convey the sublime order to my servants right here in this place.” But the qushbegi refused and sent a message saying, “This is the indisputable order: three ghulams, one cook, and one drover (*mihtar*) will stay with you. All the rest will listen with their hearts to the sublime order (and decide).” Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan because of what he could imagine stood by his own words and refused to yield. Harsh words were exchanged and his followers, upset by the confrontation between the two sides /279/ hastily returned to their lodgings, armed themselves, and returned to their master. More insulting words were exchanged and the sardar’s followers said, “The qushbegi must think we are women to have sent such an ignoramus to fetch us. We will never go over to him.” The qushbegi’s messenger realized now that matters had changed and so he returned alone. He related to the qushbegi what had happened and the qushbegi then assigned a clerk (*nawīsandah*) to go and read out the padishah’s order to Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan’s followers. The latter’s retainers thereupon all refused to abandon him and spurned the offer of

employment in the service of the Bukharan amir. In some embarrassment, the clerk returned to the qushbegi. The sardar of noble lineage immediately began to prepare supplies for a journey.

Meanwhile, Na'ib Ghulam Ahmad Khan and Commandant Sikandar Khan who had turned their backs on the distinguished sardar and chosen to work for the Amir of Bukhara, now reappeared with their followers carrying their beds on their shoulders, and declared, "The amir's officials wanted us to sign a document of indenture (*raqm-i bandagi*) but we refused and now have come back." Things had reached this point when a group of creditors suddenly appeared and demanded money (from the two men). When they totalled up the sum they owed it came to 2,000 *misqāls* of *ṭīlā* coins. The sardar paid the entire amount and then asked Commandant Sikandar Khan "Will you go to Balkh with me or not?" The commandant, whose heart belonged to two lovely boys in Bukhara, decided to stay there, despite the favor Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan had done him by paying off his debts. As for Na'ib Ghulam Ahmad Khan, the magnanimous sardar re-equipped him with the weapons he had previously sold and the proceeds of which he had squandered and then made plans to march.

THE RETURN OF SARDAR 'ABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN FROM BUKHARA AND HIS ACHIEVING HIS GOALS²³

The brave sardar laid in five days worth of provisions and then left Bukhara for Balkh. At Shirabad he dispatched a cordial letter to the men garrisoning Balkh and its sub-districts and informed them of his plans. The garrison at Balkh was delighted by the news and sent a message back telling him that no matter where he entered Afghan Turkistan he should head for Aqchah and know that everyone will gather beneath his banner.

The sardar then sent off another letter again by Nazir Haydar Khan and Sergeant-Major 'Ali 'Askar Khan, this time to Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan, the governor of Aqchah, informed him of his intentions, and reminded him of past favors and obligations owed.

Meanwhile Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan, arrived in Shirabad with 200 horsemen from the Balkh garrison and linked up with Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman's party. The sardar also summoned Turkmen leaders, who were constantly engaged in raids and brigandage, gave them robes of honor, and solicited their help. Two thousand Turkmen then joined his force.

While the sardar was preoccupied with all the arrangements that had to be made, a farman sent from Samarcand by the amir of Bukhara reached the governor of Shirabad. It ordered him not to allow Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan to stay more than three days in Shirabad. After that, he was to force him either to return to Bukhara or to cross the Oxus and then go wherever he wanted. The governor rode to the sardar's lodgings with 100 troopers and conveyed the amir's message. But as he himself had only a few troops and the sardar by now

²³ RM: Cf. *the Life of Abdur Rahman*, 64–67.

commanded a large following, he was in no position to dictate terms and so sought some other way out of the difficulty. Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan advised him to report the actual facts of the matter to the amir accompanied by an intelligent man and to tell him (the messenger) to go slowly and if the padishah should question him about his arriving late, to give the excuse that he fell ill en route. The governor of Shirabad was delighted with the suggestion and returned home. Two days later he sent the report to the amir.

Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan was upset both by the amir's order and by the fact that no answer to his letter to Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan was forthcoming. He asked ^oAbd al-Rahman, the brother of Akhundzadah ^oAbd al-Rahim, and Na^oib Ghulam Ahmad Khan to seek an augury in the divan of Hafiz, whereupon this verse came to light:

You fear the talons of dread sinkig into the heart's blood of Hafiz/
There is no God except through zeal for the Qur'an.

Into this verse he read Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan's use of the Qur'an in his dealings with Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and his violation of its sanctity (by breaking the pact) and so committed himself to the conquest of (Afghan) Turkistan.

During this, the troops stationed in Sar-i Pul mutinied and killed their officers whom Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan had recently /280/ appointed. Then they marched towards Aqchah looking forward to the imminent arrival of Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan. When the noble sardar learned of these events, he viewed them as providing more opportunity for his cause. So without further delay, he marched that very evening and reached Wazirabad where he halted for three hours. From there he continued without stopping to the banks of the Oxus. After recovering from the effects of the sun's fierce heat there, he got ahold of two small boats and at the time of day when the heat had moderated somewhat, Na^oib Ghulam Ahmad Khan, Colonel Nasir Khan, Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan, Faramarz Khan, Farhad Khan a slave page boy (*ghulām bachchah*), and several soldiers—thirty people all told—embarked in the boats, and crossed the river. After reaching the other bank, they set off without delay. The rest followed them across.

Marching through the night, the party reached the village of Chilak Sardabah, one of the districts of Aqchah, and there broke their journey. By letter, the sardar informed the two infantry regiments of Sar-i Pul of his arrival—these were the ones that had killed their officers—and then marched toward Aqchah with some artillery, accompanied by the *khāṣṣah-dars* under Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan.

After two nights and three days on the road Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan and his followers were exhausted and fell asleep (at Chilak Sardabah). One thousand of the men of the garrison of Aqchah, having learned of his arrival, rode up the road to welcome him. The sardar awoke and they greeted him and kissed his hands. He reassured them all and together they rode into Aqchah.

Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan also welcomed him there and during their meeting, because he was something of a lunatic (*majzūb al-hāl*), said to Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan, “I was not happy with the idea of your coming here, but the army people all wanted you to come so I said nothing.” He replied, “It’s okay, your mind has wandered (*hush-i shumā bī jā-st*).”

When Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan heard that Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan had arrived in Aqchah, he immediately ordered troops out to Nimlak to stop him. These included 2,000 *khāṣṣah-dārs*, 5,000 Uzbek cavalry who had earlier been under Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan’s command, and 3,000 Qandahari Durrani cavalry commanded by Shihab al-Din Khan, the son of ʻAbd al-Majid Khan Barakzai. The infantry were ordered to station themselves inside the fortress at Nimlak and the cavalry outside. This Shihab al-Din Khan was an old eater of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan’s salt. During the days of the latter’s government (in Turkistan), he had always had Shihab al-Din Khan’s father governing one or another of the districts of Balkh. In addition, he had audited him at one point and found that he owed two laks of rupees but said nothing to him about it and had taken nothing at all from him. Now his son, unmindful of those favors, stationed himself at Nimlak with the intention of resisting the son of his benefactor.

Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan departed Aqchah and camped at Abgah near the Nimlak fortress. From there he sent a letter to Shihab al-Din Khan and one to all the *khāṣṣah-dārs* in which he wrote “

You ungrateful people, you have eaten thousands of mouthfuls of sweetmeats and good food from our table and you give it not a thought. But as soon as you take a few drops of illicit wine from Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan’s cup, you immediately close your eyes to all the favors we have done you.

In the letter to the *khāṣṣah-dārs*, he added,

Since you were under my banner in past times, I think it’s a disgrace to fight you. Tomorrow I will come to the foot of the walls of the fort so that you may shoot me down as a reward for all the favors I’ve done you.

After reading and hearing these affecting words, the *khāṣṣah-dārs* came to their senses. Leaving 100 men to guard the fortress, all the rest went over to the illustrious sardar and swore allegiance to him.

SHIHAB AL-DIN KHAN TRIES TO STOP THE KHĀṢṢAH-DĀRS BUT THEY REFUSE TO RETURN AND HE FLEES²⁴

²⁴ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 67–68.

With his own horsemen, Shihab al-Din tried to prevent the *khāssah-dārs* from joining Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan. But they refused to go back to the fortress and drew their weapons. They also dispatched a man to the sardar to tell him what had happened. He in turn speedily sent off the horsemen in his retinue to aid them. When these appeared on the scene Shihab al-Din Khan's men lost heart and fled. Four hundred of their horses were captured by the sardar's men and the *khāssah-dārs*.

Shihab al-Din Khan escaped to Takhtah Pul but its garrison, which had also been alerted by Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan to resist Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan, realizing now the situation had drastically changed, now dispersed. The regular cavalry force there joined Sardar °Abd al-Rahman's army. The infantry retreated to Dih Dadi and the Dasht-i Arzhanah. Of them, four Kabuli infantry regiments, confused as to what they should do, linked up with Sartip Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Sar-i Pul and other local officials loyal to Amir Shayr °Ali Khan and headed for Kabul. Sardar /281/ Fath Muhammad Khan left bag and baggage behind and made his way to Tashqurghan. At this point, Turkistan was in a state of major turmoil.

*SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN OCCUPIES BALKH, TAKHTAH PUL,
AND SAR-I PUL²⁵*

Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan marched from Nimlak and was gradually joined en route by the dispersed forces of Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan. He entered Balkh with no resistance whatsoever. There he sent Na°ib Ghulam Ahmad Khan on to Takhtah Pul in advance of his own arrival. The na°ib calmed the people there and two days later, the sardar himself entered Takhtah Pul. Once there he promoted °Ali °Askar Khan to the post of general of artillery and Nasir Khan as general of the infantry. He promoted others to colonel, *risālah-dār*, and other ranks. In one fell swoop, he promoted all the soldiers who had accompanied him (to Bukhara). He spent ten days there re-organizing affairs and then went on to Tashqurghan after naming Nazir Haydar Khan governor of Takhtah Pul. General °Ali °Askar Khan was named commanding officer (*sar parast*) of the infantry and artillery regiments. The sardar also appointed governors to every district and then marched on towards Tashqurghan. Its people brought forty camels and forty cows to the place where they welcomed the sardar and slaughtered them there in his honor.

Meanwhile, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan headed for Kabul by way of the Kotal-i Hindukush with Shihab al-Din Khan, 200 Durrani cavalrymen, and a few other infantry and cavalry. After two days, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan left one of his trusted men in Tashqurghan at the side of Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan and marched to Aybak.

During this time, the Shaykh °Ali Hazarahs attacked and plundered the property and livestock of Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, stealing most of it.

²⁵ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 68–69.

Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan himself managed to get to Kabul with his companions, some with their weapons, others without.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan pursued him as far as Ghuri. There Sultan Murad Khan approached the sardar with gifts—500 horses, 200 camels, 2,000 sheep, 500 *kharwārs* of wheat and barley, 40,000 rupees in cash and other valuables, and one sable overcoat. His father, Mir Ataliq, the *ra'*is of Qataghan, had earlier, as noted, fled Qataghan when Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman occupied it, gone to Bukhara and died there. The sardar recited the *Fātiḥah* in memory of Sultan Murad's late father, and after inquiring about the state of affairs in Qataghan, remarked,

During the government of my esteemed father, everyone was subject to your rule here, other than the Arab, Afghan, and Tajik tribes. Now, how would it be if there were a change and that same state of affairs which existed then were re-established?

Sultan Murad Khan replied,

As before, the reins of the region's administration are in our hands, except for the fact that we are obliged to remit annually a sum of one *lak* of rupees to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. But in one year he has taken more than three *laks* and the inclination to levy taxes (again) had just come over him when you appeared on the scene.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan re-established the former status quo and in return obtained prayers for a long life and reign from the subjects of that region.

SARDARFIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN RECEIVES A LETTER FROM SARDAR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN²⁶

At this time, a letter arrived from Sardar Muhamad ^cAfizam Khan who had come to Fayzabad in Badakhshan via Bajawar. In it he said,

I will stay here until I complete the affair of marrying the daughter of Mir Jahandar Shah to whom I had earlier been engaged. Then I plan to join you.

Having learned his uncle's plan, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan prepared provisions for a winter journey and from Ghuri set out for Bamyan, reaching it by way of Shaluk Tu, Qarah Katal, Badqaq, and Bajgah. At Bamyan, he summoned the Hazarah mirs of the Day Zangi, Day Kundi, and Day Mir Dad along with other tribal leaders of the Bamyan vicinity, bestowed robes of honor on them, and obtained their agreement to supply the army with provisions. In a fairly short time, they delivered 2,000 *kharwāars* of wheat and barley, 100

²⁶ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 69–70.

kharwārs of shortening (*rawghan*), and 3,000 sheep. A month later, Sardar Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan arrived from Fayzabad. He told of the difficulty of the route through Bajawar and Chitrar /282/ and the unfriendliness he had encountered from the English.

Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan treated him like his own father and offered many thanks and praises to God for his safe arrival. Ten days later they opened a joint correspondence with the leaders of the country, left Bamyan, and entered Ghurband, meantime constantly working to win over the people to their cause.

SARDAR WALL MUHAMMAD KHAN'S HOSTILITY TO AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN AND HIS INSURRECTION

During all this, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, who had been appointed governor of Kabul by Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan, had grown increasingly worried by the amir's abdication, the arrival of Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan in Turkistan, Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan's pledging allegiance to him, and the expulsion of Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan from Turkistan. Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan was his brother and his defection in particular led him to abandon Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan and try to fulfill his own ambition to be sovereign. In secret, he met with the leaders of Kabul and the countryside around it and spent thousands of rupees to advance his cause. The news eventually reached Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan in Qandahar. Feelings of duty and honor overcame him then and he again gathered up the reins of authority which he had earlier voluntarily relinquished and began to assemble an army. With considerable speed, he put together eight 800-rnan regular infantry regiments and gave orders for these units and an artillery corps under the command of Safdar [◦]Ali Khan the brother of Nazir Husayn [◦]Ali Khan Qizilbash to march on Kabul. The orders read,

Should Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan perpetrate any hostile action, they should severely punish him for it with the help of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, [◦]Ismat Allah Khan, and Arsalah Khan who are in Kabul. They should also re-instate proper security for the city and its suburbs.

When he (Safdar [◦]Ali Khan) entered Kabul with this force, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan abandoned his plans and wrapped his foot in the skirt of patience inside the Bala Hisar fortress. Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan along with Safdar [◦]Ali Khan, [◦]Ismat Allah Khan, and Arsalah Khan undertook to keep the city, the Bala Hisar, and Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan under surveillance. They did such a good job of it that Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan could go nowhere nor cause any disturbance. Now overwhelmed by anxiety, he left the Bala Hisar and made his residence at the Bagh-i [◦]Ali Mardan at the house of Sardar Zakariya Khan. He assembled 600 Kabulis around him as armed

supporters (*nawkars*) and was completely occupied simply looking out for his own safety. He gave rupees away to young and old and secretly purchased their support.

At this point, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, having learned of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's arrival in Ghurband, sent a large force from Qandahar to stop him and his uncle, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan. The army included Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan and General Shaykh Mir and most of the sardars in Qandahar, fourteen 800-man infantry regiments and eight *risālah* regiments of 400 men each under the command of the prince, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan.

Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan, who the amir believed had been behind the murders of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan and Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan and to whom he had so many times said, "You're to blame for all this domestic strife and for the destruction of the house" was somewhat apprehensive that at some point revenge for what he had done would be taken against him. When they reached Kabul, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan who was an old friend of Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan, the two of them as close as walnut halves in the shell, discovered that he was afraid of what Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan might do to him and so drew him into a secret conspiracy. Through Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, he met all the leaders of the Kuhistan region and a number of prominent Ghilja'i figures. He also suborned the officers of the infantry regiments and recruited them as co-conspirators. Declaring their opposition to Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, the conspirators struck an agreement and distributed five laks of rupees through Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan to the military and civilians who were party to the plot.

When they heard what was going on, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and General Shaykh Mir conferred with other loyal supporters of the amir and decided to summon Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan on some pretext or other and then arrest him.

When they did so, Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan came forward to intercede on his behalf. But since they knew that the two men were in league, General Shaykh Mir grabbed him by the collar and placed him in custody in a separate building. But Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, who did not think he was guilty of conspiracy, made the occasion of his arrest and imprisonment the motive for opposition and enmity to General Shaykh Mirza. He then went to Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and said, "To deal in such an arbitrary and high-handed manner with a loyal servant will cause disaffection among other loyal servants."

He interceded on behalf of Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan and as a result they freed him and sent him to his own house. Following him there, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan tried to console and placate him and helped by giving him his own Arabian horse. The following day, Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan used his imprisonment as justification for a rebellion, riding from Kabul to Tikab via Kuh-i Safi with his supporters. These included: Sar Faraz Khan Babakr Khayl, the maternal uncle of Sardar Muhammad Sarwar /283/ Khan and the father-in-

law of the late Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan son of Amir Shayr °Ali Khan; Khuda Wirdi Khan; a single *ghulām bachchah* belonging to Ahmad °Ali Khan the son of the late Sardar Muhammad Quli Khan; Khan Muhammad Khan Babakr Khayl; their relations and supporters as well as those of Malik Shayr Gul Khan and many of the other tribes (*ulūsāt*). There they attracted the rebellious-natured people of that region and so became the originators (literally: chain-shakers) of disturbances and insurrection.

Meantime, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan formed another army and placed it under the leadership of Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, Sardar Ahmad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, Sardar Muhammad Karim Khan, Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Isma°il Khan. It included all the cavalry in Qandahar, about 6,000 in all. He assigned Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan to take charge of all military and civil matters in Kabul and then sent them off.

**SARDAR MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN SENDS AN ARMY FROM KABUL TO
CONFRONT SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN²⁷**

When Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan and Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan entered Ghurband, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan sent eleven of the twenty-two 800-man infantry regiments that were in Kabul, as well as several cannons and a contingent of Durrani, Ghilja'i, and Qizilbash cavalry under the command of Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan and General Mir Haydar Khan through the mountains to Tatam Darrah and Kotal-i Chirtak. Their object was to block the route of Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan and his uncle. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan himself went out of the city with a contingent of khans, including Hafiz Ji Sahib, Sardar Shah Dawlah Khan, and others; eleven infantry regiments; several batteries of guns under General Shaykh Mir's command; and a horde of militia cavalry. He established his base at Qal°ah-i Qazi so that if Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan and Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan should try to reach Kabul via the Sar Chashmah road, he would be in a position to stop them.

Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan arrived from Qandahar and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and the army officers all went to Arghandah to welcome him and to escort him back to their camp with due honors. That evening, hospitality was provided him and the next day Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan entered Kabul and took up residence at Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan's house, which belonged to his wife, located in Khwabgah. The day after that, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and army leaders came into the city to pay a return visit. At the instructions of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, the army left Qal°ah-i Qazi and returned to the city, making camp at Bagh-i Shah. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan set up his own headquarters at the garden-estate of the late Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan.

Three days later, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, along with Sardar Jalal

²⁷ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 70–72

al-Din left Kabul to inspect the position of the army stationed at Tatam Darrah and Kotal-i Chirtak and got as far as Charikar. But since his real aim was to avoid bloodshed if possible and to negotiate a peaceful settlement, therefore when Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan reached Tatam Darrah and a letter came from Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan expressing the same point of view, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, in the interests of peace, withdrew the army from Tatam Darrah and sent it back to Kabul while he himself went to Ghurband to meet the two sardars. From Ghurband the men continued towards Kabul and reached Charikar.

Sardar Ahmad Khan and Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan, who had left Kabul after Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, saying they would accompany him, went to Najrab to join Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan who had embarked on a course of opposition to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. Then all three, along with a contingent from the Safi tribe, joined Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's entourage. At that point, despite deep snow, they all left Charikar and reached Tarah Khayl where they made camp.

At that place Mulla Uzayr Dah Afghani and Mulla Mir Aftab Kabuli came to offer their allegiance to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and, despite the fact that peace talks were underway, they pledged to help deliver the city. In exchange, they were promised the offices of chief judge (*qāzī al-quzāt*) and administrator (*mutawalli*) of the *waqf* endowments, respectively.

Afterwards, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, along with 1,000 men, rode to the top of a nearby hill and, through a telescope, observed the Kabul army camped at Bagh-i Shah and Khwajah Rawash. He noticed that they were all relaxed and taking their ease. Leaving scouts on the hilltop, he returned to his base in a confident frame of mind. /284/ Early the next morning, he again climbed the hill and, seeing no sign that the Kabul force was preparing for a fight, went back down to the camp and busied himself with readying the army. A meeting of the officials and supporters of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan decided to hand over Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan to his brother and son and bring matters to a peaceful resolution.

Two days after Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman went up and down the aforementioned hill, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's backers, considering him as good as defeated, conferred among themselves and decided to free Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan from custody, apologize for the detention, and send him to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan for him to work out a negotiated settlement. So they did just that. First they released him from confinement. Then Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, with words of self-reproach, apologized for keeping him imprisoned. And finally they sent him off to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan with a message which said that he and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan should take their army to Jalalabad and spend the winter there

so that we may send a man to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan and ask him to send Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan to Kabul in order that he might go

with you to Turkistan. At that time that region would again be his as before while Kabul, Herat, Qandahar, Ghazni, and Jalalabad would be the amir's who would be satisfied with those places.

The two noble sardars agreed to the release of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and his going to Turkistan but they rejected the suggestion that they go to Jalalabad for they thought,

If we go to Jalalabad, we will be a long way from Turkistan where our support is. Then, if we are in Jalalabad and Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan does not accept the proposal of his supporters, we will be destroyed, with neither the power to fight nor the ability to escape.

So they drafted a return message saying they would leave Tarah Khayl but would stay for forty days in Kuhistan until news of Amir Shayr ^cAli arrived from Qandahar. They chose to stay in Kuhistan so that in case Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan refused to accept the recommendations of his advisors and the tables were thus turned, they would not be hindered from returning to Turkistan.

The Kabulis accepted these terms and speedily dispatched Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan to the amir in Qandahar so that he could bring Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan back with him to Kabul.

Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan withdrew from Tarah Khayl to Kuhdaman, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan camping at Charikar and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan at the village of Qalamchaq. They dispersed their army to billet among the hamlets there so they would not suffer from the cold. And there they remained, awaiting word from Qandahar.

SARDAR FATH MUHAMMAD KHAN AND THE LATE SARDAR YAHYA KHAN GO TO JALALABAD

On the heels of this agreement, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan and Sardar Yahya Khan made plans to go to Jalalabad with four infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment, six cannon, militia cavalry, and Generals Mir Haydar Khan and Wali Muhammad Khan. They also asked Sardar Muhammad Yusuf to join them and he agreed to do so. After he (Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan) arrived in Jalalabad and took up residence at the garden-estate of the late Sardar Ghulam Haydar Khan, Muhammad Yusuf Khan arrived soon after, spent some time with him and then went to the village (RM: text has *mūzīj* for *mawzī*^c) of Kach, to the house of ^cIsmat Allah Khan, his maternal uncle. From time to time he would visit Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan.

When the month of Ramazan came, Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan entered Qandahar and presented himself to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. He was reprimanded for the agreement which the Kabul sardars had made with Sardar Muhammad

A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. At the amir's order, he retraced his steps to Ghaznin while the amir himself readied an army for a campaign to Kabul. When rumors of his reaction to the settlement negotiated by his supporters began to circulate, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan moved towards Kabul with their army. It was the end of the month of *Hut* (February-March) when the worst of the winter cold had abated. They told Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan to go with the tribal peoples of *Tikab* and *Najrab* by way of *Tarah Khayl* while they themselves, accompanied by Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan and the rest of the army, took the route through *Kariz Mir* so as to enter Kabul from the direction of *Pamqan* and to occupy it.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S FIGHT AND THE CAPTURE OF THE DUDAH MAST FORT²⁸

After reaching *Kariz Mir*, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan first attacked *Sartib* ^cAzm al-Din Khan who was stationed with ten banners of *khāṣṣah-dars* in the *Dudah Mast Fort*. The sardar's forces included 2,000 horsemen, two banners of *khāṣṣah-dars*, and six mule swivels. /285/ He opened fire on the fort's walls with his cannons and forced the *sartib* and his *khāṣṣah-dars* to evacuate it. He then occupied it.

The *sartib* fled with his men into Kabul. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan assigned both banners of *khāṣṣah-dars*, 100 horsemen, and two of the guns to hold the fort. He then returned to *Kariz Mir*. The next day, he and his uncle, with the rest of the army, marched from *Kariz Mir* and entered the village of *Afshar Nanak Chi* via a somewhat easier route. The day after that they pushed on and made camp on the plain beside *Dih Mazang*. Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan entered Kabul and chose Sardar ^cAbd al-Ghani Khan's place in *Andarabi* as his residence.

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, the amir's son, locked himself in the *Bala Hisar* and prepared to defend it. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan deployed his men around the fortress and besieged it. Seeing the scales tip in the direction of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, the Kabul notables hurried to offer their allegiance to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and abandoned Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan.

THE CONQUEST OF THE BALA HISAR

When the siege had lasted nine days, three of the Kabul leaders who now sided with Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, *Hafiz Ji*, Sardar *Shah Dawlah Khan*, and *Mirza ^cAbd al-Razzaq Khan* *mustawfi* went to Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in the *Bala Hisar*, instilled a certain amount of fear in him and General *Shaykh Mir* and they then quickly threw open the gates of the citadel. The general went to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and pledged his

²⁸ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 72.

obedience. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan retreated into the women's quarters of his father and there sat with the women. With the Bala Hisar wide open, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan proceeded from Sardar °Abd al-Ghani Khan's house and entered the citadel. At the door of the women's quarters he calmed and reassured Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and coaxed him out. Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan assigned Sartib Sikandar Khan and five banners of *khāṣṣash-dārs* to be his uncle's personal guard in the Bala Hisar. He himself then withdrew to Dih Mazang and made camp on the Siyah Sang plain. He enlisted 100 new men as *nawkar* supporters and assigned them to °Abd al-Rahim Khan and turned all administrative affairs over to him. He also recruited Nur Muhammad Husayn Khan and appointed him as °Abd al-Rahim's clerk (*nawīsandah*). He remained there for forty-five days.

AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN MARCHES ON KABUL²⁹

From Qandahar, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan headed for Kabul with eight 806-man (*hashtṣādī*) regiments, an artillery unit, militia cavalry, and Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan Qandahari, Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, and Sardar Khushdil Khan. He also took Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan who was still in custody. When Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan, after 45 days at Siyah Sang, heard of the campaign, he left one-third of his army in Kabul with his uncle and General Shaykh Mir. Then, accompanied by Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan, Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan and Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan he set out to stop the Qandahari force with the other two-thirds of his army. He marched on Ghaznin with 9,000 men, thirty mule and horse swivels, and besieged its governor, Khuday Nazar Khan Wardak, and Ishik Aqasi Shayr °Ali Khan. The latter had returned from Qandahar, learned of the fall of Kabul, and stopped at Ghaznin. For eleven days Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan tried to reduce the city, but since he had no large siege guns, he failed. Then, when Amir Shayr °Ali Khan arrived in Qara Bagh, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan learned that he had come with a 40,000-man force of regular infantry, artillery, and militia horse from Qandahar, Pusht-i Rud, Farah, and Herat. Because of the relatively small size of his own force, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan was rather concerned and consulted with Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan as to whether the best thing to do, in light of their numbers, was to pull back from around Ghaznin. Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan was of the opinion that in order to keep the army from panicking and running away, the best thing to do was to withdraw from around the city and prepare for battle at a more favorable spot. Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan, who had (more) faith in the army, replied, "I have never trained or organized a single regiment which would act cowardly or disobey me."

Early in Zi'l-Hijjah 1282/mid-April 1866, (however), he pulled back from around Ghaznin and assigned six hundred horsemen to block Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's route. The latter had by now reached the manzil of Aspin Dah. Their

²⁹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 72–75.

orders /286/ were to secure Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan’s rear from attack. The army pulled out at night and had not yet cleared Dahanah-i Shayr when 10,000 Qandahari, Pusht-i Rudi, and Herati cavalry assigned by Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan to pursue Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan’s army, suddenly came upon the 600 men the sardar had sent out to guard the road. Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan was unaware of Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan’s movements but wanted his men to pursue and if possible outflank the sardar’s force so that with them in front and the main Qandahari army coming up from the rear, they could trap and annihilate Sardar Abd al-Rahman Khan’s force.

The skirmish took place under cover of darkness. Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan’s men informed him about the large number of horsemen attacking them and then they dug their heels in to fight. He sent back two regiments of infantry to help out his cavalry and they arrived just in the nick of time, when the fight was at its fiercest. Unsheathing their weapons they fell upon and routed Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan’s cavalry force. They captured ten banners and three drums and gathered up the weapons belonging to the dead. Then, victorious, they set out after Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman’s main corps. When they had rejoined it, the army traversed the Dahanah-i Shayr.

By the time they reached the manzil of Shash Gaw, Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan had dispatched another 10,000 cavalrymen but they found no trace of Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan and brought the amir the good news that he had retreated to Kabul. To celebrate these tidings, Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan ordered the firing of a salute and then sent out a large number of cavalry with orders to arrest and detain the sardar, wherever they found him.

Meantime, Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan departed Shash Gaw. He sent an advance force ahead under General Nasir Khan and ʿAbd al-Rahim Khan. Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan was assigned the right wing with a contingent of the army and the sardar himself, with four regiments and twelve cannon, had taken up the rear when Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan’s cavalry overtook them. Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan (turned and) charged them and singlehandedly shot six troopers out of their saddles. Witnessing his courage, his own men raised the battle cry “O Four Friends! (*yā chahār yār*)” and plunged into the fray. Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan now assigned an infantry regiment to station itself in a ravine. As soon as they heard a cannonshot, they were to attack the enemy. He then slowly withdrew along the road (drawing Amir Shayr ʿAli’s troops after him). When the amir’s cavalry neared the ravine, the sardar brought all his cannon into play. The infantry which had been lying in wait now sprang from the ravine and, firing their rifles, killed nearly 1,000 men and horses in one assault. Those who survived retreated out of range and milled about until another opportunity should present itself. Three hundred cavalrymen on their own initiative attacked Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman’s rear. While bombarding them with artillery fire, he ordered 1,000 of his troopers to ride them down and take them prisoner. He also formed up one of the infantry regiments and ordered it to hold its ground lest all the enemy cavalry should rally and come to the assistance of the 300. The sardar’s cavalrymen managed to capture 150 of the enemy and

brought them to him. The rest escaped and rejoined their comrades. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan then favored the captives by releasing them.

They rejoined their friends and spread the news of the army's valor and of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's evenhandedness. At this, the entire force disbanded and headed for the forts of the Wardak. But these people resisted their efforts to enter their forts. The cavalry killed one hundred Wardak, beheaded them, and carried the trophies back to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan telling him they were the heads of men from Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's force. But in their wake came relatives of the slain, seeking justice from the amir, and they embarrassed and discomfited all those who had claimed that the heads were those of the sardar's men. The relatives returned home with the severed heads and there was no further demand for compensation.

After this, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan moved from Aspin Dah into Ghaznin. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman, meantime, camped first at Haft Asya and then went on to Sayyidabad. At strategic places along the way he erected sangars and prepared for further fighting.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan stayed four days in Ghaznin. There he sent a farman to Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan and Sardar Yahya Khan who were in Jalalabad telling them to take their four infantry regiments, ^cIsmat Allah Khan and Arsalah Khan, and the tribal (*ulūsī*) men from the Jalalabad region and go to Kabul so as to trap the enemy from two sides and therefore gain their objective.

On the fifth day, after leaving in Ghaznin Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan and Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan /287/ with Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan, son of Sardar Muhammad ^cAzim Khan, and Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan and Sardar Sikandar Khan, the sons of Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan who had earlier been brought from Herat and placed in custody in Ghaznin, the amir himself left for Kabul with his army.

At the time of his departure, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan sent him a message which said that he ought to send Sardar Mir Afzal Khan and Na^cib Sultan Khan Angizaⁱ as well as some others who were tried and true to him so that he could have some words with them and they could then return and convey these to the amir. So the amir sent them off. The sardar told them,

Although Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan does not believe what I'm saying and will not listen to me, you should nevertheless warn him not to shed any Muslim blood nor to act in any way that would leave long-lasting bitterness among the members of the royal family. Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan have been exiled from their homeland for some time—one in Rawalpindi, the other in Bukhara. They have borne hardships nearly to the point of death in order to preserve the memory of their land. Preferring death to such a life, they will fight. Therefore the best thing to do is to free me and allow me to go and take them back to Turkistan. That done I will spend my time as before (as governor of Turkistan) and will acknowledge

your sovereignty.

But Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan did not agree to his request and said,

If I were to agree to this then every one will find ways not to obey me. I will keep fighting them until I drive them across the Oxus River (Jayhun). Then I will hand the throne over to you and disappear into obscurity. But for now you are going to stay as you are in my custody.

***SARDAR FATH MUHAMMAD KHAN AND SARDAR YAHYA KHAN MARCH
FROM JALALABAD TO KABUL***

As soon as Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's farman arrived, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, accompanied by Sardar Yahya Khan; Sardar Zakariya Khan; Mir Akhur Ahmad Khan; ^cIsmat Allah Khan; Arsalah Khan; Shah Mard Khan, the governor of Jalalabad; Sayyid Mahmud Khan Kunari; and a large force under General Mir Haydar Khan and General Walu Khan, left Jalalabad for Kabul.

Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, who was in Kabul, learned of the expedition and sent Sar Faraz Khan Babakr Khayl to Duabah to raise the tribal men against the Jalalabad force. The idea was to bog down Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan in a fight and prevent him from reaching Kabul. Hard on Sar Faraz Khan's heels, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan dispatched Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan who had earlier come from Jalalabad and been feted by Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan. His force included 200 Sakhlu militia infantry under Malik Shayr Gul Khan. At this point, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan felt confident that he could deal with the threat posed by Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan. Consequently, in response to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's request for reinforcements, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan left Kabul and joined forces with him. Just before his arrival, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan raided the Wardak village of Ankhi because the Wardak sided with the amir and had refused provisions to the sardar's forces. The raid occurred on the same day the amir made camp at Haft Asya and succeeded in making off with twenty days worth of supplies. With these provisions, the noble sardar strengthened his position and dug in for a fight.

***THE BATTLE OF SAYYIDABAD AND THE DEFEAT OF AMIR SHAYR FIALI
KHAN³⁰***

Three days after leaving Ghaznin, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan came face to face with Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman's defense works and there set up his base. The two sides bombarded each other with artillery fire throughout that day. Feeling somewhat uneasy, that night the amir assigned Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari with

³⁰ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 75–77.

eight infantry regiments and several batteries of artillery to the the sardar's right flank. His orders were to get to the battlefield by dawn so that as soon as the amir launched a frontal assault, Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari would simultaneously attack Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's right flank.

So it happened that Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan approached the front of the *sangar* at first light. Assuming that Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari had reached the right flank of the *sangar*, /288/ the amir, without hesitating, began the attack. But the sardar from Qandahar had not yet reached his position and in fact he was fast asleep when the battle erupted.

The rain of shot and shell and the ferocity of the fight killed or wounded 2,000 of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's men and 7,000 of the amir's. Among the prominent casualties was Ishik Aqasi Amir Jan, the brother of Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan, who was killed outright; Sayf Allah Khan, a son of the Amir-i Kabir, who was mortally wounded; Ghulam Hasan Khan Afshar and Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan, who were wounded and taken prisoner; and Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, who suffered a minor wound and managed to escape.

The amir now withdrew his troops from the battlefield. Meantime, Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari who had slept the night away, now reached the spot to which the amir had ordered him and was confused to find a very different situation than the one he expected.

Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan who had left Kabul to help Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan drew near the *sangar* as the battle was raging and watched from a nearby hill. He then marched into the camp of the victorious sardar and celebrated the triumph with him. They sent some prominent army leaders to Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari, who was still standing around in some confusion, with a message asking him and Sardar Madad Khan as well as the other regular army and militia leaders with him, to inform them of their intentions. They could see that Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan was defeated and if they wished to olffer their allegiance (to ^cAbd al-Rahman and Muhammad A^czam) they would be duly rewarded, but if they lined up in battle formation or went their own way, that was their choice.

The Qandahari sardar wanted peace of mind and so offered his services. Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan eased any anxieties he may have had and asked his forces whether they wished to join them as allies or to return home. Since they were all from Qandahar, they chose to leave and handed over their weapons. Each one received five rupees for travel expenses from the generosity of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and then departed for Qandahar. In their wake trailed the notables who had come forward to offer their allegiance. Of all of them, Mir ^cAlam Khan Hutaki, Mardan Khan Nurzaⁱ, Hajji Ikhtiyar Khan Shirzaⁱ Barakzaⁱ, and Muhammad Sarwar Khan Shirzaⁱ chose to stay and serve Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan.

The two thousand cavalry whom Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan had ordered to pursue and harry the retreating amir had not yet overtaken him nor had he yet reached Ghaznin when news of the victory of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan

reached the city. When the wardens with the detained sardars, Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan, Sardar Sikandar Khan, Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, heard it, they conveyed the good news to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. They released him from prison and took him to the Shari'ah Court of Ghaznin. Khuday Nazar Khan Wardak, the governor, and Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan's other officials came to him and offered their services.

Soon afterwards, Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan arrived with his defeated cavalrymen, intending to make his headquarters in Ghaznin. But the people of the city prevented him from entering and opened fire on him with their muskets. Frustrated, he continued on to Qandahar.

Ghaznin, Kabul, and Turkistan now came under Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's control, thanks to the force of Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan's sword. The cavalry force pursuing Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan entered Ghaznin and received the honor of kissing Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan's hand.

In the meantime Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, who had left Kabul and gone to Duabah to stop Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, realizing that he did not have the troop strength to resist the force from Jalalabad, returned to Kabul by way of Tizin at the advice of Malik Shayr Gul Khan. After he returned, three sons of the late Amir-i Kabir, Sardar Ahmad Khan, Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan left Kabul with three regular infantry regiments and several banners of *khāṣṣah-dars* to take his place and to turn away Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan. They made camp at the edge of the Bagrami Bridge (Pul-i Bagrami) some three kuruhs from Kabul and established their line of defense there.

When Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan entered Kabul Gorge (Khurd-i Kabul) he received news of the defeat of Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan. Afraid that the royal regiments would seize him and hand him over to Sardar Ahmad Khan in chains, he ordered them forward into the Kabul Gorge while he and Sardar Yahya Khan, Sardar Zakariya Khan, 'Ismat Allah Khan, Arsalah Khan, Mir Akhur Ahmad Khan, and the tribal infantry from Jalalabad turned back and camped at Hisarak. Feeling threatened there as well, they ultimately withdrew to Jalalabad.

During all this, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan departed Kabul intending to join their brothers at Bagrami. /289/ At Kotal-i Yak Langah they heard that Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan had withdrawn to Jalalabad and left his regular army leaderless in the Kabul Gorge. So when they reached Bagrami they all agreed to send someone to those troops and ask them to join up. After receiving assurances, the troops appeared and handed over twelve pieces of artillery. Then all returned to Kabul.

Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, having notified his father of his victory, also asked permission to come see him but the latter said no and sent him a farman which told him to keep his mind on military matters and informed him that he (Sardar Muhammad Afzal) would come to see his son.

Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan's army spent four days looting the equipment and supplies abandoned by Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan's troops. On the fifth day,

Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan appointed Ahmad Khan Akhundzadah Andari as governor of Ghaznin. He then left for Kabul with the sardars who had been held with him in confinement in Ghaznin as well as a number of other people. En route, Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari, Sardar Madad Khan, and other notables of the amir's army who had been given leave by Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman and Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan to return to Qandahar paid their respects to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. But instead of letting them proceed, he took them all into custody and took them with him to Sayyidabad.

There Sardar ^cAbd at'-Rahman Khan and Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan came out to meet him with the whole army and conduct him to the army camp. After exchanging greetings, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan sought his father's permission to pursue Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan with his revenge-minded army and not return as long as Qandahar and Herat remained outside his jurisdiction and until Amir Shayr ^cAli had been expelled from the country. His father agreed but Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan did not and so the matter was left until another time.

From Sayyidabad, they all marched towards Kabul. When they reached Chashmah-i Changhar, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, Sardar Ahmad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, along with the city dignitaries, arrived to welcome Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan. The next day, the entire army and all the residents of the city turned out to welcome the Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan on the plain beside Dih Mazang and escorted him to the Bala Hisar.

Also at the beginning of this year, a dispute arose between Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan and Nazir Haydar Khan and General ^cAli ^cAskar Khan over the governorship of Takhtah Pul. The latter two had sent a letter to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan then in Bamyan about the misconduct of the Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan. Concerned that a disturbance might erupt in Turkistan, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan summoned the two men who joined him at Bamyan and then took part in all the subsequent events.

EVENTS OF 1283/MAY 1866–MAY 1867 AND THE ACCESSION OF AMIR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN TO THE THRONE OF THE AMIRATE

When all the victory-betokened sardars were ensconced in the Bala Hisar, preparations were made for the enthronement of His Highness Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan. On a Friday early in Muharram 1283/mid-May 1866, they seated him on the amirate throne. The notables and dignitaries of the city assembled in the Friday mosque and pledged their loyalty and allegiance. His name was inserted into the reading of the *khutbah* from the pulpit (*minbar*), and dirhams and dinars were minted and circulated under his rubric. He himself then turned to affairs of state, inquiring into all matters near and far concerning the army and the civilian populace, and recognized the notables in accordance with the proper status of each.

He named Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan to be governor of Kuhistan; Sardar Nasr Allah Khan, the brother of Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, as governor of Jalalabad and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan governor of Kabul. He conferred the governorship of the Hazarahjat on Sardar Sikandar Khan, the son of the late Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, and the office of Khan-i ^cUlum on Sa^cd al-Din Khan, son of the Chief Judge (*qāzī al-quzāt*) ^cAbd al-Rahman. Bureaucratic and administrative supervision (*diwān* and *daftar*) he assigned to Mirza Ahad Khan Kashmiri. He then turned his own attention to matters of state.

During this, Mulla ‘Uzayr Dih Afghani and Mulla Mir Aftab Kabuli one night produced for the amir’s inspection a document mentioned earlier which they had obtained from Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan promising them the posts of Khan-i ‘Ulum and Chief Administrator (*tawliyat*) of *Waqf* Endowments /290/ and they asked him to give them those offices. He responded, “I will not dismiss my kinsmen from any judicial position and appoint someone else. You may take this document to whoever gave it to you and present him with your demands.”

During this time, a manshur of friendship and reconciliation was issued in the name of Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan and he was asked to come to court. With “maybe-s” and “perhaps-es” he delayed coming and sent his apologies in the hopes of deceiving the amir. Through intuition, however, Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan knew that the sardar would not come and offer his obedience so he was forced to decide on sending an army to Jalalabad to punish Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan.

When he discovered what the amir had in mind, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan immediately set out for Kabul to offer his submission. But near Hisarak he deviated from the path of obedience and went to join his uncle, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan in Qandahar and rendered him diligent service.

SARDAR WALI MUHAMMAD KHAN TRIES TO LEAD AN UPRISING BUT IS PLACED IN DETENTION

Meantime, Sardar Wali Muhamad Khan, who considered himself to be a partner and a participant in ruling the country, was not satisfied with the regiment and stipend assigned to him and tried to make trouble. He conspired with Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan, Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan and at their suggestion invited them to be his guests at his fort outside Kabul. There they met and agreed:

some of us will go to Jalalabad and some to other parts of the country to incite the people against Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan. We will then suggest to Sardar Fayz Muhammad that he come from Turkistan and we from other parts of the country and together converge on Kabul, depose the amir, and take power into our own hands.

But Shah Nawaz Khan revealed the plot to the amir and the latter placed Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan under arrest. Sardar Jalal al-Din Khan escaped to Shinwar. The amir ignored the others who had taken part in the conspiracy and said nothing to them. Then one day he had Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan murdered for other reasons. It happened as follows: Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan became an open focus of opposition and was obtaining covenants (of support) for Amir Shayr °Ali Khan from the sardars and notables of Kabul and sending them to Qandahar. Day and night he conferred and conspired with Sayyid Mahmud Khan Kunari who had been raised on the salt of the late Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, was his son-in-law and was an Amir Shayr °Ali Khan sympathizer. On top of all that, Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan wrote a letter to Prince Shahpur, the son of the late Shah Shuja^c al-Mulk in which he said, "If you join forces with me, I will make you ruler of Kabul." The prince secretly sent back a certain °Azim Gul to the sardar with the intention of concluding an alliance.

But Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan discovered the plots and when °Azim Gul reached Mama Khayl in Jalalabad, Sardar Muhammad A^czam sent a man to arrest him and bring him to Kabul. He somehow found out however and managed to escape. Then the amir summoned Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan to the Bala Hisar to answer for his behavior and there issued the order for his execution. He was strangled by a silk cord knotted around his neck and his body was thrown into the Bala Hisar moat from which his family later retrieved it for burial.

After Sardar Muhammad Rafiq Khan's execution, the amir arrested Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan and thereby relieved himself of any fear of a coup.

*AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN LEADS AN ARMY INTENDING TO RECAPTURE
KABUL AND HIS RETREAT FROM QALAT³¹*

Meanwhile, having made his way back to Qandahar, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan now prepared for another campaign to Kabul.

Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan learned of his plans before he left Qandahar and dispatched Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan with 12,000 soldiers to block his advance at Sar Chashmah-i Muqur. But first he ordered him to wait one month in Ghaznin so that Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan could prepare for the campaign and catch up with him there whence together they would proceed to Sar Chashmah-i Muqur. Accordingly, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan halted in Ghaznin. After his departure from Kabul, Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan /291/ assigned Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, at the latter's request, to take charge of the (weapons) factories (*kārkhānajāt*) and the magazine and appointed Sardar Ahmad Khan to replace him as governor of Kabul.

He also issued a farman summoning Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan to Kabul. The latter refused to come so the amir sent a force to punish him. It

³¹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 77–83.

included Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, son of Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, along with Sardar Muhammad Sulayman Khan, son of Shah Dawlah Khan; Sardar Nazar Muhammad Khan, son of Sardar Amin Muhammad Khan; Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, son of Sardar Muhammad ^cUsman Khan; Na^zib Ghulam Ahmad Khan; General Amr Allah Khan; Ghulam ^cAli Khan, son of Nazir ^cAbd al-Wahhab Khan; seven infantry regiments; and 3,000 militia cavalry for a total of 8,000 men. At this point, Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan had gone to Qataghan and was engaged in a struggle with Mir Jahandar Shah. When he heard about the force sent against him, he marched to confront it. The Kabul army reached Du Ab Shah Pasand via Bamyan where an advance detachment of three infantry regiments and several pieces of artillery under the command of General Amr Allah and Ghulam ^cAli Khan was sent ahead by Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan to the manzil of Ab Guli where it halted. There it clashed with Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan. Unable to resist him, the Kabul advance force surrendered. During this skirmish, Ghulam ^cAli Khan was killed and Na^zib Ghulam Ahmad Khan, at first taken prisoner, was later put to death at Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan's order.

Taking the surrendered army with him, Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan returned to Balkh and gave no further thought to Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan. Distressed by the episode, the latter turned back at Du Ab-i Shah Pasand with the rest of his army and made camp at Madar. When Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan learned what had happened, he sent off another infantry regiment under the command of General Shaykh Mir as reinforcements.

In the meanwhile, on another front, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan after waiting twenty days at Ghaznin learned from letters from Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan, the governor of Muqur, and Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan whom he had sent out with an advance force of two infantry regiments, four guns, and his personal cavalry, that Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan had reached Qalat with a sizeable force. The sardar notified his father saying,

If Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan should be delayed because his preparations are not complete, this is not too important since he has only 3,000 cavalry with him anyway. The Qizilbash and other horsemen who have been withheld from the campaign ought to be sent to Ghaznin for there is great deal for cavalry to do here. I have no more than 4,000 regular and militia cavalry with me.

After writing and dispatching this, the sardar himself marched from Ghaznin to Sar Chashmah-i Muqur lest Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan get past Qalat. He stopped there twelve days. Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan meantime strengthened the defenseworks of the Qalat fortress apprehensive about an attack by the sardar. He then assigned Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan and Shah Pasand Khan to make off with Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's livestock and thereby severely undermine his position. So they rode to a point three farsangs from Chashmah-i Pangak and laid an ambush there.

Moving out of Sar Chashmah-i Muqur, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan camped one manzil farther along the route. There he spotted some of Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan's riders moving about in the vicinity of their hiding place and sent a spy to find out where this hideout was so that he could eliminate it. Once it was located, he sent Sardar °Abd al-Rahim Khan and General Nasir Khan with 1,000 regular cavalry and 1,000 Durrani militia horse, two infantry regiments, and six horse swivels to launch a surprise attack at the watch of the night prayer.

So it happened that just as Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan and his troopers were falling into a careless sleep, they were attacked and driven out of their place of concealment by shot and shell. Three hundred were killed outright and one thousand were taken prisoner. Of Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan's men, a *chabuk sawār* riding ahead of the others into the enemy camp was killed but otherwise no one suffered any injury and in triumph they returned to their camp with the prisoners.

Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan ordered the prisoners sent to Ghaznin. He remained at that camp for another eleven days. Seeing no further duplicity on Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's part, the sardar went around Qalat at the recommendation of Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan who had now joined him, and marched towards Qandahar via Arghistan. On the second day out, they camped /292/ at the foot of a mountain which stood between them and Qalat. Informed of this, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan assigned a force of 11,000 cavalry to follow them. The force was led Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan along with Sardar Sikandar Khan whom Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan had appointed governor of the Hazarahjat but who had gone to Qandahar in a display of blatant ingratitude.

The next day, Sardar Muhammad A°zam Khan and Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan broke camp and rode towards the manzil of Diwarak. During the march, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan chose to ride off the road along one flank and assigned Sardar °Abd al-Rahim Khan and General Nasir Khan with a number of officers and foot and horse the advance position with orders to stay 1,500 paces (*gām*) ahead of the army and, as long as he remained on the flank and the center of the army was keeping that distance they were not to halt. They were to continue along in this formation until they reached the next bivouac spot so that if Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's cavalry attacked, they could mount a proper defense, the sardar from the flank and they from the front. When they approached the manzil (of Diwarak), Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan with 200 men and two guns drew rein and fell in behind the main corps of the army. The others were told to continue on and when all had reached the campsite and dismounted, the sardar, somewhat to the rear, similarly dismounted and was drinking tea when all of a sudden several horsemen appeared off in the distance. He divided his two hundred men into groups of five and sent them out to take positions at every hill or other likely spot. Once there one of the five would ride to the top of the hill, look around, and ride back down. Then another would do the same while the other four remained in hiding. By this ruse the enemy would

think that there were many horsemen and would be afraid of attacking. He also sent a rider off to the main force asking for reinforcements. He also sent a message to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahim and General Nasir Khan saying,

The troopers you see on the hilltops are mine. They are showing themselves to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's force. Be cautious but don't be alarmed. Bring your infantry, cavalry, and artillery to me in a calm and orderly manner so that the enemy is not aware of you. I don't want them to realize, before you get here, that I haven't a soul with me here in this wadi.

Just then, the enemy horsemen made an appearance and approached Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. His companions were frightened and implored him, 'We should mount our horses and try to make it to the main force to save our lives.'

But the sardar decided it was better to wait than to move and he rejected their pleas. The enemy rode up and halted just within cannonshot. When the reinforcements (finally) arrived, it became clear to the enemy that until that moment there had been no army present. They then attacked the two batteries Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan had with him and which were about 1,000 paces away at the time. He mounted up, bravely exposing himself, and intending to drive them off. The artillerymen fired three or four rounds at their attackers who did not falter, however. Thinking themselves helpless, the gunners abandoned their batteries and astride the horses which pulled the guns, they made their way to the sardar. The enemy reached the guns, killed one of the two gunners who had crawled under the guns for protection, wounded the other, and captured the two pieces. They then began to drag the guns away.

Meantime, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahim Khan and General Nasir Khan who had come up with their men to help were extremely thirsty, because of the haste with which they had come and so Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan told them to drink the water in his water bags. Once they had quenched their thirst, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan assigned two of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahim Khan's regiments led by a colonel, along with two other infantry regiments, to advance under cover towards the enemy who were now dragging the guns away. As soon as they got close they opened fire. With three fusillades, they killed 600 of the men and 1,000 of the animals which were near the guns. The survivors abandoned the guns and ran towards Qalat. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman chased them as far as the summit of Tabaq Sar mountain and the Khala Fort (*qal^cah-i khālā*). There he formed up his troops on the tops of the surrounding hills and displayed the size of his army and number of artillery pieces to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's force which was bivouacked in and around Qalat Fort. After the return of the men who had been routed and now worried that Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan was about to attack the fort and their defensive lines, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's men withdrew to their sangars to fortify them further. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan remained in battle formation with his twelve infantry regiments, 2,000 regular cavalry, and 1,000 Durrani militia cavalry until darkness fell. Then he returned

towards his base. On the way, he divided the cavalry into two groups both of which were to protect the rear, one preceding the other by a distance of 1,000 paces. The infantry regiments and the artillery were sent on ahead. He arrived back at camp at dawn. Because all their baggage /293/ and clothing had been soaked by rain, the force under Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman postponed its march for two days after which it proceeded towards Qandahar.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan also emerged from Qalat now to return to Qandahar. The two groups marched side by side, sometimes 4,000 sometimes 6,000 paces separating them, and neither attempting to harm the other. On the fifth day each side made camp. Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's army raised banners signifying that the entire force had called a halt. When he saw this, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan did not allow the supplies to be unloaded but sent them on. He left a small number of soldiers in a place where they could be seen by the other side and ordered all the rest to keep themselves out of sight behind the hills and elevations. He sent off Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahim Khan with three regular infantry regiments and ten banners of *khāṣṣah-dārs* and ordered them to conceal themselves in ravines ahead of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan.

At midday, despite the fact that he had no desire to fight, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan worried about the maneuverings of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, ordered his entire force to attack. It first encountered the smaller segment of the sardar's army (which had been ordered to remain visible) which was ready for it and stood in battle formation. As soon as the fighting began, the sections of the sardar's force which were concealed, sprang from their hiding places, as the sardar had ordered, and joined the fray. On the right flank, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahim Khan and General Nasir Khan, whose forces were hidden behind the hills, now attacked. When he saw this, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan felt as if four waves of the sea of destruction had broken over him all at once. He turned his back to the fight and his face towards flight. His army escaped with the amir towards Qandahar but all his baggage, tents, and thirty cannons fell into the hands of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan.

This victory occurred on the ninth of Ramadan 1283/15 January 1867. The sardar returned to his headquarters, three farsangs away, in triumph, reaching the camp sometime after midnight. The amir, meantime, unable to stay in Qandahar went on to Herat where he joined his son, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan. Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan then entered Qandahar with his nephew, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. They encountered no opposition and spent the winter there. In the spring, Sardar Muhammad A'zam Khan wanted to return to Kabul leaving Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan as governor of Qandahar but the latter would not agree.

*THE TROUBLE CAUSED BY SARDAR FAYZ MUHAMMAD KHAN, SON OF
THE LATE AMIR-I KABIR³²*

³² RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 84–86.

During all this, a desire to fight entered Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan's head and he led an army out of Balkh towards Madar to engage Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan. When Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan learned of this, he ordered Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan to Kabul intending to deploy him to fend off Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan. Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan had not yet left Qandahar when Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan marched from Madar to face the Balkh force. The two sides met at Bajgah and a fierce battle ensued. Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan was defeated and escaped to Kabul with a number of his troops. Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan returned to Balkh in triumph taking all the Muhammadza'i sardars, the regular army officers, and the militia khans who had been with Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan as well as his army, artillery, and arsenal (*qūrkhanah*).

From Balkh, he now launched a campaign against Qataghan and Badakhshan, taking that region from the control of Mir Jahandar Shah and Sultan Murad. He appointed governors of his own everywhere and then returned to Balkh. Following his return, Mir Jahandar Shah fled to Kabul by way of Swat. He did so because of his ties with Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan who had married his daughter.

From Qandahar meanwhile, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan had left for Kabul on receiving his father's order even though he was suffering at this time from back problems. By marching two manzils at a time, he reached Qarabagh on the seventh day and Ghaznin on the eighth. There another farman arrived from his father advising him that Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan had returned to Balkh and that he should proceed towards Kabul but slowly lest he tire himself out. Relieved by the news in the farman, the sardar spent five days at Ghaznin and fully recovered from the rigors of the trip. Then he went on to Kabul where he was greeted on the field next to Dih Mazang by dignitaries of the city and its suburbs and the entire regular army. He then went on to greet and visit with his father. /294/

EVENTS OF 1284/MAY 1867–APRIL 1868

As noted above, Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan, defeated by Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, arrived in Herat in 1284/1867. There he heard the news of Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan's victory (at Bajgah) and sent Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan to him with a letter which said, "If that brother has no objection and if he thinks of me as a friend and helper, I will come straightforward to Balkh." The sardar was delighted and replied,

Come, for the corner of my eye is your nest //
Do us a courtesy, drop by, and think of our house as yours.

After receipt of this response, Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan proceeded to Balkh by way of Maymanah. He was accompanied by Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Sardar Yahya Khan, Sardar Sikandar Khan,

and 4,000 Herati Kushadah (militia) cavalry. Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan deemed his arrival a great honor and put on a celebration. He also offered the amir as a *pishkash* gift 20 laks of rupees worth of gold and silver coins. Taking but a single tangah from that sum, the amir returned the rest saying, ‘Today whatever I myself have, I should spend in the service of my good name and honor. Nor can I keep whatever I take from you.’

In short, after recovering from the fatigue of the trip, he began to assemble and equip an army for the conquest of Kabul.

When Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan learned of his arrival in Turkistan, and of his intentions vis à vis Kabul, he dispatched Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan to Charikar with two regular infantry regiments, 14 guns, 400 regular cavalry, 500 *khāssah-dār* infantry, and 500 Kushadah horse. His orders were to station himself beside Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Charikar, and guard the road from Turkistan so that if Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan and Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan headed towards Kabul they could stall them there until reinforcements could arrive from Kabul.

An epidemic of cholera swept Kabul after Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan reached Charikar. The people of the city and its suburbs lost all hope because of the disease and even Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan sipped from the cup of eternity because of this pestilence and lay completely incapacitated on his sickbed.

In these circumstances came the news that Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan and Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan were marching from Turkistan to Kabul. Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman sent a letter to his uncle in Qandahar, informing him of his father’s illness, and of the threat from the north in the hopes that he would hurry from Qandahar to assist in the defense of Kabul and help force Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan to return to Turkistan. But Sardar Muhammad A‘zam Khan was slow in coming for he first summoned his son, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, from Kabul to take his place in Qandahar before he would leave. Only then did he depart and still he took a long time en route.

Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman meanwhile was unable to move out of Kabul because he was busy tending his father. All he could do was send out a spy to keep an eye on the enemy force and notify him of the route it was taking so that he would know where to prepare his defenses.

In short, Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan’s forces drew near. One of the infantry regiments under Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan which had earlier been in Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan’s service now consulted among itself and decided to burn the arsenal. Sardar Muhammad Yusuf, however, got wind of the plan and changed the guards at the arsenal.

Meanwhile Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan’s force approached Panjshir. Alerted, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan sent word to the throne. His information was corroborated by intelligence provided by Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan’s spy.

During this, the people of Kuhistan, who had opened correspondence with Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan, now sent individual letters offering him their services

and agreed to accept his farman.

**SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN IS ORDERED TO STOP AMIR SHAYR
FIALI KHAN AND THE KILLING OF SARDAR FAYZ MUHAMMAD KHAN**

Meantime, despite his iliness, Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan sent his son to assist Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan with five regular infantry regiments and a unit of artillery. After he had gone, the amir also dispatched General Nasir Khan with another five regiments of regular infantry plus one artillery unit. /295/ They linked up and then joined Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan's forces.

Sardar Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan, in the meanwhile, having left Qandahar, had now reached Ghaznin where he stopped until he could find out which side had prevailed.

When Sardar A[◦]bd al-Rahman Khan pitched his tents at the Qal[◦]ah-i Allahdad and Gulbahar in Panjshir, Amir Shayr A[◦]li Khan had already camped at Bazarak in Panjshir. Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan took control of all the hilltops including one which overlooked the Qal[◦]ah-i Allahdad.

The next day Sardar A[◦]bd al-Rahman came out to fight, sending Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan to Darrah-i Pafdam with one infantry regiment, seven banners of *khāṣṣah-dārs*, 500 horsemen and two cannons. He ordered another two infantry regiments and six guns under the command of General Muhammad Zaman Khan to move along the river and past the base of the mountain on which Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan was stationed and take up a position behind him.

With General Nasir Khan the sardar himself moved to confront the enemy face to face. When General Muhammad Zaman Khan reached the other side of the mountain but before he reached his assigned position he was spotted by Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan who opened up with artillery fire against him.

On both sides now the weapons of war went to work and the sounds of cannon and musket were heard. Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan fired his artillery from the Darrah-i Pafdam while General Muhammad Zaman Khan began to climb the mountain with his two regiments and artillery. He overran several of Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan's positions. The latter then tried to regroup and retake those posts, exhorting his men to fight as hard as they could. Suddenly a cannon ball struck the ground and ricocheted upward hitting him in the stomach and killing him. When he heard the news, Sardar A[◦]bd al-Rahman Khan had his army attack from four directions. He captured all of the sardar's men, some 3,000 in all, and seized all the weapons including artillery. The sardar's body was recovered and taken back to A[◦]bd al-Rahman's camp from where it was sent by litter to the deceased's mother in Kabul. Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan was buried in the Sayyid Mahdi Cemetery in Kabul and a verse is inscribed on his headstone which yields the date of his death.

With a single shot of a cannon /
the red leaves of his wild rose
Suddenly, in the bloom of youth he was killed/

I give the obituary date as 'youthful folly' (*darīgh-i jawānī*).

Because of his death and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's victory, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan withdrew from Bazarak-i Panjshir and retreated to Balkh and Takhtah Pul. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan left two infantry regiments under Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan in Panjshir and returned to Kabul. Similarly Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, who was also in Ghaznin, arrived in Kabul.

Three days after Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's return, Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan passed away at the dawn following a Friday eve in Jumada al-Thani 1284/August 1867. He was fifty-four years old and had reigned one year, five months and a few days.

**THE FUNERAL AND BURIAL OF AMIR MUHAMMAD AFZAL KHAN AND
THE ACCESSION OF HIS HIGHNESS MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN**

They washed the body on Friday, wrapped it in a shroud, and buried it in the garden of the Hushmand Khan Fort. The following Friday, after fulfilling the mourning observances, all the notables of the city and its environs were summoned to pledge oaths of allegiance to Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan at Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's order. They assembled at the Friday Mosque and after Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan himself placed his father's sword and sceptre (^casā) before Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan, the latter accepted his oath of allegiance and oaths from all the notables. They seated him on the throne, the *khutbah* was read in his name, and coins were struck and circulated with his insignia.

After the formalities of the enthronement, he ennobled all the worthies with robes of honor and posts and increased their *tankhwāh*-salaries. He appointed Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, governor of the Hazarahjat and assigned him two infantry regiments and 500 regular cavalry. He also sent Suhrab Khan to Bajgah with 400 regular cavalry and four mule guns with orders to stop Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan should he march against Kabul. /296/

**AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN HANDS TURKISTAN OVER TO ITS FORMER
MIRS³³**

Because Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's power had been generally destroyed in the numerous battles described above, and because he had now fallen on financial hard times, he devised a scheme to raise money. He summoned the old mirs of Balkh, Sar-i Pul, Aqchah, Shibarghan, Andkhud, and Tashqurghan—men who had fled the region for Kulab and Bukhara and other foreign places when Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan established himself in Turkistan and had refused to acknowledge his authority. Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan now scratched their backs

³³ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 89–90.

with a skillful finger. He handed over their former districts to them with the artillery which was in the towns of each one. In return he collected huge sums from the residents of those districts through the mirs as the price for their domains and the artillery in them. He stayed in Turkistan for three months collecting the money.

Meantime, certain court figures like Sar Faraz Khan Ghilja'i, Sahibzadah Ghulam Jan Andarabi, Malik Shayr Gul Khan Ghilja'i, Nawwab Khan Astarghchi, Sufi Khan Bayani, Muhammad Akbar Khan Tarah Khayl, Mir Akbar Khan Kuhistani, and Mirza 'Abd al-Khalil Khan Kashmiri—men who were always around the throne—by hints and innuendo aroused Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan's suspicions about Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan. They pointed out things he should be fearful of and urged him to send the sardar to Turkistan. To relieve his anxieties, he should appoint his own sons to perform government duties in Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan's stead. They pressed him on this point for their own agendas. As Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan was a man possessed of a clever and astute mind, his being in Kabul meant that they were unable either to embezzle government funds or to oppress the populace. Little by little, their words upset the amir until one day when Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan came to court to pay his respects, he was denied entry by the doorkeeper. He had been instructed by Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan himself that whenever Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan should appear, he was not to let him in to see the amir.

So when the sardar sought to be admitted, the doorkeeper (*darbān*) said, "The amir is asleep and no one is allowed to go near him." Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan then sat at the door to the court until noon waiting to find out whether the chamberlain (*hājib*) was telling him the truth or not. At that point a steward arrived with the amir's food and was admitted. And even before the food came he had seen servants going in and out and knew that the chamberlain (and doorkeeper) had lied to him. When the meal was taken in he also received permission to enter. When he did, he noticed the abovementioned khans along with Malik Jabbar Khan Dam Rad³⁴ and Ghulam Jan coming to the gathering (*mahfal*). Somewhat angry, he sat down in a corner and ate no food until the others began partaking of it with the amir. When they began talking with the amir with their faces averted, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, with loathing written all over his face, stormed out of the majlis. Three days later, Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan summoned Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan and obliged him to go to Turkistan. The sardar implored him to send Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan, the amir's son, with General Nasir Khan, 'Abd al-Rahim Khan, and the regiments native (*khānah-dār*) to Turkistan plus twenty-four cannons and let him stay and carry out matters on behalf of the amir. But the latter, taking his

³⁴ FM: Dam Rad is unknown and has been copied directly from *Kitāb-i pandnāmah-i dunyā wa'l-dīn*. RM: Perhaps this is a simple orthographic error for *dam-i dar* "at the door." Sultan Mohamed Khan in *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 89 lists Malik Jabbar Khan with no further identification.

request as a sign of his unhappiness at going to Turkistan, adroitly consoled him, telling him he should be pleased to be going. Everytime he suggested he go and the sardar found a reason to demur, the amir would give him a lak or two of rupees until eventually he changed his mind about going. Leaving his wives and children in Kabul he departed for the north.

***SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S JOURNEY TO TURKISTAN AND THE
WITHDRAWAL OF AMIR SHAYR ALI KHAN³⁵***

When Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan left Kabul with a sizeable force, the news reached Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan and, so, taking the wives and children of Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan as well as all the money he had collected from the sale of Turkistan and its armaments, he left Takhtah Pul for Herat by way of Maymanah. Because of heavy snow and extreme cold, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan managed to reach Bajgah only with the greatest difficulty. Nearly 300 of his men suffered severe frostbite.

Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, having received a farman of summons, returned to Kabul from Panjshir. Sardar Muhammad /297/ Isma^cil Khan came to Bajgah from Bamyan to welcome Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and there met with him and Suhrab Khan who was already at the town. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan asked those two men to accompany him north and help him contend with the Uzbeks of Balkh who, after Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's withdrawal, considered the Afghans there as part of their purchase and were treating them badly. Afterwards they could return to their own bases. So the two men, joined him on his march, with the infantry and cavalry they had with him.

Meantime a manshur from Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan reached Suhrab Khan telling him that if he had the wherewithal to do so, he had the sovereign's permission to leave Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and come to Kabul. Thereupon Suhrab Khan parted company with the sardar and traveled to Kabul. Soon after that, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan received a letter from the governor of Hazarah-i Bihsud, who was one of his *nawkars*, informing him that he had been called to Kabul for an audit of his books and they had given the governorship to someone else. In reply, the sardar wrote and told him that the audit was proper and that after his books were examined he should join him in Turkistan.

After sending this reply, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan now entered Ay Bik. There Mir Sultan Murad came from Qataghan to present greetings and a gift of 1,000 horses, 400 camels, and other items. He in turn was the recipient of favors from the sardar.

From Ay Bik, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan proceeded on to Tashqurghan. The mirs who had paid cash for Turkistan and its armaments and had tyrannized the Afghan inhabitants had fortified the citadel at Nimalak and then dispersed to Aqchah, Shibarghan, Sar-i Pul, Andkhud, and Maymanah to prepare for war.

³⁵ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 90–91.

Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman meanwhile marched into Mazar and from there continued on to Takhtah Pul where he called a halt.

During this time, the officers of Sardar Muhammad Ismaʿil Khan’s army wrote Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan a letter telling him, “He (Sardar Muhammad Ismaʿil Khan) harbors ill-will and is plotting against you. We wish to leave him and enroll under your banner.” The sardar did not reply but since Amir Muhammad Aʿzam Khan had assigned them to Sardar Muhammad Ismaʿil Khan he wrote to Amir Muhammad Aʿzam Khan relaying the information. In reply, the amir wrote over his own signature, “Whatever they say about the light of my eyes, Sardar Muhammad Ismaʿil Khan, is false and a lie.” Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan showed the amir’s reply to the officers concerned and so silenced them. The nickname “Light of my Eyes” for Sardar Muhammad Ismaʿil Khan stuck and became quite widespread.

**SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN’S VICTORY AT THE NIMLAK
CITADEL³⁶**

Later on, Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan marched out of Takhtah Pul to reduce the citadel at Nimlak. He first dispatched a messenger and called on the defenders to offer their allegiance. But they refused. Next, he sent a Qur’ān (as proof of his sincerity) but they refused to heed its message and continued on their course of ignorance and error. The sardar then selected sites for gun emplacements and the next day began bombarding the walls of the fortress. In four hours he completely destroyed the gate and its two towers. Throwing a lak of sacks full of straw into the moat around the fortress, he prepared the way for an assault and then gave the order to charge. The defenders set fire to bundles of straw and threw them down on the attackers. This did not deter the assailants, however, and they made their way into the citadel and began a general killing (*qatli ʿāmm*) until victory was assured. The sardar’s army sustained 700 casualties while 1,000 of the defenders died. One of them jumped into a well to hide and was taken alive.

At this point Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan learned that when the sardar’s army arrived in Turkistan, the rebel mirs realized their own positions were in danger of collapse and so withdrew the hand of tyranny from the Afghans, came to this fortress with 11,000 foot and horse, left 2,500 men to defend it, and then scattered to Maymanah, Andkhud, Sar-i Pul, Aqchah, and Shibarghan with the rest in order to prepare for war. They had not yet managed to make such preparations when Nimlak fell.

Qara Khan, the son of Ishan Sudur who had commanded the defense of the citadel and traveled (i.e. Ishan Sudur) the path to the next world with this group, was given a letter by Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan and sent off to his mirs. The message he carried ordered them to abandon the path of desperation and follow that of obedience. Otherwise they would fall into the trap of disaster and

³⁶ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 91–92.

adversity and never again enjoy health or wealth. Qara Khan delivered the letter and also tales of the valor of the Afghans and this thoroughly disheartened the mirs.

After assigning a garrison to the Nimlak citadel, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan now marched the rest of his victorious army into Aqchah. The people there welcomed him and in turn were made the objects of royal largesse. The sardar pinned the blame for their misconduct and incitement on Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan and said that if he had not handed the region and its weapons over to the mirs and had not received money in exchange, they would never have /298/ become the source of such evil and wrongdoing. This assertion relieved all the citizens of the region of feelings of guilt for their misdeeds.

The mirs, fearful of the consequences of their own misconduct, had meanwhile all fled to Maymanah, with the lone exception of Mir Hakim Shibarghani who, guided by the hand of fortune, had come to the sardar, been pardoned, and named to the governorship of Shibarghan. Mir Muhammad Khan Sar-i Puli also sent gifts but since he did not come in person his gifts were rejected. An order was issued for him to leave Sar-i Pul and remove himself from the region. The order was brought by the new governor who had instructions to get rid of Mir Muhammad Khan and assume the duties of governor.

*SARDAR FIABD AL-RANMAN KHAN'S BETROTHAL TO THE DAUGHTER OF
MIR HAKIM KHAN AT HER FATHER'S BEHEST³⁷*

After the arrival of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan in Shibarghan., Mir Hakim Khan, to repay the former's kindness in forgiving his mistakes and conferring the governorship of Shibarghan on him, went to him and expressed how obliged he would be if Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan would accept his daughter in marriage and how honored he would be to acquire the distinction of father-in-law. His request was granted.

During this joyful time, a number of the men under Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan once again petitioned Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan saying, "He wishes you ill and is an instigator of trouble and will eventually turn out to be the source of rancor and enmity." In response, he took the letter which they had signed and sealed, penned a note of his own, and sent both to the throne of authority. Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, who attributed these letters to ambition and slander wrote back and said, "All these words regarding the light of my eyes, Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan, are absurd." At the same time he sent Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan another order to subjugate Maymanah.

THE EVENTS OF 1285/APRIL 1868–APRIL 1869³⁸

³⁷ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 93–94.

³⁸ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 94.

When the letter of Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan concerning taking an army against Maymanah reached Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, he refused saying,

The army has not yet recovered from the rigors of the campaign and from fighting the rebels of this region. Nor are affairs of state as well ordered as they ought to be. How can I march off to Maymanah and undertake new business when I have not yet completed what has already been undertaken?

The amir replied that if he did not campaign against Maymanah then Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan would certainly have no fears from that direction and from Herat would be able to take aim on Qandahar. Such would pose a grave threat to Sardar Muhammad ^cAziz Khan, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rasul Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governors of Farah, Pusht-i Rud, and Qandahar. “And their problems will be entirely due to your delaying and failure to proceed to Maymanah.”

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman posed reasonable excuses writing back,

Should Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan march towards Qandahar, I can get help to those governors more quickly since Takhtah Pul is nearer (than Maymanah). But if I am tied down with a siege of Maymanah, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan will feel more confident about proceeding to Qandahar knowing that I am so occupied.

Regardless of his arguments, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, in whose mind people at court with their own motives had planted seeds of suspicion, would not listen and kept sending out farmans, one after another, ordering Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan to march to Maymanah however he could.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S ADVANCE ON MAYMANAH; SARDAR MUHAMMAD YAFIQUB KHAN'S MOVE AGAINST QANDAHAR; AND THE ARREST OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD FIUMAR KHAN AND SARDAR MUHAMMAD FIAZIZ KHAN³⁹

In short, thanks to the repeated dispatch of farmans, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan had no choice but to attempt the conquest of Maymanah.

Meanwhile, at the instruction of his father, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ya'qub Khan departed Herat with a large force bound for Qandahar. When he got word, Sardar Muhammad A^czam Khan sent a farman to Sardar Muhammad ^cAziz Khan telling him to cross the Hirmand (Helmand) River to the Kabul side and set up his position there /299/ for as long as the river was full, it would be very difficult for Sardar Muhammad Ya'qub Khan to cross.

³⁹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 94–96.

And by the time the water had fallen in the river, a relief force from Kabul would have reached him. He sent another farman to Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan notifying him of Sardar Muhammad Ya'qub Khan's movements and instructing him to send half of his army to Kabul with Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan including the latter's own regiments.

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad 'Aziz Khan failed to get across the Hirmand River as his father had ordered. When Sardar Muhammad Ya'qub Khan's force appeared on the scene the two sides engaged in battle. During it, Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan and Sardar Muhammad 'Aziz Khan were taken captive, and Sardar Muhammad Ya'qub Khan seated them both on an elephant and sent them to his father in Herat. Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan detained Sardar Muhammad 'Aziz Khan but, out of brotherly feelings, forgave Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan and placed him in Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan's custody.

In the course of all this, Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan's farman reached Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan when he was one farsang from Maymanah. The sardar immediately dashed off a response, "I warned you this would happen but you refused to listen. I cannot send half my army off and (still) carry out a siege of Maymanah with the other half."

Having sent this reply, he gave his troops orders to move and they made camp before Maymanah. He assigned places for the siege positions and for the construction of sangars and by night had completely enveloped that fortress in the grip of a siege. He pitched his own tent on 'Ashiqan Hill. The defenders were soon in desperate straits because of the totality of the siege.

Not long afterwards, another farman arrived from Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan informing Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan that Sardar Muhammad Ya'qub Khan had captured Sardar Muhammad 'Aziz Khan and sent him to Herat and telling him that it was absolutely essential that he send the "light of his eyes," Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan, and half the army to Kabul.

In reply, the sardar wrote,

Things have gone beyond the stage where it is now possible to abandon the siege of Maymanah for the troops are engaged night and day and because each side is fully aware of the other's situation, we would be put at risk (by depleting our forces). There is no alternative (but to continue the siege as we are now.)

After sending this, he tightened the siege's grip.

Sardar Muhammad Ya'qub Khan, having sent the two captured sardars to Herat, ordered Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan across the Hirmand and on to conquer Qandahar. The governor there, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, aware of the capture of his brothers and of Sardar Muhammad Ya'qub Khan's plans for Qandahar, now fled north towards Kabul. When he reached Ghaznin, fearing the wrath of his father, Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan, he stopped there under

the protection of its governor, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the son of Sardar Khushdil Khan.

Facing no opposition, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan now entered Qandahar. Shortly thereafter, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan also marched into the city and from there sent his father the glad tidings of victory. Greatly pleased, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan decided to go there from Herat.

AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN'S JOURNEY FROM HERAT TO QANDAHAR

When Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan received word of Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's taking Qandahar he named his son, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan govenor of Herat and then left for Qandahar accompanied by Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan, Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan, Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari, and a well-equipped army.

Meanwhile, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, learning of the fall of Qandahar and Sardar Muhammad Larwar Khan's decamping, arrested Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, the uterine brother of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. After three days of detention he sent him to Turkistan, to be held in custody there by Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan.

During these events, Qazi ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, the Khan-i ^cUlum, addressed Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan directly and spoke both of his concern for the country and for the amir's own welfare. He suggested that fifty wise men be sent to Qandahar and from there provide information of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's plans so that he (Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan) would be prepared for whatever happened. In addition to that, the army in Kabul ought to go to Sar Chashmah-i Muqur and barricade the road to prevent Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan from moving against Kabul. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan should be recalled from Maymanah for, "Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's defeat depends on the edge of his sword."

The amir agreed to send the spies to Qandahar but put off sending an army to Sar Chashmah-i Muqur on the grounds that he did not have one well enough equipped or battle-ready. Nor did he agree to recall Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and said, "For how long does my amirate have to be based on his bravery?"

He assigned Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan to Ghaznin with two infantry regiments and 500 cavalry. Meanwhile there was trouble at Qara Bagh. Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan Jaghuri had entered Qara Bagh with his **/300/** tribal (*iljārī*) men militia in support of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan and besieged Sayf Allah Khan Barakza²i, Jalandar Khan Barakza²i (and) ^cUmar Khanza²i who had come from Ghaznin w'ith two banners of *khāṣṣah-dārs* on a reconnaissance patrol and bivouacked at the Qal^cah-yi Safid which belonged to Khwajah Husayn Khan Hazarah.

When Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, learned what had happened, they, along with Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, led two regiments of infantry, 400 regular cavalry,

500 irregulars, seven banners of *khāssah-dars*, and four cannon out of Ghaznin in the middle of the night and rode to Qara Bagh via Waghaz. The next day at noon, they rode down to the Qara Bagh plain from the mountain known as Kichah-i Ghulaman which overlooks Nudah-i Gulistan Khan. Ordering the regular cavalry out to raid the forts of Gulistan Khan, the three sardars then followed them with the artillery, the regular infantry, and the squads (*dastah-hā*) of *khāssah-dārs*. Near the Qal^cah-yi Safid of Khwajah Husayn Khan Hazarah, they encountered (Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan's) Jaghuri force. With one charge, they drove the Jaghuris before them and began killing them.

Elsewhere, the nomad Nasiris, who were enemies of all the Hazarahs and whose clans were at this time in Qara Bagh, joined the royal army in killing the Hazarahs. Along with the Jaghuris they also slaughtered local Qara Baghis. The heads of 200 of the dead were severed and sent to Kabul. From then right up until the present, people still talk about those beheadings.

After disposing of the Hazarahs, provisions and supplies were readied for Sayf Allah Khan and Jalandar Khan and they were left to garrison that fort. The three sardars then returned to Ghaznin via Mushki.

During this time, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan who had left Herat for Qandahar, given Farah's governorship to Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, and by now had reached Qandahar, made plans for Kabul.

AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN'S MARCH FROM QANDAHAR TO KABUL⁴⁰

When the amir entered Qandahar and saw that his power was now considerable, he appointed Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan governor of Qandahar and himself set out for Kabul. On learning of his march, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan named Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, son of the late Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan, governor of Kabul and issued a farman in the name of Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan which said,

I have issued five *tughrā*-farmans in your name ordering you to Kabul.
Up to now not one has apparently had any effect. Now, without further delay, you must come to Kabul.

^cAbd al-Razzaq Khan *mustawfi* had been imprisoned and fined 50,000 rupees for his loyalty to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. At this moment, after Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan had sent the farman ordering Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan to Kabul, he had the *mustawfi* murdered in his cell. Then the amir left Kabul with his forces and headed for Ghaznin to defend against Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. He sent a farman to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan ordering him to abandon the business at Maymanah and march towards Ghaznin as fast as he could.. He was also to send Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan on ahead. His order reached Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan just at the time Mir Muhammad

⁴⁰ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 96–97.

Husayn, the wali of Maymanah, was surrendering. The latter had sent a Qur'an, called for a truce, and agreed to pay an annual sum of 40,000 *misqāls* of *tilā* coin to royal officials. He had already sent a one-year payment when the above-mentioned order came. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, using the good offices of the Wali of Maymanah, agreed to overlook the misdeeds of the mirs of Turkistan who had taken refuge in Maymanah. He also took six mobile gun batteries from the wali.

Meantime, the manshur from Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan to Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan (summoning him to Kabul) had arrived. The latter concealed it from Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan as he had also concealed earlier ones. As mentioned above, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan had earlier sent Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan a manshur remonstrating with him for Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan's failure to proceed as directed to Kabul and ordering him to withdraw to Balkh. Now, Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan, hoping to plunder the property of the citizens of Turkistan, turned back towards Balkh, riding at double speed to keep Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan from overtaking him. The latter, realizing his intentions, also now reversed course and set off in pursuit not pulling up until both men reached Shibarghan at the same time. There Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan received a letter from Colonel Suhrab Khan and a manshur from Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan which he had sent with Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, whom he had assigned to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman's custody. Both communications now reached the sardar /301/ from Takhtah Pul.

Because Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan was under guard in Takhtah Pul, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, keeping it secret from Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan, detached two infantry regiments and six guns from his own force under cover of darkness and sent them to Takhtah Pul to prevent Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan from freeing his uncle once he got there. Later the two sardars left Shibarghan and went their separate ways, Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan riding towards Takhtah Pul and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, behind him at a more leisurely pace, his anxieties relieved by sending off the above-mentioned force.

Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan approached Takhtah Pul and sent a man into the town to find out whether there was a garrison there or not. If not, he would release Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan and take him back to Kabul. But since the two infantry regiments and the six guns which Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan had sent on ahead were by now stationed in the town, he was unable to achieve his object and so went on to Mazar-i Sharif. There he forcibly relieved the governor of 30,000 tangahs and headed for Tashqurghan where he intended to do the same thing. But the citizens closed the gates of the town and would not let him in. Frustrated, he withdrew from Tashqurghan and rode towards Bamyan, pillaging the people along the route. At Bamyan, he received a farman from Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan ordering him to leave Bamyan immediately and make for Ghaznin to join the royal entourage, which was on its way there to stop Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan who had already marched as far as

Qalat. But Sardar Muhammad Isma'il sent back the excuse that his troops, "the regular infantry and the militia cavalry are demanding a year's salary and will not march with me without it." By farman, Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan apprised Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan of the situation and wrote, "You were right about his deceit and guile and the fruits are now being born."

When Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan arrived in Ghurband, he arrested Colonel Suhrab Khan whom Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan had sent to the amir with 500 horses and various gifts. The colonel, on his way (to Kabul) from Takhtah Pul, had camped next to Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan. Besides taking him into custody, the horses and everything else he had with him were confiscated.

During this, Sardar Zu'l-Faqar Khan and Sardar Salih Muhammad Khan, the younger brothers of Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan who held the governorships of Charikar and Kuhistan, turned their backs on Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan and joined their brother.

As soon as he read the amir's farman Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan sent 2,000 cavalry under the command of Ghulam Muhammad Khan to aid his uncle. He also sent along a message which read, "the true nature of the 'Light of Your Eyes' is going to become even more evident. Do not leave for Ghaznin until I arrive."

But because Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan was approaching, Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan continued onto Ghaznin reaching there before either the sardar's message or his cavalry arrived. And from there he marched on to Aspin by way of Chihil Dukhtaran.

Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan decided to turn off the Mushki road and make his camp at Kichah-i Mursal because of the approach of Amir Muhamad A'zam Khan's army and his choice of Aspin as a camping place. Amir Muhammad A'zam now also made for Kichah-i Mursal via Arzu and Munkar with his regular forces and the tribal (*iljāri*) cavalry contingents from the Andari, Hazarah, and Wardak and from the Ghaznin Tajiks. He camped directly in front of Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan's headquarters and for one month each side remained in its own camp without attempting any action against the other.

SARDAR MUHAMMAD ISMAFIIL KHAN OCCUPIES KABUL⁴¹

Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan arrived in Kuhistan-i Kabul from Ghurband. There the kind of people who were corrupt by nature and always looking for trouble flocked to him and with them he entered Kabul. He besieged Sardar Shams al-Din Khan who was inside the Bala Hisar with a small garrison. After six days, the residents of the Bala Hisar opened negotiations with Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan, something Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, General Amr Allah Khan, and 'Ali 'Askar Khan Kart were helpless to prevent. But they continued to put up a determined resistance until one night Mir A'zam

⁴¹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 97–98.

Shah Khan Kuhistani along with other Kuhistanis assaulted the Burj-i °Uqabin (Eagle Tower) also known as Yak Laghu, the defense of which was the responsibility of Muhammad Rahman Khan Babakr Khayl. Expending considerable effort, Mir A°zam Shah Khan overcame the resistance and occupied the tower. As a consequence, Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, General Amr Allah Khan, and °Ali °Askar Khan were unable to resist further and had to abandon the fight and surrender.

So it happened that Sardar /302/ Muhammad Isma°il Khan marched into the Bala Hisar with his army and imprisoned the three leaders. The wives and children of Amir Muhammad A°zam Khan and Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan were expelled from the Bala Hisar and the coinage and khutbah were again issued in the name of Amir Shayr °Ali Khan. Sardar Muhammad Isma°il Khan now began to take the affairs of Kabul into his grasp.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S MOTHER SENDS A MESSENGER TO HER SON AND THE DEFEAT OF AMIR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN⁴²

The mother of Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan sent her chamberlain (*hājib*), a slave, to inform her son what Sardar Muhammad Isma°il Khan had done and what had happened in Kabul. Meanwhile Amir Muhammad A°zam Khan's army also learned what had transpired in Kabul and little by little defected and joined Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's forces. Deeply troubled by this, Amir Muhammad A°zam Khan held a conference with his army leaders and his brothers to figure out the best course of action. Due to the shortage of rations, which now amounted to only four days worth, with the approval of his advisors he pulled back five of the eight regiments he had and sent them back to Ghaznin there to wait patiently until Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan arrived. The rest of the army, upset by the departure of these five regiments, began muttering among themselves:

our master thinks that just because a few of the troops have defected, that we are all hostile to him and are just waiting the chance to stop serving him. So he intends to leave us here and flee.

Thus at eight o'clock on a night in Jumada al-Sani 1285/ September–October 1868, one year and a few days after he had become amir, his own soldiers suddenly opened fire with cannons and muskets and mutinied. In total confusion, Amir Muhammad A°zam Khan bolted from his tent and mounted his horse intending to flee. At that moment, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan whose mount had not arrived called for a horse and the amir gave him one of his own and together they galloped out of the camp. (Only) some 1,000 troopers of the entire army rode with them. They made their way to Dasht-i Tilkhak Zar and from there, taking the wrong road, entered Bid Mishk. Thence on to Khwat-i

⁴² RM: Cf. *The Life o Abdur Rahman*, 98.

Wardak by way of Gardan Masjid. Bypassing the fortresses of Kuda, the party came to Hazarah-i Buriagi, Jarghi, and Marak (Marg?) and from there proceeded on to Wirs-i Hazarah-i Day Zangi.

Mir Nasir Beg deemed their arrival there a great honor and presented them with several horses as a gift. He, in turn, received a certificate of sincere appreciation (*raqam-i ṣadāqat wa ikhlāṣ*). The group now continued on to Akhdarat, Kirman, Sar Jangal, Qawm-i Abah, and Balkhab pointing their mounts towards Mazar-i Sharif. By the time they reached Balkhab only 130 of the amir's companions remained with him. Among them were Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, General Salih Muhammad Khan, Colonel Mihrab Khan Ishik Aqasi, Muhammad Akbar Khan, Barakat Allah Khan, the commander of the regular cavalry, Mirza ʿAbd al-Khalīq Khan *mustawfi*, Mirza ʿAbd al-Samad Khan, and other regular army people as well as his own (personal) retainers. Everyone else had abandoned him.

Following the flight of Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, his army rioted and plundered the (quartermaster's) stores and in the fray many were killed or wounded. Muhammad Afzal Khan, the son of ʿAli 'Askar Khan Qart (Kart?) was captured by the villagers of Ramak and taken to Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan. The amir at first ordered him executed but then relented at the intercession of Sardar Muhammad ʿAli Khan, son of the late Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan. He stripped him of his banner, drum, and mount and terminated his service.

Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan pursued Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan but was unable to overtake him. He did capture and kill one of the amir's associates, Ghulam Muhammad Khan, in the Sukhtah ʿAla al-Dini district. Otherwise, he returned without having achieved much. Of all Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan's companions, Sardar Ahmad Khan and Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan stayed behind in the Qal^cah-i Shah ʿAli and were rounded up by Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, who took them back to Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan. The latter pardoned them and said nothing more to them about what they had done.

After extinguishing the uproar (that had broken out within Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan's army), Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan reassured the men and enrolled those who were left in his own forces. He then marched on to Ghaznin from where, now in a very commanding position, he moved on to Kabul. /303/

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN LEARNS OF KABUL'S CONQUEST AND AMIR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN'S DEFEAT⁴³

After Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan appointed Nazir Haydar governor of Takhtah Pul, Nazir Jahandar governor of Mazar-i Sharif, and Nanak, a Hindu, governor of Tashqurghan, he marched for Ghaznin hard on the heels of Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan as Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan had instructed him to. En route he fell ill and had to stop. Twenty days later, after recovering, he

⁴³ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 97–99.

continued the march. On the way towards Ay Bik he received word of the fall of Kabul from the messenger his mother had sent. Also at Ay Bik he received a letter from Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan who had escaped to Ghuri and learned of the defeat of Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and that his whereabouts were unknown. By letter, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan then instructed Nazir Haydar Khan, governor of Takhtah Pul, to seek information about the fugitive amir and let him know what he found. The governor then notified him of the amir's arrival in Mazar-i Sharif. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan again sent his governor a farman ordering him to give the amir one lak of rupees and to outfit and equip him with all the horses and weapons he needed. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan himself then turned his reins away from Kabul and Ghaznin and went to Ghuri and there, with Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan wrapped his foot in the skirt of patience. He also sent a letter to General Nasir Khan who had been sent ahead with 2,000 horse and had gotten as far as Qarah Kotal. He described the state of affairs and ordered him to defend the region from wherever he was back to Bajgah and to just below the Dandan Shikan Pass.

Meanwhile Mir Mahmud Shah, whom the late Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan had appointed governor of Badakhshan after Mir Jahandar Shah's flight to Kabul, sent substantial gifts to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. But the latter would not accept them and sent them back out of consideration for Mir Jahandar Shah, a former companion in his travels, as well as his father-in-law. He also sent Mir Mahmud a farman ordering him to hand Badakhshan back to Mir Jahandar Shah and then come to him and tender his allegiance. Otherwise, he should leave Badakhshan for wherever he wanted.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan sent Shihab al-Din Khan and 200 cavalrymen to escort Mir Jahandar Shah who then commenced to take over affairs in Qataghan. He also wrote Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and asked him to come to Ghuri, telling him that after they conferred, he (Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan) would return to Takhtah Pul. But Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan would not come and summoned the sardar to Takhtah Pul. Worried that Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan might march on Turkistan, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan refused to go to Takhtah Pul. Thereupon, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, leaving Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan in charge of Takhtah Pul, rode to Ghuri with a group of sardars and met with Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan.

AMIR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN AND SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN CONFER AND THEIR CAMPAIGN TO GHAZNIN⁴⁴

When Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan arrived in Ghuri, he first rested and then conferred with Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and suggested that their best course would be to lead an army towards Kabul and directly confront Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. However Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan objected citing the problem of the harsh winter and asserting that it was better to fight in the spring.

⁴⁴ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 98–99.

But the amir kept insisting, saying that as long as the sardar postponed his march, "I will follow my own inclination and go to Bukhara." At this, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan felt compelled to agree to the winter campaign. He wrote to General Nasir Khan who was guarding Qarah Kotal and Bajgah with 2,000 men, ordering him to set out immediately for Kahmard and Siqan.

With Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, he himself marched from Ghuri towards Bamyan. After passing through Shaluktu and Badqaq, they joined forces with General Nasir Khan at Kahmard and Siqan and together continued on to Bamyan. They stayed there eighteen days and then continued on to Gardan Diwar.

Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan had assigned 3,000 Herati cavalry to hold the road at that manzil. But as Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan approached, the troopers realized they did not have sufficient forces to resist him and so withdrew and took up new positions at the Unay Pass before the sardar reached them.

Meanwhile Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan, disturbed by the way events were developing, /304/ ordered Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan out to Ghurband with a large force. He himself with a considerable contingent came out of Kabul and made his headquarters at Qal^cah-i Qazi. Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan sent his son, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan from Gardan Diwar to his uncle Sar Faraz Khan Ghilja^ci in Tizin to raise the Ghilja^cis of Kabul and Jalalabad against Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan.

Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan believing that neither he himself nor Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan yet had have the strength to engage Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan in combat, continued on to Nahwar via Sar Talab, Bad Asyab, and Qirghah. From Qirghah they rode on via Abdarrah and Sukhtah camping finally at Bid Mushk of Ghaznin. The governor of Ghaznin, Khuday Nazar Khan Wardak, barred the gates of the city and prepared to defend it against a siege. Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan and his uncle left Bid Mushk and camped at the grave complex (*rawzah*) of Sultan Mahmud (Ghaznavi). Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, who was riding towards Tizin from Gardan Diwar, secretly made his way to Biyaktut, and then, via Kotal-i Khirs, now known as Khayr Khanah, rode into Dih-i Sabz and from there finally to Tizin. When Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan heard of his arrival there, he sent a farman to Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan who had been sent to Ghurband but was still in Kuhistan, ordering him to pursue Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan with his four infantry regiments, his artillery, and the militia cavalry and, if possible, to take him into custody so that he would not create an uprising in that region.

Arriving in Tizin, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan surrounded Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan at Sar Faraz Khan's fort. Intending to deceive, Sar Faraz Khan opened negotiations with Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan and the two agreed that he would expel Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan from his fort on condition that Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan pull back one manzil so that Muhammad Sarwar could safely escape.

Intuitively, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan realized that Sar Faraz Khan

was trying to dupe him but outwardly he consented to the terms and pulled back one manzil. But then, keeping his movements secret, he had each of his infantrymen mount up behind a cavalryman and then they rode as fast as possible through the night back to Tizin where he began to raid and plunder the district. Afraid they would be taken prisoner, Sar Faraz Khan and Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan now fled.

Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan returned to Kuhistan by the route he had come, making off with the money and possessions of the people of Tizin. Now, because Amir Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan and Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan had reached Ghaznin, he was relieved of any anxiety about Turkistan and so rejoined Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan at Qal[◦]ah-i Qazi.

Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan now sent Na[◦]ib Muhammad [◦]Alam Khan, his *nawkar*, with some other experienced retainers and a few troops to Bamyan to create trouble there and perhaps cause an uprising in Turkistan that would dislodge Amir Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan and Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan from their base there and force them to abandon the struggle. So the na[◦]ib set off for Bamyan. First he worked to win over the Hazarabs and then, in league with their mirs, he began to spread sedition in Turkistan.

AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN'S CAMPAIGN TOWARDS GHAZNIN AND THE BATTLE OF SHASH GAW⁴⁵

After sending Na[◦]ib Muhammad [◦]Alam Khan to Bamyan, Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan decamped for Ghaznin. When he reached the manzil of Lurah, a cubit (*zar*) of snow fell in one storm, covering the mountaintops and flanks with a mantle of ice. The cold was so severe that one could even say that the living, with each breath, envied the dead, for the dead felt no pain. In such conditions, Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan sent out some 10,000 horsemen to seize the possessions and livestock of Amir Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan and Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan's army who in turn had just gone to the forts belonging to the Wardak people and had returned with loads of provisions.

As the 10,000 horsemen approached, Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan who was standing atop a hill just to the north of Ghaznin which overlooked Sultan Mahmud's *rawżah* happened to be scanning the countryside with a telescope when he noticed that Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan's men had gotten very close. So he dispatched 2,000 men to defend those transporting the supplies. These men quickly galloped out to confront Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan's force. /305/ Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan's troopers opened fire with the four mule guns they had targeting them with their shells and both sides began shelling each other. The infantry escorting the supply convoy also opened fire and between the two of them (the escort infantry and the 2,000 horsemen sent out by Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan) they managed to disperse Amir Shayr [◦]Ali Khan's contingent. In the course of the fight, Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan's men drew their swords

⁴⁵ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 100–101.

and charged the enemy. They killed many and captured a number of horses. The survivors were thoroughly routed and many were taken prisoner. The sardar's cavalry then made a triumphant return to base.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan placed the prisoners under guard inside a saray next to Sultan Mahmud's grave complex. Two days after the incident, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan was ordered by Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan to take the offensive. He set out from Shash Gaw at night with 11,000 cavalrymen and passed the camp of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan without their being aware of it. He then lay in ambush at Aspin Dah and Nani.

However, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan did get wind of his movements when he sent out some men to gather intelligence. They discovered the places where Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan was hiding and informed Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan who then dispatched a force of 2,000 cavalry, six horse-drawn batteries, six mule guns, two regular infantry regiments and five banners of *khāṣṣah-dārs*. At dawn's first light they came upon the place where the enemy was hiding and attacked without warning. Completely confused by the shouts of the attackers, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan awoke from sleep, found himself beset on all sides by sword and cannon and just managed to escape with a few of his horse and foot soldiers. He reached Muqr and safety, having somewhat disgraced himself, with only 200 horsemen.. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's cavalry returned in triumph to camp and were applauded and congratulated.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN ADDRESSES A LETTER TO AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN'S ARMY AND NA'IB MUHAMMAD FIALAM KHAN'S CONQUEST OF TURKESTAN⁴⁶

After Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan fled, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman devised a scheme to introduce dissension into Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's army. He wrote an open letter to the amir's soldiers telling them to defect and come over to his side for which each one would be rewarded according to his rank. They replied in writing,

We are not happy with Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and for that reason we are serving Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. Were it not for the fact that he was with you, we would certainly come and serve you.

The sardar showed Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan what they had written and warned him about his behavior.

After this, the two sides spent eleven days in their respective camps causing each other no trouble.

Meantime, Na[']ib Muhammad ^cAlam Khan who, as earlier mentioned, had arrived in Bamyan and was now engaged in spreading sedition into Turkestan,

⁴⁶ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 101.

rode out of Bamyan with some *īljārī* men and the Hazarah mirs and entered Ghuri. The people there offered him their allegiance and he proceeded on towards Balkh.

Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and Nazir Haydar Khan learned of his approach and sent out a force to stop him. The two sides met in the vicinity of Tashqurghan and skirmished. During the fray, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's army surrendered to Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan, dipping its colors and joining his side. When he witnessed what had happened, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan fled to Takhtah Pul. From there, seeing no hope of resisting, he departed for Bukhara. The sons of Khuday Nazar Wardak whom Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan had imprisoned at Takhtah Pul now took the to escape from jail. They broke into Nazir Haydar's house and killed him. Nazir Jan Dad Khan heard the news and came to Takhtah Pul. In retaliation for the murder of Nazir Haydar he put the sons of Khuday Nazar Wardak to death.

Somewhat later, Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan occupied Takhtah Pul, captured Nazir Jan Dad Khan, and sent him in chains to Kabul. He then took control of Turkistan's affairs and got down to the business of administering the region. /306/

*THE BATTLE OF ZANAH KHAN AND THE FLIGHT OF AMIR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN AND SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN*⁴⁷

While Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan was subduing Turkistan, Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan, who had camped with the army at the Sultan Mahmud grave complex, conferred with Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan about battle tactics and advised that he assault the fort at Zanah Khan where the *khāṣṣah-dārs* of Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan were stationed so as to upset and confuse matters for the amir.

But Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, first because of the deep snow and biting cold and then because Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan's camp was close to Zanah Khan while his was far away, argued against his uncle's plan. But eventually, because of the latter's continued insistence, he set out. At evening he approached the fort and surrounded the *khāṣṣah-dārs* within. Although he tried to persuade them to turn from ignorance to obedience, they refused, so he began to shell the fort. When night came and darkness fell, he was no nearer his goal and had to spend the night in the snow without a fire. He assigned General Nasir Khan to take five infantry regiments, twenty-four guns, twenty banners of *khāṣṣah-dārs* and 4,000 regular cavalry to secure certain mountain roads and other strategic points. He also decided upon the site for the next day's fighting and sent a messenger back to the main army asking for help. He wanted Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan to come with 1,000 regular cavalry, 500 Tashqurghani irregulars under the command of Mir Sultan Murad Khan, three infantry regiments, and eighteen horsedrawn guns.. In his message he urged Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan to

⁴⁷ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 101–105.

make haste and reach Zanah Khan before sunrise.

But it was so cold that Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan did not immediately leave camp, deciding instead to depart at dawn. For similar reasons, General Nasir Khan did not set up strong defensive positions and failed to emplace his guns as the sardar had instructed. Nor did he exercise due vigilance so that early the next morning, when Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan marched from Shash Gaw towards Zanah Khan, General Nasir Khan was still deep in the sleep of negligence and stupefied from imbibing the wine of carelessness. It was only when the amir's force came near that the general became aware of it and sent a rider to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan apprising him of the situation. The sardar quickly rode to the top of a hill accompanied by forty horsemen. There he saw the guns and the munitions unattended by guards or artillerymen. Nor were there any draft horses nearby. He asked General Nasir Khan to explain himself and received the reply that he had given the regular infantry and the artillerymen permission to return to camp because of the extreme cold. The two men were occupied in this discussion, had not yet readied the guns, and their men were milling aimlessly about when Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan arrived on the scene, seized all the hilltops, and opened fire on the 3,000 regular cavalrymen stationed at the foot of these hills. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's army was thrown into total disarray. Seeing no hope of facing up to the hail of shot, the sardar's army pulled back. When they saw this retreat, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman's personal cavalry also decided to run away and, except for ten men, did so. Three hundred of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's cavalrymen followed in hot pursuit, galloping past Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan in their assault on the fugitives. He threw in his lot with the pursuers who in the excitement of the chase could not tell if it was Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan who rode with them or their own leader. The sardar (eventually) managed to disengage himself from Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's riders and rejoin some of his own men who had regrouped and were looking for him. He then retrieved his defeated cavalry from every nook and cranny and reassembled it into a respectable force again. Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's men then gave up the chase and returned to camp.

After the return of the amir's men, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and his troops slowly rode away and rejoined Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan who had remained unaware of what was going on. As word of the disaster spread, the horsemen in Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan's entourage began to disperse until he was left with only 300.

In these circumstances, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan asked his uncle about the forty chests of *tilā* coins which were in his baggage. He was dumbfounded when he heard him reply that he did not know where they were.

Meanwhile, a large body of pursuing horsemen made an appearance. As a result, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan decided to retreat with the horsemen still with him. /307/ Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan crossed an ice-choked river with four riders and got himself to safety. Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's cavalry attacked the stragglers, killing many of them and making off with a sizeable quantity of

possessions and valuables belonging to Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. Some of the fugitives who escaped the edge of the blade, rejoined Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman and his uncle. Together with 500 regular and irregular horse and some other retainers as well as ^cAbd al-Rahim Khan they made their way to Sar-i Rawzah by way of Zurmat.

The inhabitants of Sar-i Rawdah thought they were the enemy and put up a resistance. But when they realized who they were, they apologized, offered food, a copper ewer and a cup and sold them a waterpipe (*qalyān*).

The money and goods which Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan had abandoned and which fell into Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's hands were estimated at 80,000 *misqāls* of Bukharan-struck *tilās*, 20,000 *rāt* (?) struck *tilās*, 20,000 *misqāls* of gold bullion (unminted), eleven laks of Kabuli (silver) rupees, five laks of Qunduzi rupees, the latter of which is equivalent to the English *kallah-dār* ("sovereign-faced") rupee, 10,000 "robes of honor" (*khilāts*) made from pieces of fine fabric, 1,000 camels as well as tents and other things, many arms, cannons, and muskets, and several thousand horses and mules, and the ammunition. Beyond what the government expropriated (and recorded) much was also lost to theft and was never tallied. Many of the followers of the two men were casualties of the fight or taken prisoner.

At the end of Ramazan 1285/mid-January 1869, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan had achieved a total victory. One of the prisoners, Mirza ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, a physician who himself had been wounded, was brought to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan who ordered him treated; the rest were imprisoned.

Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan meantime pursued Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan as far as Kichah-i Mursal but did not find the two men. He did however come upon General Nasir Khan and asked him what his intentions were. The general answered,

I am trying to rejoin my lord (*aghā*) as one of his "salt-eaters" and to serve him while he is in exile. If I turned back, I would certainly be put to death at the hands of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. But you who are his brother, what harm could you possibly fear from him that would lead you along the path of disappointment into the valley of disloyal conduct?

Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan ignored what the general was saying but asked the Jalalzaⁱ khan to ride with him and show him the way. He was ready to follow Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan as far as Katawaz and join them. But fearing what Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan might do, the khan apologized and refused. Without guide or provisions, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan was forced to go to the village of Kandar.

He stopped at the house of Akhund Mishkin Andari, better known as Mushk-i ^cAlam, from which he sent a message to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, apologizing and seeking pardon for his misdeeds. The amir assigned ^cIsmat Allah Khan, his maternal uncle, to go to him, reassure him, and bring him back

of his own accord.

On the third day after the victory, the amir himself turned toward Kabul, leaving Shash Gaw. Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan meantime, on the heels of his apology headed for the amir's army, taking the akhund with him as intercessor. At Dasht-i Tilkhak Zar, he sent the akhund home because of his frail condition, proceeded on without an intercessor and at Dahanah-i Shayr met up with ⁴⁸Ismat Allah Khan who had been sent by the amir to see him. Once ⁴⁸Ismat Allah Khan had set his mind at rest, he joined Amir Shayr ⁴⁸Ali Khan at the manzil of Haydar Khayl.

With full pomp and ceremony, Amir Shayr ⁴⁸Ali Khan made a triumphal entry into Kabul and performed the ⁴⁸Id al-Fitr prayer in the capital. He also paid his respects to the prominent leaders of Kabul. One of his first acts was to deal with Nazir Jahandad Khan whom Na'ib ⁴⁸Alam Khan had arrested for the murder of Khuday Nazar Khan's sons and sent in chains to Kabul, as noted above. The amir handed him over to Khuday Nazar who, in retaliation for the death of his sons, killed him.

THE ADVENTURES OP AMIR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN AND SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN EN ROUTE FROM SAR RAWZAH TO DAWAR⁴⁸

After acquiring the services of a guide named Amir Muhammad at Sar Rawzah, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ⁴⁸Abd al-Rahman Khan arrived in Farmal (Barmal). People there wanted to seize their horses and weapons and opened fire on the party, forcing it to withdraw. Through smoking his water pipe, lassitude afflicted Sardar ⁴⁸Abd al-Rahman Khan's limbs and he was left behind. When he regained his senses, the rest of the party /308/ was nowhere to be seen. In some confusion, he mounted his horse and eventually caught up with the others. They made camp in a ravine. When they lit a fire to warm themselves the people who had been shooting at them spotted the flames and ceased their attack.

At that moment forty men from the Kharuti people of Sar Rawzah who had been alerted by the sound of the Farmali's gunfire, were led to the camp by the light of the fires and escorted the party to their own forts. The group spent the night enjoying the hospitality traditional to these people. The next morning, a new guide was hired and they proceeded to a fort named Purkati. There they had tea and then resumed their journey. But because of all the narrow trails which crisscrossed each other, leading off in every direction, and with no sign as to which was the path they wanted, they got lost. Eventually, someone came out of the hills and joined them and they learned that he had once worked for Sardar ⁴⁸Abd al-Rahman Khan's father. In consideration of the favors he had earlier received, he offered his services as their guide. Meantime, three of the men who had been earlier left behind now caught up with the party and told them that an army was hard on their heels. This thoroughly frightened Amir Muhammad

⁴⁸ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 105–109.

A^czam Khan and some others and they panicked and ran. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and about forty others were not frightened, however, and they proceeded on without being unduly alarmed. This group included: ^cAbd al-Rahim Khan, Parwanah Khan, Sardar ^cAbd Allah Khan, Jan Muhammad Khan, Faramarz Khan, Sayyid Mu^{min} Khan, Muhammad Bashir Khan, Ahmad Khan *risālah-dār*, Muhammad Allah Khan *risālah-dār*, Haydar Khan Tukhi, Mir ^cAlam Khan *jamā'ah-dār*, Commandant Najib Allah Khan the grandson of Sardar Jahan Khan, Nasir ^cAli Khan, Colonel Mihrab Khan, and twenty-six other army men. Shortly ten men on foot appeared intending, evidently, to make off with some of the party's goods. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman's men turned and fired on them killing five and driving off the other five. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's party waited a little while, and, then, not seeing anyone else following them, continued on their way. Somewhat farther along, near a pool, they overtook the rest of the group which had panicked and ran and informed them of what had happened.

Later, after climbing to the top of some heights, they noticed that some 200 men, the group to which the five they had shot belonged, had blocked the road ahead of them. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, taking three hundred men dismounted and undertook to disperse them. He ordered 200 of his men to ascend the hillsides on both sides of the spot occupied by the 200 enemy while he advanced head on with the other 100 men. His intent was to bring the position under fire from three directions. They were thus able to rout the ambushers and continue on their way. Having ridden a bit farther, they saw the forts of the Waziri people located in Marghah. Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, who had a long-standing acquaintance with the maliks there, wrote a few letters notifying them of his arrival and sent them off with the guide. The leaders of Marghah, accompanied by 100 riders, came out to welcome him. Behind the first rank of welcomers came 1,000 more men on foot beating drums and shouting words of greeting. The amir's party stopped there for two days as guests. In view of the generous hospitality, the amir and sardar wanted to recompense the maliks with some of the 200 gold pieces which ^cAbd Allah Khan had with him for food and supplies. But the maliks would accept nothing.

The entourage then proceeded on to the next manzil where they tried to buy provisions with the gold, which was all the money that they had with them. But the residents did not recognize the coins and refused to accept them, asking for rupees instead. Since they had no rupees they were delayed for a considerable time until it was discovered that one of the soldiers, a man named Shayr Jan, had 1,000 rupees with him. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan asked him to exchange his rupees for the gold *tilās*. But he refused and said, "I'm not going to give up my rupees for *tilās* in a place where *tilās* are not accepted." The sardar became angry and took the rupees from him by force, giving him 100 *tilās* in return. He then bought food, they spent the night, and the next day continued to the house of Adam Khan Waziri, who received them with respect and conducted them on to their next stopping place, the house of the elder (*kadkhudā*) of a tribe which was affiliated with Adam Khan Waziri. The elder also considered their arrival a

great honor. From then on they could find their own way and gave the two men, who objected to leaving them, permission to return home. The party now entered the district of Dawar which is located on the border of Afghanistan. There near the boundaries of Bannu and Daman they stopped at a fort and spent a few days. Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, who as mentioned above, had escaped from Tizin now joined them. /309/

**SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN SENDS A MAN TO BANNU AND
DAMAN TO BUY SUPPLIES⁴⁹**

After Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, along with General ^cAli ^cAskar Khan, Mu^caz Allah Khan Barakzaⁱ and forty horsemen, joined up with them, they all celebrated the ^cId al-Fitr. For the holiday, they passed out sweets and *langī* cloth to the people of Dawar. Then Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan handed over the last 100 of his gold *tilās* to Colonel Mihrab Khan and Commandant Najib Allah Khan and sent them to Bannu and Daman to buy necessities. At that point, the two sardars and the amir who had 600 horsemen but no supplies had not a rupee between them. Then as luck would have it, Riza Gul, a *nawkar* of ^cAbd al-Rahim Khan, who had taken 2,000 *tilās* belonging to his master and left Kabul to serve the amir, arrived on foot with blistered feet and handed over the gold. He refused to accept a mount and insisted on returning on foot to his master's house. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan sold the gold in the Dawar bazaar getting 20,000 rupees for it. He used that sum to buy supplies for a journey.

Meantime two letters arrived, one from the governor of Peshawar, the other from the governor of Bannu. The letters told them to come to Bannu and Peshawar from wherever they were. In response to both letters, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan wrote, "If we are not forced across the Indus, then we will, of course, come. Otherwise, we won't be able to." He put his seal on the letters and asked Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan to do the same. But the sardar refused reminding his uncle of the contempt and unfriendliness which the English had showed him in 1281, which corresponds to the year 1865. He told him that he ought to write, "Since we can place no hopes in your government, we will not come." His uncle still tried to persuade him to affix his seal and finally in a fit of pique, he smashed his seal and sent back this verbal message, 'The government of Great Britain, because it has befriended our enemies, is now our enemy for the friend of an enemy is an enemy.'

Following dispatch of the amir's note and the sardar's verbal remarks, the two men stayed another eight days at Dawar and then departed for Kan-i Kuram. There the two men who had gone off to purchase provisions rejoined them. After they had been there five days, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman came down with a high fever forcing them to spend another seventeen days there. Then, though he was still feverish, they moved on to Wanah. While at Wanah, the sardar fully recovered and three days after their arrival they crossed the Kumal River. On the

⁴⁹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 109–112.

opposite bank of the river they stopped to have tea and there were approached by a young girl of the Taraki people of Muqur who had been taken captive as a child by the Waziri. She related the tale of her capture and asked to accompany them. Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan reassured her that they would get her back to her own people. Taking her with them they proceeded on to the district of the Suryani people. At Kuh-i Kansi they dismounted. Up to this point about 300 men remained with the party while the others, given permission to return home, rode off towards Bannu and Daman.

At Kuh-i Kansi, the amir and sardar bought a sheep, four goats, three chickens, and some rice from one of the households and, with some difficulty, passed the night there.

*THE ADVENTURES OF AMIR MUHAMMAD A'FIZAM KHAN AND SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN AMONG THE KAKAR PEOPLE*⁵⁰

The next morning the two men left Kuh-i Kansi and stopped in the Kakar district at a place called Zhub. Because of the barrenness of the previous manzil, they deemed it necessary to bake and pack plenty of fried bread (*nān-i rawghanīn*) so as to always have a two-day supply on hand. They then continued on to the Barich district whose people offered various provisions for sale. But since the entourage had no pack animals, they bought nothing and the owners of the goods, having displayed their wares (to no avail) went home that night. To avoid any conflicts, Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan strictly forbade his men from laying a finger on any of the goods. The next morning the owners returned, saw their goods untouched, muttered imprecations, again went home this time taking their goods with them. /310/ They (the amir, sardar, and their men) again set and traveled only one farsang when they saw 2,000 men barricading the road ahead of them and waiting for them. One of them seized the reins of Amir Muhammad A'zam's horse and tried to prevent him from passing. Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan placed the muzzle of his gun against the man's chest. In fear of his life, the man let go of the reins. When queried as to why they were blocking the road, they told them that it was the custom to collect a tax of twenty English rupees from anyone who wanted to pass. They began to press forward in a menacing way. But although Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan was willing to hand over the thousand rupees, Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman argued against it on the grounds that news of it would spread and they would be faced by the same kind of extortion at every manzil. He prepared to fight but when the highwaymen saw that things were turning out differently than they had expected, they stood aside and let the entourage pass safely.

At the next manzil a shaykh wearing the garb of a pious mendicant approached, begging bowl (*kashkūl*) in hand, and sat down next to the amir. Two of his followers who had come ahead on behalf of the leader of the tribe sat down in the majlis and began extolling him. Ten disciples meanwhile stood

⁵⁰ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 112–121.

around the majlis. Under questioning they revealed that the shaykh was a direct descendant of the Prophet (a sayyid). Hearing the word 'sayyid,' Amir Muhammad A^zam Khan kissed the man's hand and sat at his side. It was Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman's habit to give out one to ten rupees at every stopping place to find out what was going on in that particular place. Here too he gave someone ten rupees and asked him about the shaykh. The man told him, "The shaikh is a well-known thief with 200 bandits under his control, forty of whom are present here." The sardar relayed this to his uncle but he gave it no credit.

He told his son, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, to treat the shaykh well, entertain him as his guest, and show every courtesy and kindness. That night when the horses were led to the cistern to be watered, the followers of the shaykh gathered and tried to stop them. Using guile, the sardar managed to get 100 of his own horses watered and to carry an adequate amount of water back to the camp. Fifty head belonging to the amir and his son were prevented from getting water until the shaykh himself stood up and obtained the amir's permission to water his horses. Then with the amir's men each taking the reins of two horses, the shaykh led them back to the cistern. While some of the men stood holding the horses, others began drawing water from the cistern. With the amir's men thus engaged, the shaykh seized the opportunity and had his men attack. Five of the amir's retainers were wounded and the thieves got away with thirty horses. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan spent the night reminding his uncle what he had told him about the shaykh and of his refusal to heed his nephew's words. The next morning, the amir's *nawkars* who had lost their mounts were forced to pair up and ride double.

Ten days later they stopped at a fort belonging to the Kakar people. There they purchased sheep and supplies. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan bought a fat-tailed sheep from its owner for ten rupees and gave the word to have it slaughtered. When they had taken the sheep off for slaughter, its owner reappeared, returned the ten rupees, and went off to retrieve his sheep. But before he reached the abattoir, the sheep had already been killed. So he came back to the sardar and angrily and discourteously demanded that he restore his sheep to life. The sardar responded, "Only God has the power to revive your sheep." He gave the man his money and told him to take his slaughtered sheep as well. But the man, out of stupidity, would not leave and kept insisting that the sardar bring his sheep back to life. Hoping to get rid of this imbecile, the sardar devised a ploy and said to him, "If you are speaking to me, why do you keep insulting this akhund here?" A mulla from that village who happened to be seated nearby heard this, cursed the man, and the two began to fight, punching each other in the head and face. Half the people of the village sided with the mulla, half with the owner of the sheep, and a full-scale battle erupted until the village elders called a truce and separated the two sides. During the fracas, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and his aides took the opportunity to take both the sheep and the money, which had been dropped on the ground, and go about their own business.

Later, the owner of the sheep brought Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman two bowls of yoghurt, two trays of bread, and a roasted lamb and apologized for what had happened. /311/ He told the sardar, “The cause of it all was the trouble I suffered at the hands of Sardar Muhamad Sarwar Khan while he was governor of Qandahar. I am not as stupid and ignorant as to ask anyone to perform the work of God.”

To return to our story, the sardar’s party left that village the next day. On the road, the wind blew so hard that the going was very difficult. As they neared a stopping place, a man came out to them on behalf of Shah Jahan and Dust Muhammad, two first cousins who were the leaders of the tribal group there. The man announced that Sardar Amir Khan, who was known by the name Shah Jahan, was coming out to meet them and that it was obligatory that they dismount when he arrived and shake hands with him. After the emissary had passed this information on to them, Shah Jahan soon arrived riding a mare and presenting a very strange appearance. The clanging of bells tied to his horse’s knees caused Amir Muhammad A‘zam Khan’s mount to shy and kick. Amir Muhammad A‘zam Khan asked Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan to do something to calm his horse but the sardar cagily (jokingly?) replied, “Between two amirs my words are of little account. But if you give me a present I’ll do something.” The amir promptly gave him his sword. Thereupon the sardar, on the pretext of going on ahead with Shah Jahan and preparing a feast, led Shah Jahan away from his uncle and rode towards the fort. Some distance on, the sardar directed him to go on to his house, telling him, “I’m going to go back and get some utensils and lump sugar and then I’ll catch up.” When Shah Jahan heard the word “sugar,” he continued on his way in high spirits. The sardar and his uncle then slowly wended their way to his fort where they dismounted. They looked for Shah Jahan and found him in wretched straw hut. The sardar asked him, “Why have we come? You are not prepared for guests.” He responded, “I am prepared. I have instructed that a wild goat be brought, a pot for cooking it obtained from the village, and wood brought down from the mountain. Tomorrow at noon everything will be ready.” The amir and sardar then got some provisions from another fort and passed the night there. They inquired about Shah Jahan and learned that he was the padishah and lord (*sāhib ikhtiyār*) of the people of the region.

At the time of their departure, Shah Jahan appeared and assured them that his cousin, Dust Muhammad, lived at their next stopping place and they could certainly stop at his house. But they wanted to go via another route and they took Shah Jahan with them as a guide. One manzil farther along they came to the foot of a mountain. The following day they entered a mountain valley and reached some uninhabited ruins where they camped. Here this Dust Muhammad appeared on the scene with 2,000 men and took up a position at the head of the valley with the apparent aim of harassing them. He sent a message asking why they had one of his enemies with them as a guide. “You must hand him over to me and then come to my house. Otherwise, I will do whatever I want.”

He also ordered a number of his men to steal as much as they could of the

amir and sardar's possessions.. But when they tried to raid the party, two of his people were shot dead and the rest fled. Shah Jahan, now afraid that they might hand him over to Dust Muhammad, escaped into the mountains. The entourage, which had only enough food for that night and had already eaten it, decided not to stay the night there but to move on. They persuaded Shah Jahan to return and again set off with him as guide.. By the next morning they had reached the summit of the pass but, despite the bitter cold, they did not pause there but kept going until they came to a deserted village. There Shah Jahan was given leave to return home. He did not enjoy good relations with the inhabitants of the vacated village, who were now in their winter quarters, and was afraid they might come and kill him. Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan rode on to the winter quarters of the people of that village. At sunset they drew rein. The villagers, thinking they were an enemy, blocked passage through the valley with 2,000 men and opened fire on them as they approached. But following inquiries, they realized with whom they were dealing and came out to welcome them. With much ceremony they escorted the party into their winter quarters. The party was entertained for two days and then proceeded on towards Fushanj.

There they learned that the governor of Fushanj had collected 40,000 rupees in tax revenues but had not yet sent them off to Qandahar. Except for five *nawkars* he had no one else with him. So Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan with his uncle's approval, went to the governor's office (*mahkamah*) to seize the money. However, thanks to some of Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan's own *nawkars* who had defected to the governor, he discovered what was afoot and during the night summoned 400 men to come and defend him. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan was forced to return to camp empty-handed.

From Fushanj, the entourage next arrived in Kariz-i Wazir where it stopped for two days. The sayyids of Fushanj came to meet with them, extended greetings and then returned to their homes.

Continuing on, the amir and sardar next arrived at the manzil of Aghbarak and then, covering two manzils in one day's march, /312/ reached Nushki on the border of Baluchistan. During this stretch of the trip, they endured a good deal of hardship because of heavy rains. Wet clothes combined with cold weather made it difficult to talk coherently and their hands went numb. Eventually they were able to light fires and restore themselves to normal. Two days after arriving in Nushki, they hired 300 camels to carry food and water and decided to push on.

*THE ADVENTURES OF AMIR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN AND SARDAR
FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN IN NUSHKI, CHAHGI, AND SISTAN⁵¹*

On the third day after their arrival they left Nushki for Chahgi via the desert route and approached Chahgi after traversing ten manzils. Because of copious

⁵¹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 121–123.

rain, they had not been in need of water while traveling through the desert. In fact at the last manzil flooding had blocked the road and forced them to dismount and wade, with considerable difficulty, through knee-deep mud. At their camping place, the animals were so exhausted that after straw had been put down for them only Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman's horse, an Arabian from the stables of the Amir-i Kabir, could still stand. In near total fatigue, the sardar cooked up some kebab, served some to three of his companions and ate a little himself. The party remained there for two days, unable to move on, and forced to drink the fetid flood water which stood in stagnant pools. On the third day they arrived in Chahgi and stayed in the straw-covered houses of the people there. For fifteen days, the head of the district would not come to see them for he had only five people with him, the rest being off in summer quarters. At the end of that time he informed them he was coming out to see them. With 500 men whom he had summoned back from the summer quarters (*yaylaq*) as well as two dancing boys and a musical instrument common in that area, he put on a rather disreputable and uncivilized reception.

After another ten days during which the horses regained their strength on good feed, the amir and sardar hired 200 camels to carry flour and barley and left for Palalak. They travelled for six days along the Helmand River and then made camp among the people of Sardar Shah Gul Khan Baluch. At first, afraid that they were horsemen sent by Amir ^oAlam Khan Qa'in to harass and attack them, Sardar Shah Gul Khan's people fled and hid. The amir and the sardar found two frail old men who had been left behind and with their help went to where the people were hiding. Sardar Shah Gul Khan himself came forward and received assurances and was put at ease. He then devoted himself to the duties of a host. At midnight two of his spies whom he had sent to gather information on the moves of the amir of Qa'in now brought word that the Sistani cavalry was approaching and would arrive the following day. When he heard this news, Shah Gul Khan sought Amir Muhammad A^ozam Khan's agreement to move to another place he felt was safe. Amir Muhammad A^ozam Khan conferred with Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan who gave his approval and said, "Everyone knows his own business best."

So at dawn Shah Gul Khan departed with possessions, livestock, and his people, leaving the amir and sardar with one of his people who knew the roads. The following evening, they followed Shah Gul Khan's trail led by their guide. Just as they were about to rejoin Shah Gul Khan, the cavalry of the amir of Qa'in appeared. Amir Muhammad A^ozam Khan took his nawkars and joined Shah Gul Khan while Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan prepared to hold off the cavalry force and took a position a cannon-shot away from the Sistanis. The Sistanis approached, 1,000 horsemen in front with another 600 bringing up the rear. They knew Shah Gul Khan's men were not mounted and so stopped short when they saw Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan's riders. They sent a man forward and when he discovered that the mounted troops were Afghans, the leader then came forward. He and the sardar dismounted, shook hands, and sat down on a carpet that had been untied from the saddle, unrolled, and spread out.

Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan now also came forward, at a sign from his nephew, and sat down with them. The Sistani cavalry were entertained by the amir and sardar and then Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan rode back with them to where he and the sardar had spent the previous night. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan meanwhile rejoined Shah Gul Khan and sent food to the Sistanis. At that each side retired to its own camp for the night. /313/

*THE ADVENTURES OF AMIR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN AND SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN IN SISTAN AND THEIR ARRIVAL IN BIRJAND*⁵²

The next day the cavalry commander sent a man to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan with this message:

Since Shah Gul Khan and his people, thanks to your fortuitous arrival here, have secured themselves from attack and as we are returning to our base at Du Kuhah, Shah Gul Khan should accompany us there and then return home so that we may take back an apology for his oppression to the Amir of Qa'in and to Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan concurred with the message and wanted Shah Gul Khan to go off with the Sistanis. But his sister was very distressed about having him go off with the Sistanis and began to cry. To placate her, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan remained with the Baluchis as bond to guarantee Shah Gul Khan's safe return. He sent Shah Gul Khan off for the guarantee period of five days to Du Kuhah along with a message to Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, who was accompanying the Sistanis, telling him to make sure that the Baluchi leader was returned within the appointed time. But Shah Gul Khan stayed seven days and his sister and fellow tribesmen became very anxious. They demanded that Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, his guarantor, get him back. Although the sardar told them, "You'll have to let me go so that I can bring him back," they refused to do so. The confrontation led to open conflict. Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman ordered half of his 200 cavalrymen to open fire on the Baluchis and the other half to charge. About 300 of Shah Gul's people decided to attack the Afghans. At this, their wives abandoned the livestock and their belongings and fled into the hills with the children. The men too, eventually decided not to fight and followed their wives.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan loaded up 200 of their camels with his goods and departed. Seeing this, the (Baluchi) tribesmen were ashamed and came back to express their regrets and apologies for the incident. Moreover, they agreed to deliver the excellent sardar's goods to Sistan in return for retrieving their camels. The sardar went on to Du Kuhah and the Sistani camp taking several of the camel drivers with him. He inquired about Shah Gul Khan and learned that

⁵² RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 123–126.

he was in chains and under guard in the custody of Khan Baba Khan, the son of Mulla Yusuf Khan, the *sartīp-i hazārah sālār*, of the Qa'ini and Hazarах cavalry.

Because of his Afghan code of honor, Sardar ՚Abd al-Rahman Khan went to Khan Baba Khan. The latter emerged from his tent to greet the sardar. While still mounted the sardar leaned down, shook his hand, and asked about Shah Gul Khan. Told that he was inside the tent, the sardar called him out and then turned to Khan Baba Khan and asked why he was being held in custody. The answer was, "I intend to take him to Amir ՚Alam Khan (the amir of Qa'in)." At this, the felicitous sardar became angry and said,

He came to you under my guarantee, not for you to take him prisoner by force. Moreover, he is a subject of Afghanistan, not a tax-payer to Iran whom you can simply carry off to the amir of Qa'in on the grounds of disobedience and refusal to pay taxes.

The sardar continued to remonstrate with Khan Baba Khan and since the latter considered the sardar his guest he could not respond and instead freed Shah Gul Khan. The sardar returned him to his sister that evening with an escort of ten of the sardar's horsemen and so discharged his obligation as guarantor. Three days later the ten riders rejoined him. He then continued his journey, now with a Sistani escort. Two days after leaving Du Kuhah, the party camped on the banks of the Helmand. At the time they left Du Kuhah, Khan Baba Khan had secretly sent out 700 cavalrymen to raid the Barichi (people) who were subordinate to Qandahar and lived in Palalak.

At dawn's first light, the troopers attacked a fort manned by fifteen (Barichi) families. The latter put up a strong resistance killing fifty of the attackers and wounding more than 100. Just at this moment, Barichi men from 4,000 households living along the Helmand River who had heard the sounds of gunfire arrived to join the fight.

Meantime, Sardar ՚Abd al-Rahman Khan had left somewhat later than the Sistani escort and proceeded rather slowly along the route. He was the last to reach the camping place and there saw the Sistani cavalry who had broken off the fight (with the Barichi) and were now sitting around the campfire and talking about it. They had not even bothered to set up their tents. As he thought about this, an idea came to him. He asked Amir Muhammad A՚zam Khan to join him and then, when he walked in on the gathering, he saw that the Sistanis were somewhat downcast and asked the reason why. When they told him about the encounter with the Barichi /314/ he became very upset and ordered Khan Baba Khan, who was the architect of the whole affair and who had also angered Sardar ՚Abd al-Rahman Khan by his treatment of Shah Gul Khan, taken out and flogged. Khan Baba Khan's own attendants seized him and dragged him out.

Later on, the sardar himself went to see the dead and wounded. He bolstered the morale of the survivors with talk of revenge. That evening, with the Sistani cavalrymen on foot and without cannons or assault ladders he led them towards

the fort on a mission of revenge.

When they closed in on the fort, they were stopped momentarily by a deep and wide moat. The sardar sent a man to talk to the defenders in the hope of finding some way around the problem. The emissary invited them to surrender and when they learned that it was Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan who had sent the messenger, they admitted him into the fort and told him that the whole episode had come about simply because of Khan Baba Khan's imprudence and for no other reason. Thereupon, three of the defenders came out to see Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan. They expressed regrets to the Sistani force and at the sardar's recommendation the fortress and its defenders were left alone and the others returned to their camp.

From there the sardar proceeded on his way. During the two days of marching through the territory of these people (the Barichi), the Sistani cavalry were fired on whenever they approached a settlement. Much less would the people provide food (to the Sistanis) until finally Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan bought food in their own names which they then offered to the Sistanis. When they reached the manzil of Bunjar, all the *mulki* irregular cavalrymen dispersed to their own homes except for the troopers from Amir ^cAlam Khan's own entourage. Those horsemen, aside from whom the amir had no other riders, went to Nasirabad where Amir ^cAlam Khan ceremoniously welcomed them.

In Sharifabad, Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan provided lodgings for Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and for two days showed them all possible respect. From there they continued on to Nasirabad where they were put up in a large tent erected especially for them. Smaller tents were set up for their servants. For twelve days they were treated as guests at the end of which time they bade each other farewell and although Amir ^cAlam Khan invited them to take the large tent with them, they said no, taking three of the smaller tents instead. Of all the cash and objects Amir ^cAlam Khan offered them as hospitality (*ta^carruf*), they took (only) 5,000 rupees. Even this they accepted only because Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan had only 200 *tilās* left with which to cover the expenses of the trip to Birjand. Otherwise they would not have taken anything at all.

In short, on the 29th of Zu'l-Hijjah 1285/12 April 1869, the two men left Nasirabad and on the 5th of Muharram 1286/17 April 1869 they reached Birjand.

THE EVENTS OF 1286/APRIL 1869–APRIL 1870

While all of this was happening to Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, twelve laks of (English) *kallah-dār* rupees and 12,000 rifles which the English had sent to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan as a gesture of friendship while he was campaigning around Ghaznin and which reached Jalalabad during the battle for Ghaznin, arrived in Kabul and were stored at the

government treasury and arsenal. Because the English had sent these funds and rifles despite there having been no request for them from the amir and moreover since early in his reign when he had come from Herat to Kabul he had asked the English for weapons and they had not given him any, he now instructed that they be kept under guard (and not distributed).

**AMIR SHAYR 'ALI KHAN GOES TO ANBALLA (UMBALLA) AT THE BEHEST
OF ENGLISH OFFICIALS**

During this time a letter from the viceroy of India came to the throne requesting a renewal of friendship and the conclusion of ties of amity. Since it meant the amir would go to Anbala he accepted and prepared for the journey.

Leaving Sardar Muhamad Ya^cqub Khan with Sardar Wali Muhamad Khan, Sardar Muhamad Aslam Khan, Sardar Muhamad Yusuf Khan, Sardar Fath Muhamad Khan and a few other courtiers in Kabul, the amir himself with his seven-year-old son, Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan; Sayyid Nur Muhamad Shah Khan; Nazir Husayn ^cAli Khan; Safdar ^cAli Khan Sipah Mansur; Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan; /315/ Mirza Muhamad Hasan Khan *dabīr*; Sardar Khan Sar ^cAskar; Khushdil Khan, the son of Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan; and other notables as well as 5,000 regular horse and foot soldiers, 1,000 militia horsemen, and royal gifts, left for Peshawar.

At Jamrud he was welcomed by Peshawar's regular army officers who were stationed there as well as by Jamrud's commissioner and its entire permanent garrison. A twenty-one-gun salute was fired to mark his arrival at Peshawar and he was given lodgings there. Taking only one hundred and one of his regular horsemen and leaving the rest of his army in Peshawar, he was escorted from there to Anbala with every show of honor and esteem. On the day of his arrival in Anbala, the rajahs, nawwabs, and leading figures of India, Sind, and the Punjab, turned out to welcome him along with the civil servants, governors, and provincial officers. An official reception was held and he was lodged at a residence specially prepared for his arrival. Later, they invited His Highness Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan to a pre-arranged session for talks and there discussions were initiated. Before the official talks began however, Lord Earl Mayo, the Governor-General of India, asked Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's permission to have Lord Napier, the Commander-in-Chief, Lord McLeod (?) and Steengaard (a translator) present. The amir assented and all three attended the (first) session. Then Arnir Shayr ^cAli Khan spoke forcefully saying,

There is much talk that is uttered in order to mislead and give rise to suspicion but I want to tell you something that is straightforward, candid, and honest. I did not come here to renew the treaty of friendship nor to conclude any agreement. The agreement which my esteemed father, the Amir-i Kabir, reached with John Lawrence at Jamrud and the stipulations recorded in it include these: Whoever governs Afghanistan is the friend of English friends and the enemy of

English enemies and the English government will not interfere in the internal disputes of Afghanistan which the Afghans get involved in with each other to aid any of the factions involved. The English government will be friendly and co-operative with whichever Afghan leader sits on the throne and will not befriend or support anyone who opposes him. These are the stipulations. It is due to this that the desire for sovereignty over Afghanistan has entered the heads of many persons; they have come to plot and do ill and are causing a great deal of trouble for they know that if they succeed in getting the seal-ring of the amir on (their finger) and the key to the country in their grasp, then the English will be their friend. In this way they consider themselves aided and supported (by the English).

It has been this way since the signing of the treaty. The seeds of dissension have been sown in the fertile fields of the hearts of the Amir-i Kabir's sons and the flames of civil war have flared up. Moreover, in the disorder of the time, when open fighting has become prolonged and I have asked for weapons and funds from the English government to cover the costs of the civil war in accordance with the treaty agreement made with my father, yet Lord John S. Lawrence has not given me these so that at Sayyidabad and Qalat I lost and escaped only with my life. But now that I sit in my father's place and you have recognized my amir, why should I renew the pact when in accordance with the treaty you would not help me when there was civil war? And how can I certify a covenant which gives rise to perpetual unrest and disorder? It is only thanks to the power of God and my own strength that I am now enthroned. I have come here to end the pact. The unsolicited funds and weapons which you voluntarily sent me are safeguarded in order to be returned. Of the total sum of money, two laks were spent for the Battle of Zanah Khan, one lak was spent on the gifts which I have brought you, and so I can account for those three laks of rupees.

Lord Mayo replied, "We should ignore what has been said in the past and draft a new pact."

In reply, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan stated,

It is unreasonable for the English government to think that the friendship of the amir and the people of Afghanistan is worth only ten or twenty laks or (even?) a crore of rupees and twenty or thirty thousand rifles with which to defend itself against foreign enemies. With such an amount the Afghan people will be powerless to fight against anyone. Unless the Afghan people enjoy a five-year exemption from taxes and a payment from the English of a like sum and I receive a sufficient amount for the military and for patrolling the borders, the

Afghan people will never have the capability to fight and defend themselves against foreign enemies. Whenever the English government provides sufficient aid, then the Afghan people will assuredly see that English help /316/ is sufficient for their needs and, through me their padishah, will deem the English Government a friend and will strive with all their might to repel any foreign foe. They will never (under those circumstances) close their eyes to the obligations of friendship. If help and assistance are promised (only) in the event of any movement of the Russian government towards India, then this would not be appropriate for either of the two sides. For the English idea of friendship with Afghanistan lies in defending against the Russians, that is that at the time the Russians march towards India, the Afghans would stand in their way and stop them. Unless starting today there is a five-year exemption from taxes and the English government provides a like sum for military pay sufficient for protecting the borders as well as weapons, such a thing (defending against the Russians) is unimaginable.

Lord Mayo considered the amir's demands to be extraordinary and beyond his mandate and so requested that a time be set when he would give a reply. But for the time being, he went on, the English saw friendship as hinging on the drawing up of a new pact. They would agree to an annual and perpetual payment of twelve laks of *kallah-dār* rupees, 12,000 rifles, six batteries of mule-drawn guns, six elephant swivel guns, and the full complement of ordnance. This would be the aid. In addition three English officials who were Muslims would go and reside in Kabul, Qandahar, and Herat, wherever the padshah saw fit to have them live. He would provide protection for them and they would attempt to obtain information about foreign enemies and convey that to the English government. Naturally, then, English officials would act on the basis of that information, would then provide adequate money, arms, and supplies, and would not refuse whatever was necessary.

Amir Shāykh ‘Alī Khān's reservations were put to rest by the promise which Lord Mayo had given vis à vis this overall strategy and by his promise to answer the amir's demands at an appropriate moment. His fears that the English had lied to him were put to rest. He agreed to Lord Mayo's proposal regarding the subsidy and weapons but did not agree to the permanent stationing of English officials on Afghan soil. He said,

This cannot be put in the treaty without the consent of the Afghan people, both military and civilian, because the protection and safety of those officials would have to be assumed by the Afghan tribesmen themselves. Because of religious differences, a lack of consultation, and their ignorance of the treaty, they would kill anyone seen as an official. If they then learn what is really going on, they will be provoked into causing trouble by their leaders whom I have not asked

to be involved in this and they will say they are causing trouble because they have not been told what is going on. At that point I would be accused by every vile person. However, I could protect people who do not come to reside there but enter Afghanistan as guests and return home after a while.

Lord Mayo concurred with the amir and drafted a treaty document according to the terms and stipulations discussed by the two sides. He also cited the heir-apparency of Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan in the treaty. Then both sides set their seals on it and each took a copy.

During this time the wives of the English dignitaries present asked permission to take the child Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan aside. They each picked him up and kissed him, but respectfully, giving him some little present—a watch, a knife, and a mirror. When his royal father admonished him against accepting these tokens, the women begged the amir to let him keep them. He relented, the prince kept his little presents, and they then returned to their lodgings.

The next day the English presented the amir with the money, rifles, and cannons mentioned above as well as nineteen elephants and equipment, and an arsenal. The day after that the English paraded the twenty-two infantry regiments, regular cavalry, and artillery corps stationed in Anbala and escorted Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan to the parade ground to review the troops. They offered him a horse to ride to the parade ground but he asked for an elephant instead. So the English brought out an elephant reserved for the Governor-General of India. The amir mounted it and rode to the reviewing area where, as he approached, the troops parted and opened a path through which he could pass. As he rode in, the army and its officers performed the formal ceremonies in his honor.

Standing at the rear of the ranks, Lord Mayo saluted him and then the amir turned around and rode back to his residence. Before the two sides bid each other farewell, the amir was also presented with another 12,000 rifles and three laks of rupees as gifts so that he now had 24,000 rifles including those supplied under the treaty.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan now departed for home. /317/ While traveling towards Peshawar, he summoned Shah Mard Khan from Jalalabad to meet him in Peshawar. After both men reached that city, a marriage was contracted between the daughter of Muhammad ^cUsman Khan the *wazir* and the royal personage. The amir then put his harem under Shah Mard Khan's protection and sent it to Jalalabad. When the amir himself reached Jalalabad and then continued on to Kabul, the harem followed along behind. Once the amir reached Kabul, he devoted his energies to matters of administration—training the military and improving the lot of the civilians. He especially turned his attention to training his army according to military principles.

*SENDING SARDAR FATH MUHAMMAD KHAN TO HERAT AS GOVERNOR
AT THE BEHEST OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD YAFIQUB KHAN*

While Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan was busy in raising a military force and in caring for the populace, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan who considered Herat and Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan as his own but considered his own brother, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Herat as a foreigner, now petitioned his royal qiblah and asked that Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim Khan be fired from his position and Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan be appointed in his place. His request found favor, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was summoned to Kabul, and Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan went to Herat as governor. Despite this kind of favoritism, due to which none of his requests were ever rejected, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan began to entertain evil notions, urged on by people of ambition—nay by people of carnal appetites—regarding the heir-apparency of Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan. He planted the seeds of the prince's destruction in his heart and nurtured them with the water of envy. Outwardly he said and did nothing regarding the almighty power of the government but inwardly used the sharp awl of his despicable thoughts to bore through dissension's thickness and he spent his days awaiting the opportunity to challenge his father.

But Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan eventually became aware of his antagonism and in a stroke brought him down from the crest of self-importance and took away from him all the instruments which had led to his authority and preeminence. Aside from 400 regular cavalrymen under the command of Col. Faqir Ahmad Rika and his paid retainers, nothing remained to contribute to his prominence and grandeur. He grew even more agitated as a result and refused to think that his own deeds had been the cause. He thought his father had formed an ill opinion of him and so he now began to look for an opportunity to flee.

THE REBELLION OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD ISMAFIIL KHAN AND HIS EXPULSION TO INDIA

During these events, Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan, the son of Muhammad Amin Khan, led an uprising against Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. As a consequence of the fall of Kabul—which was discussed under the events of 1285, the departure of Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, and the preeminence of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, the latter had first named Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan governor of Turkistan but then, worried that he might become the source of intrigue, did not let him go there. Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil was angered and left the city. He established himself at the fortress of Madar-i Wazir in Chahardahi where he first won the loyalties of the infantry and cavalry (garrisoned there) and then led them against Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. Although the amir tried to dissuade him from his course of action, he refused to pay heed until Munshi Bakhtiyar Khan, the envoy (*safīr*) of the English, was sent to conciliate him. At Chandawal, he made him some promises and soothed him. But as most of his *nawkars* were Qizilbash from Chandawal, they shut themselves up in the Chandawal quarter fully resolved to fight. Amir Shayr ^cAli

Khan dispatched regular regiments from the Bala Hisar with some artillery pieces to the foot of Shayr Darwazah which overlooks Chandawal. Their orders were to bombard Chandawal and level it to the ground if the people there continued to assist Sardar Muhammad Isma'il and did not expel him from their midst.

When they heard the contents of the royal order, the Qizilbash khans from the Murad Khani, Wazirabad, Afshar, and other families quickly came to the amir and pledged to warn and admonish Sardar Muhammad Isma'il and to bring him, hands bound, to the court without the army having to use force. /318/ But before they could do what they promised, Nazir Husayn 'Ali Khan and his brother, Safdar 'Ali Khan, acted first. Their father was from Panjshir and their mother was of the Sipah-i Mansur family of Chandawal. Nazir Husayn 'Ali was one of the amir's loyal retainers. The two men wanted to make sure no harm befell their people and so they went into Chandawal, removed Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan, and took him to the Bala Hisar. He was kept under guard there that night, and the next morning the amir ordered his deportation along with that of Sardar Salih Muhammad Khan and Sardar Zu'l-Faqar Khan, his brothers. Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan was given orders to transport them to India, hand them over to the English border guards, and then return. After nineteen nights in Chandawal and one night in the Bala Hisar, these three were escorted to the border with India. But Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan managed to escape to Badakhshan by way of Swat whence he travelled to Kulab and Balkh. But his life there was destitute and eventually he presented himself before the amir again repenting of his past deeds.. The amir once again exiled him to India. He was sent to Lahore and spent the rest of his life there.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW CITY OF SHAYRPUR

After the (first) deportation of Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan, the amir promoted Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan (Qandahari) to the viceroyalty (*iyālat*) of Qandahar. He also began work on a large new city located north of Kabul around Bibi Mahru Hill. He called it Shayrpur. He set aside 50 *qulbah* of land, equivalent to 2,000 *jarībs*, for the residential area of the new city. He designated Bibi Mahru Hill as the site for a royal palace complex. After distributing alms and charity (*khayrāt wa ṣadaqāt*), he laid the footings for the walls of the new city. He then ordered that a stout wall with numerous defensive towers be erected with gun emplacements on top. Inside that rampart, far enough away to allow for the maneuvering of troops and artillery, he ordered another wall be built as well as several barracks for garrisoning troops. He appointed Nazir 'Ali Khan to supervise the work and a number of regular army officers as his subordinates. He also assigned several civilian leaders to supply the building materials—stone, wood, adobe and kiln-fired brick, lime, and iron. He instructed the army to supply the labor needed by the builders—engineers, architects, carpenters, etc., by giving them an increment of five rupees a month to their

normal wages, which were seven Kabuli rupees. Over the course of five years (1286/1869–1291/1874) thousands of engineers, carpenters, masons, ironworkers, and laborers erected the southern segment of the new city walls, half of the western, and a portion of the eastern walls. They also dug a deep well on the heights of Bibi Mahru Hill to supply the royal complex, gardens, and orchard to be sited there. But work was halted before they found water.

*THE ADVENTURES OF AMIR MUHAMMAD AFIZAM KHAN AND SARDAR
FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN EN ROUTE FROM BIRJAND TO MASHHAD*⁵³

In the meantime, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, now outside their homeland, arrived in Birjand on the fifth of Muharram 1286/17 April 1869. They were well received by the sons of Amir ^cAlam Khan and offered the utmost in hospitality. On their second day there, Amir ^cAlam Khan's mother invited them as her guests and showed both of them deference and honor. On the 12th of Muharram/24 April, they departed Birjand. When they reached the ruined city of Sarayan, they observed the remains of great buildings and reflected ruefully on the transitory and insubstantial nature of this world.

From there they proceeded on to the locale of Yunusi which is an overnight stopping-place with a rather inhospitable climate. Because of the brackishness of its water and insalubriousness of the air, the inhabitants have all constructed cisterns of brick, stone, and lime for themselves in order to catch rainwater for drinking.

Before the arrival of the amir and sardar here, the former came down with a fever and they had to interrupt their journey for a month until he recovered. They now travelled at night and rested during the day. When they reached Kariz-i Shahzadah, they stayed in a building which a prince (after whom the place was named) had built for himself. /319/ Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan who assumed the full care of his uncle, nursing and feeding him while he was ill, was very fond of him despite the latter's indifference towards him. He prepared his uncle's food with his own hands, playing the part of son and entrusting the job to no one else. Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the son of Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, came only twice to see him while he was sick, otherwise staying at his own residence and keeping himself busy with his own affairs. At this stop (Kariz-i Shahzadah), one of the servants brought some apricots which the amir wanted to eat. But since only four days had passed since his fever subsided, both Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and the attending physician told him not to eat them. He refused to listen however and ate several apricots. Upset at his refusal to heed his advice, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan went off to his own men. Because money was running low, he now sold his own weapons to cover their expenses.

That evening, despite his annoyance, the sardar paid a visit to his uncle and

⁵³ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 126–130.

was given permission to go to Turbat-i 'Isa Khan. Before he left, his uncle made an agreement with him that, "in five days I will set out after you." Hardpressed by the expenses of maintaining 200 horsemen and now not having even one dirham or dinar to his name, the sardar arrived in Turbat-i 'Isa Khan. There he set up residence at a garden-estate built by the governor who a year earlier had been dismissed and recalled to Tehran. The sardar prepared a pavilion (*‘imārat*) for his uncle on the far side of the estate and settled himself into the pavilion opposite.

**THE MERCHANT HAJJI HASAN FIALI SHOWS HIS REGARD FOR THE TWO
MEN AND FINANCES THEM**

There soon arrived at the estate a merchant named Hajji Hasan ^oAli. He met with Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan and, realizing the hardships he faced, stated that he would give him whatever he needed for his expenses. The sardar had no way of repaying his generosity because of the destitute state he was in and so asked only for food for his men and horses. Six days after the sardar reached Turbat-i 'Isa Khan, Amir Muhammad A^ozam Khan also arrived and dismounted. The merchant assumed responsibility for all the expenses of the amir and his son and stinted nothing in the way of clothing for the men or tack for their mounts. His generosity, largesse, and hospitality was unparalleled. As the sardar himself noted in his journal (the *Pandnāmah-i dunyā wa'l-dīn*),

However long I live, I have no idea how I will ever repay such generosity, a generosity beyond the capacity of any one person in a foreign land to repay from his own pocket.

After spending ten days at Turbat-i 'Isa Khan, Amir Muhammad A^ozam Khan was felled by a relapse (*nuks*) and could not travel for another ten days until he had recovered.

In the meantime, the son of Hamzah Mirza, the viceroy of Khurasan, whose father had gone on campaign against the Turkman, heard of the arrival of the two Afghans in Turbat-i 'Isa Khan and the illness and incapacitation of Amir Muhammad A^ozam Khan. He notified the throne by telegraph, and then, at the orders of Nasir al-Din Shah, sent out a litter from Mashhad for the amir accompanied by twenty-four riding mules. The party stayed one more month in Turbat-i 'Isa Khan.

At their departure, they did an accounting with Hajji Hasan ^oAli Khan of all their expenses. These amounted to 35,000 rupees, a sum equivalent to 7,000 Iranian *tūmāns*. They then left for Mashhad taking the hajji along with them. Six days out of Turbat-i 'Isa Khan they came to Tapah-i Salamand and from there forwarded their respects to the shrine of Imam Riza. When they approached the city, they were met by 100 shrine attendants (*farrāshān*) wearing gold waistbands. They had six Arabian horses with studded harness and two

carriages, one of which belonged to Jalal al-Dawla, the son of Nasir al-Din Shah and the other to the viceroy of Khurasan, “Hishmat al-Dawlah” Hamza Mirza. The visitors were conducted into the city with all respect and honor.

Near the city, the Hishmat al-Dawlah’s son came out with 1,000 horsemen to welcome them. When they entered the city one unit (*dastah*) of the regular infantry regiment, accompanied by two bands, performed an official welcome on the *khiyābān*-avenue in front of the citadel and government offices. They were led into the citadel, spent three days there as guests, and then were given government allowances to cover their expenses. Ten days later, Hamzah Mirza, the uncle of Nasir al-Din Shah, returned from his campaign against the Turkmen and invited Amir Muhammad A[◦]zam Khan, Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, and several other worthies to be his guests at his palace. After dining and enjoying convivial conversation, /320/ they returned to their own lodgings. The next day Hamza Mirza, the Hishmat al-Dawla, paid a return visit. They had a cordial meeting and he returned home.

From the day of his arrival in Mashhad, Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan made daily visits to the shrine of Imam Riza, as he did the day after Hishmat al-Dawla’s visit. When he returned to his residence, he received an invitation from Dabir al-Mulk, the *mutawallī-bāshī* of the shrine, to visit him at his home. There he was shown every courtesy and mark of respect.

After fifteen days in Mashhad, the sardar came down with a fever, but he recovered from it in three days. He then paid a return visit to Hishmat al-Dawlah and told him, in a respectful manner, “I would like to go to Bukhara, taking the route through Darrah-i Gaz, Tezhin, and Urganj.”

Hishmat al-Dawlah did not immediately answer him but telegraphed Nasir al-Din Shah for permission. Three days after, Hishmat al-Dawlah summoned the sardar and the sardar and told him, “you should go to Tehran and then after meeting with the shah, if you still want to go to Turkistan, you may do so.”

The sardar replied,

It is better if I go (directly) from Mashhad to Bukhara for if I were to go to Tehran (and then go to Turkistan), people would say ‘he did not get what he wanted from the great padishah and so went elsewhere.’ But if my hopes are not realized (in Turkistan) and then I were to turn to Iran for help and it did not agree to aid me, its reputation would not suffer for people would say, ‘Like the others, Iran, too would not help him.’

After he told Hishmat al-Dawla this, he returned to his lodgings. Two days later, the Mashhad governor again called him and transmitted a royal message to him to the effect that whether or not the sardar came to Tehran, (the shah) would still think of him as one of his own sons and if he did return he should consider the country as if it were his own home.

Sardar [◦]Abd al-Rahman Khan asked Hishmat al-Dawla to convey his regrets to the shah and then he bade his uncle farewell (and left Mashhad) with a

guide.

*SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S ADVENTURES EN ROUTE FROM
MASHHAD TO BUKHARA⁵⁴*

Six days after the noble sardar departed Mashhad, he arrived in Darrah-i Gaz where Allah Yar Khan Darrah-i Gazi and 1,000 horsemen welcomed him warmly and offered their full hospitality. The guide handed Allah Yar a letter from Hishmat al-Dawlah in which the latter vested Allah Yar with the responsibility of looking after the sardar. After reading the message, Allah Yar lodged Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan outside Darrah-i Gaz in a lovely garden-estate. He entertained him for a month in a spirit of hospitality and on the recommendation of Hishmat al-Dawlah. Whatever ill had befallen him at the hands of his uncle, Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan, having to traverse mountains and deserts, the sardar experienced its compensation in pleasure and relaxation.

After a while, a caravan of Turkman merchants who came twice a year to sell their goods in Darrah-i Gaz arrived. Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman, who had been kept in Darrah-i Gaz so that he might be sent off with these merchants and kept safe from Turkman bandits, left with them. They included Uzbak Sardar, 'Aziz Sardar, and Urtuq Sardar, all three of whom were given the responsibility of seeing he reached Urganj without incident.

Allah Yar himself and 1500 of his riders accompanied them as far as Abiward via the road through Lutfabad and Qal'ah-i Khusraw. At Abiward, in the rice paddies which had been destroyed by some calamity, large flocks of birds had gathered. The party stopped to hunt them. Later, after passing Abiward, the sardar said goodbye to Allah Yar Khan and proceeded on towards Tizhin accompanied by five of the latter's horsemen. They rode all that night and at dawn came to a wood on the banks of the Tizhin River and there made camp. Since they arrived at the time of the melon harvest and the people there, during the harvest, spent all their time in the melon fields, eating nothing but melons, the sardar's party also ate what the people ate and on the next day reached Tizhin. They spent five days there because Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan had been kicked in the leg by one of the horses. For the upcoming journey across the desert, they purchased wheat from places far away. On the sixth day they left for Urganj. Urtuq Sardar Turkman, one of the three (Turkman) sardars whom Allah Yar had assigned to accompany Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, departed for his own home. /321/ The other two stayed with the sardar. That (first) day they rode through the night and into the next day stopping at noon when they came to a wellhead whose water was brackish and undrinkable. They stayed there for two days then at noon on the third day again set off. That evening they fed their horses some of the wheat they had bought and continued on. By riding the horses hard through the night they managed to reach another well by daybreak but its water had a foul smell and a bitter taste. Because of

⁵⁴ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 131–137.

their horses' and their own fatigue they rested there for six days. At noon of the sixth day they again set off and traveled into the night. Around midnight one of the sardar's retainers, the man who had charge of his bedding, lamps, and tea, fell behind in a state of confusion and stupefaction.

The sardar and his other companions came upon a caravan of Turkmen who had 600 Iranian prisoners, men and women, with them. The sardar asked them where they could find water. The Turkmen, thinking they were Qazaq cavalry in the employ of the Iranians, lied to them and said, "If you keep going in the same direction you will come to water by sun-up." So they rode on as fast as they could until the sun was high in the sky and still no water. Weakened by thirst, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman made three or four incisions in the tongue of one of the horses but no blood came. He squeezed a lemon that he had with him first in his and then in his horse's mouth but even with the acidity still no moisture appeared in either one. Giving up all hope the group broke up. But that night, in a state of delirium, he finally came upon a well. After drinking and regaining his senses, the sardar filled some jugs with water loaded them on a fairly robust horse that he had bought in Abiward for 2,000 rupees and sent it back to relieve the men who had fallen behind. He also gave his man a compass (*qutb-namā'ī*) so that if he got lost he would be able to find his way back. The man retraced the route for one kuruh and found those who had been left behind and had passed out from thirst. Little by little water was poured down their throats and after a long time they came to their senses and together came to Sar-i Chah. The servant responsible for tea and lighting who had earlier gotten separated from the party also chanced upon the Turkmen caravan with its Iranian captives. When they found out that he was one of Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan's servants, they provided him with bread and water, loaded his things on one of their own camels and expressed their regrets saying, "We thought that Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan and his men were Iranians and were on the trail of the Iranian captives and were hoping to recover them. For that reason we sent them off into the desert to die."

In short, the caravan caught up with Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan at the well on the fourth day. For three days more they all camped there. The Turkmen gave the sardar and his people four nights' worth of provisions and he bought an additional three nights' worth from them and then left for Khiva. Five days later he arrived and made camp beneath some trees outside the city. He sent several of his men into the town to buy some things. Some of the residents asked who they were and when they learned that they were with Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan, the grandson of the Amir-i Kabir, they notified the Khan of Khiva. He sent one of his courtiers out to see the sardar and bring him into the city. The khan gave him a place to stay in one of the palaces. On the third day, another of the khan's men came to the sardar with a message which said, "The khan is coming to meet you." But the sardar, because of his own state of affairs and because he knew his stay there would be temporary, mounted up and rode to the citadel to meet the khan.

Approaching the citadel gate, he noticed sixty cannons mounted on gun

carriages and attended by Habashi (Ethiopian) artillerymen. A fifty-gun salute was fired in his honor. The khan himself received him at the citadel gate. The two men clasped each other's hands in cordiality and together entered the audience hall (*diwān-khānah*). Because they could not speak each other's language, a translator appeared at the khan's order and translated the Turkish and Persian of the two parties. They conversed for two hours during which the khan told the sardar,

You are like a big brother to me because my father, Muhammad Amin Khan, had very friendly relations and maintained a cordial correspondence with the late Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan when he was governor over Turkistan. I am very grateful at this time to meet, talk with, and see you. You are welcome to any two of the seven cities over which I rule as a stipend for yourself and to share with me in governing. Any time you decide to conquer Balkh, I will give you 100,000 cavalry and infantry from the tribesmen subject to me. This will allow you to occupy Balkh and for us to become neighbors and allies. /322/

Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan promised to respond to the khan's generous offer in three days time. He then rose from his seat, and returned to his camp, accompanied by the khan as far as the door of the court. While heading for his camp, one of the khan's retainers came and said, 'The khan has designated a residence for you in the royal garden-estate. All your companions are already there. I have been assigned to show you the way.'

Together they went some 200 paces outside the city and came to the estate. The sardar settled in there and rested and relaxed. Two hours later, the khan's treasurer rode up with welcome news. 'The khan has commanded me to give you up to two laks of gold coins if you need them.'

Meantime a messenger from the vizier arrived and offered similar pleasant news. Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan expressed his gratitude and said, "A daily allowance of fifteen rupees is enough for me. I don't need any more than that." The treasurer and the wazir's emissary told the khan what he had said and the khan then sent him a daily allowance of 1,000 pieces of gold and ordered they pay the Sardar that amount every day.

So on the following day, the treasurer brought 1,000 minted gold *tilā* pieces. Even though accepting them was contrary to his nature, nevertheless because of the insistence of the treasurer that if he did not accept them, the khan would be extremely offended, he had no choice but to instruct one of his retainers to take them away. So each day he would hand over to that same servant 1,000 gold pieces. When after five days, the sardar had still not returned for the second round of meetings originally scheduled for three days after the first, the vizier came to him and reminded him that he had promised the khan an answer in three days.

The sardar replied,

What I had in mind then was to suggest to him that with a few of this country's dignitaries and with the khan and his advisors' approval, I would travel to the Russian emperor in Petersburg and there lay the foundations for a treaty. The policies of your government are contrary to the way in which sovereign states organize themselves. You rely in the execution of policy on tribal custom. It is quite possible that in two or three years the Russians will decide to conquer this country and establish dominion over it.

The vizier thereupon departed and conveyed his words to the khan. The latter then summoned his dignitaries and presented the proposal to them. They recognized no one as being superior to them, however, and said,

The Russians have nothing to do with us. And if, as the Afghan sardar states, they have designs on this country, our weapons are ready and men of fame and honor stand prepared to wipe out the Russians and expel them.

The next day, the vizier told the sardar that for the time being at least he and the khan were willing to abide by the rejection of the sardar's suggestion by the chief dignitaries of the land. He also told him, "The khan plans to marry his sister to you and to bestow on you two of his seven cities. Eventually, he would like to see the suggestion you made vis à vis the Russians realized."

To this the sardar answered, '(If this were to happen) I would inevitably become the target for the arrows of envy of the dignitaries of this land.' He continued, "At this point there is no alternative but for me to leave and go to Bukhara. I have many obligations to fulfill there."

The vizier responded,

That cousin of yours, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, is in Bukhara and is being kept under surveillance. Moreover, a group of your own men who sought refuge in Bukhara from (the oppression of) Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan are not receiving even dry bread there. So why are you so determined to go there? You should have your people come here instead.

But the sardar, who could not be persuaded, answered, "Try and get permission for me to leave any way you can." The khan reluctantly agreed to the sardar's wish and loaded up 150 female camels with flour, barley, bread, bread made with oil (*nān-i rawghānī*), tents, furnishings, dishes, and forty carpets, as provisions for the trip and also gave him twenty slaves as servants. In addition, he allocated 200 sheep and large quantities of rice and shortening (*rawghan*). Then farewells were exchanged and the sardar departed for Bukhara.

**SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S ARRIVAL IN BUKHARA AND HIS
ADVENTURES THERE⁵⁵**

After traveling for five manzils, the sardar reached and crossed the Oxus River. He camped at the manzil of Ghur and Shurab Khan. From there it took him seven days to the manzil of Qarah Kul (Qarakul) where letters of congratulations on his arrival came from Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and his own men in Bukhara. Three days later he entered Bukhara. Since /323/ at this time, at the suggestion of the Russian governor, the Amir of Bukhara had marched towards Hisar and Kulab, to suppress the rebellious Mir Sarah Beg Khan, the sardar had to inform the amir of his arrival by post and ask permission to remain in Bukhara until the amir's return. Otherwise he would proceed on and meet with the amir (at his camp). The amir suggested he join him at Kulab. Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan thereupon readied horses, harness, and clothing for the journey with the gold given him by the Khivan khan. He also sold the camels the khan had provided and manumitted the slaves. He spent twenty days preparing for the trip to Kulab and left Bukhara for Hisar with 500 riders.

En route he noticed an elevated area constructed for the tent and court of the amir. Near it the ground was red with blood and he asked people there what it was, thinking to himself that it was the blood of cows slaughtered to celebrate the victory over the Hisar citadel. But the people let out a heart-rending cry and said, 'This is the blood of the prisoners taken at Hisar. Fifteen days ago the padishah's tent stood on this mound when Hisar fell. A thousand prisoners were brought here and the amir ordered them all decapitated near his pavilion.'

Wanting to know more, the sardar said, "They must have been very guilty for no one kills prisoners." Weeping, the people replied, "The padishah has slaughtered thousands of people like sheep, people who were guilty of nothing. So what significance is it to him to execute prisoners taken in combat?"

The noble sardar thought that the tyranny and mass executions carried out by the Amir of Bukhara must have been caused by the rise and hegemony of the Russians and said to himself,

The worthies of this nation have turned their faces from God in the hope of status and rank and have treated the law with contempt. They neither consult the 'ulama nor inform the people of that fundamental precept of 'ordering the right and forbidding the wrong.' High and low-born alike are caught up in self-aggrandisement, envy, miserliness, and hatred.

The noble sardar has noted in his journal, "Despite the fact that the people of Bukhara are renowned for their expertise in the law and for their religious piety, I have seen a greater perpetration of forbidden acts there than I've seen in

⁵⁵ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 137–143.

any other place."

At any rate, he instructed his men to cover the blood with dirt and to dig partial graves. From there he continued on and arrived in Hisar on the eleventh day after he left Bukhara. Several officers of the (Bukharan) army accompanied by a thousand cavalry gave him a welcoming reception and he was billeted in a saray assigned by the amir. Four days after his arrival, the padishah invited him to meet with him. Following the formalities of the meeting, the padshah's employees gave the sardar 10,000 tangahs and six bolts of brocade cloth (*kimkhwāb*). Otherwise he received no further attention.

As a result, the sardar gave up any hopes he had vis à vis the amir, left Hisar with his 500 horsemen, and went off on his own. Although it was winter he preferred to spend his days outside Hisar in his tent. When the padshah finally returned to Bukhara having run out of supplies, the sardar followed. Ten days after returning to Bukhara he asked for permission to go to Samarcand, writing the amir, 'In the course of four months I have spent all 40,000 gold tillas I brought to maintain my 500 cavalrymen. I have nothing left for my own expenses.' The amir was generally indifferent as to whether Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan remained in Bukhara or went to Samarcand and wrote back saying only that it was probably better if he did not go. But the sardar chose Samarcand and set a course for it.

Four days out of Bukhara, he arrived at Kattah Qurghan. As he had no money, he sent the best things he had into the town to be sold in order to buy provisions. A Russian colonel who was inside the town got wind of the sale and stopped it, instead preparing food and drink for him at the expense of the Russian government. He also dispatched the qazi, the *mīr shabb*, and 100 horsemen out to welcome the noble sardar and to escort him into the town with all due ceremony. They then had him alight at a house that had been prepared and stocked with supplies for him. The colonel, who was sitting and waiting for him there, rose and greeted him. After he (the sardar) inquired of the colonel about the health of the general and the governor (*gubernator*) of Tashkent and Samarcand they then sat down to eat. When the food was finally disposed of, the colonel returned home and an hour later sent over 1,000 tangahs in cash as well as more food and drink for the sardar's companions. The next day, the sardar paid a return visit and the two men conversed for a while. For three days, money was spent by the Russian government to entertain him and provide food and drink. /324/ On the fourth day he said his farewells to the colonel and continued on to Samarcand. At each of the three manzils between Kattah Qurghan and Samarcand, he received 1,000 tangahs and supplies.

On the day of his arrival in Samarcand, the qazi of the city formed a reception committee with 100 cavalrymen and several civilian dignitaries. They escorted him to the qazi's saray which had been assigned to him along with a nearby saray for his men. The Russian government provided him with expense money to cover his daily needs.

On the third day, General Abramov sent his own interpreter to Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan to invite him to his house. He and his cousin, Sardar

Muhammad Ishaq Khan, visited Abramov who came to the door to welcome them. Abramov's headquarters were in a mosque. He had also expropriated the adjoining houses. After greeting the Afghans, they retired into the mosque where they sat in chairs and talked for an hour, after which each one returned to his own residence.

Later, servants of General Abramov brought three complete changes of clothing as a gift and left them with Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan. The next day the general came to pay Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan a return visit (*bāzdid*) and after visiting with him an hour he departed. Eleven days after their first meeting, two letters arrived from Kaufmann, the governor-general resident in Tashkent, one for Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan and the other for Abramov. To the sardar, Kaufmann wrote, "I would like to see you." He wrote Abramov instructing him to provide the sardar with the necessities for the trip and to send him on to Tashkent. For four days, the general made preparations and then sent him off to Tashkent, escorted by 100 riders. The sardar rode in a royal carriage. At each manzil between Samarqand and Tashkent, the carriage and forty of the 100-man escort were changed.

***THE ADVENTURES OF SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN IN TASHKENT
AND HIS MEETINGS WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL***

The day the sardar arrived in Tashkent, the *sipāhsālar* of Turkistan, Goluchev, welcomed him with four regular cavalry regiments and escorted him with full honors to the palace (*'imārat*) assigned for his use.

On the third day after his arrival, the governor's secretary brought his own private carriage for the sardar, informed him that he was to meet the governor, seated him in the carriage, and proceeded to the governor's place. Near his residence, a 1,000-man regiment of regular infantry, a band, and all the officers from colonel on down had formed reception ceremonies. In the first vestibule (*dālān*) of the house, the generals welcomed him. Then, together, they went into an *azūl*, i.e. a large porticoed veranda (*tālār*). There he was introduced to the governor and his close associates. Then taking him by the hand, the governor led him into another room where tables and chairs were arranged. The chairs were large enough to accommodate two people. After they had tea, the governor politely requested of the sardar, "Now that you are a guest of state, you should cease any correspondence you might have with the people of Afghanistan."

Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan agreed to do so and agreed as well that if a letter with his handwriting should ever fall into the hands of Russian officials he would be fully liable for any consequences. However, if there was a letter with his seal but someone else's handwriting, the government would not hold him responsible. Otherwise, his enemies could forge his seal and get him into trouble with the Russian authorities.

He drafted this agreement and placed it on the governor's desk so that the latter would have a specimen against which to test the authenticity of any letters

attributed to him. The sardar then retired to his accommodations. That night the governor again invited him to his house. At this majlis, the governor's wife and the wives of the other officials were present. Just as Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan entered, the *bājah* players, music in hand, also came into the room.

The governor came out to the third vestibule to welcome him, took his hand, led him to his place, and seated him while the *bājah* musicians played a rousing welcome. When everyone was seated, silence fell, and the governor introduced all his officers to the sardar. Tea was then served and while they drank the music was again played. Food and drink with a variety of sweets and fruits were laid out in another room. Anyone who wished, would go into that room, eat and drink, and then return to his seat. They entertained themselves in this fashion until dawn when everyone, including Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, went home.

Noon the next day, the *governator* paid a return visit to the noble sardar. The latter presented him with two Arabian horses with gold and silver trappings, /325/ an inlaid sword, five bolts of Kashmiri *abrah* cloth, two bolts of Riza'i cloth, and two bolts of *kimkhwāb*. After taking tea, the governor-general returned to his home.

On the following day, General Goluchev invited the sardar to his house and showed him every mark of respect. That evening the sardar returned to his abode. All the generals entertained him, in a similar fashion.

After the celebration of Christmas, the governor invited the sardar to the regular army parade ground where the army put on a display of artillery-fire, riflery, and battle drill. The men then withdrew a distance and explosives were touched off in a tunnel dug into a (nearby) hill. The hill was completely blown up. This expertise of theirs in explosives made a very great impression on the sardar.

The next day the governor again requested his company and told him that the tsar had inquired after him by telegram and instructed that he come to Petersburg and there receive the royal favors in person and reassurance that the dominions of the tsar were his dominions as well. The sardar expressed his gratitude saying, "It is indeed true that for me to have endured the hardship of coming such a distance (from Afghanistan) I had to consider this land as my own and so sought refuge in it." Promising to give his answer about going to Petersburg the next day, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan then returned to his lodgings. He consulted his associates and retainers as to the best thing to do. They advised against going to Petersburg and said, "We will be completely at a loss in your absence and reduced to dire straits."

The sardar tried to persuade them with evidence to the contrary and said, "It is completely unreasonable for me to refuse the invitation of such a ruler. There must be thousands like me in his guesthouses." But his followers would not listen.

The next day, as promised, the sardar returned to visit the governor-general. Without mentioning the objections of his staff and companions, he uttered his own thoughts on the subject.

Since I have only recently arrived and have 500 riders with me and things at this point are not properly arranged for them yet, I should spend more time getting ready for the trip to the capital. If at that point the emperor thinks of it again and still wants me to come, then I will go. That, I think, would be best.

The governor agreed with the sardar, gave him leave to go home and asked him to promise that once the tsar was notified by telegraph, the sardar would agree to do whatever he then instructed him to do.

The governor-general then informed the tsar, through his prime minister, of the discussion he had had with the sardar. The sardar's excuse was accepted by the emperor and an order came down in the governor's name saying,

Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan is being judicious. Wherever he decides to live, whether in Samarcand or Tashkent, the government should purchase the residence wherever proves (more) acceptable to him. He should be granted a permanent monthly stipend of 1,250 rubles which is equivalent to 3,750 Kabuli rupees. He (the governor-general) should also take photographs of the sardar and his entourage and send them to the capital.

The governor-general summoned Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan and told him of the emperor's request. Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan was delighted and promised that the pictures could be taken the next day. So on the following day he asked his *nawkars* to go to the photo studio with him and have their pictures taken. But they didn't want to and refused so Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan then went by himself. The clerk there asked why his companions had not come with him. He replied it was because they were people of no account. They had status neither from tribal standing nor from their own reputations. Whatever prestige they did have derived from their service to the sardar. The clerk said, "That's fine for if the Tsar sees their pictures and asks, 'What tribe are these people from?' there would just be more confusion."

To sum up, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan went to the studio, had his picture taken, and returned home. For several days, he regretted allowing his companions to persuade him not to go to the capital as well as their refusal to submit to being photographed. After a bit, he went to the governor-general to say his farewells and to receive permission, which he obtained, to return to Samarcand from Tashkent.

General Abramov, who resided in Samarcand, offered to buy the sardar a house, as the tsar instructed, and to spend up to one lak of rupees for it. But Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan did not consent to such a purchase and instead rented a saray for Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and chose for himself a place set in a garden-estate near the Qalandar-Khanah Gate which had formerly

belonged to a subject and been confiscated by the crown. For his servants, he rented accommodations from the people living around the bagh-estate. During his stay in Samarqand, most of his servants, with or without permission, abandoned him and returned to their own homes. This was true for all but those whose calling was the military. They were courageous, never turned their backs on him, and remained steadfast.

In this same year, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan turned the face of hope from Mashhad towards Tehran. But near Shahrud in Bastam, he was stripped of the cloak of life and at the age of 50 disappeared behind the earth's dark veil at the shrine of Hazrat-i Bayazid-i Bastami. /326/

THE EVENTS OF 1287/APRIL 1870–MARCH1871

Under the events of 1286/1869–70, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's deep resentment of the heir-apparency of Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan as well as the lack of cordiality shown him by Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan have been discussed. During this year he made secret plans to flee (Kabul). On the pretext of conducting exercises with some of the regular regiments attached to him, he sent them out of the city one day to the park where Babur Shah is buried. Besides the cavalrymen he also dispatched a field kitchen (*kārkhānah-i ṭabbākhī*). He then mounted his horse and, to throw people off the scent, rode to Qal^cah-i Madar-i Vizier. From there he made his way towards Qalat and Qandahar by way of Ghaznin.

When the amir discovered what he had done, he at first wanted to pursue him and bring him back. But before he could act a letter reached officials of the throne brought by Lala Haydar from Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan. In it the sardar wrote,

The people of Kabul are all with me. Had I wanted to arrest the amir, I certainly could have. But I was constrained by paternal rights and filial obligations and so did not attempt it. You should now leave me and my fate in God's hands. Otherwise I will create mountains of dead.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan was completely taken aback by his son's unbounded impertinence and sent Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub's father-in-law, Sardar Yahya Khan, and Sardar Zakariya Khan and Shah Mard Khan and a force of horsemen after him. He ordered the *mīr ākhūr* Akhtar Muhammad Khan and Shah Muhammad Khan, a *pīshkhidmat*, to go to Herat and Qandahar to notify the governors not to allow the sardar into their cities and if need be to lock their gates in his face. The pursuing sardars chased after Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan as far as Maydan-i Asp but returned to Kabul when they could not find him.

Khuday Nazar Khan Wardak, the governor of Ghaznin, barred the city gates and opened fire on the sardar. He in turn stole a number of horses belonging to the government and rode on. The governor of Qalat also prevented his entering

that town. In Qandahar, Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan, the governor, and Sardar °Ali Khan Qizilbash, the commander of the regular garrison, learned what had happened when Akhtar Muhammad Khan and Shah Muhammad Khan arrived with their message. They prepared to defend the city and remained on their guard. Meanwhile Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan, at first rebuffed at Qalat, met up with a regular regiment of Qandahari infantry which was stationed there and whose commander, Colonel Muhammad Kabir Khan Achakza°i, had been summoned to Kabul. The regiment joined forces with the sardar and together they proceeded towards Qandahar.

By the time Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan arrived in the environs of Qandahar he had attracted a group of troublemakers including: Ishik Aqasi °Ata Allah Khan; °Abd al-Zahir Khan Barakza°i Angizi; Akhundzadah Shihab al-Din Khan; Sardar Shah Pasand Khan Malikdinza°i; Ishik Aqasi °Ata Muhammad Khan, the nephew of Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan; Mir Akhur Aqa Jan Khan Qizilbash; Bahadur Khan, the nephew (by a sister) of Nazir Na' im Khan; and others. Through the good offices of these aforementioned khans, he aroused all the Durrani clans and they joined up with him to take Qandahar.

Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, also threw his lot in with him, supplied him with all the necessities—funds, tents, bedding, and utensils—and thereby fashioned the accoutrements of his power. With forces joined, these men now marched against Qandahar and put Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan and Safdar °Ali Khan under siege.

Amir Shayr °Ali Khan was greatly disturbed by this outbreak and summoned the *sipahsālār* (Field Marshal) Faramarz Khan to Kabul. The latter had been earlier dispatched to Turkistan to secure the borders, show the flag to the people there, and block any access to Turkistan by Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan. The amir also recalled Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan from Khust. The field marshal, Faramarz Khan, was honored with an audience and presented the amir nearly four laks (of rupees) worth of presents which the leaders of Turkistan had given him, and which were now received with approval by the amir.

SENDING FIELD MARSHAL FARAMARZ KHAN TO PUT DOWN SARDAR MUHAMMAD YAFIQUB KHAN

After accepting the gifts brought by Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan sent him off with eighteen foot and ten regular cavalry regiments, forty guns, and 3,000 household cavalry to Qandahar to deal with Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan. /327/ In his wake, the amir sent Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, who had arrived from Khust with another army. When the field marshal had marched two manzils beyond Qalat and made camp, Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan realized that he did not have the capability to withstand the regular army and artillery with the 40,000 men from the Durrani clans. He therefore abandoned the siege of Qandahar and his followers dispersed

to their own homes.

Accompanied by the khans who had incited him and another 7,000 men, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan himself headed for Girishk. The governor there refused to allow him to enter the town and opened fire on him. As a result, the sardar was obliged to continue on along the Helmand River and entered the territory of the clans (*qabā'il*) of the Barakzaⁱ tribe (*qawm*). The crossed the lands of the Nurzaⁱ clan (*tā'ifa*) and entered Garmsir. From there they left Afghan territory at Malkhan and entered Iranian Sistan where they stole livestock and other property from the people of Anar Darrah.

Meanwhile, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan arrived in Qandahar and without pausing continued on in pursuit of Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan. At Girishk he learned the sardar had reached Anar Darrah and so turned back to Pusht-i Rud. Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, the governor of Farah, who was in Anar Darrah and counseling Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, admonished him to end his conflict with his father. The result was that both men agreed that Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan would spend the winter in Pusht-i Rud and make do with its tax revenues. Then in the spring the governor of Farah would go to Kabul to intercede on his behalf and try to obtain his father's forgiveness for his misdeeds and appointment to the government of Herat for him. Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan accepted Sardar Mir Afzal Khan's advice and asked (only) that he precede him to Pusht-i Rud and persuade Field Marshal Faramarz Khan to return to Qandahar with his army. When he did, he (Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan) would then go to Pusht-i Rud.

Sardar Mir Afzal Khan went on ahead into Pusht-i Rud with Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan following him. Meantime, Faramarz Khan had left Pusht-i Rud for Anar Darrah and met up with Sardar Mir Afzal Khan at the manzil of Biyabanak. He rejected the agreement reached by the Farah governor and Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan and dispatched a large number of cavalry to find and arrest the sardar. Seeing that his accord had come to nought, Sardar Mir Afzal Khan sent one of his couriers to Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan to warn him. He did not want anyone to think that he had lured Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan from Anar Darrah by a ruse in order to have him arrested. His courier met Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan at the manzil of Washir and told him about the riders sent out by the field marshal.

The sardar again entered Sistan in exile and his companions dispersed. No more than 2,000 cavalrymen now remained with him. Meanwhile, the field marshal's cavalry returned to the main army empty-handed and the field marshal himself returned to Qandahar.

At this point Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan left Sistan for Qaⁱnat, pinning his hopes on the Turkmen tribes there whom he had patronized during his governorship in Herat. His plan was to enlist their help for the conquest of Herat. But at Kuhsan, he changed his mind at the urgings of his companions and instead of going among the Turkmen tribes headed instead for Ghuriyan which he seized.

Field Marshal Faramarz Khan learned of his actions and left Qandahar for

Herat. At Isfizar he received a farman from Amir Shayr °Ali Khan which instructed him to halt wherever he was and wait for the royal entourage, which was not far behind, to catch up with him. So the field marshal called a halt and waited at Isfizar.

THE SIEGE OF HERAT AND THE KILLING OF SARDAR FATH MUHAMMAD KHAN

The governor of Herat, Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, got word of Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan's appearance in Ghuriyan and sent his son, Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan out to Ghuriyan with four regular infantry regiments, a number of artillery pieces, and the militia cavalry of Herat. Upon arriving, they immediately engaged the sardar in combat. While the battle lines were forming, Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan's regular infantry regiments /328/ thinking of the favors done them earlier by Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan lowered their colors and surrendered. As soon as he saw this, Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan fled back to Herat with his militia cavalry. By taking control over the remaining infantry, artillery, and munitions, Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan dramatically augmented his power. He now marched from Ghuriyan to Herat and put the city under siege. Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan manned the defenses with the three regular infantry regiments and the cavalry under his command. The residents of the city who had enjoyed Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan's favors and generosity while he was governor sent him a message expressing their loyalty and telling him that he could assault the city without fear of opposition for they would put the key to victory into his hand.

With this encouragement, he attacked and won the day. Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan suffered a bullet wound and died some two to three hours later. Similarly, Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan was wounded while he was at the Kushk, also known as the Khushk, Gate and died nine days later. Herat passed into the hands of Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan and he began to govern as a rival to his father.

A SKIRMISH BETWEEN THE SCOUTS OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD YAFIQUB KHAN AND FIELD MARSHAL FARAMARZ KHAN

Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, who had left Kabul after Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, caught up with the field marshal at Isfizar on Wednesday the twenty-sixth of Safar 1287/28 May 1870. He delivered the amir's farman ordering the field marshal to wait for the amir's arrival there. As they waited at Isfizar, they were joined on the twenty-seventh by General Khwajah Faqir Khan with another large contingent.

Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan, meantime, left Herat with a good-sized force to stop the field marshal. He made his headquarters at Pul-i Malan and from there sent out 3,000 horsemen as scouts to the manzil of Mir Da°ud with

orders to secure the area from there as far as the manzils of Shah Bid and Idris Kan. Meantime, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan detached Sardar Khan Sar ^cAskar and General Fath 'Ali Shah Khan Pamqani and sent them as a scouting party two kuruhs ahead of the main corps. But those two went farther than the specified distance, riding out thirteen kuruhs with their cavalry. Near Idris Kan they clashed with Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's scouts and in the skirmish both of the field marshal's officers were shot dead. Their men recovered their bodies and carried them back to the main camp.

On Tuesday, the third of Rabi^c al-Awwal/3 June 1870, a letter reached the field marshal from Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan dated Friday the twenty-eighth of Safar/30 May and brought by Sayyid Aqa and Sayyid Ahmad, two Heratis. In it he read,

Until you receive an order from the His Highness (Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan) you should remain in Isfizar and not advance towards Herat. Although I have taken Herat, I have not changed the *khutbah* or the coin insignia which are still in my father's name. I have sent Sardar ^cAbd Allah Khan Nasiri with Mir-i Gazargah and several religious scholars and sayyids to Kabul by way of the Hazarahjat. They are carrying a Qur'an (as intercession) and are to intercede for me with the amir. I have asked from His Majesty one of three things: either that he pardon my behavior, or that he root me out and drive me from the country or, if out of fatherly kindness I should be forgiven through the intercession of these sayyids, ^culama, and this Qur'an, to confirm me as governor over Herat.

Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan and the field marshal forwarded the letter with a letter of their own to the amir. In conformance with the letter they sent to the amir, they also penned a message to Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan which said,

If you truly repent your behavior and are not hostile to your father, either you should leave Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan in Herat, proceed obediently to army headquarters here, and then go to Kabul or having sent Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan (to Kabul) you should take some time, settle your affairs in Herat, and then yourself go to Kabul. Make no attempt to prevent the royal army from moving into the Herat region. You stay where you are and we will stay where we are. Mindful of the (intercessory) Quran sent to Kabul, we undertake not to engage you in combat prior to the issuance of orders from Kabul.

On the pretext that he was preparing to go to Kabul, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan held them at bay until Tuesday, the twenty-fourth of Rabi^c al-Awwal/24 June. **/329/** By that time, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan was thoroughly exasperated and had made up his mind to lead an army to Herat himself.

Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan returned to Herat. He had spent a miserable and humiliating period in Iran after the death of his father, Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan. He was finally forced to turn towards Herat thinking that perhaps Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, because of his conflict with his father, would welcome him with open arms. But when he arrived in Herat, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan put him under arrest. Then, thinking that sending Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan to Kabul would be seen as a service rendered to his father, he dispatched him to Kabul so that perhaps Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan would (again) consider him his son and obedient and so pardon him, recall the army to Kabul, and leave him as governor in Herat.

***THE KILLING OF SIPAHSALAR FARAMARZ KHAN AND THE CAPTURE OF
SARDAR MUHAMMAD ASLAM KHAN***

An incident occurred on Friday, the twenty-seventh of Rabi^c al-Awwal/27 June after the field marshal and Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan had sent their letter to Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan. The field marshal had spread his prayer mat in front of Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan's tent, as it was the time for prayers before retiring for the night, and was performing the required night prayer and the customary voluntary prayers. He was deep in the *ta^cqib* prayer when suddenly, a certain Iranian called Hajji, who worked for Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, along with the sardar's cousin, ^cAbd al-Ghafur Khan, both of whom had been lying in wait inside the sardar's tent, fired their rifles at him and mortally wounded him. Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, who knew what was going to happen and therefore was some distance away playing backgammon, leaped up when he heard the rifle shots pretending surprise. When he saw the field marshal covered with blood, he cried out and all the army leaders came on the run and, grief-stricken, began searching for the murderer.

Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, who was behind the plot, kept repeating, "They've done this to embarrass and shame me." The mortally wounded field marshal was carried into the sardar's tent and those present heard him utter his last words:

Seize Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan. If I have not been a loyal servant of the amir's who has been? You, who are khans of integrity and loyalty, do not neglect your duty.

With those words he died. The men present took Sardar Muhammad Adam Khan and his brother Sardar Muhammad Qasim Khan into custody and placed them in irons. Then having mounted them on mules, they sent them off to Kabul by way of Qandahar.

In Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan's place they now named Sardar Muhammad ^cAlam Khan, the son of Sardar Sa^cid Muhammad Khan, and to replace the field marshal, they chose General Faqir Khan. All of Sardar

Muhammad Aslam Khan's belongings were confiscated and placed under guard.

News of the incident reached Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan by courier at the maydan at Dih Mazang. He had left the city intending to march to Herat and had pitched his tents in the maydan when he heard from the courier, "Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan perpetrated this deed." But the amir refused to believe what the courier was saying and replied, "He cannot be behind this because he has received nothing from the throne but kindness and generosity that would lead him to plot the assassination of the field marshal and adopt a hostile course."

But Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, a full brother to Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan and present at the court, confirmed the courier's message and stated, "The source of this deed is none other than Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan. But what can we do? Nothing good will come to us from this misdeed. We are all affected by this although, at the time the padishah conferred favors on us, we were not that close to him Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan)." In reply to this, Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan, another brother, answered, "Never would my brother do such a thing. It must be someone else who, out of envy, is putting the blame on him. If this is investigated, he will be cleared of any involvement in the murder." Sardar Muhammad ^oUmar Khan, Sardar Muhammad ^oAzim Khan's son, thought that Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan was the murderer and remarked, "His Majesty should ignore all this confirming and refuting and should act according to whichever view appears most reasonable."

They were still arguing when another courier arrived and made it absolutely clear that the perpetrator of the field marshal's murder was indeed Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan. At that point, all discussion ended, Amir Shayr ^oAli Khan appointed General Da^oud Shah Khan as the new field marshal and sent him to Isfizar. He himself then decided not to go to Herat because of the growing rumor that Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan had returned to a state of obedience.

Meanwhile Husayn ^oAli Khan /330/, the deputy field marshal, was sent by His Highness to Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan's house and placed him under arrest. Then when Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan arrived in Kabul and was turned over to the prison warden, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan addressed the amir asking for death for his brothers so that the amir, by putting them to death, might feel more secure about him. Although the amir gave the sardar no answer, the latter took His Majesty's silence as a good sign and went to the prison. There he enlisted the help of Sardar Muhammad Qasim Khan who was also in detention and together they murdered Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan who was thirty-nine years old and Sardar Muhammad Husayn Khan who was thirty-three. They buried them at Bagh-i Shah which is now located in front of Chahawuni Nizam (the military barracks). For the sake of this world, they made themselves fratricides.

A REPENTANT AND CONTRITE SARDAR MUHAMMAD YAFIGUB KHAN

COMES TO KABUL

Sometime after all this, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan grew weary of the claims pressed on him by those who had incited him against his father and brought him to Herat under false pretences. He thought to himself, "Why am I fighting with my father and why am I heaping the dirt of regret in this world and the next on forsaking my own hopes." With these thoughts in mind, the sardar decided to accept his father's authority and although those who had led him into the wasteland of rebelliousness tried every trick to keep him from returning to obedience, he paid no attention and wrote to the throne sending the letter by express courier and telling his father that he would come to Kabul. The amir thought that his letter was prompted by his own ambitions and said, "He is trying to lull us by sending this petition while in reality he is preparing for war."

On Friday the thirteenth of Rabi^c al-Thani (1287)/13 July 1870 Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub sent a letter from Herat which spoke to this very concern. He sent it by one of his own *pishkhidmats*, Shayr Muhammad Khan, but before any consequence could arise from it, the sardar, contrary to his father's fears, left a younger brother, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and some of his loyal followers in Herat and stipulated, "if the royal army moves against Herat from Isfizar, remember that you are all servants of the state and loyal supporters of my father and beware of taking any steps to stop it."

He himself then set out for Kabul in a spirit of contrition. At the capital he kissed the royal hand, was forgiven, and was restored to his former high status. For two months he came to court every day to see his father. Then, with his father's blessing, the governorship of Herat was granted to him on condition that he send to Kabul Ishik Aqasi ^cAta Muhammad Khan, Sardar Shah Pasand Khan Barakzaⁱ Malikdinzaⁱ, Ishik Aqasi ^cAta Allah Khan, Bahadur Khan, and the others who had been the chief instigators and the cause of enmity between father and son and the royal army's march on Herat so that they would never again light the fires of mischief.

Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan acquiesced, and at the moment of departure asked his father to say a prayer for him. His father said to him, "My blessing is contingent upon your good behavior on which my satisfaction depends. For if the chain of such commendation is not to be broken, over and above my prayer for you, you will have to be a God-fearing man. Otherwise my prayer will be to no avail." The sardar then paid homage to his father and set out for Herat, accompanied by Mir Akhur Ahmad Khan who was appointed his deputy. When he reached Herat, he sent the designated khans to Kabul with the exception of Ishik Aqasi ^cAta Muhammad Khan. Instead he asked by letter that the *ishik aqāsī* be allowed to stay in Herat, approval for which soon came.

While Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan was en route from Herat to Kabul, the royal army, which had stopped at Isfizar, now entered Herat territory and stationed itself there.

During this time, a regiment of regular infantry was organized on behalf of

the heir-apparent and was made up of young boys ranging in age from nine to fifteen.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S ADVENTURES IN SAMARQAND⁵⁶

As noted above, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman returned from Tashkent to settle in Samarqand. /331/ Because he was in a foreign land, he whiled away his time hunting with falcons, gerfalcons, and sparrow hawks. And since he had a fondness for riding as well as hunting, he chose twenty horses bred in Khuttal, and fifteen riding and pack ponies for his own use, as well as fifteen double- and single-barreled breech-loading guns. From the 1,250 rubles in cash he received monthly, he paid his junior employees five rupees a month and the senior men each according to his status. Although he lived in some penury because of the inadequacy of the allowance, he had no anxieties except that occasioned by his separation from his son Sardar ^cAbd Allah Jan and the women of his harem who were in Afghanistan.

In his journal he wrote,

General Abramov behaved towards me in a friendly fashion. He always invited me on holidays and gatherings and whenever there is some (special) need I would send my treasurer, ^cAbd Allah Khan the son of ^cAbd al-Rahim Khan Tukhi, to him. He then would set a time and when I went to see him I would get what I wanted and he would show me the utmost respect. He never placed any obligation on me to attend durbar. I was free to come and go as I pleased without any let or hindrance. I spent my time there with peace of mind and other than my anxiety about Afghanistan and the problems of my family and my mother and sons who were kept in custody (in Afghanistan) I had no cause for worry from the Russian government.

THE EVENTS OF 1288/MARCH 1871–MARCH 1872

Early in this year the idea and desirability of forming a conjugal union in a foreign land lodged in Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's heart and he contracted a marriage with the daughter of one of the prominent figures of Badakhshan. Taking the responsibility of family (once again) on his shoulders, he took to his bosom that pearl of the sea of maidenhood and modesty.

During these days, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan who had had it in mind to announce the heir-apparencey of Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan, had not yet taken that step when he sent Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah Khan Fushanji to join the Englishman Pollock to demarcate the borders of Sistan. The amir then retired to his summer place in Pamqan. But there he fell gravely ill and soon ordered a return to Kabul. For three months he lay completely helpless in bed until through God's grace he recovered. Meanwhile Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah

⁵⁶ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 144–146.

Khan, having demarcated the border of Sistan and Baluchistan between Afghanistan and Iran, had gone to Tehran to draw up the border treaty. From there he set out for Bombay by sea. When he reached Bombay he heard not only that the amir was ill but (the false rumor) that he had died and so he hurried as fast as he could to Kabul. There he and Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari; ^cIsmat Allah Khan; Arsalah Khan Ghilja*i*; Mustawfi Habib Allah Khan Wardak; Husayn ^cAli Khan; the deputy field marshal (*nā'ib-sālār*) of the victorious army; Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan *dabīr*; and other leaders and prominent people of the court met for consultation about proclaiming the heir-apparency of Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan. They asked the amir unanimously to declare him heir-apparent. Despite the fact that he had clearly settled on the prince as heir to the throne and that he was exceedingly fond of him, the amir put the question of the heir-apparency to the recommendation of (all) the court dignitaries. They asked for fifteen days in which to make their recommendation and as they knew that the amir was inclined towards ^cAbd Allah Jan they too supported his candidacy and stated, "He and he alone is the one worthy of this sublime honor."

Afterwards, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan sent an announcement to every town and to all the leading personalities of the country to the effect that, "on the night of the second of Shawwal 1289/3 December 1872, they should decorate all the towns of Afghanistan and hold appropriate celebrations and illuminations to mark the occasion of the proclamation of the heir-apparency." He invited to Kabul the leaders of Ghaznin as far as Mugur, of Jalalabad to La'alpurah, and in like manner the leaders of every province throughout Afghanistan. All the festival decorations were prepared and the Tapah-i Maranjan was named as the festival ground for the army. On the day of the celebration of ^cId-i Fitr (2 December 1872) the city was garlanded and decorated and some 400,000 people gathered in the capital. Because of a lack of sufficient room at the time when the festival prayers were performed, the forty-six regiments of regular infantry stationed in Kabul were ordered to climb to the top of Tapah-i Marinjan and there fire a sixty-gun salute. Sixteen regiments of regular cavalry were ordered to station themselves between one edge of the Chaman-i Hindu Suzan, now called Chaman-i Huzuri, and a point halfway up the Tapah-i Marinjan. Then the *khatib*, in the course of the sermon read during the holiday worship service, inserted the name of ^cAbd Allah Jan after that of his father. When the service ended, the amīr embraced his son and announced to the people,

Here, I have made Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan my heir-apparent and I have told you and I tell you now that after me, on condition that he is living, the government is standing, and the nation is independent, /332/ the throne of the amirate of Afghanistan is his. And it is hereby submitted to him that you should obey him, that you should not turn your heads away from his commandments and prohibitions which are the commandments and prohibitions of God and the Prophet.

When he had finished his speech, cannons and rifles were fired in joyous salute and until the amir entered the Bala Hisar to conduct durbar, a black cloud covered the ground from all the firing as if it were the darkness of night.

On this day, the amir gave everyone, great or small, from near or far, food, drink, and sweets and no one was turned away empty-handed. The celebrations went on for seven days. On the night of the second of Shawwal, the amir commanded six regular infantry regiments—4,800 men—to parade carrying torches. It produced a wonderful sight.

Of all the provincial governors, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, being the eldest son of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan and the cause of his victory at Farah and Qandahar, as recounted under the events of 1285, considered himself most worthy of being heir-apparent, and out of jealousy did not stage a festival of lights in Herat nor decorate the city. The amir heard of this in letters from his supporters and became annoyed and troubled by Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's behavior.

On the heels of the celebration of Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan's elevation to the heir-apparency, the amir promoted Na^zib Salar Husayn ^cAli Khan to the rank of field marshal (*sipāh sālārī*) and put on another celebration to mark the event. He also conferred the title of prime minister (*sadr-i a^czam*) on Sayyid Nur Muhammad Khan, the title *dabir* on Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan, and similarly honored most of his courtiers with higher ranks and titles. As a result of his regard for them they all commended and praised him.

THE EVENTS OF 1289/MARCH 1872-FEBRUARY 1873

At the begining of this year, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan sent Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan to Herat because of his displeasure over Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's refusal to celebrate ^cAbd Allah Jan's heir-apparency. His instructions were to bring the sardar back to Kabul for a reprimand. The sardar did not trust the *ishik aqāsī* and told him,

I don't feel safe going with you to Kabul for you would not intercede with my father on behalf of your own brother ^cAta Allah Khan or your nephew ^cAta Muhammad Khan who had fled with me. If ^cIsma^t Allah Khan or Arsalah Khan had come I would feel more secure and would go to Kabul.

So the *ishik aqāsī* returned to Kabul without fulfilling his charge and told the amir what the sardar had said. In accordance with the sentiments expressed by Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, His Majesty sent ^cIsma^t Allah Khan and Arsalah Khan to Herat. They reassured the sardar that if he went to see the amir they would guarantee to see that he was able to return safely to Herat. Accepting their word, he agreed to go to the capital.

SARDAR MUHAMMAD YAFIQUB KHAN COMES TO KABUL AND IS ARRESTED

Once Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan had been reassured by solemn oaths sworn by ^cIsmat Allah Khan and Arsalah Khan and promised a safe return to Herat, he spent the sum of one lak of rupees on fine textiles to take as a present to his father. He also gathered together 100 of his own horses and 200 from his supporters to give as gifts. He then left Herat for Kabul. When he neared Kabul, the amir ordered Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan to go welcome him. The latter met Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan at the fort (*qal^cah*) of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, now known as Mahtab Qal^cah, officially welcomed him and then together they entered Kabul. When he came to pay his respects at court, no one showed him the slightest courtesy. The amir had forbidden the regular cavalry from performing the traditional salute. Customarily, they would have stood in formation in his presence.

Standing at the foot of the walls of the court, he kissed his father's hand. The amir asked him how he was and then asked, "Where are the horses you've brought as gifts?" /333/ When the horses were brought forward with the other presents, the sardar made his presentation and everything was accepted with approval. After that the sardar came to court every day, greeted his father, and returned to his lodgings. This went on until ^cId-i Fitr 1289/2 December 1872. Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan showed up for the feast and greeted the amir outside the banquet hall. The amir said, "Since you are going back to Herat, first come into the audience chamber, listen to a few words, and then you can be off."

As soon as he entered, some of those present including Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan and others, thinking that the amir wanted to talk to him in private, stood up to leave. But the amir ordered them to sit saying, "I would like to speak to him with you here." Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan entered and knelt down on the knees of politeness whereupon the amir began to reproach him saying,

At this point my paternal rights and your filial devotion have collapsed.
Not trusting me, you have put your faith in ^cIsmat Allah Khan and Arsalah Khan and only offer obedience through their mediation.
Otherwise how does one explain your descent into the wasteland of ignorant behavior?

To prove the truth of what he was saying, the amir asked Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan *dabīr* for the letter which the sardar had sent while he was on the road at the time of his earlier flight. He read it aloud, and began to chastise and accuse Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan saying,

I will not have my servants whom I sent and who brought you from Herat after giving solemn pledges break their oaths or perjure

themselves. Get up and go to Herat this instant so that I may order out an army to take the city by force. If you don't go to Herat of your own free will then I will put you under arrest. So choose which of the two you will do.

Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan said nothing in reply other than, "The choice is Your Highness's." Then Bahadur Khan arose and exhorted the others, "Do something! Try and make peace between father and son." Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan turned the face of reproach in his direction and said,

First you instigated him and made him deviate from the straight and narrow path; now you want to cast the net of duplicity even wider. I will agree to nothing other than his accepting one of these two courses. Either he goes immediately to Herat or immediately to prison.

When words had reached this point, ^cAbd al-Zahir Khan Barakzaⁱ Angizaⁱ ventured to speak and said that the amir should allow him to postpone his departure for Herat for at least one night and then on the morrow either he would go or become an intimate companion of imprisonment, fetters, and chains. ^cAbd al-Zahir was also rebuked for this suggestion.

Realizing the path of escape was closed, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan accepted the alternative of prison. His Highness ordered Field Marshal Husayn ^cAli Khan to take the sardar into custody. Escorting him from the audience room, he then handed him over to Colonel Yar Muhammad Khan Hazarah who was the colonel of the Ardal cavalry. The latter took the sardar to a small saray owned by the amir and there placed him under guard.

The following day, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan summoned ^cAbd al-Zahir, who had recommended the one-night postponement and been rebuked for it, soothed his feelings, and set his mind at rest. He assigned (the latter's) son, Din Muhammad Khan to go to Herat and try and conciliate Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan on his father's behalf. The amir also sent Sardar Muhammad Ayyub a manshur with Din Muhammad Khan which said,

I am not angry with you. The inciter of dissension and the source of trouble was Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan who has been held to account for his actions. As far as we are concerned, you have not been tainted by the contamination of disobedience and if you have perpetrated any hostile act it was at his instigation. Now you are to consider yourself governor of Herat and you should appoint Din Muhammad Khan to the governorship of Ghuriyan.

On Din Muhammad Khan's heels, the amir dispatched Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi* and Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan, son of the late Sardar Muhammad ^cAzim Khan, along with Sardar ^cAta Allah Khan, his nephew, Hafiz Allah Khan the *nā'ib sālār*, General Da^{ud} Shah Khan, twelve 800-man

infantry regiments, eight 400-man cavalry regiments, and forty-eight cannons to Herat as a precautionary step. He also sent Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan and Mir Akhur Ahmad Khan Ishaqza'i as couriers through the Hazarahjat so that if Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan should embark on the path of rebellion, they could warn him of the consequences.

Din Muhammad Khan brought the amir's message to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, offered him some advice, and then went on to Ghuriyan. But Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan consigned the message to the corner of forgetfulness, raised the flag of disobedience, and dismissed Din Muhammad Khan as (newly-appointed) governor of Guriyan. /334/ After sending the order dismissing him, he dispatched cavalry to bring him and his family, who were longtime residents of Ghuriyan, to Herat in chains.

Din Muhammad Khan resisted Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's troopers in order to defend his family and his honor but he was killed and his family taken prisoner. When he learned of his death, Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan sent Field Marshal Husayn 'Ali Khan with two regiments of Ardal cavalry, six breech-loading cannons, and another cavalry regiment on the heels of the force already dispatched with orders to catch up to the first group as fast as he could. He overtook them at Girishk.

Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan who had travelled via the Hazarahjat went on ahead of Mir Akhur Ahmad Khan when they reached Khwajah-i Chisht. When he arrived in Siyavushan, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan learned of it and sent out Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan and 'Abd al-Salam Khan, the nephew of Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, with a large number of cavalry. They took the *īshīk aqāsī* prisoner, brought him to Herat under guard but without stopping there, delivered him to Kuhsan, as Sardar Muhammad Ayyub had ordered.

The *mīr ākhūr* Ahmad Khan who had fallen behind the *īshīk aqāsī* learned of his fate and made for the Ghurat region. From there he proceeded to Farah and Pusht-i Rud where he joined up with the royal army. Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, meantime, marched out to the edge of Pul-i Malan with the cavalry and infantry regiments stationed at Herat as well as the artillery corps and militia horsemen and made camp there. His intention was to stop the force from Kabul. He sent out Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the grandson of the late Wazir Fath Khan, with 3,000 troopers to raid the districts of Farah, Anar Darrah, and Isfizar. Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan was also ordered to act as the army vanguard and to find out all he could about the Kabul army. He raided the above areas and carried off property and livestock from the fields, but the people of the region locked themselves up in their forts and fought off the raiders until the Kabul force arrived on the scene and put an end to the depredations.

Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan retreated from Isfizar to Pul-i Malan, the headquarters of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. After the arrival of the Kabul army in Isfizar, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan no longer considered himself capable of mounting serious opposition and so fled Pul-i Malan for Mashhad

accompanied by Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan and other dissidents, as well as 500 cavalrymen.

The governor there, Rukn al-Dawlah, treated his arrival with due honor and by telegram informed his brother, Nasir al-Din Shah, of their coming. The shah assigned the sardar 70,000 rupees cash, or 14,000 Iranian tuman, and 700 *kharwār* of grain for expenses. He also sent him the message, “The nation of Iran is the home of the Afghan prince and as long as he is content to stay in Khurasan or any other province, the shah will consider him like his son and will never close the door of kindness to him.”

After Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan’s escape to Iran, his supporters who had stayed behind decided to murder Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan in his prison in Ghuriyan so that he would not inform Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan about the people who had incited Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, all of whom the *īshīk aqāsī* knew and thus could bring down.

But Mahdi Quli Khan, known as the Khan Aqa-yi Jamshidi, got wind of the plot and sent his brother, Allah Quli, and his son, Yalangtush Khan, to Kuhsan with 700 horsemen. They freed the *īshīk aqāsī* and his companions and brought them to Kushk. There the Jamshidi clans assembled under his banner and moved against Herat. With the help of Khan Aqa-yi Jamshidi and his people, Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan occupied the city just before the arrival of Field Marshal Husayn ‘Ali Khan. When he reached Herat, he settled in with his troops and tried to repair the destruction and improve the state of the army and the general populace. After a time, Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan was recalled to Kabul by a farman and there took up his former duties.

THE BIRTH OF HIS HIGHNESS, THE LAMP OF THE NATION AND THE RELIGION

In this highly auspicious year, the padishah, His Highness, Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, Amir Habib Allah Khan—who now sits on the throne of full authority over Afghanistan and dependent Turkistan and is the architect of this book and the initiator of this felicitous discourse—ventured forth from the hiding place of non-existence into the arena of existence. His birth occurred on Monday, the twenty-fifth of Rabi‘ al-Sani 1289/2 July 1872 in that city of earthly paradise, Samarkand. /335/ From now on, until his accession to the throne, he will be referred to as “prince” or “sardar,” God willing.

During this time, Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan opened negotiations with the Russian government through Na‘ib Muhammad ‘Alam Khan (the governor of Turkistan). Successive letters were sent on the subject of Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan’s confinement. Referring to the glad tidings of the ties of friendship and unity between Afghanistan and Russia, the letters requested that the sardar be kept in confinement in order to show contempt and disdain for him. These letters (of Na‘ib Muhammad ‘Alam Khan) were sent by courier to Amir Muzaffar, the sovereign of Bukhara, who forwarded them to General Abramov and to the governor-general of Tashkent and Samarkand. They then

forwarded their answers to Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan who sent them on to the throne. This continued until the secret correspondence came to light and was published in newspapers.

Notwithstanding the requests, the Russians did not treat Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, who was their guest, as Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan suggested but continued to treat him with respect.⁵⁷

THE EVENTS OF 1290/MARCH 1872–FEBRUARY 1873

This year Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan issued a manshur to Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan calling for the conquest of Maymanah. He also issued farmans to Field Marshal Husayn 'Ali Khan and the *mustawfi*, Habib Allah Khan, with orders to detach Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan Nasiri with a tribal force (*lashkar*) and an artillery battery from Herat so that he and Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan could march on Maymanah from two directions and conquer it.

After receipt of the manshur, the na'ib departed Mazar-i Sharif for Maymanah with fifteen regular infantry regiments and seven regular cavalry as well as Uzbek and other irregular horse and some artillery. Similarly, Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan left Herat for Maymanah with four infantry regiments, four regular cavalry regiments, six cannons, and the Kushadah cavalry of Herat. The forces entered Maymanah from both directions and put the city under siege. After three months they launched an all-out assault and carried the city by force of arms. Mir Husayn Khan, the *wālī*, and his wives, children, and followers were taken captive and sent under guard to Kabul.

Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan strove to put the region's affairs in order, appointed the *mīr ākhūr* Ghulam Riza Khan, the son of the *mīr ākhūr* Baba Khan Murad Khani, to the governorship, left a sufficient number of troops to garrison Maymanah, and gave Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan leave to return to Herat. Then with the remainder of his forces, he signalled the return to Mazar-i Sharif, having collected both cash and kind levies on that land.

It was his custom once every year or two to take to the throne as presents from Turkistan 1,000 head of horses, 40,000 one-*misqāl tilā* coins, and other gifts, and to spend some time with the amir before returning home. It was also customary each time for him to take to Kabul with him Mir Hakim Khan of Shibarghan, Ghazanfarr Khan of Andkhud, Muhammad Khan Beglarbegi of Sar-i Pul, and Mir Sultan Murad Khan of Qataghan—all of whom held their governorships in the name of the amir, subordinate to Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan, to whom they handed over the revenues of those provinces and districts—and to present them to the amir. On those occasions when they did not make themselves available, he would complain about these men to the amir and request their dismissal and removal to Kabul in the hope that should his request be favorably received these enemies of the state would not continue to participate in its government and the region of Turkistan would then pass fully

⁵⁷ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 145.

under his control. The amir, however, did not heed his complaints until, during the course of the siege of Maymamah, incriminating letters sent by these men to Mir Husayn Khan, the *wālī* of Maymanah, in which they expressed their friendship, urged him to resist the siege, and promised help, fell into Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan's hands.

After his return to Mazar-i Sharif, he took these mirs and the designated gifts to Kabul. This time he presented to His Highness the letters of the mirs to the *wālī* and now placed the allegations he had repeatedly made and to which the amir had paid no attention on the chair of corroboration.

So laying the burden of proof on the mirs of Turkistan, by the evidence of the letters, Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan ordered them to reside in Kabul but took no steps to confiscate their wealth and possessions. /336/ He also summoned all their wives and children to Kabul and assigned them sufficient allowances and a place to live. Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam spent this year in Kabul attending court every day.

*EVENTS OF 1291 FEBRUARY 1874–FEBRUARY 1875 AND THE DEATH OF
NA'IB MUHAMMAD FIALAM KHAN*

Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan, having prepared all his things for the journey back to Turkistan this year, was still going to court every day while waiting permission to leave. Then one day, he was riding towards the court intending again to ask permission to leave. His footman was leading the spare (*yazak*) horse which Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan had given him. As they approached the doors to the court, the horse suddenly shied and lashed out with his hooves, smashing a bone in the na'ib's leg. He went home and was bedridden for twenty days. His broken leg had still not healed when he was stricken with a high fever and died. His men buried him in front of the Khuni Gate of the Bala Hisar. Around his grave they put up a wall of baked brick. Today his grave is unknown and lies invisible beneath the rubble of (what remains) of that wall.

*ISHIK AQASI SHAYR DIL KHAN'S APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR OF
TURKISTAN*

After Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan's death, Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan gave Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan the title "Luy Nab," his son Khushdil Khan the title 'Kumaki Nab,' and Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan, the *dabīr*, the title "Kam Nab." Then he sent them all to Turkistan where the "Luy Nab" Shayr Dil Khan assumed the duties of governor with his son serving as his deputy, and Mirza Muhammad Hasan responsible for supervision of the *diwān*. Shayr Dil Khan's former duties vis à vis His Highness were entrusted to his second son, Muhammad Yusuf Khan. Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan took over the position of Mirza Hasan Khan "Kam Nab" and after a period of time he was appointed to the post of *dabīr al-mulk*.

During this time, Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan Hazarah, a loyal backer of Amir

Shayr ^cAli Khan's regime, passed away.

During 1292 /February 1875–January 1876, nothing of any consequence—that has been recorded at least—besides the usual development of the army and prosperity of the country and populace, occurred other than the birth in Samarqand of Sardar Nasr Allah Khan which brought much joy. The birth of this fruit of the great Durrani tribe, the choicest of the Muhammadza'i branch, this blossom of the garden of Payandah Khan, and bird of the garden of the Afghan state, who now bears the title “Na'ib al-sultanah” at the court of His Highness, Lamp of the Nation and Religion, occurred on Wednesday, the last day of Safar 1292/6 April 1875.

On the 6th of Ramazan/6 October 1875 a severe earthquake struck Kabul and its environs with most of the cultivated plots and villages being drastically moved about, one ending up on the site of another.

EVENTS OF 1293/JANUARY 1876–JANUARY 1877

Because the papers of *dīwān* and *daftar* had been dispersed and scattered about due to misconduct and malfeasance on the part of bureaucrats, who were people of pious exteriors but larcenous hearts, and because governmental affairs had consequently suffered grievously at the hands of venal finance officials and huge losses and shortfalls had appeared in government revenues, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, having no alternative but to devote his attention to righting matters, summoned Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi* from Herat to Kabul for the express purpose of investigating the books of finance officials and reorganizing the bureaucracy (*daftar*) and everything connected to it. To replace him in Herat, the amir sent out as governor Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan, the son of the late Sardar Muhammad ^cAzim Khan.

Shortly after Mirza Habib Allah Khan's arrival in Kabul, a letter came from Lord Lytton (*listīn*), the Viceroy of India. In it, His Highness Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan read,

Because of the treaty of friendship of the two nations of England and Afghanistan, it is necessary that representatives of the English Government should also be (allowed) in Turkistan, Herat, and Qandahar as they are in Kabul /337/ so as to keep English officials informed of designs or plans the Russians might have aimed against India through Afghanistan. This, in order that action might be taken in the best interests of the two parties (to the treaty) and a defense might be undertaken.

The viceroy also notified Nawwab ^cAta Muhammad Khan, resident in Kabul and representative of his sovereign nation, of the letter and told him “to obtain an answer from Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan to his letter and to forward it.” So when the representative requested that an answer be drafted to Lord Lytton His

Highness ordered it be written down that,

At the time of the negotiations with Lord Earl Mayo in Anbalah this same subject was discussed. I told him that until I had consulted with the Afghan tribes and received assurances from them I could not agree, because if I were to allow any English to operate inside the country against the wishes of the tribes and some harm should befall them, then it would transform the friendly relations into hostile relations and I myself would be violating the understood agreement.

Following the amir's reply, Lord Lytton recalled Nawwab ^cAta Muhammad Khan to India and carefully briefed him on the evidence and proofs to buttress his arguments and on the fruits the policy would bear and sent him back to Kabul to put the same request a second time.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan answered as he had the first time. The ambassador informed Lord Lytton of this and the latter sent a secret communique to the ambassador telling him to leave for India using any pretext he wanted but to promise the amir that he would return. So telling the amir, "I will leave my things in Kabul, go to Dera Isma'il Khan to take care of some matters affecting my agricultural lands, and then return," he asked permission to go. When it was granted, he took all his things, leaving nothing in Kabul, and left.

After his departure, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan., having learned the facts of the matter, thought to himself,

English officials are angry because the Russians are spreading the news that because of ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's residence in Samarqand, they are in unity and harmony with Afghanistan. So they are recalling their ambassador to India as a way of abandoning friendly relations.

The truth was just as Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan imagined. This became clear with the mobilization of an army and (the invasion of Afghanistan) by that nation as will be recorded below.

At any rate, the amir was very worried and sent a delegation to Peshawar made up of Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah Khan, the *sadr-i a^czam*; Mir Akhur Ahmad Khan; and Mirza Muhammad Baqir Khan, son of Mirra ^cAli Akbar Khan. Their mission was to remind the English of the bilateral treaty of friendship and unity which had been concluded and to try and reaffirm and strengthen the terms of the treaty.

The delegation arrived in Peshawar and at first held discussions with the English about past matters. They were engaged in the negotiations when the *sadr-i a^czam* suddenly died and so the gem of the two sides' purpose remained uncut. The *sadr-i a^czam* colleagues conveyed his body back to Kabul. Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan, the heir-apparent came out to the Yaklangah Pass at his father's behest with all the leading dignitaries of Kabul to escort the body into the city. They met the cortege and brought the body to its final resting place in the

cemetery at a place called Jabah. The *sadr-i a'zam*'s survivors were consoled with royal advice to endure and forebear and were accorded every kindness.

MIRZA HABIB ALLAH KHAN IS SENT ON AN EMBASSY TO PESHAWAR

Following the funeral of the *sadr-i a'zam*, Sayyid Nur Muhammad Khan, Amir Shayr °Ali Khan named Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi* as envoy and appointed Mulla Shah Muhammad Khan, Taj Muhammad Khan Fufalza'i, and Mirza Muhammad Tahir Khan, the son of Mirza Muhammad Zaman Khan, to go with him, and dispatched the party to Peshawar.

During Mulla °Abd al-Salam Khan's qazi-ship in Qandahar, the aforementioned Mulla Shah Muhammad had held the 'whip and the scourge' that went with the office of *muhtasib*. When by order of His Highness, Mulla °Abd al-Salam Khan went to Herat to administer the financial affairs of that region, he had appointed Mulla Shah Muhammad supervisor of revenues (*wujūhāt*). Later in 1280/1863–1864, Qazi °Abd al-Salam came to Kabul with Amir Shayr °Ali Khan and was promoted to chief justice (*qāzī al-quṣāt*). At that point, Mulla Shah Muhammad was appointed *kātib* of the *dīwān-i qazā* (clerk of the court). Eventually, because he came to enjoy excellent relations with the people at the royal court, Qazi °Abd al-Salam Khan, out of envy, turned against him. When Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan fled Kabul, was besieged in Qandahar, and then retreated */338/* to Sistan, Qazi °Abd al-Salam Khan, using a forged document, brought charges against Mulla Shah Muhammad of instigating Sardar Muhammad Ya°qub Khan. Through the offices of Niyaz Muhammad Khan Barakza'i, the qazi brought the document to the attention of the appropriate officials of the amir and had Mulla Shah Muhammad arrested. After the investigation, when it became clear that he had been victimized by a false accusation, he was released and obtained a position with Arsalah Khan Ghilja'i. At this time, as we have mentioned, he was sent on the mission to Peshawar with Mirza Habib Allah Khan. Eventually he rose to the post of Foreign Minister which will be noted in due course, God willing.

To return to the story, when Mirza Habib Allah and his companions reached Jamrud, the English, worried about the relations they imagined existed between Amir Shayr °Ali Khan and the Russians, sent a man to Jamrud with a message which said,

If they are prepared to agree to those items which the English Government has put forward orally and in writing then they should continue on to Peshawar. If not, they should return to Kabul the way they came.

Considering the English message tantamount to a violation of the existing agreement, the embassy returned to Kabul with no further discussions or negotiations and told the amir what had happened.

AMIR SHAYR FIALI KHAN SUMMONS THE LEADERS OF THE MOUNTAIN REGIONS AND HONORS THEM WITH KHILFIATS

The amir now felt certain that the actions of the English indicated their desire to find a pretext to violate the treaty. He therefore invited all the Mohmands of Bajawur and other tribal leaders of the mountain regions (*kūhistānāt*) to Kabul, and called for tribal and Islamic solidarity. He conferred prestigious titles like “sardar” and “nawwab” on the Mohmand, who were the first to reach Kabul, and gave them stipends ranging from 20,000–30,000 rupees, thereby gaining their support. In return they pledged that in time of need, should any neighboring country wage war against Afghanistan, they would take up arms to defend Afghanistan and would spare no effort in such a struggle.

In a similar fashion, the amir bestowed comparable gifts and honors on the other tribes of the mountains, and secured solemn promises from them all to help the Afghan nation.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S ACTIVITIES IN SAMARQAND IN 1293/1876–1877⁵⁸

The Russians decided to conquer Shahr-i Sabz in 1293 and General Abramov asked Sardar ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan to join him on the campaign but he refused and said, “I have already made it clear that I would not perform any services for the Russian government. However, if I were ordered to do so, I would try to win the obedience of the people of Shahr-i Sabz by peaceful means so that they would accept whatever demands the Russian government might make on them.”

When the affair actually wound up in open warfare, he made a request to Abramov for weapons saying, “I have 300 men who could be given arms from the arsenal to stamp out the flames of any insurrection if the people of Samarqand should rebel (while the Russian army is at Shahr-i Sabz).” The general agreed and gave him a requisition form addressed to the supervisor of munitions for the issuance of 300 rifles and 15 laks of cartridges.

Abramov himself then left for Shahr-i Sabz which he besieged. On orders of the Russians, the Amir of Bukhara also led an army against Shahr-i Sabz. Prior to the amir’s arrival, the Russians had already launched four assaults against the city without effect. General Abramov was wounded and 1,000 of his infantrymen were casualties. He then decided to call for a six-day cease-fire and perhaps through deception catch the defenders off guard.

There were 12,000 soldiers inside the city, 1,000 of whom had their families with them. These now stayed as the garrison force while the other 11,000, who had earlier taken their wives and children to what they thought were safer places, now saw them threatened by the Bukharan force and were given five-day

⁵⁸ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 146–148.

passes by their commanders to leave the city and get news of their families. They were scheduled to return on the sixth day, the last day of the cease-fire.

When the 11,000 men left the city, the Russian force now believed its object lay within its grasp and so with the aid of deceit and duplicity attacked and occupied the city and then handed it over to the Bukharans. The mirs who lived in the city /339/ escaped to Khuqand with 300 of their men. General Abramov returned to Samarcand and there Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan came to meet him and find out how his wound was. After offering congratulations on the victory and inquiring about the wound, he was given a gilt and enameled snuff-box, a double-barrelled gun, and a large telescope—all part of the booty taken at Shahr-i Sabz. But the sardar was unable to accept property stolen from Muslims, which he considered illicit. He held discussions with the general for an hour and then returned home.

Meanwhile, the fugitives from Shahr-i Sabz entered Khuqand hoping for refuge but its chief (*ra'is*), Khudayum Khan, arrested them all and sent them off to the governor-general in Tashkent, thinking that this would serve his own ambitions. He also seized their provisions and servants. The governor-general detained the group for a while then freed them and assigned each one a tankhwah-stipend. Under orders from the governor-general, the amir of Bukhara, who had taken their wives and children prisoners, now sent them to rejoin their spouses and fathers in Tashkent. The Russian Government issued a ukase that they should reside for the remainder of their lives in Tashkent and never return home.

EVENTS OF 1294/JANUARY 1877–JANUARY 1878

During this year Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan dismissed Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan, the governor of Pusht-i Rud, as a result of petitions from residents there that he was behaving in an extremely arbitrary and capricious manner. But even though he was dismissed and summoned back to Kabul, he refused to return and ignored the royal edict. This went on until His Majesty became sufficiently disturbed and ordered Sultan Muhammad Khan Qizilbash, supervisor of the Qandahar revenues to lead a party of regular cavalry to Pusht-i Rud, arrest Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan Qizilbash, and then send him to Kabul. As ordered, the Qizilbash official took the sardar into custody and sent him to the amir. The latter named Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, son of the Amir-i Kabir to succeed him and the latter traveled to Pusht-i Rud from Kabul.

Meantime, as a result of suffering from dropsy (*maraz-i istiqsā'*), Arsalah Khan Ghilja'i, in response to God's call, said "Here I am" and passed away. To succeed him as foreign minister, the amir named Mulla Shah Muhammad Khan Katti Khayl, whose career has been discussed earlier..

Also during this time, an Ottoman envoy representing the great sultan, His Highness 'Abd al-Hamid Khan, arrived in Kabul as a result of English urging, carrying gifts and a letter and was received at court. He wove a tale of the

benefits and advantages of friendship and harmony between the English and Afghan governments and enumerated the shortcomings and defects of the Russian government vis à vis Afghanistan. The purpose of the mission was to keep Amir Shayr ʻAli Khan from rejecting friendship with the English and from being misled by Russian overtures. Later, the Ottoman emissary was given leave and returned to Constantinople.

THE ARRIVAL OF STOLETOV, A RUSSIAN ENVOY, IN KABUL

Because of the newspaper accounts of Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman's sojourn in Samarkand which gave wide currency to the friendly relations between Amir Shayr ʻAli Khan and the Russians, discord had arisen between Amir Shayr ʻAli Khan and the English. The conflict had not yet erupted into open fighting when a Russian envoy, Stoletov, came to Kabul on an official mission accompanied by an aide, a physician (*dāktar*), and fifty regular cavalry. He concluded an agreement of friendship with the amir and then returned home. With the amir's approval, however, he left behind his aide and others who had come with him to Kabul so that by throwing a little fear into the English (or so Amir Shayr ʻAli Khan thought) they (the English) would not deviate from the treaty signed at Anbalah. Rather (he thought) they would be content with peaceful relations (*sullū*) and would relinquish whatever designs they had in mind. But as the saying goes, "Fate laughs at the best laid plans," the results were completely the opposite of what was intended, as will be recorded in due course, God willing.

The amir now occupied himself with readying his defenses. He levied a tax of four Kabuli rupees on every citizen of Afghanistan and Afghan Turkistan under the rubric "national assistance" to pay for the regular regiments and for weapons. Many peasants found this additional burden intolerable. They already paid *māliyāt*-taxes on their lands and farms which they remitted to diwan officials and they saw no way of paying this new levy. On the surface, out of fear of the regime, they did not voice objection to the edict but secretly they pointed the finger of blame at the throne and hoped for the downfall of the amir and day and night they cursed him and his regime. /340/

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S ACTIVITIES IN SAMARQAND IN 1294/1877–78⁵⁹

While all this was going on, the Russian government announced its intention of conquering Urganj and ordered the governor-general of Tashkent to proceed there with a battle-ready army. Subsequently, he reached Jizaq with a well-equipped army en route to Urganj and there asked Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan to come and see him. He also asked him to join him on the campaign. But the sardar (again) excused himself on the grounds that he and his men were not prepared. He also added, "It is forbidden in the Muhammadi religion to aid a

⁵⁹ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 148–149.

non-Muslim in a war against Muslims."

(After delivering his message), Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan retired to his pavilion which had been set up thirty paces from the pavilion of the nephew (sister's son) of the tsar, and 40 paces from the governor-general's pavilion, and rested there. Because of the cold and snow, everyone spent the next seven days in Jizaq after which the Russian regiments left for Urganj. The sardar saw them off and then returned to Samarcand.

Following the conquest of Urganj, the return of the Russian forces, and their arrival again in Jizaq, which is four manzils from Samarcand, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan came to greet them and congratulate them on the victory.

Meantime, news spread of hostility between the Ottoman and Russian governments. This gave rise to some anxiety amongst the Russians. They feared that given the close relations of the Ottoman state with Afghanistan, the English would instigate the Ottoman sultan to invade Russia and by thus engaging its military forces would prevent a Russian invasion of India through Afghanistan.

The Russians stationed in Samarcand, feeling pressure on all sides, approached Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan and asked him about attitudes among the people of Samarcand. "What are they saying to each other and what do you think they intend to do?" That is, they were worried about what the people of Samarcand might do in the event of an Ottoman Turkish invasion, specifically whether they would riot and rebel because of their being fellow believers with the Ottomans. The sardar handled their concerns deftly and was calming their anxieties when the Russian army crossed the Nivah and the two sides agreed to a truce. At that point the Russians in Samarcand ceased being concerned.

Nonetheless, while the news of the conflict between the two sides was still current, Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan one day had gone out of the city to hunt. The hunting party came to Warkat, some twelve kuruhs from Samarcand where the sardar learned that its residents had risen up and killed their governor and qazi. At that, the sardar, with thirty riders, entered the walled town (*hisār*) of Warkat and observed that some 3,000 armed men were squatting down along the edge of the bazaar and the river in an angry and hostile mood. He rode past them up to the door of the house of the qazi whom he had known personally and from the qazi's son he learned that the judge had been assassinated in the madrasah.

The sardar severely rebuked the men of Warkat for this outrageous act and asked them, "What prompted you to do such a thing?" They replied, "Everyone is saying that the people of Samarcand have risen in rebellion and have attacked the Russians. So we too have lit the fires of revolt."

Sardar °Abd al-Rahman Khan then refuted the rumor and sent five of his men to the madrasah to retrieve the qazi's body. They discovered that he was still alive but being tortured and beaten with sticks by a group of men who were trying to extort money from him. The men freed him and brought him to the sardar. At the latter's instruction, the qazi wrote down all that had happened and the sardar put his seal on the document as attestation. The people of Warkat were now ashamed of their behavior and asked the sardar's help in extricating

themselves from the difficult position in which they had put themselves.

His recommendation was: “Arrest those whom you know are the instigators and bring them before the qazi so that they may be investigated and everyone else made safe from further disturbance.” As he suggested, the people took the ringleaders into custody and hailed them before the qazi.

The sardar then returned to Samarqand. After an investigation, the Russian government dealt with the people of Warkat according to the evidence provided by Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan.

RUMORS OF A RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN TO AFGHANISTAN

Once the Ottomans and Russians signed a peace treaty and put to rest their anxieties about each other, the Russians /341/ for “political” (*pulitikali*) reasons started a rumor that a Russian army was on its way to Afghanistan. As corroboration, Kaufmann, the governor-general, equipped an army and marched it from Tashkent to Samarqand, letting it be known that its destination was Afghanistan. Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan rode two miles out of Samarqand to the edge of the (Zarafshan) river (as a gesture of greeting) and then returned to his residence.

Regiments of the Russian army began now to arrive in Samarqand from every hamlet and town. It was July (Tammuz) and very hot, and the army had not yet moved out of Samarqand when the *governator* summoned Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan and told him, “Our regiments are about to march on Afghanistan. You should join us.” He replied,

If it is the intention of the officials of the Russian state to conquer Afghanistan, then there is no need for me to go along. On the other hand, if what you have in mind is to return Afghanistan to me, then there is no need for a Russian army. I will take my own 1,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantrymen and if you give me weapons for them and six pieces of artillery, I will go and take control of Afghanistan. But if your government has other things in mind, I would rather stay in Samarqand and spend my time hunting. I also do not know whether you are saying this in order to have it published in the newspapers and to better achieve some other goal and whether you are really going to march on Afghanistan at all. If you really do intend to go to Afghanistan, you will find it very difficult to conquer the country with such a small force. Its people are stubborn, they like to fight, and are very blood-thirsty, not like the people of Urganj who could be conquered with 10,000 men.

In his turn, Kaufman pointed out, “A large army has been ordered to Afghanistan.” After this exchange, Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan returned to his residence.

Until fall, rumors were rife about a Russian invasion of Afghanistan. But

then the army was decimated by dysentery, withdrew from Samarcand, and returned to Tashkent in some disarray. Twelve hundred men had to be carried in wagons and a large number died from the disease. When it left Samarcand and Kaufman came to say goodbye, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan reminded him of what he said about whether or not the Russians would invade and the wisdom of spreading such a rumor. The governor-general admitted that he had been right and then left for Tashkent.

During this, Ishik Aqasi Shayr Dil Khan Luynab ended his life's journey and departed for the garden of eternal bliss. He was buried in the court of the domed sanctuary (at Mazar-i Sharif) of the Commander of the Faithful, ^cAli—may God ennable him. His son, Khush Dil Khan "Kamnab" was elevated to the rank of "Luynab" by Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan.

THE EVENTS OF 1295/JANUARY–DECEMBER 1878⁶⁰

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's cordial and amicable feelings towards the English changed this year to hostile ones because of the burdensome obligations imposed by the English, which the amir refused to accept, as noted above. He then proposed a friendship treaty with the Russians, the codicillary stipulations being that:

he would give the Russians access to India through Afghanistan and protect its telegraph lines (through Afghanistan). Nor would he be opposed to their building three railway lines towards India and, in concert with the Russians, he would go to war with the English. The Russian Government would in turn pay the costs of the Afghan army and arm it from the moment hostilities opened until any cease-fire. The Russian would also supply their army with food and fodder from their own country and ask for nothing from the Afghans. If the Russians suffered hardship, the issue of whether to sell supplies or not as well as whether to raise or lower prices would be a matter for the Afghan people to decide and the Russians would not appropriate supplies by force. They were also to pay the price set by the Afghans in cash. After they conquered India they were to hand over to Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan the lands which had been annexed to Afghanistan during the time of Ahmad Shah and Timur Shah Saduzaⁱ, including Kashmir, the Punjab, Sind, and Baluchistan. Afterwards, the Russians would not interfere in the affairs of those lands or of Afghanistan itself and Turkistan south of the Oxus River. The end.

The English heard about the terms of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's agreement and sent him a declaration of war. In it they told him that their battle forces stood ready to invade Afghanistan. If a satisfactory response were forthcoming

⁶⁰ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 150–151.

from Kabul by such and such a time reaffirming friendship and adequately responding to the renewed demands then that was what was desired. If not, /342/ they would invade Afghanistan through Qandahar, Kurram, and the Khyber Pass so that, by conquering the Afghans, they would block Russian access (to India).

At this point, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan ordered that Sardar Muhammad ^cAziz Khan and Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan be sent to join Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan in Samargand. The former had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Girishk by Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan and then, with his brother, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, sent in chains to Kabul from Herat in 1287/1870–1871. Now, after ten years in custody and seven years in prison (in Kabul) their brother Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan won their release and the amir exiled them, thus freeing himself of the anxiety they caused him.

THE DEATH OF PRINCE FIABD ALLAH JAN, THE HEIR-APPARENT, AND THE ENGLISH INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

During these goings-on, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan sent the heir apparent, Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan, to Istalif to spend the summer. He hoped that a change of air and some rest might help dispel the chronic feverishness with which the prince was afflicted. But the fever only worsened and so he was brought back to Kabul. During the night of the seventeenth of Sha^cban 1295/16 August 1878, he died and was buried on his father's garden-estate, now called "Haram Bagh." He was only sixteen years old.

On the very day of his death, the abovementioned letter from the English reached Kabul. Because of the amir's grief and the funeral, his officials at first did not dare bring the letter to his attention. But since the day fixed for the opening of hostilities was not far off, Mirza Habib Allah Khan, the *mustawfi* had no choice but to summon up his courage, persuade those present at the majlis for the funeral to stand aside on the pretext of an urgent matter having come up, and then show the letter to the amir. The answer he received was that with the assistance of other officials, he should draft a reply on the amir's behalf saying,

At this time, there has been the tragic occurrence of the heir-apparent's death. God willing, once his funeral is over, the amir himself will write an appropriate response and, acknowledging the concerns of the English, will see that they are addressed.

The officials did as ordered, drafted the response, affixed their seals to it, and sent it to Peshawar by the hand of Muhammad ^cUsman Khan *qābūchī*. When he rode into La^clpurah, the date set by the English had already passed and three English armies were en route to Qandahar and Kabul—General Sam Browne via the Khyber Pass, General Sir Frederick Roberts through Kurram and Khust; and General Donald Stewart by way of Shalkut.

The Afghan forces stationed along the frontier rose in defense and fought the English troops at Dakkah and Alwarak in the Khyber Pass and the Paywar

Pass, which is known as "Camel's Neck" (Ushtur Gardan). At both places, the Afghans were defeated and routed by a single (English) assault. At La^cIpurah the forces defeated at the Khyber Pass met Muhammad ^cUsman Khan, bearing the letter from the throne, and they forwarded it on to English officials in Peshawar. But as matters were now out of control, the letter did no good.

Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan was greatly disheartened by the defeat of his army and the incursion of the English. With his hopes now pinned on Russian friendship and the agreement they had given him, he sent the mother of the late heir-apparent, the other ladies of the harem, and the leaders of the Muhammadza^ci clans with three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry to Turkistan as quickly as he could. He also sent orders to Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, the governor of Qandahar, and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Pusht-i Rud, telling them,

The English army has made a hostile move against Afghanistan through Kurram and Jalalabad and will also be moving on Qandahar. The royal banners are being unfurled towards Turkistan. Your orders are as follows: When the English enter Qandahar do not resist them and do not engage them in combat. Should they pass on through Qandahar and continue on toward Farah and Pusht-i Rud, you are to retreat to Herat and take up positions there.

After issuing this order, at the recommendation of his chief advisors, the amir released his eldest son, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, from prison and named him governor of Kabul. From 1289/1872 until this point, he had been held in strict confinement. /343/

EVENTS OF 1296/DECEMBER 1878–DECEMBER 1879

In Muharram, after naming Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan governor of Kabul, Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan left for Balkh escorted by one regiment each of infantry and cavalry. His aim was to secure Russian assistance while making the progress of the English advance as difficult as possible. By the time he reached Mazar-i Sharif he had made up his mind to continue on to Samarkand and so made preparations for the journey. When General Fayz Muhammad Khan learned what he intended to do he forbade him and said, 'The men of the army will not let you go to Samarkand. They are all saying that we should raise the banner of jihad and fight the English.'

Against his will, the amir then abandoned his plans for Samarkand, fearing the army of Turkistan would mutiny. Now immobilized at Mazar-i Sharif, he dispatched an embassy to Samarkand made up of Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari; Qazi Mulla ^cAbd al-Qadir Peshawari; Mulla Shah Muhammad, the foreign minister; Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan "Kamnab;" Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan and other leading figures. Their orders were to return with a

Russian army, in accordance with the promises and declarations which the Russians had given and affirmed and in view of the fact that they had led him to renounce his ties with the English and had, in effect, put him at war with them.

Russian officials, meanwhile, thinking that the amir himself was on his way to Samarcand, which was the rumor on everyone's lips, had designated certain lush garden spots bursting with ripening produce as his camping places and had prepared them with royal furnishings even before his expected emissaries arrived in the city. At this point they were awaiting his appearance.

**THE ENGLISH OCCUPY JALALABAD AND KURRAM AND THE BATTLE ON
THE MAYL-TAKHTAH PUL ROAD**

After the collapse of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan's regular forces at Paywar Pass and the mouth of the Khyber Pass, as noted above, English regiments entered Jalalabad and the Kurram region without further resistance and in both places imposed their authority by force. Meanwhile, on the same day that the English and Afghan forces were fighting at Paywar Pass and the entrance to the Khyber, the English army ordered to Qandahar crossed Jabal-i Kuzhak (Muzhak Pass) and arrived at the manzil of Kadni. The Qandahar governor, Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan, meantime had invited Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Pusht-i Rud, to join him at Qandahar in order to raise the banners of jihad and bring in the tribesmen of Farah, Pusht-i Rud, and Qandahar. But the latter, citing the manshur-order from the amir which forbade their fighting the English, at first rejected the request. Then on second thought after considerable urging by the latter, he rode from Pusht-i Rud to Qandahar with 7,000 horsemen. There Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan suggested that he send his son, Sardar ^cAbd al-Wahhab Khan, with 400 horsemen, to launch a night raid on the English forces at Kadni and make off with their livestock and goods. But Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan deterred him and said, "Nothing is going to come out of getting involved in this kind of business. It is inappropriate because it will have no other effect than to put the enemy on guard." But the Qandahar governor would not be swayed. So Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, thinking that if Sardar ^cAbd al-Wahhab Khan proceeded alone it would be a stain on his own honor, felt obliged to accompany him lest cowardice and faint-heartedness be ascribed to him.

So it was that he rode for the English base with his son and 2,000 regular and personal (*rikābī*) troopers. When they reached the manzil of Takhtah Pul, the people there had already fled their homes fearing what the English might do to them. Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan summoned Nur Mihammad Khan, the son of Nasir Khan Achakzai, the local leader, and received from him a three-day supply of food—flour, barley, shortening, and other staples. Then taking three loaves of baked bread, he ordered 400 men to advance along the Ribat road and another 400 by way of Ghalu Pass⁶¹ under the command of ^cAbd al-Majid Khan

⁶¹ FM: In Afghan (Pashto), this means "Thieves' Pass" (*kūtal-i duzdān*).

^oAliza'i. He himself remained at Takhtah Pul with his son and Sultan Muhammad Khan and the rest of the troops.

When the riders sent to the Ghalu Pass entered the mountains on the road between Takhtah Pul and Mayl, General Donald Stewart got wind of it and sent a field battery ahead to shell them and /344/ with a steady bombardment, they routed the cavalry of Islam. A number of men sipped from the cup of martyrdom and the rest fled back to Takhtah Pul. The troopers sent along the Ribat road also returned to Qandahar by way of a side road (or the Kinar Road?). After the return of those fleeing the fighting, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan withdrew to Qandahar from Takhtah Pul. He spent one night at Dih-i Hajji and then reached Shur Andam where he rejoined Sardar Mir Afzal Khan who was camped there with the Qandahar army. Together they rode to Kuh Nigar. Of all the horsemen they originally had with them only 1,200 remained true; the rest had scattered. As a result of the defeat, one of the Qandahari infantry regiments which was made up of local men, gradually disintegrated with men leaving in ones and twos for their own homes. When he found out about this, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan collected their government-issue weapons and then gave them leave to go home. He and Sardar Mir Afzal Khan carried the arms from Kuh-i Nigar to Girishk. Thence on to Farah where they both stayed for eight days. With Sardar Mir Afzal Khan's assent, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan then left for Herat, for the peasant farmers of Farah were unable to support both men and their entourages. The latter went to Herat despite the fact that the amir had assigned him to Pusht-i Rud. He obtained an affidavit (*sanad*) from Sardar Mir Afzal Khan so that the amir would not be angry with him.

**SARDAR MUHAMMAD AYYUB KHAN RETURNS TO HERAT FROM
MASHHAD**

It was in these circumstances that Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, who had gone to Mashhad and there learned of the release from prison and appointment of his brother, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, as governor of Kabul, of his father's going to Turkistan, and of the English army's advance towards Afghanistan, now left Mashhad for Herat. He sent on ahead Shayr Muhammad Khan, a *pīshkhidmat* of Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's who had escaped with him to Mashhad, to notify Sardar Muhammad ^oUmar Khan and Field Marshal Husayn ^oAli Khan that he was coming.

Sardar Muhammad ^oUmar Khan wanted to prevent his entering the city but Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan advised him not to try to prevent him saying,

His father released his older brother from prison and named him governor of Kabul when he himself went off to Turkistan. Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan is also the son of the amir and the brother of that same sardar who was pardoned. For what reason would we bar his coming to Herat?

Sardar Muhammad ‘Umar Khan agreed and they drafted a joint letter, congratulating him on his arrival from Mashhad. They sent it by Shayr Muhammad Khan. In his wake, the two sardars and the field marshal came two kuruhs out of the city to welcome Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. They met the sardar, extended a welcome, and together returned to Herat.

Later Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan sent off gifts which he had brought back from Mashhad to his father in Turkistan along with a letter asking forgiveness for his misdeeds. The gifts and petition were sent by Yar Gul Khan, the son of the *mir ākhūr* Madad Khan Rika.

THE DEATH OF HIS HIGHNESS AMIR SHAYR ‘ALI KHAN

At the moment the English army, on the trail of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, entered and occupied Qandahar without opposition, the signs of death now appeared in the demeanor of the amir who was suffering from severe gout in his legs (*maraż-i nigris bi-dard-i pā*). Seeing his condition worsen, his son, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, together with Sardar Ahmad ‘Ali Khan, son of the late Sardar Muhammad ‘Ali Khan, rode from Mazar-i Sharif to Takhtah Pul planning to win the support of the people and garrison there so that after his father’s death he would be in a position to take the throne.

But the garrison at Takhtah Pul reacted with hostility and would not let him into the town. Soon after, they seized General Fayz Muhammad Khan, Brigadier ‘Ata Muhammad Khan /345/ Lahugardi, and Brigadier Yusuf ‘Ali Khan ‘Arab and looted their homes. Then, repenting of what they had done, they sent 100 regular cavalrymen to Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan to express their regrets, saying that they would let him return to Takhtah Pul and were willing to submit to his commands and prohibitions. But things were now beyond his control. The mutinous garrison had taken custody of one of the sardar’s slave boys and had conferred the rank of “general” on him.

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan’s attempt to enter Takhtah Pul was again frustrated and he left for Kabul entering the Hazarahjat via the Darrah-i Suf route. There he broke his journey and waited.

At that moment, Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan answered God and said, “Here I am, at Your command” and passed away on Thursday, the 29th of Safar 1296/22 February 1879 at the age of 58. He was buried beside the grave of his brother, Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, at the shrine of the “King of the Saints” (‘Ali b. Abi Talib) at Mazar-i Sharif.

EVENTS AT THE TIME OF THE AMIR’S DEATH

After the burial of that padishah, Mirza Habib Allah Khasn *mustawfi*, called together the officers of the army stationed at Mazar-i Sharif and consulted with them about Stoletov’s deputy and the Russian doctor who had accompanied the

amir from Kabul and were still in Mazar-i Sharif. He asked the officers which of them could safely escort the two Russians across the Oxus River and deliver them unharmed to Russian officials so that Afghanistan's reputation would not be sullied by any injury befalling them. All the officers sat silent except for an adjutant named Muhammad Muhsin Khan Qizilbash who accepted the obligation. With 200 cavalry from his own people (the Qizilbash) and a few others who were with Sardar Nik Muhammad Khan, he escorted the Russians out of Mazar-i Sharif on the third night after the amir's death, delivered them safe and sound to Russian officials in their own territory, obtained a receipt, and returned to Mazar-i Sharif.

Also at this time, the Takhtah Pul garrison, which had mutinied, sacked the house of Khush Dil Khan who had been given the title 'Luynab' after his father's death, and took him and Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Shah Khan prisoner.

In an attempt to extinguish the flames of this uprising, Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi* seated the ten-year-old sister of the late Prince ^cAbd Allah Jan on the back of an elephant and then led her and several dignitaries to Takhtah Pul. But the regiments stationed there barred the gates of the town and shouted abuse at them. The *mustawfi* thereupon returned to Mazar-i Sharif with the heir-apparent's sister and there, with the approval of the Sardar Nik Muhammad Khan, son of the Amir-i Kabir, and the officers of the Mazar-i Sharif garrison appointed Muhammad Musa Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan as the heir apparent, placed him atop an elephant and again went to Takhtah Pul. He was accompanied this time by regular troops and a crowd of people including both dignitaries and ordinary folk. As they approached, the Takhtah Pul garrison, which had mutinied and made a general out of Mihr ^cAli Khan, a slave boy belonging to Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, now hearing of the approach of Sardar Muhammad Musa Khan, came out to welcome him.

During the formalities of the reception, an artillery salute was fired and the new heir-apparent was conducted with full honors into the city. Each one of the officers and dignitaries present then offered congratulations on his heir-apparency and presented gifts—each according to his ability. For two days they extended hospitality to him and those who had accompanied him from Mazar-i Sharif. On the third day they chose 100 infantrymen from the Takhtah Pul regiment to serve as his personal guard (Ardali). Soon thereafter, they all rode back together to Mazar-i Sharif and thus the flames of dissension died down.

SARDAR MUHAMMAD YAFIQUB KHAN'S BEING NOTIFIED OF THE AMIR'S DEATH AND THE MUTINY OF THE HERAT GARRISON

When the turmoil in Takhtah Pul had been dealt with, Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, Sardar Nik Muhammad Khan, Sardar Zakriya Khan, Mirza Habib Allah Khan, and other supporters of the government informed Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan by letter of the death of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan and of the surrounding events. They sent a similar message by the hand of Mir Akhur

^cAbd al-Wahid Khan to Sardar Muhammad ^cUmar Khan and Field Marshal Husayn ^cAli Khan in Herat because they had not yet received the news of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's arrival there. Otherwise, they would have addressed the letter to him.

Yar Gul Khan, /346/ Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's emissary sent from Herat to Turkistan, received at Maymanah the news of the amir's death and immediately notified Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan by letter. Unaware of the letter sent by the sardars in Mazar-i Sharif (which had arrived by now), Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan heard of his father's death from Yar Gul. He summoned Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, informed him, and asked his advice as to whether the news should be made public or kept secret. Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan wanted to make his choice contingent on Field Marshal Husayn ^cAli Khan's approval, but Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan refused to consult the latter. He was afraid that the field marshal, being somewhat uneasy about his own behavior towards Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan while the latter was imprisoned, might hatch a plot, and draw the sword of sedition from its sheath.

But Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan eased Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's anxiety pointing out that the field marshal had an unblemished record of service and loyalty. Soon after, they called in the field marshal, revealed the news, and sought his advice. He then showed them the letter sent by the sardars with the news of the amir's death and further reassured Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan regarding his loyalty by saying, "I already know about this. But before you found out, I did not tell you lest something should happen and I be placed under suspicion." He then stated his preference for announcing the death and assured the two sardars, "the Herat garrison will never mutiny, nor, God willing, draw the sword of oppression from its sheath."

Thereupon, as he recommended, they held three days of memorial services —readings of the *Fatihah* and mourning rites for the late padishah. After that, having received no word from Kabul announcing the enthronement of his brother, Sardar Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan had the *khuṭbah* read and coins struck and circulated in his brother's name. He also conferred robes of honors on Field Marshal Husayn ^cAli Khan; Na^cib Hafiz Allah Khan; General Taj Muhammad, the son of Arsalah Khan; General Mir Sa^cid Khan Istalifi; Brigadier Parwiz Shah Khan; General Taj Muhammad Khan, the son of Mir Akhur ^cAli Muhammad Khan; Muhammad Afzal Rika; and others. He also promoted the last-named to "General of Artillery."

Two days after honoring these men, he issued a farman to Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi* to send funds from the Turkistan treasury to Herat in order to pay the regular troops. Then Field Marshal Husayn ^cAli Khan, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, and he went out to Gazar Gah and mustered the six infantry regiments stationed there in order to pay them. They began with the wages of the artillerymen and were in the process of paying them a month's salary when suddenly the infantry regiments, which were standing in formation, shouted out "O Four Friends" and began throwing rocks and sticks at the building in which Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, Field Marshal Husayn ^cAli

Khan, and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan were sitting and beginning to disburse the back pay.

The infantrymen acted on the provocation of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan himself who, in spite of (the declarations of) Field Marshal Husayn 'Ali Khan had instructed Faqir Ahmad Khan Rika to incite the army to rebel. In addition, the men were urged on by rivals of the field marshal, Na'ib Hafiz Allah Khan, Taj Muhammad Khan, and Shihab al-Din Khan, the nephew (sister's son) of Da'ud Shah Khan.

The men inside the building were upset by the demonstration. Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, who was behind it all, sent Sardar Muhammad 'Alam Khan, the son of Sardar Sa'id Muhammad Khan, out to advise the army and, supposedly, to quell the outburst. But in reality it was an empty gesture intended to allay any suspicions the others might have had of him. Incited by the sardar, the army paid no attention to the messenger but cursed him and continued pelting the building with rocks and sticks.

Then Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan themselves went out into the midst of the rioters and said,

If what you want is to kill us, here we are. So do it. But if there is something else that you are after, tell us and we will exert every effort to see that you get it.

Because the rioters had only rioted because they had been instigated to do so, they all replied,

God forbid that we should dare to kill you. Should we do so, we would thoroughly dishonor ourselves before God and all His creatures. We riot because of the field marshal. Having been under his command for some time now, we have endured nothing but hardship. Our intent was to do away with him and give him his just deserts.

Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, believing that what the mutineers were saying was true, branded the field marshal the main culprit and said to the army,

You were thinking along the right lines. But he has in his control a very sizeable sum of money belonging to the people and the army which would be lost if he were killed. So first, the money and property that belongs to the state and the army must be retrieved and then he should be destroyed.

/347/ When he heard of this, the field marshal was completely baffled and confused for he had always been satisfied with the regular regiments and considered them like his own sons. Now, seeing himself on the brink of disaster, he fled through a room in the back of the building and mingled with one of the

regular cavalry regiments, hoping to escape undetected. The rioters calmed down after Sardar Muhammad Yusuf spoke and, invoking long life for the government, asked pardon for their sins. They turned to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and said that the next day he should come to the army camp with Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan so that after offering their apologies for their impudent and disloyal behavior, they would then step forward to receive their pay.

The latter agreed and returned to the city from Gazar Gah with Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan. There they sent a message to the field marshal advising him that he should leave the ranks of the cavalry regiment and seek refuge with Hazrat-i Sahib at Hawz-i Karbasi. This was in case the soldiers found out he was with the cavalry regiment and might be tempted to riot again. So the field marshal left the regiment, went to Hawz-i Karbas(i) to Hazrat-i Hajji Sahib and took refuge there.

The next day, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan returned to the army camp at Gazar Gah. Each of the seventeen infantry regiments slaughtered 15–20 cows as alms (*khayrāt*) (of atonement) and distributed the meat amongst the poor. The day after that the two sardars began to disburse two-months' pay. Toward the end of the disbursement of pay to the seventeen regiments, two laks of rupees arrived from Turkistan, sent by Mirza Habib Allah Khan as ordered. The entire army then received two-months' pay.

During this, the field marshal was brought from Hawz-i Karbas under arrest and placed in chains in Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's box room (*sandūq khānah*), to prevent another riot.

Meanwhile three infantry regiments in Maymanah made up of men from Herat heard of the mutinies in Takhtah Pul and Herat and took it upon themselves to march to Herat to protect their families and property from the depredations of the rebelling troops.

On learning of their approach, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan sent Mahmud Khan Hazarah to dissuade them from coming to Herat and advise them to go back to Maymanah. Since the trouble in Herat had subsided (by the time he met up with the Maymanah contingent), he turned them around and led them back to Maymanah.

THE ACCESSION OF AMIR MUHAMMAD YAFIQUB KHAN TO THE AMIRID THRONE OF AFGHANISTAN

When the letter announcing the death of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan reached Kabul and those at court were informed and after the formalities of mourning and the recitations of the Fatihah, in the month of Rabi^c al-Sani 1296/March-April 1879 Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan was seated on the throne, the *khuṭbah* was read from the pulpit and coins were minted in his name.

He then summoned his brother, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, as well as Sardar Ahmad ^cAli Khan, to Kabul. Both men, as was mentioned earlier, had left Mazar-i Sharif at the time of the late amir's death and then halted in

Hazarah-i Day Zangi. When they arrived, the new amir put the former under arrest and placed him in the custody of Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Quli Khan, who had been named governor of Ghaznin. The latter took Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan with him when he left Kabul for Ghaznin, keeping him under guard. Sayyid Muhammad Sa‘id Khan Fushanji, the man who had held Ghaznin on behalf of Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan, was dismissed and came to Kabul.

Meanwhile, General Ghulam Haydar Khan Wardak was sent by Amir Muhammad Ya‘qub Khan as viceroy (*nā’ib al-ḥukūmah*) to Turkistan in the aftermath of the revolt of the Turkistani army. After he arrived in Mazar-i Sharif, Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, Sardar Muhammad Tahir Khan, his brother, Sardar Nik Muhammad Khan, Mirza Muhammad Rabi‘ Khan, the *dabīr*; Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfī*, and Khush Dil Khan “Luynab,” all of whom, except the last who was already in Turkistan, had travelled there with Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan, were now recalled by farman to Kabul. Each was installed in a position comparable to that which he had held under the late amir and they each immediately took up their duties. /348/

AMIR MUHAMMAD YAFIQUB KHAN'S LETTER TO TASHKENT

When Amir Muhammad Ya‘qub Khan took the throne, he embarked on the same path of friendly relations with the Russians which his father had followed and wrote a letter to the governor-general of Tashkent telling him of his father’s death and re-affirming his adherence to the pact that his father had concluded with Russia.

Meantime, the new amir demanded that Mihr ‘Ali Khan, the *ghulām bachchah* of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan whom the dissident troops of Takhtah Pul had made their general when they rebelled, be sent in leg-irons to Kabul. When he arrived he was executed.

In the meanwhile, his letter reached Tashkent. Towards the end of it he had requested that Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan be moved from Samarcand to a city farther away from Afghan Turkistan. He was worried that the sardar might escape, enter Afghan Turkistan, and incite an uprising. Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan had gone at this point to Tashkent to find out what was going on (in Afghanistan). He discovered that the governor-general, somewhat deceived by the expressions of friendship coming from the new amir, had now adopted a certain coolness towards the sardar.

The sardar wrote in his journal,⁶²

I could tell by his demeanor that the Russians no longer entertain cordial feelings towards me and are now behaving in a manner quite contrary to the way they acted before. But I pretended not to notice and did not inquire as to the convolutions in their attitude towards me. I

⁶² RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 153–154.

went on living and behaving as if I had no idea that anything was going on and I kept busy with hunting and sports. But in secret I sent men to gather information about the envoys sent by the late Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan who were still in Tashkent and to bring it to me. Thus, I discovered that they were negotiating a treaty with the governor-general of Tashkent and had reached agreement that in exchange for Russian help to remove the English hand from Afghanistan and thereby gain full control for himself (i.e. Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan). Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari would keep the Durrani tribes from resisting the Russians and would hand Qandahar over to their representatives; Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan ‘Kamnab’ would bring the Qizilbash of Kabul and the Hazarahs into obedience; Mulla Shah Muhammad, the Foreign Minister, would make the Ghilzaⁱ Afghan tribes amenable to the ‘commands and prohibitions’ of that government (Russia); and Mulla ^cAbd al-Qadir, known as Qazi Peshawari, would similarly bring the Khalil and Mohmand tribes along the border as well as those around Peshawar into line.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan had returned to Samarqand following the agreement between the Russians and emissaries of Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan. The governor-general of Tashkent, despite the fact that in the (earlier) agreement concluded with Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan, Kashmir, Sind, and the Punjab as far as Sirhind were to be restored to the Afghans, now chose to ignore that provision. (Still) the emissaries were satisfied with the terms as agreed and with leave from the governor-general departed for Samarqand which was on the return route to Afghanistan.

*SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN'S ADVENTURES IN SAMARQAND IN
1296/1879⁶³*

When the emissaries of the late Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan arrived in Samarqand, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan and his brother Sardar Muhammad ^cAziz Khan, both of whom the late amir, as mentioned earlier, had released from confinement in Kabul and sent to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan in Samarqand, penned a cordial note to Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan Qandahari, in the name of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, and then approached the sardar for his seal. But he refused and said, “I am his enemy and the enemy of his friends. They have struck a bargain with the Russians. How can I send him a letter expressing cordiality and bearing my seal?”

Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan replied, “When I was incarcerated in Kabul, he took an oath (of loyalty) on the Qur'an with me.” He kept insisting that the sardar put his seal on the letter until finally he did, remarking at the time, “This letter will come back to haunt me.”

⁶³ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 154–159.

Sardar Shayr ^cAli Khan received the letter from Hajji Jan Muhammad, the courier, and immediately sent it to the general of the Russian army who passed it on to Kaufman in Tashkent. When the courier had not returned after five days, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan blamed Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan for his mistake in sending the letter.

Sometime later, the two went out hunting. One of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman's servants rode up and informed them that the governor of Samarkand, General Ivanov, had just arrived with a translator at the sardar's residence. Sardar /349/ Muhammad Sarwar Khan was reluctant to return but Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan went back to his house. After taking tea, the governor of Samarkand said to him, "The governor-general of Tashkent has summoned you to meet with him and you must go immediately." The sardar promised to leave at two o'clock the afternoon of the next day and the governor of Samarkand then left. When he had gone, the sardar called his cousins, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, and told them, "They will detain me in Tashkent. You must get to Balkh and there lay the groundwork among the military and civilian population and open friendly negotiations and correspondence so that perhaps things will turn out as we hope they will."

The sardar also drafted a number of letters addressed to the general populace of Turkistan and handed them to his cousins. These letters read, "Service rendered to these men is a favor done me." His cousins agreed to do what he wanted. He gave them his seal and instructed them to use it on correspondence whenever they felt it necessary. He also provided them with 4,000 rupees, 68 breech-loading rifles, and 12,000 cartridges and told them to escape to Balkh whenever the opportunity presented itself. He then retired to the haramsaray and climbed into the bed of sleep. In the middle of the night, the governor of Samarkand, accompanied by an interpreter, 300 cavalry, and 200 police on foot, appeared at the door of the saray. He woke the sardar for whom an order had arrived that he immediately be dispatched to Tashkent and said, 'Get up and come with me.' The sardar responded, "If I had known I was a prisoner I would have gone to Tashkent right away and not waited here all night." Having said this, he buckled his belt, and left for General Ivanov's house with Faramarz Khan and Jan Muhammad Khan, two personal slaves (*bardagān*).

There he declared, "If you want me to go to Tashkent, why are you calling me out in the middle of the night and treating me with such contempt?"

At this, General Ivanov rebuked the governor of Samarkand and said, "Why did you behave with such boorishness? The governor apologized and explained, "Since the Afghan sardar's men are always armed, I took a large number of men with me as a precaution so that if he refused to come I could have used force to bring him."

The general answered, "You should never have thought it a good idea to bring him by force." To which he replied, "It was your bad idea to send me for him in the middle of the night."

During this exchange, Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan kept quiet until General Ivanov gave him leave to go back to his lodgings after agreeing with him that he would leave for Tashkent at eleven o'clock that morning. When he returned home he found his cousins and their people still fast asleep and was upset that they felt no apparent sadness at losing him and had slept through what had happened in complete ignorance. He noticed that his wives and children as well as Parwanah Khan and Qurban ʻAli Khan, however, were wide awake, their eyes full of tears. He was disappointed with the others and said to himself, "I have raised these people and for years accepted the responsibility of feeding and supporting them. I have suffered trouble and tasted bitterness on their account. And here I see them all sleeping, completely oblivious to me." These thoughts passed through his mind and then he comforted and reassured his wives and children and offered them some last words of advice they could follow should he be arrested. Then he prepared for his journey.

At the appointed hour a horse-drawn coach drew up. He got in and rode with Parwanah Khan and Najm al-Din Khan first to see General Ivanov who was busy writing. He asked the general for permission to rest a bit because of his sleepless night. Despite the assaults of fatigue's legions, because of his anxiety he napped no more than two or three hours. He then rose and decided to leave. His carriage was driven past the residences of Shayr ʻAli Khan Qandahari and his companions so that they could see that the Russians, as agreed, were taking the sardar in custody to Tashkent. The sardar was so furious at seeing these people that his hair stood straight up on his body and he wanted to attack them and let them taste the edge of his sword. But he held himself in check and bearing in mind the ups and downs of the world, he consoled himself with the thought that someday he might find in his cup the wine of his own desires and the prey of his ambitions in his snare. For two hours he remained sunk in melancholy but eventually with more optimistic thoughts he lifted his mind from its depression.

In Tashkent he took up residence at a house with a carriage and stable which had been built and furnished for a lak of rubles. /350/ Three days after his arrival the vice-governor of Tashkent came to his house and took him by coach to meet the governor. During their exchange of greetings, the sardar said, 'I don't know the reason for my journey here. What is it?' The governor smiled somewhat sardonically and said, "The people of Samarcand connect you with insurrection and sedition. They say that you are a trouble-maker and a conspirator."

The sardar replied, "It is you who have put me up to those things." The governor became angry, handed the sardar a letter, and in an accusatory voice said, "What is this?" The sardar opened the letter and saw that it was the same one that Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan had written to Sardar Shayr ʻAli Khan Qandahari and sealed with his seal. The sardar responded, "The seal is mine but the handwriting is someone else's."

The governor then asked him, "Why did you get involved in such an affair?" He answered, "If this letter violates the law of this government then naturally I

should be charged. Otherwise on what grounds am I prohibited from, or questioned about, sending or being sent personal letters." The governor was silent for a moment and then said, "You should have asked permission before writing this letter." To which the sardar responded, "Because of the distance involved, the emissaries of Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan would have returned to Balkh before I could have obtained permission from you."

Having said this, he tore up the letter. The governor stared at him for a moment then, after giving him permission to return to Samarqand, said, "Those you left behind are downhearted. You ought to return to them."

To this the sardar answered, "Since I have come here as a virtual prisoner, I should not go back there. I would stay if a (suitable) house is set aside for me here."

The governor agreed, brought his family from Samarqand, and settled them in Tashkent so that the sardar, now being in a more strategic place, could easily return to Afghanistan if the right opportunity arose.

*AMIR SHAYR FIAILL KHAN'S EMISSARIES LEAVE SAMARQAND AND AN
ENGLISH ENVOY ARRIVES AT AMIR MUHAMMAD YAFIGUB KHAN'S
COURT*

During Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan's residence in Tashkent, the emissaries of the late Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan left Samarqand for Balkh and then went on to Kabul at a summons from the (new) amir.

During this time, Sardar Yahya Khan, the father-in-law of Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan, who as mentioned above had become apprehensive of Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan when his son-in-law fled the amir's jurisdiction and so had himself fled to Kashmir, now entered into negotiations with General Sam Browne and other English army leaders on the subject of establishing cordial relations with the new amir. With Sardar Yahya Khan's consent, the English sent Munshi Bakhtiyar Khan along with him from Jalalabad to Kabul. After their arrival, the sardar was instructed to go to Turkistan to escort the ladies of the late amir's harem and the princes back to Kabul. A farman also went out from the throne to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, to send Field Marshal Husayn 'Ali Khan, to Kabul under guard.

The amir began negotiations with the English representative, Munshi Bakhtiyar Khan, on a treaty and the reopening of cordial relations. They agreed that Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan would go to Gandamak, at English request, and there have discussions about a treaty of friendship with English officials who would come from Jalalabad. Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan immediately began preparations for the journey.

In the meantime, Field Marshal Husayn 'Ali Khan arrived from Herat in chains and was imprisoned at the amir's behest. He also summoned Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan from Herat, the order being that they were to proceed one on the heels of the other to the capital.

The amir then assembled a retinue including Da'ud Shah Khan, named to the post of field marshal after Husayn 'Ali Khan's arrival in Kabul; Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan; Sardar Muhammad Tahir Khan; Sardar Nik Muhammad Khan, Sardar Nabi Khan *dabīr*; Munshi Bakhtiyar; and other dignitaries. He appointed Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan Qandahari to govern Kabul (in his absence) and left for Gandamak. The English officers sent a small party of foot, horse, and artillery out to welcome him.. At the moment of his arrival, / 351/ a twenty-one-gun salute was fired and a formal welcome took place.

After the official reception, General Sam Browne and Sir Louis Cavagnari came with a few other officials to the tent which had been set up for the amir and during the course of the meeting stated their demands. They discussed many subjects with the amir and reconfirmed the friendly relations and the treaty terms which had previously been in effect in Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan's time. They also added a number of conditions to the articles of the former treaty, conditions whose unacceptability had caused Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan to turn the face of friendship from Great Britain and go to Turkistan in search of Russian support. These were:

1. Shalkut and the district of Fushanj as far as the Gurhak Mountains; the district of Kurram to the edge of the lands of the Hajji people; and the Khyber Pass as far as the eastern edge of Haft Chah and Langi Katal, which the English army has recently occupied, will be permanently separated from Afghanistan and annexed to the lands already held by the aforementioned government (England).
2. In compensation for the tax revenues of these aforementioned places, an additional sum of six laks of English (*chihrah-shāhī*) rupees will be added to the previously agreed amount of twelve laks for a total of eighteen laks. The English government will pay this sum to the Amir of Afghanistan annually.
3. A Muslim will be allowed to reside in both Qandahar and Herat as the representative of the English government.
4. A telegraph line to Kabul will be installed through Kurram. The Amir of Afghanistan will undertake to protect the English representatives residing in Kabul, Herat, and Qandahar and to protect the telegraph line.
5. The door of commerce between the citizens of both nations will always be open and never closed.
6. A high-ranking official, not, as before, a Muslim, will reside in Kabul with several staff members and servants. At this time that person will be Sir Louis Cavagnari.
7. Afghan dignitaries like Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan whom Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan sent to Lahugard with regular, militia, and artillery forces to defend it against the English thence to Peshawar and Jalalabad and now are present among the (English) army at Gandamak —he and people like him will be exempt from royal retribution and are

to be reinstated in their former positions.

8. The Afghan government is not to confiscate their property or strip them of their rank.

9. They will be free to choose whether to live in Afghanistan or India.

10. The English will not assist or aid any notables who, with no connection to the English, were expelled from Afghanistan by the amir as punishment for treason or any other reason, or those persons who voluntarily fled Afghanistan because of hostility or opposition to the government and took refuge in English territory. This excludes cases where those concerned chose to work in an official capacity for the English for which they received a salary. Otherwise the English will not support them.

All of these new conditions were added to the former Anglo-Afghan treaty. The two sides placed their seals on the treaty documents and gave each other a copy and then said their farewells. At the time of parting, the English handed over to the amir all the (English) government supplies which were in the *chahāwunī* (cantonments) in Jalalabad and along the road to Gandamak.

From the manzil of Gandamak, Sayyid Muhammad Sa‘id Khan, the former governor of Ghaznin, was reinstated there. Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, was recalled, obtained the honor of kissing the royal stirrup and was named governor of Jalalabad. Sardar Muhammad Asaf Khan—who now has the high honor of holding the rank of “special companion” (*muṣāḥib-i khāṣṣ*) to His Majesty Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Amir Habib Allah Khan)—was named governor of Lamqan while the amir himself headed for Kabul. Before his arrival, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, who had been summoned from Herat, and Sardar Yahya Khan, with the women of the harem of the late Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan, arrived in Kabul. Then Amir Muhammad Ya‘qub Khan himself arrived and on the day of his arrival all the humble and noble of the city and its environs along with the dignitaries of the court gathered at the maydan of Siyah Sang to welcome him. He then rode with all pomp and circumstance to the royal quarters of the Bala Hisar where he alighted. From Ghaznin, he summoned Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Sardar Ahmad ‘Ali Khan who sometime earlier, as was mentioned above, had been imprisoned, and freed them. He elevated Sardar Shayr ‘Ali Khan to the governorship of Qandahar, appointed Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan to the government of Pusht-i Rud and named Sardar Muhammad Tahir Khan as governor of Kalat. /352/

THE SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT OF BAZ FIALI KHAN HAZARAH OF JAGHURI

When the leadership (*sardārī*) of the Chahar Dastah Hazarahs of Jaghuri along with command of a mule-drawn artillery battery and an infantry regiment

stationed in Sangmashah were conferred on Safdar 'Ali Khan by the late Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan after the death of the former's father, Ahmad 'Ali Khan, another son of his, and Baz 'Ali Khan, brother of the late Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan (Jaghuri), were appointed to the ranks of colonel and general respectively of those two units. But the uncle (Baz 'Ali Khan) and nephews refused to acknowledge either as superior or leader of the clan and Baz 'Ali Khan (in particular) refused to obey instructions.

Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan, responding to a letter from Safdar 'Ali Khan, then sent a farman to the governor of Ghaznin, Sayyid Muhammad Sa'id Khan instructing him to send out the Ghaznin garrison to make an example of Baz 'Ali Khan. The governor sent out a number of units ("banners") of Sakhlū infantry, four mule guns, and horse and foot militia from the Wardak, Tajik, Chahar Dastah, Muhammad Khwajah, and Jighatu of Ghaznin led by their khans. He placed Mirza Ahmad 'Ali Khan in overall command.

At Kuh-i Milur Milur Mountain), the government force clashed with Baz 'Ali Khan and his supporters who held the road there. The battle lasted for a day and a night and both sides suffered numerous casualties. Finally Baz 'Ali Khan and his men retreated to his fort which was situated about a cannonshot from Sangmashah. The (government) army surrounded him and cut off all access. When Najaf 'Ali Khan, Baz 'Ali Khan's brother, was shot dead while on one of the fort's towers, Baz 'Ali Khan called a truce and surrendered himself, his wives, children, nephews, and servants to Mirza Ahmad 'Ali Khan. The mirza transported them to the fort of Langalak Gulistan Khan with the exception of Baz 'Ali Khan himself whom he brought back to Ghaznin where the governor took him into custody.

SIR LOUIS CAVAGNARI'S ARRIVAL IN KABUL AND HIS ASSASSINATION

During these aforementioned events, a cholera epidemic struck Kabul and caused the deaths of many of the young and elderly. When it abated, Sir Louis Cavagnari, in accordance with the terms agreed to at Gandamak, came to Kabul by way of Kurram in Rajab 1296/June-July 1879. On orders from the amir, Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan, son of the late Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, greeted Cavagnari and escorted him to the Bala Hisar to the saray of the late Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan which he was given as his residence. He lived there, coming to the court on the days when public audiences were held. The rest of the time his habit was to occupy himself by riding about the city.

On the sixteenth of Ramadan/3 September (1879), the amir instructed Da'ud Shah, the field marshal, whose accounts at this time were being audited by Nur Muhammad Khan; and his brother, Muhammad Rahim Khan, to pay the army two month's wages. But, either because of the problems he was having with the audit or because of encouragement he had received from the mother of the late heir-apparent, Prince 'Abd Allah Jan, who had given him 3,000 *tilās* to incite the army against Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan—whichever the case—he told the army officers to refuse the two months' pay and demand more than

that from Cavagnari. At that point he began to disburse the army pay. But as he had already persuaded the officers not to accept two months' worth, the regular soldiers refused as well and demanded more. The field marshal said he could not give more whereupon the soldiers shouted, "We will collect what we want from Cavagnari." With that they headed for his house.

When he heard the tumult Cavagnari became frightened and, without inquiring into the cause, opened fire on the mob, killing several of the soldiers. With this, the eyes of the soldiers were shot through and through with bloodlust and they ransacked the arsenal for weapons and then marched against Cavagnari's house.

When he heard what was going on, the amir sent a message to the field marshal to quell the riot. But since he was its chief instigator he first went among the regiments to deflect any charges (of disobedience), sustained one or two minor blows, and then left the scene. The soldiers now turned their full attention to Cavagnari's house. Mir Akhur Aqa Jan Khan brought word to the amir, who was in the haramsaray, that the soldiers had not returned to their barracks and were attacking Cavagnari. The amir wanted to go himself and /353/ stop the rioters. But Sardar Yahya Khan and his son Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, who thought that matters were completely out of hand, dissuaded him.

Cavagnari was extremely worried by the assault and fired on the mob. After he had killed a considerable number they poured oil on his house and burned it down with him and his people inside. Only one person escaped, a man who had taken refuge in the bath. He managed to shoot and kill several soldiers before he himself was captured and put to death.

Jalal al-Din Khan, the son of Samandar Khan Tukhi, rode to Kurram and notified the English of the tragedy. General Sir Frederick Roberts immediately marched for Kabul with the regiments in Kurram and (soon) reached Khushi.

*AMIR MUHAMMAD YAFIQUB KHAN SENDS A MESSENGER TO THE
ENGLISH, ASKS FOR PARDON, AND THEN HIMSELF GOES AND IS
ARRESTED*

Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, deeply dejected and stricken by this catastrophe, sent Da^{ud} Shah Khan the field marshal, who as yet did not acknowledge that this disaster was of his own making, to the English at Khushi to apologize. With him he also sent Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi* and Mulla Shah Muhammad, the foreign minister. The message they carried was,

The misfortune of Cavagnari's murder being due to the insurrection of an army unit, and despite the efforts exerted by the amir and officials of the court, the outbreak not being suppressed, what happened, happened. At this time, by virtue of the mutual ties of friendship and treaty obligations, they (the English) should not hold this incident against the government nor set foot on the path of violating the treaty. They ought

to remain where they are and not act in a hostile manner which might provoke uprisings and cause certain turmoil. Subsequently, the instigator(s) will be punished to the satisfaction of both sides, according to political law (*qānūn-i siyāsī*).

Because of Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's message, the English decided not to march on Kabul and remained for a while at Khushi to see if things did indeed turn out as Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's message indicated they would and to ensure that they did not cause more trouble for him.

Meantime, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, hoping himself to gain control of the amirate, assembled a large group of the sardars and leaders of Kabul at his fort which is now called "Mahtab Bagh" (Moonlight Garden) in order to go with them to Khushi to meet the English force, lay the blame for the murder of Cavagnari at Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's feet and so win English support for his own amirate. As was his intent, he spoke with the English and greatly cautioned them about Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub. The latter, made deeply suspicious by the sardars going to the English camp, did not await the return of his envoys, but quickly set out, on the pretext of offering hospitality, for Bagh-i Bini Hisar, which had belonged to the late Amir Shir 'Ali Khan. From there he set out for the English camp at night. When he approached the camp, his (now returned) envoys told him,

This unexpected and extraordinary arrival of yours will only lead to your being detained and put in chains. If it is at all possible, you should immediately go back lest you become the victim of misfortune.

But since he had gotten too close and the English had learned of his arrival, he was unable to turn back. At the order of General Sir Frederick Roberts, the English army welcomed him with all honor and assigned him lodgings in the midst of the regular army. Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan had turned the hearts of the English officers against him and he (Roberts) immediately appointed a regular infantry detachment to guard him. Then taking the amir with him under quasi-arrest, he left Khushi and set out for Kabul. When the men of Kabul and its environs learned of the amir's arrest, they donned the sacred garb of jihad.

THE BATTLE OF CHAHAR ASYA AND THE DEFEAT OF THE GHAZIS

Unit by unit and squad by squad, the ghazis unfurled their red and white banners and began to converge on Lahugard. In the hills of the Sang-i Nawishta gorge they met the English army, the flames of battle erupted, and the market of combat opened for business. The braves on both sides opened fire on each other's positions up and down the hillsides and casualties were heavy. In the end, the intense English artillery bombardment forced the partisans of Islam to relinquish their positions and retreat to Kabul. The victorious English force camped at Bini Hisar.

This same day, General Muhammad Jan Khan, who had gone to Charikar at Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's order to suppress an uprising of /354/ rebels in that mountainous district, now arrived in Shayrpur. The next day he ascended the heights of Kuh-i Asmaⁱ (in the center of Kabul). Simultaneously, the English, via the road past the Hushmand Khan fort climbed to the top of the Kuh-i Shayr Darwazah (opposite the Kuh-i Asmaⁱ) and both sides opened fire with their artillery. A day was spent in this exchange of cannon fire. Then General Muhammad Jan Khan withdrew from the heights of the Kuh-i Asmaⁱ with the units and artillery under his command and at night set out on the Ghaznin road, making a halt at Margh-i Giran. For their part, the English, leaving a small contingent of regular infantry and an artillery unit atop the Kuh-i Shayr Darwazah which overlooks the fortifications of the Bala Hisar, now moved the headquarters out of Bini Hisar and made camp on the heights of Marinjan Hill. They set up Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub's tent at the base of the hill at the edge of Hindu Suzan and posted a guard around it. The next day, with half of the regular cavalry and infantry contingents left to secure the Marinjan Hill base, the other half set out in pursuit of General Muhammad Jan Khan. They overtook him near the base of Qirq Mountain and much blood was shed on both sides. The fight raged until sunset when the English withdrew and returned to their base. General Muhammad Jan Khan now entered the territory of the Wardak tribe in order to rally ghazis for the struggle.

Meanwhile, some of the friends of the field marshal, Husayn ^cAli Khan, whom Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan had thrown in prison, now gathered and undertook to free him. But he refused to come out of prison without some sign or word from Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan until some of his own people, at the order of the mother of Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, removed him and went with him to the doors of Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's haramsaray. Husayn ^cAli Khan, who had just been freed from custody and gone not to his own home but to the gate of the saray of the royal "people of the house" now assumed responsibility for guarding the royal harem which at this point was wholly unprotected with people of his own tribe. He continued to guard the harem until the amir gave the order for the veiled residents of those apartments to be transported from the Bala Hisar to Bagh-i ^cAli Mardan Khan and the house of Sardar Yahya Khan. Then, having given up home, kin, wealth, and belongings, Husayn ^cAli Khan pitched his tent beside Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's casting his lot with him, two men now adrift in a dinghy on the sea of misfortune.

A day later, several English surveyors entered the Bala Hisar and measured the distance between the site where Cavagnari was killed from the place where Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan was staying at the time and then returned to their camp. The English then sent the amir a message which said, "On such and such a day English officers will enter the Bala Hisar. You should also be present then so as to discuss and agree upon (what to do about) the Bala Hisar." As a result of this message, the amir suspected that they had some dire plan in store

for him. So on the day before the one set for the meeting, he left Hindu Suzan, the site of his tent and where (some of) his women were housed, and climbed Marinjan Hill to the English headquarters, accompanied by his son, Muhammad Musa Khan. There he renounced his amirate and the heir-apparency of his son. The English then moved their camp to Shayrpur, taking him with them. They placed him in lifetime custody (*mahbūs-i ‘amrī*) and mounted a tight watch over him. They released his son, because of his age, and had him reside with the women of the harem inside the haramsaray.

**SARDAR SHAYR FIALI KHAN NEGOTIATES AND JOINS WITH THE
ENGLISH**

During all this, the English force which had entered Qandahar had pushed as far as Shah Juy. But the Afghans of the region engaged them (there) and inflicted many casualties. Towards the end of the fight, Sahib Jan Khan, the son of Mir Ahmad Khan Taraki attacked the center (*qalbgāh*) of the English army with 192 Afghan braves, swords drawn, ready to sacrifice themselves and hoping to join with the souls (in paradise). One of the men, Pir Muhammad Khan son of Mu^caz Allah Khan and grandson of Murtaza Khan, lost his right hand which was struck off by a saber wielded by an English regular cavalryman. He also sustained thirteen other terrible wounds. Many English were killed and the force retreated towards Qandahar having been unable to make any headway in the direction of Ghaznin.

When they entered Qandahar, Sardar Shayr ‘Ali Khan Qandahari, who had been appointed governor of the city by Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, also entered and made treaty arrangements with Stewart and the other leaders of the English army, the terms of which were that they would not quit Qandahar but would permanently garrison it and that they would recognize his rule over Qandahar just as they recognized the nawwabs of other provinces in places like Sind and other parts of India. Having acknowledged him as wali, the English / 355, with his acquiescence, now took charge. But he was not content with the province of Qandahar and he began to harbor ambitions for Pusht-i Rud and Farah as well. He worked to alienate most of the English leaders, most especially Stewart, from Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Pusht-i Rud, and persuaded them to summon the latter to Qandahar, telling them that if he should remain in Pusht Rud he might join forces with Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, who was in Herat, in an insurrection. But he (Stewart) paid no attention to what Sardar Shayr ‘All Khan said, deeming it beyond the bounds of credibility. So the sardar himself commenced sending letter after letter to the maliks of Pusht-i Rud to incite them to rise against Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan.

Then, not satisfied with simply sending letters, he dispatched Taj Muhammad Khan b. Yahya Khan Fufalzaⁱ from Qandahar to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan in Pusht-i Rud, instructing him to find some way to get the sardar to come to Qandahar. And if he should refuse to come, then Taj

Muhammad Khan should use his wiles to incite the people of Pusht-i Rud against him.

But Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, learning of this scheming, left Pusht-i Rud before any trouble could break out there and came to Qandahar. Since Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan had made the English suspicious of him, they now realized that what he had said about Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan was false and reckless and they undertook to get the latter to return to Pusht-i Rud. But the sardar refused saying,

Although Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan has very close ties to the royal family in terms of his tribal and clan affiliations yet he really has absolutely no right to participate and intervene in matters of state. To the contrary, he has always been just a functionary and courtier. Now that you English army leaders consider him a leader and one of the ruling family, support his government in Qandahar, and yourselves work to administer government affairs with his approval and blessing, I consider my being in Qandahar and Pusht-i Rud both unworthy and something of a personal disgrace.

Having said this, he silenced the English and with thirty horsemen set out from Qandahar for the capital, Kabul.

*THE ENGLISH RAZE THE BALA HISAR AND SEND AMIR MUHAMMAD
YAFIQUB KHAN TO INDIA*

Meantime, as a consequence of Cavagnari's murder which had taken place in the Bala Hisar, the English vowed to tear it down. They allowed the people residing there, most of whom were of the 'Arab tribe, two days to remove their belongings. Over those two days the people removed as much as they could but most of their belongings still remained when the English began to raze the place, tearing down all the structures and carting the wood away to Shayrpur where it was used to construct a cantonment (*chahāwunī*) for the regular army which was built from scratch in the middle of Shayrpur. In Zi'l-Hijjah 1296/November-December 1879, they removed Amir Muhamad Ya'qub Khan under heavy guard and sent him to Dehra Dun escorted by an infantry regiment and one of regular cavalry. The units took turns guarding his person until they got him to Peshawar and thence escorted him under surveillance to his destination.

Also at this time, in fact on the very day that the English moved into Shayrpur, an order of capital punishment was issued for members of the Ardal Infantry Regiment which had been involved in Cavagnari's murder. It decreed that whenever any of the insurrectionists or murderers of Cavagnari were seized they should be turned over to the English leaders and fifty *chihrah shāhī* rupees would be paid as a reward. Consequently some ignorant people, greedy for the fifty rupees, denounced to the English many individuals who then suffered

martyrdom. Among them were General Khusraw Khan, originally an unbeliever (*kāfir*) and latterly a convert to Islam; Muhammad Aslam Khan, the *kūtwāl*; and Sultan ^cAziz Khan, son of Nawwab Muhammad Zaman Khan, all of whom earned martyrdom by hanging.

During this, a fire destroyed the royal arsenal which was stored in the Bala Hisar. Residents of the city scavenged many government-issue weapons including rifles and pistols. As a result of the explosions in the powder and fuses, stones were flung about, ripping to pieces the English flag which had been raised at the Shah Shahid Gate.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1297/DECEMBER 1879–DECEMBER 1880

General Muhammad Jan Khan who sometime prior to this, after the battle of Margh Giran, as already mentioned, had entered the territory of the Wardak to raise a tribal militia force. Calling the people there to join in ghaza and jihad, he proceeded to Ghaznin /356/. There joining forces with Mulla Din Muhammad, better known as Muhammad Mishkin “Mushk-i ^cAlam” (Perfume of the World) Andari, Mulla ^cAbd al-Ghafur Langari and other ulema, scholars, and local leaders, he assembled a large force made up of men from the Wardak, Andari, Taraki, Sulayman Khayl, Waziri, Jadran, Khwajak, and Tajik peoples and in Muharram 1297/15 December 1879–13 January 1880, donned the sacred garb of jihad and left Ghaznin. When he entered the manzil of Shaykhabad, the English army leadership learned of his movements and Sir Frederick Roberts dispatched half of his force to Kariz Mir under the command of General Macpherson and Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the son of the Amir-i Kabir, His late Highness Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, so that when the ghazis reached Chahardahi via Dudah Mast and Chihil Tan, this contingent would attack them. He then sent out part of the remaining half of the army under the command of General Baker and Sardar ^cAbd Allah Khan, son of the late Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan, to Chahar Asya with orders to circle around by way of the Ab Bazak road and come up behind the ghazis at Maydan. He planned that when the ghazis entered Chahardahi, Baker’s group would be in their rear, the force sent to Kariz Mir would be on their flank, while he himself, with the rest of the army would attack from the front and thus achieve the desired objective.

So he and General Hills and a small contingent of regular cavalry and two field pieces moved to the village of Anchi Baghbanan. He assigned a contingent to guard the baggage and the camp at Shayrpur and then marched from Anchi Baghbanan as far as the slopes of Qirq Mountain and Margh Giran. He secured both the Asma^zi and Shayr Darwazah heights with one hundred regular infantry and artillery and everywhere prepared his forces for combat. When General Muhammad Jan Khan and his own forces, somewhat ahead of Mulla Mushk-i ^cAlam reached Qal^cah-i Qazi, he clashed with Sir Frederick Roberts and his colleagues. Roberts, expecting to be joined by the forces he had sent to Kariz Mir and Chahar Asya, the latter to make their way through Ab Bazak and Dudah Mast to Maydan, plunged bravely into the fray and the market of combat grew

heated.

In the thick of the fight, the force sent to Kariz Mir, which in Roberts' plan was supposed to be in place to arrive at the right time, as fate would have it encountered ghazis from Farzah and Pamqan under the command of the brother of Parwiz Shah Khan who were on their way to assist the other ghazis and so were prevented from joining Roberts in time. Similarly, the army marching along the Ab Bazak road was unable to link up with Roberts and thus assist him because they were too far from the fighting. Unable therefore to stand up to the might of the ghazis, Roberts turned his back to the fighting and retreated in defeat towards the city and Shayrpur. The ghazis did not let up, pursued the English, and delivered many of Roberts' men up to the (fatal) bite of the blade. Of the entire cavalry force, only forty troopers reached Dih Mazang alive. Those forty arrived in Dih Mazang dazed and panicked by the ferocity of the ghazis pursuing them. Just at that moment, when Roberts had given up all hope, four hundred regular infantrymen from the contingent assigned to guard the baggage at Shayrpur came out to help and his spirit was restored. The infantry climbed up on the roofs of the houses of the *dih* (Dih Mazang) and with a fusillade of rifle fire prevented the ghazis from entering Dih Mazang.

Meantime, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan who was en route to Turkistan with a contingent of *khaṣṣah-dār* cavalry and infantry and two guns and had set up camp in a field at the edge of Dih Mazang at the orders of the English, now because of his friendship for the English, opened fire with cannon on the ghazis from a hill on the northern edge of Dih Mazang, driving them from the field in the middle of Dih Mazang and from the Hajji Yusuf Fort. Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan's own *khaṣṣah-dārs*, seeing him assist the English, reacted with anger and plundered the tents and goods intended for the trip to Turkistan and then joined the ghazis. The ghazis, driven from Dih Mazang by the fire from Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan's two field pieces, made for Wasilabad and Jangalak. The (English) regular infantry now emerged from Dih Mazang and opened fire on the ghazis from (positions) near the (Kabul) river. Thus did the enemy make its return to the city and to Shayrpur.

During the fighting, the force which had engaged the braves from Pamqan and Farzali and the brother of Parwiz Shah Khan, was beaten back by the ghazis attack, and then encountered another ghazi force which accompanied the mulla (Mushk-i 'Alam) near Qal'ah-i Qazi and Qal'ah-i Sultan Ahmad Khan. Much blood was shed and in the end the English retreated from the fight and headed for Dih Mazang by way of Qarghah. At General Frederick Roberts order, the force spent a full day and a night at Dih Mazang, fearful of attack by the ghazis and then made its way back to Shayrpur.

The English force sent out on the Ab Bazak road also reached Maydan and there, seeing the ghazis masters of the situation, quickly followed their comrades back to Shayrpur.

Mulla Mushk-i 'Alam and the victorious ghazis proceeded via Qal'ah-i Mir Ghazab /357/ and Afshar Tipah and joined up with General Muhammad Jan

Khan and his men at Hindaki—now known as Chihil Sutun—Dih Danah, Jangalak, Wasilabad and other places. A day later all the people of Chahardahi climbed Takht-i Shah Mountain with the valiant ghazis. The English had ordered two hundred regular infantrymen and two artillery pieces to man positions in the center of Babur Shah's Cemetery and at Wasilabad so that if other ghazis should make for the city via Gazargah they could set up earthworks (*sangars*) and stop them. From those positions they kept up a steady fire on the ghazis who had climbed Takht-i Shah Mountain and were on its slopes from sunrise until early evening. The English who manned the position on top of Shayr Darwazah Mountain did likewise. But to no effect. They were unable to dislodge the ghazis from the heights. Although the *farangis* tried to advance along the ridge known as the Mazar-i Hazrat-i Khizr to strike at Takht-i Shah the ghazis picked them off one by one and they were forced to withdraw to their positions.

The next morning, ghazis from Lahugard arrived in Bini Hisar via Musa'i and seized control of all the high ground from there to the summit of Takht-i Shah. The English came out of Shayrpur and marched on Bini Hisar, seizing control of the region from the edge of the square (chaman) in front of Qal'ah-i Hushmand Khan and the Qal'ah-i Hindu and from close to the walls of the Bala Hisar as far as the edge of Bini Hisar. They targeted the ghazis with rifle, cannon, and mortar fire and drove them off the heights. They took prisoner thirteen ghazis who for some reason had entered the Qal'ah-i Hindu and immediately put them to the sword. And now, just east of the Qal'ah-i Hindu, they lie buried deep in the sea of God's ineffable mercy.

THE BATTLE FOR MARINJAN HILL AND KUH ASMA'I AND MUHAMMAD FIUSMAN KHAN'S MARTYRDOM

When the English had scattered the ghazis, cast down those thirteen murdered ones on the ground of injustice and set fire to the Qal'ah-i Hindu, they took the road back to Shayrpur. Near Marinjan Hill, a party of men from the Tarah Khayl and some others who had embarked on ghaza having ascended Marinjan Hill now boldly swooped down on the English, throwing great confusion into the ranks of the army and killing many English soldiers with sword and bullet. But since they were but few, they were ultimately forced to flee and took refuge in the fort of Ahmad Khan. The English, having reached Shayrpur, rested, and rid themselves of their exhaustion.

The next day, Muhammad 'Usman Khan of the Safi tribe entered Kabul having marched with great haste, accompanied by the men of Tikab and Najrab. At sunrise, he set the face of jihad towards the heights of Kuh-i Asma'i. He drove off the regular infantry force which was stationed with two field pieces on the summit of the mountain and killed and wounded a number of the infantrymen who were manning other parts of the heights. He gained control of the lower reaches, the heights, and the summit of the mountain and intrepidly prepared his positions there for more combat.

Meanwhile, a rumor was spreading that General Ghulam Haydar Khan Charkhi was nearing Kabul with brave men from Charkh, Khust, and Gardiz and would soon enter it. Fearing for their lives, the English sent out part of the army with artillery to block his path and prevent him from entering the city and Shayrpur. They were to establish battle lines from the edge of Murad Khani as far as Rikakhanah, the Lahuri Gate, Banan Prison, and Marinjan Hill. Another contingent was sent to cover the area from the garden-estate of the late Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan, now called Haram Bagh, as far as the Bagh-i 'Usman Khan and the edge of Dih Afghanan, Bagh-i 'Alam Ganj and the Charkh Giri Gate, an area encircling the Kuh-i Asma'i. A third command with two field pieces was assigned to Qal'ah-i Buland at Kululah Pushtah where the government arsenal is now located. Then, with all their positions ready for battle, they opened artillery fire from the upper slopes and summit of Shayr Darwazah Mountain and Qal'ah-i Buland on Muhammad 'Usman Khan and his compatriots who were manning positions on Kuh-i Asma'i. At the same time orders were given to the units surrounding Kuh-i Asma'i to ascend the slopes. The fighting became heavy and city, mountain, and hillside were darkened by the smoke of cannon and rifle fire. Many on both sides were killed and wounded and finally the Islamites turned their backs to the fight and their faces towards flight.

But Muhammad 'Usman Khan himself along with eight fellow ghazis who bought God and the Prophet's approval with the currency of their lives, fought courageously and did not retreat from the summit of the mountain as long as they were able to draw breath. /358/ They faced the foe and killed many of them until, themselves cut down, they achieved that sublime state of martyrdom.

This same day a number of those who had been defeated at the hands of the people of Murad Khani, taken prisoner, and turned over to the English were also martyred. Their grave is on the northern side of the grounds of the blessed Arg of Kabul. By order of His late Highness, the "Light of the Nation and the Religion" ('Abd al-Rahman Khan) a domed mausoleum (*qubba*) was erected at the site.

Meantime, while the flames of battle had yet to subside and the warriors were still heavily engaged in the fighting, General Muhammad Jan Khan who was manning the forts of Chahardahi with a large host of ghazis, hearing the sounds of cannon and rifle fire, first gathered together forces at a field between Mazar-i Shah-i Mardan and Qal'ah-i 'Aliabad, and then headed for the fighting. Despite the fact that all the best positions like the summit of Kuh-i Asma'i and the heights of Shayr Darwazah Mountain were in the hands of the English and even though they had control of the government arsenal and the brave ghazis lacked the necessary weaponry to confront the English, still, with the aid of the Lord of Religion and the support of the Creator of the World, they fearlessly attacked the English positions. Seizing the government cannons, they overran all the English posts except for those on Shayr Darwazah mountain and drove them back to Shayrpur and laid siege.

In this battle, young Muslim girls also took part, shouldering the banner of

jihad and showing great courage. Some were wounded and others killed.

The English force holding out on top of Shayr Darwazah Mountain abandoned all its equipment and belongings as night drew near and came down the mountain. Reaching Bagh-i 'Alam Ganj and the skirts of the Kuh-i Asma'i, exhausted from the attacks of the ghazis and having suffered many casualties, the English made their way in a very short time to Shayrpur to save their lives.

The entire English force was now under tight siege at Shayrpur. Fearful and unable to sleep at night, they chopped down the trees of the garden-estates which were close to the walls of Shayrpur and used them to raise an impregnable breastworks of earth and wood on the north side where there was no wall. This not being enough for them, they also laid a barrier two-gaz wide and one-half *gaz* high of woven barbed wire (*sim-i āhanīn-i khardār*) around the perimeter of the walls and the breastworks so that if the ghazis should try a night assault their feet would get entangled and cut up in the wire and they would not be able to advance.

THE GHAZIS PLUNDER THE HOUSES OF THE KABUL SARDARS

Despite their great victory, the ghazis viewed the amicability and expressions of unity on the part of certain sardars such as Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, and others as simple expediency, entered Kabul bent on pillaging, and looted the houses of the sardars and city leaders. They overlooked nothing, even carrying off women's clothing. Hindus and Muslims living in the city were fearful of plundering by the ghazis and also worried by the fact that the Englishman Hills, who was governor of Kabul had proclaimed, on the day that Muhammad 'Usman Khan was killed and the ghazis of Tikab and Najrab were defeated, that whoever hid any ghazi in his house and was discovered would be subject to confiscation and seizure of his property and imprisonment. Therefore, those who had so conspired went to Chandawul and sought refuge in the houses of the Qizilbash and were saved from being looted by the ghazis. But most of those who were in the city were victimized by looting. Because of this, the English were afforded some relief and the opportunity to regroup and they made overtures to General Muhammad Jan Khan.

On the evening of the day of victory, General Ghulam Haydar Khan Charkhi with his ghazis arrived in Kabul and established his position inside the Bala Hisar. This made the English even more apprehensive and so they cunningly managed to deceive General Muhammad Jan Khan in the following way: On the ninth of Muharram 1297/23 December 1879, after nine days of fighting, they gave him 60,000 English (*kaldār*) rupees so that he would disperse the ghazis from Kabul. Keeping this secret from the other Kabul leaders, the next morning he led all the ghazis towards Shayrpur to fight. Outwardly, he pretended to make every effort but in the end drew back. Seeing him and his ghazis turn away from the fight, the other ghazis also gave up and scattered in all directions. The English, thus given an opening, took many of those who

remained behind as prisoners and put them to death. If this treachery had not reared its head amongst the ghazis, the English, just as in 1257/1842 would have all perished and been destroyed. But because of the disillusionment and disappointment this episode caused the ghazis, the English army, emerging victorious and confident, appointed Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, who had remained steadfastly loyal to the English through all the fighting and turmoil, governor of Kabul. Throwing himself into the responsibilities of government, he built roads and avenues (*sarak wa khiyābān-hā*) throughout the city /359/ and Shayrpur and erected strong fortifications on the heights and summits of Kuh-i Shayr Darwazah, Kuh-i Asma'i and Tall-i Marinjan and also built individual defensive towers in various strategic spots. He appropriated the entire treasury of Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan for this purpose. He made the one-*misqāl* gold coin (*tilā*) minted by the treasury equivalent to five to seven Kabuli rupees and the Kabuli rupee equal to the "bust" (*kalah-dār*) rupee of theirs.

COLONEL WALI ALLAH KHAN'S INSURRECTION AT GHAZNIN UNDER ENGLISH DIRECTION

At the time the English arrived in Kabul, they had also sent Colonel Wali Allah Khan of the Tajik people (*qawm*) to Ghaznin bearing promises of money and other largesse. They instructed him to sow enmity and discord between the Afghans and Hazarahs of Ghaznin using any means at his disposal so that the Afghans, thus tied up in (local) fighting would not get involved in the jihad and ghaza in Kabul.

So he went to Ghaznin where he first wanted to instigate the Tajiks whose obedience he had promised to the English because of his own tribal identification with them and for whom he had obtained a guarantee of protection (*zimmah*). After that he intended to suborn the Hazarahs.

However, 'Abd al-Qadir Khan, the son of Mahmud Khan, a leader and the chief of the Tajiks, who had been governing (Ghaznin) ever since the governor, Sayyid Muhammad Sa'id Khan, had gone to Kabul when Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan was arrested, stopped Colonel Wali Allah Khan and would not allow him to enter the town. The latter thus had no recourse but to go to the fort of Shah 'Ali Akbar and there stationed himself. Giving Muhammad Taqi Shah glad tidings on behalf of the English officials, he won him over while refraining from showing him a letter which was from the English concerning what he should do and which he should give to whoever agreed to serve them and throw in their lot with them. Using Muhammad Taqi Shah as go-between, the colonel convened a meeting at the Nine Tower Fort of Shah 'Ali Akbar of Hazarah leaders, including Ghulam Husayn Khan, son of Gulistan Khan of the Muhammad Khwajah *qawm*; Nur Muhammad Khan, his nephew; Murtaza Khan son of Ghulam Riza Khan; Ghulam Muhammad Khan, the son of Rajab 'Ali Khan of the Jighatu *qawm*; Mir Fath Khan of Hazarah-i Bahsud; Malik Ghulam Riza, the son of Malik 'Abbas of the 'Ala al-Dini Hazarah *qawm*; Sayyid

Ya^cqub ^cAli and Muhammad Tahir, the sons of Sayyid Ahmad Sarabi; Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Marquli and others along with their *ulūsāt* (tribal forces). There he showed them the English letter and with promises of good things, he won them all over and then set out to conquer Ghaznin.

^cAbd al-Qadir opened fire on them and kept them from approaching the walls so that they were unable to advance beyond Mughalan and Ahangaran. For a few days, the Hazarahs attacked on one side and another but then, unable to make any progress, they returned home. Among the incidents that occurred was this. Ghulam Husayn Khan and his nephew Nur Muhammad Khan who were spending their nights during the siege with their horsemen and foot soldiers in villages belonging to Tajiks and others (near Ghaznin) plundered Qal^cah-i Hajji and killed a holy man (*ākhūndzādah*) who was the owner of the *qal^cah*. They carried off all his possessions and returned to their own homes.

Meanwhile, the ghazis who had returned from Kabul and arrived in Ghaznin, headed for Kul Buri and Qiyaq to get revenge, attacking and plundering as far as Qal^cah-i Sarbid. The inhabitants of those two villages, taking their wives and children by the hand, fled to Sarab abandoning all their possessions. The ghazis killed several men and women who had stayed behind and, heavy laden, made off with their belongings. In the same fashion, the men of Ra^cna Khayl of the Andari *qawm*, and the Hazarahs of Shaki clashed and shed much of each other's blood.

Arsalah Khan Andari, one of the Afghan chiefs and an obese man, was slain during the escape, when he fell behind the others. After much violence and fighting, Gul Muhammad Khan, who was better known as "Khan Aga-yi Jalalza'i" of the Andari *qawm* went to Shaki seeking peace and managed to negotiate a settlement of this Afghan-Hazarah conflict.

SARDAR FIABD AL-QUDDUS KHAN ESCAPES FROM KABUL AND SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN HEADS FOR AFGHANISTAN⁶⁴

During these events, Sardar ^cAbd al-Quddus Khan the son of the late Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, saddened by the English occupation of Kabul, decided to escape to exile in Samargand. From there, at the order of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman /360/ Khan, he headed for Balkh with the sons of the late Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan and Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, an account of whose decision to flee to Balkh has been mentioned and will come up again.

In those same times, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan was engaged in extensive discussions with Russian officials concerning his return to Afghanistan. Since Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan, who had secured an agreement from the Russians in particular not to let the sardar return to Afghanistan, had been taken into custody by the English, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan was now able to get permission to return. He then went in secret

⁶⁴ RM: Cf. *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 159–167.

to a merchant who had promised to loan him money and received two thousand *misqâls* of gold coin (*qilâ-yi-maskûk*). He also obtained secret information that the Russians would not be upset if he returned to Afghanistan but, in fact, were quite enthusiastic about it. With a light heart and a sense of release from despair, the sardar turned his face in the direction of home. He saw that his loyal retainers, who were themselves despondent, kept a close eye on him to see if circumstances changed. He called one of them, 'Abd Allah Khan Tukhi, who had stood watch outside the gate of his house, handed him the gold and retired to the private area of the house. The following day he purchased 100 choice horses and gave 'Abd Allah Khan an order to prepare things for a trip including saddles, bridles, and weapons. Over the next three days he assembled the things needed for Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan's trip. Then on the fourth day, after performing the Friday prayers, the sardar said farewell to all his acquaintances, left the noble princes, Sardar Habib Allah Khan and Sardar Nasr Allah Khan and the members of the harem along with several personal retainers in Tashkent under God's protection, and departed. He made his first stop at the edge of the Chilchik River where he spent the night. The next morning he set forth on the road to Shahr-i Naw, a place newly settled and built up by the Russians. When he approached its river, the governor extended an invitation to be his guest. While they were enjoying their meal, the governor asked him how much money the Russian government had given him for the expenses of his trip. The sardar answered, "I am more than pleased by the permission I received to return to Afghanistan. I have no other worries that merit concern."

After this exchange, the governor, who also held the rank of honorary colonel (*karnîl-i i^czâzî*), left the majlis and returned with 5,000 rubles (munat = moneta) and laid them before the sardar. The latter refused to accept the money but, at the insistence of the colonel, did accept as a gift a six-gun and a breech-loading rifle. The next morning the sardar said goodbye to the colonel and to some friends who had travelled this far with him from Tashkent and resumed his journey.

During the last half of the night, he arrived in Ura Tipah and, after spending two days there, continued on to Paskat. After three days there, he rode on to Khujand where he spent six days at the house of a friend. There, after purchasing thirty head of horses from (former) leaders of Khujand who ever since the Russian occupation had fallen from power and now made a living as shopkeepers and merchants, he set off first towards Khuqand. But because of heavy snow and severe cold, he gave up and headed (again) for Ura Tipah. He sent a man with 4,000 rupees to his brothers-in-law in Khuqand, the sons of Mir Jahandar Shah Khan, with a message saying, "I am on my way to Ura Tipah. Until you get a second message from me you are to remain there and not move."

The sons of Mir Jahandar Shah Khan whom Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan had deported, had killed their father, and the Russians had imprisoned them. But they were released after three years under guarantees given by Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan and had chosen to take up residence in Khuqand. The message

from Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan filled them with pleasure.

The sardar himself next arrived at the manzil of Simab, dismounted at a shop and announced, “I am an Islamic officer (*az afsarān-i islamiyah-am*).” The shop-keepers gathered around and each agreed to provide hospitality to two of his men and one of them hosted the high-born sardar of noble origins himself. The next morning he and his companions departed and arrived, two manzils later, at Ura Tipah. They stopped at a caravanserai and every Muslim and Hindu there who had a suitable house came forward and offered hospitality. While excusing himself, he sent several of his companions to stay at their houses. Eventually, a businessman with whom he had (once) been friendly came and prevailed upon him to accept his hospitality.

From there he sent a letter to his cousins (on his father’s side), Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan and Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, in which he told them that they should set out on the road to Balkh and follow the set of instructions which had been given in Tashkand, as noted above.

The sardar himself, after a twelve-day stay in which he purchased different kinds of *khil’ats* and other necessary things in Ura Tipah, then set out on the road to the Uchi Pass (*guzargāh-i Īchī*). /361/ He had decided to make his way via the snow-covered mountain which anyone travelling from Samarqand had to cross. Despite the fact that the mountain was like a great dam of ice because of the tremendous quantity of snow and the severe cold that occurred in the month of Day, he nonetheless made for Badakhshan by that route. When he first set foot at the base of the mountain, he put his faith in God and began the climb. Near the summit, his face and cheeks were greatly suffering from the wind chill and he had to dismount from his horse which was up to its knees in the snow. He and his companions pushed their horses ahead of them, each man holding onto his horse by the tail. It snowed for a *farsang* and signs of the terrible toll it was taking on his men began to show. He encouraged them and kept on going until several of the men became lost. He ordered the muezzin who was part of his retinue to call out the the call to prayer. Seven times the muezzin repeated the words of the *azān*. By the favor of the “peerless kind One,” the wind suddenly stopped blowing and ten of the hundred men with him, each taking his horse by the tail reached the summit, the other ninety men being left behind in the snow. Of these ten, the sardar ordered five to continue on ahead down the mountain. He himself, unable to make his feet move any longer, sat down on the snow with the other five and slithered and slid down the mountain behind the others.

The people who lived at the foot of the mountain were alerted by those who had gone ahead of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan’s condition and three hundred people stood ready with wood for fires. When he got down, fires were lit and his spirits revived. Then people took him and his companions off to their homes while others climbed up the mountain to rescue those left behind and bring them home. Just as the sun was rising, the sardar entered a house which the people of the village had generously provided with bedding and there he slept until sunset.

The stragglers also reached the village and when he awoke stiff and sore in every limb, he saw that all of his companions were safe. In a gesture which

gratified the people there, he gave each of the residents of that *qal'ah* a gold *tilā* and each of their chiefs five *tilās*.

After staying there ten days to rest and recuperate, instead of heading for Hisar where he originally intended to go but the route to which crossed four more high mountains, he headed for Samarqand, the road to which crossed only Tilkar Mountain. Still, even on this road there were some very difficult places to get through—1) Fanwar, 2) Pul-i Khisht, 3) Wazari Manar, 4) Laqlaq, 5) Paskhandah, 6) Mu'min, and 7) Jannat. Despite the fact that this Jannat (literally “Paradise”) was as terrifying as the “bridge over the abyss,” and its alienness and hostility like hell itself except for the fact that in hell burn the fires of justice and here freezes the ice of darkness and oppression—otherwise there is no difference between them, yet, with the help of God, he made his way through each place safely. After spending two nights in the village-district subordinate to Panjikent, he then reached Qarah Dagh and Mughiyān where he spent another two days.

Thence, after sacrificing a sheep and unfurling a banner which he had taken from the shrine of Khwajah Ahrar, he set off for Shah-i Sabz. For several years he had had a recurrent dream in which the khwajah said to him, “O dear son of mine, take the large banner of mine and carry it with you when you return to Afghanistan and victory will be yours.”

When he reached Juz, the governor there would not admit him. Just before his arrival, the ruler of Bukhara had instructed him by farman not to permit anyone to supply the sardar with provisions. When this was made known to the sardar, he responded, “God is my friend and protector and you should have no fear of me.”

But no one there would let him pass and so he stopped at a mosque and ordered his companions to go to the edge of the river. He himself then went out into the snow, tied his horses, climbed on to the roof of the mosque, and shouted out, “People, I would be deeply obliged if you would sell me provisions. If not, I will have to take them by force. If you want a fight, I won’t hesitate.” But the people in the *qal'ah* refused to give him supplies and so the brave sardar instructed his men to attack the fort and seize the provisions by force. They did as ordered and the people in the fort, terrified by their pillaging, sent a Qur'an and requested negotiations. In supplication, they humbly requested that if their attackers desisted from looting, they would sell provisions to them. “If our governor should castigate us for this, we have a good pretext and would tell him that they took the supplies from us by force.” After saying this, they brought out the supplies and explained, /362/ “We were supporters of the noble sardar’s grandfather, Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, and standing here, we say that we wholeheartedly wish you the best.”

In short, the sardar spent the night there, his mind at ease, and the following morning set off again for Shah-i Sabz.

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN SENDS A LETTER TO THE PADISHAH OF

BUKHARA AND THE LATTER FORBIDS HIS ENTERING SHAHR-I SABZ⁶⁵

When the felicitous sardar had again set out for Shahr-i Sabz and came to the shrine of Khwajah Amkhanah Hadi al-Mu'minin, he ordered a halt there and sent a letter off to the padshah of Bukhara who was at that moment in Shahr-i Sabz, asking permission to enter Shahr-i Sabz and meet with him. Because several of the sardar's *nawkars* had chosen to seek service with him, the Bukharan ruler forbade 'Abd al-Rahman to enter Shahr-i Sabz lest these same *nawkars* should now abandon him and go off to Afghanistan with the sardar.

The sardar departed the shrine, intending to enter Shahr-i Sabz, but when he got to Ya'qub Bagh he changed his mind, so that the Bukharan padishah's prohibition would not give rise to an incident. Taking a route which passed by the foot of the mountains, he spied (at a distance) some two thousand cattle grazing. His men, mistaking them for the cavalry of the Bukharan ruler, set out to arrest them but turned back. The sardar, however, despite having given up the idea of entering the city, now took a road which led to it. One *farsang* along this road, he noticed that the cattle were coming towards them. He also noticed that the gates of the city, which had been shut against them, were well barricaded. At this point, having met up with one of his former *nawkars* he sent a message by him to the rest of his erstwhile followers who were inside the city telling them, "I will stop here until the evening prayer so that you may join me and with me go to Afghanistan." But this *nawkar* carried the message to General Nasir Khan and Hajji Jan Muhammad Khan who detained him and kept the contents secret from the others.

The sardar stayed until evening and when no news was forthcoming from his former *nawkars*, he set off with a heavy heart for Yar Tipah where he spent three days. But ten of the *nawkars* in Shahr-i Sabz followed him and joined him there. He discovered then that the letter he sent had never reached his former followers. The party now continued on to Kaltah Manar.

At the edge of the river there he noticed a hundred cavalrymen whom the ruler of Bukhara had sent out to keep an eye on his movements and ordered his men to open fire on them. Fifteen of the Uzbeks were wounded and felled by the bullets and the rest escaped. Fear overwhelmed the sardar now and despite the severe cold he set off on the road as fast as he could. He covered the three manzils of Qarah Chah, Chalak Nurab, and Yandah in one unbroken ride and only dismounted when it was time to sleep.

Riding on from that point, which was the farthest extent of the territory belonging to Hisar, he first reached Balyun and thence, via Sar Asya, Yurchi, and Rigar, went on into Hisar. He had heard that the son of the padishah of Bukhara resided in the city and now learned that the son, on learning of the approach of the sardar, had decided not to meet him and gone instead to his summer residence at Qarah Dagh.

The sardar dismounted at the only "clean" place, the Coffehouse (or

⁶⁵ RM: Cf., *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 167–174.

Tavern?) of the Coquettes and Anisette Drinkers (*?qahwah-khānah-i ghamzahkash-hā wa 'araqnushān*) in Hisar. There, by means of a clever ruse and as compensation for the behavior of the padishah and his son towards him, he relieved officers stationed there of six of their horses and continued on his way again.

This is how he managed it. He told ^cAbd Allah Khan Tukhi to send a letter to the leaders of the town saying,

Your amir is, in fact, a friend of ours. Secretly, he has done these things to us so that the Russians would (not) become suspicious of him as a consequence of his friendly overtures (to us). My sardar would like therefore to have a few words with you in confidence and then he will be off.

After the letter was sent, he instructed ^cAbd Allah Khan that he would sit hidden behind a curtain and when the town leaders came and were meeting with him, he should suddenly draw back the curtain, praise and extoll the sardar, introduce him to them, then bring forward their horses and say, "Since you, the prince, have come, these people want to present their horses as *ta'āruf* gifts."

Just as laid out, their horses were taken (by this clever ruse) and the sardar headed for the Oxus River. (^cAbd Allah Tukhi) then wrote a letter on his behalf, full of gratitude for the gift of the horses by the officers of Hisar, /363/ and sent it to the amir of Bukhara. It said, "Should you ever have a falling out with Russia, come to Kabul so that recompense for your generosity may be offered."

After spending one night at Hisar-i Shadman, he spent the next night at Tangi Qaq and from there arrived in Quzqun Tapah. He stayed there six days, stopping next at Khwajah Kalkun. There he was felled by a nervous disorder (*şadāyi 'aşabāni*). He recovered in three days, without treatment. Here he learned that Shahzadah Hasan, the son of Mir Shah and the brother of his father-in-law, Mir Jahandar Shah Khan, along with his cousins, Mir Muhammad ^cUmar Khan, the son of Mir Yusuf ^cAli Khan and Mir Babah Beg, the son of Mir Nasr Allah Khan, had evenly divided the provinces of Rustaq, Qataghan, and Badakhshan between them with Shahzadah Hasan established at Fayzabad, Mir Muhammad ^cUmar Khan at Rustaq and Mir Babah Beg at Kishm.

Consequently, he dispatched a letter about his stay in Khwajah Kalkun to Shahzadah Hasan. It was carried by one of his companions Mir ^cAlam. Then the sardar set off for the manzil of Suchah Ab, a qal'ah-fort on the edge of the Oxus River, standing opposite the district (*qaşaba*) of Rustaq. The second day (after leaving Khwajah Kalkun) he reached Suchah Ab and crossed the river on the third day, stopping at one of the fortss of Rustaq.

Here he received from Shahzadah Hasan an impertinent reply to the letter he had written and sent from Khwajah Kalkun causing him to regret the favors he had done for him, his brothers and other members of his family. He now sat down and wrote a letter of reprimand and sent it off. Since on the evening of this

day the shahzadah had dispatched a thousand cavalrymen to the edge of the river to stop Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan from crossing, an object which the sardar had already circumvented, now, in the dark of night, the cavalrymen appeared at a distance and twenty of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's own riders, sent ahead as an advance guard (*qarāwul*) opened fire on them. When they heard the firing, the shahzadah's Badakhshan cavalry, thinking that Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan had a large retinue with him turned tail and fled.

On the following day, the excellent sardar, who had 100 armed cavalry and ten horse-men carrying the banner from Ahrar's tomb and other things, confronted 12,000 enemy cavalrymen and observed that twelve banners (*bayraq*) of cavalry were riding towards him and his companions. When they were a quarter *farsang* away, the intrepid sardar saw that the enemy horsemen, as if afflicted by some (other) arrivals were little by little dispersing and he could think of no reason why they were until another group of the cavalry belonging to the cousin of Shahzadah Hasan drew near, their reins loose and shouting "Allahu akbar." At that point the sardar ordered his men to wait while he approached the Badakhshans with a few other men to find out what they had in mind. When he got up to them he asked and heard that they had come to welcome him. Pretending not to know who they were talking about, he said to them, "If you are putting the neck of obedience into the collar of submission to him then you should disperse and by collectively and individually you should present yourselves before him." Accepting these terms of his, they selected several of their leaders so they could proceed with him to the sardar.

At this point the sardar revealed who he was saying, "Anyone who goes to him, I am he." In joyous surprise they all said salaam and requested permission to set out on the trail of Shahzadah Hasan's horsemen and exact vengeance on them. But Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan did not assent and said,

I did not come here to spill the blood of Islam. Should the cavalry of Shahzadah Hasan who are headed for the valley of escape, throw their support to me in obedience, then I would hurl myself on the English who have occupied Kabul and are injecting hypocrisy and dissension into the Islam of the residents of the kingdom of Afghanistan.

Having said this, he set out with them towards Rustaq, stopping at a fort outside the city. The city leaders came forward bearing appropriate gifts and presents, and placed the thread of obedience around their necks. In their turn all were honored with *khil'ats* and were instructed that in a few days they should organize a force of two thousand cavalry and one thousand infantry under the command of Mir Baba Beg and go to Fayzabad. Having done so they set off for Fayzabad.

Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan drafted a letter for the people there and sent it with Mir ^cAlam, a man whom Shahzadah Hasan had detained while carrying another letter, as mentioned above, but by this point had released. He went along with the army of Rustaq. The letter said,

O Muslims. I have not come here with the intention of fighting Islam. Rather, I have put on the sacred garb of jihad and have made my appearance here so that if you will give me your support, I will devote myself, in accordance with the command of God and the Prophet, to the holy struggle (ghaza).

He addressed a similar letter to the mirs there and entrusted it to Mir Baba Beg in which he said,

I have entered this province with the (sole) intention of retrieving the kingdom /364/ of Afghanistan from the English occupation. Should I be successful, that is what is hoped for. If not, I am obliged at least to fight. You, the leaders of Badakhshan, should not allow the kingdom of Islam to be occupied by the Christians. If you don't help me, the people of the world will say 'the mirs of Badakhshan did not defend Islam and protect the religion of the best of men (Muhammad).' O mirs and leaders, hear my pleas with the heart's ear and accept them. If you don't, then I must take upon myself the duty to declare the struggle of jihad against you.

The people there gathered around Shahzadah Hasan and said, "The most important thing and the requisite thing to do is this: we offer our allegiance to Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman and remove the land of his forefathers from the tumult brought by the English." The prince responded, "I am on friendly terms with the governor (*hukmrān*) of Kashmir and it is more fitting for me to go to Kashmir than to submit to Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan." Another man of Badakhshan said in reply, "If you consider yourself a friend of the Hindus, we don't want you as our governor. Since you are now going to Kashmir, the sooner the better."

The mir, having made arrangements for this, now took his family and household via Chitrapur to Kashmir, where, a short time later, he died. After his departure, all the people of Badakhshan put their heads into the collar of obedience to Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan and accepted his commands.

*A LETTER COMES TO SARDAR FIABD AI-RAHMAN KHAN FROM
OFFICERS OF THE ENGLISH ARMY IN KABUL⁶⁶*

During this, a letter from the English in Kabul reached Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan. It was brought by his esteemed sister who came to Mashhad-i Badakhshan via Chitrapur accompanied by a ghulam-servant of hers, Babu Jan. The letter asked Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan to explain what had brought him to the region. In reply, he wrote,

⁶⁶ RM: Cf., *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 174–178.

I have come here from Tashkent with the aim of retrieving the kingdom and throne of my forefathers. Should the English nation desire friendly relations, it is inappropriate that my sister, who is a woman, be the intermediary and go-between and the one who spins the thread of sincere friendship between the two sides. Instead it ought to dispatch informed and knowledgeable emissaries to bring the matter to conclusion and to finalize by signature what is in the best interests of the two parties.

Some days after the sardar sent this letter, he also sent one to Mir Sultan Murad, the great khan and leader of the Qataghan. It said,

I have entered the region of Badakhshan to remove Afghanistan from English occupation and not to permit Islam to be ruled by Christians. You should give me passage to Kabul and help out with money, supplies, and stout-hearted men.

The mir answered, "I don't have the capacity to oppose the English by giving you passage to Kabul and attacking that great nation." Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, far from conceding, wrote a second letter saying, "Since it is clear from your letter that you are defending the Christians, I am forced to embark on the path of jihad and hostility against you."

In sum, despite these letters and missives, the sardar was unable to persuade him to help so finally he prepared a thousand broadsheets with one pithy expression,

O men of Islam, I have come to Rustaq on my way to Balkh. Mir Sultan Murad will not let me pass so that in concert with you and with the help of God and the support of the mighty heroes of Islam, I might drive out the army of Christianity from the country.

Entrusting the broadsheets to one of his men, he dressed him in the garb of a dervish and instructed him to distribute them at every crossroads, mosque, and place where armed men might gather. He hoped that people would read them and be aroused against Sultan Murad.

In this same period, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan and Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the sons of the late Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan, and Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan, son of the late Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, who as earlier noted, had left Samarqand for Balkh with a letter and instructions from Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan now entered the territory of Balkh, a fact which came to the attention of General Ghulam Haydar Khan Wardak. He had been appointed governor there by Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan, established his residence, and was actively engaged in its affairs. He in turn had appointed Qadir Khan Qizilbash to govern Shibarghan, Ghulam Muhyi

al-Din Khan Nasiri at Sar-i Pul, and Muhammad Sarwar Khan at Aqchah. When he heard of the arrival of the three sardars he sent out three thousand Qizilbash and other riders with orders to proceed stealthily and arrest these three. But the sardars received word and before encountering the horsemen sent by General Ghulam Haydar Khan Wardak left the road to Balkh and hurried towards Shibarghan.

En route they sent a letter to Qadir /365/ Khan and informed him of their change of direction. On the heels of this letter they rode on through one watch (*pasī*) of the night. When they neared Shibarghan, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan wanted to enter the city but Sardars Muhammad Ishaq Khan and ^cAbd al-Quddus Khan told him not to. Disregarding their advice, he headed for the city along the road which entered it accompanied only by Shurbat ^cAli, a servant, and knocked at the gate. In answer to the query of the gatekeeper (*hājib*), he said, "I have brought a letter from General Ghulam Haydar Khan Wardak to Qadir Khan, the governor." When the gatekeeper swung open the gate, he went in but the *hājib* recognized him and burst out, "Why have you lied to me and come into the city?" Having revealed what he had in mind, the gatekeeper now barred him and said, "Go back to where you came from or the governor will put you under arrest. And if you leave and come back tomorrow, the men of the city and I will welcome you." But Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, who had learned of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan's arrival in Badakhshan, paid no attention to what the gatekeeper said and insisted on meeting with the governor. When he was brought before the governor he was instantly taken into custody and turned over to a colonel of the regular cavalry and ordered sent to Mazar-i Sharif in the custody of some men under the colonel's command via Dasht-i Arzhanah under oath that no one should know.

En route the colonel sent a messenger ahead to General Ghulam Haydar Khan and informed him. He convened an assembly (*kangash*) of all Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan's officials in Mazar-i Sharif and concluded that the best thing to do was assassinate that hapless fellow (Muhammad Sarwar) lest the Turkmen, Uzbeks, and other people of the rural areas find out about his arrival in Shibarghan and rise up. So General Ghulam Haydar Khan gave orders to one of his servants, Rizwan, and an accomplice, a close confidant (*nadim*) of Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan, the governor of Sar-i Pul, to kill Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan. These two thereupon decapitated the sardar, buried his body beneath a wall in Dih Dadi, and presented his head to General Ghulam Haydar Khan as proof of their having carried out the awful deed.

Meantime Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and Sardar ^cAbd al-Quddus Khan, having turned back from Shibarghan with no word from Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan now learned of his fate and so made for Maymanah.

Dilawar Khan, the *wāli* of Maymanah, was apprised of the situation and ordered two Turkmens out to apprehend the sardars. But they refused the order saying, "These are the cousins of Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and it would be utterly improper to arrest them. Moreover, while life and breath remain in our

bodies, we will serve them and accept obedience to them as our duty.” As their words foretold, two thousand households assembled around the two sardars. Dilawar Khan, *wālī* of Maymanah, who still intended to arrest them, was nonetheless frustrated in doing so and instead urged the two of them to go to Herat, hoping that Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan would confine them. So the two men went on to Herat.

In the meantime, General Ghulam Haydar Khan having viewed the severed head of Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, sent a letter to Sultan Murad Khan, the mir of Qataghan, in which he said, “Either put Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan to death, just as Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan has been, or arrest him and send him to Mazar-i Sharif.” He in turn responded, “The sardar is in Badakhshan and beyond my reach.”

*THE ENGLISH DISPATCH MUSTAWFI HABIB ALLAH KHAN TO INDIA AND
SARDAR MUHAMMAD HASHIM KHAN TAKES FLIGHT*

During all this, Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi*, learning of Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan’s death at the hands of General Ghulam Haydar Khan and of Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan’s letter of friendship which—as noted earlier—he had sent to the English, realizing that the English were inclined to the sardar’s friendly overtures, now, by means of what General Muhammad Jan Khan and ‘Abd al-Qadir Khan had written, informed the Wardak and the Tajik and strongly recommended, “Notwithstanding Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan with whom the English have opened friendly negotiations and are likely to conclude a treaty, you must obstruct the passage of the English army so that it won’t succeed if it tries to march from Qandahar towards Kabul.”

This letter fell into the hands of the English who paid 20,000 *kaldār* rupees for it. To indict Mirza Habib Allah Khan and also because of the fact that news of English friendship towards Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan had spread and become common knowledge through him, they summoned Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan /366/ and Sardar ‘Abd Allah Khan to a majlis they had arranged to deal with the matter and there they introduced Mirza Habib Allah Khan’s letter to those present. But having denied that he had written the letter and having given an affidavit to that effect with his seal on it, he was still condemned before those sardars present at the majlis. After charging him, the English detained him and sent him to India on the heels of Amir Muhammad Ya‘qub Khan. They also posted guards around the clock on the house of Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan who had conspired with the mirza. In light of this and also because of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan’s government in Kabul which was wholly repugnant to him, Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan grew apprehensive and decided to flee. Using as a pretext a gathering for English officers which he had already hosted on a number of occasions, he sent household goods—carpets and dishes—to the garden-estate of the late Amir Shayr ‘Ali Khan which stands in Bini Hisar, and invited the English leaders to be his guests there on the morrow.

Then he himself, that same day, headed for the estate. En route he met up with one of the English Garraghty (? *Kirikhti*) whom he also invited for the following day. After the offering and accepting of the invitation, wanting to get something from the officer, he said, "Give me your pledge that you will definitely come." So the latter handed over his revolver to Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan as a pledge that he would keep his word. The sardar took it and continued on. After entering the estate, that night the sardar departed for Chakri with Sardar ^cAbd Allah Khan, son of the late Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan. When they entered the territory of the Ahmadza^oi, they went on to Ghazni which the English had not yet occupied and established themselves there.

*AN ENGLISH FORCE MOVES FROM QANDAHAR TOWARD KABUL UNDER
THE COMMAND OF SIR DONALD STEWART*

During the abovementioned events, Sir Donald Stewart marched from Qandahar with a large contingent to reinforce the English army which was at Kabul and was worried about the massing of ghazis there. Simultaneously, a force of 500 ghazis from Qandahar set off on a parallel track planning to harass the English and make off with their animals. Every time the English stopped, the ghazis would harry them from all sides. From the direction of Kabul, the Afghan tribes of ^cAli Khayl, Taraki, and Andari, learning of the movement of the English army, closed up their homes and forts, took their wives and children off towards Zurmat, moving them out of the area. The men assembled in the district Iraktu to prepare for ghaza and there, joining forces with men from the Waziri, Sulayman Khayl and other tribes, stood ready to block the English advance.

When the English arrived in the hamlet called Madfan-i Mulla Nuh (Noah's Burial Place), and had not yet reached the manzil at Nani, their minds were still preoccupied with the day's march when suddenly the ghazis attacked. A fierce fight developed, many of the ghazis achieved the rank of martyr, and, in the end, the survivors were routed. The English pursued for a short distance and then drew back. The next day another battle occurred at the hamlet of Arzu wa Shalij and many more ghazis made their way to paradise. The English army entered Ghaznin in triumph and without a pause headed on to Kabul.

Meanwhile, Ghulam Haydar Khan *jinrāl* Charkhi⁶⁷ on his way to Kabul from Charkh with a huge throng bent on jihad arrived in Char Asyab where he fell upon two hundred English regulars who had gone there for some reason or other. Driving the English before them they laid siege to the latter when they retreated into the fort of Muhammad ^cUmar Khan. When General Sir Frederick Roberts learned of the incident he departed his base at Shayrpur with a revenge-minded force and marched to Char Asyab through Bini Hisar. On the march

⁶⁷ FM: His Highness (Amir Habib Allah Khan) has here written (in the manuscript) the following: "Charkh is a hamlet twenty-five kuruhs south of Kabul. Mawlana Ya^cqub Charkhi was from there although his blessed grave is in Khuttalan, now known as Kulab. But his birthplace in Charkh is now a famous pilgrimage spot."

from Shayrpur to Char Asyab, he posted ten or twenty infantrymen every mile along the way, while he himself continued on to Char Asyab with the rest of the still large force. There he attacked the ghazis and blood flowed copiously on both sides. In the end, the entrenched position of the ghazis was broken and they turned from the fight. Victorious, Sir Frederick Roberts rescued those besieged in the fort of Muhammad 'Umar Khan and returned to Shayrpur.

General Donald Stewart also now arrived with his forces and the might and dominance of the English was established in Kabul so that their minds were eased of any fears of attack by the ghazis. /367/

*SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN'S ACTIVITIES AFTER THE MURDER OF
SARDAR MUHAMMAD SARWAR KHAN*⁶⁸

During the events and proceedings heretofore discussed, the sardar of inestimable power, 'Abd al-Rahman Khan wrote a letter to Mir Baba Beg whom he had sent to Fayzabad, Badakhshan and asked that he come back to see him saying,

Together assisting each other, we ought to strike at the Mir of Qataghan and his men who have withdrawn the foot from the road of friendship with the people of Islam and taken up the weapons of opposition. Either together (we) would force him to become an ally or would utterly annihilate him.

In reply, Mir Baba Beg made the following proposal,

If the noble sardar should come to Fayzabad, show himself to the people there, then proceed together with me to the district of Qataghan, this would be the best thing, for the people would be emboldened and empowered by seeing the auspicious person of the noble sardar.

In line with this letter, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan took Mir Muhammad 'Umar Khan—whom he himself had appointed governor of Rustaq—along with other leaders and 2,000 riders, set off for Fayzabad, stopping at the hamlet of Arku for a time. There one night a crazed-appearing and half-naked person showed up and asked to be taken to the sardar. But since the latter was asleep, the guard at his door stopped him and went himself to wake the sardar and report to him what was going on. He then summoned the man who disclosed that he had a letter from an Afghan merchant. When the sardar opened the letter he saw,

Mir Baba Beg and his munshi and the leaders of Badakhshan have made a pact to detain the sardar and hand him over to English officials

⁶⁸ RM: Cf., *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 178–190.

so that perhaps by this act, they would secure control of the governments of Badakhshan and Rustaq for themselves.

This caused the sardar great distress and he spent the rest of the night thinking and worrying. The next morning he summoned Mix Muhammad 'Umar Khan and the other leaders of Rustaq who were with his army and asked their advice. After reading the letter, they said, "The truth is that Mir Baba Beg is a thoroughly disreputable character. There can be little doubt that this letter is telling the truth." Afterwards, Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan excused Mir Muhammad 'Umar Khan who because of the enmity he harbored towards Mir Baba Beg had declined going to Fayzabad and let him return to Rustaq to attend to the defense and security of the town. Sending 'Abd Allah Khan with him, the sardar secretly instructed him to keep him apprised of whatever Mir Muhammad 'Umar Khan did or said.

The sardar himself then headed for Fayzabad. At Kuh-i Zarakan, Mir Baba Beg came to welcome him with 6,000 cavalry. The sardar ordered his own riders to stop. Then he put spurs to his horse, telling his companions that if Mir Baba Beg and his cavalry were plotting some hostile act, they should boldly defend themselves. But the mir came forward in an open and amiable way and met with the sardar on friendly terms. The sardar was put at ease and signaled for his horsemen who had stayed back to come forward. Then together with Mir Baba Beg and his cavalry, he and his men headed for their intended goal.

The sardar said to the cavalry of the mir, "I have heard that you know how to race your horses in a most excellent way. I would very much like to see this." So, as the sardar had asked, they proceeded to demonstrate their skill at horsemanship (*asp-tāzī*) while the companions of the sardar, at a signal from him given in Pashto, surrounded Mir Baba Beg and rode their horses along at a slow pace. When they approached Fayzabad, at the sardar's order, his men went on ahead into the city, posting thirty men to secure the gate.

On the fourth day after the sardar's arrival in Fayzabad, Mir Baba Beg received a letter from General Ghulam Haydar Khan Wardak asking, "Why haven't you arrested him and delivered him to Mazar-i Sharif so that the world would be rid of him just like his cousin Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan?"

At the same time a letter came from the Amir of Bukhara along with a ceremonial robe and four horses outfitted with saddles and gold-worked bridles. The letter stated,

General Ghulam Haydar Khan, out of friendship, concluded a pact with me to annex Balkh to the land of the sultanate of Bukhara. Therefore you must send Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman in manacles to him. In addition, since he has escaped from the Russians, killing him will not give rise to any retaliation.

Because of the enticements of these despicable schemers, Mir Baba Beg

began to have ambitions about money and prestige and to incite the people of Badakhshan towards the path of perdition.

One day he invited Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan to a partridge (*kabk*) hunt. At first the sardar explained, “You agreed with me to assemble a force to go and reprimand Sultan Murad, not to go hunting.” The mir who thought that the cartridge-boxes the sardar had /368/ contained *tilās* said, “Unless there are 20,000 *tilās* (for me), there won’t be any assembling of men.”

The sardar, who at this point had less than 1,000 tillas, responded,

Whatever money I have, I am saving to use to fight the English. I have no use for any army which only wants to join me if I pay extortion. Right now I have 10,000 men from Qataghan and 10,000 from Rustaq who have joined me for ghaza. And when I enter Kabul thousands of Afghan ghazis will support me.

Having said this, he prepared himself for the hunt.

Meantime, some Badakhshans warned him, “Mir Baba Beg has conspired with his munshi and other leaders to kill you while you are hunting.”

Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan, not letting this trouble him, set off for the hunting grounds with thirty of his own colleagues and Mir Baba Beg. He told his companions that if he pointed his gun at Mir Baba Beg, they should also draw their guns. When they reached the mountain slopes, another five hundred riders came and joined Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan and began the uphill ride. Encountering no game, the sardar turned to Mir Baba Beg and said,

I’ve heard that the purpose of this outing was for you to seize me and hand me over to the English. There’s no better opportunity than this for you to do what you have in mind to do.

Saying this he pointed the barrel of his rifle at the mir’s chest. As instructed, his men also brought out their rifles and pointed them at the mir’s men on foot whose manner indicated a readiness to fight. But these men immediately began to cry, “Please don’t kill us. It’s you who have given Mir Baba Beg power over us. It’s not what we want.”

The sardar was satisfied by the fervor of their cries, like wolf and sheep, they returned (to Fayzabad). Three days later, at the order of the sardar, Ishan [‘]Aziz Khwajah notified Mir Baba Beg that he should come and talk to the sardar. So he came with three hundred men to Sardar [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan’s house which was in the citadel (*arg*). The guard at the gate refused him entry and told him that all but thirty of his men had leave to go home. He and the rest could enter the citadel and the place where the sardar was staying. The mir took great umbrage and, denouncing the Afghans in general, ordered his men to take possession of the citadel by force. Attacking the guards, they seized control of the first gate by force. The guards retreated and barred a second gate while one of them alerted the sardar. Except for a six-shot revolver, he was weaponless

and dressed in his nightclothes when he came out to the second gate and saw that nearly five thousand armed men were standing ready for battle outside the gate. Realizing that resistance was impossible against such numbers, he told his men, "I will slip out into their midst and if I can get Mir Baba Beg in my clutches before they recognize me, then we will be safe. But if they kill me first, you are free to choose whether to fight or hold back."

He then slipped out. Mir Baba Beg's assault troops did not recognize him and, passing through them, he came up behind Mir Baba Beg and grabbed him by the neck. Placing his revolver against the side of the mir's head he said, "One of the Afghans you vilified is right here. If you value your life, drop your sword. Otherwise, I'll kill you." Full of cunning, the mir cried out, "Take the gun away from my head and I will drop my sword."

Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan did not accept his importuning and gripped his neck even tighter until he was forced to throw down his sword. Next, the sardar in harsh tones told him to order his men out of the citadel and he complied. Then the sardar said, "I invited you to my house in friendship. Why did you behave with such hostility?"

After these words, he addressed the Badakhshinis and said, "Either help me or stay with this mir." Agreeing to provide service to the sardar, they were granted leave to go and went home. Then the sardar took Mir Baba Beg with an escort of ten riders back to his own family. He spent the night at his house and next morning returned to the citadel of Fayzabad from whence he summoned to Fayzabad Mir Muhammad 'Umar, who was an opponent of Mir Baba Beg, as a means of finding some resolution. The aforementioned came to Fayzabad with 4,000 men and made camp at Juzun. The leaders with him appeared before Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan and petitioned him as follows: "By way of joining together the tie of friendship, we seek permission to convene a majlis with Mir Baba Beg and exchange gifts. The esteemed sardar should also attend that majlis."

He agreed to the request and attended the conference, taking his seat between the two mirs. A cone of sugar and trays of sweets were brought and placed before the illustrious sardar. */369/* After the conclusion of a treaty of friendship each of the mirs presented the other with a ceremonial robe. Mir Baba Beg also addressed Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman and said, "We are now two individuals who act with one hand. We have the power to break this great block of sugar, which, once broken up, we can divide."

Sardar 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, by his powers of intuition, understood that he himself was the object of this metaphor of Mir Baba Beg's. So he answered, "That would be not just difficult but quite impossible." Having said this, he ordered that the sugar be removed. Then having sat for a time, he got up and left, but he was concerned that they might rise up and perpetrate something against him. And no matter how he urged them to move against Qataghan, they made excuses and did not act.

During this, the person carrying the broadsheets, who was previously

mentioned as having been sent to Balkh, arrived in Balkh and distributed them clandestinely at mosques, crossroads, and army camps. They eventually came into the hands of officers of the the regular army who informed General Ghulam Haydar Khan Wardak and said, “We should launch jihad against Sultan Mir Murad because he has taken the path of supporting the English.” Because of the professions of the regular army officers, General Ghulam Haydar Khan thought it a good pretext to occupy Qataghan. The thought also occurred to him that Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan would be disturbed by the advance of the Balkh army towards Qataghan and the people of Badakhshan would seize him. With such illusions in his head, he sent his nephew from Balkh with five infantry regiments, 1,200 cavalry and thirty artillery pieces towards Qataghan. At the edge of the Qunduz River, he formed battle ranks against the people of Qataghan and prevailed.

For three days afterwards, the broadsheets of Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan circulated among the soldiers. Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan whom Na’ib Muhammad ʻAlam Khan had summoned and appointed chief of the army (*amīn-i nizām*) of Turkistan two years after Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman’s rout in a battle at Ghaznin in 1285/1868, and who up to this time had occupied himself with this duty, seeing the broadsheet distributed by Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan decided to offer him his services and came to kiss the sardar’s stirrup at Mashhad-i Badakhshan. The sardar honored him with the gift of his penbox and a promise of the position of *mustawfi* of the kingdom of Afghanistan.

The victorious forces from Balkh now entered Taluqan where they asserted that they had to get rid of Mir Sultan Murad because he had abandoned Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan over the issue of jihad and thwarted his wish, “Either we should punish him or make him an ally and then together carry jihad to Kabul.”

Mir Sultan Murad was frightened by what the army of Balkh was saying and sent a letter of supplication to Mir Baba Beg and Mir Muhammad ʻUmar saying that they should not protect Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman “for the army of Balkh intends to make life bitter for you and me.” He also sent a letter to Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan inviting him to Qataghan. The sardar, who knew nothing about the letter sent to Mir Baba Beg and Mir Muhammad ʻUmar was baffled. “Up to now Mir Sultan Murad hasn’t wanted me to enter Qataghan. What possible motive could there now be for him to set foot on the path of friendship.” The messenger who had brought this letter, seeing the sardar’s pondering this matter, told him about the letter sent by Sultan Mir Murad to Mir Baba Beg and Mir Muhammad ʻUmar and so relieved his mind.

The next day, Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan set off for Qataghan with Muhammad ʻUmar riding along with him. Mir Baba Beg, however, put off going and said, “I will follow shortly.” Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman said nothing about his decision not to accompany him and asked him to bring, when he came, fifty horses with saddles and bridles and fifty rifles for the Afghans who had subsequently come from Shahr-i Sabz and joined the sardar. Sardar ʻAbd al-Rahman Khan himself now departed, making a stop at the ruined Jaʻfar Fort.

Although Mir Sultan Murad’s emissary urged him to move forward, the

sardar refused until Mir Baba Beg who would set out later had joined him. So he waited at Ja^qfar Fort and after six days heard that Mir Sultan Murad had been routed by the army of Balkh and was fleeing with his wives and children and the former Mir of Kulab in the sardar's direction. He sent out Sardar ^cAbd Allah Khan and forty riders to welcome them and after their arrival he greeted those two individuals with words of consolation saying, "If you want to march out through the gate of loyalty onto the highway of service to me, you will encounter no harm."

He also told Mir Sultan Murad, "When I come to wield power and authority, I will bestow Qataghan on you." /370/ Having spoken thus, he dispatched the mir with Sardar ^cAbd Allah Khan and six hundred riders to Taluqan to reassure the people there about the sardar. The sardar himself traveled along after them, entering Taluqan two days later.

During this, General Ghulam Haydar Khan clashed with the remainder of the Balkh army which was angry with him for the murder of Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan. At Takhtah Pul he laid siege to the rebels with 1,000 infantry, 3,000 horse, and 18 mortars (*tūp-i ātishbār*) and put them in desperate straits. In the end, those inside the fort called out to the besiegers from the tops of the ramparts, "We are not rebels. We have only risen up against General Ghulam Haydar Khan to exact vengeance for his murder of our prince, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan." Hearing this, the general's men lifted the siege and turned the face of discord towards him.

Consequently, he fled and made for Mazar-i Sharif with two hundred of his followers. The army which had been engaged in the siege (at Takhtah Pul) pursued him and prevented him from entering Mazar. (Instead) they let him cross the Oxus at the Abdu Ford and only then did they turn back. They took his wives and children prisoner and plundered his belongings. The general himself reached Bukhara. Sometime later he fell into Russian hands and perished. After his escape, the regular army at Mazar and Takhtah Pul freed from prison two officers from the regiments formerly attached to Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan and made them their own officers.

The forces stationed at Shibarghan, Sar-i Pul, Aqchah, and Qataghan heard what had happened and thereupon arrested and imprisoned all the officers the general had appointed, at the same time freely plundering their belongings. Of all the general's officers, only those at Qunduz managed to escape capture.

The brother of Ghulam Haydar Khan shot and killed himself, and the army and artillery which had been under his control offered its allegiance to, and joined up with, Sardar ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan who had now arrived in Taluqan with 8,000 fighting men from Rustaq and Kishm in Badakhshan. In a delighted frame of mind he sent a letter of cordial greetings by ^cAbd Allah Khan to the army stationed in Qunduz telling him to convey to them good news on his behalf and set their minds at ease.

The sardar himself waited for a while in Taluqan in order to gather provisions and money. The Qunduz garrison meanwhile was heartened by the

letter from the sardar and distributed many alms amongst the poor of the town. They sent the sardar an ‘ariżah-like letter of congratulations saying,

By true faith in the peerless Lord comes the help and support for the people of Islam that has directed the heart of the fortunate sardar toward this position of authority, to safeguard the people of Afghanistan and dependent Turkistan from being trampled upon by foreigners.

After the arrival of this letter, two more days were spent waiting the arrival of Mir Baba Beg who had put off his departure from Fayzabad. But when he still did not come, a manshur was sent which asked what was the cause of the delay in his joining the royal party (*urdū*). He replied, “Now that the entire army has paid obeisance at the victorious stirrup, my joining the noble retinue is no longer necessary.”

This displeased the sardar who again wrote telling him that if he didn’t come, “then I will be forced to march on you.” So with the consent of his close confidants, all of them fearful lest their possessions be given over to plunder, Mir Bab Beg now went to Taluqan with 6,000 men and presented himself before the sardar.

The next day, the latter summoned him, Mir Muhammad ‘Umar, and Mir Sultan Murad along with other leaders of the region and asked for their backing in the form of money and provisions. He said to them, “Since I want to conduct ghaza, the leaders of this region must support me to the extent they can. Each household should provide one sheep and one sack (*juwāl*) of wheat or barley.” He gave them until the next day to respond and dismissed them from the majlis.

By letter, he asked Muhammad Ishaq Khan for a report on his situation saying, “Since you left for Maymanah and then for Herat, I haven’t had any word about how you are or where you are spending your days. Wherever you are, you ought to come to Mazar-i Sharif and take over its administration.”

This letter from Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan reached Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who was on his way to Mazar from the vicinity of Maymanah, in the desert of Andkhud. Three days after getting the letter he arrived in Mazar and notified the sardar both about his arrival and about the lack of provisions there.

The Badakhshan leadership, which had promised to respond to Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan’s demands on the following day, presented themselves before him and announced, “Since you have come here to defend the religion (*millat*) of Islam /371/ and intend to remove the occupying hand of the foreign millat from our necks, we will collect three laks of rupees and even more than that if we are able as long as we have breath in our bodies.”

Delighted by their declaration, Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan ordered that they provide some of the supplies and provisions at Khanabad and some at other places. He also sent a letter to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and told him that if he could, he should send 12,000 camels to Qataghan to carry provisions to

Mazar-i Sharif.

Meantime, Yar Muhammad, a merchant who resided at Tashqurghan came to Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan with many splendid gifts, an act which caused the sardar to wonder, 'Why, of all the people of that region would this person come to me bearing gifts?' Eventually, he discovered that Shir Dil Khan Luynab, a former governor of Balkh had entrusted a sum of money from the government coffers to this merchant and the merchant himself having informed the sardar of this, the sardar sent Faramarz Khan, a ghulam-slave of his, with the man to bring all the money from Tashqurghan.

On Nawruz of the Turki year, Luy Yil, the sardar ordered the freeing of 6,000 Afghan women and female children who had been abducted by the Turkmen. All were to be turned over to their own people (*qawm*). Prior to the carrying out of this order, Mir Baba Beg detained the messengers the sardar had sent out thinking that Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman would be so preoccupied with fighting the English that he would forget all about the Afghan prisoners. So not only did he not free the women, he put to death some of the messengers who insisted on their release. One of the men managed to fling himself into the river and with a thousand trials and tribulations was saved and, disguised as a dervish, made his way back to Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan to whom he told the whole story. Outraged, the sardar arrested Mir Baba Beg and several of his associates and appointed Mir Muhammad ^oUmar in his stead as governor of Fayzabad, naming his brother governor of Rustaq.

Again he re-affirmed the order for the release of the prisoners including the sons of Mir Jahandar Shah who were imprisoned at Shughnan. When they were freed, the sardar expressed his gratitude to God and went to Qunduz. The garrison there fired a 101-gun salute in honor of his arrival. After the welcoming ceremony, they brought before the sardar two hundred officers of the army who harbored enmity in their hearts towards him and asked that they be permitted to put them to death. But rather than spill their blood, he pardoned them all.

On the fourth of Jumada al-Sani 1297/14 May 1880, he issued a number of farmans addressed to the leaders of Kabul and Ghaznin and to khans in the countryside announcing that he had arrived in Qunduz.

The next day, Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the son of Nazir Haydar Khan who, in Samarqand, had turned his face from service to the sardar and abandoned him, now entered Qunduz and while the sardar was busy inspecting the artillery forces (*tūpkhānah*), he threw himself down and obtained the honor of kissing the royal feet. The sardar did not recognize him until he lifted his head up. He begged forgiveness and it was granted. He explained that he had a letter from the Englishman Griffin Sahib with him and he gave it to the sardar who opened it and read, "Esteemed friend, the English nation is delighted on hearing of your arrival in Qataghan and will be pleased to know by what manner you traveled from Russia and what intentions you have?"

SARDAR FIABD AL-RAHMAN SEEKS COUNSEL CONCERNING HIS

*RESPONSE TO GRIFFIN SAHIB*⁶⁹

The noble sardar, aware that this was the beginning of his negotiations with the English, knew that it would be unwise to answer Griffin's letter without consulting the army lest men of ill will and a conspiratorial nature would think that by this exchange of letters he was going to surrender the country to the English. So, in a loud voice, he read Griffin's letter in front of the entire army and asked the officers to advise him on how best to answer it. They asked for two days to consider the request and on the third day each brought forward a separate written response, some writing, "O English government and people, just leave our country. Otherwise we will throw you out forcibly and sacrifice our lives to do it." /372/ Some wrote down, "Before we engage in any negotiations with the representatives of Great Britain, it should pay us compensation for the losses that have occurred as a consequence of its invasion of Afghanistan. Then negotiations could proceed." Others said, "the English should pay 100 crore of rupees for our forts which they have destroyed and our guns which have been lost for these are the means of our tranquility and our defense. Otherwise we will not leave one Englishman alive and as long as we live and breath we will not lift our hands from the task of regaining possession of the kingdom of Afghanistan. And in this regard, others will assist us, like the Russians."

In this fashion, everyone brought the sardar a letter reflecting his point of view. Ultimately, the sardar himself, in the presence of 7,000 Afghan and Uzbek braves, wrote, and then read out this letter:

My esteemed friend Griffin Sahib, after formal expressions of friendship, it should be evident to you that your note has been read by me. In your letter you expressed pleasure at my arrival in the district of Qataghan and you asked me how did I leave Russia and what is my intent. Esteemed friend, I made my way here with the permission and leave of General Kaufmann, the governor of Tashkent. And my goal in this is to bind myself to assist the country in matters perplexing and difficult and to prepare to defend it against its enemies.

After reading this letter aloud, he asked all those in his retinue gathered there, "Here is my letter. If you approve and agree with it, that is what I desire. If not, whatever you are thinking, please tell me."

The men, with one voice and wholeheartedly, answered,

Having turned the ear of understanding to the sardar's farman, we are resolute and steadfast in pledging our lives, money, and spirits to protect and defend our religion (*millat*) and stand ready for battle and awaiting the sardar's command. These are our only thoughts. We do

⁶⁹ RM: Cf., *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 190–196.

not see in ourselves the capacity for discussions, negotiations, and diplomacy with kings. Of this we have no knowledge and how can we be expected to carry out such talks?

Having said this, they swore an oath, reaffirming what they had said, and then declared,

In the matter of dispatching letters and notes and in negotiating with whoever should direct such things toward us, the sardar himself, a man who is knowledgeable in these affairs, should have full discretion. He should do whatever he deems appropriate and considers beneficial.

When the discussion had reached this stage, Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan affixed his seal to the letter and sent it to Griffin in Kabul with Muhammad Sarwar Khan. Then he proceeded on toward Charikar. Every day, people came from surrounding regions, group by group, to pay homage to ("kiss the stirrup of") the sardar, make covenants, and offer their allegiance.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan; Qazi ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan and his son, Sa'd al-Din Khan; ^oInayat Allah Khan, the son of Wazir Muhammad ^oUsman Khan; Sahibzadah Mir Aqa; Nawwab Khan Astarghchi (?); Khan Muhammad Khan Babakr Khayl; Mirza Mustamand Khan; and ^oAbd al-Samad Khan Mardanza'i set out together to present themselves before the sardar. When their party reached Upiyan, Sardar Muhammad ^oAziz Khan the son of the late Amir Muhammad A^czam Khan who at Sardar ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan's instructions had gone to Parwan—now known as Jabal al-Siraj—met with Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and then after the meeting returned to Parwan.

Two days later, on the ninth of Sha^cban 1297/17 July 1880, the sardar arrived in Tatamdarrah and from there sent out letters of conciliation to the leaders and nobles of Kabul and its environs and gratified them all. At this time, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and his companions who had spent eight days at Upiyan, entered Tatamdarrah and obtained the favor of kissing the royal stirrup. Then the sardar moved on to Charikar. There a letter arrived for the sardar from General Donald Stewart and Griffin Sahib saying, "It is our desire to issue widely a document announcing the amirate of Afghanistan in your name. So you should choose someone to go to Kabul and be present there on the day of the announcement."

The sardar then sent the following delegation to Kabul: his uncle (on his father's side) Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan with 100 regular cavalry from the Hijdah Nahri Regiment; Qazi ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan Barakza'i, General Kattal (*katāl*?) Khan, Na'ib Muhammad Amin Khan Bayat, and Sayyid Amr al-Din Khan under the leadership of the aforementioned (Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan). They were told, "Using whatever means you have at your disposal, /373/ give comfort to the mother of the late heir-apparent, Sardar ^oAbd Allah Khan,

prevent her from leaving for another place and tell her that Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan considers her like his own mother.”

In short, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan entered the English camp which had been moved from Haji Beg to Karandah, better known as Buland Nawwab. Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan waited in Charikar with three laks of determined ghazis for word from Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan.

After reaching the English camp, the latter then went with an English officer and thirty regular cavalry from Buland Nawwab to Kabul. In view of the fact that he was an emissary of Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan, the English received him with all possible pomp and ceremony at the cantonment at Shayrpur. They erected a pavilion and large tents for the ceremony announcing the amirate of Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan and they assembled all the leaders of the city and its surroundings. General Sir Donald Stewart, Sir Frederick Roberts, Griffin Sahib, and other English officers and functionaries gathered with the local leaders inside one of the tents. Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan and other leaders sat on separate chairs while they placed Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan on a chair between Sir Frederick Roberts and General Sir Donald Stewart.

When the majlis got under way, the negotiations began. Sir Frederick Roberts stood up with a pleased look on his face, in English enumerated the friendly consequences and benefits of friendship and of the amirate of Sardar ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan that would accrue to the mighty government of England, and then sat down again. Similarly, Sir Donald Stewart stood up, repeated his (Roberts') same statement in English and sat down. Then Griffin Sahib stood and in Afghan (Pashto), Persian, and English he interpreted (literally “performed”) the words of the first two men, and congratulated the amirate of His Highness Amir ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan to those assembled.

Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan then spoke, saying,

Although all the people of Afghanistan and dependent Turkistan have willingly placed the thread of obedience to the amirate of His Highness around their necks, pay heed to what he commands and forbids, and his associates have set the foot of service firmly on the path of obedience —for to no one else in this matter do they have a greater obligation than to him—still, thanks is due to the government of Great Britain, too, whose authority, kingdom, and throne have acknowledged his amirate, for its friendship and display of common purpose.

At the end of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan's speech, the English leaders applauded, expressed their heartfelt pleasure and said to the sardar, “Please convey to His Highness the wish that he come from Charikar to Aqa Saray so that we may meet together and exchange declarations of friendship.”

Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan conveyed the request by letter then himself rose and left the meeting and went to see the mother of the late heir-apparent to whom he delivered the message he had brought from the royal personage. But no matter how he tried to console and gladden her heart she would not accept

the message and said, "I am leaving this city and will return only when the Amir [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan has forged the tie of friendship with my son-in-law, Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan. Otherwise, I will go where the spirit dictates." She then left Kabul for Ghaznin. After her, all the servants and courtiers (salt-eaters) of the late Amir Shayr [‘]Ali Khan left Kabul heading for exile in India and other foreign lands with their wives and children.

Meanwhile, acting according to the invitation they had given Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan for His Highness [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan, the English left Shayrpur with 20,000 regular troops and artillery for Aqa Saray and made camp at Qal[‘]ah-i Hajji.

During this time, the people who had gathered around the royal retinue elevated His Highness, Amir [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan, to kingship at Charikar and then the royal person, after perusing the note from Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and departing Charikar to meet with the English sent a farman to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan instructing him to requisition such equipment as tents, bedding, and dishes and bring them from the city to the meeting site. The sardar gathered up utensils (suitable) for royal dining and brought them loaded on elephants to the hamlet of Zimmah. There he erected tents and decorated them. With the consent of both sides he himself undertook the duties of chief of protocol (*miyānjī*) and was ordered by His Majesty to /374/ fix a time for the meeting with the English and then rejoin him so that the royal entourage would move forward in accordance what was agreed to with the English.

So, after setting a time with the English and rejoining the amir, all the ghazis who had attached themselves to the retinue left Aqa Saray for Zimmah. When His Highness was one kuruh from the tent where the meetings would take place, he saw no need any longer for the great mob of people as protection for his party and so dismissed the ghazis and appointed General Ghulam Haydar Khan Charkhi to command the regular cavalry and the bodyguard of ghazis, so as to prevent (the rest of the ghazis) from any inappropriate and undisciplined action. The amir himself, with a small group including Qazi Mulla Sa[‘]d al-Din Khan, Mir Sarah Beg Khan, Faramarz Khan, Jan Muhammad Khan, Parwanah Khan, Mirza Muhammad Taqi Khan *lashkar nawīs* (army comptroller), and others, entered Zimmah.

Similarly, the English left their camp one kuruh away, presented themselves at durbar and both sides sat down together in majlis. Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan the son of Nazir Haydar Khan stood behind Amir [‘]Abd al-Rahman Khan. On the English side, Griffin Sahib, Cunningham (? *kanī gam*), Commissioner Hettinger, Christie and others were in attendance. The discussions were friendly and the English declared,

"The course of events of the time has brought the affairs of the *sarkār* of the Amir Sahib to a position which conforms to the inclinations and wishes of the English nation. Therefore, the Government of Hindustan and the representatives of Her Highness Victoria, Queen of England,

are delighted to announce their recognition of such an individual as this, a grandson of the late great amir, Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, as amir of Afghanistan. It is a matter of great satisfaction to the English nation that the Afghan tribes and their leaders have chosen as amir an outstanding individual from the Muhammadza'i family, who is well-known for his personal courage, experience, intuition, and intelligence. The feelings of the Amir Sahib towards the English government will be most friendly and as long as his government adheres to these sentiments and they remain lodged in his heart, the English nation will extend its support. The best situation for his establishing his friendship for the English nation will be that he show kindness towards those of his subjects who have served us and that he name General Muhammad Jan Khan Wardak as commander-in-chief of his army.”

But the amir did not agree and replied, “What has the aforementioned done for me that he should obtain the gift of such high rank? But if he does not act deceitfully with me, I will treat him well.”

After these words, and other requisite expressions, which are the cause for forging the ties of unity, the negotiations went on. Then all the participants stood up and returned to their respective camps.

*HIS HIGHNESS AMIR FIABD AL-RAHMAN KHAN ENTERS THE CAPITAL
AND HIS NEGOTIATIONS EN ROUTE FROM ZIMMAH TO KABUL WITH
THE ENGLISH⁷⁰*

As the majlis between the English and His Highness Amir ^cAbd al-Rahman was concluding, they issued another invitation saying, ‘We have prepared a place at our *urdū* and would like to present some gifts and meet with the amir.’

The amir received their request with the ear of acceptance and said, “I have consulted with the men of my *qawm* and *millat* and we would like to meet at this same place.”

The English left Christie in Zimmah to summon people and inquire among them about the “tribal permission” (*ijāzat-i qawmī*) of His Highness. The rest went to the army camp.

His Highness also brought Sardar Muhammad Yusuf to the royal *urdū* to convey to Christie the approval of the Islamic leadership. So having entered the army camp, he consulted with the leaders of the millat and the kingdom about a second meeting. Some were not of the opinion (that he should attend a meeting), “in case the English are planning some deception.” Others urged him to go and the two sides began to argue. Finally, His Highness, following his own intuition agreed to meet the English at a place where the fortune-surrounded palace of Shahr Ara was erected and now stands as a monument to this encounter. At the outset of the meeting, the English handed over to His Highness the artillery

⁷⁰ RM: Cf., *The Life of Abdur Rahman*, 196–199.

which they had captured and promised to repay nineteen laks of rupees which they had obtained from the revenues of the kingdom. After sitting together for fifteen minutes the two sides said their farewells.

His Highness now took up residence for a few days at ^cImarat-i Darwazah-i Safid in Shapur. */375/* The English left Kabul and Afghanistan, departing via Peshawar and Qandahar. His Highness assigned Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan to escort the English on the road to Peshawar. He accompanied them as far as Dih-i Khudaydad then returned to Kabul. Similarly, Sardar Muhammad ^cAziz Khan was sent with the contingent leaving via Qandahar and went with it as far as Ghaznin where he received from them an attestation of satisfaction (*riza-namah*). He then retraced his steps to Kabul.

EVENTS IN HERAT AND THE BATTLE BETWEEN SARDAR MUHAMMAD AYYUB KHAN AND THE ENGLISH AT MAYMAND

During the abovementioned occurrences, Khan Agha-yi Jamshidi and Jahandar Khan Qipchaq whom Amir Shayr ^cAli Khan had invited to Kabul to honor and then respectfully kept in Kabul, left Kabul after the departure of Amir Muhammad Ya^cqub Khan for India and went to the Ghurat under English instructions to subvert and gain control over Herat. In the Ghurat they joined forces with Sardar Anbiya Khan Taymani and Sardar ^cAbd Allah Khan Taymuri and opened correspondence with people in Herat and its environs.

Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan learned of what was going on and assigned an army to suppress them. Consequently, Khan Aqa (sic), Jahandar Khan and Bahbud Khan, grandson of the late Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan, were captured and then executed by firing squad, along with the qazi of Herat who had sent them a letter. Sardar ^cAbd al-Wahhab Khan, son of the late Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, was dispatched to Tayurah with a regiment of infantry, two cannons, and some cavalry to destroy Sardar Anbiya Khan. Similarly, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan sent Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan with three infantry regiments and a number of pieces of artillery to Kushk to reprimand and chasten Yalang Tush Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan, sons of the slain Khan Aqa. Seeing resistance futile, Sardar Anbiya retreated into the wilderness of the Firuz Kuh and sought refuge there. In like manner, the sons of Khan Aqa fled to Maymanah which the royal army had, at this time, abandoned and which was under the independent control of Mir Dilawar.

Meanwhile, following the imprisonment of the field marshal, Husayn ^cAli Khan in Kabul, the regular garrison at Herat which, at the instigation of the deputy field marshal Hafiz Allah Khan Lahugardi, had assassinated General Faqir Ahmad Khan Rika, looted his house and thereby deluded themselves about their strength, now sent a petition to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and demanded a holy war (*ghaza*) be launched against the English army.

Because the regular Kabul regiments were numerically strong and were considered zealots by the people of the region and because the regular Herati

forces were few and did not have the power to resist the troops from Kabul, he could do nothing but agree to their demands and so set forth from Herat for Qandahar on the path of jihad.

When they reached a point one manzil outside Herat, Fayz Muhammad Khan *jīnrāl*, who at Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's orders had left Maymanah with three regiments of infantry and returned to Herat, now mutinied and showed himself ready to fight the sardar's forces. The general strengthened the city's fortifications and then came out to give battle. The Kabuli forces attacked and defeated Fayz Muhammad Khan and the Herati troops. The Kabulis then fought their way back into Herat and plundered it, looting the whole city. Many Heratis were killed and Fayz Muhammad Khan, found neither dead nor alive, was thought either to have escaped or to have been killed.

Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan also returned to the city and after a time again raised the banner of jihad for Qandahar, marching with eleven infantry regiments, 800 regular cavalry, thirty-two pieces of artillery, and a large multitude of volunteer (*izdihām-i ʿāmmī*) militia (*mulkī*) cavalry from Herat, Farah, Pusht-i Rud and Qandahar, among other places in the region of Herat.

Sardar Shayr ʿAli Khan Qandahari got wind of the march and, in order to allay the fears of the English who were in Qandahar, set out with a large contingent, ostensibly to put down the ghazis who were by now assembled at Pusht-i Rud. But in actuality he had marched out toward Farah with the aim of fighting Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. The English, acting on his assertion that he was going out only to suppress some tribal elements and did not require any of the royal army (*sipāh-i pādishāhī*), did not assign adequate forces to accompany him but only dispatched a single regiment and an artillery unit with him.

On the 17th of Shaʿban/25 July 1880, at precisely the time His Highness Amir ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan entered Charikar, this force encountered Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan in the plain of Maymand, better known as Maywand. Before battle even began, three Qandahari infantry regiments had abandoned Sardar Shayr ʿAli Khan for Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. He advanced toward the enemy from the village of Sang Bar, ordering the regular and tribal infantry forces to march via the Garmabak Valley road. Keeping all the cavalry with him he moved forward to face the enemy. /376/ He assigned as a scouting party Ghulam Haydar Khan *risālah-dār* Afshari and Mirza Husayn Khan Qa’ini, the private secretary (*nawīsandah*) of Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, better known as *sartīq* (colonel), along with 500 Gushadah cavalry from Pusht-i Rud and Qandahar and 100 regular cavalry.

These two men skirmished with the English, struggling bravely with them for two hours and effectively preventing the English from advancing further as well as inflicting many casualties. The flames of battle were still raging when the regular infantry regiments with their thunderbolt-raining cannons came on the scene and grasped the instruments of war. For five hours the marketplace of strife operated at fever pitch until, in the end, the banner of victory was raised. The English turned their backs on the fight and their faces towards flight. The

Englishman, General Ayfer (?) and a large number of soldiers were slain. From the army of Islam, Brigadier [‘]Abd al-Ghafur Khan Herati, Commandant Muhammad Anwar Khan Qandahari, Muhammad Zaman Khan Barakza*’i*, and the son of Qadir Khan along with five hundred other men tasted the cool draft of martyrdom. Eight hundred men were wounded.

The rest pursued the fleeing English, cutting down many of them along the way. Witnessing this disaster and realizing he himself and the rest of his men were on the brink of destruction, the Englishman, Colonel St. John cried out, “Is there a man among you willing to risk his life to stay the hand of the Muslim braves from killing and prevent their feet from attacking so that the reputation of the English will not be dragged in the mud?”

Because of his exhortations and cries, two hundred infantrymen of the Gurah (Gurkha?) Regiment (*fawj-i gūrah*) took cover behind a wall enclosing a garden which ran alongside the road and opened fire on the ghazis to try and stop them. The rest continued to flee pell-mell in the direction of Qandahar. The ghazis, unfazed by the bullets fired by those in the garden and despite the numbers of those being felled, overran the enclosing wall, entered the garden, and fell upon the Gurkhas. The two sides fought hand-to-hand with bayonet and sword. In the end, not one of the two hundred Gurkhas survived the sword’s keen edge or the bayonet’s piercing fangs and tongue.

Because of this diversion for the ghazis, the rest of the English army, hope abandoned, made its way back to Qandahar downcast and demoralized. The ghazis, again in pursuit, entered Qandahar and at Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan’s order on the 27th of Sha’ban/4 August laid siege to the city and the English inside it. They closed access to and egress from the city to the English and made life very difficult for them.

During the days of the siege, Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Yusuf Khan and Commander Farrukh Khan of the artillery drank the draft of martyrdom when struck by rifle fire. Things went on like this until a telegram was sent from Simla to the army stationed in Kabul informing it of the problems facing the force in Qandahar and ordering it to return to Qandahar and free the besieged.

So it was that General Roberts, on the day of His Highness’s entry (into Kabul), which was the fifth of Ramazan/11 August left Kabul for Qandahar.

On the twenty-first of the month/27 August, the esteemed mother of the late heir-apparent who had left Kabul for Ghazni, and from there headed for Qandahar with Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, and Sardar [‘]Abd Allah Khan on this day entered Qandahar and joined Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. On the twenty-third/29 August, the English force from Kabul arrived in Qandahar and on the twenty-fourth/30 August advanced via the Pir Paymal Road to give battle.

It clashed with Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan’s army and the fighting raged until midday. In the end, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan’s army was routed and fled. Of special note was Colonel Shayr Muhammad Khan Hazarah who with 100 men from his infantry regiment held off eight English regular

infantry regiments for an hour with great bravery, allowing the Muslim fugitives to safely escape the jaws of destruction. Two of the colonel's horses were shot out from under him and most of his one hundred infantrymen attained the rank of martyr. Finally he and his surviving companions followed in the tracks of the rest of Sardar Muhammmad Ayyub Khan's army. The English having won the victory, put their anxieties aside.

The mother of the (late) heir-apparent with Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan and Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan traveled with Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan as far as Farah where they settled.

In the meantime, Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan, the son of His Highness Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, who was kept under watch in Qandahar suddenly bade farewell to this world.

As commanded by His Highness Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan and with the consent of the English, Sardar Shams al-Din Khan and Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan son of the late Amir Muhammad A'zam Khan came from Kabul to Qandahar to take possession of the region. Up to this point the English had not yielded control of Qandahar and considered it to be Sardar Shayr 'Ali Khan's. But they blamed their defeat at Maymand on his mistakes and so provided a residence for him and his household in a place called Kuhi situated north of the port of Karachi.

They now surrendered all of Afghanistan to His Highness Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan.

The end.

EPILOGUE

On account of the fact that the mere whim of a padshah is an ironclad order, this humble writer, having had the good fortune of the favor of conversations and the honor of recording events thanks to the rays of the sun of His Highness the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion's grace and, moreover, despite the fact that we servants have no reason for receiving special favor nor for wanting anything at all, still this mere speck of dust having been elevated to the heights of esteem, has been commanded and privileged to compose this auspicious book (belonging to) the blessed essence of this perceptive and politically savvy padishah, who himself author-like, has from beginning to end with his own pen checked and corrected and is checking and correcting this book. I must and should glorify and commend him to all authors of histories of other sultans as well as to myself. I will pray extra prayers for his enduring government as long as I live.

"Oh God, as long as this world lasts, may my shah ever prosper,

As his writ forever runs, so too may the pure water of his justice and favor."